

**Pantayong Pananaw and Bagong Kasaysayan
in the new Filipino Historiography.
A History of Filipino Historiography as an
History of Ideas.**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADHIKA, Inc.	Asosasyon ng mga May-Hilig at Interes sa Kasaysayan, Inc.
BAKAS	Bahay Saliksikan sa Kasaysayan
BK	Bagong Kasaysayan
DECS	Department of Education Culture and Sports
EKS	Early Kawi Script
Fn	Footnote
KKKANB/ KKK	Kataastaasang Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan
LCI	Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription
LIKAS	Lipunang Pangkasaysayan
OM	Old Malay
PA/ PP	Proto-Austronesian/ Proto-Philippine
PHA	Philippine Historical Association
PI	Philippine Islands
PNHS	Philippine National Historical Society
PP	Pantayong Pananaw
RP	Republic of the Philippines
RW	Root Word
SEA	South East Asia
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Program
UAN	Uraustronesisch
UIN	Urindonesisch
UP	University of the Philippines
UPD	University of the Philippines Diliman
USA/ US	United States of America
WB	Word Base

FOREWORD

La historia no registra en sus anales ninguna dominación duradera ejercida por un pueblo sobre otro, de razas diferentes, de usos y costumbres extrañas, y de ideales opuestos y divergentes.

--- José Rizal, *Filipinas Dentro de Cien Años*, 1890

Histories, for as long as I could remember, have always fascinated me. They are, for me, akin to illustrations of another space-time continuum. I could almost always let myself be completely encaptured and engrossed in quite a-many of them. I was aware, of course, that they could not necessarily narrate the society's considered truth, but I liberally read many of them nonetheless. Naturally, the various storylines, the exotic data, the events' unfolding interests me. But it doesn't end at that. I am also quite impressed how authors could somehow exactly express (or not express) my believed-to-be, own opinions; and could create something, which generally stimulates differing opinions and sentiments from me. I found myself, not too long therefrom, unwarily basing some of my decisions, analyses, impressions from the knowledge gathered from these works. I became curious, of course, if others make the same or a similar experience. The answer, I told myself, could only be found in further reading. Reading therefrom became my passion. I read almost everything --- that is, from highly criticized books, to journals, to dailies, and even to packing-paper of dried fish from the nearby *palengke* (Philippine open market). And the more I read, the more I knew that I simply don't know anything. Must, hence, further proceed with reading. My parents --- for their different grown up to context and generation --- found this amusing; nevertheless, they generally patronize, support, and let me be in my *hobby*. It was only during my college years, that I was actually able to somewhat qualify and channel this preoccupation in a particular disciplinal area --- history and historiography.

An history and historiography defines a people; but more importantly, a people creates --- in the figurative and the literal sense --- an history and historiography. Both of them changes. They change with and through times and contexts, in accordance with the changes of the people who creates them. Consequently, both have their very own histories, as well. The following study is an attempt to lay down a particular exemplar of such. It is an ideas' history of Filipino history and historiography. In relation to the relatively long years of colonization and intellectual compartmentalization, it is an history of the Filipino people's (historians') creation, determination, illustration, definition of their own history. It is, in a manner, an history of the Filipino people's written (historical) definition of themselves as a people. It is an history of an ongoing, quite long process. It is, in this regard, merely a preliminary study. And considering a people's capacity to continuously change and develop, it could well be differently interpreted in the future. Nonetheless, it is still worth the pursuit for the

present. It is, in this regard, our present interpretation of the same history. Hopefully, it would be contributory to the actual history of Filipino historiography in the future as well.

This study, however, would not be possible without the assistance and support of a number of offices and people. The logistics and finances were provided by the German Academic Exchange Services (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, DAAD). Priceless academic advises and intellectual inspiration were graciously given by Prof. Zeus Salazar of the UPD, my Doktorvater, Prof. Wilfried Wagner and Dr. Dagmar Bechtloff of the Uni Bremen. Data gathering and hands-on history practice in the Philippines were supported and made possible through friends, colleagues, and fellow striving academicians in the Department of History, Department of Anthropology, Department of Linguistics, Department of Filipino and Philippine Literature, and Diliman Review of the University of the Philippines-Diliman; in the Ateneo de Manila University; in the De La Salle University; in the National Library and Archives; and in the National Historical Institute. Whatever mistake or failure, however, in the study are mine; the mentioned offices and persons have nothing to do with them.

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The study is heartfully and humbly dedicated to my mother and father, Virginia and Rodolfo Reyes; my sisters and brothers, Dennis, Chona, Basanio, and Charo. You are all fantastic. I am honored to call you my family.

ABSTRACT OF THE STUDY

In the context of *philippinische Historiographieggeschichte* as *Ideengeschichte*, we'll define the philosophical, methodological, hermeneutical references in *Pantayong Pananaw*; then, illustrate it as the times' philosophy of history, which begun the country's new history and historiography, *Bagong Kasaysayan*. PP and BK embody the Filipino historians' emic indigenization movement --- *pag-aangking mula sa loob*, which proceeded towards the start of an actual Filipino historiography, *Pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino*.

The ancient Filipino concept for history is *kasaysayan*, meaning significant story(ies); chosen, important narratives --- orally transferred through folklore, genealogies, songs and rituals --- of the communities. Political colonization and intellectual compartmentalization (which includes, among many others, statements and declarations, that particularly says that the archipelago inhabitants were *barbaric, stupid, passive, cultural minority, natives*) starting 1565 discontinued this. Concept *kasaysayan* was therefrom repressed; placed in its stead was Western *historía*, wherein the communities were mere objects, parts of experiences. They were narratives of colonizing foreigners, who had *contacts* with the *native* inhabitants; they were Philippine history and historiography.

And they were, for years, continually perpetuated by Filipino (foreign) educated historians; which, in turn, resulted to the furtherance of average Filipino's foreign conception of his own history. Starting the 1970's, however, upon the social sciences' indigenization crisis, this trend was broken. Etic indigenization, which were quite long exerted by a number of Filipino intellectuals of the times and context, became inappropriate; emic indegenization was thereby set. In history, this was pioneered by Pantayong Pananaw --- the exclusive, inside perspective of Filipino historical narrative, which constantly considers the people's organic historico-cultural identity. For the historian, this is a metaphorical return to himself and to his people --- his theme and audience. For the discipline, this is the operational *Filipino* written historical discourse's start. The historian must methodologically create a significant Filipino history, the modern *kasaysayan* (*Bagong Kasaysayan*). This meant, creation of history, about, by, for the Filipino, in F(P)ilipino; the commencement of *Pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino*; the realization of disciplinal indigenization --- a multi-faceted process -- - which is a firm political stand, part of the people's exertions in independently determining their pride and person, in regaining mastery of their probable future, especially in the midst of today's mythos globalizing community.

KONZEPT

In dem Kontext einer philippinischen Historiographiegeschichte als eine Ideengeschichte werden wir die philosophische, methodologische, u. hermeneutische Bedeutungen des Pantayong Pananaws definieren. Er wird dann weiter beschrieben als des Landes gegenwärtiger bedeutsamster Geschichtssphilosophie, die den Anfang der neuen Historie u. Historiographie --- Bagong Kasaysayan --- verursacht hat. PP u. BK verkörpern die heutigen philippinischen, emischen Indigenisierungsbewegungen (pag-aangking mula sa loob), die den Weg zu einer philippinischen Geschichtsschreibung (Pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino) vorbereitet hat.

Das alte philippinische Konzept für Geschichte heißt Kasaysayan. Es bedeutet bedeutsame Geschichte/ Erzählung. Kasaysayan wurde mündlich überliefert und wurde durch die Folklore, die Genealogien, die Volkslieder, die Riten der Landesurgesellschaften, getragen. Jedoch wurde die Entwicklung mit der politischen Eroberung des Landes und der intellektuellen Kompartimentalisierung (wobei die Mitglieder der Urgesellschaften als *barbarisch*, *stupide*, *passiv*, *minderheitlich*, und *einheimisch* beleidigend beschrieben und genannt wurden) des Volkes ab 1565 nur oberflächlich aufgehalten. Es wurde dennoch als Konzept allmählich unterdrückt und von dem westlichen Konzept „Historía“ ersetzt, wobei die Urgesellschaften lediglich als Objekte oder Teile ihrer lokalen Erlebnisse behandelt wurden. Historías waren insgesamt die eigentlichen Erzählungen der erobernden Fremden, die mit den Einheimischen Kontakt aufnahmen oder hatten. Schließlich wurde sie aber als die philippinische Historie und Historiographie akzeptiert und angenommen.

Sie wurden von den philippinischen, (fremd) ausgebildeten Historikern, in den folgenden Jahren nach der Kolonialisierung kontinuierlich bewahrt und praktiziert. Dies führte zu der Fortsetzung und Erweiterung eines eigentlich fremden Konzeptes der Geschichte im Lande. Das Volk hatte als Folge daraus unbewußt nur eine starke ausländische Konzipierung ihrer eigenen Geschichte. Dieser historiographische Trend wurde jedoch ab 1970, während der Indigenisierungskrise der Sozialwissenschaft Philipinens, allmählich aufgehalten. Ethische Indigenisierung, die relativ lange von den derzeitigen, philippinischen Intellektuellen angewendet wurde, wurde als nicht zutreffend oder unangebracht angenommen. Sie wurde von emischen Indigenisierungsmethoden und -philosophien ersetzt. In der Geschichte war diese Wendung durch die Pantayong Pananaw (als die exklusive, interne Perspektive der philippinischen Geschichte) bahnbrechend geleistet worden. Pantayong Pananaw betrachtet und bearbeitet das philippinischen Volk als eine organische, historisch-kulturelle Identität in jeder ihrer geschichtlichen Erläuterung. Für den Historiker, heißt dies die metaphorische Rückkehr zu sich und zu seinem eigenen Volk --- seiner Thematik und seinem Publikum. Für die Geschichtsdiziplin bedeutet dies den Anfang vom geschriebenen, historischen, aktuellen, philippinischen Diskurs. Dabei muß der Historiker die bedeutsame Historie, das moderne

Kasaysayan (das Bagong Kasaysayan), entwerfen. Insgesamt heißt dies die Schaffung einer Geschichte der Filipinos in der philippinischen Sprache; die Realisierung des Pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino (philippinische Geschichtsschreibung); die Aktualisierung einer disziplinären Indigenisierung. Es ist eine politische Einstellung und ein wichtiger Teil der Volksanstrengungen, den eigenen Stolz und Persönlichkeit unabhängig zurück zu gewinnen und ihre eigene Zukunft eigenständig aufzubauen --- ein bedeutsames Vorhaben in der Mitte des heutigen globalisierenden Gesellschafts-Mythos.

BUOD NG PAG-AARAL

Sa konteksto ng Kasaysayan ng Historiograpiyang Pilipino, bilang isang Kasaysayan ng Ideya, tatalakayin namin ang mga pilosopikal, metodolohikal, at hermeneutikal na pagpapakahulugan sa ilalim ng *Pantayong Pananaw*; at iguguhit ito bilang pangunahing pilosopiya ng kasaysayang naging tagapagsimula ng bagong historya at historiograpiya ng bayang Pilipino --- ang *Bagong Kasaysayan*. Isinasakatawan ng PP at BK ang kilusang pag-aangkin --- emikong pagsasakatutubo --- ng mga Pilipino historyador. Itinatayang ang kilusang ito ang magbibigay-daan sa akmang pagsisimula ng historiograpiyang Pilipino, ng *Pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino*.

Kasaysayan --- ibig sabihin, mahalagang salaysay/ kwento/ paglalahad --- ang matandang Pilipinong dalumat para sa historya. Binubuo ito ng mga piling, pasalitang naratibo --- kabilang na ang mga kwentong-bayan, henealohiya, awit, at ritwal --- ng mga sinaunang pamayanan. Gayunma'y masaklaw na naputol ang tradisyong ito nang dahil sa naganap na kolonisasyong pulitikal ng arkepelago at pangkaisipang pagsasawalang-bahala (kabilang na rito ang pagbansag sa kanila bilang “barbaro”, “mangmang”, “pasibo”, “minorang kultural”, “katutubo”) ng mga mamamayan doon. Mistulang pinigil ang dalumat ng kasaysayan mula noon; habang ito'y pinalitan ng Kanluraning *historiá*, kung saan ang mga sinaunang pamayanan ay ipinahahayag bilang mga obheto o bahagi ng mga karanasan ng Iba lamang. Ang *historiá*'y walang iba kundi mga naratibo ng mga manlulupig na *dayuhan*, na nagkaroon ng pakikipag-ugnayan sa mga *katutubong* pamayanan. Ito ang kikilalaning *Philippine history and historiography* sa mga susunod na taon.

Ipagpapatuloy at itataguyod ito ng mga (makadayuhang) edukadong Pilipinong historyador. Mananatili, bilang resulta, ang makadayuhang/ dayuhang pananaw ng karaniwang Pilipino sa kanyang sariling kasaysayan. Magaganap lamang ang malawakang pagbabago sa kalakarang ito simula noong dekada 70, sa panahon ng krisis sa pagsasakatutubo ng pambansang agham panlipunan. Lumabas na hindi na lubos na angkop ang proseso ng etikong pagsasakatutubo doon; kinailangan nang isakatuparan, nang dahil dito, ang proseso ng emikong pagsasakatutubo. Sinimulan at isinakatuparan ang nahuli sa disiplina ng historya sa pamamagitan ng *Pantayong Pananaw* --- ang eksklusibong,

panloob na Pilipinong punto-de-bista sa kasaysayan. Palagiang isinasalalay sa PP ang organikong, historiko-kultural na kasarinlan ng pamayanang Pilipino. Para sa historyador, simula ito ng kanyang matalinhagang pagbabalik sa kanyang sarili at sa kanyang bayan --- sa kanyang tema at publiko. Para sa disiplina, simula naman ito ng malawakang nakasulat na diskursong Pilipino. Mapamaraang susulatin dito ng historyador and isang *mahalagang kasaysayang Pilipino*, ang modernong kasaysayan --- ang *Bagong Kasaysayan*. Lilikhain, samakatuwid, mula sa puntong ito ang kasaysayang ukol, para, at gawa sa Pilipino; sisimulan ang isang Pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino --- pagpapatotoo ng pag-aangkin ng agham, isang masalimuot na prosesong alalumbaga'y isang paninindigang pulitikal, bahagi ng pakikipagsapalaran ng pamayang Pilipinong igiit ang kanilang karangalan at katauhan sa ngayon at sa tinitingnang kinabukasan, lalung-lalo na sa gitna ng kinikilala sa kasalukuyang mitolohiya ng globalisadong pamayanan.

Introduction

The preliminary study and the chronological as well as thematical narration of the Filipino historiography's historical development are the most important aims of this study. Filipino historiography should, however, be herewith foremost differentiated from the more frequently utilized idea of Philippine historiography. Though generally related, it is still nonetheless not to be missed that these two are inherently different from one another. The latter encompassingly refers to all historical/historiographical expressions on and about the Philippines, regardless of author(s), perspective, philosophy, and particularity of readership. The former, on the other hand, specifically refers to historical expressions on, about, and/ or regarding the Philippines; particularly written by a Filipino historian (or by Filipino historians in some cases); utilizing and featuring the Filipino perspective and philosophical considerations; and especially targetting the Filipino people(s) as its main readership, and so, in this regard, respectively written in the Filipino national language. They are the historical expressions, which are particularly conceptualized, narrated, and delivered in the Filipino language, and so, in the Filipino world of meanings and conceptualizations accordingly as well. Filipino historiography, we opine, is embodied in the present Filipino historians community's *Pantayong Pananaw* and *Bagong Kasaysayan*. PP and BK, it should be noted, are Filipino ideas and/ or concepts. They are culled from the oldest linguistic expression --- known and expressed today as/ in the Filipino language --- in the present Philippine archipelago; and accordingly appropriated, to be particularly useful in the disciplinal philosophy, methodology, and expression of Filipino history and historiography. Corollary to this and in consideration to the major aim of this study, we choose to pursue the narration of the Filipino historiography's history, specifically as an or in the general classification and quantification of an history of ideas. In concrete application, hence, the developmental illustration of our narrative would be representably embodied in or through a particular historiographical conceptualization. The Filipino historiography's history would accordingly be plotted as an history of historiographical ideas among the Filipino peoples and in the Philippines through contexts, through times, and accordingly, through texts as well.

This would be operationally accomplished by particularizing the development of *Filipino* historiography (*Pantayong Pananaw* and *Bagong Kasaysayan*) as against the accordingly illustrated development of *non-Filipino* historiographical practice and expression in the country. The development of PP and BK would then be isolatably concentrated upon because it would be particularly contrasted to their opposition. The development of Filipino historiography, PP and BK, would effectively be set and defined within the predominant development of non-Filipino historiography, namely the development of the Spanish/ Anglo-English *historía/ history*, on the land and, more specifically, among its peoples --- that is, mainly among the greater number of intellectuals or the institutionally learned within the country's population. Filipino historiography would then be,

in a perspective, generally processed in appreciation and in accordance with the more prominently witnessed developing easily accepted scientific concept of history on the archipelago.

Its introduction, modification, and furtherance would be set and defined as the third and latest all-encompassing period within the historiography's history in the Philippines as an history of ideas. The first period, c.a. 200 B.C. –1565 A.D., is the ancient era in historiographical development; that is, the times and contextual development of ancient communities on the islands, the times and context before the introduction of the foreign and cleanly structured polity on the archipelago. It is the era of the ancients, the times of riverine communities. It is the era of unwritten, orally transmitted history; the times of the predominant utility and according acceptance among the different communities of the ancient concept of *kasaysayan* (translated as significant story or simply, significance). This period though would be all-embracingly ended upon the arrival of Europeans and their forced application of their own political structure, religious institution, social structure, and intellectual measures on the land and most especially on its inhabitants. The period of *kasaysayan* predominance, as both the idea and sense of history among the peoples, would therefrom be generally cut off for the coming and following predominance of the clearly more powerful --- not only militarily, but in all other aspects as well --- Europeans, with their cultural baggage, on the key areas of the archipelago. And though the inhabitants resisted these foreign meddling --- later on, enforcements --- for a number of years, the foreign European structure and general cultural expression were still eventually enforced, applied, and put into action through the colonizing Europeans and their collaborating assistants, whom they themselves “created” out of the earlier petty chiefs of the earlier independently existing communities on the islands. Consequently, the all-encompassing political, religious, social, and intellectual structures on the land were accordingly altered to suit the requirements of the colonizing Europeans or, to be exact, Spaniards. The few Spaniards, including the missionaries, plus their collaborating native assistants accordingly took possession of their introduced, enforced and formally structured leadership of the land; and effectively created with it --- through their own persons themselves --- a nominally numbered individuals, who consider themselves better than the greater number of the islands' inhabitants. They, hence, created the elitary class, for their own, among the restructured society of the islands. This class took over the leadership in all aspects of day-to-day, cultural living; and became the most effective agents for the introduction, enforcement, and furtherance of foreign cultural elements, representations, concretizations on the land and its peoples. This is the same class --- for our specific purposes in this study --- which became responsible for the facing out of *kasaysayan* within the formally considered scientific sense and expression of history; and for the introduction, enforcement, and modification of the Spanish *historia* in its place. From thereon, 1565-1974, the said idea predominated in utility and application on the various historical expressions, discussing the islands and its peoples. A number of innovation were, expectedly enough, introduced thereupon. History was not any longer solely orally transmitted during this era; the introduction of mass-

distributed, latinized writing virtually put a halt to this practice. Instead, like the Europeans' practice, history was written; and accordingly enough, after a number of years, it became a learned discipline in institutions of learning, and so, eventually, a learned profession as well. It should be noted though that through massive individual developments in the many years of practice about and on the islands, the idea of *historía* (later on, upon the arrival of the colonizing Americans, *history*), nonetheless, never lost its ground conceptualization. Through the years, in the mentioned period above, *historía* remained *historía* in all its expression about and on (even outside) the land and its peoples. It remained a foreign idea --- with an array of implied conceptualizations, philosophy and methodological applications --- which was mostly utilized in order to tell the story of the Philippines and the Filipinos to an audience, whom at the same time understands the utilized foreign language of the resulting narrative therewith as well. And because foreign languages (e.g. Spanish, Anglo-English) still largely remain foreign --- most especially, in the realm of deep understanding and comprehension, with expectation of further application and utility in everyday living --- among the much greater number of Filipinos, such narratives remain foreign for them. Historical expressions were, in this regard, merely superficial in their "arrival" on the Filipino audience, who are --- ironically enough --- supposed to be their main object in their actual narrative therein. Indigenization was, expectedly enough, accordingly pursued on during the latter half of the 20th century. These exertions though were concentratedly done externally; scholars pursue indigenizing their disciplinal practice by introducing changes, which were experienced and suggested by other historians from outside the Philippines or from other cultural circuitry. The results of these efforts was the general introduction (and accordingly expected application) of a new interpretation of the historical expressions discussing the Philippines and the Filipinos, but not necessarily the indigenization of the disciplinal practice of history. *Historía/ history*, in this regard, is clearly deeply implanted among the practicing Filipino historians in the country; that is, ironically enough, eventhough their foreign maestro/ teacher --- including both of the Spaniards and Americans --- were already long gone from the territorial possession of the republic, they constituably long possess or they politically belong to. In end-effect, the introduction of the indigenization exertions on the discipline only resulted in the creation of a new group of Filipino historians, who interpret Philippine history a bit differently from their masters as well as from a number of their older colleagues. The running plea of this new group was the interpretation of Philippine history, unlike beforehand, from the point of view of the so-called masses. They aim to produce the history of the greater number of Filipinos through time, the history of the poor, the history from below. This new group though was not so different from the older half of their lot. They still utilize the same general principles and conceptualizations they were trained in, they still follow the disciplinal procedures they learned in schools, and more importantly, they still utilize the same foreign language of their learned discipline; on the whole, hence, they still generally practice the general features of the foreign idea of history.

This general trend of the age, however, would be broken, upon the pursuit of another form of indigenization of their disciplinal practice and expression among the few within the other liberal ranks of Filipino scholars as well. Internal indigenization would be accordingly pursued upon, in direct application to the discipline; so as to eventually induce the practical appropriation of the historical disciplinal practice. These exertions would be led by a number of University of the Philippines-Diliman young professors of history in their general practice of the discipline in the same institution of leaning; and so, accordingly enough, it was also in the same institutional context that these exertions eventually produced actual and continuously developing results. Pantayong Pananaw (translated as we/us perspective) and, later on, Bagong Kasaysayan (translated as new/ renewed kasaysayan) were therefrom introduced and developed; they would generally feature within the disciplinal practice --- both in the written and the oral realms --- of history starting 1974 until the present (for our specific purposes in this study, 1974-2000). PP and BK representably makes up the third all-encompassing period in the historiography's history of the Philippines. The two embody, what we consider as, the start of Filipino historiography in the disciplinal practice in the Philippines. They virtually begun the practice of acceptable conceptualized Filipinized science of history on and about the Philippines and the Filipinos, specifically designed in clear consideration and importance to and for the consumption of the Filipino people alone. In this regard, like already mentioned above, they signal the start of a Filipino historiography, the latest period in the historiography's history of the Philippines as an history of ideas.

Each period, kasaysayan, historia/ history, bagong kasaysayan, would be discussed in this study according to the analyzed materials' --- including archaeological and anthropological --- culture, most prevalent oral traditions, and choice written --- both published and unpublished --- historical works. We are convinced, that both the idea and the sense of history for each chronological period could be read, culled, and analyzed in these sources. They are virtually the raw materials for the writing of an history of ideas, which is our basic philosophical frame in this researchal exertions. The chosen materials for this study are, in this regard, congruent with the so-called primary sources of history in a conventional (including political, religious, or economic histories) historical chronology. Because of the nature of our first period's contextual surrounding, it would be based, analyzed, explained, and narrated according to proven and published archaeological and anthropological artifacts of the ancient Philippines and its inhabitants. Oral traditions, with consideration to considered folklore, would also be looked at and appropriately utilized in this part as well. The last two periods though would be treated differently. They are both primarily started and applied during the times that conveniently distributed, latinized form of writing arrived and was accordingly done on the archipelago. Corollary to this, both of these periods would be based, analyzed, explained, and narrated according to written sources of history or, to be exact, written historiographical deliverations. For as much as seen required and necessary in accordance with our specific theme, both published and unpublished materials would

be considered in this study. Histories, national in nature, which were done or came out during our set periods were aptly chosen and accordingly collected for study and analysis. They are considered representations of the prevalent conceptualization, not only of the actual historical chronological narration of the times, but of the implied practiced concept of history itself of the concentrated on generation of historians --- and corollary to this, generation of students and readers, as well --- during each chronological period in this study.

Connected to these, in addition, necessary disciplinal procedures would also be used in this work. They would be treated as auxillary disciplines, with which our study disciplinally belong into. They would be, in this regard, supportive of the historical and historiographical nature of our exertions. And though relatively unconventional in specific theme and breadth of chosen time, this work still pursues to retain its chronological nature upon its body itself. Historiography's history is basically seen as the chronological development of the idea of history, which could be seen and culled from the various historical works in the different periods --- starting from the oldest to the latest --- which generally make up today's accepted as chronologically progressing timeline. The previously mentioned historiographical ideas above are, hence, regarded as both thematical and periodal embodiments of the continuously developing utilized concept of history --- as well as its following historiographical expressions --- in the chronologically progressing timeline of our history. They are handy, in order to keep to the continuously progressing nature of our expressions in this work. They are, in particular application to our narrative's actual body, organizatory poles to which our history would be generally, but nonetheless, efficiently systematized. Furthermore, they not only systematized the narrative itself, they generally influenced the decision on the preference as well as the study and analyses of the various materials utilized in this study.

Due to the time and logistics constraints, not all available material culture evidences and not all written historical expressions of various periods were completely used and studied in our work. Our exertions would be almost unending, if that was the case. The work does not see itself as an archaeological, nor an anthropological, nor a folkloric, nor a complete bibliographical study. We still consider it as an historical exertions. Archaeological, anthropological, as well as folkloric materials are not as technically studied and analyzed, similar to how they are normally treated in their home disciplines by each of their trained scientists. Particular exemplars, generally belonging to their areas, are carefully chosen in this study, in order to basically help us in systematically completing --- so wide as we could --- our holistic picture of the period before the wide distribution of latinized form of writing --- and so, before the written sources of history --- on the Philippines. Each of the chosen material would then be treated and analyzed according to today's modified historical method, before it would be measurably interpreted for actual inclusion in the body of our narrative. The same general principles apply with our written materials or, to be exact, our written sources of history. Not all the

available written historical works are utilized in this study. Written works were carefully chosen, in order to include only those which are, foremost, general in scope and nature and are, secondly but not any less, written by prominent, influential authors. National histories, with heavy consideration to their wide distribution and readership within the greater portion of the archipelago, are caustiously chosen for this work. The idea and sense of history of both the historian and his national or nation-wide readers --- and so, the average pupil and student of history in every formal institute of learning throughout the archipelago --- are expected to be taken, read and analyzed from such materials. The chosen materials are, in this sense, taken to be reflective and all-embracing representative --- if this term would be allowed for use in this case --- of each generation concentrated upon in every period of our herewith study. Most influential, formally and non-formally trained historians, not only in terms of publication and readership but of following within the more specialized circles of their colleagues, are accordingly included to represent particular times within our set periods herein. These authors have assisted in shaping the concept of history, in direct relation to their idea and narration of the history of our country, of their particular generation of historians and their (plus, a couple more afterwards) readership's generation systematically. The easy availability, due to repeated printing and obvious high public demand, of their works attests to this. In a perspective, the chosen written works for our study, in consideration to their contextual background alone, are practical canonized historical works, national in scope, by the greater number of Filipinos themselves through generations and times.

It should be pointed out though, that even if the said authors and authorities (including those from other mentioned disciplines above) are chosen and used for this work, the analyse, interpretations, and conclusions herewith in this study are ours; and so, all the probable failures, mistakes, and misunderstandings, which could be found or could result herein, are also ours. Similar to a number of scholars and students of history everywhere, we firmly believe that a study such as ours could not necessarily be ended in a singular pursuit; it could only be further enriched and continuously modified as well as developed through the following researchal and analytical exertions, not only from our side, but, if the inspiration be right, from the side of the reading and next generation of scholars and students of history as well. We would be exerting appropriate efforts in realization of the former from hereon, and would welcome and support, with even the idea of collaborative efforts, in the actualization of the latter.

A. Geistesgeschichte as History of Ideas and History of Ideas as Historiographiegeschichte

Our basic aim in this study is the laying down of the history of Filipino historiography as an history of ideas. But before we go down to heart and detail of this exertion --- namely, the narrative of the Filipino historiography's development --- it is most useful to foremost explain what and how we

understand the set historiographical conceptualizations and references, which virtually functions as the main grid of our work. Our innately related, key words herewith include *Geistesgeschichte*, *History of Ideas*, and *Historiographiegeschichte*. These three practically embody the all-embracing didactical and methodological framework, which guided us in this study. Let us take a closer look at each of them. *Geistesgeschichte*¹ is a German word, which could be used to generally imply to the history of the mind. It is interchangeably translated in the English language so as to refer to either one of the historiographical areas of intellectual history or history of ideas. And though *Geistesgeschichte* exactly represents the most important concern and preoccupation of the said two areas, due to the individual historiographical developments in both, many historians became also somewhat taken to differentiating them even in the German contextual utility as well. *Geistesgeschichte* is today accepted as the equivalent of intellectual history; while *Ideengeschichte* is used for history of ideas. The two, accordingly enough, are hardly particularly different from each other. Consider, what E. Schulin opines on the matter:

Was man unter *Geistesgeschichte* und *Ideengeschichte* zu verstehen hat, ist natürlich nicht ganz leicht zu sagen. Die Begriffe lassen sich nicht deutlich voneinander abgrenzen, sie werden oft in vertauschbarer Weise verwendet. Bei "*Ideengeschichte*" geht es meistens um klar umrissene Ideen und ihre Entwicklung, die eher immanent, nur sekundär abhängig von anderen geschichtlichen Entwicklungen verfolgt werden. Bei *Geistesgeschichte* geht es eher um Bewußtseins- und Mentalitätsentwicklung, stärker im Interdependenzverhältnis zu gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen oder politischen Veränderungen. Sie steht der Kulturgeschichte näher. Der Begriff *Geistesgeschichte* wird meist aber auch als der umfassendere, übergeordnete benutzt... Beide Begriffe kommen als Bezeichnungen geschichtlicher Teildisziplin kaum vor dem 20. Jahrhundert.²

The one to one correspondence among the terminologies is, in this regard, quite new. It became only quite en vogue or popular in use during the last quarter of the 20th century in a few intellectuals' circles in some of the countries around the world. It did not experience an easy development therein. For an number of years, it suffered --- and in fact, still is, suffering in the context of some academicians' groups --- under the prejudicial consideration, that it was not a serious scientific disciplinary area at all.³ Such a marriage between the disciplines of history and philosophy within a narrative was for a

¹ *Geistesgeschichte*, die; nur Sg; die Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen, philosophischen u. politischen Ideen e-r Zeir, e-s Landes o.ä. // hierzu, geistesgeschichtlich Adj. Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache, Berlin/ München/ Wien/ Zürich/ New York: Langenscheidt, 1997, p. 384.

² Ernst Schulin, "Friedrich Meinecke's Stellung in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft" in Michael Erbe (Ed.), *Friedrich Meinecke Heute. Bericht über ein Gedenk-Colloquium zu seinem 25. Todestag am 5. und 6. April, 1971*, Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1981, pp. 30-31.

³ S. Otto narrated and explained this situation in the introductory portion of an edited book. He illustrated therein why and what for reasons the detractors of *Geistesgeschichte* could have. In fact, the introduced book/ compendium is particularly addressed for these detractors. He said: "Einem weit verbreiteten Vorurteil zufolge ist "*Geistesgeschichte*" überhaupt keine ernst zu nehmende wissenschaftliche Disziplin. Angesiedelt in Niemandsland zwischen systematisch-philosophischer Problemanalyse einerseits und einzelwissenschaftlicher Fachhistorie andererseits gilt *Geistesgeschichte* den Vertretern etablierter Forschungsrichtungen geradezu als akademischer Wechselbalg. Kein Geringerer als Nicolai Hartmann hat verächtlich von der "bloßen *Geistesgeschichte*" gesprochen, die weder handfeste Fachhistorie schreibe noch ernsthaft an der Aufarbeitung der "Problemggeschichte" des Denkens mitwirke. Angesichts eines Vorurteils, welches *Geistesgeschichte* mit feuilletonistischer Beliebtheit auf eine Stufe stellt, grenzt die Rede von einer "Theorie der *Geistesgeschichte*" also nahezu an Kühnheit. Die in diesem Band zusammengefaßten Studien und Aufsätze zielen deshalb auf den

number of intellectuals almost unacceptable. Similar to everything which brings in innovation, it was not easily and immediately accepted, most especially among the groups of traditional historians. And so, during its first years of practical utility, it was mostly seen as the umbrella disciplinary procedure for the narratives, which thematized the history of philosophy (both in the areas of analytic philosophy and transcendental philosophy) and the history of literature (including literary criticism, comparative literature, etc.). The works were not particularly looked upon as bringers of hard, solid historical data, nor as serious resolutions to various historical philosophizations on truth.

This was quite a wonder; for, when one take a closer look, the development of Geistesgeschichte as a separate disciplinary area was virtually formally foretold in 1883, upon W. Dilthey's⁴ introduction of

Nachweis, daß geistesgeschichtlicher Forschung ein theoretisch Rekonstruktionsinteresse zugrunde liegt, welches den Anspruch der "Geistesgeschichte" auf den Rang einer wissenschaftlichen Disziplin zu legitimieren imstande ist; sie erbringen diese Nachweis in der Form von "Materialien" zur Theorie der Geistesgeschichte, weil sich nur aus der konkreten geistesgeschichtlichen Forschungsarbeit deren eigene erkenntnis-leitende Theorie gewinnen läßt. Es ist wohl unumgänglich, darauf hinzuweisen, daß Vorurteile über Begriff und Sache der Geistesgeschichte zumeist von solchen Gelehrten formuliert werden, die dem hehren Glauben anhängen, die schwierigen Begründungsprobleme historischer, philosophiegeschichtlicher und geistesgeschichtlicher Forschungspraxis ließen sich analytisch-wissenschaftstheoretisch oder im Rückgriff auf transcendentalphilosophische Leitsätze zur chemisch reinen Auflösung bringen. Um es ganz deutlich zu sagen: Vorurteile gegen "Geistesgeschichte" sind in der Regel dort zu hören, wo man zu geistesgeschichtlicher Forschung disziplinär-diszipliniert auf Distanz geht, wo sozuan Blinde über Farben sprechen wollen. Eine Theorie der Geistesgeschichte...kann nur aus Erfahrung geistesgeschichtlicher Forschungspraxis erwachsen." Stephan Otto, "Vorbemerkung", Materialien zur Theorie der Geistesgeschichte, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag München, 1979, p. 7.

⁴ Wilhelm Dilthey, Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften. Versuch einer Grundlegung für das Studium der Gessellschaft und der Geschichte, Berlin: 1883. Also as: Wilhelm Dilthey, Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften. Versuch einer Grundlegung für das Studium der Gessellschaft und der Geschichte. Erster Band, Leipzig und Berlin: Verlag von B.G.Teubner, 1922. Before introducing the social/ human/ mind sciences as against the natural scicences, Dilthey first illustrated what he understands under the term sciences as a contextual introduction. He said: "Unter Wissenschaft versteht der Sprachgebrauch einen Inbegriff von Sätzen, dessen Elemente Begriffe, d.h. vollkommen bestimmt, im ganzen Denkbereich konstant und allgemeingültig, dessen Verbindungen begründet, in dem endlich die Teile zum Zweck der Mitteilung zu einem Ganzen verbunden sind, weil entweder ein standteil der Wirklichkeit durch diese Verbindung von Sätzen in seiner Vollständigkeit gedacht oder ein Zweig der menschlichen Tätigkeit durch sie geregelt wird. Wir bezeichnen daher hier mit dem Ausdruck wissenschaft jeden Inbegriff geistiger Tatsachen, an welchem die genannten Merkmale sich vorfinden und auf den sonach insgemein der Name der Wissenschaft angewendet wird: wir stellen dementsprechend den Umfang unserer Aufgabe vorläufig vor. Diese geistigen Tatsachen, welche sich geschichtlich in der Menschheit entwickelt haben und auf die nach einem gemeinsamen Sprachgebrauch die Bezeichnung von Wissenschaft des Menschen, der Geschichte, der Gesellschaft übertragen worden ist, bilden die Wirklichkeit, welche wir nicht meistern, sondern zunächst begreifen wollen. Die empirische Methode fordert, daß an diesem Bestande der Wissenschaften selber der Wert von einzelnen Verfahrungsweissssen, deren das Denken sich hier zur Lösung seiner Aufgaben bedient, historisch-kritisch entwickelt, daß an der Anschauung dieses großen Vorganges, dessen Subjekt die Menschheit selber ist, die Natur des Wissens und Erkennens auf diesem Gebiet aufgeklärt werde. Eine solche Methode steht im Gegensatz zu einer neuerdings nur zu häufig gerade von den sogenannten Positivisten geübten, welche aus einer meist in naturwissenschaftlichen Beschäftigungen erwachsenen Begriffsbestimmung des Wissens den Inhalt des Begriffes Wissenschaft ableitet und von ihm aus darüber entscheidet, welchen Intellektuellen Beschäftigungen der Name und Rang einer Begriff des Wissens aus, der Geschichtsschreibung, wie sie große Meister geübt haben, kurzfristig und dünkelfhaft den Rang der Wissenschaft abgesprochen; die anderen haben die Wissenschaften, welche Imperative zu ihrer Grundlage haben, gar nicht Urteile über Wirklichkeit, in Erkenntnis der Wirklichkeit zu müssen geglaubt.

Der Inbegriff der geistigen Tatsachen, welche unter diesen Begriff von Wissenschaft fallen, pflegt in zwei Glieder geteilt zu werden, von denen das eine durch den Namen Naturwissenschaft bezeichnet wird; für das andere ist, merkwürdig genug, eine allgemein anerkannte Bezeichnung nicht vorhanden. Ich schließe mich an

the social/human/mind sciences (Geisteswissenschaft) as a separate entity from the natural/ empirical sciences (Naturwissenschaft). Dilthey agreed with the positivists in their rejection of metaphysics on the matter of the sciences; but did not agree with them on the suggestion that Geisteswissenschaft should follow the example of natural sciences. Naturwissenschaft could only explain (das Erklären) observed phenomena by relating them to other events in accordance with the natural laws, which tell us nothing of the inner nature of the things and processes that we study. It is possible though to go beyond the observable actions of human beings to their inner persons. We can understand (das Verstehen) their actions through their thoughts, feelings, and desires. Therewith could we know experiences (die Erlebnisse/ die Erfahrungen), thoughts, memories, value judgements, and purposes, that possibly led human beings to their observable action.⁵ Knowledge therefrom is not merely phenomenal nor external. Transitions, whereby perceptions lead to thoughts, these to feelings, and these again to desires and acts of will, would be directly defined and illustrated. Consequently, the wholistic structure of the individual personality would thereby defined; and so, a deeper understanding of the actual historical processes would also be laid down. This, in this regard, is also the implied result, why Geisteswissenschaft should be independently grounded and clearly differentiated with Naturwissenschaft; and so, in general, Dilthey furthered,

Die tiefere Begründung der selbstständigen Stellung der Geisteswissenschaften neben den Naturwissenschaften, welche Stellung den Mittelpunkt der Konstruktion der Geisteswissenschaften in diesem Werke bildet, vollzieht sich in diesem selber schrittweise, indem die Analysis des Gesamterlebnisses der geistigen Welt, in seiner Unvergleichbarkeit mit aller Sinnenerfahrung über die Natur, in ihm durchgeführt wird...⁶

And because human life is more complex and many-sided as the phenomena of nature, the Geisteswissenschaften must also be more various and many-sided body of disciplines. A particular, singular method could not govern them all.⁷ These disciplines should only be dependent on man's ability to understand the structural pattern of experience; and thereby to see the human behavior from within. They include an experimental, generalizing science (psychology), a study of individual persons and societies in the concrete particularity of their lives and actions (history, biography, and autobiography), and normative and valuational studies (jurisprudence, moral theory, political theory, literary criticism, etc.). These disciplines are study pursuits on the individual aspects of human life and experiences; a singular comprehensive study could, therefore, not be complete if they are not therewith brought in together. The combination of the various disciplines in a study is the key towards the creation of a usable complete and wholistic study of man's life and experiences. In application,

den Sprachgebrauch derjenigen Denker an, welche diese andere Hälfte des globus intellectualis als Geisteswissenschaften bezeichnen...." Wilhelm Dilthey, Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften. Versuch einer Grundlegung für das Studium der Gessellschaft und der Geschichte, pp. 4-5.

⁵ H.A. Hodges, "Dilthey, Wilhelm", in Social Sciences Encyclopedia, pp. 185-187.

⁶ W. Dilthey, Op.cit., p. 9.

⁷ For one of the earliest but clearly a further analysis of Wilhelm Dilthey's Theory of the Human Sciences, please refer to: Ludwig Landgrebe, Wilhelm Diltheys Theorie der Geisteswissenschaften. Analyse ihrer Grundbegriffe, Halle-Salle: May Niemeyer Verlag, 1928.

hence, the disciplinal matrix, created therewith, would concretely show, that people live together under conditions that could be formulated into general laws, whether of the individual psyche or of social groupings. Accordingly, the end-result of such an exertion could be the idealized form of sociology or that of history.

History, for him, should, expectedly enough, discuss the mentioned inner world; which, in application to a singular person, could be embodied in the illustration of his perception, thoughts, feelings, desires, acts of will. He spoke of “Geschichte der deutschen Geistes” and “Geschichte der Weltanschauungen”. He practically meant the realization of a separate disciplinary area in that of history itself; that is, an area which was earlier (around the 18th century) hardly embodied in Geschichtsphilosophie, Literaturgeschichte, or in Kulturgeschichte. Dilthey was, in this regard, suggesting the start therefrom of what would only later on be termed as Geistesgeschichte. His theory (as could be read in his “Entwürfe zur Kritik der historischen Vernunft”), which also later on contributed towards the creation of the doctrine of historicism⁸ and which

...kreist um die Zentralbegriffe “Leben” und “Ausdruck”, das “Erlebnis” ist für Dilthey die kleinste geschichtliche Einheit, in der sich Objektives und Subjektives unmittelbar miteinander verschränken. Im Bann der Lebensphilosophie verharrend und durch seine --- in ihrem Grundanliegen gleichwohl berechtigte --- Kantkritik geleistet, hat Dilthey das “erlebende Selbst” zum Subjekt geistesgeschichtlichen Verstehens gemacht und es unterlassen, sein Augenmerk auf das Cogito zu lenken, das allein jene Reflexionsdistanz zu jeglicher Geschichte gewinnen kann, aus der heraus es sein Interesse an der Rekonstruktion von Geschichte zu artikulieren vermag...⁹

Verstehen (understanding), naturally enough, should particularly be further added to these key terminologies which makes up his conceptualized theory. Our understanding of particular expressions is normally based on our ability to reexperience in our consciousness the experience from which the expression arose. But this reexperience, naturally enough, is not the perfect reproduction of the expression. It is schematic, telescoped, incomplete, failed. Dilthey distinguished the different types of expressions and corresponding degrees of accuracy and reliability, whereby they could be interpreted. His pursuit to resolve the problem of understanding eventually lead him to an interest in hermeneutiks, or in the possibility of laying down principles and working rules for the guidance of those whose work

⁸ Wilhelm Dilthey’s theory of historicism basically insists, that all human customs, institutions, and ideas are conditioned by the historical circumstances in which they arise and flourish; and that although every society and every individual thinker professes to be in possession of objective truth, an outside observer can always see how this “truth” is conditioned by social and historical factors. When applied to the theory of knowledge, this theory could lead to historical relativism as well as to psychological relativism. Dilthey “believed that a man’s Weltanschauung, the complex of his beliefs, judgements concerning ultimate questions, is determined as much by his psychological structure and basic attitudes as valid reasoning from sound premises.” He developed the following types of Weltanschauungen: naturalism, idealism of freedom, and objective idealism.... A. Hodges, Op.cit., p. 186.

An interesting essay, tackling this theme (“Dilthey und das Problem der Geschichtlichkeit”), is in Josef Derbolav, Impulse europäischer Geistesgeschichte. Bonn: Verlag Hans Richarz/ Sankt Augustin, 1987, pp. 217-249.

is the interpretation of written text. And so, in consideration to the unifying art of understanding among the various disciplines of Geisteswissenschaften, it would be seen that there is an easy transition from personal experience to autobiography, towards biographical and historical writings, towards the more abstract and generalizing studies and the sectional disciplines, and lastly, towards the grand synthesis in a world history.

It would be seen though that Dilthey's intellectual life would pronounceably be spent on the theoretization and philosophization of the all-encompassing specialized area of history. He did not fully develop his theory of Geistesgeschichte to its fruition. He became largely preoccupied to the philosophy portion of the same. One of his later students though would eventually tackle this task. F. Meinecke was not always impressed by his professor during his university years under his supervision, but he was nonetheless, clearly influenced by W. Dilthey. He would develop his professor's concept of Geistesgeschichte, followed the theory of historicism to its conclusion, and even found expression of the synthesis between historical thought and eventual political action. His intellectual life's works¹⁰ show his almost unending energy to put his theory and philosophization on the disciplinal practice.¹¹ Consider his own words in 1896, on the theme of history's state of art,

Unsere Wissenschaft spaltet sich jetzt in eine mehr zu Ranke zurücklenkende Richtung, welche in dem Reichtum der Jahrhunderte schwelgt, aber die Geschichte mehr wie ein ästhetisches Schauspiel genießt und deswegen in der Gefahr der inneren Erschlaffung steht, und in eine stark positivisch denkende, welche sich allerdings des belebenden Zusammenhanges mit den sozialen Fragen des Tages berühmt, aber an innerer Klarheit weit zurücksteht hinter den Leistungen der Sybelschen Generation, zu einer wirklich harmonischen Erfassung des historischen Lebens noch nicht gelangt ist und bei der Einseitigkeit ihrer Voraussetzungen auch wohl schwerlich gelangen wird. --- Wir, die wir meinen, daß die idealistische Weltanschauung und das intensive Staatsgefühl des älteren Geschlechtes sich noch keineswegs ausgelebt haben, wollen sein Vermächtnis in Treue pflegen...¹²

Though almost unnoticeable in the beginning, his historian's career showed his continuous singular development as an intellectual, which would leave its own mark not only among his colleagues in the discipline, but within the history of historiography itself. For example, upon the publication of his book, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat. Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaat*¹³, at the end

⁹ S. Otto, Op.cit., pp. 7-8. For further analysis on Wilhelm Dilthey of the same author, please refer to: Stephan Otto, *Rekonstruktion der Geschichte. Erster Teil: Historisch-Kritische Bestandaufnahme*, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1982.

¹⁰ For a comprehensive bibliography of F.Meinecke's works, please see: Monika Fettke, "Friedrich-Meinecke-Bibliographie bis 1979", in Michael Erbe (Hrsg.), *Friedrich Meinecke Heute. Bericht über ein Gedenk-Colloquium zu seinem 25. Todestag am 5. und 6. April 1979*, Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1981, pp. 199- 237.

¹¹ Consequently, he gained, not only the respect of his colleagues, but most importantly, his students as well. For a discussion on this, see Eberhard Kesse, "Friedrich Meinecke in eigener Sicht", in Michael Erbe (Hrsg.), *Friedrich Meinecke Heute. Bericht über ein Gedenk-Colloquium zu seinem 25. Todestag am 5. und 6. April 1979*, Berlin: Colloquium Verlag, 1981, pp. 186-195.

¹² Friedrich Meinecke, *Zur Geschichte der Geschichtsschreibung, Werke. Band 7*. Eberhard Kessel (Hrsg.), München: 1968, p. 180. Also cited in E. Schulin, Op.cit., pp. 25-26.

¹³ Friedrich Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat. Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaat*, München: Oldenburg Verlag, (1907), 1908.

of 1907, he became the founder of the *politischen Ideengeschichte*.¹⁴ With this work, Meinecke comprehensively integrated W. Dilthey's approach on the *Entwicklung des deutschen Geistes in Geschichtsforschung* with his innately political theme. The work became, in this regard, an effective union of philosophy and politics. With the approach utilized therein, Meinecke challenged the traditional notions of political history, which largely concerns itself to the limited investigation of statesmen's daily preoccupations. Meinecke implied that the sources of political actions must be traced back to the world of ideas, which formed the intellectual atmosphere of the times, and out of which the intellectual shaped his own worldview. For him, ideas and actions are interdependent. The creation and development of ideas had to be presented within the framework of all that which surrounded them.

He abandoned the traditional procedure of presenting a man's ideas in the form of a closed system into which everything, whatever he had said or written, was fitted, in which earlier statements were used to explain statements in later works, and from which ideas which did not fit were eliminated as immature or not seriously meant. In analyzing man's thought Meinecke adopted a genetic method, i.e., he would follow an individual's intellectual development from step to step, from one written work to the next.¹⁵

In a manner, his approach was not so different from that of Dilthey's. On the other hand, Dilthey utilized the genetic approach solely for biographical purposes, Meinecke applied this method to a group of thinkers, and so, he effectively made the clear connection between the political and the intellectual worlds¹⁶ --- showing on the one hand, the actual bonds which binds them and on the other, that which divides one generation to the next. The same preoccupation and application would be seen in his next major work, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neuen Geschichte*¹⁷, which first came out in 1924. He was more convinced during these times of the ideal role of a *politischen Ideengeschichte* in modern historiography. And so, to prove that, he decided to concentrate on the history of *raison d'état* in modern historiography. In the introduction of the said, he declared that such a history or, to be more general, the history of ideas

...must far rather be treated as an essential and indispensable part of universal history. It marshalls together and presents what the thinking man has made of what happened to him historically, how he has mastered it intellectually, what sort of intellectual consequences he has drawn from it; to a certain extent, therefore, it mirrors the essence of things that happen, as reflected in minds that are directed to the essential element in life. For this reason, however, the history of ideas is not mere shadow-play or sequence of grey histories; on the contrary, it is the life-blood of events, absorbed into the life-blood of those men who are called upon to express the essential element of their epoch. The ideology of a significant thinker, which has grown up out of the experiences of his

¹⁴ E. Schulin, *Op.cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁵ Felix Gilbert, "Introduction", in Friedrich Meinecke, *Cosmopolitanism and the National State*. Trans by Robert Kimber, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970, xi.

¹⁶ Meinecke virtually saw a fluid connection/ relation between ideas of men and politics; that is why, as could be deduced from the study of his lifespan, he did not find anything wrong in practicing his profession and actively participating in the realm of politics. For an interesting discussion in relation to this matter, see: Friedrich Meinecke, *Staat und Persönlichkeit*, Berlin: Verlag von L. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1933.

¹⁷ Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte*, München: Oldenburger Verlag, 1924.

time, resembles the drop of attar roses which has been won from hundreds of rose petals. By converting experiences into ideas, Man frees himself from the pressure of experience, and creates the fresh powers which fashion life. Ideas are the highest points, to which Man can attain, in which his observing mind and his creative strength unite together and achieve a collective performance. For their own sake (as well as for the sake of their effects) they are worthy of being looked at from the point of view of universal history. A history of opinions (Herder already remarked) would really be the key to the history of ideas. The ideas, which guide historical life, do certainly not indeed spring solely from the intellectual workshop of the great thinkers; on the contrary, they have much broader and deeper origin. But it is in this workshop that they are condensed and solidified; it is there, in many cases, that they first assume the form which will have an effect on the process of events and actions of men.¹⁸

With this work, Meinecke realized the ideals and seminal ideas began by Dilthey during his times. He laid down a universal history of a political idea; and with it, illustrated a wholistic study of man¹⁹, not only as an individual but as a member of a particular community of men. The inner world, which Dilthey referred to, is effectively understood, through the critical narrative of the development of determinedly political ideas. In a manner, hence, Machiavellism could almost be considered as the final continuation of the work he began in his *Cosmopolitanism*. He practically retained his belief on the bond between historical, political ideas and *realpolitik* in both of these works. The numerous, unpalatable political occurrences in Germany and his eventual retirement from active professional practice would eventually take its toll on the man. It won't be too long thereby that the transformation of his basic working philosophy in his works, from *politischen Ideengeschichte* (history of political ideas) to *idealisierenden Geistesgeschichte* (contemplative intellectual history), would take place.²⁰ This change would be made clear upon the publication of his two-volume work in 1936, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*.²¹ He presented quite an extreme stand in this works, with regards to

¹⁸ Friedrich Meinecke, *Machiavellism: The Doctrine of Raison D'Etat and its Place in Modern History*, Trans by Douglas Scott, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957, pp. 20-21.

¹⁹ The following was Meinecke's conceptualization of man, most especially in relation to his own ideas: "Der Mensch aber, der in ihnen lebt, kann, wenn er aufmerkt, das Gesetz seines eigenen Wesens, untrennbar verschmolzen mit seiner Spontaneität und Wahlfreiheit, auch wieder untrennbar verschmolzen spüren mit dem Gesetz der besonderen Idee, die auf ihn einwirkt. Und so entwickelt er sich selber in Bindung und Freiheit weiter und hilft zugleich mit zur Entwicklung der Idee. Weder Mensch noch Idee können ein getrenntes Eigenleben führen, und die Individualität des Einzelnen ist nicht nur der Schnittpunkt unzähliger Gebilde des objektiven Geistes --- das bliebe eine sehr mechanische Vorstellung ---, sondern auch der Quellboden, aus dem unzählige Tropfen zu ihnen hinüberriesen, um, vereint mit unzähligen anderen Tropfen, schließlich auch die große geschichtliche Strömung hervorzubringen, die uns dann als große individuelle und sich individuell entwickelnde Einheit erschienen darf. Der sich selbst, auch nach Branderburgs Meinung, nach seinem angeborenen Gesetz entwickelnde Mensch gibt eben auch allem, was er für die Sphäre des objektiven Geistes denkt und schafft, den Charakter einer Entwicklung als Leihgabe mit. Die Geschichte wäre gänzlich unbegreiflich, wenn es anders wäre. Eindeutige Zielbestimmtheit kann man von ihr dabei, wie wir ausführten, noch weniger erwarten als von der Entwicklung des einzelnen. Aber an Zielen überhaupt fehlt es ihr keineswegs. Mag die Entwicklung einer Idee, mikroskopisch betrachtet, auch noch zu stark oszillieren und bald hierhin, bald dorthin zu streben schien, so erscheint sie doch, makroskopisch betrachtet, oft wieder innerkwürdiger Einheit, jener Einheit menschlich-geistigen Lebens, die in Gegensätzen und polaren Spannungen, also, um mit Hegel zu sprechen, in Dialektik sich entwickelt. Ein bestimmtes Ziel taucht dann zuerst auf, verschwindet anscheinend, um neuen Zielen Platz zu machen --- aber der makroskopisch Blick sieht trotzdem ein Kontinuität zwischen früherer und späterer Zielrichtung..." Friedrich Meinecke, *Aphorismen und Skizzen zur Geschichte*, Stuttgart: K.F. Koehler Verlag, 1942, pp. 83-84.

²⁰ E. Schulin, *Op.cit.*, p. 28.

²¹ Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, 2 Bände, München: Oldenburg Verlag, 1936. The English translation is: Friedrich Meinecke, *Historicism: The Rise of a New Historical Outlook*, Trans by E. Anderson, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972.

historicism. He denied both the sociological ideal-type and the ethical norm of universal validity. Historicism, for him, could be realized by replacing a general and abstract contemplation of human affairs by an individual one.²² He did not particularly gain the approval among many of his younger colleagues during these times (Meinecke was 74 years old upon this work's first publication) through his works; but nonetheless, the two-volume work also contributed to the long debate among historians, social scientists, and philosophers on the matter. He continued working afterwards; that is, mostly on his memoirs, and then later on, on the realization --- through his published essays --- of the union of intellectual with social history. These works prove his continuous exertions on practicing history during the times that he could hardly already cope with. And it was worth it. His historiographical exertions would not solely remain in Germany; it would travel through other lands and culture²³, and would almost indurably remain through the tests of times.

During the same years though that Meinecke's historiographical direction was affecting the development of German historiography, a number of events in the similar area are also occurring in the U.S.A. In fact, it was in this land that, what was begun and developed in Germany would be furthered and eventually widely distributed to the various countries of the world. The North American historians were these times largely preoccupied with J.H. Robinson's idea of New History, which primarily consists of the reconstruction from the past the products of man's multiform activities as a member of changing and developing social groups and cultural complexes.²⁴ Though largely busy with the almost a concentrated development of social history, this new school, expectedly enough, has a particular view on intellectual history²⁵ as well. J. H. Robinson encouraged the furtherance and

²² Gerhard Mansur, "Meinecke, Friedrich", *Social Sciences Encyclopedia*, p. 123.

²³ A number of his students, for one, because of forced political circumstances of the times and context, migrated to the United States; and so, therefrom continued what they learned as what they were trained to do by F. Meinecke as they were still in Germany.

²⁴ Harry Elmer Barnes, "Preface", *The New History and the Social Studies*, New York: The Revisionist Press, 1972, vii-viii. He continues: "Hence, it (new history) can competently pursue its objectives only when the historian is adequately grounded in the various social sciences which are necessary to clarify the nature of the diverse and complicated social and cultural situations in which man has been placed in the past. Likewise, the social scientists, other than the historians, cannot intelligently or profoundly cultivate their several subjects without the interest in the problems of genesis and development which is contributed by the historical outlook and methodology. Therefore, no competent historian of the new school, and no enlightened social scientist denies the essential nature of this collaboration between history and the social studies. It is not without significance that the official organ of the pedagogical division of the social studies is the "Historical Outlook"."

²⁵ A student of new history, H.E. Barnes, explained his interpretation of intellectual history: "... (An intellectual history is) the record of changing opinions, attitudes of mind and human valuations on the part of the intellectual classes from oriental antiquity to the present day... This view of history rests upon the belief that general opinions and attitudes of mind on the part of the educated classes are the chief unifying and causative factor in historical development. These determine the attitude which will be taken towards scientific endeavor and its applications, which will, in turn, control the nature of industrial development and the resulting social and political institutions. The intellectual historian also insists upon the basic importance of psychology and sociology as indispensable sciences, subsidiary to history. While the historian in the past has developed any number of formal auxiliary sciences, such as paleography, epigraphy, diplomatic, and the science of external and internal criticism of sources, in order that his facts may be accurate, he has usually remained wholly ignorant of the psychological and sociological techniques, which alone can allow him accurately and intelligently to utilize or interpret most of these facts. How the historian, who must confine himself almost entirely to the group-conditioned motives and activities of man, can cope accurately to exploit his data without even the slightest modicum of knowledge of the

general continuance of this form of historical inquiry and historiographical expression. That is, because an

...history of thought is one of the most potent means of dissolving the bonds of prejudice and restraints of routine. It not only enables us to reach a clear perception of our duties and responsibilities by explaining the manner in which existing problems have arisen, but it promotes that intellectual liberty upon which progress fundamentally depends.²⁶

History of thought --- comparable here with almost the retrospective sociology of today's knowledge, which in itself is mainly considered as an end-product of thousands of years of accumulation --- is taken in as an instrument, for freedom, answers to particular present inquiries, and for further assurances to claims of intellectual freedom. It stresses the clear and undeniable connection between thought and action, which remains normally unillustrated in conventional forms of history. An history of thought, in this view, is the figurative embodiment of the historian's ideal, a representative of something noble and grand. It is the wholistic picture of the the thinking and creating man.

Still, though quite romantic in general form and presentation, this area of historiographical inquiry and expression, nonetheless, would not particularly be the strength --- with respect to actual production --- of the so-called "new historians" led by J.H. Robinson. Among the north Americans of these times, it was not the said group who became extraordinarily pioneering and largely influential to the world of practicing historians in the specialized area of intellectual history/ history of thought/ history of ideas. It was the group (later on, popularly referred to as the History of Ideas Club), led by Johns Hopkins University professor A. Lovejoy, which specifically worked to promote and further develop the philosophy, historiography, and particular meanings and interpretations in this area of the historical discipline²⁷ through the promotion of the considerably *internal* history of an idea or a concept. A.

laws and processes governing human thought and group action is a problem which must put a severe strain upon even an historian's imagination. Perhaps it can be best explained by admitting that thus for the historian has, in general, been content merely to record the formal and external acts of man without attempting to give these significance by investigating their motivation, behavior patterns, and consequences..." Ibid., pp. 568-569.

²⁶ John Harvey Robinson, "Some Reflections on Intellectual History", in *The New History*, Springfield, Massachusetts, The Walden Press, 1958, p. 131.

²⁷ The *Journal of the History of Ideas* facilitated this task. Its first issue clearly articulated this: "The remedy for the effects defective of specialization in historical inquiry, then, does not lie in a general practice, on the part of specialists, of simply invading one another's territories or taking over one another's jobs. It lies in closer cooperation among them at all those points where their provinces overlap, the establishment of more and better facilities for communication, mutual criticism and mutual aid --- the focusing upon what are, in their nature, common problems, of all the special knowledges that are pertinent to them. It is one of the purposes of this journal to contribute, so far as its resources permit, towards such a more effective liaison among those whose studies have to do with the diverse but interrelated parts of history, in so far as history is concerned with activities of man's mind and the effects of these upon what he has been and has done --- or (to change the metaphor) to assist towards more cross-fertilization among the several fields of intellectual historiography. It is hoped that the journal will serve --- among other things --- as a useful medium for the publication of researches which traverse the customary boundary lines, or are likely to be of interest and value to students in other fields than those in which they primarily lie. Its prospectus has already indicated, by way of illustration, some topics concerning which its editors believe further investigation to be potentially profitable, and on which contributions will be especially welcome: 1. The influence of classical on modern thought, and of European traditions and writings on American literature, arts, philosophy, and social movements, 2. The influence of philosophical ideas

Lovejoy²⁸ became most popular not only among his north American colleagues, but among a number of historians' circles in different countries as well. He investigated and therefrom accordingly declared that the practice of history of ideas, though only in those years seemingly begun (1948), has long been practiced under various labels in many universities in the U.S.²⁹ For singular

in literature, the arts, religion, and social thought, including impact of pervasive general conceptions upon standards of taste and morality and educational theories and methods, 3. The influence of scientific discoveries and theories in the same provinces of thought and in philosophy; the cultural effects of the applications of science, 4. The history of the development and the effects of individual pervasive and widely ramifying ideas or doctrines, such as evolution, progress, primitivism, diverse theories of human motivation and appraisals of human nature, mechanistic and organismic conceptions of nature and society, metaphysical and historical determinism, individualism and collectivism, nationalism and racialism." Arthur Lovejoy, "Reflections on the History of Ideas," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1940, pp. 6-7.

²⁸ In explanation (or non-explanation, depending on one's view) of his interest and corresponding scientific/intellectual exertions, A. Lovejoy opined: "...For the study of the history of ideas does not need to justify itself by its potential services --- however great --- to historical studies bearing other names. It has its own reason for being. It is not merely ancillary to the others; it is rather they that are, in great part, ancillary to it. To know, so far as may be known, the thoughts that have been widely held among men on matters of common human concernment, to determine how these thoughts have arisen, combined, interacted with or counteracted, one another, and how they have severally been related to the imagination and emotions and behaviour of those who have held them --- this, though not, indeed, the whole of that branch of knowledge which we call history, is a distinct and essential part of it, and its central and most vital part. For, while the fixed or changing environmental conditions of human life, individual and collective, and conjunctions of circumstance which arise from no man's thinking or premeditation, are factors in the historic process never to be disregarded, the actor in the piece, its hero --- some would say in these days, its villain --- is still homo sapiens; and the general task of intellectual historiography is to exhibit, so far as may be, the thinking animal engaged --- sometimes, fortunately, sometimes disastrously --- in his most characteristic occupation. If --- as some would be content to say --- the justification of any study of history is simply the human interestingness both of its episodes and of the moving drama of the life of our race as a whole, then this study has that justification in the highest degree. Or if historical inquiry in general is defended on the ground --- which some contemporary historians appear to reject --- that the knowledge which it yields is 'instructive', that it provides material towards possible general conclusions --- conclusions which do not relate merely to the occurrence and successions of past and particular events --- then no part of historiography seems to offer better promise of this sort of serviceableness than a duly analytical and critical inquiry into the nature, genesis, development, diffusion, interplay and effects of the ideas which the generations of men have cherished, quarrelled over, and apparently been moved by. That the knowledge which man needs most is knowledge of himself is a sufficiently old and respectable opinion; and intellectual history manifestly constitutes an indispensable, and the most considerable, part of such knowledge, in so far as any study of the past may contribute to it. At no moment, indeed, in the life of the race has the pertinency of the Delphian imperative been more tragically apparent; for it must now be plain to everyone that the problem of human nature is the gravest and most fundamental of our problems, that the question which more than any others commands answer is the question, 'What's the matter with man?'" Ibid., pp. 7-9.

²⁹ They include the following: "1. The history of philosophy. 2. The history of science. 3. Folklore and some parts of ethnography. 4. Some parts of the history of language, especially semantics. 5. The history of religious beliefs and theological doctrines. 6. Literary history, as it is commonly presented, namely, the history of literatures --- in so far as the literary historians interest themselves, as some do in but small degree, in the thought-content of the literature. 7. What is unhappily called "comparative literature", which is apparently, by its most competent investigators, understood to be the study of international intellectual relations, of the transfer of tendencies of thought and taste, and of literary fashions, from one country to another, with especial attention to the modifications or metamorphoses which these undergo when transplanted into a new milieu. 8. The history of the arts other than literature, and of changes of tastes in these arts. 9. Economic history and the history of economic theory, which, though they are not the same thing, are so closely related that they may here, for brevity, be grouped together. 10. The history of education. 11. Political and social history, and 12. The historical part of sociology, in so far as specialists in these subjects take account, as they now increasingly do, of intellectual or quasi-intellectual processes, of "ruling ideas" or "climates of opinions", either as causal factors in, or as consequences or "rationalizations" of, the political institutions, laws, mores, or social conditions prevalent in a given period --- the subject sometimes designated as *Wissenschaftssoziologie*. The enumeration might be extended and further subdivided; but these twelve appear to be the principal recognized divisions of the general field." Arthur Lovejoy, "The Historiography of Ideas", in *Essays in the History of Ideas*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1948, pp. 1-2.

especialization, however, among the scientists in each area thereby, there were hardly comprehensive historical narrative of idea created in the past. Fortunately though, opined A. Lovejoy, present developments show that the walls separating these different exertions in each particular specialized area are seemingly breaking down. Questions originally raised within the traditional limits of one or another of these subjects proved to be almost unanswerable without going beyond those limits. Ideas are thereby virtual products of exchange between various disciplinary areas; their individual, almost independent evolution could be seriously researched upon. Singular, determined investigations about them could theoretically result in the individual, almost isolated actual narrative of each as a particular singularity, as practiced --- and hence, could be read in the different publications --- in various disciplines.³⁰ Consequently, historians of ideas, in general, become eventually confronted with the difficulty of determining the most apt procedure of their particular historical inquiry, to be practically executed.³¹ As a major principle to be kept in mind in this matter, A. Lovejoy opined

...There are, I have suggested, many "unit-ideas" --- types of categories, thoughts concerning particular aspects of common experience, implicit or explicit presuppositions, sacred formulas and catchwords, specific philosophic theorems, or the larger hypotheses, generalizations or methodological assumptions of various sciences --- which have long life-histories of their own, are to be found at work in the most various regions of the history of human thinking and feeling, and upon which the intellectual and affective reactions of men --- individuals and masses --- have been highly diverse. There is here another distinct realm of historiography, which needs to be added to the dozen mentioned at the outset, partly because it is concerned with a class of historical phenomena of extraordinary interest in themselves, which the others do not wholly cover, and partly (which is the point that I here wish to make) because their progress depends greatly upon it -- as its progress, not less truly, depends upon theirs. Until these units are first discriminated, until each of them which has played any large role in history is separately pursued through all the regions into which it has entered and in which it has exercised influence, any manifestation of it in a single region of intellectual history, or in an individual writer or writing, will, as a rule, be imperfectly understood --- and will sometimes go unrecognized altogether... Through the sort of study of which I am now speaking, the study of the (so far as possible) total life-history of individual ideas, in which the many parts that any one of them plays upon the historic scene, the different facets which it exhibits, its interplay, conflicts and alliances with other ideas, and the

³⁰ An excellent example on the concretization of such is the one of the published masterpieces of A. Lovejoy himself, together with a co-author; that is: Arthur Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1965.

³¹ A. Lovejoy briefly made a direct suggestion in this practical area of this specialized branch of knowledge. The historian of idea has two basic steps to execute in his profession; and they are: "...the first task of the historiographer of ideas is a task of logical analysis --- the discrimination *in* the texts, and the segregating *out* of the texts, of each of what I shall call the basic or germinal ideas, the identification of each of them so that it can be recognized wherever it appears, in differing contexts, under different labels or phrasings, and in diverse provinces of thought...When this phase is completed --- when he has discriminated and listed as exhaustively as he can the separate 'ruling ideas' which distinguished the period, or the particular group of writers in it with whom he is concerned, his next task is to examine the relations between these ideas. And the relations he will need to look for are of three kinds: logical, psychological, and historical --- and especially, under the latter, genetic relations." Arthur Lovejoy, "The Meaning of Romanticism for the Historian of Ideas," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. II, No. 3, June 1941, pp. 262-264.

The historian's work though does not particularly end after these two phases. A final step, which would expectedly bring about comprehensive analysis of a period in history, still follows. Lovejoy explains this in the following statements: "When the intellectual historian of a period has thus considered the logical and hypothetical psychological relations of major unit-ideas which he has found prevalent in a period, he must then, of course, return to the historical data, to observe how far the logical relations between these ideas were in fact manifested as operative factors in the thought tendencies of the time, and what psychological relations among them can be actually seen at work in the minds of their spokesmen..." (p. 266).

diverse human reactions to it, are traced out with adequate and critical documentation, with analytical discrimination, and, finally, with imagination --- through this, I am persuaded, are to be disclosed many facts which will throw into fresh perspective, and thereby invest with heightened interest and greater intelligibility, facts in other branches of intellectual history which, lacking such perspective, sometimes appear dull, unrelated, and more or less incomprehensible.³²

This conceptualization of the major operative and operating philosophy behind the history of ideas would be found in all of A. Lovejoy's publications in the years following. In a manner, it was his most affective contribution to the greater development of the historiography of ideas, which, together with G. Boas, he further easily and more concretely explained later, for practice and application in a narrative in the following statements:

...In the historiography of ideas, it is the fortunes of distinct 'unit-ideas' and their interrelations of congruity or opposition, that are to be exhibited, not the 'systems' of philosophers or schools, in which heterogeneous notions and reasonings on a variety of subjects are conjoined in a manner often determined chiefly by the peculiarities of the philosophers' temperaments. An analysis and anatomizing of texts, and a separating out of the passages pertinent to several ideas of which the history is under investigation, are therefore first essentials in such a study. The passages illustrative of a given unit of this kind, and of its vicissitudes, need then to be brought together as a separate division of the story...³³

Naturally enough, Lovejoy's opinions on the matter do not particularly represent the singular opinion of all of the historians, pursuing the course and area specialization of thought history during his times and context. They were accordingly contradicted and contrasted by a number of historians of ideas, not only in the U.S. but in other countries as well.³⁴ They effectively started a particular discourse on the matter³⁵; and so, in whichever view there is (whether for them or against them), they conjunctively contributed towards the development and, through the resulting massive publications afterwards, the wider propagation of the intellectual history³⁶ historiography and/ or historiography of ideas. A

³² A. Lovejoy, "The Historiography of Ideas"...Op.cit., pp. 9-10. The detailed conceptualization of both philosophy and methodology of the history of ideas is contained in his most popular masterpiece; that is, Arthur Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being*, Harvard University Press, 1933.

³³ Arthur Lovejoy and George Boas, "Preface", *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1965, xii.

³⁴ And this, of course, is not at all surprising; that is, because, as F. Jürss aptly explained as a rational context of the whole procedure: "Die Frage aber nach dem Wesen der Wissenschaft hängt wieder unmittelbar mit der historischen Frage nach ihrer Entstehung und Bewegung durch die Geschichte zusammen. Wissenschaftsgeschichte ist also eine unabdingbare Voraussetzung der Wissenschaftstheorie." Fritz Jürss (ED.), *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Denkens in Antertum*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1982, p. 9.

³⁵ An excellent example of this, in the particular discourse whereby A. Lovejoy's ideas on the matter was tackled, is Frederick Teggart, "A Problem in the History of Ideas," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. I, No. 4, 1940, pp. 494-503.

³⁶ Here's a quite comprehensive view, which could be considered as one of fascinating results of the discourse: "Basically intellectual history differs from other varieties because it has a distinctive subject-matter. It concentrates on experiences occurring inside men's heads. It centers on man's inner experiences, the experiences he has in thinking. Many academic disciplines of course, share an interest in man as a thinking being, but they concern themselves either with one kind of thinking or with thinking in general. Intellectual history is unlimited in scope, but it should respect the historian's method. It deals with all sorts of thoughts but deals with them discretely, in terms of their genetic relations in time and space.

The historian's concern with ideas in all their specific variety compels a close and precise attention to the documents that reveal them; and this practical condition in turn has often encouraged misunderstanding of a permissible range of intellectual history. Partly because the most discriminating and readily available

number of quite useful principles for the actual professional practice --- it should be mentioned --- resulted therein. It was made clear, for example, that the “...meaning of an idea is seen not as initially separable but as unfolded in a continuous development; and so, it only follows that any “historical study of the idea consists in drawing a smooth curve after plotting its appearances.”³⁷ Each idea has, in this regard, levels of meanings; and so, just as much as an history of ideas has a philosophical significance³⁸, it also has a logical significance³⁹. It will be up to the historian, whichever from these he would, in the final analysis, be ready to stress or focus on in his professional practice. Things will be basically up to his basic practical historical philosophy, his research and investigations, and his analytical and interpretative skills. That is, because, though the historian of ideas has a particularly defined interest and researchal focus, his problem is not particularly different from his other colleagues in the history disciplinal area. Like every other historian,

...he must study his materials, make his hypotheses, isolate his ideas, test his hypotheses, follow the growth and mutations of his ideas, and then try to see what the ideas have come to mean in and for the life of usch societies as have been particularly receptive to them. This last step, I hold, can be made only if one is willing to go all the way, and pattern his study according to what we might term the total intellectual configurations of the society. The task is formidable; for it means patient, dogged work, trailing many false leads, and (sad professional problem!) having to work in

documents are produced by highly articulate people, intellectual historians have tended to write mostly about the thoughts which circulate among intellectuals. Meanwhile substantial, perhaps a predominant part of the academic world relegated to social history the study of the moods and beliefs of the man in the street, reserving to intellectual history the study of high-level ideas. To define the field in this limited sense is to miss much of its complexity and significance. At least by construing it narrowly we run the risk of pre-judging its affiliations and character. Intellectual history may (though it need not in any single instance) embrace simple attitudes in simple or complicated people as well as systematic knowledge and speculation...

Wether he deals in popular myths or in metaphysics, the intellectual historian must perform the historian's task of relating the particular inner happenings that interest him to a context of other happenings that my explain them. Here the quest for definition grows more difficult... These questions have given rise to two rather distinct answers, which amount almost to two different conceptions of the discipline. In one view the connections lead to outward, to an external context of events and behavior. Intellectual history becomes an investigation of the connection between thought and deed... On the other hand, a second school has insisted primarily on establishing the internal relationships between what some men write or say and what itther men write or say. This kind of intellectual history direxts attention away from the contexts of events in order to enlarge and systematize the context of ideas. It seeks the connection of thought and thought.” John Higham, *Writing American History. Essays on Modern Scholarship*, London/ Bloomington: Indiana University Press, p. 29-31.

³⁷ Abraham Edel, “Levels of Meaning and the History of Ideas,” in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1946, p. 355.

³⁸ For this reason, Prof. Kristeller stated: “...In this sense, the history of thought is as much the business of the philosopher as of the literary historian, and the student of philosophy may make a distinct contribution to the field because he has a more universal outlook than the average literary historian, and because the philosopher is at home in the general medium of thought, although he is accustomed to a more elaborate method than that used by the thinking poet or writer...Nevertheless, the general history of thought is not the exclusive domain of the historian of philosophy, and it is not an integral part of philosophy, but merely an auxillary discipline to the history of philosophy. The historian of thought has to dig into many materials and problems that lie outside the field of philosophy proper, and his results merely fill in the backround of the historical development of philosophy proper...To sum up my conclusion, the history of philosophy in the narrow sense of the word is an integral part of philosophy itself and is primarily the business of the student of philosophy. The history of thought in the broader sense is merely an auxillary discipline of philosophy and constitutes a domain which the student of philosophy must share with the student of literature, of the arts, of religion, and of science.” Paul Oscar Kristeller, “The Philosophical Significance of the History of Thought,” in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. VII, No. S, 1946, pp. 365-366.

³⁹ Please see: Philip Wiener, “Logical Significance of the History of Thought,” in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. VII, No. S, 1946, pp. 366-373.

fields in which one is not formally trained. Rightly carried out, such studies in the history of ideas will enable us to see how ideas grow, as they enter into the way men live and express themselves. Logically enough then, this is such a synthesis as must inevitably follow hard upon analysis.⁴⁰

Not any less is, in this regard, expected of him. The rigors and basic tenets of the discipline should still be practiced and applied. He is, after all, still part of a particular scientific community; and so, should accordingly practice as one.

With this, to come back to one of our foremost position in this portion of our study, it is quite undeniable that there are clear lines --- be it in the historical, in the philosophical, or in the methodological sense --- that bind the German *Geistesgeschichte* and/ or *Ideengeschichte* with the Anglo-English intellectual history and/ or history of ideas. There are quite a number of past publications, which particularly pursued to explain the fine differences between these terminologies.⁴¹ They accordingly started discussions and argumentations among historians of ideas; and so, continuously contributed to the further development of their espezialized area of the knowledge branch. Nonetheless, it should be mentioned futhermore, that these terminologies are not solely the suggested apt terminologies for the espezialized historical inquiry. They are also conceivably related with the French *histoire des idées*, *histoire des mentalités* as well as with the Italian *storia della idee* of the same general times. And so, when one wants to be figuratively romantic on the matter, it would almost seem that they are systematically and respectably created through the same *Zeitgeist*, which operated in different lands.⁴² It would not be too far-flung to say, therefore, that each development in every intellectual circle in a particular land affected the other circles in the other lands. Appropo, developments in Germany generally affected that in the U.S., or that in Great Britain, or that in France, or that in Italy; and interchangeably, of course. We would like to take in though, that eventhough clearly different from each other, these different culture-based historical scholastic traditions are still

⁴⁰ Harvey Pearce, "A Note on Method in the History of Ideas," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1948, p. 379.

⁴¹ Prof. L. Spitzer, for example, was not so convinced of the rightfulness of calling this espezialized historical field as history of ideas or intellectual history. He opined that it would be more appropriate to term/call this area of knowledge and investigation as *Geistesgeschichte*. He suggested, hence: "In opposition to such asn *histoire des idées*, with its bias for naturalistic and atomistic methods applied to the history of the human mind, I propose a *Geistesgeschichte*, in which *Geist* represents nothing ominously mystical or mythological, but simply the totality of the features of a given period or movement which the historian tries to *see as a unity* --- and the impact of which, the philosophy of the Encyclopedists and positivistic mathematicians to the contrary, does in fact amount to more than that of the aggregate of the parts. There have been, God knows, many *Fabrikate* of more or less recent German make, in which the pursuit of integration of features of detail into one whole has served as an excuse for the confusion of thinking --- so rightly condemned by Professor A. Lovejoy. There is nothing fraudulent or even revolutionary in a procedure which seeks to see wholes, to put one whole into relation with another, instead of making combinations of parts detached from their wholes. This is simply the factual, the more accurate approach toward the historical problem in question." Leo Spitzer, "*Geistgeschichte Vs. History of Ideas as Applied to Hitlerism*," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 202-203. Prof. Lovejoy replied and answered this essay/article in the same issue of the journal as well. That is, Arthur Lovejoy, "Reply to Prof. Spitzer," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 204-219.

⁴² For a further explanation on this matter, please see: E. Schulin, *Op.cit.* The same ideas are reflected in the concepts/ conceptualizations of *Histoire des idées*, *Histoire des mentalités*, and *Storia delle idee* of the French and Italian historical scholastic traditions.

one and singular in their major interest and aim; and that is, the eventual illustration of the historical narrative, which specifically discusses the history of the intellectual processing of a specific culture and/ or people. Related to their investigated evidences, they are all concerned with the history of what is all-over accepted as knowledge. They all pertain to the study and discussion of the ideas-processings of mankind. And if we further qualify the evidences mentioned to written and/ or unwritten kind, we could even roughly consider that there are two basic divisions of the history of knowledge; that is, firstly, the general history of mentalities or minds, which are based on unwritten sources (incl., traditions, songs, dances, rituals, legends, folklore, etc.), and secondly, the different and individual histories for the various sciences and philosophies, which are based on written sources (incl., published and unpublished kinds). The former are histories of cultural knowledge; the latter are histories of formally structuralized and institutionalized --- with specific set of paradigms, theories, process, methods, meanings, interpretations, etc. --- knowledge. Both are essentially connected with the other; and both are undeniably part and parcel to the ideal general culture history of a singularity. Each individual intellectual history is, in this regard, also a cultural study, part of a culture history. The term culture⁴³ is here utilized in its most all-embracing reference; that is, as the conceptual

⁴³ The Russian philosophical sociologists/ theorists, W. Kelle and M. Kowalson, illustrated quite an interesting general, but clearly utilizable, picture of this concept. They argue and appropriately explain: "Der Begriff "Kultur" kommt von dem lateinischen Wort cultura --- "Bestellung", "Bearbeitung" ---, das zur Kennzeichnung der Landarbeit (Agrikultur --- Bestellung und Bearbeitung des Bodens) verwendet wurde. Da man jedoch dieses Wort auf alles anzuwenden begann, was durch menschliche Tätigkeit geschaffen, umgestaltet und verbessert wurde, begann sich sein Sinn bald zu erweitern. Eine Kulturpflanze ist eine vom Menschen veredelte wilde Pflanze; kultiviertes Land ist vom Menschen bestellter Boden; der kultivierte Mensch ist das durch Erziehung usw. umgeformte Naturwesen. Auf dieser Weise unterscheidet die Kultur alles vom Menschen Geschaffene von der unberührten Natur. Hieraus ergab sich die im gewöhnlichen Bewußtsein fest verankerte Einteilung aller Existierenden in zwei Klassen: in Erscheinung der Natur und in Erscheinung der Kultur. Bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts beherrschte diese Einteilung auch die Gessellschaftswissenschaften und ist in unterschiedlichem Maße auch noch heute gebräuchlich.

Vom Standpunkt des heutigen Wissens ist eine kritische Einschätzung eines solchen Herangehens an die Bestimmung des Kulturbegriffs relativ leicht.

Erstens: Wenn die Kultur von der Natur getrennt wird, wird sie mit der Gessellschaft identifiziert, folglich wäre der Kulturbegriff für die Wissenschaft überflüssig. Das meinten die amerikanischen Soziologen Alfred Kroeber und Talcott Parsons, als sie schrieben, daß sich in den meisten grundlegenden Arbeiten zur Anthropologie und Soziologie, "besonders in der Periode der Herausbildung dieser Disziplinen, die Begriffe Kultur und Gessellschaft wenig voneinander unterscheiden."

Zweitens: Wenn sich dieser Unterschied zwischen den beiden Klassen von Erscheinungen auf die Unterscheidung zwischen sich natürlich vollziehenden Prozessen und solchen, die durch die schöpferische und zielgerichtete Tätigkeit des Menschen bewußtrealisiert werden, reduziert, dann wird die Geschichte der Gessellschaft in allen ihren Erscheinungsformen und Ergebnissen zum bloßen Anhängsel der Geschichte der Kultur, das heißt zur Geschichte der geistig-schöpferischen Tätigkeit des Menschen. Abgesehen von den inneren der Verschiedenen bürgerlichen Kulturkonzeptionen, unabhängig davon, ob gleichwertig betrachten, und auch unabhängig davon, welche Bedeutung die einzelnen Konzeptionen der materiellen Kultur beimessen, ist ein solches Herangehen seinem Wesen nach eine *Modifizierung der idealistischen Geschichtsauffassung*. Sie ist Ausgangspunkt für die bereits erwähnte Einteilung aller Wissenschaften in Wissenschaften von der Natur und Wissenschaften von der Kultur (bei Heinrich Rickert) und auch für eine Interpretation der Geschichte der Menschheit im Geiste der Konzeptionen von Oswald Spengler und Arnold Joseph Toynbee.

Drittens war diese Kulturaffassung lange Zeit (im gewöhnlichen Bewußtsein und teilweise sogar in der Wissenschaft auch heute noch) mit einem sogenannten wertenden Herangehen verbunden, bei dem nicht nur Individuen, sondern auch ganze Völker als "kulturvoll" oder "kulturlos", als "entwickelt" oder "unterentwickelt" eingestuft wurden. Als Reaktion auf ein solches Kulturverständnis begann sich seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts in der bürgerlichen Gessellschaftswissenschaft eine andere Interpretation dieses Begriffs herauszubilden --- die Kennzeichnung der Kultur als eine spezifisch menschliche Existenzweise, die durch

representation of the totality of human beings' way of living. A narrative of a people's intellectual development is, in this regard, a critical, concentrated researchal and scientific exertion of cultural/ culture studies/ history as well.

Cultural studies⁴⁴/ history is thereby executed and created within the particular contextual framework of an ideas' history through the basic assumption that men's culture could be witnessed in men's written and unwritten linguistic expressions. Cultural identity or culture, as a whole, is then understood to be illustrated and recorded in man's various linguistic expressions. Culture and language are, hence, unavoidably and innately connected. People's thoughts could only be based, executed, and expressed in a particular language.⁴⁵ In effect, therewith, a language is evidently more than its surfacial, all-embracing form as the major instrument for communication among a people. It is, so R.C. Trench romantically puts,

...the amber in which a thousand precious and subtle thoughts have been safely imbedded and preserved. It has arrested ten thousand lightning flashes of genius, which, unless thus fixed and arrested, might have been as bright, but would have also been as quickly passing and perishing as the lightning. Words convey the mental treasures of one period to the generations that follow; and laden with this, their precious freight, they sail safely across gulfs of time in which empires have suffered shipwreck, and the languages of common life have sunk to oblivion.⁴⁶

historisch-konkrete soziale Gebilde (Sippe, Stamm, Nation) hervorgebracht wird. Von diesem Standpunkt aus sind alle Kulturen gleichberechtigt, weil jede konkreten natürlichen und sozialen Bedingungen entspricht, unter denen die betreffende Gemeinschaft lebt." Wladislaw Kelle and Matwej Kowalson, *Theorie und Geschichte*, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, p. 264-265.

⁴⁴ Cultural anthropologist Franz Boas is one of the most renowned scientists in this area. He helped shape the development of the anthropological theory in many respects. His most popular contribution therein is probably the concept of culture as "a dynamic, changing force, to be understood only if it is recognized as a manifestation of the mental life of man." For him, not all cultures progressed to the same degree because they had not all experienced the same historical conditions. Cultural relativism was, in this regard, quite critical to his paradigm, because it allowed him to hypothesize that all cultures were of equal potential. They only needed to be influenced by similar events to exhibit similar progresses. Marshall Hyatt, Franz Boas, *Social Activist. The Dynamics of Ethnicity*, New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

The other significant readings in this theme are the following: Franz Boas, *Race, Language, and Culture*, New York: MacMillan, 1949; George W. Stocking, Jr. (Ed.), *The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911. A Franz Boas Reader*, New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, 1974; Melville J. Herzkovits, *Franz Boas. The Science of Man in the Making*, New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1973; Franz Boas. *Ethnologe. Anthropologe. Sprachwissenschaftler. Ein Wegbereiter der modernen Wissenschaft von Menschen*, Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin --- Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1992; Volker Rodekamp (Hrg.), *Franz Boas. Ein amerikanischer Anthropologe aus Minden*, Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1994.

⁴⁵ R. Schott articulated on this relationship with the following: "Humboldt betonte den Zusammenhan zwischen Sprache und Denken: "Die Sprache ist gleichsam die äußerliche Erscheinung des Geistes der Völker; ihre Sprache ist ihr Geist und ihr Geist ist ihre Sprache; mann kann sich beide nie identisch genug denken." (v. Humboldt, 1836: LII). Humboldt sagt weiter: in jeder Sprache (liegt) eine eigentümliche Weltansicht. Der Mensch lebt mit den Gegenständen hauptsächlich, ja, da Empfinden und Handeln in ihm von seinen Vorstellungen abhängen, sogar ausschließlich so, wie die Sprache sie ihm zuführt. (v. Humboldt, 1836: LXXIV f.) Die Sprache ist, wie Humboldt auch sagt, "eine spezifische Emanation des Geistes einer besonderen Nation", des "Volksgeistes"; jede Sprache ist der Ausdruck einer "Weltanschauung" gerade auch in ihren formalen Aspekten. Die jeweilige Sprache prägt mit hin das Denken und Handeln der Menschen einer Sprachgemeinschaft oft nachhaltig." Rüdiger Schott, "Kultur und Sprache. Franz Boas als Begründer der anthropologischen Linguistik", in Volker Rodekamp (Hrg.), *Franz Boas. Ein amerikanischer Anthropologe aus Minden*, Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1994, p. 63.

⁴⁶ R.C. Trench, "Introductory Note", in Roy Harris (Ed.), *The Origin of Language*, England: Thoemmes Press, 1996, p. 6.

A language is a record of a particular people's past. It is the source and at the same time reference point of meanings, understanding, and reality for/by/among a particular people. It is where ideas --- the major building unit of an history of ideas --- are based, developed, utilized, and preserved. Within a language, is, in this regard, not only the cultural but the historical identity of a people. Just as much as the people who speak and utilize it, a language is historical.⁴⁷ It changes or, to be apt, it is changed (by its speakers, of course) through times and context. It is the record of a people's living, the record of a people's culture; and so, an effective source of historical data and information for an intellectual history and/or an history of ideas, as an history of culture. This principle, naturally enough, is affective of our particular case in this study. Language (written and unwritten) would be our most compound conceptual source of historical data and information to our historiography history as an history of ideas. This concretely means that we would be basically monitoring the development of historiography or, to be all-encompassing, of the history idea through the unwritten and written word. Historiography is here utilized to encompass all of the historical science (Geschichtswissenschaft), which is basically made up of

...erstens die praxisorientierte Gessellschafts- und Geschichtskonzeption, zweitens die zugrundegelegte Gessellschaftstheorie und die entsprechenden theoretischen Vorstellungen über historische Prozesse, drittens die methodologischen Ansätze und die methodische Regelung einschließlich der konkreten Bestimmung des Gegenstands historischer Forschung und viertens die im produzierten Geschichtsbild erreichte gesamthistorische Perspektive, die Aussagen über die Vergangenheit explizit oder implizit mit konzeptionellen Vorstellungen von Gegenwart und Zukunft verknüpft. Diese vier Komponenten geben in idealisierter Form den Weg vom praktischen Interesse an Geschichte über Konzeption, Theorie und methodische Umsetzung bis zur Struktur historischer Synthesen wieder.⁴⁸

In a view, historical science is the all-embracing terminology, which encompasses today's evolved systematized process involving the sense of history, philosophy of history, theory of history, historical

⁴⁷ The following explanation and philosophization of U. Knoop on the historicity of language is noteworthy. He stated: "...Letzteres ist dann auch Grund dafür, daß der individuelle sprachliche Prozeß im gegenseitigen Versichern des ohnehin Bekannten zum Stillstand kommen kann und dieses Sprechen zum sozialen Geräusch wird. Diese Feststellung erhält ihre Erklärung wiederum aus der Veränderlichkeit der Sprache im historischem Prozeß, ihrer Historizität. Mit dem Begriff der Historizität wird also zu erfassen gesucht, daß die Erzeugung der Sprachen ein synthetisches Verfahren ist, und zwar ein solches im ächtesten Verstand des Wortes, wo die Synthesis etwas schafft, das in keinem der verbundenen Teile für sich liegt. Wird die Historizität begrifflich entfaltet, so ergibt sich folgende Bewegung: der Mensch erarbeitet in Auseinandersetzung mit der Vorgegebenheit der Sprache, mit seiner Äußerung eine neue Bestimmung der Sprache; aus dem unerschöpflichen Reichtum der Vorgegebenheit und der notwendigen Systematisierung ergibt sich, daß diese Bestimmung sogleich auch eine Begrenzung darstellt, die die Äußerung zum toten Erzeugten, zum Stoff macht; trotz dieser Verstofflichung und Formalisierung kann diese sprachliche Äußerung nicht weitergegeben werden, sondern bildet nur die Grundlage eines Prozesses, in dem Stoff und Form wieder neu geschaffen werden müssen, so daß Sprache weder von ihrer inhaltlichen noch von ihrer formalen (systematischen) Seite her zum Stillstand kommt." Ulrich Knoop, "Die Historizität der Sprache", in Brigitte Schlieren-Lange (Hrg.), Sprachtheorie, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1975, (pp.165-187), p. 181.

⁴⁸ Wolfgang Küttler, "Historiographieggeschichte als Methodologieggeschichte. Zur Problemstellung einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der theoretischen und methodologischen Grundlagen der Geschichtswissenschaft", in Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin 1/1991: Historiographieggeschichte als Methodologieggeschichte, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1991, p. 16.

method, historical thinking, historical perspective, historical interpretation, and consequent historical writing. It is the conceptualization, theoretization, expression, modification, and general practical utility of the idea of history. An history of historiography as an intellectual history and/ or history of ideas is, in this regard, an history of the development of the idea of history. And so, in particular application to our study, our history of the Filipino historiography as an history of ideas is a narrative of the development of the Filipino idea of/for history.

This development could be keenly monitored through the careful study and analysis of “Philippine” and Filipino histories made. These created histories are taken to be the major practices and applications, not only of the all-encompassing *Zeitgeist* existing among the ranks of historians, but most importantly, of the idea and conceptualization of history on a particular historical deliveration or expression, among the ranks of historians and which was approvably looked upon and generally accepted by its targeted audience. Consequently, the main sources of our study are the created, most influential historical narratives, with (synchronic) and through (diachronic) times and contexts. These sources will be appropriately processed through the classical historical method, and furthermore, through the necessary auxillary disciplines, which are generally made up of cultural anthropology, psychology, comparative/ historical linguistics, literary criticism, and hermeneutics. They are carefully chosen, collected, and lastly, externally and internally criticized, before they are even considered for actual utility in our narrative. In consideration to the great volume and density of created histories with and through time about and on the archipelago and its peoples, it was decided that only the most influential narratives --- the most widely distributed, the most often reprinted, and the most frequently cited among many newly published materials --- are to be taken, for further study and analysis. Procedurally therefrom, the chosen materials are firstly, externally and secondly, internally investigated upon, before any interpretational exertions on the same are done. In a view, the chosen historical narratives are, for all intents and purposes, accepted as a particular discourse in themselves during this stage. Their contextual background is checked upon and accordingly confirmed, through research and analysis on their author’s identity and general intellectual profile, on their publisher, on their place and year of publication. Biographies, autobiographies, and other written accounts discussing the authors assisted in the reconstruction exertions of the narratives’ authors’ personality, personhood, and intellectual tendencies. As much as possible, the authors’ missions and vision upon their creation of the subjected narratives are thereby reconstructed, so that it would be comprehensible why the narratives, for one, are exerted to be finished on the whole. The narratives’ publication data are confirmed through the parallel research and study of other materials, that were published in and during the same times and context, and/ or that mentioned or cited the subjected narratives in their later, own researchal or critical exertions. It is therefrom theoretically possible to somewhat consider whom the narratives possibly reached in readership and propagation, and to what extent they could thereby affect and/ or influence a figuratively targeted audience. In addition to this,

but necessarily not the least of them all, the old and original (or those, which were witnessed and seen to be in their most earlier publication forms) narratives are externally criticized through the routinary comparative analysis of the used paper, bonding and cover materials, ink, and type of writing (palaeography) to those of their considered parallel counterparts in and during their supposed times and context. And when an historical narrative, for example, passed through all these external check up, it is therewith ready for further internal investigation. The narrative is, at the least, two times read during this stage. The first reading is groping, testing portion. It is during which that the narrative is superficially read, so that it could be confirmed if it follows the hypothesized, most prevalent general historical philosophy, methodology, and periodization of the times and context. The second reading, on the other hand, is the analytical and critical portion. Mentioned and cited historical data in the narrative are thereby generally confirmed, if they are in sync, with the state of art of history and with the actual, available historical research and knowledge of the supposed contextual creation of the subjected narrative. If, in this regard, no available state of the discipline during the investigated upon context is there, then this procedure could still be accomplished, through the comparative analysis of the data mentioned and used in the narrative to those of the other narratives, which are already proven to be made and published during the same studied times and context.

And accordingly, when the narrative passed through these procedural criticisms, then it is then ready to be utilized as one of the actual sources of our historical narrative; that is, as one of the sources of our historical data, whereby we could most significantly build our various judgements and interpretations throughout our work. The textual analysis of the subjected narrative follows then forth. It is here cleared up, what and how the narrative realized, practiced, and applied its author's idea and conceptualization of history, on the particular case of the Philippines and its peoples. History is thereby illustrated as an concept, which guides the general creation of, and which particularly affects the eventual form, perspective, and directional tendencies of the same as well. It is taken to all-encompassingly mean and refer to a particular set of philosophy and method, which influences the judgements, interpretations, truisms, and meanings to be accordingly written in the historical narrative. In its biggest, most all embracing perspective, therefore, upon multiple, apt analyses of historical narratives as sources of our historical data, it is hereby cleared up what and how a particular conceptualization of history became prevalent on the islands; while in its narrowest, most specific perspective, it is cleared up what and how a particular conceptualization of the Filipino cultural and historical person and personhood became most widely accepted not only among the Filipinos themselves, but most especially among the particularly targeted audience of the studied and analyzed historical narratives.

The auxillary disciplinal procedures assisted relatively much during this stage. Not all "Philippine" and Filipino historical narratives, with and through times, are retained and immortalized through

writing. Though essentially traditionally writing, the ancient islands' communities did not care much for keeping much of their script. Firstly, they did not particularly see any utmost need to infinitely keep their personal effects (whereby writing was during which generally utilized), secondly, they did not have the needed technology (paper manufacture/ production) for this figurative need anyways, and thirdly, the islands' subtropical climate do not allow the infinite maintainence of the islanders' script, which were done on perishable materials, including barks of trees, leaves, etc. Consequently, today's material writing evidences of the ancient times are but a few; and could only be rechecked and confirmed through the written accounts of other visiting cultures on the islands during the same studied times and context. A particularly scientific conceptualization of history, in accordance to today's standards of the same, could, in this regard, not reconstructed from the available materials on and about the ancient communities on the islands. The analysis and study of the available, chosen, archaeological artifacts, a number of oral traditions, various written accounts on the islanders, and a number of old dictionaries and thesaurus of the language utilized on the archipelago could only generally illustrate the most prevalent sense of history, in the particular application to their chosen historical past.

Our situation though, as historians of historiography, becomes generally simpler afterwards. That is, upon the coming of the latinized form of publicized writing on the archipelago. Historical narratives were therefrom written; and so, generally easier to take hold to, for further processing, to our specific case. The written text is thereby taken in as a particular discourse in itself.⁴⁹ And so, with the basic consideration that language, culture, and history are innately related ideas and conceptualization, the interpretative discourse of the subjected historical narrative's text is from this point on taken up. Hermeneutics⁵⁰, which we would all-embracingly describe and utilize as the science of interpretation,

⁴⁹ It is interesting to note and see the theory and views of the American anthropologist/ ethnologist/ theorist/ intellectual historian D. LaCapra on the general subject of interpretation. For an appropriate discussion, please see: Dominick LaCapra, *Geschichte und Kritik*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987. It is the German translation of his (the same author), *History and Criticism*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1985.

Also see: Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan (Hrg.), *Geschichte Denken. Neubestimmung und Perspektiven moderner europäischer Geistesgeschichte*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Wissenschaft, 1988.

⁵⁰ Though many times mentioned and generally discussed in the various works of earlier philosophers (both from the analytical and the transcendental divides), it was only during the 20th century that Hermeneutik became fully discussed, conceptualized, and philosophized upon. Among others, some of the most outstanding works in this particular area were done by Heidegger and by Gadamer. Consider and reflect upon, for example, one of the earliest statements of the latter on the said theme in 1969: "So mußte die hermeneutische Reflexion eine Lehre von den Vorurteilen entwickeln, die, ohne den Sinn der Kritik an allen der Erkenntnis dorhenden Vorurteilen zu gefährden, dem produktiven Sinn von Vorverständnis gerecht wird, wie er in allem Verstehen vorausgesetzt ist. Die hermeneutische Bedingtheit des Verstehens, wie sie in der Theorie der Interpretation und insbesondere in der Lehre vom hermeneutischen Zirkel formuliert ist, beschränkt sich nicht auf die geschichtlichen Wissenschaften, bei denen die Standortgebundenheit des Forschers zu den praktischen Erkenntnisbedingungen gehört. Doch hat di Hermeneutik hier insofern ihren Musterfall, als Geschichte und Gegenwart abbildet, die aller historischen Abständigkeit und Verfremdung vorausliegt. Die Zugehörigkeit des Interpretieren zu seinem "Text" wie die des menschlichen Geschicks zu seiner Geschichte ist offenbar ein hermeneutisches Grundverhältnis, das durch brave Sprüche abzuschwören unwissenschaftlich, das mit Bewußheit zu übernehmen der Wissenschaftlichkeit der Erkenntnis allein angemessen ist.

partly assisted us here. The written text or, to be more appropriately general, the written language is accepted as a major source of hermeneutical interpretation.⁵¹ Words are therefrom not only superficially taken; they would be further studied as particular sources of data and information. It would be pursued to delve into their inner meanings and into their foremost conceptualization; so that, we could have a much interesting --- and probably, even a more closer --- sense on what a particular historical text actually wants to deliver and consequently affect among its targeted public. That is, because, in end-effect, our historiography's history as an history of ideas do not solely concern itself to the development of the idea of history in its purest, most independent form; it also significantly concern itself on the development of the same idea, upon practice and operation on the Filipino peoples themselves, who are both the theme and targeted audience in a supposedly ideal historical narrative.

And so, to be short but concrete, in major consideration to the nature of our study, the primary sources of our historical narrative are the published and unpublished historical narratives, addressing today's nation Philippines and its peoples. These include oral traditions, where folklore, myths, epics feature; and written scholarship traditions, where written historical reports, chronologies, rare books, and massively-distributed national histories are found. These "histories" are particular representations of

Indessen ist Interpretation nicht nur auf Texte beschränkt und auf das aus ihnen zu gewinnende geschichtliche Verständnis. Alle wie Texte verstandenen Sinnzusammenhänge, von der Natur (interpretatio naturae, Bacon), über die Kunst (deren Begrifflosigkeit (Kant) sie zum Vorzugsbeispiel von Interpretation macht (Dilthey)), bis zu allen bewußten oder unbewußten Motivationen des menschlichen Handelns reicht der Anspruch der Interpretation. Sie will die nicht auf der Hand liegenden, sondern dahinterliegenden wahren Sinnbestimmtheiten des menschlichen Handelns aufweisen, mag sie das in der Weise tun, daß sich das wirkliche Sein eines jeden als das Sein seiner eigenen Geschichte enthüllt (P. Ricoeur), und so, daß die gesellschaftlichen und geschichtlichen Bedingungen unseres Denkens uns undurchschaut bestimmen. Psychoanalyse wie Ideologiekritik, einander feindlich entgegengesetzt oder in skeptizischer oder utopischer Synthese verbunden (Adorno, Marcuse), müssen nochmals einer hermeneutischen Reflexion unterzogen werden. Denn was so durchschaut und verstanden wird, ist vom Standort des Interpretieren nicht unabhängig. Kein Interpretationsrahmen ist beliebig und noch viel weniger objektive gegeben. Dem Objektivismus des Historismus und der positivistischen Wissenschaftstheorie weist die hermeneutischen Reflexion nach, wie in ihm unerkannte Voraussetzung bestimmend ist. Insbesondere hat die Wissenschaftssoziologie und die marxistische Ideologiekritik hier ihre hermeneutische Fruchtbarkeit bewiesen. Nur durch kritische Bewußtheit und wirkungsgeschichtliche Reflexion kann der Erkenntniswert solcher Interpretationen gesichert werden. Es spricht nicht gegen den Erkenntniswert derselben, daß sie nicht die Objektivität von science haben. Aber erst eine hermeneutische-kritische Reflexion, die in ihnen bewußt oder unbewußt am Werk ist, läßt ihre Wahrheit hervorkommen.

Die philosophische Hermeneutik bringt sich grundsätzlich zum Bewußtsein, daß der Erkennende mit dem, was sich ihm als sinnvoll zeigt und aufschließt, auf unlösbarer Weise zusammengehört. Sie leistet nicht nur eine Kritik am Objektivismus der Historie und an dem positivistischen Erkenntnisideal des Physikalismus, den die Unity of Science durch die Einheitsmethode der Physik zu begründen beansprucht, sondern ebensosehr eine Kritik an der Tradition der Metaphysik. Eine der Grundlehren der Metaphysik, nämlich daß Sein und Wahrscheinlichkeitsprinzipiell dasselbe sind --- für den unendlichen Intellekt der Gottheit, deren Allgegenwart die Metaphysik als die Gegenwart von allem, was ist, denkt --- wird unhaltbar. Ein solches absolutes Subjekt ist für die undlich-geschichtliche Seinsweise des Menschen und seiner Erkenntnismöglichkeiten nicht einmal ein approximatives Ideal. Denn es gehört zum Sein des Erkennenden, daß es so wenig Gegenwart ist wie all das, was als Zukunft und als ihn bestimmende Vergangenheit für ihn ist..." Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Hermeneutik, 1969" in Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Gesammelte Werke 2. Hermeneutik II*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, (1993), 1999, pp. 434-435.

⁵¹ For a further and modified discussion on the philosophical framework and possible practical utility of this principle, please refer to: Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Dritter Teil: Ontologische Wendung der Hermeneutik am Leitfaden der Sprache", in Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Gesammelte Werke 1. Hermeneutik I*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, (1990), 1999.

the practice of the idea of the time and context, when they were particularly created and distributed. They are concretizations, somewhat, of the prevailing intellectual (or non-intellectual, depending on one's view) *Zeitgeist* not only among the ranks of its creators, but among those of its targeted audience also. Furthermore, they are particular illustrations of the same specific Philippine and Filipino past, present, and probable future, which is thematized in every historical narrative, during particular periods and contexts. They are singular exemplars of particular pictures of the Philippine and Filipino historico-cultural person and personhood during specific age in the chronologically-oriented times and context of the archipelago's world. They are exemplars of the continuously evolving theoretical and practical idea and conceptualization of Filipino history. And that, to return to one of previous discussions, is our main concern in this study; the definition of the Filipino historiography's history as an history ideas. Our main interest is the history of the Filipino idea's development, the history of Filipino historiographical idea. But like already mentioned above, the approach we take up in the study is not simply stated in the all-encompassing bounds of an intellectual/ ideas history. On a level, we chiefly deal and approach this theme with ideas; but on another, we deal and approach it with culture. The philosophy behind it though is better explained by J. Higham. He explained,

...The history of ideas may be described as providing a relatively intensive analysis of clearly articulated ideas, whereas cultural history takes up a wider range of data in searching for the "style" or the unifying values of a group or a society. One might say that in studying the collective mentalities, cultural history looks for a configuration while the history of ideas seeks the cutting edge.

Neither, of course, should stand alone. As cultural history, the record of human consciousness has breadth and density, but tends to be statistic and repetitive. The history of ideas deals much more with individual initiative. There we see more clearly the emergence of innovation, the conflict between alternative choices. If the study of culture highlights structures, while the study of ideas (and events) brings movement and change to the fore, it is a great task of history to link one to the other, and so to catch the flux of patterns by the glint of their connecting threads.⁵²

Consequently, hence, our history of Filipino historiography will be both philosophically and methodologically treated as an history of Filipino ideas and, when seen appropriate and necessary, as an history of Filipino culture as well. The history of Filipino historiography is, as a result of our exertions in this study, considerably both; that is, an history of Filipino ideas and an history of Filipino culture as well.

As a major modification and enrichment to this all-encompassing end-goal of the study, hence, we will be pursuing to keep the internal-external dichotomy approach to our chosen idea's development throughout the work. The narrativ development of the Filipino idea for/of history would be laid down, so that firstly, its life and singularity's individual evolution would be told, and secondly, its furtherance and modification --- upon its transference, transformation, and general development in the hands of a particular historians' circle --- through the years would be explained, criticized, and narrated. The internal singularity and dynamics of the idea would therewith on its independent unit-

ness comprehended; and at the same time, understood as a fully operative idea singularity among a particular rank of specialized individuals. The synchronic development of the idea or its development with time is with this all-embracingly pinned down. We do not, however, stop at that. In addition, we would be generally focusing on the external development of the same idea as well; that is, the history of the (potential/ figurative) transformation of our idea into action. We would be exerting efforts in narrating its diachronic development or its transformation through time. Concretely interpreted, we would be pursuing to analyze the development of the Filipino history's idea, upon its practices in books, which are themselves laid down and offered for the consumption of a targeted public. We would analyze its development upon its entrance in the learning process and its consequential, most usual historiographical dilemma, described by W. Wagner through the following statements:

Historische Forschungsergebnisse einem nichtakademischen Leser vorzulegen heißt, seine Neugier und sein Interesse an einem selbstzuorganisierenden Lernprozeß zu antizipieren. Sobald der Leser ein Buch aufschlägt, wird der Autor zum Partner in einem Aufklärungsprozeß und oft nach wenigen Seiten fallengelassen.

Um zur Diskussion zu provozieren, sei es hier eine Frage gestellt so alt wie die Reflektion über Geschichtsschreibung selbst. Sie gleicht einer Münze mit zwei Seiten. Die eine Seite zweifelt daran, ob der Autor sein Publikum versteht, die andere, ob das Publikum den Autor versteht.⁵³

We would be pursuing to see and analyze how the history-idea(s) works on its targeted audience; and how this process and procedure influences the furtherance and development of the same idea through a longer, larger contextual period. Thereby would, hence, be explained what, why, and how the Filipinos retained a particular view and conceptualization of history (not to mention their actual historical development as a people as well) during a particular, given contextual period of the country's general chronological history; and how they transformed the same into actual action. A specific mindset of the people on an specialized area would be narrated, not only as a phenomenal curiosity, but more significantly, as an (intellectual) historical process as well. This, naturally enough, presupposes and operatively accepts that, first, the Filipinos continuously experience a unitary historical development with and through time; second, the Filipinos continuously work on the modification of a particular scholarship tradition with and throughout chronological contexts; and third, the Filipinos continuously experience and live the development of this scholarship tradition --- specifically in the disciplinary area of history, which is our study's concern --- as an independent, continual (and considerably discontinual, as well, of course) historical process.

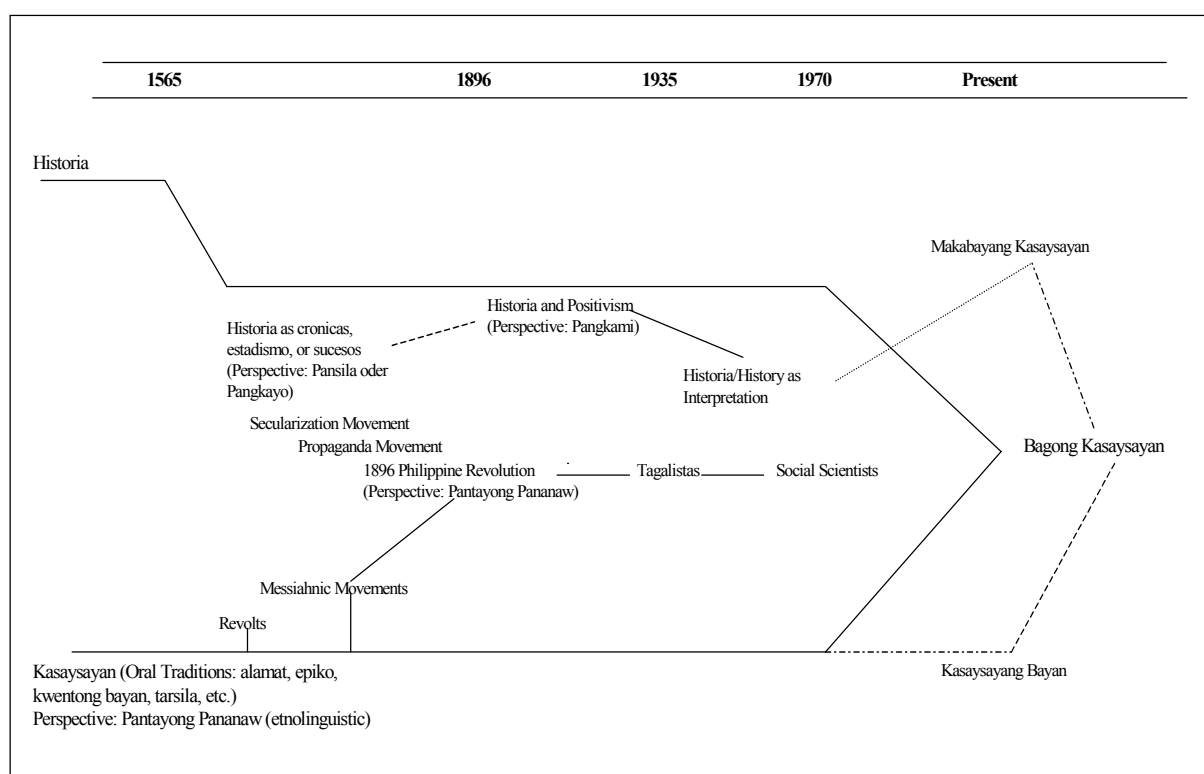
⁵² J. Higham, Op.cit., p. 72.

⁵³ Wilfried Wagner, "Regionalgeschichte und Identität" in Wilfried Wagner (Hrg.), Strukturwandel im Pazifischen Raum. Referate der Jahrestagung des Arbeitskreises Pazifik vom 9-11. September 1987 in Bremen.

B. Dissertation's Framework

The history of Filipino historiography (Cf., Figure 1) would be treated, processed, and narrated in this study as an history of the *idea* of history's development --- as witnessed and concretized through unwritten and written historical expressions on, about, and by the Filipinos and the Philippines --- through times and context. The periodization is, in this regard, designed, so that each major division of our study would correspond to a particular concept, which embody the predominantly utilized and developed idea of history, in application to that of the Philippines and the Filipino people, during each particularly set chronological time period. Our periodization though is not as clearly and cleanly cut division of the timeline, similar or comparable with what is normally expected in a political,

Figure 1
History of Filipino Historiography



Ramos and Gallardo, 1986/Veneracion, 1990/ Navarro, 1997/ Reyes, 2002

economic, or institutional histories. Our timeline divisions (also known as, conjunctions or conjunctures, in conventional historiography), it would be noticed in our narrative, is quite fluid; each period virtually flows into the next. Because we are dealing here with a major concept, which are most importantly held, applied, and practiced by men --- whose thought processing could not necessarily be interpreted and represented by exact mathematical figure nor configuration --- through times, the most that we could do, so as to organizatorily systematize our narrative is to make a general divison of the timeline, wherein particular ideas of history could be predominantly witnessed, applied

and practiced in different historical expressions therein. Corollary to this, the start of a new idea or, as required, a new interpretation of idea of history does not particularly mean the total end or finish of the older idea or meaning towards oblivion. The people, who practiced the older idea beforehand, do not die nor are automatically convinced to change, upon the introduction of the new idea of history. They continue to exist; and so, continuously practice the idea of history, with which they were trained in or long accustomed to. This, expectedly enough, results into continuous professional conflicts or differences of opinions among the thematized people; and for us, in this narrative, this concretely means fluidity in our chosen, set timeline divisions. Accordingly, perfect tangential connections between period are not necessarily present in the study. Each period continuously goes into the other; and so, there are almost always points of intermixes, interfaces, or at the least, interspatial connections between one older idea/ concept of history towards the next, or from our one period to our next. In consideration to this, hence, we opine that the narrative of Filipino historiography as an history of ideas is not merely a topical nor a thematical procedural exertion; it is a continual and continuous historical and processual development.

We divided our study into three large parts. The first part features the period of *kasaysayan*, that is, between c.a. 200 B.C. – 1565 A.D.; the second part is the period of *historía*/ history, 1565 –1974; and the third part is the period of *bagong kasaysayan* (together or in association, with *pantayong pananaw*), 1974 –2000. Each of these parts are made up of a number of chapters in our work; the first two chapters is part one, the following four is part two, while the last three is part three. Each major idea of history, which corresponds to each of our periods, is introduced, conceptualized, and explained as a specific idea of history, with a seemingly independent philosophy, methodology, and/ or general procedural application in/ as a narrative, in every first chapter of each of our set part in this study. Each idea, in this way, would have been clearly described and illustrated as a singularity --- portion of the continuously developing general idea of history on and in the country and its peoples --- before it would be appropriately discussed as an historically evolving concept/ idea, in application or which was applied on the land in the following chapters, within the same larger part and periodization. Consequently, each part could be considered as a singularity, almost an independent system, circuitry, and corresponding history; that is, at the same time that, the same part is processed and necessarily built-in as an element to the larger compound, which is, in a manner, a passable singularity as well, of the Filipino historiography's development as an history of ideas.

The first part, the Period of *Kasaysayan*, is constituted by Chapters 1 and 2. It generally discusses the ancient concept, *kasaysayan*, as an idea and utilized conceptualization of history among the communities on the islands from around 200 B.C. until 1565. Chapter 1 principally tackles and philosophizes the ancient Filipino word. Its etymology as well as its actual historical evolution as a

concept, as it was witnessed in/by various dictionaries through the centuries, are accordingly laid down, accounted, analyzed, and appropriately interpreted. Kasaysayan is therefrom established as an ancient word, which most probably existed even during the times that the Austronesian language-group of people --- today's accepted racial forefathers of archipelagic South East Asian and most of the Oceanian peoples --- were still continuously migrating from Hoabinha towards their various target areas in the greater, general direction of the South Seas from around 7000 B.C.-800 B.C. It is hypothesized to have retained the same seminal, germ idea and all-encompassing conceptualization through the years, even after the slow and sure formation of the distinctive Filipino archipelagic language as against, or in the context of, the family of Austronesian languages in South East Asia and Oceania. Corollary to this, the various laid down meanings and conceptualizations of the same word in different, most influential dictionaries across the centuries are imparted for historical, comparative analysis and apt interpretation. In modification, so as to feature kasaysayan therefrom as practical idea and sense of history of the earliest communities, the most possible philosophy of history, behind or as could be implied by and inferred upon by the same ancient word, accordingly followed in the discussion. The conceptualization of time, space and event of the ancients, as could be interpreted from some of the most prominent, earliest evidences of material culture on the islands, were laid down. The burial culture and the possible ancient religious system of the earliest communities are, in relation, tackled and suitably analyzed. The earliest forms of writing on the archipelago, as evidenced by today's available archaeological artifacts, followed suit; and so with this, the earliest Filipino's sense and conceptualization of historicity as well as continuity are similarly and accountably thematized as well. The recently found Laguna Copper Plate (LCP) and the widely known earliest form of writing --- Baybayin --- of the Philippine Islands are the main elements and focus of this portion of our discussion. It would be stressed, herewith, the existence of a relatively wide-spread writing culture on the archipelago; at the same time, that it would also be pointed out, that the same writing culture existed and was generally practiced on perishable materials, such as on palm leaves and bamboo trees' barks, that they could impossibly be isolatably passed to many generations after its actual creation. Writing was utilized during those times, not necessarily for particular recording of events and experiences, but for personal communication, in forms of letters and correspondences; for decorative purposes, such as ornamental curved band on the sides of jar; and for business purposes, such as contract of debts and/ or payments. Therefore, unlike in many literate communities of the world during the same period, writing on the archipelago was mainly executed, for practical, personal reasons; historicity and continuity were, in this regard, implicably meant and realized therein in the smaller, micro, individual level.

The generally bigger, macro, more compound level of the same concepts are directly impressed and expressed in the communities' significant stories, in kasaysayan. These more significant, all-embracing stories, e.g. the narrative of a community's living and existence, or kasaysayan, are not

written. They are orally passed from one generation to the next, as portions, in fact, as main elements, of the early communities' oral tradition. Kasaysayan, in this perspective, as history of and for the early communities, are oral in nature. Corollary to and in consideration to this, chapter 2 first discusses the different forms and over-all classification of kasaysayan of/ for the early communities; and then finally proceeds with the uses of the same in the second portion of the mentioned chapter. Ethno-epic and legends, as well as the later on (roughly starting 1280 A.D.) Muslim communities' genealogies or *salsillahs/ tarsilas* are the two general forms and classification of the early communities' kasaysayan. And though expectedly different in particularities and quantifications, these various forms of kasaysayan are nonetheless one, in the fact that they are individual narratives of the life, experiences, and culture through times and contexts of the creating and appreciating community(ies). They are impressions and expressions of what each of the creating and appreciating community consider as valuable and significant. They are impressions and expressions of their very being; and so, almost equally conservatories, reservations, pathways, measures, and reservoirs of the individual concretizations of the different aspects of their lifeways through periods and contexts as well. Kasaysayan, no matter in which form it may be, are in this way important for the early communities on the islands, because firstly, they are reiteration of belongingness to a particular group and secondly, they are particular explanation of the politico-religious authorities and all-embracing system's existence and continuation within a specific community. Kasaysayan impart to the creating and appreciating individual community, knowledge of oneness with a particular past and knowledge of unity with a specific continuousness. They are stories of, about, by, and, most importantly, for the communities. They are conceivably designed and engineered to feature, to thematize, and to address the same community, who also created them. They are specifically made, in the perspective of the community, which is its theme, creators, and the targeted audience at the same time. In the most basic sense of both philosophy and methodology, hence, an exemplar of kasaysayan virtually grants and repeatedly expresses to the creating and consuming community(ies), the assurance of power and decision; not only on the theme, subject, nor object of the narrative, but, more importantly, on the measures, conceptualizations to be applied therein as well. Kasaysayan, in a manner, symbolizes the community(ies)' practical mastery of their cultural context and their historical existence as a particular, innately dominant people in/on their specific territory in the archipelago. It virtually embody the early Filipinos' mastery and predominance over the land of their history and continuous existence, over today's Philippine islands.

The wide-spread utility and application of kasaysayan though would be broken through the arrival and general introduction of a new idea of history, embodied through the newcomers' *historía*, on the archipelago. Kasaysayan would be virtually suppressed in the process; while the new idea would be efficiently spread through new forms of innovations, which were principally foremost experienced and accordingly created by the colonizing peoples on the islands. In a manner, the coming of this new idea

effectively started a completely different strain of development on the specialized area of history on the land. This development would be directly and procedurally discussed in the second part of this study; that is, in chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6, the historiographical developments between 1565-1974, entitled *Historía/History as History*. This period encapsulates quite a number of meanings for the Philippines and the Filipinos. Politically considered, this meant the start of archipelago-wide European domination, which among many other most significant events meant the virtual start of the nation-state, that would be later on known as the Republic of the Philippines. Economically, this meant the virtual large-scale opening of the islands' market --- includes minerals, agricultural and raw materials sale --- to the larger, wide-ranging European market. Socially, this meant the virtual dislocation of almost all of the islands' population, so as to take the new role of being the colonized indio, within the new social structure on the land, wherein the colonizing European, together with their collaborators, play the role of the ruling, most powerful elite. Religiously, this meant the suppression and persecution of the ancient religion and its practitioners; and the introduction in its stead of the structuralized, institutional Roman Catholic Christianity. And finally, culturally, this meant the general, but quite effective surfacial domination of the islands' ancient culture by the structuralized, grandiose European culture and civilization. Intellectual suppression --- later on, after a number of years of resistance, intellectual compartmentalization --- of the islands' population follows. The idea of history could, in connection to this, not be acceptably represented --- most especially, in the eyes of the ruling new elite --- by the ancient *kasaysayan*. The idea of history, in their judgement, could and should only be embodied by the same idea of history, that the power-holding foreigners have been utilizing; that is, by the idea of the Spanish *historía*.

Historía's introduction on the islands is, in this perspective, innately connected with the all-embracing movement of the colonizers, in order to effectively dominate whatever were the intellectual traditions on the land beforehand. *Historía's* introduction is innately related with the enforcement of the intellectual tradition of the Europeans (Spaniards) on the land and its peoples. It means the start of written, structuralized or systematic, linear history; and effectively, the beginning of a completely different idea of history, in comparison to that of the ancients. In order to really delve into the meanings, references, nuances of this idea, Chapter 3 of this study concentrates its research and analytical exertions most specifically on *historía* alone. Its etymology as well as its ethno-linguistical meanings, references, and general evolutionary developments are laid down for analysis and further interpretation. Its Greek as well as Latin origins are referred to and comparatively studied to its present meanings; and its major developments through the years were representably accounted for and enumerated. Related, also utilized ideas --- including *cronicas*, *sucesos*, *estadismos*, and *relaciones* --- are illustrated and accordingly modified, in furtherance and explanation to the concentrated on idea in the chapter. The discussion on the philosophy behind the idea, at this point, follows. It particularly narrates how the idea was introduced and further developed through the years on the archipelago; and

so, narrates the foremost utility of the ideas: estadísticas, crónicas, sucesos, and finally, the positivist *historía* by the colonizing Spaniards, while discussing their story on the archipelago, and the further utility of the ideas: reports, accounts, and eventually, the Anglo-English, *history* of the Americans afterwards (that is, starting 1898, upon the transfer of the Philippine colony in their hands, from the losing party in the Spanish-American War immediately beforehand). The major developments of *historía*, as an applicable, written, and structural idea of history, are therefrom, in our study, established. *Historía* is a separate, independent idea of history, which is practiced and continually modified by a particular portion of the population on the archipelago, while discussing their life and experiences therein. And because it is a foreign idea and part of a foreign, colonizing intellectual tradition, *historía* became or was from thereon also used as an explanatory instrument and rationalization of foreign decisions on the archipelago; and so, became ultimately instrumental as well to the intellectual compartmentalization of the early communities, who were, expectedly enough, not knowledgeable about and to it. And although superficially discussive of the archipelago and its inhabitants, the became largely available, widely-spread and declared scientific idea of history (*historía*/ *history*) on the land became innately foreign, and so, isolative of the P/Filipino-speaking Filipinos, in end-effect.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 specifically state and narrate, how the mentioned general developments of the said *historía* as an idea of history about and on the Philippines and Filipinos were actually applied and could accordingly be read in/ on written literature through the centuries. In clear text, in this study, written developments between 1565-1889, entitled *Historía de las Islas Filipinas*, are discussed in chapter 4; between 1889-1910, *Propaganda y Historia de los Indios Bravos*, are in chapter 5; and finally, between 1910-1974, *History as an Academic Tradition*, are discussed in chapter 6. *Historía de las Islas Filipinas* tells the actual begin of written historical expression on and about the islands, enumeratively as well as chronologically, through the colonizing Spaniards' reports of their early expeditions; through account of events, which occurred therein; through the Spanish religious missionaries' chronologies of their experiences on the archipelago; and finally, through the generally liberal Spanish civilians' systematic historical interpretative expression on and about the Philippines and its peoples. It virtually states the process, wherein *historía* became founded and became unshakeably established, in the particular area of narrative expression about the colonizing foreigners, who had contacts with the inhabitants, while they were on the archipelago. It explained thereby, why the language Spanish (Castellano) as well as the colonizers' historical perspective became utilized, applied, and immortalized in the produced literature; and why, eventually, the readers of the said products came to almost unquestionably accept the described and illustrated reality therein, as against that of which they (referring to the inhabitants of the archipelago) were born and long used to. It explained thereby the spread, furtherance, and development of the colonizers' measures, standards, norms, and various conceptualizations, as the more appropriate, scientific elemental applications on

the historical narrative about Philippines and its peoples. And finally, it explained thereby, the psychological propagation, that the Spaniards are the better, more civilized, ideal people as against the colonized, pagan, barbaric ancient peoples of the Philippine islands.

Expectedly enough, such a line of philosophy, thought, and rationalization would not so long be exclusively owned, utilized and/ or practiced by the Spaniards. During the latter half of the 19th century, at the times after the systematization of *historía* to become a disciplinary practice, a newly institutionally educated group of indios would come to the realm of the accepted intellectual fore; that is, the hispanized Malays --- islands' inhabitants, who basically passed, what the Spaniards would call and describe as "civilized". This new group, supposedly *enlightened* because of their formal training, would pick up the language, disciplinary perspective, philosophical, intellectual, and rational line, started by the colonial masters in their various historical narratives on and about the Philippines; and would present therefrom their own views and opinions on the same theme and subject. The results of these efforts and exertions is the presentation of contrapuntal perspective and interpretation of the historical narrative, as against to that of the Spaniards' in the period beforehand. In a view, this lead to the modification of *historía* as an idea of history, in its application to the narrative of the Philippines and its peoples. The creation and spread of this new interpretation is discussed in our chapter 5, *Propaganda y Historia de los Indios Bravos*. Due to the larger political context during those times, *historía* became utilized in congruency with the idea of propaganda; that is, with the organized written, reform movement of the educated, hispanized new intellectual group of Indios Bravos. Their major plea was the equal treatment of the Philippines and all its inhabitants as a legitimate political member of the Spanish Imperial Courts. Corollary to this, the Spanish crown should execute henceforth reform in education, agriculture, clerical regulations, and judicial laws in the Philippines. But before such a major plea could be made, so the Filipino intellectuals thought, comparable to how the Spaniards rationalized the colonization of the Philippines, a rational basis should foremost be announced and concentrated on. The Filipinos, in this regard, have to somewhat and somehow *prove* that they are, in reality, equal with their colonial masters, with the Spaniards; and so, they, in accordance, would be proven *worthy* of their plea and lobby as well. Consequently, the narratives written in the past should therefrom be reinterpreted and rewritten. The new narratives should carry and put across the political position of its writers; they should perform as instruments, not only of the new learning and interpretation, but most importantly, of political reform and change for the whole Philippines and its politicized people, the Filipinos. The end-result of these intentions was the beginning and propagation of the tripartite periodization of Philippine history. Propaganda triumvirate, Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, and Graciano Lopez Jaena, pioneered and accordingly led to the production of it. *Historía* became effectively, hence, divided into 3 periods: before the Spanish clericalism, during the reign of Spanish clericalism, and after the reign of Spanish clericalism; or, figuratively considered, period of prosperity, period of darkness, and period of enlightenment. The first period proved the existence of a

grandiose civilization on the archipelago, comparable to that of the Europeans during those times; and implicitly stressed the equal historical position of the islands' inhabitants to those of the Spaniards. The second period narrated the poor and dreary situation of the colony at the present, most especially after the formidable rule and influential post of the Catholic missionaries/ clergies started and continually remained. While the third period pondered on the probable picture of the colony, if the cause of described darkness previously, be finally removed. *Historía*, with regards to such a periodization, is naturally reeking with politics. The historical narrative was effectively being used to campaign, a political stand, an ideological promise; that is, a campaign towards the realization of a great political ideal, comparable to what B. Anderson's⁵⁴ so-called *imagined community*. Unconsciously, the narratives were being instrumental to the propagation of the counter-idea of colonialism, the idea of nationalism or, to be exact and apt during those times, the idea of patriotism. In consideration to the political situation of the greater part of the country's population during those times, hence, powerful emotions were being offered and stimulated in the historical narratives therein.

Nonetheless, though not particularly political in nature as the authors intended to, the type of above mentioned *historías* of the propagandistas still made their mark known, not only in the immediate generation of Filipino scholars after them, but even in those generations long afterwards. Two intellectual directions, in relation to the development of the idea of *historía* and within its particular practice as a narrative, were begun and commenced through their researchal exertions and general efforts. Interest on the Philippines before the coming of Spaniards basically led to deeper and more concentrated researchal efforts on the lifeways and civilization of the earlier, ancient communities. Isabelo de los Reyes and Pedro Paterno pioneered in this area. They virtually led, in this regard, to the establishment of the would be called Folklore Studies in the future. Political instrumentalization of the narrative, on the other hand, effectively introduced the idea of the political role that an historian could take, if he would only desire so. This principle borne out politically active individuals, who also practice the historical profession as well. Most prominent examples of these following generation of historians include Trinidad Pardo de Tavera and Teodoro Kalaw. These historians do not see any confusion between the practice of their profession and political activity and participation. Consequently, while determinedly writing somewhat politically *explosive/ stimulating* historical narratives, these historians also see to it that they hold a particularly political position in the recognized, formal greater government structure of the archipelago. *Historía*, in this regard, is effectively being interpreted and utilized as an instrument, so as to propagate a political idealism, specifically, nationalism, to its supposedly Filipino readers. An historian, in this connection, should be foremost a nationalist himself. The propagation of the nationalist sentiment, "the love of one's country", to the targeted readers should clearly be included in his duties, not only as a professional historian, but, most importantly, as a nationalist Filipino at that. This responsibility would persist

⁵⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised

therefrom; it would be carried on from the period of the said political historians till the following generations of historians long afterwards.

In a manner, hence, the predominance of the new Filipino intelligentsia, roughly starting during the second half of the 19th century, most especially in relation to the historiographical developments of the times, marks a kind of intellectual revolution in the country. And though generally a new interpretation only of the European/ Spanish idea of *historía*, in nature, a specific breed of Filipino historians and a particular type of Philippine historiographical perspective were nonetheless borne with and/ or out of these times. Nationalist historians began taking forefront; and nationalist historiography began therefrom taking form, tendencies, and direction. The predominance of *historía*, in this regard, during the times and context of the country became virtually sealed and assured. In fact, even the change of colonial masters of the land did not in any way make this direction vere. On the contrary. Due to the eventually enforced policy of public education system, the change of colonial masters of the land meant the wider distribution, wider propagation, and development of the said general direction in historiography. Formal, institutional education at the times of the Spanish colonization in the Philippines was a privilege; only a few could actually be learned and trained according to what the colonial culture opine as fine and acculturated. Education was, after all, seen and considered for centuries as power; and so, it was only logical for the Spaniards, to control its propagation to the inhabitants of their colony. The new masters, the Americans, on the other hand, opine the opposite of such. Public education of the colony, they opine, would only speed up the process, whereby little brown Americans could virtually be created out of the earlier almost hispanized Filipinos. This procedure is necessary, so as to make the relationship between the mothercountry --- in this case, the U.S.A. --- and the colony --- the Philippines --- would be efficiently harmonious; that is, most especially, in relation to the enforcement and realization of the rule and governance of the former to the latter. The latter should be, so much as it is possible, convinced to become likened with the former. They should not only be educated, they should be alphabetically educated like the former.

A new language (Anglo-English) and a different written scholarship tradition meant this particularized new direction. The colony should learn how to speak, act and think like the colonial master; they should learn to act and be the little brown brothers to their benevolent benefactors, the Americans. The earlier *historía* is these times translated to be known as the Anglo-English *history*; and contrary to the past, widely made available to be learned and be professionally skilled into in the various institutions of learning on the land. Starting 1910, upon the foundation of the University of the Philippines through the colonial Americans, the idea of history became not only the preoccupation of a privileged few, it became officially available to all of those, who could prove themselves competent and interested enough. History is therefrom formally considered as the preoccupation of institutions

of learning; it became a particular preoccupation of the academe and its branches. From 1910 till 1974, it became known and was keenly developed as an academic tradition; our chapter 6 narrates the actual changes, particular to the main theme of our study, during which. Through American professors, including H. Robinson and A. Craig, who taught in the eventually recognized pilot and pioneering U.P., history became slowly considered as a disciplinary exertion; history, in this regard, became a learned profession. The American mentors virtually, therewith, influenced the foremost development, among their Filipino students/ apprentices, of the so-called academic historians.

These academic historians, including L. Fernandez, C. Benitez, and E. Alzona, similar to their American professors, practiced history in the academe and through written, published historical expressions. History found in them the two-way distributive directions; that is, through teaching and through historical writing. However, because of the contextual nature of the discipline's foremost teaching, the distinguished widely-distributed idea and practice of history therefrom was naturally American and Americanized. Written scholarship about, on and even published in the Philippines became innately connected with the Anglo-English written scholarship; that is, just as much as the scholarship of a commonwealth is merely an extension of the scholarship of the colonizer.

Cooperative efforts between Americans and their Filipino counterparts began to be almost tradition as a result of such. This would be continued, merely transformed in amount of unsubtleness, in the following years; even after the massive incoming of developments in philosophy, methodology, and the over-all or general practice of history on the following generations of historians. Disciplinary developments and the increase in number of professional historians on the land could not maintain a singular interpretation, comparative to that of the American professors, on Philippine history.

Disciplinary developments naturally granted the new generation of historians the freedom to research, process, and eventually conclude on their own. It gave way, in this regard, to opinion-makings and argumentation; it gave way to discussions among its disciples. The disciplinary practice of history is also transliterated to discourse. This became materialized not only through the massive production of history textbooks, but eventually, with the development of interpretative histories as well. Filipino historians, including N. Zafra, E. Alip, G. Zaide, T. Agoncillo, R. Constantino, and R. Ileto, pioneered in this major occurrence in the discipline and in the idea of history, as a whole, in the country.

Contrary to the earlier generally pro-American view and approach, these new generations of Filipino historians began taking and practicing the other end of the colonial relationship. Singular, remarkable developments or noticeable ideological directions in the practice --- ranging from pro-Filipino, to Filipinism, to liberal nationalism, to progressive nationalism --- were largely consequential to this. History became therefrom, not merely as a history, but “a new history”, “a history of the people”, “a history of the masses”, “a history of the inarticulate”. History should henceforth be pro-Filipino, pro-people, pro-poor, pro-masses. It should not only be informative, it should most importantly politicize. It should narrate to its Filipino readers, the evils which were brought about by the long years of

colonial experience. It should make clear to its readers, that almost all the unpalatable realities of the present were results of the long foreign colonial experience of the country. It should be most loyal to the Filipino and Philippine nation; it should be nationalist, in approach, interpretation and expression.

But though ideal in sound, form, and delivery, its innate nature is still --- in end-analysis --- critical to said developments. Historical expression, or the whole disciplinary practice for that matter, for the mentioned Filipino historians was all the same basically conceptualized, framed, measured and generally practiced, according to the Anglo-English idea of history. It is delivered, in this view, not necessarily for the so-called Filipino people alone, but for the specifically targeted greater Anglo-English speaking audience. It is expressed in the language of the earlier colonizer of the land; and so, effectively expressed in a language, foreign to that of the idealized and compoundly termed masses. Considered therewith, it could not possibly accord politization or nationalist reawakening among the masses, which it foremost wants to stimulate among its idealized audience. It could not, most importantly, be fully understood by its supposed audience. For them, the said historical expressions are nothing but enumeration of persons, dates, and events; they could barely mean anything more than that.

This, opined Z. Salazar, is principally a problem of perspective. Every single analytical pursuit, interpretative exertion, reading and conclusion within the supposedly national history is based, revolves around, is related to the colonial experience. Colonialism and the foreign colonizers have to always feature in the historical narrative. One would thereby have the impression that there could never be a Philippines nor the Filipinos, without the said political experience and without the foreign colonizers. History, from the time of the introduction of *historía*, became foreign to the greater number of Filipinos. It is only time to retrieve it back. History should be conceptualized, processed, and delivered in Filipino, specifically for Filipinos. The idea, the whole disciplinary practice, should be fully appropriated and Filipinized. Pantayong Pananaw, we/ us perspective, should be able to realize just that. And accordingly enough, it eventually did. It led to the beginning of the Bagong Kasaysayan, and with it, virtually a new beginning in the historiographical developments in the Philippines as an history of ideas; that is, the actual start of a Filipino historiography, the last division of our study, Bagong Kasaysayan as History (1974-2000). Chapters 7, Bagong Kasaysayan as an Historical Concept; Chapter 8, A History Only for the Filipinos; and Chapter 9, The New Philippine History and Historiography, make up this division. Chapter 7 firstly, narrates the beginning of bagong kasaysayan in the context pantayong pananaw's introduction and conceptualization; and secondly, illustrates the historical philosophy and methodology behind it. PP was conceptualized particularly for the disciplinary history during the indigenization crisis of the greater social sciences in the Philippines. Contrary to the externally indigenizing direction of the social sciences of those times, PP introduced and exerted actual efforts towards internal indigenization, most specifically in the disciplinary practice

of history. The complete change of the language of history is the key to this; that is, because, the change of language --- from Anglo-English to F/Pilipino --- would basically alter the perspective of the disciplinal practice. Unlike in the past, whereby the procedure starting from conceptualization until deliveration is based on a foreign idea, it would therefrom be based on the experiences, conceptualizations, interpretations by/ within the Filipino peoples themselves. Central, hence, for/ with/ by/ to the created ideal narrative therewith would be nothing else but the Filipinos. Everything else should be secondary.

PP led to the start of the ideal narrative, the Bagong Kasaysayan. BK is the narrative, written in the Filipino perspective, in PP. It is conceptualized to be the ultimate Filipinized scientific historical expression. It aims to principally revitalize and practice, and eventually scientify the ancient Filipino idea of history, kasaysayan, with the scientific scholarship tradition developed through the idea of *historía*/ history; hence, the name, bagong kasaysayan, new/ renewed kasaysayan. Concretely and shortly stated, it idealizes the creation of significant but scientifically sound histories for the Filipino peoples. It goes for the creation of significant histories, which particularly pass the strict general philosophical and methodological measures created within the idea of *historía*/ history. It expects the determined loyalty of the historian to its targeted audience. It expects changes and innovations, most especially, in relation to the published, written historical expressions in the past. It particularly goes for the narration, not merely of the chronological narrative, but of the ethnicity, the historico-cultural personality of the Filipinos. It wants to achieve the creation of an historical expression, which is independent of the most except to those values and general cultural experiences of the Filipinos themselves. It goes for the writing of Filipino histories. In a view, hence, BK is not merely an idea of history, it is --- historically and historiographically considered --- a processual development as well.

This processual characteristic will be made clearer in our Chapter 8. Chronologically speaking, this chapter discusses the development of both PP and BK, between the years 1974-1992; that is, beginning upon the introduction of PP, 1974, until the year, 1992, when its ideal end-product, BK, through presented and published historical expressions, was undoubtedly passed to the following generation of historians. PP was particularly developed in the espezialized disciplinal area of history, within the context of the internal indigenization movement of the greater Filipino social sciences. It was developed parallel to *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* of the Psychological Sciences and *Agham Pantao* of the Anthropological Science during the 70's by the younger generation of Filipino intellectuals in the U.P. And because the contextual and cultural period then was largely influenced by a characteristic politics of liberation, it was also not surprising that most of the decisions and actions of the academe were simulataneously congruent with or portion of a specific political stature. The national government's martial rule, assisted and supported by the U.S. national government, was not in any way appreciated by most of the members of the academe. In accordance therefrom, the directional

tendencies of the intellectuals' products and works were against the programs and political ideology of the national government and its cooperative partner. For most of the academicians, both the national government and the U.S. government are declared enemies of the people. Both of them should, hence, be not in any way supported; that is, be it in the political, social, institutional, nor intellectual sense. To go and decide against them would be to be politically aware and politically active at the same time. It was common place, in this regard, that most of the members of the academe became supportive, even members, of the leftist movement and its resulting party later on. The Marxist structural, class conflict analysis became predominant in the historical practice. It became seen as the most ideal and convenient interpretative direction of history, wherein history is expected to be seen from below, and so, indigenized in a manner as well. The disciplinal practice is therewith Filipinized, as according to how the leftist historical analysis would allow and illustrate it to be. Similar to beforehand, therefore, history became thereby continuously considered as a political statement; it is the political expression of a progressively-directed, nationalist historian.

But still problematic to this interpretative direction is the fact that, though obviously against the long used to interpretative direction in history, its argumentations and researchal exertions are still very much based or are lauched from the ideas and conceptualizations of the past. It only conveniently takes the other extreme end of the interpretative direction of history, which became most popular during the American regime on the archipelago. It only basically takes the position of the enemies of the Americans; and so, in effect, therewith argues against the earlier colonial masters. Its declaration of indigenization was merely a political instrumentalization. Indigenization was external in approach; it merely realized a specific political ideology in the narrative and did not necessarily redirected the work towards its supposed rightful audience, who are the Filipinos themselves. The produced narrative is still very much directed to the Anglo-English speaking audience, and not for P/Filipino-speaking Filipinos.

PP, on the other hand, was specifically introduced and developed during the same period, so as in end-effect, to offer a better alternative, which should correct the perspective problematic of the more predominant historical analysis and interpretation then. It offers the we/ us perspective, the Filipino perspective, in the making of historical narratives. It offers the perspective, whereby the analyses and interpretations in the narrative would be independent of the measures and conceptualizations, predominantly utilized in the narratives of the past. It insists on the closed wholeness of the Filipino historico-cultural person and personhood, which, because of long virtual desolation --- for forced application of foreign norms and cultural experiences on the Philippines and its peoples --- by the past Filipino intellectuals, should be respectively researched on and independently illustrated through the historical disciplinal practice. It suggests therewith the practice and application of the P/Filipino language in the narrative. P/Filipino would automatically start the utility of the Filipino measures,

standards, and conceptualization within the narrative; and would effectively encapsulate the historical narrative only for the F/Pilipino-speaking thematized and targeted reading/ listening audience. It suggests therewith the creation of a new history, similar to the philosophical principles of the ancient kasaysayan and still loyal to the disciplinal methodology of the foreign historia/ history. It virtually suggests bagong kasaysayan.

This, naturally enough, did not go unnoticed on the part of the historians, who have been long practicing the progressive nationalist/ leftist analysis in their disciplinal practice. PP, in their view, is practically the contrapuntal pole, to what they long believed in and convinced of. It is provincial, nativistic, and much too simplistic, for their taste, style, and practice. It should be somewhat fought against. As a result of this, discourse and argumentation between members of the nationalist historiography and the members of the PP/ BK historiography became done and proceeded with. Debates among Filipino historians --- comparable to an Historikerstreit in nature --- on the writing and interpretation of the nation's history were therefrom done. Written and unwritten publication through various media from both sides became prevalent and/ or widely-distributed. The period saw with it the most productive times in the actual development of the historiographical science on the archipelago. Publication became done, not only for the supposedly targeted audience, but for colleagues as well. They became done for a form of vertical, synchronic discourse among the different historians' circles of the land. Passing of information and knowledge in the disciplinal practice from one generation to another became therewith more efficiently done as in the past. Discourse and argumentation between older historians, in this regard, did not become lost to the following generations of historians or, to be apt, to the following generations of history students.

PP and BK virtually saw its triumph in this aspect. The nationalist historiography do not have any problem at all in its transference from one generation to the next; it is innately built in the national education system. PP and BK are, on the other hand, new; and so, do not particularly have a specific place in the system. They are only found in the bounded area of the higher institutions of learning, in the universities. But through the ongoing debates among the historians and through the sheer mass of their historians' publication, they eventually received the center of the intellectuals' foreground. It was not too long that they became considered and accordingly applied by the following generations of historians, who are at the same time, future teachers of a number of learning institutions all over the land. This chosen directional tendency of these younger generation would be clearly witnessed in 1992; that is, in the year that most of them closed their formal, institutional learning in the disciplinal practice of history. Most of the presented studies during this year showed the general applicative realization of PP in the narrative. Most of them are written in F/Pilipino and obviously contributions, so as to illustrate the Filipino historico-cultural ethnicity and nationhood through the narrative. Most

of them are considerably already portions and representations of the (re)new(ed) history, most of them are bagong kasaysayan.

With this final development is BK or, to be more apt, a history only for Filipinos, effectively started. It commences the furtherance of a Filipino historiography, pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino. Our Chapter 9, *The New Philippine History and Historiography*, discusses the development and history therefrom. It discusses the development of Filipino historiography between 1993-2000. The new conceptualization and general periodization of the national history is presented and analyzed. It studies how the principles and philosophy of PP are realized and put into practice through the concretization and realization of BK. The publication and general production of both are therewith concentrated upon in the chapter. Consequently, it was also not to be helped that the said massive production is somehow related to the ongoing historians' debate in the land. Specific production with regards to this are also tackled; and accordingly, analyzed. On the whole, therefore, both the figurative horizontal and vertical written Filipino historical discourse are discussed. These discussions, expectedly enough, led to the furtherance and modification of the all-encompassing Filipino historiography; they caused actual change in the practice of the historical discipline. These developments in the historiographical plane, including specificities in the methodological area as well as in meanings and conceptualizations, are therewith presented in the chapter. Modification of the classical historical method, through the reinterpretation and renewed look at the auxiliary disciplines, and through the analysis of the multi- and interdisciplinary approaches in history, was studied through the various publications and formally presented studies of the period 1992-2000. New interpretations and new meanings in the historical narrative, including himagsikan, kabayanihan, babaylan, kababaihan, among others, are also laid down, for closer look and study. Historiographical offshoots and individual discourse representations, which includes makabayang kasaysayan, kasaysayang bayan, and talastasang bayan, were also discussed and analyzed, in view of the PP's and BK's foremost introduction and singular development. And finally, as the second half of the chapter, the new Filipino historiography is discussed in the context of the international academic discourse. With this portion is the question and thrown argument of provincialism, ethno-centrism, simplicity of the nationalist historiography school against PP and BK school dealt with. Translation and its role in the academic discourse and/ or translation as an intellectual discourse itself is put into light; and in relation therewith, the idea of Pangbanwang Pag-aaral/ Banwang Pag-aaral/ Bayanang Pag-aaral of the Filipino historiography is also presented. PP's stress is the utility of the Filipino perspective in an ideal narrative, in the BK, does not equal to the total closure of the Filipino historical discourse to that of the historical discourse of other countries of today's world. It means determination and maintenance of the Filipino perspective throughout the narrative, throughout the specifically engineered historical expression. It means that the narrative should be in F/Pilipino; and that it should be most importantly descriptive of the Filipino historico-cultural nationhood. It is not closed to knowledge and discourse

from the outside. On the contrary. It is open and welcoming to knowledge and discourse of other lands. Its singular requirement therewith is translation. Knowledge and discourse of other cultures and peoples should foremost be translated directly to Filipino before it could be acceptably part and portion of the Filipino historical discourse. They have to be first processed in Filipino standards, measures, conceptualizations; so that they could be considered useful in the discourse. Because if they be translated first to Anglo-English and then to F/Pilipino, similar to what was done in the past, then a lot of the meanings and nuances would already be lost in the original text, before it could even reach the actual target text language, which is F/Pilipino. Medial language utility in the translation procedure is largely avoided in the new historiography. That is, because translation itself is a form of betrayal to the original text already; and so, when there are more than two languages involved in the procedure, there are even more room for treachery occurrence in the eventual arrival to the target language therefrom. Direct translation pursues to protect the originality of a text (specific embodiment of knowledge and/ or intellectual discourse from other cultures) upon its arrival to the target language text; at the same time, that it processes and appropriates the same, so that it could be part and parcel to the ongoing and/ or targeted dynamic, internal intellectual discourse of the Philippines. Translation, in this regard, is a necessary procedure, so that a foreign text could be particularly useful and integrated to the set historical narrative; that is, a considerably innate step towards the realization henceforth of the classical historical method of the historical science, which, in end-analysis, remains significant even to the new Filipino historiography of the times and context.

The work is ended by a Conclusion (Bagong Kasaysayan, Pantayong Pananaw and the Redefinition of the Filipino Historiography). It discusses PP and BK as an historical, academic, and intellectual discourse; and explains therewith the eventual birth of a considerable Filipino historiography in the country. PP is pictured to be the major factor, which eventually led to the creation of the ideal renewed kasaysayan, the renewed history. And BK is stressed as an idea of history, which embody not only the disciplinal practice during the latest period in the country's historiography's history as an history of ideas, but the processual development of the same as well. PP and BK are therewith illustrated as the major concepts, which eventually caused the furtherance, not only of the actual and particular Filipino historiography, but of the written Filipino discourse as a whole. The earlier ideas are thence pictured to be a continuously being realized reality of today's times and context.

In accordance therewith, to finally conclude this study, we present, as the last portion of this part, a perspectival analysis on the long-range effect of the new historiography's furtherance and development within the disciplinal practice itself and in the context of the greater social sciences of the country in the probable future.

Part I

Kasaysayan as History (c.a. 200 B.C. –1565 A.D.)

The ancient Filipino concept for historicity is embodied in the old word *kasaysayan*. It literally pertains not just to any story but, quite explicitly, to a *meaningful* or *significant story*. Kasaysayan is built from the root word or word base *saysay* which means (a) story or narrative and (b) significance or importance. It, along with the mentioned meanings, could be found and read in the *Wörterbuch des Uraustronesische*. And so, it can, in this regard, be generally gleaned and easily taken in that, firstly, kasaysayan was already in operation long before today's political Philippines was established, and secondly, the same word functioned as the concept of/for history among the then living ancient communities on the archipelago.

These *histories* --- comparable to how they were handled within a number of the times' other communities within the present Southeast Asian Region --- were orally expressed by a communities' designated storyteller. This storyteller --- who's expectedly a member of the islands' ancient community, *pamayanan* ---, in turn, representably judges what or which is important in a particular *history* or in a kasaysayan exemplar. And because these narratives were designed, most especially about and for the times' targeted appreciating community (in which the storyteller is an organic member of), what were considered most important in each of them normally consisted of the details of the targeted community's everyday living itself. Stories were, thus, critically engineered, in a manner, where the appreciating community, as a whole, will most particularly feature in. Stories were about, on, for, and by the community and its members. Upon consideration, hence, implicit in the application of the history-concept (kasaysayan) therein is the practice and application of the today-recognized Filipino psyche/ (analytical) philosophy of *loob*, inside, as well as *labas*, outside, which were, therewith primarily used in its relational sense and reference. To wit, hence, the world inside (*loob*) the community in relation to the world outside (*labas*) were almost always the fulcrum, wherewith each kasaysayan virtually revolves. These stories were orally transferred from one generation to the next; and so, they are innately parts of the greater oral traditions of today's Filipino people. Kasaysayan could, in relation to this, not be particularly and strictly accepted as elemental examples of the people's ancient material culture. They were not determinedly written for the usual timelessness among other *literate* communities.

Writing, though quite widely practiced among the ancients, was not utilized to record stories; it was not used for the record of narratives. It was executed for ornamental and/or for generally personal reasons on quite perishable materials --- including leaves, barks of trees, etc. ---, most especially in the context of the subtropical climate of the islands. Writing was used during which, to engrave or

decorate pots, as well to account everyday human/personal deeds, which, among many others, includes correspondences, hidden messages, contracts, etc. *Written materials* of the ancients --- excellent examples of such, include the manunggul jar and the recently discovered **Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription** (LCI) ---, in this regard, were neither specifically produced nor created, for the eventual, expected immortality of its creators among the following generations. Written materials were created, most especially for its creators, within its actual times and context of production. And so, in this view, whatever ancient written materials, found in a number of Philippine museums and private collections today, are not originally (in relation to their writers) meant to be where they are presently. Because of the accident (or non-accident, depending on one's view) of their creation and particular area of immediate storage --- with consideration to the nature of the islands' subtropical climatic condition ---, these written materials somewhat stood years, even centuries. They eventually came in the hands of social scientists, who, in turn, for their part, saw to it, that these same written materials be accordingly preserved and scientifically maintained in areas, where they could professionally and publicly be analyzed, studied, or simply, be witnessed by following generations. They are therefrom taken in as proofs of today's Philippines' and Filipinos' times and contexts' past. They are material witnesses of the islands' and islanders' ancient existence and living. They are the documents of the ancient communities' everyday ways of living. They are, thence, exemplars of the ancient people's material culture.

C.a. 200 B.C. is the rough date of the earliest proof of such a material culture, **Manunggul Jar**, of the country today. It was found in one of Palawan's cave systems, in the southern portion of the country's biggest island, Luzon. It belongs to today's major material exemplar of the earliest Philippine communities' secondary form of burial. The jar is quite extraordinary, not only because of its age, but because of the inferred *stories* (about its creators), it figuratively holds and carries. It leads and gives clues to the existence, life, and even the worldview of its ancient creators. The manunggul jar somewhat illustrates the community's general belief system; and so, paints a part of their world of concepts and conceptualizations (their figurative mindsets!) as well. Though its design, form and body individually narrate stories and messages about its creators, the jar's cover --- specifically shaped with a small boat with two passengers (the rower and the passenger who is pertained to be the dead person, lying inside the jar, because of his accordingly curved physical features and posture) --- remains its most remarkable feature. Quite clearly implied therein is the creator's --- or the community's, wherein the creator was a member of, --- all-encompassing world concept and even his cosmos concept. The jar illustrates and reiterates that the early communities generally practiced/lived the belief that: after the normal physical death of a person, his "second" person --- the **kaluluwa** (soul) --- *travels*, so as in the end, reach a particular *ort* --- the **kabilang buhay** or the other side of life ---, where it could further live a particular existence. There is an implied cosmos order herein: two worlds, in the communities' mind, continuously exist --- one is definitely material, while the other,

considerably spiritual. These two worlds parallelly continues and makes up the all-encompassing metaphorical cosmic order, wherein the islands' early communities live and determine their life and existence.

Our kasaysayan, to return to the foremost concept of in this study's portion, is the all-encompassing illustration of this cosmic order. It is created and naturally exists in the material half; its importance, on the other hand, reaches over to the other spiritual half. It could, as in the example of the manunggul jar, symbolically be seen in the communities' material culture; but, more remarkably, it became clearly illustrated in the communities' oral traditions. Kasaysayan was embodied in the early communities' folklore, myths and legends, ethno-epic; and later on, in the islamized communities' genealogies (salsillah or tarsilahs). Examples of such include the *legend of Sicalac and Sicavay*, the *ethno-epic of Bathala*, the *Sulu Sultanate's genealogy*, among a number of others. Kasaysayan, upon analysis of mentioned examples, is illustrative of almost all the aspects of the early communities life and existence. It describes --- and so, also generally rationalizes the historicity of --- the social, economic, political, and spiritual order, whereby the islands' inhabitants and their communities continuously lived on and lived with. It illustrate, therewith, the singularity or the individuality of every narrating community on the islands; and so, when consequently studied in the long-run, it also preserves the particular identity of each of the ancient communities on the archipelago, or --- to be all-embracing --- the particular identity of the ancient past of today's Philippines and Filipinos.

Chapter 1

Kasaysayan as an Historical Concept

A language is more than an instrument for communication; it is the record, source, and path of a particular way of living, of a culture. Men develop words, because, for quite selfish reasons, an experience of theirs should be somewhat marked for future use; the taste or feel of the mentioned experience could therefrom be further given to other men, who haven't experience it beforehand. Words, hence, are tags of *occurrences* or experiences around men; specific words, in this way, are specific records of a past as well. They are codes, tags of earlier know-how. But words, at the same time, can also be sources --- that is, sources for further possibilities and for the realization of wider, almost uncharted horizons. Words help men to plan his next actions; they help them in their future actions. They set a passage for men to somewhat pull through towards an unknown future. Words within a language could therefore be looked at as one of the best sources of historical knowledge; that is, most especially for a history of man's knowledge itself, for a history of mindsets.

Pilipino is the most widely spoken language in the Philippine archipelago. It is the considered national language of the land; that is, because of (1) its wide distribution; (2) its supposedly most elegant form among most of the Philippine languages; (3) its utility popularity in most of national publications; (4) its surfacial uniformity of practice when it comes to its own family of dialects; (5) its historical utility -- it was already in use, even before any of the foreigners arrived --- in Manila, the nation's capital; and (6) its over-all historicity, with regards to the war for independence led by the *Kataastaasang Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (Highest, Most Honored Union of the Children of Motherland) during the late nineteenth century. Pilipino belongs to the Western Austronesian⁵⁵ (also known as Malayo-Polynesian) family of languages. We will, on the whole, use

⁵⁵ The subject of the Austronesian or Malayo Polynesian was hugely dealt on by Peter Bellwood, one of the most respected linguists/anthropologists/ social scientists/ theorists of the century. His major theses on the subject (published in his article "A Hypothesis for Austronesian Origins" in *Asian Perspectives*, XXVI(1), 1984-1985) are the following: "(1) Between about 4000 B.C. and A.D. 1000 the members of the major linguistic group of mankind, the Austronesians, underwent an expansion and dispersal for which there is no parallel in human history. Their descendants now number perhaps 250 million people and occupy Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, parts of southern Vietnam, Madagascar, and most of the Pacific Islands, as far as Easter Islands. (2) ... the basic data for discussing the prehistory of a linguistic category of mankind, such as the Austronesians, are derived first and foremost from linguistics. The Austronesians are not a clearly visible group in terms of race or of ethnographic or of archaeological culture in many areas of their distribution, with the important exception of those Pacific Islands which only they settled in prehistoric times. Thus, hypotheses of the ultimate origins and early expansions of the Austronesian-speaking population as a whole can only be supported by data of biological anthropology and archaeology and not generated from them. (3) (Austronesian) cultural patterns have been affected by millenia of cultural evolution... Physical characteristics have been affected by intermarriage with other residents of the regions... But languages, despite millenia of borrowing from unrelated tongues, will generally preserve traces of family history and expansion, which in the case of prehistoric, tribal societies such as the Austronesians, can be assumed to correlate fairly directly with the expansionary history of their human speakers. (4) Proto-Austronesian (PAN) which appears to have been located in Taiwan, may have shared a remoter, common ancestry with some of the Thai languages, and this suggests a common ancestry for the (Pre-)

Pilipino as the language source of the concepts and/or ideas so as to have a general picture of the people's sense of and for history and historicity, which principally belongs to the major reasons of our study. In application, henceforth, we would concentrate our foremost efforts in analyzing the word *kasaysayan* --- considerably the embodiment of the ancient communities' concept and sense of history.

Kasaysayan is an old Pilipino concept which came from the root word *saysay*, that means firstly, story and secondly, important or significant. In a manner, *kasaysayan* means story which is important or significant to a particular group of people. The existence of the old word itself is witness to the Filipino people's long historical tradition. History, back then, was more oral than written. *Kasaysayan* are usually stories about how a family came to have the political power in a group or second, how a

Austronesians on the South Chinese mainland eventhough no Austronesian languages are spoken there today. (5) During the 5th and 4th millenia B.C. early Austronesians with a cereal based economy (rice and millet) expanded from Southern China into Taiwan and Northern Philippines. There, and later throughout most of Indonesia, they had technological and demographic (high population density) advantages that allowed them to replace gradually the indogenous hunter-gatherer Australoid populations. (6) The Indo-Malaysian archipelago at 5000 years ago appears, therefore, to have been occupied by hunting and gathering societies... Between 5000 and 3000 years ago the major phenomenon pf Austronesian expansion changed the whole face of the region. (7) The Austronesian languages have their origins in the region of Southern China and Taiwan, and I refuse to believe that they spread through the Indo-Malaysian archipelago by anything short of a major expansion of their speakers accompanied by assimilation of pre-existing non-Austronesian groups. (8) Thus, by 5500 years ago expansion had taken place from the rice cultures of Southern China into Taiwan, by 5000 years ago it had continued into the Philippines, and central Indonesia was perhaps well settled by 4000 years ago. (9) Note here that I am discussing an expansion which took 4000 years to reach completion; I am not talking about ferocious conquering migrants sweeping all before them. The Austronesian story was partially one of assimiation of other cultures, and, in Melanesia, partially one of being assimilated. (10) ... The source region for Austronesian expansio lies amongst the rice-cultivating neolithic societies of Southern China, which is where both the linguistic and archaeological trails lead us. The expansion was slow and piecemeal, and an initial source through population growth and a need for new land seems to me to be a perfectly adequate explanation for the first millenium or so. As groups expanded so they developed better methods of canoe construction and navigation, and since they almost certainly had a stratified form of society... there would perhaps be every reason for younger sons of chiefs, restricted in their inheritances at home, to attempt to found villages and chiefly lineages in newly cleared areas of land. Much of the resultant expansion involved co-existence with aboriginal hunter gatherers." (pp. 108-109)

Here is his own narrative theory on the Austronesian expansion: "(1) By 4000 B.C., the southern coastal provinces of China (Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong,) were settled in part by agricultural communities with an economic and technological repertoire of domesticated rice and other plants and animals, pottery, polished stone adzes, spindle whorls (and weaving), skilled bone and woodworking traditions, and most probably some expertise in fishing and canoe construction. (2) Sometime during the fifth millenium B.C. members of these communities (probably from Fujian) crossed the Formosa Strait to Taiwan. Presumably they used canoes, and presumably the groups were small --- one or a few families. Such movements may have occured on several independent occasions, and to guess precise individual reasons for their occurance would clearly be fruitless exercise. (3) These groups were able, first of all, to survive and probably to establish nonhostile relations with existing hunting and gathering groups, and secondly to establish viable agricultural economies in which cereal cultivation (rice, millet) played a major role. Features of homeland cultural systems which were transferred by these settlers were probably reproduced with rapidly occuring variation caused by cultural loss and innovation, and by the time the Tapenkeng culture becomes visible in the archaeological record of the fourth millenium B.C. there is no remaining indicator of any precise homeland on the Asian mainland. Once viable reproductive systems were established on Taiwan the population was able to commence a process of agricultural and population expansion which still continues among Austronesian-speaking population today, as, for instance, at the interface between Filipino agriculturalists and Aeta hunters in Northern Luzon." (p. 115)

There will be more scientists who would follow, further, and challenge the above mentioned theories; but suffice it for our purposes that although the issue of Austronesian is a linguistic one, it can answer to massive inquiries on the way of life and/or overall culture of most of the societies in the Southeast Asian and Oceanian regions of the world.

people came to be great. Kasaysayan explains where a particular people came from, what are the roles of the *anitos* (spirits) in the people's everyday living, and/or where a particular group of people are going. Kasaysayan centers on the subject, it centers on a particularly thematized people; other groups or elements are thereby only mentioned and discussed, in order to even more clarify what really happened to the subject of the story which is being told.

In a manner, kasaysayan effectively uses the philosophy of *loob*, in relation to its (philosophical) contrast, *labas*. **Loob** is a very versatile and highly figurative word. Its rough translation is *inside*; on the other hand, in the rhetorical sense, it could be taken to mean *the world inside*. **Labas** is the direct contrast of loob; it translates to *outside*, thus, *the world outside*. Loob, the world inside, in constant communication and connection to labas, the world outside, is, on the whole, the theme with which kasaysayan operates in. Each one is important because they are essentially part of one another; that is, there would be no labas without loob, or no loob without labas. Kasaysayan centers on loob; it discusses labas, only to make the explanation of loob even clearer --- that is why, there is the existence of the phrase, *(na)sa loob ng* (kasaysayan), which translates to, in(side) kasaysayan. On the whole, kasaysayan functions as the foretelling of what the people consider as the most important events in *their* past, present and probable future; at the same time, it functions as the way in which the same people pursues to realize, to stress, and to reiterate their greatness as a particular group. Kasaysayan would be stories of how men and women moved in history with the guidance of the spirits or gods around them; it is a story of how the two worlds, the world of men and the world of spirits, connect or interconnect.

But kasaysayan is foremost, significance, in meaning. And so, just as much as it is primarily abstract, like a story, it could also be non-abstract, like an object of importance. The burial jar, **Manunggul** (dated to be made in c.a. 200 B.C.), is one of such. It is not only historical; it is history, kasaysayan. It practically tells a lot about the material culture of the early communities on the archipelago. It is the country's considerable actual concretization of man's early belief system and, in a way, man's concept of himself --- which is, on the whole, the major concern of any historical narrative and expression. The jar places man in a material world, with a clear awareness that such is merely a phase. There should be another living afterwards, *sa kabilang buhay*, where the soul, *kaluluwa*, will go to after its material death. This implicit bond between the material world and the other world could be taken to mean a specific concept of continuity, an aspect which plays a part in any historical conceptualization, among the ancients. And so, in a way, through the manunggul jar, the ancients were also able to tell their history --- their kasaysayan --- if not as a singular political people, like their descendants on the Filipinos today, as a singular cultural being.

The Manunggul Jar, on the other hand, is not the singularly most significant material culture exemplar of the ancient communities on the archipelago. The archipelago's earliest, most-widely spread form of writing, the *baybayin*, shares the same attributions as well. It is another form of the community's "concretization" of itself and its own over-all concept of historicity. Writing is figuratively taken here to mean as a particular action of man, done in memory of what happened today, so that it could become useful in the immediately following days. There is an implicit existence therein of the role of man in an ort within a specific time; and so, he should expectedly be placed in a particular contextual time. He becomes, at the same time, effectively historical. Consequently, when technically considered, he is placed and contextualized to fulfill the historiographically most important element in the disciplinal practice --- he moves history and he makes history. The archaeological find, **Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription**, is the latest, recognized proof of the early community's writing on and around today's Philippine archipelago. It is dated to be between 822 – 900 A.D. The LCI was only found in January, 1990; as a result, the actual meanings of this find is still being processed and discussed on till the present. Nonetheless, suffice it to say that the LCI proofs the literacy and undeniable immediate-world (Greater Southeast Asian islands world) awareness of the early communities. It represents the early community's awareness of the concept of time and space continuity, plus the all-encompassing role that man plays therein. Writing and literacy was widely practiced in many communities on the islands during then; a number of scattered younger (in comparison to LCI) anthropological material culture find compoundly proves this. Reading and writing seemed to be quite a common-place among the ancients. In fact, they were so widely and lengthly practiced, that even the sixteenth century friar, Pedro Chirino⁵⁶, could not only help, but be witness to such throughout his earliest contacts and pioneering communication-pursuits with the islands' inhabitants. As a result therein, the ancient communities' form of writing --- figuratively referring to a part of the communities' sense of history --- became recorded in Latinized form of writing.

A. Origin, Meanings and Nuances of *Kasaysayan*

Most of the linguists agree that every language has two major aspects: morphology and psychology. They are inseperable; that is, because sound and signification as well as form and function are inseperable in the life of any language. Every language is the totality of sound phenomena which are produced physiologically and likewise percieved physiologically.⁵⁷ Words are formed by the physical

⁵⁶ See: Pedro Chirino, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, Roma: 1604. Various translations of this work is also available; one of the more famous and used ones is that of Emma Blair and James Robertson (Eds.), *Philippine Islands*, Vol. 12-13, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903. Another translation is: Pedro Chirino, *The Philippines in 1600*, Manila: Historical Conservation Society, (1604), 1969.

⁵⁷ Cecilio Lopez, "The Tagalog Language: An Outline of its Psychomorphological Analysis", Ernesto Constantin (Ed.), *Selected Writings of Cecilio Lopez in Philippine Linguistics*, Quezon City: Archives of

man in answer to his material wants and/or needs. It is conceivable thus that a language is a communication of man's experience and at the same time perception and understanding of the same. Communication of experience may be "assertion (predominantly intellectual), questions and inquiries (with participation of feeling), and calls (predominantly affective). Questions deal with realities (predominantly intellectual) or doubt (predominantly affective), or affirmation or negation (in expectation). Calls may be an appeal, a request or an exclamation."⁵⁸

Thoughts are both communicable and linked with each other. They include conceptions and notions. Conception here refers to intuitive recollections of experiences of the senses and are seldom free from notions; while notions itself may be traced back to intuitive conceptions to which they were previously associated. Accordingly, memory or recollection do not retain the separate contents of intuitive conception and notions. Memory or recollection retains the manner of association of conception and notions; and this may be freed and abstracted from the intuition.⁵⁹ Morphology and psychology are inseparable in a language because every physical formative element is utilized for a definite function. Words are there to name conceptions, to indicate notions as particles, and to express feelings as interjection.

The most widely spoken language in the Philippine archipelago is called Pilipino. It has been oft the subject of many scientific investigations through the years⁶⁰; but the one which definitely and pioneeringly put it within and portion to the Western family of Austronesian languages was that of Otto Dempwolff. The Austronesian family do not have a uniform grammatical construction as do Semitic and Bantu families; but it possesses a common stock of words which comprises several hundred word bases (WB) and roots.⁶¹ Dempwolff executed a comparative investigation of words within languages of the Austronesian family; that is, principally and exclusively the phonetic relationships of words. Although he was familiar with relatively more languages, he concentrated his investigative efforts on Tagalog (a.k.a. today as Pilipino), Toba-Batak, Javanese, Fijian, Mota, Tuna, Futuna, Samoa and Tongga. The major conclusions he arrived at and worked on are, in his words,

Daraufhin läßt sich folgendes Bild entwerfen: Ein hellfarbiger Volkstamm von einheitlicher Sprache hat vor vielen Generationen die Inselwelt des stillen Ozeans kolonisiert, Wo er eine dunkelfarbige Bevölkerung antraf, hat er sie mit seiner Kultur und Sprache beeinflusst und auch von ihrer Kultur und Sprache vieles aufgenommen. Soweit auf jenen Inseln Malaria und andere Seuchen herrschten, ist seine Rasse untergegangen, hat seine Kultur und Sprache aber deutliche

Philippine Languages and Dialects, Philippine Linguistics Circle and Samahang Linguwistika ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, 1977, p. 106.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.108.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ For a bird's eyeview of how Pilipino (a.k.a. Tagalog) was subject to many studies through the years, please look at: Ernesto Constantion, "Tagalog and Other Major Languages of the Philippines," Thomas Seebock (Ed.), Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol. 8, Linguistics in Oceania, The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1971, pp. 112-154.

⁶¹ Cecilio Lopez, Studies on Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes, Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1939, p. 11.

Reste hinterlassen. Erst als dieser Volksstamm Malaria-freie Inseln antraf, konnte er sich halten und entfalten.

Seine Muttersprache bleibt bei diesen langen und weiten Fahrten nicht rein, sie behält aber einen gemeinsamen Wortschatz und gemeinsame Lauterscheinungen sowohl in dem Sprachgut, das er an der Völker abgab, als auch in dem das er selbst hinüberberettete. So sind Melanesische und Polynesische Sprachen untereinander verwandt geworden, haben aber von den jetzigen indonesischen Einzelsprachen nichts abbekommen, sondern nur mit ihnen einen gemeinsamen Ursprung: alle drei Gruppen sind **austronesisch**.

Abgesehen von dieser Hypothese, rein linguistisch betrachtet, ist die Bezeichnung "austronesisch" für jenen Teil des hier behandelten Wortschatzes berechtigt, der sich auch in Melanesien und Polynesien vorfindet.

Streng angenommen dürfte man nur diesen Teil des **Urindonesischen** (UIN), auch **Uraustronesisch** (abgekürzt, UAN) nennen. Man kann aber nicht ausschließen daß noch manches Wort des UIN, das auf Indonesien beschränkt zu sein scheint, in Melanesien und Polynesien auftaucht. Deshalb erscheint es erlaubt, den gesamten Wortschatz des Indonesien eingebürgerten Fremdwörter, die sich in Melanesien und Polynesien nicht nachweisen lassen.⁶²

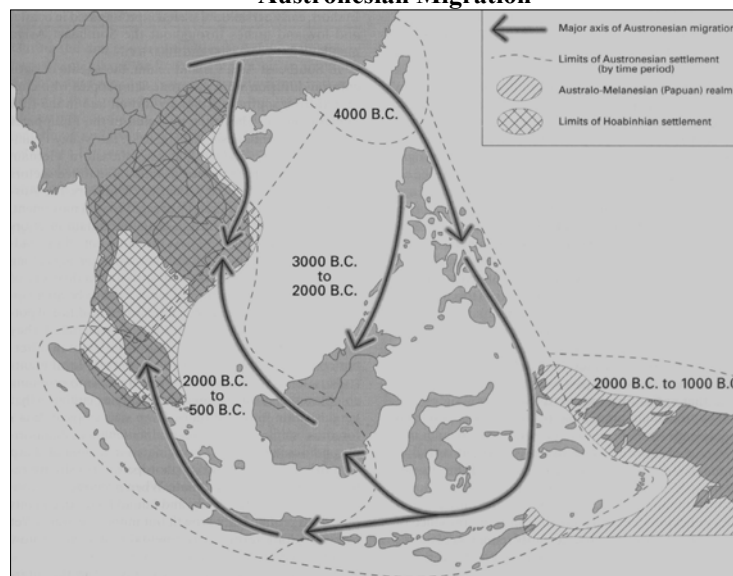
There is a singular mother tongue --- used here in its most embracing meaning --- that was largely spoken in the areas of today's Southeast Asia and Oceania. And although it evolved into different individual languages because of various individual experiences it experienced upon practice of eventually separated (for forced or non-forced migration) speaking peoples, within the eventually created languages therefrom exists fossils comprised of words which clearly points to a single mother tongue: Urindonesisch (UIN), Ancient Indonesian or Uraustronesisch (UAN), Ancient Austronesian.

Within Pilipino are clues of the mentioned old motherlanguage; a major part of the sources of the people's technology in prehistory are embodied in these *clues*. These old words, in a way, figuratively make the huge world portion of Southeast Asia (which includes southern portion of China as well as Formosa or Taiwan) and Oceania smaller, and so, effectively closer to the Philippines; while, at the same time, figuratively unifying the experiences of men in prehistory. Nonetheless, it should be still stressed that differences in time (referring to actual migration) and space (referring to geography and topography), in consideration to the whole implied process therein, clearly matters; they make up some of the most significant factors, which would eventually lead to the evolution of each child-tongue within the Austronesian family of languages.⁶³ A study of each *child-language* will thus singly points to the differences of experiences made by each community; and so, in accordance and general application, the study of Pilipino will point to the experiences, to the past of the communities who migrated in the present Philippine Islands.

⁶² Otto Dempwolff, Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzen, II. Band, Deduktive Anwendung des Urindonesischen auf austronesische Einzelsprachen, Hamburg: Friedrichsen, De Gruyter & Co., 1937, pp.193-194.

⁶³ The nuances of this phenomena of differentiation after massive migration is relatively well discussed in the article: Isidore Dyen, "The Austronesian Languages and Proto-Austronesian", Thomas Seebeek (Ed.), Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol. 8, Linguistics in Oceania, The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1971, pp.5-54. It would be most interesting as well if one could get a hold of the following to know the views of a Filipino ethnologist/historian Salazar on the same matters. They are in: Zeus Salazar, "La grotte comme lieu d'enterrement aux Philippines, en Indo-Malaisie et au Madagascar," and "Für eine Gesamtgeschichte des

Figure 2
Austronesian Migration



Leinbach and Ulack, 2000

Humboldt was convinced that Pilipino is the richest and most perfect of all the languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family. “It possesses”, he said, “all the forms collectively in which particular ones are found singly in other dialects; and it has preserved them all with very trifling exception, and in entire harmony and symmetry.”⁶⁴ We cannot really declare if Humboldt is right for that would be positively arrogant on our part and that leads to illogical and counter-productive competition between nations of the Austronesian world, but suffice it to say that he is right in saying that Pilipino is a rich language. Within it are words which provide clues to the people’s past, to the people’s way of thinking. The power of words to act as sources to the people’s mind is our main concern in this study. To paint, hence, the Filipino people’s oldest sense of and for history and historicity, we will utilize the old word *kasaysayan*.

Kasaysayan is a Pilipino⁶⁵ proper noun which roughly translates to the English proper noun history. It is composed of the root⁶⁶ word *saysay* and the affix *ka* as well as the endfix *an*.⁶⁷ *Saysay* means story

Malaiisch-Philippinisch-Indonesischen Kulturraums,” in *The Malayan Connection, Ang Pilipinas sa Dunia Melayu*, Lunsod Quezon: Palimbagan ng Lahi, 1998, pp. 239-258, pp. 283-300.

⁶⁴ Septy Ruzui, *A Survey of Relations Between Indonesian, Malay, and some Philippine Languages*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka, 1968, p.43.

⁶⁵ „Pilipino” is widely accepted and used today by most of the members of the academic community to mean the national language which is primarily based in the language Tagalog --- spoken in most of the areas of Central Luzon, namely in the provinces of Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, Laguna, Batangas, Quezon --- but continually accepting and appropriating words from other languages in the Philippines as well as from American English. That is, although it should also be mentioned that once in a while, it is also interchangeable with *Filipino* to refer to the same thing. Here is the seeming stance of most of the Filipino linguists on the subject which was published in the *Philippine Social Science Encyclopedia*:

The 1987 Constitution prescribes Filipino as “the national language of the Philippines” (Article XIV Section 6) and an “official language.” (Article XIV Section 7) Such provision was the result of the 1986 Constitutional Commission’s deliberation recognizing Pilipino as the nucleus of Filipino being a language with its own vocabulary, and literature and a language widely spoken and used in the country.

The Commission on the Filipino Language, established by Republic Act No. 7104 (August 14, 1991), passed Resolution No 1-92 on May 13, 1992, stating the working description of Filipino, to wit: “That language, spoken

or narrative; *ka*⁶⁸ can mean the second (or generally, the other person or persons) person to which a story or narrative is being made to or made for; and finally, *an* means the ort in which the story is being made. It is basically formed from a proper noun as well; other examples of such a procedure include *kalikasan*, nature, which is from root *likas* and suffixes *ka* and *an* (*ka* + *likas* + *an*) or *kagandahan*, beauty, which is from root *ganda* and suffixes *ka* and *an* (*ka* + *ganda* + *an* --- two vowels cannot be put together in new word formation, *h* is normally put between, therefore, *ka* + *ganda* + *han*).⁶⁹ But let us look at the construction of the word closer; *kasaysayan* is composed of a word base (*saysay*) and two suffixes (*ka* and *an*). The Word Base is quite a complicated matter therefore we will concentrate our efforts on the suffixes first and then tackle the WB in the later part of the discussion. In the Pilipino noun construction is the suffix *ka* mostly used to mean a collective; nonetheless, according to their meaning upon use, it can also be classified according to the following:

and written in Metro Manila, the National Capital Region, and other urban centers in the archipelago, which is used as the language of communication between ethnic groups. Like any living language, Filipino is in a process of development through loans form Philippine languages and non-native languages and through the evolution of different varieties of language for various social backgrounds, and for topics of conversation and scholarly discourse.” (Encyclopedia of the Philippine Social Sciences Vol. II, Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council, 1993, pp.369-370.)

⁶⁶ According to Robert Blust, the term „root“ is best known from its application to the Semitic and the Indo-European languages... “Many members of the large Austronesian (formerly Malayo-Polynesian) family of languages --- particularly those in island Southeast Asia --- exhibit a type of “root” which differs both from the Semitic and from the Indo-European kinds. Like the Semitic root, the Austronesian root can be isolated both in attested and reconstructed languages. Unlike the Semitic root, but like the Indo-European root, the Austronesian root can occur as an independent form. Despite these points of similarity, the root of Austronesian languages differs from the better known root of Semitic and Indo-European languages in a number of respects. First, the Austronesian root consists of an entire CVC (or, rarely, CV) syllable in which there is no limitation on the filling of consonant and vowel positions apart from the general morpheme structure constraints of the language. Second, the root may occur as an independent form, but only if it is onomatopoeic. Third, except when it occurs as an independent form, the root is always the last syllable of a disyllable or longer word. Fourth, not all morphemes contain a root. Fifth, some roots exhibit a pattern of vowel variation which appears to be correlated with semantic gradation rather than with grammatical function.” Robert Blust, *Austronesian Root Theory. An Essay on the Limits of Morphology*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1988, pp. 1-2. It is, therefore, on the whole to be expected that the root in most of Austronesian languages --- in our specific case, Pilipino --- has both the characteristics of being independent and dependent. Independently are Pilipino root words meaningful; on the other hand, dependent to suffixes are the same root words also significant.

⁶⁷ A Filipino linguist in the University of the Philippines Diliman by the name of Prof. Ricardo Nolasco has a relatively another opinion on the matter. He is convinced that the word *kasaysayan* consists of the root word *saysay*, the affix *ka*, the endfix *an*, and a suffix *al* (in the middle). He said that *al* is an old, dead suffix which was mostly used in most of the built words in Pilipino but rarely noticed by most of the linguists most especially during the last decades. *Kasaysayan* is originally *kasalaysayan*. Although this small fact does not drastically change the whole interpretation of most of social scientists, he added, it is one of those details that linguists who aims to discover more about the Filipino culture and personality should point out. (Interview done in U.P. Dil Dept. Of Linguistics in April, 1998.)

⁶⁸ There are more and more Filipino historical linguists, and most of today’s Filipino historians tend to agree with them, who are convinced that suffixes --- most especially in languages within the Austronesian family, Pilipino being one among them --- are old words which changed or “evolved” through the passage of time. These words can not mostly be independent but they can be, more or less, referred to with particular referrals or meanings.

⁶⁹ “In Tagalog, a final, soft, vocallic sound becomes *h* before a suffix with initial vowel, e.g. *bili*, buy or sell, *bilih/an*, cost price.” Cecilio Lopez, *Studies on Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*, Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1939, p. 19.

1. generic relationship, e.g. *kapatid* ‘brother or sister’ (= *patid* ‘cut, sever’), *kalahi* ‘of the same race’ (= *lahi* ‘race’);
2. companionship, e.g. *kasama* ‘companion’ (= *sama* ‘accompany’);
3. participation, e.g. *katulong* ‘help-mate’ (= *tulong* ‘help, aid’);
4. similarity, e.g. *kamukha* ‘similar in appearance’ (= *mukha* ‘face’);
5. equality, e.g. *kapantay* ‘of the same height or level’ (= *pantáy* ‘level, even’);
6. units, e.g. *kaputol* ‘one cut-off piece’ (= *putol* ‘cut, sever’).⁷⁰

The nuances in meanings of *ka* will, in a manner, vary; but it generally refers to multiplicity or compoundness of participants, in direct relation to the word base or root word it is attached to. Suffix *an* on the other hand may refer to: a specific locality, a weight or a measure. The nouns derived from an primarily form topographical names or names of such places as characterized by the Word Base.

- A. Place names:
 1. WB indicating an action, e.g. *inuman* ‘place of drinking water’ (= *inúm* ‘drink’), *kakanán* ‘place of eating’ (= *kain* ‘eat’), *higaan* ‘place of sleeping’ (= *higa* ‘lay down’), etc.;
 2. WB indicating substance of thing, e.g. *damuhan* ‘grassy place or grass plantation for horse fodder’ (= *damo* ‘grass’), *tubuhan* ‘sugar cane plantation’ (= *tubó* ‘sugar cane’), *asinan* ‘salt beds’ (= *asin* ‘salt’). (Note: A variant with *ka-* is also used to bring out contrast, say of ‘a grassy place’ *kadamuhán* with ‘a stony place’ *kabatuhán*.)
- B. Place names in more or less figurative sense:
 1. applied to persons, e.g. *ilungán* ‘a big nosed person’ (= *ilóng* ‘nose’), *tulisán* ‘a person with a pointed weapon, bandit’ (= *tulis* ‘pointed’), *uluhán* ‘one with extremely big head’ (= *ulo* ‘head’), etc.;
 2. applied to containers, e.g. *tubigán* ‘pitcher’ (but *tubigan* ‘rice-field with natural irrigation’ = *tubig* ‘water’), *balutan* ‘wrapped-up bundle’ (= *balot* ‘wrap’), *luklukan* ‘seat’ (= *luklok* ‘seat’ ‘sit’), etc.;
 3. applied to current price or payments, e.g. *bilihan* ‘ordinary market –price paid’ (= *bili* ‘buy, sell’), *upahan* ‘ordinary rent or wages paid’ (= *upa* ‘rent, salary’), *arawan* ‘by the day’ (= *araw* ‘day’), etc.;
 4. applied to weights and measures, e.g. *takalán* ‘measure of capacity’ (= *takal* ‘measure, volume’), *timbangan* ‘balance scale’ (= *timbang* ‘weigh, weight’), *kilohán* ‘weight in kilos and its denominations’ (= *kilo* ‘kilo’).⁷¹

The derivatives from *an* are mostly names both in the ordinary and in the figurative senses. *Ka* and *an* are the suffixes of the word *kasaysayan*; and when they are used together, the nouns formed afterwards are abstract, collective, or collective-locative. It may express the following:

1. abstract ideas, e.g. *kapalaluan* ‘arrogance’ (= *palalò* ‘arrogant’), *kasamaán* ‘badness’ (= *sama* ‘bad’), *kabutihan* ‘goodness’ (= *buti* ‘good’);
2. place names rich in what the WB denotes, e.g. *kapalayan* ‘place where rice fields abound’ (= *palay* ‘unhusked rice’), *kabukiran* ‘place where there are many fields, valley’ (= *bukid* ‘field’), *kapawiran* ‘a district of the town where there many houses are made of nipa’ (= *pawid* ‘nipa’);
3. collection of materials or tools, e.g. *kabahayán* ‘materials sufficient for building a house’ (= *bahay* ‘house’), *kasangkapan* ‘collection of tools (but also a single tool)’ (= *sangkáp* ‘part, concomitant’), *kadamtán* ‘the whole wearing apparel’ (= *dami* ‘cloth’);
4. share in partition, e.g. *kamanahan* ‘share in inheritance’ (= *mana* ‘inherit’);

⁷⁰ Cecilio Lopez, “Preliminary Study of Affixes in Tagalog,” in Ernesto Constantino, (Ed.) Selected Writings of Cecilio Lopez in Philippine Linguistics, Quezon City: Archives of Philippine Languages and Dialects, Philippine Linguistics Circle and Samahang Linguwistika ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, 1977, p. 35.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.32-33.

5. center of gathering or attention, e.g. *kasabihán* ‘place or person attracting public attention (also a proverb)’ (= *sabi* ‘say, tell’), *kabalitaan* ‘place or person of fame (also news correspondent)’ (= *balitá* ‘news’);
6. geographical or ethnographical entity, e.g. *katagalugan* ‘the whole tagalog people and their land’ (= *Tagalog* ‘Tagalog’), *kaamerikanuhan* ‘the American people and nation’ (= *Amerikano* ‘American’).⁷²

Almost all the mentioned meanings and nuances of the suffixes above are found in the practice of the word *kasaysayan*; that is, in direct relation to its word base *saysay* or narrative. Applicative, hence, *kasaysayan* is both abstract and material in its collective concretization within a specific place or ort.

To wit, in recent Pilipino dictionaries, *kasaysayan* refers to two distinct but, in a way, related things.

Kasaysayan. Pangalan. 1. Ulat o salaysay ng mga tunay na pangyayaring naganap sa iba't ibang panahon sa isang lahi, bayan o bansa. 2. Biyograpiya ng sarili o ng ibang tao; kwento ng buhay. Salitang Kaugnay: Tala.

Kasaysayan. (saysay) Pangalan. Halaga o Kabuluhan ng anumang likas na bagay o likhang tao. “Mahilig siyang bumili ng mga walang *kasaysayan*.”⁷³

<*Kasaysayan*. Noun. 1. Report or narrative of the real events which happened in different times of a race, people or nation. 2. Autobiography or the biography of others; story of life. Related Word: Chronicle.

Kasaysayan. (saysay) Noun. Importance or significance of any natural thing or anything made by men. “She is fond of buying nonsensical things.”>

It may be gleaned that *kasaysayan* is well understood (and used, naturally) in the present Filipino community. The first meaning reveals the massive influence of the foreign and supposedly more intellectual *history* in Pilipino; that is, because *kasaysayan* here is largely taken to mean the direct Filipino translation of the said foreign --- in our standards, eyes, and consideration as a people, anyways --- concept. On the other hand, the second meaning gives us clues to the earlier Filipino use of the word; that is, because the foreign, supposedly counterpart *history* is never single-handedly or particularly used to refer to importance or significance. The second meaning virtually retains the oldest reference of the same word.

A very much related word to *kasaysayan* is the noun *salaysay*. A number of today’s Filipino social scientists are quite convinced that *kasaysayan* is actually a more recent word; it is particularly structured, so as to mean the action and/or adjective done and/or referred to within the older and more commonly used concept of *salaysay*. This word, it should be noted, still retains the old and apparently dead suffix *al* in the middle; apropos, *s + al + aysay*. The infix *al*, basically due to the wear of times and contexts, is presently believed to be petrified or dead. It is mostly removed or, more than oft, not particularly noticed from and in the present forms of Pilipino words. Nonetheless, it would be seen that *salaysay* is, on the whole, still very much utilized to-day like the noun *kasaysayan*. That is, outside the fact that, at present, *salaysay* is preferred to by many to refer to the everyday use for a

⁷² Ibid., pp. 35-36.

⁷³ Diksiyunaryo ng Wikang Filipino, Maynila: Linangan ng mga Wika sa Pilipinas, 1989, p. 163.

narrative or story instead of the more formal --- and seemingly more meaningful --- kasaysayan. Salaysay means,

Salaysay. (saysay) Pangalan. 1. Paghahanay o pagsasaysay ng anumang pangyayari. 2. Ang sinasabi o ang bagay na ibinibida. 3. Maikling kathang nauukol sa isang bagay. Isalaysay, Magsalaysay, Salaysayin, Ipasalaysay, Pagsalaysayin. Pandiwa. --- Pagsasalaysay. Kaugnay na m g a Salita --- Maikling-kwento, Bida, Kwento.⁷⁴

<Salaysay. (saysay) Noun. 1. Chronicling or narrating of any event. 2. The thing said or the thing narrated. 3. A short story about a thing. Isalaysay, Magsalaysay, Salaysayin, Ipasalaysay, Pagsalaysayin. Verb. --- Pagsasalaysay. Related words or word groups --- Maikling-kwento, Bida, Kwento.>

Exactly like kasaysayan, salaysay comes from the root word saysay. The former though is mostly used today to refer to the formal and scientific practice of history; the latter is used to refer to the action and the name of the actual, everyday narrative. Nonetheless, even if the two words seem to be differently utilized, it is more important to stress that they both come from a much older word: saysay. **Saysáy** (and/or salaysáy), at present, along with its referral to description or explanation within a narrative, belongs to some of the most popularly distributed words in the different Philippine Languages. It is found in languages Sebuwano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Leyte Samareno as sáysay; in Sambal, saysáy --- that is, while referring to the action word: to mean, to describe, explain, or give account of. Saláysay, on the other hand, is used in Ilokano and Pangasinense; it is utilized therein to refer to an action word as well, which pertains to: to examine or to investigate. And finally, in Ivatan, it is sáysay, which means to fix the eyes on or to look squarely.⁷⁵ It is safe to say, herewith, that the mind set pertaining to a descriptive, explanatory, and systematized narrative could easily be embodied in the word saysay for the majority of the (linguistically-based) communities in the Philippine archipelago.

Saysay is in the Dictionary of the Proto-philippine (PP),⁷⁶ a book based on the 2000 words in the dictionary of Proto-Austronesian (PAN) which comprise the third part of Otto Dempwolff's⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.780.

⁷⁵ Cecilio Lopez, A Comparative Philippine Word List, Ernesto Constantino (Ed.), Quezon City: Archives of Philippine Languages and Dialects and the Philippine Linguistics Circle, 1974, p.121.

⁷⁶ H. Costenoble, Dictionary of Proto-philippine, trans by Cecilio Lopez, ed by Ernesto Constantino, Quezon City: Archives of Philippine Languages and Dialect and Philippine Linguistics Circle, (1942), 1979. For recent discussions on the unitary elements of the Proto-philippines, please see: Lawrence A. Reid, "Problems in the Reconstruction of Proto-Philippine Construction Markers", in S.A. Wurm and Lois Carrinton (Eds.), Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics: Proceedings. Fascicle 1. Western Austronesian, Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1978, pp. 33-66 and R. David Zorc, "Proto-Philippine Word Accent: Innovation or Proto-Hesperonesian Retention", in S.A. Wurm and Lois Carrinton (Eds.), Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics: Proceedings. Fascicle 1. Western Austronesian, Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1978, pp. 67-119.

⁷⁷ From 1920 until 1938 Otto Dempwolff published a long series of comparative Austronesian studies. He began his career as a physician in the German colonies of East Africa and New Guinea. In East Africa he studied Bantu languages, and through Carl Meinhof he was introduced to the comparative study of these languages. When he met Austronesian and Papuan languages in New Guinea, he made use of Meinhof's methods

Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes,⁷⁸ the pioneer work on this field. PP is implicitly hypothesized here as the apparently most widely utilized language in the different small communities in the archipelago between c.a. 4000 B.C. and 800 B.C., when the massive demographical movements of the Austronesian-speaking population virtually rocked the whole of today's Southeast Asia and Oceania.⁷⁹ The PP Dictionary states that saysay means "to clarify; to investigate; to take care of; to set in order."⁸⁰ Saysay, to wit, refers to the action that aims to systematize what could be implicitly looked at as a previous state of disarray because of a (a) probable absence of facts and/or (b) apparent non-clarity of details in a specific context. It is, in this regard, practically a word that has a lot to do with the quest for truth⁸¹ or the quest for answers, which a person or a community needs for its self-correction. It is qualitatively related to its present referral to significance or meaningful; that is, because, truth (although this, of course, is very much relative to the person or community, which recognizes it), as could be witnessed in many present historical

in comparing them, and this led him gradually to the construction of his Uraustronesisch (UAN), Proto-Austronesisch (PAN). Otto Christian Dahl, *Proto-Austronesian*, London: Curzon Press, (1976), 1977, p.1.

⁷⁸ Otto Dempwolff, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*, Hamburg: 1934-38.

⁷⁹ It is an noteworthy that not all the most influential linguists are one on a research project such as probably what Costenoble executed in order to come out with the so-called Proto-Philippinischen. An example among them is Isidore Dyen. He fears the danger of unsimultaneous research of each daughter languages in the Austronesian sphere; because according to him "...The subgroups are not actually well defined at this time to allow such a plan to be carried out systematically.

Rather subgrouping and reconstruction should be carried on simultaneously. The lexicostatical procedure can be used to obtain a likely subgrouping which, however, must be regarded as an approximation. Some of the errors in this approximation can be discovered in the course of reconstructing the phonology, for this will lay bare the mergers necessary to account for the changes from the phonological system of the proto language to that of the daughter languages. As soon as it becomes feasible to deal with the various morphological-syntactic system in a comparative way, most of the subgrouping will become well-determined.

This is not to discourage attempts to reconstruct sub-proto-languages or meso-languages. Though there may be disagreements as to membership in subfamilies, the process of collecting cognates is a prolonged one and every contribution to this process is useful. It would be quite difficult to imagine scholarly endeavor to reconstruct a sub-proto-language that did not at the same time make a real contribution toward the reconstruction of the proto-language of the highest order.

At the same time however the meticulous accounting for reliable Proto-Austronesian correspondences can only promote our understanding of the developments which have resulted in the daughter languages. Highest order correspondences imply corrections or justifications of the results of the original lexicostatical procedure and thus tend to make that data useful for more accurate subgroupings and for glotto-chronology on the one hand, and on the other imply discriminating innovations useful for subgrouping not only in phonological developments, but also in all other structural areas. These implications justify the major effort in this field. The solutions to the difficult and frustrating problems that arise serve not only to illuminate the history of the great Austronesian family itself, but also to deepen our understanding of genetic comparative linguistics and the comparative method which is its instrument." Isidore Dyen, "The Austronesian Languages and Proto-Austronesian," Thomas Seebeek (Ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. 8, *Linguistics in Oceania*, The Hague; Paris: Mouton, 1971, p.49.

Costenoble's work is up to this day not yet followed. Although Dyen's arguments are sound, I sincerely think that Costenoble's study should be followed and enriched. It has been long that the work was finished, there is a relatively bigger amount of apparatus that was executed afterwards --- that is, apparatus which are not directly on the Proto-philippinischen but related to it. It should be interesting how such a research project will result to; it promises a massive potential help for every student of research in the bigger field of Philippine life and culture.

⁸⁰ H. Costenoble, *Op.cit.*, p. 243.

⁸¹ It is important to note that the ancient austronesian communities have a concept of truth. They apparently concretize this abstract concept with the collaboration of material facts. Truth is: "tuhu` Wahrsein; vgl. tantu` IN. Tg tu/tuó` Wahrheit; Tb tu/tú` Wahrsein; Ja tuhu` Getreusein; NgD to/to`; Ho tu` Wahrsein; MN. Sa `uu Richtigkeit;" Otto Dempwolff. *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*, III. Band, *Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis*, Hamburg: Friedrichsen, De Gruyter & Co., 1938, p.141.

expressions examples, is normally the most significant or meaningful therein. And so, in a view, the ancient word base is still very much present to its evolved form and reference of today.

But, to continue, our word: *saysay* could also be found in almost all the older dictionaries in the Philippines. “Older”, in this statement, is, of course, taken to mean those dictionaries, which were written by the early Hispanic social scientists, who wrote about the Philippine land and culture. It should be stressed though, that although there are quite a number of vocabularies and dictionaries of the Philippines done and published by the mentioned colonials, only three among them really stand out. And they are: San Buenaventura’s *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala* (1613), Domingo de los Santos’ *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala* (1703, 1794, 1835), and Noceda and Sanlucar’s *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala* (1754, 1832, 1860). These three --- expectedly enough --- are begun, researched on, written, and published by its writers, for clearly self-serving reasons. And though they eventually assisted towards the definition in the later developed Philippine historical linguistics, ethnological and ethnographical disciplines, their foremost reason of creation and existence remains to be the efficient enforcement of the colonial system and structure on the Philippine archipelago. The Spanish missionaries --- to whom the authors of the mentioned three works were parts and members of ---, for example, researched and wrote about and on the archipelago and its inhabitants, because they expected that their works would eventually assist towards the realization of their mission therein: that is, the conversion of the inhabitants of the Philippines to Christianity. It was, thus, necessary to study the languages of the places they were particularly assigned in the archipelago then. They wrote, as consequence, grammars, vocabularies, and dictionaries of Philippine languages; as well as manuals on how to learn Spanish through a Philippine language.⁸²

It would be seen in these works that instead of just referring to the action, which eventually leads to the definition of truth or of what is meaningful, *saysay* evolved⁸³, to *directly* mean: to narrate and to narrate something which can be proven with actual material sources. The older communities, accordingly enough, for they were --- upon its actual creation --- the supposedly the sources of these, knew and used this; and so, it follows, as well, that the Spaniards who came during the sixteenth century were witnesses to this. San Buenaventura’s *Vocabulario* was a product of seven years observation and listing of words. He based his listings on the Tagalog spoken in the province of Laguna. He always chose the most commonly used meanings; that is, most especially when meanings differ in different towns of the province. Entries in his work are in Spanish, then given the equivalent in Tagalog, and then, finally, summarily explained. This same style, in published form, is seen in the

⁸² Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. II, Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council, 1993, pp. 340-347.

⁸³ It is inevitable that meanings of words change; it is in their nature. Men change meanings of tags according to what they find necessary. The same thing happened to vocabulary of the Uraustronesian: “Bei den ursprachlichen Konstruktionen sind gelegentlich Verbesserungen vorgenommen, die einzelsprachlichen Belege

work of San Buenaventura's brother (in the Franciscan Order of Priests), Domingo de los Santos. That is, with the noticeable difference that, there are considerably more entries in the latter's work. It was in both of the said works where *kasaysayan*, which is as already discussed an entirely different concept, will be directly seen and discussed, as the word equivalent to the Spanish word *historia*. This is understandable in a way. That is, because the writers are, after all, not actual members of the ancient communities in the islands. They therefore have no way of really understanding what *kasaysayan* really or particularly means. They could only try describing it through concepts, which they were familiar with and did understand --- and so, concepts and words, which were parts and portions of their own language. What took place therewith was an effective form of translation; and, unfortunately enough, this process will be accepted later on by most of the social scientists as something akin to the process of replacement, and so, react to it as they accordingly see fit. The effect of this in ideas-development in the field of historiography is wide ranging; and its major results will be witnessed in the following centuries after the works were published.

The *Vocabulario* by Juan de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlucar has quite an interesting history; their authors both belong to the Jesuits Order. It is believed that the idea of writing such a thesaurus was already in the said order during the first years of the seventeenth century; but, apparently, the person who thought of this idea could not execute his goal, for the volume of probable religious obligations. There have always been a number of preparations from the part of the order's members to travel to today-recognized as the Philippines, so as to actually do/execute the research for such a project during the said century. But, curiously enough, there were always complications that apparently came up. It was, hence, only during the following century that such a long-aimed for research project, through a group of Jesuit priests led by Noceda and Sanlucar, came finally to the fore. Noceda was famous for his skills in Tagalog. He investigated each word in the language during a period of 30 years; he put each word down only when its meanings, pronunciation, and accent were agreed upon by at least 12 native speakers. It is believed though that, he occasionally agreed to put down words, that were checked by 9 native speakers, but he would not be contented with less. A number of Jesuit priests helped him finish the work: Clain added affixes to his roots, Jose Hernandez checked and help in the over all finish of the work, etc. And so, consequently, the first part of the work, Hispano-Tagalog, has about 11,000 entries while the second part, Tagalog-Hispano, has about 22,000 entries.⁸⁴ The version of this, which first came out during the middle of the eighteenth century, is relatively impressive. It included --- to concentrate on the major purposes of our study here --- both *salaysay* and *saysay* in their collection.⁸⁵ It wrote:⁸⁶

sind häufig vermehrt, und außerdem sind über hundert neue Wörter des Uraustronesischen mit ihren Belegen aus den genannten Einzelsprachen hinzugekommen." Dempwolff, "Einführung," 1938, p.7.

⁸⁴ Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. II, pp. 345-346.

⁸⁵ Juan de Noceda y Pedro de Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*, Manila: Imprenta de Ramirez y Girandier, 1860.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Salaysay. Pc. Declarar. Vide su sinónimo “Saysay,” con sus juegos, menos el de desenmaranar.⁸⁷
 Saysay. Pc. Declarar, explicar, poner en concierto cosas materiales, como desenmaranar el
 cabello. 1. Magsaysay. Si mucho, ó muy bien; Magpacasaysay. Lo aclarado, In. Si mucho,
 Pacainsaysay. La causa ó con que, y Abstracto, “Casaysayan” pp. I.cc. Sinónimo “Husay”.⁸⁸

It is clear in this meaning that although the implicit referral to truth in the word is still there, truth is an abstract, which can be realized through the utility of a particular material sources set, as its basis. To wit: situations or narratives are true and *enlightening*, when or if they could be proven by a set of material sources. Noteworthy here is the fact that saysay is seen as something synonymous with *husay*, good or highly skilled (usually referring to being highly skilled or good in something). This could be taken to mean, that saysay is not just an ordinary action word, but fastly becoming a specific skill with which man can be good or best at. Through this definition, it is clear that the Spaniards saw, in a manner, that the earlier communities have a particular sense for history and historicity and more importantly, they saw that the communities’s sense of history is done according to their own norms and/or standards. A story is then taken to mean as something, which should be explained or unraveled (much like the metaphor, described above, where a history/story is the result of the exertion to put order something, which was previously tumultuous) --- wherein a picture of a closed system, which has to be opened is somewhat, at the same time, painted --- in apparent direct connection with the actual material proofs; and so, in a perspective, a story should be based on facts, it should be truthful. Implied here, of course, is the community’s command and control of what *is* meaningful, significant, or truthful; both the Spanish *missioneros* and *conquistadores*, during the early colonial years, were and become witness to that. The early communities knew and made their world of meanings according to their own set of standards. There was no actual need for another foreign concept to refer to narration or narrative; the older communities already have it. However, the passing of almost two centuries afterwards will nonetheless make huge differences to this.

The second half of the eighteenth century and, most especially, during most of the following nineteenth century, were times of critical changes and massive developments in the general history of the Philippine Islands; and, naturally enough, the specialized area of the country’s intellectual development did not particularly escape these all-embracing changes and development. A number of local uprisings against the Spanish colonial rule happened during which; and although they were put down and stopped by the colonial authorities, the metaphorical fire that lit these small isolated movements were never really put out. Consequently, hence, the Spaniards found it necessary to exert actual efforts, in order to have more control on the islands. They cannot govern the archipelago through Mexico (through the Galleon Trade systematic connection) anymore. That was much too risky. It did not particularly help as well, that for awhile another European power, the British, were

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 278.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.291.

able to wrestle Manila and other areas of the archipelago from them during the Seven Years War. They had to, hence, rule the Philippines directly. This meant more manpower and bigger amount of needed money to support it (not to mention here that addition of “taxes” that each petty local officer make) are needed. For the Indios, on the other hand, this decision meant more taxes, added oppression and suffering in a place, which is more and more becoming recognized as something, which is actually their own.

Fortunately, however, a few of these Indios --- a meaningly insulting term used by Spaniards to mean those born in the Philippines or those of the Malay race --- will have their chances to financially enrich themselves during the nineteenth century. The end of the Galleon Trade paved the way for the simultaneous opening of the islands to international trade and traders. This immediately resulted in the massive entrance of more and more Westerners, who included the British, the Dutch, the Germans, the French, even a number of Americans. Noteworthy here is the fact that private individuals, most especially among the Indios, were finally allowed to trade with the newcomers. These resulted in the establishment of a new quite rich middle class (consisted of Malays and Meztizo Malayo-Intsik) --- a class, who was so surprisingly affluent, that, in jealousy and contempt, would be termed by the colonials as animals laden with gold or *bestias cargadas de oro*. For want of a better future for the next generation, nonetheless, most of these new rich class citizens grabbed the opportunity, and accordingly sent their sons abroad, so that they could receive and be granted a better --- in comparison to that managed and done by priests in the islands --- and more liberal education. And because education was, at that time, looked at as something which provides light into a formidable artificially dark world --- as according to what the friars in the islands to the members of the communities painted ---, the eventually newly educated sons of the new middle class class became thereby appropriately called enlightened ones or *ilustrados*. Expectedly, most of the members of this new intelligentsia will then participate in working for reforms in the colonial laws for the Philippine province. Their movements will respectively be known as the Secularization Movement --- a movement, pioneered by formally trained Filipino priests, who thereby worked on retrieving their believed-on rightful places in Philippine churches --- and the Propaganda Movement ---a movement, primarily executed by hispanized, formally educated Malays/ Indios, the *ilustrados*, in the archipelago and in Spain, so as to win reforms for the whole of Filipino people from their Spanish colonial masters.

In the meantime, while all of the above mentioned were happening within the greater, upper portion of the colonial society, the bigger proportion of the archipelago's population --- the poorer class, the *bayán* --- continuously experience the lash of colonial rule. The bigger chunk, for one, of their average wage goes to the Spanish colonial government as yearly tax. The farmers among them, in addition to this, were not particularly alleviated by the occurrence of natural catastrophes, including massive rains or prolonged draught, every year on the islands. They normally lose a big percentage of

their yearly harvests through these natural calamities; and so, they were frequently forced to resort to borrowing money --- which, in turn, accordingly leads to more indebtedness and to eventual final losing of their own farming lands ---, not only in order to live, but most especially, to pay their due taxes to the colonial government. And as if their total situation was not therewith already difficult enough, the colonial government, on top of high taxes, also expect that they provide it with needed manpower. It accordingly demanded the massive drafting of yearly public service, polo y servicio, from every member of the colonial state or, to be apt, from every Indio on the islands. The government requires this yearly manpower --- along its different shipyards on the archipelago, most especially during these years of the 19th century --- because it had to somehow provide the necessary logistics, for its seemingly determined campaign to conquer Mindanao. And so, on the whole, the people, in end-analysis, suffered; that is, while, at the same time, remaining alienated both to the colonial masters and to the Filipino new rich middle class. They, in fact, even speak a language different from the latter two; they speak the language of their ancestors, Tagalog, or Ilokano, or Bisaya, or Tausug, etc. And although these languages were generally altered, upon various contacts with other languages (including Spanish, of course), they expectedly still continue to be true to their original form and general structure. In a view, hence, the *Filipino* conceptual world, figuratively contained in these languages, was merely widened through this communion-experience. Their conceptual world was niether really erased nor destroyed in the process.

And this could be proven through the more recent word collection by Pedro Serrano Laktaw entitled *Diccionario Tagálog-Hispano*. But before we proceed in doing just that, it is noteworthy to look at its author's quite remarkable philosophy and reasons for writing the work. He said,

...el objeto de la escritura es representar gráficamente las palabras, de manera que sean la expresión oral de las ideas, o su exteriorización, si cabe decirlo así, que materializando los pensamientos, que de un modo espiritual e intangible brotan en la misteriosa inteligencia humana, las coloque en el campo de los sentidos, esto es en condición de ser manifestadas y comunicadas, al propio tiempo que de ser recibidas y adquiridas por los mismos; si el objeto de la escritura, repetimos, es reproducir lo más fielmente la expresión oral, de modo que lo fugaz de la palabra --- que cual meteoro cruza los espacios con al velocidad del rayo, sin dejar más que un instante el rastro de su rápido paso --- no se pierda en ecos y ondulaciones más o menos sonoras, sino que se traduzca en ostensible y permanente manifestación, convirtiéndola en expresión escrita, circunstancia que la hace ya un elemento valioso y de suma transcendencia para la civilización y la historia: es evidente que esta representación o expresión gráfica resultará tanto más verídica y cumplida, cuanto más se aproxime a la naturaleza real de lo que representa, es decir, cuanto más exactamente reproduzca por medio de signos convencionales, la expresión oral de la idea.⁸⁹

Like everyone else, the author, as would be deduced from the citation, is a product of his time and context. He spoke here, for one, much like the other ilustrados of/during his time. His reasons for writing was almost philosophically platonic in nature. What he wanted to achieve, it would seem, was to pin down and concretize, the particular world, which is normally, only articulated through spoken

words. Words, for him, are external manifestations of the spiritual and invisible mysterious world of human intelligence, of the mind upon its actual processings and preoccupations. Words, in this regard, continually change; they aptly change with and through times and context. Careful listing of words during an exemplary age would --- it follows --- automatically make visible a particular conceptual world, that they during which representably embody. A good part of the civilization and history of source speaking community would, through this process, be somewhat saved and immortalized in the black and white form of writing.

Laktaw had a very high opinion on writing as the most effective expression of ideas which are nonchallantly discussed orally. His major accomplishment: a dictionary, a roster of words with their meanings, he expected, should assist those, who aims to better their skill in immortalizing ideas which are normally merely said, mentioned, or orally articulated. Quite a noble deed, the author opined, is thereby accomplished. And he was quite correct in such a thinking. He was, in effect, providing an actual hand-material for general literacy through his work. During his time, Latinized form of writing was not something, so easily and simply accomplished by everyone. Reading and writing for an ordinary man was a task; only those who were quite economically well off can afford to go to school, so as to learn the reading and writing in/ through the latinized alphabet.⁹⁰ There was a need, in this regard, for the promotion of learning itself. But at the same time, because the newly educated elite, the ilustrados, realized the importance of the local language in their quest for self-worth and even self-government, there was also a need to somehow promote and enrich the old languages. Tagalismo (referring to the overall study of the language as a medium of both speech and literature), for example, as most of these elite called it, was, hence, quite necessary. Laktaw's project was seemingly engineered along the realization of these convictions; he published the two volumed Tagalog-Spanish Dictionary between 1889 and 1914. His was quite a scholarly work, a product of scientific observation and documentation, which go as far back (and sometimes, even further!), to what the Spanish friars already accomplished in the same area in the past centuries. And although it was largely made for a Spanish-speaking audience, one would still be able to have a picture of the state of the Filipinos' (Tagalogs') conceptual world through it. That is, at the same time, that one would have a clue on how much and how far the words and concepts changed and evolved through the centuries and decades, that the whole subjected language --- or the cultural people, who speaks it ---, where they belong in experienced. And expectedly enough, to go back to our theme-concept, saysay also experienced such a transformation, evolution and/or change through and with time; it was listed as the following

⁸⁹ Pedro Serrano Laktaw, "Breves Observaciones", *Diccionario Tagalog-Hispano*, Tomo I, Manila: De Santos y Bernal, (1889), 1914, p.1.

⁹⁰ It is a pity but during the nineteenth century, the old filipino form of writing (baybayin) is almost dead. The ordinary man or woman has therefore no other choice but to learn what the foreigners brought and imposed in, the latinized form of alphabet and writing.

Saysay (*húsay* ó *hánay*). Fam. Orden. M y F // Concierto. M. = *ó kasaysayan; pagsasaysay*. Solución; resolución. F. // Significado. M. // Ordenación. F. // Declaración; manifestación; narración; relación; referencia; interpretación; explicación; significación. F. = *ó halagá*. Valor. M. --- *ó pakinabang*. Fam. Provecho. M. // Utilidad. F. = *nang áral cristiano*. Catecismo. M. // Doctrina. F. = *malinaw at walang labis at kulang nang kabagayán nang anomán*. Definición. F. = *nang isang hátol at nang maraling máintindihán*. Paráfrasis. F. = *ó pagsasaysay nang anomán*. Deposición. F. = *túnay at maliwánag*. Exposición. F. = *nang anománg ipinagbibigay alam*. Información. F. = *ó pagsasaysay na mahúsay nang katowiran at nang iniisip na anomán*. Raciocinio. M. = *nang katowiran*. Reclamo. M. = *ó kasaysayang maikli*. Recolección. F. --- *Hindi sinásaysay nang maliwánag at háyagan, kundi ipinawáwari lámang*. Tácito, ta. Adj. --- *Walang kasaysayan*. Insignificante. Adj. // Fam. Inservible; nulo, la. Adj. --- *Náuíkol sa pagsasaysay; ó saklaw nang pagsasaysay*. Narrativo, va; narratorio, ia. Adj. --- *Ang nagsásaysay*. Narrador, ra. M. y F. = *nang bahaging máihahati sa isang kabuoang anomán, para nang kalaháti, ikápat, ikapuo, etc*. Partitativo, va. Adj. Der nang parte --- *Saysayín, magsaysay*. Fam. Ordenar; arreglar; coordinar. A. // Significar; explicar; expresar; declarar; manifestar; referir; relacionar; resolver; recitar; relatar; narrar; deponer; denotar; interpretar; demostrar. A. // Met. Deletrear; mostrar. A. = *maliwánag ang habagáyan at kahulugan nang anomán*. Definir. A. = *ang anomán, na isaisahing paliwanagan ang buong kabagáyan niya*. Particularizar. A. = *nang malináw sa súlat ang anomán, na párang ipinintá*. Met. Pintar. A. = *muli ó muling explicahín ang lisióh*. Reparar. A. y N. = *nang isang kasulatan*. Rezar. A. V. Gr. *Sinásaysay nang libro*, el libro lo reza. = *liwanagan ang isang bágay, na may kalaboan*. Soltar. A. = *ang anomang nakasúlat sa wikang latin, na ikúlog sa tagálog*. Interpretar del latín al tagálog. = *hangúin sa kastila at ilagay sa tagálog*. Interpretar del castellano en tagálog. = *isaisahin*. Menudear; especificar. A. = *sa sarisaring paraan ang isang sentencia ó salita*. Parafrepear. A. = *nang mahúsay ang anománg nások sa isip*. Met. Parir. A. = *ó paliwanagan*. Exponer; explicar. A. --- *Bigyang kasaysayan ó halagá*. Explicarse; manifestarse; significarse; demostrarse. R. --- *Di masaysay*. Inexplicable; indefinido, da; inefable. Adj. V. **KASAYSAYAN** es también sinón de **ayos; húsay; sagúsay; salaysay; sasa; sayúsay**.⁹¹

The word, it would be seen, had quite massively evolved. This time, it generally refers to order, solution or resolution; to a system or a systematized symmetry, which should be arrived at, after the accomplishment of a specific course of action related to or behind it. Saysay was thereby virtually versatile and pulpably dynamic, in meaning; that is, especially in the case of this work, because it --- as a Filipino concept --- was thereby seemingly scientifically researched on, studied, and interpreted in another conceptual world, based on Spanish. It did not receive quite a similar treatment from the Spanish authors in the years beforehand. For being members of another linguistic culture themselves, these earlier authors probably did not fully understand the Filipino conceptual world, embodied in the ideas of their language. Consequently, their reading and interpretation of Filipino was not as versatile, rich, nor dynamic as that of Serrano-Laktaw's. They could, hence, merely study Filipino, through the standards, measures, perspective of their own Spanish language. Serrano-Laktaw, for his part, had Spanish *and* Filipino. He belonged to the pioneering group of Filipino intellectuals, who had their feet in both worlds. He, similar to many of today's intellectuals, could naturally activate and utilize any of these languages, according to how he saw fit. This was primarily the reason, why his bilingual dictionary was quite excellent. This was the reason, most especially for our purposes in this study, why he could describe and illustrate the concept/idea of saysay so eloquently.

⁹¹ Pedro Serrano Laktaw, Diccionario Tagálog-Hispano. Tomo II, Manila: De Santos y Bernal, 1914, p. 1167.

To wit: for, Laktaw, saysay is ordination, manifestation, narration, relation, reference, interpretation, explanation, signification. It follows an order or a system; it is the revelation or unraveling of a particular; it is the telling of something which is also related or in reference to another; it is a version or a point of view of something which happened or did not happen; it is the rationalization of a puzzle or a phenomenon; it is the clarification of meanings in a specific text. It is the meanings of the symbols in a report; an example is *ang saysay ng mga pananda sa ulat*. Saysay is also value or worth, the advantage, the utility or use of a particular. *Saysay ng isang hakbangin* translates to worth of an action. But saysay is not only the meaning of the symbol or the worth of the symbol; saysay is also the symbol itself. It is the embodiment, the definition or the rephrase of something. The mark of independence translates to *saysay ng independensya*. It is therefore both the nuances and the element; it is both the parts and the whole of a particular. In a manner, saysay is also the information or the rationalization, the memory or recollection. Or naturally, in accordance to the need of a speaker or writer, the negation of the mentioned --- in application: irrational, nonrecollective or *walang saysay* --- transforming the word, this time, from a noun to an adjective.

With the attachment of the suffix *in* (saysay + in = saysayin), our WB becomes an passive verb, which, in turn, translates to: to order, to explain, to express, to declare, to manifest, to refer, to relate, to narrate, to denote, to lay down, to interpret, to demonstrate, or to show. It is the action word, that has to do with the actualization or the unravelling of a particular; implying that there was a question or a phenomenon previously, and the action that actually answers or explains it was supposedly saysay(in). But saysay(in) is also to define and to specify; it is not only the action that explains, it is also the action, that concretizes a picture. A something, it should be pointed out, that should not necessarily remain abstract, it could also become concrete and touchable --- that is, material or physical. Action word, saysay(in), is foreseen to accomplish just that --- the transformation from abstract to material. It paints the whole picture; it reviews what happened beforehand; it concerns itself to the wholeness so that things, which are a bit unclear, will be cleared up and become parts of the picture being drawn up. It illustrates *a truth* to a figurative targeted audience. On the other hand, when saysay(in) is used in *saysayin ang tekstong pilipino sa tekstong aleman* (translate or interpret the filipino text to german text), the action widens itself and work within two different circuits. It is in this case, in a manner, making a form of implied diachronic analysis; that is, because it does not only expect a thorough knowledge of the state it is standing at, it also expects that it can compare and interpret itself into another. Saysay(in) is thereby singleing out or explaining a singularity by putting itself in another.

When saysay, to continue with our analysis, is attached with the affix *ma* (ma + saysay = masaysay), then it becomes an adjective which stands for explainable, demonstrative, significant, important or definite. Hence, *masaysay ang larawan* or the picture is significant. A negation of the newly

constructed word, in addition, could also be executed; that is, *di masaysay*, which then translates to unexpalinalable, indefinite, or indescribable. When, though, *masaysay* is further modified with the endfix *in*, then it becomes a personal trait adjective --- *ma + saysay + in = masaysayin* ---, meaning storyfull, story-laden, or preoccupied with story-telling. In application, *masaysaying mukha*, translates to story-laden face.

To sum up, hence, *saysay*, in/for *Laktaw*, refers to the following: order, worth, system, story or narrative, and importance; plus, of course, it is the word base (and synonyms at the same time) of the words *salaysay* and *kasaysayan*. The word, as could be deduced, went and experienced a long way of development and modification, most especially, in comparision to its proto form discussed previously. Let us go further; and analyze if the same thing could be said to its formal, more abstract noun form, *kasaysayan*:

Kasaysayan. Significado. M. // Significación; explicación; interpretación; referencia; relación; narración; manifestación; declaración. F. // Fam. Ordenación. F. // Solución; resolución. F. = *ó halagá*. Valor. M. // = *ó pakinabang*. Fam. Provecho. M. // Utilidad. F. = *nang áral cristiano*. Catecismo. M. // Doctrina. F. = *malinaw at walang labís at kúlang, ang kabagáyan nang anomán*. Definición. F. = *nang isang salitá at nang malining na malinaw*. Paráfrasis. F. = *nang anománg ipinagbibigay alam*. Información. F. = *maikli*. Compendio. M. // Recollección. F. = *walang kasaysayan ó kabuluhán*. Insignificante. Adj. // Fam. Inservible; inútil; nulo, la. Adj. --- *Bigyang kasaysayan; ó pahálagahán*. Apreciar; estimar. A. *Waling kasaysayan*. Anular; abolir; invalidar. A. --- *Mawalang kasaysayan*. Anularse; abolirse; invalidarse. R. De *say-say*- Sinón. De **HALAGA; KABULUHÁN; KAHULUGÁN; KAPAKANAN; KAPARARAKAN**.⁹²

Kasaysayan, as will be seen in the quotation, experienced almost the same development, through time, as its root or word base *saysay*. Consequently, it is bettered to become: signification, explanation, interpretation, reference, relation or report, narration, manifestation, declaration, ordering, resolution. Implied behind it is a figurative illustration, where there is supposedly a question or a phenomén previously, and *kasaysayan* should provide the answer or the explanation for/about it afterwards. Behind the word, it could be said, is a particular system --- both of actions' execution and of meanings ---, which is expected to be efficiently commanded by a metaphorical person or persons, who, in turn, make *kasaysayan*. And so, with such a context, it could easily be understood, why *kasaysayan* therefrom also became synonymous with worth, use or utility. To wit: because *kasaysayan* provides answers, it is a worthy act and it is useful. But it does not particularly end at this. The word's meanings goes further; *kasaysayan* is definition, paraphrase, information. It is the summary of meanings. It draws and pursue to extract these meanings, from events that already took place in the past. It is, in this regard, comparable, even similar, with recollection. And though it is featured therefrom as something (or a singularity) in the present, it extracts most of its contained answers in the past, and in so doing, provides answers --- which are useful not only at the moment, but for the future as well. Compounded within this conceptualization of the word, it could be declared, are the concerns

⁹² Ibid., p.466.

(and more!), of what we understand as today's modern meaning of history. Kasaysayan is, hence, synonymous with significance, meaning, advantage, and estimated or probable future.

It is in this context --- with the consideration of most of the text quoted above ---, that the all-embracing definition of the word kasaysayan was made, agreed upon, and accepted by most of today's Filipino historians. In an essay, which won the 1990 Collantes Grant Award of the *Linangan ng Wikang Pilipino* (Office for the Development of the Pilipino Language), Filipino historian J. Veneracion foremost discussed this concept and its conceptualization as:

...ang tawag natin sa isang makabuluhang paglalarawan ng nakaraang salinglahi. Sa antas na pambansa, paglalangkap ito ng mga karanasang may pagkakaiba-iba lamang sa panahon at uri ng lugar na pinangyarihan (bundok, kapatagan, at tabing-dagat) ngunit may kaisahan sa pagsasaisip sa masalimuot na direksyong patungo sa pagbubuo ng bayan.⁹³
 <...is our term for the meaningful illustration of the past generations. In the national level, it is the compendium of the experiences which may only be different with each other in time and type of place wherein they took place (mountains, flatlands, coastlines) but one in their mindful quest and direction towards the final realization of bayan.>

Kasaysayan as importance and description, evident in this citation, is harmoniously unified. In a manner, this conceptualization of the word virtually harks back to the ancient meaning of the concept, at the time when it was purportedly still widely-used among the ancient local communities on the archipelago; that is, while at the same time, appropriating the same word to the all-embracing national level. Veneracion recognized the contribution of some of the members of the faculty of the Departamento ng Kasaysayan in the University of the Philippines Diliman, like Milagros Guerrero, Zeus Salazar, and Samuel Tan, in kasaysayan's conceptualization, incorporated in this essay. He is therewith declaring that the quoted kasaysayan's definition was compendiously created, agreed upon, and accepted by a particular group of professional historians. And because the aforementioned historians embody today's most respected and most influential --- most especially in consideration to their state in the academe, to their publications' production --- among many historians' circles, it is easily conceivable, that the quoted kasaysayan's meaning would have its due wide-distribution among the country's academicians and the country's population, as a whole. Kasaysayan would therefrom be accordingly seen as a singularity, that incorporates all the significant or meaningful events in the past, in the present, and in the probable future. Kasaysayan is seemingly expected to be done for a particular group; the stress on importance of an event or of events implies this. It declares thereby that, it should be made, for the Filipino people's specific use or utility --- not for anybody else, similar to what occurred earlier, when colonial historiography still dominated. In a perspective, hence, upon an analysis of this new definition of kasaysayan, one would have the impression that, the redefinition of this ancient concept did not only signal the return to the indigenous Filipino past; generally, the action also symbolizes the reclamation of Filipino historians of their right to their historiography's

ownership, while, at the same time, grounding this claim in an historical tradition started by their very own forefathers and/or foremothers. This was a revolutionary occurrence in the all-encompassing Filipino historiography's history; and its consequences, appropriately enough, will be discussed in the following chapters of this study.

B. Philosophy Behind The Word *Kasaysayan*

Philosophy is the knowledge or investigation of the ultimate reality or of general principles of knowledge or existence, the particular system of philosophic principles, the fundamental principles of science, practical wisdom, calmness and coolness of temper, serenity, and lastly, resignation.⁹⁴ It is both the methodic search for truth, wisdom, plus value and result of one or more of this exertion. The philosophy of history, on the other hand, is both the methodology and the ideology that a historian utilizes, in order to systematically research and write his pursued historical narrative. It is the virtual basis, whereby the historian practices his profession. And so, in this regard, a philosophy of history could be extracted within every historian's professional exertion; that is, within history itself. A thorough analysis of a narrative could, in this regard, be the best way to get to the heart of the philosophy used therein.

On the whole, *kasaysayan*, upon brief analysis of its general conceptualization, is the search for answers and the actual answers themselves; it is, in a view, the two major references of philosophy above. *Kasaysayan*'s operative philosophy of history, on the other hand, could only be determined upon a closer analysis of its various ancient exemplars. Such a pursuit, it should be noted though, is a bit difficult to realize; and this could only be accounted to the following three major contextual aspects of our procedure itself. Firstly, ancient *kasaysayan* exemplars, it should be remembered, were originally orally transmitted. As a consequence, although they could --- luckily enough --- still be found at the present, the totality of their bodies and forms became evidently affected/ victimized/ altered/ modified by the years of massive changes, experienced by their sources (the Filipinos, as a whole) themselves, with and through the passing of times and development of contexts. Secondly, most of the *kasaysayan* exemplars are only available in the language(s) of the country's locality it came from. They have to be, in this regard, first translated to any of the languages we understand, before we could actually proceed in its analyses. And because every translation of any text --- from one source language to a target language --- normally, in end-effect, mean a mere description or illustration, we will have to always therewith somewhat take into account the possibilities of meanings' loss in the about-to-be-analyzed translated materials. Consequently, any conclusion made

⁹³ Jaime Veneracion, "Ang *Kasaysayan* sa Kasalukuyang Henerasyon," *Historical Bulletin* Vol. XXVII-XXVIII, 1983-1984, Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1990, p.13.

⁹⁴ Cassell Popular Dictionary, England: Brockhampton Press, p. 600.

on such materials could only be accepted and accordingly took into consideration, upon a clear statement of its limitations and/or a presentation of its potential incorrectness. Their fallibility would thereby be foremost discussed; and so, its readers would, at the same time, be given notice of warning, in relation to eventual further use and interpretation. And finally, the scientific-soundness behind the procedural exertion of oral materials, such as *kasaysayan* exemplars, as sources of a people's philosophy still remains questionable among many members of historians' community of today. We will, in this regard, have to be very careful and operate in quite a limited frame of interpretations thereby.

Kasaysayan was orally transferred from one generation to the next; it was largely local in character and is exclusively *closed* within itself, for it solely concerns itself to the considered most important for the community, it is being made to and for. The closed circuitry thereby of *kasaysayan* stresses the independence of the community, it is made about and made for. Its historian generally sees to it that such a characteristic perspective remains in form and utility. Each *kasaysayan* exemplar stresses the historian's command of judging what should or should not be included in a narrative. *Kasaysayan*, in this connection, is a result of a particular state of mind; in fact, in a most gracious view, it could even be considered as synonymous with a people's mindset. It is thereby the virtual display/ illustration of the primacy of its source and target audience, in a specifically narrative form. In an analytical perspective, the present Filipinos, in their own way, still manage to generally distinguish what is more important and what is not in their own history. The presence of the phrase, *sa loob ng kasaysayan* or sometimes, *sa kasaysayan* --- pertaining to *inside kasaysayan* --- in the widely utilized P/Filipino language, for example, continually reiterates the Filipino people's intellectual considerations and acceptability, of the presence of an inside and an outside in the field of historical practice itself. To wit, when one was asked today for answers about one's country and national identity, one hears replies, which goes like: *(na)sa loob ng kasaysayan ang mga kasagutan*, meaning: the answers are inside *kasaysayan*. The keyword here is, of course, *loob*. *Loob* is quite a renowned, versatile Filipino concept, which could, at the least, refer to a spatial (both physical and otherwise) enclosure with a particular width, depth, and/or contents; or, at the most, to the figurative, philosophical personhood of the Filipino himself.⁹⁵ *Sa loob*⁹⁶... in mentioned phrase above can be taken to partly refer to the said

⁹⁵ Here is how Alejo describes these two general references of *loob*: "Loob --- dakong napaliligiran o napaiikutan; kaluwangan sa pagitan ng m g a hangganan; interyor; magkasamang lawak, lalim at/o laman ng isang bagay; kailaliman; sentro; gitna; ubod; saklaw ng abot-tanaw; kinatatanawan palabas. Loob --- puso; kalooban; diwa; malay; malay-tao; kamalayan; ulirat; damdamin; pagnanasa; bolisyon; dibdib; sikmura; budhi; ugali; asal; alaala; pasiya; katauhan: pagkatao; uri ng pakikitungo; kaibuturan; bukal ng pagpapakatao; sarili; ang tao sa kanyang kalaliman; ang tao sa kanyang kakanyahan; kaakuhan; kairalan; ang tao bilang kapwa; ang tao bilang kabukasan; ang tao sa kanyang kabuuan; ang tao sa kanyang abot-malay; abot-dama, at abot-kaya; ubod at daigidg ng makahulugang pakikipag-ugnayan; tao bilang siyang iniaalay at tumatanggap sa pagitan ng ugnayan; luklukan ng mga damdamin, kaisipan, guni-guni, pangitain, pagpapasiya, at iba pang galaw ng kalooban; salalayan ng pagbabago sa kalooban; batayan ng tunay na halaga ng pagkatao, dangal, at karapatan; tao bilang nakikipag-ugnayan; tao bilang nananagutan; tao bilang tinatablan; dakong pinananahanan ng Diyos sa tao." Albert Alejo, *Tao po! Tuloy! Isang Landas ng Pag-unawa sa Loob ng Tao*,

generalities. *Loob*, in *sa loob ng kasaysayan*, can thereby be taken to mean: what is already written and known in *kasaysayan* and/or what actually literally and otherwise happened in *kasaysayan* --- be it material and/or immaterial in nature. An historical detail is thereby considered significantly remarkable, most especially in comparison to other historical details, because it is found inside (*sa loob ng*) *kasaysayan*; all the others *outside (sa labas ng)* *kasaysayan* are, in this regard, mere sidelight, comparable to the metaphorical icing on the cake. It follows, hence, that --- superficially looked at --- it is *loob* (of/in *kasaysayan*), which virtually grants an historical detail its significance. *Loob*, it should be remembered, is the figurative embodiment of the Filipinos' personhood; the embodiment of the Filipinos, as a people, themselves. And so, with regards to this context, *sa loob ng kasaysayan* could generally be considered synonymous with *sa loob ng ka-Pilipinuhan* (inside Filipino-ness), or even with *sa loob ng Pilipino* (inside the Filipino). The congruency, of course, herein is the factor *loob*, which is, on the whole, painted by the figuratively dominating (in a narrative exemplar, for example) Filipino people. In summary, hence, *sa loob ng kasaysayan* is a philosophical phrase, which could refer to the thinking of the Filipino people. An analysis of the *loob ng kasaysayan* (or of *kasaysayan* itself, as a whole), in this regard, will give us the clues on the Filipino people's self-conceptualization, as well as their world-conceptualization. And accordingly, logic tells us, that the *verse versa* of this generalization could also function. To wit: an analysis of the Filipino people's self-identification as well as their cosmic-definition will give us clues on the people's definition and perspective of the (*loob ng*) *kasaysayan/ history*. And because these generalizations on the people's psyche and personhood (with direct relation to their particular sense and perspective of *kasaysayan*), which are recognizably barely altering with time, these principles could be acceptably applicable unto today's situation, just as much as it they are applicable to the ancient Filipino's past.

Appropo, hence, to get to the early communities' concept of *kasaysayan* (modified as their conceptualization of themselves, their time and the context they were living in), it would be quite helpful to first concentrate on the study of their archaeological and anthropological remnants, made during those times. These materials, in turn, virtually represent technologies; and so, the practical marks of the people's know-how attainment in particular ages. Tools⁹⁷ are extensions of the physical body. Their existence signifies that man somehow accepted his shortcomings on particular situations, decided to do something about it, and consciously created help-materials, in alleviation to his already

Quezon City: Office of the Research and Publications, School of Arts and Sciences, Ateneo de Manila University, 1992, pp.142-143.

⁹⁶ *Sa loob* (ng)... can be taken to mean as: in; inside; within; one with; live with; (for time) between; in between; in the duration. *Op.cit.*, 155.

⁹⁷ There have been massive discussions on the subject and issue of tools and its actual meaning in man's living. But here is a good description and classification of what a tool should be: "(1) Es muß ein "Ding" sein, also Gegenstandscharakter tragen; (2) es muß manipuliert werden; (3) die Manipulation muß gezielt ("teletisch") sein: Handhabung, "um zu..."; (4) es muß konstant in wiederkehrenden Situationen zielstrebig verwendet werden; (5) es muß (fölich) im Falle des Verlustes oder Unbrauchbarwerdens durch ein gleiches (oder ähnliches) Vehikel ersetzt werden; (6) es muß (folgich) ein stehender Bestandteil der technischen Ausrüstung

recognized fallibility. Tools and other remnants of man's material culture are therefore markers of man's mindset; and so, in a manner, markers of his civilization. They are concretizations of man's more developed causal thinking analysis prowess. Through the study and even the mere existence of ancient tools, we become aware today that the earlier communities knew, that with a particular tool, a particular result can be created or simulated --- and so, in effect, an action and a reaction were thereby expectedly on hand.

The earliest remnant of the earlier communities' material culture is a burial jar found in the Manunggul cave in Palawan. Following the lineal progression theory (or lineal evolution theory) of the Proto-history and Prehistory of the Austronesian peoples which the Philippines is a part of, the Manunggul Jar falls in the Late Neolithic Phase, that is, between 800 B.C. – 200 B.C. A lineal progression assumes that there is a sequential progression of the different periods. The first period, Paleolithic (750,000 B.P. - 10,000 B.P.), is associated with the following artifactual and ecofactual materials: flake tools, waste flakes, exhausted ores, core tools (pebble/cobble tools), stone hammers, stone anvils, fossilized materials like wood, bones, dentitions, tusks, carapaces, etc., tektites, manuported objects, and the absence of polished tools. It presumes a life of survival strategy based on food gathering and hunting. The Neolithic (10,000 B.P. – 500 B.C.), the next period, within the lineal progression theory is associated with the technological development based on the domestication of plants and animals and with the persistence of food foraging. Started during these times were the technologies of pottery, weaving, ornamentation, navigation, and the new lithic industry characterized by more tabular forms, grinding and polishing. Materials, presumed to have been developed in this period, include dege-ground tools, polished adzes, roughly flaked blanks, blade tools, shell adzes, jade beads, spindle whorls, bark cloth beaters, grip marked stone hammers, mortars and pestles, shell beads and scoops, pottery and the lack of metals.⁹⁸

The Manunggul cave's Chamber A in Palawan is dated to be in existant during the late Neolithic Phase, roughly 890 B.C. One of its most important find, the burial jar Manuggul, is dated to be older than 200 B.C. It is presumed to be manufactured during the later part of the Neolithic, when some of the soft metals --- like copper, gold, brass, and bronze --- were already in use. It is, hence, part of the islands' early metal age, an age associated with the utility of the mentioned metals, shell implements and ornaments, glass ornaments, stone beads of varieties and calcedony, decorated pottery, burial jars, and the absence of vitrified ceramics.⁹⁹ The early metal age was virtually the age of barbarism, which was, in itself, largely identified with a particular burial culture, wherein the dead would be first buried in a shallow grave, left alone for the decomposition of the corpse's sensitive parts, again grabbed from

sein." Wilhelm Mühlmann, *Homo Creator. Abhandlungen zur Soziologie, Anthropologie, und Ethnologie*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962, p. 115.

⁹⁸ Jesus T. Peralta, "Technologies as Clues to Filipino Culture," *The Filipinas Journal of Science and Culture*, Vol. 3, Manila: Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1982, pp. 113-116.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

Figure 3
The Manunggul Jar



the grave, smeared with a red mineral extracted from stone called hematite, then finally placed in a big jar¹⁰⁰, which is also known as the secondary burial process. Normally buried, together with the skeleton of the dead, in this process are his ornaments and weapons.¹⁰¹ It would therefrom be based on the immediate family of a dead, where its jar would be finally put or buried. Peoples with cultures based on boats, like that of the future cradle of the Philippine nation, bury their the dead (already inside the jars) inside caves facing the sea.¹⁰² This burial tradition takes off from the belief that the souls of the dead travels on a boat towards its final destination in the heart of the sea.

¹⁰⁰ Zeus Salazar, *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Isang Balangkas*, Lunsod Quezon: U.P. Departamento ng Kasaysayan, 1993, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ This burial culture is predominant in the larger portion of today's Southeast Asian Region during the period between 1,500 B.C. – 192 A.D. It was a time when the Austronesian-speaking peoples, while at the same time each of its will be daughter languages were developed to be superficially different from each other, will slowly discover the western portion which mostly included at that time, the mainland portion of Asia, namely China and India, which would largely play the role of jumpstarting points for their discovery of the Roman Empire. "Von circa 1500 v.Chr. an entwickelte sich auf den Philippinen eine Urnenbeisetzungskultur und verbreitete sich fast überall im maphilindischen Raum, auch in Südvietsnam durch die Chams. Zum Westen intensivierte sich der Kontakt mit dem indochinesischen Kontinent, während Lapita-Händler große Entfernungen zwischen Kalimantan und Ostmelanesien zurücklegten. Diese intensivierte Kontakte zogen schließlich die Aufmerksamkeit der ersten austronesischen Gruppen auf den Westen, als die Kontakte zwischen China und Indien und darüber hinaus in Richtung des Römischen Reiches um die christliche Zeitwende herum zunahmen, was zu dem ersten historischen austronesischen Königreich in Südost-Asien führte, dem von Lin-i in Indo-China, das durch einen Cham-Führer im Jahre 192 A.D. gegründet wurde." Zeus Salazar, "Für eine Gesamtgeschichte des Malaiisch-Philippinisch-Indonesischen Kulturraums," *The Malayan Connection. Ang Pilipinas sa Dunia Melayu*, Lungsod Quezon: Palimbagan ng Lahi, 1998, p. 292.

¹⁰² Cave burials are also related to the mummification practice of the earlier communities. And although in some inland communities the jars later on became wooden coffins, the mummification and the burial practice did not change. Here is how the mummification in the northern mountains (Cordillera) of Luzon is described by one of the oldest residents in the area: "(a) After the dead is tied to a sitting (flexed) position, and as the body fluids drain out, the skin is washed with water in which guava leaves have been boiled. The washing is continual until the body fluids no longer seep out. (b) The body is dried, either directly under the sun or smoked inside houses. Smoking lasts 40 to 60 days, although among well-to-do families this may last up to two years. (c) Tobacco smoke is also blown through the mouth of the dead since it is believed that tobacco preserves the body well. It is also reported that the 'first skin' is peeled off the body during the process of dehydration. (d) The skin is also treated with continual rubbing of animal fat and the leaves of bisodak and duming. The type of coffin to be used by the dead depends upon his wish when this is made. The date of burial is decided by the mambunong, based on the propitious signs. Burial usually takes place in the early evening. Only after the dryong process are the remains brought to the cave to be interred in coffins." Gabriel Pawid Keith and Emma Baban Keith, "Mummifying the Dead", *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, Manila:

The Manunggul Jar is the most excellent exemplar of this burial culture. It is covered with a stopper carved with two figures (a rower and a passenger) on a boat. It embodies an outstanding remnant of the country's prehistorical past. It is an exemplary relic of the people's particular prehistoric way of living: it embodies the communities' sense for aesthetic art and beauty, it gives form to a good portion of their religious abstraction, and it figuratively holds their own self- and world-conceptualization. Let us pursue looking into this theme closer. It is generally believed that caves were (and in fact, still are) the final resting place for the dead. They were, in this regard --- just as they are presently viewed by most of Filipinos¹⁰³ ---, considered sacred grounds. They practically represented the providential beginning, as well as the final end. They were the natural symbols of the communities' oneness; they were the places, where the whole community met, in honor of and in communion with their dead. The caves, in the context of their located-in mountains, were venues for worship and significant rituals. They were the natural enrichment- and tanking-locations of the religiously maintained and protected *potensya*, potency --- energy, which concretizes into either human and/or superhuman abilities. Caves were, with regards to this point, almost congruent with the said metaphorical potency, as well as with the eventual charms created therefrom. As venues, they were the apparently centers and sources of powers. They were, just as much as they are still considered today, venues of pilgrimage. People occasionally made processions towards them, so as to ask for help during times of problems or natural disasters. Caves or even mountains, as a whole, were havens and/or place for security and energy recuperation. They were the virtual "churches" of the ancient religion on the islands.

¹⁰³ Caves are considered one among the most sacred places for the millenarian groups of the Philippines. It is where they gather strength and spiritual energy; it is where they bade for forgiveness for the evil deeds they did so as to start anew. Here is how an anthropologist while doing pakikipamumuhay (living with) style of research within the Mount Banahaw Millenarian communities describe the journey to the caves and its after effects: "The trek to Ina ng Awa from Stma. Trinidad brings us to the fork of a narrow pathway that swings upward passing through Matandang Kiling --- a puwesto that is being maintained by the Samahang Dolorosa.

Ina ng Awa is a part of a complex of dry caves dominated by a Tore from which in the olden time, a Banal na Boses was occasionally heard accompanied by the shaking of the ground underneath and the movement of boulders in situ.

Inside the cave of Ina ng Awa us an image of the Virgin of Perpetual Help before which devotees offer lighted candles, prayers, and songs.

About ten feet above the shed of Ina ng Awa is the opening of the tunnel-like cave that is about twenty feet long and structured like a mazeway. The passageway is sometimes wide, but stones and rocks protrude from the walls and somehow impede an otherwise smooth negotiation. Initially one slides down the cave on one's two feet in an inclined standing position, the feet are kept in place by a pastor to whom complete trust is bestowed. Then one takes a prone position and crawls inside a somewhat smooth surface. This has a lot of candle droppings. Six can crown in it as long as they retained a sitting position. The smell of candles provide an eerie atmosphere. The opening of a passageway swings upward. One has to climb up while hugging the rock, clinging to some butts of stones. Then one must choose between two openings, one large and one small. The larger opening which seems easier to go through is farther from the smaller opening which is threateningly too small for an ordinary mortal's body, et, surprisingly, everybody is smiling and ready to offer congratulations. What a relief to pass Husgado where everybody who is able to negotiate the mazeway is given a clean bill of health and a new lease on life that amply prepares him for pangangalbaryo..." Prospero Covar, "Prayer in Mount Banahaw Context," Larangan. Seminal Essays on Philippine Culture, Maynila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1998, p. 91.

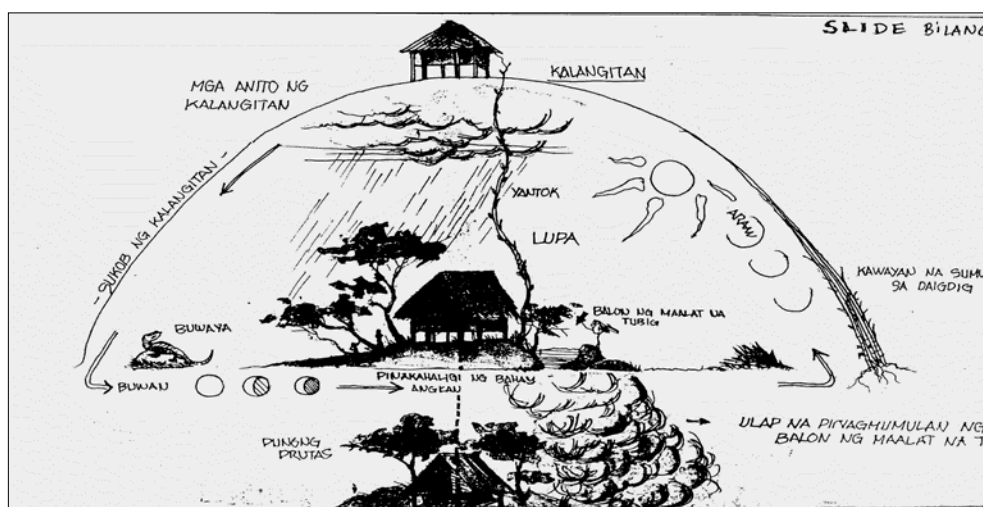
The ancient religion of the Philippines is most popularly known today as *Anitismo* (or sometimes, *Anitismo*). It comes from the word, anito --- which is an old Austronesian word, pertaining to spirit.¹⁰⁴ And so, consequently, anitism could be considered as the general belief system, centering on the worship and respect of the anitos. It is a natural religion. It naturally habitates within a *kabayanan*¹⁰⁵ or within a number of related (for a singular language and culture) *bayans*. It is of course completely different from an established religion. Established religions, including Christianity and Islam, have founders and doctrines, based on their accepted sacred scriptures. Their establishment and distribution are, in this regard, always literally recorded; they normally have a particular written, scholarly tradition. Established religions are, with regards to such, quite easy to track down, within a particularly set linear period in/ of history. A natural religion's history, on the other hand, cannot be definitely and easily drawn out. It is not based on a sacred scripture; it is normally based on the belief, practices, the general way of living, relating to and revolving around the spirits. The Japanese Shinto and the Chinese Daoism are today's popular examples of natural religions.¹⁰⁶ Anitism/Anitism --- the ancient religion of today's Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Oceania ---, on the other hand, belongs to the not so popular among the group. It is based on the belief of kabathalaan, which pertains to the host of anitus. Its believed to be, all-encompassing spread occurred parallel to/ with the Austronesian-speaking peoples' massive migration and charter of today's Southeast Asia and Oceania starting around 9,000 B.C.

¹⁰⁴ Here's how Salazar discussed this ancient austronesian word anitu which is the center of the earliest belief system of the peoples of today's South East Asia and Oceania: "Ihre Religion war um den Kult der *qanituq* aufgebaut. Dieser Begriff existiert noch als '*anitu*' von Formosa über die Philippinen bis nach Sulawesi (bei den Toradjas); als '*hantu*' <Altjavanisch '*hanitu*', Malaiisch '*hantu*'> von Kalimantan über West indonesien und Malaysien; als '*manitra*' in Madagascar; als '*s'anitu*' <d.h. '*si anitu*'> auf den Mentawai-Inseln; '*nitu*' oder '*kenitu*' in Ostindonesien und Teilen von Melanesien, das auch anderswo '*anitu*' hat; als '*chalid*', '*galid*', '*jaris*', '*iarus*' usw. in Mikronesien; und '*aitu*' ('*aiku*') in Polynesien. Die *qanituq* waren Geister der Verstorbenen und auch Naturgeister oder Götter in dem dreistöckigen austronesischen Universum aus der Oberwelt, der Menschenwelt und der Unterwelt, die mit dem Meer verbunden war..." Zeus Salazar, "Für eine Gesamtgeschichte des Malaiisch-Philippinisch-Indonesischen Kulturraums," The Malayan Connection. Ang Pilipinas sa Dunia Melayu, Lungsod Quezon: Palimbagan ng Lahi, 1998, p. 291.

¹⁰⁵ Bayan is one of those Pilipino concepts which defy direct translation to the English language. It is comparable to the german, Das Volk, but somewhat not exactly like the english, the people. Here is how a history textbook describes it: "Bayan --- isang konseptong mayaman sa kahulugan; salitang-ugat para sa mga salitang 'makabayan,' 'bayani,' 'kabayanihan,' at 'bayanihan,' maaaring nagmula sa salitang 'bahay' o 'sambahayan'. Sa orihinal na gamit, ang bayan ay binubuo ng m g a tao; nang lumaon, ang naging isa pang konsepto nito ay lugar o pook. Kapag ang kalahatang Pilipino ang nais tukuyin, ang salitang bayan ay kasingkahulugan ng bansa. Ngunit maaring gamitin din ito bilang paglalarawan ng pinagmulang lugar ng isang tao mula sa antas ng munisipalidad, probinsya, at rehiyon." <Bayan --- a concept which is rich in meaning; the word base or the root word of words like makabayan (patriot), bayani (hero), kabayanihan (heroism), and bayanihan (community help and/or cooperation); could have originated from the word bahay (house) or sambayanan (one people and/or one nation). In its original use, bayan refers to the people but it was later on used to refer to a particular place or ort as well. When it wants to encompass the whole Filipino people, the word bayan could be in the same level of the word nation. But it could also be used to refer to the place of origin of a person in the different levels of municipality, province, or region.> Jaime Veneracion, Agos ng Dugong Kayumanggi. Isang Kasaysayan ng Sambayanang Pilipino, Lungsod Quezon: Abiva Publishing House, Inc., 1998, p. 47.

¹⁰⁶ Zeus Salazar, "Ang Relihiyong Austronesyano ng Anito: Batayan ng Sinaunang Sampalataya ng Kapilipinuhan," Paper read in the symposium: Spirit of the Philippines, Manila: 20 November, 1993, p.1.

Figure 4
Sansinukob (Ancient Philippines Cosmic View)



Salazar 1993

Anitism takes off from the most elementary belief on spirits, found within man himself, *kaluluwa*, and in his natural surroundings, *anito*. It basically centers on general interaction among the major ideas of *anito* (spirit of the dead who can guide man in his material existence), *tao* (man), and *aswang* (malevolent spirit; spirit of those who died earlier than destined), in the context of the considered cosmos, *sansinukob*. Its practice generally pursues to maintain the supposed order within man, as well as that of the whole universe. Hence, in a way, the anito-worship is considerably the archipelago's early man's representative embodiment, not only of his self-view, but of his worldview/*Weltanschauung*, as well.¹⁰⁷ The early communities' concept for the whole universe, *sansinukob* or *santinakpan*, means enclosed singularity; it is, in this way, believed to refer to a particularly covered or decked space. It received its name from the early communities' world concept, whereby the world is metaphorically enclosed in a parabolic plane/ curve. (Cf., Figure 4.) The space within this plane is believed to be inhabited by man, the space above the parabola is that of anitos of the skies, while the space beneath the flat is that of the anito (who could either be a big snake or a crocodile) of earthquakes. In this regard, there are considerably three distinct levels within the *santinakpan/sansinukob*: the world in the heavens, the world here on earth, and the world underneath. Critical is that these three levels be harmoniously connected; therewith would cosmic order --- most important prerequisite for any material action within the world above (or in-between, depending on one's view), e.g. robust agriculture, healthy flock of animals, etc --- be maintained and continued. Anitos, in turn, are believed to be found everywhere within this whole plane, within *sansinukob*. Nonetheless, their natural habitats are believed to be the uppermost as well as the lowermost planes. The sun, for example, is an anito of the world above; the moon, on the other hand, of the world beneath. These two are supposed to be in constant chase of one another; they thereby cause the passing of day and night.

Man belongs to the world in-between, called *mundong ibabaw* (the world within the parabola, the world in the middle), during his mortal lifetime. When he dies, on the other hand, his soul or *kaluluwa* could either go to the world underneath, to the expected natural world of the dead, or, most especially if he mortally lived the life of a *bayani*¹⁰⁸ beforehand, to the world above, in union with the sun. The others, who either did have a good life, died earlier than their time, or were violently killed, are expected to remain in the world above. They would therefrom be among the so-called malevolent spirits, the aswangs. Though seeming damned to stay in the world of men, these aswangs and other related spirits, nonetheless, could only exist outside men's communities, outside bayan. They could only exist, for example, in darkened forests or in deserted places. They metaphorically represent those, who cannot and will not fit into the supposed community order. They, hence, live on the outskirts; and they are the literally and rhetorically considered *outsiders*.

There is no direct relation between the anitos and the aswangs; they are both parts of the universe. They continually do, what they both do there. The universe is generally composed of the equally important positive and negative; each of these components exists therein, without necessarily minding the other. Similarly, aswangs are neither particularly good nor bad. They just exist as elemental forces of nature; what they do are seemingly just natural to them. They are in constant struggle with man; they apparently envy him of his life and, in fact, of his fallibility as well. Anitos, on the other hand, are also not always nor necessarily good. Similar to aswangs, they are elemental forces of nature, as well; but contrary to them, they do not struggle with man. Instead, they are perceived to be lights to mortal communities. They are supposed to be the protectors and blessings' sources of their worshipping communities.

The relation, in turn, between man and anito is generally characterized with exchange --- to wit: man normally executes rituals for the anitos, who are, in their turn, expected to grant the former his longed-for goodness afterwards. As a result, the person --- the babaylan/catalona or priestess (usually a woman, but sometimes, also a man) ---, who does and proceeds with the community's rituals, could only thereby have and continually maintain a great role in the early communities' general spirituality. The priestess, as rituals' leader, makes sure that the community's anito(s) --- who could either be the spirits of the community's forefathers or of perished heroes, who already went to the sun --- continue patronizing the communities with blessings. She makes sure that the details of the rituals be

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p.3.

¹⁰⁸ Bayani is the Filipino concept that pertains to (1) an unusual person who spent his life (his mind and most or all of his actions) for bayan or for the community he lives in --- both in reality and in an imaginary world and (2) a person who unselfishly execute actions, unmindful of any form of payment, for the betterment of the community he lives in. Kabayanihan pertains to the characteristic of one who singularly channels his mind and actions for the maintenance, strengthening, defense or even reestablishment of the particular group he or she is a member of. Zeus Salazar, "Si Andres Bonifacio at ang Kabayanihang Pilipino," Bagong Kasaysayan, Lathalaing Blg. 2, 1997, Maynila: Palimbang Kalawakan, 1997.

meticulously seen to.¹⁰⁹ She makes sure, for example, that the community's burial tradition be accordingly followed and continually practiced to its letters. She makes sure that the dead will be given proper honor, and granted an appropriate final burial. She makes sure that it would be contained in the appropriate burial jar. This same jar, furthermore, should be passing, not only for the dead therein, but for the general practice of the community's belief system as well.

The Manunggul Jar, it would be noted, is an outstanding example of such a jar. The cover of the jar is ornamented with two curved boat-travellers: the first passenger is the rower, whom we could interpret as an anito who helps the dead find his way and make a safe passage from the world of the living towards the world of the dead; the second passenger, on the other hand, because of his distinctly curved appearance --- horizontally bonded head and crossly folded arms on the chest --- could only be the soul of the dead person inside the jar. The immortal soul of the dead, like already mentioned above, travels, so as to get to and on with its metaphorical other life (*sa kabilang buhay*) in the world of the dead, in the world underneath *santinakpan*. And because the earlier communities' culture was generally based on boats, their metaphorical life-on-the-other-side would only necessarily be found in the heart of the oceans itself --- that is, in an area, which could only be reached with a good boat and a good navigator/rower. In consideration to this, man could only be regarded as a constant boat-traveller --- he virtually lives and leaves his mortal life on a physical as well as a figurative boat. He lives a physical existence, parallel with/to his non-physical one.

The archipelago's early man, medically considered, is believed to be composed of two major components: the *kaluluwa* and the *ginhawa*.¹¹⁰ The *kaluluwa* and the *ginhawa*, in their turns, should

¹⁰⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the austronesian religion, please look at: Zeus Salazar, "Pèlerinage aux Sources: la Religion des Austronésiens," *The Malayan Connection. Ang Pilipinas sa Dunia Melayu*, Lungsod Quezon: Palimbagan ng Lahi, 1998, pp. 3-42; Zeus Salazar, "La grotte comme lieu d'enterrement aux Philippines, en Indo-Malaisie et au Madagascar," *The Malayan Connection. Ang Pilipinas sa Dunia Melayu*, Lungsod Quezon: Palimbagan ng Lahi, 1998, pp. 239-258; Zeus Salazar, "Ang Babaylan sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas," *Women's Role in Philippine History: Selected Essays*, Lungsod Quezon: U.P. Press at University Center for Women Studies, 1996, pp. 52-72; Zeus Salazar, *Etude Comparative de quelques religions ethniques austronésiennes. Draft of the comparative study of Malayo-polynesian religions*, 350 pp.; Zeus Salazar, *Le complexe funéraire des grottes: l'enterrement pre-hispanique. Study of pre-hispanic cave burial practices based partly on the Marche collection of the Musee de L'Homme*, 31 pp.; Zeus Salazar, *Anitu chez les Mentawai (Indonesie)*. Unpublished typescript, 25 pp.; and Zeus Salazar, *Le concept AC 'anito' dans le monde austronésien: vers l'étude des religions ethniques austronésiennes*. Dissertation. Sorbonne, Université de Paris, 1968.

¹¹⁰ The theme of Filipino personality was and is a major social science subject that almost all members of this branch of knowledge at one time or the other tackled. From its beginnings as a largely anthropological question in the beginning of the century, it became a psychological question in the early portion of the seventies, and then slowly turned into a big philosophical theme. It is, of course, all of the said above; it is an anthropological, psychological, philosophical subject, plus more. It is a question that has to be answered in every scientific exertion that aims to delve deeper into the bigger theme of Filipino history and culture. There is a relatively huge amount of published materials available about this subject; some of the good examples of these are the following: Alberto Alejo, *Tao po! Tuloy! Isang Landas ng Pag-unawa sa Loob ng Tao*, Quezon City: Office of the Research and Publications, School of Arts and Sciences, Ateneo de Manila University, 1992; Roque Ferriols, *Magpakatao: Ilang Babasahing Pilosopiko*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979; Reybaldo Ilete, *Pasyon and Revolution. Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*, Quezon City: Ateneo de

always be in balance; such is the only way towards a good health and a generally good living. Man's whole lifetime is, in consequence to this, the maintainance and harmonious synchronicity of these two components; his life, as well as, in fact, all his hopes of becoming an anito himself, after death, virtually depends on this. A good number of today's ethnographical studies mostly tells us, that this idea/ conceptualization of kaluluwa and ginhawa are not only existant, but seemingly universal and timeless in the Philippine archipelago. The Negritos, for example, believe on the existance of two spirits in man: one goes to the grave with the corpse and the other goes to the land of the dead. There are not much details on the spirit that stays with the dead body; but the spirit that goes to the other life is normally termed as *kaladua*, *hadadua*, *kag*, or *samangat*. Kag is most probably related to kalag of the Bicolanos or to karag of the Mindanawons. Karag is known in Mindanao history, most especially in the Surigao and Agusan areas, as the people of the Karagha or Karaga; they were the people with kaluluwa which means that they are passionate, courageous, decisive, and with *kalooban*¹¹¹. The kaladua or hadadua is the same as the Tagalog's kaluluwa, Kapampangan's kaladua, Ilokano's kararua, and Maranao's aroak. The Tagbanuas of Palawan call it *kiyarulwa* which is given to man upon his birth and goes on to another life upon his death.¹¹² The Sulods call it *umalagad* which is the same word of the earlier Bicolanos for the supportive spirit. It is smoky picture of one's body; it manages man's breathing and gives him the most needed warmth and life.¹¹³

The kaluluwa is, in a manner, that which causes physiological breathing, warmth and life, as a whole. The ginhawa, on the other hand, is breathing or breath, itself. Ginhawa is that which dissapears when the kaluluwa intentionally leaves, or was forced to leave the body. It is termed *ginawa* for the Sulods and for the Bagobos of Mindanaw. It is related to *pag-ibig*, love (*deluk ginawa*, lesser love) and to *pintig*, throb, or *tibok ng puso sa pulso*, beating of the heart through the pulse. The beat of the pulse signifies that the person lives; and so, its absence translates to the body's illnesses, even loss of living. Ginawa is the same as the Kapampangan's *inawa* and the Tagalog's, Bicolano's, Hiligaynon's,

Manila University Press, 1979; Leonardo Mercado, *Elements of Filipino Philsophy*, Tacloban City: Divine Word Publications, 1974; Jose de Mesa, *In Solidarity With the Culture. Studies in Theological Re-rooting*. Quezon City: Maryhill School of Theology, 1987; Dionisio Miranda, *Loob: The Filipino Within*, Manila: Divine Word Publications, 1989; Zeus Salazar, *Ethnic Dimension Papers on Philippine Culture, History and Psychology*, Cologne: Counselling Center for Filipinos, Caritas Association for the City of Cologne, 1983.

¹¹¹ Kalooban is a Pilipino concept which is almost untranslatable. Its rough translation is the german *die Innerlichkeit*. It has many forms in the Pilipino language; and a major definor of the Filipino psychology and philosophy. Kalooban, or its word base loob, is till today subject of many scientific endeavors both in the written and in the oral forms. It would be a bit more discussed in the latter portion of this study; that is, most especially in correspondence to the real filipino historiography embodied in the idea of bagong kasaysayan.

¹¹² The Tagbanuas also believe in the existance of multiplicity of souls or spirits in the body of man. The seats of these spirits are found in the four extremeties (hands and feet) and at the head's top. This largely explains the logic behind the earlier people's wearing of various ornaments in the said body zones; that is, because there is always the possibility that one or two of the said souls gets out of the body and that normally translates to at the least, unwholeness of man (*hindi/di buo ang loob*), or at the most, the lost of his senses. Ornaments which could be any physical material or even any form of tattoo make sure that the souls or kaluluwas remain in their seats.

¹¹³ Zeus Salazar, "Ang Kamalayan at Kaluluwa: Isang Paglilinaw ng Ilang Konsepto sa Kinagisnang Sikolohiya," Rogelia Pe-pua (Ed.), *Sikolohiyang Pilipino. Teorya, Metodo, at Gamit*, Lunsod Quezon: University of the Philippines Press at Akademya ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1989, p. 84.

Sebuano's *ginhawa* which refers to *pahinga*, rest, and *hinga*, to breath.¹¹⁴ The Tagalogs believe that "*kung may buhay, may ginhawa,*" when there is life, there is *ginhawa*. Consequently, hence, there is a considerable congruent relationship between life itself and *ginhawa*; in fact, these two could be taken as singularity --- as something, that is one and the same.¹¹⁵ However, it doesn't mean that *ginhawa* is not the body's sole and biologically functional life-giver; the relationship between these two, it should be kept in mind, is generally rhetorical (sometimes even psychical!) in nature. Their oneness exists and, in fact, continually happens in man's mind. And because man generally lives his mind, the same oneness could thereby be anthropologically be realized and accordingly, witnessed. *Ginhawa*-ful living, or *buhay na maginhawa*, translates to a comfortable or good life --- that is, a physically, spiritually, psychological, etc. satisfying life.

Generally considered, hence, *ginhawa*¹¹⁶ is that, which maintains man's physical or material health; while *kaluluwa*, in turn, is that, which wanders, causing the body's illnesses or even its final end. The harmonious relationship between these two internally maintains man, and so, effectively keeps his anthropological self, as well. Disturbances in this relationship are the main causes of his ailments; and so, their order's recall is virtually equivalent to the cure and prevention of any diseases form, as well. It is normally in such cases of disturbances in man's inner self, where the earlier priest(s/esses) --- *catalonan* or *babaylan* --- come in. These priestesses were the ones, who make sure that man is figuratively whole, *buo ang loob*. They make sure that a man's *kaluluwa* and *ginhawa* are both intact. Consequently, the healing procedure that they execute on man is, hence, both psychological and physical in nature; they assure thereby the over-all health of man. They figuratively help him/her goes through life --- that is, from actual birth towards his final rest.

The early man, in this regard, saw himself as a particular system's part; he saw himself, in the same way, as a part of a particular transformation of a history. And he somewhat managed to express this through the *Manunggul Jar* of 200 B.C.; he somehow succeeded to express with it and on it his sense of himself¹¹⁷, of his world, and eventually, of his *kasaysayan*, as well. Man in the early communities

¹¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 84-85.

¹¹⁵ Costenoble in his *Proto-philippinischen*, took *ginhawa* to mean as *die Atemseele*; that is, the spirit which gives or grants breath or breathing. Cf. Ch.1, Fn. 22.

¹¹⁶ The seat of *ginhawa* is the general abdominal area. *Ginhawa* and food are related to each other; that is, because food is the basis of living. The ill in the islands are normally visited and given a form of healthy food or two; very much unlike the custom in the cultures of the Western hemisphere where the ill are given or presented with flowers. Salazar explains: "...Ang pagkain ang pinakabase ng buhay. Ang 'ganang kumain' bilang kahulugan ng *ginhawa* ay higit na nakatatawag-pansin. Isang tanda ito ng kalusugan; ang pagbabalik ng ganang kumain ay nagpapahiwatig ng paggaling ng taong maysakit; sa kinagisnang teorya, nanunumbalik na o nagkakaroon muli ng *ginhawa*. Kaya nga, bahagi ng ating pagkakaintindi sa paggamot ang pagkain. Sa mga kinagisnang ritwal sa pagpapagaling ng m g a maysakit, nagsasakripisyo ng manok o baboy na iniaalok bilang pagkain, kasama ng kanin, sa ginagamot. Ito ang nagpapaliwanag kung bakit hanggang ngayon ay nagdadala tayo ng pagkain (iyong masustansiya) sa pagdalaw sa maysakit, bagay na hindi ugali ng Kanluranin." Zeus Salazar, "Ang Kamalayan at Kaluluwa...", Q.C.: 1989, pp. 86-87.

¹¹⁷ A Filipino anthropologist, Prospero Cover, even likens the Filipino personhood with that of a jar; that is, most especially because and in reference to the people's close affinity to the jar culture. According to him, like

seemingly had a particular command of himself and his surrounding. He was a whole man; he moved and caused movements aptly and accordingly. He thought and, thus, existed. He was, however, never alone. He was part of a community, which existed even long before him. He inherited most of his knowledge from and among this community. He lived a particular way of living, he was part of a particular culture. And although this culture's treasures were merely orally transferred, they were still continually kept and practiced by the following generations. Roughly starting around 900 A.D. (through the Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription), however, the people's historico-cultural person would slowly be seen and expressed in the written form. Literary historicity was, in effect, therewith started on the islands.

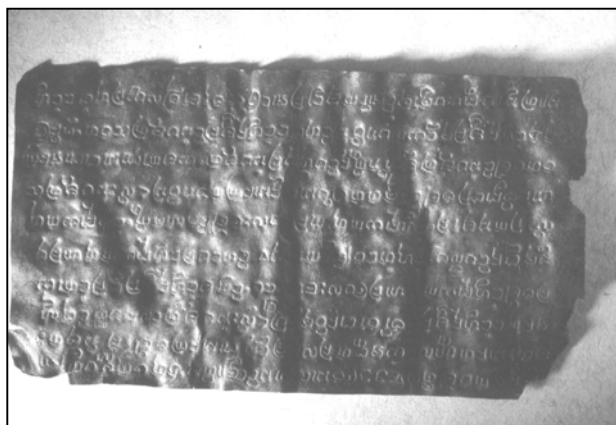
It is believed that Indic-derived writing arrived on today's PI from the southern islands of Indonesia.¹¹⁸ It came to the islands in two distinct waves. The first time was before 900 A.D., from Java. Writing from this period proved to be not so effective and popular in use on the archipelago, however. It seem to have dissappeared some time after the 10th century. A few centuries afterwards, the second Indic-based writing's introduction on the islands ocured. This script is hypothized to have come from either Sulawesi or Sumatra. It stayed and eventually developed into various regional versions on the archipelago. It became the today-recognized Philippine type of writing, which is, in itself, similar or, at the least, comparable with the similar syllabries utilized in various parts of the present Southeast Asian Region.

This first type of writing, as could already be deduced, is typified by the archaeological find, Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription. The LCI is a thin copper plate, measuring about 20 X 30 cm. It is covered on the one side with ten lines of small script characters, impressed or hammered into the surface. It was found in the Lumbang river in Sinoloan, province of Laguna in January 1990. The script used is similar to the standard Early Kawi Script, EKS, used around the 10th century in the areas of central Java and Bali, Indonesia, as well as in Thailand and in Champa, Vietnam. It is derived from the script-type used in the Indian mainland; that is, most expecially the Pallava Script used in the 6th century by the south Indian kings for their decrees' writing and recording. This writing system gradually spread to Southeast Asia and further into the Malayan archipelago, including the Philippines. The EKS, however, reached its most standard/ popular form in the years between 850-925 A.D.; it was impressed on stone or on copper plates in almost all of today's South East Asian

the jar the Filipino has labas (externality), loob (internality), and lalim (depth). Labas is represented and find its manifestations in man's mukha, dibdib, tiyan, and sikhura; loob is isipan, puso, bituka, and atay; and labas is kaluluwa and budhi. Prospero Covar, "Kaalangang Bayang Dalumat ng Pagkataong Pilipino," Larangan. Seminal Essays on Philippine Culture, Maynila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1998, pp. 9-19.

¹¹⁸ Antoon Postma, "Indegenous Filipino Writing", Kasaysayan. Vol. II. The Earliest Filipinos, Manila: Asia Publishing Company Limited, A Joint Venture of Reader's Digest and A-Z Direct Marketing, Inc., 1998, p.224.

Figure 5
Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription



region, with only a few variations in style or outward appearance. Here is the translation¹¹⁹ of the script:

- (1) Hail! In the Saka-year 822; the month of March-April; according to the astronomer: the 4th day of the dark half of the moon; on
- (2) Monday. At that time Lady Angkatan together with her relative, Bukah by name,
- (3) The child of His Honor Namwaran, was given, as a special favor, a document of full acquittal, by the Chief and Commander of Tundun
- (4) Represented by the leader of Pailah, Jayadewa. This means that His Honor Namwaran, through the Honorable Scribe
- (5) Is totally cleared of a salary-related debt of 1 kati and 8 suwarna, in the presence of His Honor the leader of Puliran,
- (6) Kasumuran: His Honor the leader of Pailah, represented by Ganasakti; His Honor the Leader
- (7) Of Binwangan, represented by Bisruta. And, with his whole family, on orders of the Chief of Dewata
- (8) Represented by the Chief of Mdang, because of his loyalty as a subject of the Chief, therefore all the descendants
- (9) Of His Honor Namwaran are cleared of the whole debt that His Honor owed the Chief of Dewata. This is in case
- (10) There is someone, whosoever, sometime in the future, who will state that the debt is not yet acquitted of His Honor...¹²⁰

The LCI is a (familial) document of debt acquittal of a person in a possibly high office, in the context and support of all his family, plus all his relatives and descendants. Apparently, the earlier unpaid debt was in a substantial amount of gold. Consequently, the veracity of its payment is accordingly and aptly witnessed (or proven true) by a number of leaders and officials --- whom a few were directly

¹¹⁹ Here is the transcription of the actual text: “(1) swasti ‘saka wasrátítá 822 waisákha masa ding jyotisa caturthi krsnapaksa so – ; (2) mawara sana tatkala dayang angkatan lawan dnganha sanak barngaran si bukah; (3) anakda dang hwan namwran dibari waradana wi ‘suddhapatra ulih sang pamgat senàpati di tundu -- ; (4) n barja dang hwan nayaka tuhan pailah jayadewa . di krama dang hwan namwran dngan dang kaya; (5) stha ‘suddhà nu dipparlapas hutangda walanda ka 1 su 8 dihadapan dang hwan nayaka tuhan pu; (6) liran kasumuran . dang hwan nayaka tuhan pailah barjadi gana ‘sakti dang hwan nayaka tu -- ; (7) han binwangan barjadi bi ‘sruta tathàpi sádánya sanak kaparawis ulih sang pamgat de -- ; (8) wata barjadi sang pamgat mdang dari bhaktinda diparhulon sang pamgat ya makana sadana anak; (9) cucu dang hwan namwran ‘suddha ya kaparawis dihutangda dang hwan namwran di sang pamgat dewata . ini grang; (10) syat syapanta ha pascasat ding àri kamudyan ada grang urang barujara wlung lappas hutangda dang hwa ...” Antoon Postma, “The Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription (LCI). A Valuable Philippine Document, Unpublished Paper.

¹²⁰ Antoon Postma, “The Laguna Copper-Plate Inscription. A Valuable Philippine Document, Unpublished Paper.

mentioned in the document itself. It is believed to be closed and concluded with a warning for those who might doubt the statements therein. Its conclusion is, however, not completely finished. It could, in this regard, only mean that a second plate (a second LCI) most probably also existed. But, unfortunately, most of the country's archaeologists are convinced, that this second plate would never be further found. The present LCI was not (un-)discovered by a scientifically controlled environment of an archaeological dig. It was accidentally found by 'treasure hunters' who were working in the Lumbang River near the Laguna Lake area.¹²¹ This, however, does not particularly lessen the importance of the find. Its internal analysis, which include both its language and the contents, contained a number of revelations, which ultimately presents new readings in the country's general earlier history.

Our document is written in the trade language Old Malay, OM, with words that are identical or closely related to the Old-Tagalog language, Protophilippinischen (PP). OM and PP, in turn, are quite similar --- most especially upon our document's writing --- because they are both daughter-languages of the larger Western Austronesian mother-language. Examples of PP in LCI are the following: *anak* (child), *dayang* (noblewoman), *hadapan* (in front), *hutang* (debt), *lap(p)as* (acquitted of debt), *ngaran* (name), *pam(a)gat* (chief), *tuhan* (honorable person).¹²² A liberal amount of Sanskrit-derived words, enlarged with OM affixes, are also found therein. This reiterates the seemingly wide range of exposure of early Malay languages to Indian culture, commerce and religion. A big number of Sanskrit words were generally acquired in the process therein. The early Malays probably merely restructured (or appropriated --- depending on one's view) these acquired words, with their own suffixes; and accordingly simplified their spellings, as well.

The use though of OM in the LCI is a bit puzzling. It could have been done, however, because the intention of its creation was a virtual wide-range declaration. It was practically a correspondence, hence, to all foreign counties, outside the actual domain of its creator's language (OJ). But if that was the case, it presupposed that the author of LCI is a Javanese or an Indonesian who had some form of interest in the Philippine Islands. The LCI would be, in this case, a person's or a community's --- who have a substantial gold debt --- plea to the hypothesized foreign authorities for help in his or their quandry in the PI. It is possible that these person(s), after his debt's payment, for one reason or another, particularly asked for a debt acquittal document. A person(s)' (personal, professional, economic, etc.) reputation could have been at stake therein. Consequently, hence, the LCI was created, with particularly authorized, not only on the usual perishable materials but on the strong,

¹²¹ It should be stressed nonetheless that the LCI's veracity is already agreed on by most of the experts on the field. Postma who himself is one of the specialists reported that paleographs from both the areas of Asia and Europe believed that the document is authentic and part of a larger historical trend in the context of the 10th century malayan world. Today's filipino linguists and historians already include this find in most of their scientific endeavors which concern the earlier history of the Philippine archipelago.

¹²² Postma, Op.cit.

timeless copper material. On the other hand, it is also possible that the LCI was created by officials in Sumatera Selatan, where OM was, during those time, the vernacular tongue as well as the business language. However, this supposition would be a bit short in the explanation of the existence of quite a number of OJ words and influences found in the document.¹²³ Whatever, nevertheless, the operative reasons for the writing of LCI, it is not to oversee the fact that its mere existence alone further proves, that there was definitely an active and massive inter-island communicative relationship in the Insular Southeast Asian Region even as early as the 10th century; and more importantly, furthermore, this relation is sanctioned by a writing system and culture, which, in turn, presupposes a form of government and power structure based probably, like today, on a type of politico-economic hierarchy. The over-all solidity of the region at that time is virtually witnessed and authoritatively reiterated by our document --- that is, a oness which would continue for another six hundred years or more, but, eventually would be a bit altered, for wider acceptance and for appropriation of needed changes along the way.

A different form of script, in comparison with the LCI, was, on the other hand, found by the Spaniards in the PI during their arrival therein during the 16th century. Communities along the rivers and coasts proved to be the most literate among the early communities during which. They were the Ilocanos in the west coast of Luzon; the Pangasinenses in the west-central coast; the Pampangos and the Tagalogs in the central Luzon, especially around the lake area and Manila; the Samar-Leyte groups in eastern Visayas and the Negrenses in western Visayas; plus the Butuanos in northeastern Mindanao. The Mindanaons and Suluanos, in addition, have most probably a system of writing that superseded Arabic, as well. These communities were trading centers; writing was maybe used to record transactions among themselves or with foreign traders, who were equally literate in the same syllabic script. Later, the scripts were used to record folktales, poetry, songs, and other literary compositions.¹²⁴ The ancients wrote on copper, on pottery, on bark of trees, on leaves, on bamboo tubes, using their knives and daggers, pointed sticks or iron as pens and the colored saps of trees as ink.¹²⁵ Only a few samples of these type of writing survived the times. There are two significant finds on this area; that is, the Calatagan earthenware pot and the Butuan silver paleograph.¹²⁶ The former was unearthed in Talisay, Calatagan in the province of Batangas. It was associated with a number of Thai and Chinese ceramics from the 15th century after excavation by the National Museum during the 1960s. It is 12 cm in height and 20.2 cm in width; it has an averted rim, two corner points on the body, and an indentation at the base. Inscribed around the shoulder are the old Filipino syllabry. The message is not yet fully deciphered; but most of the scientists believe that it is a form of incantation, a

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ "Prehistoric Writing", *Kasaysayan*. Vol. II. The Story of the Filipino People. The Earliest Filipinos, Manila: Asia Publishing Company Limited, A Joint Venture of Reader's Digest and A-Z Direct Marketing, Inc., 1998.

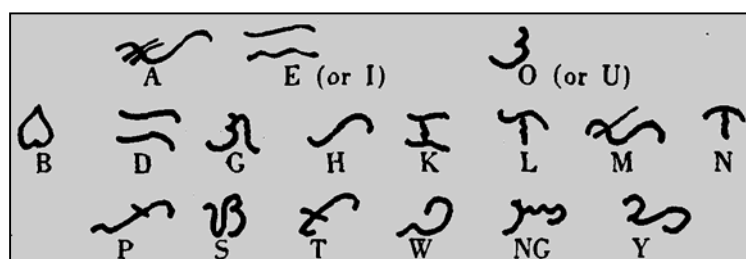
¹²⁵ Teodoro Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, Quezon City: GAROTECH Publishing, (1960), 1990, p. 56.

¹²⁶ *Kasaysayan*, Vol II. Op.cit., pp. 221-229.

prayer for something was burned inside the pot. There are 39 symbols in the line; it is difficult to interpret it for they were written around the mouth and thus a bit confusing where it on the first place begins. The symbols though are similar to the ethnographic materials from the Mangyan and Tagbanua groups.

The second artifact, the Butuan silver paleograph, was retrieved from the treasure hunting chaos in the Agusan Province during the 1970s. The strip measures 17.8 cm long and 1.3 cm wide; on it are 22 units of writing, etched by a metal point which was probably a knife of some sort. The writing has no resemblance to the syllabries found by the Spaniards during the 16th century nor to the Mangyan or Tagbanua script. A complete reading of this document was already declared impossible unless more characters were discovered and naturally, analyzed. The archaeological context of the paleography was long destroyed by pot and treasure hunters making systematic recording next to impossible. Nonetheless, its mere presence, as an archaeological find, is a further evidence of the seemingly fairly developed literacy among the early communities on PI. In fact, it can even be hypothesized that the coming of the Latin-based alphabet, brought by the foreigners in the 16th century, ultimately hindered the growth and, in fact, even caused the eventual death of the islands' ancient form of script.

Figure 6
The Filipino Baybayin



Chirino's¹²⁷ 1602 chronicle, fortunately enough, managed to illustrate and generally accounted this ancient script; it thereby declared, "All these islanders are much given to reading and writing, and there is hardly a man, and much less a woman, who does not read and write in the letters used in the

¹²⁷ Pedro Chirino was born in 1557 in Osuna of Andalucía. He graduated in both civil and canon law at Sevilla, and entered the Society of Jesus at the age of twentythree. Having been appointed to the mission in the Filipinas in the place of Father Alonzo Sanchez, he arrived there in 1590 with the new governor, Gomez Perez Dasmariñas. He acted as missionary to the Tagalos and Pintados, and was superior of the Jesuit colleges at Manila and Cebú. He cultivated the friendship of Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, whom he advised to found the college of San Ignacio and the seminary of San José in Manila. On July 7, 1602, he left Cavite for Acapulco by the vessel San Antonio with appointment by Visitor Diego Garcia as procreator of the mission, in order to take immediate action in the affairs of the mission, in order to take immediate action in the affairs of the mission at both the royal and pontifical courts. He obtained the degree from Father General Claudius Aquaviva, by which the mission in the Filipinas was elevated to a vice-province of Mexico. His relation was written in 1603, and passed the censorship of vice-provincial Luis de la Puente in Valladolid. On July 17, 1606 he returned to Manila. The village of Taitai was removed to its present site by him. His death occurred September 16, 1635. His biography was written by Juan de Bueras in the annals of the province of Filipinas for 1634-35, signed by the author in Manila, May 26, 1636; and Father Pedro Murillo Velarde in part ii, book ii, chap. I of *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*. Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 12, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903, p 175-176.

island of Manila --- which are entirely different from those of China, Japan, and India.”¹²⁸ There were seventeen characters in the alphabet; three vowels and fourteen consonants. The three vowel syllable-signs are: A, EI, and OU. Each of these vowels acquired a modified pronunciation whenever a point was placed above it. The fourteen consonants are: B, D, G, H, K, L, M, N, NG, P, S, T, W, and Y. They were pronounced as BA, DA, GA, HA, KA, LA, MA, NA, NGA, PA, SA, TA, WA, and YA.¹²⁹ The Tagbanuas in Palawan and the Mangyans in Mindoro have retained this form of writing. Writing skill was transferred from one generation to another through apprenticeship and observation. It was easily and efficiently distributed among the islands’ population thereby. In fact, writing, on the whole, was welcomed and hungrily absorbed by the islanders. Its easy, eventual mastery among the islands’ inhabitants astounded even the newly arrived Spaniards in the 16th century. According to these foreigners:

They used to write on reeds and palm leaves, using as pen an iron point; now they write their own letters, as well as ours, with a sharpened quill, and, as we do, on paper. They have learned our language and its pronunciation, and write it even better than we do, for they are so clever that they learn anything with the greatest ease. I have had letters written by themselves in very handsome and fluent style. In Tigbanuan I had in my school a very young boy, who, using a model letters written to me in a very good handwriting, learned in three months to write even better than I; and he copied for me important documents faithfully, exactly and without errors...¹³⁰

There was a seemingly visible clamour for the skill in writing during these times. The fast tempo of this skill’s learning all-encompassingly witnessed this. The early communities were most probably aware, even during those early years, of what writing really translates to. Writing, besides being the material act of forming visible script or characters, was the metaphorical realization of visible signs for ideas, words, and symbols on a physical surface. It was done, so as to make a notice, to communicate, or to record. Writing was the instrument for making visible the thinking process; that is, it materializes that which is otherwise non-visible to the human eye. It was --- and still is --- the concretization of a point of view. It was the abstracted picture of to-day; within it was, in this regard, the pursuit of freezing a part of the present, for probable future utility.

Writing, in a way, unites the three most important considerations in an historical thinking; it unites the past, present, and future. It becomes thereby a virtual illustration of a particular moment, a particular reality, a particular world. Consequently, hence, it is only understandable, why writing is taken in to be the most important variable or prerequisite towards the formal consideration of a nation’s history. Writing is an act of recording at the present what occurred, either therein or in the past; so that it could be utilized in the future. Naturally implicit here are firstly, the command of the writer of himself as an actor and mover in what would be later-on accepted as source of history; secondly, the awareness of

¹²⁸ Pedro Chirino, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, Roma: 1604. Trans in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 12, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903, p. 242.

¹²⁹ Kasaysayan, Vol. II, Op.cit. p. 223.

¹³⁰ Chirino, *Relación ... Op.cit.*, pp. 243-244.

the writer of the role of writing in the ultimate relation between time --- past, present and future; and thirdly, the writer's awareness of being a part of a particular cultural reality and continuum --- what he is, in this regard, doing is expected to be useful, not only for himself but for the coming generations within his cultural group as well.

Writing, on the other hand, was a later development on the islands. Nonetheless, it should be noted the the normal prerequisite to it is, after all, the distinct existence and apt execution of a thinking process. It follows, hence, that writing is not the absolute ground-basis of a culture's sense of history; it is merely the manifestation of a specific prerequired process --- that is, namely, the historical thinking. A marked sense of history, in this regard, among the ancient communities long existed in the past. It is incorporatively represented in the ancient conceptualization of the word, *kasaysayan*. Furthermore, it is --- like already discussed in this chapter --- generally embodied in the ancient community's material anthropological culture. And finally, it is (as would be discussed as an eventual later development in the following chapter of this work) also orally passed as parcels to the body of people's popular knowledge. It would be, in such a case, the significant element in the people's folklore (in *kaalamang bayan*), in the people's oral tradition; and so, in a manner, the elemental equivalence of the people's sense and application of the ancient *kasaysayan* itself.

Chapter 2
Kasaysayan as History for the Early Communities,
or for the Sinaunang Pamayanang Pilipino, c.a. 200 B.C. – 1565 A.D.

A variety of kasaysayan existed for the earlier communities, or sinaunang pamayanan. The nation-Philippines was, of course, not yet created back then. The islands were mostly populated by two major forms of early communities or sinaunang pamayanan: the pamayanang Sa-ilud and the pamayanang Sa-rama. They were the various house clusterings, which normally quartered around bodies of water, along the coasts and on the mountain ranges of today's archipelago. However, to understand the communal order, system, and over-all structure of those times, we would be foremost concentrating on the idea of community, *pamayanan*, which was prevalent in utility during those times. Pamayanan, in general, could both refer to a place where the people lives, or the people themselves who live within a houses' grouping. It was the ort, as well as the people, who inhabited therein. It was the created place out of a particularly natural terrain; and at the same time, the clustering of living population therein. It is, in a perspective, the virtual basis of the early culture on the P.I. It follows, hence, that the idea-pamayanan did not only mean the actual, physical meeting of the earlier population on the archipelago and the nearby islands of today's insular SEAn region. It, more importantly, meant and translated to the fundamental sources of and similarities in the communities' *kapaligiran* (environment/ context) and *kalinangan* (culture) during those early times and context.¹³¹ Pamayanan could then be figuratively equivalent to the abstractions and ideas of environment and culture. Consequently, in application to this principle, there was, at that time, a relative, all-encompassing unitary bond among the early communities --- they practically formed a unitary, all-embracing pamayanan on the various places of the islands then. A closer look at these pamayanans would somewhat prove this.

Like mentioned above, there were two major forms of pamayanans during the ancients --- sa-ilud and sa-rama. Pamayanang Sa-ilud were the communities found downstream on the coastlines; while pamayanang sa-rama were the communities found upstream or at the mouths of the watersystems in the mountain ranges. Naturally and expectedly enough, the individual locations of these early communities practically define the relationship among its community-members during those earlier times.¹³² Economically seen, for example, the communities Sa-rama were the natural suppliers of

¹³¹ Zeus Salazar, *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Isang Balangkas, Lungsod Quezon: U.P. Departamento ng Kasaysayan, 1993, p.1.*

¹³² These are the exact explanations of one of today's textbooks on the history of P.I.:
 "Bilang balangkas ng ating pag-unawa sa relasyon ng baybay-dagat at interyor, mainam tingnan ang mga halimbawa ng pinakamaunlad na komunidad nang panahong yaon hanggang sa dumating ang Kastila. Nariyan ang Sa-rama para sa komunidad na nasa pinagmumulan ng ilog sa bundok at Sa-ilud para sa mga komunidad na wawa ng ilog sa tabing dagat. Tinatawag din ang mga komunidad na ito na ilaya para sa kabundukan at ilawud

agricultural produce while the communities Sa-ilud were the natural suppliers of sea produce. Of course these roles were never strictly and purely practiced throughout the passing of years and changing of contexts. Sa-ilud community-members could very well plant and farm, as much as sa-
 raya community-members could go seafaring and practice seafishing --- knowledge or know-how transfer, it would be conceived, was not particularly difficult even then. Nonetheless, what was more significant in this whole context was the noticeable, clear specializations on both sides. These specializations, in their turn, virtually acted as the major factor, which eventually led to the relatively clear symbiotic relationship among the archipelago's older communities. These specializations, for example, are represented --- and in fact, even somewhat stressed and illustrated --- today by firstly, the magnificent rice terraces of the Mountain Province, as an outstanding agricultural production of the communities upstream; and secondly, the boat balanghai, as the most remarkable construction of the communities downstream.

One of the clear bonds that unifies these communities, on the other hand, as a bigger community would be found and represented in their similar oral traditions, which, in turn, were largely embodied -- as already discussed in the previous chapter --- in the concept, *kasaysayan* --- that is, in their sense of history. *Kasaysayan*, for the early communities, could be expressed through their oral tradition, which all-encompassingly included *alamat* (legends), *tarsila* or *salsilla* (Islamic families' genealogies), *mitolohiya* (mythology), *salawikain* or *kawikain* (sayings), *bugtong* (figurative sayings), *awit* (songs), *ritwal* (rituals), etc. They are orally passed from one generation to the next¹³³; and so, they were kept relatively intact among the country's population, even through the passing and

para sa baybay-dagat...” Jaime Veneracion, *Agos ng Dugong Kayumanggi. Isang Kasaysayan ng Sambayanang Pilipino*, Quezon City: Abiva Publishing House, Inc., p. 49.

<As a framework of the past relation between the coastline and the interior, it is advantageous to study the example of the most developed communities during those earlier times till the time that the Spaniards came to the islands. There was the community Sa-*raya* for the communities which were at the mouths of the rivers on the mountains and the community Sa-*ilud* for those at the foot of the rivers on the sea coastlines. These communities were also known as *ilaya* for those in the mountains and *ilawud* for those in the coastlines...>

¹³³ Their actual age though could only be presumed, they could not be chronologically put down as would the Europeans would do it. I believe these statements of Thiel on the matter put the message effectively across: “Der Zeitbegriff der Mythen ist, wie schon früher dargelegt wurde, unserem europäischen Zeitbegriff entgegengesetzt. Wir Europäer erfassen uns als ein Produkt der Geschichte, wobei für uns Geschichte auf einem linearen Zeitablauf beruht. Der Naturmensch erfaßt sich als Produkt mythischer Vorgänge der Urzeit. Der Mythos hebt die lineare Zeit, also die Diachronie, auf, denn nur so kann er ja wirksam werden. Jede Religion muß auf diese Weise handeln, will sie das Heil der Urzeit ihren Gläubigen vermitteln. Die Irreversibilität der Zeit gilt also nur in bestimmten Bereichen. Auch das Christentum kennt ja, wie wir gesehen haben, die Wiederholbarkeit eines Ereignisses in der Zeit. Unser linearer Zeitbegriff ist also nicht unbedingt für die Religion der ausschlaggebende Zeitbegriff. Da Mythen immer vom Ursprung handeln, sind Mythen für Naturmenschen unerlässlich, um die Herkunft der Dinge und Institutionen kennenzulernen. Für Naturvölker gilt durchweg das Axiom, daß man ein Objekt oder einen Ritus dann durch und durch kennt, wenn man um seinen Ursprung weiß. Wissen, wie etwas geworden ist, heißt, es ganz und gar zu kennen und damit auch zu beherrschen. Kennen allein genügt es nicht, einen Mythos zu erzählen, sondern der Mythos muß zelebriert werden. An den eleusinischen Mysterien nahm man nicht nur teil, um den Demeterzyklus rezitiert zu bekommen, sondern man ging hin, um durch die Zelebration des Mythos des Urzeitgeschehen auf mystische Weise realiter mitzerleben. Das Erkennen schließt in sich notwendigerweise das Erleben ein; deshalb müssen Mythen auch “zelebriert” werden.” Josef Franz Thiel, *Religionsethnologie. Grundbegriffe der Religionen schriftloser Völker*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag Berlin, 1984, p. 79-80.

changing of years and contexts. Nonetheless, it would be remarked that these kasaysayans also did not particularly escape the various external factors --- with colonization and christianization, being foremost among them ---, which were virtually imposed on the islands and on its population. They were consequently modified thereby. As a result, it would be seen, for example, that these stories are seemingly similar to the colonizers' narratives. A thorough study of these same narratives, on the other hand, will reveal otherwise. It would reveal its natural and actual sources --- the early communities of the archipelago. It would reveal, in fact the identity and individuality of the early communities; it would reveal, what kind of people the early communities were --- their way of living, their value system, their belief system, their coping mechanisms, etc.

Epikong bayan, alamat, tarsila or salsillah are the major literary classifications of these narratives. Epikong bayan are stories of the rise, fall and resurrection of heroes, whom, in turn, were taken in by most of the communities on the P.I. as historical figures of their actual groupings. Alamats are mostly explanatory stories of how something (could be a person, a fruit, an animal, an insect, an action, a certain attitude, or the world/earth itself, etc.) began. Tarsilas, lastly, are stories of the leading families in the islamic regions of the P.I. Magico-realism is always present in most of these mentioned stories; the realistic description of man as a part of a particular time and context is harmoniously and effectively situated in a storyline, within which supernatural occurrences are integrated. These stories, as a result, are expectedly exciting and engaging --- like all stories should be --- while, at the same time, aptly fulfilling the role of being the virtual descriptors of the early communities' general identity and individuality. They are, hence, historical expressions; or, to put it better, they are kasaysayan.

We will be taking a closer study on some of these kasaysayans in this chapter. We aim to thereby create and illustrate a good sampling of the general state of the early communities' historico-cultural individuality, as it was illustrated in their orally passed kasaysayan; that is, while at the same time that the proper concretization of kasaysayan as an history-concept would, thus, be also laid down. To wit, to cut to the bottom, the *alamat ni Sicalac at Sicavay*, *epiko ni Bathala*, as well as some exemplars of the *tarsilas of the Maranaos, Maguindanaos, and Tausugs* will be accordingly presented and aptly studied in the following pages. The *alamat ni Sicalac and Sicavay* is the story of the first man and woman on the archipelago; the *epiko ni Bathala* is the story of the Tagalogs' folk hero Bathala, who, in turn, is largely comparable to the Bicolanos' Gugurang and the Visayas' Laon; and the tarsilas are the stories of some of the leaders of the three biggest P.I. Muslims --- they are the Maranaos or the people around the Lanao region, the Maguindanaos or the people of Cotabato region, and the Tausugs or the people of the Sulu region. These kasaysayans continually remain, even to this day, as pioneer totalities of the ancient communal knowledge, *kalamang bayan* --- the virtual sources of the communities' self and world conceptualizations.

Kasaysayan in the early communities were particularly used, to reiterate the sense of belongingness to a group. They were indicators of membership to a particular circuit, to a particular wholeness.¹³⁴ They were the practical impressions of the communities' clear union with the past and the probable future. They explain a particular way of living, a specific belief system, which, in turn, encompasses all its values and superstitions. They reiterate the communities' abilities in causal thought and analysis, whereby every single thing plus every action have a particular result and consequence. In a way, hence, they effectively present, on the one hand, a kind of ideal, and on the other, a challenge (to be equal to or even be better than the thematized ideal in the story) to its targeted audience. They virtually illustrate a community's accomplished greatness in the past; and so, practically expected as well, that the same listening present generation would be able to accomplish a comparable (or even more!) in the future. They distinctly define and illustrate the historico-cultural individuality of a community, while, at the same time, determine the potential way, that this same community could take in the future. They, in short, fulfill the part of today's so-called scientifically sound historical narratives. They were in the ancient times, history.

A. The Different Forms of Kasaysayan

The earlier communities' kasaysayan was generally ethno-linguistic in character. The discussed spatial theme therein was characteristically local; it was normally contained and delimited within the social and geographical territory of a particular ethno(s) in question. And because each of the islands' ethno(s)¹³⁵ --- or each of the islands' language group --- during then had their own set of classifiable kasaysayan, it logically follows that each kasaysayan unit then was classifiably local or "ethnic" in character.

¹³⁴ This is the most important reason why the oral traditions has to first be collected and classified in its original language. The language is, after all, the mirror of a culture. "Das Wesen anderer Kulturen, das Verhältnis zur Geschichte, die kritische Stellungnahme zur Vergangenheit erschließt sich ohnehin nur im Ausdruck der eigenen Sprache. Übersetzungen können niemals den originalen Vortrag ersetzen." Erike Haberland, "Historische Ethnologie," in Hans Fischer (Hg.), *Ethnologie, Einführung und Überblick*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, (1983), 1988, p. 302.

¹³⁵ Ethnos is an old greek word which generally refers to community, people, or race. But the ancient Greeks only used the said word to refer to *other peoples* outside their own. Behind this referral was naturally a discriminatory attitude, that the *others* has also that something which defines their own language, traditions, customs, economic and social institutions, religion, etc. Ethnos is the root word and thus the center of the study of Ethnology. Accordingly, "Die Ethnologie verbindet mit dem Gezug auf den Ethnos-Begriff nun weder diesen Bewertungsakzent noch auch den ihm zugrundeliegenden Blickwinkel vom eigenen Standpunkt aus. Eine Charakterisierung oder vorläufige Definition ihres Gegenstandes wäre: Menschengruppen unter dem Aspekt von spezifischen Unterschieden ihrer Daseinsform bzw. --- komplementär dazu --- spezifische Unterschiede der Daseinsform von Menschengruppen überhaupt, d.h. nicht unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Verschiedenheit zu einer (jeweils) eigenen, gewissermaßen als Richtschnur vorausgesetzten Daseinsform, wie es bei den Griechen der Fall war." Wolfgang Rudolph, "Ethnos und Kultur," in Hans Fischer (Hg.) *Ethnologie. Einführung und Überblick*, Berlin: Deitrich Reimer Verlag, (1983), 1988, p. 41.

An ethno(s) all-encompassingly referred to any P.I. inhabiting-group of people --- who were, themselves, defined through their particular *Dasein*; that is, their own language, their own customs and traditions, their particular socio-economic and politico-social institutions, etc.¹³⁶ Ethno(s), simply put, referred to a community, a people.¹³⁷ Each ethno had its own specific cradle on the P.I.; and so, in a manner, each ethno was, in one way or the other, also delimited by the kind of topography it was inhabiting in --- that is, be it along the islands' coastlines or even inside the islands' *inlands* (flatlands or mountainlands). An ethno, to be more appropriate, during these earlier times was a *pamayanan*.

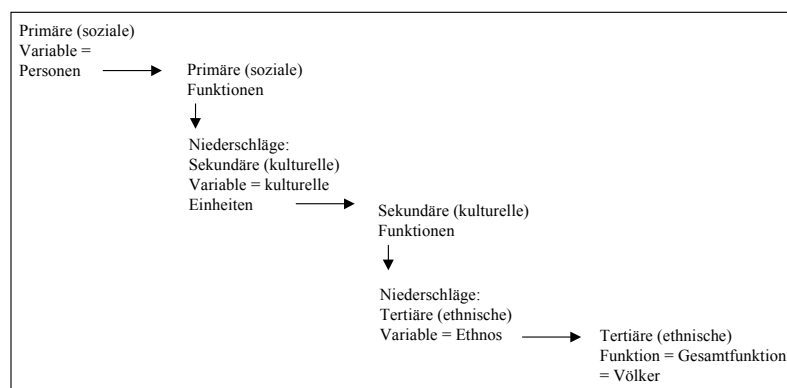
But *pamayanan* did not refer to a particular ancient ethno-linguistic group alone. A short study of the word itself would show that it was characteristically more variable than that. It could, for one, be related to the word *bahay* (house); its much older form could be *pamahayanan*, which refers to the place of the clustering of houses. It might have been, in this regard, continually used and transferred from one generation to the following and from one local ethno-linguistic group to another through years and contexts; and so, consequently evolved therewith as well. But it could, for another, also have originated from the word *mamamayan*, which refers to people or a grouping of people. In this regard, it could have been originally utilized, so as to mean the communing people in a particular ort or place. Still, on the other hand, it could be related to both of these two pointed cases. *Pamayanan* could thereby refer to the grouping of *people*, living within a particular *grouping of houses*. A number

¹³⁶ Here is how Shirokogoroff defined ethnos: "...eine Gruppe mit mehr oder weniger ähnlichem kulturallem Komplex, gleicher Sprache, gleichem Glauben an einen gemeinsamen Ursprung, Gruppenbewußtsein und endogamer Praxis." Wilhelm Mühlmann, *Methodik der Völkerkunde*, Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1938, p. 229.

This definition is only applicable to the much earlier communities on the P.I. It would be seen later on, as what also happened to most of the peoples of the world, that endogamy would not be anymore practiced; that is, although that was expected of the members of the communities. Exogamy would be practiced so as to bring peace, added labor, needed technology, etc.; it would be done in exchange to exclusivity in marriage, therefore, for the faster development of the group or the community(ies).

¹³⁷ There are various theories on the concept of ethnos; its definition is, after all, the crown of every ethnologist's scientific exertion. But here is an interesting functional scheme done by Mühlmann in 1938:

Figure 7
Ethnos: Functional Scheme



of generalizations could be therewith inferred; and they are (1) a *pamayanan* was a particular group of people, with generally the same accepted origin, as could be reflected in their particular set of oral traditions; (2) a *pamayanan* had a particular set of values, customs, institutions, etc.; (3) a *pamayanan* was normally shaped by a particular geographical context of its location; and so, could only develop a particularly appropriate knowledge and technology therein as well; and finally, (4) a *pamayanan* could generally be considered congruent with a representative embodiment of a particular cultural unit during the ancient archipelago.

Culture refers therein to all the results of man's exertion and innovation,¹³⁸ in the pursuit to make his living easier and better. It is theoretically both the material and the immaterial results of the contacts between a creating man and his material surrounding. It is, in this regard, not only the products of, but the foremost actual cognitive process. Here is its quite interesting, illustrative description:

It should be clear at this point that we see culture as cognitive, i.e., consisting of shared ideas, strategies, plans, and guidelines, and not consisting of behavior, behavior being only a manifestation of the mental forces, but not culture itself. This cognitive process constitutes a system of internal contexts of meaning and guidelines that are shared with others and learned from early childhood, not genetically transmitted. It forms the basis from which individuals perceive and then respond to the world around them. Speech and other behaviors and artifacts are the outward manifestations of these shared guidelines. Thus, when we refer to culture... we mean the system of learned, cultural traits (contexts of meaning and guidelines for behavior shared by members of society). The 'behavior' referred to in our definition includes, of course, speech and the making of artifacts, both of which have behavior as an important element.¹³⁹

Culture, as above described, could be comparable with the Filipino concept, *kalinangan*¹⁴⁰ --- an all-embracing idea that points to the actual development process executed by man, as well as to the products of the same development process. The presence of the interplay between man --- as both the definor and the defined --- and his context --- as that which define and is being defined --- is supposed constantly immanent in this definition; and so, it is, in fact, the virtual definition of *kalinangan* itself as well. Man is never fully independent of his physical context; that is, just as much as his physical context do not remain totally unchanged by man, himself, with and through times, as well. The relationship between him and his surrounding have always been somewhat reciprocal; he affects and he is being affected by his physical context. The consequent non-palatable, almost destructive results of of this interchange is called (natural or artificial) catastrophes; the creative results --- most

It would be seen here that the deciding unit is ethnos itself. Thus, ethnology is defined not as the science of social forms and not as the science of cultures; it is the science of people themselves. Op.cit., p. 227.

¹³⁸ Culture is "der ethnologische Fachterminus für den benutzten Begriff Daseinsform. Kultur umfaßt alles Materielle und Nichtmaterielle, was in menschlichen Dasein nicht von Natur aus vorgegeben ist, sondern von Menschen durch Innovationen zielgerichtet hinzugefügt wurde. Die definition von Kultur is dementsprechend 'Gesamtheit der Ergebnisse von Innovationen'." Cf. Fn. 3, p. 45.

¹³⁹ Patrick J. Dubbs and Daniel D. Whitney, *Cultural Contexts. Making Anthropology Personal*, Boston/London/Sydney/Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1980, p.27.

¹⁴⁰ *Kalinangan* consists of the affix *ka*, the WB *linang*, and the endfix *an*. *Ka...* an is used to refer to an abstract, a collective, and a collective-locative; and *linang* means to develop or to enrich. *Kalinangan* could thus be used to refer to the things, the place and the time which is developed or enriched by man.

especially from the part of man ---, is *kalinangan*, which is normally reflective in the totality of a particular people's or *pamayanan*'s way of living.

In consideration to such, there existed two general classification of *pamayanans* on the ancient P.I.: *pamayanang sa-ilud* and *pamayanang sa-raya*. Both these communities culturally-evolved around water systems: the former were those found at the foot of the rivers while the latter were those found at mouths of the rivers. Geographically speaking then, *pamayanang sa-ilud* were coastline communities while *pamayanang sa-raya* were both the inland and mountainous-lands communities. They were naturally different; because there was a marked difference of occupational specializations among their members, as a result of their physical surroundings. But they were, nonetheless, one; for both lived on a basically the same context --- both were near and lived from/on/with water, and both spoke (as descendants of the massive population movement from Hoabinha, a number of centuries beforehand) the daughter-languages of the same mother-tongue, UA/ UI. The two classified *pamayanans* then were, in this regard, culturally one. This is proven by today's widely-distributed similar archaeological and anthropological remains in different portions of the land. It would seem therewith, that there were apparently constant exchanges of technological know-how among the different *pamayanans* even then. The almost the same contextual surroundings --- and so, the same needs and requirements --- among the various communities then probably stimulated and powered this technological know-how's wide acceptance, application, and practice. This resulted, in turn, towards the eventual development of a similar all-embracing culturally-based technology on the islands. But that was not only it. The different *pamayanans* were, furthermore, most particularly bounded because of their generally similar oral traditions. There were somehow a relative interconnections between the oral traditions of one community to the next, one *ethnos* to the next, or one *pamayanan* to the next. Each *anito*, for example, of one community could also be an *anito* of the next --- that is, with but a somewhat different form or name. This could be attributed to their same racial stock or racial origin; all communities, after all, were descendants of the Austronesian-speaking immigrants of the centuries beforehand. Their oral traditions could thereby be remnants of the ancient way of living of this mother-race. But whatever maybe accepted as the rationalizations behind them, there was, nonetheless, a relative oneness among the ancient communities --- most especially as concretized and reflected in their technology and in their oral customs and traditions --- on the islands. In a view, as already mentioned above, there existed even during those early years a generally unified or singular *kalinangan* tradition on the archipelago.

This singular *kalinangan* though could be better viewed and illustrated, upon closer examination of its reflections --- which basically consisted of, like discussed, the communities' technology; and, most especially, the communities' oral traditions. The oral traditions of the earlier communities on the P.I. are noteworthy, for they constitute a particular pattern, a trend; they undoubtedly define the

communities oneness as a cultural whole.¹⁴¹ Oral traditions are, in general, the communities' folklore, which, in turn, comprises all the unrecorded traditions of the people. They are the virtual expressions of the so-called common mind; they are, in this way, the unwritten deliberations of the average individual during the ancient times as well. They are the exemplar reflections of the ancient communities' culture and general mindsets then. It should be stressed, at this point though, that folklore, as a totality, is not separated but a part of culture. It is quite elusive for it flows separately from the mainstream of the major intellectual attainments of man.¹⁴² Contained in it, however, are counterparts for man's literary and representational art, his philosophical speculations, his scientific inquiries, his historical records, his social attitudes, and his psychological insights. In this regard, it is only through its study --- analysis of its meanings and functions --- that we could probably understand the intellectual and spiritual life of the earlier archipelago's man, in the context of his broadest dimensions.¹⁴³

Folklore is basically made up of riddles, proverbs, and all the other orally- told stories in a society. Stories or narratives, in turn, are customarily divided into myths --- which normally have to do with supernatural characters and events ---, and legends --- which are, in turn, concerned with secular and supposedly historical persons and episodes.¹⁴⁴ To wit though, here are the major regarded differences between these two forms of stories:

Myths are distinguished from *legends* by the attitudes of storytellers toward them, the settings described in them, and their principal characters. Myths are regarded as sacred, and legends as either sacred or secular; myths are set in the remote past in the otherworld or an earlier world, and

¹⁴¹ This scientific attitude was of course not always there. Not many years ago, many social scientists consider oral traditions as nothing but nonsense; and have no place, whatsoever, in their every scientific exertions. Here was how Mühlmann describe this --- its major reasons, and its eventual acceptance among and in the social scientists exertions: "Die mündliche Überlieferung der Naturvölker ist bisher für geschichtliche Rekonstruktion noch wenig ausgenützt worden, hauptsächlich auf Grund des europäischen Vorurteils, daß in Mythen, Sagen, und sonstigen Überlieferungen historisches Material nicht zu haben sei. Allmählich dämmert aber auf Grund vermehrter ethnographischer Ermittlungen die Einsicht. Die Überlieferungen westafrikanischer Stämme über Wanderungen spiegeln historische Vorgänge; Nachbarstämme besitzen Varianten über die gleichen Vorgänge, die eine kritische Vergleichung gestatten. Für die afrikanischen Kultursagen allgemeinen gilt, daß für sie den Ablauf der tatsächlichen Kulturgeschichte vielmehr hergeben, als man früher angenommen hatte. Ähnliches gilt für die polynesischen Mythen, die z.T. sogar eine Rekonstruktion der polynesischen Entwicklung gestatten. Für Polynesien stehen uns auch die Stammbäume der führenden Familien zur Verfügung; sind sie auch nicht unbesehen hinzunehmen, so lassen sie sich doch für eine ungefähre Datierung der Vorgänge verwenden. Auch in Melanesien und Neuguinea lassen sich den Stammesüberlieferungen öfters geschichtliche Schicksale entnehmen. Wichtig scheinen mir die Fälle, in denen nach der Kenntnis der Eingeborenen selbst bestimmter Kulturerrungenschaften von fremden Stämmen übernommen wurden, wie uns Vicedom von den Stämmen am Hagen, Bergin Neuguinea berichtet. Manche Heilbringersagen spiegeln ebenfalls derartige Vorgänge." Cf. 1938: Mühlmann, p. 206-207

¹⁴² Ibid., p.9.

¹⁴³ Jan Harold Brunvald, *The Study of American Folklore. An Introduction*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968, p.1.

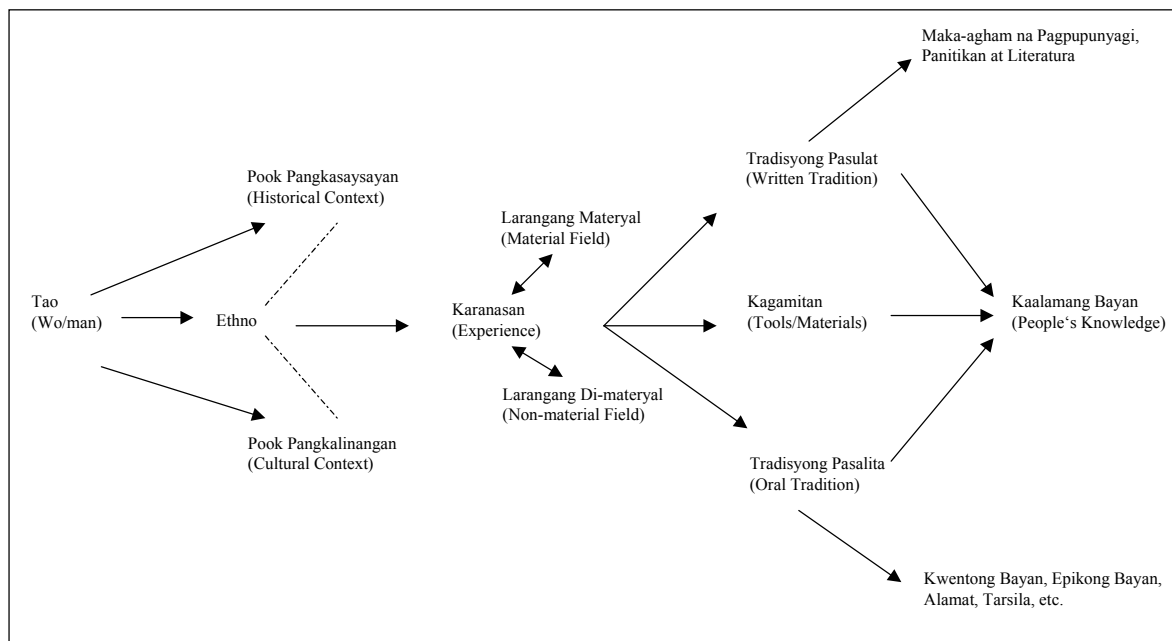
¹⁴⁴ But many stories are difficult to classify as myths or legends; and it can often be done only by degree of emphasis. Most stories found in the less complex societies, which include those of the P.I., contain supernaturalistic elements. For a more detailed discussion of this dialectics, see: Dubbs and Whitney, *Cultural Contexts. Making Anthropology Personal*, Boston/London/Sydney/Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1980.

legends in the historical past; myths have their principal characters, gods or animals, while legends generally have humans in the major roles.

Myths, then, may be defined as traditional prose narratives, which in the society in which they are told, are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past. Typically they deal with the activities of gods and demigods, the creation of the world and its inhabitants, and the origin of religious rituals. Whenever myths purport to explain such matters as origins of geographic features, animal traits, rites, taboos and customs, they are known as explanatory or etiological narratives.¹⁴⁵

Though generally similar, this classification of narratives is, nonetheless, quite short, in application to that of the earlier communities' stories. Its forced application would, however, eventually result in the apt consideration that myths could be the Filipino kwentong bayan; and legends could be the Filipino alamat or even epikong bayan. But, as what was already said, that would be virtually forcing the communities' characteristic (folklore) stories, so that they would fit in the supposedly general theoretical pattern. The earlier communities, the pamayanans, were natural systems; they were subject to their very own rigorous laws --- both functional and historical ---, which are quite different from those in the western hemisphere's, where the cited theory was built upon on the first place.

Figure 8
Kaalamang Bayan



Reyes, 2002

Nonetheless, similar to those of the western hemisphere's, the earlier communities' oral traditions were also like puzzle pieces, which generally constitute their picture in the past, at the present and in the eventual, hoped-for future. In this way, hence, the totality of the early communities' oral tradition

¹⁴⁵ Dubbs, Op.cit., p.79.

is considerably a major part of today's all-embracing concept of *kaalamang bayan*¹⁴⁶ (Cf., Figure 8) or people's knowledge. It is the summation of all of the people's knowledge; and so, it is also accordingly reflective in their written, material, and, naturally enough, oral traditions. It is, in this regard, the practical reflection of a community's or an ethno's individuality. It is, unfortunately enough, not much used anymore today, so as to all-embracingly refer to the people's written tradition; it is generally used today, as a mere translation of folklore --- that is, to mean the bigger area that embraces all of the people's oral tradition.

The people's oral tradition, in its turn, is generally classified to be comprised of the individual exemplars of *kwentong bayan*, *alamat*, and *epikong bayan*. These three are narratives, which could be in the form of a prose or a poem. They are all stories of the considered past of a particular ethnos or *pamayanan* --- which was populated, not only of human-beings, but of members of both the flora and fauna, as well. They are all, in a way, concretizations of the above described and discussed myth and legend. Just as much as a number of Western folk stories, supernatural occurrences are graciously sprinkled in all these narratives; but unlike a number of the former, however, a happy end is normally not present therein. They are mostly open --- in fact, more often, open-ended --- to various interpretations on the listener's side. *Kwentong bayan* all-inclusively embraces the most popular or widely-distributed, everyday stories of a community's past; *alamat*, on the other hand, are stories of explanations, why a specific thing/ animal/ plant is as it is, or why a particular custom/ tradition/ superstition is done. *Kwentong bayan* and *alamat* could, in this regard, be somewhat interchanged at some points. An *alamat* could actually be considered a *kwentong bayan*, for its possible wide-popularity among a community; but, on the other hand, it could merely be considered an *alamat*, for unlike *kwentong bayan*, it is only known to a very few. A *kwentong bayan*, in its turn, could not always be an *alamat*, the latter normally concentratively thematizes an origin, while the former could thematize virtually everything. *Epikong bayan*, as the last among our classification, is the most grandiose among them. It is usually the story of the rise, fall, and resurrection of a particular people's or community's hero, who is apparently taken in to be a former member of the same group or community itself. Unlike the *kwentong bayan* or the *alamat*, the *epikong bayan* or the *etno-epiko* are much longer. The *etno-epiko* or *epikong bayan* is normally recited or sung for days or weeks.¹⁴⁷ Within an *epikong bayan* are the community's everyday living, their belief system, their world

¹⁴⁶ The concept of *kaalamang bayan* was generally used through the pioneering works of Zeus Salazar, Virgilio Enriquez, and Prospero Covar of the University of the Philippines Diliman to refer to all the elements that constitute the Filipino Personhood and Personality. From the second portion of the 80's, it was interchangeably used with the term *Foklor* so as to mean the English word and concept of Folklore. The UPD Center for Folklore Studies as a division of the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy was created not long afterwards.

¹⁴⁷ The *Pasyon* is today's most popular epic on the Philippine Archipelago. It is the story of Jesus who is somewhat evolved into the person of the great hero in the earlier ethno-epic. The *Pasyon* is sung in chapels or in transiently made huts during the celebration of the Holy Week (for the christians). For the study of the *Pasyon*, see: Reynaldo Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979.

outlook. An epikong bayan is, in this regard, the graceful and artful representation of the pamayanan's individual wholeness.

Kwentong bayan, alamat, and epikong bayan were the earlier communities' kasaysayan. Their actual differences, on the other hand, could only be richly expressed through illustrative examples. A good example of a kwentong bayan, for one, is a good-night story. A weaver/ healer¹⁴⁸ in the village of Tukuran, Bontok related such a story. She probably heard it, herself, as she was still a young girl (around 1908-1910).¹⁴⁹ Here is her story, the story of Tokfefe, the Star Wife:

A long time ago there was a hunter who was a widower. He made his living by hunting and trapping wild animals near a lake in the middle of a forest. Sometimes the hunter would sleep in the forest after he had set up his traps. One night he was awakened by the noise of women laughing. He woke up and quickly followed the sound of laughter. It led him to the lake in the middle of the forest.

He was amazed to find beautiful maidens bathing in the lake. He finally realized that they were stars who had taken off their wings and left them at the side of the lake. The hunter quickly seized a pair of wings and hid it. He went back to his hiding place to observe the bathing stars.

When they were through bathing they picked up their wings and put them on. All the star maidens flew up into the sky except the one who could not find her wings. When she found out how futile was her search, she sat down and began to weep. The hunter, seeing all this, took pity on her and came out of his hiding place to approach her. He persuaded her to come along to his house and finally he convinced her to marry him.

After they were married the hunter hid the wings of his wife in the rice granary. Both were very happy because the star wife was about to bear a child. After delivery, it was the custom to bring all the utensils used to the rice granary and keep them there.

The star wife brought the utensils to the rice granary to be used again when she would have another child. When she entered the rice granary she was surprised to find her long lost wings. She thought it was cruel of her husband to have hidden her wings. She quickly put them on and flew toward the sky.

Her husband waited and waited for his wife to return, but she did not come back. The baby cried and cried until the mother who heard the baby's cries could not stand the crying any longer.

Every evening when the night was still and the earth people were asleep, the star maiden would come down and alight at Amfabak hill overlooking Tukuran village. She would proceed to the house of her husband who lay fast asleep with their baby beside him. She would pick up the child and nurse him. Each night she would come until the baby was old enough to be cared for by his father alone. Only then did the star wife completely sever ties with the earth people.¹⁵⁰

There are various things that can be inferred from the above story. Tukuran is a village in the province of Bontok in the northern portion of the Luzon island. It is topographically lined by the Cordillera mountain ranges; and is populated by an ethno-linguistic group of people, the Bontoks --- an independent people, with a particular individual history and culture. We were given a clue in the cited story above, for example, on the Bontok's earlier major source of living --- on hunting. We

¹⁴⁸ A good number of the social scientists today are convinced that most of the so-called healers --- locally referred as *manggagamot*, *manghihilot*, *albulario/arbulario*, *hilot*, *panday*, etc. --- of today are the inheritors of the art of healing began by the priestesses (babaylanes/catalonans) of the earlier philippine communities. They are healers both of the body and the soul of people; therefore, continuously --- in a manner --- practicing the art and the implied theory of the Filipino's personality of the older times. For a relatively long discussion on the theory of a Filipino's personality, please refer to Chapter 1.

¹⁴⁹ E. Arsenio Manuel, "Philippine Oral Traditions: Theory and Practice," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 8 (1980), Manila: 1980, p. 20.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

could safely thereby consider that they accordingly developed the needed and appropriate hunting skill and the technology for such a source of living; and that they developed these, in response to the most probably forrested --- and so, richly hunt-populated --- physical context of their actual community's habitat. A natural gracious harmony existed during which; the physical earth was much a part of the skies over it and everything that occupies it, each one was part of the other --- for this reason, it was understandable, why the star-maidens could easily take their evening baths in the forest's river, or why a marriage between a mortal man and a star-maiden could take place.

The mother, beside being the one who actually brought the child to the world, is naturally important during the earlier years of the child, most especially during the weaning years. The father, on the other hand, could considerably raise a child alone, just as much as a single mother today can. He could normally have a particularly special relation to his child, just as much as the mother could; in fact, it would seem that the father-child relationship could even be stronger and more binding --- as in the cases of a number of P.I. ethnos today, including the Tausugs¹⁵¹ of the Tawi-tawi and Sulu group of islands --- than that between mother and child. The father is seen as a figure of authority in the appropriation of the actions and attitude of a child inside a community, which has its own norms and regulations. The child is expected to learn the art and skill of war or, to be general, the art and skill of his family's living from his father; his father, in this regard, would expectedly help him be the worthy person and member of the community he is and will be living in. There was, thus, on the whole, a particular division of roles between a mother and father in the field of child-rearing; each one had their particular responsibilities and each one was important and worthy, in their own particular ways. There existed, in this view, during those times, a seemingly, all-embracing specific order of things in many communities.

And this, accordingly enough, is seen and reflected in almost all of the kwentong bayans and alamats. The *alamat ni Sicalac at Sicavay*, or the story of the beginning of the world is also witness to this principle. This would be seen in almost all of its written or accounted versions. A spanish friar in the seventeenth century considered this story a part of the island people's spirituality. But because the friar himself was a product of his own time and culture, the story is discriminatingly considered as heathen and/or pagan; here is his account of such:

They mentioned the creation of the world, the beginning of the human race, the flood, glory, punishment, and other invisible things, such as evil spirits and devils. They recognize the latter to be man's enemy, and hence feared them. By the beginning which they assigned to the world and

¹⁵¹ The Tausugs are one of the converted-to-Islam communities of the bigger island of Mindanao. Their community was one of the bigger ones and relatively skilled in the art of structured politics during the 14th century after Islam arrived on the P.I. Theirs was (and to some extent, still is till nowadays) a war-cultured pamayanan; like most of societies on the world, war was for them just the highest form of the practice of politics. They occupy the islands groups of Tawi-tawi and Sulu; together with two other groups called Samals and Samalauts who were both relatively islamized as well.

the human race, will be seen the vanity of their belief, and that it is all lies and fables. They say that the world began with only the sky and the water, between which was a kite. Tired of flying and not having a place where it could alight, the kite stirred up the water against the sky. The sky, in order to restrain the water and prevent it from mounting to it, burdened it with islands; and also ordered the kite to light and build its nest on them, and leave them in peace. They said that men had come from the stem of a large bamboo (such as one sees in this Orient), which had only two nodules. That bamboo, floating on the water, was carried by the waters to the feet of the kite, which was on the seacoast. The kite, in anger at what has struck his feet, opened the bamboo by picking it with its beak. When it was opened, out from one nodule came the man and from the other the woman. After various difficulties because of the obstacle of consanguinity in the first degree, one of the gods namely, the earthquake, after consulting with the fish and the birds, absolved them, and they married and had many children. From those children came the various kinds and classes of people. For it happened that the parents, angered at having so many children idle and useless in the house, took counsel together; afterward the father one day gave way to his anger, and was desirous of punishing them with a stick which he had in his hand (a thing which they can never do). The children fled, so that some of them took refuge in the chambers and innermost parts of the house, from whom they say came the chiefs; others escaped outside, and from them came the freemen, whom they call timauas; others fled to the kitchen and to the lower parts, and they are the slaves; others fled to various distant places, and they are the other nations.¹⁵²

There are quite a number of things that could be read in this story. However, before one proceeds in executing just that, it had to be foremost put into consideration, that this version of the *alamat* was a chronicle of a visiting foreigner (a missionary member-priest of the Franciscan order: Fr. Colin) on the islands. It was, in this regard, naturally decked by the chronicler's biases; the *alamat* was, in a manner, colored by the chronicler's culture, religion, and to some extent, by his ignorance¹⁵³. The earlier communities, for one, never particularly assigned spirits as portions to the supposed duality and battle of light and darkness --- similar to what is done in many highly hierarchical and structuralized societies, including those the western world. Spirits were just spirits, they were all *anitos*; they were just as much part of the world as the men on the solid earth. They could be feared by men, just as much as they could be loved and worshipped by them. And if men --- because of one reason or another --- angered one *anito*, then they could probably pursue to ease its anger or pursue to plea for assistance from another *anito*. An all-powerful god did not exist for the earlier communities; there existed quite a number of them.

Nonetheless, the gods of creation were always similarly narrated in all this *alamat*'s versions. The skies-god, waters-god, and flying-god, in their different forms, always have to be present in the story. They were responsible, for the earth's creation; just as much as the first man and woman (*Sicalac* and *Sicavay*), the various classes in society, and the different races of the world. But that was not just it. The gods saw to the order and harmony in their creation, as well. Notice that *Sicalac* and *Sicavay* could not immediately beget children, after their creation. They came, after all, from the same bamboo tree; they were, thus, supposedly brothers and sisters. Any romance between them --- because it was

¹⁵² Fr. Francisco Colin, *Labor evangelica*, Madrid: 1663. Also in: Emma Hellen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*, v. 40, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903, pp. 73-74.

¹⁵³ Fr. Colin was among the earliest visiting/ chronicling missionary-priests, who came to the PI. He was, in this regard, not yet totally familiar with the life, culture, and general context of the earlier communities and their islands-home.

simply against the will of the gods --- could only bring natural chaos, disasters and catastrophes. It could stimulate earthquakes, volcanoes' eruptions, floods, draughts, etc. It has to be, thence, foremost approved and blessed by the gods; or else the natural catastrophes would continue. And fortunately, it was approved and blessed; namely, through the cooperative efforts of the gods of the earth, the deep-waters, and the skies. Order and harmony was therefrom retained; development could thereby set forth.

Of course there were a number of other versions of this *alamat*; but the above discussed major principles and story-line do not particularly alter in any of them. Let us look, for example, at how the story was told by a history textbook writer during the 40's of the last century:

Long, long ago, after the first land has arisen as a result of the war between the sky and the sea which the clever bird has incited, a large bamboo stem drifted to the shore. The bird flew ashore and alighted on the bamboo. It happened to peack on the bamboo, and sudenly the stem opened. Out of the first nodule stepped a man named *Lalake*, and out of the second nodule came a woman named *Babae*. They were the first man and the first woman in the world. Lalake and Babae married and many children were born to them. These children proved to be lazy. One day the father, angered by their indolence, chased them with a stick. The children flew to escape thier father's wrath. Some fled a short distance and remained in the country, while others ran to far-away regions. Those who remained in the country became the Filipinos whose skin was brown like that of the earth. Those who fled to the region where the climate was cold became the white people; those who took refuge in the country where the soil was red became the red race; and those who settled in the hot region turned black and became the black people.¹⁵⁴

This version of the story is seemingly not as biased as the former; but it has basically the same storyline and implied philosophy. The beginning of the whole contextual earth was one: earth/land came out of the quarreling sky and waters through the actions of the bickering bird¹⁵⁵. Man and woman came from a bamboo; and all the races of the world were their lazy children who were driven out of their original house by the fed-up father. The methaphor, though, declaring that all the children came from one house, was quite remarkable. House, termed *bahay*¹⁵⁶ in Pilipino, is the symbol of

¹⁵⁴ Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History*. Vol. I. The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times, Manila: Philippine Education Company, (1949), 1963, p. 20.

¹⁵⁵ It would be noticed that the bird has a wide range of godly metaphorical personality in many myths and legends of the Philippines. Interestingly enough, this is a trait which the arhipelago shares with most of the countries of the Proto-Philippines (as a linguistic concept, representing the Philippines, North Borneo, North Celebes, and Chamorro in the Marianas Islands) territorial area. For an interesting discussion of the holiness/religiosity of the bird in Borneo as an omen of the future, please see: L. Lévy Bruhl, *Die Geistige Welt der Primitiven*, Düsseldorf-Köln: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1959 (specifically: Chapter 4, pp. 104-122)

¹⁵⁶ *Bahay* is most probably related to the terms *balanghai* and *bangkay*. Each one of the said terms has to do with man on the islands. *Balanghai* is the term for the oldest community boat which can contain up to 30 persons and has the capacity for longer sea travel. *Bangkay*, on the other hand, pertains to corpse. When one thus looks at the three terms, it can be deduced that the three are physical containers of life --- could be the soul or just the physical life, depending on the religion and/or belief system of he who looks or analyzes. Noticeable in all of these is the fact that the three terms are concretizations of one culture, a culture that goes back to the people's ancient origins. They all have something to do with the boat. The *bahay* is the later development of the *balanghai* after the seafarers settled down on land; and the *bangkay* is placed in a jar with a carving of boat as a stopper or in a coffin shaped itself like a personal boat for the dead one, symbolizing the going back to their most important origins. The circle is thus completed.

oneness of the family; it is that which unifies the clan, the whole familial kinship. The house is where they eat, sleep, congregate together; it is where they actually live.

This massive importance of the house to the Filipino culture could be virtually *read* in its actual physical construction. When one analyzes a normal house roof, he or she would realize that it could most probably be an inverted boat --- the most significant structure that symbolizes the earlier culture of the migrating first communities on the islands. The earlier communities arrived through boats called *balanghai*; they were seafarers, fishers. They were the Austronesians from the Hoabinha (supposedly part of today's south China). And because the sea travel was almost uncalculably long and dangerous, the people inside each boat have to develop into a people, who have a big consideration for their oneness not only in opinions but also in action. Each one --- regardless of gender --- had a particular role or occupation; it is only through this arrangement that the whole security of each and everyone present in the boat could thereby be maintained. The boat, and thus later on the house, symbolizes oneness of spirit and material; it was that, which declared that everyone was part of the other. The house's presence, therefore, in the above *alamat* was quite remarkably clever. It would seem then that the people of back then also thought in the same lines. They were seemingly so natural with this detail --- which could only prove that such the above discussed readings were actual and natural parts of their way of life, of their peoplehood. Consider, however, the latest version of the this *alamat*, as told by another historian:

Ang kwento ni Sicalac at Sicavay ay isang mito tungkol sa unang lalaki at babae sa Pilipinas. Batay sa mito, sinasabing ang unang dalawang Pilipino ay nagmula sa isang tambo o kawayan na nilikha ng dalawang diyos --- sina Captan at Maguayen. Bagamat magkapatid, kinailangan nilang magsama para magkaroon ng tao sa kapuluan. At doon nagsimula ang lahi ng mga Pilipino.¹⁵⁷
<The story of Sicalac and Sicavay is a myth about the first man and woman on the Philippines. According to the myth, the first two Filipinos came out of a piece of bamboo which was created by two gods --- Captan and Maguayen. Although brother and sister, the first man and wife have to live together so that the islands will be peopled. And that was the beginning of the Filipino race.>

It would be seen that this version of the story is much shorter; it directly tackled the beginning of the Filipino race itself and did not bother with neither the beginning of the classes nor the other races of the world. This is an exemplar of the new Filipino historiography which will be better analyzed in the last part of this study. But let us study the *alamat* closer. It explains many things, outside the obvious beginning of the world and peoples on it. Major principles in the people's belief system¹⁵⁸ were seemingly discussed within this *alamat*'s version; namely: (1) spirits are parts of or are elements of nature itself; (2) men and women are equal brothers and sisters, they are created by the same god creators; (3) most of the present world's characteristics are the results and consequences of whims of the more powerful and chance; and (4) everything is part of the other, each one affects the other.

¹⁵⁷ Zeus Salazar, *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Isang Balangkas*, Lungsod Quezon: U.P. Departamento ng Kasaysayan, 1993, p.3.

These principles, though, are almost always reflected in the people's oral tradition; not only *alamat*s contain and somewhat discuss them. Even the larger and more grandiose *epikos* or *ethno-epikos*¹⁵⁹ proceeds in the same length. The *epiko ni Bathala* belongs to the most popular among these sort. Consequently, it also belongs to some of the most retold, rechronicled, reinterpreted and reread among them. It is, hence, among those *epikos*, which received and experienced changes, due to the frequent input in its story-line of new ideas from inside or even outside the community of its origin, itself.

Bathala was apparently the center and the greatest hero of the Tagalogs' ethno-epic; he was, in a manner, the personification of the Tagalogs' cultural individuality. He was considered the most powerful god in these people's region; he was comparable to that of the Visayas' Laon or Abba, the Zambals' Akasi, the Ilokanos' and Igorots' Kabunian and the Bicolanos' Gugurang. Bathala or Bathala Mei kapal¹⁶⁰ (Bathalang Maykapal) was god, the creator; the most elaborate oral history of the beginning of the world, the origin of the human race, the deluge, paradise, punishment, and many other invisible things were all narrated around his person. He would be normally seen on earth (in the woods or in the mountains) as the magical blue bird, interchangeably called Bathala and/or *Tigmamanuquin* (scientific name: *Irene cyanogastra*).¹⁶¹ Bathala was

¹⁵⁸ Please refer to the earlier chapter for a better discussion of the philosophy (ies) behind the earlier communities' belief system.

¹⁵⁹ An ethno-epic can only be considered one, according to the folklorist Dr. Arsenio Manuel, if they fulfill specific criterias. These criterias are the following: "(1) Der Kern der Geschichte muß aus alten Überlieferungen bestehen, die sich um übernatürliche oder heroische Persönlichkeiten und deren Taten gruppieren. (2) Es muß ein lebendiger Glaube in diesen Traditionen und ihren Inhalten vorhanden sein. (3) Diese Traditionen müssen von besonders befähigten Menschen zu einer einzelnen Dichtung oder einer Gruppe von Dichtungen (Zyklen) geformt werden. (4) Die Dichtung muß einen gewissen sakralen oder ehrwürdigen Charakter aufweisen (nicht nur ihres hohen Alters, sondern auch ihrer kosmischen, nationalen und sozialen Deutung wegen), der die Glaubensvorstellungen, Ideale und Lebenswerte eines Volkes oder eines Stammes bestätigt." Francisco R. Demetrio, "Einführung in die philippinischen Epen", C. Müller (Hrg.), Die Philippinen. Perle im östlichen Meer, München: Staatliche Museums für Völkerkunde München mit Deutsche-Philippinischen Gessellschaft und Goethe Institut-Manila, 1985, p. 68.

¹⁶⁰ The term Mei Capal/Meykapal/Maykapal, on the whole, just means Creator; but it has been a good etymological problem for Filipino linguists since the nineteenth century. Here is how a Filipino intellectual discussed its history: "*Meikapal* ó *Meycapal* de *Mey-Capal*. En tagálog *kapal* es grosor cosa grande, fuerte ó consistente; en América significa *grande*, que da la misma idea del español *capaz*, en latín *capax*. Y como *Mey* es lo mismo que *tener* ó *poseer*, de donde *Meykapal*, quiere decir *Tiene grandeza* ó *fortaleza*. Pero profundizando más y llegando á las letras raíces de vocablo *Capal* tendremos CAPA-L. Ahora bien; El idiograma que en asirio es espada, se lee fonéticamente pal; y en Acadiano *pal* es espada y en magyar *pallas* significa también espada. En tagálog con el testimonio de fray Domingo de los Santos para que no se crea que es de mi fantasía CA quiere decir *uno* ó *muy* ó *espanto* de entre sus muchas acepciones, y PA instrumento. La letra L es característica de todo lo concerniente á *poder*, *fuerza*, etc. De aquí la significación de *Meycapal*, *tiene una espada* ó *tiene espantosa* ó *gran espada* lo que expresa *tiene el único sumo poder*, ó bien *Fabricador* ó *Hacedor de todo* consignados por el P. Chirino y fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio conforme oyeron de las tradiciones tagalas. Bien sabian, por consiguiente, los tagalos de la época de la conquista española la profunda significación de la palabra *Meycapal*, concebida y formada en las mismas entrañas del puro tagalismo. Nadie extrane que yo lea frases enteras en sencillos vocablos, porque fué costumbre de la antigüedad. En el nombre *Nobucodonosor* por ejemplo, se lee fonéticamente esta palabra: *Ampasaducis*, é idiograficamente en asir o se lee *Nabucodurrisur*, que significa: *Nebo protege á mi familia*, siendo usual entonces emplear nombres que expresaban frases enteras como también era costumbre en el habla viejo tagálog." Pedro Paterno, El Cristianismo en lat Antigua Civilization Tagalog, Madrid: Imprenta Moderna, 1892, pp.62-63.

¹⁶¹ Pedro Chirino, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, Roma: 1604. Also in Blair and Robertson, *Philippine Islands* Vol. 12, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903, p. 265.

...the Supreme Being, about whom no creature can have even a remote idea, and yet, He manifests Himself in everything. He manifests himself in the grandeur of the firmament, whose mysterious silence is the most eloquent testimony of the existence of that sublime and omnipotent being; He manifests himself in the immensity of the oceans and seas, and in a word, in the infinite details of the three kingdoms of Nature and of the microscopic world.

Bathala is not the sun, nor the moon, but he who placed them in the sky. Bathala is the Creator of everything. He who fills it and vivifies everything with His marvelous omnipotent essence, superior to anything within the range of the imagination, that means devine.¹⁶²

This description of Bathala was, as could be expected, naturally engineered, so that it would be quite easily understood by those, to whom this was intended to be read (originally for the Spanish-speaking people of the late 19th century; but then accordingly modified for the English-speaking people of the early 20th century, upon its publication). Bathala was typified as a creating god, just as the West had their god of creation. But Bathala was more than that; he was more than the seemingly Filipino version of a Western god. For the earlier communities, he was the center of their most important sung epic, their most respected folk hero. Bathala was the center of the story of heaven and earth, of creation of everything else. Here was how, for example, the shorter version of his ethno-epic was normally told:

Nang hindi pa yari ang lupa at langit,
 Ang pangalang MARIA'y sa Dios inisip,
 Na mag-aaruga at magtatangkilik
 Sa Divino Pastor nitong sangdaigdig.
 Nang gawin ng Dios na Haring Marangal
 Itong buong mundo na Kanyang nilalang,
 Ay araw ng Lingo ng ito ay mulan
 Ng CREAVIT SECTIVUS CLARUM ETI TERRAM.
 Ng kinabukasan ng araw ng Lunes
 Ay siyang paggawa permanenteng langit,
 Saka naman yaong elementong tubig
 Na mayrong matabang, maalat, mapait.
 Ng araw ng Martes ay siyang paggawa
 Sari-saring hayop at halamang madla,
 Yaong tanang hayop na nagsisisgala
 Talaga ng Dios sa tao'y biyaya.
 Araw ng Mierkoles ginawang sarili
 Ang Araw at Buan, Bituing marami,
 Yaong tanang Talang sa langit pamuti
 Nakaliliuanag nitong buong ORBE,
 Ng araw ng Jueves isinunod naman,
 Sari-saring Ibon na nagliparan,
 At ang tanang Isdang sa tubig ang tahan,
 Sa tao'y talagang pakikinabangan.
 Ng araw ng Viernes ang sabi sa libro,
 Bilang ika anim ng araw na husto,
 Ay siyang paggawa't paglikha ng tao,
 Nuno nating ADAM suma-Paraiso.
 Apat na bahagi ng mundo'y kinunan
 Ng Dios at saka binuong-kinapal;
 Dakong Silanganan at sa Kalunuran,

¹⁶² Isabelo de los Reyes, *La Religión del Katipunan*, Madrid: 1898. Trans: *The Religion of the Katipunan*, Manila: National Historical Institute, 1993, p. 6.

Timugan at saka yaong Sabalasan.
 Saka ng matipon at ng mabuo na
 Ginawang larawan sa taong hitsura,
 Nilagyang SENTIDO't sangkap na POTENCIA,
 Saka hiningahan (UHA-AHA-HAH) ay naging TAU na.
 NAGHIKAB ang Dios ng kinabukasan,
 Sa HIKAB ang lahat tumanggap ng BUHAY:
 Umikot ang mundo, lahat ay gumalaw,
 Humihip ang hangin, ibo'y nagliparan.
 Ang sabi sa Libro yaong inahikab,
 Pangalan ng Dios na karapatdapat,
 Sa sinomang taong makapag-iingat
 Ng aklat na ito: ay ipagtatapat
 KALIGTASAN at m g a NAGKAKATIPON sa KALWALHATIAN NG DIOS.¹⁶³

As can be seen, the story of Bathala was effectively told, so as to be the story of the human race's beginning; more specifically, the story of the beginning and existence of the community, itself, who narrated and to whom the story was narrated. The ethno-epic became thereby as the explanation of the whole existence of the community; it explained the community's individuality --- that which differentiate it from everything else around it ----, its ethno identity.¹⁶⁴ It was the Tagalog people's kasaysayan, their most significant narrative. It was, of course, quite similar with the Christians' story of creation. This similarity though was only limited in its most superficial form. This apparent synchronicity of the two belief systems could not to be helped; for this epic was most probably written after the christianizing Spaniards arrived on the islands. The use of the colonizing newcomers' general standards --- including their concepts and conceptualizations --- were probably accordingly taken and applied by the supposedly newly Christianized Indio-recorders. Writing on the first place was never used by the earlier communities to record their most important stories. Writing for recording was quite new --- this new preoccupation was brought by the colonizing newcomers.¹⁶⁵ If we, hence, take on and apply the influence principle therein, it would seem that the quoted Tagalog kasaysayan (ethno-

¹⁶³ Kasaysayan ng Langit. Kapangyarihan Laban sa Kasamaan, Maynila: Aklatang Lunas, pp.4-6. Here is the easy translation of the poem: When the earth and heaven was not yet made/ God thought out the name MARIA/ Who would take care and would sponsor/ The Devine Pastor of this unified world/ When God, the Great King made/ This whole world that he created/ It was a Sunday when He started/ The CREAVIT SECTIBUS CLARUM ETI TERRAM/ The next day, Monday/ Was the creation of the permanent heaven/ And then that element of water/ Which could be bland, salty, bitter/ The day of Tuesday was the day of creation/ Various animals and different global plants/ Behold all those roaming animals/ They are given by God as man's precious blessing/ On the Wednesday, it was single-handedly made/ The Sun and Moon, the millions of Stars/ That created Star which ornaments the heavens/ Light the whole of this ORBE/ On the Thursday, it was made/ Different Birds which fly/ And all the fishes who live in the waters/ Which for man would be most useful/ On the Friday, so the book said/ As the sixth whole day/ Will be day of man's creation/ Our ancestor ADAM who lived in Paradise/ From four parts of the earth was taken/ By God and He fully made them/ On the Eastern side and on the Western side/ Sothern and then Northern/ And then when it was put together and fully finished/ It was created on the image of man/ It was given a mind and an element of potency/ Ang then it was breathed on (UHA-AHA-HAH) and then became man/ The next day God yawned/ Through His yawn everyone received life:/ The world rotate and everything else moved/ The wind blew and the birds flew/ The book said, those who were yawned upon/ The name of the rightful God/ To those who will be able to maintain/ This book: will be conferred with/ Salvation and those who are united in the Grace of God. For the complete version of the epic, please refer to Appendix Number 1.

¹⁶⁴ This was one of the results of constant communication with Zeus Salazar of the Department of History, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman, 1999-2000.

¹⁶⁵ For the discussion on early writing on the Philippine Islands, please refer to Chapter 1.


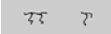
epic) above was seemingly, even entirely, altered by the colonizing newcomers. Nonetheless, it could not be easily declared that the conceptual basis of the whole history were from the newcomers; the whole concept of the beginning of the world or the galaxy itself could be safely taken in as still that of the earlier communities¹⁶⁶ --- hence, in its original form. It was merely altered, so that its supposedly converted (to Christianity) Indio-recorders would not be continually persecuted by the colonizing Spaniards. For this reason, Bathala (nicknamed *Nuno* or Ancient One among the practitioners) also had to be renamed, so as to become *Infinito Dios* (Infinite God) or *Dios na Walang Hanggan* (All Powerful/Mighty God) by the practitioners of the ancient religion during these times.¹⁶⁷ The worship

¹⁶⁶ Another good illustration of this philosophy is found in the history of the heavens (Kaagi Ho Langit) for the North Minadanaons. For them, there are eight levels or layers of heaven; and each layer coincide with a particular kind with its own particular inhabitants. Here is how the history goes: “Die Geschichte der Bewohner aus alter Zeit/ von Himmel und Erde,/ vom Himmel mit seinen sieben Schichten:/ Der erste und ursprungliche Himmel,/ der Himmel, der so anziehend ist,/ der so bezaubernd ist/ ist der erste Himmel über der Erde,/ der Himmel, der nahe dem Land ist./ Und von dort aus formten der Helden den nächsten Himmel,/ hier gestalteten sie die nächste Schicht:/ den vorbildhaften Himmel,/ die vorbildhafte Himmelschicht,/ die unübertroffenen Himmel./ Und von ihm aus formten sie den unvergleichlichen bestrickten Himmel./ in welchem sie ausruhten./ Hier wurden si besucht/ von schönen Frauen/ von schönen und bewunderswerten Frauen/ Sie wollten die Stickerei nachahmen,/ die schönen Frauen wollten sie nachbilden,/ die Muster der Stickerei./ Sie wollten sie auf die Gewänder nähen,/ auf die Kleider, die sie anlegten,/ um ihre eigene Körper zu bedecken,/ und auf die Kleider für die Körper ihrer tapferen Brüder/ aus ihren kriegerischen Sippe./ Von hier aus wollten die Helden formen,/ von hier aus wollten sie gestalten:/ den Himmel der Verlassenheit,/ die Himmelschicht voller Schweigen/ Dort ist *Hinolabungan Baguio*, wo die Stürme Halt machen/ und in Ziermuster verwandelt werden./ Dort wohnt der, den der Blitz ausspie,/ der, den Donner fortschleuderte./ Das ist der Grund, warum es dort einsam ist,/ das erklärt, warum es verlassen ist,/ denn es ist der eine und einzige Ort,/ der einzige Ort, der einsam ist./ Und von hier aus wollten sie formen,/ von hier aus wollten sie gestalten/ den bröckligen Himmel,/ die zerstäubende Himmelschicht/ als Wohnort der Dämonen,/ als Wohnort des *Mangilala*./ Von hier aus wollten sie den farbensprächtigen Himmel gestalten,/ die vielfarbige Himmelschicht,/ als Wohnort der *Talabusao*./ Und später wollten sie gestalten,/ von hier aus wollten sie formen:/ den runden Himmel,/ die kreisförmige Himmelschicht/ als Wohnort des halben Menschen,/ als Wohnsitzdes entzweigeschnittenen Menschen,/ der die Sänger behütet/ der die Sänger beobachtet./ Und von hier aus werden sie zuletzt erbauen/ die oberste aller Himmelschichten/ als Wohnort des Zertrümmerers *Lagongon*/ und des glänzenden Regenbogens *Mangondila*/ und den allerhöchsten Himmel/ als Reich des mächtigen *Magbabaya*.” Parts of Bukidnon epic; originally taken from the journal: Kinaadman. A Journal of the Southern Philippines, 1979. Published as translated version: Peter Meixner, “Die Epik der Philippinen”, in C. Müller (Hrg.), Die Philippinen. Perle im östlichen Meer, München: Staatliche Museum für Völkerkunde München mit der Deutsch-Philippinischen Gessellschaft und Goethe Institut-Manila, 1985, p. 74.

Within the history above is the people’s conception of their heaven and the places of their most significant heroes in it. In a manner, this history is the rationalization of the people’s action, in relation to their foreseen ideal place after their physical death. Interesting to note in this connection are the similarities between the Mindanao communities’ world and universe conception to that of the Luzon communities’ (Cf., Chapter 1). It is not hence oversimplification that the religious belief systems of each of the ethnos on the Philippine Islands are, one way or the other, very much related.

¹⁶⁷ Nenita D. Pambid, “Ang Semiotika ng Anting-Anting,” Quezon City: U.P. M.A. Pilipinolohiya, 1989, p. 224. Pambid’s work is included among the most pioneering studies on the specialized area-study of the Filipino anting-anting, in the context of the ancient religion. Her conclusions, hence, on the strong and prevalent distribution on the worship of Bathala (Bathalismo) are worth citing. She said: “(1.) Sa dalawang aklat ni Retana na *Supersticiones de los Indios Filipinos*, *Un Libro de Aniterias* (1894) at sa kanyang *Aparato Bibliografico* (1906) ay nalathala ang dalawang larawan ng “Facsimile de un amuleto cogido á un insurrecto tagalo” (Laguna) na makikita sa Plate Bilang 88 at 89. Sa una makikita ang Tatlong Persona o Santisima Trinidad na Pater (Ama), Filios (Anak), at S.P.T. (Espiritu Santo); Agios Otheo, Agios Ichiros, Agios Athanos (Griego); Sanctus Deus, Santus Portis, Sanctus Immortalis (Latin: Holy God, Mighty or Strong God, Immortal God). Makikita rin ang Solo Mata o Ulilang Mata na may mga letra na A.D.N.Y. o Adonay (The Lord, sa Hebreo), at ang animo’y krus ni San Benito. Sa pangalawang guhit, makikita ulit ang Solo Mata at Adonay na nakapaloob sa animo’y bato. Ang iba pang nasa lawawan sa aking hinuha ay ang Santo Nino o Nino Jesus, puso ni Jesus (JHS); Tatlong Persona, Dios Ama, Dios Anak, Dios Ina na nakatirintas at pawang nakalutang sa ulap; at ang isa pang Dios na

continued; it was practiced under the guise of the Catholic Christianity of the Spaniards, and so, it was even able to attract a number of other supposedly Christianized practitioners as well. It could be

nilalabasan ng salita sa bibig...Mula sa dalawang larawan mapupuna na ang teksto ng anting-anting ay walang Tagalog. Latin, Griego, Hebreo ang mga salita. Mahihinuha na bagama't nagugumuit ang Kadeusang Pilipino at ipinagpapalagay na mas una at makapangyarihan sa Dios ng mga Kastila, nananatili ang katotohanan na nagapi ang mga Pilipino at nakapanaig ang mas superyor na armas ng Kastila sa politika at maging sa relihiyon man. Ito marahil ang hinanakit ng mga babaylan kung kaya iniangkop o ginamit ang Latin at iba pang balbal na wikang Accadian na animo'y tore ng Babel na hindi magkaunawaan upang mag-angkin at maramitan din sila ng kapangyarihang sa akala nila'y idinudulot nito sa Kastila; ngunit para sa sariling intensyon at hindi para sa orihinal na gamit nito. Ang isang halimbawa ay ang oracion na ginagamit sa consagracion ng ostiya. Dahil hindi makapanaig si Bathala o ang Nuno, nanatiling perperal ang paniniwala ng mga Pilipino, hindi naipahayag, naging isang lihim na karunungan o karunungang di hayag. (2.) Ayon naman kay Pedro Paterno sa kanyang "Ka Antigua Civilización Tagalog" (1915) ang tawag sa iisang Dios na may lalang ng lahat ay Bathala at isinusulat ang ngalan ng Dios na ito sa pamamagitan ng tatlong katinig na BHL, katulad ng Hebreo ng IHB (Jehova). Ang pagsulat ng H (na kung bigkasin ay tulad sa paghinga) sa katutubo ay katulad ng rayos ng araw na nagmumula sa langit upang magbigay liwanag sa kadiliman. Ayon pa rin sa kanya, ito rin ang unang pangalan ng Dios na pinakasimple at unang namumutawi sa labi ng sangkatauhan --- ang Ha o Ah o Aj, ang panggitnang pantig sa pangalang Bathala. Ang BBAE naman aniya ay isinusulat sa matandang tagalog na , at LALAKE: . Kaya't sa salitang Bathala  ay matatagpuan ang babae, lalake at liwanag o Espiritu. Kung kaya ayon kay Paterno ang Tagalog ay may kabatiran ng misteryo ng Santisima Trinidad bago pa man dumating ang mga Kastila. Tanging kay Pedro Paterno ko lamang nabasa ang ganitong paliwanag at sa akda ni Isabelo de los Reyes na La Religion del Katipunan o sa La Antigua de los Filipinos, Publicada por la Delegación Filipina en Europa, Madrid, 1899. (3.) Ang pigura ng Infinito Dios ay buhay na noong Digmaang Filipino-Amerikano. Isang ebidensyang nagpapatunay nito ay ang larawang kuha ng nakaguhit na Infinito Dios sa chaleco na suot ng isang Filipinong nasawi sa pakikihamok laban sa Amerikano. Nalathala ang naturang larawan sa Harper's History of the War in the Philippines noong 1900. Para mapormalisa ang buong larawan ng I.D., mahihinuha na maraming taon nang naniniwala ang mga Filipino sa I.D. upang sa isang kritikal na punto sa kasaysayan ay tawagan ito upang tumulong na itaboy ang kaaway. (4.) Matapos ang limampung taon, isang librito na ang pamagat ay Secreto mga Lihim na Pangalan at Lihim na Karunungan ni Melencio T. Sabino ang nalathala na naglalahad ng tungkol sa mito ng Infinito Dios. Batay sa kanyang "Maikling Paliwanag", mahihinuha na pinagsamasama lamang ng awtor ang dati nang paniniwala sa I.D. at ng kanyang paglalalang sa mundo mula sa mga pira-pirasong lihim ng mga librito ng karunungan at ang aklat tulad ng mga sumusunod: Bibliya, Kabala, Misterio Principal, Siete Llaves, Milagros de Jesucristo, La Campania de Jesus, Viaje de Santa Maria, Encanto de Dios, Morals and Dogma ng Amerika, atbp. (5) Sa pagitan ng 1900 at 1950, si Tandang Ano Nasaire na tagapagtatag ng AKO ay kasakasama ng matandang Sabino na awtor ng Karunungan ng Dios (1955) at ng nabanggit na librito sa itaas na samahang "Agnus Die." Sila ay abala sa sa pagsasalarawan ng mito ng I.D. at ng kanilang paniniwala. Ang isang libritong kakikitaan ng mga naturang pagsasalarawan ng salita ay ang LOGOS. Inilipat din sa tansong medalya ang mga larawan ni Tandang Ano na isang alahero. Siya rin ang gumawa at nag-imbento ng mga moldehan ng anting-anting na minana ni Mang Ben Herrera at hanggang ngayon ay siya pa ring ginagamit sa paggawa ng medalya. Ang mga impormasyong naturan ay ayon kay Ka Bert Lopez-Santos at kay Mang Ben mismo na kapwa nag-aral sa AKO. (6) Alam ni Ka Ambo sa Samahang Santisima Trinidad, Samahang Santo Nino ng Pateros ang tungkol sa mito ng I.D. at ang unang paglalang. Ikinuwento niya sa akin ito ayon sa kanyang pagkakatanda. Sa kanya rin unang nakita ang medalyang I.D., mga larawang guhit ng Dios Ama-ATARDAR, Kataastaasang Ina at ang kabuuang Retablo ng Paniniwala na nagmula sa mga Rizalista sa Tanaya. SA aking palagay, ang kabuuang Retablo ng Paniniwala ang siyang "pinakamalaking" anting-anting sa panggagamutan at sa lahat ng pangangailangan. (7.) Ang dalawa pang pinagmulan ng mga larawan, librito, at medalya ay si Peter Montanez ng Peter's Mystical Book Center at ang nasirang Demetrio O. Sibal ng Saldea Commercial Enterprises. Ayon kay Alex Buenvenida na nakapanayam ko sa Saldem (ayon sa kayasiya ay apo ni Emilio Aguinaldo sa partida ng kanyang Inang Famy), magkakilala sina Montanez at Sibal subali't hindi sila nagpapalitan ng kaalaman ukol sa paggawa ng mistikal na gamit. Sa pangkalahatan ipinagbabawal talaga ang pagpunta sa pagawaan ng anting-antin sa iba pang gamit sa pangamba ng mga may kaalaman nito na kopyahin at nakawin ang kanilang pamamaraan ng paggawa. Lalo na ngayong mahigpit ang laban ng mga medalyang galing Laguna, Batangas at Quezon kahit na pangit ang yari ng mga ito, nanatili pa ring banta at nakakabawas ng benta sa mga yaring Cavite. (8.) Ang isang pinaghanguan ng larawan ay ang "kalendaryong La Omnipresencia de Dios" at ang ipinagbabawal nang larawan ng Tatlong Persona Solo Dios ng Simbahang Katoliko...Maari ngang ginamit ng mga makabayang Pilipino ang mga pagsasalarawan ng mga Kadeusang Kastila upang magkaroon ng malawak na pagtanggap ang Bathalismo sa bayang Filipino na ang kalakhan ay Romano Katoliko..." Pambid, Ang Semiotika...Op.cit., pp. 229-235.

interpreted, in this regard, as a subliminal form of protest, from the parts of the Indios of the archipelago, against colonialization as well as conversion; and so, it was quite successfully affective as such.¹⁶⁸ A look at the ethno-epic would somewhat give us an idea on how this was accomplished.

Like already discussed previously, the whole epic was seemingly dressed up, so that --- though actually a continuation of the ancient worship --- it would look like a Christianized mythology. Nonetheless, the indigenous concepts therein could still not be missed. The idea of the first woman as a helper in creation and as a created one from Bathala's mind was, for example, a wholly unChristian concept. The actual and step-by-step creation of the galaxy and the world of man could only be indigenous; the Christians' Bible never actually had exactly the same creation's theory and story. Noteworthy therein, as well, was man's creation, itself. Man was supposedly and specifically created, to have his own mind and his own specific potency. The mind here, of course, symbolizes the freedom of choice and/or opportunities, which were naturally given to him for decision-making and other related expression of will. Potency, on the other hand, represents the potential to have overnatural powers, which could be a slant on the chances of man to have anting-antings or charms. The ethno-epic, in this regard, almost completely explained the earlier communities' conceptual world; it contained and discussed the generally material world of man.¹⁶⁹ It explained man's place in the world; his place in the universal time line --- in the present, relative to the past and his probable future --- or in a manner, his place in history or *kasaysayan*.

This tendency of the different communities of the P.I. from the earliest times will be potently, prevalently and unbreakably continued till the last years of the 13th century. Its continuous development would be broken during this century, upon the arrival of a new form of belief system, brought in by the neighboring foreign-merchants on most of the islands' coastal communities (*pamayanang sa-ilud*). The new faith is called Islam. It came through Muslim traders who visited the archipelago; plus, through the efforts of the Muslim mystics and teachers of Southeast Asia around 1280 A.D.¹⁷⁰ Three major occurrences happened after this date: (1) the spread and establishment of Islam in the coastal areas, which were afterwards accordingly regulated by a particular political system; (2) the transformation of a number of P.I. communities into religious communities, called *ummah*, and their automatic incorporation and membership to the global religious community, called

¹⁶⁸ For a discussion on this theme, please refer to: Reinhard Wendt, "Zwischen Unterwerfung und Befreiung. Spanische Evangelisation und einheimische Religiosität auf den Philippinen," in Wilfried Wagner (Grg.), *Kolonien und Misionen. 3. Internationales Kolonialgeschichtliches Symposium '93, Münster/ Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 1994, pp. 147-164.*

¹⁶⁹ Please refer to Chapter 1 for the earlier communities' concept of the world which is in direct relation to their earlier religion or belief system.

¹⁷⁰ This date is based on the discovery of a gravemark inscription at Bud Datu believed to be that of Tuan Mashaika who died in 710 A.H. or 1310 A.D. As probably the first Muslim to bring the faith according to the Sulu Tarsila, the year 1280 A.D. coincides with the missionary activities of Muslim mystics and teachers in Southeast Asia. Samuel K. Tan, *A History of the Philippines*, Manila: Manila Studies Association, Inc., and Philippine National Historical Society, Inc., 1997, pp. 46-47.

darul Islam; and (3) the eventual or ultimate (depending on one's view, on the matter) development of a folk-Islamic tradition or the fusion of Islam with the local worship and traditions.¹⁷¹ Islam contributed a lot in bringing together and consolidating the communities of the southern region, so as to eventual structure themselves within the formal politico-religious Sulu Sultanates. Through the Sultanate, the indogenous leadership was effectively put below the Sultan who exercised paramount control over the people. This control,

...which had the effect of consolidating and centralizing the otherwise independent datuship, involved political as well as religious rights and activities and other aspects of society. In effect, the Sultanate, as an Islamic element, brought to the Southern archipelago the integrated Islamic system which did not separate or delineate the sacred from the profane, the spiritual from the secular. Islamic society was viewed as a totality expressing the unity of life as taught by the Koran, a life that revolves around praise and worship to Allah and doing his will. This underlying concept in the Sultanate thus provided the effective means of insuring popular loyalty and the Sultan's stable leadership.¹⁷²

The Sultanate incorporated the earlier isolated communities of the coasts into a bigger highly-structuralized, political community. It became concentrated on the coast because it was largely in these areas, where Islam arrived and where it was systematically spread. Islam, after all, was the faith of the visiting foreign traders, who regularly trade and commune with a number of the archipelago's coastal communities. It was therewith quite easy for most of the coastal communities' traders to convert to the faith of their trading partners --- if not for religious reasons, then, at the least, for smoother trade transactions. Three sultanates were thereby established, after the arrival and spread of the new worship. The first was that of Sulu; it became formally incorporated in 1450, with Abu Bakr as the first sultan. The *Sulu Sultanate* claimed jurisdiction in the areas of today's Tawi-tawi, Sulu, Palawan, Basilan, and Zamboanga. Generally four large ethno-linguistic groups were within its jurisdiction: Sama, Tausug, Yakan and Subanun.

¹⁷¹ According to S.K.Tan, this was what happened: "The establishment or spread of Islamic roots in Maguindanao, the ancient base of the Cotabato people, around the lake region of Lanao, and as far as the mouth of the Pasig in Luzon set in motion three inter-related processes of Islamization. One was the political process embodied in both the structure and functions of the Sultanate. But before this, a more fundamental foundation had to be established in the consciousness of the people. This was readily and conveniently provided by the concept of *ummah* in Islam. The *ummah* refers to the community of believers (Muslimin) in Islam who are bound solely by spiritual ties regardless of sex, status, color, and residence. It is, therefore, equivalent to the Christian concept of the *ecclesia* or "church". The consciousness that developed from this concept placed the Muslim South in the territorial world of Islam called *darul Islam*. To a large extent, the Sultanate as a system derived its historic influence from this consciousness vis-a-vis the datuship or rajahship whose limited area of importance was confined to its immediate kinship and jurisdiction. "But the effect of the *ummah* on popular consciousness and culture resulted not in the social transformation of the Muslim communities into orthodox Islamic societies. Rather, it led to the development of a folk-Islamic tradition which was a blend of Islam and indogenous local-ethnic traditions. This harmonious mixture was obvious not only in the socio-cultural aspect but also in the political. Even the structure of the Sultanate allowed the integration of the pre-Islamic system for purposes of administration." Samuel K. Tan, *A History...* Op.cit., p. 47.

¹⁷² S.K. Tan, *A History of...* Op.cit., p. 48.

The second consolidation accrued within the *Maguindanaos*. It was principally based and established on/through the Sharif Kabungsuwan's arrangement with the local leaders, who had ruled independently, prior to Sherif's arrival. The marriage of Kabungsuwan to the daughter of the local royalty --- led at that time by Tabunaway --- ultimately resulted in an integrated dualistic system within the leadership's succession rule. All the Sultanate's paramount leaders therefrom should come from Kabungsuwan's lineage. Their formal validation to the successional rights and rule, however, could not be attained, if (and only if) their indigenous representative performed the ritual of the white sand, on which the Sultan-to-be was to religiously stand. The latter portion of the successional claim of rights herein was, of course, symbolic of the distinct function of the local leadership in this newly built political system. This development created the needed systematic harmony, so that Islamization was accomplished and put forth, while preserving the status dileneation without the accompanying tensions and conflicts inherent in an hierarchical system. The Maguindanao Sultanate occupied the areas of today's Cotabato del Norte and Cotabato del Sur.

The *Lanao Sultanates*, though claiming consolidation at the same time as that of Sulu's and Maguindanao's, were nebulous historical entities which can be safely assumed to be just datuships. Traditional sources claimed that the Maranao comprised of four ancient communities (*pangampongs*¹⁷³): Maciu, Onayan, Bayabao, and Baloi.¹⁷⁴ These communities surround the areas of today's Lake Lanao in Mindanao. Spanish as well as Muslim sources commonly noted though, that the so-called Lanao sultanates were really an innate part of the Maguindanaos until it was eclipsed during the 18th century. This explained, so these sources interpreted, the continuous Maranao reassertion to ancient datuships and other peripheral datuships, with the immanent need to approximate the status of the sultanate or, at least, to pursue independent rule. But the process of reassertion seemingly did not succeed; a constellation of royal houses which had unreconciled claims to legitimacy and historicity was --- in place of a formal unified sultanate --- in its stead created.¹⁷⁵

The further development of folk Islam, through the years, was quite remarkable. It more importantly somewhat proved that the arrived unto culture by the new faith was never really completely erased nor destroyed by the latter; it was just *enriched* by it. Folk Islam refers to that general synchronicity of

¹⁷³ *Pangampongs* or *Kampongs* is the Maguindanao term for a fort which is surrounded by local small canons. Quite a huge dike and walls made of both wood and concrete surround this fort. It is the center of political and spiritual activities of the community. It is the Maguindanao's concept equivalent to bayan, banua, and ili of the northern communities of the Philippine Islands. Around the kampongs is the weekly regular market where almost all the members of the community buy their needs and at the same time, commune. For more details, please refer to: Jaime Veneracion, *Agos ng Dugong Kayumanggi. Isang Kasaysayan ng Sambayanang Pilipino*, Quezon City: ABIVA Publishing House Inc., 1998, pp. 62-63.

¹⁷⁴ "Maciu in the southeastern side of the lake is believed to be the most ancient. Onayan in the south claims to be the most significant historically because of several anti-colonial struggles staged by Onayan datus. Bayabao in the west boasts equally of its importance in the struggle against foreign rule. Baloi in the north is considered the latest of the four, formed by elements from Iligan-Cagayan and lake regions." S.K. Tan, *A History of...*, Op.cit., p. 49.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-49.

Islamic and indigenous concepts --- which generally referred to and meant the beliefs, customs, practices, and institutions ---, which have been acquired and adopted as religious traditions through the years on the various portions of the islands. The rise of folk Islam antedated the development of Sultanates by about two centuries. There was, hence, in a manner, enough time for the foreign faith to merge and/or fuse with the local world view and culture. It should be noted though, that the Islam, which was introduced in the later portion of the thirteenth century¹⁷⁶ to the islands, was, in itself, already quite a *changed* faith. It had already gone through various phases of development; and had already been liberated from the narrow, aristocratic and rigid character of Arabian societies, where it was originally created and borne out. It had assumed the more accommodative and mystical nature of Indian Sufism (Indian Islam), so as to effectively become Indian Islam/ Sufi Islam.

Indian Islam seems to have been essentially a holy-man Islam. The foremost Arab migrants in the Hindu environment somewhat acquired therein an aura of holiness; and it was this holiness aura, which eventually attracted indigenous Indians to them, rather than formal Islamic faith itself. There were two categories of Sufis¹⁷⁷, those associated with khanaqahs and those, with the wanderers. The

¹⁷⁶ The thirteenth century in the development of Sufi Islam signifies the *Tariqa Stage*, the second huge period of its development. It the formative period; it embraces the years between A.D. 1100-1400. It is the time of the transmission of a doctrine, a rule and method; the development of continuative teaching schools of mysticism: silsila-tariqas, deriving from an illuminate; the Bourgeois movement, conforming and making docile the mystical spirit which organized Sufism to the standards of tradition and legalism; and the development of collectivistic methods for inducing ecstasy.

The other periods are the *Khanaqa Stage* (the first stage) and the *Taiifa Stage* (third and last stage). The first stage is the golden age of mysticism. Master and his circle of pupils frequently itinerant, having minimum regulations for living a common life, leading in the tenth century to the formation of undifferentiated, unspecialized lodges and convents. Guidance under a master becomes emotionally aristocratic movement. Individualistic and communal methods of contemplation and exercises for the inducement of ecstasy. The last stage is that of the fifteenth century, period of founding of the Ottoman Empire. The transmission of an allegiance alongside the doctrine and rule. Sufism becomes a popular movement. New foundations formed in tariqa lines, branching into numerous 'corporations' or 'orders', fully incorporated with the saint cult. J. Spencer Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 103.

¹⁷⁷ This is how the Sufis themselves account for how they were called so: "Some say: "The Sufis were only named Sufis because of the purity (safa) of their hearts and the cleanliness of their acts (athar)." Bishr ibn al-Harith said: "The Sufi is he whose heart is sincere (safa) towards God." Another said: "The Sufi is he whose conduct towards God is sincere, and towards whom God's blessing is sincere." Certain of them have said: "They were only called Sufis because their qualities resembled those of the people of the Bench (suffah), who lived in the time of God's Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him!)." Others have said: "They were only named Sufis because of their habit of wearing wool (suf)."

Those who relate them to the Bench and to wool express the outward aspect of their conditions: for they were people who had left this world, departed from their homes, fled from their companions. They wandered about the land, mortifying the carnal desires, and making naked the body: they took of this world's goods only so much as is indispensable for covering the nakedness and allaying hunger. For departing from their homes they were called "strangers"; for their many journeyings they were called "travellers"; for their travelling in deserts, and taking refuge in caves at times of necessity, certain people of the country (diyar) called them "shikaftis", for the word "shikaft" in their language means "cavern" or "cave". The Syrians called them "starvers", because they only took as much food as would keep up their strength in time of necessity. So the Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him!) said: "Sufficient for the son of Adam are such morsels as will keep up his strength." Sari al-Saqati described them thus: "Their food is the food of the sick, their sleep is the sleep of the drowned, their speech is the speech of fools." Because they were devoid of possessions they were called "paupers". One of them was asked: "Who is a Sufi?" He replied: "He who neither possesses or he possesses nothing, or, if he possesses anything, spends it." Because of their clothes and manner of dressing they were called Sufis: for they

khanaqas were the focal points of Islam --- centres of holiness, fervour, ascetic exercises and Sufi

did not put on raiment soft to touch or beautiful to behold, to give delight to the soul; they only clothed themselves in order to hide their nakedness, contenting themselves with rough haircloth and coarse wool. Now these were in fact the conditions under which the people of the Bench lived, in the time of the Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him!); for they were strangers, poor, exiles, having been driven out of their abodes and possessions. Abu Huraynah and Fudalah ibn 'Ubayd described them as follows: "They faint of hunger, so that the Bedouins suppose them to be mad." Their clothing was of wool, so that when any of them sweated, they gave off an odour like that of a sheep caught in the rain. This, indeed, is how they are described by some. 'Uyaynah ibn Hisn said to the Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him!): "The smell of these men distresses me. Does it not distress thee?" Wool is also the dress of the Prophets and the garb of the Saints. Abu Musa al Ash'ari relates the following of the Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him!): "They passed by the rock at Rawha seventy prophets bare of foot, clad in the 'aba, repairing to the Ancient House." Al Hassan al-Basri said: "Jesus (peace be upon him!) used to wear haircloth, eat the fruit of the trees, and spend the night wherever he happened to find himself." Abu Musa al-Ashr'ari said: "The Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him!) used to wear wool, ride asses, and accept the invitation of the insignificant (to eat with them)." Al-Hassan al-Basri said: "I have known of seventy of those who fought at Badr, whose clothes were only of wool."

Now as these sect had the same qualities as the people of the Bench, as we have described, being clothed and apparelled like them, they were called "suffiyah suffiyah". Those who relate them to the Bench and the First Rank indicate their secret hearts and inward parts: for when a man abandons this world, and is abstemious therein, and turns aside therefrom, God purifies (saffa) his conscience (sirr) and illuminates his heart. The Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him!) has said: "When light enters into the heart, it is expanded and dilated." They said: "And what is the sign of that, O Messenger of God?" He replied: "Shunning the abode of deceit, turning to the abode of eternity, and making ready for death before death descends." So the Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him!) stated that, if a man shuns this world, God will illuminate his heart. The Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him!) asked Harithah: "What is the reality of thy faith?" He answered: "I have inclined my soul away from this world, I have fasted by day, and kept vigil at night: and it is as if I behold the throne of my Lord coming forth, and as if I behold the people of Paradise visiting one another, and the people of Hell at enmity with one another." Thus he informs us that, when he inclined away from this world, God illuminated his heart, so that what was (normally) unseen to him assumed a place in his vision. The Prophet also said: "If any man wishes to behold a servant whose heart God illuminated, let him look upon Harithah." Because of these qualities, this sect has also been called "illuminated" (nuriyah). This description also befits the people of the Bench; God Most High also says: "Men whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God." Moreover, because of the purity of their consciences, their intuition (firasah) is true. Abu Umamah relates that the Prophet said: "Fear the intuition of the believer, for he beholds with the light of God." Abu Bakr al-Siddiq said: "It was put into my heart that a child in the womb was Kharijah's daughter"; and it was so. The Prophet said: "Truth speaks on the tongue of 'Umar." Uways al-Qarani said to Harim ibn Haiyan, when the latter greeted him, "And on thee be peace, O Harim son of Haiyan!" -- and yet he has never seen him before that moment. Then he added: "My spirit recognised thy spirit." Abu 'Abdillah al-Antaki said: "When ye associate with the people of sincerity, associate with them in sincerity: for they are the spies of the hearts, entering into your consciences, and emerging from your inward desires." Now if a man is of this description, if his conscience is pure, his heart is clean, his breast illuminated, then certainly he is in the first rank: for these are the qualities of the leaders. The Prophet said: "There will enter Paradise of my community seventy thousand without reckoning." Then he went on, and described them: "Men who neither practice magic nor seek to be charmed, who neither brand nor are branded, but put their trust in the Lord." Further, because of the purity of their consciences, and the dilation of their breasts, and the brightness of their hearts, they had a perfect gnosis of God, and did not have recourse to secondary causes (asbab): they put their faith in God Most High, and trusted Him, being satisfied with His decree. All these qualities, and all the meanings contained in these terms, are united in the names and nicknames of these people: these expressions are exact, and these derivations came near to the truth. Eventhough these words vary in outward appearance, yet the meanings behind them are identical. If the term (sufi) were derived from safa (purity) or safwa (choice) the correct form would be safawiyah; while if it were referred to saff (rank) or suffah (bench), it would be saffiyah or suffiyah. It is of course, possible (in the former case) that the waw has been transferred to come before fa, so giving sufiyah; or (if the latter derivation be accepted), that it is simply redundant, being inserted into the word through common practice. If however, the derivation from suf (wool) be accepted, the word is correct and the expression sound from the grammatical point of view, while at the same time it has all the (necessary) meanings, such as withdrawal from the world, inclining the soul away from it, leaving all settled abodes, keeping constantly to travel, denying carnal soul its pleasures, purifying the conduct, cleansing the conscience, dilation of the breast, and the quality of leadership..." Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi. *The Doctrine of the Sufis*. Trans., by Arthur John Arberry, Kashmiri Bazar/Lahore: Sr. Mohammad Ashraf, 1966, pp. 5-10.

training. Contrary to Arab-world institutions bearing the same Persian name, the Indian khanaqas virtually grew up and developed around a holy man, and became largely associated with his tariqa and method of discipline and exercises.¹⁷⁸ The other concept, Sufism, comprehensively speaking, referred to the tendencies in Islam, which aimed at direct communion between God and man. It was a sphere of spiritual experience, which run parallel to the mainstream of Islamic consciousness, derived from prophetic revelation, and comprehended within the *Sharia* (Islamic law) and theology. The sufis, in a manner, thence, claimed knowledge of the Real (*al-Haqq*, their term for God), which supposedly unreachable through a revealed religion --- or later on, in the the applicative practice of Islam, taken in as unreachable through a *codified religion*.¹⁷⁹ There were ten elements for them; and they were: isolation of unification; understanding of audition; good fellowship; preference to preferring; yielding up of personal choice; swiftness of ecstasy; revelation of the thoughts; abundant journeying; yielding up of earning; and refusal towards hoarding. Isolation of unification meant that no thought of polytheism or atheism should corrupt the purity of the belief in one God. The understanding of audition implied that one should listen in the light of mystical experience, not merely in the light of learning. The preference to preferring meant that one should prefer that another should prefer, so that he might have the merit of preferring. Swiftness of ecstasy could be realized, when the conscience is not void of that thoughts, which prevent one from listening to the promptings of God. The revelation of the thoughts meant that one should examine every thought that would come into his conscience, and follow what is of God. Abundant journeying was for the purposes of beholding the warnings, that were to be found in heaven and earth; that is, in order to cut the bonds of materialism, and to eventually train the soul. The yielding up of earning was interjected, with a consideration that the soul should put its complete trust in God. The refusal to hoard was only meant to apply to condition of mystical experience, and not to prescription of theology.¹⁸⁰ Sufism, to sum up, was quite a disciplinary worship. It required quite a rigid discipline and training from its practitioners; before even the modicum of the worship could be somewhat reached. At the same time, however, it would seem that it was quite an uncannily superstitious worship; which, accordingly enough, made it a ready victim to persecution from other highly structuralized, hierarchical, codified worships. But so contradictory so might it seem, in view nonetheless of the previously discussed seemingly orderly form and function, Sufism could not particularly exist without Islam. Sufism was, in actuality, the embodiment of mysticism in the Islamic religion¹⁸¹; it was an essential portion or field of the latter. One could not be exclusively separated from the other; and so, its generally modified form became retained through the following years. It was introduced in this modified form in Southeast Asia; but it was introduced therein as the strict and structural Islam nonetheless. In a way, then, the kind of Islam which came to the Philippines from India and/or Southeast Asia was, by the very nature of its

¹⁷⁸ Trimmingham, Op.cit., p. 22.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁸⁰ Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi, Op.cit., pp. 87-88.

¹⁸¹ William Stoddart, *Das Sufitum. Geistige Lehre und mystischer Weg*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Auum Verlag, (1976), 1979, p. 15.

historical and cultural experiences, already folk Islamic.¹⁸² The faith, sufficed it to say, was therefrom already long open to influences.

Except for the actual establishment of the larger Sultanates at the later date, the local political structure showed very little Islamic elements. The survival of the local terms pertaining to such tends to illustrate this point. In Sulu, the titles of authority which appeared in the 19th century included *rajah muda* (heir-apparent), *datu-maharajah* (supreme judge), *muluk bandarasa* (lord of the treasury), *tumanggong* (assistant treasurer), *maharajah Lailah* (war minister), *amilbahal* (assistant to the datu), *rajah kahar* (protector of the Chinese), *rajah laut* (admiral), *bandahara* (assistant to the muluk), *sawajaan* (vice admiral), *mamandra* (lord chamberlain), *panglima* (general), *panglima दौरा* (secretary of War), *panglima pahalawan* (lesser than panglima), *panglima manganan* (lesser than panglima), *panglima palbasa* (petty chief), *panchula* (herald), *munari* (herald), and *mukahil* (herald). Some Islamic strains could, however, be seen in various titles, without particular political or military authority, as, for instance, *salip* or *sherif* (descendant of the Prophet), *hadji* (pilgrim) and *imam* (priest). The local titles *habib* (salip who is a hadji), *tuan* (sir), *inchy* (lady), *hatib* (religious assistant), and *bilal* (religious leader) were indigenous, to the almost everywhere in the Southeast Asian region. The same pattern could be seen in Maguindanao and Lanao; the local political structure remained substantially the same as beforehand and thus non-Islamic.¹⁸³

The languages Tausug, Siamal (or Sinamal), Maguindanao, Maranao, Yakan, etc. remained the main vehicles of communication. Arabic, which represents one of the several cultural vehicles of the Muslim world, found its place in the *Jawi* or the Malay script, which was of Arabic derivation but confined to the scribes or members of the ruling class. Arabic was never really popularized except in the Koran passages, as well as in other mystical purposes, including *anting-antings*¹⁸⁴ (magical

¹⁸² Samuel K. Tan, *Decolonization and Filipino Muslim Identity*, Quezon City: Department of History, University of the Philippines Diliman, 1989, pp. 5-6.

¹⁸³ S.K.Tan, *Decolonization...*, Op.cit., p.7.

¹⁸⁴ "Sa kasalukuyang panahon, ginagamit ang mismong katagang anting-anting sa wikang Iloko, Bikol, Pampangan, Tagalog, Sambales, Bontok, Hiligaynon, Leyte, Samar, Cebu, Tausug, Maranao, Maguindanao at Sulu --- ibig sabihin, mula hilagang hanggang timog ng kapuluan. Sa isang naitalang kahulugan ng anting-anting sa diksyunaryong Bisaya ni Felix de la Encarnacion na inilathala noong 1851 ay: 'mga matatandang pamahiin na pinaniniwalaan pa hanggang ngayon ng ilang mga indio (katutubo), at naniniwala silang hindi matatalaban ng anomang uri ng sandata.' Kasingkahulugan nito ang *lanhan*, na tumutukoy sa isang may kapangyarihang gumagamot o dili kaya, maaring mangahulugang isang katagang may 'masamang tunog' na ginagamit sa isang babae. Ang *sangod* ay isang mamahaling bato na nakukuha mula sa ulo ng isang ahas o iba pang mga hayop, samantalang ang *motia* ay 'perlas' o 'mutya' nga..." Ma. Bernadette Lorenzo-Abrera, *Ang Numismatika ng Anting-anting*. Panimulang Paghawan ng Isang Landas Tungo sa Pag-unawa ng Kasaysayan at Kalinangang Pilipino, M.A. Kasaysayan, U.P. Diliman, 1992. <The term anting-anting is today used in the languages Iloko, Bikol, Pampangan, Tagalog, Sambales, Bontok, Hiligaynon, Leyte, Samar, Cebu, Tausug, Maranao, Maguindanao and Sulu --- meaning, from the northern to the southern portions of the archipelago.

In a written account, the Bisaya Dictionary by Felix de la Encarnacion which was published in 1851, the term anting-anting refers to: 'the ancient superstitions which are continuously practiced till today by the indios (natives); they believe that through them (ref.: anting-anting), they are invisible to any form of weapons.' It is synonymous with *lanhan*, which can also refer to a term which has 'a bad sound' when used on a woman.

charms) and spells. The communities' oral traditions, which vary from one ethno to another, were similarly not completely affected by Islamization. The narrative traditions, consisting of epic poetry, legends, myths, stories, etc., continuously followed the path, they already long took and started.¹⁸⁵ In a manner, the Philippine Muslim literature --- very much like those of the other areas of the archipelago --- remained, in this regard, largely oral. The communities found the best channels of their creativity in oral tradition; in fact, their most important authority later on, after massive politization, would be based on oral tradition, namely, on tarsilas.

Tarsila or *salsila* came from the Arabic word *silsilah*,¹⁸⁶ meaning chain or link. They were the Filipino Islamic communities most important written genealogical accounts. They were written. They might be lineal or multilineal; and might sometimes done with an introductory legendary or traditional accounts.¹⁸⁷ Tarsilas were, more often than not, interwoven with oral tradition or folklore.

Consequently, every genealogical report had a particular mystic quality, which had nothing to do with Islam but could more probably had a lot to do with the earlier communities' culture. And because regular attempts were always made to update tarsilas, the age of the materials (on which they had been written) could not particularly be an index to the actual age and authenticity of their earlier portions. Furthermore, when older data were transferred to new paper, or when a tarsila is being brought up to date, well-meaning attempts thereby to correct apparent *errors* could effectively provide occasions for new errors.

Sangod is the precious stone which could be found in the heads of snakes or some other animal; while motia could be the 'pearl' or 'mutya' itself.>

For further interpretations, also refer to: Pambid, Semiotika ng...Op.cit.

¹⁸⁵ S.K.Tan, Decolonization..., Op.cit., pp. 8-9.

¹⁸⁶ This was how the silsilah came to be most important in the global ummah: "From the beginning of the thirteenth century certain centres (if we think of the center as being a man, not a place) became the sees of tariqas, mystical schools or trading centres. This happened when a centre or a circle became focused on one director in a new way and turned into a school designed to perpetuate his name, type of teaching, mystical exercises and rule of life. Each such tariqa was handed down through a continuous 'chain' (silsila), or mystical isnad. The derivative shaikhs are, therefore, the spiritual heirs of the founder.

The link of a person with this silsila acquired an esthetic character, and initiation, whereby the seeker swore an oath of allegiance to founder and earthy deputy and received in return the secret wurd which concentrates the spiritual power of the chain, was the means of gaining this link...

The silsila-path was not intended to replace the formal Muslim religious organization which the Sufis regarded as a necessary concession (rukhsa) to human frailty. This development can be regarded as the beginning of the process whereby the creative freedom of the mystic was to be channeled into an institution. These paths never developed sectarian tendencies. Their founders maintained creative links with the orthodox institution and did not repudiate the formal duties of Islam. One of their functions in Islamic life was to fill the gap left through the suppression of Shi'i sectarianism. The difference between the paths lay in such aspects as loyalty to the head of the order and belief in a particular power-line, in types of organization, methods of teaching, peculiar practices and rituals. They differed considerably in their inner beliefs, but their link with orthodoxy was guaranteed by their acceptance of the law and ritual practices of Islam. All the same they formed inner coterie within Islam and introduced a hierarchical structure and modes of spiritual outlook and worship foreign to its essential genius." Trimingham, Op.cit., pp. 10-11.

¹⁸⁷ Cesar Adib Majul, Muslims in the Philippines, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, (1973), 1999, pp. 1-2.

Majul, one of the leading Filipino scholar on tarsilas stated: “The sultans and all leading datus possessed tarsilas, which were guarded and formerly protected from prying eyes. Such royal tarsilas are distinguished from other tarsilas where descent is traced to a prominent Muslim, who is claimed to have been one of the first to introduce Islam to the area. Such a tarsila confers prestige on its owners, a situation, however, not entirely devoid of possible political implications.”¹⁸⁸ Royal tarsilas basically contains a genealogical account and an assertion that the featured family are descendants of Prophet Mohammed through the sharif, who came to the P.I. to establish a dynasty. But, then again, some tarsilas could even exert further efforts; and connect the subject-family to the empires of the neighboring lands of the Southeast Asia. In a manner, then, tarsilas briefly discussed first, the introduction of Islam; second, the relation to the nearby lands (such as Sumatra, Java, Johore); and lastly, the actual genealogy. Tarsilas, hence, represented the proofs of both the political and religious legitimacy of the family in question. They were the virtual sanctions for the assumption to power in the ummah, or in the earlier community known as the pamayanan. They were the proofs --- most especially for the following converts --- that the local Muslim leaders were blood-related to the prophet. Consequently converts could only consider the history of their religion as something like the following:

The first Mohammedands were Arabs; later Mohammedanism extended to all the other nations who live in Arabia, the Malay countries and Mindanao. All these nations are descended from Adam.

These Mohammedan nations divided into five divisions: Arabs, the people of Kureish, the descendants of Hashim, the descendants of Kinana and the Ajams. The first four divisions are mentioned first and have the preference on account of their relations to the Prophet Mohammed. All the rest are Ajams (foreigners) and are alike, equal in rank and descent and have the same constitution being made alike of four elements. They have neither sultans nor slaves. Those who are called sultans are so in name not in reality.

These five divisions are grouped into two general classes and divisions --- Arabs and Ajams. The Arabs inhabit all the countries which extend from Hadramour (Southern Arabia) to Constantinople. The land of the Ajams extend from Malacca to Brunei.

The four divisions of the Arabs can be grouped into two greater divisions: the first includes the Arabs and the Kureish; the second includes those of Hashim and Kinana. They only inhabit Mecca, Medinat, Yaman, Egypt, Esh-Shams and Baghdad.

An Adam who is not descended from the Arabs cannot become a sultan at all because all rights of the sultanate are derived form Arabian descent. All Arabs have equal rights in this respect. Any person who is descended from the Arabs or Kureish can become a sultan over his own people or any other Mohammedan race or community. Any person who therefore comes from Mecca or Medina is eligible to the sultanate and shall have preference over the natives in Ajam.¹⁸⁹

It is implicit here that the people, although a bit unorthodoxly converted (largely in comparison to the process which took place in Islam’s home ort) to the new faith, have a sketchy but nonetheless a significant picture of Islam’s history, including the particular role their leader thereby had. The whole story though, expectedly enough, somewhat further pleads the question on how Islam really came and became quite popular in the islands. And the Sulu tarsilas are the keys in answering such inquiries. It

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p.3.

¹⁸⁹ This is a Maranao tartib; it is quite known to every Maranao of the Mindanao island. Majul, Muslims in... Op.cit., pp. 4-5.

was in the Sulu group of islands, where the earliest clues to the coming of the new faith were found; and where the then foremost systematic missionary activities were executed. In a manner, the tarsilas somewhat indigenously represented the thirteenth century stage of development in the Sufi Islam --- whereby massive stress was granted on the roles of holy men as supposedly centres of the faith --- along the southwestern coasts of to-day's archipelago.

The coming of *Tuan Masha'ika* on the islands was significant in this respect. Although it was not explicitly stated that Masha'ika was Muslim, it is stated in the genealogy that he "begot *Maumins*", a term that could most probably referred to believers or followers. Besides this, the term Tuan has been largely associated in Sulu with Muslims. Tuan Masha'ika, the genealogy further states, married a daughter of the "younger" *Rajah Sipad (Sripada or Sripaduka)*; accordingly, he had successfully merged with the old ruling family and, at the same time, effectively started a new bloodline within it. Some time after the arrival of Masha'ika, the *Badjaos* (a.k.a. *Oranglaut* or *Lautan*) arrived on the islands; they were supposed to be the fourth immigrating major group of population that came in to Sulu. The oldest group, the *Buranuns* (mountaineers) settled in the area of Maimbung and their chiefs were surnamed *Siripada*. The second group were the *Tagimahas* who settled in the areas near Buansa. The third group were the *Baklayas* and they lived in the nearby area of the Jolo town. The Badjaos, of course, did not settle in any particular place; that would be going against their nature. It is believed though that they stayed in all the three areas of the earlier settlers.¹⁹⁰ The Sulu genealogy further states,

Some time after that there came Karimul Makhdum. He crossed the sea in a vase or a pot of iron and was called Sarip. He settled at Bwansa, the place where the Tagimaha nobles lived. There the people flocked to him from all directions, and he built a house for religious worship.¹⁹¹

The Makhdum personality was (and still is) very important in the foundation of Islam in the southern islands of the P.I. Although he was apparently not the first Muslim who came to the islands (as what is also obviously implied in the story above), he was the one who systematically taught the Islamic faith to the native population; and the same one, who supposedly instigated the building of the first mosque --- the Islamic house of worship. Various legends and stories of heroism were normally told around his person; among them, for example, were those that told how he walked on water, communicated by paper, flew in the air and saved people from drowning, etc. Makhdum was, and continue to be to this very day, a magical personality; and more than that, he continuously exists as an holy man for the peoples of Sulu. Here was how a friar-chronicler described (and condemned, as well, for the chronicler believed that that of the natives' was the false and heathen religion) the people's reverence to Makhdum in their tales of him during the seventeenth century:

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 56-58.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 58.

...he came from Paradise with three others, of whom one went to Java, and another to Burney, and the other two landed at Joló, and thence one went to Mindanao. He of Mindanao was ill-received; and because of that and of having been ship-wrecked in the sea by driving on a reef, he went in anger to a nearby island to become a hermit, walking upon the water. But he who was wrecked in a ship could ill keep his footing in the water. Such is the character of lies, that some are quite contrary to others. The outfit that he carried consisted of a net, and it is said that he caught fish on the mountain with it, by dragging it over the ground. But if he found fish on the mountain, then the fish surely could not escape him, unless indeed it were a flying-fish. When his followers went to seek him, Satan had already carried him away, and they found only the net --- and that stretched out, for it had been placed there to dry. From that point they took occasion to discuss so disconnected bits of nonsense as we have mentioned. Thereupon he who remained upon Joló obtained the chair of the devil (doctrine), and, as he is accredited with not fewer deceits, he was able to authorize his person and his doctrine with the barbarians; for he also gave them to understand that he could sail on land, and could establish fisheries on the mountain, as did the other. The use of these errors gave authority for the common people to invent others. They believe that the enchanted boat which they never saw, and whose anchorage they never knew, still exists...¹⁹²

When one looks at this quote (that is, without minding the religious bias of the chronicler), it would be somewhat clear that Makhdum was plainly considered more than an important religious person (and symbol) by the people; he was the newly transformed or even the newly resurrected version of the earlier hero of the ethno-epiko!¹⁹³ Undeniable in the situation here was the fact that, although there was not much resistance on the part of the people to the new faith, the communities' old traditions could, nonetheless, not be sacrificed in its acceptance as the new and exotic religion. Fortunately, the newly arrived Islam on the islands welcomed such attitude and perspective from the people. This Islam generally found no conflicts at all in the issue of magical or supernatural attribution to its bringers. This Islam accommodated, assimilated, and innovated,¹⁹⁴ it was, on the whole, liberal. As a result, islands' exclusive Islamic development became marked by incorporations and accommodations to/ of the local practices to the worship, in many respects.

This made, accordingly enough, any pursuit to pin down many details of its historicity quite difficult. Traditions concerning the actual route taken by Makhdum in Sulu, for one, is quite hard to pin down. This is complicated by the fact that more than one island or community claim ownership of his purported grave. People in the different islands almost always claim descentance from him. It would

¹⁹² Francisco Combes, S.J., *Historia de las Islas de Mindanao, Iolo, y sus adjacentes*, Madrid: 1667. Trans. Emma Blair and James Robinson, *Philippine Islands*, Vol. 40, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903, p. 131.

¹⁹³ This same process of indigenous appropriation, in the specialized area of the people's belief system, would also be experienced by the Jesus-personality among the Luzon and Visayas population, upon the eventual acceptance and practice of the Spanish Catholic Christianity, roughly starting during the 16th century.

¹⁹⁴ S.K.Tan, *Decolonization...*, Op.cit., p. 11. Furthermore, he added, "It appears quite clearly from a survey of developments in the Muslim world that the survival and spread of Islam as an institution and as an ideological force, from its inception in Arabia on its farthest limits, depended on two inter-related factors: its complementary relations with pre-Islamic Arabian cultural traditions and assimilation of the various ethnic traditions of the non-Arab world which had become the greater world of Islam. It is precisely this folk Islamic nature of Islamic revolution that was threatened by the zeal of the Arabophile of the empire to bring back Islam back to its purely Arabian context. The conflicts, which arose from this tension, plagued the Islamic world in its post-Arabian period until the Abbassid caliphate, which was Persian in orientation, developed a more universal character for Islamic goals. Had Arab ethnicism and nomadism been allowed to dominate Islamic concepts, the phenomenal success of Islam in enlarging its ecumene would not have been achieved."

thereby seem that Makhdum was really a magical person; and he could be in multiple orts at the same time. Nonetheless, all these doubts tend to dissappear, once it is understood that there was --- in reality --- more than one Makhdum. There were, in fact, at least two of them. The first one was called Karim. His title was Tuan Sharif Aulia. He was the one who came to Buansa, passed by Tapul, built a mosque at Tubig Indangan, died and was buried in Tandu Banak. Missionary activities and magical powers were thereby attributed to him. The other, Amin-ullah, entitled Mohadum and Sayyid un-Nikab, indulged in trade and missionary activities; and was supposed to have been accompanied by Muslim Chinese, the whole time. It was averred, also, that he exercised political power among the people of the interior. He lies buried among these political leaders at Bud Agad.¹⁹⁵ Makhdum was originally a term for master, or for one who was served. It was later on used in India and Malaysia to refer to a teacher or learned man. The makhdumins, who came to Sulu, were teachers; and so, respected as learned men. Since the term was a title and used by various individuals, time tended to combine their activities as if they were done by an individual. It turned out that the work of various makhdumins, who had came at different times, were merged into that of a single person. Traditions, on the other hand, that recognized that there were multiple makhdums, tend to agree that Makhdum Karim proceeded Makhdum Amin-ullah.¹⁹⁶

After the coming of Makhdum(s), two important occurances are narrated in the oral traditions of the Sulu people: the coming of Rajah Baguinda from Menangkabao and the coming of Sayid Abu Bakr from Palembang. The arrival of the said two symbolizes the crystallization of the Islamic faith on the islands, as well as the conretization of the new order with a particularly politico-religious nature. Here is how the story of Baguinda is told:

When he arrived at Sulu the chiefs of Bwansa tried to sink his boats and drown him in the sea. He therefore resisted and fought them. During the fight he inquired as to the reason why they wanted to sink his boats and drown him. He told them that he had committed no crime against them and that he was not driven there by the tempest, but that he was simply travelling, and came to Sulu to live among them because they were Mohammedans. When they learned that he was a Mohammedan, they respected him hospitably.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Although the issue of where the actual burial site of Makhdum is quite surfacially petty for observers, it is a subject of significance for a normal Muslim in the Sulu group of islands. Each group believe that they do and have the original and the only one burial of the Makhdum that taught them the faith. I, for one, have been to three burial sites already; one in Tandu Banak, one in Bud Agad, and another in Bud Bonggao. Whichever among them have the most scientific archaeological truth, there is no denial that the person of Makhdum is most holy for them. The Tandu Banak grave for example is believed to be self-cleaning; that is, the people say, the man lying there is so holy that not even leaves that fall from the tree nearby dare to fall anyway near the actual grave. The result is thence a naturally clean and quiet gravesite very much unlike the other ordinary gravesites of normal human beings. On the other hand, the graves on Bud Agad and Bud Bonggao gives the visitors the opportunities to make heart wishes. It is believed that the said wishes of the visitors will be one way or another granted or realized.

¹⁹⁶ Majul, Muslims in... Op.cit., pp. 57-60.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 60. (Cf. Saleeby, History of Sulu, p. 42.)

This immediate acceptance of Baguinda by the local population --- because of his Islamic religion --- could be considered proof that his religion was not that foreign to the area's people anymore. Furthermore, his name (Baguinda), meaning or referring to a prince, was massively used and retained by the people through many years. In fact, he was never actually known as no other. This implies that he exercised a particular political function among the population. His coming signifies the dramatic link, that the islands automatically had, with the center of an older empire, the Srivijaya, which was based in his island of origin --- Sumatra. It would not even be too far out to extrapolate that he was responsible in strengthening the Islamic consciousness on the islands group. Such an interpretation would be clearer in the following parts of the Sulu Genealogy; it narrated

After that time came Sayid Abu Bakr from Palembang to Bruney and from there to Sulu. When he arrived near the latter place he met some people and asked them: "Where is your town and where is place of worship?" They said, "At Bwansa." He then came to Bwansa *and* live with Rajah Baginda. The people respected him, and he established a religion for Sulu. They accepted the new religion and declared their faith in it. After that Sayid Abu Bakr married Paramisuli, the daughter of Rajah Baginda, and he received the title of Sultan Sharif.¹⁹⁸

Abu Bakr helped build, what was already started. He was the one responsible for the actual preaching of the faith through the assistance of an actual political structure, known as the sultanate. His title, Sayid, connotes that he was a descendant of Prophet Mohammad himself. And because classical Muslim jurists claim that one of the more important qualifications of a khalif was to belong to the Quraish family of the Prophet, Abu Bakr apparently had the religio-political authority to rule over the ummah in Sulu. But to further strengthen claim on the land without appearing as a foreign dynasty, Abu Bakr and the descendants after him, conveniently married into the local chiefly population; and therefrom had blood descentance from Paramisuli, who inspite of being the daughter of Baguinda was considered a local girl. Abu Bakr lived thirty years in Buansa and upon his death, he was succeeded by one of his sons, Kamal ud-Din. The following are the names of the sultans of Sulu in accordance to their genealogy: (1) Abu Bakr (Sultan Sharif); (2) Kamalud Din; (3) Maharaja Upo; (4) Pangiran Buddiman; (5) Sultan Tanga; (6) Sultan Bungsu; (7) Sultan Nasirud Din; (8) Sultan Karamat; (9) Sultan Shahabud Din; (10) Sultan Mustafa Shapiud Din; (11) Sultan Mohammad Nasarud Din; (12) Sultan Alimud Din I; (13) Sultan Mohammad Mu'izzid Din; (14) Sultan Isra'il; (15) Sultan Alimud Din II; (16) Sultan Mohammed Sarapud Din; (17) Sultan Mohammed Alimud Din III¹⁹⁹ The first

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁹⁹ Cesar Adib Majul, "An Analysis of the 'Genealogy of Sulu'", in Ahmad Ibrahim, et.al. (Comps.), *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, (1985), 1990, p. 50. Also in Majul, *Muslims in...* Op.cit., p. 7.

There is quite a different listing of Sulu rulers though when we refer to both to the tarsilas and their khutbahs (sermons or orations delivered during the Friday congregational prayers and during the two great festivals of Id ul-Fitr and Id ul-Adha). The rulers of the Sulu Sultanate accordingly were: (1) Sultan Sharif ul-Hashim; (2) Sultan Kamal ud-Din; (3) Sultan Ala du-Din; (4) Sultan Amir ul-Umara; (5) Sultan Mu 'izz ul-Mutawadi 'in; (6) Sultan Nasir du-Din I; (7) Sultan Muhammad ul-Halim; (8) Sultan Batara Shah Tengah; (9) Sultan Muwallil Wasiat; (10) Sultan Nasir du-Din II; (11) Sultan Salah du-Din Bakhtiar; (12) Sultan Ali Shah; (13) Sultana Nur ul-'Azam; (14) Sultan Al Haqunu Ibn Wali ul-Ahad; (15) Sultan Shahab du-Din; (16) Sultan Mustafa Shafi du-Din; (17) Sultan Badar du-Din I; (18) Sultan Nasar du-Din; (19) Sultan Azim du-Din I; (20) Sultan Mu'izz du-

sultans of Sulu ruled in Buansa while a few in Dungun. The majority of them held court in various settlements, all of which lay in the site of the present day Jolo town. For some time, a few of the last sultans lived in Maimbung, which incidentally was supposed to have been the capital of the earliest non-Islamic rulers of the islands.

The same major stylistics, as implicitly stated above, can also be found in the tarsilas of the Maguindanaos. The center or the beginner of the dynasty there is Sharif Muhammad Kabungsuwan. He arrived on the shores of Mindanao with the sea-faring people, the Samals or Sinamals, after a long voyage from Johore. It is claimed that he was a son of the Sharif Ali Zein ul-Abidin, an Arab hailing from Mecca who settled in Johore where he married a daughter (or sister, in other accounts) of the Sultan Iskandar Julkarnain. It is implied in this account that the ancestor of Kabungsuwan married into the royal family of Johore, which was supposedly established by Iskandar Julkarnin, the first Malaccan sultan. Interestingly enough, thence, the tarsilas of Maguindanao has a special section containing the genealogy of Ali Zein ul-Abidin from the Propet Mohammed --- such a discussion is not found in the Sulu tarsilas, where the founder of the sultanate were merely accounted for as a descendant of the Prophet. Like Rajah Baguinda of the Sulu tarsilas, it would be noted, Kabungsuwan also married into the local dynasty; so that he had rightful local claim to authority. His daughters later on also married local chiefs (Dumatas). In this light, it would be evident why the rulers of Buayan, the Iranun datus, and minor sultans among the Maranaos, have all claimed descent from Muhammad Kabungsuwan. Those who were not able to draw direct descendance from Kabungsuwan claimed descendance from another sharif, Sharif Maraja, who was supposed to have arrived on the Mindanao shores much earlier than Kabungsuwan and who also married a local girl. He is believed to have left and went back to his land of origin; but not before leaving descendance, the Dumatas. These chiefs even made efforts to show that Sharif Maraja was the uncle of Sharif Kabungsuwan. Nonetheless, eventhough Muslims from earlier till today continued efforts to show that there were Islamic fathers before Kabungsuwan, it would be evident that the effective introduction and spread of the faith in the western part of Mindanao is attributed only to the latter. Kabungsuwan is the most important figure in the Islamization of the whole of today's Maguindanao and Maranao areas of the Mindanao island. It is believed that his arrival on the island was mainly caused by the fall of the Malaccan Sultanate in the hands of the Portuguese in 1511. Kabungsuwan, while fleeing from the white people, was allegedly followed by his royal subjects, the sea-faring people, who are believed to be scattered throughout the

Din; (21) Sultan Muhammad Israil; (22) Sultan Azim du-Din II; (23) Sultan Sharaf du-Din; (24) Sultan Azim du-Din III; (25) Sultan 'Ali du-Din; (26) Sultan Shakirullah; (27) Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram I; (28) Sultan Muhammad Fadl; (29) Sultan Jamal ul-Azam; (30) Sultan Badar du-Din II; (31) Sultan Harun al-Rashid; and (32) Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram II. Noteworthy though is the fact that although all the former rulers of the Sulu Sultanate are called Sultan, it was not really proven if all of them actually took the title; most of them though were addressed as "Mohammad" or "Shah" in the khutbahs.

Southeast Asian shores and who are believed to be the origins of the present Samal and Badjaos²⁰⁰ (also called Orang Selat, Orang Laut, or Lautan) of Tawi-tawi and Sulu groups of islands in the southernmost tip of Mindanao. The following are the rulers of the Maguindanao Sultanate according to their tarsilas: (1) Sharif Muhammad Kabungsuwan; (2) Sharif Maka-alang; (3) Datu Bangkaya; (4) Datu Dimansankay; (5) Datu Salikula; (6) Kapitan Laut Buisan; (7) Sultan Qudarat; (8) Sultan Dundang Tidulay; (9) Sultan Barahaman ('Abd ur-Rahman); (10) Sultan Kahar du-Din Kuda; (11) Sultan Bayan ul-Anwar; (12) Sultan Muhammad Ja'far Sadiq Manamir; (13) Sultan Muhammad Tahir du-Din; (14) Sultan Muhammad Khair du-Din; (15) Sultan Pahar du-Din; (16) Sultan Kibad Shriyal; (17) Sultan Kawasa Anwar du-Din; (18) Sultan Iskandar Qudratullah Muhammad Jamal ul-'Azam; (19) Sultan Muhammad Makakwa; (20) Sultan Muhammad Jalal du-Din Pablu; and (21) Sultan Mangigin.²⁰¹ The seats of some of the first Maguindanao rulers were in Slangan and Maguindanao, adjoining settlements situated five miles north of the the Pulangi River. They approximately lay in an area not far from today's Cotabato City.

The tarsilas represent quite a few things for the general development of the communities, of the pamayanans, on the Philippine Islands. It meant the incoming of a new belief system, Islam; the arrival of a seemingly similar, but nonetheless generally new blood-line; the introduction of a new and larger political structure, the Sultanate; and the beginning of a new form and global religious community, the Ummah. Anthropologically speaking though, with a slant on the development of ideas referring to the conception of history, it implied the continuation of the tradition of the ethno-epic. It implied the continuation of what was already there, on the first place, wherein the great hero was transformed into a holy man, who brought the new religion and started the political dynasty, which should make the living better for the whole of the community. The tarsilas somewhat represent the triumph of the earlier culture of the pamayanans, although it had to superficially take the form of the newly arrived religion. In addition, it brought in the new idea of writing (the Jawi Script) not as a medium for communication but as a medium for records safekeeping. The tarsilas recorded what was earlier recited, orated, or sung; they put into writing what was earlier orally transmitted from one generation to the next.

Kasaysayan, in accordance, as most of the communities on the archipelago knew it, together with all its known and practiced implications, took in the new name of tarsilas (or silsilas) for the newly converted community. Tarsila came to be virtually known and practiced as almost synonymous to kasaysayan; thence effectively taken in as the most significant or meaningful narrative for the particular Islamized communities of the larger Mindanao island. In a manner, kasaysayan, through

²⁰⁰ For a different opinion on the subject of who came first and who came next on the island groups of Sulu and Tawi-tawi, please consult: Clifford Sather, *The Badjau Laut. Adaptation, History and Fate in a Maritime Fishing Society of South-eastern Sabah*, Oxford/Singapore/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

²⁰¹ Majul, *Muslims in...*, Op.cit., pp. 23-29.

this new development, took in a new color. It became superficially Islamized; and quite significantly, it became written --- that is, at the same time that the other pamayanans of the archipelago continued on with the earlier tradition of the oral transfer of history from one generation to the next.

B. The Significance of Kasaysayan for the Communities

Kasaysayan was virtually the concretization of the pamayanan's individuality. Its embodiment --- the people's oral tradition ---, considerably taken, had obvious functions. They were explanations for specific behavior, specific attitude, specific perspective, specific cultural personhood. The early communities found the apt rationalization of their actions, attitude and over-all point of view in their stories and/or narratives. Kasaysayan functioned as instruments for the maintenance of group solidarity; through them --- contentwise, plus, its individual actual delivery --- the community could practically go back to its oldest and considered most important beginnings, and thence relive the rationality behind their togetherness as a singularity. During various feasts and especial occasions, when kasaysayan (or its specific forms) were delivered or orated, the lessons that the adults want the children to retain were explicitly or implicitly stated. Kasaysayan become thereby the most effective instruments for learning and education; that is, while at the same time, because of the artful way they were normally delivered which make the normally idle hours of the whole community enjoyable, functioning as instruments for entertainment.

Kasaysayan helped in the reduction of tension and conflict; or even the potentialities for such as well. The oral tradition were, more often than not, stories of occurrences and heroes of supernatural nature; they were articulations of impossible, or at the least, unacceptable actions and behavior inside a particular community. It could therefore be considered, that the communities derive psychological release from these stories. They could probably identify themselves with the characters, who express desires, that human beings in the real world should and could not particularly realize. Tension might be lessened through the narration of stories, in which those who exert burdensome authority and power, or are otherwise the source of trouble, get their come-uppance. In many stories, resolutions could be provided by accounts of solutions to the problems of living that come far more readily than in real life.²⁰² It is not surprising, that we find in kasaysayan the broadest statements --- and it should be stressed that they are rarely selective of what they actually record, especially in relation to what the societies of today consider important --- of both the intellectual and spiritual life of the early communities.²⁰³ The personhood of each of the early communities, the pamayanan, could thereby be illustrated; it is immortalized or frozen in the narratives, be it in prose or in poetry.

²⁰² Dubbs, *Op.cit.*, p. 77.

²⁰³ It is probably thence not far-flung if we compare the ancient concept of kasaysayan of the earlier Filipino communities to folk history of the international global academic community. Here is how the latter is explained

Each embodiment of kasaysayan in the early communities' oral tradition are found the practical identifiers of the community or the pamayanan itself. Within a narrative is the identity of the pamayanan. Accordingly, here was how the early Spaniards found the pamayanans on the P.I.:

It is not found that these nations had anything written about their religion or about their government, or about their old-time history. *All that we have been able to learn has been handed down from father to son in tradition, and is preserved in their customs; and in some songs that they retain their memory and repeat when they go on the sea, sung to the time of their rowing, and in their merrymakings, feasts, and funerals, and even in their work, as many of them work together. In those songs are recounted the fabulous genealogies and vain deeds of their gods.*²⁰⁴

It is not unusual that each of the members of each pamayanan understood and took to their hearts their oral tradition. The most important kasaysayan contained in songs were narrated to the sound of bells, drums, and other musical instruments, while most of the listeners accompanied singing and danced to the produced rhythm or beat.

The banquets are *interspersed with singing in which one or two sing and the others respond. The songs are usually their old songs and fables*, as is usual with other nations. The dances of men and women are generally performed to the sound of bells which are made in their style like basins, large or small, of metal, and the sounds are brought out quickly and uninterruptedly. For the dance is warlike and passionate, but it has steps and measured changes, and interposed are some elevations that really enrapture and surprise. They generally hold in their hands a towel, or a spear and shield, and with one and the other they make their gestures in time, which are full of meaning. At other times with the hands empty they make movements which correspond to the movements of the feet, now slow, now rapid. Now they attack and retire; now they incite; now they pacify; now they come close; now they go away; all the grace and elegance, so much, in fact, that at times they have not been judged unworthy to accompany and solemnize our Christian feasts...²⁰⁵

Each of the movement in the dance was naturally in accordance not only to the accompanying beat but most especially to the contents of the songs sung --- a relatively good taxonomy of the movements of each dance would prove that. Performance art was, in a way, very much utilitarian in nature; just as every word in the song, every movement in the accompanying dance and ritual was significant or meaningful. Kasaysayan was, thence, rarely superficially taken by the earlier communities; it was as good as personally incorporated in each of the member of each pamayanan. Each member of the pamayanan was, in a manner, one with the hero or the ancestor who were the subjects of their songs and one with their own probable future, which they more or less compare --- and aspire, so that they

by an American social scientist: "By folk history I mean the episodes of the past which the community remembers collectively. Folk history will be composed of a number of local traditions. These traditions may or may not be written in formal histories but their retention is chiefly by word of mouth, and so they will diverge from the printed accounts, if such exist... But folk history survives purely on its own merits, because some element of shock, surprise, heroics, humor, terror has captured the folk mind. From the viewpoint of the scientific historian, the folk memory is highly unselective; it may dwell on events of major consequence or of utter triviality..." Richard Dorson, *American Folklore and the Historian*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971, p. 150.

²⁰⁴ Francisco Colin, *Labor Evangelica*, Madrid: 1663. Also in Emma Blair and James Robertson, *Philippine Islands* Vol. 40, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903, p. 69. (Italics are mine.)

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68. (Italics are mine.)

can be as great --- with the hero(es) of their songs. Within the narratives were the answers to the questions that the people most puzzle; within the narratives were the particularities, that have to do with the people's culture and history or their past, present and aspired for future.

The kasaysayan explained the nuances of the people's belief system; it told the story of the whole community, in relation to the believed order --- both of the world and the whole universe. The spiritual world was as much part of the material world, that is concrete and corporeal. Everything was part and parcel of a particular order which should be always maintained in harmony. Kasaysayan explained the community's social order. The story of the beginning of the world, *alamat ni Sicalac* at Sicavay or *alamat ni Babae* at Lalake, gave implications --- and, in fact, narrated the origin --- not only of the different races, who were purported to be originally brothers and sisters, but most especially, the social order. On the whole, there were three fluid classes: the *maginoo* class, the *timaua* class, and the *alipin* (*aliping namamahay* at *aliping sagigilid*) class.²⁰⁶ There were hardly lines, which actually separate the classes; each member of the different classes have the opportunity to enter the other ones. A *timaua*²⁰⁷ could actually take the role of the *datu* or chief if he proves that he's worthy; just as much as an *alipin* could acquit his debts and be a regular *timaua* or freeman. Each one of them, who worked hard to better his situation, would expectedly not receive discrimination afterwards; on the contrary, he would be admired for his exertions. Intermarriages between classes was also not such a big issue.

²⁰⁶ Here is how one of the earlier chronicles described this social order: "There are three kinds and classes of people: the chiefs, whom the Visayans call *datu* and the Tagálogs *maginoo*; the *timauas*, who are the ordinary common people, called *maharliká* among the Tagálogs; and the slaves, called *oripuen* by the Visayans and *alipin* by the Tagálogs. The last are divided into several kinds as we shall relate soon. The chiefs attain that position generally through their blood; or, if not that, because of their energy and strength. For even one may be of low extraction, if he is seen to be careful, and if he gains some wealth by his industry and schemes --- wether by farming and stock-raising, or by trading; or by any of the trades among them, such as smith, jeweler, or carpenter; or by robbery or tyranny, which was the most usual method --- in that way, he gains authority and reputation, and increases it the more he practices tyranny and violence. With these beginnings, he takes the name of *datu*; and others, whether his relatives or not, come to him, and add credit and esteem to him, and make him a leader. Thus there is no superior who gives him authority or title, beyond his own efforts and power. Consequently, might is proclaimed as right, and he who robbed most and tyrannized most was the most powerful. If his children continued those tyrannies, they conserved that grandeur. If on the contrary, they were men of little ability, who allowed themselves to be subjugated, or were reduced by either misfortunes and disastrous happenings, or by sickness and losses, they lost their grandeur with their possessions, as is customary throughout the world; and the fact that they had honored parents or relatives was of no avail to them, or is of no avail to them now. In this was, it has happened that the father might be a chief, and the son or brother a slave --- and worse, even a slave to his own brother." Colin, *Op.cit.*, pp.86-87.

This impression is naturally made through the norms and standards that the chronicler knew and practiced. It is therefore understandable that he had only the smallest amount of patience and understanding of the social order that he only superficially and from the outside witnessed. There are better studies today of the social classes in the ancient Philippine communities; most of the history books, for example, which were published starting at the turn of the nineteenth towards the twentieth century already have the more scholarly view of the mentioned subject.

²⁰⁷ There has been quite a number of relatively reliable good historical sources that already, in one way or the other, discussed the *timauas*. The *timauas* have been one of the major victims, both psychologically and socially, of the changes that occurred because of the coming of the Europeans on the Philippine Islands. Through colonialism and the new order that it brought, the status of the *timauas* was transformed from being those of the free towards those of the hungry and enslaved. A good study that centered on the sad fortune that the *timauas* experienced is: Nancy Kimuell-Gabriel, "Ang *Timaua* sa *Kasaysayang Pilipino*", *Bagong Kasaysayan* Blg. 3, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1999.

They --- even in the details of the resulting descendants' inheritance therefrom --- were aptly regulated by or in the society.

Within the *pamayanan* were four relatively *powerful* or influential people: the *datu*, who was the political leader; the *bagani/magani* (who can sometimes act as a *datu* when there was none in a community), who administered and/or specialized on the defense of the *pamayanan*; the *panday*, who manufactured all the metal needs of the *pamayanan*; and the *babaylan/catalonan*, who administered all the spiritual and medical needs of the community.²⁰⁸ The *datu* was rarely different from a regular member of the community; he farmed or fished just as much as the others. His difference laid only in the fact that he specialized in the resolution of problematic situations within and relative to the outside of the community. He should be a good intermediator between and among his people; so that harmony would and continued to be maintained. The *bagani* saw to it that the community members were safely defended from outside harm, which threatens the general good of the community itself. He was the model of goodness; for he does his job without the expectation of payment or any form of gratification. Because of this, he was much respected by the *pamayanan*. He was the one expected to maintain the relatively good political (in its most popular expression, namely, war/ battle) relation with the other communities around the community, he was a member of and accordingly represented. The *panday* was generally seen as a specialist in various occupational areas; but he was mostly known as somebody, who worried and supplied the metallic needs of the *pamayanan*. He was a relatively known magician; because he has the knowledge of putting together minerals or melting and reforming metal itself. He was, in a manner, a practicing chemist; he took charge of the update and supply of the community's tool technology. He was there so as to make life better and easier, in account of all sorts of metallic tools, for the community members and to support the actions and decisions of both the *datu* and *bagani*, in terms of the supply for war armaments. The *babaylan* took charge of the spiritual health of the whole *pamayanan*; she acted as the link between men and the normally unseen spirits or *anitos*. A good relationship with the *anitos* leads to the general betterment of the whole *pamayanan* in all respects --- that is, both in the realm of physical and psychical state of the community. She saw to it that the over-all health of each member of the community was maintained. Both the *kaluluwa* and

²⁰⁸ Zeus Salazar had spent quite a few of his academic career years in the full conceptualization of these four figures in the ancient Filipino communities. Here are some examples of excellent works on the said area: "Ang Babaylan sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas", Bagong Kasaysayan Lathalain Blg. 4, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1999; "Ethnic Psychology and History: Reinterpreting Faith Healers", *Indegenous Psychology, A book of Readings*, Quezon Cit: Akademiya ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1990; "Ang Bayani Bilang Sakripisyo: Pag-aanyo ng Pagkabayani sa Agos ng Kasaysayang Pilipino", Kalamidad, Rebolusyon, Kabayanihan. M g a Kahulugan Nito sa Kasalukuyang Panahon, Lungsod Quezon: ADHIKA ng Pilipinas, Inc., 1996; "Limang Panahon ng Pamumunong Bayan", *Lider. Pamumunong Bayan: Karanasan, Katanungan, at Kinabukasan*, Lunsod Quezon: Education for Life Foundation, 1997; "Si Andres Bonifacio at ang Kabayanihang Pilipino" Bagong Kasaysayan Lathalain Blg. 2, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1997. Supportive of the mentioned essays are other essays on indogenous psychology and the filipino personality which has been published through the years starting the end of the decade of the seventies in the last century. This exertions of Salazar played a major role towards the development of the general but actual Filipino Scholarship in the Social Sciences, most especially in the area of Filipino Historiography. This would be better discussed in the next chapters of this study.

ginhawa should be seen to, so that diseases will be put at the distance. The babaylan maintained the balance between the said two major elements of a person; and this normally meant the execution of rituals and dance, so as to please the anitos and guide her in the task of helping the other member(s) of the community. A good working relationship between these four would result into kaliwanagan (enlightenment) which in turn lead to the *kagalingan* (betterment) and *kaginhawahan* (over-all good feeling and stature) of the whole community they represented and were naturally part of. In a manner, when there's harmony between leadership, then harmony would also be seen to by the same leadership --- both in terms of the relation between the spiritual and corporeal realms, and in terms of the relation among the corporeal community itself. This harmony would or could be mostly reflected in the pamayanan's oral tradition, in their kasaysayan.

And this would continue on even after the arrival of a new form of religion, and with it a new political structure, on the P.I., especially on the western coasts of the archipelago. Tarsila, the new form of kasaysayan, showed this general trend. The new religion, Islam, and its accompanying culture was accomodated because the older community's cultural structure allowed it. This accomodation would be concretely experienced among the different Islamic communities; but most specifically through their concepts of *adat*²⁰⁹ (traditional law) and *sharia* (Islamic law). A relatively unstructured mix exists between these two concepts; that is, eventhough some fundamentalists (to specifically mean those who want to go back to the "fundamentals" of Islam) would say that the two are largely contradictory, and thence impossible to practice at the same time. They would normally be innately and incorporatedly practiced and applied among the Muslim population. An average Muslim do not recognize any conflict between them. In fact, he would even pursue to clarify and explain the religiosity behind his superstitious actions, when asked about it. Adat is, for him, on the whole, part of Islam; there exists neither confusion nor contrast between these two.

Adat broadly means custom; it may or may not incorporate Islamic practice.²¹⁰ It is mostly learned from childhood onwards. It doesn't have a formal written form, nor a formal learning institution, where one could learn them. Nonetheless, the whole community almost always automatically know about and are aware of them. Sharia, on the other hand, is clearly *the* Islamic law. It is the derived body of laws and regulation, from the religion's holy scripture, Quran and from the Hadith. The

²⁰⁹ Adat is the considered phenomenon that exist and is nurtured within and between men in the Islamic communities of Southeast Asia. It meant, on the whole, the uncodified, local customs and traditions within the community. Here is how one of the studies described the term, in relation to the Islamic community in Indonesia: "Das alle indonesischen Gessellschaftsbereiche beherrschende Phänomen der zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen ist Adat. Der terminus Adat entstammt dem islamisch-arabischen Bereich. Er bedeutet bei den islamisch-nomadischen Stämmen die nicht kodifizierten lokal-traditionellen Gewohnheitsregeln, die unter dem Begriff *urf*, "what is commonly accepted", oder *adat*, "custom", zusammengefaßt worden sind. Die Termini *urf* und *ada* sind beide in Indonesien bekannt, besonders aber der Terminus *ada*." Johannes Enos Garang, *Adat und Gessellschaft. Eine sozio-ethnologische Untersuchung zur Darstellung des Geistes- und Kulturlebens der Dajak in Kalimantan*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974.

community may most probably be familiar with it, but do not necessarily completely and integratively consider it, as an reflexive portion of their way of living. An average Muslim would only normally become aware of it after a personal experience in its courts; or, in a number of special cases, after a formal education in a particular Islamic learning institution. The practical difference between the two is almost parallel with the difference of economic stature among its respective patronizing public; the former is normally lived and practiced by the not-so-well-off (non-educated) members of the population, the latter, by the richer (educated) members of the population. It would seem, in this regard, that adat is patronized by the traditionally-oriented population portion, while sharia, by the forward-looking population portion.

In end-analysis, however, adat's existence somewhat generally assure, that the older customs and traditions did not at all perish, upon the Islam's arrival on the islands. These older customs and traditions sort of incorporate themselves with the accordingly built, systematic arrangements, brought about by the newly arrived faith. And so, in the anthropological sense, the adat would therefrom be proof of Folk Islam's creation and existence. It would take the quaint role of somewhat assuring a unique Islamic legislative/ judicial practice on the archipelago. And accordingly enough, it would work. Even the 16th century Spaniards became eventual witness to this legislative/ judicial individuality of the archipelago's Muslim population; here was how a chronicler described their practice of laws:

They are as much adapted to the nature of the world (although more clothed with innocence), as they are to their laziness and cupidity which prohibits them from all expense which is not always necessary for life, as superfluous. For that, I have always said of these natives that they are fine philosophers, adapted to nature. The laws which touch on other matters and have to do with their neighbors are quite at variance with the laws of nature; and these extend to a tyranny so manifestly cruel that at times and in some things it comes to be brutality.²¹¹

The last statement, of course, could only be made by a converting European missionary during these times. For him, expectedly enough, the ways of the early communities were unaccustomably foreign and unknown, hence, unacceptable. It could not particularly dawn unto him that the earlier communities could not have made and practiced their laws, without the proper and necessary experience and knowledge on the matter beforehand. A quick study of their ongoing practice of law and justice then would immediately witness to that. Incest was, for example, never tolerated; the community even made sure that the transgressors of the said crime were appropriately punished.

The most feared crime is that which they call *sumban*, which is incest in the first degree; for they regard it as assured by long experience and knowledge inherited in tradition from their ancestors, that the land which allows that crime is bound down by wretchedness and misfortunes until its

²¹⁰ Roy F. Allen, "Practical Islam in Southeast Asia", M.B. Hooker (Ed.), *Islam in Southeast Asia*, Leiden/New York/ Kobenhavn/Köln: E.J. Brill, 1988, p. 64.

²¹¹ Francisco Combes, *Historia de las Islas de Mindanao, Jolo, y sus adjacentes*, Madrid: 1667. Also in Emma Blair and James Robinson, *Philippine Islands Vol. 40*, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903, p. 146.

infamy is purged by the rigorous chastisement of the offender. There is no other mean which can placate the wrath of heaven. Consequently, when they suffer long droughts, or other general plagues from heaven, they immediately attribute them to this. A case of that nature came to my notice in the year fifty-one, when the drought was general, and so great that even the water that found its ways to the sea was rare. The Indians of the village which was in my care on the coast of Siocon came to tell me that it was a punishment of the sky, and that it had been demanded by the awfulness of such crime on the coast of Mindanao, where they said that a mother was living in marriage with her son. They petitioned me to have the offenders punished, and warned me that the punishment should be death without remission, such being their custom, without admitting satisfaction by any other penalty, however, excessive it be. The same report was current in the island of Basilan. However, it was without other foundation that the Indians are gossipy and suspicious, ignorant of the secrets of the sky and ruled by the traditions of the past. They are ruled in that island by greater fear, as they retained in their memory certain cases that serve as examples and warnings. For, at a certain time, the sky was so leaden that for two years not a drop of rain fell. There was an Indian who violated the respect to his blood and to nature, with regard to a daughter of his. Although he tried to bury the crime in the depths of his silence, it cried out to the sky as an offense, and was heard distinctly as a sin; for that effect, as ungrateful as evil, always turns against its cause. He was a person of influence, and respect for him did not allow any investigation to be made; but the villages grieving over the public calamity, and unable to endure their forced famine, men trampled under foot respect the laws, in their judgement that tolerance in so execrable an evil had also vexed and hardened the sky. By common consent they seized father and daughter, and, shutting them up in a cage well weighted with stones, threw them into the sea. In return they experienced from the sky approbation for their avenging zeal, in the heavy rain with which it received them...

The Joloans executed the same punishment with equal severity, but through malicious information. God, who is always the protector of innocence, shielded the wretched; for when they cast two fathers in the same manner (into the water), he took away the weight of stones, and gave the men the strength to keep afloat, without abandoning them for the whole day, so that, the report of the matter having reached the king, the wonder forced him to seek, new information, by which he discovered falsity and recognized innocence...²¹²

The earlier communities may not have the genetic knowledge of today --- which normally leads to the conclusion of the inappropriateness of incest ---, but they did have the conviction (and the legislation, to beat) that it should not be done. Reason, for them, behind this decision lies in their believed-on, natural order of things --- where man and his surroundings, nature, play major roles. Incest was thereby regarded as an element that could cause corporeal irregularity; and as could be hypothesized, such an irregularity could therefrom lead to the disarray and chaos. This corporeal disarray usually manifested itself through natural catastrophes, whereby the whole community becomes victim of. From such a point, it would only be fitting for the community to do something --- and this something necessarily have to be violent and affective so that the irregularity caused by men would not be repeated in the future --- towards the general betterment of their situation, towards the rearrangement of the system, towards the recapture of harmony between man and nature. Implicit in such a situation, of course, is the fact that, although the earlier communities accepted, even swore on the faith of Islam, the major lines that binds them to the old religious system were still very much present in their daily living. The end-consequence of this whole procedure, as already mentioned, among and in the people's daily living is the practice of folk Islam. And this would not only be reflective in their legal actions; it would also be reflective in their whole oral tradition, in their kasaysayan.

²¹² Ibid, pp.151-152.

Very popular among the Maranaos, for one, is the following legend of the Lake Lanao (for the Maranaos themselves, *Lanao Sea*) where the elements of the old religion and Islam were seemingly well incorporated:

Ursprünglich gab es in Lanao keinen See. Da wo er heute liegt, befand sich das blühende und mächtige Sultanat Mantapolo. Während der Regierungszeit Sultan Abdara Radawis, dem Urgroßvater Radia Indarapatras (dem mythischen Helden der Moslems von Lanao) expandierte das Reich durch militärische Eroberungen und geschickte Heiratspolitik, sodaß sich sein Ruhm mit der Zeit in alle Richtungen ausbreitete.

Die Bevölkerung von Mantapoli war zahlreich und vermehrte sich schnell. Damals war die Welt in zwei Teile geteilt: Sebangon (Osten) und Sedpan (Westen). Da dieses Reich nun so rasch an Macht und Bevölkerung zunahm, wurde auch das Gleichgewicht zwischen Sebangon und Sedpan zerstört.

Dieses Ungleichgewicht erregte bald die Aufmerksamkeit des Erzengels Diabarail (dem Gabriel der Christen). Wie einen Sonnenstrahl flog Diabarail zum Achten Himmel und berichtete Allah: "Oh Herr, warum hast Du gestattet, daß die Erde aus dem Gleichgewicht gerät? Da Mantapoli so mächtig geworden ist, ist Sebangon nun schwerer als Sedpan."

"Wieso, Diabarail," fragte Sohara (die Stimme Allahs), "was ist daran falsch?"

"Oh, Herr, in Mantapoli leben so viele Menschen, unzählbar wie die Staubkörnchen. Wenn wir zulassen, daß dieses Sultanat in Sebangon bleibt, dann, fürchte ich, wird die Welt auf den Kopf gestellt, da Sebangon so viel schwerer ist als Sedpan."

"Deine Worte, Diabarail, zeigen große Weisheit," bemerkte Sohara.

"Was können wir tun, oh Herr, um die drohende Katastrophe zu abzuwenden?"

Darauf antwortete Sohara: "Geh direkt zu den Sieben Regionen unter der Erde und zu den Sieben Regionen im Himmel und rufe alle Engel zusammen. Ich werde eine Burahana (Sonnenfinsternis) herbeiführen, und in dieser Dunkelheit sollen die Engel Mantapoli ins Zentrum der Erde versetzen."

Nachdem er von Allah diesen Auftrag erhalten hatte, flog der Engel Diabarail schneller als Blitz und sammelte die Millionen Engel aus den Sieben Regionen unter der Erde und den Sieben Regionen im Himmel. Mit dieser fürsterregenden Armee meldete er sich bei Allah und sagte: "Oh Herr, wir sind bereit, Deinem Befehl zu gehorchen."

Sohara sprach: "Begeht euch nach Sebangon und hebt das Reich Mantapoli in die Lüfte."

Diabarail führte die Engelsarmee nach Osten. Im selben Augenblick verschwand die Sonne und eine schreckliche Dunkelheit, so schwarz wie die schwärzeste Samt hüllte das Universum ein. Die Engel flogen so schnell wie die Pfeile. Sie stießen auf Mantapoli herab, hoben es vorsichtig hoch und trugen es (mit allen Menschen, Häusern, Früchten, und Tieren) durch die Luft, gerade wie einen Teppich. Sie brachten es zum Zentrum der Erde hinunter, so wie Allah es befohlen hatte. Der Platz jedoch, den das Sultanat Mantapoli eingenommen hatte, wurde zu einem tiefen Becken, gefüllt mit blauem Wasser --- dem heutigen Lanao-See.

Das Wasser, das tief aus den Eingeweiden der Erde kam, stieg höher und höher. Als der Erzengel Diabarail die steigenden Fluten sah, kehrte er schnell zum Achten Himmel zurück und berichtete Allah: "Oh Herr, die Erde ist jetzt im Gleichgewicht. Aber der Ort, von dem wir Mantapoli entfernt haben, wird zu einem Ozean. Das Wasser steigt schnell, und wenn dafür kein Abfluß gefunden werden kann, dann, so fürchte ich, wird es Sebangon überschwemmen und dein ganzes Volk ertränken."

Daraufhin erwiderte Sohara: "Du hast recht, Diabarail. Geh also und rufe die Vier Winde der Welt: Angin-Taupan, Angin-Besar, Angin-Darat, und Angin-Sarsar. Sag ihnen, sie sollen blasen und so einen Abfluß für das überstömende Wasser schaffen."

Dem Befehl Allahs gehorchend versammelte der treue Bote die Vier Winde. "Beim Willen Allahs," sagte er zu ihnen, "blast so fest ihr könnt und macht einen Abfluß für das steigende Wasser des neuen Sees."

Die Vier Winde der Welt bliesen und stürmten über die ganze östliche Hälfte der Erde. Das wogende Wasser brandete an die Ufer der Tilok-Bucht im Südosten des Sees. Doch die Bergketten widerstanden seinem Ansturm. Die Vier Winde bliesen und schleuderten die Wellen gegen die felsigen Abhänge, doch vergeblich; kein Durchgang konnte durch die Kette der Berge gebrochen werden.

Nun änderten sie die Richtung, bliesen diesmal ostwärts gewaltig das Wasser gegen die Gestade der Sugud-Bucht (östlich von Dansalan gelegen, das heutige Marawi City), doch wieder war die Anstrengung vergeblich, weil diese Bucht zu weit vom Meer entfernt lag.

Und ein drittes Mal versuchten es die Winde und bliesen so fest sie nur konnten. Die Wellen rollten wild gegen Marawi. Tag und Nacht tobten die Winde und das Wasser peitschte gegen das Ufer von Marawi. Dieses Mal hatten sie Erfolg. Das Wasser grub einen Abfluß, den heutigen Agus-Fluß, durch den es nun vom Lanao-See ins Meer fließt. Und so wurde Sebangon vor der Überschwemmung gerettet.

Am Abfluß des Sees stand jedoch ein hoher Felsen, über den das Wasser in mächtigen Kaskaden hinunterstürzte. Und dort entstanden die wunderschönen Wasserfälle, die Generationen später nach der berühmten spanischen Königin Maria Cristina benannt wurden.²¹³

Elements of both the old religion and Islam are very present in the above *alamat*. Allah and angels are obviously Islamic in nature; the idea of balance in things or, in short, harmony of/ within the system, with which the whole story was contextualized, could only be related to the old belief system or, as what was already mentioned, to the old religion. The two faiths, in this regard, were interestingly incorporated into a mix that made up and illustrated a particular new order in the above *alamat*. And this new order, respectively considered, would be illustrated in almost all the islands' Muslim population's narrative, in their *kasaysayan*. As would be remembered from the previous discussions in this study, each narrative --- both in the written and oral tradition --- are generally illustrative of the community's general view on the various things, persons, etc. that they consider worthy or important. And though, on the whole, Islam should be foremost therefrom, it did not automatically mean that they should also forget and completely erase their past thereby. This only meant that the older tradition should have the enough elasticity, in order to always give room for the innovations brought about by new ideas from the foreign worship.

For these reasons, the old ideas, ways, customs, and traditions should not particularly be given up. The ages-old bounded-to-the-water culture of the Lanaonos would thereby not be sacrificed. That was why the four kinds of winds (which generally infer and give clues to the comprehensive seafare expertise among the indigenous population) still have a specific place and role in the story above. Ancient culturally-bound knowledge and especializations were, in this regard, continually practiced; that is, even through the seeming prevalence of Islam among the islands' inhabitants then. They were merely re clothed in the spirit of the new worship. A further example is in the case of the proudly Islamized Tausugs. Although they themselves may never be specifically aware of it, they still somewhat continue the ancient tradition of epic-poetry or epic-prose (relative to the readers' standards) delivery. They unconsciously execute this, through the days-long recital of the whole Quran during wakes.²¹⁴ This time, as what happened in the christianized communities of the northern

²¹³ This was originally published as: Gregorio Zaide and Mimitua Saber, "How the Angels Built Lake Lanao", in Mimitua Saber and Abdullah Madale (Eds.), *The Maranao*, Manila: 1975. But this version was taken from Inge Hoppner, "Die Entstehung des Lanao-Sees", C. Müller (Hrg.), *Die Philippinen. Perle im östlichen Meer*, München: Staatliche Museums München, mit den Deutsch-Philippinischen Gessellschaft, Goethe-Institut Manila, 1985, s. 118-120.

²¹⁴ The Quran, in this sense, is comparable to the Pasyon of the Tagalogs ; it is recited or chanted as something akin to the recital or chanting of the ancient rituals which back then were composed of the ancient songs of epic or ethno-epic. Here is how a cultural anthropologist describe its present practice: "On the evening before burial, ritual prayers are offered in Arabic for the deceased. *Young women who are experts in reading the Koran are invited to read in an effort to increase the fund of religious merit and ease the pains of hell. The object of the*

islands, the epic hero of the older ethno-epics became the most important hero of Islam --- Mohammed, the Prophet.

The same principle though held truth thereby, as in the ancient times among the ancient communities. Each narrative, each kasaysayan, was an excellent exemplar of the community's identity and individuality; hence, a rich source of the community's strength and pride. This contextual elementary background, in fact, was even used by the earlier leading propagators of Islam who came to the islands. The tarsilas, which were the proofs of both the religious and political authority of the Sultanates, were created within the background of the mentioned narratives; thence built on the principle of the major utilities of kasaysayan mentioned. It is through this new form of kasaysayan that the community was able to widen its territorial reach; that is, not only locally within today's P.I. and SEA but within the global region, as a whole. This feat was executed through the concept of the ummah, the Islamic religious community. Through the new versions of kasaysayan, the newly Islamized communities became bounded both with the different sultanates and rajahships of Southeast Asia and with the politico-religious systems built by Mohammad, the Prophet himself in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. Figuratively then, the communities became global in nature; that is, while proudly retaining their individuality within it.

In the final measure of things, narratives or kasaysayan are the concretizations of the pamayanan; and later on, the Sultanate. They are the conceptualizations of their own individuality both as a singularity and as a compound, playing a particular role in the larger arena --- global and/or even universal in character. This major trend of historical idea, and point of view in the more local application, would be continuously practiced throughout the archipelago. And eventhough in the next centuries the surfacial nature of historical development would somehow show that the ancient historical idea was overtaken by newly arrived ones --- e.g. historia of the Spaniards and history of the Americans ---, the kasaysayan's total disappearance never really took place. The ancient historical idea --- kasaysayan --- remained. It continuously lived and it continually nurtured itself within the minds (and in fact, in the *historical* expression) of the bigger number of the Filipino people, those who earlier made of the numerous pamayanans, sultanates, rajahships then later on, the bayan.

recitation is to finish as much of the Koran as possible in one evening, and each woman begins reading in a different place at the same time in a deafening torrent of ritual chant. One week after the death a special seventh-day ceremony is held by the kinsmen of the deceased. A major feast is given and a prayer is offered for the dead. As on all social occasion of this kind, distant kinsmen, friends, and allies are invited and contribute to the cost of the occasion." (Itals., mine) Thomas Kiefer, "Folk Islam and the Supernatural", in Ahmad Ibrahim, et.al. (Comps.), *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, (1985), 1990, p. 325.

Part II

Historia/History as History (1565-1974)

The sixteenth century, generally starting 1565, is a critical age in the massive development of historical ideas on the Philippine archipelago. This age will set the major trend in history and historiography --- most significantly in/for those today's, so-called intellectual and academic circles --- in almost the whole of the immediately following five hundred years. The defeat of the Sultanate in Manila by the newly arrived Spaniards unsurprisingly led to various unpalatable, even unfortunate, events in the lives of the ancient coastal (*sa-ilud*) and inland (*sa-raya*) *pamayanans*. It led, for example, to the start of a new highest class in islands' considered society, which, accordingly enough, naturally led to the massive restructuring of the older communities' order on the islands. Confusion, as a result therewith, reigned in most of the *pamayanans*; an undeniable disharmony in all of the archipelago became therefrom almost always present. Nonetheless, eventhough this disharmony was innately disadvantageous for the islands' inhabitants, it also, at the same time, initiated change, realignment, and transformation of priorities in the lives of the islands' *pamayanans*. And expectedly enough, the mindsets of the people did not become unscathed in the inferred process therein. The newly structured politico-social order dictated and automatically established a new dominating thinking among the newly defined islands' population then. Members of the early communities, in consequence, have to therefrom think and act differently; that is, different, most especially in comparison and with regards to what/how they thought and exert efforts during the long centuries beforehand. Revolutionary changes among them --- in almost all aspects --- became, from this time on, more than palpable.

The coming of the foreigners, the Spanish *conquistadores*, meant the coming, in the longer-analysis, as well of a new form of history, termed *historía*. And though *kasaysayan*, during this event, continually existed, it became largely limited --- almost entrapped --- in the minds and conceptual world of the communities. Slowly but quite assuredly, *historia* arrived and prevailed, so as to eventually take the position of being the *intellectual* and *more important form* of history. In these new narratives, superficially similar to what is undertaken in *kasaysayan*, the early communities were continually discussed. But quite a great difference already existed between these two forms of history; and this difference, upon analysis of the earliest *historía* exemplars, would be relatively clear even during the beginning of new narrative's introductory utility on and about the land and its peoples. The ancients, in *historia*, became virtually reduced to being just the objects of the stories; the actual subjects of the new narratives were the newcomers on the archipelago --- that is, first the Spaniards, and then, the Americans later on. It would be seen, from this time on, that history of the Philippines, in actuality, became firstly, *Historia de los Espanoles en Filipinas*, and eventually, *History of the*

Americans on the Philippine Islands. What was earlier a land inhabited by various communities who have their own sense of individuality became a compounded singularity which made up an extension of a colonial empire, and then later on, of a supposedly benevolent, democratic, federated state system. The islands were transformed to become the ripe and most convenient ort, for the colonials' greater distribution of a foreign faith; for their new and exotic adventures; for their financial advancements; for their administrative experimentations; for their military war-strategies simulations; for their supposedly intellectual experimentations.

Kasaysayan was put to the side. *Cronicas, sucesos, estadismos*, and *historias* became widely-utilized in its stead. These new forms of history naturally follow nothing else but the philosophies, the norms and standards of their writers, the Spaniards. The opinions and thought processes of the indigenous communities were, expectedly enough, never put into consideration in these new histories; in fact, the new histories, on the whole, did not even think that the ancient Filipino communities were capable of such. All narratives revolve around the theme of the foreigners' coming on the islands; which, accordingly therefrom, became largely treated as the congruence of the arrival of light and civilization (most particularly, that of civilizing Christian Catholicism) on the dark, hedonist, and pagan communities of the archipelago.

But, of course, such a dominance and almost infinite control of the interpretations and meanings in the widely distributed new narratives --- no matter how useful it may be for most of the colonials --- could not last for all time. The pagans could, after all, not remain pagans for all time; that is, most especially when they almost always come in contact with the supposedly civilized. It would not be long that even the believed to be impossible becomes not only possible, but real and actual. From the believed to be barbarians/ pagans would rise a new class of new rich, new intelligentsia, new hispanized Indios. The first half of the nineteenth century was witness to the massive financial developments on the P.I., this effectively led to the establishment of a new rich class of islands' inhabitants (mostly, mestizo-Sangleys), who then, through the firm belief that formal university education provides the necessary enlightenment, used their newly gained positions, so as to be able to send their sons abroad for higher education. This newly educated sons of the Philippines, in turn, eventually called themselves *Indios Bravos* (proud Indios); and became therefrom known in literature as the new intelligentsia, the *ilustrados* (enlightened ones). They were the ones, who led the reform movement, the *Propaganda Movement*, in the last half of the 19th century; and so, they were effectively the ones as well, who led the first considerable intellectual revolution --- most especially, upon the application of the recognized measures in this area of today --- in the intellectual history of the Philippines. Historia was thereby used to rationalize and/or give logic to the needed reforms in the Philippine Islands. Histories revolved around the theme of lightness-darkness-lightness wherein the Spaniards --- more specifically, the friars --- were taken in as the bringers of darkness on the archipelago. And because these

ilustrados were, in actuality, speaking with the other considered intellectuals --- namely the Spaniards ---, the language and the standards used and applied in their written work was Spanish as well. The greater number of Indios, the *bayan*, was just the mere subject of their discussion; it was never really taken in as a potential discussant nor a listening, learning, and thinking audience therewith.

The major political developments at the turn of the century (19th to the 20th) did not particularly change the mentioned trend of historiographical history. The wars of independence started by the *Kataastaasang Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan*, which was generally formed, guided, and influenced by the ancient philosophy and ideas of the earlier Filipino communities in their quest to build a *Kaharian* for the *Tagalogs* during the last years of the nineteenth century, became shattered. This was brought about by two major pushing factors --- first, the land-owning bourgeoisie, who forcedly took the leadership of the movement from the people; and second, the cooperative and scheming efforts of both the colonial Spaniards and the colonizing Americans. The islands' population's interests were again thereby put to the side. They were therefrom again considered as mere receptors, as reactionaries to directives that the colonizers and their collaborators introduced. Even the arrival of the new colonial masters, the Americans, at the turn of the century did not quite change this all-encompassing situational context. The earlier collaborating elite only changed masters; and eventually helped and assisted the Americans in their modernization/Americanization supposed pursuits on the islands and its people. Thence, very similar to what happened earlier, the archipelago further continued to become the depository of the foreigners' ways and ideas.

In the realm of historiography, the american *history* took the place of the earlier spanish *historia*. Nonetheless, it would still be seen, that beside the medium of communication, there were hardly lines that actually separate and differentiate the latter from the former. Just as the former treats and expresses the supposed history of the Philippines as the narrative of the Spanish colonial experiences on the islands, the latter treats the supposedly new history of the Philippines as the narrative of American benevolent assimilation of the islands and its people. The historical narrative, in this regard, still revolves around the idea of colonialism and its considered civilizing effects on the taken in as the unprincipled, now-recognized-and-named-as *indigenous, tribal, native* Filipino communities.

Even the official colonization's end, after the second world war, did not particularly put a stop to this historiographical end. The officially sanctioned departure of the colonizers did not automatically mean the Filipinization of practicing historians on the archipelago as well. On the contrary, *colonial historiography* even continued flourishing in their hands. They continually wrote various *philippine* history, while using a foreign language (American English), utilizing foreign structures, judging with the guidance of foreign norms and standards. In fact, it could even be said, that the newly educated

Filipino historians even left their American teachers --- most especially, in consideration to their research results --- behind! It was through the efforts of these Filipinos that history became an *academic tradition* on the archipelago. At first, history was taken in as strict, unyielding *discipline*; then, it became a particular venue for different *interpretations*; and lastly, it became transformed as an area for *intellectual discourse*. This quite dynamic intellectual, historiographical trend would unbreakably continue till the 70's of the previous century. In fact, it would be so prevalent, influential and simply richly modified, that it would even be developed and practiced long afterwards; that is, with a remarkable and not to be missed therefrom difference. It would not enjoy its singular dominance within the various practices of the historical discipline, starting the mentioned decade, anymore. Its all-embracing historiographical sole dominance on/in/about the archipelago will be put to a halt, upon the introduction of *Pantayong Pananaw* in the year of 1974. Pantayong Pananaw will pave the way for a new era in philippine historiography; in fact, it will virtually give birth to a *Filipino* historiography, *Pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino*.

Chapter 3

Historia/History as Historical Concept

The ancient form of history, *kasaysayan*, would continuously persist within the *pamayanans* (e.g. *pamayanang sa-ilud*, *pamayanang sa-raya*, *pangampongs*) on the archipelago. It was somewhat altered according to the needs of the *pamayanans* --- who were led to this unconscious decision because of the newly arrived system or philosophy from outside ---, but it still retained its ground basis, its figurative core. *Kasaysayan* would continue on, for it is rooted in the culture of the Filipinos, themselves, who survived and lived through various critical ages in their relatively long history as a people. One of those critical ages was the sixteenth century. The *pamayanang sa-ilud* and *sa-raya* became even more specialized in their respective occupations during these times. The inland communities, those from the mountain ranges and/or the forested flatlands, farmed and planted; while the coastal communities built all forms of needed boats, fished and roamed the seas and other forms of water systems. An added noticeable characteristic element within this age's picture was that of the fastly consolidating and widely converting Islam on the different places of the western coastal regions of the archipelago. This newly added element effectively led to, at the least, the surfacial transformation of a number of *pamayanang sa-ilud*, to eventually form the fortified (with small canons called *lantakas*) *kampongs* or *pangampongs*; and, at the most, the construction or reconfiguration of a number of former *pamayanans*, so as to form the formal political structure of sultanates. Furthermore, this basically seaborne worship ultimately connected the earlier, relatively isolated P.I. to the different areas of the Islamized South East Asia and West Asia. On the whole, hence, the sixteenth century was the period of complications, the age of movement on the archipelago.

The realm of ideas, most especially that which is concerned with historiographical development, would be massively affected on two major fronts during which --- that is, in both the form and philosophy. Ancient *kasaysayan*, of course, would neither be erased nor redefined; it would merely be replaced by something else, which was brought in by the newly arrived white foreigners, who, in turn, systematically claimed the islands for themselves. These foreigners were the Spaniards (in Filipino, *Kastila*) --- the conquistadores and the *missioneros*. They brought with them a new history, they brought with them *historia*. *Historia* concerns itself with events that occurred in the past; and, in a manner, it generally limits (or specializes, depending on one's view) itself only in that area. And though it would evolve upon its actual practice on the islands during the following centuries (after its arrival in the 16th), it would still almost always concentrate itself on the narration of the past, without actual or necessary consideration of the present. It would thereby continuously utilize the norms and standards brought in by the foreigners in all of its general practice and expression. *Historia*, as an historiographical concept, was --- as would be illustrated in this part of the study --- originally

designed for the Spaniards, for the foreigners; it was never intended for the ancient communities on the islands. It came to be known on the archipelago as *Historia de las Islas Filipinas*. With this historia-expression, also came the latinized alphabet; history, as men then knew it on the islands, came to be therefrom written. This movement was propagated at first, by the Spaniards (the *conquistadores*, the *missioneros*, the *peninsulares* or Spaniards born in Spain, the *insulares* or Spaniards born in the Philippines) themselves; but later on, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century by the upper class, newly educated *Indios* or *Indios Bravos* (indigenous people who were very much culturally assimilated to the Spanish foreign culture) themselves. These *Indios Bravos*, also known in history as the *Propagandistas/ Ilustrados*, would promote the scientific, documented-oriented historia, which all-encompassingly communicated and discussed with the Spanish intellectuals, who played --- at the same time --- the roles of being heirs as well as students of the older Spanish historical scholarship concretized in their *historiás*-expressions.

This trend of intellectual discourse, most especially among the Filipino intellectuals, within the specialized area of historiography, would therefrom be almost unbreakably continued in the next centuries. In fact, even the revolutionary changes during the turn of the nineteenth towards the twentieth century would not critically alter the major idea in the historiographical development therein; that is, in/ with major exception to its two elements --- its scope and its language. The Wars for Independence led by the *Kataastaasang Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (KKKANB or simply, KKK) during the last years of the nineteenth century gave birth to the idea of a unified political and cultural wholeness called the *Katagalugan* or *Bayang Katagalugan*. This reconstructed, bigger and more complicated version of the older *pamayanan* was foreseen to consist of all the former isolated communities on the archipelago. In a perspective, it could thereby be considered that it was through this KKK's politico-cultural efforts, that the older *kasaysayan* philosophy/ idea/ expression was somewhat continuously, from there on, brought to the fore. Unfortunately, a coup d' état would occur within the leadership of the KKKANB. This coup removed the original leadership, including their respective ancient philosophy and ideology; and then violently put the bourgeoisie in their place. Politically, this event ultimately meant the removal of above-mentioned *Katagalugan*, and the most effective birth of *La Nación Filipina* in its place.

Historiographically, that meant the persistence and triumph of historia on the prevalent intellectual scene; that is, with merely a small modification in its eventual expression, whereby instead of merely *Historia de las Islas Filipinas/ Historia de Filipinas*, there would be *Historia Crítica de Filipinas*. Filipino intellectuals, from then on, wrote scientific and critical *historias*, with a particularly national scope and character. And when their discussing partners --- the Spaniards --- were forced to desert the islands, they found new speaking partners in the newly arrived *benevolent* Norte Americanos.

The twentieth century witnessed the continuous blooming of these kind of generally externally-oriented, Filipino intellectuals. More and more of them wrote and published though/ in/ with/ among the different areas of the archipelago's eventually creted academe. The islands' begun public school system, plus, different scholarship offers in the United States of America accordingly and respectively provided them easier opportunities for higher and wider education. Modernization thereby became appropriation of formal learning from institutions; education, in turn, for Filipinos virtually therefrom became americanization --- total assimilation of the american ways and thinking. It virtually led to the massive creation of Americanized Indios/ Filipinos.

These acculturated brown intellectuals, from then onwards, continued and helped with the works of their american advisors and supervisors on the Philippine Islands. Concretely considered, most especially for our study, it was in this period --- in almost the whole of the three quarters of the twentieth century --- that the earlier *historiá* was transformed to become *history*. Both the American intellectuals and the filipino intellectuals somewhat cooperated in practicing --- and so, cooperatively promoted and propagated, as well --- this resulting historical idea during the said years. *History of the Philippine Islands* and *History of the Republic of the Philippines* or later on, *History of the Filipino People* was borne out of it. The effective speaking partners therein --- meaning, the resulting (historical) discourse --- were, naturally, its actual writers: the American and the Filipino intellectuals. In a perspective, hence, it historiographically (particularly with regards to the methods and philosophy utilized in its expression) meant the continuation of *historia*; only this time, it has a different medium of communication --- American English in place of Spanish.

A. Origin, Meanings, and Nuances of *Historia/History*

Historia is a Spanish word referring to any of the following: science that studies past events related to man and his society; any development of events related to a particular area; chronologically arranged narration of events in the past; compendium of happenings within the private living of a person; relation of any event of adventure; tall stories or fiction; story of embarrassment or difficulty; rumor, which is told by another person; or any problematic activity or situation.²¹⁵ It is a concept, generally

²¹⁵ "Historia. (Del lat., historia < gr., historia, búsqueda.) 1. Ciencia que estudia los acontecimientos del pasado relativos a la humanidad y sus diferentes sociedades. 2. Cualquier desarrollo de los sucesos pasados relacionados con un campo: *estudia la historia de la literatura*. 3. Narración ordenada cronológicamente en la que se relatan sucesos del pasado: *está leyendo la historia de España*. 4. Conjunto de acontecimientos de la vida privada de una persona: *es un gran conocedor de la historia de Franco*. 5. Relato de cualquier suceso o aventura: *te contaré la historia de nuestra amistad*. 6. Narración ó fábula inventada: *estuvieron toda la noche contando historias de fantasmas*. 7. Relato molesto o pesado: *ya está el abuelo otra vez con sus historias*. 8. Chisme que se cuenta de otra persona: *no me interesan las historias del vecindario*. 8. Asunto ó actividad problemáticos: *a mí no me metas en esa historia, que yo no se nada*." Gran Diccionario de la Lengua Espanola, Barcelona: Larousse Planeta, 1996, p. 864.

taken in as an idea equivalent to the English term *history*²¹⁶, which, in turn, refers to: “a systematic record of past events, especially those of importance in the development of men or peoples; a study of or a book dealing with the past of any country, people, science, art etc.; past events regarded as material for such a study; an eventful past, an interesting career; an historical play; a story; a record, e.g. of someone’s past medical treatment.”²¹⁷ Historia is thence, on the whole, the systematic narration of past events relating to man within/ and his society. It is a relatively old word. It is estimated to have been utilized in today’s Spain during the twelfth century.

Historia is derived from the latin historia which, in its turn, is derived from the greek ιστορία (historía). Ιστορία originally refers to investigation, knowledge, vision; then later on, to narration of deeds and/or events.²¹⁸ Here is the short description of the word’s derivation and relation to its greek origin:

El griego ιστορία (*historía*), representa una forma simétrica de ιστορειο (*historéo*), yo inquiero, yo averiguo, derivado de ιστορ (*histor*), el testigo, el que sabe ima cpsa, porque la ve; de donde viene la significación de sabio que tiene el griego histor.

Esta serie está en relación indudable con el verbo ἵστανμι (*hístemi*), desponer, colocar con sistema, ordenar, lo cual revela el sentido profundo de a voz del artículo.

Así dice Monlau: “la Historia es relato de una serie de sucesos reales y dignos de memoria, presentados en su encadenamiento y con unidad de plan” --- Vamos á completar ligeramente la definición de la Academia, que es inmejorable en lo que comprende...²¹⁹

Historia’s greek derivation points to the following areas: inquiry and investigation, orderly system, and then, orderly chain of real events --- meanings, which would not be lost in its later latinized form.²²⁰ For the ancient greeks, thence, a narrative was historia if all its contents were truthful and narrated in a manner which follow a specific system or oder. And because this word was borne out of a writing culture, then specific literature was automatically inclusive and referred to in a statement, that begged any form of order and system. Historia was, in this regard, almost from its beginning written. But due to the wider distribution of latinized alphabet in the next years, the latin form of

²¹⁶ “Historia. (is’torja), history; (cuento) story, tale; -s, (chismes), gossip; dejarse de -s, to come to the point; pasar a la - , to go down in history.” Collins Spanish Dictionary Plus Grammar, Glasgow, G.B.: Harper-Collins Publishers, 1998, p. 204.

²¹⁷ Cassell Popular English Dictionary, London: Brockhampton Press, 1997, p. 395.

²¹⁸ “Historia. Ιστορία. Investigación, conocimiento, visión; del la ᾠερ, ver // narración de los hechos.” Crisostomo Echeverri Hualde, Diccionario Etimológico de Helenismos Espanoles, Burgos: Imprenta de Aldecoa, 1979, p. 323.

²¹⁹ R. Roque Barcia, Diccionario General Etimológico de la Lengua Espanola. Tomo II, Barcelona: F. Seix-Editor, 1879, p. 1197.

²²⁰ “Historia, es narración: o cuento de cola acacicida por la ql se saben los fechos passador, dize se historia de historin en griego, q es veer: o conocer por q mingü o entre los antiguos escrivia historia salvo e q avia en aqlos fechos intervenido, es historico el q escribe historia. Et historiographo otrofi: por córficio griega. La grapho en griego: es escribo. Historidio es el q poz movimiento r attos del cuerpo faze senales representando la historia. Et assi mismo historio historiois es faltados, o iugados enlos ivegos scenicos momo.” Alfonso de Palencia, Universal Vocabulario en Latin y en Romance. Reproduccion Facsimilar de la Edición de Sevilla, 1490. Tomo I, Madrid: Comisión Permanente de la Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Espanola, 1967.

historia became more and more popular in place of its earlier greek form. With this development, the slow but sure evolution of the word parallely occured; so that, in addition to its earlier greek meanings, it would be also taken to mean as knowledge or know-how.²²¹ Still --- as would be noted ---, during the following middle age, quite a few literature would show the better familiarity of some authors with historia's vulgar form, *estoria*. Estoria came to be in use starting the second half of the thirteenth century (1240-1250) to refer to any form of narration or story-telling.²²² Here was how this development was explained:

Sabido es que la forma semi-vulgarizada *estoria* es frecuentísima y aun normal en la Edad Media, p. en el obras de Alfonso el Sabio; Alex 311, J. Ruiz, 1642 f, etc.; a fines de este período tendió a generalizarse la forma moderna, única que registran Nebr. Y Apal 19b, 82d, 86b, etc., pero estoria "cuento" es todavía asturiano (V) A menudo tiene el sentido de "cuento, narración, imaginativa."²²³

Estoria hat, in a manner, virtually taken the place of the older latinized form, historia. That is, except that with estoria, the reference to any narrative specifically lent more stress on its oftly used imaginative and creative characteristic. Estoria came to mean the imaginative and/or creative narrative; and --- curiously enough --- from these time on, it would be more and more used in place of the older historia. The earlier referal to knowledge congruent with the use of historia became every now and then put aside, with the offer use of estoria in its place.

Parallel, on the other hand, to these developments was the climbing popularity of the term *cronica*²²⁴ so as to mean the more thoughtful narratives of the present times. Cronicas were usually the written description of observations about the times and context of the present by the members of particular

²²¹ This statement would be seen through the etymological explanation of Carominas in his volumes. Accordingly: "Historia, tomado en fecha antigua del lat., historia, y éste del gr., ιστορια, "busqueda", "averignacion", 'historia', derivado de ιστορ "sabio-conoscedor", y éste del mismo radical que οιασ "(yo)se" 1.a doc.: estoria o historia, Berceo." J. Carominas, Diccionario Crítico Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana. Volume II, Ch-K, Blena: Editorial Francke, 1954, p. 926. Also look at: Joan Carominas and Jose A. Pascual, Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico, Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1980. Tomo I-VI; or Joan Carominas, Breve Diccionario Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana, Madrid: Editorial Gredos, S.A., 1961.

²²² "*Estoria*. F.s. XII al XV. Historia, narración: Alexandre (c. 1240-1250), ed. M. Fatio, 278c; 318c – Delas maneras de la materia e dela estoria deste libro." Alfonso X: Gen. Est., 1a parte (1275), ed. 1930, 492a – "Aqui se comienza la estoria de Ercules", Ibid., 2a parte, II, 1a; 3a – J. Manuel: Bab., 447, 4 – "Non se falla por estoria/nin por antigua memoria", Santillana: Coplas (1429), en NBAE, t. 19, ed., F. Delbosc, 497 – "Segund largamente se cuenta en su estoria", Pablo de Santa Maria (1435), en NBAE, t. 22, ed. F. Delbosc, 173." Martin Alonso, Diccionario Medieval Espanol. Desde las Glosas Emilianenses y Silenses (s. X) hasta el siglo XV. Tomo II, Ch-Z, Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1986, p. 1099.

²²³ Carominas, Op.cit., p. 926.

²²⁴ Here is how cronica is described in one of today's most used dictionaries: "crónica. (Del lat. Chronica, libros de cronología < chronicus, cronológico < gr., khronikos < khronos, tiempo). 1. Modo de relatar la historia en la que se sigue un orden cronológico. 2. Artículo periodístico o narración en los que se cuenta algún suceso o algún tema de actualidad, especialmente cuando lo narra una persona que ha estado o está en el lugar de los hechos. 3. Información que, a través del teléfono o de una emisora de radio o de televisión, envía a su medio un corresponsal, en directo o en diferido, sobre unos hechos que él observa e interpreta. 4. Sección de un periodico en que se trata una determinada clase de noticias: crónica teatral." Gran Diccionario... Op.cit., p. 417.

priestly or friar orders. The word itself, *cronica*, came from the latin *chronica*²²⁵ which was derived from *chronicus* or *cronológico*, which, themselves, were derivations from the greek *khronikos* (κρηρονικος) and *khronos* (κρηρονος) meaning book of time or simply, times.²²⁶ On the whole, to cut short, *cronica* meant times; it was the description of the times. And because time, as the accepted civilized world knows it, followed the standards directly related to the birth of Jesus Christ and set by the christian priests, it was only apt or fitting that *cronicas* were written by the priestly orders. Every *cronica*, because of its creation's context and its expected writers' over-all philosophy, was guided by the christian principles; and was always made, in connection with the missionary zeal of its writers. It was normally written by a priest or a missionary, who thereby describe area of his ort, where the actual events are supposedly taking place.²²⁷ A *cronica* would naturally and expectedly then narrate the state of (a barbaric) spirituality of an ort, and how the situation therein became drastically changed through the coming of Christianity. *Cronicas* were usually based on *pagan*, unchristianized lands. Guiding it was the belief that Christianity should be the highest form and most noble element of man's civilization. But behind it, of course, was the implication that the Christians were the single most important models of goodness and high, outspokenly better culture; which automatically then made and placed the unchristianized peoples in the roles as heathen and barbarians. Within the *cronica* was therefore a particular world order, or to be more exact, a particular world view with a specific conceptualization of the time and space continuum --- ideas, which were defined by Christianity itself, which, in its own turn, was purportedly the single and most essential center on the lives of its writers.

Closely related to *cronica* are the concepts *estado*²²⁸ and *suceso*²²⁹. *Estado* became in use during the later portion of the twelveth century. It was derived from the latin word *status*; and was generally

²²⁵ "Chronica. Tempozuferies, cronon enim tempus dicitur: vel longum Cronon quoqz laxu:r cronius prolixus corpozu mozbuz: r cronici bzeves vel temporales, cronicu grece canon temporalium regnozum." De Palencia, Op.cit.

²²⁶ Echeverri Hualde, Op.cit., p. 156.

²²⁷ "Chronica. (lat., chronica; del gr., chroniká, libros en que se refieren los sucesos por orden del tiempo). F.s. XIII al XV. Historia en que se observa el orden de los tiempos, Alfonso X: Crón. Gen. (1270), 4a, 29, en Corominas: Dic. Etimol., I, s. V Idem: Gen. Est. (1275) 303b, 3, en Corominas: Dic. Etimol., I, s.V. -- "Cronica es orden de los tiempos... cronicum en griego es autentica escriptura de reynos temporales", A. de la Palencia: Vocab. (1490), 99b -- "Cronica por chronica chronica, -orum" Nabrija: Voc. Esp. Lat. (c. 1495), s.V. Cononica, d-III, v. a." Martin Alonso, Op.cit. Tomo I, A-C, p. 816.

²²⁸ Here are the accepted meanings of the word *estado* today: "1. Situación den la que se encuentra una persona o cosa: sue estado de salud es bueno. 2. Clase ó condición a la que pertenece una persona dentro del orden social: su estado civil es el de soltero. 3. Disposición molecular dela materia: el agua pasa a estado sólido con el frio. 4. Entidad dotada de un poder político, jurídico, y administrativo institucionalizado, que precide y ejerce su autoridad sobre todo aquello que afecta a la colectividad: ha tenido lugar un intento de golpe de estado. 5. Unidad política y territorial propia de una federación, que se rige por leyes particulares. 6. Resumen en el que aparecen detalladas todas las partidas y conceptos de una actividad comercial: quiero ver el estado de cuentas. 7. Orden ó estamento que resultaba de la división del cuerpo social, en el atiguo régimen: el estado llano también era llamado tercer estado. 8. Figura en que queda el cuerpo después de haber herido o desviado la espada del conterario en esgrima. 9. Medida de longitud para alturas y profundidades que equivale a unos siete pies y se tomaba de la estatura de una persona. 10. Medida de superficie equivalente a cuarente y nueve pies cuadrados." Gran Diccionario, Op.cit., p. 685.

²²⁹ *Suceso* means: "1. Hecho o situación considerada de cierto interés ó importancia. 2. Hecho delictivo ó accidente que ocurre: nunca lee las paginas de sucesos. 3. Transcurso del tiempo. 4. Éxito ó buen resultado

used to refer to state or situation.²³⁰ Estado was used to refer to the description of the over-all situation of a specific ort or place; apropos, estado could be the state of the islands, state of the colonial government, state of the administration, state of politization, state of education, state of trade and business, state of agriculture, state of the church, state of the missionary activities, state of the language dissemination, etc. Because of the larger scope, in this regard, that estado could imply, everyone was, in one way or the other, almost always competent to write it. Just as much as a friar in a particular colony was competent to describe the estado (state) of their missionary activities was, thus, an administrator or a government official competent to describe the estado of the colonial administration in the same colony as well.

Suceso, on the other hand, came a bit later. It became in use during the fifteenth century. It was derived from the latin word *succinctus* which refers to of things underneath, those that was given away, and to retreat or retire.²³¹ Suceso builds a picture of systematic development, a picture where their's above and underneath, a forward and a backward, an *a* resulting to a *b*. It is, thus, most probably because of this picture of unfolding or unraveling that suceso came to mean event or happening. Like estado, suceso embraces a gamut of aspects in a particular situation; suceso is applicable of the administration, to politics, to trade and business, to education, to military, to the church. But unlike estado, which could refer to the generalities or over-all situations, suceso particularly concentrates on singularities or on specific occurances, events or happenings within a larger context or situation. There is a relatively confusing proverbial relation between these two ideas; that is, because within an estado could be the sucesos for a state could be the compendium of things that happen but within the suceso could be the developing or development of the estados as well for both a cause and a consequence in a particular development could be considered two different states. Both of these concepts would be used by the civilians or subjects from the late middle ages till after the ages of discovery and exploration. In the context of the colonial world, estados and sucesos were both alternatively used to refer to the reports of the colonizers to their various higher officials about the colony.

In the same colonial context through the executions of the missionary priests were the cronicas largely produced as well. But because the missionaries were somewhat limited to only the description of the spiritual state and development within a heathen population in a foreign land, they had to find a way so as to have the enough room in their works for the other areas or fields they observed in their newly arrived on ort and context. They generally found the solution to this dilemma through the concept of

de un asunto. 5. Sección en una publicación periódica donde se relatan delitos o accidentes.” Gran Diccionario, Op.cit., p. 1648.

²³⁰ Corripio, Op.cit., p. 183.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 446.

relacion.²³² Through this idea, the early missionaries were able to not only narrate what they observed about the times (in direct relation to Christianity and christianization), like what they normally do through the crónicas; they were able to write what they saw, experienced, and lived in the areas of their report, as well. Relación was derived from the latin word *relatio* which was the substantive abstractive form of the word *relatus*, meaning connected to or related to.²³³ Relación paints a picture of union or links between two or among many units or singularities; and if we go deeper, within this picture are those of the actual singularities who take part in the connection and that of the intermediary who stands between or observes the union. Relación, in a manner, provided therefore the most apt figurative concept for the missionaries who went to the pagan lands so that they could help in the civilizing efforts brought about by their institutional relationship to the Christian Church. Their's was the world centered on by Christianity, everything that they saw, experienced and momentarily lived on were just peripheral objects related to this centrum. Christ was the center; and everything else was just relative or related to him and his people. Relación was the perfect concept to illustrate the aforementioned world view of the missionaries. Most of them used this idea so as to describe the arrived unto heathen lands where they are supposed realize their missionary spirit and zeal; apropos, reports were narratives *related* to or *regarding* the missionary efforts in the colony. From these times on the missionaries and or the orderly priests alternatively used the concepts of crónica and relación in accomplishment of their official reports about the times and contexts to the hierarchical church.

There was, in the meantime, little development with the concept of historia. During the fifteenth century, it was still the “conocimiento de los hechos pasados” (knowledge of past events)²³⁴ or “sigamos de la estoria” (patterned after/after story)²³⁵; plus it was more and more ranked with and used to alternate with the word *cuento* which refers to story, tall or fairy story. Historia was thence not as serious as the official reports such as crónicas, relaciones, estados, or sucesos. It was just the small

²³² *Relacion* pertains to: “1. Situación entre dos cosa, ideas, o hechos unidos por algun circunstancia en ala realidad, o en la mente de una persona; la policía asegura que este robo no tiene relación con al anterior; su enfado tiene relación con loque le has dicho. 2. Trato o conxión entre dos o mas personas: entre ellos hay una relación amorosa. 3. Conjunto de la personas con las que otra tiene amistad o trato social: tiene relaciones en el ministerio. 4. Lista o serie escrita de nombres de personas o cosas: mi nombre no figura en la relación de admitidos. 5. Narración oral o escrita de un hecho que ha sucedido: el secretario redactó una relación detallada del suceso. 6. Parrafo o trozo large que dice un personaje en un poema dramático. 7. Resumen que hace un auxillar ante un juez o tribunal de lo esencial del proceso o de una sus partes. 8. Conexión gramatical entre dos términos o palabras que forman parte de una misma oración. 10. Trato amoroso con propósito matrimonial entre dos personas: mantienen relaciones desde hace tres anos. 11. Copla que intercambian los integrantes de las parejas en algunos bailes folclóricos.” Gran Diccionario... Op.cit., p. 1497.

²³³ Barcia, Op.cit., Tomo IV, p. 652.

²³⁴ Historia meant: “conocimiento de los hechos pasados: ‘Por lo cual la senal suya que era cuento puesto sobre la ystoria era toda de tinta negra’, Tostado: Sobre Eusebio, I (1445-55), ed. 1506, 30a – ‘Ca de la parte de la persona historia mas conocida cosa era el primero ano de Dario’, Ibid., 55, vo, b. – ‘E en ciertos acatamientos de hystorias e cuentos no puede hombre alguno por ingenio corregirlo’, Ibid., 5a // 2. S. XIV Pasaje histórico, J. Manuel: C. Lucanor, 145, 23 // 3. S. XV A. de Palencia: Vocab., 1490 // Cfr. Nebrija: Voc. Esp. Lat. (1495), S.V.” Alonso, Op.cit., p. 1234.

²³⁵ Cejador y Franca, Op.cit., p. 230.

almost unimportant --- in contrast to the more essential narratives that has to do with the political and evangelical developments --- everyday tales that go around in a particular society.

It was almost two hundred years later that the concept of historia showed much change and forward-directed development. Spain during these times was making huge progress in the race for colonies among the European states; in fact, the eighteenth century was witness to a relatively strong spanish empire consisting of the crown in Spain plus its various colonies in the different regions of the world. There was a noticeable need then on the part of the Spaniard to identify his individuality within the big mass of different races that he came in contact with. The language was one of the rational aspects wherein he found the solution to his problematic situation. A singular institute, named *Instituto Espanol* or more popularly the *Real Academia Espanola*²³⁶, regulated and saw to the development --- pioneering what is today's term language engineering --- of the spanish language during this time; and the same institute published the dictionary (*Diccionario de la Real Academia Espanola*) which will, in

²³⁶ The Real Academia Espanola was founded in 1713. It was the primary national academy patterned after the Acaemia della Crusca (1582) of Italy and the Académie Francaise (1629; 1635, became official) of France. The major works of the academy can be concretely seen in three areas: dictionaries, orthography, and acceptance or un acceptance of the academic doctrines. Here is how these works is described:

“1. *El Diccionario de autoridades*. En solo tres anos (1713-1726), la Academia puso en marcha el monumental Diccionario dela lengua castellana, más conocido por Diccionario de autoridades, en seis volúmenes, que se empezaron a imprimir en 1726 y se terminaron en 1739; es aún hoy, la obra más destacada de la lexicografía espanola. En 1780, despojado de sus autoridades, se convirtió en la primera edición del Diccionario de la lengua espanola (también conocido con las siglas DRAE), del que en 1984 se publicó la vigésima edición, y para 1992 se espera la vigésimo primera. Para afrontar la confección de esta magna obra, los académicos de la primera mitad del siglo XVIII solo disponían, prácticamente del Tesoro de la lengua castellana o espanola de Sebastián de Covarrabias, publicado en Madrid en 1611, aunque de es suponer que tuvieron en cuenta los existentes a la sazón, como el Universal vocabulario en latín y romance publicado en 1490 por Alonso de Palencia, y el Vocabulario de romance en latín de Nebrija (Salamanca, 1492), por lo que se refiere a los de la lengua espanola. Comparado con el trabajo de las restantes academias, el saldo favorable a la Espanola es contundente: la Academia della Crusca publica la primera edición de su Vocabulario degli Academici della Crusca en 1612; la segunda, en 1623; la tercera, en 1648-1691 (3 vols); la cuarta, en 1729-1738 (6 vols); y la quinta, en 1842-1923 (hasta la o). La francesca publica la primera edición del Dictionnaire de l'Académie francaise en 1694, y despues cuatro ediciones en el siglo XVII y solo dos en el XIX...

2. *La ortografía académica*. La labor académica en relación con la ortografía empieza precisamente en el prólogo al primer volumen del Diccionario de autoridades (impreso entre 1726 y 1739, como hemos visto); en él Adrián Cónnink, arcediano y canónigo de Salamanca (m. 1728), establece los fundamentos de la ortografía de academica (fundamentos de tendencia etimologista, si bien con alguna concesión al uso), que será tratada con mayor detalle en la Ortographia de 1741 (ya en la segunda edición escribirá Ortografía); en 1771 aparece la primera edición de la Gramática castellana, y en 1780, como queda dicho, la primera del Diccionario comun. Como dice Rosenblat (1951, LXIII), la primera ortografía academica solo era ‘para propio uso’, sin intención normativa, esto es, no para ser seguida por autores y uarios de la lengua escrita, sninocomo guía para la redacción del Diccionario de autoridades. Pronto cambia de parecer, pues en el acta de la sesión celebrada el 9 de setiembre de 1738 se recoge el acuerdo de que ‘se le suplique a su Magestad mande observar en todos sus Reynos, y Senorios, la dicha ortographia para fijarla en ellos y pedirle al mismo tiempo conceda a la Academia el privilegio perpetuo de la impresión, venta y despacho de dicho tratado que se habrá de hacer en un libro manual y pequeno’ (cit. Esteve Serrano, 1982, 79). Llegado su monumento, todo ello le fue concedido. Ha extraído sus reglas de los distintos autores (pasan de treinta, según la institución). Desde 1726 hasta 1815 introduce la líneas maestras de la ortografía, no sin vacilaciones y dudas, avances y retrocesos. Reconoce los defectos de su ortografía, pero se muestra dispuesta a escuchar a los doctos para que la quien...

3. *Aceptación y rechazo de la doctrina académica*. Si bien, como que da dicho, las primeras decisiones sobre ortografía fueron normativa particular de la Academia, especialmente para dirigir en esta materia la redacción del Diccionario de autoridades, con la decisión de publicar una ortografía (1741) se comprende que la institución

accordance, influence the minds and thinking of the next generation of Spaniards. The academic period of the Spanish language was, in a manner, with it begun. Grammar, words spellings, words pronunciation became regulated and then institutionalized.²³⁷ The evolution of words' meanings were also noticeable in the newly published national dictionaries. Here was how, in our especial case for one, this dictionary described the concept of historia:

Relacion hecha con arte: descripción de las cosas como ellas fueron por una narración continuada y verdadera de los sucesos más memorables y las acciones más célebres. Es voz latina "historia", a: Figuer. Plaz, univ. Disc. 38 La historia dá forma á la vida política, e edifica la espiritual. Sous, Hilft de Nuev. Esp. Lib. I Cap. I. Ha de salir desta consusion y mezcla de noticias, pura y sencilla la verdad, que es el alma de la história.

Historia. Se llama también la descripción que se hace de las cosas naturales, animales, vegetables, mineralés, y c. como la historia de Plinio, la del P. Acosta, la de Dioscorides, y c. Lat. Historia naturalis, feu rerum naturalium.

Historia. Significa también fábula ó enredo. Lat. Commentum. Fabula.

Historia. 1. En la Pintura se llaman los quadros y tapices que contienen algunos cosas historicos. Lat. Pictura historica. Ona. Postrim. Lib. I Cap. I disc.; Hai algunos Pintures que les pondreis tanto lienzo como una Iglesia para pintar una historia, y no se dán mana a pintarla. Palom. Mus. Pict. Lib. 7 Cap. 2. 2. También ha de procurar que la historia no este toda sembrada de figúras. Meterse en historias. Phrase con que se da á entender que alguno se introduce en cosas que no entiende, o no son de su incumbencia ni le tocan. Lat., Obstrusa evolvere, vel etiam historias. CANC., Obr. Poet. F. 35.

Y su historia escribiré
fin meterme en mas histórias²³⁸

Historia was, thence, promoted to become one of the highest form of art. It was the continuous and truthful narration of memorable events and actions in the past. Historia became the expression of dignity and pride of a particular people; within its letters were the people's clamour for gloriness and greatness incorporated. And because historia was seen as something that was done after a deed or deeds, then it was pertained to be the ultimate judge of rightness and wrongness within a specific context, while, at the same time, following a specific line of principle and/or philosophy. Historia was the teacher of who or what was heroic, good, and beautiful.

But unfortunately, not long afterwards, this newly borne-out role of historia became its own self-made boundaries as well. The pressures coming from its financial patrons forced it to mechanically declare protagonists and antagonists, according to the standards set by its commissioners. Historia was therefrom made to service particular monarchies and specific political intentions. Furthermore, the need for artful delivery had more often enough sacrificed truthfulness or factualness; effectively making historia go back to its relatively intimate association, with the familiar concepts, estoria and/or cuento. Art, which was then affordable only by the financially well-off, have somewhat falsified

pretendiese que sus criterios fueran aceptados por la mayoría de los usuarios..." José Martínez de Sousa, *Reforma de la Ortografía Española*, Madrid: Visor, 1991, pp. 42-49.

²³⁷ For an example of these institutionalization, refer to: Ángel Rosenblat, *Actuales Normas Ortográficas y Prosódicas de la Academia Española*, Madrid: Oficina de la Educación Iberoamericana, 1974.

historia for the vain amusement of a specific audience's mind. In a manner, this leaning tendency for money was somehow only one of the major exemplifications of the general declining state of the Spanish crown and people during these years. The succession of wars that the crown went into took its toll from the crown's finances. There was no more money. Furthermore, Spain was no longer a marine/ seaborne merchant. She produced nothing; she imported ingots of gold and exported fewer and fewer commodities and manufactured goods. It was because of this that smuggling was so serious. Internal trade was meagre for lack of canals and roads. There were never enough agricultural produce within the provinces. Spaniards did not till their land for they were too contemptuous of manual labor; they neglected many of their natural resources. Industry was declining as well; there was a general loss of vigour and energy everywhere.²³⁹ The crown's alliance with the crown of France eventually put it in a better political stature, but did not help in bettering its poor financial situation. It only effectively meant the increase in the monarchical density, which had to be therefrom further financed with the even poorer unified royalties' treasury.

The over-all decadence and general insufficiency of food and needs supply expectedly led to the reliance on the thing, which although immaterial was seemingly always there to count on. And this immaterial object was the Catholic religion. It was during these seemingly dark centuries --- at the same time that most of Europe was already being racked by massive changes brought about by industry and science --- that Spain chose to go back to its most conservative spiritual roots, which, in turn, effectively made the church the most influentially powerful institution in the country. This power of the church was concretized through the rebirth of their Inquisition, whereby what the church said and declared was binding and lawful --- that is, in all fields and areas, even in the academic or intellectual realm.

Everything would be therefrom controlled or censored by the supported-by-the-church state. The general academic conservatism was prevalent; that is, most especially after the French revolution, which somewhat pushed the Spanish crown to be even more strict in their policies therein, for fear of subversive ideas.²⁴⁰ There was no clear concept of the words *revolution* and *revolutionary*, for one, in the known dictionary of the authorities (Diccionario de Autoridades);²⁴¹ it was not usually discussed both in literature and in the universities.

²³⁸ Real Academia Espanola, *Diccionario de Autoridades*. Edición Facsímil. D-N, Madrid: Editorial Gredos, S.A. (1726), 1964, p. 162.

²³⁹ Albert Sorel, *Europe and the French Revolution*, London: Collins and the Fontana Library, 1969, pp. 403-415.

²⁴⁰ David Goodman, "The Scientific Revolution in Spain and Portugal", in Kay Porter and Mikulas Teich (Eds.), *The Scientific Revolution in National Contexts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 174.

²⁴¹ Manuel Moreno Alonso, *La Revolución Francesca en al Historiografía Espanola del Siglo XIX*, Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979, p. 20.

But there was really no escape from the massive developments in the intellectual realm of the then European community, also known as the scientific revolution. Local economic societies dedicated to regional economic development through the promotion of scientific and technical education, also known as the *Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País*, was founded throughout Spain. The major goal of these societies was naturally to match the prosperity of England and Holland. Its recommendations included the formation of a cabinet of natural history to display the local resources of raw materials and stimulate manufacturers. And they did not limit themselves within the major field of industry. Madrid's Economic Society wanted agrarian reform and believed this could best be achieved by universal education in the exact sciences and natural history, enlightening the noble landlords and the humblest peasant --- special technical manuals were even designed for the dissemination of chemistry without its "mysterious jargon". But because this plan included the redistribution of land, criticizing the evils of amortization including the inalienable ecclesiastical states, it was condemned by the Inquisition as an attack on the clergy.²⁴² It was only during the following century, the nineteenth century --- upon the occurrence of the liberal revolution ---, that major leaps were realized within the intellectual and academic realm.

As a reverberating effect of the scientific revolution which borne out the more significant scientific method, there prevailed a marked over-all positivist current in the all-embracing realm of philosophy. Positivism²⁴³ seemed to be really the triumphant and relevant view among many social scientists. Positivism here means:

...a certain philosophical attitude concerning human knowledge; strictly speaking, it does not prejudice questions about how men arrive at knowledge --- neither the psychological nor the

²⁴² Goodman, Op.cit., pp. 174-175.

²⁴³ The following is the description of positivism (specifically, logical positivism) declared in the positivist manifesto led by R. Carnap: "In the first place I want to emphasize that we are not a philosophical school and that we put forward no philosophical theses whatsoever... Any new philosophical school, though it reject all previous opinions, is bound to answer the old (if perhaps better formulated) questions. But we give no answer to philosophical questions, and instead reject all philosophical questions, whether of Metaphysics, Ethics, or Epistemology. For our concern is with Logical Analysis... In traditional Philosophy, the various views which are put forward are often mixtures of metaphysical and logical components. Hence the findings of the Logical Analysis of Science in our circle often exhibit some similarity to definite philosophic positions, especially when these are negative. *Thus, e.g., our position is related to that of Positivism which, like ourselves, rejects Metaphysics and requires that every scientific statement should be based on and reducible to statements of empirical observations*. On this account many (and we ourselves at times) have given our position the name of Positivism (or the New Positivism or the Logical Positivism). The term may be employed, provided it is understood that we agree with Positivism only its logical components, but make no assertions as to whether the Given is real and the Physical World appearance, or vice versa; for Logical Analysis shows that such assertions belong to the class of unverifiable pseudo-statements... The following article is an example of the application of Logical Analysis to investigating the logical relations between the statements of Physics and those of Science in general. If its arguments are correct, all statements in Science can be translated into physical language. This thesis is allied to that of Materialism, which respectable philosophers (at least, in Germany, whether in other countries also, I don't know) usually regard with abhorrence. Here again it is necessary to understand that the agreement extends only as far as the logical components of Materialism; the metaphysical components, concerned with the question of whether the essence of the world is material or spiritual, are completely excluded from our consideration." (Itals mine) Rudolf Carnap, *The Unity of Science*, Tr by Max Black, London: Kegan Paul, 1934, pp. 21-29.

historical foundations of knowledge. But it is a collection of rules and evaluative criteria referring to human cognition: it tells us what kind of contents in our statements about the world deserves the name of knowledge and supplies us with the norms that make it possible to distinguish between that which may and that which may not reasonably be asked. Thus positivism is a normative attitude, regulating how we are to use such terms as “knowledge”, “science”, “cognition”, and “information”. By the same token, the positivist rules distinguish between philosophical and scientific disputes that may profitably be pursued and those that have no chance of being settled and hence deserve no consideration.²⁴⁴

Positivism, on the whole, led to the scientification of many branches in the now called social sciences. Its acceptance, effectivity and prevalence became therefrom quite apparent because of its relatively organized diffusion, exemplified in the different public and university lectures, in libraries, and in the various publications.²⁴⁵ History and historiography were among the areas that experienced massive developments during which. Positivism for these branches of knowledge meant the systematical arrangement, classification, and judgement of the sources of data. Every claim of fact or historical detail in a historical work must be supported not just by one, but by a group of historical sources of information; that is, to ensure that the produced work would be considered scientific and not just pure fiction. Implied in this situation was, of course, the primary definition of what would be considered sources of historical data, which, in turn, went with a whole set of questions, that concerns the actual choosing of documents to be utilized; and then the internal and external analysis of the afterwards chosen materials. Positivism, in a manner, ensured the step-by-step procedures that have to do with the definition, utility, and meaning of the sources of historical data within a foreseen historical work. This use, in its way, implied the creation of a new science that has to singularly do with the work of organization and classification of sources itself; and this newly created science would be incorporated in the body, termed later on as historiography or the science and art of making history, of the much larger discipline of history. It impressed the significance of a particular methodology, the historical methodology, in the production of written history.

The greater historical outlook of the times experienced big changes as well. These changes were, on the whole, brought about by the interaction of history with the other branches of the social sciences. Augustus Comte thought it was possible to apply the methods of natural sciences to history, to discover its laws and to predict the future. His ideas, although not entirely backed up by the most reliable historical sources, became a fertile stimulus --- and no doubt contained an element of truth --- which will extend throughout the future, long after his death. Comte turned away historical research from the predominant emphasis on great personalities and the state toward the consideration of community phenomena, out of which the state arose originally and which form the basis of historical events. From his time on the sociological point of view entered into all profound forms of

²⁴⁴ Leszek Kolakowski, *The Alienation of Reason, The History of Positivist Thought*, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968, pp. 2-3.

²⁴⁵ Please see an interesting exemplar on the different experiences of nations on the area of Positivism during the nineteenth century: W. M. Simon, *European Positivism in the Nineteenth Century. An Essay in Intellectual History*, Washington/London: Cornell University, 1963.

historiography. Comte also pioneered the idea that the evolution of intellectual life is the basis of history and that every people has a mass psyche, out of which grow all its actions and customs. Taine, on his end, added the idea of environment to that of Comte's as an explanation of historical events, a concept which would be massively used by many historians during the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁴⁶

The auxiliary disciplines to history which included chronology (study of dates for the formation of a narrative), epigraphy (codification of the contents of graven texts), paleography (codification of manuscript texts), spragistics (study of seals and maps), numismatics (science of coins), heraldics (stories of military expediency and the like), philology (establishment and interpretation of ancient authors and interpretation of texts), bibliography (listing of books and literature), antiquities (collections which introduced the possibilities of unwritten sources), geography (maps and peoples), genealogy (stories of families)²⁴⁷ became even larger to accept archaeology, anthropology, linguistics, comparative law, psychology, and sociology. History became more and more an umbrella science that typified all the sciences that has to do with the study of man and his society; that is, because the final goal of each historian was, in end-effect, not necessarily to make known or reveal about certain groups of men at certain periods, but to explain and make understandable the whole of humanity, in the general totality of all its representatives.

The Spanish *historiá* during these times took on a remarkable similarity to the French *historique* and Italian *istoria*, which, in their turns, were taking a number of their cues from the German tradition embodied in their *die Geschichte*²⁴⁸ (from the verb *geschehen*, to happen or to take place). In a view,

²⁴⁶ Walter Goetz, "Modern Europe" in *History and Historiography*, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York: The McMillan Company, (1932), 1959, p. 379.

²⁴⁷ Henri Berr and Lucien Febvre, "The Concept of History and Historical Analysis" in *History and Historiography*, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York: The McMillan Company, (1932), 1959, p. 364-365.

²⁴⁸ *Geschichte*, in reality, points or pertains to a different intellectual tradition as those which is derived from the latin *historia*. Unlike *historia* which particularly stresses knowledge, *geschichte* pertains more to what happened or to the chronology of events which took place. Here is the shorter version of its definition during the nineteenth century: "Geschichte. F., ahd und mhd *geschiht*, f *schickung*, *zufall*, *ereignis*, *verstärktes schicht*, das eine ableitung von ahd *scehan* 'durch höhere *schickung* sich ereignen', dem stammverb von *geschehen* (s.d.), und noch im mhd und md erhalten ist, ahd nur in den zusammensetzungen *anaskiht eventus*, *misseskiht fortunae asperitas*, *nuskiht prodigium*; daneben mit anderer sowie der plur lauteten ahd und mhd *geschichte*, danach vereinzelt schon mhd der nom sing *geschichte*... 1) *schickung*, *zufall*, s *geschehen* (a) ahd *geskiht*, *casus*, *eventus*; mhd *gelückes schiht*, *ungeschiht*, *misgeschick*; *geschichte*, *eventus*, *geschicht*, *geschiecht*; *eventus*, *zufellig ding*, ein *geschicht*, ein *ding* von *geschicht*; (b) namentlich in der wendung von *geschicht*, durch höhere *schickung*, *zufällig*; (c) *ungünstiges*, was dem menschen *zustöst*, *unglücklicher zufall*, wie *krankheit*; (d) *plötzliche naturerscheinung*, ursprünglich als eine *himmelsschickung* aufgefasst, an die sich eine *vorbedeutung knüpfte*, *luftgeschichte*, *meteor*...; 2) was einem zu theil wird, *zukommt*; 3) das was *geschieht* oder *geschehen* ist, *ereignis*, *begebenheit*, *vorfall*, *vorkommnis*, s *geschehen*; (a) *wunderbares*, *ungeheures ereignis*, durch was *walten höherer mächte* veranlaszt; (b) *begebenheit*, *vorgang*, *ereignis* im *allgemeinen*, *geschicht* oder *geschehen ding*, *historia*; 4) was einem *widerfährt* oder *begegnet* ist, s *geschehen*;

there was somewhat a marked connection between the different traditions embodied in the different European lands of the times; and this could be seen for one in the definition of *historiá* itself during the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Historia. Femenino. Buenas letras. Narración y exposición verdadera de los acontecimientos pasados y cosas memorables. // Fábula, cuento ó narración inventada. // Familiar. Cuento, pendencia. // Pintura. Cuadro ó tapiz que representa algún caso histórico ó fabuloso. // Natural. Descripción de las producciones de la naturaleza en sus tres reinos animal, vegetal, y mineral. // Hombre ó mujer de historia. Persona de quien se cuentan lances y aventuras que en general no le honran. // Eso pica en historia. Frase con que se indica la gravedad y trascendencia de alguna cosa.
//Plural. Chismes, desavenencias. // Dejarse de historias. Frase metafórica y familiar. Omitir rodeos é ir á lo esencial de una cosa.²⁴⁹

It is clear in this quote that *historia* was already taken as something much more than it was a few decades or even a few centuries beforehand. *Historia* is now taken as a multiple-faceted word or concept which has a foot both in the social and the natural sciences. But for our purposes, during that century at the zenith of European colonialism, *historia*, can or may already be used in reference to any of the following: *historia sagrada*, *historia santa*, *historia profana*, *historia fabulosa*, *antigua*, *historia de la Edad media*, *historia del Renacimiento*, *moderna*, *contemporánea*, *eclesiástica*, *universal*, *filosófica*, *crítica*, *técnica*, *historia del espíritu humano*, *eso pertenece á la historia*, *historias!*, and *mitología*.²⁵⁰

Historia sagrada refers to the Genesis of Moses; *historia santa*, to the old and new testament; *historia profana*, to all the heathen lands; *historia fabulosa*, to the narration of the different mythologies; *antigua*, to the monarchies in Asia, to Judaism, to Greece, to Sparta and Rome; *historia de la Edad media*, to all the things that happened between the 476 till 1453; *historia del Renacimiento*, to all that happened between the thirteenth and sixteenth century when most of the elements of today's civilization (architecture, printing press, etc.) were begun; *moderna*, to those that happened after the renaissance; *contemporánea*, to the events which are happening today; *eclesiástica*, to all the events that has to do with the christian dogma most specially that of the catholic church; *universal*, to the

5) das von einem geschicht oder gethan worden ist, sich geschehen; (a) that, werk: die geschicht, eines thün und lassen, actus geschichten, die gott angenäm sind und wol gefallend; (b) grosze, bedeutende, heldenthat; (c) in, mit der geschicht, in der that, thatsächlich; (d) die thatsache, der wirkliche vorgang; (e) in der ältern rechtsprache... a) das factum, der thatbestand, β) die übelthat, das vergehen, verbrechen, c) rechtshandlung vor gericht, z.b. auch verkauf, übergabe, schenkung, d) wie schicht, streitigkeit, fehde, e) in der schauspielen des 15.jahrh wurde der aufzug, nach dem muster des latein actus, häufig die geschicht genannt;

6) mündliche oder schriftliche erzählung von etwas wirklich geschehenem, dann auch von etwas ersonnenem, das aber im grunde als wirklich geschehen gedacht ist;

7) der unter 3, b beigebrachte plural hat dann seine eigene weitere entwicklung, die zum sigular führt...;

8) die naturgeschichte, das verzeichnis und die beschreibung der zu dem naturreiche gehörenden körper...;

9) verallgemeinert, a) sache, ding, angelegenheit, b) adverial: mhd kein geschicht, nichts..." Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch. Bd. 4 Abt. 1,2, Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1878, pp. 3857-3865. For a general comparative analysis, see the following exemplars: Moriz Heyne, Deutsches Wörterbuch, Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1905; Alfred Göze (Ed.), Trübner's Deutsches Wörterbuch, Berlin: Walter der Grunter & Co., 1939; Joachim Heinrich Campe, Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache, Hildesheim; New York: Georg Olms Verlag, (1808), 1969; Duden. Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, Mannheim, Leipzig, Wien, Zurich: Dudenverlag, 1993.

²⁴⁹ Barcia, Op.cit., Tomo II, p. 1197.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

general history of men; filosófica, to those which tells and explains the study started by Vico and illustrated by Bossuet and César Cantú; critica, to those which clearly separate and concretize the events and provisions of analytical knowledge; técnica, to the particularities of science, of art, of an industry; historia del espíritu humano, to those which mainly discusses man's progress in the particular areas of traditions, customs, laws, arts, sciences, dogma, and the over-all development of man through the ages which in turn illustrate the radical and profound force within him, his spirit; eso pertenece á la historia, to a proverbial expression which means what happened in the past is in the past; historias!, to an exclamation which refers to the expression of frustration on the untruthfulness of stories going around, e.g. in a particular community; and mitología, to those muses of history foremost among them is Clio.²⁵¹ There was thence no denying that historia had a particularly large reach during these times. This dynamism of the concept would be seen in most of its produced works in the different areas of the world; or to be more exact, in the different areas of the Spanish empire.

The order of things would only be altered because of the huge catastrophe --- for the empire, anyways --- of 1898, the year of the Spanish-American War. The former grand empire of the conquistadores will be effectively reduced after this year; Spain would ultimately politically lose four of its former provinces --- Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Filipinas. And in addition, it would have to recognize the new global power of the United States of America which was in itself a great step towards humiliation for the once proud and seemingly unconquerable nation. But eventhough there were revolutionary changes in the political realm, there wasn't much alteration in the more specialized area of history and historiography. Here was how the Real Academia Espanola described historia during the first decades after the turn of the century:

Historia. F. Narración y exposición verdadera de los acontecimientos pasados y cosas memorables. En sentido absoluto se toma por la relación de los sucesos públicos y políticos de los pueblos; pero también se da este nombre a la de sucesos, hechos o manifestaciones de la actividad humana de cualquiera otra clase. Historia de la literatura, de la filosofía, de las artes, de la medicina, de la legislación. // Conjunto de los sucesos referidos por los historiadores. Este es muy etendido en historia; aquél no la conoce. // Obra histórica compuesta por un escritor. La historia de Tucídades, de Tito Livio, de Mariana. // Obra histórica en que se refieren. Los acontecimientos o hechos de un pueblo o de un personaje. Historia de Espana, de Alejandro. // Fig. Relación de cualquier género de aventura o suceso, aunque sea de carácter privado y no tenga importancia alguna. He aquí la historia de este negocio. // Fig. Fábula, cuento, o narración inventada. // Fig., y fam. Cuento, chisme, enredo. U. m. en pl. // Pint. Cuadro o tapiz que representa un caso histórico o fabuloso. // Natural. Descripción de las producciones de la naturaleza en sus tres reinos animal, vegetal, y mineral. // Sacra o sagrada. Conjunto de narraciones históricas contenidas en el Viejo y el Nuevo Testamento. // Universal. La de los tiempos y pueblos del mundo. // De historia. Loc. Dicese de la persona de quien se cuentan lances y aventuras que, en general, no le honran. // Dejarse uno de historias. Fr., fig., y fam. Omitir rodeos e ir a lo esencial de una cosa. // Picar en historia una cosa. Fr. Tener mayor gravedad y transcendencia de lo que podia imaginarse o al pronto parecia.²⁵²

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² La Real Academia Espanola, Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana, Madrid: Imprenta de los Sucesores de Hernando, 1914, pp. 548-549.

Except probably for the specific mention of the possible universal characteristic of a written history (also known as universal history, one of the major trends in the different concretizations of history in various European lands during these times), this definition of *historia* was not much different from that of the century beforehand. It still stressed that history is the most truthful narrative of past events; but it qualified this definition so that it could have a larger area, making history not just a narrative of events and happenings in the lives of nation and men but also a narrative of different areas that has to do with the various manifestations of man's actions and attitudes --- apropos, history of literature, history of philosophy, history of arts, history of medicine, etc. This illustrative definition of *historia* would be continued --- with only a few alteration --- in the next years of the same century.

A relatively great element that altered the development of our concept was the entrance to the world powers of the U.S.A. This pushed the English language to the forefront; and accordingly, in the specialized area of historiography, the effective entrance of the idea of **history** as an alternative to *historia* or its other popular forms, *histoire*, *istoria*, *historie*. Here is how the word was defined by two most recent and influential dictionaries of the today:

History. 1. (a) study of past events, esp., the political, social and economic development of a country, a continent or the world: a student of Russian history; ancient/medieval/modern history (b) this is a subject at school or university: a degree in history and geography; (attrib.) my history teacher; 2. past events, esp., when considered as a whole: throughout history man have waged war; a people no sense of history; 3. Systematic description of past events: writing a new history of Europe; (attrib.) Shakespeare's history plays; 4. (usu, sing) series of passt events or experiences connected with an object, a person or a place: this house has a strange history; sb's medical history, i.e. the record of his past illnesses: there is a history of heart disease in my family, he has a history of violent crime; 5. (infml) fact, event, etc. that is no longer relevant or important: they had an affair once, but that's ancient history now; 6. (idm) make/go down in history. Be or do sth so important or unusual that it will be recorded in history: a discovery that made medical history.²⁵³
 History. Noun. 1. The study of events, etc. that happened in the past. 2. A record or account of past events and developments: a history of the computer. 3. Everything that is known about past events connected with a particular nation, the world, a person, etc.: the kings and queens are part of our history. 4. A past full of events and of more than usual interest: a house with an interesting history. 5. A play which represents historical events.²⁵⁴

Clear in the definitions above is the fact that history is foremost a systematic study or a science; and also a discipline, a narrative, a chronology, a fact or event, and a measure of greatness. But then like all other words, of course, history has its own history, as well. It was never before or originally so defined; it experienced a particular evolution on its own. From the twelveth till the early seventeenth century, this word was not much used by English language using writers; it was hardly included in the repertoire of words in the considered older, medieval English dictionaries.²⁵⁵ In its stead, the words

²⁵³ Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary of Current English. Encyclopedic Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 427.

²⁵⁴ Robert Allen (Ed.), Chambers' Encyclopedic English Dictionary, Cambridge: Bartholomew, 1994, p. 595.

²⁵⁵ Please see the following: Francis Harry Stratmann, Middle English Dictionary. Words Used by English Writers From the 12th to the 15th Century, Oxford: Clarendon Press, MDCCCXCI; A.L. Mayhew and Walter Skeat, A Concise Dictionary of Middle English. From AD 1150 to 1580, Oxford: Clarendon Press, MDCCCLXXXVIII; Herbert Coleridge, A Dictionary of the First of Oldest Words in the English Language:

historie, histoire and storie was alternatively utilized. Histoire was “historie, storie, chronicle, or relation” while historie meant “flourished, wrought, or beautified with florid works”²⁵⁶; thence much like the historia with particular relations with the concepts of estoria, cuento, cronica, relacion, and estado of the same ages. During the eighteenth century, however, the anglicized form history was already in greater use by the writers. Its relation to the French term histoire would naturally be mentioned; plus its latin and greek origins as well. Its definition was the “narration or relation of things as they are, or of actions as they did past.”²⁵⁷ Remarkable here in this definition is the stress on the singular meaning of history as a narration of past events; thence, a chronology. There was no clear illustration of what should or should not be included in the implied body of chronology or narrative; it could be then anything from point a to point z or from a taken in beginning till the taken in end. This seemingly fluid attribution to the idea of history would be put inside a more rigid reigns of science within the next century; during the nineteenth century when most of today’s considered disciplines experienced its revolutionary alterations which in turn individually transformed each into a science or a systematic form of study. This attitude to transform something which was earlier seen as just an expression of art into that which has the potentialities to become a systematic study was somehow already implied in the following definition of our concept:

History, also Story. A narrative, account. Story is an abbreviated form. Gower has *histoire*, c.a. iii 48; bk., vi 1383. Fabian gave to his chronicle (printed in 1518) the name of *The Concordance to Histories*. In older authors, we commonly find the form *storie*, which is of F. origin. *Historie* is Englished directly from L. *historia*, a history. – Gk., *ιστορια*, a learning by inquiry, information, history -- Gk., *ιστορ*, stem of *ιστορι* or *ιστοριε*, knowing, learned; for *istor* from the weak grade is of *ηιστορια*, to know – WEID, to know; see wit. Der., *histori-an*, formerly *historien*, Sir T. Elyot, *The Governor*, b. i. c. 24; *histori-c-al*, Tyndal’s works, p. 266, vol. 2; *histori-c-al-ly*: *histori-c*; *histori-o-grapher*, a writer of history (from Gk., to write), Gascoigne’s *Steel Glas*, 981; *histori-o-graphy*.²⁵⁸

The latin or greek original meaning of the word was relatively well articulated in the above definition; the term history itself is the anglicized form of the older latin and greek forms. It can be gleaned that the term is a tad younger than the French version; the latter being the earlier to be derived from the older latin form of the concept. On the whole, history in the above quotation could be taken to mean as an account or a narrative of a learning, an inquiry or an information. The questions *of what* and *for*

Semi-Saxon of AD 1250 to 1300, London: John Camden Hotten, MDCCCLXIII; Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, MDCCCLXXXII; Sherman M. Kuhn (Ed.), *Middle English Dictionary*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963; Thomas Wright (Comp.), *Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English*, London: Henry G. Bohn, 1967; Thomas Finkenstaedt, Ernst Leisi, and Dieter Wolff, *A Chronological English Dictionary*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1970; Joseph T. Shipley, *The Origins of English Words. A Discussive Dictionary of Indo-European Roots*, Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

²⁵⁶ Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionary of the French and English Tongues*, 1611. (Facsimile), England: The Scholar Press Limited, 1968.

²⁵⁷ Nathan Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*. (1721) Facsimile, Hildesheim/ New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969.

²⁵⁸ Walter W. Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, (1879-1882), 1968, p. 272.

who would be the produced narrative was not directly stated in the definition; we could only all-embracingly take it in that they meant to state here that account of men and for men which in itself is quite an ambiguous statement that we can only deal with in only such limited terms. The relation of the concept to that of story and chronicle was directly stated; making it thence, again, not so different from its related concept discussed earlier in this chapter, that of the spanish *historia*. Like the spanish version of the term, history experienced an epoch when it more often than not meant the fictional or, to put it mildly, not the purely truthful form of story. Furthermore, and more importantly, it also experienced the massive revolutionary changes that took place during the last half of the nineteenth century when history ultimately developed into a systematic body of knowledge, a science. In a dictionary made during the turn of the century and published during the first decades of the twentieth, here was how the term was discussed:

His'to-ry. (1) a narrative of events connected with real or imaginary object, person or career, esp., such a narrative devoted to the exposition of the natural unfolding and interdependence of the events treated; a tale; story; as Thakeray's "History of Pendennis"; Macknight's "History of the Life and Time of Burke"

-Histories are as perfect as the historian is wise, and is gifted with an eye and a soul.

-Carlyle

-For angst that I could ever read, could ever hear by tale or history.

-Shakespeare

(2) Specif., a systematic written account of events, particularly of those affecting a nation, institution, science or art, and usually conneced with a philosophical explanation of their causes; -- distinguished from annals and chronicles, which simply relate facts and events in strict chronological order.

(3) the branch of knowledge that records and explains past events as steps in human progress; the study of the character and significance of events. General history is usually divided into ancient history, medieval history, and modern history.

(4) the events which form the subject-matter of a history; a series of events clustering about some center of interest (as a nation, a department of culture, a natural epoch or evolution, a living being or a species) upon the character and significance of which these events cast light; hence, this character and significance itself. Cf. Life history.

-What we mean by history is the revelaton of man's nature in action and intelligence.

-B. Bosanquet

(5) a historical play; a drama based on real events.

(6) a picture of a historical subject. Obs.

SYN. – chronicles, annals, archives ²⁵⁹

Clearly stated in the first definition is the fact that a history is only a history if it is a narrative of *real* events *connected* to a specific *object* or *person* --- making thence the earlier unclear answers to the questions of of what and for who immaterial. And in addition to this, the question of how the events in the narrative would be treated was also answered. Events, it pointed out, should be treated in accordance to its natural unfolding or unraveling; they are, after all, interdependent to each other.

This interdependence of events in the past was even more stressed in the second definition. Its recognition demands a system of accounting or narrating which in itself requires a guiding principle or

²⁵⁹ Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language. Based on the International Dictionary of 1890 and 1900, London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., and Massachusetts: G & C Merriam Company, 1914, p. 1021.

principles so that events would be put in a better light. A history is hence entirely different from a chronicle or an annal which only chronologically state events; a history does more than that for it explains why or how things or events happen.

And because a history explains by following or through the guidance of a systematic order or method -- implying order both in the writing and the narrating --- then it is clearly a branch of science as well. It is a study that concerns the classification and analysis of events in the past of the lives of men. But history is not only the subject; it is also the object. History is the systematic body of knowledge which is concerned with events in the past; and it is the events in the past itself. That is, because events are the center or the fulcrum with which everything else in a written account moves or revolves around; hence the significant element in an historical work, the history. Lastly, because history is the written expression of man's earlier reality, it is also one of the ripest source of creative expression like that of performance arts or even that of visual arts --- portrayal of history.

This quite fast and further development of the concept of history would be almost unbreakably continued in the next years of the same century. By the 30's, the said concept would already have nine different but naturally related attribution; and they are:

- History. (1) A relation of incidents (in early use, either true or imaginary; later only those professedly true); a narrative, tale, story. Obs. (exc., as applied to a story of tale so long and full of detail, as to resemble a history in sense 2).
- (2) Spec. A written narrative constituting a continuous methodical record, in order of time, of important or public events, esp., those connected with a particular country, people, individual, etc.
- (3) (Without a or pl) That branch of knowledge which deals with past events, as recorded in writings or otherwise ascertained; the formal record of the past, esp., of human affairs or actions; the study of the formation and growth of communities and nations.
- (4) Transf. (a) A series of events (of which the story is or may be told). Obs.; (b) The whole train of events connected with a particular country, society, person, thing, etc. and forming the subject of his or its history (in sense 2); course of existence or life, career. Also in pregnant sense, An eventful career; a course of existence worthy of record. (See also Life History); (c) (Without a or pl) The aggregate of past events in general; the course of events or human affairs.
- (5) A systematic account (without reference to time) of a set of natural phenomena, as those connected with a country, some division of nature or group of natural objects, a species of animals or plants, etc. Now rare, exc., in Natural History.
- (6) a. A story represented dramatically, a drama. Obs.; b. Spec. A drama representing historical events, a historical play.
- (7) A pictorial representation of an event or series of incidents; in 18th century a historical picture.
- (8) Eccl., = L. *historia*, liturgically applied (a) to a series of lessons from Scripture, named from the first words of the Respond to the first lesson; (b) to the general order of particular Office.
- (9) Attrib., and Comb., as history-monger, -professor, -wise, -writer: history faith, 'historical' faith (see HISTORICAL 2); history-maker, (a) a writer of history; (b) one who 'makes history', i.e. performs important actions which shape the course of history; so history-making a.; history-painter, one who paints 'histories' (sense 7); so history-painting, history-piece.²⁶⁰

The rigidity of a further developing concept and idea is well impressed or established in the above quotation. A brief history of the concept itself was stated; plus the more detailed nuances, which could

be referred to with the use of the concept, was explained. The quoted attributions to history would hardly change afterwards; that is, except for the specializations within the discipline itself which would take place within the next years. These alterations, on the other hand, have not affected the concept or idea itself which was being actually developed but the bigger and external discipline which is meant or attributed to the actual concept. What would be actually remarkable is the fact that by the second half of the 20th century, the etymological beginnings of the concept was researched on and publicly declared through publications. Here was how the history of history, for one, was discussed:

- HISTORY; historian, historiated, historic (extn., historical), whence historicity; historiographer (see the element *historico-*); prehistoric, prehistory; --story (n, hence v), with differentiation storey.
- (1) History anglicizes L *historia*, adopted from Gr where it derives (abstract suffix *-ia*) from the adj., *histor*, knowing, hence, erudite, itself an agent (or) from *eidenai* (for **weidenai*), to know, r *eid-*: IE r, **weid-*, connoting vision, which subserves knowledge: cf Gr *eidōs*, form (IE etymon **weides*), akin to Skt *vedas-*, knowledge aspect, and E *wit*: Gr *histor*, therefore, is for **wistor*.
 - (2) L from G *historia* becomes OF – MF *estoire*, whence MF – F *histoire*, whence MF – F *historien*, whence E *historian*; the derivative late MF adj., *historique* (LL *historicus*, Gr *historikos*, from *historia*) contributes to E *historic*; L *historia* has derivative LL *historiare*, to record in history, with pp *historiatus*, whence the adj., *historiate*, now usu in oo form *historiated*; the rare E *historial*, *historical*, derives from LL *historiatis* (*historia* + *atis*, E *-al*).
 - (3) E *prehistory* and *prehistorical* owe something to F *préhistoire* and *préhistorique*: F *pré-* L *prae-*, before.
 - (4) *Story*, (orig) *history*, a *history*, hence any narrative, whether true or fictional, derives from ME *storie*, prob *aphetic* and *metathetic* for OF – MF *estoire* (as in Para 2), but perh direct from LL – ML *storia*, existing form c5 AD onwards and deriving *aphetically* from L *historia*.
 - (5) *S tory* (AE) or *storey* (E), the inhabited or inhabitable floor --- or rather the set of rooms and passages thereon --- of a building, takes its sense form c12-15 AL *historia* used thus ad prob denoting, orig, ‘a tier of painted windows or of sculptures on the front of a building’ (OED) --- a view anticipated by EW and shared by Webster --- Hence, e.g. E ‘three-storeyed!’ and AE ‘four-storied’.²⁶¹

This could be read and interpreted in many ways; nonetheless, the brief history of the concept is crystal clear in the quotation. The history of the term, when we base it according to how the different languages interpreted or used it, could be illustrated as: Greek - Low Latin – Modern Latin – Old French – Middle French – Modern French – English (British and American). There would be no more doubts on its greek and latin origins, plus its relation to the french derivative; uncanny as well is the singular differentiation, and so recognition as well, of the languages which in itself generally displayed how far the science of historical linguistics at the time of the publication. American English for one was given its due identification in the actual account of the concept’s evolution --- an action most probably done because of the rising popularity of the U.S.A. then as one of the more influential nations of the known world. The Indian Sanskrit was also mentioned as one of the related languages revolving around the concept; and so, at the same time implying the accordance with the theory of one ancient tounge --- termed as the Indo-European language --- and one mother race that much earlier united the different peoples of European continent and the Indian subpeninsula.

²⁶⁰ Philosophical Society, The Oxford English Dictionary. Vol. II, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, (1933), 1961, pp. 305-306.

History is ultimately based on or derived from the Indo-European *weid*, *veda* in Sanskrit, or *vision*²⁶² in modern English. In a way then, history is knowledge which is the end-result of seeing, observing, witnessing; it is the account of one's inquiry which normally prerequisites the process wherein all the five senses --- or at the least the sense of sight --- are needed. History is knowledge obtained by observation; it is a picture of the pertained reality of the observer or witness. It is not too far-flung then to expect that written history should give a point of view and a semblance of an historian's (the person who makes the actual written history) mindset. But because history also became a science --- a supposition which takes off from the idea that all the details of an historical work should be based on written sources --- then a written work should display the clear disassociation of the unbiased writer as well. Hence although the historian was given free reign of the subject that he would like to discuss in history, he was also limited or contained within the rigid boundaries set by the historical method which in reality makes history a scientific discipline. From the decade of the 60's till the turn to the present century, history is commonly seen as "a systematic record of the past events, esp. those of importance in the development of men or peoples; a study of or a book dealing with the past of any country, people, science, art, etc.; past events, especially regarded as material for such a study; an eventual past, an interesting career; an historical play."²⁶³ This description of the concept of history would be the singular, most widely-distributed not only in the originally English-speaking lands but more importantly, in the colonized lands where English became the medium of learning or the instrument of official communication.

The Filipinas, the Philippines, during the said times through the efforts of the American colonizers including teachers and teacher-historians and their culturally assimilated Filipino students would come to know history as such. This idea transfer produced a new breed of Filipino historians which on the one hand, helped strengthened the claw of the later on called and ever-resilient colonial historiography

²⁶¹ Eric Partridge, *Origins. A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, (1958), 1966, p. 289.

²⁶² *Vision*, n. – M.E. *visioun*, fr. OF. (=F.) *vision*, fr. L. *visionem*, acc of *visio*, 'the act of seeing, sight', fr *visus*, pp of *videre*, 'to see', which is related to *Umbr virseto*, 'seen', and cogn with *OI veda*, 'I know', *vedah*, 'knowledge', *vindati*, 'finds', Gr 'I know', 'I saw', 'to see', 'look, semblance; kind, nature, class, species', 'form, shape', lit 'that which is seen', 'image, phantom', *Beoet.*, 'knowing, learned', 'learning by inquiry, account of one's inquiries; narration, historical narrative; history', *Arm gitem*, 'I know', *gtanem*, 'I find', *Oslav videti*, 'to see', *vedeti*, 'to know', *Goth.*, OE *witan*, 'to know', *Goth weitwops*, 'witness', *Lith veidas*, 'face', *Opruss waidima*, 'we know', *Oir fiss*, 'knowledge', *ro-fetar*, 'I know', *W gwyr*, 'one knows'. All these words are derivatives of I-E base **weid-*, **woid-*, **wid-*, 'to see; to know' ('I have seen' is synonymous with 'I know'). See *wit*, v., and cp *advise*, *belvedere*, *bevue*, *clairvoyant*, *device*, *devise*, *envisage*, *envy*, *evidence*, *evident*, *improvise*, *interview*, *invidious*, *invisible*, *jurisprudence*, *preview*, *previse*, *providence*, *provident*, *provision*, *proviso*, *provisor*, *prudence*, *prudent*, *review*, *revise*, *revision*, *supervise*, *supervision*, *supervisor*, *survey*, *vide*, *videlicet*, *vidimus*, *view*, *visa*, *visage*, *vis-à-vis*, *visible*, *visit*, *visor*, *visual*, *vista*, and the second element *righteous*. Cp., also *Veda*, *Vedanta*. For derivatives of Greek origin see *idea* and *history*. See also *druid*, *gwyniad*, *vendace* and *Wend* which are Celtic derivatives. Ernest Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. Vol. II, Amsterdam, London, New York: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1966, p. 1715.

and on the other hand, forwarded the further development and enrichment of the idea of *historia* in the larger area of historiography contextualized within the intellectual history of the Philippine nation. With the idea and concept of history, thence, the second larger period in the history of historiography in the Philippines is greatly realized or concretized. As a massive consequence, history was the dominating figure in almost all the historical works that was published and became largely consumed by the Filipino reading public. History became the philosophy believed in and ultimately used by the educated, by the literate, by the so-called intellectuals. That is, while at the same time the ancient Filipino idea for history, *kasaysayan*, was silently continuing within the ranks and in the everyday-living of the larger Filipino people, the *bayan*. In a manner, therefore, the coming and surficial dominance of *historia* within the new class of intellectuals as the older, Filipino *kasaysayan* within *bayan* continuously persisted marked the start of the relatively long and affective parallel developments in the larger development of historiography in the Philippines.

B. Philosophy Behind *Historia*/History

At least one semester, or sometimes even one whole year, in the course of a history student's professional training in almost all of the universities in today's world is normally spent on just the study of the philosophy of history alone. The student would have to face one of those gray areas in the discipline during this time. He is expected to sort and deal with this field as best as she could; so that he could accordingly utilize it in the realization and practice of his profession in the prepared for future. The philosophy of history is gray, for it is where the two disciplines --- philosophy and history --- somewhat meet. It is not entirely philosophy for it doesn't singularly focus on the investigation of knowledge and its related arguments; it also, and more importantly, concerns itself with the study of the narrative of history. On the other hand, it is not entirely history either for it doesn't just study the events in the past so as to present it in an intelligible interpretative narrative later; it also study how the study of events in the past is intelligibly presented in an historical narrative. The philosophy of history is something that is in between; in a manner, it is probably the most favorite business of the history-occupied philosopher or the philosophy-fascinated historian.²⁶⁴ Both the disciplines treat it in the ways they educationally train their students or future disciples; that is, history of philosophy in the philosophical training and philosophy of history in the historical training.

²⁶³ Richard Hayward and John Sparkes (Eds.), *The Concise English Dictionary*, München: Orbis Verlag, (1962), 1988, pp. 555-556.

²⁶⁴ A recent study in its peculiar way, aptly described the process in relation to this statement or to the actual work of a philosopher of history: "Any philosophical standpoint revealed in the writing of history is frequently taken as a sort of veneer, extraneous to the inner core and glued on with varying success to a solid historical carcass; and it can then be seen as something to be assessed, praised, or condemned independently of the underlying historical research itself..." Beverly Southgate, *History: What and Why*. Ancient, modern, and postmodern, London and New York: Routledge, 1997, p. 2.

Most importantly presumed though in the philosophy of history is the theory that history is both the course of events which historians professionally study and the study or subject itself which embraces all the inquiries into the events in the past. Corresponding to these two presumptions are the two forms of the philosophy of history --- the speculative or substantive philosophy of history and the critical or analytical philosophy of history. "The speculative seeks to discover in history, the course of events, a pattern of meaning which lies beyond the purview of the historian. The critical, on the other hand, endeavors to make clear the nature of the historian's own inquiry, in order to *locate* it, as it were, on the map of knowledge."²⁶⁵ The former is concerned with the singularities within a history; the latter, on the history as a whole itself which it treats as a singularity for critical study. The speculative philosophy of history studies the events in the past; in order to attempt to fasten or discover the kind of theory concerned with the notion of its total compendium as a body of history. There are two kinds of theories with regards to this: the descriptive and the explanatory. A descriptive theory seeks to show a pattern amongst the events in the past so as to project this pattern into the future; and at the same time, make a claim whether the studied events will either be repeated in the future or complete the pattern it started to exhibit in the past towards the generally foreseen future. An explanatory theory attempts to account for this pattern in causal terms; it only qualifies as a philosophy of history insofar as it is connected with a descriptive theory.²⁶⁶ In a manner, a substantive philosopher of history pursues to write the history of what happens before it actually happens and to give accounts of the past based upon the accounts of the future.

The analytical philosopher of history is, on his turn, a bit different. The analytical philosophy of history is almost pure philosophy; that is, philosophy most especially applied to the conceptual problems which arise out of the practice of history as well as out of the substantive philosophy of history.²⁶⁷ It is then the study of the study of the past; or when applied to the substantive form, the study of the study of the study of the past. An analytical philosopher of history normally attempts to place both the individual exertions of the historian and the philosopher of history within the considered and imagined chart of knowledge of mankind. He conceives himself as a synthesizing or generalizing in a grand manner on the basis of the detailed data supplied by more workaday historians, to whom they stand in maybe somewhat the same relationship as do a biologist, with his theory of evolution, to a natural historian.²⁶⁸ Both the substantive and the analytical forms of the philosophy of history are useful for the student of history; that is, most specially in the field and practice of historiography, or the art and science of writing history. Thence, its presence in the professional training of the historian.

²⁶⁵ William H. Dray, *Philosophy of History*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964, p. 1.

²⁶⁶ Arthur H. Danto, *Analytical Philosophy of History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968, p. 2.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.1.

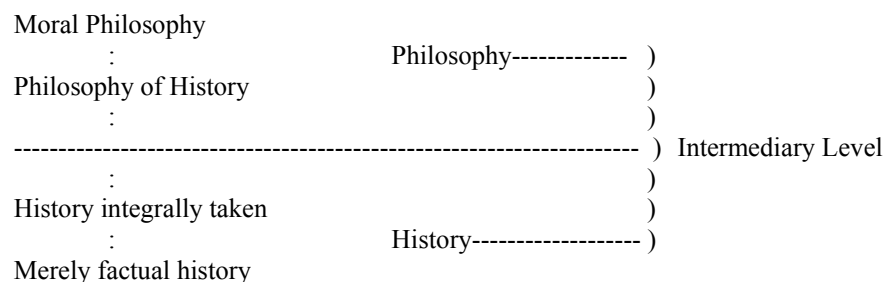
²⁶⁸ R.F. Atkinson, *Knowledge and Explanation in History. An Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1978, p.8.

Let us move back to the general subject of the philosophy of history. There are, in practice, quite divergent opinions about it.²⁶⁹ Some say that it is not possible for philosophy and history are natural contradictory concepts; a few say that it is purely an exercise of intellectual prowess amounting to nothing in the end; and others say that it is a waste of breath and intellectual space for the historians for it only muddles his most important work which is the writing of history. One thing though in these arguments is crystal clear; there is a definite and undeniable connection between the two involved disciplines.²⁷⁰ And if we stick to the elementary definitions of both of them and not be distracted by each of their disciplinal jargons, then we will see that they are ultimately concerned with knowledge. Philosophy is the investigation or inquiry of the general principles of knowledge; while history, in its most ancient sense, is inquiry, investigation, or knowledge itself. Philosophy and historia, in this sense, is almost congruent to each other. It is thence not really such a great surprise that before the major breakthroughs of the nineteenth century in the intellectual history, history was known as and alternatively termed as philosophy. History was philosophy. But the scientification of history during the 19th century required an alternative generality on the subject. To be a science, a formal study much like the different branches of natural sciences of the time, history must develop a specific system; it must follow the scientific method. And more importantly, it must have its own established process of providing answers to its recognized questions. The result of these exertions is what we know today as the historical method, the most significant element which separate and isolate history within the

²⁶⁹ Please see: Haskell Fain, *Between Philosophy and History. The Resurrection of Speculative Philosophy of History Within the Analytic Tradition*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970, pp. 68-96.

²⁷⁰ Jaques Maritain made quite an interesting illustration of the presumed relationship between history and philosophy. Here is how he actually did it: "To have a complete picture of the mutual connections between philosophy and history, let us point out, then, that moral philosophy is at the most abstract and universal level, and merely factual history at the most concrete level in the picture.

Figure 9
Philosophy and History/ History and Philosophy



The intermediary level is that at which philosophy and history meet, all the while remaining distinct from one another. Here a distinction must be made. On the one hand, we have history integrally taken, in which the historian moves up, so to speak, from the level of merely factual history toward philosophy --- without, for all that, reaching the level of philosophy proper. And, on the other hand, we have the philosophy of history in which the philosopher moves down from the level of moral philosophy toward history, without, for all that, reaching the level of history proper." Jacques Maritain, *On the Philosophy of History*, Clifton: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1973, pp. 165-168.

It is up to the readers though if they want to take in this form of explanation. It is quite a good exemplar in the tradition of the structuralist school of philosophy --- a school which is not so much convincing for most of today's influential intellectual circles.

bounds of a science to that of purely speculative activity which defines the major concern of philosophy. By the begin of the twentieth century, it was already universally accepted that history in its most elementary but naturally related definition is both the narrative of events in the past and the formal study of the past events. Nonetheless, despite these new additions, the business of history still remains --- the definition of knowledge, knowledge on and of man. That is, with a slight prerequisite of a particular system or process in getting to these knowledge.

In the greater context of the practice of the scientific method (which for the discipline virtually refers to the historical method), the practice of history meant the realization of the following procedures: recognition and statement of the problem, investigation and inquiry which requires the collection of the sources of historical information, analysis of the sources of information or the documentary sources of data, synthesis and writing of the historical narrative. In a manner, a historical narrative then is a written answer or reply to a particular question. It is the realization of this process of answering the particular question that the historian will unavoidably come in contact with daunting, distracting problems; and so require the assistance of the earlier cohort of the discipline --- philosophy. Problems like where do I begin the answer to this question, apropos, where do I begin my history or where do I end my history (for there must be an end to the puzzle!) are some of the examples of the headaches-bringing, philosophy-requiring exertions of the historian. The answers to these, and more, are generally available in the different schools of thought of the philosophy of history; it would be up to the historian to decide which one of them will be most useful to his work. The philosophy of history is here seen as something like the final application of philosophical knowledge to the singular, that singular which is the actual course of human events and the development of history.²⁷¹

²⁷¹ This is a statement as well of Maritain. To understand his philosophical structure fully, here are his exact words: "Thus, we might say that some kind of return to the singular takes place at each degree of knowledge --- not always in the same way, of course. But analogically, according to the various levels of knowledge. And I would now suggest that a similar return to the singular must also take place with respect to philosophical knowledge as a whole. If this remark is true, we would have a philosophy of history as a kind of final application of philosophical knowledge to the singular, to that singular par excellence which is the course of human events and te development of history.

Let us illustrate this point in a diagram. We start from the level of experience, i.e., the level of the singular. Now the human mind ascends above this level toward various degrees of knowledge and abstraction. We have first the sciences, which look for rational regularity in the very world of experience but are not yet philosophy. At a higher level we have the philosophy of nature. And at the supreme level of natural wisdom, of philosophical wisdom, we have metaphysics. But I would stress that the curve is not finished --- after ascending it descends, it has to come down. And here we have first moral philosophy, which descends on metaphysics but is much more concerned with the concrete and existential --- the existential conduct of man. Then, in brackets, we have history, facing the sciences. And finally, I propose, we have the philosophy of history as the final application of philosophical knowledge to the singular development of human events.

In a sense, the philosophy of history, though it knows the singular through more abstract and more universal concepts than history does, descends more deeply into the singular than history itself. What I mean is that there are two different approaches to the singular. History approaches the singular at the level of fact and factual connections. It is a kind of direct intellectual approach to the singular, and for this very reason it grapples with the inexhaustible. The singular is being besieged, squeezed more and more closely, by the particular concepts of the historian. And it always escapes our grasp insofar as it is singular...

And I would say, finally, as regards this approach of history the singular is more deeply apprehended in a factual way than in the philosophy of history.

Accordingly, hence, the philosophy of history became recognized as a special area; in fact, an instrument or a tool for the making of history. It is quite a much needed element in the practice of history as a discipline. It is just an instrument for it needs as a basis the certitude of facts from which it starts; it works on factual material which has been established with certainty --- in our case, facts or information foremost ultimately established through the historical method.

But now that we'd cleared up the all-embracing definitions of the philosophy of history plus the relationship between philosophy and history, it is high-time that we tackle the actual subject of this part of the study; namely, the philosophy *behind* history. The two are, for us, relatively different for the former stands for the tool with which a historian utilize so as to realize the general intentions of his science while the latter stands for the different meanings with which a historian implicitly work on when he brings all his professional aspirations to fruition. The word *historia* itself is packed with meanings or references which in the actual exercise of the science it stands for should not be put aside or intentionally forgotten. *Historia* is a living concept which dynamically evolved from its ancient beginnings to its multiple significance, most especially in the field of historiography, of today. Because it experienced changes through time, it evidently has a history as an idea on its own. It represents in our specialized studied case, the Philippines, the second period in the development of the exercise of history as a disciplinary science. *Historia* was, in a manner, unintentionally brought to the islands through the colonizing foreign white people in the sixteenth century.

But of course it did not become immediately known on the part of the islanders so fast as it came. It took its own time. And in reality, it was much later when the Filipinos came to really know and use the said concept. The early Filipinos were first introduced with just the ideas directly related to *historia*; and so, with individual (used here in its most ordinary form) parts of its conceptual history on the islands. These individual parts, although representing different scholarship traditions, have a definite and undeniable significance for the archipelago. These individual parts meant the coming of the written narrative, the written history, for the early Filipinos --- something which was totally different from what was practiced beforehand. This is not to say, naturally, that the archipelago doesn't have its own writing tradition, it has; it was just that writing was never used in the narration of stories of importance --- let alone, merely stories --- beforehand. The early Filipinos had an oral cultural tradition; writing was used for everyday worries, like letters from one person to another or the like. When the foreigners came though, the archipelago was introduced with the idea of writing as an instrument for narration, for the delivery of stories about men and his surroundings through time.

But with the philosophy of history we have a very different approach to the singular. Here we are at the level of the abstract intelligibility and intelligible structures, and we have an indirect intellectual approach to the singular --- to the singular, not in its singularity (that is why, I call it indirect) but as a meeting point of general typical aspects which are to be found in a given individual, and which may help us to understand him..." Maritain, *Op.cit.*, pp. 12-15.

There were during the beginning, through the efforts of the missionary priests who came with the colonizing Spaniards, the *relaciones*. A relacion, in general, connotes a connection between an individual to another unit or one singularity to another; it refers to a kind of bind or coherence. In Philippine historiography, it superficially represents the bind that was automatically built during the sixteenth century between the missionary priest, who wrote exemplars of it, with the Philippine archipelago and all of its inhabitants as a singularity. The nature of the relationship was then simple; it was that of a civilizing, christianizing entity to (and in fact, it can hardly be recognized as *with* for that would imply an equilibrium between the related units) a considered heathen or pagan land and people.

The relacion was actually a modified version of the earlier *cronica*; it was, in a manner, the most significant heir to the traditional references and meanings of the latter mentioned concept. A cronica was the written description of the times by the various members of particular priestly orders. And because they were written by priests or friars, then all of them revolve around one general and most important subject --- Christianity. The cronica normally narrated the state of christianity as a religion in an area; or to be more exact, the christianizing or missionary works of an order (within which the writer or chronicler was a member or part of) in a specific ort or place. It tells how effective or how far the evangelical works of missionaries in a venue went; or how effective the works there could still be. When a chronicler hence make a cronica, he naturally just focus on this major theme; and unfortunately, to the detriment of other aspects in a particular story. And due to the fact that this quite limited point of view was not enough so as to meet the needs of the narratives that has to be told about an entirely exotic (in the eyes of the chronicler, of course) land and people, then a much bigger conceptual representation of the to-be-written story was needed. The friars found the answer to this dilemma in the relacion. The major theme of their stories in the relacion was still the same as that when they wrote it as a cronica; that is, except that this time they have the luxury to tell or even dwell into other specific aspects of the story, e.g., the kind of peoples or the ways of the peoples they came in contact with on the islands, without having to sacrifice what their actual message was. In a manner, the relación narrated a form of relationship as well; it told the relationship of God represented within as the evangelizing friar orders to his Church both represented within as the Catholic colonizing Spaniards and the to-be-christianized heathen early Filipino communities. The beginning, the run, and the ultimate end of the cronica were clear. The beginning would be the story of the order of fathers, within which the chronicler was a part of, in the homeland; the run of the chronicle would be the time and the different adventures the fathers experienced in their quest to christianize the heathen Philippines; and the ultimate end would be the time when all the Filipinos of the archipelago would be christianized and so prepared and saved to the foreseen end of the world when Christ will come again. The relacion had two major parts then; that is firstly, the time before the coming of the civilizing Spaniards and secondly the time after the civilizing Spaniards came. Everything that was related to this story, to this major relationship was told in a relacion. Therefore, with a relacion, the surfacial

relationship between one culture group to another plus the mystic relationship between God and man as a theme were both told.

The same generalities would be seen in the narratives told by the ordinary Spaniard, the conquistador, on the archipelago. He made reports about all that he had seen and experienced on the islands especially those directly related to his colonizing mission or work. His reports were generally represented in narratives called *estado* (or *estadismos*). But if the *cronica* --- or its more general version, the *relacion* --- was made especially for the church hierarchy with the pope being the highest person of power, the *estado* was written for the Spanish monarchy with the king and queen being the end-destination. The *estado* was the civilian (or the subject-oriented) form of the reports of the times; or to translate it directly, the state of the times. They normally stated or put into writing the status of the considerable Project: Philippines Colonization; apropos, the actions of the conquistadores on the islands, the reaction these actions had on the natives, the recommendations so as to immediate the realization of the crown's mission on the archipelago. Just like thence the *cronica* and the *relacion*, the *estado* has mostly two general portions when it is for periods analyzed; that is, the time before the coming of the Spaniards plus the time after the Spaniards came. The beginning of the story was that of the coming of the Spaniards on an uncivilized land and people with no sense of government (with the use of their standards) whatsoever, the run of the story meant the exertions of the conquistadores to civilize the natives, the end of the story would then be the final assimilation of the natives to the Spanish empire. Before even an *estado* was written, the formula or the structure it should have was already there in availability; all the Spaniard who was suppose to write it then should do was follow the said formula to its entirety, and he has a good formal report. Everything was thereby supposedly nice and clean-cut. In consequence, the produced *estado* were virtually the actions, or with regards to the exotic (again, in accordance with the foreigner's point of view) nature of the land and people, and adventures of the Spaniards on the Philippine archipelago.

But the problem was, the *estado* did not connote a specific narration of various times, of times and periods in the longer and larger sense. An *estado* was just the *state* of things and so, it just reported the before and after of a specific action and exertion; it did not connote the whole story of the subject within a much longer duration of time. The concept or the idea that would be used to refer to the latter was *sucesos*. Colonial writers would utilize it starting the early years of the seventeenth century. In general, it translate to events or happenings; apropos, *sucesos de las islas Filipinas* was events in the Philippine islands. *Sucesos* was, in a way, much similar to the garden-variety *estado*; that is, with the difference that the former exerted more efforts in the delivery of a narrative with a larger scope in time and space. It was larger in time and space for it concerns itself not only with the singularities on the Philippine archipelago; but with the singularities in the Fatherland which were connected to the much general subject of colonization that affected the P.I. It would not be surprising then to see that an

exemplar of a *suceso* would discuss not only the happenings in the P.I. but the happenings in the Fatherland plus its whole colonial empire. The focus of the story remained of course; it still stressed the actions and exertions of the Spaniard, of the great conquistador, in the colonies. Every other else were peripheral, side-subjects; they were discussed because they were, in one way or the other, connected to the mentioned focus.

But during the height of European colonialism in Asia at the zenith of Spanish colonial adventures on the Philippine archipelago during the nineteenth century, the concept of *historia* would be more and more used by the Spanish writers --- in both circles of the friars and subjects. The idea of *historia*, or the professional practice of *historia*, on the archipelago during that time would be in accordance with the fastly evolving concept in the European context. It would be recognized as a concept representing a particular craft, namely, the systematic chronicle of events past. It was a way of edifying the actions and accomplishments of men in the past; and at the same time, giving glory to the one nation they were on the first place members of. It was an instrument that declared greatness of both men and nation; that's why many considered it as the most influential judge that separate the good from the bad in the most important story of a people. It took its cue from the written witnesses of the events past; and that, in general, meant it used as main sources of data and/or information the *crónicas*, *relaciones*, *estadismos*, and *sucesos* which were written long beforehand. In a manner, the *historia* written by the Spanish colonials were some kind of compendium of things written by their forerunners --- those who were members of the clergy and the Spanish crown. Its theme was not much different from that of its forerunners; everything else in the story told were about the adventures of the Spanish conquistadores on the island world of the Philippines during a relatively long span of time. There were, on the whole, two periods in the then written *historia*; the period before the civilization in the archipelago and the period after the light of civilization came on the islands. And even after the scientification of the art took place, the said theme and periodization were hardly altered. It remained the same. That is, most especially those *historias* written by the Spanish *historiadores*, the inheritors of the traditional scholarship began by their early missionaries and conquistadores forefathers.

The *historias* --- appropos, *Historia de las Islas Filipinas* --- they wrote were still in Spanish; about the Spaniards on the Philippine Islands; for the Spaniards and Spanish-speaking people of Spain and its provinces. The most important concepts in the works were colonization parallel with christianization; every aspect of the story revolves around these. There was a particular structure followed in every exemplar; and this structure largely depended on the principles and philosophy most believed in by the *historiador* or the *historian*. If the *historian* was a friar, his historical work normally exemplified his faith and the evangelical works of the order he was a member of on the island world. If the *historian*, on the other hand, was an average subject or even a professional *historian*, then his work would normally focus on the greatness or grandness brought about by the general colonization (also seen as,

civilization) efforts of his people on the archipelago. There was a specific order in the historical efforts regarding the Philippines; everything was written by Spaniards and for the Spaniards consumption. It was a considerably closed intellectual circuit made up of Spaniards themselves who could be either member of the missionary clergy or of the more general structures of the crown's colonization efforts.

The said closed intellectual circuit would only be intruded upon during the last quarter of the nineteenth century when the newly university-educated Filipino intellectuals would come in. These Filipino intellectuals received their formal education, like their Spanish colleagues, in the different universities of Europe as well. Spanish, although they spoke and wrote well, was usually only one of the multiple languages they speak. They published scientific works just as much as their other colleagues. They participated and won in various scientific and artful contests and competitions. They wore trousers and suits just as good as everyone else in the considered academic circles. They proved themselves competent in all aspects that has to do with intellectual exertions just as much as their Spanish counterparts. They executed all available steps and efforts to be deeply and undeniably culturally assimilated; and as a result of these exertions, they thought, acted, and viewed the world very much like their Spanish *idols* and equivalents. In the specific field of historiography, it would be seen that these intellectuals published their own version of the historia --- Historia de las Islas Filipinas, or more oft, Historia Critica de las Islas Filipinas.

Methodologically speaking, their historias were not much different from their counterparts. They used the written accounts of the forerunners just as much as the other historiadores; they used the same auxillary sciences which included among others, archaeology and anthropology. The only differences would probably be the more rigid manner that they would document or cite sources of historical information; and the importance of archaeology in the account and chronology of events before the latinized form of writing came on the islands world of the Philippines. They did not entirely rely therefore on the written accounts alone. So as to account for the times before the Spaniards came, they found their answers in the sciences of archaeology, ethnology, and folklore. The philosophy of history they used was not much different from their colleagues. Their historias were very much linear in nature; events were virtually treated like clothes hanged on an intentionally set timeline. The cause-effect order of events were normally found in their different exemplars. There was a relatively big leeway allowed to the historian with regards to historical judgement, historical values, and historical explanation; that is, just as long as he can prove them with enough historical evidences which largely constituted written and other material sources of information. In a manner, every historian was given the opportunity to write his own version of historia.

The meanings and particular historical concepts they discussed in their *historia* was still not very far from those of their forerunners. The idea of colonization and its effects were still their preoccupation just as much as the earlier *historiadores*. They generally accepted as well that Europe and Spain have special roles in the actual and real civilization of the Philippine Islands. The only huge difference in their historical efforts were the specific interpretations to the same ideas and happenings in the general run of the stories or narratives. Their periodization was largely divided into three portions; that was, the time before the coming of the Spaniards, the time when the Spaniards came, the foreseen time when the Spaniards leave the land. Ethnology and archaeology were really important in their historical efforts for they provided the appropriate data to prove their interpretation of what was the archipelago before the coming of the colonizers. They have to prove that the P.I. was enjoying the abundance of a peaceful and rich times before the coming of the colonizing Spaniards. And it was through this general theme of actions that the idea of the pre-Spanish times came to the fore; that was the period of lightness for them. The second period of the narrative or the Spanish colonization period was mixedly interpreted. On the one hand, it meant good for it opened the islands to the European world of civilization and learning which the members of the new Filipino intelligentsia prized; on the other hand, however, it meant darkness for it dawned the coming of the self-gratifying friars who, in the opinion of the same thinking class, literally kept the archipelago in the shadows of perpetual ignorance through the utility of the precepts of the Catholic Christian religion. The main idea for the third and last period, as a result of the idea or concept of the second period, revolved in such a way around the final and most affective ejection of the friars in the Philippine context. This event was foreseen as a great initiator that would effectively bring back the lightness of abundance and peace that the Philippines experienced before the coming of the said religious representatives of the Catholic Church.

This historical interpretation and explanation were naturally not accepted by both the Spanish missionary orders who wrote *historia* and the professionally trained Spanish historians. They were convinced that the actions of the new thinking Filipino class were nothing more than propaganda, thence, not really to be taken seriously. They continued, with only the minor changes that has to do with documentation, the old periodization started by their compatriot forerunners. *Historia de las Islas Filipinas* was divided into two periods; period of darkness and period of lightness. The Spaniards were the most important figure that brought the light of religion and civilization on the archipelago. The representatives of the new Filipino thinking class were then nothing but ungrateful wretches that unashamedly smear the name of their considerably metaphorical fathers and mothers.

The result of this differences of opinions on historical interpretation and explanation on practically the same historical concepts was the significant beginning of an undeniable historical discourse²⁷² that was directly connected with the later on called Philippine historiography. Two distinctive intellectual classes were discussing and exchanging opinions on the same general subject of the history of the Philippine archipelago. It was a clear historical discourse for firstly, both of the parties spoke and used the same Spanish language; secondly, both the parties have practically the same or equal intellectual footing (the same attended universities, the same academic traditions, etc.); thirdly, both the parties used the same set of historical sources; fourthly, both the parties used the same method and philosophy of history; and fifthly, both were most of the time physically and metaphorically outside the main subject of their discussion, land and people of the P.I. They discussed the history of the Philippines almost as if it was a foreign being or element, within the reach of their intellectual powers, outside of their material abilities but nonetheless very much important. One can almost say that these two groups discussed for the sake of discussing. They were both far from the actual and affective reality of the Philippine context.

This actual reality on the islands would only be shortly heard because of the political movement during the later years of the nineteenth century. This political movement was in the form of the independence wars led by the secret society called Kataastaasang Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng Mga Anak ng Bayan (KKKANB). Theirs was a completely different version of the history of the Philippines; and when one studies their intellectual works, one would realize that they don't even use the idea meant with the idea and concept of *historia*. They usually used the concept of *kasaysayan* to refer to the most important narrative of the Filipino people; and so, at the same time politically deciding to utilize an historical idea which is and always been entirely Filipino. They even have an entirely different idea on the name and wholeness of the Filipino people; they don't normally called it Filipinas as the intellectual class used but *Katagalugan* which comes from the term *taga-ilog* meaning from the riverine, thence, most apt to refer to the inhabitants of the archipelago for theirs is an islands-state, everything and everyone is almost always surrounded by water. The society used the language Tagalog in all of their communication and literature; they spoke with their compatriots about themselves and their good, that's why it was only rational for them to use the same language they have, Tagalog. The same general periodization of history of the new intellectual class, also known as the *ilustrados*, was used by the revolutionary society and movement; history was divided into three periods of lightness-darkness-lighthness. They have different opinions, however, on what would be the third period though. For the KKKANB, the third foreseen period would be the time when all the Spaniards would leave the archipelago so that the inhabitants would be left to lead and live the lives

²⁷² Discourse is the anglicized form of the latin *discursus* and/or *discurrere* which literally means to fo forwards and backwards. This concept was already philosophically analyzed in comparison with an earlier thought of as an equivalent Filipino concept of *pagtatalastasan* in a recent monograph of: Atoy Navarro, "Ang Bagong Kasaysayan sa Wikang Filipino: Kalikasan, Kaparaanan, Pagsasakasaysayan," *Bagong Kasaysayan Blg.*, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 2000.

originally and entirely their own. They don't converse or discuss with the Spanish intellectual class; they never saw any need to. And that was never their way of doing things. They saw and treated the Spaniards, no matter who they really were, as foreign beings who unashamedly and unrightfully intervened and forced themselves in areas which were not even theirs on the first place. They discuss among themselves and with nobody else so that they themselves would have the needed enlightenment they recognizably need for the building of their singularity as one people, one bayan.

But this ideal view, as can be deduced from the statements in the earlier portions of this study, would not even be given the apt chance to make or enrich itself into its full fruition. The landlord class would cunningly or calculatively join the independence wars as they realized that it was winning; and then forced themselves, and their ideas which were not so different from those of the ilustrados of course, in the leadership ranks of the movement. The people and their own views and ideals were then put to the side. Spanish was again taken as the official and intellectual language; that is, in all areas there were --- in the revolutionary government (it was not a movement anymore for they declared themselves as a republic after the Spanish pattern itself) or in various intellectual exercise. In the specialized area of historiography, it meant the second silencing of *kasaysayan* and the surfacial triumph of the discursive *historia*. The field was, in a manner, practically and ripely made for the coming of another version of the same idea at the turn of the century through the efforts of the new colonial masters, the Americans.

The Americans brought the idea of *history*, the anglicized version of the earlier *historia*. History practically refers and connotes to the same meanings and philosophy of its older version. It was only largely different from the latter because firstly, it is in another language --- American English --- and thence refer to a completely different cultural niveau; and secondly, it connotes to an alternative scholarship tradition --- that of the Americans'. History refers to the systematic narrative of men. The colonial historians divided it, apropos History of the Philippine Islands, into three (or in a way, two only): pre-Spanish, Spanish, American periods. Like what their Spanish equivalents did beforehand, they wrote their narratives around their own and their compatriots' persons on the islands; the inhabitants of the archipelago was just practically an ornamental- or a side-topic. History of the Philippines then was actually history of the Americans on the archipelago. But because the historians did not want to make the same mistake of attaching the idea of civilization with the idea of the Catholic Christian religion like what their Spanish forerunners did, civilization was described as something that was entirely non-religious or non-sectarian. It was alternately used with the words modernization, westernization, and Americanization for almost the same meanings or references which have to do with the process of transformation from the old to the new way of things. Formal education was a major prerequisite to this process; that was why one of the major programs of the colonial government was to provide the appropriate apparatus and manpower for a specific public

school and education system. A high percentage of literacy, in the latinized alphabet of course, meant a civilized and modernized nation.

Reading and writing were seen as entrance tickets to the concert of modern Western Hemisphere of the world. They were the basic requirements to be a considered intellectual; and to enter into the most significant discourse of their class. More importantly, they were requirements for a history; without them, a people cannot possibly have a history. Apropos, history became rigidly referred to as the term or name for the written narrative of a literate or a reading-and-writing people. As a consequence, the time before the coming of the Spaniards and their latinized form of alphabet was referred to as pre-history; then the time after the coming of the colonizers was the actual history of the islands. That of course automatically meant that again the colonial historians were forcing their norms and standards on the Filipino people; but for them that was not so important as the fact that this process also meant that they found cohorts or coworkers in the persons of the earlier ilustrados and the rich Filipino class who were wary of the ways and means that even got near with those of the earlier Spanish colonial masters. These two most influential parties, the American colonial historians and the Filipino elite, cooperated to teach and propagate a new history of the islands. That was, a history mostly affected by the modernities and high technology brought about by the benevolent Americans who were teaching the Filipino people to become higienically civilized just like all the modern nations of the western hemisphere. Before the Americans, the Filipinos have no history for they do not know how to read and write like how the west knew and recognized it. As an ultimate consequence, the young Filipinos who were taught the said principles came to disown and forget their ancestral beginnings and at the same time reflexively make them put the American ideals and personages in their very own forerunners' places.

The writing of history was also revolutionized. Through the educational institutions founded and propagated by the American colonial masters, history writing became a specific profession. It became something that one can do after a particular formal training in a recognized formal institution of higher learning, such as a university. History came, thence, to refer to a skilled preoccupation. It referred to the more general work of the trained eye of a person in recognizing a particular historical problem of today, scurrying and analysis of scraps of events past, and synthesizing these scraps into an intelligible systematic narrative. History was both academic and disciplinal. It was theoretic for it more often than not followed a specific philosophical school in its holism; and it was also disciplinal for it followed a particular set of rigid formula in the realization of its end-product, the written narrative. These theoretic and academic characteristic of history would be seen in all the preoccupations of the historian who saw himself above the story or narrative he was accomplishing. It was in the way the questions were posted; the way the sources of historical information was looked for and analyzed; the way the sources were accordingly chosen; and the way the narrative was finally told. And because it

was a profession, the historian was expected not to take particular sides in a story; he was expected to be objective in his ways. Subjectivity in weighing and looking at things in the past, or so as to make an historical judgement, was never really tolerated. In fact, as much as they can do it, historians were expected to write history as it was. It would then, in a manner, be more advisable to just repeat what the documents said --- the accepted written witnesses of the times described in a narrative --- than to make speculations; that is, because speculations --- no matter what they nature is --- would always be just speculations, not history.

But such a rigid significance of history as an academic and disciplinal occupation would relatively not last long. It would again evolve. The massive and most effective educational system built and propagated by the Americans with their Filipino elite coworkers would produce more and more intellectuals who would join in and enrich the general discourse that was directly related to the all-embracing concept of history. That was naturally possible for the language used in this discourse was the generally accepted language of learning, American English. It was quite easy for each formally educated, who have the fire or passion in doing so, to actually join in or even at the least say his piece in the ongoing intellectual discourse. The recently dominated by the academic historians' turf would, as a result, be penetrated by disciples of other disciplines; that was, most especially those from the arts and literature. That became possible for history at that time was a dynamic intellectual discourse; and in a discourse, when one's theories were backed-up by believable and solid arguments then he and his product were considered both scientifically sound --- the trait which was in the end, the most important thing that mattered in any intellectual discussion.

A new element in historiography was borne out of this discourse; and this new element was termed *historical imagination*. This new element was almost akin to historical explanation except that it usually meant more. Like the former, it used historical sources of data as take off points in the writing of the narrative; but unlike it, it makes and ventures into more artful speculations. Through the historical imagination for example, an historian can relatively differentiate between a *baking-hot* and a *sultry* summer day and its effect on a group of people in a particular narrative. Historical imagination gave the historian the license to somewhat give the needed laxity in his artful tendencies in an historical narrative. To rationalize this philosophical attitude, the historian mentioned and even dwelled on the element of art in the conceptual evolution of history. History, according to them, was after all not only a science but an art as well. It was then only fitting to use imagination in its actual production or in its actual writing.

The implied realized freedom of historians in this context would not only show itself in the actual and literal meanings in a narrative, but also in the used guiding philosophy of history as well. It would then affect the philosophical questions that have to do with the when, how, and why of a historical

narrative. The evolutional principle in the interpretation of changing times would more and more wane in popularity; and so, historians would try finding others as a replacement in its stead. For one, a few number of Filipino historians would find and take a grip of as an answer to this situation in the Marxist philosophy of history. The famous class struggle analysis would be frequently used, and immediately gain a relatively big percentage in popularity, in the interpretation of changes in a narrative. The word masses would become most popular to mean and represent the mass of faceless and nameless individuals that make up the biggest portion of the Filipino people. The idea of the constant struggle between the rich and poor for the same or equal share in a metaphorical cake that could stand for the nation's richness of and within the population would more or less be the constant subtheme in any historical work. This unequal situation of the classes would be looked at as the ultimate result of colonization; thence the significant fulcrum that made the whole narrative move would be the coming of the colonizers or to sophisticatedly put it, colonization itself. And so, in a manner, the new history of the Philippines which was a consequence of this conceptual enrichments was actually the same as the history of the archipelago of the earlier periods. They were virtually the same for both look at colonization as an important element in the history of the islands; the people themselves were just the object or the concretizations that this influential idea actually experience. That for the historians during those times was enough. History, after all, was a realm dictated upon by the historian, who's a fallible human being himself. History was the product of his scientific but nonetheless human judgement. His history was his person, his views. His history was his interpretation.

But if history was everyman's interpretation and every interpreting man used the same historical data and general philosophy, wouldn't that mean that they generally will stimulate a theory on an ever-changing and all-embracing universal version of history and thence effectively contribute to the final end of the dynamism of the science? Wouldn't a theory on the production of an ever different version of history just the very thing that the disciples of the latter principle are afraid of? These and similar others were probably the questions that intrigued the next generations of historians who followed those who pioneered and propagated the banner that stated *history means interpretation*. The immediate result of these pensiveness was the reexamination of the historical sources of information; and again, another round of interpretation of data in narratives. The longer-term consequence, on the other hand, was the deeper and more analytical exchange of opinions between historians on particular subjects and objects of history. And because they were using the same American English language and the same conceptual realm, then it was unavoidable to see that there was a definite intellectual discourse happening. History referred then to a specific communication and exchange of ideas between intellectuals, a discourse. It was an open discussion wherein everyone can come in and participate just as long their participation would qualify to the enrichment or betterment of the same general subject

they were all supposedly working on. This naturally led to the further enrichment of the concept and idea embodied in the word *historia*.

Behind the word was a complicated array of references and meanings that evolved through the years after it was first introduced by the foreign colonial masters. There were a few of these meanings which were quite unavoidably always there and so, almost impossible to miss. The scholarship tradition behind *historia* brought the idea of a written form of narrative to the archipelago; that was something that was never done nor thought of beforehand. The earlier communities worked and proceeded through their rich oral traditions; that was always been their way. The coming of the written narrative was probably welcomed by the communities with mixed feelings. On the one hand, they were quite used to welcoming visitors along with their cultural baggage on the islands; but on the other hand, the new white visitors brought things which although curiosity-stimulating were unreasonably threatening as well. Well, the need to know or find out won over all the other feelings. Colonization happened in between; and among its most varied effects on the islands and on the islanders was the almost unseen or unnoticeable (especially in comparison to the politico-social effects of the whole process) arrival and penetration of a different intellectual tradition. Expectedly enough the latter was calculatively used by the colonizers to rationalize their *rights* on the archipelago.

The written *historia* was, for one, utilized as a form of instrument or a tool. Through *historia*, colonization itself became logical and reasonable. In fact, it turned out that the white men were actually doing the islanders a big favor when they decided to stay and proceed to actual plundering of the land. They were doing the early communities a big favor for through their presence alone, they were metaphorically accompanying the ignorant and pagan natives towards the light of civilizing Catholic Christian religion and, at the same time, saving them from the sly and self-gratifying incoming trading Muslims of the nearby lands. Through the written *historia*, everything on and around the reality of the archipelago was black-and-white clean cut. The heroes of the story were the white christian colonizers; the enemies, the colored Muslims and their cohorts on the islands. Civilization was a formal government with the Spanish crown at its zenith; it was paying taxes and tribute to a government oversees that the islanders never did see. Civilization was a new religion, called Christianity. Civilization was the turning of one's back to the ancient ways and religion and the unquestionable adherence to the ways and innovations of the white newcomers on the archipelago. Civilization was the simple giving in to the seduction of newness and superficial advancement of the newly-arrived cultural personality of the colonizers. Civilization was, in a way, the triumph of *historia* and the intellectual tradition behind it.

The success of *historia* initiated the begin of the thinking that the colonizers were much higher and intellectually more superior than any average individual on the archipelago. That was, because the

foreigners were enlightened with the religious light of the Catholic Christian religion; and they were very much learned of the ways of the structured western government which the inhabitants of the archipelago did not even have a clue of. Furthermore, the foreigners knew the utilitarian tradition that can be attached to the delivery of the narrative about his own people. That was something that was totally exotic for the natives of the islands. And so, in a manner, this process of the foreigners' intellectual superiority acceptance initiated the another furtherance of the same process; that was, the ultimate intellectual compartmentalization of the original inhabitants of the archipelago as well as their descendants. The inhabitants who persisted on their ancient ways were looked at as people who were stubborn, unreasonable, or at the least, uncompromising. Those who embraced the new ways were immediately put in the new structure of the politico-social system of the colonizers and, at the same time, under the wing of their foreign tutors. But no matter which of these two extreme reaction the inhabitants took, they were all lumped together as people who were innocently ignorant of the much better ways of the newcomers; that was, the actual working ways of the known civilized world. The inhabitants were all stupid. It was always a wonder for the colonizers how these innocents survived through the years past. They were ignorant for they have no idea whatsoever on the right civilized and christian ways of the Spaniards (and later on, that of the Americans'). After many years, the original inhabitants began thinking the same as their colonizers; they began to think of their ancestors and themselves as an ignorant lot who can only become learned through the ways and views of the foreign colonial masters. This was, after all, the only way to penetrate the new socio-political system and at the same time, win the earlier status they and their forefathers enjoyed in the community they were parts of.²⁷³ The only alternative then was give in to the new system or order of things; eventhough that meant the reduction of oneself into a lower person of status, socially, politically, intellectually.

These inhabitants and their descendants came to accept this new role so well that during the nineteenth century they were even discussing (and showing prowess, at that!) with the colonial masters through the use of the norms and standards set by the latter. In fact, in the realm of historiography, they came to love their roles that they successfully and systematically forgot how they got the status they have on the first place; and so, in the discourse process, effectively contribute to the intellectual tradition that was not originally theirs but that of the foreigners'. The place of the ruled was so comfortable that it was quite difficult to completely turn one's back on it; things must be compromised. The ideals of the KKKANB were never really that wonderful, most especially for the elite, for they meant the complete betrayal of the things they learned --- and learned even to care for --- from the foreign tutors beforehand. A compromise had to be effectively executed. The elite accomplished this compromise through the ejection of the Spaniards and through the forceful take-over of the powers of the land so

²⁷³ This was almost exactly the fortune of the earlier ancient Filipino class called Timauas. They were the ancient freemen of the communities; but with the coming of the colonizers, they slowly lost this prestige. For the actual study on the matter, please see: Nancy Kimuel-Gabriel, Op.cit.

that they themselves dictate and shape the order of the land. In the specialized area of historiography, historia further triumphed. In fact, it would even evolve and be more popular than ever through its new name, history. It became so richly popular that till the twentieth century, most Filipino historians even think that it was something which is indigenous, something entirely Filipino. There were massive production of exemplars which used and propagated the concept history and the philosophy behind it. They thought, and many of their students still think the same way, that history is a universal concept which was already indigenized in the Philippine context through the years. The main idea on it is of course correct; it's the qualifier that is quite ambiguous. They, of course, do not mind the quite complicated originally foreign philosophy and/or meanings that this idea still has, not knowing or intentionally not being aware that they were actually again making an intellectual compromise which they, at the same time, should in reality ultimately politically regret. Historia was successful; or to more sophisticatedly put it, colonial historiography triumphed. And the most ironical thing about it was that it was modified and made even richer not by the colonials themselves but by the colonized, the Filipino historians themselves --- and some were not even aware (or do not want to be aware) of it!

Chapter 4

Historia de las Islas Filipinas, 1565-1889

Philippine history (historia) came to be known from the sixteenth century till the last years of the nineteenth century as *Historia de las Islas Filipinas*; or to put it aptly --- in accordance with the philosophy, viewpoint, and contents it used and narrated ---, the stories of Spaniards in the Philippine Islands. It utilized the point of view of its foreign or foreign-educated writers. Spanish was its language, its most important medium of communication; and so, Spanish became somewhat the intellectual, professional language in the land. The Filipino language was put aside and was considered as the language of the illiterate, the language of the barbarians. And because most of the historias are reports to the Spanish Crown or Church officials, they always stressed how the colonizing endeavors of Spain in the Islands did the latter good. As a consequence, most of these historias would be written with two particular periods: period of evilness and darkness before the coming of Spain and period of godliness and lightness when Spain came. The earlier communities (*pamayanan*) in the islands were illustrated as evil practitioners, as pagans, with no culture, no civilisation, and in bad need of the saving endeavors of the Spaniards who brought with them the *civilising* powers of Catholicism. Spaniards in historias were therefore seen as saviours of the barbaric Indios in the Philippine islands. In historical literature, as a consequence, the original Filipino communities who were the subjects of the old kasaysayan, actually and effectively dissappeared; they became only objects to the actual subjects --- the Spaniards --- of the story, they became just numbers or just statistics in the missionary endeavors of the *more important* foreigners.

The year 1565 marked the beginning of the coming of the Spanish intellectual tradition on the islands. During those first years, the considerable historical narratives were written by the conquistadores, the Spanish subjects whose main mission on the islands was the realization of the crown's colonization intentions. They wrote in the form of official reports to the Spanish crown; these reports were called *Estado(s) de las Islas Filipinas* or the State of the Philippine Islands. This narrative tradition would be basically effectively begun during the first years of colonization by Don Miguel Lopez de Legazpi and his crew members; and would be continued by the different governor-generals and the other colonial officials of the following years till the end of the Spanish colonization on the archipelago at the turn of the century (from the 19th to the 20th century). It treated the archipelago and its inhabitants, akin to a project, for specific financial and religious goals and intentions of both the crown and the church's hierarchy. And because it used the conservative point of view of its Spanish writers, everything that has to do with the islands-world was looked at as different, exotic, strange, or even evil. The basic formula followed by these narratives was linear in nature; it was normally written with two portions --- the state of the islands during the coming of the Spaniards as the first part and the the

state of the islands after the Spaniards set the colonial machinery in action, which included a formal political structure among various others in the different aspects of livelihood, as the second part. The basic cause-and-effect principle was utilized so as to explain events within the narrative. There was a specific beginning and a strived-for or even an expected end of the actual narrative. And because most of the writers of these narratives were in one way or the other employed by the Spanish crown, then the contents of their works were normally the various political activities they execute on the archipelago; specific examples of these included the actions they took so as to *pacify* the natives of the islands or the actions taken in order to establish a local structured government in a small town or village. Individual writers or reporters concentrate on their territorial domain so as to manage their narratives well. As a consequence, most of the *estados* would be local --- in the sense, that they were place-specific --- in character.

In a manner, that was the most significant trait of the *estados* or *estadismos* which made them not exactly the best exemplar of an historical narrative. The easiest resolution to this dilemma would be to put all the *estados* or reports in a singularity so as to have a better and larger historical body. And almost exactly this resolve would be realized within the first decades of the seventeenth century through the idea of *sucesos* in the place of the earlier *estados* or *estadismos*. The principles embodied in the *estados* or *estadismos* mentioned above would, in a manner, reach its conceptual zenith through the *sucesos*. *Sucesos* literally translate to events or happenings; hence, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* which concretized the practice of this concept translates to Events in the Philippine Islands. The examples of *sucesos* are virtually the compendium of the earlier and actual *estados/estadismos* or reports about the islands. Like its forerunner, they were written by average subjects of the crown as well; to be specific, by the officers of the colonial government of the Spanish crown on the archipelago. They were linear in character; and followed the basic cause-effect principle in events explanation. They concentrated on the political aspect of the story for that was the considered most important area in a significant and believable narrative. The work of Don Antonio de Morga²⁷⁴ was one of the best examples of this form of historical narrative. It was written during the first decade of the seventeenth century and was read and republished even two centuries later.

At the same time that the representatives of the crown were writing about the Philippine Islands starting the sixteenth century, their compatriots and partner-colonizers --- the representatives of the Catholic Christian Church on the islands --- also did the same thing. This status of things was not to be helped for the colonization efforts of the crown would not be realized without the support of the church. That was, because before the first expeditions towards the Asian region was made, the crown

²⁷⁴ *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Mexico: 1609. Jose Rizal (Ed.), *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas por el Doctor Antonio de Morga*, Paris: 1890. *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas por el Doctor Antonio de Morga. Nueva edición enriquecida con los escritos inéditos del mismo autor ilustrada con numerosas notas que emplan el texto y prologada extensamente por W.E. Retana*, Madrid: 1909.

executed a contract of cooperation --- *El Patronato Real* --- with the church. The contract of cooperation, on the part of the crown, was made because of the lack of enough logistics (finances, manpower) to realize their colonization aspirations in the Indies; on the other hand, the church agreed to cooperate with them because of their intention of widening the reach of the Catholic Christian belief in the larger world community. The state and the church was, in a way, united through this contract; apropos, in each expedition both the said institutions have their own chosen representatives so that their individual institutional goals would be put into fruition or, at the least, secured on the intended ort. So as to see how far the mission of each of the institution on the expedition's goal was, all representatives there were expected to report to their officials in the motherland. And as can be deduced, the reports of the crown's representatives were embodied in their *estados*; on the other hand, the reports of their corrolaries --- the representatives of the church --- were embodied in their *cronicas*, and later on, in their *relaciones*. Both the *cronicas* and *relaciones* largely treated the islands as a venue for Catholic Christian missionary efforts. They both then reported the state and the probable future of their evangelical mission on the archipelago. And because their's was a form of project as well, it was necessary that the before-and-after picture of the islands was illustrated in their reports; in practice, that was before Catholicism and after Catholicism. This was understandable for the *cronicas* embodied the writing tradition that largely hat to do with the lives and times of the saints of the religion. It literally translates to times; hence, its exemplars were mostly illustration of the times --- times which was normally conceptualized as that of Jesus Christ, specifically, the times after the birth of Jesus Christ who was the beginner and most significant fulcrum in the Christian religion. Every *cronica*, in consequence, narrated the story of how far the religion was going or already went in a specific venue or ort. And so, *Cronica de las Islas Filipinas* or Times in the Philippine Islands was a story of the progress of the missionary efforts of the priestly orders on the archipelago. But because the *cronicas* pointed to, and in a way bounded by, a specific writing tradition of the Catholic Christian faith, they were not quite enough to embrace all the new and unconventional things and experiences that the representatives of the church had on the totally different context of the Philippine Islands. On the other hand, because the writers of these narratives were Catholic missionary priests who were virtually always set on their mission, they could not just drop the main topic of their narratives just so as to write down everything that they saw and lived on in the P.I. A compromise had to be made. And this compromise was found in the concept of *relaciones* or relations. The *relaciones* narrated everything that was related or connected to the missionary efforts of the priestly orders on the archipelago. Through them, the priest-writers were able to narrate all the things that they saw, felt, and lived on the islands and, at the same time, narrate the progress of their missionary efforts on the same places. The *relaciones* were in this way comparable to the sucesos of the crown's representatives and sometimes, even better. One of its most important exemplar, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* por Pedro Chirino²⁷⁵, was considered a classic not only in the Spanish colonial scholarship tradition but

²⁷⁵ *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, Roma: 1604. Emma Blair and James Robinson (Trans.), *Relation of the*

also in the Philippine scholarship tradition as well. Philosophically speaking, a *relacion* followed the tradition of *cronica*; that is, with the slight difference that the former embraced a larger state of things in a specific contextual reality. A *relacion* tackles, for example, the etymology and anthropology of a people; that is, because behind it is the belief that every people has their own particularities which are, in general, comparable to that of the writer's own. A *relacion* is thence more open than a *cronica*; it entertains other possibilities of explanations, at the same time that it does not necessarily has to give up the main philosophy that a writer used to guide his writing.

The concept of *relacion* would be mostly used by the priest-writers in the following years; but then, it would be alternatively used with the word *historia* to mean basically the same thing. *Historia*, for the priestly orders, meant the narrative of their missionary efforts on the archipelago. And so, *Historia de las Islas Filipinas* normally meant the story of the experiences of the Catholic priests in their missionary efforts on the Philippine Islands. They were stories of the Spanish priests; the earlier communities were only mentioned in these stories for they were the convenient objects of the christianization mission. The *historias* followed the tradition of the *cronicas* and *relaciones*; so that, in a manner, they were not really the *historias* that we know for example today but the *historias* which was conceptually closer to the concepts of *storias* or even *cuentos*. It would be not surprising to find, more often enough, metaphors and comparisons to the church history in the actual exemplar of history of the islands; that is, eventhough the former had directly nothing to do with the latter. The norms and standards used in these *historias* would be that of its catholic priest-writers; historical judgement and explanation would thence accordingly follow the christian logic and rationalization. Christianity was still the most significant fulcrum in the periodization used. There were thence two parts in a *historia* -- - period before Catholicism and period after Catholicism. That is, because Catholicism was considered as the most civilizing element in the life and history of the earlier pagan communities on the islands; Catholicism itself was seen as the light-giving or enlightening principle in the written exemplars of *historias*.²⁷⁶ And as can be expected, this idea was passed from generation to generations; so that, after so many years it was accepted as a truism even by the descendants of the converted communities of the archipelago.

This kind of trend would continue from the sixteenth century onwards, until the nineteenth century when this philosophy would be somewhat toned down with the coming of the idea of scientific thinking and method; and those who would purport the idea of making *historia* more a science and not just *stories*. These pioneers would start stressing the importance of writing histories which are based

Philippine Islands And Of What Has There Been Accomplished By the Fathers Of The Society Of Jesus, Philippine Islands Vols. 12-13, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903.

²⁷⁶ For another interpretation by a foreign scholar of the process, which took place therein, please see: Reinhard Wendt, "Zwischen Unterwerfung und Befreiung. Spanische Evangelisation und Einheimische Religiosität auf den Philippinen" in Wilfried Wagner, *Kolonien und Missionen. Referate des 3. Internationalen Kolonialgeschichtlichen Symposiums 1993 in Bremen, Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 1994, pp. 147-164.*

on proofed evidences which were generally written accounts of those who actually experienced the events described in history. History would be from then on only classified as real and scientific if they are based on accounts --- documents ---- of those who made the history which is being described in the literature. Although the point of view and philosophy did not change, that is, they continued to be stories of *Espanoles* in the islands or stories with a *dilim-liwanag* (darkness-lightness) *perspective*, historia somewhat during those times became *scientific*.

Narrative-expressions of this philosophy are seen to the early estadisticas of the conquistadores; then through the cronicas, sucesos, and relaciones of the religious orders; then through the actual historias written both by members of the religious orders or the colonization efforts of the spanish crown.

A. Estadismos de los Conquistadores y Cronicas de los Misioneros

The year 1565 is not only the marker of the actual foreign political intervention and domination on the Philippine Islands; more importantly, it is also the marker of the coming of the western intellectual tradition on the islands. Just as the former's effects, the latter's effects are not to be missed on the different aspects of the way of life of the eventually evolved today's Filipino nation; that is, even if the latter began its earliest manifestation in the purely cerebral area of the herein studied field. The then revolutionary historical writing would be started by the estados or estadismos written by the Spanish conquistadores, more specifically, by Don Miguel Lopez de Legazpi and his officers. This tradition would be almost unbreakably continued by the next governor-generals and other colonial officers of the province; and would reach its most excellent exemplar in between the years through the idea of sucesos which would be concretized through the efforts of Don Dr. Antonio de Morga. The accompanying missionary priests of the conquistadores, on their part, made their persons heard through the relaciones, a historical tradition which was mostly influenced and patterned after the cronicas of the religous. Fray Pedro Chirino, S.J. wrote the classical Relacion de las Islas Filipinas during the last years of the sixteenth century but was only able to publish it during the early years of the following seventeenth century. It would be followed by the work of Fray Diego de Aduarte, O.P.; and then, as starters of a totally different philosophical standpoint (they lent more stress on the ideas embodied in the concept of conquistas) but basically the same scholarship tradition, there was Fray Gaspar de San Agustin, O.E.S.A. who was then followed by his colleague, Fray Casimiro Diaz, O.E.S.A. The missionary priests made up a relatively big difference in the general run of the historiography in the Philippines. Although largely biased, their works were still considered to be among the best sources of written historical information on the lives and times of the earlier Filipino communities; that is, the same as the written estados/estadismos of their colonizing colleagues, the conquistadores.

The expedition led by Legazpi was actually not the first exertion of the Spanish crown in their mission to colonize the Philippine Islands. In their original efforts to take part in the lucrative spices trade with the Indies while at the same time actually experimenting with the untried westward sea-route from their fatherland²⁷⁷, the Spaniards accidentally came across the archipelago during the year 1521. Their immediately borne-out dreams of colonization that year, on the other hand, would be shattered by the defense of the islands executed by the earlier communities themselves. But their interest would rather be stimulated by this accidental event. Various expeditions would be sent to realize their dreams of colonization in the Asian frontier; and these difficult and expensive exertions wouldn't be given up till their aspirations for both wealth and glory would be transformed into the actual reality. The mysterious islands promised, after all, infinite possibilities of trade and so, a considerable percentage in the competitive spices trade; and in addition, precious metals like gold and silver. Furthermore, its inhabitants were obviously non-Christians, thence their conversion would be a relatively big contribution to the evangelical and missionary work that the Spanish people took to their persons as a personal responsibility and conviction. There were five expeditions which followed that of the foremost led by Ferdinand Magellan²⁷⁸ (1519); the first was that of Loaisa (1525), the second

²⁷⁷ There was no other way at that time for the Spaniards but to try the westward searoute for they were virtually bounded by the principles of the various papal bulls and the Tordesillas Treaty. Spain and Portugal were the bitterest rivals in the race for world colonization in the 15th to the 16th centuries. To allay the combustible situation, Pope Alexander VI, as an arbiter of the known Christendom, issued several bulls on May 3, 1493 which recognized Portugal's rights over Africa and Spain's claims to all lands in the west. The next day, another bull which gave Spain the rights to all lands discovered and yet to be discovered not only in the west but also in the south was issued. This bull set the first papal demarcation line; and divided the world between Spain and Portugal. The line ran from the North to the South Poles, passing through the Atlantic Ocean at 100 leagues west of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. All the lands west of this line were assigned to Spain; and all those of the east were for Portugal. But there were protests and complications occurred in the following years; that is, especially with regards to the actual application of the demarcation. Accordingly, on June 7, 1499, the Treaty of Tordesillas was concluded. This treaty shifted the demarcation line to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands and assigned Spain all lands west of it and to Portugal all lands east. For the full texts of these bulls, please see: Maria Fernandez de Navarrete, *Collección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines de siglo XV*, Madrid: 1837; *Collección general de documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias*, Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1918; Emma Blair and James Robertson, *The Philippine Islands Vol. I*, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903.

²⁷⁸ Ferdinand Magellan was the leader of some of the earliest Europeans who actually landed and had a bit of knowledge on the Philippine archipelago during the height of navigation and exploration in the sixteenth century. He was the picture of the ideal conquistador during that age; that is, relentless, ambitious, and quite romantic for an adventurous white man. He was, of course, also enterprising and wanted to have a piece in the lucrative spice trade in the Indies; but many of the earlier literature on him intentionally omitted that fact. Many Filipinos of the century taught that there was actually no P.I. before him; that is, because he was earlier taught as the discoverer of the Philippine archipelago in many schools. An example of this almost classical mind-conditioning is found in the following brief biography:

“One of the greatest heroes in the annals of navigation was Ferdinand Magellan, Portuguese by birth and Spanish by naturalization, who discovered the Philippines for Spain. This great man was born in 1480 at Sabrosa, near Oporto, Portugal. Little was known of his family except that it belonged to Portuguese nobility of the fourth grade rank --- fidalgos de cota de armas. He was the oldest son of Pedro Magellan and Alda de Mesquita; he had a younger brother named Diego and three older sisters, Teresa, Ginebra, and Isabella. At the age of thirteen, Magellan left his father's mountain castle in Sabrosa and went to Lisbon, Portugal's capital, where he served as page to Queen Leonora (Elinore). With other pages, he received an education in military science and navigation. The naval exploits of Columbus, de Gama, and other explorers of the age, and the strange tales of wondrous lands in distant seas, inflamed the spirit of adventure in him.” Gregorio F. Zaide,

was Cabot (1526), the third was Saavedra (1527), the fourth was Villalobos (1542), and the fifth was that of Legazpi (1564). Each of these expeditions were connected to the other; each one learned from the lessons gained by its forerunner, and so, the fifth one had no other way to end up but meet their most important mission on the islands --- namely, colonization. The 1525 expedition which consisted of seven ships and 450 men was commanded by Juan Garcia Jofre de Loaisa²⁷⁹. They've reached Mindanao island the next year; but because they wanted to reach Cebu, they resumed their voyage, which turned out to be not such a good idea, for contrary winds blew them instead to Tidore, an island of Moluccas, where the Portuguese were. They closed cooperative alliances with the chieftains of the island; and so, spent the next three years with inconclusive wars with the Portuguese troops.

The 1526 expedition was lead by a man named Sebastian Cabot²⁸⁰ and composed of four ships and 250 crew members. This expedition was plagued with mutiny and dissensions between its captain and crew; it broke up in the middle of the voyage and so, the main officers and their ships had ended up circling the seas of the south in the next three years without actually reaching its destination in the Orient. The disillusioned Cabot sadly returned to Spain in the year 1530.

The third expedition was captained by Alvaro de Saavedra²⁸¹ and consisted of three ships and 110 men. Its most important aims were: (1) to find out what happened to Serrano and other survivors of the Magellan expedition; (2) to look for the ship Trinidad which had been left by Sebastian el Cano in teh Moluccas; (3) to ascertain what had befallen the Cabot expedition which left Spain the year beforehand; and (4) to inquire as to the fate of the Loaisa expedition.²⁸² The expedition sailed off on October 31, 1527 from the Mexican port of Zaguatanejo. It was met by a hurricane while crossing the

Philippine Political and Cultural History, Vol. I, The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times, Manila: Philippine Education Company, p. 102. (Itals., mine.)

²⁷⁹ Juan Garcia Jofre de Loaisa was a native of Ciudad Real. He must not be confounded with the noted bishop of Seville, of the same name, whose kinsman he was. He died at sea in July, 1526. Emma Blair and James Robertson, Op.cit., Vol. 2, p. 26.

²⁸⁰ Sebastian Cabot (Caboto) "was born about 1473 --- probably at Venice, although some claim Bristol, England as his birthplace; he was the son of the noted explorer, John Cabot, whom he accompanied on the famous voyage (1494) in which they discovered and explored the eastern coasts of Canada. A second voyage thither (1498), in which Sebastian was commander, proved a failure; and no more is heard from him till 1512, when he entered the service of Fernando V of Spain, who paid him a liberal salary. In 1515 he was a member of the commission in charged with revising and correcting all the maps and charts used in Spanish navigation. About this time he was preparing to make a voyage of discovery; but the project was defeated by Fernando's death (January 23, 1516). In the same year Cabot led an English expedition which coasted Labrador and entered Hudson Strait; he then returned to Spain, and was appointed (February 5, 1518) royal pilot-major, an office of great importance and authority. He was one of the Spanish commissioners at Badajoz in 1524 ; and in 1526 commanded a Spanish expedition to the Moluccas which sailed form Spain on April 3, of that same year. Arriving at the River de la Plata, Cabot decided to explore that region instead of proceeding to the Moluccas --- induced to take this step by a mutiny among his officers, sickness among his crews, and the loss of his flagship. Misfortunes followed him and he returned to Spain in 1530. Upon the succession of Edward VI to the English throne, Cabot was induced to reenter the English service, which he did in 1548, receiving from Edward promotions and rewards. Nothing is heard from him after 1557; and no work of his is known to be extant save a map of the world made in 1544, and preserved in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris..." Blair and Robertson, Op.cit., Vol. 2, p. 37.

²⁸¹ Alvaro de Saavedra died at sea in December, 1529.

Pacific; and so, lost two of his ships in the process. Only the pilot ship reached Mindanao where it met with a few survivors of the Loaisa expedition. They tried going to Cebu but again, contrary winds blew them southwards to Tidore where it met with Loaisa's other men. Saavedra died during the days in between; and so, in 1530 his men and some of those of the earlier expeditions have to surrender to the stronger Portuguese troops. Four years later, they were shipped to India whence two years afterwards they reached Spain.

In the meantime, a new treaty was closed between the Spanish and Portuguese crowns; that is, the Treaty of Zaragoza. Since the return of the Spanish ship *Trinidad* in 1521, both of the crowns were always quarrelling over the rights to Moluccas. The treaty was concluded in 1529 by Charles I of Spain himself who was at that time in bad need for cash because of his long and disastrous wars in Europe. With this treaty, he sold his claims in the Moluccas to Portugal for 350,000 gold ducats and furthermore, he agreed that the demarcation line would also be moved to 297 ½ leagues east of the Moluccas. Theoretically thence, the new treaty was not that different from the earlier in Tordesillas; the Portuguese were only somewhat made by the Spaniards thought otherwise. The latter respected the lines of the treaty for the next thirteen years; but then in 1542 Charles I planned another expedition for the conquest and colonization of the Philippines. The assigned commander of this enterprise was Ruy Lopez de Villalobos²⁸³. His expedition composed of six ships and 200 men. They reached Mindanao the following year; they experienced hunger there for they were refused help and they themselves refused to help themselves by planting their own food. They started sailing in different directions to look for or even forage for food; and one of the ships reached a coastal town called Tandaya in Samar where it was given enough provisions by the local communities. In acknowledgement and gratefulness to this received hospitality, Villalobos named the island *Felipina*, in honor of crowned Prince Philip of Asturias, who later became Philip II of Spain.²⁸⁴ This new name thence when applied to all the islands of the archipelago, became *Filipinas* later on. Like the earlier expeditions, Villalobos was not successful in realizing their mission of conquest. He and his men spent the next years fighting off and waging wars against the Portuguese who were, from their main quarters in the Moluccas islands at that time, were trying their hands in colonizing the Philippine Islands as well. Villalobos himself died in Amboina; and so his men became scattered in many of the islands in the Pacific while some disheartedly returned to Spain.

²⁸² Zaide, *Philippine Political...* Op.cit., p. 131-132.

²⁸³ Ruy Lopez de Villalobos "is said to have been a man of letters, licentiate in law, and born of a distinguished family in Malaga; he was brother-in-law of Antonio de Mendoza, who (then viceroy of New Spain) appointed him commander of expedition in 1541. Departing from Navidad, Mexico (November 1, 1542), he reached Mindanao on February 2, of the following year; he was the first to make explorations in that island. It was he who bestowed upon those islands the name Filipinas (Philippines), in honor of the crown-prince Don Felipe of Spain, afterwards known as Felipe II; he conferred this appellation probably in 1543. The Portuguese, then established in the Moluccas, opposed any attempt of Spaniards to settle in the neighboring islands, and treated Villalobos as an enemy. After two years of hardships and struggles, he was obliged to place himself in their hands; and, departing for Spain in one of their ships, was seized with malignant fever, which terminated his life in Amboina, on Good Friday, 1546." Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.*, p. 47.

Philip II²⁸⁵ became king for his father Charles I abdicated in 1556. And the young king did not waste any time; that is because, in 1559 he started planning an expedition for conquest and colonization of the islands named after him. He was of course met by many contrary advices regarding the matter but he was bent on proceeding with his dreams of glory and so, a new expedition was finally fitted in 1564. It was commanded by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi²⁸⁶ and piloted by Father Andres de Urdaneta²⁸⁷. The Legazpi expedition consisted of four ships and 380 men who were mostly composed of soldiers and seamen, among which only six were missionary priests.²⁸⁸ They reached Cebu on February 13, 1565. From this area and date on, they would systematically proceed with actual and effective steps so as to realize their mission of colonization. In a manner, thence, the year 1565 marked the beginning of the actual, effective entrance of the Spaniards on the Philippine context.

²⁸⁴ Zaide, Op.cit., p. 137.

²⁸⁵ Philip II “belongs to those group of rulers whom foreign policy comes first. It could hardly have been otherwise, in view of the fact that he was master of the greatest empire yet seen. For a while it appeared that the division of the legacy of Charles V would simplify his son’s task; but instead Philip’s policy was even more global in scale and the Austrian Habsburgs played only a subordinate role. The pattern is complex, and does not admit of easy exposition. But leaving American topics to one side, we can divide it into two principal parts: the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. In the early years of his reign the Mediterranean had an importance which it gradually lost to northern Europe, with the Atlantic eventually absorbing all the king’s time and material resources.” It was during the reign of Philip II that the Spaniards reached their zenith as a global empire. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *The Golden Age of Spain, 1516-1659*, Trans by James Casey, New York: Basic Books Inc. Publishers, 1971, pp. 64-83.

²⁸⁶ Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. “Soldier of true Iberian mettle, statesman of Nestorian sagacity, and colonizer of the first magnitude, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi loomed as a colossal figure in the annals of Spanish colonization in the Philippines. He was born of noble family in Zumarraga (Zubarraga), Guipuzcoa, Spain in 1505. His parents were Juan Martinez de Legazpi, veteran of the wars in Italy and Flanders, and Elvira de Gorrichategui, a high-born Spanish lady. Owing to his distinguished lineage, he was given the opportunities of good education in both law and military science. In 1528 he went to Mexico where he practiced law and became a distinguished citizen. He married Isabel Garces and reared a big family of nine children (four sons and five daughters). He served as regidor of Mexico City, then escribano mayor, and later alcalde ordinario. Upon Father Urdaneta’s recommendation, King Philip II appointed Legazpi commander of the expedition to the Philippines. Aside from this command, Legazpi was given royal appointment as governor-general and adelantado of the Philippines and the Ladrones.” *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.

²⁸⁷ Andres de Urdaneta. “The immortal partner of Legazpi in fame, Father Andres de Urdaneta, former soldier, navigator, and missionary, was born of noble family in Villafranca, Guipuzcoa, Spain in 1498. His parents, Juan de Ochoa Urdaneta and Garcia de Cerain, wished him to take up peaceful pursuits of theology and philosophy. But after their death, the adventurous youth cast aside his books and joined the Spanish army. He distinguished himself in the wars in Italy and Germany and was promoted captain of the troops. In 1525, lured by the call of adventure beyond the seas, he joined the Loaisa expedition. He spent more than ten years in the East, fighting the Portuguese in the Moluccas and perfecting his knowledge of oriental geography and navigation. He returned to Spain in 1536 as one of the few survivors of Loaisa’s expedition. Tiring of his adventurous life, he entered the Augustinian monastery in Mexico City in 1542 and ten years afterwards was ordained priest. In 1559 King Philip II, hearing of the padre’s knowledge of the East and his nautical ability, offered him the command of a projected expedition to the Orient. Father Urdaneta graciously refused the royal offer and recommended instead his kinsman, Legazpi, for the coveted position. Thus it came to pass that Legazpi became commander of the expedition.” *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²⁸⁸ The accompaniment of missionary priests in the Legazpi expedition was not an unusual thing. It has always been the way of the times to bring a priest or more in every exploration mission. “Catholic missionaries -- Dominicans, Franciscans, or friars of other orders --- accompanied every expedition. When a city was founded, it was usually given a religious name; a priest was always present to bless it; and invariably, a church was one of the first buildings to be erected. Whenever the conquistador ventured, they were *adelantados* (advanced agents) not only of the Crown, but also of the Catholic Church, whose secular head --- both in Spain

They would force their way in all the aspects of life of the inhabitants of the archipelago; and so, would make their marks in almost all of the communities' everyday existence. And as early as 1570, they've taken one of the more significant centers of the earlier Philippine archipelago --- Manila of the western coasts of Luzon island --- where they would build their planned most important colonial center. The concept thence of a most important center, the city, was borne on the islands.²⁸⁹ A cultural whole was, in the process, forced on another and totally different cultural reality. In the more specialized area of historiography, as already mentioned above, it was the beginning of the Spanish estado/estadismo(s).

The adelantado²⁹⁰ Legazpi himself was one of the first Spaniard who started the would be historical tradition of estados; and that is, through his written relation of the events regarding the colonization expedition he commanded. It was first published among other related documents in *Col. Doc. Inéd. Ultramar*, Vols. II and III, entitled *De las Islas Filipinas*. It was written by the commander in the year 1565 after they've successfully landed on the western portion of today's Philippine coasts of Visayas islands. The actual narrative starts with the launching of the voyage when the ships left the port of Navidad, Mexico and ends with the departure of one of the expedition's ship, "San Pedro", from Mindanao island back to New Spain. It is mostly description of the things that happened --- what they saw, felt, and experienced --- to the commander and his crew during the voyage.

Miguel Lopez de Legazpi was one of the classic exemplar of a sixteenth century Spanish conquistador²⁹¹. He had all the qualities of the said character. He came from an old, noble family; he

and in Spanish America --- was the king of Spain." George Pendle, *A History of Latin America*, Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1963, p. 38.

²⁸⁹ This action of reconstructing Manila so as to transform it into a Spanish city was not at all surprising on the part of the conquistadores. It followed their formula of actions in every town or region they explore on the different areas of the world. That is, because "when the Spanish conquistadores set sail from Europe, they had only the vaguest notion of where they were going or what awaited them. They suffered appalling losses by shipwreck, disease, and in battle with the Indians. On the mainland of the New World they advanced --- usually in small groups --- through the tropical jungles and into the breath-taking altitudes. By the year 1550 these extraordinary men had practically completed the conquest of an area which included the southern part of the present-day United States and extended as far south as central Chile. (Brazil was outside their control.) Moreover, by 1550 the conquistadores --- true Spaniards that they were --- had founded many of the cities which still today are the major centers of population. For the 'civilization of Spain is an urban thing'. At home, 'the Spaniards had lived in cities and shunned the open countryside When they came to the New World, they brought their urban instincts and leanings with them. Since they could not conceive of a civilization that was not built around cities as soon as they landed.' Also, of course, it was by the setting up of a 'city' --- even if it consisted of only a few huts --- that a conquistador staked claim to jurisdiction over the surrounding country." George Pendle, *A History of Latin America*, Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1963, p. 37.

²⁹⁰ Adelantado (advanced agent) was a granted title of most of the conquistadores of Legaspi's time and context. An adelantado was authorized to explore, conquer, and colonize a specifically named territory at his own expense, becoming the governor of that region, with numerous special privileges, in the event of the success of his expedition. This title was often inheritable.

²⁹¹ The conquistador represents a particular era in the Spanish history and historiography. He was the person who made the feats of colonization in the sixteenth century, and thence the creation of the Spanish world empire, possible. Here was how a historian describe him and his context: "...In the sixteenth century, before the English were able to establish so much as a single successful colony, the Spaniards traversed almost the full extent of those lands which have remained Spanish American, together with other territories now part of the United States.

was one of those who chose to live the life of public service through politics --- which at that time mostly meant service in the Spanish provinces or empire; and characterwise, he was said to be wise, patient, and forbearing of other cultures which made him, then, likeable to the inhabitants of the provinces he served in. Legazpi was one of those romanticized outstanding characters of the colonization period for his people. He was determined, persevering, intelligent, understanding; he was a competent leader. He was among those stock of the sixteenth century who accomplished the almost incredible feats of conquests and settlements and who were at the same time, greedy for gold and fame. Like his colleagues, he was animated with a sincere, if fanatical, desire to subdue infidels, to convert them to Christianity. He was a son of the Renaissance Spain, a restless age when men sought new and wider scope for their activity. These characters of his were mostly implicitly illustrated in his relation of the voyage to the Philippine Islands. The relatively detailed account of the actual voyage from the port in New Spain towards the Ladrones and then finally to the Philippine archipelago was one of the proofs of Legazpi's meticulousness and general leadership ability as an expedition commander. He was clearly in command of the situation; that is, even if there were clearly odds against them when he and his crew hit dry land, e.g. when they came in contact with the people of the Marianas or the Ladrones Islands. He was quite a systematic man. He first observed the situation²⁹²; and then acted to it accordingly. After his observation to the people of the Ladrones, here was how, for example, he described the people of the Philippine Islands:

...These people wear clothes, but they go barefooted. Their dress is made of cotton or of a kind of grass resembling raw silk. We spoke to them and asked them for food. They are crafty and treacherous race, and understand everything. The best present they gave me was a sucking pig, and a cheese of which, unless a miracle accompanied it, it was impossible in the fleet to partake.

Their expeditions and conquests were so far-reaching, so spectacular, and withal so romantic, however material their aims, and the men who made them were so remarkable in their audacity, courage, physical endurance, patience in misfortune, and unfailingly optimistic hopes, that some distinctive characterization has seemed to be necessary to set off this period from the more prosaic ages. Hence, it has become customary to refer to it as the "era of the conquistadores" to lend favor to the expression. The conquistadores, in the name of Spain, sought wealth for themselves --- easy wealth, sudden wealth, fabulous wealth. The unknown lands of the Americas were the "stock market" of Spanish hopes, to which however, they gave their effort and very lifeblood infinitely more than the general run of swivel-chair for the seekers of fortune of the present day. And, despite sordidness, violence, almost the full gamut of human passions, they left behind them a picture of themselves which is admirable in the main, attractive and interesting beyond compare." Charles Edward Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic American: A History*, New York: Haquer Publishing Company, 1971, p. 34. Another interesting discussion of this character is found in the work of: Marcelin Defourneaux, *Spanien im Goldenen Zeitalter. Kultur und Gessellschaft einer Weltmacht*, Trans by Eva Marie Herrmann, Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1986.

²⁹² This observant character of Legazpi can be clearly seen in his work. A good example that illustrated this was when he described the ritual of Sandugo and its importance to the earlier communities on the islands. He said: "...The gentleman (referring to one of his crew members) was killed by some Indians, after he disembarked to make blood-friendship with them, a ceremony which is considered inviolable. This is observed in this manner: one of each party must draw two or three drops of blood from his arm or breast and mix them, in the same cup, with water or wine. Then the mixture must be divided equally between two cups, and neither person may depart until both cups are alike drained. While this man was about to bleed himself, one of the natives pierced his breast from one side with a lance. The weapons generally used throughout the Filipinas are cutlasses and daggers; lances with iron points, one and one half palms in length; lenguados, enclosed in cloth sheaths, and a few bows and arrows. Whenever the natives leave their houses, even if it is only to go to the house of a neighbor, they carry these weapons; for they are always on the alert, and are mistrustful of one another." Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.*, pp. 201-202.

On the occasion of the death of a gentleman whom they killed, the natives scattered themselves through the islands. They are naturally of a cowardly disposition, and distrustful, and if one has treated them ill, they will never come back. They possess, in common with these islands, swine, goats, hens of Castile, rice, millet, and in addition a great variety of excellent fruit. The people wear gold earrings, bracelets, and necklets. Wherever we went, we found a great display of all these articles. Although people say that there are many mines and much pure gold, yet the natives do not extract it until the very day they need it; and even then, they take only the amount necessary for their use, thus making the earth their purse...²⁹³

Evident in the above quotation was the author's observant nature; the character --- especially in reference to how they act with visiting foreigners --- and the physical appearance of the earlier communities were quite well discussed, and naturally, implicitly compared with what he considered better, namely, that of his and his own people's. The potentialities, like the kinds of foods and the abundance of gold, of the islands were also not forgotten. It can be deemed that this discussion was made by Legazpi, not only because he was reporting the experiences he and his crew had but also because he was already looking at and preparing for the possibilities --- the strengths and weaknesses of both the archipelago and its inhabitants --- of actual colonization. The weapons and the particular ways and manners of the islanders were also discussed by Legazpi. According to the commander,

One thing in special is to be noted --- namely, that wherever we went, the people entertained us with fine words, and even promised to furnish us provisions; but afterward they would desert their houses. Up to the present, this fear was not in anyway lessened. When we asked the people of this village for friendship and food, they offered us all the friendship we desired, but no food whatever. Their attitude seemed to me to be quite the contrary of what had been told to me by those who had gone there...²⁹⁴

This observations would be utilized in relation to the then future directive-oriented colonization efforts. In a manner, Legazpi's narrative tried to foresee a scenario wherein more Spanish efforts and exertions on the archipelago would be present which, in turn, would naturally lead to their longer stay on the islands. That was to be expected from Legazpi for after all, if the colonization efforts became successful, he would be the first governor (who enjoys a number of advantages) of the new colony. To the letter, of course, if a war broke out between the Spanish exploratory group and the inhabitants, the colonization efforts should be given up²⁹⁵; but if the advantages --- which at that time, translated to gold and silver --- of the whole exercise was much too big, then this directive would have to be reviewed. And that was precisely one of the reasons for Legazpi's written account of the voyage. It was written for the Crown; and it asked it to, "...inasmuch as it pertains naturally to your excellency, as the heir of the glory resulting from this expedition --- your excellency should favor it in such a manner that we may feel here the touch of your most illustrious hand, and so aid should be sent as

²⁹³ Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, 1565. Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.*, Vol 2, p. 202.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

²⁹⁵ The Legazpi expedition's instruction was clear. "If no settlement can be made because of the unwillingness of the natives, or because of the scarcity of men, then the expedition --- the entire fleet, if Legazpi deem best --- shall return, after having first made peace and friendship, trying to bring enough treasure, etc., to pay the expenses of the expedition. It is advisable to leave some of the priests in any event to preserve the friendship

promptly as the necessity of our condition demands. For we shall have war not only with the natives of this and other neighboring islands of the Philippines (which is of the lesser import), but --- a thing of greater consequence --- we shall have war with many different nations and islands, who would aid these people, and will side against us.”²⁹⁶ The message, of course, was clear. Most of the missions of the expedition were fulfilled; and in fact the islands promise more rooms for wealth and glory for the crown, but the expedition needs more provisions so that it can fully satisfy all that it was instructed to do on the archipelago. The asked for provisions were foreseen as some sort of deserved prize for the crew in the midst of a naturally foreign and difficult living in the to be grounded new colony of the Spanish crown.

This general tone and line of reasoning would also be seen in almost all of the accounts of the members of Legazpi’s crew themselves. Life on the islands was strange and most of the time confusing. Here was how, for example, how Rodrigo de la Isla Espinosa, a commander of the small vessel “San Juan”, described the ways of the women inhabitants of the islands:

For the Indians going outside the village, as they do continually, to trade beside the sea, many of the wives and daughters of the chiefs came to the camp along with the other women, and thus went through the camp, visiting with as much freedom and liberty as if all men were their own brothers. Thus, it was seen and discovered later that this is one of their customs, and is exercised with all the strangers from the outside. The very first thing they do is to provide them with women, and these sell themselves for any gain, however slight. The natives are described as covetous and selfish, without neatness and not cleanly.²⁹⁷

The women of the islands were, as can be expected from a Catholic Christian European, filthy and rash. They allowed themselves to be used by their established traditional system. They were indecent and not in any way near that of a gentle nature that was supposed to be the utmost characteristic of a good woman. The women of the islands were much too earthy and much too curious for the writer’s sensibilities. They were never seen as individuals themselves; within the narrative, there was always that implied comparison between the women of the islands and those of Europe --- and the former naturally came short of the latter. That was, because the writer used the norms and standards of the culture he was a part of. This attitude was proven by his mostly used pronoun to term the inhabitants of the islands; he used the pronoun *they* most of the time, apropos *they* who are different than us. In effect, there were two different but, in a manner, contacting cultural wholes in the narrative; the first cultural whole was that of the writer’s and the second was that of the described ones’. The problem was, although he was probably not aware of that as he accomplished it, the writer refused to recognize that the islanders’ ways was a particular individual culture as well. Here was how, for one, he described the islanders’ spirituality:

and peace that you shall have made.” Instructions of the Royal Audiencia to Legazpi in: “Resume of Documents”, Blair and Robertson, Op.cit., p. 95.

²⁹⁶ Legazpi, Op.cit., p. 215.

²⁹⁷ Rodrigo de la Espinosa, Relacion de las Islas Filipinas, 1565. Blair and Robertson, Op.cit., p. 138.

It has not been ascertained whether they have any idols. They revere their ancestors as gods, and when they are ill or have any necessity, they go to their graves with great lamentation and commendation, to beg their ancestors for health, protection and aid. They make certain alms and invocations here. And in the same manner they invoke and call upon the Devil, and they declare that they cause him to appear in a hollow reed, and that there he talks with their priestesses. Their priests are, as a general rule, women, who thus make this invocation and talk with the Devil, and then give the latter's answer to the people --- telling them what offerings of birds and other things they must make, according to the request of the Devil. They sacrifice usually a hog and offer it to him, holding many other like superstitions in these invocations, in order that the Devil may come and talk to them in the reed. When any chief dies, they kill some of his slaves, a greater or less number according to his quality and wealth. They are all buried in coffins made out of two boards, and they bury them their finest clothes, porcelain ware, and gold jewels. Some are buried in the ground, and others of the chief men are placed in lofty houses.²⁹⁸

A European who comprehended a religion as something which can only work within the principle of duality of good and evil, God and Devil, could only interpret what he first saw on the islands as such cited above. Everything that was practiced by the islanders were illustrated as blasphemous; they were seen as individuals who talked with and worshiped the devil himself. The community members were superstitious that they blindly followed the advice of their cunning priestesses who ascertained that they can communicate with their gods. And on top of it all, they were pictured as a barbarous people who sacrificed human lives, those of the poor slaves, when a chief dies. The dead chiefs were thence pictured as selfish individuals who vainly have to take all their worldly possessions, be it material or organic, with them, when they were buried.

The concept of the actual spirituality of the community members²⁹⁹ were never really fully or seriously entertained in the narrative. The inhabitants' ways were just seen as strange; and so, automatically taken in as blasphemous and pagan. Every single action of the inhabitants were taken in at their face values. The Spanish conquistadores never thought that there could be other meanings behind the actions of the community members, outside their own Spanish interpretations of it. There couldn't possibly be anything behind the blind actions of the inhabitants besides the belief on the devil. There couldn't be any form of philosophy behind the whole thing. The earlier communities were never thought of as capable of that. In fact, the conquistadores even expected that the inhabitants maintain a form of cemetery for their dead ones like the Spaniards and other Europeans do. Everything that the conquistador saw, felt, and experienced on the islands were processed and interpreted according to his own norms and standards. He was, of course, only naturally executing these narratives; and not actually planning on its longer range effect. He was, after all, just another representative man of his time and context; and he cannot possibly do anything against that. He spoke and wrote the thoughts and times he was part and representative of in the narratives, in the *estados*; at the same time, unknowing that he was setting a trend in the will be recognized historiography of the Philippine Islands.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Time would, naturally, make these foreigners good observers. After a few years, most of them --- especially those who really had the interest --- learned at least the most elementary form of the local languages; and that made them, in a manner, better judges of the things they saw and experienced on the islands. In a relation, for one, of a certain captain, Diego Artieda, in 1573, it would be seen that the view of the foreigners on the spirituality of the earlier communities was somewhat put in a better light.

In every port we find that people have their god. All of them call him divate, and for surname they give him the name of their village. They have a god of the sea and a god of the rivers. To these gods, they sacrifice swine, reserving for this especially those of a reddish color. For this sacrifice they rear such as are very large and fat. They have priests whom they call bailanes; and they believe that the priests talk with their gods. When they are about to perform the sacrifice, they prepare the place with many green branches from the trees, and pieces of cloth painted as handsomely as possible. The bailan plays on a heavy reed pipe about one braza in length, such as are common to that land, in the manner of a trumpet; and, while thus engaged, the people say that he talks to their gods. Then he gives a lance-thrust to the hog. Meanwhile, and even for a long time before commencing the rite, the women ring a certain kind of bell, play on small drums, and beat on porcelain vases with small sticks --- thus producing a sort of music which makes it very difficult for them to hear one another. After the hog is killed, they dress it, and all eat of the flesh. They throw a portion of the dressed animal, placed in nets, into the river or into the sea, according to the location of the village; and they say that they do this in order that the god of the river or that of the sea may eat it. No one eats of the part touched by the lance-thrust, except the bailan. These people believe that their souls go down below; and they say that world is better, and that it is cooler than the world above, where the heat is so great. They are buried with their riches --- blankets, gold, and porcelain. When chiefs die, slaves are killed and buried with them, so that they may serve their masters in the other world. If the dead man is a renowned seaman, they bury with him the vessel in which he sailed, with many slaves to row him, so that he may go in it to the other world.³⁰⁰

This somewhat different view of the foreigners on the islanders' spirituality could be accounted for their probable more liberal attitude towards the earlier communities. And that was maybe enough reason for the inhabitants to allow the said foreigners to witness their private rituals which in their turn gave the foreigners the vintage of an idea on the principles of the ancient religion on the islands. There was of course no consideration on the meanings and philosophy of the actions within the ritual and so, the general tone and attitude of the narrative was hardly changed; but the writer was evidently patient in jotting down notes on what he witnessed, appropos, on how the ritual was accomplished. He then, through this action, produced valuable data-source. These sort of notes within the written relation would be much helpful for the actual writing of the later estados, reports, of the different colonial officials and of the to be considered history of the islands in the following years. It would always be referred to in much of the literature of the later years.

²⁹⁹ For the discussion on the early communities' religiosity, please refer to Chapter 1 of this study.

³⁰⁰ Diego Artieda, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, 1573. Also in: Emma Blair and James Robinson, *Philippine Islands Vol. 3, op.cit.*, p. 198.

In the beginning of the following century, the seventeenth century, one of the major accomplishments of the colonial masters about the island world of the Philippines would be published. It wasn't an *estado* nor a *relacion* --- although essentially, it was both that --- but it was a *suceso*, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. It was written by the celebrated Dr. Antonio de Morga (1559-1636) who served as a judge in the local High Court (*Audiencia Real*) in Manila, Philippines. It was published in Mexico in the year 1609; it was the only lay history that was published before the nineteenth century and it was considered to be among the more interesting literature that has to do with the Philippine archipelago. According to Morga himself, he wrote "... with the desire of making generally known the events happening in these Islands, particularly those occurring during my incumbency as above stated, relating from the beginning as much of them as may suffice, I have included them in one book of eight chapters, the first seven of which cover the period comprehending the incumbencies of the regular Captains General who have served as such, up to the death of Don Pedro de Acuna, --- the discoveries, conquests, and other events occurring in the Islands and in the kingdoms and provinces within their confines. The eighth and last chapter consists of a brief summary and statement of their government and conversion and other particulars, likewise of the knowledge of the association with other islands and non-Christians of the neighboring islands."³⁰¹

Morga was a learned man³⁰² who did his best so as to relate what he saw and experience on the islands as he was still in service. The publication of his work in Mexico was most probably inspired by the idea of forestalling Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola's *Conquista de las islas Moluccas*, which was published in Madrid in the same year and apparently covered the same general theme.³⁰³ Morga's major theme in this work was the discovery, conquest, pacification and colonization of the Philippine Islands. Expectedly enough, the years covering the times he served as *audiencia* were peppered with as much details as can only be written by a times-witness. The years prior to his arrival in Luzon, on the other hand, was only treated nominally in the work. Most of the things he wrote about them were mainly derived from earlier writers and more particularly from the description written by Juan de Plasencia in 1589. Methodologically seen, thence, this work of Morga would be among the pioneering works that would foresee how the next historical works of the next years would be like. More and

³⁰¹ Dr. Antonio de Morga, "To the Reader", *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Mexico: 1609. Also as *Historical Events of the Philippine Islands*, Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1962, p. xxx-xxxii.

³⁰² He apparently has an ideal picture of the duties of an historian in his professed work; and because he saw himself as one, it would not be too far out to assume that he tried his best in assuming this ideal role. According to him: "The historians deserve credit since they deal without any prejudice to them of wars with the native indios; and those who have not experienced these things are inclined to belittle them. The people of these lands are brave and warring nations of Asia, bred under continuous warlike conditions on land and sea, using artillery and aggressive instruments in these undertakings, as a matter of necessity for their own defense against their large and powerful neighboring countries. And, barring certain imperfections, they are also well skilled, and have recently been taught by the school of the Spaniards, the latter having brought war to their homes, just as those of other nations in Europe who had likewise been experienced along these lines, although previously they had been ignorant thereof and careless in this respect." *Ibid.*, pp xxix-xxx.

³⁰³ C. R. Boxer, "Some Aspects of Spanish Historical Writing on the Philippines," in D.G.E. Hall (Ed.), *Historians of Southeast Asia*, London: Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 202.

more would the next works utilize the previous narratives of the earlier conquistadores and misioneros, namely, the estados and relaciones.

Morga's work also set a much loved theme for the next historical works. This subject would somewhat built a specific school of thought among the colonial writers. Most of his theories would mostly be just copied, modified, clarified, or even contrasted in the following years. In a manner, Morga's work represent the finest historical work of Spanish lay historians of the Philippines during his time. It wouldn't be followed nor overtaken for at least two hundred years afterwards. Its first chapter dealt with the "first discovery of the Oriental Islands, and the voyage to the same made by the Adelantado (Admiral) Miguel Lopez de Legazpi; the conquest and pacification of the Philippines at the time of his incumbency and that of Guido de Lavezarris who later assumed the office of the Governor."³⁰⁴ It began with the drawing of the demarcation lines of the newly known world of the fifteenth century between Spain and Portugal; then proceeded to discuss the fortune of the Magallanes expedition towards the Philippine Islands; and then finally to discuss the Legazpi expedition which succeeded in the actual and systematize colonization of the islands. The following chapter discussed the term of office of Governor Francisco de Sande. Chapter three discussed the administration of Gonzalo Ronquillo and then that of Diego Ronquillo; chapter four discussed the term of Santiago de Vera, the establishment and abolishment of the Audiencia Real in Manila; chapter five discussed the administrations of Gomez de Dasmarinas, Pedro de Rojas, and Luis Dasmarinas; chapter six discussed the administration of Francisco Tello and the reorganization of the Audiencia Manila; chapter seven discussed the administration of Pedro de Acuna; and chapter eight discussed the culture of the inhabitants of the islands and their story before and after christianization. The first seven chapters, which consisted of 239 out of 353 pages of the work, were virtually narratives of events relating to the Spaniards' actions in connection to their colonial efforts on the Philippine Islands. A visible connection between the motherland Spain in Europe and the newly colonized islands of the Philippines was illustrated in the narrative; and this was unbreakably continued through the narration of the events connected to the political machinery built by the colonial masters on the islands. The major effect of this form of story-delivery was the illusion that stated that the history of the archipelago was effectively the history of Spain *on* the archipelago; which naturally lead to the consideration that there wouldn't be any history of the archipelago if Spain and its representatives did not first *discover* it. This line of thought or thinking would be made even clearer through the work's chapter eight.

Chapter 8 generally consisted of two parts: first, the flora, fauna, and ancient inhabitants of the archipelago and second, the effect of the coming of the Spaniards on the same aspects of the islands. Except for a few pages difference, these two parts were almost treated equally. Its used principle was

³⁰⁴ Morga, op.cit., p. 1.

quite simple and relatively descriptive of the major one used by most of the social scientists of the time; it illustrated the before-and-after versions of a particular picture. The message about the the physical aspects and its potentialities was clearly stated in the first paragraphs of this chapter:

The ancients have alleged that most of these Islands were deserted and uninhabitable, but experience has already demonstrated that this belief is fallacious, as they count with good temperature, many people, food supplies and other factors favorable to the maintenance of human life. They likewise have many minerals, rich metals, precious stones and pearls, animals and plants, in which Nature has not shown laxity.³⁰⁵

The islands were thence not only liveable, they were also likely sources of precious natural materials or minerals. They could sustain the needs and even the wants in the life of anyone of those who were reading the narrative. In fact, as one continues reading along, one would have the impression that the islands were actually exotically beautiful and teeming with potentialities for wealth and adventure. The only unpalatable portion of the picture would be the people who were living there. They were, on the whole, not so bad; they have slavery --- a thing which appeared to be of such importance to the Spaniards at that time, especially on account of the length and extent Morga described it in his text --- and their societies were regulated by specific laws. To wit:

Their laws throughout the Islands were along similar lines following the tradition and customs of their ancients in accordance with the unwritten statutes. In some provinces, there were different customs in certain things, although generally speaking, they had uniform usages and procedure throughout the Islands.³⁰⁶

The inhabitants of the islands were thus, as communities, passable in the supposed intentionally lowered standards of the Spaniards at that time. The problem just appeared with regards to the people's personal ways and attitudes. They had marriages, but they did not appear to have any semblance of morals, nor care to have any of it at all.

Not much importance was given to immoral attachments, seductions and incests, unless they were committed on the persons of principal ladies; and it was an ordinary occurrence for a man to marry a woman after living immorally with sister for some time, also for one to have had for a long time, sexual intercourse with his mother-in-law, before commencing to live maritally with his wife, all of this in the presence and knowledge of all the relatives.³⁰⁷

The islanders were thence immoral; and they were not even ashamed of that fact! They did and went on their ways, uncaringly practicing the mentioned acts, for those actions were just natural to them. This theory was further explained in the following pages of the work; that is, by firstly describing the *vicious practices and sensuality*³⁰⁸ of both the female and male portions of the islands' communities

³⁰⁵ Morga, Op.cit., pp. 240-241.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 278.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 288.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 289.

and then by secondly discussing their heathen religious ways.³⁰⁹ The early communities' members were illustrated as sexual perverts; and accordingly, their ways were so, as discussed, for they had no concept of the true God (of the Christians, naturally) and unashamedly had faith on the devil. But there was hope for the islanders, the author opinioned,

...God permitted apparently that the people of these Islands be prepared with the least possible assistance, to receive the preaching of the Gospel so that they might know the truth with more ease, and so that there would be less effort exerted to take them away from darkness and error in which the devil held them in bondage for many years. They never practiced human sacrifice like people in other kingdoms. They believed that there was a further life beyond where those who had been brave and performed daring deeds were rewarded and where those who had done evil would be punished accordingly, but they were, however, at a loss to determine where these things would happen or the why and wherefore of them.³¹⁰

The members of the early communities were illustrated as potential Christians; they could more likely accept Christianity for their old ways were more or less similar to the elementary aspects of the said institutional religion. And eventually enough, the Spaniards came to the archipelago. They brought with them not only their modern and efficient ways, but more importantly, their faith and religion. The Spaniards, on the whole, brought order and stability to the islands; they brought with them, civilization.

Many changes and novel things have been the result of the arrival of the Spaniards in these Islands, and their pacification and conversion of the people and the change in the system of their Government, as well as what His Majesty has accomplished for their welfare, since the year fifteen hundred and sixty-four, as usually happens in kingdoms and provinces which are made to change their law and rulers. And the first thing that happened to them was that, besides acquiring the name of Philippine Islands which they received from the first day of their conquest, the entire Islands now constitute a new kingdom and domain, which our master, His Majesty, Philip the Second, has named the Kingdom of New Castile of which, in view of her Royal priveleges, the City of Manila was made its capital...³¹¹

Clear was therefore the fact that the archipelago and its inhabitants owed a lot to the Spaniards. The foreigners brought them innovations, order, conversion, and politization; the foreigners even gave them a name with a particular capital just like all other civilized parts of the world! The author proceeded to discuss the details of the construction of the roads and buildings within and around the capital city and those of the other parts of the archipelago; then he superficially discussed the newly built political and financial system on the islands; and finally, he discussed the various triumphs in the

³⁰⁹ Here were Morga's words: "In matters of religion, they proceeded in primitive fashion and with more blindness than in other matters, for the reason that, aside from being Gentiles, without any knowledge of the true God, they did not take pains to reason out how to find Him, neither did they envision a particular one at all. The devil ordinarily deceived them with a thousand and one errors and blind practices. He appeared to them in various forms as horriovel and fearful as ferocious animals which held them in dread, making them tremble, and very often they worshipped him through images representing him, kept in caves an in private houses, where they offered to him sweet-smelling perfumes, food and fruits, calling them Anitos." Ibid., p. 290.

³¹⁰ Ibid., p. 293.

³¹¹ Ibid., pp. 296-297.

name of religious conversions. The name of the four priestly orders --- Saint Augustine, Saint Dominick, Saint Francis, and Society of Jesus --- were mentioned on account of the last.

These four Orders have accomplished considerable results in the conversion of the people of these Islands as has already been stated, and as a matter of fact the natives have received well the matters of the faith being as they are very intelligent people who have realized the errors of their condition as gentiles, and the truth of the Christian religion; and now they have good churches and well-constructed timber monasteries with fine paintings and ornaments adorning their churches, having fine service sets, crosses, candelabra, silver, and gold chalices, with many pious organizations and fraternities, continuation of the sacraments and attendance in the Divine Office and their liberality in regaling and maintaining their priests with great obedience and respect, and the many alms given to them and the considerable subscriptions they make to help the souls in purgatory, and for the burying of the dead, to which call they respond with real promptness and prodigality.³¹²

It would then seem that in a manner, the orders have successfully planted their religious ways on the inhabitants of the islands. The people became christianized; and in fact, for the reasons of the historian himself, they (the same ones who were considered dumm and pagan in the earlier portions of the narrative) were suddenly considered intelligent for they received Christianity without qualms. What the author actually meant was, of course, just the physical or surfacial reality; and that was most likely, for him, enough for the needs of his times. The inhabitants let themselves be baptized, they went to church, they confessed, they wear decent clothes, they showed semblance of being civilized; and so, they were christianized. The Spaniards were hence doing them wonderful.

The narrative went on to discuss the various advantages that the Spaniards brought in on the islands especially in the name of trade and foreign relations; and so, the theory that the coming of the foreigners on the islands was further illustrated and even modified. Nothing was naturally said about what the islanders felt about the whole thing nor about how the foreign innovations were changing, to the detriment of their ways and customs, their lives. Every single thing on the narrative was just representations or embodiment of the considerations, concepts, and idealizations of the society within which the author was a part of --- the Spaniards'. Appropos, when the archipelago's inhabitants showed signs of being acculturated or, to be more exact, hispanized, they were considered okay and acceptable. Hispanization, with all its trimmings, was hence considered congruent to modernization and naturally, civilization.

And so, the illustration was complete. The fulcrum of the narrative then was clear; it was the coming of the Spaniards. This key event made the two versions of the archipelago's picture possible. The Spaniards were the most important figure in the narrative; in a manner, they were the reasons for the narrative. To wit, if the Spaniards did not come to the islands, there wouldn't be any story about the islands; there wouldn't be any sucesos, whatsoever. The most important happening, hence, about the islands or the most important *suceso* in the Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas was the Spaniards

themselves. The approach used was clearly events in nature; the narrative wanted to deliver the run of various events in a specific area or context. And because the author of the narrative was an educated historian who was, in a way, an heir to the conquistadores before him, his considered most important element that was supposedly taken down to the colonized islands was his society's idea of political order, or to be more exact, his society's idea of civilization within which politics and economics played major roles. The surficial result of this attitude was the fact that history, or sucesos, was political; it was the story of power administration and management.

This general principle was not only followed by the lay intelegentsia of that time, it was also all-embracingly adhered to by the other representatives of the greater number of intellectuals, namely the priests. And interestingly enough, these two portions of the times' intellectual class were, in a manner, related to one another. But unlike their lay counterparts who mostly wrote within the forms of estadismos or sucesos, the friars would write within the tradition of cronicas which would reach its zenith (in the sense that it would be published in its finest shape) through the forms of relaciones and conquistas; and so, the forms *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* or *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* were borne out. The priestly orders were natural scholars during the time that they arrived on the islands. They were heirs to the scholarship tradition which was embodied in their cronicas --- literature which in general had the goal to describe the times, the times of their important God, Jesus Christ. The priests or friars were thence natural historians; they were descriptors of the times. And because they were describing or narrating the times of their Lord, then it was only natural to expect that everything they put into writing had to do with their faith and worship. This kind of arrangement was for awhile enough for the orders; it only became unfit or not necessarily exact, when the friars went out of the continental Europe so as to widen the reach of their faith within the considered pagan lands of Asia and Africa. They found the solution, as what was already mentioned in the earlier portions of this study, on the concepts of relacion or sometimes, conquistas.

The friars' relaciones were mostly exemplars on their observations of the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago and the effects of their missionary works on the same. They were, in a way, feasibility studies; they studied the inhabitants of the islands so that they could more or less know how to behave and apply them their mission of christianization. Much space and time were obviously given by these friars on the study of the customs and religion of the earlier communities on the archipelago. The immediate result of this was the fact that most of the relaciones or conquistas they produced were good exemplars of ethnological studies on the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. Fray Juan de Plasencia³¹³, who came to the Philippines as one of the first Franciscan missionaries in 1577, wrote

³¹² Ibid., pp. 309-310.

³¹³ Juan de Plasencia was distinguished for gathering the converts into reducciones (villages in which they dwelt apart from the heathen, and under the special care of the missionaries), for establishing missionary schools, for his linguistic abilities (being one of the first to form a grammar and vocabulary of the Tagal language), and

two quite interesting relaciones about the Tagalogs of the Luzon island in the year 1589. The first one described their social organization and property rights; while the second one described their burial styles, terms of worship or belief, and a few superstitions. The friar was convinced that the Tagalog society had a class structure comparable to that of Europe. Like the latter's knights' class, the former had the dato class; and corresponding to the latter's nobles, commoners, and slaves, the former had the maharlicas, aliping namamahay, and aliping sa guiguilir.³¹⁴ Marriages were generally made within the classes; but intermarriage between members of different classes were also tolerated. In fact, there were already existing standards on how to regulate the inheritance of the children both in endogamous and exogamous marriages; and even on how to manage the dowries (given by the groom to the bride's family upon marriage) in case of divorce or untimely death of the partner who then would leave his partner and children. The Tagalogs did not have the sort of temples like that in Europe but they have a special word for a place for worship, namely, simbahan. They believed on various spirits; still, their most treasured god was Badhala. They worshiped the sun, moon, stars; they paid reverence to crocodiles and to a sacred bird called Tigmananugin. They have a whole echelon of priests or priestesses of the devils: catalonan, mangangauay, manyisalat, manocolam, hocloban, silagan, magtatangal, osuang, mangagayomo, sonat, pangatohojan, and bayoguin.³¹⁵ The Tagalogs were for a long time pagans but according to Plasencia, "not a trace of this is left; and those who are now marrying do not even know what it is, thanks to the preaching of the holy gospel, which has banished it."³¹⁶

Plasencia's relaciones represented some of the really impressive literature produced by the missionaries who visited the archipelago. They somewhat foretold the kinds of production which could be expected from those of his group which was a part of the specialized area of the intellectuals' class of his time. The principle he used, like those of his lay colleagues, was simply the before-and-after illustrations of a particular picture; but unlike the latter, his approach was more of the topical in nature. There wasn't much concentration on events; much of the intellectual space was given to the topic of the archipelago's inhabitants and the effects of the christianization on the same subjects. The latter was naturally the more important for the missionaries; but they had to study the former so that they could effectively apply their real mission to it. This sort of mixed feelings of most of the missionaries on their subject would be best illustrated in the classic work of colonial literature --- not only in Philippine intellectual history but in that of the Spain as well --- entitled *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* by the Jesuit friar, Pedro Chirino. It was first published 1604 in Rome; but because of its outstanding achievements in the different areas of ethnological investigations, it would always be

for his ethnological research embodied in his two relaciones. He died in Lilio, Laguna in 1590. Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.* Vol. 7, p. 185.

³¹⁴ Juan de Plasencia, O.S.F., *Customs of the Tagalogs, 1589*. Also in Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.*, Vol. 7, pp. 172-185.

³¹⁵ Juan de Plasencia, O.S.F., *Relation of the Worship of the Tagalogs, Their Gods, and Their Burials and Superstitions, 1589*. Also in Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.* Vol. 7, pp. 185-196.

referred to in the various scholarly works about the archipelago in the following years by intellectuals of different nations.

Chirino embodied the mettle of most of the colonial missionaries, especially that of his order, of his time --- young, adventurous, scholarly, unbendingly faithful to the Catholic Christian religion, and uncompromising in his mission to convert. One could almost read all these qualities of the author in his produced *relacion*. The full title of the work was *Relation of the Filipinas Islands And Of What Has There Been Accomplished By the Fathers of the Society of Jesus*.³¹⁷ It consisted of eighty-two chapters; and naturally written in the language of the colonial masters, Spanish. The work was about the missionary works of the Jesuits on the Philippine Islands; and naturally, part of that more general topic was the kinds of people the missionary works were being applied to. In consequence, what would be found in Chirino's *relacion* was a form of ethnological study (on the Tagalogs and Visayans/Pintados) and the actual missionary activities of his order on the same groups of people. The work, accordingly, "make up a comprehensive picture of pre-Spanish Philippine society, not as glanced through the supercilious eyes of the uninvolved casual visitor, but as observed and rationalized by one who had unconditionally attached himself to the land and its inhabitants by ties of ministry and affection."³¹⁸ Impressive in the work were the discussions on the written and oral forms of the Tagalog and Visayan languages; as much as the various religious practices of the same ethnic groups.³¹⁹ Chirino exemplified in his work the earlier communities of the Luzon and Visayas islands --- they who during those times were alive and vigorous, attuned to seafaring adventure as to the hazards of the tribal battle, and at the same time, adaptable to open commerce, change, and exchange of ideas. His major conclusion, with regards to the communities he observed, was that their's were communities regulated mostly by oral tradition; that was, even if they did have their own form of writing. He was in the opinion that the early communities only wrote when they wanted to exchange letters³²⁰ that had to do with their everyday living. He appeared to sincerely thought that the earlier communities were intelligent groups of people who had their own norms and standards of living even before the Spaniards on their coasts landed; and in fact, their societies were comparable to those of the ancient forms of the Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews. And accordingly, these groups were ready and more than capable of receiving Christianity. It would be read within the length of the *relacion* that upon conversion, many of the members of the islands' communities even experienced miraculous

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

³¹⁷ P. Pedro Chirino, S.J. *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an Trabaiado los Pedres de la Compania de Jesus*, Roma: Estevan Paulino, Ano de MDCIV (Con licencia de los Superiores).

³¹⁸ Ramon Echevarria, "Introduction", in Pedro Chirino, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas/The Philippines in 1600*, Manila: Historical Conservation Society, (1604), 1969, p. vii.

³¹⁹ For the application of these ethnological studies, please refer to Chapter 1 of this study.

³²⁰ He would, however, contradict himself for he would mention along the work how his society would confiscate and burn a "book of certain pernicious poems which they call Golo." And so, it turned out that when one looks at the whole subject closer, one would find out that the older communities were not exclusively oral in nature but literate as well. They only discriminately wrote things that they considered really of utmost importance, appropos, things that has to do with the ancient religion.

moments (in relation to the Christian belief and doctrine of course) on their own; which obviously, for the author, were signs that the community members were sincere in their conversion and true to their vows of the new religion. There were of course some clues to the religious resistance executed by some of the communities, like for example that which happened in the province of Bohol as the Jesuits did their missionary works in the area. Here was how Chirino recalled the event:

...Another savage, fierce and intractable in disposition, after having heard the sermon on salvation and hell, said that he would go to hell; and he maintained this so obstinately that he seemed to be possessed by the devil. He was arousing the same spirit in others, as he was an influential man, respected by those of his village. I told him of the terrible punishments of hell, and in return he was asked what he was to do if his ancestors and parents were there, and he wished to be with them. I told him that he ought to first try the fire, to see if he could endure it, and I ordered some red-hot coals to be brought, that he might make this test; but his hands were as hard as his heart, and the fire had little effect on them.³²¹

This account was, as expected, ended with the fact that the man became a model Christian and even led his community towards this new religion. In the end, these same communities who resisted the religion would summon names of the the Virgin Mary and Jesus in reverence and in utmost faith like most of the Christian counterparts in the different portions of the world. And that was exactly what the missionaries like Chirino desired; that was, the “increase and extension of the holy Catholic faith in those so remote islands, by the conversion of so many souls who are so ready to receive it.”³²² This kind of zeal and dedication would be seen as well within the next published work, *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Philippinas, Japon, y China* by the Dominican friar named Diego Aduarte. It was published after his death³²³ in Manila in the year 1640. It was written within the general intellectual tradition embodied in the concept of *cronicas* and *relaciones*. And as can be read from the title, it accounted the missionary works done by the Dominican fathers in the areas of the Philippines, Japan and China. Aduarte was one of those romanticized figures of the missionaries who had the bible and cross in one hand and a sword in the other. He was known not only as an ideal missionary but as an intelligent man as well who adhered for the sending of a bigger number of learned and zealous missionaries in the mentioned areas of the world; so that the ministry would be better and efficiently furthered.

There would be a few more smaller *relaciones* written by the missionaries³²⁴ in the following years, but the works of Chirino and Aduarte --- most especially that of the former --- would only be

³²¹ Chirino, *Op.cit.* Also in Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.*, Vol. 13, p. 142.

³²² *Ibid.*, p. 217.

³²³ After Aduarte's death in 1636, the work was continued by his brother, Fray Domingo González, O.P. The book's second edition was published in Saragossa in 1693. C.R. Boxer, *Op.cit.*, p. 203.

³²⁴ Examples of these would be: Domingo de Salazar, *Relation of the Philippinas Islands*, 1586; Francisco Ortega, *Report Concerning the Filipinas Islands which it is Advisable to Settle and Pacify*; Gregorio Lopez, *Relation of Events in the Filipinas*, 1610; and others.

noticeably followed by the works of Augustinian friars, namely, Gaspar de San Agustin, O.E.S.A.³²⁵ and Casimiro Diaz, O.E.S.A.³²⁶ The similarities between the works of the earlier missionaries and the said Augustinian nonetheless ended there. San Agustin and Diaz were both missionaries on the islands; they made their names in scholarship like their forerunners but they never did have the sympathy for the people whom they worked with and on in the archipelago. They shared a single major historical work on the Philippines entitled *Conquests of the Filipinas Islands, and Chronicle of the Religious of our Father, St. Augustine* which was published in Villadolid in 1890. But before that, Gaspar de San Agustin's name would be popular because of a letter³²⁷ about the Philippine Islands and its inhabitants which he would write in the year 1720. In this letter he took on the times' usual white man's attitude in the Asia and its inhabitants; racial superiority was the most domineering philosophy guiding the work.

San Agustin grounded his statements about the coldness and humidness of the Filipinos' temperament on the great influence of the moon which shines on the islands, isthmuses and peninsulas which made up the whole of the Philippine archipelago. The Filipinos never did have the rebelliousness and changeableness of the Europeans, he added, because of the "similarity and lack of variety in the food that they use and which their ancestors used".³²⁸ As a consequence, they were considered

...fickle, malicious, untrustworthy, dull, and lazy; fond of traveling by river, sea, and lake; fond of fishing and ichthyophagous --- that is, they sustain themselves best on fish; they have little courage, on account of their cold nature, and are not disposed to work.³²⁹

Their was not a single good trait, thence, on the islanders. They were the personifications of the most uninteresting (which could be the kindest to be said about them) characters of the times. San Agustin then proceeded to illustrate this theory on the following ninety-one points of his letter. The Filipinos, or to be more exact, the Indians were the lowest form of animals.³³⁰ They were shameless ingrates, lazy, naturally rude, incompetent, disrespectful, tactlessly inquisitive, loud, inconsiderate of others

³²⁵ Gaspar de San Agustin was born in Madrid in 1650 and was professed to the convent of San Felipe el Real in 1667. He arrived on the Philippine Islands for ministry in 1689 and held different key positions in various areas of Luzon. He died after a long and painful sickness, which deprived him of his sight at a convent in San Pablo, Manila in 1724. Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.*, Vol. 25, pp. 151-152.

³²⁶ Casimiro Diaz was born in 1693 in Toledo, Spain. He took his vows in 1710; and after his arrival in the Philippines (1717), he continued his literary studies. He died in Manila in 1746. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

³²⁷ The exact translated title of the letter is: "Letter from Fray Gaspar de San Agustin to a friend in Espana who asked him as to the nature and characteristics of the Indian natives of these Philipinas Islands." (*Carta de Fr. San Agustin A Un Amigo Suyo En Espana Que Le Pregunta El Natural Igenio De Los Indios Naturales De Estas Islas Philipinas*) There are quite a number of studies done about this letter available; they were done both by Filipino and foreign scholars. There are of course translated versions of the work; one would be found in the monumental work of Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.*, Vol. 40, pp. 183-295. But one of the more interesting one was a Masters Thesis done in the U.P. Diliman in 1992; to wit, Dedina Lapar, *Ang Liham ni Fray Gaspar de San Agustin: Isang Mapanuring Pamamatnugot*, M.A. Kasaysayan, 1992.

³²⁸ San Agustin, *Op.cit.* Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.*, Vol. 40, p. 194.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

³³⁰ Father Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., *Questions of Father Murillo of the Society of Jesus on Father San Agustin's Letter*, Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.*, Vol. 40, p. 280.

(especially the friars and other Spaniards), vain, insatiable, uncaring of animals (except their fighting cocks), insolent, selfish, childishly playful, cowardly, ignorantly rash, superstitious, unreasonable in their belief on the logic of their older people, extremely arrogant, imitators of bad habits, ignorant and uncaring for their ancestry, tyrannical to one another, ignorant to the extremes, mischievous, distrustful, excessively revengeful, lustful, prejudicial and troublesome, unambitious and never goal-oriented, lacking of foresight, uncivil, liars, cunning and diabolically clever, fond of rituals and comedies, material and literal in their conversations, drunkards to the point of alcoholism, robbers, connivers in various evil deeds, easily seduced or tempted, immoral. And so, the Filipinos were wretched beings whose

...actions are such as are dictated by nature through the animal, intent solely on its preservation and convenience, without any corrective being applied by reason, respect, and esteem for reputation. Consequently, he who first said of a certain people that if they saw the whole world hanging on one nail and needed that nail in order to hang up their hat, they would fling the world down in order to make room for the hat, would have said it of the Indians had he known them. For they think only of what is agreeable to them, or of what the appetite dictates to them; and this they will put in action, if fear, which also dwells in them, do not dissuade them. Hence, they will be seen dressed in the shirts and clothes of their masters, for the sole reason that because they no sooner enter any house than they become the owners of everything in it. And that worst thing is that, although they are not good and faithful servants, *intrans in gaudium domini sui*.³³¹

There was not a single positive trait among the Filipinos then. They were the worst form of people --- if one could even call them that --- there could ever be. They were not worth of anything except the lashes or beating that the Spaniards normally gave them; that was, to wake them up a bit, of course. They were, after all, like the lazy carabaos who always need some beating so that they can be *a bit* helpful in turning the soil of the field.

There was quite a different opinion on the said matter. After San Agustin's letter describing the nature of the Filipinos was published, the three-volumes work of the Franciscan friar Juan Francisco de San Antonio³³² respectively in the years 1738, 1741, and 1744 came out in Sampaloc through the financing of the Franciscan fathers themselves. The first volume consisted of the description of the Philippines, its products, its inhabitants, with a short chronology of its ecclesiastical and secular establishments. The second and third volumes described the lives and deeds of men who came to work on the conversion of the Philippines in the province of San Gregorio.³³³ San Antonio's works were patterned after the traditional scholarship embodied in the concept of *cronica*; the whole title of his work was *Chronicles of the Holy Province of San Gregorio of the Philippine Islands, China and Japan*.

³³¹ Agustin, *Op.cit.*, pp. 258-259.

³³² Fr. Juan Francisco de San Antonio was born in Madrid on Sept. 18, 1686. His parents were Juan de la Pena and Ana Pintado. He entered the Franciscan Novitiate of Fuensalida of Toledo, Spain on October 3, 1701. He professed his vows a year later. He studied philosophy and arts plus scholastic and moral theology. He joined the missionary group for the Philippines in 1724. He took the work of chronicling during the thirties, and continued doing it till the time of his death on May 29, 1744. (*The Philippine Chronicles of Fray San Antonio*, Trans. By Pedro Picornell, Manila: Historical Conservation Society and the Franciscan Fathers, 1977)

³³³ D. Pedro Picornell, "Translator's Note", *The Philippine Chronicles of Fray San Antonio*, *Op.cit.*, p. xvi.

It described the times and context; and that was the state of christianization or evangelization of the Franciscan fathers in the different areas of the Philippine Islands. In a manner, because this process was already started for quite some time then, it was already bearing its humble fruits. The newly converted christian communities plus the modernizing efforts (so as to look for possibilities in its agricultural and economic developments) of the colonial government which was trying its best to win the hand in the race for the power on the islands inhabitants with the friars were discussed in the chronicles.

San Antonio's reasons for writing was even written on the first chapter of the work itself; and that was to record the life and deeds of the members of San Gregorio; to give an accurate and true description of the Philippines, so as to give a background of the places and conditions under which the missionaries live in; and to encourage prospective missionaries to come to the islands, so as to continue the worthy work of evangelization.³³⁴ The work was filled with hope and idealism which were characteristic and comparative to those of the earlier published works of the first missionaries on the islands, e.g. Chirino's. For our purposes, its most important portion was volume one for it was descriptive of the islands and obviously generally historical in approach and nature. Its sixty-seven chapters could be generally grouped into two major parts; the first part which consists of forty-five chapters discussed the islands and its inhabitants while the second part which consists of twenty-three chapters discussed the state of evangelization in the archipelago. The topography, the natural resources, and the whole of the physical reality which made up the Philippine Islands were relatively good covered in the work. A good seven chapters following this discussion were solely on the character and nature of the islands' inhabitants (origin of the Indios; their character and skills; their letters, languages, and culture; their corporeal features; their false religions; their government and social practices; their other customs). San Antonio was in the opinion that although they themselves were ambiguous about their origins as a people,

...the Filipinos are more skillful than Indians in other places. They easily learn any skill and they immitate any work of beauty placed before them. That is why they make accomplished scribes which supply the treasuries, secretaries, tribunals, and other private offices...³³⁵

These comments were naturally kind; but these were only a forerun into the generally all-embracingly bad impressions on the nature of the Filipinos. San Antonio, like most of his colleagues, believed that the islanders were not capable of doctrinal understanding, of loyalty and truthfulness and thence were only bestly suited for manual labor and, naturally, for entertainment such as singing and playing of musical instruments. He explained, "...their understanding appears to be fastened (as it were) to them with pins and is always limited to materialistic subjects because it does not extent to matters of depth...

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ San Antonio, Op.cit., p. 141.

they are more capable in manual skills in spite of the great apathy they have for everything...³³⁶ He would modify and clarify this theory by his discussions on the different religious and cultural practices of the Filipinos; and end the theorizing with the consideration of the eventful fact that the missionaries came to the islands to save its inhabitants from themselves, from their own paganism. Referrals on the earlier written chronicles, among them were that of Chirino, Colin, San Agustin, etc., were also made; so as to prove the veracity of most of the claims on the way of living and over-all culture of the islands' inhabitants. And so would the end of the story the same as those of its forerunners'; namely, the arrival and acceptance of Christianity among the islanders. Therefore, Catholicism was again considered the most important civilizing force on the islands; the same conclusion that was reached at in the earlier literature. The work classically exemplified a *cronica*; it was a story of the triumph of Catholicism on the darker, pagan lands of the Philippine Islands. Catholic Christianity was considered to be the light-giving element within the lives of the poor heathens on the islands. San Antonio's was, in this regard, comparable to San Agustin but his work wouldn't be as popular as that of the latter. In fact, San Antonio's *cronica* --- because of its drolling style and mechanical nature --- was almost nominal and colorless when compared to San Agustin's letter. It wouldn't create the ripples in the intellectual circles that would always be attached to the latter.

San Agustin's letter could have been harmless if it was true to the confidentiality implied in the two-way relationship of one private person to another; then, the statements contained in the letter could have been considerably bounded within a small closed circuit. But the *Zeitgeist*, it seemed, was not entirely on the side --- if not against them --- of the colonized earlier communities of the archipelago. There were quite a number of this letter's manuscript which circulated in Spain; in not much time, thence, were the statements contained in the letter became one with the greater or popular opinion therein. It was even reiterated or at the least, oft referred to afterwards in many of the writings of San Agustin's colleague, Casimiro Diaz. The latter continued and brought the to the end the former's *Conquest of the Filipinas Islands And The Chronicle Of The Religious Of Our Father, St. Augustine*. Diaz came to the Philippines in 1712, a time when most of the religious were still very much divided on how to efficiently distribute the Catholic Christian faith among the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Diaz strongly believed, like his forerunner, that the peoples of the dark lands were naturally savage; but unlike him, he was convinced that they could only be converted through the force of the missionaries' faith and hard work. He stated

...the heathen seldom oppose our preaching, and if they do oppose it, it is not because they disbelieve it, nor out of zeal for their own rites, but for motives which are purely temporal and political; either because they fear that they will be subjugated by the Spaniards, or that they will be made to pay an onerous tribute, or that they may be enslaved or killed... And thus experience has taught us that when the missionaries have ventured among them entirely deprived of temporal support, and armed only with zeal of God's honor, they have gathered more fruit in those regions where they have been protected by the King's weapon. And what is more, the only missions

³³⁶ Ibid.

which have achieved permanence and stability are those where the missionaries have delivered themselves into the hands of the heathen, trusting in the divine help.³³⁷

It would be understood in this quote that the theories about the nature of the Filipinos stated in San Agustin's letter were not wholly taken. But its sweeping conclusions that the inhabitants were cunning, pagan and heathen were applied to the actual exertions of missionaries in their context; or in effect, applied according to the author's needs in his work framework. And this illustration of the Filipinos as a people would be continually used in most of the literature and especially in almost all of the historical narratives (which at included *estadismos*, *relaciones*, and *crónicas* in its original form or in the form of *conquistas*) about them in the following years. In fact, there would even be authors who actually thought that this theories were the absolute truth of the whole matter.

Of course, there were contrary opinions as well; and they would manifest themselves in the published literature embodied within the general idea of the newly conceptualized *historia* of the next years. The confusing situation though was already created. San Agustin's, San Antonio's and Diaz's illustration of the Filipino personality foreshadowed everything else that was written beforehand. And even if there were contrary opinions on the matter, the discussions and literature following it were just circling around the same theme, the same theory. It thence contributed to a form of standstill in the creative efforts towards the actual definition of the Filipino identity; and to an effective typification or compartmentalization of the Filipino people as an incompetent, lazy, and lowest form of animal lot.

B. Historia de las Islas Filipinas (por los Espanoles)

The theories of San Agustin on the Filipino people's nature, though obviously unfounded, became the subject of many historical works in the years following its publication. The literature which were thence consequently created embodied a forward movement in the development of historical writing as a discipline; the different discussions on the same theme, in a manner, largely contributed in the ultimate creation of an intellectual discourse among historical writers of the times and context. During most of the second half of the eighteenth century, the word *historia* would be more often used to refer to historical works that had to do with the Philippine Islands. *Estados* would still be used; but mostly to mean the reports of the governor generals and other colonial officials to the Spanish crown. *Relaciones*, *sucesos*, and *crónicas* would also be mostly present; but most of the historical writers would use *historia* even if they were actually just continuing the concepts and meaning they have been using when they were utilizing the formerly mentioned concepts. Slowly, thence, was the concept of *historia*, which was much earlier congruently taken in as the same as that of petty stories, continually

³³⁷ Casimiro Diaz, *Parrocho de Indios instruido*, Manila: 1745. Quote was lifted from C.R. Boxer, *Op.cit.*, p. 208.

evolving; but that was, to be more exact, limited within the local domain of the Philippine Islands as a subject, written and conceptualized by the colonizing Spaniards themselves.

It should be qualified though that not all of the members of the whole colonizing population of Spaniards wrote and produced historical works; the really more active portion of this, which actually researched and wrote about the islands were the missionaries, the Catholic friars. And there were quite a number of them on the archipelago. Each one of them; or more correctly, each chosen representative of the five orders (Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, Recollects) wrote and told their version of their basically the same story of the islands. And because they were discussing about the same thing, discussing among themselves, and discussing through the use of the same Spanish language, they unknowingly created a specific intellectual discourse which would ultimately help in the development of the concept of historia and at the same time create the actual and working (later on considered as) colonial historiography on the Philippine Islands.

The *Historia de las Islas Filipinas*³³⁸ of Juan José Delgado³³⁹ which was written between 1751 and 1752 (though only first published a century later) would, in a manner, pioneer in this discourse. It would present the contrary opinions to the ones which were discussed in San Agustín's letter about the nature of the Filipino people. Delgado was convinced that the denunciations in San Agustín's letter might lead to the discouragement of many religious who otherwise thought of realizing their missionary goals in the various lands of Asia, most especially in the Philippine Islands.³⁴⁰ The only way to resolve the situation was thence to present contrary arguments on the matter. And that was one of the considered main goals of his historia. In order to effectively make his point across, he restated Fray Murillo's commentaries on the good traits of the Filipinos (Indians)³⁴¹; and then, he added his own observations and opinions on the matter. He said:

³³⁸ Juan José Delgado, S.J., *Historia general sacro-profana, politica, y natural de las islas del poniente llamadas Filipinas*, Manila: 1892.

³³⁹ Juan José Delgado "was a native of Cadiz; the time of his birth is not known. In 1711 he left Spain for Filipinas, and perhaps remained for some time in Mexico; it is probable that he reached Filipinas as early as 1717. He seems to have spent most of his life in the Visayas Islands --- Samar, Cebú, Leyte, etc. --- but to have visited most of the peoples of the archipelago at some time or other." Blair and Robertson, Vol. 40, Op.cit., p. 140. Delgado died in 1765. (Cf. C.R. Boxer, Op.cit.)

³⁴⁰ Here were his words: "I confess that I read this letter, in which the reverend author criticises the customs and dispositions of the natives of Filipinas, some years ago. But I read it as I am wont to read other letters, for diversion and amusement, without thinking much about its artfulness, and I was delighted at its erudition. However, when I afterward considered its contents with some degree of thought, I saw that it brought forwards, in its whole length no solid proof of what it tries to make one believe; and it appeared to me a hyperbolical criticism from the very beginning. On that account, I resolve to make a few commentaries on the matter in the letter, both for the consolation of those whom our Lord may call to these missions, and so that it may be understood that at times sadness and melancholy are accustomed to heighthen things, making giants out of pygmies --- all the more, if a relish for revery and grumbling be joined with a tendency to exaggeration and with figures of speech corresponding thereto..." Delgado, *Historia...* Op.cit. Blair and Robertson, Op.cit. Vol. 40, pp. 283-284.

³⁴¹ Father Fray Pedro Murillo Velarde of the Society of Jesus wrote his *Historia de Philipinas* earlier. This frequently-quoted work was published in Manila, in 1749. Like those of his earlier colleagues, this work --- those basically analistic in nature --- could also be considered as another embodiment of a relatively serious

Who are the men who convey and conduct the ships and galleons from Acapulco and other kingdoms? Is it the Spaniard? Ask that of the pilots, masters, and boat swains, and they will all affirm that this great and inestimable good is due to the Indian alone. (Here is indeed where the hyperbole will fit exactly.) Besides this, who are the people who support us in these lands and those who furnish us food? Perhaps the Spaniards dig, harvest, and plant throughout the islands? Of a surety, no; for when they arrive at Manila, they were all gentlemen. The Indians were the ones who plow the lands, who sow the rice, who keep it clear (of weeds), who tend it, who harvest it, who thrash it out with their feet --- and not only the rice which is consumed in Manila, but that throughout the Filipinas --- and there is no one in all the islands who can deny me that. Besides this, who cares for the cattle-ranches? The Spaniards? Certainly not. The Indians are the ones who care for, and manage and tend the sheep and cattle by which the Spaniards are supported... It is the Indians themselves, with their exaggerated, magnified, and heightened laziness. Is this the thanks that we give them, when we are conquering them in their own lands, and have made ourselves masters in them, and are served by them almost as slaves? We ought to give God our Lord many thanks, because He maintains us only through the affection and by the useful labors of the Indians in this land; and He would perhaps have already driven us hence if it were not for this usefulness of theirs, and for the salvation of the Indians. We also owe our thanks to the Indians, since God our Lord sustains us in their lands by their means; and because we would die of starvation if they did not sustain us, provide us with food, serve us, and conduct us through the islands with so much love and security that they would all first perish before the father in whatever perils arise.³⁴²

Delgado, it seemed, was one of those kind of missionaries of the earlier times. He was idealistic but open-minded; and at the same time, undeniably much dedicated to his evangelization work among the Filipinos. The awareness of obviously unfriendly context his work would be coming out on did not deter him from making his unpopular comments on a familiar theme of earlier. He was liberal enough to see the reality of the surroundings he was moving on; that was why he saw who the Indians were and he was not afraid of stating what he actually saw and observed. That made him different from those of his immediate forerunners. But the problem was, he was only one of the very few who had this other opinion on the archipelago's inhabitants (and most probably one the major reasons why his work was only published a century after it was written). Most of the Spaniards of the time would never admit that the Indians could be good at something, let alone good for them. They would rather believe that they were saviours of the Indians and that colonization was doing the latter the best. The public knowledge on the enmity among the religious orders about the subject of evangelization did not help matters as well. The contrary opinions of Delgado would be easily put off as part of the competition between the order he was part of and that of those who wrote before him. And so, it was just another exchange of fires within the wars that had to do with the larger subject of what best to do so as to convert the darker lands of Asia and Africa.

What was obviously lost in this seemingly superficial analysis was the fact that Delgado was not really that much different from his forerunners. They were discussing one thing, and that was the colonized: the Filipino people. They were all taking off from the same arguments, they were going around the

consideration on the different ethnos found on the Philippine Islands. Father Murillo's historia described the missions of his order, their general labors in Manila for both Spaniards and local inhabitants, their methods of work, and some other occurrences of special importance to them as an order.

same theme, and they were using the same language. They were unaffectedly discussing something which was in reality do not have affective, though not necessarily practical, influence over their existence; that was because, the Filipino people were after all not their people. They were outside that culture; they have their own and in fact, they were moving and proceeding in their discussions through the use of it. They were looking at the Filipino people somewhat like a person looking at fishes inside an aquarium before him. And even if there were contrary opinions thence on the matter, it would not be much of the difference, for be it pro or con, they were both outside the actual living and existence of the observed. Both these forms of opinions on the Filipino people weren't making the Filipinos free nor giving them the actual and working opportunity of the times to better themselves. The opinion makers wouldn't care less if the Filipinos do not have enough to eat for they were taking a portion of their usual amount of food; they only care that the Filipinos were showing signs that they were expecting according to their calculations with regards to their theories or beliefs.

Nonetheless, inspite of the above discussion, it shouldn't be thought at all that the writings of these authors were completely evil or bad. As Delgado wrote his piece, he was actually beginning a discussion, a discourse among his colleagues. And that was important. He was beginning an intellectual discourse among his kind; and expectedly, an intellectual discourse is always good for the greater development of any science. It could then be taken in that Delgado was contributing to the betterment of the historical science; for he was opening an appearing to be closed subject of/on an already written and published work. The subject of the earlier work was not an announcement anymore; it was transformed into a subject to be discussed.

Delgado was also doing something for the the method of writing the narrative. When he started referring and using the literature before him as sources of information for his historia, he was somewhat also practicing what would be called historical method in the generations after him. He was clearly guided, in addition, by the linear philosophy of history in his work. Because he was a friar, his most important theme was Christianity; christianization was, therefore, the virtual fulcrum, which made his narrative move. Thence, like what was done before him, the work was periodized into two sections: the Filipinos before Catholicism and the Filipinos after Catholicism. And the the work's goal would be, naturally enough, the rationalization of the evangelizing action. Within the narrative, in accordance, it would be implicitly read that it made sense to continue the work of evangelization; the Indians were profiteering from the supposedly selfless actions of missionaries. And so, conclusively, it made sense to continue; the Spaniards were doing mankind good.

This quite interesting situation within the specialized field of the narrative would be continuously practiced long after Delgado was gone. He would be replaced by another historian, and him with

³⁴² Delgado, *Op.cit.*, pp. 292-294.

another, and another. One thing though was sure; the way towards the actual development of the skill of story-delivery or story-presentation embodied within the general concept of *historia* in the specialized subject of the Filipinas Islands was commenced. It would appear in the next years that this word would be more and more utilized to mean the earlier referred as *estados, sucesos, relaciones, cronicas, and conquistas*.

Another *historia*, for one, would appear as volumes in the Philippine press (in Manila, to be exact) between the years 1788 to 1792. It was the impressive fourteen-volumes work of Fray Juan de la Concepción of the Augustinian Recollects, entitled *Historia General de Philipinas, Conquistas Espirituales y Temporales de estos Espanoles Dominios, Establecimientos Progresos y Decadencias, Comprehende Los Imperios, Reinos, y Provincias, de Islas y Continentes con quienes ha havido Comunicacion, y Comercio por Immediatas Coincidencias. Con noticias universales Geographicas Hydrographicas de Historia Natural de Politica de Costumbres y de Religiones, en lo que deba interesarse tan universal titulo*.³⁴³ Like most of its forerunners, these volumes basically discussed the process and the actual effects of christianization on the islands world of the Philippines; and so to illustrate this matter, the before and after this process were naturally covered. Most interesting in it were the various descriptions on how the Recoletos proceeded with the reduccion of the communities on the archipelago. They were convinced that it was their most sacred mission to convert the islanders, appropos:

This Recollect province set itself to conquer those savage monsters. They had but little religion, and that an idolatry so barbarous and so stupid that no light of reason was visible in it. Their knowledge of the first cause was very erroneous and confused. They admitted another life, but through certain very confused transmigrations. They revered their dead greatly, for they prepared food for their resting places. They had certain little idols --- one who presided over the fields --- and they offered ridiculous sacrifices to all. They revered the moon greatly as the mistress of death, and celebrated their funeral rites only at the full moon. Their priests had high honor among them, and still more priestesses, who arrogated despotic power to themselves. They had no civil body, but were scattered, and had communication only in their families. They were timid and cowardly, and avenged their grievances only by treachery...³⁴⁴

The Indians were nothing but dumb pagans then. They never did know what they were doing. The friars would hence actually do them a great favor, if they were made to turn their backs on their old heathen ways so that they would then be free to see the light from the Catholic faith. There was no

³⁴³ General History of the Philippines: temporal and spiritual conquests of these Spanish dominions, their establishment, progress, and decadence; comprehending the empires, kingdoms, and provinces of islands and continents with which there has been communication and commerce by immediate coincidences, with general notices regarding geography, hydrography, natural history, politics, customs, and religions, in which so universal a title should be interested.

³⁴⁴ Juan de la Concepcion, General History of the Philippines: temporal and spiritual conquests of these Spanish dominions, their establishment, progress, and decadence; comprehending the empires, kingdoms, and provinces of islands and continents with which there has been communication and commerce by immediate coincidences, with general notices regarding geography, hydrography, natural history, politics, customs, and religions, in which so universal a title should be interested, Volume IV, Manila: 1788. Blair and Robertson, Op.cit., Vol. 21, pp. 314-315.

other recourse other than efficient, uncompromising, and systematic destruction of the older ways of the islanders. Here would be one of the illustrations on how the friars accomplished that:

Father Fray Rodrigo was one day passing through a thicket. That thicket was, according to their customs, one of the reserved one, and it was considered sacrilegious to cut anything from it, and that such act would be punished with immediate death. So infatuated were they with that blindness that no one, even though in great need, dared to take anything from that place, being restrained by fear. The father saw a beautiful tree, which they call pajo, laden with ripe fruits. He ordered his followers to gather some by climbing the tree. They strenuously resisted, but father Fray Rodrigo insisted on it. They declared that they wouldn't do it under any circumstances, and that it meant sure death if they offended the respect whose fatal sentence comprehended all the trees of that place. The father severely chided them for their error, and to show them that it was so, he determined to gather the fruit himself. He began to break branches to clear the trunk, in order to facilitate the ascent. The Indians were grieved, and urgently begged him to desist from the undertaking, which they considered as so rash. But the religious, arming himself with the sign of the cross, and reciting of the antiphon, *Ecce lignum crucis*, managed to gather some of the ripe fruits, which the tree offered. He ate it in front of them, and liked the fruit very much for they were indeed savory. They looked at his face amazed, expecting instant death. When that did not happen, they recognized their delusion, and detested their cheats. They also ate without experiencing any harm. The father charged them to say nothing upon their arrival at the village. He took with him a good quantity of that fruit, and divided a great portion of it among the chiefs. Esteeming the gift, they, in their ignorance, ate it without fear. In the sermon of the following day, the father disclosed the secret and checked their vain fears; so that, undeceived by experience, they followed him with their axes, and in short order felled that thicket, which was confused center of perverse unquities. Thereupon, many of those infidels submitted to that true knowledge.³⁴⁵

Of course, with the words of a friar who was himself part of the reduction process, the act accomplished by the Fray Rodrigo (and described in the quote above) sounded so noble and heroic. The friar was saving the Indians from the damnation brought about by their own stupidity; and that was the gist of the whole narrative. Noticeable here though was the systematic actions executed by the friar so as to completely convert the Indians. No care whatsoever was given to the old ways and religion, to the customs of the latter. The friar knew well that the only way to effectively convince the Indians to convert to his religion was by first showing them the follies of their action and then by completely destroying the concretizations of their old faith. Old worship areas like the forest were thence unthinkingly cleared. And in the process, years of belief and practice of the early communities were razed to the ground; on top of it, a good number of the concretizations of the culture were at the same time unavoidably lost.

The friars thence did not only convert Christians through the help of the force of arms by the conquistadores; they themselves systematically proceeded to convert heathens by ruthlessly destroying the customs and ancient religion of the latter. But the narratives concerning the forceful conversions became so powerfully overpowering, that the other relatively peaceful stories of conversions became almost considerably unimportant. They weren't unimportant. On the whole, they spelled out how the older traditions, the ancient ways and customs were destroyed.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 276-277.

The problem was that, the said destruction was deceptively covered within the narratives of historia written by the Spaniards, or to be more exact, by the Spanish missionaries. And this trend of meanings and messages contained within the narrative would be continued in the following years through the works of the next historians of the times and context. De Zuniga's work, *Historia de las Islas Filipinas*, which appeared in 1803 (but only covered years till 1764) would be another embodiment of the same theme. Though De Zuniga³⁴⁶ largely criticized the chronicles of his clerical predecessors, including his own, for being too concerned with the details of their ecclesiastical history to the neglect of the more important secular matters, his work was evidently and, on the whole, unavoidably the same as with those of the earlier years. It was still the story of the Spaniards, of Christianity on the islands world of the Philippines; that was, except for the slight slant which basically meant that the work was one of those which sympathized with the inhabitants of the archipelago, the Indians. The author did not agree with the theory of his forerunners on the different types of peoples on the islands; he was convinced that there were only two types of peoples there --- the Negritos or Aetas and the Indians. The Negritos were the mountains-living, black-skinned (but not as black as those from Guinea), kinky-haired, and flat-nosed people. Efforts had been made to domesticate and christianize them; and they were not opposed to it, provided that they were given food to eat. But if they were ordered to work in support of their family, they return to the mountains although they have just been baptized. The Indians, on the other hand, were those who were of average stature, olive color, large eyes, flat noses, and straight hair. All of them have some form of government and so, were, more or less, civilized.³⁴⁷

Although the general tone, with regards to the utmost importance of christianization on the peoples of the Philippines, of the work was not much different from those before it, one would still have the impression (as one reads the work) that the author really had the sincere intentions to know his subjects --- namely, the Indians. He evidently, for one, spent time in pondering and researching about the actual origins of the peoples of the archipelago. The method and the results that he had in the process were both quite interesting. Here was how he treated this subject:

³⁴⁶ Joaquin Martínez de Zuniga „was one of the most illustrious men of the Augustinian order who ever labored in the Philippines. He was born in Aguilar in Navarra, February 19, 1760, and deciding to embrace the life professed in the Augustinian college at Valladolid January 26, 1779. Setting out for the Philippines in 1785, he remained one year in Mexico, before going to them, arriving in Manila, August 3, 1786. In the islands, he learned the Tagalog language, and acted as minister-associate in Batangas and Tambobon for four years. In 1790 he was appointed lector, but was soon appointed as parish priest in Hagonoy (1791). In 1792, he acted as secretary of the province, and in 1794 and 1797 administered the villages of Calumpit and Pasig respectively. Being invited by General Alava to accompany him on his tour of inspection among the islands, he did so, and the *Estadismo* (published in Madrid in 1893 by W.E. Retana) is the fruit of that journey. After returning to Manila, he took charge of the parish of Paranaque (1801-1806). In 1806 he was elected provincial of the order. He had also filled the office of defensor in 1794, and was a calificador of the Holy Office. After his provincialate he resumed charge of the ministry of Paranaque which he held until his death (March 7, 1818).” Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.*, Vol. 43, pp. 113-114.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-117.

It is not easy to prove the origins of these peoples but their language might supply some light. Although the languages spoken by these Indians are many and diverse, they resemble one another so closely that it is recognized lightly that they are all dialects of one and the same tongue, as the Spanish, French, and Italian are of the Latin. The prepositions and pronouns are almost the same in all of them, and numerals differ but slightly, many words are common to all, and they have the same structure. This language, which is one single language, with different dialects, is spoken from Madagascar to Philipinas and no one can contradict this. I add that it is spoken in Nueva Guinea and in all the lands of the south, in the Marianas, in the islands of San Duisk, in those of Otayti, and in almost all the islands of the South Sea. In a collection of voyages wherein are found several dictionaries of the terms which the travelers could learn in each one of these islands, I have seen with wonder that the pronouns are almost the same; that in the Tagálogs, the numerals resemble those of any other language of these islands, and most of the words are the same and have the same meaning as in the Tagálog language. But the thing which made me believe more in the identity of these languages was my examination of Don Juan Hovel, an Englishman, who spoke the dialect of San Duisk with a servant of his who was a native of those islands. I found that the construction was the same as that of the languages which are spoken in Philipinas. Consequently, I had no reason to doubt that all these languages are dialects of one speech which is the most extensive in the world, and which is spoken through many thousands of leguas from Madagascar to the islands of San Duisk, Otayti, and the islands of Pasquas which is not six hundred leguas distant from America; and the fact that the Indians of Philipinas do not understand the peoples of those islands when they pass through their lands does not offer any argument against this supposition, for neither do the Spaniards understand the French, nor in these islands do those of some provinces understand each other.³⁴⁸

Linguistics was used as an auxillary discipline, so as to enlighten or gain answers to an obviously historical question. This method of analysis was not that popular in the area of history and history-writing within the colonial sphere at that time; and so, De Zuniga was actually beginning an innovative and potentially fruitful take-off ground in the study of a people. That was because Linguistics was considered then as a totally isolated area; and dictionaries, grammar books, etc. were its major products. Using it thence as a method for analysis in history was a wholly creative enterprise.

The results that came up through it were, though not entirely as sound as those of today's studies, surprisingly comprehensive. The study theorized that the different peoples from Madagascar to the islands of San Duisk, Otayti, and the islands of Pascuas (parts of today's Oceania) were all of the same stock; and that they speak only one language which was comparable to Europe's Latin, only different dialects. We know these days, naturally, that those were never just dialects; they were, when their peoples started living in a particular and relatively isolated local and territory, all languages, with only one mother tongue which is called today as Austronesian or Malayo-Polynesian. But considering the range of developments in the science of Linguistics at that time, this calculation of De Zuniga only spoke of the intellectual developments of the times and context he was part of; that was, if not in itself almost ahead of it. In addition to this, the author was also unknowingly practicing a relatively different guiding philosophy in his analysis; he was comparing peoples and coming up with the general conclusion that they were just different and not necessarily hierarchical. If the author was

³⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 117-121.

entirely convinced of the philosophy of white man's superiority over every people of the world, he wouldn't even have entertained such a thought which he expressed in his work. His work would have been, even for him, blasphemous. But he was idealistic and dedicated to learning, and so, his actual work spoke only of his kind of person, and naturally, of his religious profession.

Nonetheless, it is not to be unforeseen that De Zuniga's work plus those of his forerunners --- eventhough all of them were religious in nature --- represented a relatively huge portion in the scientific developments related to the colonial Philippines. These works, including the various interpretations, meanings and methodological practice and innovations they utilized, would make up what would be termed colonial historiography in the later years. The missionaries made up a huge portion of the persons who pushed through and realized this specialized field. And as what was already mentioned and discussed above, they made this to the fruition through the concept of historia.

These scholars though were not only representatives of the Catholic church, they were also secondly, parts of a particular people --- the Spanish people --- and so they were also much influential to those of their kind, of their culture. As they proceeded with their discourse then, they were, in theory, also doing it with the subliminal participation-invitation to those who also speak their language. It would be witnessed, consequently, in the later years that the intellectual discussion pioneered and mostly participated in by missionaries would be chartered in by lay people, by learned Castellanos, as well.

Lay people, on the whole, would have a larger say in the general run of things during the nineteenth century. Organized teaching of history became a matter of national importance during these times. And as universal education spread, history was accepted as a necessary subject in almost all the schools and universities. For the first time, the bulk of historical writing came to be done by professional historians, for whom it became a condition of securing academic appointments or of consolidating their standings as university teachers. Writing of history eventually became a continuously cooperative efforts, where the achievements of past historians could be used systematically by their successors. Furthermore, there was also a freer atmosphere in writing.³⁴⁹ There was an improved intellectual freedom in almost all of Europe; freer expression of independent or unorthodox ideas were largely present --- contrary to the previous years when Napoleon reigned in the larger portion of lands on the continent, with terror. And these generally revolutionary changes in the larger intellectual development of the continent did not escape the Spaniard, who was himself heir to recent (starting from the later portion of the fifteenth century) scholarly changes that were connected to its career as the representative of the Christian, conquering, white man of Europe.

³⁴⁹ "The Study of History", *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 1990, p. 572.

Consequently, the 19th century Spaniard, though theoretically part of the massively changing Europe, became considerably apart of the same as well. He was witness to great intellectual developments but he was also an heir to a recent golden age of his cultural person, embodied in the conquistadores and misioneros who were his supposed greater ancestors; somewhere, thence, in between these major factors, he had to find his role in the newly evolving intellectual reality. This inner struggle of the Castellano would manifest itself in most of their published works, most especially in those concerning their colonies; and in our case, on the Philippine Islands. He would, in the process, make himself felt within an area which was largely occupied by the missionaries in the previous years; and he would, naturally, just continue on using the same principles, paradigms, and concepts which were already in practice within the discourse he was participating in. He would also proceed with the utility of the much general idea of *historia*, within the greater area of colonial historiography; that is, with a slight difference that he was participating within it as a professional, institutionally-educated historian.

D. José Montero y Vidal was a good example of such a Spanish intellectual historian. His three-volumes work³⁵⁰ about the islands world of the Philippines appeared in Madrid between the years 1887 and 1895. Montero y Vidal was a civilian official who had served for some time in the colonies, and was very critical of the missionary historians of his times and context. Though he did not particularly add a considerable portion in this regard to what was already written by the Jesuits, he did use a new approach on the matter. He criticized the clerical chroniclers for ascribing most of the Spanish victories to the miraculous interventions of some saint connected with their Order, instead of giving due credit to the soldiers and sailors who really did the fighting.³⁵¹ He wanted to arouse the interest of his lethargic countrymen to the values and potentials of their colonial possessions in the Pacific; but apparently, he was too late for contrary tides to his will manifest themselves in the immediately following years both within Spain and within the colony itself. Nationalist feelings were rapidly growing among the educated Filipinos, and the repressive measures of the colonial government only hastened its progress. The orders did not act as buffers between the colonial administration and colony; on the contrary, they became the most embittered nemesis of all forms of political progress and awareness among the Filipino people. It is, nonetheless, worthy to study Montero y Vidal's obra maestra for it was representative --- in a way --- of the new thinking among his mettle. On top of this, his works would be now and then referred to by the various historians during and following his times; and so, he did, in his way then, managed to dent his name within the general trend of colonial historiography of the Philippines. The work itself exemplified a relatively strict adherence to the principle of narrating the events that passed. Dates and events abound in the work; making it, in a manner, almost like a compendium of different stories that took place within the colony. And because Montero y Vidal himself wasn't able to personally experience all the events and places within the

³⁵⁰ D. José Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas desde el descubrimiento hasta nuestros dias*, Tomo I-III, Madrid: 1887-1895.

³⁵¹ C.R. Boxer, *Op.cit.*, p. 210.

archipelago described in the work, he had to rely on the different reports (*estadismos*) and histories (*sucesos, cronicas, relaciones, historias*) written by various authors before him; so that he could meet all the necessities of his planned framework and goals.³⁵² This methodological trait of this *historia*, we think, was one of its better qualities. In a manner, it embodied a narrative following the principles of the fast developing discipline of history of the times; and with it, the rigidity that was supposed to be seen to by the professionally trained historian from the different schools and universities. Unlike the earlier works, it didn't have qualms in citing the various works written by the representatives of all the religious orders on the archipelago; there wasn't a marked tendency to just lean on a single point of view of a particular order. Quotes were made according to the abstracted frame of the author; and not according to order loyalty nor anything in that direction.

The philosophy it used was not much different from that used earlier. It was linear in character; and so, still followed the event-consequence approach within the narrative. It stated a particular beginning and naturally, implied to a particular heights attained in the end; apropos, the start of the history of the Philippines was the discovery of the Spaniards of that pagan lands, and the end of the same would be the time when all its heathen qualities were gone and the whole islands world was hispanized (not only religiously but administratively as well). This was, of course, not really surprising for although Montero y Vidal was not particularly a priest, he was still foremost a Spaniard; and being a Spaniard during his times also meant being a Catholic Christian. He didn't really have anywhere else to go but in the same way that his fellow church members already threaded on; and that meant, on the whole, following the Christian philosophy of history, where the foreseen end would be the perfected end of the times when Jesus Christ would come again to judge mankind. And so, according to the logic of a Spaniard, the best way to prepare oneself for that would be to act and become a Christian Spaniard; and this process should be proceed to by everyone, even by the earlier pagan community members of the Philippine Islands. Consequently, thence, Montero y Vidal's *historia* still generally followed the darkness-lightness theme of narrative of the earlier works; that was, with a single major difference that had to do with the actual message handling of the narrative. Montero y Vidal wanted with it to say that the pacification and ultimate colonization of the islands were not entirely because of the missionaries; a good percentage of the works came to the hands of the military and civilian Spaniards

³⁵² An example of this methodological approach could be found within the area of the work, where Montero y Vidal explained the raids done by the Moros in the different areas of the archipelago. He cited Fray Nicolás Becerra's *Estado general de la provincia de S. Nicolás de Tolentino de padres Agustinos descalzos de Filipinas* (Sampaloc, 1820): "Before the invasion of the Moros, Mindoro was the storehouse of Manila, on account of the great amount of rice harvested in it. In that epoch --- truly a fortunate one for this island, for our Order, and for the State --- so great was the number of inhabitants that they formed fourteen large ministries (*curacies*) and one active mission; all this was the result of the careful attention and apostolic zeal of the Recollect fathers, who took into their charge the furtherance of the Mindoro's conquest, at the time when its reduction had only been begun. Then came its desolation by the Moros, leaving it without inhabitants or ministers; and for the two ministries of Calapan and Naujan which remained, and which this province resigned, the illustrious archbishop appointed two clerics. These administered those parished during twenty-nine years, that is, until the year 1805, at which time Mindoro returned, by special favor of the superior government, to the administration of the Recollect fathers." Montero y Vidal, *Op.cit.* Blair and Robertson, *Op.cit.*, Vol. 50, p. 63.

who had to proceed with the actual reduction and then administration of the communities on the islands. Colonization was not just a religious exertion; it was foremost a political enterprise with quite a few economic implications, done by zealous Spaniards from different walks of life. The result of this attitude was the produced narrative's tendency to dwell on the various political, religious, and economic aspects of life; making *historia*, thence, in the process, as a narrative of politics, religion, and economy. This cannot be helped as well; for the author relied entirely on written sources which only concerned themselves on the mentioned aspects above. Generally then, *Historia de las Islas Filipinas* was the history of politics, religion, and economy on the Philippine Islands; and because all of these aspects were held (and naturally, written as well) by the colonizing Spaniards, then it was also just the history of the power-holders on the archipelago. *Historia* was, in effect, largely political in nature.

This general trend, nature, and philosophy of *historia* would be seen in most of the published works of the time. And though Montero y Vidal's work was actually an excellent exemplar of his mettle; it did not have the expected effect it should have on its captive readers for it was published during the times when the intellectual revolution of the Filipino people was taking place. Many of these new intellectual Filipinos would write and publish; and in the process, participate within the intellectual discourse which was earlier only done within the circles of the Spanish-speaking intelligentsia. They would, in fact, also write their own version of *historia*; and so, start a new era in the development of historiography of the Philippine Islands. Montero y Vidal's work was, in a manner, overshadowed by these massive movement within the intellectual development that had to do with the archipelago.

But the Spanish intellectuals were not yet entirely to be silenced. Montero y Vidal would be followed. Or to be more particular, he simultaneously lived and wrote during the time of the two other great names in the list of intellectual Spanish historians, namely, Wenceslao E. Retana³⁵³ and Jesuit Fray Pablo Pastells,³⁵⁴ whose contribution on the greater development of Philippines' colonial

³⁵³ Retana is popular among many Filipino historians as the Spanish historian who made a full turn around on his view on the Filipino, most specifically on the subject of Rizal. During the times when the propagandistas were forwarding their views on the Philippines and its inhabitants in order to gain reforms for the colonies, Retana was one of the most active, even livid, Spanish scholar who fought it. But after the defeat of the Spanish empire on Philippine soil through the dual attacks from the sides of the Filipino nationalists and the American colonizing efforts, Retana made a full transformation of point of view. Instead of defending the friars' efforts on the archipelago like what he used to do earlier, he started entertaining the idea of its contrary. This would be the time as well, when the intellectual circles would be witness to the unlike scholarly efforts of Retana which would be evident in his next publications which largely had to do with republications, annotations, and classification of historical sources. Thus, this analysis of Schumacher on Retana's scholarly person is most apt: "...While Retana's work of historical synthesis is not to be completely ignored or rejected, his real worth is elsewhere, and it is as an investigator, as a collector of the facts of history that he has the right to recognition in Philippine historiography. But within these limits, his merit as an historian is indeed considerable, and whatever opinion one may hold of the man, every impartial historian of the Philippines must recognize the debt owed by Philippine history to his diligence and research." (John Schumacher, "Wenceslao E. Retana: An Historiographical Study", *Philippine Studies*, 10, 1962.)

³⁵⁴ Montero y Vidal, W.E. Retana, and Pablo Pastells would all have direct, in one way or the other, effect on the actual intellectual development of the Filipino intellectuals during the last twenty years of the nineteenth

historiography would be found on the organization or scientification of the documentary sources of the archipelago's history. W.E. Retana made his name in the areas of history, literature, and bibliography of the Philippine Islands. His most important works included *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, a new edition of F. Combes' *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo*, *Aparato bibliografico de la Historia general de Filipinas*, a new edition of Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, *Vida y escritos del Dr. José Rizal*, *Noticias histórico-bibliograficas del Teatro en Filipinas*, and *Origenes de la Imprenta Filipina*.³⁵⁵ He made popular, the importance of systematically arranged bibliographies as sources of historical informations and of annotating, documenting, and publishing earlier historical --- and considered significant --- works. He also inaugurated a new approach in the writing of history of the islands. He admitted that the Spaniards were guilty of numerous crimes and misdemeanors; but he said that their rule was, relatively speaking, better than that of the Muslim chiefs from Jolo, Mindanao, and Borneo, who would have conquered the Philippines, if Legazpi did not do so in 1565.³⁵⁶ He was convinced that the pacification of the islands was not single-handedly accomplished with force of arms nor with influence of religion; he argued that pacification was done on the archipelago, because the Filipinos and the newly arrived conquistadores were for quite a while one in their common struggle to fight off the Muslim enemies and oppressors from the nearby lands. The earlier communities thence, in a manner, wanted to be under the colonial flag of the Spaniards; it was their foreseen way to check the coming of Muslims in their territorial realms within the archipelago.

This approach of Retana though was not entirely new. It was already used by the Jesuit priest Delgado in his *Historia de las Islas Filipinas* a century earlier³⁵⁷; but because this earlier work was just published (1892) during the times (1895) that Retana published his, then the supposedly new idea became more associated with Retana than with Delgado. In fact, his name would even be referred to by various authors in connection with the said approach in the years afterwards. Within the area of methodology, his stress on bibliography and annotation would be continued in the following years as well. And that would be most superbly executed by the Jesuit friar Pablo Pastells whose published works which included Colin's *Labor Evangelica* and the catalogue of the sources of history of the archipelago in Sevilla, Spain³⁵⁸ would most probably nearly unsurpassable. His approach was

century. They would have, for one, direct discourse with D. Jose Rizal who was one of the leading names of the new Filipino intellectuals, called *Indios Bravos*, of the times and context. The massive results of these discussions would be parts of the so called Propaganda Movement in the general history of the archipelago.

³⁵⁵ Wenceslao E. Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, 5 vols, Madrid: 1895-1905; F. Combes' *Historia de Mindanao y Joló*, Madrid: 1897; *Aparato bibliográfico de la Historia general de Filipinas*, 3 vols, Madrid: 1906; Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid: 1909; *Vida y Escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal*, Madrid: 1907; *Noticias histórico-bibliograficas del Teatro en Filipinas*, Madrid: 1910; *Origenes de la Imprenta Filipina*, Madrid: 1911.

³⁵⁶ C.R.Boxer, *Op.cit.*, p. 211.

³⁵⁷ See the discussion on Delgado and his work in the first portion of this Chapter's second half.

³⁵⁸ Pablo Pastells, S.J., *Labor Evangelica de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús en las islas Filipinas por el Padre Francisco Colín de la misma compañía*. Nueva edición ilustrada con copia de notas y documentos para la crítica de la historia general de la soberanía de España en Filipinas, 3 vols, Barcelona: 1900-1903; *Catálogo de los documentos relativos á las islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla por D. Pedro Torres y Lanzas, precedido de una historia general de Filipinas*, 10 vols, Barcelona: 1925-1934.

naturally influenced by the order he was part of, but his industry in seeing to the minutest details was something, till the present, to behold. His works largely contributed to the organization --- which was a natural part of the considered general or over-all scientification --- of the sources of history of the Philippines.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, on the whole, thence, historia which was largely embodied in the published works entitled *Historia de las Islas Filipinas* already reached its zenith of history as an idea representing a particularly systematized knowledge or science, as it was still handled by the Spanish history writers and intellectuals. Historia meant the narrative of either one or all of the subjects which had to do with Chistianity, Hispanization, or Spaniards themselves on the then known Philippine Islands. It was the story of the bravery and courage of missionaries, assisted by their most venerated miraculous saints, who went to the islands in their mission to evangelize or christianize its pagan population. Historia, in this regard, then came almost close to the tradition of the legends narration, which in its own turn characterized the writing tradition of missionaries of the time. On the other hand, historia was also the story of the ultimate pacification of the islanders and their effective assimilation to the colonial politico-economic system built there, on the archipelago, by the conquering Spaniards. It was the story of the works and accomplishment of the colonial machinery of the monarchical Spain on the various islands. During these years, then, historia generally meant the narrative of the Spain's works and adventures on the islands world of the Philippines. And because the center of each of these stories were Spain and its subjects, *Historia de las Islas Filipinas* virtually meant the History of Spain on the Philippine Islands.

Furthermore, because the historias during these times were written by Catholic Christians, it also implied the utility of the linear philosophy of history. Each event and topic within the narrative was interpreted as something which particularly lead to a set of expected consequences that ultimately lead to the foreseen end of the story in itself. Other approaches were thence considered irrelevant or unimportant. Events and occurances were considered singularities; they could not possibly be repeated for an entirely the same context could never be simulated in another time and space defined reality. It follows then, that historia should respect and immortalize greatness, in all its concretizations, for it was the most significant trait that actually make a narrative move from an assigned first to an expected next level.

It was one of the implied responsibilities of the historiador to write an historia, which should perpetuate a feeling of hope to its readers; that is, to give them that extra knowledge that there was a beautiful end, analogous to that second coming of Jesus Christ, to the story which was basically peppered with hardships and sorrow. The times though demanded that stories should be made veritable; it afforded that all the claims in the narrative should be reiterated or could be proven correct

within the earlier, eye-witness written accounts of the same events and happenings in the *historia*. Sources of historical information were, in this regard, very significant in the final considerations within the written history. And so, *historia* implied a particular method; it implied a specific set of suggested moves so that a viable and provable narrative could be consequently out of the investigations created. *Historia*, during the nineteenth century, was on its way towards actual systematization as an organized form of knowledge or a specific discipline.

This discipline was dynamically forwarded not only by the Spanish people themselves but also by the other Spanish-speaking population. *Historia* represented an intellectual discourse; through it, intellectuals and other history-lovers discussed and put forward various arguments and interpretations that had a lot to do with both their personal and professional beliefs and convictions. *Historia* was thence noticeably dynamic.

But the problem was, this dynamism of *historia* was, in reality, quite bounded. It was not as liberal as it should have been. That is, because of its nature as a working concept or idea in/on/about the Philippines and its people. *Historia* as a discourse functioned and proceeded during these times within the Spanish language. It used Spanish norms and standards; it singly considered Spanish concepts and ideas. It was a Spanish discourse. It can only be wholly participated in, as a consequence, by Spaniards and/or by seemingly hispanized peoples. This whole situation was, of course, alright for as long as the discussions were limited to the history of the Spaniards themselves and no other else. It only becomes quite problematic if the discussions somewhat (negatingly) affected other cultures or populations. That is, because in such a situation, the other (negatingly) affected population would virtually become a toy or even almost akin to a laboratory-rat by the Spanish-speaking intellectuals, who were doing the actual discussions. Unfairness, naturally enough, would be more than likely thereby to happen. A totally different culture would be studied or analyzed according to the measures of another culture, which was looking at the former from an angle outside of its considered reality. The situation would be unfair; because the studied culture would thereby never be actually allowed to speak for itself. It would always be subject to the standards set by those, who were studying it.

Now, the whole thing wouldn't have been that bad, if the discussions strictly proceeded among the Spaniards themselves. The history that was being discussed could, after all, still be considered the history of the Spaniards; that is, with a small difference that these Spaniards travelled quite a distance for they were on the Philippine Islands. Historical discussions about these men among their people were then just expectedly natural. It would be part of their historico-cultural singularity as a people. In fact, these discussions could even be considered as a relatively good elemental assistance towards the greater strengthening of their identity and sovereignty as a nation. Every culture need to compare itself --- which was its way of analyzing oneself --- to others; so that it could particularize details to be

executed, in order to better or enrich its own self. Comparison is one of the basic stimulus to create change; and so, comparison is normally positive. But the problem was, the comparison, which was thereby executed, did not strictly proceed among the Spaniards alone, as a people. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, a relatively larger percentage of the population in the Philippine archipelago could already speak the Spanish language; and during the last twenty years of the same century, most of these Spanish-speaking Indios became, on top of everything else, very well institutionally educated. And because they could understand and were quite confident that they have the right to, they participated in the discussions or in the basically Spanish discourse, which was embodied in the concept *historia*. This was where the complications started.

The Spaniards and the Spanish-speaking Indios discussed and argued about the *Historia de las Islas Filipinas*, and how it should rightfully be written. And they both proceeded with it through the Spanish language. The discourse reached a wider number of participants. And it would be continuously done in the next years; as it became more and more flexible and dynamic. The discussions done were, however, quite superficial in character. They were done by only a few number of individuals --- the educated, the skilled, or the professionals. The normal, everyday man was never really an active part of this discourse. In a manner, the enrichment of *historia* was the ultimate intellectual isolation of the everyday Filipino from the better educated intellectual class; and in an angle, the most affective detachment of the Filipino intellectual class to their people. That is, because this intellectual class would, from these years onwards, be only carefully occupied with the general subject of what their foreign equivalents thought of them. They would then spend most of their most productive pensive time on building the contrary or sometimes even agreeable, similar arguments to those of their foreign colleagues. They were not actually building or creating a school of their own; they were just enriching something, that was already there; something, which was not even their own on the first place, but of their foreign former colonial masters. *Historia*, thence, represented the triumph of colonialism in the intellectual development of the Filipino people. It was the almost unseen but most affective --- for it long-rangely affected the thinking process of a particular Filipino population class --- inheritance of colonialism on the Filipino people. Its effects were so long range, in fact, that they could still be seen and felt even to these very days.

Chapter 5

Propaganda y Historia por Los Indios Bravos, 1889-1910

The last years of the nineteenth century and the following first decade of the twentieth were witness to the larger historiographical event where the historia of the Spaniards would be used and, in a manner, *answered* by the newly educated elite in the Filipino society. The 1890s were the times of these newly educated Filipinos, more popularly known in history as the *ilustrados* or those, who were enlightened. The enlightenment implied here was the knowledge and/or formal, institutional education that these individuals gained after going through and finishing degrees in the different universities of Europe. They were generally sons of Filipino businessmen, who specifically sent their sons abroad for educational reasons. These newly educated ones wrote (even during the times when they were still students in Europe) and with their *new knowledge*, started on really influencing the minds of the other Filipino elites --- whom in their turn later on, eventually somewhat influenced the ordinary Indios or Filipinos. Their most important message then was clear: they wanted and *needed* change in the colonial system on the Philippine Islands. To accomplish this, the following organized steps have to be taken: first, not only simply get, but actually outstand in the various educational institutions in Europe; second, participate and triumph within the different competitions in different European realms of culture and science; third, commune and speak within the more important European communities; fourth, research on the ways and methods of the various colonial governments, especially that of Spain; fifth, think and study the various possibilities that could happen to the Philippine archipelago, if some of the more significant areas of the system there were altered; and sixth, write and publish the results of the first mentioned steps. And they were somewhat "loud" in voicing their opinions; that is, so as to stress to the colonial masters that Filipinos can also think and therefore, deserving of the reforms they were pleading the colonial government for. Their movement would be later on called in Philippine history as the ***Propaganda Movement***. It would be called so because this was the time when the mentioned ilustrados would intentionally publicize materials, so as to lobby in the Spanish colonial government, in order that the Philippine Islands generally gain the following: (a) reform of the agrarian law; (b) reform of the educational law; (c) secularization of the Philippine churches; (d) transformation of the islands as a regular Spanish province; and (e) representation in the Spanish colonial courts. The movement would therefore be mostly literary in nature. And because their act was relatively courageous, especially in consideration to the kinds of punishments, not only they but their families could have had (and in fact, some of them really suffered) from the highly colonial government of the times and in comparison to the other assimilated individuals of their province who detestfully deny their connection to their very own Malayo-Polynesian origin, it was only apt that they

be called or termed as the *Los Indios Bravos*, or the courageous Indians.³⁵⁹ The use of the Spanish language for the mentioned term was illustrative of the considerably hispanized state of its members. That is, the new intellectual class were not only proud Filipinos, they were proud hispanized Filipinos. They acted, thought, and dreamt like the normal Spaniards of the times. In effect then, the Propaganda Movement was pushed through because of the bravery of these Indios Bravos.

This would be the time when our national hero's (Jose Rizal) two most important novels (*Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*) would be published; and immediately have a large part in the awakening of national pride and spirit of the Filipino people. His opinions were seconded and even furthered in the various speeches and publications of Marcelo del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena. Rizal, Del Pilar, and Lopez Jaena, thence, represented the bulwark of the systematic intellectual actions in lobbying for change, both in the Spanish colonial system and in the mindset of those, who were enslaved and colonized in the islands homeland. This would be the time when Isabelo de los Reyes would collect, write and then publish oral traditions in the Ilocos province (North of Luzon); and therefore, contribute a lot in the preservation of the country's long-ago tradition and the pioneership of the Folklore Studies in the later periods. He put ethnology, in the more specialized area of the Philippine Islands, in its rightful place among the considered philosophical sciences of the times and context. This would be the time when Pedro Paterno would publish a book of poetry (*Sampaguita*) which in its own way described the beauty and elegance of the islands and at the same time, portrayed pride in the Filipino culture; and then continued on, in the next years of his life, by writing and publishing critical, historical works. The concept and larger implied philosophy of *historia* was utilized to their advantage by the propagandists; and in the process, proceeded to help in enriching and developing the idea and discipline of history and historiography related to the Philippine Islands.

This would be the time when the Filipino scholars would do their best in order to answer the earlier *accusations* of the Spanish chroniclers and historians about the Filipinos and Filipino culture. They wrote. Largely in answer to their Spanish forerunners who developed the idea of *Historia de las Islas Filipinas*, thence, they coined the idea of an *Historia Critica de las Islas Filipinas*. And through this action, they proved to the colonial masters that firstly, they too have the abilities to think and decide

³⁵⁹ The use of the term *Indios* within the said phrase was political in nature. Jose Rizal first used it during the Paris Exposition in 1889 so as to particularly and sarcastically give greatness, worth, and honor to the same term which was more often enough used by the colonial Spaniards to detestfully refer to their considered servile and stupid inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. The use of the adjective *bravos* was also significant in this phrase, for the new intellectual class wanted to say through it that, contrary to what was opinioned by the Spanish colonial intellectuals beforehand, the Filipinos were in reality not only capable but actually and really courageous. Among the Indios Bravos were Jose Rizal himself, Marcelo H. Del Pilar, Graciano Lopez Jaena, Jose Alejandrino, Tomas Arejola, Mariano Abella, Evaristo Aguirre, Pablo Rianzarres-Bautista, Ramon Abarca, Jose Albert, Ariston Bautista, Jose Abreu, Galiciano Apacible, Dominador Gomez, Baldomero Roxas, Santiago Icasiano, Santiago de Barcelona, Edilberto Evangelista, Melecio Figueroa, Pedro Serrano Laktaw, Julio Llorente,

what was wrong and right (this was built upon the context where the Filipinos are treated by the Spaniards as innocent, dumb *children* who are always in need of guidance from *mother Spain*)³⁶⁰; secondly, contrary to what the Spaniards might already thought of, they too could be gentlemanly and hispanized; and thirdly, because they were then knowledgeable and highly cultured, they deserved the long overdue reforms in the colony, which in reality, they were born in.

The same arguments of the Spaniards from the previous centuries were, thence, these times used against them by the said new Filipino intellectuals. A new *historia* was, in a way, developed, an *historia critica*; that is, a *historia* that was more critical and so accordingly, more intellectual and scientific in nature. This *historia critica* stated the more interesting and more important historical questions; it pursued to answer and resolve events and phenomenon in times by allotting them and explaining them as things and occurrences brought about by human actions and not by divine interventions. In a manner, it exerted great efforts so as to make the element of holiness within the pages of the should be known history perish. It made history more humanly. Man as a mover and as a greater element for change in history was more and more utilized in the various exemplar of historical works.

This would be the time when the intellectual revolution in the islands would occur. It would be the time when the Filipinos would be most brilliant in the different fields of knowledge and would concretize this brilliance through the publication of many books. Various aspects of the known knowledge studied and done by foreign Spanish scholars beforehand were again looked at and given new views and interpretations. The historiographic methods would be of course only the continuation or propagation of the late nineteenth century developments in Europe. It would stress the use of documents in the writing of history and would try its best to pursue the scientification of the discipline through the end. The philosophy used would be reactionary to the one used by the earlier given and used by Spanish writers and historians. It would still use Spanish because that is the language of its audience. It would give its opinions on the meanings perpetuated earlier by Spanish writers. It would answer back; the newly educated Filipino intellectuals would answer back. It would explain why the Filipinos are like this or like that, as against the description given by the earlier Spanish writers. It would defend itself against the hateful opinions and commentaries made beforehand. It would

Eduardo de Lete, Brigido Morada, Felix Roxas, Teodoro Sandiko, Telesforo Sugang, Maximo Viola, and Valentin Ventura.

³⁶⁰ This mother-daughter figurative relationship between Spain and the Philippines was for years used by both the Spanish friars and the Spanish colonial officers in order to explain the larger unequal states of the mentioned lands; at the same time, to rationalize the supposedly in-born unequal (where the Spaniard, naturally, always have the larger hand) status of its nationals. But this figurative relationship, according to the Propagandistas, was probably true centuries beforehand; but times changed, and the child beforehand was already a grown-up. This grown-up should be thence allowed on its own feet, with the mother just looking on, in case that she be again needed by her supposedly beloved child. The Propagandistas, in a manner therefore, also utilized this figurative picture of mother-daughter; that is, according to their purposes. And it was only right so during those times.

describe history in three distinct periods: period of lightness when the first Filipino communities live in harmony not only among themselves but among their Asian trade partners as well; period of darkness when the Spaniards came, with the *frailies* who destroyed the Filipino culture; and period of lightness when the Spaniards would give the much needed reforms that the Propagandists have been fighting for. In effect, thence, that was tripartite history with the *liwanag-dilim-liwanag* (light-darkness-light)³⁶¹ as its general working philosophy.

And though the Propaganda Movement as a political movement, within which this historiographical trend was part of, did not particularly succeed, its figurative principles and general philosophy would be continued till the first years of the following twentieth century. Most of the published works in these years still reiterated most of the conceptualizations and related considerations of the years beforehand. In fact, within the specialized area of history, there was hardly any change in the methods and philosophy used, structure and periodization, and meanings dwelt or pondered on in the works. The works of Trinidad Pardo de Tavera and Teodoro Kalaw exemplified this. They would have quite a different affect on things though. Tavera and Kalaw were not only historians of the Propagandists mettle, they were politicians as well; and so, their works would have a considerably different influence on its general reading public. But as what was mentioned, their ways and principles wouldn't be much different to their immediate forerunners. Their produce were naturally finer and more complicated on account of the kinds of details they particularly worked on, but they were only continuing what was, in reality, already begun.

This general intellectual development trend would only be a bit altered during the second decade of the same century because it would participate in, and therefore also work within, a quite differently operated discourse, a discourse which functioned through the American English language. This alteration would situate the Filipino intellectual-historian in the bigger English speaking community of the fastly changing world of this century; and at the same time, thence, make the whole intellectual development in the archipelago more complicated than it should have been.

A. Historia as an Instrument of Propaganda

The nineteenth century was indeed critical, in terms of developments, within the history of the Philippines, as a nation. In fact, events and happenings in this century effectively led to the development of the would-be-recognized as the Philippine nation in the following century. The most

³⁶¹ This is also known as the tripartite view of Philippine History. For its discussion, please see: Zeus Salazar, "A Legacy of the Propaganda: The Tripartite View of Philippine History," in Zeus Salazar (Ed.) *The Ethnic Dimension. Papers on Philippine Culture, History and Psychology*, Cologne: Councillng Center for Filipinos, Caritas Association for the City of Cologne, 1983, pp. 89-106. This concept would be more discussed within the course of this chapter.

significant literate considerable intellectual revolution of the country happened during those years; and naturally, all the aspects of the intellectual realm was affectively touched by it. History was not an exemption to this procedure. In fact, it played one of the major roles in the portrayed bigger human drama that had to do with the larger development of the Filipino nation as a logically thinking people. This portion of the country's history is more popularly known as the era (between 1880 and 1895) of the Propaganda Movement, as young intellectuals systematically wrote and publish propaganda³⁶² materials (both in Spain and in the Philippines), in order to have a say in the proceedings of the legislative developments, connected to the more general realm of the colonies governance and administration.

This movement did not isolatedly happen, of course. In a manner, it was intrinsically a part of the series of happenings, among the newly formed elite of the islands, which started years beforehand. It could not, for example, be separated from the secularization scandal or the struggle between the secular and regular priests for the same church communities of the Catholic Christian Church on the archipelago. In fact, one of the major participants of the Propaganda Movement, Jose Rizal, actually related his thoughts and actions to what occurred during the height and actual end of this inner Catholic Christian crisis of the nineteenth century or, more popularly, the secularization scandal. But this competition and struggle between the Catholic secular and regular priests were not, in reality, entirely new. It was already happening in mainland Europe long before it changed context and took form on one of the newly christianized colony, the Philippines. The differences within the politico-religious realms between these two areas, though, meant a lot on the actual proceedings of the power-play. Events from the last quarter till the better part of the nineteenth century in Europe --- among them the French Revolution and then the following European cooperative efforts in order to end Napoleon's reign --- eventually led to the greater advantage for the state in the field of governance and administration; the church became less and less important in the proceedings of the various aspects of different governments on the continent. The islands world of the Philippines were, unfortunately, isolated from such occurrences. The Philippine Catholic Church of the nineteenth century, just like how it was foreseen by Legazpi together with Fray Urdaneta when they led the systematic

³⁶² The word propaganda generally refers to the use of all forms of communicational skills in order to achieve attitudinal or behavioural changes among one group of people by another. It is not so different from other modes of communication for its foremost intentional premeditation. It is normally borne in a particular social context wherein a controversy is present. It was normally taken in as a word firstly used in the year 1622. In that year Pope Gregory XV established an organization, named Propaganda, to spread Catholicism among the non-Christian populations of the world. As the years passed though, various meanings became largely attached to the word that not too long afterwards, the word became like the famous elephant in the fable of the blind men trying to establish what the animal actually was by feeling its different parts. A useful body of information was developed about it, but there was a relative lack of root metaphor that could really encompass the entirety of the process of propaganda communication. (See: David Lerner, et.al., Eds., *Propaganda and Communication in World History*. Volume I. *The Symbolic Instrument in Early Times*, Hawaii: The University Press of Hawaii, 1979; James E. Combs and Dan Nimmo, Eds, *The New Propaganda. The Dictatorship of Palava in Contemporary Politics*, New York and London: Longman, 1993; Oliver Thomson, *Easily Led. A History of Propaganda*, Great Britain: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999.)

colonization of the archipelago almost three centuries earlier, still retained the actual and more affective hand on the administration of the peoples of the archipelago. Together with the formal structure of the state, the church governed over the land. Just like what was centuries beforehand foreseen, they *see* to it that the souls of both the Spaniards on the islands and the inhabitants were spiritually sound and healthy. Each priest thence who was sent to the islands for a specific clerical position, was not only there to accomplish his church responsibility, he was also expectedly there to realize a specific governmental function for the state he was also, secondly but not less importantly, a part of.³⁶³ The state and church were one and functioned as a union on the colonies; and the Catholic priest/friar was the best concretization of such. It is quite easy to imagine, thence, how --- in the right circumstances --- the assigned priest on the colonies could enjoy such a wide range of power and influence.

Due to the lack of enough number of available secular priests, many of the priests sent to the archipelago from the first years of colonization to almost towards the end were members of specific brotherhood or orders; and so, regular priests. That is, eventhough as early as 1583, Philip II already proclaimed that parish administration should be reserved for the secular clergy.³⁶⁴ There wasn't enough secular clergy available, the regular clergy must then take the responsibility of the former on the colonies; that was the only solution on the matter. The five orders conveniently took up different areas of influence on the archipelago. The Augustinian missionaries confined their religious works in the Ilocos, Pangasinan, Pampanga, and some islands of the Visayas; the Franciscans, in the Bicol peninsula and the regions around Laguna de Bay such as Laguna, Rizal, Batangas and Tayabas; the Dominicans in the Cagayan Valley and part of Pangasinan; the Jesuits, in Cebu, Leyte, Samar, Bohol, and later Mindanao; and the Recollects, in Bataan, Zambales, Mindoro, Masbate, Ticao, Burias,

³⁶³ This double function of the priest/friar originated from the practice of the grant of *Patronato Real* on the Catholic kings of Spain by the Pope in Rome. This was how this privilege was granted: "Jealous of the enormous economic and spiritual power of the Church in Spain, Ferdinand sought to capture this vital force by attempting to subordinate the Church to himself. He saw this opportunity with the reconquest of Granada in 1492. As a reward for his zealous efforts in driving away the infidel Moors, he asked for and received from the pope a patronato real over all the churches to be established in Granada. This was exactly what the Crown wanted, and Ferdinand skillfully maneuvered thereafter to secure from the papacy extensions of his patronato to all his overseas dominions on the ground that evangelizing the heathen of the Indies was the same as recovering Granada for Christendom.

Evangelical work in the new territories thus came under royal supervision. Every priest who went to the Indies had to have royal permission; moreover, since the colonies were administered from Mexico and there was no papal legate in America, Rome had no direct contact with the clergy in the new lands. The monarch also had veto power over the promulgation of papal bulls and exercised through his viceroys close supervision over the ecclesiastics in the dominions. Having acquired from the pope by virtue of the patronato real the right to nominate bishops and priests, the king energetically used this prerogative, thus precipitating constant conflicts between the Crown and the papacy in the matter of appointments to bishoprics." Renato Constantino, *A Past Revisited*, Manila: (1975), 1998, p. 21.

According to the letters of the agreement contained in the patronato real, each priest sent to the colony had two affective bosses --- the Catholic Church and the Spanish Crown. He was thence expected to realize both the goals and missions of the said two bodies. In a manner, he was considered both as a soldier for evangelization and a general for the realization of colonization and governance.

³⁶⁴ Agoncillo, *Hist of the Filipino People*, Op.cit., p. 122.

Romblon, Cuyo, Palawan, Negros and parts of Mindanao.³⁶⁵ Missionary evangelization fields were not permanent though; they can be transferred or exchanged among the different orders. But everything, on the whole, were aptly divided among the missionaries; there was not much room for complaints nor competition among themselves. Years of experience on the islands made these priests more comfortable and, naturally, resistant to give up their convenient positions to the ever growing number of competent secular priests. And the regulars normally won in the struggle; that is, till 1768 when circumstances forced them to do otherwise and allow the actual secularization³⁶⁶ process to pull through. The Jesuits were expelled from the islands that year; and their absence created much vacancy in the various parish administrations in the different areas of the archipelago. That was, naturally, a critical situation for the regular priests; on the other hand, the best opportunity for the secular priests to come to the picture. The latter were unquestionably supported by Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, then archbishop (1767-1787) of the islands. The problem was, most of the seculars who were given parish administrative posts during that times were not specifically the bestly trained priests needed in the different areas. These seculars were mostly Indios or to be more exact, mixed-blood (Mestizo-Castellano or Meztizo-Sangley). They were shortly and poorly trained on the islands, not necessarily as parish administrators but as subordinates to their regular clergy colleagues.³⁶⁷ They were never, hence, entirely prepared for the jobs they were supposed to take. Their takeover of the earlier Jesuit posts was, in a manner, not such a great plus in the actual and affective realization of the secularization of the various parishes on the islands. Most of them created blunders as they shortly took up the jobs. This unfortunate experience was oft used by the regular priests as effective arguments in their continual claim for the various curates' posts on the island in the years following.

The times though did not stop after this unwished for (in the eyes of most of the secular priests) event. The years following this secularization procedure saw the development of many competent, capable, and properly trained secular priests. And although the process received quite a blow, the hard start was already accomplished; secularization, though snail-slow and the odds were against it, was continued. The power-struggle, due to the origins or the color of skins of the participants, between the

³⁶⁵ Zaide, Phil Cultural... Op.cit., p. 187.

³⁶⁶ Secularization, in general, refers to the transfer of the ministries established or run by the regular clergy to the seculars. The nineteenth century Philippines saw the development of this quite simple inner Catholic business into a political and separatist movement which eventually led to the Filipinization of the church, and culminated towards the separation of the Philippine Church from Rome during the Philippine Revolution.

³⁶⁷ Formal education for those who wanted to take up the life of the religious was, in reality, not such a big problem in the Philippines. Most of the schools and universities that the Spaniards founded, starting during the times when they began colonization, were mostly equipped to entertain such a profession. In fact, most of the people at that time were never really aware of other professions other than that of the religious or that of the lawyer. It was only thence only natural that more than half of the male population who had the capability and not less importantly, the financial capacity went and studied to become priests or at the least, theologians. Problem thence cropped up when there appeared to be a greater number of this educated, career priests and there were not enough available parish administrative posts they could go to. For some details, please refer to Encarnacion Alzona, A History of Education in the Philippines, Manila: University of the Philippines, 1932.

seculars and regulars reached different racial overtones in terms of arguments and opinions. It would reach another one of its more popular peaks between 1859 and 1861; that is, during the times when the Jesuits were once again allowed to go back to the Philippines and so allowed to take up their older missionary areas. That meant, at that time, that the Recollects, who took up the left behind posts beforehand, would then lose their positions to the newly arrived friars. That could have created a relatively big problematic situation between two priestly orders. And so, to make things simpler, the church hierarchy on the islands decided that the Recollects, as a form of consolation to their lost posts, would be given some of the parishes --- which were then held by the seculars --- in the areas of today's Manila. A potentially volatile situation between two of the more important orders was, of course, prevented; but at the same time, a new one related to the greater secularization movement of the Philippine churches was ignited. The transfer of the secular-run parishes to the Recollects in 1861 was, to the Filipino clergy, the height of injustice. That meant additional reduction to the dwindling number of parishes under Filipino seculars; and a deliberate ploy of the Spanish government to hinder the development of the native clergy.³⁶⁸ That was undeniably unfair, according to most of the seculars, especially during those times when most of them --- whom naturally were accosted with potential blunders as what their forerunners did in some of the parishes years earlier --- were showing not only capability in parish administration but superlative in intellect and religious fervour. And because they did have the better right to retain the parishes on the first place, they found no good reason to continue arguing to get them back. From this year on, thence, was the enmity between the much affected seculars and the relatively comfortable regulars became even more palpable. And because the struggle was virtually between those who wanted change and those who wanted to maintain the status quo, the throwing of bitter arguments could not be helped. More and more racial overtones were used in the process; the inner Catholic crisis slowly developed into a battle between representatives of two distinct nations, that of mother Spain and that of the daughter/ colony Philippines, or between Spaniards and Filipinos.

The battle that ensued, due to the nature of the greater context most of its participants were moving in, was largely intellectual in character. Fr. Jose Burgos, as one of those who firmly believed on the total secularization, in his *Manifiesto que a la noble nación española* (1864) frankly stated where the problem in the churches lay; and that is, according to him, on the friars themselves for they "have been utilizing the infamous use of undervaluing the capacity and fitness of the Filipino Clergy so as to make themselves perpetual curates in the Islands."³⁶⁹ Clear, thence, was the root of the problem; and naturally, how best the situation could be resolved. On the side of the regulars, on the other hand, it also became clear who their most dangerous enemies on the matter were; and those were, Burgos and his clerical brothers. The boundaries were, from then on, set; and the final battle (within the century)

³⁶⁸ Agoncillo, Op.cit., pp. 122-124.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 122.

would be realized through the same players --- but within a totally different set of circumstances --- in the following year of 1872.

On the 20th of January that year, some 200 discontented Filipino soldiers, joined in by some workers in the arsenal and artillery corps led by La Madrid of Fort San Felipe in Cavite mutinied against the Spaniards. The causes of the strike were age-old: the already paltry pay was further reduced because of the newly imposed tribute of the newly empowered governor-general (Rafael de Izquierdo), plus, their exemption privileges from the yearly *polos y servicios personales* --- a privilege which they and their forerunners have been enjoying since the mid-eighteenth century --- were removed. Unpaid wages and the unjust payment to the tobacco planters of the same province added to the feelings of discontent. There was no other resolution, therefore, according to the eyes of the soldiers and workers but to make their voices heard through a mutiny. The events that ensued were quite fast; and the actual revolt was effectively and bloodily stopped by the authorities but its reverberations would be further experienced within the weeks and months following. The Spanish colonial government used this event in accordance to their needs and wants; or better put, they utilized it in order to finally put an effective end to the secularization movement of the times. There was little convincing evidences found that more than local grievances were involved in the finished mutiny; but the authorities took advantage of the hysterical atmosphere it created to arrest all who were suspected of liberal tendencies.³⁷⁰ Nine Filipino priests and thirteen lawyers and businessmen³⁷¹ were deported to the Marianas Islands, and Father Burgos and two other priests, Mariano Gómez and Jacinto Zamora (later on became known as the triumvirate in the name GomBurZa) were publicly executed by the garrote

³⁷⁰ Liberal ideas and/or tendencies were not particularly entertained by most of the representatives of the Spanish colonial government and clergy during these times. The Liberal Constitution of 1837 in Spain only made them to execute steps and actions in the colonies which they did not particularly approve of. It basically secularized all the religious orders with a few exceptions, which significantly included those houses engaged in preparing missionaries in the Philippines.

But the anti-clerical governments were aware of their massive reliance to the orders for administering the affairs and preserving loyalty in the islands. Consequently, many missionary colleges of the friars working in the archipelago became exempted from confiscation and secularization.

Nonetheless, this liberalization of the government created a two-fold effect on the attitudes of the friars on the islands. They were compelled to act as representatives of Spain (they were, after all, still basically appointees of the state) in order to uphold the will of the mother country; but at the same time, they hated the ideology that had actuated their spoliation and persecution in the mother country, and did all they could to prevent the introduction of Liberalism and its reforms in the areas where they were still masters, namely, the Philippines. (John Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895. The Creators of a Filipino Consciousness, the Makers of Revolution*, Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1973.)

³⁷¹ The following were the names of these exiled men: Father Pedro Dandan, Father Mariano Sevilla, Father Toribio H. del Pilar, Father Agustin Mendoza, Father Jose Guevarra, Father Miguel Lasa, Father Justo Guazon, Father Aniceto Desiderio, Father Vicente del Rosario, Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, Antonio Ma. Regidor, Jose Basa y Enriquez, Mauricio de Leon, Pedro Carillo, Gervasio Sanchez, Jose Ma. Basa, Pio Basa, Balbino Mauricio, Maximo Paterno, and Valentin Tosca. (Gregorio F. Zaide, *The Pageant of Philippine History*, Vol. II, *From the British Invasion to the Present Times*, Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1979, p. 192)

The sons and other relatives of these men, who were one way or the other affected by their exile, were basically those who made the following Propaganda Movement in the history of the country into fruition. They, thence, represented the country's new blood; those who dared to go against the authorities and fight for what they thought was only right and justful for the land of their birth. That is, with the inkling belief in the back of their minds that they should, in one way or the other, try to find justice for their wronged fathers or relatives.

for alleged complicity in the rebellion.³⁷² There were little evidences found as well to prove that it was indeed so; but many of the enlightened Filipino class members were convinced that the Spanish friars were behind the unjust execution of the three priests, who were from then on, considered martyrs of the people. The colonial government, in a manner, was the sole winner in this figurative battle. The mutiny was, for all intents and purposes, crushed; the suspicious seemingly liberal-thinking new elite³⁷³ were silenced; and the moving powers of the secularization movement were literally executed.

The Cavite Uprising was decidedly unsuccessful and dissapointingly short; but its effects were long-range and significant in the mind-conditioning of both the Spanish authorities and the Filipino elites of the times. The authorities became even more suspicious against Filipino priests and elites, or anybody who goes against the friars. They tended to unquestionably back up the friars in whatever they thought or did. On the other hand, the reformist movement of the rising Filipino elites took on an intentionally anti-friar stand. The friars became known as the concretizations of everything which were against modernity and liberalization of the islands which, in actuality, were portions of Mother Spain as well. And this figurative stature of the liberal thinking new Filipino class would be somewhat silenced in the immediately following years after the mutiny and GomBurZa's execution but would be greatly manifested again almost twenty years after, through the period known in history as the Era of the Propaganda Movement.

Propaganda³⁷⁴, generally, refers to disseminated information, ideas, opinions, etc. utilized as means of winning support for, or fomenting opposition to, a government, cause, institution, etc.³⁷⁵ It imply,

³⁷² John N. Schumacher, *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895. The Creators of a Filipino Consciousness, the Makers of Revolution*, Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1973.

³⁷³ The Philippines as an open international market was officially opened in 1834. This made way to the rising of Manila and suburbs as the hubbub of international trade and commerce; which in its way, affected the faster development of the socio-economic status of the Filipinos as a people. Foreign consulates and embassies increased in number, signifying the incoming of a greater number of enterprising foreigners on the country. The Indio (he of pure Malay blood or he of mixed blood: Malay and Spanish or Malay and Chinese) had, for the first time, the real and working opportunity to economically better himself.

These massive economic changes gave birth, in a sense, to the new middle class (la clase media) of Asian and Eurasian mestizos in the Philippine social structure. This economic boom which locally extended to the expanded form of agriculture and commerce was wholly taken advantage of by the native entrepreneurs. And these newly rich, thence, represented the new town principalia, an elite social group composed of former gobernadorcillos and minor native bureaucrats owning at least P50.00 in land taxes, decorated personnel, and school masters. (Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People...* Op.cit.)

These new principalia were not particularly loved by the clergy. They were too loud, too modern, too liberal for them. They were representations of the modernity or liberality the clergy did not particularly wish for in the archipelago. They were never really accepted by the friars as parts of the higher society they were moving in. They were still Indios for them; that is, eventhough they normally have more money and wealth as a regular, non-hardworking Spaniard on the land. For the friars, these new elite or principalia were nothing but bestias cargadas de oros, beasts laden with gold. For them, these Indios might be rich in gold but they still were Indios, still beasts to them.

³⁷⁴ Propaganda as a concept was already studied and analyzed by a relatively big number of philosophers and etymologers the world over. But here was how I conceptualized and discussed it: "Ang salitang propaganda ay naging popular sa unang bahagi ng ikadalawampung siglo nang ito'y gamitin upang tukuyin ang mga taktikang mapanghimok noong Unang Digmaang Pandaigdig at yaong ginamit ng m g a rehimeng totalitarian sa mga sumunod na taon. Unang nakilala ang terminong ito upang ilarawan ang diseminasyon, sa pamamagitan ng

thence, three needed specific steps or actions: intellectual processing for needed idea or information, intentional massive spread of produced information, and movement for support or influence on the spread idea or opinion. Movement, on the other hand, could refer to various things,³⁷⁶ but, on the whole, basically just means the process of changing positions; that is, from a specific point A to a specific point B or C, etc. or from B to A to C, etc. It connotes to that particular action from one resting position towards another. In a sense, then, a propaganda movement, in its most basic description, means the systematic exertions to develop and disseminate information, ideas, opinions in order to win support for or opposition to a specific cause, plea, etc. It is largely an intellectual movement; something which demanded more from the mind and the human powers for sway and persuasion. The Propaganda Movement of the nineteenth century went, on the whole but evidently more, like this mentioned basic description of the phrase.

The crush of the Cavite Mutiny and, with it, the tragic end of the Secularization Movement brought down one great learning for most of the members of the bourgeoisie of the last quarter of the 19th century; that is, contrary to what they thought beforehand, there was not much definite future in the clerical career service on the archipelago. Being a priest did not particularly mean that one would be part of the most powerful group or, better yet, the influential decision-making group on the islands. The brown-skinned inhabitant (*Indio*) of the archipelago, no matter if he was of mixed blood or not, would always be in the shadow of the European-educated white Spaniard. With these at the back of his mind, the *Indio* took action. He could not do anything about the color of his skin, but he could learn from the past intellectual priests, who pioneered evangelization and then later on moved for secularization already caught him. From there on, hence, he would be among the best of the graduates of formal education institutions, not just in the Philippine Islands but in Europe itself. Non-sectarian education, these times, was asked for. Most of the younger people did not wish to be priests anymore; they wished to be lawyers, to be among those who knew how to deal with and interpret the

kasinungalingan at panloloko, ng mga may kinikilingang ideya at opinyon. Gayunman, nang pinagpatuloy ng mga dalubhasa ang pag-aaral sa talakaying ito, napag-alaman nilang ang propaganda ay hindi pala natatanging instrumento ng “demonyo” at rehimeng totalitarian. Kadalasan itong naglalaman ng mas higit pa kaysa sa tusong pagtagni-tagni ng mga kasinungalingan.

Mula sa ganitong paglalahat ay mababago na ang ibig sabihin ng salitang propaganda hanggang sa ito’y makarating sa pakahulugan na ang ibig sabihin nito ay isang malawakang suhestiyon o impuwensya sa bisa ng manipulasyon ng mga simbolo ng sikolohiya ng indibidwal. Ang propaganda, kung gayon, ay ang komunikasyon ng isang puntode bista na may pangunahing layong ang tagatanggap ng pagsamo ay kusang tumanggap at maniwala sa posisyong inilad ng manunulat tngo sa isang sitwasyon kung saan ang ideya ay halos parang sa nauna na nagmula at hindi niya nakuha lamang sa nahuli.” (Portia Reyes, *Isang Kabanata sa Kasaysayang Intelektwal ng Pilipinas: Panahon at Kaisipang Pangkasaysayan ni Pedro Paterno, 1858-1911*. M.A. Kasaysayan, Unibersidad ng Pilipinas Diliman, Lunsod Quezon: 1996.)

³⁷⁵ Cassel..., *Op.cit.*, p. 647

³⁷⁶ Movement, noun, the act or process of changing position, place or posture; a military evolution; change in temper, disposition, feeling, etc.; manner or style of moving; action, incident or process of development in a story, etc.; the working mechanism of a watch, clock, machine, etc., or a connected group of parts of this; a connected series of impulses, efforts and actions, literature directed to a special end; a tendency in art, politics, literature, either actively promoted or occurring spontaneously; the people involved in this; activity in a market,

law, or to be medical doctors so as to assist in the much desolated area of expertise on the islands. Of course there were other possible professions, among them journalism, accounting, etc., but the majority of the younger, relatively rich people chose to the profession in law or in medicine. In fact, there were hardly any choice for most of them. Nonetheless, whatever the choice would be among these quite new set of offered training, the education trend was to move more and more away from the strict Catholic Christian learning that the colonized Filipino was drummed with from birth on. They could, due to the signs of the times and seemingly broader context they were moving in, not totally deny their Christian religion; but their need to learn, so as to be more (worthy), was indeed more pressing. And so, the most appropriate situation towards the creation of the eventually considered great minds in Philippine history was thereby effectively created.

Less than twenty years after GomBurZa's execution, the intellectuals' scenarios of Manila and Madrid (two of the more important centers of the Philippine Islands and colonial Mother Spain) became, more or less, aware of names like Pedro Paterno, Gregorio Sanciano, and Jose Rizal --- all Indios. They were students. They were exemplars of the sons of the bourgeoisie in colonial Philippines, sent to the Motherland to get higher education.³⁷⁷ They were, with the pains of discouragement and disillusionment because of the 1872 experience in the country of their birth, caught in the full-flowing currents of liberalism and nationalism sweeping through Western Europe, in the process. They were plunged in the totally new context --- in comparison to the censored areas by the Church and State they came from --- of freedom and thoughts and expression, rapid scientific and material progress, and growing democratization of most of European governments. The higher institutional education and the whole European living experience were thence almost like feast after a very long period of fast, like the light after a longer period of being in the dark. It was like being introduced to the most important and needed enlightenment, after a period of darkness brought about by censorships and various freedom's suppressions. It was from this enlightenment, *ilustración*, that the term for these young Filipinos would get their name; that is, *ilustrados*³⁷⁸, the enlightened ones, the movers of the following Propaganda Movement, the speakers of their people's self-conceived grievances and aspirations.

esp., change of value; the mode or rate of a piece of music, also a section of a large work having the same general measure or time. (Ibid., p. 535)

³⁷⁷ The trend of the times within this class was of course, not necessarily to send the sons for education abroad, but necessarily for the sons to get the highest education available. And so, most of the wealthy families from the provinces sent their sons in Manila while the really affluent ones sent their's to Spain or in some other European land, e.g. England or Austria. Both of the graduates from these two educational institution areas would develop the later on called ilustrados. In a way, thence, ilustrados were in reality sons of well-to-do families; they were the educated versions of the new Indios. They would be the ones who would courageously took the name Filipinos (a term only used by the Insulares earlier) during the following years.

³⁷⁸ It should be stressed though that the ilustrados were only a small portion of an even smaller portion of the Philippine archipelago's population of that time. They were, in reality, the elite on the islands. Most of the people, who made up the biggest portion of the population, still toiled the land and slaved for the colonial Spaniards. It was just that the ilustrados would play quite a big part in the awakening of the people, most

The procedure, so as to realize their set goals, that these young men undertook was, on the whole, superficially easy. All they had to do was to be the best in what they've studied to do; then make the Spanish government hear them for what they wanted to say. And what they wanted to say concerned their people in the Philippines; that is, that they --- their people --- should be given the reforms they long deserve so that they could enjoy the freedoms that were never given them and that were almost like the air which was breathed by the different peoples of Europe. They wanted to be treated like other provinces of the then Spanish empire. The ilustrados wanted to be treated like the normal Spaniards. They could, after all, do, and even better, whatever the latter can do; so why should they not be given whatever that the latter have been enjoying for years? They deserved the reforms. They proved that they deserved these reforms; and that is, by publishing products of their own intellectual and artistic exertions in Motherland itself, in Spain. What thence followed was not just an intellectual movement done in the land of birth of its movers, what followed was an intellectual movement --- the Propaganda Movement --- executed in Spain where the hierarchy (the actual legislators) of the colonial government sat and where they wanted and expected the moving changes in their land to come from.

The first publication of this movement came from the pen of Pedro Paterno. It was a book of poetry entitled *Sampaguitas*³⁷⁹. It was supposed to be the first book of the planned collection called *Biblioteca filipina*, designed to make known to the public the fruits produced by the new Filipino youth.³⁸⁰ Though not particularly boasting of great literary achievements nor of outstanding portrayal of the Philippine archipelago, the book was of significance for it was the first attempt to project the Filipino national personality through the exertions of a Filipino himself.³⁸¹ This trend would be continued by another trained lawyer and mestizo-Sanglely (like Paterno), also in Spain, in the person of Gregorio Sanciano through his *El Progreso de Filipinas*.³⁸² This second book is considered the first serious attempt of a Filipino in resolving the problematic of the Philippines as an economic area that was, in reality, part of the Spanish colonial empire. The book was

especially those who came from the same class as their's, to their oneness as a land and people who were considerably different from the Spaniards whom they have, for a time, idealized.

³⁷⁹ Pedro Paterno, *Sampaguitas y Poesias varias*, Madrid: 1880. The sampaguita is a delicate Philippine white flower, almost resembling the jasmine in both form and attractive perfume. Its scientific name is *Jasminum Sambac*. The name is believed to come from the phrase, *sumpa kita*, meaning *we pledge*. According to legends, Filipino lovers in early times plighted their love in the moonlight, with the youth placing a sampaguita necklace around the girl's neck and pledging, *sumpa kita*. Another origin of the name was as follows: The man gave his sweetheart a necklace of sampaguita as a symbol of his love. The girl kept it for years. One day, however, she learned of the man's faithlessness, so she took the withered flower necklace and threw it away with a heart breaking curse: "*sumpa kita!*" Hence the name of the flower. (Zaide, Philippine Political and Cultural History, Vol. I, Op.cit, p. 9.)

³⁸⁰ Schumacher, Op.cit., p. 22.

³⁸¹ The accomplishments and misaccomplishments of this work were better tackled in: Portia Reyes, *Isang Kabanata sa Kasaysayang Intelektwal ng Pilipinas: Panahon at Kaisipang Pangkasaysayan ni Pedro Paterno, 1858-1911*, M.A., Unibersidad ng Pilipinas Diliman, Lunsod Quezon: 1996.

...basically a technical treatise on the economic policy needed to stimulate progress in the Philippines. The author pointed to the urgent necessity of roads, bridges, railroads, and public works in general to promote agriculture, for the lack of communications made efforts to increase production unprofitable when markets were either inaccessible entirely or could be reached only by circuitous and expensive means. The educational system was inadequate, with only a small portion of the schools required in existence. These needs, he said, could not be met because in spite of the negligible amount spent on public works and education, there was a growing deficit. A radical change in the system of raising revenue was needed, particularly so because the system of indirect taxation and of exacting tribute was unjust. Those least capable of paying were the most heavily taxed, and the tribute, he pointed out, was a form of racial discrimination.³⁸³

The book presented a practical style of problem presentation in the realm of Philippine economy and then suggestion of easy to work-out resolution. The dispassionate way that the author used in the delivery of his theses on the book made it more than a simple economic exposé. Its frustration to the state of educational system on the islands was almost palpable; and it was convinced that the main crux of the problematic educational situation on the archipelago lay not on the inhabitants who were more than ready and happy to learn what would be offered to them but on the monastic censorship of most of the schools and universities who continued to funnel the kinds of learning and education, and thus economic development, that the peoples of the Philippines should have. Its calm proposition of tributes abolition took off from the supposition that all the races on the islands --- be it Indio, Mestizo, Sangley, Peninsulares, or Insulares --- should be treated equally for they made up one of the provinces of the Spanish State which consider itself a place of modern liberty, where the State is not the master of life and property of its citizens, but is instituted to protect and defend them, and where its right to taxes is based on its services to its citizens.³⁸⁴ The quite volatile problem of suppression and inequality in the colonies and the issue of assimilation were, thence, in the guise of an economic exposé practically discussed. On the whole, this book pioneered most of the grievances discussed in the later on published works of other Filipino nationalist intellectuals.

Most of these intellectuals though did not find the answers to their need to voice out their opinions in publishing books, just like what Paterno or Sanciano did at the foremost. They found their medium through the newspapers and magazines. In fact, the Propaganda Movement was mostly realized through this printed form of media. Upon the publication of Sanciano's book in 1882, the first collective effort to unite the Filipino community in Madrid was made; that is, through the foundation

³⁸² Gregorio Sanciano y Goson, *El progreso de Filipinas. Estudios económicas, administrativos, y políticos. Parte económica*, Madrid: J.M. Pérez, 1881.

³⁸³ Schumacher, Op.cit., p. 22.

³⁸⁴ "...If, then, the Philippines is considered a part of the Spanish nation and is therefore a Spanish province and not a tributary colony; if her sons are born Spanish just as are those of the Peninsula; if, finally, recognizing in the Peninsulars the rights of citizenship, one must equally recognize it in the Filipinos; no tribute in the proper sense of that word can be imposed on them, but a tax proportioned to their resources, larger or smaller in amount, according to that larger or smaller service which the State renders them for the security of their persons and interests." Sanciano, Op.cit., pp. 101-102. Also in Schumacher, Op.cit., p. 23.

of the *Círculo Hispano-Filipino*,³⁸⁵ under the leadership of Juan Atayde, a retired Spanish army officer of Philippine birth. And so, when Jose Rizal after a few months of stay in Barcelona, arrived in Madrid in September to study medicine, he exerted efforts to make more of the *Círculo* so as to transform it as a way to unite all the Filipinos in Spain. It was not too long afterwards that the first issue of *Revista del Círculo Hispano-Filipino* (October 29, 1882) came out. This bi-weekly journal became the stage of both the older and younger versions of the Filipino intellectual; and so, it mirrored the major differences in viewpoints of the two conflicting generations. And so, when the older ones based in the colonies saw that the journal was more and more taking an anti-Spanish stance, they stopped writing and supporting it all together. The history, thence, of the *Revista* was quite short and unaffectionate. In fact, by the beginning of 1883 both the newspaper and the organization was hardly to be heard of anymore; moves were made so as to revive the organization but it were to no good. Still, the notion of a united body of Filipinos did not die; this idea would be furthered in the immediately coming years afterwards. And, like what was already mentioned above, they will find their united voice in their plea for reforms in the homeland through journalism; that is, through the publication of different works in the various magazines and newspapers in Spain.

These young Filipino intellectuals first found their voice in the periodical called *Los Dos Mundos* which on the whole, published articles regarding motherland Spain and its various already hispanized colonies around the world. It was not a totally Filipino project but it was associated with the Filipino intellectual community from the start. Graciano Lopez Jaena and Pedro Govantes y Azcárraga were some of its early writers and staff members. Although the staff members were not totally one in position and interpretation regarding the themes discussed in the journal, it was not to be missed that they were discussing issues that largely concerned the following: abolition of tributes and forced yearly labor in the archipelago, the reform of education which was dominated by the friars, the effective assimilation of the Philippines, and its representation in the High Courts. It would not be too far out to consider that these articles found their way in the appropriate audience in Spain for some of the similar or related works in the next years also found their way in most of the newspapers of the Liberal Party of Spain whom, as it turned out, were natural allies to the cause of the new Filipino intellectuals. And when *Los Dos Mundos* untimely died, the *ilustrados* did not waste anytime. They created their own theater for the publication of their own thoughts, opinions, and suggested resolutions on the issues that concerned their homeland through *Espana en Filipinas*. Unfortunately, *Espana en Filipinas* did not last very long as well, but that did not mean that the already started movement would be totally stopped. In fact, they would reach the zenith of their movement and, along with it, the

³⁸⁵ The *Círculo* promised to be “nothing more than the faithful reflection in Madrid of the public life of those distant Spanish lands where the unique and absolute party, banner, or political aspirations, is to see exalted in all parts of the world the glorious name of the fatherland.” Schumacher, *Op.cit.*, p. 28.

strengthening of their philosophy and principles through the coming out of the Filipino founded, written, and supported journal *La Solidaridad*³⁸⁶.

Table 1
The Propaganda Movement in the Various Journals³⁸⁷

Period	Publication's Name: Journal/Magazine	Major Official Goals and/or Theses
1882	<i>Revista del Circulo Hispano-Filipino</i>	"...nothing more than the faithful reflection in Madrid of the public life of those distant Spanish lands where the unique and absolute party, banner, or political aspiration, is to see exalted in all parts of the world the glorious name of the fatherland."
1883-1886	<i>Los Dos Mundos</i>	"... to demand for Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, equality of rights, as far as possible, with the other Spanish provinces; to contribute with all our forces to the promotion of the general interests of the fatherland; and to do whatever is necessary to extend to it the progress made in foreign countries, and to give in turn to the other nations of the old and new world an idea of our own progress."
	<i>El Progreso</i> <i>El Liberal</i> <i>El Porvenir</i> <i>El Globo</i> <i>El Imparcial</i> <i>La Publicidad</i>	Generally, to make known the incompetence of the regime in the Philippines, which were displayed in the following details: lack of modern codes of law; the constant changing of the functionaries and even of the Governor-General before they could get to know the country; the incompetence of the provincial governors, particularly their inability to understand the language of their provinces; widespread dishonesty, the lack of communications, the impractical nature of education under the control of the friars; the censorship of the press. The need for parliamentary representation of the Philippines in the Spanish High Courts. Advocacy of the various economic, judicial, and administrative reforms for the Philippines.

³⁸⁶ The first issue of *La Solidaridad* was dated February 15, 1888. According to its set official goals, it would discuss the general affairs of the Spanish nation, but would mostly concern itself to Spain's overseas provinces Cuba, Puerto Rico, and especially the Philippines which still lacked parliamentary representation till those days. *La Sol*, on the whole, thence, followed a particular tendency in the articles and different works it published: an article on Spanish general politics, one or more articles attacking the friars in the Philippines, and one or two articles on other needed reforms in the archipelago.

³⁸⁷ Data were mostly taken/extracted from Schumacher, Op.cit.

1887	<i>Espana en Filipinas</i>	“...to sustain in the arena of the press all those solutions which tend to renew once more the open-minded policy of assimilation, traditional in overseas Spain. This assimilation, by making one single unity out of territories separated by oceans, assures for the foreseeable future the national integrity, only put in danger by unjustified differences and offensive prejudices which draw those lines of division that have brought so many days of grief on our common mother...”
1888-1895	<i>La Solidaridad</i>	“...to combat all reaction, to impede all retrogression, to applaud and accept every liberal idea, to defend all progress; in a word: one more propagandist of all the ideals of democracy, aspiring to make democracy prevail in all the peoples both of the Peninsula and of the overseas provinces.”

As can be gleaned from the above figure, from 1883 to 1886, various articles from the mentioned new Filipino intellectuals, the ilustrados, came out in Spanish journals such as *Los Dos Mundos*, *El Progreso*, *El Liberal*, *El Porvenir*, *El Globo*, *El Imparcial*, and *La Publicidad*. By 1887, however, these youths would even have better chances for publication because of the start of the Filipino journal in Spain entitled *Espana en Filipinas*. But due to the conflict of interests within the editorial staff and the lack of enough funds, the said Filipino journal only lasted a year. The new intellectuals wouldn't be stopped anymore though. By 1888, a new and much better journal came out; that is, *La Solidaridad*. This new newspaper represented all the best in the new Filipino intellectual of the times could offer. It was systematically supported by an organized propaganda committee (*Comité de Propaganda*) in the homecountry; it displayed all the intellectual grandeur that the Filipino was capable of; and at the same time, it continued the community's plea for reforms for the homeland Philippines. It was, naturally, like the related newspapers published during the time, written in Spanish and written by the ilustrados who chose not to reveal their real names for fear of punishments from the colonial government (which naturally meant the end of their movement for their considered sacred cause) and so, used pen names. Nonetheless, undeniable during these times was the involvement in the whole movement of three names among the Filipino ilustrados of Madrid and Barcelona; they were Jose Rizal, Graciano Lopez Jaena, and Marcelo H. del Pilar. They wrote most of the works that mirrored and exerted to realize the cause of the movement, namely, colonial laws reforms³⁸⁸ for the Philippine Islands. They were the

³⁸⁸ On the whole, the propagandistas asked the Spanish government for the following reforms in the Philippine Islands: (1) Restoration of the Philippine representation in the Spanish Cortes; (2) Equality between Filipinos and Spaniards before the law; (3) Filipinization and secularization of the Philippine parishes; (4) Establishment of a public school system, without friar supervision, with qualified teachers receiving good salaries; (5) Creation of vocational schools of arts and trades in the capital towns of the provinces; (6) Fair and speedy administration of justice for Filipinos and Spaniards alike; (7) Abolition of the hatred tribute and forced labor which were symbols of vassalage; (8) Elimination of the influence of the friars in the government; (9) Establishment of the civil service examinations for government positions to qualify job applicants, Filipinos as well as Spaniards; (10) Granting of human rights to Filipinos, such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of meeting,

ones who became influential both in the Filipino intellectual community in Spain and in the intellectual community in the Philippines. They represented the movement. They were the great propagandistas.

The different journals and magazines were their battle arena. Here was where they fought for what they believed in, here was where they fought their war against the suppression and oppression they knew were very much present in their homecountry, here was where they proved that they *not only need but deserve* the reforms of the laws in their homecountry. The element of deserving the reforms was an integrative portion of the movement; that is, the propagandistas had to make the Spaniards, especially the Spanish government, think that they as a people were worthy of the colonial reforms they were pleading for. They had to therefore show that they met all the necessary requirements in the supposed to be strictest norms of the times. They had to show that they were equal to the Spaniards in all the most important respects, which was largely in contrast to the earlier belief that the Filipinos were like dumb children who could not decide between what was good and what was bad for them. In real terms, they had to show that they could speak and write perfect Spanish just like the Spaniards; that they could dress and act like a normal Spaniard; that they could excell in the arts and literature in Spanish organized contests, etc.; that they could superlatively conceptualize and think not only like but even better as the educated Spaniard. The different forms of the then considered arts and the two realms of the sciences (social sciences and natural sciences) became, thence, important areas wherein the Indios Bravos could prove their worth as a people, not only to the Spaniards, whom they considered the more important public, but also to the other nationals of the influential countries of the world. The pressure to excell was, therefore, very much present in the intellectual class. There was no other way for them during these years but to move forward in everything and be the best in every conceivable important area as possible. And so, the most important element in the development of the Filipino expressions and concretizations in the different areas of knowledge was created; that is, that element which would fuel the considerably major intellectual revolution in the intellectual history of the archipelago.

At the *Exposición de Bellas Artes* in Madrid in 1884, two Filipino painters won prizes. Juan Luna won a gold medal of the first class for his *Spoliarium*, and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo won a medal of the second class for his *Virgenes cristianas expuestas al populacho*. There were quite a number of published books and articles in the different fields, among them were Jose Rizal's two novels, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, Antonio Luna's *Impresiones*, Pedro Paterno's *La Antigua Civilización Tagalog*, Graciano Lopez Jaena's different speeches and articles (*Discursos y articulos varios*), Marcelo H. del Pilar's *La Soberanía Monacal en Filipinas*, etc. The Philippines reading public became witness, on the other hand, to the publication of Isabelo de los Reyes' *El Folklore*

freedom of organizing societies, and freedom of petition for redress of grievances. (Zaide, *The Pageant...* Vol.

Filipino, Historia de Filipinas, Historia de Ilocos, Las Islas Visayas en la Epoca de Conquista, etc., and a number of different articles from various authors who chose not to reveal their names for fear of accusation of sedition from the Spanish colonial government. Implicit in all of these publications was the message that the Filipinos could (and could better!) intellectually process and express themselves like any other nineteenth century European. Many sciences were, on the whole, taken care of within the span of these years; but the gravity of most of the publications were in the much general area of the literary arts and social sciences which included anthropology, archaeology, ethnology, history, and philosophy.

Noticeable developments happened in the field of history or, to be more exact, in the field of *historia*. In fact, the *ilustrados* further enriched this concept in their application to their country of birth, the Philippines. They've redefined *historia* and coined the phrase *historia critica*, thence, *Historia Critica de las Islas Filipinas*. On the whole, *historia*, as a field of knowledge, played a relatively big role in the intellectual movement of the times. It was used by the propagandistas as an instrument in the rationalization of their pleas for reforms. Foremost was *historia*, as it was used by the earlier Spanish history writers, taken in by the Filipino intellectuals; and then it was accordingly redefined to the conceived of needs in its application to the particular context and reality of the Philippine Islands. The written *historia* of the Spaniards were annotated; and through it, the point of view of the new intellectuals on the same subject discussed were, on the whole, introduced to the Spanish-reading public of the times. In a manner, thence, the same arguments used by the Spanish *historiadores* against the Filipino communities earlier so as to rationalize further colonization was used, this time, was utilized and reinterpreted by the propagandistas so as to rationalize their pleas for reforms of the colonial laws of Spain on the Philippines. The Spanish language, norms and standards in the written works were still utilized; and so, the intellectual discourse that these propagandistas, in actuality, forwarded was that between themselves and the Spanish intellectuals of the times. And that was, in a manner, okay; that is, because they did not have, in reality, any intention of discussing with anybody else, the Spaniards were the ones whom they wanted to influence in their own thinking, opinions, and reasoning. The Spaniards were, after all, the reason for the propaganda movement; everybody else as an audience were secondary in the list of priorities. Methodologically, they've stressed the use and better interpretation of the earlier written accounts on the Philippines as sources of historical information; furthermore, they've put more gravity on the use of the auxiliary sciences, e.g. archaeology, anthropology and ethnology, in the writing of history. Although they've generally utilized the same linear philosophy of history in their works, they've introduced a new periodization; that is, the tripartite periodization of history wherein the narrative was basically divided into the pre-Spanish, Spanish, and post-Spanish eras. The role of the evangelizing monks in the Spanish colonization was reinterpreted as the element which brought darkness (which was in contrast to the

earlier written works) in the general trend of history of the islands. The approach mostly used in the works were, hence, more events-oriented in nature; implying change (exected by men and not by miracles-making saints) was crucial in the development of the archipelago as a politico-cultural entity. The new *historia critica*, as a conceptual principle, propagated a new set of meanings; through it, racial pride was developed and centered on. The ancient communities on the archipelago were reinterpreted and restudied; unlike the earlier interpretation of the Spanish chroniclers, they were seen as concretization of a civilization of different art, as concretization of racial pride and ancestry, or as concretization of beautiful potentialities for development in the future (meaning the coming tomorrow where the friars do not reign anymore on the islands). These newly introduced meanings, in their turn, gave way to the definition of the political reality of the Philippines; the actual nature and meaning of the relationship between the colonizer Spain and the colonized Philippine Islands had to be discussed and illustrated, and in addition, the realization of the liberal concept of *nación* had to be somewhat fitted in in this general redefinition. Within the over-all description and practice of *historia* and *historia critica* by the *ilustrados* was, therefore, the definition of the Philippines as a political, cultural, and historical reality also realized. This definition of the propagandistas on the nature of the Philippines as a nation (and people) would be retained not only during the actual years of the propaganda movement; it would be maintained in the years long afterwards.

B. Historia and the Philippine Intellectual Revolution

It would never be amissed that *historia* was fully utilized by the new Filipino intellectuals of the latter half of the 19th century. In fact, it was one of the disciplinal areas that they really excelled in. They've succeeded to create a clear methodology and philosophy; furthermore, they've had a particular set of developed meanings, which they've set out to write on, so as to be better spread and/or propagated to a specific audience or public. Within the larger context of the Philippine intellectual revolution of that time, *historia* as a generally considered Spanish concept was not only practiced, it was internalized and even made richer according to the needs of the new intellectuals, the *ilustrados*. *Historia*, thence, considerably became one of the innate portions of the Philippine intellectual revolution.

The *ilustrados* were naturally only introduced to the concept through the Spanish intellectuals of the past and of their times themselves. They had to foremost, hence, integrate to the discourse created through the said idea; and that meant, in general, that they had to be really parts of the ongoing Spanish discourse. They had to be hispanized themselves; they had to become, as much as they could, Spaniards. And they did. They became so hispanized that they were able to really be active participants in the historical discourse of the times. It was not too long that they were not only conversing among themselves within the larger frame of *historia*, they were also discussing the same

themes with the Spaniards of both in motherland and in the Philippines. Witness to this were the massive density of published materials which embodied this development. The three known propagandists of the times --- Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar and Graciano Lopez Jaena --- all contributed to the forward movement which resulted in the process. They've efficiently utilized history as the most effective explanation and rationalization of events, actions, and over-all nature of the past and the present; and so, unconsciously helped in the betterment of the disciplinal concept as a whole. Their major concern was, in reality, to find answers to the posted questions and puzzles by their Spanish colleagues about themselves and the country they were born in. Their exertions, in the process, resulted in the general transformation of *historia* as an intellectual instrument that can change and influence not only the present but, most especially, the future.

Jose Rizal³⁸⁹, the country's national hero, recognized the potentialities³⁹⁰ within *historia* from the beginning of his career as a quasi student activist in Europe. It did not take him too long to understand the logic behind the unified or, at the least, organized Filipino community in Spain; that was the reason why he immediately cooperated with the organization *Circulo Hispano-Filipino* the moment he arrived in Madrid in 1882. And even if this organization died quite an early death, he still made actions to try to salvage it and not unthinkingly just organize another body to replace it. Rizal had, even as a child, always been sensitive of the kind of oppression and injustice that his people receives from the Spaniards who purported to be their figurative better knowing brothers. He sincerely believed on the deep sense of dignity of the Filipino, of the *Indio*. And because he was quite aware of his abilities to not only compete but to be at par with the other Spaniards, he could not understand that those of his kind would be unjustly treated by those of the latter. This puzzle would haunt him for most of his years; and he would find one of the potentially good answers so as to resolve it in formal, institutional education. He went to the University of Sto Tomas in Manila and then later on in the universities in Europe with this in mind. He wanted to do something for his people. And this mission only became stronger the moment he experienced that incomparable feelings of being a foreigner within an ocean of foreigners of Europe who each had national pride of their own. These feelings bounded him more to the country of his birth and its people who were not only there on the archipelago itself but in Europe itself. He most probably felt the need, like most of the Filipinos who spent quite a time away from the homeland Philippines, to concretize and enrich these feelings more; and that led him to taking considerable exertions so as to be more in contact and actually be active in

³⁸⁹ José Rizal Mercado y Alonso was born in the year 1861 in a prominent family of Calamba in Laguna. As tenants of the Dominicans, the family possessed quite a large portion of lands dedicated to the planting of sugar cane. Rizal's father studied in *Colegio de San José*, and his mother was educated in *Colegio de Santa Rosa* in Manila. His paternal grandfather had been *governadorcillo* various times. On his mother's side, quite a few relatives also held minor governmental posts. Rizal came from a family of means, not only in wealth but in education as well. Schumacher, *Op.cit.* p. 29.

³⁹⁰ Please also see and refer to B. Anderson's discussion on Rizal in the context of the theme of imagining/creating the idea of a Philippine political nation; that is, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition. London/ New York: Verso, (1983), 2000.

the more general organization of the Filipino community in Spain itself. And because most of them during those times were students, it was not really surprising that the greater trend of their produced movement had a lot to do with intellectual processing and its expected production. As what was already discussed in the first portion of this chapter, they wrote; and Rizal was one of the more engaged and more talented in this task among them, if not the best.

He made his mark, for one, in the larger disciplinary field of history and historiography. Rizal pioneered in the study of historia among the ilustrados; and he did this through his annotated version of the 17th century *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* of D. Antonio de Morga.³⁹¹ The ant-like industry of copying of the work with the hand from the display copy of the Filipiniana Collection of the British Museum and then its actual annotation was finished in 1889. Its finished book version, however, only came out of the press in Paris through Rizal himself as well in the January of the immediately following year.³⁹² The choice of Morga's work was naturally significant for Rizal, in the valued task he set for himself. Rizal was for quite a time preoccupied with the general subject of history and its meanings on the actual struggle that he and his companions during those times in Spain were executing for the motherland Philippines. This preoccupation was already evident in his newly published book/novel *Noli Me Tangere* where he commented in its preface that, it was necessary to turn back to the past so that the Filipino nation could correctly analyze its present situation and so, execute the right steps in order to create for itself a good future.³⁹³ The idea of making an analytical historical work on the Philippines was, thence, already long present in his mind. He knew its value and potentialities as an intellectual instrument which could itself lead to the deepening of the meanings of their struggle. It was just, in a manner, a question of what was concretely to be done. And so,

³⁹¹ Jose Rizal, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas por el Doctor Antonio de Morga*, Paris: 1890.

³⁹² Here is the short publication history of the work: "...The value of this work (the original Morga version) can very well be judged by the fact that Lord Henry E.J.S. Stanley translated it to English, thus becoming one of the publications of the well-known Hakluyt Society of London and which Justo Zaragoza had attempted to republish in 1888. Besides, in 1904 Messrs. Blair and Robertson published it anew in their work entitled "The Philippine Islands", 1493-1898; and W.E. Retana also published it with his own annotations in 1909." The annotated version of Rizal appeared for the first time in the Philippines in 1958 during the occasion of honoring the national hero in his centennial birth anniversary; the new English version of the work appeared four years later. (Jose Rizal, *Annotations to Historical Events of the Philippine Islands by Antonio de Morga*, Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1962.)

³⁹³ Cf. Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, Berlin: Berliner Buchdruckerei-Actien-Gessellschaft, 1887. The *Noli* was of course not just a regular novel. It was an exposé. Through its story-line, it featured what was truly happening in the Philippines during those times. It exposed the sickness of the society in the archipelago, and tried in the end to suggest what could be the possible medicinal handling that could salvage it and its people. Here was how the author himself described the task that he tried to accomplish, while dedicating his work to his country, in the said book: "Recorded in the catalogue of human suffering is an ulcer so malignant that the least contact irritates it, causing the most acute pain. Knowing this, how often amidst modern civilizations I have wished to summon you up --- now to be beside me with your memories, now to compare you with other countries --- your cherished image showing me so clearly something similar in you --- an ulcer in your society. Solicitous for your health, which is that of us all, and looking for the best treatment, I shall do with you what the ancients did with their sick: exposing them on the steps of the temple, in order that everyone coming to invoke the Deity might suggest a cure."

when he arrived in London in 1888, after introducing himself to Reinhold Rost who was the librarian of the India Office which was naturally a part of the larger and famous British Museum, he was already set on the idea of making the necessary researches for a historical work on the Philippines. It was in this process that he came in contact with Morga's work. He long wanted to read this work but didn't have the right opportunity of realizing this in the past. He fastly read it and found the work relatively good. And so, after long analysis and pondering, he decided that he would not write a new history anymore but instead republish Morga's work with the annotations that he felt necessary in order that it be updated to the day's newest findings, interpretations and general trends.³⁹⁴

Although not as popular as some other Spanish colonial literature of its times, Morga's work still retained a relatively high place within the ranks of the literature on the general subject of the Philippine Islands even after so many years after its actual publication in Mexico. During the 19th century, as Rizal set out to annotate it, Morga's *Sucesos* was already considered a classical colonial literature on the archipelago. In fact, he first read it in its entirety through its English version (the one translated by Lord Stanley) which he first found, as what can be deduced above, in the British National Museum in London. The work enjoyed a place of respect among the intellectuals of the times; and almost all of its claims about the islands world of the Philippines were considered near to absolute truth; that is, not only within Spain and its colonies then but also in some of the more renowned intellectual centers of Europe, e.g. London, Paris, Ghent, Berlin, etc. The decision to republish the work with the necessary annotations or, in a way, corrections was brilliant. The action was not only bound to catch the attention of both the intellectuals and the Filipinos (as Rizal conceived them to be) of that time, it was also bound to stimulate their analytical thinking. Here was how Rizal explained his intentions (through the short dedicative prologue entitled *To the Filipinos*) in the book:

In the *Noli Me Tángere* I began the sketch of the present state of our Native Land. The effect that my attempt produced pointed out to me, before proceeding to unfold the other successive pictures before your eyes, the necessity of first making known to you the past in order that you may be able to judge better the present and to measure the road traversed during three centuries. Born and reared in the ignorance of our Yesterday, like almost all of you, without voice or authority to speak about what we did not see or studied, I considered it necessary to invoke the testimony of an illustrious Spaniard who governed the destinies of the Philippines in the beginning of her new era and witnessed the last moments of our ancient nationality. It is then the shadow of the civilization of our ancestors which the author is now evoking before you. I transmit faithfully to you his words, without changing or mutilating them, adapting them only whenever possible to modern ortography for greater clarity, and altering the somewhat defective punctuation of the original in order to make its perusal easier. The post, the nationality, and merits of De Morga, together with the data and testimonies furnished by his contemporaries, almost all Spaniards, recommend the book to your thoughtful consideration.

To this end I shall endeavor to describe your condition faithfully, not trying to pealse; raising the mask that conceals your sores, sacrificing everything to truth, even including self-esteem, since, being your son, I too share in your blemishes and frailties.”

³⁹⁴ Austin Coates, Rizal. *Philippine Nationalist and Martyr*, Hongkong: Oxford University Press, 1968. See Chapters III and IV.

If the book succeeds to awaken your consciousness of the past, already effaced from your memory, and to rectify what has been falsified and slandered, then I have not worked in vain, and with this as a basis, however small it may be, we shall be able to study the future.³⁹⁵

Rizal showed, through these passages, that he had definitely a deep considerations and high regards for history. Like his Spanish teachers and colleagues, he considered history as the written narrative of the past. But at the same time, it was also more than that. He thought of it as something really essential in his determined actions (most especially, in relation to the campaign on the recognition of the Philippines as a political individuality); and of course, in the actions of the group that he was part of as well, the group of the propagandistas. Historia, for him, was near to an instrumental key to the truths of the past, which was necessary in understanding the present, so that the future could be better chartered and, thence, controlled. Historia not only simply informs a given nation; it was, in a way, a tool for national guidance for almost specific ways and actions throughout the whole spectrum of the considered timeline.³⁹⁶ When a people was, therefore, intentionally misinformed or miseducated by another people about its own history, then the latter was also hindering, if not completely stopping, both the actual and figurative growth of the former. Rizal, during the nineteenth century, was very much aware that that was exactly what the Spaniards practically did to the Filipino people. He wanted, naturally enough, to help in alleviating the situation. Through the publication of his version of the Sucesos, Rizal wished to awaken the historical consciousness in his people. He wanted to correct the falsehoods spread by the Spaniards about his and, on the whole, his people's past; and through this new consciousness, he wished to stimulate national pride --- not the usual shame and self-pitiness --- in his own countrymen, to whom he dedicated all his executions and actions.

Methodologically considered, Rizal's annotations gave gravity to the importance of written documents and accounts in the past in the making or writing of history itself. To prove or to give stress to his theories and convictions, he quoted documents and various accounts and chronicles from both the far and immediate Philippine colonial past. Works of Gaspar de San Agustin, Francisco Colin, Diego de Aduarte, Pedro Chirino, Bartolome de Argensola, Hernando de los Rios, Antonio de Pigafetta, Francisco de San Antonio, Oliver van Noort were cited and/or quoted accordingly. Especialists on particular subjects (mostly considered naturalists³⁹⁷ during those times) were also referred to; they included W. Joest, Wallace, Marsden, P. de Tavera, Blumentritt, Jagor, Marche, von Chamisso, and even Lord Stanley, who translated and annotated the same work earlier. In a manner, hence, Rizal was practicing a systematized historia --- a historia following a particular method which was embodied in

³⁹⁵ Rizal, Sucesos...Opcit.

³⁹⁶ This high regard for history was continuously stated and implied by Rizal in most of his writings. Another example of his convictions on this same subject was clearly stated in his long essay entitled *Filipinas Dentro de Cien Anos*. According to him: "Para leer el destino de los pueblos, es menester abrir el libro de us pasado." (In order to know the destiny/future of a people, it is necessary to open the pages of its past.) History was, thence, clearly important for any nation, including the Philippines (accordingly, in compliance to Rizal's thinking). Cf: Jose Rizal, *Filipinas Dentro de Cien Anos*, *La Solidaridad*, Nos. 16 (Barcelona, 30 September 1889), 18 (31 October), 21 (Madrid, 15 December), and 24 (1 February 1890).

the efficient use of the written documents and accounts, written sources of historical facts and information. Furthermore, as he referred to the mentioned experts from the different fields in his actual annotations, he was also introducing an enriched or a more developed historia; that is, a historia which utilized different disciplines (disciplinal sciences) in order to prove its various statements within the narrative itself. Social scientists of today called this methodological approach, multi-disciplinary; that is, a history which goes outside of itself so as to utilize the various results of the executions of other related or auxillary disciplines in order to strengthen its statements and suppositions.

Rizal, in his version of *Sucesos*, in addition, also excelled in the area of philosophy of history. In fact, some Filipino philosophers even consider him more of a philosopher of history than a historian proper. That is, because Rizal, in his lifetime, did not actually write and publish any formal literature that could be easily considered as an historical work; what he did, in its stead, were essays and articles implying a specific philosophy of history which could be taken in as that which he would have used, had he decided to really write an historical exemplar. Rizal had, as a quite reknowned Filipino philosopher was convinced of, a cultural interpretation of history. His thesis, accordingly, was that “the history of a national community, or of a wider agrupation, is determined by the interactions of various social movements, and cultural institutions at play, which, in turn, lead to working adjustments among these social forces; when each working adjustment is given its temporal life, it would be considered as a stage or phase in the historical development of a community.”³⁹⁸ History or historia, to be more exact, moved in itself because of the interplay between social movements and cultural institutions; this interplay between the two determines what’s to be called history or historia. This meanings that this cultural intepretation of history implied are generally different from those of the same in today’s standards. The cultural institutions mentioned here, and I believe that that was Rizal actually meant and convinced of, were those formal cultural institutions like the state, the church, etc. The social movements, on the other hand, referred not necessarily to revolutionary movements but to other forms of people’s movements which could include that of the propagandists in Spain itself during Rizal’s times. Hence, in a manner, Rizal was convinced that historia can only be made when the representatives or representations of these two would interact or interplay.

This was an interesting evaluation of Rizal as a philosopher of history; and though we don’t wholly agree with it, the over-all outlook that it portrayed still overwhelmingly proved one thing, and that is, that Rizal, a genius that he was, was undeniably a man of his times and context. His formal university education, his liberal immediate surroundings in Europe³⁹⁹, and his personal convictions (which were

³⁹⁷ They were the forerunners of today’s ethnographers, ethnologists, and material anthropologists.

³⁹⁸ Ricardo Pascual, *Rizal’s Philosophy of History*, in *Jose Rizal on his Centenary. Being an Attemptat a Reevaluation of his Significance*, by the Professors of the University of the Philippines, by Leopoldo Yabes (Ed.), Quezon City: Office of Research Coordination, University of the Philippines-Diliman, 1963, p. 85.

³⁹⁹ For a study on the influence of European liberalism, please see: Petronilo Daroy, *The Ideas of European Liberalism in the Fiction of Rizal*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Diliman, 1965.

made ripe through his experiences as a not necessarily recognized subject of colonial Spain in the Philippine Islands) made him in one way or the other think that men make and have the greatest influence in the movement of history. But at the same time, he was very much a child of Catholicism as well. The upbringing he got from his family and the unbroken contact he had with the Jesuits, almost throughout his lifetime, on the archipelago were the undeniable witnesses to that. In a way, when one looks at it then, Rizal could only go in one direction; and that was, in the way where these two major largely philosophical strains of his life could somewhat meet and be one with each other. The resulting philosophy of history that he conceived in consequence, thence, gave equal gravity to the role of men and the role of formal cultural institutions, like the Catholic Church, in the actual movement in and of history. This general point of view of his was even, in a way, concretized through the choice of Morga's *Sucesos* itself as an historical work to be annotated, to be corrected. Though from a totally different century, Morga was almost comparable to Rizal in their attitude towards history as a discipline. Both were highly learned citizens, both were very much ready to intellectually serve their considered homelands and peoples as historians, and both were unavoidably Catholics as well. Their only greatest difference lay in their times and context. Rizal lived in the late nineteenth century --- a time when the world became witness to many social, political, and intellectual developments which undeniably affected everyone's idea of everyday living --- and so, he had no other way to go but represent and concretize these in almost all of his works. It could even be presumed that Rizal himself was aware of this large similarities and relatively minor difference between himself and Morga; the title that he chose --- *Historical Events of the Philippine Islands* by Dr. Antonio de Morga. Published in Mexico in 1609 recently brought to light and annotated by José Rizal. --- show this. The historical work was, hence, accepted as it was. *Historia* was both topical and eventual in nature; and it was largely linear in character: there was a foreseen beginning and end of history which was made of events leading to particular situations and other events leading to another, and so on. Rizal *faithfully transmitted* Morga's own words; it was *only adapted, whenever possible*, according to the standards of the times or in general, in his own words, *brought to light*.

This process of bringing to the light, to a point, implied his firmly thought of new idea of setting the time frames, known today as periodization, of the history of the islands. Reactionary to the Spaniards' earlier two-parts, or bipartite, *historia* of the islands, Rizal suggestively forwarded a three-parts, or tripartite, type of historical narrative; in general that was, the archipelago before, during, and (the probable) after the Spaniards came. The meanings and messages appropriated in/to these parts were naturally different to those of the earlier *historias* of the Spaniards. The figurative light used in the title of his annotations was also, in a way, utilized in this new interpretation of *historia*. If the Spaniards used a darkness-lightness pattern in their bipartite history of the Philippines, Rizal reactively implied a *liwanag-dilim-liwanag* or **lightness-darkness-lightness tripartite framework** of history. This framework was most obvious in the last chapter (the 8th) of his annotations to Morga's work and

in his exposé entitled *Filipinas Dentro de Cien Anos*. Many statements were made on the greatness of the civilization on the islands before the coming of the Spaniards; that is, greatness which received its undue dawn through the coming of the colonizing Spain. The following included many of such narrative statements:

The Filipinos, like the inhabitants of the Marianas who are no less famous and skilled in the art of navigation, far from progressing have become backward, for, though now boats are built in the Islands, we can say that they are almost all of European model. The ships that carried on hundred rowers as crew and thirty fighting soldiers disappeared. The country that built ships of about 2,000 tons (Hernando de los Rios, p. 24), now has to resort to foreign ports, like Hong Kong, to five away the gold wrested from the interior navigation dies, due to the obstacle created by a timid and distrustful system of government. And of all that naval architecture hardly one name or so is remembered, killed without being replaced by modern advancement in proportion to the centuries that have elapsed, as it has happened in the adjacent centuries. And those old vessels of their kind and for their time were so perfect and light, above all those of the Marianas, that sailors and pilots said: "While we moved in one shot of arquebus they gave us six turns so graceful that they cannot be more." (Doc. 47. Academia de la Historia). And they sailed also against the wind and the Spaniards called them shuttles for their swiftness. Why did not think of perfecting this kind of vessels?⁴⁰⁰

This magnificent boat culture was referred to quite a few times in the annotated work. Rizal was convinced that the coming of the Spaniards, their neglect and selfish motives, totally destroyed this great potential of the Filipinos; just like their ancient jar industry⁴⁰¹, their system of writing⁴⁰², their oldest traditions⁴⁰³, even their person's good naturedness⁴⁰⁴. Of course, not all of Spain was

⁴⁰⁰ Rizal, *Sucesos...* Op.cit., p. 251.

⁴⁰¹ Here was how Rizal discussed this subject: "Dr. Jagor, in his famous work *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Berlin, 1873) in chapter XV deals with these jars, describing some, giving very curious and interesting details about their history, shape, and value, some of which reach enormous prices, like those of the sultan of Borneo who scorned the price of 100,000 pesos offered for one of them. Dr. Jagor himself, while in the Philippines, was able to get one, found in one of the excavations undertaken in Ligmanan (Camarines Sur) with other prehistoric objects belonging to the bronze age, as attended by knives made of this metal and the absence of iron, etc. It is a pity that those objects had not been studied better. Discovering these very precious jars in Cambodia, Siam, Cochinchina, the Philippines, and other adjacent islands, and their manufacture dating to a very remote epoch, the study of their form, structure, seals, and inscriptions, would perhaps give us a key to finding a common center of civilization for these peoples." *Ibid.*, p. 263.

⁴⁰² There was definitely a system of writing, with a particular set of standards on the islands before the coming of the Spaniards. It was long there and the coming of the colonials only hindered its further utility, and thence growth on the archipelago's population. Here was how Rizal referred to this development: "This assertion and the Tagalog spirit, a lover of simplicity and clarity, contradict the error later aduced by other writers with respect to the imperfect writing and the consequent difficult reading of those characters. We are far from believing that alphabet offers the simplicity and clarity of the Latin, but neither can we accept the belief of other authors who, without knowing thoroughly that writing, claim to find it imperfect for the difficulty of pronouncing the quiescent consonants. Perhaps the "commas" mentioned served for this purpose, the dots being the signs of the vowels just as we see in a manuscript reproduced by Mas the sign to represent the silent m, n, t, etc. On this subject many have written, like Chirino, Colin, Gaspar de San Agustin, J. de San Antonio, Chamisso, Mas, and others and in later epochs and with greater thoroughness, Jacquet (*Journal Asiatique*) and the Filipino Doctor T.H.Pardo de Tavera whose interesting pamphlet *Contribución para al estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos* (Lausanne, 1884) is almost a resumé and a critical appraisal of all the former writers besides an inquiry into its origin and relationship to other alphabets in India. Alfred Marche (*Luson et Palaouan*) gives however newer and more recent data taken from the Tagbanua tribe (Paragua) who still use this alphabet and these data modify greatly the knowledge of this subject until recently in vogue." *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁴⁰³ There were various referrals to traditional system of laws (cf., p. 278), the structure of the society (cf., pp. 278-279), the marriages and divorce (cf., pp. 282-284), the system of inheritance (cf., p. 285-286), the belief system (cf., pp. 290-293), the burial system (cf., pp. 294-295). They were relatively well discussed and deserve

condemned. Spain was, after all, still considered by Rizal as a motherland, a country from whom the Philippines learned and could even learn much more. Nonetheless, it could not be denied that some of its representatives brought darkness to the latter; they were the civil guards, the neglectful officers of the government, and with the exception of the Jesuits, the religious⁴⁰⁵. The irony of it was that, the inhabitants learned and appropriated the bad habits of these people through the years; vices became very much prevalent among the Malay population itself. The society in the archipelago became therefore infected with an inner sickness, a social cancer which eats the very flesh of that which make up the Filipinos as an old civilized people.⁴⁰⁶ The reevaluation and betterment of the system on the colony were deemed necessary; and these exertions were foreseen to begin the new times, when the ancient lightness would be retrieved so that it would shine again for the all of the people on archipelago. Tactical reforms, accordingly, were much needed today for if they were not executed,

Muy probablemente las Filipinas defenderán con un ardor indecible la libertad comprada a costa de tanta sangre y sacrificios. Con los hombres nuevos que broten de su seno y con el recuerdo de su pasado, se dedicarán tal vez a entrar abiertamente en la ancha vía del progreso, y todos trabajarán de consuono a fortalecer su patria, así en el interior como en el exterior, con el mismo entusiasmo con que un joven vuelve a labrar el campo de sus padres, tanto tiempo devastado y abandonado gracias a la incuria de los que le enajenaron. Entonces volverá a desenterrar de las minas el oro para remediar la miseria, el hierro para armarse, el cobre, el plomo, el carbón, etc.; acaso el país rescite a la vida marítima y mercantil a que están llamados los islenos por la Naturaleza; sus aptitudes y sus instintos, y libre otra vez, como el ave que deja la jaula, como la flor que vuelve al aire libre, volverá a recobrar las antiguas buenas calidades que poco a poco va perdiendo, y será otra vez amante de la paz, jovial, sonriente, hospitalario y audaz.⁴⁰⁷

another look for they are potential take offs to deeper analysis and studies; and that was exactly what most of the scholars after Rizal did. The intellectual history of the archipelago was witness to that fact.

⁴⁰⁴ A good example of this was Rizal's discussion on how the Filipinos became more loose in their attitude towards criminality, e.g. theft. According to him: "This horror of theft was so general before the coming of the Spaniards that the most anti-Filipino historians could never accuse the Indios of thievery despite their most trifling faults and of interpreting unjustly and attributing to the whole race the faults and defects that are found in individuals of all countries. Today this horror is already so deadened that not only manufactors and highwaymen have multiplied but also they steal chickens, fruits, animals, etc. or the very same ones whose duty is to watch over the security of the citizens, like the members of the Civil Guard, forced owners to sell them their properties cheaply. To the gradual distruction of that sacred custom have contributed perhaps the lukewarmness, and we would even say a certain participation of the friars in the stolen things, as can be gathered from the doubt of Fr. Alonso de Castro: "If it was lawful for the Religious to receive the sustenance and buildings for their churches and convents stolen goods by way of alms..." Ibid., p. 287.

⁴⁰⁵ Rizal explained how this happened this way: "Only after the religious saw that their position was strong did they begin to spread calumnies and to debase the Filipinos with a view of giving themselves more importance, making themselves always indispensable, and thus excusing their stupidity and ignorance with the pretended courseness of the Indio. However, the Jesuits must be excepted for they almost always did justice to the Indios and they themselves were also the ones who had done most to educate and enlighten them without pretending thereby to declare themselves as their perpetual protectors, tutors, defenders, etc., etc." Ibid., p. 309

⁴⁰⁶ This theory of the cancer of the society was well explained in the figurative medium/language of Rizal in his novel *Noli Me Tangere* (Cf.: Rizal, *Noli...Op.cit.*). The resolution to this problematic situation was metaphorically suggested in the continuation of this novel by the same author entitled *El Filibusterismo* (Jose Rizal, *El Filibusterismo*, Ghent: F.Meyer-Van Loo, 1891).

⁴⁰⁷ Rizal, *Filipinas Dentro... Op.cit.* There were also quite a number of translations of this essay to different languages on the islands; but one of the really interesting ones was that made during the centennial celebration of Rizal's birth. This came out of the press as part of a whole band of essays written by Rizal and translated to fluid, classical Filipino; its whole bibliographical entry is: *Mga Sinulat ni Jose Rizal. Pampolitika at Pangkasaysayan, Maynila: Pambansang Komisyon ng Ikasandaang Taón ni Jose Rizal, 1961.*

The Filipinos themselves were deemed to fight for what they thought was right for them; and this event was foreseen as the beginning of the new epoch for the land, when finally the old gloriousness experienced by their ancestors in the past would be reclaimed and repossessed by the new generation. And so, in a way, the whole light-darkness-light framework of Rizal's historia was fully realized, the cycle was fully ended --- and that was how it should be.

He was, of course, not alone in this kind of thinking. Most of the members of the Filipino intellectual class in Spain almost think the same way. In fact, the other two known greatest propagandists in the history of the archipelago, namely Marcelo H. del Pilar⁴⁰⁸ (August 30, 1850 – July 4, 1896) and Graciano Lopez Jaena⁴⁰⁹ (December 18, 1856 – January 20, 1896), were basically guided by the same philosophy of history; that is, the tripartite history of the Philippines with the light-darkness-light perspective.⁴¹⁰ They did not have the extremity and consistency of Rizal's view on the same

⁴⁰⁸ Del Pilar was the son of Julian H. del Pilar and Blasa Gatmaitan. He was born in the barrio of Cupang, Bulacan, Bulacan. He obtained the degree of bachelor of arts from the College of San Jose and finished law at the University of Sto. Tomas.

“In del Pilar there's a confluence of the two streams of the Propaganda, as the very name of his newspaper, Solidaridad, attests. There can now be no talk of Creole or Indio, only of Filipinos; and in his own person Del Pilar carries the synthesis. A Spanish barba cerrada decorates a man in whose veins runs the blood of the old Tagalog nobility. Born into the gentry, he moves confidently in the cockpit. He alone of the propagandists possesses both the Tagalog and Spanish, far surpassing Rizal in the mastery of both tongues. Rizal is still arguing about the Filipino's competence; Del Pilar has already accepted that as a fact. It was this easy self confidence that made Filipinos in Spain prefer, as leader, the unself-conscious Del Pilar to the preachy, rather puritanical Rizal.” Nick Joaquin, “Whence Came the Propaganda?”, A Question of Heroes. Essays in Criticism on Ten Key Figures of Philippine History, Manila: Ayala Museum, 1979, p. 33.

⁴⁰⁹ Lopez Jaena was born of Ilongo parents, Placido Lopez and Maria Jacobo Jaena, in Iloilo. After learning his first letters from a private tutor, he enrolled in the Seminary of Jaro and studied theology and philosophy. Contrary to the wishes of his parents though, he did not proceed towards priesthood but instead tried enrolling in the college of medicine of U.S.T. He was not accepted for he lack the prerequisite of A.B. degree. He worked for a time as an apprentice in the San Juan de Dios Hospital, and then returned to Jaro, with some knowledge of medicine.

He was known as the greatest orator of the Propaganda. Both Spaniards and Filipinos were awed by his oratory eloquence --- both in speaking and in writing --- during the peak of the movement in Spain.

⁴¹⁰ This was how Salazar categorized these three propagandists within the general theme of their view on the history of the Philippines in his “A Legacy of the Propaganda: The Tripartite View of Philippine History”:

Table 2
The Propagandists' Tripartite View of Philippine History

Author	Pre-Colonial	Colonial	Post-Colonial
Del Pilar	Filipinas had inferior civilization. Blood compact made in order for “mother” Spain to civilize and christianize “daughter” Filipinas.	Encomenderos first charged with civilizing mission. Then friars, who establish frailocracia and hamper progress, which is inevitable (Suez Canal).	Friars must go. Revolution has advantage of being surgical. But liberal reform better. Integration of autonomous Filipinas with Spain.
Lopez-Jaena	Ambivalent view. One moment, Filipinas thought to be in “primitive state”. Then as having “a civilization, a degree of enlightenment.	Filipino capacity for progress impeded by “monastic supremacy”. Progress due to Filipinos alone and to external forces.	Elimination of friar rule. At first assimilationist, Jaena later favoured Revolution, freedom won “with the blood of Filipinas”.
Rizal	Filipinas had a civilization of her own and was progressing, armed with her own capacities and virtues.	Decay and retrogression under Spanish rule. Civic virtues lost. Vices taken over. Social cancer in late 19 th century.	Release of creative forces of the race with attainment of freedom. Probably through Revolution. Tactically, through Reforms.

philosophy⁴¹¹, but they generally thought of and conceived the history of the Philippines in the same periodization as that of the former's; that is, a distinctive pre-colonial, a colonial, and then a post-colonial periods within the history of the archipelago. And similar as in Rizal's case, these philosophical division of time frames within history would be read in most of their published works during the last years of the 19th century both in the Philippines and in Spain. Del Pilar believed that the Philippines before the coming of the Spaniards was a rich land of natural resources and a people, though not comparable in civilization as that of Europe's, who were full of potential for growth and learning.⁴¹² She was given a chance, in a manner, to realize this potential to its fullness through the pact that she closed with Spain. Through this pact⁴¹³ --- a ceremonial agreement called *pacto de*

(Zeus Salazar, "A Legacy of the Propaganda: The Tripartite View of Philippine History" in Z.A. Salazar, Ed., *The Ethnic Dimension. Papers on Philippine Culture, History and Psychology*, Cologne: Counselling Center for Filipinos, Caritas Association for the City of Cologne, 1983, p. 122-123)

⁴¹¹ Rizal's philosophical intentions was always a great puzzle for many social scientists that followed him. For quite a while, many of the scientists were in the opinion that Rizal was a total political assimilationist in relation to his convictions for the Philippines; but lately, a new view, due to a different reading of his works and actions, was forwarded. The historian Noel Teodoro is convinced, for one, that Rizal was already on a different philosophical standpoint when he decided to go back to the Philippines in 1892. According to him, Rizal's works and actions beforehand illustrated his changed belief that the fight could be fought in Spain. The hero, according to him, was evidently more than convinced that the only way to create change for the Philippines was to cause the change in Philippines itself, not in the colonial Spain. Therefore, the only rational thing to do was to go back, bumalik sa bayan. See: Noel Teodoro, "Si Rizal at ang m g a Ilustrado ng Espanya", Maynila: 1999.

⁴¹² Here was how Del Pilar phrased it in his literary work "Sagot nang Espana sa Hibik ng Filipinas":

Sa aua ng langit icao ay sagana
ng sukat iyamang malalagong lupa
lahat ng pananim uala mang alaga
sa kaparangan mo'y tmutubong kusa.

Ang asufre't tinga, ang tanao at bakal
ang guinto at pilac ay nangahuhukay
sa m g a lupa mo't sa dagat man nama'y
sarisinging perlas ang natatagpuan.

An tabaco't, café, palay, tina't, bulak
abaca at tubo'y kailangan nang lahat;
sa manga lupa mo'y tantong nag gugubat
itong sa sangmuno'y hirap mahaguilap.

Tantong naliliguid ang m g a lupa mo
ng dagat ng China't dagat Pacifico;
balang mangangalakal sa buong sang mundo
pauang na-akit dumalaw sa iyo.

Sari-saing kalap na sakdal ng tibay
sakdal ng la-laki, sa dikit ay sakdal;
hindi makikita sa sandaigdigan,
nguni't sa bundok mo'y nangakalat lamang.

Talaga nga manding ikaw ang hantungan
nang sa ibang nacióng sinimpang puhunan;
ikaw nga't di iba dapat makinabang
nang yamang sa iyo'y gauad ng Maykapal.

Sari-saring hayop malaki't maliit
buhat sa ma-among magpa hanggang ganit
saganang sagana sa lupa mo't labis
sa cailagan mo, bunsong inibig.

Marcelo H. Del Pilar, *Sagot Nang Espana Sa Hibik Nang Pilipinas*, Barcelona: 1889. Also in Magno S. Gatmaitan, *Marcelo H. Del Pilar, 1850-1896. A Documented Biography with Tagalog, English, and Spanish Texts*, Quezon City: 1966, p. 391-392.)

⁴¹³ Said Del Pilar: "...La paleta de Luna ha revivido el recuerdo del pacto de sangre entre Legazpi y Sicutana; y los filipinos no pueden mirar sin dolor la poderosa ingerencia del interés monacal, que impidiendo toda corriente de fraternidad entre Espana y Filipinas, dificulta continuamente la fuesión de intereses, que, para uno de otro pueblo, simboliza tan solemne jaramento.

Como Filipinas, Espana aspira sin embargo a esa identificación; en los mares de China, allá lejos de los arsenales de Europa, el aislamiento peninsular sólo fomentaría el desenvolvimiento de aspiraciones estrangeras de que está rodeado el archiélago filipino.

Pruebas tenemos de que en las angustias coloniales de Espana, el pueblo filipino se hace solidario de las glorias e infortunios de su madre patria..." Marcelo H. Del Pilar (Pláridel), *La Soberania Monacal en Filipinas*, Barcelona: Imprenta Ibérica de Francisco Fossas, 1888.

*sangre*⁴¹⁴ between the archipelago's representative Sikatuna and Spain's representative Legazpi during the 16th century --- the Philippines became an adopted daughter of mother Spain who promised development through learning. But mother Spain, though definitely desirous of fulfilling her responsibilities, could not always keep an eye on her adopted daughter Philippines; and so, she decided to momentarily transfer the work of educating the latter on one of her most trusted men, the friar. This man-religious, in the beginning, took up the responsibility seriously; still, he became corrupted by his almost unbounded power on the islands' inhabitants through the years. He opined that too much education would transform the Indios into the rebels like those of Spain and some other colonies of the empire; and so, he selfishly kept them in the dark, taking great care that they wouldn't be too knowledgeable on the different areas of learning. Their financial state on the islands were much too great a risk to do otherwise; he had to keep the farce of their optimal sovereignty on them --- that is, a monarchical sovereignty.⁴¹⁵ And so, though the second period of the archipelago's history was begun with the characteristic optimism brought about by the honest intention of Spain to educate the young Philippines, it was slowly transformed into something of its opposite; that is, a period of almost perpetual darkness, brought about by the self-gratifying friars who reigned over the land and people. The friars governed the archipelago almost like gods⁴¹⁶; in fact, many of them illustrate this secretly-kept belief in most of their everyday activities on the colonies. The problem was, opined Del Pilar, they were not gods; they were, in fact, among some of the poorest (in all aspects) citizens of Spain.⁴¹⁷ They were among those who from the beginning were hungering for power; and so, when they finally

⁴¹⁴ This is the Spanish translation of the Filipino concept/idea and practice of *Sandugo*. Its literal English translation would be one blood. (This process was frequently discussed in the earliest cronicas and estadismos of the Spaniards. Cf.: Chapter 4.) It was the ancient practice of closing different forms of relationship after a period or state of disunity or disagreement between the participants, e.g. between warring pamayanans, between conflicting families, between a man and a woman as the most sacred form of marriage, between an adopted son/daughter and a pamayanan, etc.

⁴¹⁵ Del Pilar expalined: "...Pero ante tantas pruebas de lealtad, el fraile impone al gobierno su preponderancia; y la impone con el pretexto de conjurar la traición del pueblo filipino. El país va comprendiendo la injuriosa significación de la proponderancia monacal; y lamentando la ceguedad del gobierno, deplora el sacrificio que hace de sus intereses para pagar un elemento destinado a calumniar y envenar su sentimiento naciona, conquistando para Filipinas el desamor de Espana..." (Del Pilar, *La Soberanía...* Op.cit.)

⁴¹⁶ To illustrate this conviction, Del Pilar wrote parodies and satires through the use of various pennames. These works were published in the Philippines and they were usually distributed after the Sunday Masses in various churches around the Bulacan and Manila areas. Among the most popular and cleverly formulated among them were: "Cai-igat cayo", "Dasalan at Toksohan", and "Pasiong dapat ipag-alab nang puso nang tauong babasa". Characteristically enough, these works were written in Tagalog and not in Spanish; and so, had the different effect on its reading audience as it might have had, had it been otherwise. It could even be said that because of its wider popular distribution, these works actually forwarded the idea of propaganda within the Philippine setting itself; that is, where the actual reforms for the said movement was being fought for, on the first place.

⁴¹⁷ Del Pilar's words were: "Ang nangagpapangap na kahalili nang Dios ay ang manga fraile; manga tauong tubo sa kaparangan at kabundukan sa Espana; anak sa karalitaan at ualang maipakain ang kanilang magulang ay nangag sisipasok sa convento, buhat sa pagkabata; diyan lumaki, mag susuk nang abitong sagana sa bulsa hanggang sa dalauang mangas, magsa sabit sa tuktok at ahit batok, mag aaral nang kapatak na uikang latin, at ipadadala nang cura sa katagalugan. Sa ganitong kalagayan ay siya nang pananagana; may mayamang tahanan sa pinagcurahan at ualang kilos ang cristianong di pinagkakasasalapian; binyag, kasal, libing, kandila, at sarisaring pafiesta ay siyang guinagauang alulud nang ating pinaghanapan na ang tungo'i punui't saganain ang madla't maluluang nilang bulsa; samantalang iniaaral naman sa atin ang lubos na pagpapakadukha alang-alang sa Dios." Marcelo H. Del Pilar, "Ang Kadakilaan ng Dios", in *Gatmaitan*, Op.cit., p. 412.

got the chance to have it --- unfortunately in the Philippines --- they do not want to let it anymore go. Del Pilar wanted to expose this fact; that was the main reason why he wrote and published. He wanted to inform his people, for

Panahon nang dapat nating pagkuro-kuroin ang ating kalagayan; panahon nang dapat tayong magnilay nilay, kung nanukol sa ating pagka tauro ang mamalagi sa ganitong pagka api.⁴¹⁸

It was, according to him, the perfect time to study ourselves; so that we could finally decide if we still want to continue in this state of distress, state of oppressive distress. The decision for change, thence, had to come from the Filipinos themselves. And this change could only be fully realized if they decide to free themselves from the bondage of the kind of religion or the kind of religious system dictated by the selfish friars on the islands. Armed with the truth brought about by the exact disseminated information from their own people themselves, the Filipinos could better decide and predetermine their future. And if a revolution⁴¹⁹ would be needed to accomplish this, then so be it; but Spain had better heed before it reached that far. She had better end the perpetual influence of the friars on the islands; execute the much needed liberal reforms there and finally and truly take the islands as an autonomous integral portion of itself. That is, because

Por nuestro parte, no deseamos más que consoliden los sentimientos de fraternidad entre Espana y Filipinas, arrancando de raiz toda simiente de desunión, todo obstacula a la fusión real y efectiva de sus respectivos intereses, que Filipinas respire la atmósfera de su madre patria, a una sola fé, un sólo ideal, esperanza vivifiquen las aspiraciones de ambos pueblos, llamados a elaborar su bienestar común y sorprender al mundo con un porvenir de exuberante ventura.⁴²⁰

The future, the third period in the tripartite history, for Del Pilar would be the time, thence, when the promised potential of the Philippines would be finally given the chance to be realized through the assistance of mother Spain. What was hindered by the friars during the beginning of the second period would be finally freed; and the Philippines would be undeniably integrated to Spain as a fully functioning province with all its advantages. His was, thence, still the assimilationist approach towards the foreseen betterment of the land of his birth; and though he could easily comprehend the actual event plus the resulting advantages⁴²¹ of a bloody revolution, he would rather have liberal

⁴¹⁸ <It is time that we deeply ponder our state; it is time that we should analyze and study, if it is really appropriate for our humanity, our pagkatao, to continue in this state of suppression.> Marcelo H. Del Pilar, “Sa Bumabasang Kababayan”, *Gatmaitan*, Op.cit., p. 413.

⁴¹⁹ The idea of revolution had always been at the back of Del Pilar’s mind. For him, this revolution was akin to a brewing storm which could be seen coming from the seas towards land; that is, a *sigwa*, an angry natural calamity which has the power to sweep everything that gets on its way and in the process metaphorically transform what was earlier cluttered into a levelled field. In a manner, almost like that of the natural catastrophe embodied in the name, a *sigwa* could be the figurative representation of the pent-up anger and frustration of the Filipinos who were for more than three centuries suppressed by the colonial Spain. See: Del Pilar, “Sagot Nang...” Op.cit.

⁴²⁰ Del Pilar, “La Soberanía...” Op.cit.

⁴²¹ Del Pilar, in fact, had a much thought out and deeply conceptualized idea of freedom --- embodied in the Filipino word *Kalayaan*. According to him, “And kalayaan ay dili iba kundi and kapangyarihang sumunod o sumuay sa sariling kalooban: and tinatawag nating malaya ay ang panginoon ng kanilang kalooban.

reforms from the colonial motherland so that peaceful executions could be done in order to resolve the whole problematic situation.

On the whole, Lopez Jaena shared the same opinion. He would rather see the Philippines which was truly politically one with Spain as that of the undeniably independent former; that is, till the last months of his life when he changed his mind and opted for a Philippine revolution instead. Still, Jaena, like Rizal and Del Pilar was of the same opinion on historia and its philosophy. He was one of the most fiery speakers of the Filipino intellectual class, *ilustrados*, in the late 19th century Spain; in fact, he was the earliest contributors who tackled the Philippine political situation in most of the periodicals in Madrid and the earliest editor and, naturally, one of the writers of both *Espana en Filipinas* and *La Solidaridad*. Like Rizal and Del Pilar, Jaena embodied the youth, passion, and drive of the Filipino *ilustrado* of the times; and though, they were never totally the same in opinion and intentions, they were all basically the same in view of history, historia, as a disciplinal instrument in forwarding their political aspirations for the Philippines. Jaena was convinced that, though relatively primitive⁴²², the Philippine archipelago before the coming of the Spaniards had a degree of civilization which was comparable to those of the older civilizations of the world. He said:

...Tiempo es ya, señores, que encomenderos esos errores de la historia y digamos muy alto que aquel país antes del arribo a sus costas de los españoles, tenía una civilización, un grado de ilustración; ilustración y civilización reflejadas de la China, de la India y del Japón, pueblos con quienes sostenía relaciones de amistad y concordia; si no, qué prueban esos preciosos objetos antiguos encontrados en las excavaciones hechas alrededor de Libmanan, y esos valiosísimas vasijas artísticamente modeladas, dibujadas y primorosamente confeccionadas, de cuya

And kalayaan ay isa sa mahalagang biyaya ng Dios sa tauo; dahil sa kalayaan ay nakaiilag tayo sa masama, at nagagauá ng inaakala nating magaling.

Tunay na dahil sa kalayaan ay nagagaua ang masama at nangyayaring pabayaang ang magaling. Datapua sukat pag uariing ito ng pinagbubuhatan ng matuid sa masarili ng tauo ang puri o kahaliling bunga ng mabuti o masama niyang gaua...

Linikha ng Dios ang tauo, sinangkapan ng isip at loob at kalangkap ng buhay na ipinagkaloob sa kaniya ang ganap na kalayaan.

Alinsunod dito kung matuid ang gamitin at pagyamanin ang lahat ng ipinagkaloob ng Dios; kun pananagutan natin sa Maykapal ng pagpapaubaya sa mga biyayang handog nang kanyang pagmamahal; kung dapat nating pagyamanin ang sariling buhay, liuanagin ang sariling isip at loob, ay katuiran din namang igalang natin ang kalayaang sangkap ng ating pagkatao, dapat nating gamitin at ipagmalasakit at huag pababayaang apihin ng iba ang sariling kalayaan." Del Pilar, "Kalayaan", in *Gatmaitan*, *Op.cit.*, pp. 413-414.

⁴²² Lopez Jaena mentioned this in his article entitled "Una Protesta" which came out in the periodical *Los Dos Mundos* in 1883. He said: "En honor la verdad, en un pueblo donde los encargos por la patria de plantear leyes colonizadoras, desenvolver las ideas del progreso y difundir las enseñanzas de la civilización, lejos de cumplir (salvas honrosísimas excepciones) con la noble misión a ellos encomendada y velar por los intereses de la misma, procuran mantener a aquellos pueblos, en cuanto les es posible, para favorecer sus mezquinas y egoístas miras, en el estado casi primitivo en que los encontraron nuestros inolvidables descubridores Magallanes y Legazpi; en una sociedad donde basta ser de la Península para hacerse valer como una autoridad, y donde el espíritu de injuria y violencia actúa hasta donde se lo permite el adelanto de los tiempos; en una sociedad finalmente, donde el abuso, los atropellos cometidos por aquellos peninsulares, a la luz del sol, con esa desgraciada raza que puebla tierra filipina se quedaban muchas veces impunes, porque no se denunciaban, porque delataban, o porque encontraban apoyo en las autoridades; los hijos del país algo ilustrados, comprendiendo la presión ejercida allí arbitrariamente, por la suspicacia de los hijos de la Península, sus fechorías y desmanes, cómo no han de mirar con cierta prevención a algunos de ellos?" Graciano Lopez Jaena, "Una Protesta", in *Graciano Lopez Jaena, Discursos y Artículos Varios*, (Barcelona: 1891), Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951, p. 67.

procedencia y época no se conserva memoria, halladas en las excavaciones de la Pampanga, Pangasinán, y Manila; vasijas tan estadísticas en el Japón y en la China, un ejemplar de las cuales hay en el museo etnográfico de Berlín? Que demuestran esas momias exhalando perfumes de embalsamamiento, perfectamente conservadas en las cuevas de Sámbar, cuyos habitantes algunos de ellos conservan todavía recuerdo de esos conocimientos del arte tan difícil de embalsamar cadáveres por medio de aromáticas yerbas, como lo hacían los antiguos egipcios? Que denota esa industria minera en las montañas Mankayan, de éstos que llaman salvajes igorotes, pues que hace ya siglos benefician el cobre en una proporción considerable, notándose más por hallarse casi solo en estado de pirita, cuyo beneficio supone en Europa procedimientos tan complicados? Todo, señores, prueba, denota, demuestra los restos de una civilización que pasó; los vestigios de luces que un día alumbraron la mente de nuestros antepasados. El hecho, señores, de haber legado a tal altura un pueblo metido en un rincón de una sierra, arroja a la historia bastante luz que se admire su antigua civilización.⁴²³

The first period of the history of the archipelago was a period of relative lightness, a period of civilization which was similar to those of China, India and Japan. Both the archaeological remains and anthropological material culture found in the various excavations there were witnesses to this fact. But this, albeit, primitive civilization was never given a chance to further develop itself. The Spaniards came; and with them the dual-form of government wherein both the State and the Catholic Church reigned. Unfortunately enough, the latter always won in most of the deciding factors within the islands; its end-result, monastic supremacy⁴²⁴ over the archipelago. The Church or, to be more exact, its direct representative on the islands, the friar, effectively affected the start of the second period of the archipelago's history; that is, the start of the opposite of the previous period, the period of jealously maintained simple-mindedness to all the progress that the educated and developing world could offer, the period of darkness, appropo:

No negamos que Filipinas está atrasada, atrasadísima, y este atraso, lejos de ser su causa la refracción a la cultura, la ineptitud de nuestra raza para el progreso, está, en el fraile que, misionero de la fe católica y representante de España, de su civilizadora empresa en aquellas regiones, ha hallado en el indio un filón inagotable de explotación, sumiéndole en la ignorancia y en el fanatismo.⁴²⁵

The friar was, therefore, the cause of the problematic situation in the Philippines. Represented within his person were both the oppressive and suppressive atmosphere in the colonies; he was the problem in the archipelago, and Jaena repeatedly discussed and explained this theory in almost all of his writings.

⁴²³ This was first delivered during the celebration in honor of Luna and Hidalgo when they won the first and second prizes of the painting contest (Exposición de Bellas Artes) in Berlin in 1884. It is a portion of the article "En Honor de Luna y Res. Hidalgo" in Lopez Jaena, *Discursos...* Op.cit., pp. 32-33.

⁴²⁴ Jaena explained: "Mas, si no es dado interpretar el sentimiento de aquel pueblo, de aquellas masas que piensan alto, que sienten muy hondo, pero que no formulan ni expresan sus quejas, si sus agravios, ni los ideales que persiguen, porque allí la vida del pensamiento se agosta en flor y los sentimientos se marchitan en los senos donde brotaran, merced a las leyes ominosas de censura previa que nos rigen, cábeme, en cambio, aquí, señores, exclamar con el gran Víctor Hugo: "El monaquismo está condenado por el triple juicio de la razón, de la verdad, y de la historia."; el frailismo, señores, en Filipinas herido está de muerte: le asestó Quiroga el último golpe mortal: Bendito sea Quiroga! Bendito sea el vengador de derechos, de honras, y dignidades filipinos!..." Jaena, "Por el Ex-director de Administración Civil Sr. Quiroga Ballesteros", in Jaena, *Discursos...* Op.cit., pp. 46-47.

⁴²⁵ Jaena, "Los Indios de Filipinas", in Jaena, *Discursos...* Op.cit., p. 140.

In fact, in order to make his point even clearer, he developed the character of *Fray Botod*⁴²⁶ --- a presumably typical friar in the Philippines in all of his ugliest, almost animalistic nature. The Fray Botods in the islands were, thence, presumed to be the massive hindrances towards the true progress of the people and nation; they were the ones responsible for keeping the Filipinos within the dark brought about by superstitions and religious fanaticism. The most effective way of resolving the situation was, therefore, the total elimination of the rule of the many Fray Botods; the monastic rule must effectively be ended.

Pedir que los filipinos no sean espanoles de pega; demandar la abolición de la ley denigrante de castas mantenida en las Islas por los frailes; pues, que yo, filipino, espanol en la península, indio soy en el Archipiélago, es decir, esclavo, paria, ilota; pedir, en fin, que Filipinas no aparezca ante los ojos del mundo civilizado, como la hijastra de esta gran nación, noble y generosa; sino que sea verdadera y legítima hija de esta Espana que doménó el mundo durante siglos; de esta Espana de Covadonga, heroica, baliente y legendaria, que si fué grande en Lepanto, grande ha sido también en Trafalgar.⁴²⁷

The departure of the friars from the archipelago, in Jaena's opinion, would begin the new era for the Filipinos. It would finally lift the darkness that encompassed the land and usher the people towards the light which could be attained through the true and liberal education. The civil government could then execute laws and reforms which would finally make the Philippines into the position of a functioning Spanish province with all its legal merits; and with it, a new age for the archipelago would be begun. It would then be affected by the force of progress⁴²⁸ which Spain itself experienced and was still experiencing. Total assimilation was necessary for progress, both for the mother country Spain and most especially to daughter country Philippines. Jaena was totally convinced of this political principles; and would only opined otherwise after quite a few setbacks experienced by the movement he was working on and part of in Spain.⁴²⁹ In the few years just before he died, Jaena already gave up

⁴²⁶ Here was how the person of Fray Botod illustrated: "Baja estatura; cara abotagada en forma de sidco cual luna llena. Pómulos atomatados. Gruesos labios y pronunciados; ojos chiquititos, picarescos y gatunos; nariz grande, abermellado, de alas anchas y desplegado, por eso elfatea a distancia como un perdiguero. Cabello amaizado, corona tabo con cerquillo. Frente deprimida y arrugada marcanda ceno sombrío y adusto. Abdomen; sobre todo, su abdomen llama la atención por su mostruoso desarrollo, es más promontorio que abdomen, porque termina en punta cerca ombligo; la región pelviana y la pectoral coinciden en el mismo plano perpendicular determinado una curvatura central de la columna vertebral. Anádase a todo esto, un cuello corto sobre donde descansa aquella original fisonomía y tenéis acabado el retrato de cuerpo entero, de Fr. Botod." Jaena, "Fray Botod", in Jaena, *Discursos...Op.cit.*, p. 205.

⁴²⁷ Jaena, "Por el Ex-Director...", *Op.cit.*, p. 49.

⁴²⁸ Jaena conceptualized progress as a most powerful force that leads to the much needed change. According to him: "...Siendo como es el progreso fuerza, razón, movimiento; cuando es ciego, insciente, bruto, es un elemento avasallador terrible, destructor, es como el agua en las inundaciones, como el fuego en el incendio voraz, como el aire en el vendabal, y esto es lo que sucede con el pueblo espanol en el estadio del progreso; en cambio, cuando el progreso es dirigido, es razonado, es como el agua en nuestra economía, es como el fuego en nuestra cocina, como el aire a los pulmones, es un elemento necesario, esencial, fecundo en la vida de la sociedad, tal es como acontece en als naciones citadas, apacible en su marcha, isócrono en sus movimientos, abundante en sus variadas y maravillosas manifestaciones, today beneficiosas para la humanidad." Jaena, "El Pueblo Espanol Ante El Progreso", in Jaena, *Discursos...Op.cit.*, pp. 189-190.

⁴²⁹ In a letter for Rizal dated 15 October 1891, Jaena said: "...Tú sabes que estas cosas hay que trabajarlas con tiempo, y se necesita derrochar algo. Ciertamente, si quiero ser diputado en Espana, es para satisfacer ambiciones personales, nada más; no tengo la pretensión de dar por mi investidura de diputado, derechos

the dream of assimilation for the Philippines and was already thinking on the lines of a bloody revolution, in order for the archipelago to have its aimed for progressive change. Nonetheless, Jaena's philosophy of history was clearly that of the tripartite kind; that is, the liwanag-dilim-liwanag history of the Philippines, similar to that of his colleagues Rizal and Del Pilar. The history of the country was divided into three distinct periods: period of lightness and primitive prosperity; period of darkness caused by friar sovereignty; and period of lightness and progressive prosperity. Indeed, among the most significant legacy of the Propaganda Movement⁴³⁰ (for naturally, these three men contributed a lot as well in the conceptualization and propagation of various meanings and interpretations, e.g. *nación*⁴³¹, *la nación Filipinas*, *el Filipino*, and *el pueblo Filipino*) which these three men represented and embodied was most importantly that: the tripartite view of history of the Philippines. And though not one of them was able to actually write a formal history in its most literal and off-the-press form of the archipelago, their idea of history would be concretized through the published works of their colleagues, namely, the ilustrados Isabelo de los Reyes (1864-1938)⁴³² and Pedro Paterno (1858-1911)⁴³³, in the coming years after their death.

libertades a Filipinas: ella tiene que conquistarlos con su sangre, lo mismo que nuestra independencia.” Jaena, (Carta a Rizal, Barcelona, 15 de Octubre de 1891), in Jaena, *Discursos...Op.cit.*, pp. 349-350.

⁴³⁰ Zeus Salazar, “The Legacy...”, *Op.cit.*

⁴³¹ For the study on the conceptualization of *nación/nation*, see: Zeus Salazar, “Si Andres Bonidacio at ang Kabayanihang Pilipino”, Bagong Kasaysayan Blg. 2, Lunson Quezon: BAKAS, 1997.

⁴³² Here was how William Henry-Scott, one of the better known American Filipinologists, described Isabelo de los Reyes: “Isabelo de los Reyes y Florentino was born in Vigan, Ilocos Sur on July 6, 1864. He studied in the Vigan Seminary and graduated from the University of Santo Tomas with the Bachelor's Degree in 1883 and the Notarial in 1887. He started writing for the press at the age of 16, founded *El Ilocano* in 1889 and *El Municipio Filipino* in 1894, became editor of the *La Lectura Popular* in 1890, and regularly wrote for many other papers. Some of his collected articles appeared in a book form as *Ilocanadas*; *Articulos varios sobre Etnología, Historia y Costumbre del País*; *Las Islas Visayas en la Epoca de la Conquista*; *Historia de Filipinas, Vol. I (Prehistoria)*; *Historia de Ilocos*; and *El Folk-lore Filipino*. He was also a businessman, commencement agent, exporter, publisher and printer, and owned property in Manila, Tarlac, and Pangasinan.

He was arrested on suspicion of subversion in December 1896, deported to Spain and released in 1898. He was then employed by the Overseas Ministry in Madrid, continued his business endeavors, wrote for the Spanish press, translated the Gospels of Luke and John into Ilocano for the British Bible Society; and published *La sensacional Memoria sobre la Revolución filipina en 1896-1897*, *La Religión del Latipunan*, *Filipinas: Independencia y Revolución!* And the fortnightly *Filipinas ante Europe*.

He returned to the Philippines in October 1901, went back to journalism, and soon joined Pascual Poblete's *El Grito del Pueblo*. In 1902 he founded *Unión Obrera Democrática*, co-founded the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente*, and was jailed for labor agitating. He published the fortnightlies, *La Iglesia Filipinas Independiente: Revista Católica* and *La Redención del Obrero* in 1903-1904, and was one of the founders of the Republican Party of the Philippines in 1905.

He went back to Spain in 1906, engaged in business and scholarly research and wrote the major liturgical, theological and constitutional works of the I.F.I. --- its *Oficio Divino*, for example. He returned to the Philippines in 1909 and published *La Religión antigua de los Filipinos*. He served as Councilor in Manila from 1912 to 1919, was elected Senator from Ilocos in 1922, and retired from politics following a stroke in 1929. He died on Oct. 10, 1938, thrice widowed and the father of 27 legitimate children, one of whom, Isabelo, Jr., was Obispo Maximo of the I.F.I. for 25 years.” William Henry Scott, “Isabelo de los Reyes, Father of Philippine Folklore”, in William Henry Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain*, Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1985, pp. 245-246.

⁴³³ “Isinilang si Pedro Alejandro Paterno sa Sta. Cruz, Maynila noong ika-27 ng Pebrero 1858. Isa siya sa labintatlong anak ng kilalang mayamang pamilya ng mga Paterno. Ang kanyang mga magulang ay sina Don Maximo Paterno, isang Tsino-Pilipinong mangangalakal na nagpatuloy ng tradisyong sinimulan ng kanyang ninunong si Ming Mong Lo na dumaong sa Pilipinas sa ikalabingpitong siglo, at Dona Carmen de Vera Ignacio, isang Kastilang may talento sa pagtugtog ng piano at pagsusulat ng mga tula. Lumaki si Paterno sa gitna ng karangyaan ng bagong sentro ng kabuhayan ng mga panahong iyon, ang Quiapo... Taong 1867 nang sinimulan

Though primarily a folklorist, Isabelo de los Reyes was still, on the whole, a name to be reckon with as well in the general development of Filipino historiography. While his colleagues both in Spain and in the Philippines, including the three propagandists discussed above, were busy convincing their Spanish counterparts that the Filipinos were equal to the Spaniards in all respects, De los Reyes was already practicing this principle in all of his intellectual and journalistic endeavors. The capacity of the Filipino as a people was never an issue for him; it was already a fact. There should be no shock nor shame in accepting that.⁴³⁴ And he put that principle in action. He researched, he wrote and published, he fought for his beliefs, convictions, and principles. Of course, he was still very much a man of his times and context; the publication of his *El Folk-lore Filipino*, in book form, in 1889 was very much witness to that. The late nineteenth century Europe saw the rise of various folklore societies largely supported by the middle-classes who were in the search of the legalization of their new-found political authority. These new political leaders invented traditions to give historical legitimacy to their bourgeois nation-states; plus, they would massively take steps towards the institutionalization of their names in the various landscapes --- historical or otherwise --- they would sponsor during their times. The folklore societies they supported were a big part of this campaign that they systematically assembled. Middle class scholars collected the customs and traditions of the peasants in order to stress their advancement and ability to put order into a seemingly chaotic world of the lower-classes into a scientific, published form. This curiosity naturally went its way towards the colonies, among them the Philippines, where the young De los Reyes was starting his way towards the quite seductively powerful --- even during those times, anyways --- area of research journalism. His interest on folklore was first stimulated in 1884⁴³⁵; and so, accordingly, he would spend the next years

niya ang kanyang pormal na edukasyon sa Ateneo Municipal de Manila, ang dati-rating Escuela Pia de Manila na naging Escuela Municipal de Manila. 1871 nang nakuha niya ang kanyang Batsilyer, at nang sumunod na taon ay tumungo siya sa Espana para sa mas malawak na edukasyon. Nag-aral siya ng pilosopiya at teolohiya sa Seminar Concillar de Salamanca; matapos doo'y sa Universidad Central de Salamanca; hanggang sa makuha niya ang kanyang doktorado sa Batas Civil at Batas Canon sa taong 1880 sa Universidad Central de Madrid. Pumanaw si Paterno noong ika-11 ng Marso 1911." Portia Reyes, *Isang Kabanata sa Kasaysayang Intelektwal ng Pilipinas: Panahon at Kaisipang Pangkasaysayan ni Pedro Paterno, 1858-1911*, Lungsod Quezon: M.A. Theses, U.P. Diliman, 1996.

Pedro Paterno, though quite different from the other Filipinos then, was one of the known student activist in Spain before 1880. His home in Madrid was the scene of many gatherings of the most prominent literary and political figures of Spain during those times. He wrote and published quite a number of books, articles, and plays in the areas of history, political science, law, theology, arts, and ethnography. He was essentially an intellectual and a historian. He typified that picture of the ilustrado of the late nineteenth century, who became enmeshed in the politics of war during the following Philippine Revolution; and then in the formal politics of the American colonial system at the turn of the century. His passion, though, was clearly history and law; one could not miss that fact in most of his publications.

⁴³⁴ In response, thence, to his colleagues who criticized his actions, he said: "Indios think it is shocking and shameful to write *The Philippine Folklore (El Folk-lore Filipino)* because, they say, this is to publicize our own simplicity. I am an Indio and an Ilocano --- why should I not say it? --- and when my beloved brothers learned about my modest articles on Ilocano Folklore which were published in *La Oceanía*, they rose up against me, saying that I had disgraced my own people." *El Comercio*, 21 March 1885. (Quoted from Scott, *Op.cit.*, p. 253.)

⁴³⁵ The stimulus actually came from a Spanish colonial named José Felipe Del Pan who wrote an earlier article entitled "Folklore of the Philippines" in the periodical *La Oceanía Espanola*. Del Pan became of Dean of Manila journalists; he raised up a whole generation of Filipino journalist, among them was De los Reyes himself. Here

afterwards in collecting, researching and writing about this area. The final published form of the work was the first ever comprehensive survey of Philippine folk culture, with a relatively well thought out use of available sources. He naturally used the available written sources; but in addition, he interviewed old Spanish artillery men, provincial school girls and spent much time in recalling and reconstructing events from his own personal past in the province of Ilocos itself. The product of his endeavors is, till today, among the most significant sources of information on the Filipino as a people; and stands incomparable to almost all of the other published works in the same general area because of its varied and detailed contents.⁴³⁶ This passion and related conviction on the role of folklore in the actual constitution of the Filipino as a cultural entity would be reflected as well in his published works on history.

His *Historia de Ilocos* came off the press in 1890; and with this formal history publication were seen the concretization of most of his principles and research results which already came out in his earlier articles and exposé, e.g. *Artículos sobre Etnografía, Historia y Costumbres del País* (Manila:1887), *Las Islas Visayas en la Epoca de la Conquista* (Iloilo:1887), and *El Folk-lore Filipino* (Manila:1889). He was careful in his utility of materials for the work.⁴³⁷ He took extra care in studying and taking the needed historical information in each of the written available sources; and when written sources were not available, he tried to find other ways --- other disciplines --- so as to come up with the information he needed. This viewpoint was evident in his concept of the history of his province; he said,

Para escribir esta Historia no tengo siquiera modelo que me ensene cómo se forma la particular de una provincia. La dividiré en dos épocas prehistórica e histórica. La primera estará dedicada al estudio del estado en que encontraron los españoles á los ilocanos y en diferentes capítulos trataré

was how De los Reyes described how he was affected by Del Pan and his article: “When I read this, there came to my mind the memory of Senor don Mariano Espiritu, who was my professor in the Vigan Seminary, who one time had his students write down all the superstitions we could learn in order to demonstrate in class how incredible they were.

I was still carrying my collection of Ilocano popular notions in my memory then; but although I had plenty of enthusiasm for contributing to the realization of the happy proposal of the illustrious daily of Calle Real, I considered the thing above my abilities and so refrained from writing.

But then I could not evade the personal invitation of a valued friend from the Oceania, and so began my Ilocano, Malabon, Zambales, and Filipino folklore, including in the last such folkloric materials as had general application to the whole archipelago...” *El Comercio*, 3 July 1885. (Quoted from Scott, *Op.cit.*, pp. 249-250.)

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

⁴³⁷ According to him: “Mis deseos, al ordenar los materiales que reunido, son contribuir á ella con mi grano de arena, que he formado con los datos diseminados en las crónicas filipinas, y algunos documentos inéditos, advirtiendo que no he llegado á leer los manuscritos de los PP. Vivar y Arenocese; pero si mis especies son escasas, en cambio son auténticas, asegurando que en mis comentarios no he perdido de vista aquello de Balmes: “Si deseamos pensar bien, hemos de procurar conocer la verdad, es decir, la realidad de las cosas. De qué sirve discurrir con satileza, ó con profundidad aparente, si el pensamiento no está conforme con la realidad?”

No pretendo no haber incurrido en anacronismos involuntarios por la gran confusión que se nota en las obras que me sirvieron de fuentes; pero es de saber, no basta que una obra histórica dé otras fechas que las mías ó relate un hecho de otro modo que yó, para tachar mis fechas ó narraciones de inexactas, porque los historiadores se contradicen unos á otros y yo he escogido la fecha “el hecho, que me habia parecido más verosímil, atendiendo la antigüedad de los autores, sus fuentes y el grado de su respetabilidad, es decir: lo mas ó menos concienzudas de sus obras.” Isabelo de los Reyes, *Historia de Ilocos*, Manila: Establecimiento tipográfico La Opinión, 1890, pp. 13-14.

de su filiación, paleografía, filología, constitución social, legislación, mitología, cosmogonía, costumbres antiguas, etc.

La época histórica está consagrada a la dominación española, y la expondré por siglos, dedicando a cada uno varios capítulos.⁴³⁸

Clear in this citation was the conviction of De los Reyes that firstly, his province had a definite past; and that secondly, this past --- which was seemingly quite unclear in most of the written sources of history --- could be extracted from the different auxiliary disciplines available in the larger area of today's social sciences. Methodologically considered, he was institutionalizing the utility of other disciplinary areas for the greater explanations needed in the historical narrative. This was, in a way, never even considered by the earlier Spanish historians who wrote about the Philippines. They were, naturally, practicing the same method in application to the history of their motherland; but more than likely, the same application was, for them, unthinkable for one of their colonies, among them, the Philippines. Of course, for De los Reyes who never thought that the Philippines and the Filipinos were never really different from other nations and peoples of the world (including Spain), that was not only possible but makeable; and he practiced this conviction. As a consequence, the history of the archipelago before the coming of the Spaniards, for lack of enough written materials, was illustrated through the use of help disciplines; and so, in the process, he helped institutionalized an historical method which would be practiced, not only by the colleagues of his times and context, but also by the following historians after him. Of course, he termed this era, not necessarily *history* but *prehistory* --- implying that the era was not the normal *historia* that one was already used to but the times before that era actually took place; nonetheless, it should be stressed that De los Reyes also in this act drove home a message that what was the Philippines before colonization was not what the earlier histories of the Spaniards wrote about, what was the Philippines before the colonization was already part of his larger history as a land or as a country. That was, in a manner, a political statement; that is, that the archipelago --- though not written in the Latinized alphabet of the times and context --- had a past, had a history.

De los Reyes used ethnography, paleography, philology, social laws, legislation, mythology, and ancient traditions to accomplish this. He mostly relied, in a way, on material culture evidences and folklore or oral history. It would, thence, not even far off to declare that methodologically speaking, De los Reyes was quite ahead of his times. In fact, his works during the last years of the nineteenth century and during the first decades of the twentieth century are still considered milestones, most especially in the larger area of folklore. And that was not a wonder, for even during those relatively early years, he already consider folklore as:

Esta no es otra que la ciencia folk-lórica, cuyo objeto es recoger las costumbres, leyendas, tradiciones, supersticiones, arquitectura, pintura, trajes, música popular, vocabulario, y la

⁴³⁸ Ibid., pp. 14-15.

gramatica de los pueblos civilizados y salvajes, para salvarlos del progreso, que tiende á nivelar todas las razas con sus vapores, ferro-carriles, actividad comercial y el telégrafo.⁴³⁹

That is, within the context of a historical narrative itself! In practice, there was no formal separation between the two sciences for him; folklore was useful in the better explanations of phenomenon in history. That was why, De los Reyes was advanced, historiographically speaking, for his times. The greater philosophy of history that he followed was not much different from those of his colleagues --- those who were generally parts of the *Los Indios Bravos* that Rizal conceived of. He still followed a generally linear philosophy, with the *liwanag-dilim-liwanag* perspective in the actual partitioning (periodization) of the narrative; but he had a noteworthy illustration of the Filipino as a people. He saw no difference between those Ilocanos in the flatlands and those ethnolinguistic groups in the mountains; according to him:

Las insignificantes diferencias que existen entre el ilocano civilizado relativamente; el tinguian que ya viste de pantalón y chaqueta; el igorroto sometido, que aunque desnudo todavía, ya perdió su carácter hurano y cruel; y el alzado de usos canibalísticos; esas diferencias son efectos de los lugares que ocupan y se ve que son civilizados ó salvajes según que estén cerca ó lejos de los sitios frecuentados por los españoles ó de los ilocanos civilizados.⁴⁴⁰

The only difference between the so called civilized and barbaric on the islands was just the places they were living in; and they were only considered their adjectival names for the frequency of visits they got from those already so-called civilized, meaning the colonizing Spaniards themselves or the colonized Ilocanos from the flatlands. They were, considerably, all Filipinos. With this statement, De los Reyes was already contributing to the greater development of meanings propagated in a written narrative. Of course, he was not alone in this action; in fact, all the members of the *Indios Bravos* exerted the same efforts, but he was among those who actually practiced it in a written narrative, in a *historia*. Pedro Paterno, though not as loved by most of Filipinos of today, followed the same path; that is, if we track him down through the publications that he had. He also wrote history. He coined the term *historia critica*, so as to call the conceivably better *historia* of the archipelago; apropos *Historia Critica de Filipinas*. And that was:

Historia crítica de Filipinas consiste, no tanto en la sucesión de los hechos, cuanto en la manifestación de la actividad humana en la universalidad de las indagaciones, abarcando todo pensamiento, todo idioma, toda tradición del hombre, relacionado con el pueblo filipino, ó sea, las creencias, costumbres, leyes, ciencias, artes, letras del pueblo filipino, en todo lugar y en todo tiempo.⁴⁴¹

The critical history of the Philippines was, therefore, the compendium of all that made up the Filipinos as a people who were not any different from those others around the world. In a manner, Paterno, in

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴⁴¹ Pedro Paterno, *Historia Critica de Filipinas (Apuntes)*. Tomo I, Manila: Tip. Pontificia del Col. De Sto. Tomas, 1920, p. 10.

this description of *historia critica*, was practicing two philosophical traditions of his times. He was still following the philosophical trend started by the *ilustrados*, which in reality he was originally a part of, within which the stress was to propagate that the Filipinos was not much different from those considered civilized peoples of the world; and at the same time, he was continuing the methodological practice De los Reyes already utilized in his earlier publications. And so, so as to stress that the Filipinos were just as great as other peoples of the world, Paterno conceived of the *La Antigua Civilización Tagalog*.⁴⁴² He was convinced that the Filipino people had the same greatness as the other ancient peoples of the world; and he exerted to prove this through the illustration of the ancient Tagalog communities who even during those early times were practicing and living in a society much like that of other societies of the times which were regulated by the Catholic Christian religion --- presumably the groundwork of their civilization.⁴⁴³ For him, the religion of these ancient communities because it moved around the great god called Bathala could be termed Bathalismo. This kind of analysis was to be expected from a person like Paterno, naturally. Though part of an intellectual movement that marked the first intellectual revolution of the country, he was still very much a Catholic Christian. He was shaped and influenced by this religious system; he could not so easily, thence, just leave it be in his analysis and conceptualization. Like most of his colleagues then, he was thorned between two pathways; he was basically politically and intellectually bound to Spain and at the same time, he was emotionally bound to the Philippines. He had to somehow find a way to put these two different strains together.⁴⁴⁴ He managed that, in a way. His theories were for years

⁴⁴² Cf.: Pedro Paterno, *La Antigua Civilización Tagalog (Apuntes)*, Madrid: Tipografía de Manuel G. Hernandez, 1887.

⁴⁴³ Here was his conceptualization of the term civilization: “Tres son elementos de la civilización: el individuo, la familia, y la sociedad. El exacto conocimiento de estos objetos es la base primordial de la civilización. El Cristianismo es el que ha enseñado la verdadera naturaleza, las verdaderas relaciones y el verdadero fin de estos elementos. Por eso allí donde se ve apagada la luz de Cristianismo, allí la civilización se arresta por el suelo y se esconde en el fango de la tierra; y por el contrario, allí donde el Cristianismo brilla con luz resplandeciente, la civilización ostenta sus portentosas maravillas, encumbrándose en raudo vuelo a regiones mas puras y serenas.” Pedro Paterno, *Influencia Social del Cristianismo. Discurso Pronunciado Ante La Academia de Teología Dogmatica y Polemica del Seminario Central de Salamanca*, Madrid: Imp. De C. Moliner y Ca. Calle de Jesus, 1876.

⁴⁴⁴ This confusion was reflected in most of his writings. A good example though would be his rationalization of the publication of his book *La Antigua Civilización Tagalog*. According to him: “Al publicar mi libro *La antigua civilización de Filipinas*, no tuve otro objeto más que comunicar al público del resultado de mis estudios, dando á cada uno lo que suyo, poniendo en mis acciones el *tongor tagalog* y las palabras divinas del Salvador del mundo “Todo hombre, que obra mal, aborrece la luz, y no viene á la luz, para que sus obras no sean reprendidas: mas el que obra verdad, viena á la luz, para que parezcan sus obras, porque son hechas en Dios.” Malo será mi libro, por ser mio; pero nadie me negará que en él doy anticipadamente lo que otros escribieron después, ó han de escribir mas ó menos tarde; y ninguno podrá sostener que me arrastró el candido orgullo de glorificar á los tagalog, a quenes bastaron trescientos anos, como es ya hecha mención, para transformarse de salvajes en civilizados cristianos, hacinedo en tres siglos lo que no han podido haber las naciones europeas de primer rango, sino en mil á dos mil anos; pero creo haber demostrado lo suficiente para dar un mentís á esa tendencia antipatriotica de presentar á Espana como cerrada, ó acaso peor, como negada al movimiento intelectual del siglo presente. Si el dedicarse á estudios propios de nuestro tiempo merece censura para el señor obispo de Oviedo, Fr. R. Martinez Vigil, como parece indicarlo en el preámbulo de sus articulos mencionados, en especial si es filipino el que investiga y trabaja y se ilustra, no es mia la culpa de haber nacido en el siglo XIX. Ni puedo menos de sentir gratitud por los bienes recibidos de Espana ni de defenderla de los ataques extranjeros, porque mi alma está henchida de su generosidad, de su nobleza, de su franca espontaneidad, de su valor, de osadia, de sus históricos atrevimientos para llavar una piedra al edificio de la universal cultura.” Pedro Paterno, *Apendice:*

ridiculed by many social scientists and enthusiasts⁴⁴⁵; but the major historical method⁴⁴⁶ and philosophy he followed was not to be denied. The tripartite view of Philippine history was concretely exemplified in his works. He divided history into four periods: de los Naturales, de los Espanoles, de la Revolución, and de los Americanos. For all intents and purposes though, these four could actually be considered only three epochs --- Philippines before the Spaniards (de los Naturales), during the times of the Spaniards (de los Espanoles), after the times of the Spaniards --- the era of the revolution was only discussed to make way for the third and last era which in this case, the times of the new colonial masters, the Americans (de los Americanos). The meanings tackled within the narrative were concretizations of the earlier tripartite view blueprint; and that was, generally, that the civilization in the archipelago which was put to a halt because of colonization would rise again after the revolution and/or through the help of the benevolent Americans. And within such a context, thence, he conceived the conceptualization of that which would be called the Filipino nation, namely,

...la reunion o aglomeracion de unos 8 millones de hombres que pueblan territorio del Archipiélago filipino, compuesto principalmente de las islas Luzon, Bisayas, Mindanao y adyacentes; hombres que ostentan relacion comun de origen malayo, demostrado comunidad de raa en su habitos, comstumbres y aptitudes especiales de cierto caracter particular que vivicara su lengua madre tagala. Tal es la nación, unidad natural; veamos su unidad politica llamada Estado.... El Estado Filipino, organo de la Nación Filipina.⁴⁴⁷

The Filipino nation are all the peoples who live and prosper on the different islands which made up the whole archipelago. The Filipino nation are, according to him, all the Malay peoples on the islands, who naturally have particular ways, customs, and traditions which is reflected in the Tagalog language. Considering the kind of times and context that Paterno earlier moved on, this political perspective was quite revolutionary. A Filipino during the Spanish colonial domination on the Philippines meant the Spaniard born on the islands; a Filipino was never the poor Indio who originally inhabits the archipelago. Furthermore, the islands was never considered a territorial indication of a political sovereignty; they were just colonies to a larger political whole of the Spanish empire. And so, when Paterno declared that the Indio was a Filipino and that this Indio and the places he inhabits was a nation, he was also making a political statement. This statement was naturally not new; it was, after all, the running cry of the Philippine revolution which started in 1896. Still, what Paterno did when he actually put it on paper, was to assist in the general longer range institutionalization of this idea or concept. And because this concept was cleverly put within the larger context of a written

El Cristianismo en la Antigua Civilización Tagalog, Historia Critica de Filipinas (Apuntes). Tomo III, Manila: Imp. "La Republica", 1908, pp. 116-117.

⁴⁴⁵ For a better discussion on this general subject, see Reyes, P., Op.cit.

⁴⁴⁶ He illustrated his general method and its accompanying principle in the following statements: "Obsérvese que en la Historia de Filipinas se relatan hechos ciertos, apoyados en algún documentos. Mientas que en la Prehistoria de Filipinas se estudian hechos de la primera época de la humanidad. Entiéndase bien, de la primera época de la humanidad, donde reina la conjetura. En esta parte, nuestros estudios se refieren á hechos vagos, á ideas y usos, ocultos y nebulosos incrustados, como los fósiles en las rocas en la vida del pueblo filipino." Paterno, Historia Critica... Tomo I... Op.cit., p. 11.

⁴⁴⁷ Pedro Paterno, El Problema Político de Filipinas, Manila: 1900.

narrative, a *historia critica*, which was perpetuated to have great ancient beginnings, Paterno was stressing the idea of a specific racial personality based on a long history and, with it thence, racial pride.

These major trend in historiography (philosophy, methodology, and the idea of using history for the perpetuation of specific political meanings) would be continued in the next generations of historians. The first decades of the twentieth century would still be witness to the same vintage of historians of the earlier decades from the previously past century. These historians still followed the general ideas contained within the propaganda movement; and the same principles of being portions of that new intellectuals called the *Indios Bravos*. They thought, wrote, and published in Spanish; and so, participated, in a manner, within the bigger Spanish colonial discourse. But because these intellectuals also took part in the newly established colonial system of the Americans on the islands during those times, they were also considerably formal politicians; and so, different from those generally purely intellectuals who were their counterparts during the earlier years. They were the *historians-politicians* of the times; and they had a basically different effect on their considered target readers of country. T. H. Pardo de Tavera⁴⁴⁸, then the group of Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, Epifanio de los Santos⁴⁴⁹, and Teodoro M. Kalaw⁴⁵⁰, and lastly, Rafael Palma⁴⁵¹ were the best exemplars of these breed of historians

⁴⁴⁸ For a better look at the life, times, and historical philosophy of T.H. Tavera, please see: Justina S. Ocampo, *A Study of Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera's Contribution to Historical Writing with a Critical Analysis of Some of His Major Works*, University of the Philippines (Quezon City): M.A. History, 1955.

⁴⁴⁹ Epifanio de los Santos was best known as a historian for his series on the Philippines' revolutionary heroes. "Born on April 7, 1871 in Longos, Malabon, he obtained his bachelor of arts from the Ateneo de Municipal and a bachelor of laws degree from the University of Sto. Tomas in 1898. He was a staff member of the *La Libertad*, later joining the staff of the *La Independencia*, published by Antonio Luna, under the pen name of G. Solon. In 1900, he was appointed district attorney, provincial secretary in 1901, and governor of Nueva Ecija in 1902. In 1906, he became provincial fiscal of Bulacan and Bataan. It was during this period that he discovered the letters of Andres Bonifacio to Emilio Jacinto, the Acta de Tejeros, and the Naic Military Agreement. His *Literatura Tagala*, the first book to survey Tagalog literature, earned him membership in the Spanish Royal Academy of Language and later also of the Spanish Royal Academy of History. In 1909, a collection of his essays was published in Madrid under the title *Algo de Prosa*.

In 1917, he started his historical essays with an article on Andres Bonifacio published in the *Revista Filipina*, another on Emilio Jacinto in June 1918, and his Marcelo H. del Pilar series in the October to December issues of the same year. In 1925, he assumed the directorship of Philippine Library and Museum. He died on April 18, 1928." M.L. Bolinao, "De los Santos, Epifanio Cristobal (1871-1928) in *Outstanding Historians, Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Vol. I, Op.cit., p. 141.

⁴⁵⁰ Teodoro M. Kalaw was a "nationalist, statesman, historian and journalist. Born on March 31, 1884 at Lipa, Batangas, the son of ilustrado parents, Valerio Kalaw and Maria Mangulat. Acquired A.B. degree at the *Escuela de Derecho* (1905); editor of *El Renacimiento* (1907-1909); member, Philippine Assembly (1910-1913); secretary, Philippine Assembly (1913-1916); director, National Library (1916-1917 and 1929-1939); Secretary of the Interior (1920-1922); Executive Secretary and Chief Adviser, Commission on Independence (1923-1925); and First President, *Academia Hispano-Americana de Cadiz* (1925).

Among his contributions to Philippine Historiography were: *La Constitución de Malolos* (1910); *Los Politicos de Revolución Filipina* (1912); *The Philippine Revolution* (1925); *La Masoneria Filipina* (1930); *Las Cartas Politicas de Apolinario Mabini* (1930); *Grogorio del Pilar: El Heroe de Tirad* (1930); *Epistolario Rizalino* (1930-1938); *Planos Constitucionales Para Filipinas* (1934).

Kalaw died on September 4, 1940, survived by his wife Pura Villanueva and three children." S. Zaide, "Kalaw, Teodoro M. (1884-1940)" in *Outstanding Historians, Philippine Encyclopedia...Op.cit.*, pp. 142-143.

⁴⁵¹ Here's a short but quite appropriate illustration of the former president of the University of the Philippines, Rafael Palma: "Palma's personal credentials are outstanding. He belongs to an illustrious and highly educated family; his brother composed the lyrics of the national anthem; he was successful in many fields that rounded up

or, to be more apt, historical writers.⁴⁵² Like Paterno, though untrained in the discipline, these men had a deep sense of history; and so, after extensively studying the earlier Spanish chronicles on the same subject, wrote a generally considered descriptive form of history or, in this case, *historia*. They embodied the pioneering group of Filipino historians who actually wrote and publish formal histories and/or historical narratives. They published during the first decades of American rule on the Philippines; but they were, naturally, heirs to the historical traditions begun and practiced on the archipelago earlier, and so, they were also continuing what was already started by those before them. Still, the contributions that their works had towards the greater development of the larger historiography of the Philippines were never to be easily disregarded.

Some of them (Tavera⁴⁵³ and Palma⁴⁵⁴) wrote national histories, but they were mostly, and more importantly, the forerunners of the systematization --- which generally refers to classification, organization and publication --- of the various sources of history of the archipelago. They were, naturally, historians who still consider history as mostly an artistic expression; but unconsciously enough, they were also pioneering people who, in the process of their actual works, sought to organize the system or the operating structure of the to be called discipline of history in the following years. Tavera's *Biblioteca Filipina* which came out in 1903 through the sponsorship of the Library of Congress and the U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs catalogued almost 3,000 entries relating to the history, peoples and cultures of the Philippines.⁴⁵⁵ And although the work was originally conceived for the utility of the American colonizing efforts at the turn of the century, it remains to be one of the more monumental accomplishments in the realm of sources classification of the historical period of Spanish domination on the archipelago. The group of Artigas y Cuerva, De los Santos, and T.M. Kalaw wrote biographies of well-known heroes of the revolution and other illustrious Filipinos who

his personality: lawyer, newspaperman, man of the Philippine Revolution, member of the First Philippine Assembly, Senator, Secretary of the Interior during the Commonwealth, President of the University of the Philippines, Delegate to the Constitutional Assembly of 1934, President of the Philippine Freemasonry, Chairman of the National Council of Education, member of the Spanish Royal Academy, polifacetic writer, and historian. In sum, an outstanding Filipino who, from his birth in 1874 to his death in 1939, was witness to three history-making phases of the national panorama, namely, the Spanish, the Revolutionary, and the American periods." Fidel Villaroel, "Some Reflections of Palma's *Historia de Filipinas*", *UNITAS*, Vol 46, No. 1, Manila: March, 1973, p. 40.

⁴⁵² The following are the most appropriate description of the characteristics of these men: "...first, they were Spanish-educated and wrote in Spanish; second, they had no formal training in historical lore and methodology, but had a very strong sense of history and applied themselves assiduously to the study of the works of Spanish historians and historical writers which they often found to be biased and distorted; third, they were men of great learning and culture; fourth, they lived through three history-making epoch in Philippine history --- the Spanish, Revolutionary, and the American periods; and lastly, each wrote history as an artist or literary man and not as social scientist --- meaning, their works were generally merely descriptive and not analytical and interpretative. With the exception of Teodoro M. Kalaw, these *historica* writers had the penchant for quoting historical sources extensively in their works." Napoleon J. Casambre, "The American Period", *History and State of the Art of the Discipline of History and Historiography*, in *Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Vol. I, Quezon City: Philippine Social Sciences Council, 1993, p. 26.

⁴⁵³ Cf.: Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, *Resena Historia de Filipinas desde su Descubrimiento hasta 1903*, Manila: 1906.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf.: Rafael Palma, *Historia de Filipinas*. Tomo I-II, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1968.

⁴⁵⁵ Casambre, *Op.cit.*, pp. 20-21.

fought for freedom and who contributed in the general cause of nation-building. Artigas y Cuerva wrote *Antonio Luna y Novicio*, *Apolinario Mabini*, and *Andres Bonifacio y el Katipunan*; plus, the two volumes of *Galeria de Filipinos Ilustres* which featured the lives of most of the more prominent 19th century Filipinos. De los Santos came out with the biographies of Andres Bonifacio, Marcelo H. del Pilar, and Emilio Jacinto; while Kalaw came out with those of Apolinario Mabini and Gregorio del Pilar. But outside of that, the mentioned three were, in one way or the other, instrumental in the building and the immediately following management of the national library and museum of the country. They, thence, not only worked for the massive propagation of historical information through writing and publishing, they also contributed to the actual collection and systematization of historical sources for the public consummation through the construction of a national public library system. The Philippine Public Library, for one, which was established in 1909 was, in reality, Artigas y Cuerva's idea. He was instrumental, afterwards, in the general acquisition of private collections of documents for the Filipiniana Division of the said library. The formally trained historian, De los Santos, was considered the most authoritative researcher and collector of rare and antique objects of his times. He served as the director of the National Library and Museum in 1925. Unlike most of his colleagues, Kalaw did not particularly approve of citing long-winded documents in a narrative; he preferred that these documents be transcribed, adapted, and published for wider readership. And that was what exactly what he did. He was instrumental in the publication of quite a few of the documents, especially in connection with the Philippine Revolution⁴⁵⁶, and those materials connected with the life of the national hero, Jose Rizal. On top of it, he served relatively long as the director of the National

⁴⁵⁶ From the length of Kalaw's publication on this theme, one could really say that that was his academic life's work. His book, *The Philippine Revolution* (Manila: 1925) continues to be the one of the more authoritative sources of historical information on that area. He clearly illustrated his mission and the method that he used in the accomplishment of the narrative; according to him: "Inihandog ko sa aking mga mambabasa ang munting aklat na ito na ang pangunahing layon ay palawakin ang kaalaman natin tungkol sa HIMAGSIKANG PILIPINO, ang mga adhikain, ang mga tampok na tauhan, ang mahahalagang bunga, ang pagkakatatag, at ang mga dinanas nitong kabuguan hanggang sa malagim na araw ng pagbagsak nito. Sinikap kong ilahad ang mga pangyayari ayon sa pagkakasunod-sunod, at hangga't maari, ay hindi sinamahan ng sariling kuru-kuro. Ginamit ko ang mismong wika ng mga dokumento sa panahong iyon, kailanman at kailangan, lalo na sa mga bahaging kontrobersyal o pinagdududahan. Ang inilahad ko lamang ay ang mga pangunahing pangyayaring umabot sa aking kaalaman at nilaktawan ang mga detalye na makapagpapahaba sa aklat na ito dahil sa layuning ito'y maging maikli ngunit siksik. Sinipi ko ang pinakamahalagang mga opisyal na pahayag ng mga namumuno, at ang mga pagtutol ng publiko sa bawat yugto ng kilusan sa hangad na maipakita ang tunguhin nito. Pinagsikapan kong banggitin ang pangalan ng mga taong namuno sa mga mamamayan, upang maparangalan sila; ngunit dahil sa kakapusan ng mga datos ang bahaging ito ng paglalahad ay namamalaging di tapos. Kahit sa arkibo ng Samahan ng mga Beterano ay walang rekord ng iba't iba nating pakikihamok sa labanan, malaki man o maliit, na kinakitaan ng kagitingan ng mga di kilala at di maturool nating mga kawal." (Teodoro M. Kalaw, "Paunang Salita", *Ang Himagsikang Pilipino*, Trans by Virgilio Almario, Maynila: Pambansang Suriang Pangkasaysayan, 1989, p. v.)

Kalaw aimed to discuss the history of the revolution itself; and with it, he wanted to stress the importance of its happening and at the same time, give honor the participants and heroes of that era. Historiographically though, he was quite careful. According to him, he utilized only the original written documents; and where there were none available, he chose not to discuss that part of history anymore. He wanted to write a general study of that event in history; and because it was aimed as a *general history*, he foresaw inactualities and small mistakes within the narrative which he hoped to correct in the later edition of the work. Furthermore, as a sort of clarification and addendum to the work, he wanted to publish the memoirs of each general of the revolution in the next years. Through totality of these planned work, thence, Kalaw hoped to finally narrate and explain that important event in Philippine history, which borne out the nation itself, called the Philippine Revolution.

Library and Museum; and so, greatly helped towards the actual structuring and institutionalization of the said national offices.

The propagation of their illustration and philosophy of history was, thence, assured in quite a wider range as what was practiced beforehand. These historians continued the work begun by the ilustrados, the Indios Bravos of the earlier years. In fact, it could even be said that they were the ones who actually took the work of popularizing the ideas --- that is, within the Spanish speaking population, anyways --- of that group for unlike the latter, they worked and published within the political territory of the Philippines. For most of them, history or historia supposed:

...imparcialdad, adustez, justicia. Sin contar con que hay que ir depurando los elementos de información que se reúnan, a fin de obtener la depuración de la Verdad.⁴⁵⁷

And so, historia was more than a narrative, it was the exposé of the truth, which was presumably witnessed by and written in the documents which are the sources of historical information. Historia, thence, was the truth which were proven by written accounts of its actual events.

This statement implied, hence, to the consideration of the almost sacredness or of the utmost importance of written documents in the making or writing of history. It would not be even far out to say that for the above mentioned historians, the written documents itself was the true and actual history. Kalaw, for one, published his planned memoirs of the generals of the revolution, the various works of Rizal, and articles stating the most important documents of the revolution during his term as the director of the national library. There wasn't much room for anything else in the writing of history. Utmost was the publication, and so, wider dissemination, of the documents which were the considered history (or historia) themselves. Implied in this exertion was the restatement of the conviction of the propagandistas (Indios Bravos) of earlier; that is, that the Philippines and the Filipino people, contrary to what was said by the Spanish historiadores, has a history. The group of Tavera, Paterno, Artigas y Cuerva, De los Santos, Kalaw, and Palma still considered the history of the archipelago as Historia de Filipinas or its modified version, Historia Critica de Filipinas. They were basically still portions of the colonial Spanish historical discourse, like their forerunners in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. They were the heirs of the tripartite view of Philippine history pioneered by the ilustrados or the Indios Bravos; and to a certain extent, they were quite aware of this inheritance. Historia still basically revolved around the event of the coming of the Spanish colonizers; and so, there was always the period before (Pre-hispanic), during (Spanish) and after the Spaniards (Philippine Revolution and the Coming of the Americans). And like the propagandistas, they utilized history as an instrument in claiming racial and national pride for the Filipinos. Apropos thence, Palma declared later:

⁴⁵⁷ Epifanio de los Santos, *Historiografía Filipina*, *The Philippine Review*, Vol III, Manila: July, 1918.

Just as the main stream of a river is nurtured at its source by various springs, so love of country to be intelligent and devoted and not crude or merely sentimental, must be enriched from different sources of knowledge. Among these sources that nourish and intensify one's love of country is History. From childhood we should study the history of our country, for it places within our reach the development of human events that have occurred in our soil, or in which men of our own race were the doers of deeds. Through our history, we find the spiritual bond that links us with our forefathers; we witness their struggles and triumphs and defeats; we visualize their thoughts and deeds; and through their actions, we recognize our own individuality as a nation, separate and distinct and individual in Universe... It does not only record the past and the potentialities of the race, but it is a guide to, and warning of, the future...⁴⁵⁸

Because they were moving during the context of another colonial exertion (the Americans') on the islands, the statements contained in their historical narrative were considerably also statements or pleas for change and development for the Philippines in both of its clear conceptualized entities as a nation and a people. Methodologically seen, they stressed the importance of the idea of historical sources of information and of publication itself; and then, the actual publication of the written sources of history. They were, in the process, grounding the idea of a systematize way, a specific method in the writing of history; that is, the use of written sources in answering the question of *what happened?* within the narrative of history. But the new colonial masters on the islands were also making themselves felt within the larger area of the historical discipline. And so, though the Spanish historians, who were the former competition --- and at the same time, co-discussants within the same discourse --- for the Spanish speaking Filipino intellectuals, were gone, the latter had to again compete for the attention of the relatively small bilingual population (the elite) with the new colonizing masters, who were the *Americanos*.

The disciplinal field of history and historiography of the Philippines from around 1908 till 1939⁴⁵⁹ (1968, the publication year of Palma's *Historia de Filipinas*) was largely developed by basically two writing and publishing historians; that is, the Spanish speaking Filipino intellectual historians and the English speaking American history writers. The field somewhat experienced a light transitional period during these years.⁴⁶⁰ Spanish was slowly phased out, while the American English language was slowly and effectively, through the installation of a public education system, used in its stead within the institutionally educated population of the archipelago; historia for the earlier centuries would then be known as history, or concretely stated, *History of the Philippine Islands*.

⁴⁵⁸ Address/speech delivered at the weekly convocation of the University of the Philippines, in November, 1929. Also as an Appendix in the autobiographical Rafael Palma, Ang Aking Talambuhay, Trans by Virginia Palma-Bonifacio, Maynila: 1953, pp. 172-196.

⁴⁵⁹ This year was based on the death of Rafael Palma, who was that part of this discussed group of historians who last died. For the more detailed description of his life and works, see the autobiographical Rafael Palma, Ang Aking Talambuhay, Trans by Virginia Palma-Bonifacio, Maynila: 1953.

⁴⁶⁰ It should be made clear though that this transition, in fact, this whole situation, was largely limited to the small, elite, institutionally educated population of the archipelago. The bigger number of the Filipino people still basically thought and think within the ancient concepts (though superficially changing in its forms) set by the ancient idea of history for the islands' inhabitants; that is, *kasaysayan*. This continuous existence of this concept will be seen to and explained in the latter portion of this study, namely, Part III.

Chapter 6

History as an Academic Tradition, 1910 – 1974

The turn of the century saw the arrival of the colonizing Americans on the Philippines. *History*, in exchange for the former *historia* of the Spaniards, would thereby be introduced. This concept was actually the same in all respects as the late *historia*; with only the marked exception of its utilized language --- American English. Spanish was slowly but surely put aside as the learned's language; and it was overcome by American English. Instead, hence, of the earlier *Historia de las Islas Filipinas*, *History of the Philippine Islands* became therefrom used and popularized. This new history conceptualization was systematically propagated through the newly introduced and enforced public school system in the archipelago. Therein was the English language taught, and begun to be effectively used, starting even during grade school, in everyday learning. Eventually, henceforth, *kasaysayan* as well as *historia* were both slowly therein considered as something largely equivalent to the word/concept/idea of history. And this feat was so well engineered and coordinated, that in a short time, an average Filipino could hardly differentiate *kasaysayan* and history; let alone, *kasaysayan*, *historiá*, and history. The foundation of the Department of History in the newly grounded higher institution of learning, the University of the Philippines (1908), in the year 1910 somewhat supported this. The department became largely instrumental in the transformation of history into an academic discipline, an academic tradition; it practically became the center of history in the whole archipelago. History itself was systematically developed into an area learned; and then afterwhich, as normally expected, as a discipline, which should be sufficiently and accordingly practiced.

Within the larger Filipino population, history became a household word; while both *historia* and *kasaysayan* became to be considered as unfashionable and/or old fashioned concepts. *History* was professional and scientific; it was *the* story of the Americans who came in the Philippines, saved the Filipinos, and gave them civilization through modern, public education. Again, it would be noticed, that the theme therein remained to be the foreigners, who came in the country; while the actual Filipino people, who originally owned the land, were mostly referred to as nominal objects of the newly arrived foreigners. In effect, national history was still perpetuated to be the history of the foreigners in the land. American history writers of the archipelago, who were, in actuality, Philippinists/ Philippinologists⁴⁶¹, became the authorities on the general subject of the History of the Philippine Islands. They mastered the language and concepts used in the immediate past of the discipline (Spanish); and so, basically led and directed their own self-created discourse within the general disciplinary area of history and historiography. The names of the American historians like Emma Blair, James Harvey Robinson, Austin Craig, et.al. became most popular among the Filipino

⁴⁶¹ Experts/specialists on the subject of the Philippine Islands and its inhabitants among the Americans.

intellectual circles. They made up the new breed of historians of the Philippines; a new group that proceeded within a particular historical discourse, that somehow had to do with the Philippines and its inhabitants. Within this new discourse, America and American concepts, norms and standards naturally became the took-off points, the fulcrum --- around which everything else revolved. The Philippine Islands became the virtual concretized examples of the Americans' good will; it was America's most ideal showcase of its supposedly most celebrated democracy. The Filipinos, who basically just claimed their name from the insulares (the Spaniards born in the Philippines) and their own persons from the colonizing *Mother* Spain (after supposedly acting the child to be taught and directed for more than three centuries), was efficiently thereby transformed into *little brown brothers* for the *benevolent* Americans.

After the Second World War, though, the Americans would officially recognize the independence of the Filipino people; and so, they would, on the whole, physically retreat to the United States and leave the Filipinos *alone*. New historians (though they were already there before the war) would come in, enter the greater academic circles' scenes, and start making their names within the general trend of historiography. They were the well-educated individuals, who directly got their degrees from abroad, or more specifically, from the U.S.A. Leandro Fernandez, Conrado Benitez, and Encarnacion Alzona were among the most popular among them. They were the new heirs of the ilustrados' liwanag-dilim-liwanag (tripartite) philosophy of history; and, at the same time, the new representatives of the American scholarship tradition. They were the *pensionados*⁴⁶², new personalities of the earlier escribanos/ladinos (copywriters/translators) of the Spanish colonial domination. They wrote and publish history; and they --- with only the most minor differences and exceptions --- would write histories, as would the Americans themselves would write them. They wrote history, in a manner, through the eyes of the old colonial masters; or if not, they wrote it by effectively using the colonial experience as the most important event that made the national history. Whichever way, however, they chose, their end product would be histories, where events centered around the colonizing foreign people, who came to the land. The Filipinos would therein be mere numbers, or statistic; they would be just mindless beings, who were moved in history according to the will of the more powerful foreigners. They would produce history textbooks --- books which were specifically written for school use. In these books would be descriptions of the political occurrences in the Philippines, in all aspects. In a manner, historiography would only be a continuation of what the Spaniards started during the sixteenth century. Documents would again be stressed. The historians would stress the importance of describing history *as it happened*. In consequence, these would be the time when documents will be treated as precious objects (to be desired and appropriated, like a property) in the

⁴⁶² Pensionado just means one who receives a regular (weekly, monthly) allowance; in this case, from the colonial government. The pensionado was the personification of the new intellectual during the political domination of the Americans on the Philippines. He was the concretization of the Americanized Filipino, a little brown brother who embodied the ways, values, and spirit of the American colonial master.

writing of histories. Documents would be retrieved, some even translated, and then published. Historians would say that without written documents, there is no history; and therefore, nothing to be talked about. This was the time, to some extent, when historiography was ruled by the strict hard and fast rules that the historians must follow or must be guided by. History was thereby clearly transformed into an academic discipline, an institutionally developed and supported science. As one of its consequences, it would be noticed, most of the written histories of these times would be mostly chronology of past events. Historians virtually did not do anything with documents anymore, that is, for fear of disturbing the holiness of documented facts and not being true to the phrase, *history as it was*.

Partly heirs to this formulation was the group of Nicolas Zafra, Eufonio Alip and Gregorio Zaide. They were largely history textbooks writers as well; and so, most influential within the development of the so-called common historical knowledge among the institutionally educated population of the archipelago of the times. They were, like their forerunners, academicians as well; meaning, they were themselves active as teachers or professors in the various educational institutions of the country. They spoke, wrote, and thought in the same language --- technically seen or otherwise. They were, thence, a group of the same competence and mettle. They can communicate and argue within the same wavelength; and so, they were parts of the same discourse, the same academic discourse. It was through their major efforts that the disciplinal history would be greatly transformed into an exchange of views, opinions, and interpretations among skilled and educated historians. History, through their exertions, would be an academic discourse, an area within which aspects and elements of the discipline were expected to be altered through the effective exchange of views and opinions between various scientific parties. The disciplinal field's various aspects, hence, which included methodology, philosophy, and the actual meanings within the narrative would become subjects of conversation (written and unwritten) and argumentation of the historians. There were, in a way, two communicational lines, within the eventually created historical narrative, thereby opened; that is, firstly, the obvious communicational efforts exerted by the historian in order to speak to a set reading public, and secondly, the implied communicational efforts exerted by the same historian to his fellow historians.

The last years of the 60s, just before the nation experienced the lash of the Ferdinand Marcos' Martial Law Era (1972-1986), would, however, somewhat break this historico-intellectual trend. The times would therefrom begun, when almost all intellectuals wanted to go and aptly do something against the popular thinking, that the Americans have always the more advanced and better knowledge of everything. Martial Law was seen then as a mutual and effective cooperation between the Marcos Administration and the American Administration. Consequently, it would also be the times, when the leftist ideology (both the Marxist-Leninist school and Maoist school) would be popular in all fields

and expressions of the different sciences. A number of supposedly subversive materials would thereby be produced; they were the materials, that the Marcos government declared war against, materials of the so-called *Red Plague*⁴⁶³.

Intellectuals (including historians, of course), however, would pursue persisting in their innovative ways of interpreting what was happening in the Filipino society. From the Department of History, in the University of the Philippines-Diliman would come a most popular historian --- Teodoro Agoncillo --- who would have an influential role in the ultimate alteration of the Filipinos' point of view on Philippine history. He would propose that (1) the country has no history before 1872 (execution of the GOMBURZA, Padres Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora, who were accused of going against the Colonial Government through the propagation of the plea for the Philippine Churches' secularization) because it has no awareness as a nation before then; (2) the Philippine revolution was a war led by the lower, poorer class; (3) the leader of the Philippine Revolution, Andres Bonifacio, is the rightful national hero. In view of the third, Agoncillo, to some extent, would start the virtual therefrom cult on Andres Bonifacio as the better national hero as against Jose Rizal. The latter, he opined, was officially declared by the Americans as the national hero, and so, a further proof of the foreign colonial masters' social engineering, so that the Filipinos would be meek, mild, and care only for education (or easy to be led and influenced, would not rebel or resist the masters). Agoncillo would, in view of such, thereby begin the principle of taking and writing *history as interpretation*; and even modify the same with the further term and method of historical imagination. Documents would thereby still definitely be used; but interpretation would play a large part in the actual writing of texts, themselves.

And so, expectedly enough, in the following years, through Renato Constantino, this all-embracing interpretational history of Agoncillo would be furthered and appropriately be modified. It would be therefrom stressed that (interpretative) history should be the *history from below*, the history of the poor population's struggles through and with times and contexts. It marked the begin of the Marxist historical analysis prevalence in Philippine historiography. The word *masses* would thereby, for example, be used to mean not only the people, but *the people* who have always been victims of the colonial exploitative structures, which continued in various forms and vehicles in the government's economy, military, and politics in the following years. This historiographical analysis was therefrom widely accepted and appreciated. Through this new direction in historiography, events in the past were interpreted *with definitive emotional overtones*. Consequently, written histories somewhat *taught* the people to virtually hate foreigners; that is, because foreign people were pictured as the practical

⁴⁶³ The Red Plague was a political term popularized during the Cold War Era by the Americans, in order to refer to the widening reach of communism/socialism in the different areas of the world through the ever increasing number of countries which used this political and ideological system. The use of the term plague within the phrase was naturally used to categorically state that the mentioned system was likened to a deadly disease which infested and destroy the better order that the Americans themselves were offering, meaning their much celebrated democratic system.

criminals, who *victimized* the Filipino people. Every historian, as a result, who abided by this historiographic direction, had a *favorite* hated foreigner, who could either be the Spaniards, the Americans, or even the Japanese. It is, however, noteworthy that all their products would, nonetheless, center on the colonial experience or on colonialism itself, as its most significant event or concept. They spoke, of course, of the Filipinos ---- that is, not as an average Juan de la Cruz, but as a *representation*, in the soon to evolve as a hugely emotional term of *the masses*. On the other hand, *the masses* would only be in the narratives for one reason: they *reacted* to the foreign powers' colonial endeavors. As a consequence, *history became the story of the Filipinos, in reaction to the colonial efforts of the foreigners*.

But this trend, like everything else, did not last forever. The historian, Reynaldo Ileto, would alter the country's historiographical current. He will pave the way for an interpretative history, as should the masses interpret it. Through his *Pasyon and Revolution*, Ileto exerted efforts in writing history as the Filipino people sees and judges it. Instead of using the usual written documents as sources of historical information, he used the *awit* and the *epiko*, songs and epics, of the Tagalogs so as to penetrate to the psyche of the Filipino revolutionists during the last years of the nineteenth century. What came out of this new exertion was a kind of Philippine Revolution's mentalité history (history of mindsets) --- a revolutionary feat within the Philippine historiography's development itself. It utilized a method, in which the normal, everyday Filipino could actually express and make himself heard on the narrative; it effectively utilized a method, which was never seriously entertained in the earlier written and histories. The produced book made reverberating effects within the various historians' circles inside and outside the archipelago. It offered, however, not necessarily all the answers; a question was therein still left unanswered. Although the subject of the newly created history of Ileto was undoubtedly the Filipino --- and he was, in fact, most creative in making this Filipino talk (even sing!) in his own terms and conditions therein ----, it was still doubtful if he really was speaking with his fellow Filipinos. Ileto originally wrote his work in fulfillment of the requirements of an American educational degree; and so, it only follows that he used the language and standards his audience understand, American English. Linguistically considered, the published version of the work was not much different from its original version, from its groundbasis. In a perspective, hence, he was thereby still addressing his former colonial master; and he was merely enriching the American *colonial* historiography, in the process. He was contributing something to the larger American historiography, through the situational exemplar of the Philippines and its history; he was not necessarily contributing to the actual development of a Filipino historiography, but to a historiography on the Philippines. In sum up, his work virtually thereby represented one of the best exemplar --- even the greatest triumph of --- in the larger development of history as an historiographical-concept in the country.

A. History as an Academic Discipline

The arrival of the Americans on Philippine soil in 1898 meant an arrival of another insinuating cultural whole on that of the archipelago.⁴⁶⁴ They brought with them their politico-economic system, their ideology, their school system, their intellectual convictions, their language, their ways and values, their standard of living, their whole cultural being. Their arrival started a new chapter in the intellectual history of the Philippines as a nation and a people. It effectively meant, on the whole, the arrival of the English language which made the intellectual reach of the Filipino people larger; for with it, they would have efficient access to all forms of literature and other concretizations of knowledge and know-how. For the more specialized area of history and historiography, it meant the introduction of the idea and concept of *history* in place of *kasaysayan* of the ancients and *historia* of the earlier colonial masters. This introduction was supported by the public school system, in which every Filipino was given the opportunity for free institutional education, which the Americans themselves built. Within the context of this system, history was taught as firstly, a narrative of the past just like its

⁴⁶⁴ It is not in the area of this study to add to or ponder more on the issue of the Americans' reasons for annexing the Philippines; but it would not hurt to mention a few of the more frequently mentioned grounds of the said exertion, so that we could put the whole situation, somewhat, in perspective. Here was how, for one, a diplomatic history described America's political arrival on the islands in 1898: "Dewey's victory at Manila found the Chinese situation (aggression of the various powers) unimproved but seemed to many to offer an effective remedy. With a naval base in the Philippines, way stations in Hawaii and perhaps in Guam, with a growing navy and the prospect of an isthmian canal through which the fleet could slip easily into the Pacific, might not the United States become at last a great Pacific power, quite capable of defending its interests in the Orient against aggressions from Europe? Many trade journals in all parts of the country agreed with the New York Journal of Commerce, which declared that to give up those islands now would be an act of inconceivable folly in the face of our imperative future necessities for a basis naval and military force on the Western shores of the Pacific.

Converted to a belief in colonialism by the special situation in the Far East, American businessmen found it easy to apply the same philosophy to the Caribbean. The erstwhile anti-imperialist Journal of Commerce insisted that Puerto Rico be retained and suggested that it might be necessary to keep control over Cuba in spite of the Teller Amendment. The former Spanish islands might furnish not only outlets for trade but also profitable fields for investment. It seemed that the war for humanity might be made to pay dividends in hard cash.

But the war might also pay dividends in the salvation of human souls. Of this larger Protestant churches were as firmly convinced as were businessmen of its material advantages. Religious groups that had favored the war as humanitarian crusade regarded the quick and easy victory as a sure sign of the divine approval and as a divine command to continue the good work in the islands freed from Spanish tyranny. Although there were some dissenting voices, in general Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians, together with several of the minor sects, united in urging that the United States accept the civilizing and Christianizing mission that Providence had placed before it; and just as businessmen prepared to take advantage of the opportunities for trade and investment in the former possessions of Spain, so the churches began plans for new missionary enterprises. If the new career upon which the United States was about to enter was to be tinged with economic imperialism, it was also to be, as one religious writer remarked, 'the imperialism of righteousness'. Businessmen were interested in the Philippines principally because of their proximity to China and would presumably have been satisfied with a retention of a secure naval base in the islands. To that, McKinley had been committed since the first week of the war. But the churches wanted something more --- an opportunity to practice their benevolence among the seven million people of the Philippines. Their zeal may have helped to shape the President's decision to demand cession of the entire archipelago. On one occasion, at any rate, he attributed his decision to religious influence. Months after the decision had been reached, he told a Methodist delegation at the White House that in answer to his earnest prayers for guidance the revelation had one night come to him that 'there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died.'" Julius W. Pratt, *A History of the United States Foreign Policy*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1972, pp. 208-209.

forerunner, historia; and secondly, both a discipline and a work of the academe. History became to be more known as one of the systematic body of knowledge, a science, with its own rigours and limitations set by a particular set of methods. And because this new view on the subject was generally mastered by those who were more oft members of a specific teaching body in an institution of learning, history became to be frequently seen as something which was basically executed by teachers and professors; something which was, for its quite limited number, almost elitist in nature; and something which was quite academic. History was pictured as a product of research and intellectual processing of the rigorously trained. From its limited narrative reference, it came to be popular as a scientific exercise of the intellectual circles of the academe, who were themselves products of educational institutions. History could not just be done by anybody who was interested in it; it should be realized by the professionally learned and skilled experts, by the professional historians.

Critical to the larger propagation of this new view was, naturally, the context within which it operated; and that is, the context that had to do with the colonial government's campaign for public, formal education. This campaign of the government could be considered as among the most important key in the effective propagation of the American ways and thinking among the surfacially hispanized population of the archipelago. To understand it though, a general theory on education proper had to be somewhat illustrated; apropos,

...education proper is the acquisition of existing knowledge on the principles of rhetoric. Rhetoric is the theory of communication. The theory of education is a branch of pure rhetoric; the practice of education, applied rhetoric. Rhetoric, like most secondary theories with a field of application, is suspended in a sort of limbo between metaphysics, on the one hand, and practical states of affairs, on the other. It must have the character of a deduction from ontology and epistemology, and it must be susceptible of serving as the conclusion to a series of inductions from actual practice. Thus continual checking in both directions is indicated; a difficult task, when we take into consideration that we are dealing with three areas in which changes are taking place.⁴⁶⁵

Education, on the whole, thence, just refers to the appropriation of knowledge. It is a process within which one of its most important element is the kind of medium or instrument of communication it would be taking up. The communication medium, in fact, defines both education and the process it implies itself. The communication medium almost dictates the kind of knowledge which should be propagated and the way it should be propagated. It defines both the theory and the practice of the knowledge and know-how within the context of education. The medium of communication --- the language --- could nearly be considered as the most important basis or framework of education itself. The language virtually gives education its form and shape. Whichever language would thence be used in an education process would define the kind and the method of education that a specific target group of students would have.

Formal, institutional education as it was introduced by the American colonial government in the Philippines during the turn of the century meant *American (English)* formal, institutional education. To effectively apply it to the archipelago, the government provided for free primary and secondary schools and learning institutions for everyone; and so, in a manner, the government or the state⁴⁶⁶ effectively took up the relatively new role as provider of formal learning for the people --- a role which it has, in actuality, never done or taken up on the islands as a colony beforehand. A new link, then, between the state and education was efficiently built and/or pioneered; the concept of public education or, on the whole, education as a responsibility of the state was begun. On the whole, education for the Filipinos during those times was expected by the Americans, just like in their home country, to take the functions of socialization, occupational placement, custodial care, and innovation.⁴⁶⁷ Through formal education, the individual would be prepared to be a member of a society. He would acquire the skills, attitudes, abilities and beliefs which will enable him to fit into the society. The socialization function of education is extremely important both for the individual and the society. But education just doesn't stop at that. It does not only shape the individual to fit into the society, it also gear him towards a specific position he would or should take up when he finally joins the society which could be interpreted as the world of work. Educational institutions were designed in such a manner that it could function as a form of machinery in which pupils and/or students are trained to become future occupational and/or professional persons who are, more or less, required in the more efficient functioning of the ever changing society of men. Before this final step though, educational institutions function primarily as an institution for child care. They keep children off the streets and out of the competitive job market. The school, in a way, keep the youth till they're old enough to go to work, marry, or simply leave. During these shaping years, they, through the educational institutions they are parts of, were also expected by the society, which expects them later on, to scientifically produce. It is hoped that they would create the much needed innovations, both in the realms of social and natural sciences, needed by the rapidly changing industrial society. The youth trained within the educational institutions are expected to be the creative young citizens who will be able to cope effectively with future difficulties in and outside the society. In a manner, thence, education more

⁴⁶⁵ James K. Feibleman, *Education and Civilization*, Dordrecht/Boston/Lancaster: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1987, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁶ Though for the theorists the terms government and state are relatively different concepts, they would be used interchangeably in this study. We are in the opinion that the differences that the theorists mentioned between these two are, on the whole, quite small that they could entirely be used interchangeably so as to facilitate the discussions to be taken on most of its functionalities. Here would be a good description of the concept of state though: "Thus, in analytical terms the state is an agency of control, social order and cohesion, legitimacy, socialization and economic intervention (Davis, et.al., 1988, p. 16). The state is best understood as the sphere of direct enforceable social relationships...which underlie markets and also provide the basis for the construction of the state organizations such as courts, parliaments, and government departments (Connell, 1977, p.6). Whose interest state-enforced social relationships serve is the subject of much debate. Although an oversimplification, the debate can be divided between those who see the state as serving the interests of the entire body-politic of society, and those who regard the state as oriented to the interests of the ruling class in a structure of capitalist social and economic relations." V.L.Meek, "Education and the State", in Lawrence Saha (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Sociology of Education*, Great Britain: Pergamon, 1997, p. 333.

significantly builds the kind of people and community which a particular governing machinery, the state, expects to have and lead in its particular future. It is only logical that the latter offer the former to its people; for, if not, then there is a greater possibility of chaos in the expected future. And naturally, any state would precaution itself against such a possibility; that is, even the colonial government that the Americans' built on the Philippines at the turn of the century.

In 1901, thence, the Second U.S. Commission in the Philippines created Act 74 which gave birth to the Department of Public Instruction to "insure a system of free primary instruction for the Filipino people."⁴⁶⁸ A public school system similar to that of the United States in organization, curriculum, and methods of instruction with the American textbooks, equipment, and language was not long after started in the various portions of the archipelago. Primary and secondary schools were opened for public consumption. Americans were expected to teach in these institutions⁴⁶⁹ till the time that the aptly trained Filipinos from the newly grounded Philippine Normal School (today's Philippine Normal University) could take their posts. This organic act, in effect thence, established a centralized system of free primary instruction in the American English language, authorized the establishment of a normal school in Manila for the training of Filipino teachers, and abolished the compulsory religious instruction in the public schools.⁴⁷⁰

The public school system consisted of the elementary, secondary schools, and the schools of junior college level. The elementary schools offered a 4-year primary course which provided instruction in reading, writing and spelling, arithmetic, good manners and right conduct, elementary science, music, drawing, industrial arts, character, health, and physical education; and a 3-year intermediate course, which provided for subjects in reading, writing and spelling, arithmetic, geography, Philippine history and government, music, drawing, industrial arts and gardening (for boys), domestic science and

⁴⁶⁷ David Swift (Ed.), *American Education. A Sociological View*, Boston: Houghton Mufflin Company, 1976, pp. 4-11.

⁴⁶⁸ U.P. Law Center, "Act No. 74 – 1901" in *Philippine Laws in Education, A Compilation*, Vol. I, (manuscript), Quezon City: U.P. Law Center, 1977.

Here was how the historian Cortes described this law: "The Americans' Organic Law in 1901 provided for a Department of Public Instruction which was given control over all existing schools and those to be established. Heading this office was a General Superintendent of Public Instruction appointed by the U.S. Commission in the Philippines. For the purpose of school administration, the country was divided into ten school divisions, each headed by a superintendent. Every division consisted of school districts, with each town or pueblo designated as a district. A principal headed each school within the district. Thus, at the division level a superintendent was the highest official, in charge of division supervisors, supervising teachers, and school principals. These offices, from the top down to the principals, were all filled by Americans until 1934. The Secretary of Public Instruction was appointed by the U.S. President, and the General Superintendent by the Civil Governor of the Philippines. Other officials were appointed at the recommendation of the next higher ranking official above them. Private schools after 1910 were placed under the Office of the Superintendent of Private Schools." Josefina R. Cortes, "The Philippines", in T.Neville Postlethwaite and R. Murray Thomas (Eds.), *Schooling in the ASEAN Region*, Oxford/New York/Toronto/Sydney/Paris/Frankfurt: Pergamon Press, 1980, p. 162.

⁴⁶⁹ The first American group of teachers on the islands were actually soldiers, joined by a few civilian teachers. They arrived on the ship *Thomas* in August, 1901; and so, later on called *Thomasites* in most of the written history of Philippine education.

⁴⁷⁰ G. Zaide, *The Pageant... Vol. II, Op.cit.*, p. 414.

cooking (for girls), character, health education, and physical education. The secondary schools offered different types of 4-year course, classified into academic, general, home economics, normal, commercial, agricultural, and trade. The junior college schools were the Philippine Normal College, the Philippine School of Arts and Trades, and the Philippine Nautical School.⁴⁷¹ In a manner, the whole public school system, originally grounded by Act No. 74 of the Second Philippine Commission⁴⁷² headed by William Howard Taft, was specifically designed and appropriated for the foreseen needs of the new generation of Filipinos --- a new generation of American colonials --- of the times. The next years would be witness to the enrichment and strengthening of this built framework or basis through the passing and realization of various acts of both the Commission and the following colonial political structure on the islands.

In 1904, for one, around a hundred young Filipinos were sent to the United States as grantees or *pensionados* (sponsored by the colonial government, of course) in order to be fastly trained for the teaching positions in the built public school system on the islands.⁴⁷³ Many of these *pensionados* returned later on to be some of the primary examples of Filipino education (in the American sense) in both levels of primary and secondary, plus, in the level of higher learning; and of Filipino administrative prowess in the American colonial structure on the islands.⁴⁷⁴ They were among those

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 414-415.

⁴⁷² There were two Philippine Commissions in the history of American Occupation of the Philippines; one was in 1899, headed by Jacob Schurmann and another was in 1900, headed by William Taft. The functions of the Commission were: to deliver America's message of good will to the Filipino people; to investigate the conditions in the Philippines; and to make the recommendations to the President of the United States as to the kind of government to be established in the Philippines. (Ibid., p. 338) Here were the words of Schurmann himself when asked in 1899 about the actual functions of his headed-Commission: "The Commission was to act as an advisory cabinet in the Philippines; and besides the question of suitable local governments, the President was especially desirous of recommendations in regard to the political relations which, in view of Philippine conditions, it would be wise to establish between the United States and the 8,000 brown men in Asia... to aid the Government of Washington in shaping the policy, and to cooperate with the naval and military authorities in Manila, in the effective extension of American sovereignty over the archipelago were the principal functions which the President was to assign to the Commission." (Philippine Affairs, A Retrospect and Outlook, p. 3; as cited by G. Zaide in his *The Pageant...*, Vol. II, Op.cit., p. 338.)

The Second Philippine Commission, on the other hand, was a bit different from the first one. Unlike the latter which was basically sent by the American government to study the Philippine Islands, the former was sent to hasten the transfer of the military government on the islands to civilian authorities. It exercised legislative as well as some executive functions, including the right to appoint officials. From September, 1900 to August, 1902, the Commission enacted 440 laws which effectively, among others, created the civil service system, established the municipal and provincial governments system, provided for a code of civil procedure, organized the Philippine Constabulary, created the insular bureaus of agriculture and forestry, provided for the public school system, and created the government in Benguet. Aside from these legislative functions, it also played a big role in the larger pacification procedure of the American government of the Filipino people at the turn of the century till its end during the first years of the 20th. (Ibid., pp. 339-341)

⁴⁷³ Josefina R. Cortes, "The Philippines", in T.Neville Postlethwaite and R. Murray Thomas (Eds.), *Schooling in the ASEAN Region*, Oxford/New York/Toronto/Sydney/Paris/Frankfurt: Pergamon Press, 1980, p. 152.

⁴⁷⁴ The *pensionado* program was instituted in 1903. It accelerated the production of Filipino transmission belts of colonial education. It was one of the ways by which the Americans attracted the Filipino elite to their side. "Considering the very limited opportunities for education under Spain, the requirement that *pensionados* be high school graduates narrowed down the choice to sons and daughters of the well-to-do. As a matter of fact, even up to 1923, high school graduates still came mainly from the upper and middle classes. Taft's instructions to the provincial governors on the qualifications of applicants reveal a definite preference for the children of the local

who saw to it that the next generations of Filipinos would be prepared or designed for the largely Americanized Filipino society outside the formal, public educational institutions; and they were also among those who pioneered in governmental administrative service on the archipelago. The new public education system begun at the turn of the century, in a manner, shaped the minds of the Filipinos then and the ones after which. It was largely through it that the Filipinos were efficiently and quite fastly Americanized; a quasi-American society was started from this process. This society was something to behold. It was undoubtedly Malay, for the color of the skins of its members; but it could pass to be American as well, for its members spoke and thought like their counterparts in the United States. The public education system, thence, created an Americanized colonial society out of the Filipinos who were not necessarily aware that they were still under the political hegemony of a foreign people. This system with its American English language as the most important medium of instruction was considered by one of the more influential Filipino historian as the principal agent of pacification of the newly arrived colonial masters. Here was how he described the process:

The colonial power gained a tremendous advantage from its imposition of the English language in education and government administration. In government, the insistence on English helped to insure closer supervision since the business of administration was carried on in the language of the colonizer. A measure of competence in English served as a fairly good guarantee that public servants had at least begun their own process of cultural Americanization. Since proficiency in English was an important qualification for advancement, the process of Americanization received a powerful impetus. The psychological advantage the Americans gained cannot be discounted. The use of English as the medium of instruction in the schools made possible the speedy introduction of the American public school curriculum. With American textbooks, Filipinos began learning not only a new language but a new culture. Education became *miseducation* because it began to de-Filipinize the youth, taught them to look up to American heroes, to regard American culture as superior to theirs and American society as the model par excellence for Philippine society. These textbooks gave them a good dose of American history while distorting, or at least ignoring, their own.⁴⁷⁵

The public education system virtually meant, then, Americanization; and so, in a manner, according to the citation above, a *miseducation* because it made the learners inside the system turn their backs on their own cultural selves and embrace a culture entirely not their and very much foreign to their own.⁴⁷⁶ But it wasn't, naturally, all that bad. After all, some people actually profited in the created

elite. He directed that apart from the usual moral and physical qualifications, weight should be given to the social status of the applicant." Constantino, *A Past Revisited...*, Op.cit., p. 316.

In a manner, the pensionado program ensured the place of the old elite in the highly structured colonial society of the American regime on the islands. It ensured the maintenance of the old status quo. The better-off cooperated with the Americans; while the highly volatile greater population of the poor were kept afloat in their low economic status which was campaigned to be promoted within the newly created colonial system. The pensionado system ensured the production and the potential production (from those of the poor who would only try much more!) of the brown Americanos, the pacified cooperative colonial, from the Filipino people.

⁴⁷⁵ Constantino, *A Past Revisited...*, Op.cit., p. 318.

⁴⁷⁶ This form of analysis on the greater disadvantageous effect of the utility of English in the Philippine education system was, in reality, already declared by the nationalist Claro M. Recto during the fifties. According to him: "...the Filipino mind has been molded for the last 60 years by foreign ideas and instruction...the simple fact that 14 years after our independence English is still our medium of instruction...is the best evidence that our minds are yet those of bondsmen..." Marie Magdalene Sta. Maria, *Die Indigenisierungskrise in den Sozialwissenschaften und der Versuch einer Resolution in Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, Universität Köln: Diss., 1993, p. 83.

process. Just not the Filipinos themselves. As planned or expected, it consequently made life for the colonial masters on and outside the archipelago much easier for though they were governing a colony, their colonials did not necessarily think like they were under foreign rule; that is, because these colonials were made to think, act, and judge like their colonial masters themselves, like Americans. That is because the language, which naturally embodied the culture of its speakers, of instruction in schools or the language of education, as a whole, was American English. Formal institutional education was practically taken in, hence, as American formal institutional education.

Central to the system which propagated these principles were, naturally, the institutions for higher learning in which the future teachers and professors for the built public educational system were expected to be trained and educated. The Philippine Normal School plus the pensionado system cooperatively worked to fill up the needs created by this built system. Still, they just did not create or produce the needed results, according to the growing needs of the archipelago; that is, not only in the area of teachers production for the schools, but in the natural tendency of humankind to have more, to learn more. Another institution had to be, thence, started. The University of the Philippines was precisely grounded for this purpose; that is, to be the center of the national public school system, where the teaching manpower of the system itself should be mostly produced. Of course, this university was designed to be more than that.⁴⁷⁷ In general, it is to be a place for the advanced and

⁴⁷⁷ There are various forms that a university could take within a particular time and context. Every country has an idea on how its going to proceed to promote the sciences through the instrument of an educational institution. Still, Gilman seemed hit points when he enumerated the elements that bind all these various institutions of higher learning around the world into one general, almost universal body. He said, these points seem to be general among the different universities; and they are: "(1) All sciences are worthy of promotion; or in other words, it is useless to dispute whether there is an essential difference between the old and the new education. (2) Religion has nothing to fear from science, and science need not be afraid of religion. Religion claims to interpret the word of God, and science to reveal the laws of God. The interpreters may blunder, but the truths are immutable, eternal, and never in conflict. (3) Remote utility is quite as worthy to be thought of as immediate advantage. Those ventures are not always the most sagacious that expect a return on the morrow. It sometimes pay to send our argosies across the seas, to make investments with an eye to slow but sure returns. So is it always in the promotion of science. (4) As it is impossible for any university to encourage with equal freedom all branches of learning, a selection must be made by enlightened governors, and that selection must depend on the requirements and deficiencies of a given people in a given period. There is no absolute standard of preference. What is more important at one time or in one place may be less needed elsewhere and otherwise. (5) Individual students cannot pursue all branches of learning, and just be allowed to select under the guidance of those who are appointed to counsel them. Nor can able professors be governed by routine. Teachers and pupils must be allowed great freedom in their method of work. Recitations, lectures, examinations, laboratories, libraries, field exercises, and travels are all legitimate means of culture. (6) The best scholars will almost invariably be those who make special attainments on the foundation of a broad and liberal culture. (7) The best teachers are usually those who are free, competent, and willing to make original researches in the library and the laboratory. (8) The best investigators are usually those who have also the responsibilities of instruction, gaining thus the incitement of colleagues, the encouragement of pupils, and the observation of the public. (9) Universities should bestow their honors sparingly, their benefits most freely. (10) A university cannot be created in a day; it is a slow growth. The University of Berlin has been quoted as a proof of the contrary. That was indeed a quick success, but in an old, compact country, crowded with learned men eager to assemble at the Prussian court. It was a change of base rather than a sudden development. (11) The object of the university is develop character --- to make men. It misses its aim if it produces learned pendants, or simple artisans, or cunning sophists, or pretentious practitioners. Its purport is not so much to impart knowledge to the pupils, as whet the appetite, exhibit methods, develop powers, strenghten judgement, and invigorate the intellectual and moral forces. It should prepare for the service of society a class of students who will be wise, thoughtful, and progressive guides

special education of youth who have been prepared for its freedom by the discipline of a lower school (apropo, elementary and high schools). It should be the most natural home of the sciences, of all forms of free intellectual exercises and activities.

The University of the Philippines was grounded, through the passing of the Act No. 1870 of the Philippine Commission, in 1908. It was created to be the finishing stone of the public educational system of the American colonial structure on the archipelago. The main administration of the University of the Philippines was, according to its charter, granted to the Board of Regents headed by the Secretary of Public Instruction. Under this body was the University Council composed of the university's faculty members who belong to the ranks of professor, associate professor, and assistant professor. The said council, with the approval of the Board of Regents, could prescribe rules of discipline and courses of study and pass requirements of both the admission and graduation of students. The university system though would be effectively headed by a president who would have to be first chosen by the Board of Regents.

The U.P., upon its establishment in 1908, had only three colleges and a school. They were the College of Fine Arts, the College of Liberal Arts, and the College of Medicine and Surgery which were all located along the Padre Fauna and R. Hidalgo of the now U.P. Manila; and the School of Agriculture which was (as it still is today) in the present U.P. Los Banos, Laguna. The College of Law and the College of Engineering was additionally established in Manila in the following years; as well as the College of Agriculture and Forestry in Los Banos.⁴⁷⁸ The student population continued to rise in the next years; and it was not too long that it became necessary to make room for new colleges and create more academic programs. And so, the Board of Regents decided in 1939 to transfer the university to a larger lot (493 hectares) in Diliman, in order to resolve the problematic situation of rising population and academic demands. The larger development of the university from this time on, except during the outbreak of the Second World War between 1942-1946, would be almost unstoppable. It would continuously make its name as the leading institution of higher learning in point of scholastic standards, not only in the Philippines but also around the Asian Region.

It was within this quite busy context, that the Department of History was started on June 03, 1910.⁴⁷⁹ This department would not only be influential, but more significantly, *instrumental* in the development of history and historiography on the islands; that is, the kind of history and historiography, applied on

in whatever department of work or thought they may be engaged. (12) Universities easily fall into ruts. Almost every epoch requires a fresh start." Daniel Coit Gilman, "The Nature and Function of a University", in Carl H. Gross and Charles Chandler (Eds.), *The History of American Education. Through Readings*, Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1964, pp. 327-328.

⁴⁷⁸ The University of the Philippines-Diliman Brochure, 2000, "Honor and Excellence. U.P. Diliman Through the Years, p. 1.

⁴⁷⁹ Elsie Ramos, et.al., *Kasaysayan ng Departamento ng Kasaysayan, 1910-1958*, B.A. Thesis, Quezon City: University of the Philippines-Diliman.

the Philippine context, as the Americans would have them. It was built as part of the larger College of Liberal Arts which was itself started as the substitute of the earlier Academy and Junior College of the university.⁴⁸⁰ The start of the department of history in the said college, among other events, effectively made the differing element of the University of the Philippines to the earlier built Philippine Normal College. In a manner, it meant that unlike the PNU, the UP would not only be an institution which trains teachers, it would be an institution which promote the development of the various sciences of men. Through the structuring of the department of history, the principle of developing history as a discipline on the Philippine archipelago was efficiently pioneered. This was really not surprising, for the UP was basically patterned after the institutionalized American universities; and because history there (in the United States) was already long practiced as a science, it was only natural and logical that the same principle would be applied in their new university in their new colony, the Philippines.

And so, the UP Department of History would work on, from this date on, the promotion of history as a fully qualified disciplinal science, a systematic body of knowledge of man. This exertion would be largely facilitated by the American colonizers themselves; that is, because all the teaching staff of the department during those early years were American citizens and trained historians themselves. They were Alexander Wrottesly Salt, Perry Coleman Hays, Charlotte Elizabeth Neale, and James Alexander Robertson.⁴⁸¹ Among them though, the last mentioned would be most influential, not necessarily in the specialized area of teaching history in the department, but in the general development of the disciplinal history on the archipelago. Robertson first arrived in the Philippines in the realization of Act 1698 of the Philippine Commission, through which he was appointed as among the administrators of the Philippine National Library. He was a trained and experienced researcher, plus a known expert in the romance languages, within which Spanish was part of. During his tenure of office at the National Library (1910-1915), he helped the government acquire its relatively big pre-war Filipiniana collection, including the purchase in 1913 of the Compania General de Tabacos de Filipinas in Barcelona, which was considered the largest single Filipiniana collection of those times.⁴⁸² He was not much of an educator; he only taught three subjects at the university: General History, United States History and Government, and Colonial History and Government.⁴⁸³ He quit his university position at the Department of History in 1912. But he was definitely a keen researcher. Starting 1903, Robertson, with the co-authorship of Emma Blair and the help of about twenty translators and

⁴⁸⁰ Naturally, this pioneering event was immediately followed by the administrative and institutional power's -- the newly built College of Liberal Arts --- question of granting A.B. (Bakalleorius Artium/Bachelor of Arts) degree to students, like its American counterparts abroad. There was much protests to this request, as can be expected, for some of the American educators were still wary of the idea that the UP was even near to comparison with the American universities. But change and development can never really be stopped. The resistance against the move took its time; but after a decade, the university's (to be exact, the college's) request was finally granted.

⁴⁸¹ Ramos, Op.cit.

⁴⁸² Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. II, Op.cit., p. 80.

assistants, would come out (as compiler, translator, editor, and annotator) with the monumental fifty five-volumes work called *Philippine Islands*⁴⁸⁴, which would significantly influence not only the Philippine researchers and historians of his times but those following in the years afterwards as well.

The B & R volumes was originally a project assigned to Blair; Robertson was invited to join in and assist later. It compiled documents --- which were written by all classes of writers, from navigators to civil and military officers to ecclesiastical dignitaries to various friars of the religious orders --- relating to the Philippine Islands and its Peoples, starting 1493 till 1898. Each volume of the series contained about 350 pages of texts, maps, portraits, and other illustrations. It experienced three publications: 1903-1909, 1962, and 1973. Though presently proven by many Filipino historians as imperfect and not necessarily hole-free, these volumes remain to be the most comprehensive published compilation of documents relating to the Philippine history. It is noteworthy to study the massive work according to the times and context it was made and published. Here was how, for one, Blair and Robertson themselves described their intentions in the presentation of these volumes:

...The present work --- its material carefully selected and arranged from a vast mass of printed works and unpublished manuscripts --- is offered to the public with the intention and hope of casting light on the great problems which confront the American people in the Philippines; and for furnishing authentic and trustworthy material and scholarly history of the islands.⁴⁸⁵

It should be made clear, thence, that the work was specifically done for the American reading public who were during those times unknowing and, naturally, curious of their sudden colonial property thousands of miles from their shores. There was a great demand for information on the Philippines in the US at that time; the Americans wanted to be informed about their new colony and naturally, wanted the opportunity to explore the various possibilities of their new role among the world powers as the self-declared different form of conquerors, namely, as the benevolent colonizers.⁴⁸⁶ Of course, those words were contradictory in themselves; but the Americans continued to propagate them, as if they were some of the most natural things in the world during those times, in that context. The

⁴⁸³ Ramos, Op.cit.

⁴⁸⁴ Emma Hellen Blair and James Harvey Robertson (Eds./Annotators), *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in cotemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial, and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest Relations with European Nations to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.* Vols. 1-55, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903-1909.

⁴⁸⁵ B & R, "Preface", *Philippine Islands*, Vol. 1, Op.cit., p.13.

⁴⁸⁶ This phrase comes from the Presidential Proclamation of U.S. President McKinley on December 21, 1898 on the issue of the Philippines. The proclamation was called *Benevolent Assimilation*. According to it, McKinley, after deep pondering, received an inspiration from God on how to go about with the Philippine problem. The answer was, of course, ceasure or assimilation of the islands. This was how the historian Agoncillo described this proclamation: "...was the first indication of American policy towards the Philippines. It expressly indicated the intention of the United States to stay in the Philippines by exercising the right of sovereignty over the Filipinos. In other words, the United States would assume control and disposition of the government of the Philippines. At the same time, President McKinley instructed his military commanders in the Philippines to extend American sovereignty over the entire country by force." (Agoncillo, *History of...Op.cit.*, pp. 214-215.)

volumes, in a manner, embodied the answer to the great demand of the Americans then. The philosophy, which guided this masterpiece's creation, considering the editors' backgrounds as scholars, was commendable; according to them:

In the presentation of these documents, the Editors assume an entirely impartial attitude, free from any personal bias, whether political or sectarian. They aim to secure historical accuracy, especially in that aspect which requires the sympathetic interpretation of each author's thought and intention; and to depict faithfully the various aspects of the life of the Filipinos, *their relation with other peoples (especially those of Europe), and the gradual ascent of many tribes from barbarism...*⁴⁸⁷

Though as evidently seen in the citation above, that they already have a prejudgement of the kind of people the Filipinos were --- that is, the kind who would never have experienced development if they did not come in contact with the Europeans; they still officially declared that they wanted impartiality and impersonality on their work. And so, instead of writing an actual historical narrative, they chose to compile and publish documents relating to their subject of study, which were the Philippine Islands and its peoples, the Filipinos. Quite clear in this line of thought was their attitude on what history for them was. History was, yes, a systematic body of knowledge; and its system was based on a properly and carefully collected, classified, and (if possible) translated set of documents on its specific subject. It was, hence, only natural that if there were no written documents, there was also no history to be studied nor written. This view was reiterated in the words used in the works' introduction:

...The aim of the Introduction is rather to give the discovery and conquest of the Philippines their setting in the history of the geographical discovery, to review the unparalleled achievements of the early conquerors and missionaries, to depict the government and commerce of the islands before the revolutionary changes of the last century, and to give such a survey, even though fragmentary, of Philippine life and culture under the old régime as will bring into relief their peculiar features and, if possible, to show that although the annals of the Philippines may be dry reading, the history of the Philippine people is a subject of deep and singular interest.⁴⁸⁸

The Philippines were just a portion of the larger history of discoveries executed by the conquerors and missionaries; they were just another part of the world, on which the said great persons exerted their efforts and eucharistic exercises. The arrival of the foreigners on the islands gave them evidence (as the Americans at the turn of the century recognized it) of existence; and so, gave them history. The arrival of the foreigners made the narrative of the Philippines its needed flavour, so that it would be good reading, in contrast to its *dry* characteristic beforehand. The foreigners, in effect, gave the islands life; and so, implied within this statement was the consideration that before the discussed foreigners' arrival, there was basically nothing interesting on the archipelago. The history of the islands was, thence, acceptedly the history of the foreigners who arrived and conquered it.

⁴⁸⁷ (Italics are mine.) B & R, "Preface", Op.cit., p. 14.

⁴⁸⁸ Edward Gaylourd Bourne, "Historical Introduction", Ibid., p. 21.

This inductive theory of the B & R on history was not entirely new; it was already used and put into practice by its many Spanish and Filipino (Propagandistas) counterparts from the earlier years, as they concretized the skill embodied by the idea of *historia*. They (the authors) were basically continuing what was already practiced beforehand in the Spanish language; their only marked difference was the American English language they were using on the work. They skillfully realized the same disciplinal idea, only in another language. Still, they were not entirely original with this minor difference as well. In a manner, the voluminous expanse that was the B & R collection, only confirmed what was already mentioned and discussed by its forerunners, namely, the travelogues and descriptive accounts written and published by Americans who went to the Philippines starting at the turn of the century. One of the first ones among these literature was published in 1898, just after the triumphant Battle of Manila Bay by the American marines against the Spanish flotilla. It was a travelogue written by Joseph Earle Stevens, entitled *Yesterdays in the Philippines*.⁴⁸⁹ There wasn't much information about the author except what was actually mentioned in the book, but the details in the work seemed to indicate that he led quite a comfortable life in Manila; that is, between 1893 till 1895, as he served as one of the employees of the firm Henry Peabody & Co.,⁴⁹⁰ the only American commercial house at the turn of the century in the capital. He had a luxurious life, which was basically pulled through by the meagerly paid Filipino labor of the times and context, plus, the other perks and advantages available to all Europeans and other white peoples on the archipelago. His curiosity for the massive difference of what was on the islands in comparison to his homeland made the work quite interesting. It made the work colorful, almost descriptive of the small details and quintessential of the Philippine Islands during the critical decade of the 90's of the nineteenth century. He had, though, not such a high regard for the Philippines as a colony for the United States and he had a relatively low opinion of the Filipinos.⁴⁹¹ He was not agreeable to the actual assimilation or conquest of the archipelago as a colony nor protectorate of the U.S. According to him:

⁴⁸⁹ Joseph Earle Stevens, *Yesterdays in the Philippines*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898.

⁴⁹⁰ E. D. Hester, "Foreword", *The Philippines Circa 1900. Book One: Philippine Life in Town and Country* by James A. Le Roy. *Book Two: Yesterdays in the Philippines* by Joseph Earle Stevens, Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1968, pp., x-xi.

⁴⁹¹ The following were his words: "The Philippines are hard material with which to make our first colonial experiment, and seem to demand a different sort of treatment from that which our national policy favors or has had experience in giving. Besides the peaceable natives occupying the accessible towns, the interiors of many of the islands are filled with aboriginal savages who have never even recognized the rule of Spain --- who have never even heard of Spain, and who still think they are possessors of the soil. Even on the coast itself are trives of savages who are almost as ignorant as their brethren in the interior, and only thirty miles from Manila are races of dwarfs that go without clothes, wear knee-bracelets of horsehair, and respect nothing save the jungle in which they live. To the north are the Igorottes, to the south the Moros, and in between, scores of wild tribes that are ready to dispute possession. And is the United States prepared to maintain the forces and carry on the military operations in the fever-stricken jungles necessarily in the march of progress to exterminate or civilize such races? Have we, like England for instance, the class of troops who could undertake that sort of work, and do we feel called upon to do it, when the same expenditure at home would go so much further? The Philippines must be run under a despotic though kindly form of government, supported by arms and armor-clads, and to deal with the perplexing questions and perplexing difficulties that with other such problem before." (Stevens, "Introduction", *Op.cit.*, pp., xv-xvi.)

But Stevens lived during the times when there were also great moves to actually colonize and civilize (according to how the Americans illustrate and realize it) the islands. And because he probably also wanted to be part of

...I should like to see England interested in buying back an archipelago which she formerly held for ransom, leaving us perhaps a coaling port, and opening up the country to such as chose to go there. Then, with someone else to shoulder the burden of government and protection, we should still have the opportunities for proving whether or not the islands were the El Dorado dreamed of in our clubs of counting-rooms.⁴⁹²

Stevens wanted, thence, to retain the advantages of a colonial master but was not prepared to take up the supposed responsibilities of such to its colony. In a manner, he represented the medial position between the ongoing debate about the Philippines in the U.S. at the time; that is, between those who wanted to colonize the islands or the imperialists and those who do not particularly want to colonized the archipelago or the anti-imperialists. The work, in general, was not at all historiographically impressive; but it was one of those materials which could be used as one of the sources of historical information in the later decades.

This characteristic was appropriate as well to James A. Le Roy's work, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*,⁴⁹³ which was published in 1905. Like its forerunner, it was a relatively good illustration of the times and context; and so, another one of the potential sources of historical data. Le Roy was a journalist by training; and became part of the Second Philippine Commission, by presidential appointment, as one of the staff members (secretary to Dean Worcester).⁴⁹⁴ He had the apt skill for research and the bigger official opportunity to actually gather data on the general subject of the Philippines and its people. The published work in 1905 was the consequential product of this personal background of his. The work started off with a setting of the point of view to be used and then focused on the major social problems of the context. Accordingly, as Le Roy himself described it, his work would have the necessary historical depth, so as to better describe or illustrate the subject of the piece; the liberalism and intellectual freedom of expression, so as to be free of the medievalist or reactionary attitude used in the past literature about the archipelago and so as to unhinderly describe the truth of the situation on the islands; and the tendency to side with the poorer Filipinos and not with the traditional nor the new economic leaders of the times, so as to effectively set forth the status of the majority of the Filipinos rather than that "of the traditional leaders and economic bosses of these masses".⁴⁹⁵ These intentions made the work relatively pioneering, in a way; that is, pioneering for that line of works which would be made by his compatriots in the following years. Le Roy was continuing the attitude started by the Filipino propagandists of the late nineteenth century. His, was a

that group who would proceed in actually doing the work in the Philippines --- and naturally, enjoy its perks as well --- he sort of softened his attitude and opinion on the islands at the end of his book. Here were his statements: "At present this Pearl of the Orient is but a jewel in the rough, but with good men to make her laws, and her gates wide open to pilgrims of the world, she soon should shine as brilliantly as any city in the Far East." ("Conclusion", *Ibid.*, p. 232.)

⁴⁹² "Introduction", *Ibid.*, pp., xvii-xviii.

⁴⁹³ James A. Le Roy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

⁴⁹⁴ Hester, *Op.cit.*, p., viii.

⁴⁹⁵ Le Roy, *Op.cit.*, "Introductory", p. 11.

humanitarian and/or sympathetic attitude for the *poor* Filipinos; and so, the work tended to defend and explain the nature of the Filipinos to the reading audience, to his fellow Americans.

In this regard, the work could definitely be considered *discussive*. It participated and, more probably, opened itself to a particular discourse about the Philippine Islands and its people. Naturally though, the discourse was started not because of the merits of an intellectual discourse in itself; but because the question or the issue of keeping the islands as colony was during those times very disturbing for most of the Americans. Each intellectual or each one of them who considered themselves so participated and gave their two cents towards the final resolution of the problematic situation. Le Roy took up the sympathetic attitude for the Filipinos as the answer to the question; his work took up an almost motherly tone for those islanders on the archipelago who experienced hardships in the hands of its former master and so, now, needed the helping hand of the U.S. He based this answer on history. For him, it was there where the right answers could be found; according to him:

It is necessary, too, that the historical viewpoint should be taken in considering every phase of Filipino life of to-day, because, as hinted, the Filipinos are in a transitional stage. For him who would set definite limits to the possibilities of achievement of every race but the white (and perhaps, too, within the ranks of the peoples called Caucasian themselves), and who have adopted the traditional "thus far and no farther shalt thou go" as the gauge of Malay possibilities, this view will be deemed heretical. Once again, it rests upon the plain facts of Filipino history.⁴⁹⁶

History was, thence, considered as the powerful tool that could provide the right answers to the questions about the Philippines and the Filipinos. History was an instrument that could affect change. This was an idea from the propaganda movement; and it was clear, even in the citation above, that the Americans were continuing to realize it as well. Within the larger development of history on the Philippines, then, the idea begun through the *historia*-concept was just being continued. In clear statements, the larger philosophy of history was still linear in nature; and the methodology used was still basically tied to the reliance on written sources of historical information. One would have proofs of this in the following years when more historical literature would be published.

The discourse begun had to be, after all, somewhat continued. Everyone had their own opinion on the subject; in fact, the Philippine issue could easily be considered as a veritable most trendy debate of the times. And like all expressions of diverting arguments, there had to be a winning --- for simply because of the larger number of people who believed on it --- side; and that was quite well expressed in the following

The Filipinos are incapable of self-government; in their affairs they are managed by few ambitious leaders. They have not yet cultivated a sense of fair play and tolerance for those who differ in opinion. Although the gift of self-government in full measure was not possible, yet to a degree it was bestowed by granting practical autonomy in provincial and municipal affairs. Independence is

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

a cherished ideal of the Filipinos, and that they may ultimately realize this ideal is, the writer believes, the unexpressed purpose of those who have undertaken the tutelage of these peoples. How far removed is this realization, it is beyond his power to predict; the proximity or distance of it must remain a matter of opinion. Certainly that these peoples will or will not become an independent nation is equally out of the question. For some time to come the political dependence of the Islands upon the United States must be very real. Granting independence in any near future would be a great error sure to result in serious harm; and in the policy of not attempting to fix the day when the connection between the two countries shall be merely nominal, we are pursuing a wise course. The doctrine of the consent of the governed is indeed included in our scheme of administration in these Islands to the fullest extent to which it ever laid claim in the minds of those who first propounded it, namely, the granting of self-government to all th were competent to exercise it for their own benefit and that of society. The question of the right of a higher civilization to dominate a lower one is capable of much discussion; the only justification, surely, for such an extension of sovereignty is the material improvement and the intellectual and moral elevation of the weaker race.⁴⁹⁷

The final answer to the question, then, regarding the Philippines was given. The islands would be kept. It would be for the good of those innocent peoples there; at the same time, the Americans were doing something good for giving them material and intellectual improvement. The roles to be played, then, within the new context were set: the Americans were the good ones who would civilize the poor and weaker Filipinos; and so, these would be continuously utilized as one of the groundbasis of the various literature and arguments of the Americans writers and scientists on the general subject of the Philippines and its peoples.

The B & R series would begun to be published in between; with it were other works regarding the archipelago and its inhabitants. One of them was that of John Foreman, which was originally published in 1890 but was enlarged and developed; and so, republished for larger consumption in 1906. The book was called *The Philippine Islands. A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago*.⁴⁹⁸ It belongs to the first strictly historical works on the Philippines during the era; and so, one of the earlier concretizations of history and historiography on the archipelago of the times. The work, which was divided into 31 chapters, was basically the narrative of the history of the islands according to how the author saw it or, even, how he wanted to see it. Here was how it was framed:

Chapter I: General Description of the Archipelago; Chapter II: Discovery of the Archipelago; Chapter III: Philippine Dependencies, Up to 1898; Chapter IV: Attempted Conquest by the Chinese; Chapter V: Early Relations with Japan; Chapter VI: Conflicts with the Dutch; Chapter VII: British Occupation of Manila; Chapter VIII: The Chinese; Chapter IX: Wild Tribes and Pagans; Chapter X: Mahometans and Southern Tribes; Chapter XI: Domestic Natives – Origin – Character; Chapter XII: Religious Orders; Chapter XIII: Spanish Insular Government; Chapter XIV: Spanish-Philippine Finances; Chapter XV: Trade of the Islands. From the Early Times; Chapter XVI: Agriculture; Chapter XVII: Manila Hemp – Coffee – Tobacco; Chapter XVIII: Sundry Forest and Farm Produce; Chapter XIX: Mineral Products; Chapter XX: Domestic Live-

⁴⁹⁷ Fred W. Atkinson, *The Philippine Islands*, Boston/New York/ Chicago/ London: Ginn & Company, 1905, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁹⁸ John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands. A Political, Geographical, Ethnographical, Social, and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago. Embracing the Whole Period of Spanish Rule. With an Account of the Succeeding American Insular Government*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906.

stock – Ponies, Buffaloes, etc.; Chapter XXI: Manila Under Spanish Rule; Chapter XXII: The Tágalog Rebellion of 1896-1898. First Period; Chapter XXIII: The Tágalog Rebellion of 1896-1898. Second Period. American Intervention; Chapter XXIV: An Outline of the War of Independence Period, 1899-1901; Chapter XXV: The Philippine Republic in the Central and Southern Islands; Chapter XXVI: The Spanish Prisoners; Chapter XXVII: End of the War of Independence and After; Chapter XXVIII: Modern Manila; Chapter XXIX: The Land of the Moros; Chapter XXX: Spanish Friars, After 1898; Chapter XXXI: Trade and Agriculture. Since the American Advent.

The whole narrative revolved around the general idea of the arrival of the foreigners on the archipelago. One chapter was made to nominally discuss the general venue of their arrival; and then all the following chapters, with the exception of a single chapter where the Filipino Revolution (which was insultingly termed *rebellion* in the narrative) was discussed, were dedicated to the coming of the various foreigners and their effects on the islands. It was a typical narrative of a colonizer on the colonized; it was, hence, quite comparable to the literature written by the earlier conquistadores. It was bipartite in character; that is, it had basically two portions: the Philippines before the foreigners and the Philippines after the foreigners. The islands' history was practically begun by the coming of the foreigners who, in effect, *discovered* them; and so, automatically took the responsibility of *civilizing* them. The Philippines and its inhabitants, the Filipinos, became, thence, the most veritable holy cause of the Americans in Asia; they became the veritable *white men's burden* in the *Far East*. The narrative of the work utilized a topical approach in its larger development as a history; the implied principle used in this form of explanation was that of history as the story of the propagation of civilization.

The civilization of the world is but the outcome of wars, and probably a long as the world lasts the ultimate appeal in all questions will be made for force, notwithstanding Peace Conferences. The hope of ever extinguishing warfare is as meagre as the advantages such a state of things would be. The idea of totally suppressing all martial instinct in the whole civilized community is as hopeless as the effort to convert all the human race to one religious system. Moreover, the common good derived from war generally exceeds the losses it inflicts on individuals; nor is war an isolated instance of few suffering for the good of many. "Salus populi suprema lex." Nearly every step in the world's progress had been reached by warfare. In modern times the peace of Europe is only maintained by the equality of power to coerce by force. Liberty in England, gained first by an exhibition of force, would have been lost but for bloodshed. The great American Republic owes its existence and the preservation of its unity to this inevitable means, and neither arbitration, moral persuasion, nor sentimental argument would ever have exchanged Philippine monastic oppression for freedom of thought and liberal institution.

The right of conquest is admissible when it is exercised for the advancement of civilization, and the conqueror not only takes upon himself, but carries out, the moral obligation to improve the condition of the subjected peoples and render them happier.⁴⁹⁹

History would, hence, theoretically be the story of civilization; or to be more exact, the story of civilization, as would the writer or the historian would describe and illustrate it. In the specific case of the Philippines, it was the story of the white civilization as it was affected and, more or less, realized on the islands. History was seen as the expression of the rationality of conquest and colonization, of the continuous presence of the Americans on the Philippine Islands. These principles were not

entirely new; it was already used in most of the historical narratives on the islands by the conquering Spaniards earlier. The latter though based their idea of civilization on Catholic Christianity; the new colonizing Americans, on the other hand, based their description of the same idea on freedom of thought and liberal institution, which was normally translated to their newly introduced public school system on the islands. These principles with the new set of meanings regarding the general state of the world and of the islands would be continuously discussed by American writers, scientists, historians in the following years.⁵⁰⁰ History, as what was already set in the teaching norms of the same years in the

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁵⁰⁰ The following years would be witness to the massive researches, analyse, and publication of literature by varied professionally trained Americans on the Philippines; and at the same time, realize the development of a class of scientists who specialized in the larger studies of the Philippines and its inhabitants, or the development of the American Philippinists. The published works shared three common characteristics. All of them were written by American citizens for America's reading consumption; that is, to meet the demands made by the Americans in the U.S. themselves. Second, all of them aimed to provide information about the Philippines; so as to help the Americans both in and outside the archipelago understand their newly acquired territory better. And third, they all, in one way or the other, exerted efforts in explaining and rationalizing the presence of the U.S. on Philippine soil. These publications though could basically be grouped into three greater periods of developing intellectual trends or strains regarding the mentioned subject.

The first period roughly covered the first two decades of American presence on the Philippines. The published works during this times mostly explain the war that took place between Spain and the U.S., which eventually gave the latter one of the possessions of the former, namely the Philippines; the war that took place between the U.S. and the Filipinos; and the responsibilities of the U.S. to the Philippines and its inhabitants, after it won and pacified the *insurrecting* Filipinos according to their will. Representative of this period are three works: John Taylor's *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States: A Compilation of Documents with Notes and Introduction. Vol I-V* (1906); James Blount's *The American Occupation of the Philippines* (New York: 1913); and Dean Worcester's *The Philippines. Past and Present* (New York: 1914). All of the writers of these works served either in the military or in the administrative arms of the U.S. on the archipelago; they, thence, did not lack any of the possibility of having access to the information or data needed in their works. Taylor's work was a comprehensive collection of the documents captured from the Philippine resistance groups during the Philippine-American War of 1899-1903. The collection remains, to this day, as the more valuable published title that explored to documentarily explain the war mentioned. Both the works of Blount and Worcester exerted efforts in the clarifications of the reasons of American presence in the Philippines. Both of them, with only some minor divergences of opinions on a few issues, agreed to the continued presence of the U.S. in the truthful realization of its mission of civilizing the Filipinos, training them for self-government; and so, in a manner, realizing the pedantic implications of the principle of white man's burden.

The second period, on the other hand, roughly covered the years between 1920's to the 1930's. The publications during these years were mostly done by people who were, in one way or the other, connected to either the U.S.-Philippines politics within the U.S. itself or the politics in the Philippines itself. They took up the subject of administering the Philippines, while training the same towards self-governmnet. Five works represented this period. They are: Francis Burton Harrison's *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence. A Narrative of Seven Years* (New York: 1922); Katherine Mayo's *The Truth About the Philippines* (New York: 1924); D.R. William's *The United States and the Philippines* (New York: 1924); Nicholas Roosevelt's *The Philippines. A Treasure and a Problem* (New York: 1926); and Major WM. H. Anderson's *The Philippine Problem* (New York: 1939). These publications all agree that the Philippines provided the strategic and, in a manner, economic advantage to the U.S. but the cost of its administration was taking its toll; and so, it was high time to really consider letting the islands go. The subject of the Philippines was approached in these publications in quite varied ways: administratively, socially, and (naturally) politically.

The third and last period covered the times between the 1950's till the 1970's. It could be considered that it was during these times that the larger subject of the Philippines and its inhabitants became an area of research and study for the Americans. The writers of the publications during these times were social scientists; and their publications were the results of systematic research or the practice of the specific disciplinal area they specialized. The period is represented by three works: Joseph Hayden's *The Philippines. A Study of National Development* (New York: 1950); Joseph Benjamin Van Hise's *American Contributions to the Philippine Science and Technology, 1898-1916* (Wisconsin: 1957); and Peter W. Stanley's *A Nation in the Making. The Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921* (Massachusetts: 1974). These works, more or less, tried todocument and analyze the colonial and democratic experiment executed by the U.S. on the Philippines; they tried to pin down

U.P. Department of History, was mostly described as the story of the power play within a particular venue or setting; and so, history was seen as the story of the government, its politics, and related economic matters. In fact, because the age also required system and structure in every discipline, history --- the truly scientific history --- could only be gotten from written documents; and so, if there was no document, there was also no history. That was why the B & R series was considered as the most exemplary concretization of the discipline of the times. The series just collected, translated, and published the written documents, which were, in this was, maintained in its almost holy form. The documents were not used to be parts of a historical narrative; they were published in toto, and so, remained uncorrupted by the human bias which usually comes in in every written narrative.

In the meantime, the U.P. Department of History which was left by Robinson in 1912, would be newly affected by another American teacher/historian, in the person of Austin Craig. It should be stressed though, before we discuss the next developments on history and historiography, that Robinson did not really made a big difference in the specialized area of teaching the science. During his service to the department, history was largely conglomerated with politics; and so, what was taught was mainly political history of the U.S., Europe, and the Philippine Islands. And because the department back then were mainly existing as an area where one could get the required courses so as to finish the set degree on education, engineering, law, etc. (that is, as a service department) and most of the teachers/professors have other preoccupation such as research and writing (Robinson was one of the finest exemplar of such), then there wasn't much stimulant to really explore the other possibilities of actually enriching history as one of the actual local sciences. The context of the department, thence, during these times was almost perfect for an idealist and a mover like Austin Craig.

Austin Craig was among the first American teachers (sponsored by the Bureau of Education) who arrived on Philippine soil in 1904; that is, with a ideal goal of educating the Filipino according to the American standards. He was not immediately assigned in Manila though. He was, during those earlier years, assigned in Mindoro, where he taught both the young and the old the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic (just as what the Thomasites from beforehand were projected to

the most effective and long-lasting inheritance the former gave to the latter. Hayden looked and studied the development of the Philippine nation which was basically a copy or an imitation of the American system; Van Hise documented how American science and technology --- through the American soldier who fought the Filipino revolutionaries, to the Proconsuls who made the laws and enforced the rules, to the doctors who fought the diseases and epidemics, to the agronomists and veterinarians who revolutionized the farming industry, to the foresters, miners, and marine biologists who chartered the natural resources of the archipelago, to the engineers who fought to build the archipelago's infrastructures, to the scientists who exerted to help in the resolution of the growing problems of the archipelago --- was transferred to the Filipinos; and Stanley discussed how the Filipinos made the nation with its attached system through the *tutorship* they had with the United States. Each one of these publication utilized the particular system of discipline that its writer was trained for; and so, each one passed through a particular set of scientific methods. And so, in a manner, they pioneered the general research area on the Philippines in the United States; they pioneered the area studies which would be later on called Philippine Studies in most of the American universities. The writers, thence, of these works were among the veritable Philippinists, Philippines experts.

accomplish on the islands), and even singing. He did not travel much to the center; but when he did get a chance to do so, his passion was to research, read, and collect materials on the Filipino martyr and national hero, Jose Rizal. In fact, by 1907, this massive interest on Rizal was already noticeable in all of the aspects of Craig's everyday living. He would markedly be one of the heirs, though he was American with a totally different cultural personality, of the ideas of the Propaganda Movement which was greatly embodied in the person and ideas of the Filipino martyr. His end goal, as could be expected, was to publicize all these studies on the hero to everyone, including his fellow Americans of course, so as to stress the potentialities of the much maligned Filipino civilization of those times. And it wouldn't be too long that this passion would be given free hand.

In line with the Americans mission to pattern the Filipino thinking and lifestyle to that of the Americans, the Governor General Forbes government conceptualized a *pet project*, wherein the concept of heroes (just like in American schools) as the ideal persons for the youth would be systematically taught in the newly started public school system. The thrust of the project was the enrichment of Jose Rizal's memories; that is, so that his would be the great example that the Filipino youth could ideally make their lives after. Jose Rizal was chosen by the American hierarchy as the object for their pet project for the said hero seemed meet all the standards that an average American hero should be. And though Craig's intentions for studying the hero was not in anyway similar to that of the colonial government's, he immediately saw the greater hand and possibilities that he could have through the participation within the conceived project. Craig had the chance, henceforth, to not only research in various libraries and archives, but also to travel and trace Rizal's trail around the world (including Shanghai, Tsuruga, Vladivostok, Berlin, Dresden, Ghent, Brussels, etc.), so that he would have the concreter idea on how the hero lived during his times and context. Consequently, Craig produced a book on the subject, *The Story of Rizal*, which was immediately recommended to be used in schools. Because of the popularity he got from the book and from his high profile as he cooperated with the colonial government on its pet project and probably because of his close association with Sergio Osmena as well, it was not long that Craig was reassigned from Mindoro to Manila.⁵⁰¹ He would come in and be part of the teaching staff of the Department of History of the U.P. in year 1912; so as to fill out the left post there, when Robinson took his final leave from the university. Craig's arrival in the department was markedly an enrichment for it, for one, started off the years when the courses about Asian (then termed Orient) history --- which was largely a consequent of Craig's research and interest on the life and ideas of Rizal --- would be taught and offered. A renewed interest on the study and analysis of the history of the Philippines would also be somewhat stimulated. And so, as Craig was appointed as the first chairman of the department between 1914-1915, these

⁵⁰¹ Elsie Ramos, "Austin Craig: Ang Dakilang Pasimuno ng Pag-aaral ng Kasaysayan Bilang Disiplina sa Pilipinas", in Ma. Bernadette Abrera and Dedina Lapar (Eds.), *Paksa, Paraan, Pananaw ng Kasaysayan, Lungsod Quezon: U.P. Departamento ng Kasaysay, Lipunang Pangkasaysayan, Bahay Saliksikan sa Kasaysayan*, 1992, pp. 37-48.

pioneering moves would be somehow institutionalized as parts of its new official vision. Craig's chairmanship ultimately led to the stability in curriculum of the teaching of both history of the Orient and the Philippines (an exertion which was never seriously considered in the earlier years); to the innovative idea of producing/writing historical materials for the students of history, which would in the last analysis create the person of a academician/historian among the membership of the faculty; to the importation of specialists (among them was Dr. Najeeb Saleeby⁵⁰² who was the considered expert on Filipino Muslims' History) as guest lecturers; to the creation of special courses and symposia wherein experts from the different areas (both in the governmental and non-governmental sectors) were invited to hold lectures and deliver speeches. His term of office led to the formal communicative or discussive meetings between the colonial government and members of the academe within the ideally free atmosphere of an education institution; and so, within the walls where freedom of speech and expression reigned and where there were optimal chances of actual exchange of ideas and discussion⁵⁰³, in order to come up with a compromising resolution for all the parties concerned.

Contextualization, or the definition of the particular setting and surrounding of a particular idea or even a singular unitary event, was one of the key concepts that Craig instilled during his chairmanship. That is, not only within the general area of problem resolution; but more importantly, in every kind of history studied. This principle guided him in all of his exertion both as a teacher of history and a chairman of a struggling and young department; that is, actions and exertions which in themselves eventually led to the final development of history as a systematized body of knowledge, as a discipline within the archipelago. It was during his chairmanship that history greatly separated itself as a

⁵⁰² To these days, Prof. Dr. Najeeb Saleeby's works on the Filipino Muslims remain to be some of the authorities on the subject. He was the first social scientist who worked on the collection, utility, and publication of the Muslims' Oral Genealogical Histories or the tarsilas. His published works include: *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion* (Manila: 1905); and *History of Sulu* (Manila: 1908).

⁵⁰³ The U.P. even during those early years already pride itself, in contrast to the other sectarian universities of the archipelago, of having academic freedom; that is, of promoting freedom of speech and expression especially on things which were related to the larger development of the different sciences offered by the whole institution. This academic freedom was in itself institutionalized between 1925-1926. The following were the, thence, formally declared policies on academic freedom: "(1) A university or college may not place any restraint upon the teacher's freedom in investigation unless restriction upon the amount of time devoted to it become necessary in order to prevent undue interference with teaching duties; (2) A university or college may not impose any limitation upon the teacher's freedom in the exposition of his own subject in the classroom or in addresses and publications outside the college, except insofar as the general necessity of adequating to the needs of immature students, or in the case of institution of a denominational or partisan character, specific stipulations in advance, fully understood and accepted by both parties, limit the scope and character of instruction; (3) No teacher may claim as his right the privilege of discussing in his classroom controversial topics outside of his own field of study. The teacher is morally bound not to take advantage of his position by introducing into the classroom provocative discussion of irrelevant subjects not within the field of his study; (4) A university or college should recognize that the teacher in speaking or writing outside of the institution upon subjects beyond the scope of his own field of study is entitled to precisely the same freedom and is subject to the same responsibility as attached to all citizens. If the extramural utterances of the teacher should be such as to raise grave doubts concerning his fitness for his position, the question should in all cases be submitted to an appropriate committee of the faculty of which he is a member. It should be clearly understood that an institution assumes no responsibility for views expressed by members of its staff; and teachers should, when necessary, take pains to make it clear that they are expressing only their personal opinion." (U.P. President, 1925-1926, 15th Annual Report, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.)

singular disciplinary science with its own characteristics and distinctive methodological system and structure from that of political science, sociology, anthropology, and economics, which in their turn became individual and separate academic departments within the U.P. Within the specialized field of the practice of the discipline, Craig became influential as well. His long study and research on Rizal virtually made him the personification and the continuator of the views and ideas of the Propaganda Movement of the late nineteenth century. Like Rizal and the other propagandists, he strongly believed on the capability and capacities of the Filipino, as well as on the greatness and potentials of the *not entirely* analyzed Filipino culture and civilization. His point of view, his pro-Filipino point of view, on the individuals and individual occurrences on the history of the Philippines itself became widely propagated. Craig was responsible for the larger propagation of the idea of the history of heroes; plus the idea of extracting racial pride from a nation's individual example, like that of Rizal. He was convinced, that a nation which could produce a person like Rizal should be free and independent. He became responsible for the simple but actual expression and wider distribution of the idea of a nationalist view on the history of the archipelago; which naturally, created problems for him from the colonial government. His was considered an *unbecoming* attitude for a colonial American. And so, Craig was momentarily silenced by the colonial administration; he was removed from the U.P. That of course did not stop the already started and widely circulating ideas he popularized. The academician/historian already made his point and his mark. His office term would produce some of the earliest academically and professionally trained Filipino historian, who would in themselves be influential (both in the realms of teaching and writing books) in the shaping of the Filipino mindset on the general subject and practice of the discipline of history. They were the academic historians; that is, they were all active teachers and parts of the academia, and at the same time, they were practicing historians for they wrote and publish quite a lot of historical works and materials. They were the grand products of both the Spanish scholarship tradition (and most especially, that of the Propaganda Movement), the American public school system within which the pensionado system was created, and the innovative pro-Filipino point of view of most of the teachers and professors of history of the U.P. Department of History. They included Leandro Fernandez⁵⁰⁴, Conrado Benitez⁵⁰⁵, and Corazon Alzona⁵⁰⁶; and they represented the new breed of Filipino historians of the time.

⁵⁰⁴ Leandro Fernandez, 1889-1948. "Leandro Fernandez was born in Pagsanjan, Laguna, on March 13, 1889. He was educated in the United States as a government pensionado, receiving a Bachelor of Pedagogy (1910) from the Tri-State College Indiana, (1912) and M.A. (History, 1913) from the University of Chicago, and a Ph.D. (1926) from the Columbia University. He started his academic career as Instructor of History at the University of the Philippines (1914), becoming a full professor in 1921, Chairman of the Department of History in 1926, and Dean of College of Liberal Arts in 1935... Fernandez died on March 23, 1948." *Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Science*, Vol. II, Op.cit., p. 143.

His published works include *A Brief History of the Philippines* (1919); *Philippine History Stories* (1925); *The Philippine Republic* (1926); and *The Story of Our Country* (1927).

⁵⁰⁵ Conrado Benitez, 1889-1971. "Conrado Benitez was born on November 28, 1889 in Pagsanjan, Laguna. He was sent to the University of Chicago in 1911 as a government pensionado where he acquired his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees... He also finished a Bachelor of Laws degree from the University of the Philippines in 1918. Benitez was appointed economics instructor at the University of the Philippines in 1912, becoming the first Filipino faculty member of the then Department of History, Economics, and Sociology. He was subsequently

Fernandez, Benitez, and Alzona basically shared the following characteristics: (1) they were educated and were largely influenced by the Americans and American scholarship tradition; (2) they were active both in the actual practice of education and in the administration of some of the pioneering education institution before the Second World War in the Philippines; (3) they were practicing historians, in the sense that they were researching, writing, and publishing books on history; and (4) they were the pioneering exemplars of Filipinos who were parts and participants of the American historical discourse on the Philippines. In a sense, these three were actual intellectuals/scholars who became quite influential in the fast development of the discipline of history and historiography on the Philippines during the first decades of the twentieth century. They were all institutionally educated intellectuals and though they were professionally trained educators or teachers, the stress of their studies were normally history, political science, and/or economics. They were, thence, definitely introduced and trained within the general context of the scientific method or in the more specialized area of historiography, the historical method. They knew systematic research, analysis, and utility according to their set needs and standards within a created framework of a narrative of materials as sources of history; and so, they knew methodological research for history. And because they were both products and the Spanish and American scholarship tradition, they basically inherited the linear philosophy of history as well. These factors, the scholarship traditions and its philosophy, somewhat bounded their narratives to one most important meaning; and that was colonization. That was not really surprising; they did not really have such a great choice, they were bounded to the utility of written sources which were either written by, written for, and written about by the colonizing masters on the archipelago. The histories that these historians wrote and published were mostly narratives of colonization on the Philippines; in a manner, hence, they were histories of the foreigners on the islands again, just like what was done by the earlier *historiadores* (Spanish speaking historians) of the earlier

appointed head of the Department of Economics and became Dean of the College of Liberal Arts in 1918. While in U.P., he co-founded, and then became Dean of the College of Business Administration. In 1919, he also cofounded the Philippine Women's University. He left U.P. in 1920 and became active in journalism... In 1935 he was delegate to the Constitutional Convention and was one of the "Seven Wise Men" tasked with the drafting of the Constitution of 1935.

As an educator, he trained a generation of education leaders. His textbooks on history, economics, and sociology were used in schools... He died on January 4, 1971." *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

His published works include *The Old Philippines: Industrial Development Chapters of an Economic History* (1916); *Philippine Progress Prior to 1898*, with Austin Craig (1916); *Philippine History in Stories* (1929); *Philippine Civic: How We Govern Ourselves* (1932); *History of the Philippines: Economics, Social, Cultural, Political* (1954); *A History of the Orient*, with George Nye Steiger (1926); *Philippine Social Life and Progress*, with Ramona S. Tirona and Leon Gatmaytan (1937); (Trans.) *Tomas Comyn's State of the Philippines in 1810* (1969).

⁵⁰⁶ Encarnacion Alzona enjoys quite a great stature among the women intellectuals of the Philippines. She "was the first Filipino woman faculty member of the U.P. Department of History and first woman holder of a Ph.D. in history. She handled the courses on European History and the teaching of history. A feminist, she was known for her monographs on women studies, such as *The Filipino Woman: Her Social, Economic, and Political Status, 1565-1933* (1934) and *The Filipino Woman* (1937). She collected and edited documents entitled *Collected Materials for a General History of the Philippines* (1924), a reference text. But her most significant contribution to Philippine historiography was *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565-1930* (1932) which became a standard reference text on the subject before and after the Second World War." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 33.

years. And when one considers the periodization they used, these histories varied between the bipartite type of the colonial masters and the reactionary tripartite type of the propagandists.

These standards of historiography were quite noticeable in the published work of Leandro Fernandez, *A Brief History of the Philippines*, in 1919. The Spanish historical tradition and the American methodological approach to history was especially mentioned as the most important guide to the writing of the work.⁵⁰⁷ The published materials originally written by Spanish chroniclers and historians, plus other Spanish-speaking travellers⁵⁰⁸ of those times and context, which generally happened through the use of American methods and standards during those years of their occupation of the archipelago were systematically utilized by Fernandez. The Blair and Robertson series were especially used. He realized a tripartite view of Philippine history; there were basically three periods in his narrative, period before colonization, period during colonization of the Spaniards, and period of *a new beginning* under the rule of the Americans.⁵⁰⁹ Like what was realized by the propagandists before him, these three periods were written with the *liwanag-dilim-liwanag* themes; in clear letters, the first period was a time of primitive freshness and potentialities of the islands and its people, the second period was a time of darkness and ignorance, while the third period was a time of new hope, of the new nation sponsored by the benevolent Americans. All the meanings, concepts, and standards used in the narrative were either in the continual application of the already translated Spanish

⁵⁰⁷ Accordingly, Fernandez said: "The author has drawn freely from original sources, namely, Pigafetta, Transylvanus, Plasenci, Loarca, Chirino, Morga, Colin, and others, the most of which material is printed either in part or as a whole in Blair and Robertson's "The Philippine Islands"; he has also made use of some of the rare documents and pamphlets in the Philippine Library furthermore, he has consulted Montero, Martínez de Zúñiga, Comyn, LeRoy, and others of the later historians of the Philippines, and also the writings of several of the best known travelers, Jagor, Bowring, and Mallat." Leandro Fernandez, "Preface", *A Brief History of the Philippines*, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1919, p. v.

⁵⁰⁸ Naturally not all of these travellers were from Spain. They were Europeans who were mostly fluent in speaking more than their native tongue; and luckily enough, most of them knew either Spanish, Italian, or Portuguese. This was not entirely surprising for the said languages were some of the accepted international tongue of the times and context. The accounts of these travelers were all quite valuable in the writing of the history of the archipelago. They included: Antonio Pigafetta, "First Voyage Around the World" (1521); Maximilianus Transylvanus, "De Moluccis Insulis" (1522); Tomé Pires (1513); Pedro Ordóñez de Cevallos (1595); Francois Pirard (1605); Joris van Spielberg (1616); Pedro Cubero Sebastian (1668); William Dampier (1686); Alexander Dalrymple (1762); Pierre de Pages (1768); Captain Crozet (1772); Guillaume Raynal (1772); Thomas Forrest (1774); De la Perouse (1787); Lafond de Lurcy (1832); Charles Wilkes (1842); Frank S. Marryat (1843); Ivan Goncharov (1854); Karl von Scherzer (1858); Carl Semper (1861); Richard von Drasche (1875); Hans Meyer (1882); Alexander Schadenberg (1886-1889); Otto Scherer (1890); Paul de Gironiér, "Twenty Years in the Philippines" (1855); Alfred Marche, "Luzon and Palawan" (1879); John Bowring, "A Visit to the Philippine Islands" (1858); William D. Boyce, "The Philippine Islands" (1914); etc.

⁵⁰⁹ His history consisted of 24 chapters: The People; The Discovery by Magellan; Exploration and Conquest; Filipino Life at the Time of the Conquest; Changes Introduced by the Spaniards; The Chinese in the Philippines; The Portuguese and the Dutch; The Restrictive Commercial Policy; Important Revolts in the Seventeenth Century; The Conflict Between the State and the Church; The Wars with the Moros; The British Occupation and the Revolts that Followed; Beginnings of the Filipino Clergy, Economic and Political Progress; Filipino Representation in the Cortes; Uprisings and Reforms; From Lardizabal to Urbiztondo; Commerce and Education; The Liberal Movement and the Reaction; The Reform Movement; The Philippine Revolution; Relations with the United States; The Establishment of American Rule; A New Beginning. There were thence three portions or three periods in history. The first was the times of the ancients, which Fernandez narrated in his first chapter; then, the period of Spanish colonization, narrated in the following twenty chapters; and then, the period of a new era under the American colonial rule, written in the last three chapters.

scholarship tradition and/or in the general application of the American tradition; that is, because this history was written in and for the American English reading consumption. In fact, as one reads this history, he would have the impression that the writer was not another Filipino but an unaffected American (for he was using the English language) observing the unfolding of events regarding the archipelago and its people. Fernandez history was, hence, part of the already begun historical discourse on the Philippines by the American historians; and so, in effect, an enrichment of the considered American colonial historiographical tradition on the Philippine Islands. One could see that in the concluding sentences of the work. The end of history for Fernandez would be the total application of the norms of a good state and of nationhood by the Americans on the Philippines, apropos,

The future is full of hope. America's effort to give the Philippines her best in the way of efficient government has not been in vain. The various government bureaus are doing excellent work. Education is becoming more and more general with the great masses of the population. Public health is being improved, and many lives are saved that would otherwise be cut short. Efforts are being made to eradicate pests and animal diseases, and to increase production. A sign of the progress of agriculture, and of the increasing power and importance of the farmer, is the annual Farmers' Congress, which held its third convention in Manila in August, 1917, with delegates from the different parts of the Archipelago. Commerce and industry are being promoted and encouraged. As a result of the policy of Filipinization, the number of experienced and trained Filipino public servants is yearly increasing. In a word, the Philippines are on the threshold of a new era. They have gained many lessons from the past, and look with confidence to the future.⁵¹⁰

The last period or the expected new begin of a new chapter in history of the islands would, thence, be the times when the Philippines would be totally Filipinized; that is, when the Philippines would have gone through the process of transformation, set by the American colonial masters. The idea, in effect, of Filipinization was almost congruent to Americanization, for the Philippines had to pass through the norms and standards of the Americans before it would be totally considered passable as an example of a democratic state, like that of the United States. Fernandez, as he wrote these meanings and messages in his history, was probably not consciously aware that he was exercising the most effective concretization of colonial thinking and the most effective triumph of colonization on a people. He was, after all, educated and made to think like the Americans, like the colonial masters of those times. This general view could be further read in all of the Fernandez publications on history in the following years. Nothing would be much altered in the years afterwards.

And he was not alone in basically thinking on the same wavelenght; his colleague and co-history textbook for elementary schools writer, Conrado Benitez, was with him. Conrado Benitez mostly shared Fernandez's many views (including the generally tripartite view) on the history of the Philippines. But because Benitez's training concentrated on economics, he tended to interpret the history of the Philippines in terms of economics. Accordingly, in the book entitled *Philippines Progress Prior to 1898* which he co-authored with the American historian, Austin Craig, he stated

The study of the economic history of a country is important also because economic forces play a great part in the development of any people. Indeed, some claim that all history may be explained in terms of economic motives. This is known as the economic interpretation of history.⁵¹¹

Benitez forwarded, in consequence, the development of a specialized field within the bigger area of history and historiography. He contributed to the development of an economic history of the Philippines. Like Fernandez, he was also basically realizing the tripartite view of Philippine history, but he was concentrated in accomplishing and in putting this convictions in practice through the espezialized standards of an economic interpretation of history. And when he published his *History of the Philippines in Stories* in 1928, these convictions on history were never amissed. He described his book as

...a collection of independent stories, grouped under headings which emphasize the great movements in cultural, commercial, and political development and which call attention to the important contacts that have influenced the progress of the Philippines. These stories are essential links in a complete and coordinated chain; they tell of Filipino advance from pre-Spanish days to the present times.⁵¹²

Benitez wrote a history with a tripartite view, in the sense that it had three general periods⁵¹³ or portions of the Philippines before the coming of the Spaniards; the Philippines during the Spanish Colonization; and the Philippines under the American tutorial government. But the tone and meanings he conveyed in his narrative stressed on the singular principle of expressing a gradually progressing Philippines through the past times or ages, with its contacts to the colonial masters Spain and America. The history of the Philippines was, hence, interpreted as a story of a slowly developing people. Though revolving around the concept of colonization, it either banally and superficially discussed the political shades of this idea or even totally ignored it. The work looked at colonization or the arrival of Europeans (which naturally covered the Americans as well because of their heritage) on the islands as something positive for it stimulated change, and progress, on the archipelago.

In a manner, this progressing view on the Philippines and its people was a larger reaction to the histories of the Philippines written by the Americans of those times between the second and third decade of the twentieth century. The American historians stressed and looked forward to the times

⁵¹⁰ Fernandez, A Brief...Op.cit., p. 307.

⁵¹¹ Conrado Benitez and Austin Craig, "Introduction", *Philippine Progress Prior to 1898. The Old Philippines' Industrial Development. Chapters of an Economic History*, Manila: 1916.

⁵¹² Conrado Benitez, "Preface", *Philippine History in Stories*, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1928, pp., iii-iv.

⁵¹³ His work consisted of nine parts: Who are the Filipinos?; The Spaniards Conquer the Philippines; The Filipinos Become Christians; The Filipinos Work for the Spaniards; The Filipinos Revolt but do not Unite; The Philippines are Closed to the World; The Philippines are Opened to the World; The Filipinos Unite and Ask for Reforms; America Comes to the Philippines. The first part was Benitez's version of the first period in the history of the Philippines, the next seven parts was his version of the second period, and the last part was his version of the third period of history. It was a tripartite view of Philippine history; and just like its forerunners, it revolved around the general concept of colonization or the coming of foreigners on the islands.

when the Filipinos would run their own government. Most of them were convinced that after a decade of American tutelage, the Filipinos were ripe to try the same exertions on their own.⁵¹⁴ And naturally, their Filipino students --- the new *academic-historians* who included Fernandez, Benitez, and Alzona --- were more than ready to react and agree with them. The trend of the histories written by these students, though as mentioned generally within the tripartite view, were histories narrating a Philippines with stable progressing tendencies; that is, to show (to the Americans, naturally) that the Filipinos had the capabilities and capacities to run a government, a nation on their own. This was, again, not entirely new. The propagandists, as they pled for reforms from the Spanish colonial government, did the same thing; that is, exerted to prove to the Spaniards that the Filipinos were progressing or developing, and so, deserving of the asked for reforms. The works of Encarnacion Alzona were generally on this same tone as well. Her greatest contribution to historiography, though, was not an actual history of the Philippines, but her *History of Education in the Philippines* which was published in 1932. It was the pioneering work on the specialized area of education history within the history of Philippine historiography. This work, though, is easily classifiable among the ranks of colonial historiography, for its narrative strictly concentrated on two periods: period of Spanish colonization and period of American colonization. Its operational idea, hence, was colonization. It was written in American English; and used the methods and philosophy acquired by many pensionados of those times from the American universities where they finished their degrees. The book was a comprehensive account of the development of institutional education on the archipelago; and so, revolved around concepts and ideas set by or dictated by a system built by the colonizing foreigners on the islands world of the Philippines. Alzona deemed it necessary to write the history of education in the Philippines for it would, in a manner, bring to light the educational experience of the archipelago as a nation.⁵¹⁵ Her exertion could thereby be considered still among the actions of the

⁵¹⁴ A good example of these is: David P. Barrows, *History of the Philippines*, Chicago: World Book Company, 1925. Considering the kind of cultural and historical context of the writing of the work, it had a relatively well thought out framework; its parts were divided into fourteen chapters. They were: The Peoples of the Philippines; Europe and the Far East at About 1400 A.D.; The Great Geographical Discoveries; Filipino Peoples Before the Arrival of the Spaniards; The Spanish Soldier and the Spanish Missionary; Period of Conquest and Settlement, 1565-1600; The Philippines Three Hundred Years Ago; The Dutch and Moro Wars, 1600-1663; A Century of Obscurity and Decline, 1663-1762; The Philippines During the Period of European Revolution, 1762-1837; Progress and Revolution, 1837-1897; America and the Philippines; A Decade of American Government, 1903-1913; Toward Independence, 1914-1924. It was, naturally, not really a history of the Philippines and its peoples. It was a history of foreigners (Europeans and Americans) who came to the archipelago. The narrative on the peoples of the archipelago was only almost written so as to give these visiting cultures its arrived unto cultures on the islands. In general, hence, the book had a bipartite point of view on the history of the archipelago; that is, it divided history into two periods --- the Philippines before the coming of the foreigners and the Philippines upon the coming of the foreigners. The book was a general guide or backrounder for an American (for it was written in and for American English speaking readers) who wants to know a bit about their newly acquired territory in the Southeast Asian area, or the Philippine Islands.

⁵¹⁵ Here were her words: "The history of educational development of the Philippines is of living interest at the present moment. Educational problems are continually arising, which require for their intelligent discussion and solution, among other things, an understanding of the previous educational experience of the nation. For this reason, the author thought it would be useful to write a straightforward account of the educational needs, problems, and ideals of the Filipinos in the last four hundred years, primarily for the general reader who has no time to delve into the rapidly accumulating sources of this history." Encarnacion Alzona, "Preface", *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565-1930*, Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1932.

intellectuals of her times who researched and wrote so as to firstly, imply that the Filipinos have the same capabilities and capacities to intellectually process like other citizens of the world, and secondly, to participate and discuss within the intellectual discourse on the Philippines set by the Americans. Like the other intellectuals before her, Alzona⁵¹⁶ and the others hoped to bring political change for the archipelago through their mentioned intellectual exertions or participation within the colonial intellectual discourse of the Americans.

The general historiographical trends and standards set by the above mentioned Filipino academic historians would in the following years be largely continued or just somewhat enriched by the next generations of historians. Like the three, they would be members of the academe and at the same time practicing historians; and like the three, they would be heirs to both the Spanish chronicler/historical traditions and American methods and colonial intellectual discourse. The following historians would be heirs and developers to the foreign introduced idea of *historia*, which was reinterpreted and realized in the newly considered intellectual language, American English, in the concept history; and so, the greater population of the Philippines would more and more witness and utilize the published and applied form of the said concept through titles like (The/A) History of the Philippine Islands or, more often in the later years, (The/A) History of the Philippines. The following historians would be professionally trained historians; they would be the heirs to the already begun idea of history not only as a narrative skill but more importantly, as an academic discipline. And because the language used by professional historians on the islands is American English, almost all the developments of historiography in English-speaking lands fluidly came in and were automatically processed within the various historians' circles on the archipelago. In clear text, that meant that whenever something relatively *big* happened within the history and historiography circles, especially within those groups which make it a point to research and study the Philippines and its people, in various English-speaking lands, it would not be long that the same thing would happen or would be applied in the various history and historiography circles on the archipelago. Central to all the major events around historiography though was almost singularly one education institution on the archipelago; and that is, as already discussed above, the Department of History of the University of the Philippines. Almost all of the Filipino historians who wrote and, more importantly, published history in the next years, were either members of the teaching staff or in a way connected with the said department, making it, thence, near to a center for the national development of the discipline of history on the archipelago.

⁵¹⁶ For the most recent and comprehensive discussion on the life and career of Encarnacion Alzona, please refer to: Ma.Luisa Camagay, Encarnacion Alzona: An Anthology, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996.

B. History as an Academic Discourse

Considerably taken, almost all of the twentieth century would be witness to the massive development of the discipline of history on the Philippines. The science and practice of history would be the venue and theater for the exchange and argumentation of opinions and ideas of the nation's intellectuals; it would be the most often utilized area for intellectual discourse. These exchanges made its way to the people through the publication of history textbooks which were conveniently channelled to the already built public and, not long after, in the improved private school⁵¹⁷ system. History textbooks became the sources of the people's knowledge and interpretation of their nation's history; figuratively seen, they took upon themselves the responsibility of giving the people their historical awareness or, in general, their most common historical knowlege. The people though continuously amassed information through the years; politization and/or political awareness among the greater population became the unavoidable consequence. It would not be too long, hence, that the data supplied by textbooks would not be enough. And this was the needed stimulus among the intellectuals or, more specifically, among the historians. The years following would be utilized by intellectuals to try to find in their sciences the answers that the Filipino people long for. Among the ranks of historians would be the general trend to reinterpret and redefine the theory and practice of their science. And accordingly enough, they would be most successful in their exertion. History, like what can be gathered from its universal nature, would again be locally reinterpreted; and it would be largely considered as the most authoritative source for the nation's identity, which in itself could lead to the much needed national reawakening of the whole nation as a people.

⁵¹⁷ The private schools, in general, were older than the public schools in the Philippines; they were first started by the Spaniards, when they introduced the idea of formal, institutional education on the archipelago. But as the public school system was introduced by the Americans on the islands, the private schools virtually had to fight and compete for their pupils and students who were basically attracted by the newly introduced and cheaper system. The private schools had to stress their difference and their own identity in the face of their competition. Even in the realms of materials which were to be used, these schools had to make their difference; not exempted from these movements were, naturally, the materials to be used in history. The private schools also made it a point to have their own version of the history of the islands; that is, history textbooks. An example of this was that done by The Catholic Truth Society, entitled *A Short History of the Filipino People* (Manila: 1936). This book was used in Catholic private elementary schools. History, for the authors, "is not for the defense of any particular idea, the setting forth of a pet theory, or the exposition of a prejudice. It should not be what the modern author calls a 'vast conspiracy against the truth.' Neither should it be a pointless enumeration of uncorrected events. Rather it should be an honest attempt to present events, circumstances, and developments correctly and dispassionately, in order to favor the formation of as fair a judgement as is possible in such limited compass... We wish, in *A Short History of the Filipino People*, to emphasize, not the activities of a few individuals or of any class, but the development of the people as a whole. We must necessarily dwell upon individuals and particular groups; but we do so only insofar as they show important effects on the whole people." Interesting in this work was the authors' conceptualization of change in history. They believed that no event can fundamentally change a people; and thence, cause a particular beginning of a new period in history. According to them, "A people do not change long-established habits and customs suddenly in the space of one year...Any division of history into periods must therefore necessarily be arbitrary, adopted for convenience in study, and not indicative of any sudden fundamental change. The periods must in many ways overlap and merge, because of the continuity of historical development." In a manner, though published in a specifically different context, such

In a manner, it would be during these times that the rigidity found and set of history, which led to its development as a systematic body of knowledge, by the earlier academic historians would be fully put into practice; and in fact, even further developed. Like what was already implied and, in general, already done not too long beforehand, stress would be given to the importance of keeping history a science and maintaining history as it is or as it happened; but quite unlike beforehand, more Filipino historians would participate in the realization of the discipline and publish materials which would be massively used and/or, in a manner, consumed by the greater number of the Filipino population. The next years would see the ever increasing influence of the publishing historians in the larger development of the mindsets of the people; and with this, naturally, would be the growing awareness among the ranks of historians, that what they have in their hands was almost akin to --- though not necessarily visible --- the relatively more effective form of power. That is, because what historians do influences thinking and actions of their people --- a thing which is almost immeasurable in its extent and potentialities. Historians took this occupation to heart. And so, the following years would be spent not on the values and importance of history for those things were already cleared up, but what should a good history contain. The discussion among the historians' circles had to do with the various details of people, places, and events in the history of the archipelago. Debates, which were naturally based on found written documents from almost all the possible archives around the world, resulted in this discussions.⁵¹⁸ It was a dynamic, most enriching times for the discipline of history. And when the debates about the details of history became largely settled, the discussions among the historians went on another level. The focus of the discussions, this time, was historiography, the way of writing of the better, more appropriate history, not only of the archipelago, but more importantly, the history of the Filipino people. The availability of new materials on this espezialized area of the discipline for the Filipino historian made the consequential exchange of ideas and opinions on the matter at hand contributory for the larger development of the localized interpretation of the science of history on the islands. The resulting discourse afterwards was so dynamically good that the discussions went on further from the bounds of historiography towards the more espezialized area of the philosophy of history, which naturally covers and affects the various meanings introduced and discussed within the narrative of history itself. Though superficially confusing, these discussions led to the larger good for

books as these were not so different and, in fact, still representative of the kind of historiographical trend more obviously seen in the context of the public schools system.

⁵¹⁸ Debates, nonetheless, on the details in history are not to be set aside. They are just as important as any other debates/ discussions/ argumentations among historians, with different themes and contexts. Usually, debates on details of history are based on a much deeper and generally more meaningful philosophy and principle; that is, the debate on what is more significant to be put, accepted and written in an historical expression/ narrative. As Meier put this, "...Die hartnäckigsten Auseinandersetzungen unter Historikern drehen sich meist nicht um übergangene, falsch zitierte oder neu aufgefundene Belege, sondern um eine unterschiedliche Gewichtung oder Bewertung einzelner Daten. Meinungsverschiedenheiten unter Historikern gehen letztendlich darum, was wichtig ist, und was nicht. Und das läuft immer auf die Frage hinaus, was für wen wichtig ist. So kommt man also auch beim Prozeß des Nachvollzugs einer historischen Beweisführung, der Akzeptierung einer Vielzahl von Wahrheiten, gar nicht umhin, die Prämissen der Historiker zu untersuchen." Charles S. Maier, *Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit. Geschichte und die nationale Identität der Deutschen*, Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, (1988), 1992, p. 21.

the reading public; for through them, more materials on the same larger themes and issues became easily at hand. There was, thence, always the implied message that there is freedom of interpretation and expression within the science; so long as well founded on scientific bases, there was always room for creativity as well as argumentation. With this, in a manner, was history a fully operating disciplinal science; and more than that, it was an area of intellectual discourse. It was almost near to a considerable golden age of the introduced idea of history on the archipelago. Unfortunately though, this golden age was not fully enjoyed and participated in by the greater number of the country's population. Only a limited few actually participated and realized the implications of the said idea which led to the actual movement of the historiography on the country. The language of the discourse created around this idea was undoubtedly foreign. The language of history was (and remain to be) American English; and so, just the few, who really have a mastery of that, can actually participate within the discussions, within the discourse.

This was not really surprising, for after all, the discourse was actually begun by the colonizing American intellectual historians themselves; and they were conveniently supported by the public school system they built and started on the islands. These foreign scholars took some of the best Filipino scholars under their wings; whom in turn, slowly took up the actual work of propagating the new thinking and considerations on the field of history on the larger Filipino public until the former really had to go because of the formal declaration of independence of the Republic of the Philippines after the Second World War, in 1946. The earlier students then of the foreigners, the pensionados, became the new teachers and professors; in the area of historiography, they embodied the academic historians, the pioneering Filipino historians in the general practice of the Americanized idea of history. These historians saw to it that history be recognized as a systematic body of knowledge, a disciplinal science on the archipelago. But because of the relative newness of their newly acquired skill and knowledge as well as the newness of the school system on the islands, they did not fully accomplished the work of actually popularizing the idea of history itself nor the various details of the history of the archipelago proper. This work would be done by the following generations of historians; those who would further the discourse of history so that it would actually reach the reading greater Filipino public.

History was the work of a learned, and so, professional historian, who was himself largely shaped by both his institutional and historico-cultural contexts. In a way, history was a work of an individual, who though basically trained according to the universal standards of his science, was also an embodiment of his specific institutional, historical and cultural surroundings. In general though, the professional historian basically consider history as two things; firstly, it was the disciplinal science he was trained in and secondly, it could be the narrative he was trained to create and develop. The main products, thence, of these two basic implications of history were firstly, an historian's expression of a

specific version of a historical narrative, and secondly, a particularly printed or published material(s) of history. It was in these two products that the professional historian forwarded his views and opinions; and so, in the process, directly participate in a particular discussion or discourse among and with his colleagues. It was largely through the historical products that the historical discourse was made and proceed unto; every historical work was, in this sense, a representation of the particular viewpoint of a professional historian.

From the academic historians, the following generation of Filipino historians inherited the expression of their history through the writing and publication of history school books. Such were always needed, and in fact demanded, by the growing number of pupils in the various schools of the country; the new generation of historians had, hence, an almost always waiting clientele. And because the schools around the archipelago all belong and demand from their pupils to follow or obey to a single system and structure, it was only natural that the materials they use for study follow and belong to a particularly set system and structure as well. The materials that such a specific demand asked for, in the long run, built a system of standards for its acceptance in the school system. The produced material which went through these set standards became the averagely utilized material in all the schools of the system; and so, all these materials, henceforth, became generally known as textbooks. Textbooks are the standard book for a particular branch of study; they are the manual of instructions which conform to a particularly described and required ideal. The same process occurred within the specialized area of history. What the new generations of historians after the second world war were asked for were these mentioned standardized school materials; they were asked to write and publish textbooks. And when more private schools were opened and restructured according to the already set system of the public ones, the clientele of the said historians became even larger.

Three names stand out among these group of textbook writers/historians. They were Nicolas Zafra⁵¹⁹, Eufonio Alip⁵²⁰, and Gregorio Zaide⁵²¹. Their names would never be amiss among the materials

⁵¹⁹ Nicolas Zafra, 1892-1981. "Nicolas Zafra was born on December 21, 1892 in San Fernando, La Union. He obtained his Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science in Education, and Master of Arts in History from the University of the Philippines in 1916, 1918, and 1920, respectively. He taught history at the Department of History of the U.P. from 1948, eventually reaching the rank of Full Professor and Chairman of the Department until his retirement in 1958. He was then given the rank of Professor Emeritus. He was a founding member and former president of the Philippine Historical Association; a member of the Philippine National Historical Society (PNHS), International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA), the American Historical Association, and the National Research Council of the Philippines (NRCP). He also served as visiting professor at the American Academy of Asian Studies in San Francisco, 1952-1953, and at the University of Hawaii in the summer of 1955. He was also editor of the Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review.

He was noted for debunking the belief that Princess Urduja was a ruler of Pangasinan, and that Tawalisi her kingdom was in the Philippines. Zafra wrote extensively on the life and works of Jose Rizal...His best known work (though) is the textbook in the introductory courses in Philippine history --- Readings in Philippine History --- used in the University of the Philippines until 1959. In 1967, the book was reprinted as Philippine History Through Selected Sources. The book was a documentary history reflecting the historiography of the time which placed emphasis on source materials, both primary and secondary, in the teaching of Philippine history. The use of source materials, according to Zafra, was intended as an "exercise in the evaluation of a view, assumption or

utilized in all the levels in the many schools around the country, roughly starting after the Second World War; but more obviously, because of wider distribution and readership, during the 50's. Foremost in the ranks of their mission was, naturally, the general education on the nation's history of the pupils; still, when one analyzes their produce, one would undoubtedly realize that, the stress almost all of them put in the specialized area of methodology was the proper use or utility of both the primary and secondary source materials for the writing of history. Their's was the noble mission to, though almost only superficially, exhibit to the pupils and students the value of both kinds of materials in the final writing of an historical work. In their actions were, hence, implied, the almost equal weight they attached to both the theory and practice of the history they knew as a disciplinal science. That is, the history they learned in the Philippine universities, which were, on the whole, taught in by the earlier pensionados, the earlier academic historians. They represented, in this view, the first

understanding of historical reality," as a means of exposing the students to the "writing of persons involved in the event." He also wrote *A Short History of the Philippines* (1966) and numerous articles and essays..." Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. II, Op.cit., pp. 152-153.

⁵²⁰ Eufronio Alip, 1904-1976. "Eufronio Alip was born on August 3, 1904 in San Pablo, Laguna. He obtained his A.A. and Ph.B. degrees from the University of the Philippines in 1927, his Master's degree at University of Manila in 1928, and his Ph.D. from the University of Santo Tomas.

He taught history, political science and sociology at Letran College (1927-36), the University of Santo Tomas, National University (1937-1938), Lacson College, the University of Manila, and Adamson University. He was also a charter member and, later, president (1950-1958) of the Philippine National Historical Society, and, for several years, the editor of its official publication, *The Journal of History*.

He specialized in Philippine cultural history and wrote a two-volume work entitled *Political and Cultural History of the Philippines*. His other publications include *The Centuries of Philippine-Chinese Relations* (1959); *Our Heritage*, with E. Alip; *Philippine Government*, with de Rama; *Philippine History* (1951, 1974); *The Government of our Republic*; *Japan-Philippine Relations* (1959); *The Philippines and Other Asian Countries* (1973); *The Philippines of Yesteryears: The Dawn of History of the Philippines* (1964); *In the Days of General Emilio Aguinaldo: A Study of the Life and Times of a Great Military Leader, Statesman, and Patriot Who Founded the First Republic in Asia* (1969); *The Chinese in Manila* (1974); *The Baranggay Through the Ages: A Study of the Oldest Philippine Political Institution* (1975); *The Philippine Presidents, From Aguinaldo to Marcos: Their Lives and Messages* (1973); *Philippine Independence Movements*; *Philippine Social Life and Progress*, with D. Capino; and various articles.

He died in 1976." *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

⁵²¹ Gregorio Zaide, 1907-1986. "Gregorio F. Zaide was born in Pagsanjan, Laguna on May 25, 1907. He was educated at the University of the Philippines, where he received his Bachelor's degree in 1929 and Master's degree in history in 1931. He obtained his doctorate degree from the University of Santo Tomas in 1934. He was an instructor in History in the U.P. from 1929-1932; Assistant Professor, Faculty of Liberal Arts.U.S.T. from 1932-1934; Professorial Lecturer in San Beda College from 1932-1958; Professorial Lecturer at the University of Manila from 1946-1948; and Full Professor and Head Department of History at the Far Eastern University from 1934-1965. He retired on May 25, 1964, becoming the first professor emeritus of Far Eastern University.

He was a member of several professional organizations: The American Historical Association; the Instituto Historico de la Independencia Americana in Buenos Aires; the Instituto Pan-Americano de la Historia y Geografica in Mexico City; President of the Philippine Historical Association for three consecutive terms from 1964 to 1967; member of the National Research Council of the Philippines and the Historical Association based in London.

Among his major works are *A Documentary History of the Katipunan Discovery* (1931); *History of the Katipunan* (1939); *Philippine Political and Cultural History* (2 volumes, 1949); *Great Events in Philippine History* (1951); *History of the Filipino People* (1959); *Jose Rizal: Life, Works, and Writings* (1961); *The Philippine Revolution* (1968); *Riquezas Filipinas en los Archivos de Mexico* (1970); *Great Filipinos in History* (1970); *The Pageant of Philippine History* (2 volumes, 1979). Zaide was a prodigious witer --- publishing about 60 books in his lifetime.

Most of his books became standard textbooks in the study of Philippine history for almost all levels of education in the country. He received the Republic Award for historical writing in 1968.

generation of historians which were largely trained in the profession of history on Philippine soil; they were some of the first products of the Americanized Philippine school system. And like all beginning generations, they wanted to continue what they learned from their idolized mentors (wanting to also somewhat professionally accomplish what these idols already did in American universities) but at the same time, they had the need to built their own individualities as against their forerunners. There was, thence, a clear stimulus to excell, to be more than what was expected of them. And they would react accordingly, they would produce and publish history articles, books, works; they would usher in the age of textbook writers/historians in the development of historiography on the Philippines.

Nicolas Zafra would be evidently influential in the University of the Philippines. He was educated and was afterwards employed as part of the faculty of the Department of History in the said institution. He wrote a history textbook which was utilized by U.P. students in the course History 5 (Philippine History) for many years afterwards (till 1969)⁵²²; and so, in a manner, he was responsible for influencing the mindsets of a couple of generations of intellectuals on history⁵²³ or more specifically, on the history of the Philippines. His book was, in this view, his most important contribution to the development of historiography on the archipelago. It first came out in 1947, with a title *Readings in Philippine History*. And because Zafra firmly believed on the maintainance of objectivity and application of the Ranke's principle (that is, history as it was/happened) on the writing of history, it was not surprising that his book was, on the whole, a collection of various materials, both primary and secondary, on the actual history of the archipelago.⁵²⁴ Here was how the work looked:

Zaide died in 1986." Ibid., pp. 153-154.

⁵²² This work was pioneering, in a way, for the books used in this level earlier were either the various works of the American Philippinists or the haphazardly collected readings of each individual professor or instructor of the institution. Zafra's work was, in a way, most needed, because the available published works on the same subjects at that time were history works mainly used in the elementary and high schools. These earlier published works were the products of the earlier academic historians, such as Leandro Fernandez and Conrado Benitez.

⁵²³ Like many intellectuals in his generation, Zafra maintained an ideal for his description and illustration of his science, of history. In his opinion: "History shares with other academic disciplines a strong devotion, loyalty, and attachment to the cause of Truth. It is an intellectual pursuit which concerns itself with the discovery of the truth as regards men and events of the past. It has arisen in the course of human events to meet a pressing social need, the need for a professional activity that would take care of preserving the memory of the things said and done and of satisfying man's intellectual curiosity about the experience of mankind in times gone by.... There are, thus, two distinct concepts which the word "history" evokes --- first, that of a record or narrative of human experience, second, that of the events themselves of human experience. According to the first, history means knowledge of what took place in the past; according to the second, it means what actually took place. The first is relative and constantly subject to revision, adjustment, or modification; the second is absolute and unchanging." Nicolas Zafra, "Historical Aspects of Truth", Paper read in a panel discussion held Friday, January 14, 1955, L.A. Auditorium, in connection with the participation of the University of the Philippines in the Bicentennial Celebration of the Columbia University.

⁵²⁴ Here was how Zafra saw events in the past and the way that an historian should deal with them: "It is because historical facts have certain peculiarities of their own. Representing as they do what men have said and thought and done in the past, they can be perceived or understood only through their traces of which the ones commonly used are in the form of the written document. It is mainly from documentary sources that the facts of history are derived and determined. To the historian the written document serves the same purpose that is served by a witness in a court of justice. It gives testimony of things that happened in the past." Ibid.

Part One: The Philippines in the Period of European Colonial Ventures in the East, Chap 1: Introduction, Chap 2: Spain's Initial Colonial Venture in the Orient, Chap 3: Later Attempts at Colonization, Chap 4: The Legazpi-Urdaneta Expedition, Chap 5: The Philippines at the Coming of the Spaniards; Part Two: The Philippines Under the Spanish Hapsburgs, Chap 1: The Philippines as a Spanish Colony, Chap 2: Spanish Colonial Policy and Internal Developments; Part Three: The Philippines During the First Century of the Spanish Bourbon Dynasty, Chap 1: The Manila-Acapulco Trade in the 18th Century, Chap 2: The Philippines in the First Half-Century of the Spanish Bourbon Dynasty, Chap 3: The Philippines in the Seven Years War, Chap 4: The Revolts During the British Occupation, Chap 5: The Times of Archbishop Santa Justa and Governor Anda, Chap 6: Economic Progress under Governor Basco, Chap 7: The Philippines at the Close of the 18th Century; Part Four: The Philippines in the Nineteenth Century Revolutionary Period, Chap 1: The Philippines and the Spanish Cortes, Chap 2: Opening of the Philippines to Foreign Nations, Chap 3: Material and Cultural Progress, Chap 4: Awakening of National Consciousness, Chap 5: The Spanish Revolution and its Effects Upon the Philippines; Part Five: The Period of Nationalist Crusade for Emancipation, Chap 1: The Cavite Affair, Chap 2: Spain and the Philippines in the Propaganda Period, Chap 3: The Crusade for Reforms: Rizal and His Works, Chap 4: The Philippines on the Eve of the Revolution; Part Six: The Philippine Revolution, Chap 1: The Katipunan and the Outbreak of the Revolution, Chap 2: The Filipino Struggle for Emancipation; Part Seven: The Philippines in the Twentieth Century, Chap 1: The Philippines Under the New Sovereignty, Chap 2: The Campaign for Philippine Independence, Chap 3: The Commonwealth Interlude, Chap 4: Independent Philippines.⁵²⁵

It generally followed the tripartite view or the liwanag-dilim-liwanag of Philippine history. Part one represented the first period; parts two to five represented the second period; part six was the short portion for the transformation or interregnum between the second and third period (where one would somehow have a blick on what was really happening to the larger Filipino people during those times); and part seven embodied the third and newest period. The linear philosophy of history was utilized; there was a foreseen beginning and a probable end to a history which was seen as made up of forwardly developing connected and consequential events and happenings. There wasn't much effort put in the interpretation and utility of the historical written sources, the general periodical divisions of the work was conveniently put at turns of centuries past. The dependence of the work on written sources led it to be almost the pure embodiment of the viewpoint of those who control literature during the periods described; they led and influenced the work to be almost akin to a compendium of the chronicles of the various colonial masters on the archipelago. The history, which was supposedly unfolding on the archipelago, was seen from the outside; the historian clinically looked at what (happens) happened there through the eyes of the foreigners, who intentionally came over on the islands for colonization and plunder. Every internal occurrence, in this regard, had to be explained through an external happening; the islands' colonization was seen as an extension of the Spanish world expansion, the Philippines was seen during the Seven Years War, the Philippines became open to World Commerce, the Philippine 1896 Revolution was the result of the Propaganda Movement in Spain, the Philippines Under the American Sovereignty, etc. The archipelago and its inhabitants were never looked at on its own standards and merits; they both have to be, in some way, connected to an

⁵²⁵ The introductory portion of the first part, plus the chapter describing the times after the proclamation of Philippine Independence in 1946 were the revisions added by Zafra as the work was reprinted in 1967 as *Philippine History Through Selected Sources*.

external factor and/or element, before they have to be in anyway looked at or studied. The land⁵²⁶ and its inhabitants, as a result, were seen as minimal characters or objects of the more important foreigners, the main characters in the narrative, who wrote the various documents used in the actual writing of the work. The Filipinos were rarely, hence, heard in the created narrative. In a manner, the history of the archipelago, just like what was already done starting the age of historia three centuries earlier, was the history of the foreigners on the archipelago; and not really the history of the archipelago's people. That is, with a difference that this time, the history was not being written by the foreigners themselves but by the new Filipino intellectual/historian, who were following the tradition of the propagandistas of the nineteenth century and who were newly educated in the colonizers' created school system on the islands. Zafra was continuing what was methodologically introduced by the idea of historia, what was philosophically started and pled by the propagandistas, in the form that he learned from his American and Americanized teachers and professors.⁵²⁷ Accordingly, his concluding remarks were:

The evils that are rampant in the country today --- smuggling, graft, corruption, and disrespect for the rule of the law, dynamite fishing, kaingin farming, extortion, terrorism, juvenile delinquency, and many other forms of criminality, indicate the existence of a serious disorder in our moral being. Obviously, there is urgent and imperative need for a vigorous and sustained campaign for moral regeneration and for the building up of a strong and dynamic national spirit and civic pride in all segments of the population.

The history of the Philippines provides a rich source of spiritual strength and inspiration. The thoughts and deeds of our national heroes, together with the wisdom of the ages, point the way to national greatness. Righteousness, honor, duty, sacrifice, love, --- these are the virtues that make a nation great. Well could Rizal say, "no hay redención sin solidad bases de la virtud." Equipped with these virtues, the Filipino people can face with confidence the grave problems and challenges of their time.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁶ Here was, for example, how the territorial Philippines was formally introduced in the work: "The Philippines comprises all the territory ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris concluded between the United States and Spain on the tenth day of December, 1898, the limits of which are set forth in the Article III of said treaty, together with all the islands embraced in the treaty concluded at Washington between the United States and Spain on the seventh day of November, 1900, and in the treaty concluded between the United States and Great Britain on the second day of January, 1930, and all territory over which the present Government of the Philippine Islands exercises jurisdiction." (Nicolas Zafra, *Philippine History Through Selected Readings*, Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix Publishing House, 1967, p.1.) The islands could, in this way, never be comprehended on its own, without first knowing what happened between the United States and Spain and/or their individual roles in the larger development of their own histories, which brought them to come in contact with the archipelago and its peoples. In clear text, that meant that before a reader could understand the history of the Philippines, he still have to somewhat have an idea on the histories of the United States, of Spain, and of the relations between the them.

⁵²⁷ In accordance, hence, opined Zafra: "In dealing with historical problems, the historian employs a methodology which in certain ways is distinctive, being suited to the nature and conditions of the source material to be used and the character of the problem to be solved. Historical methodology has laid down principles and formulae for the solution of the innumerable problems arising in historical research. They deal with such matters such as authenticity of sources of information, the credibility of historical witnesses, the determination of particular facts, the organization of facts, and their presentation in a narrative composition setting forth the relationship of facts presented to one another. Historical methodology thus involves complicated operations of criticism and construction, analysis, and synthesis. It demands of the historian the same basic requirements that are demanded in other academic disciplines --- accuracy, fullness of observation, and correctness of reasoning. Moreover, it requires him that he approach his problem in true scientific spirit and attitude, reminding him constantly that the attainment of truth is and must be the historian's single aim." Zafra, *The Historical Aspects...* Op.cit.

⁵²⁸ Zafra, *Philippine...* Op.cit., p. 316.

It was the greatest triumph of *historia*, in the translated form of history, in the development of historiography on the islands. Foreign norms and standards were taken in as universal norms and standards; and so, appropriated and applied on the particular needs of the Philippine context. Foreigners and foreign scholars did not need to be in the Philippines, they generally already had their representation, and even more!, in the persons and in the published works on history of the Filipino professional historians, as well as of their many students (who themselves became intellectuals, after graduation, in the sciences they specialized in) in the highest institution of learning, in the universities. The history of the Philippines became largely accepted as almost nothing else but the virtual showcase of those outstanding individuals who rose up against the foreign colonizers (who continuously played the major role in the narrative) or the national heroes, who should be the models of the Filipinos of the times.

Alip furthered this begun trend of Zafra in his many publications⁵²⁹ which became largely utilized in the many schools and universities, both in the public and private sectors of the nation's school system, around the country in the years following. His most popular --- and so, also the most influential --- work, *Political and Cultural History of the Philippines*, first came out in mimeographed form (1934) before the Second World War.⁵³⁰ Its printed form in two volumes, however, only actually came out a few years later, in 1949. Its many editions and reprintings afterwards provided the clues to the distribution and demand extent of the work. Alip described his work on this book in the following sentences:

This book does not aim to cater to any particular group of readers. It does not aim to serve as a medium of propaganda for any cause, party or sect. It is a general history of the Philippines with emphasis on the political and cultural aspects of the country's past. It is of course written essentially for the Filipinos whose welfare I am sure, should be the prime concern of every Filipino writer and teacher.⁵³¹

Again, as could be read in this citation, just like in the case of Zafra which was already tackled above, there was an implied stress on the importance of both objectivity and history as it was. Alip pointed out his unpartisanship; plus his ideal goal to unaccountably showcase his unbiased version of the history of the Philippines to the Filipinos, whom in his opinion deserve nothing else less. History for him was simply,

...a record of important events of the past. It tells us of the important events that took place in many parts of the world. It may be the Philippines, China, Japan, the United States, Britain, or in any other country. It tells us what events have taken place and where, when, how, and why these

⁵²⁹ The fact though, that Alip purchased and managed a publishing house of his own helped explain a lot, why he had the greater chance to be often published as his colleagues in the practice of the profession. He came out with around twenty books and pamphlets during his lifetime.

⁵³⁰ *Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. I, Op.cit., p. 38.

⁵³¹ Eufronio Alip, "Preface", *Political and Cultural History of the Philippines*. Vol I: Since Time Began to British Occupation, Manila: Alip & Brion Publications, 1950.

events took place. It gives us information for enjoyment for enjoyment, for instruction, and for inspiration. Understanding the events of the past enables us in a great way to tell what is likely to happen in the future.

Knowledge of history helps a people develop unity. History teaches them of their common origin, common struggles, common heritage, common aim, and common hopes. From such knowledge a people becomes aware of its oneness. This knowledge promotes in this people confidence and pride in themselves. This knowledge of their past enables them to work actively and confidently for the future. In a great way, history is to the community or society as memory is to an individual.

To us Filipinos, knowledge of our own history will make us proud owners of a rich country and a rich heritage. Knowledge of the natural beauty of our country, its rich natural resources, and its brave, courageous, and enterprising people will help us rise to a greater heights of achievement.⁵³²

History is the narrative of the inspiring past of a nation. It is a record which a nation could utilize in order to be reminded of their singularity as a people. It is the knowledge which portrays a nation's pride and peculiarity, a nation's identity; it is the knowledge of a nation about itself which could guide it in its coming future. History, in a way, is the source of a people's love for their own nation, of a people's patriotism. History is knowledge; and because knowledge is showcased as a form of power, a nation who knows its history is foreseen as a powerful nation. And accordingly, the historian, with these precepts in mind, should be responsible enough to create the most appropriate history for his people; his people deserve nothing else less. The history of the Philippines, for one, according to Alip, has three most important sources; they are the written records, the relics, and the customs and traditions.⁵³³ Among these three, however, the written sources are the most important and most reliable. Alip was convinced that written materials recorded only the truth as reported by earlier impartial historians and observers; and so, they are the truths that should only be told by an historian.⁵³⁴ He was, hence, reiterating in the larger institutional environment of the university belt --- which was mostly comprised by some of the most prestigious private schools and universities of the country --- what was already begun to be told by the earlier academic historians and what was being told (for they were almost contemporary colleagues) by Nicolas Zafra in the U.P.'s intitutional context. Alip was executing the follow-through stroke; and one could see that clearly in his version of the history of the Philippines.

Volume I: Our Geographic Environment; The Filipino People; Our Earliest Recorded History; Life and Culture of the Early Filipinos; Life and Culture of the Early Filipinos (Continued); The Rediscovery of the Philippines; Early Explorations, Conquests, and Pacification; The Conquest and Founding of Manila; Early Changes Introduced by the Conquest; Early Changes Introduced by the Conquest (Continued); Defending and Extending the Colony; The Early Missionaries in the Philippines: Their Labor and Achievements; Educational Progress; Foreign Commerce and Spanish Mercantilism; The Philippines and Mexico; The Chinese in the Philippines; The Japanese in Philippine History; The Moros; Other Non-Christian Filipinos; Culture, Science, and Art.
Volume II: Part I, From the British Invasion to the Philippine Revolution (1762-1896): One Year and a Half of British Occupation; General Conditions Prevailing During the Early Years of the Nineteenth Century; Reconstruction, Reforms, and Progress; Political Awakening; From the Cavite Mutiny to the Philippine Revolution; Part II, From the Philippine Revolution to the End of

⁵³² Eufronio Alip, *A Brief History of the Philippines*, Manila: Alip & Sons, Inc., 1972, pp. 2-3.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵³⁴ Eufronio Alip, "Preface", *Political and Cultural History of the Philippines*. Vol. II. Since the British Occupation. Manila: Alip & Brion Publications, Inc., 1949.

the American Military Regime: The Revolution Against Spain; From the Pact of Biac-na-Bato to the Establishment of the Malolos Republic; The First Philippine Republic; From the Outbreak of the Filipino-American War to the End of the Military Regime; Part III, The Philippines Under the United States: The First Decade Under the Civil Regime; Liberalism and Reaction; From Stimson to Murphy; Part IV, The Philippines Today: The Commonwealth of the Philippines; Three Years of Japanese Occupation; How the Philippines won its Independence; The Republic of the Philippines.

Through this portrayal of the nation's history, Alip was convinced that he was realizing the major precepts of his idea of an history, comparable to those of other nations of the world. Like his forerunners, he viewed the history of the Philippines as a story of a constantly forwardly developing people. He divided history into three: ancient history, which covers the indefinite period from the unknown past to the coming of the Spaniards (1521); medieval history, from 1521 to the British Invasion in 1762; and modern history, since then to the present.⁵³⁵ Apropos, the first volume of his work covered the ancient and medieval periods, while the second period covered the modern period. He was exercising, in this regard, the same *liwanag-dilim-liwanag* tripartite view of history of the propagandistas and the Filipino historians following. At the same time, he was practicing the ideals contained and implied to by the foreign concept of *historia/history*. And it was most probable that he could not help this. He was, after all, mostly relying on written sources of history, on documents which were solely produced by the foreigners and colonizers who arrived and plundered the Philippines. He was, in this way, only appropriating the views and standards of his authorities. His measures, for one, of his version of the history of the archipelago --- namely, ancient, medieval, and modern --- were clearly made or modelled after the Europeans' view of their own history. He was not responsible for any new innovation, on that score. He was just appropriating and applying what was already done and practiced by the European historians, as well as their American students a bit later on, in each of their own version of history. His outline of his version of the history of the Philippines is almost the same as those of the standard outline of the history of any country in Europe or that of America; the only difference that Alip's version has, was the fact that he was utilizing the principles on the Philippines, its times and context. Still, the similarities and same references could never be missed.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, "Preview." He further explained: "Our ancient history deals principally with our pre-Spanish *barangay* life: its people, government, culture, society, family and religious life. Medieval history includes such events as the discovery, conquest, pacification and Christianization of the natives. During this period Spain established one central government for the Philippines. She made the country one and homogenous. She sowed the seeds of western culture. She established schools, colleges, and universities. She introduced the western alphabet, the Spanish language, and many economic and decorative plants and domestic animals. In short, she did to and for the Filipinos many other things that are characteristic of much of European medieval life. The British invasion, as we shall presently see, opened for us a new outlook, which, although not entirely different from that observed in the preceding period, is really more progressive and more advanced. The development is most felt in the political, social and economic life of the country. Following this invasion came the opening of Manila and other Philippine ports to foreign commerce, other than the Mexican and Spanish; the establishment of foreign firms; the introduction of foreign capital; the growth of the middle class and the formation of a united political consciousness and national unity among the Filipinos.

In reference to the times and context before the coming of the Europeans on Philippine soil, Alip utilized the term *pre-Spanish*; and so, unknowingly reducing the history of his own people by automatically connecting it to the existence of another who just happened to land or arrive on his own people's shores. Alip, furthermore, in application of the foreign norms and standards that he learned, multiply utilized the term *native* to refer to the Filipinos. He was probably not actively aware of it, but with this action, he was distancing or isolating himself to his subjects, his own people; and at the same time, because his work would be read by the future intellectuals of the land, he was teaching the same view and attitude to his readers, who would in their turn almost unconsciously feel that they were above those poorer *native* Filipinos. The work was, naturally, for it relied on written sources of history, full of details that could only be expected from a typical scholarly work during Alip's times. He was successful in displaying a history which was full of minutiae information and which was not specifically tending to side on any party on individual occurrences within the run of history. He wrote an unbiased and unpartisan history.⁵³⁶ Too unbiased and too unpartisan. Rephrased, he wrote the history of the Philippines from an observer's or from an outsider's viewpoint, almost from the colonizer's vantage; and so, he failed to see the dynamics and the nuances of the vantagepoint of the people, about and for which he was writing his history. He was more than probably not aware of this and its connected unconscious teaching to the readers. Alip was clearly a nationalistic historian; his one desire was to transmit this feeling in his work, so that his readers would be nationalistic as well. And in a manner, he was successful in that score as well. He transmitted in his work the feeling of nationalism to his readers; that is, his readers felt through his work that they should love their country, the Philippines, because that was right and just. The problem in this arrangement was that, the readers

In this unit we shall be informed also of the growth of liberalism which largely influenced the propaganda movement, the grant of reforms, and the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in 1896."

⁵³⁶ Alip's most universal approach on history was such: it should be chronological; every aspect that had to do with the life of the people should be systematically put on a fully connected, though sometimes complex, net of a chronologically listed events. Everything should be written in history, even the terrible and sad times that the people experienced should be incorporated on the narrative. Though the experience of colonialism should be told, there shouldn't be too much stress put to it. Instead, the people's actions and executions for their land should be pointed out.

Here was how a contemporary historian described Alip's heritage: "Hindi ko tatangkaing magbigay ng kuro-kuro hinggil sa kalidad ng pagsulat ni Dr. Alip. Nais ko lang bigyang-pansin ang kanyang approach sa kasaysayan, ang pagsusulat nito ayon sa pangyayari, "telling it the way it was". Wala akong nababanaag na ideolohiya maliban marahil sa kanyang nasyonalismo, ang kanyang pagnanasa na mai-project ang puso at kaluluwa ng Pilipino, ang m g a likha nito, ang mga lakas at pati ang mga kakulangan. Ang puna sa mga nauna, kasama na si Dr. Alip, ay ang paglalahad ng kronolohiya. Bunga marahil ito ng pagtanaw sa kabuuan ng kasaysayan, sa kontekstong sosyal, politikal, kultural, at ekonomiko. Sa halos lahat ng aklat niya sa kasaysayan sa Pilipinas ay ganito ang approach niya --- kronolohiya ang paglalahad, sunod-sunod ang lahat ng aspeto ng buhay ng bayan at ang pagkawing-kawing ng m g a ito sa isang paglalahad ng kronolohikal, ang paglilista ng mga pangyayari ayon sa kanilyng pagkakasunod-sunod. Hindi niya ninais na iwaksi ang m g a malulungkot ng pangyayari sa ating kasaysayan. Kaya't sa kanyang sinulat ay naroon, buong-buo and 333 taon na pagsakop ng Espanya at ang 48 taon na pananakop ng Amerika. Nasisinag ko ang paniniwala ni Dr. Alip na kailangang bigyang-pansin ito upang maging makatotohanan ang kasaysayang Pilipinas. Bagamat nasabi rin niya na huwag nang bigyan ng masyadong diin ang kolonyalismo, bagkus ay kung ano ang nagawa ng mga Pilipino para sa kanilang bansa. Isa siya sa unang nabanggit na ang ating mga kapatid na Muslim ay mga tunay na bayani dahil sa kanilang pakikibaka para sa kalayaan ng bansa at hindi sila mga tulisang-dagat gaya ng mas naunang naisulat ng iba." Dr. Cecilia Alip, "Ang Pamana ni Eufonio Alip", in Ma. Bernadette Abrera and Dedina Lapar (Eds.),

felt this nationalism as a feeling that one could have for he was not part of the singularity being studied; nationalism was being brought about by a situation wherein a person felt responsible that he should love his nation for he should, and not because he was himself was part and portion of this nation. Again, it was the external-going-internal story, similar to the implied pictures of the earlier written history. A person would, accordingly, be nationalist for it was noble. It was a feeling which resulted in his reading and observation of the history of his own people; it was a feeling which was brought about by his clinical study of his own people's history. It was, hence, not a feeling that he felt for he knew from the beginning that he was part of the people he was studying. Like a lesson, he learned this feeling by first going outside of his own culture (he was reading his history in a foreign discourse), being universal in virtues and standards (or being Westernized), and then, analyzing his own people through the level and standards he newly acquired. This was not really new within the times and context that Alip lived in. He was one of those historians whose position was between the need to meet and realize the same achievements of their highly Americanized Filipino historians/teachers and to better appropriate and practice their learned theories and techniques in history to that of their own country, the Philippines. Alip was both enriched and bounded by the principles that this position implied to. He was enriched for his know-how opened him to further possibilities and newest developments of those other countries who spoke the same language as his; but at the same time, he was also limited for the implied discourse of his discipline bounded him to the norms and standards connected to it, making him, in a manner, helpless to the more than probable new interpretations in the discourse of his own people.

And this was the greatest dilemma of the Filipino textbook historians. Zafra, Alip, as well as Zaide all shared this characteristic. This dilemma did not cripple them though. There was a definite lively discourse, which generally revolved around the various aspects applied to the different elements of an historical narrative; and much were already accomplished. Zafra defuncted the belief on the Prinsesa Urduja theory during the times of the ancient communities; Alip concretely recognized that the Muslims in Mindanao were natural, parts and parcel of the Filipino people; while Zaide saw to it that the many minute details of the history of the Philippines would be given venue for both discussion and documentation. Like Zafra and Alip, Zaide was a teacher as well as an actively publishing historian. He was responsible for the historical education of the many pupils of elementary schools as well as the many students of both high schools and colleges around the country from his times towards even the present. He wrote textbooks for these institutions of learning; or more specifically, for he made a choice along the way, he wrote textbooks for most of the Catholic religious various institutions of learning. And so, unlike Zafra and Alip who exerted much efforts in maintaining an unpartisan attitude in their works on history, Zaide tended to gravitate his sympathies to his chosen clientele --- the Catholic Church. He did not find anything wrong with his point of view. He was convinced that

there could be confusion between his faith and the practice of his science. He worked and pled for the writing of a new history⁵³⁷, a Filipinistic history, for the new Philippines; that is, a history which should

...be a story of a virile Malayan nation, which had been baptized in the flaming wars and revolts of four centuries and trained in the lores and cultures of the Occident, told against the rich and varied backrounds of a changing historical fate.⁵³⁸

It should be a history displaying the all the best among the asian elements and the foreign elements (brought about by colonization) in the Philippines, as a nation. And more importantly, it should be a history stressing one's nation's love; "history, it should be recalled, is the most effective vehicle for nationalism."⁵³⁹ The new history of the Philippines should, hence, be

1992, p. 59.

⁵³⁷ It is most probable that Zaide borrowed this term from that of the American historians' James Harvey Robinson and Harry Elmer Barnes of Columbia University during the first decades of the 20th century. Here was how the historiographical contribution of this two men was discussed: "...These new tendencies in historical thought found their publicists in James Harvey Robinson and Harry Elmer Barnes of Columbia University. Robinson launched the crusade for New History with his book of that title in 1911. Explicitly rebuking George P. Adams for his appeal to Ranke, Robinson inscribed a new slogan on his banner --- wie es eigentlich geworden. The true aim of the historian was to determine not what had happened, but how things had come about. "The present has hitherto been the willing victim of the past," said Robinson; "the time has come when it should turn on the past and exploit it in the interests of advance." To use history to explain present problems was the only way the historian could avoid the dead ends of sensationalism, melodrama, or mere antiquarianism. In his search for a usable past the historian found his justification in the role played by memory in our personal lives when "we adjust our recollection to our needs and aspirations, and ask from it light on the particular problems that face us." Barnes joined Robinson in sallies against the stock character of the "orthodox historian", allegedly devoted to pedantry, politics, and hero worship. For the New Historians, unaware that Turner had reduced their whipping boy to a bugaboo, the time had come to talk of shoes and ships and sealing wax, of cabbages instead of kings. Social and economic history was the business of the historian, who would get from the social scientists the laws necessary for making sense of his data or, failing to collaborate, be degraded to a mere field worker for the sociologist.

With the blessing of the New History, science and reform were to be wedded. Whereas Turner had suggested that history might "hold the lamp for conservative reform," Robinson and Barnes, like modern Savanarolas of Social Science, preached the gospel of "liberated intelligence". Robinson's "The Mind in the Making", a bestseller of the 1920's, was a popular plea for men to cast aside the outmoded furniture of their minds, the merely primitive residue of the animal, the savage, and the child, so that they might inhabit a rational future. Like the Enlightenment philosophes, the crusaders of the New History envisaged the past as a burden of error and wrong from which men were to be liberated by scientific intelligence. For all their show of scientific skepticism, Robinson and Barnes, like the philosophes, were devotees of their own religion of progress. Robinson, in a tone of almost pulpit unction, identified "the long-disputed sin against the Holy Ghost" as "the refusal to cooperate with the vital principle of betterment"; and Barnes, like a 20th century Voltaire attacking the infamy of superstition, warned that if the extention of scientific control over society was impossible, then the 'the jig is up with the human race'." Cushing Strout, *The Pragmatic Revolt in American History: Carl Becker and Charles Beard*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, (1958), 1966, pp. 23-25.

For the description of the idea of New History, see: James Harvey Robinson, *The New History*, Massachusetts: The Wolden Press, 1958.

For a few individual discussions on the same subject of Robinson and Barnes' New History within the context of the American Historiographical History, see: *Essays in Intellectual History*. Dedicated to James Harvey Robinson. By his former seminar students, New York: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., (1929), 1968.

⁵³⁸ Gregorio F. Zaide, "New History for the New Philippines", *Philippine Forum* Vol. I, No. 10 (September, 1936).

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*

...a history of true Filipino achievements and progress portrayed in luminous boldness and splashed in brilliant emphasis over the pages in order to bring forth the basic idea that ours is a wonderful country that God has given to us, and that ours is a race that had fully proved its fighting mettle and spirited progressiveness throughout the course of the ages...Our history, per se, is romantic, nationalistic, and interesting as that of any other nation on earth.⁵⁴⁰

A new history or, in the words of Zaide, a Filipinistic history is a narrative of the people's greatness as a nation; that is, a narrative that would further prove that the Philippines is not any lesser but actually comparable to the other nations of the world. He campaigned for the rewriting of history. There exists good reasons why this should be executed, he opined

First, as a free and sovereign nation, we should write a new history of our country --- a history of Filipinos, for Filipinos, and by Filipinos.

Second, within the purview of any sound philosophy of history, every generation writes his own history. Our generation must, therefore, have a history that shall reflect its restless spirit, its ardent desire for reforms in government and society, and its passionate yearning for a better life.

Third, the errors or inaccuracies which have long been enshrined in our published history books must be corrected.

Fourth, there still exist many gaps in our recorded history caused either by lack of source materials or by inadequate knowledge of historians. These gaps must be filled up to broaden our historical knowledge.

Finally, it is high time that we interpret our historical facts from the Filipino point-of-view. Ours is, indeed, a glorious history that we should be proud of. It is a many-splendored saga which rhapsodizes the emergence of a nation from colonial bondage to freedom.⁵⁴¹

And so, to keep to his principles, Zaide wrote and published history; and in the process, he became one of the most prolific and most frequently published historian of his times. In his lifetime, he came out with more than 60 books on history; his most important contribution though in the greater development of historiography was his 2-volume work entitled *Philippine Political and Cultural History*, which first came out in 1949, experienced several reprinting, and was finally revised and republished in 1979 as the 2-volume work, *The Pageant of Philippine History*. Though the former was relatively still standing or was created in the shadows of what was written and published by Alip earlier, the latter was specifically executed, in order to realize what the author was almost preaching about the need to rewrite history⁵⁴², as what was cited above. Both versions of the work were characterized with writing style that was almost poetic in nature and with a narrative form, peppered with details to the smallest. Zaide executed an almost ant-like industry of research; both primary and secondary sources were fully utilized. And like what was done by Alip in his opus, he utilized the British Invasion of Manila in the 18th century as the dividing event between the considered middle age to the modern age in Philippine history; hence, also the deciding occurrence between the first and the

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ Gregorio Zaide, "The Rewriting of Philippine History" Proceedings and Position Papers of the 1st Regional Seminar on History. Manila: 1975.

⁵⁴² The books, he said, were "written in response to the challenge to rewrite history of the Filipino nation to keep it attune to the changing times and to make it relevant to the new spirit of contemporary generations." (Gregorio F. Zaide, "Preface", *The Pageant of Philippine History. Political, Economic, and Socio-cultural, Vols. I-II*, Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1979.)

second volume of the work. The first volume consisted of 21 chapters; the second volume, of 28 chapters:

Geographical Foundations; The Filipino People; The Dawn of Philippine History; Asian Influences on Filipino Civilization; Pre-Spanish Filipino Civilization; Pre-Spanish Filipino Civilization (Continued); European Background of Philippine History; The Rediscovery of the Philippines; Return of Magellan's Survivors to Spain; Spanish Expeditions After Magellan; The Conquest by Cross and Sword; Spanish Colonization; Christianity and the Spanish Missionaries; The Church and the State; Spanish Dream of Oriental Empire; Portuguese and Dutch Wars; China in the Philippines; Philippine-Japan Relations; Moro Wars; The Galleon Trade; Revolts Against Spain.

British Invasion of the Philippines; Reconstruction After the British Invasion; Basco and the Beginning of Economic Progress; The Philippines in the Spanish Cortes; Opening of the Philippines to the World; Social Life and Progress Under Spain; Educational and Cultural Progress; The Twilight of Spanish Rule; The Birth of Filipino Nationalism; The Propaganda Movement; The Katipunan; The Philippine Revolution; Enters America, Exits Spain; The First Philippine Republic; The War of Philippine Independence; American Occupation of the Philippines; Democratization of the Philippines; Economic Progress Under America; Social Life and Progress Under America; Educational and Cultural Progress Under America; The Campaign for Philippine Independence; The Commonwealth of the Philippines; The Philippines and World War II; Three Years of Japanese Occupation; Liberation and Restoration of the Commonwealth; The Republic of the Philippines; Prelude to Chaos; The Philippines Under Martial Law.

The philosophy utilized in the work was clearly linear in nature. The periodization was still in the liwanag-dilim-liwanag tripartite view of history of the earlier Propaganda Movement of the Los Indios Bravos; and in fact, was, except for a few details, quite similar to that used by Alip. The most noticeable difference between Alip and Zaide was the fact that the latter used attention-catching phrase words/ideas in the nation's history. It was through Zaide, for one, that terminologies, like Pre-Spanish; Spanish, American, or Japanese Colonization; the Republic of the Philippines in reference to his three assigned periods of the nation's history, almost became household words. And it was almost singularly his version of the nation's history --- largely because of its wider ready readership in the different levels of the school system --- that became the accepted or popular history of the Philippines. Opinionated description of the various experiences in the past was rarely, if not never, done within the narrative; the narrative had nearly a bland taste in its many illustrations and explanation within its textual body. The lighter and positive side of each event was always almost nostalgically, to the detriment of the also important negative side, lingered or stressed on. Impressed on the reader were the various manifestations of the different natural and man-made wonders in the Philippines, as well as the multi-talented Filipino who could be as good as any other nationals of the world --- hence, the illustrative definitions were put on the first Filipino poet in English, first Filipino Director of the Bureau of Science, first Filipino surgeon, etc., not directly stating though that these Filipinos were actually just continuators or, at the most, local versions --- but never better nor more pioneering than -- of the foreign ideal example. In a manner, history, because of the author's writing style and like what the title of the work suggested, was a pageant; that is, a brilliant display of spectacle, especially a parade or procession of an elaborate kind or even a general theatrical exhibition of historical events. For an average Filipino, it was a collection of people, places, and events in the past --- almost foreign

and clinically isolated from his present context and person; history was taken in --- and the foreign language that it used most probably more than supported this conviction, on the part of the greater number of people --- as nothing more than enumeration and memorization.

This general form and structure of the history textbooks would be continually used in schools in the years following; and in fact, it would --- in a manner --- even give birth to the next generation of history textbooks (and naturally, history textbook historians) which would be especially used in some selected private schools and universities in the archipelago. The quite significant among these new textbooks were those by Fr. Horacio de la Costa (*Readings in Philippine History*, Manila: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1965); Fr. Jose S. Arcilla (*An Introduction to Philippine History*, Manila: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1971) ; and Pedro A. Gagelonia (*Philippine History*, Manila: 1974). The published works of these three only came out a few years after the works of the discussed first generation of history textbook historians (Zafra, Alip, Zaide) were published; and so, all their works, plus those of their immediate forerunners, were almost simultaneously utilized in the different schools around the country. Those of the first generation were mostly used in public and some selected Catholic private schools/universities; while those of the second generation were nearly exclusively used in private schools/universities, specifically in the Jesuits fathers managed Ateneo de Manila University system (De la Costa and Arcilla) and in the Far Eastern University (Gagelonia). And expectedly enough, these new generation of textbook historians were still very much a part of the historical discourse that their forerunners started; American English was still their most important medium of communication, plus, they were also basically continuators and developers of the introduced foreign idea of *historia/history*⁵⁴³. This new generation actively communicated and discussed with the first generation

⁵⁴³ And expectedly enough, the three --- save from some details --- have almost similar conceptualization of this idea. According to De la Costa, history “is the social science which reconstructs man’s past from written records...The task of history is to reconstruct, to recall, to bring back to life, a community of men now vanished -- and often enough a community utterly remote and strange from our own, in space as well as time.” (Horacio de la Costa, *Three Lectures on History*, *Historical Bulletin*. Vol IV, No. 3. Sept. 1960.) Arcilla opined, that “it is studying the past. Historian’s task is to look for things that survived from the past wherever they can be found. They then go on to ascertain whether these remnants or relics are really genuine artifacts and not fake. Thirdly, historians try to interpret what these survivors of the past mean. Finally, they try to relate them to one another, such that an idea or mental picture is made of the past.” (Jose Arcilla, “Introduction”, *An Introduction to Philippine History*, Quezon City: Atenero de Manila Press (1971), 1998). Gagelonia, on his part, said “The uncertainty of the future is our own making. We cannot now lay blame on our elders. It is not inconceivable for anyone to find excuses in saying that ‘history repeats itself’...The nuances of Philippine historiography, which certainly are not our own making, should help us rediscover ourselves. Basically, for many years now the writing of Philippine history both by the Spaniards and the Americans are from their points of view. Likewise, a number of Filipino writers and publishers whose principal concern or philosophy borders on King Midas or Phrygia did nothing but simply imitate, resulting in the accumulation of picayunish materials catering to the uninitiated or the innocent...This long-standing and vicious practice deserves to be checked once and for all. The pursuit of historiographers ought to be untainted by any creed or nuances lest the curses of their graves and remain the eternal trademark over their tombstones...Since it is the history of the Filipinos that is being written about, nuances that occurred in the Philippines, whether committed by Filipinos, voluntarily or not, or by foreigners, rightfully become part and parcel of the history of the Philippines. And for that matter, this history may even go a little further as to include activities of Filipinos beyond the frontiers of Philippine soil. This is Philippine history, and should go on record as the living history of the Filipino people.” (Pedro Gagelonia, “Preface”, *Concise Philippine History*, Manila: Far Eastern University Consumers Cooperative Incorporation, 1970.)

of textbook historians; and so, on the whole, their existence only furthered the presence and popularity of the larger idea of history they were all parts and participants of. Much attention was still granted on the good utility of both the primary and secondary sources of history; but naturally, the written primary sources were taken in as the most reliable among the two kinds. History was still basically documentary history; and so, because of the nature of these written documents, also largely political (including religious or, to be exact, Catholic christian) history. Consequential to this, as well, was the fact, that the philosophy of history utilized was still very much linear in nature. History was generally pictured as a narrative of a stably and constantly developing people. National and cultural pride, especially in comparison to the other nations of the world, were continually stressed in the works of these new generation of history writers. Unlike their forerunners though, this new generation exerted much efforts in doing away with the use of flowery, almost poetic, and, most of the time, unnecessary illustration and description of events in their works; plus, they did not have any qualms in both implying and stating their personal principles and convictions in their works. De la Costa and Arcilla, because of their profession, actively stressed the importance and advantages that the Spaniards (especially the Jesuit missionaries) brought in to the islands; while Gagelonia both implied and boldly declared his pro-people political convictions as against the bourgeoisie politico-social context of the archipelago in his work.

It was, on the whole, quite a productive time for Philippine historiography. The years between the 1950's till the 1970's saw the production and publication of historical materials in huge quantities. The discourse was alive and dynamic. Many details in history, which included --- among the many others --- the data on both the Spanish and American occupation of the islands, on the Propaganda Movement, and on the 1896 Philippine Revoltuion, were cleared up in the process. The discussions were not limited to Filipino social scientists and historians; because the language of the discourse was English, virtually everyone around the world who spoke this language and who have the appropriate interest on the Philippines, could join and take part in the continually executed discussive efforts. And they did participated.⁵⁴⁴ After all, they were not really outsiders in the discourse, they had as much right to be there as the Filipino historian/scholar. They spoke the same language and they used the same norms and conceptualizations; they made up a single discourse. Among those outsiders, who noticeably (largely because of their greater number) took up this job, were the American social scientists or, for in their own land they were the specialists on the area studies Philippines, the

⁵⁴⁴ The resulting situation afterwhich saw the relatively good increase of English-speaking scientists especializing on the Philippines. Many of the Filipino scientists, on their part, though many of the times were disagreeing with these foreign scientists' reasonings, found their participation within the discourse quite natural and healthy for the greater development of social research. Schumacher, for one, aptly put the general view of Filipino scientists on the issue: "...the history of any nation, and particularly that of one, which, like the Philippines, has undergone the impact of foreign cultures, cannot be understood in a vacuum. The forces at work in other countries which help to explain events in the Philippines will be more easily taken into consideration by historians of those countries, and the results of their investigations, properly assimilated, will help historians in

Philippinists. They and their students (both the Filipinos and the Americans) would help in the resulting specification of themes in the study of Philippine history.⁵⁴⁵ Instead of focusing on the supposedly national scale which was done by most historians earlier, more research and publications were given unto regional and/or local histories, unto Catholic Christianity and the missionaries, unto friars' landholdings, or unto various Catholic religious organizations on the archipelago.⁵⁴⁶ This was an unsurprising consequence for almost all of the social scientists during these times relied heavily on written sources, which, on the whole, almost exclusively discussed the mentioned specific themes in the archipelago's history.

This trend of particularization, within the already realized and accepted huge area of Philippine history, was seen as well in the studies done and presented by the students of history (both in the master's and doctoral's degree levels) to their education institution, the U.P. Department of History, on the archipelago.⁵⁴⁷ On the whole, the 50's saw the concentration of more studies referring to the Philippines in relation to the generally known ancient great empires of Asia, most especially that of the Srivijayan, the Majapajit, and the Han-Chinese. They relied on written sources; and so, generally concentrated on the period during the Spanish colonization of the archipelago. Most of the conjunctures utilized in these studies were easily set on the years of the century's change; there wasn't much implied principles behind the said process, for there wasn't much thought given on the general principles regarding periodization. The need of the times was to create history in utility of the available written sources; and so, students of history only reacted as such and as much to their seen and recognized contextual need.

This would continuously be their answer till the coming decade of the 60's; that is, the marked difference that generally implied a stress on the particularization or specification of their various presented studies. Diplomatic, economic, military, and local histories were done by the students/historians of the times. The Philippines was discussed both as an internally homogenous and as a unitary political body; that is, in reference to its different provinces and to its relations to the U.S.A., to Japan, and even to the United Nations. The Philippines were, thence, pictured as a

the Philippines to enrich further our knowledge of the past of the Filipino people." (John Schumacher, "Recent Historical Writing on the Philippines Abroad", *Philippine Studies*. Vol. 9. January, 1961.)

⁵⁴⁵ It would be during these times that the names of the following would be most popular in many social scientists circles, especializing on the Philippines: Donn Hart, John Leddy Phelan, Felix Keesing, Edgar Wickberg, Theodore Friend, Robert Reed, David Joel Steinberg, Daniel Doeppers, Gerald Anderson, Nicholas Cushner, Norman Owen, Benedict John Kerkvliet, John Larkin, Marshall Seaton McLennan, Dennis Monroe Roth, William Henry Scott, Peter Stanley, Bruce Cruikshank, James Warren, and David Sturtevant. They would be popular for some of the considered breakthrough studies of their times and context; they would, hence, influence schools of thought not only in the United States itself but most especially in the Philippines.

⁵⁴⁶ Bruce Cruikshank, "Philippine Historiography: Accomplishment and Promise, 1955-1976" in Donn V. Hart (Ed.), *Philippine Studies: History, Sociology, Mass Media, and Bibliography*, Illinois: Northern Illinois Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1978.

⁵⁴⁷ For a general picture of the different studies done and presented to the said institution between the decades of the 50's till that of the 70's, please consult the study's bibliography (Unpublished Studies/ Dissertations.

forwardly moving modern political state, which was not any different to the other modern and modernizing nations of the world. The period concentrated on in the studies gradually gravitated from that of the Spanish to that of the American and Japanese occupation of the islands. There was much reliance on the written sources of history; but oral histories, executed through interviews, were already being utilized in absence of primary sources.

A publishing group, called the Filipiniana Book Guild⁵⁴⁸, supported this campaign for the primary sources of history. They started publishing out-of-print literature, generally referring to the history of the islands which included travelogues, local histories, ecclesiastical chronologies, and historical fictions, in 1962.⁵⁴⁹ The group was made out of both academicians and administrators --- most especially from the Bureau of Education --- of the times. Their most important goal was to republish unavailable literature (and probably, present manuscripts later on, as well) about the Philippines, its customs and usages, as an executive action for historical preservation of primary historical sources and in order that they may be used by both the Filipinos and other Philippinists of the times and context. They collected these seemly scattered literature from the different archives and libraries around the world, translated them to English, generally annotated them, and published them for general use. And because their concentration was literature, all of the consequential products of their efforts pertained to the Philippines, in accordance to how it was pictured by the foreigners (Europeans and Americans) who arrived and lived on its shores. The history of the Philippines, which largely meant the history of the foreigners on the Philippines, was, in a manner, renewed and literally reprinted⁵⁵⁰; the new Filipino

⁵⁴⁸ Here was the self-introduction of the Filipiniana Book Guild: "...Thus the Filipiniana Book Guild came into existence last September (1962). It is a nonprofit entity composed of men and women of all nationalities banded together for this purpose. Subscriptions from founding members will give the Guild the initial capital for a revolving fund. Management of the Guild, overhead and operational expenses other than the actual cost of the books are entirely absorbed by the organizational committee members who do not receive any remuneration whatever for their work." (Alejandro R. Roces, "Preface" of Paul P. Gironiere's *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1962.)

⁵⁴⁹ The guild's first publication was Paul P. De la Gironiere's *Twenty Years in the Philippines* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1962). They would continuously publish old manuscripts, travelogues, documents, etc. pertaining to the Philippines, its customs, and traditions till the late 80's. It would later on even be supported by a professional organization, called the Historical Conservation Society (1970), which was basically made out of almost the same members, with regards to profession, of the earlier organization. Their publications included Najeeb Saleeby's *History of Sulu*; John Bowring's *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*; Maximo Kalaw's *The Filipino Rebel*; *The Colonization and Conquest of the Philippines by Spain, Contemporaneous Documents*; Armando Malay's *Occupied Philippines*; James Le Roy's *The Philippines Circa 1900*; Joseph Steven's *Yesterdays in the Philippines*; Antonio Pigafetta's *First Voyage Around the World*; Maximilianus Transylvanus' *De Moluccis Insulis*; Thomas de Comyn's *State of the Philippines in 1810*; Conrado Benitez and Austin Craig's *Philippine Progress Prior to 1898*; *The World of Felix Roxas, Anecdotes and Reminiscences of a Manila Newspaper Journalist, 1926-36*; Alfred Marche's *Luzon and Palawan*; Marcelo de Ribadeneira's *Historia del Archipelago y otros Reynos*; *The Philippine Chronicles of Fray San Antonio*; *Travel Accounts of the Islands, 1513-1787*; Miguel Bernad's *The Christianization of the Philippines, Problems and Prospects*; Joaquin de Zuniga's *Status of the Philippines in 1800*; *Travel Accounts of the Islands, 1832-1858*; *German Travellers on the Cordillera, 1860-1890*; John Foreman's *The Philippine Islands*; etc.

⁵⁵⁰ And ironically enough, this kind of history (colonial history) was even promoted by some of the nominal historians of the times. An article from the *Encyclopedia of the Philippines* stated: "We should not be ashamed of having been under foreign domination for centuries because during that long period of darkness, the light of freedom was never extinguished in the heart of our people as evidence by our continual revolts, one every twenty

historians' role, in this regard, was just limited to the translation, editing, and annotation of the said works.

This kind of historiographical trend would only be noticeably altered upon the publication of Teodoro Agoncillo's⁵⁵¹ *History of the Filipino People* in 1960. While both the first and almost all of the prominent names of the second generation (Agoncillo was theoretically still among these) of historians were busy stressing the fact that history should strictly conform to the clinical objectivity --- hence, the utmost and unrelenting importance of the written document --- of a universal science, he would be irrevocably most clear in airing his different opinion⁵⁵² on the matter. In spite of the claims of the earlier positivist philosophers, according to him, history cannot be objective for it is written by man, who in his nature, has emotions and passions; has thoughts of his own; is saddled by hereditary

years, against imperial rule, culminating in the Revolution of 1896 and in the armed resistance to the implantation of American regime in 1899. Rather it is the colonizers who should feel sorry and repentant for having imposed to reign of force. Freedom is in the mind and not in any document. Nation building is spiritual more than material. For of what use are all our endeavors for material prosperity and our educational efforts if we cannot emancipate the national soul from the sense of incapacity? Let there be a resurgence of the national spirit --- such as that which moved our people in 1896 --- and our temporary inertia and political bickerings and defeatism will be turned to a mighty power for enterprises of great pith and moment." Jorge Bocobo, "Elevating Philippine History", *Encyclopedia of the Philippines*, Vol. XX, Manila: Exequiel Floro, 1958.

⁵⁵¹ Teodoro Andal Agoncillo, 1912-1985. "Noted historian, writer, and scholar, Tagalog poet essayist, Chairman, U.P. History department, Rafael Palma Professional Chair in history, University Professor 1976. Gained notice as historian with *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan*. Contributed to new approach Philippine Historiography, writing history from Filipino point of view, heretofore Europeocentric. Member of Philippine Historical Association, American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, American Historical Association, International Association of Historians of Asia, Phi Alpha Theta, Philippine Folklore Society, Andres Bonifacio Memorial Commission and National Historical Commission. Other publications: *History of the Filipino People*, co-author Oscar Alfonso, later Milagros Guerrero; *The Fateful Years: Japan's Adventure in the Philippines, 1941-1945*; *Malolos: Crisis of the Republic*; and *The Writings and Trial of Andres Bonifacio*. Awarded gold medallion and diploma of merit, City of Manila, honorary doctorate in literature, Central Philippine University, Quezon City Award for Achievements in Letters and History, U.P. Alumni Association Professional Award in history, *Diwa ng Lahi*, City of Manila, UNESCO award for best essays on Rizal's novels, Carlos Palanca Memorial Award; won Commonwealth literary contests in history in 1940 and 1948 and the biographical writing contest on Bonifacio." *Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. I, *Op.cit.*, pp. 138-139.

Other sources of his life, times, and professional achievements include: Ferdinand Llanes (Ed.), *Pagbabalik sa Bayan. Mag Lektura sa Kasaysayan ng Historyograpiya at Pagkabansang Pilipino*, Lunsod Quezon: Departamento ng Kasaysayan, Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, 1993; Isagani R. Medina (Coll.), "Curriculum Vitae at Talaaklatan ng mga Akda ni Professor Teodoro Agoncillo" in Zeus Salazar (Ed.), *Kasaysayan I*, Lunsod Quezon: Departamento ng Kasaysayan, Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, 1977.

⁵⁵² In actuality, Agoncillo's name became first popular because of his different opinion on a particularly sensitive subject (most especially) of his times and context. His first published major work, *Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan*, which won a national contest on the biography of Bonifacio in 1948, featured a particularly different view on the 1896 revolution. His work put it in a new light; and so, in a manner, it started a new and progressive intellectual movement which interpreted the event of the revolution in a favorable light. The revolution was automatically connected to Bonifacio, a man of the poorer class, of action and of patriotism of his times; and so, the revolution was interpreted as an occurrence effectively executed by the masses, the poorer Filipino class. And though the book was not particularly specific on the details of Bonifacio's murder (for it would affectively oppose the holders of both political and economic powers of the times), the intellectuals of the times saw and comprehended it according to their most urgent need for nationalist initiatives and aspirations. Agoncillo's different opinion on an historical event was, in a manner, a revolutionary element on its own. His name would, from then on, not be missed in most of the prominent intellectual and historical circles of the archipelago. (Please see: Veneracion, "Ang Historyograpiyang Pilipino..." in Llanes, *Pagbabalik sa Bayan...Op.cit.*, pp. 50-53.)

characteristics in whose formations he had no say at all; and is conditioned by his environment and as such, he looks at things through the natural color of his eye glasses.⁵⁵³ The historian, in his opinion, would always be subjective. He should, he opined, hence not concentrate his energies in attaining the impossible; he should instead aspire something doable, he should aspire for impartiality in his work. Impartiality is different from objectivity; while the latter demands clinical detachment in a given event or occurrence, the former only implies the attitude for openness, in order to give a person in trial the chance to be heard. In practice,

...what is meant is that before a historian jumps to a conclusion, he should study not one side of the question, but all sides or all facets of a personality. Make the event or the personality speak eloquently as possible and, after weighing the pros and cons, draw his own conclusion. The historian's conclusion may be unflattering to the other fellow, but at least he gave this fellow a chance to be heard.⁵⁵⁴

The historian's task is, hence, not only limited to the collection, analysis, and utility of the various sources of his profession; it is also the relatively hard work of being impartial, of putting a reign to his prejudices, personal relationships, moral sensibilities, passions and the like, in order to realize the ideal of giving justice to everyone in a given narrative of history. Some amount of passion though should not be lost in his work; history is, after all, "a thoroughly, deeply human document, with flesh and blood, not dry bones alone."⁵⁵⁵ History is, in his view, not a social science but a branch of the humanities and therefore, belongs to the realm of literary art. Due to the constant stress of the earlier teachers on the scientific characteristic of history by virtually saying that it was the compendium of facts, history was practically dehumanized. Agoncillo provided, in his way, almost a completely different picture of the same. Subjectivity is inevitable in the practice of history⁵⁵⁶; that is, because every historical narrative is a work of the subjective personality of man. Every history, though entirely based on the various sources of knowledge of the past, is an interpretation. But interpretation, according to him, should not go beyond what the facts indicate or beyond the intention of a witness. Any attempt to go beyond the intention of the text or the facts is sheer fantasy. He opined,

⁵⁵³ Teodoro Agoncillo, "Objectivity and Impartiality in History", in *Historical Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1-4, Jan-Dec, 1973, Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1973, pp. 212-217.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁵⁵⁶ As could be expected though, Agoncillo's idea on the inevitable subjectivity of history was not entirely loved nor agreed upon by most of his colleagues. For one, there occurred quite an exchange of views and ideas through published articles between Agoncillo himself and a fellow professor in the U.P., named Vivencio Jose, on the subject of the subjectivity of history. According to Jose, Agoncillo --- though undoubtedly contributory in the greater development of historiography --- did not develop from his original point about the interpretation of documents and the resulting subjectivity of his history. In consequence, he added, the historian became almost blind to what really was written or expressed in history. The historian became hopelessly biased. He concluded, "If only Agoncillo had escaped from the odiousness of dogma and caricature and taken the people's standpoint and outlook then he could have --- with his passionate character --- extolled virtues other than the unpleasant ones, seen reality in a more balanced manner rather than as mere figments of imagination. Yet in this article, never was imagination, speculation and facts more confused so pathetically. I would hold, however, that this is the effect, less of the shock in seeing a broken caricature, but rather as the logical result of a type of history writing which Agoncillo has been doing all along these years." Vivencio Jose, "A Reply to Agoncillo. The Bankruptcy of the Subjectivist Conception of History", in *Solidarity*, Manila: Sept-Dec, 1976.

There is not formula on how to interpret. All will depend on the ability of the historian. Thus, a historian who has a wider and deeper experience, a keener insight, a wider range of vision, and better writing qualities has more chances of interpreting his facts intelligently than one who is good only at compiling data and using a pair of scissors and a bottle of paste. The interpretative aspect of history writing is most difficult, for it requires of a historian that he be a humanist and a philosopher.⁵⁵⁷

Interpretation embodied, in a way, both the subjectivity and the objectivity in the practice of history. It is connected to subjectivity for it is highly dependent on the personality and professional abilities of a historian; but it is also connected to objectivity, for it could and should not be executed without the presence of the well analyzed sources of historical knowledge or written documents. Interpretation, in this way, gives the historian his needed space for imagination and creativity; or, in other words, it gives him the freedom to create his version of a narrative, of a history. Every interpretation, after all, is not right nor wrong; every interpretation could only be valid or invalid, sensible or foolish, likely or dubious, good or bad.

With this kind of professional view, Agoncillo effectively pioneered a new trend in the development of historiography. He paved the way for the beginning of history as an interpretative (in addition to its earlier academic nature) discourse; and he accordingly affected a number of students and historians for he served as a professor for the U.P. Department of History⁵⁵⁸ during the times when the university was being led by the relatively liberal President Vicente Sinco. His work, *History of the Filipino People*, which he first wrote with the younger colleague Alfonso and then later on with the young Guerrero and which undeniably exemplified and embodied his historiographical philosophy and convictions, slowly took the place of Zafra's earlier work as the textbook for the teaching of the history of the archipelago. Though against the general currents of pro-Americanism of the times and context, Agoncillo firmly stood for the Philippines for the Filipinos. He firmly believed on nationalism; and he exerted apt efforts in accordance to that.⁵⁵⁹ All his lectures in and out of the

⁵⁵⁷ Teodoro Agoncillo, "Interpretation in History" in *Historical Bulletin*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 1-4, Jan-Dec, 1973, Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1973, p. 231.

⁵⁵⁸ It was 1958, through the persistence of Dean Fonacier, when Agoncillo became a part of the Faculty of the U.P. Department of History. He came in with a rank of a full professor. He brought with him his unshakeable conviction on nationalism. All of the lectures in the university were from then on listened and attended to by almost all of the students of the U.P. And when he became the chairman of the department of history (1963-1969), his political convictions with massive pertinance to nationalism became highly integrated in all of the aspects of the everyday life of the said institution. Nationalism developed therefrom and towards the whole university system as well. Agoncillo thence proved himself not only as a worthy historian, writer, and teacher; more significantly, he proved himself a capable administrator. (Please refer to: Bernadette Abrera, et.al., *Ang Kasaysayan ng Departamento ng Kasaysayan ng Pamantasan ng Pilipinas, 1963-1986*, Lunsod Quezon: U.P. Thesis, 1987.)

⁵⁵⁹ And expectedly enough, like what every representative of various generations of historians who wants to be different from those before him, he campaigned for the rewriting of history. According to him: "The rewriting of Philippine history, however, entails a great deal of self-introspection and self-criticism, for it involves not only nationalism on the part of the historian, but also the concept of national development. A nation cannot develop nationally unless it has a definite idea of its past, for the present is rooted in the past and the future in the present. It is thus that the future ultimately has its basis in the past. Unless we go back not for the sake of merely

university system, plus all his literary and historical publications exemplified this conviction. His most read work though was, as could be expected, his *History of the Filipino People*; and so, it was also his most important contribution to the larger development of the nation's historiography. The historical method was not lost in this work. Like the historians before and during his times, Agoncillo knew the value of the written proof of history, the document, in the creation of a written narrative; and he fully utilized the implied exertion in this principle. One sees the proof of such in the work itself:

Part I: Pre-colonial Philippines: The Setting, Before the Conquest, Early Customs and Practices, Pre-colonial Culture; Part II: The Spanish Period: Under the Imperial Spain, Institutional Impact of Spanish Rule, From Indio to Filipino; Part III: Reform and Revolution: The Campaign for Reforms, Bonifacio and the Katipunan, The Revolution: First Phase, The Revolution: Second Phase, The Malolos Republic, The Filipino-American Hostilities, The Religious Schism; Part IV: The American Period: The Continuing Resistance (1901-1913), Compromise with Colonialism, Colonial Politics: Towards Complete Autonomy, The Campaign for Independence, Transition to Independence: The Commonwealth, Results of the American Occupation; Part V: The War Years: The Japanese Occupation, The "Liberation"; Part VI: The Third Republic: Post-war Problems and the Republic, The Hukbalahap Movement, The Recognition of the Tao, The Continuing Crisis, Profile of the Economy, External Affairs, The Cultural and Social Scene, Under Martial Law, The Edsa Revolution.

The major convergences or periodization used in the narrative weren't much different from those used by the earlier positivist historians. Like them, Agoncillo relied as much on the various written sources of history; and in fact, he even reiterated this principle in his history for he included the major documents (he placed at the end of each chapter) he used in the publication of the work itself. The history of the archipelago was virtually the history of the coming of the different colonizers on the islands; and so, there was first the illustration of the venue (Pre-colonial Philippines), then, there were the illustrations of the same place as the colonizing foreigners came (Spanish Period, Reform and Revolution, American Period, the War Years), and there was the illustration after these visitors went (the Third Republic). It was a clear concretization --- and the intense nationalist sentiment of the author had a lot to do with this as well --- of the liwanag-dilim-liwanag tripartite view of the earlier generations of Filipino historians. Apropos, the Philippines before the coming of the colonizers enjoyed a primitive state of goodness and prosperity; it experienced hardships and darkness, when the colonizing foreigners came and ruled; but it slowly prospered again, like in the ancient times, when the colonizers left it alone. Agoncillo's history was, in this reference, not much different from those of others before him.

reminiscing it in a romantic way but to trace our roots so that we may be able to single out our mistakes and so avoid them in preparing our future, we cannot even take even a step forward. The concept of development, whether national or local, is continuous and continuity is the soul of development. It is in this that I plea with you, especially the teachers among you, to make our students history-conscious and so to awaken in them the spirit of nationalism and consciousness of national development through sustained and honest efforts at building up the community and the national polity." Teodoro Agoncillo, "On the Rewriting of Philippine History" in *Philippine Historical Association, Historical Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1-4, Jan-Dec, 1973.

His readings --- his interpretations --- though of the documents (generally, the same ones that his forerunners utilized), which he accordingly transferred in his written narrative were entirely new. Unlike those before him⁵⁶⁰, he did not allot much pages on the discussion of the Spanish period. He was entirely convinced that the Philippines did not have a history before the year 1872; that is, the year when the priests GomBurZa were slain and/or accordingly, the same year when the nationalist era of Philippine history begun. The years beforehand, according to him, were just the years of the Spanish expansion on the islands; it was, hence, the history of the Spaniards on the islands and not the real history of the Philippines. The years beforehand were virtually nothing but the years taken away from the rightful inhabitants of the islands, from the Filipinos; they were nothing but a period of *lost history* for the Filipino people. Scientific exertions must hence be concentrated on the times afterwards, on the years after the nationalist awakening which happened in year 1872. For Agoncillo, the major events afterwards were first, the propaganda movement and second, (and more importantly) the 1896 revolution. The former was discussed in such a manner not different from the other historical works of earlier; in the latter, however, a better discussion was granted to the major protagonist of the event: Andres Bonifacio, a man of the masses and the same one who led the nationalist revolution.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁶⁰ That is, with the major exception of the one immediately before him, namely, Prof. Pedro Gagelonia. Agoncillo was largely considered as the fully bloomed principles and political philosophy of the mentioned. Agoncillo put into fruition what was largely implied or nominally referred to in the historical works of Prof. Gagelonia.

⁵⁶¹ Ironically enough though, this treatment of Bonifacio by Agoncillo was only largely good on the immediate years after the work's publication. It did lead to the popularization (almost even near to a cult!) of Bonifacio as a national hero, as a national ideal for the almost all of the Filipinos of the times and context. Still, in Agoncillo's desire to stress the capabilities of Bonifacio as a man from the poor but a man of aggressive nationalist actions, he also, in the process, stressed that those from the poorer class (within which Bonifacio was part and representative) were the unthinking and uncalculating portion of the society, who first exerted actions before actually thinking and analyzing the whole situation they were in. Bonifacio, representative of the poor, was contrasted to the always thinking Rizal, representative of the middle class. Apropos, Agoncillo stated: "Bonifacio may have been ignorant from the point of view of the middle class, but he succeeded where the middle class failed. The middle class, in their naiveté, held on to their mistaken belief that Spain would hear their cries for reforms. Bonifacio, though not highly educated, had more insight than his intellectual superiors. It was this insight which led him to found the revolutionary Katipunan for he knew deep in his heart that Spain would never grant the reforms demanded by the reformists. His insight told him that only an armed conflict could make the Spaniards realize the folly of their bully-headedness. Bonifacio, then, was the legitimate Father of the Revolution, and without him it was extremely doubtful whether the Philippine Revolution could have become a reality at a time when everybody seemed in despair without doing anything about it. Yet, in the present estimation he is overshadowed by Rizal as the national hero. The reason for this is that when the Americans came they found in Rizal's philosophy of education of the masses first before independence a fitting rationalization of their colonial policy, namely, that of "benevolent assimilation", and so, they encouraged and promoted the Rizal cult. On the other hand, they found in Bonifacio, a common man, a dangerous precedent, for Bonifacio stood for the use of armed conflict in attaining independence and freedom. For the Americans, therefore, to promote the Bonifacio cult was to defeat their own purpose of discouraging the Filipinos from taking up arms against them. It is only in the Philippines where the leader of the liberation forces is not the national hero. This is not to disparage Rizal, who was a great Filipino and who deserves all the honors that his memory now enjoys. The point is that Bonifacio should be placed side by side with Rizal in so far as the national estimation is concerned." Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, Op.cit., pp. 159-160.

Unconsciously enough, it was in the same actions that Agoncillo, in a manner, segregated the middle class or the financially better to that of the poorer class. While the former were typified as the thinking, analyzing brainy lot, the latter were stereotyped as the unthinking, impulsive brawny portion of the same population. The richer were the intellectuals, while the poor were the aggressive, nearly stupid action men. The narrative, thence, though most probably unintended for there was a more urgent need of a nationalist narrative realization, isolated the rich and

Andres Bonifacio was an (institutionally) uneducated man; he did not have the proper chance to do so for he had to work and earn money for his family. Nonetheless, he educated himself through books and other forms of literature (including those of the Filipino propagandists in Spain during those times) that he could get his hands on; and it was through these readings that he came across the ideas of freedom and nationalism, which he theretofore translated in his various exertions, eventually leading to the start of the secret revolutionary society of the *Kataastaasang Kagalanggalangang Kapatiran ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (KKKANB), which in its turn effectively led the 1896 revolution against colonial Spain.

Effectively thence, in Agoncillo's narrative, the poorer class of Filipinos --- generally termed as the masses --- who were represented by Bonifacio was given a particular place and role in history. And because this was largely against the pro-American political trend of the times, Agoncillo's exertion was easily considered as a revolutionary political stance. The intellectually stimulated and identity-searching middle class intellectuals of the times accordingly gave him (Agoncillo) audience. But the problem was, and this had a lot to do with the context he was part of, Agoncillo was not actually ready to realize all that had to do with the full realization of a nationalist history, which takes off from the class differences through the times. Though he found almost nothing consequentially good with the Spanish and Japanese occupation of the islands, he did not entirely opined so with regards to the Americans. He was thankful to the Americans for granting the Philippines the learning of institutional education, health, and bureaucracy. The Americans, for him, were not wholly bad; they did some things worthy for the archipelago and its people. There was nothing wrong from learning further from them.⁵⁶² And so, during Agoncillo's term as chairman of the U.P. Department of History, quite

the middle classes from those of the poor class of the Philippine population. Consequently, instead of stressing unification, class differentiation was implicably encouraged.

⁵⁶² Agoncillo himself, for one, was a great follower of the American historians Carl L. Becker and Charles Beard. Most of his lectures and historical essays were further explanations, if not mirrors, of the historical convictions and philosophies of the latter two.

Even if quite disputed, there is no doubt that Becker and Beard played quite a role in the development of modern American historiography. Here was how their accomplishments were described by one of the later generation of historians of the U.S.: "Both Becker and Beard called upon the historian to cast off the chains which bound him to the idol of science. The scientific historian had distorted the purpose, method, and value of historical inquiry. They had failed to recognize the radically humanistic quality of their subject. Their pretensions had, above all, blinded them to a realization that the historian is necessarily a participant in the very process he studies. Neither he nor his writings can escape history. In thus reorienting the philosophy of history in America, Becker and Beard developed a new theory which critics have labelled "subjectivist-relativist-presentism". This ugly terminology --- though my own phrase of "skeptical" or "pragmatic" relativism may not seem less barbarous --- expresses the belief that Becker and Beard fatally undermined the historian's confidence that he can tell the historical truth about the past. The code of the scientific historian may have been naive; it may even have been oppressive; but at least a code. Becker and Beard failed to make clear just what new responsibilities the historian assumes when he no longer pretends to be a scientist. The ironic truth is, as the next two chapters attempt to make clear, their revolution was not enough. They succumbed in the end to positivism." Cushing Strout, *The Pragmatic Revolt in American History: Carl Becker and Charles Beard*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958, pp. 28-29.

For individual discussions on the two men's historical contributions to American historiography, see: Robert E. Brown, *Carl Becker on History and the American Revolution*, East Lansing, Michigan: The Spartan Press, 1970; Charlotte Watkins Smith, *Carl Becker: On History and the Climate of Opinion*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell

a number of the younger faculty members were sent to the United States for their Ph.D.s or for their further formal education. From the various universities in the U.S., these new breed of historians⁵⁶³ brought with them to the Philippines the American ideas of patron-client, elite-formation, and the like in the practice and analysis of the national as well as regional/local histories of the archipelago. Much efforts were given to the study of the times during the times of suppressed nationalism or the American occupation of the Philippines⁵⁶⁴; that is, because, after all, the times during the Spanish colonization were nothing but years of lost history. There was not much sense putting much efforts in it; better concentrate the energies on the real history of the Filipino people, the years after 1872. Agoncillo actively encouraged and challenged both his faculty members and students to concentrate their research energies on the minute details of the 1896 Philippine Revolution, for one. And so, generally, on account of the historical publications afterwards, one could interpret this affective political stance (on the part of the historians) in two related ways. For one, because of the almost authoritarian --- with reference to the number of readers --- place of Agoncillo's history, there wasn't much efforts exerted in the area of national history of the islands; and for another, much individual, specific studies were made on the different localities, during the American and Japanese occupations, of the archipelago. The years following were witness to the larger growth of local history as a specialized area of history and historiography of the islands world of the Philippines; as well as the growing influence (both because of their direct and indirect participation in the education of Filipino historians and of their direct participation in the publication of studies regarding the archipelago) of the American historians on the Philippines or more specifically, the American Philippinists. In a manner, hence, the Filipino historians during these times were professing in their various historical pieces a nationalist sentiment, which they learned and comprehended through their studies under the American tutelage. History as an idea was, in this way, operating and functioning in the persons of the Filipino historians at its finest. But more specifically, history as an intepretative discourse was being used by the intellectual/historians as a form of instrument, that could be utilized in the affective

University Press, 1956; Howard K Beale (Ed.), Charles A. Beard. An Appraisal, New York: Octagon Books, 1976; and Elias Berg, *The Historical Thinking of Charles A. Beard*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1957.

⁵⁶³ The more prominent figures among this group include Oscar Alfonso, who made his name as the co-author of Agoncillo's *History of the Filipino People*; Romeo V. Cruz, who pioneered the study on the kind of colonialism America put into practice on the Philippine archipelago or America's colonial desk in the Philippines; and Bonifacio Salamanca, who pioneered on a form of revisionist diplomatic history, most especially pertaining to that between the Philippines and the United States of America.

A tat younger but relatively contemporaneous to these three, who were not part of the U.P. Department of History but that of the U.P. Center for Asian Studies and U.P. College of Economics respectively, were Cesar Adib Majul and Onofre D. Corpuz. They were products of the American school system as well; that is, they finished their further studies (their Ph.D.s) in the United States. Majul excelled in two areas: one, in the area of history of ideas which he concretized in his published works *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution* (1957), *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution* (1960) and *Apolinario Mabini: A Revolutionary* (1964); and two, in the area of Filipino Muslims studies which was concretized in his *Muslims in the Philippines* (1973). O.D. Corpuz, on the other hand, made his name in history textbook writing through his *The Philippines* (1965) and *Roots of the Filipino Nation* (2 vols., 1990) and in economic history through his *Education and Socio-economic Change in the Philippines, 1870-1960* (1963), *Economics and Development* (co-authored with Sicat, 1965), *An Economic History of the Philippines* (1997), etc.

nationalist reawakening not only among their circles and in the varied practices of their crafts and/or sciences; but also among their reading and/or listening Filipino public.

This historiographical trend would be further developed and even enriched in the following years; and would garner its most significant and fully bloomed representation upon the publication of Renato Constantino's⁵⁶⁵ historical masterpiece, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited* in 1975. This work fully realized the meanings, individual/singular ideas, and methodological innovations which were only largely insinuated upon, implied by, or most of the time, compromised with the larger precepts of the more dominant positivist trend of historiography of the times and with the author's personal political convictions in the earlier published Agoncillo's history. It provided the necessities in a history book about the archipelago demanded by both the intellectuals and the everyday Filipino of the times who were hungering for political change and who largely thought, that their needed change was in the increasingly becoming popular Marxist analysis theory in the greater social sciences. The political context of the work's publication also contributed to the book's larger acceptance in the various ranks of the Filipino public. *Martial Law*⁵⁶⁶, which was declared by Ferdinand Marcos in 1972, virtually

⁵⁶⁴ See Appendix Nos. ; the various theses and dissertation presented to the U.P. Department of history between the 1960-1979, and between 1980-1992.

⁵⁶⁵ Renato Constantino was "one of the more popular textbook writers who gained prominence among the radical circles in both the academic and popular movements. His major critiques to traditional history writing became almost like a second bible to radical teachers and students alike.

Constantino's major works include an intellectual biography of Claro M. Recto, *The Making of a Filipino*; and two book-length collection of essays titled *Neo-colonial Identity and Counter-Consciousness: Essays on Decolonization and Insight and Foresight*. He also wrote books and monographs on the nature of the economy (*The Nationalist Alternative* and *The Second Invasion: Japan and the Philippines*) education (*The Miseducation of the Filipino*) and culture (*Westernizing Factors in the Philippines and Synthetic Culture and Development*). But by far, the most influential among his writings in terms of its impact on historical scholarship remains to be his two-volumework on Philippine history, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited* and *The Philippines: A Continuing Past*.

In his works on Philippine history, Constantino outlined his major thoughts along the lines of radical nationalist, pro-masses historiography...He viewed the history of the society as the history of the collective people's struggle towards the full realization of freedom and liberty. This history, he termed as "people's history". The kind of history that Filipinos ought to discover should not be used solely for academic purposes...A people's history can be written by means of documenting the people's struggle against the oppressive forces that enslave them.

These forces are identified by Constantino as the colonial establishment and the domination of the elite in Philippine society. Colonial and class oppression, therefore, are the obstacles to the realization of a true people's history." Francis A. Gealogo, "The Writing of "People's History" in the Philippines", in *Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. II, Op.cit., pp. 45-46.

⁵⁶⁶ *Martial Law Regime, 1972-1986*. "The period of constitutional authoritarianism from 21 Sept 1972, when Pres Marcos declared martial law, to his flight of Feb 26, 1986.

The declaration of martial law on 21 Sept 1972 was based on a provision of the 1935 Constitution that empowered the president "in case of invasion, insurrection or rebellion or imminent danger thereof, where the public safety requires it ... (to) suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, or place the Philippines or any part thereof under martial law. (Art VII, Sec 10, par 2)

The actuality of invasion, insurrection, or rebellion did not have to exist to justify the imposition of martial law. It would be enough that there was imminent danger thereof. Several violent incidents occurred from 1971 to 1972 which were attributed to communist rebels. During the months of July and August 1972, several mysterious bombing incidents occurred --- all blamed on Communist insurgents but suspected by some to be engineered or instigated by the government agents. The final excuse for the declaration was a faked ambush of the official car of the Secretary of National Defense, Juan Ponce Enrile... in 22 Sept 1972... Proclamation 1081 imposing martial rule was from then on declared... The proclamation was dated 21 Sept 1972 but it was actually signed on 17 Sept 1972. The moment Marcos got the report of the ambush, he immediately ordered Enrile and Ver to

prohibited any form liberal action, any form of liberal intellectual processing. Largely affected in the process were both the middle and the lower class Filipinos. Oppression of the most basic rights and suppression of any form of expression of the ground persons that make men human beings were everyday occurrence in and around the archipelago; that is, while during these times, Marcos was publicly declaring that what were being executed on the islands were concretizations of a form of democracy. His public declarations were being supported by the fact that he and his government were being fully supported by the United States of America. Surfacially hence, there was nothing wrong on the archipelago; there was even a form of calm on the land. It was only when one digs from the surface that one would see that the autocratic system did not allow any form of dissent and would do anything to keep its own built in status quo. During these times, there were basically two kinds of scholars; one group, which allowed itself to be used and serve as the think tank of the dictatorial system and another group, which exerted efforts to be able to liberally practice their sciences liberally. The former naturally enjoyed all the benefits that the dictatorial system could offer; while the latter, stereotyped as leftist or communists by the government, experienced all forms of oppression and suppression the system could create. The former continually published during those dark times; the latter had to contend themselves underground and had to exert massive efforts in finding other means of interpreting their existence as a people, other than through the democratic system that the Marcos dictatorship and the U.S. government purportedly utilized. And they sort of found their answer in the Marxist interpretation of change. Within the specialized area of history, *A Past Revisited* represented and concretized this new attitudinal point of view. The author of the work, Renato Constantino, generally represented the last of the more influential figures among the second generation of history textbook historians. His work and his name would from thentofore never be lost

implement Proc 1081. Government troops seized control of all communications and public facilities, closed schools, and arrested more than 40 opposition politicians including members of Congress, outspoken journalists and publishers, student leaders, intellectuals, labor union organizers, and delegates to the Constitutional Convention who had been against the idea of prolonging Marcos' power beyond 30 Dec 1973. They were accused of plotting to overthrow the government by violence and subversion. First in the order of priority for arrest was Sen Benigno Aquino who has plans of running for the presidency in 1973. Marcos would have been ineligible to run for president as he was already on his second term.

The formal announcement of Proc 1081 was broadcast in a nationwide radio-television hookup in the evening of 23 Sept, Sat., 22 hours after the arrests had begun. Newspapers and broadcast facilities were taken over and later transferred to Marcos cronies. One television network and one newspaper, the Daily Express (both owned by crony Roberto Benedicto with Enrique Romualdez, the first lady's cousin), and the government radio station resumed operations after the coup.

Invoking powers within the framework of his own edict, Marcos padlocked the Congress and assumed all powers of government, executive, legislative, and even judicial. He assumed the last directly through military commissions and indirectly through his power, under the 1973 Constitution, to remove all judicial officers from the lowest to the highest even without cause. However, he permitted the judiciary to function but specifically barred it from any case involving validity, legality or constitutionality of Proc 1081.

The validity of the Constitution of 1973 was upheld by the Supreme Court as having been ratified by the barangay assemblies held between Jan 10, 1973 and Jan 15, 1973, the result of which was announced under Proc No 1102, dated 17 Jan 1973. Thereafter, Marcos ruled under the 1973 Constitution. One of its transitory provisions stated: All proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions, and acts promulgated, issued or done by the incumbent Pres shall remain valid, legal, binding, and effective even after lifting of martial law or the ratification of this Constitution, unless modified, revoked or superseded by subsequent proclamations, orders, decrees,

among the ranks of both teachers and students in the various political movements⁵⁶⁷ during the decades of the 70's and 80's in and around the archipelago.

In the work, in the tradition of scholarship all over, Constantino, foremost reviewed the various Filipino historiographical efforts and errors before him; and then proceeded to express what he thought the real and most important job of the Filipino historian of the times, which was still to be executed. He said,

...the task is to advance to the writing of a truly Filipino history, the history of the Filipino people. This means that the principal focus must be on the anonymous masses of individuals and on the social forces generated by their collective lives and struggles. For history, though it is commonly defined as the story of man, is not the story of man the individual, but man the collective, that is, associated man. Without society there can be no history and there are no societies without men... It was in cooperative work that men first became human and this cooperative effort is what produced society. But cooperation is an exigency of struggle against nature and against social forces. Men must work together to fight natural or social forces stronger than their individual selves. Struggle is therefore the essence of life, whether of an individual or society. An individual has no history apart from society, and society is the historical product of people in struggle.⁵⁶⁸

Rephrased, the job of the historian is not only to write a nationalistic history, his job is to write the history of the greater number of the ever surviving Filipino people, the history of the struggling Filipino masses. The history of the Filipino people must be, in this regard, granting of the compliment of articulation to those figureless, faceless individuals, who always served as the background in the past published histories. They are the real makers of history; they, and lesser, the supposedly *great* men who only led and so, worked with them, deserve to be heard. A history of the Filipino people must be, hence, a history of the inarticulate, a real people's history. Constantino, in accordance, encouraged the historians and readers of the work to take a look again at the past; that is, to revisit the already written history of the Filipinos. It was, he implied, time to reconsider and reevaluate what was written, in order to redress the imbalance long done to the real makers of Philippine history. A real people's history is urgently needed for

...we Filipinos search for truly Filipino solutions to Filipino problems. As it is, we habitually analyze Philippine society in the light of colonial myths and foreign concepts and values and act on the basis of assumptions and premises that only reveal our lack of understanding of the rich experiences contained in our history of struggles for freedom. History for most of us is a melange of facts and dates, of personalities and events, a mixture of hero worship and empty homiletics about our national identity and our tutelage in democracy. History appears as a segmented

instructions, or other acts of the incumbent Pres, or unless and explicitly modified or repealed by the regular National Assembly..." Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Science, Vol. I, Op.cit., pp. 279-287.

⁵⁶⁷ Constantino's masterpiece was always used in connection to Amado Guerrero's Philippine Society and Revolution (Manila: Pulang Tala Publications, 1971). In a manner, the latter provided the movement the most convenient explanation of the ideals of their action; while the former provided the details and further explanations began in the latter.

⁵⁶⁸ Renato Constantino, The Philippines: A Past Revisited (Pre-Spanish – 1941), Vol. I, Manila: (1975), 1998, p. 5.

documentation of events that occurred in the past, without any unifying thread, without continuity save that of chronology, without clear interrelation with the present.⁵⁶⁹

A real people's history is a reusable history; it is a history that could be used by the people in their everyday struggles. A real people's history should never be a history dictated and standardized by foreign myths, concepts, and values. A real people's history is a history which illustrates the past of the people in discussion, with a view of explaining its own present situation. It must both be descriptive and analytical; it must objectively narrate developments and furthermore, it must give room for evaluative and explanative discussions. A people's history should be an instrument that helps a people percept its own self; "for when the present is illuminated by a comprehension of the past, it is that much easier for the people to grasp the direction of their development and identify the forces that impede real progress."⁵⁷⁰ A people's history should be, more importantly thence, both an illustration and explanation of a people's singular identity. More specifically, a people's history of the Philippines

...must trace the continuity of the people's material and subjective growth. The unifying and divisive force of colonialism must be seen in the responses of the people through struggle. There must be no segmentation of the different stages of our history. The continuity, despite the evolution and disappearance of forms of social life and institutions, must be shown first in the appearance of a nation which was both the product of Spanish colonialism and its very antithesis, and then in the transformation of that nation under American colonialism...

The only way a history of the Philippines can be Filipino is to write on the basis of the struggles of the people, for in these struggles the Filipino emerged.

Filipino resistance to colonial oppression is the unifying thread of Philippine history.⁵⁷¹

A history of the Filipino people, in Constantino's opinion, is the narrative of the people's struggles through time; it is the story of the people's pursuit to make life easier, if not better. A history of the Filipino people should concretely picture how the greater number of the population, the masses, fought against the system built by the few better off or by the elite who cooperated and generally worked with the colonial masters. A history of the Filipino people should never be the history of the few, it should always be the history of the inarticulate masses.

It is the historian's most important responsibility, in this regard, to gather the necessary data that would aptly illustrate how the people moved the and through time and context. He would have to, expectedly enough, examine documents and all available records, including folklore; plus, he would have to have a certain degree of the capability for inspired deduction, for historical interpretation.⁵⁷² A

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁷² Constantino, expectedly enough, was never alone in this line of thinking. Many social scientist took up this social responsibility to the heart. There was an active and publicized discourse and/or discussions among them. They're number was, in fact, not just limited among the Filipino social scientists. Many American Philippinists/Philippinologists supported their line of thought. Among the more reknowned from these foreign scholars was William Henry Scott. He was in the opinion, that historians could concretely read what happened

historian, hence, is not only a social scientist; more importantly, he is a person with a particular social responsibility. And this could be interpreted as such, that the precepts implied in the latter could and should not be compromised with the implied precepts of the former. A historian's social responsibility comes always foremost to everything else. Here was how the product of Constantino's exertions looked:

Part I: Liberation Transformed: Towards a People's History (An Introduction), The First Liberation, Baranganic Societies, Pacification and Exploitation, The Colonial Landscape, Monastic Supremacy; Part II: The Crucible of Practice: Patterns of Struggle, End of Isolation, Progress and Protest, Revolution and Nationhood; Part III: Unity and Disunity: Revolution and Compromise, The Second Coup, Collaboration and Resistance (1), Collaboration and Resistance (2), New Outpost and Preserve, Colonial Society and Politics, Turbulent Decades; Part IV: Prologue: A Usable Past.

The titles of each of the portion of the work were obviously aimed at stimulating an emotion of anger with a tinge of frustration from the readers. Colonialism was, expectedly enough, pictured as the fulcrum in the history of the people. Colonialism was illustrated as the embodiment of the greatest evil/hurdle that the Filipino people had to, due to the greed of the colonial masters, live and experience. The approach used in the narrative, though keeping to the universal conception of the passing linear time line, was topical. This was particularly needed for the historian wanted to keep to the set theme of the historical work; that is, to keep to the theme of stressing the various experiences of the greater number of Filipinos, the Filipino masses. Though one could not miss the fact that the historian was still following the chronological lines of a linear philosophy of history, which could largely be read in the written document, one would also not miss the fact that the historian already let himself freely interpret the sources or materials he used for the actual writing. The compromise, for one, that Agoncillo made, when he attached the most important documents that he utilized after every chapter of his history, was not made by Constantino anymore. He utilized the written materials; but he interpreted them according to his own set framework, as well as his own norms and standards. The most important learning that he read from these materials was clear. That is, that the history of the Filipino people is the story of the Filipino people's struggles through time. The Filipino people or, to be more exact, the Filipino masses had been struggling against many forms of forces throughout the

to the inarticulate Filipinos in history by looking for them behind the cracks in the parchment curtain (referring to the documents). According to him: "Yet there are cracks in that curtain, chinks, so to speak, through which fleeting glimpses of Filipinos and their reactions to Spanish dominion may be seen. These are more often than not unintentional and merely incidental to the purpose of the documents containing them. Original letters and reports, bickering complaints among conquistadores, appeals for support, reward, and promotion, long-winded recommendations that were never implemented, and decrees inspired by local obstruction of government goals -- all these contain direct or implied references to Filipino behaviour and conditions. These insights do not generally appear in official documents. The author of a history book has the task of setting forth the end results of the events surveyed and so does not have time to cite such details as do not illustrate this point. Yet every researcher in Spanish or Philippine archives quickly learns that almost any document contains some little Filipino glimpse for which he was not looking and which did not interest the author of the document. A few examples will show just how interesting, or even significant, such details may be." William Henry Scott, "Cracks in the Parchment Curtain", in *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain. And Other Essays in Philippine History*, Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1985, p. 1.

centuries. It was through these needed struggles, which culminated in the 1896 Philippine Revolution against the Spanish colonial power on the archipelago, that the Filipino nation was borne out and realized. The Filipino people themselves should be aware of these struggles in their past; they should be able to not only understand but comprehend what happened in the past years for it is the only way that they would be able to really understand themselves as a people. With this in mind,

History, then, should serve the purpose of integrating seemingly isolated facts and events into a coherent historical process so that a view of the totality of social reality may be achieved. Only then can facts be really understood and not be merely known; only then can this understanding of facts become an understanding of society; only then can history be perceived as a unified process. Only then can history have a goal. And when history has a goal, the past ceases to dominate the present and to hold back the future. Then history can be consciously made.⁵⁷³

History becomes, in a manner, not only an instrument for national reawakening, it becomes an instrument and/or a take off point for greater political awareness and reorganization, which, on their own, definitely and unquestionably aims for change. At the same time, it was recognized as something that could be intentionally maneuvered, intentionally made. The Filipino masses, in this regard, were being reiterated upon that they make history and, more importantly, that they can create their own future. History was, hence, viewed as power; that is, as a power that could make the Filipino masses, as a whole, think and so, act better. Knowledge on history could make the Filipino masses further recognize their oneness as a people; and so, history or, more appropriately, people's history stimulates the people's awareness that they make up a political whole, a nation. In this regard, thence, a people's history stimulates this feeling of loyalty among the people to their unique wholeness as a political entity; it stimulates the feeling of nationalism among the people. And that was exactly what was needed by the times and context. A history of the Filipino people should encourage nationalism among the people. That is, because

The detrimental, anti-colonial effects of neocolonial control are producing an increasing awareness of the continuing power of former metropolitan countries and their global corporations. Nationalism can again become a weapon to combat new impediments to progress and freedom. But this time, nationalism must acquire a new dimension. It is no longer the ideological tool directed against the presence of foreign rulers who obstructed nationhood; it should be a guide for liberating elements who are determined to extirpate the more insidious and dangerous forces that utilize the veil of political independence to conceal the reality of external control. Therefore, nationalism has to be categorically anti-imperialist. As a liberating ideology it no longer confines its goal to formal independence, the legalistic expression of nationhood completed: rather it enlarges the arena of struggle to include the exposure and elimination of new and more sophisticated techniques of external domination in all fields of endeavor.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷³ Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past...* Op.cit., p. 404.

⁵⁷⁴ Renato Constantino and Letizia Constantino, *The Philippines: The Continuing Past*, Quezon City: The Foundation for Nationalist Studies, (1978), 1997, pp. 341-342.

With these words, Renato Constantino effectively practiced the principle that says that the written narrative could be utilized in spreading a particular ideology and conviction to its readers.⁵⁷⁵ The written narrative could, in a way, be used in indoctrinating a target group of readers, a target audience. History was being utilized in conveyance of particular meanings and mind condition, which largely made or particularly designed to affect action. History, in this regard, becomes both an effective and affective disciplinal/scientific creation. History virtually conveyed power, power to change, on its

⁵⁷⁵ In this area, Constantino's book was more than successful. His work was practically the basic reading for college-level (sometimes even high school-level) students of history. *The Past Revisited* provided the ground knowledge about the history of the archipelago for students between the time of its publication till the 80's (and even till today, in some areas of the islands). It experienced a number of printing, due to its huge demand not only among the Filipinos but also among those who purport to specialize in the study of the Philippines or the Philippinologists. And naturally, not all of these foreign scholars were in accordance to Constantino's history and historiography, which he concretized in his work. One of the more articulate among these foreign critiques was the American Philippinologist, Glenn May. He published a biting review article of Constantino's work in the academic journal *The Diliman Review* of the University of the Philippines in 1983. After systematically stating that Constantino's work was more propagandistic, advocating, and only nominally (or not really) scholarly, he concluded this way: "Beyond that, we might wonder what pedagogical purpose is served by using *A Past Revisited* as a college-level history text. It is lively and provocative, to be sure, but it violates virtually every canon of historical scholarship, and rather than teaching students to think critically, it merely offers them a new dogma to replace the old. The study of history has a great deal to offer --- among other things, a methodology which emphasizes the critical use of sources and a healthy scepticism about received wisdom. Yet to my knowledge, introductory level courses at the U.P. barely touched on methodological questions. To expose students to such a distorted version of the past and to refrain from exposing them to the methodological tools that would enable them to identify the distortions strikes me as perverse and pedagogically counterproductive. Is it not possible to produce a generation of nationalists who are able to think critically?" Glenn May, "A Past Revisited, A Past Distorted", *Diliman Review* Vol. 31 No. 2, March-April, 1983, Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1983.

This biting article provided, expectedly enough, another venue for discussion, for discourse. The Filipino academic historians of the U.P. reacted and published their own views and opinions on the same matter in the same academic journal only a couple of months afterwards. Ironically enough, to stress the defending nature of argument used in the essays, the main work was entitled "The Empire Strikes Back". It was written by Silvino Epistola. It was supported by two other interviews of Samuel Tan and Jaime Veneracion. The main article naturally exerted efforts in effectively making May's arguments against Constantino's work lame and unfunctioning; that is, after all, part of the larger game called debate or the argumentative form of discourse. Its clear plea was most loud: the Filipino readers should be most watchful in recognizing another attempts at their freedom, they should be most watchful in recognizing imperialistic moves as well as innuendoes --- implying of course that of May's work. Epistola added: "Vigilance should be the watchword of all young Filipinos who are blessed enough to care, vigilance in manning the flood-gates of vested interests inimical to theirs. Various are the guises of those who seek to fragment and nullify the combined efforts of their admirably vigilant elders. Academic purveyors of empire-serving "truth and validity" deserve to be mistrusted. Any attempt to rob young Filipinos of the sweat-and-blood-earned legacy from their own elders and masses of ancestors deserves no less than their contempt.

A Past Revisited has withstood the fabricated history and the contrived logic of *Distorted*. *A Past Revisited* still stands as "a good starting point for comprehension of modern Philippine history" for the young Filipinos who have the power to make the world unsafe for imperialism.

Actually, the Empire has no choice. It must strike back to make the world safe for imperialism, and it has stuck back in a book." Silvino Epistola, "The Empire Strikes Back", *Diliman Review* Vol. 31 No. 4, July-August, 1983, Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1983.

This exchange of opinions between the parties received such a huge attention both among the community of scholars and those of the students. It proved that there was still a lively discourse within the larger discipline of history of the archipelago; plus, it was further affirmation, that the most important idea working within the larger field of historiography on the islands was that of the history/historia. The foreign idea has taken the most important role in the development of historiography on the islands; and the Filipino scholars/historians enthusiastically took part (and still are taking part) in its developments. In a manner, in doing such, the Filipino scholars/historians were not really creating their own version of history, they were only continuing, enriching, or developing what was already taught onto them and discussed with them by their foreign (English-speaking, mostly American) teachers/mentors and later on, colleagues.

reader; and because Constantino's target readers were the ambiguous masses, then his work was intended to inform them that they have the capability to change the tide in society and they have the capability to retrieve what were taken from them by the colonials and their collaborators, the elite.

This seemingly attractive, most especially for the nationalist intellectuals, form of discussion which basically aims at conversing with the inarticulate, with the poorer Filipinos, would be largely continued in the various historical publications in the following years. More and more, the Marxist interpretation of history gained larger ground; that is, not only among the historians but among the better portion of the social scientists as well. Methodologically, structural analysis, social investigation, and/or cultural inventory technique became popularly utilized. There was an almost visible need to create a history of the masses, a history of the discriminated upon inarticulate, a real history of the Filipino people. The most significant among them though would not be an historical work which has a national and general scope; it would be a work which specifically tried at illustrating the narrative of a specific topic in the history of the archipelago, that of the various movements and/or leading to revolution. *Pasyon and Revolution. Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* by Reynaldo Clemena Ilet⁵⁷⁶ was first published in 1979. This book was actually the refined version of the author's dissertation in Cornell University in 1972. It was originally entitled: *Pasión and the Interpretation of Change in the Tagalog Society*. According to the author, the study aims

...to arrive at a fuller understanding of Tagalog peasant-based social movements in the 19th and early 20th centuries. While the fundamental outlooks of Agoncillo and Sturtevant are accepted, there are limitations in their conceptual frameworks which have to be overcome. Instead of using preconceived or reified categories of nationalism and revolution as the matrix through which events are viewed, an attempt shall be made in this study to bring to light the units of meaning which shaped the masses' perceptions of events and their participation in events. Instead of positing a simple deterministic relationship between socio-economic conditions and action, we shall try to show how certain types of behavior previously regarded as foolish or irrational, are the external manifestations of creative attempts to restructure the world in order to render it meaningful in terms of personal and collective experience. It is absurd to say that the 19th century Filipino mind was, as one scholar puts it, "dull, jaded, stagnant", doomed to annihilation until ideas from Europe came to inject a dynamic element into it. Such a conclusion invariably results from an analytical method which, instead of basing itself upon a prior analysis of the "Filipino mind's" mode of perceiving or patterning the world, proceeds to interpret historical data in terms of educated, middle-class Filipino's categories of experience which have been deeply influenced by Western concepts of "creativity", "activity", "success", "progress", etc. The present study begins with the re-examination of a religious movement in the 1830's and ends with a religious movement in the 1900's in order to show how certain units of meaning in the popular consciousness remained structurally unchanged before and after 1872, how these transformed Western ideas and integrated them into a coherent realm of meaning.

The problem of understanding Philippine nationalism and the revolution is related to the problem of defining the Philippine personality, political behavior and, ultimately, social structure.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁶ Reynaldo C. Ilet, born in Manila in 1946, was educated at the Ateneo de Manila and Cornell University. He was Associate Professor at the University of the Philippines before joining the faculty of James Cook University in Australia, where he was Senior Lecturer. Ilet is currently Reader in Asian History at the Australian National University. (Reynaldo Clemena Ilet, *Pasyon and Revolution. Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, (1979), 1998, book back cover.)

⁵⁷⁷ Reynaldo Ilet, *Pasion and the Interpretation of Change in the Tagalog Society*, Diss., Cornell University, 1972, pp. 8-9.

Just like his two most immediate colleagues, Ileta's intention was to make a history "from below"; that is, a history of the Filipino people, a history of the masses. But unlike the former, he had a concrete suggestion on how to really execute this intentions. He has quite an innovative method on how to really make the earlier inarticulate, articulate. And in fact, when one proceeds in reading the work, one would see that the author was not only successful in making the ambiguous masses articulate, he made them sing! The main goal of the work was quite clear: it meant to illustrate how the Filipino revolutionaries thought, and then, proceeded. It meant to explain and narrate the history of the mental structures of the Filipino --- a procedure which was not necessarily new to the times and universal context of the historical discipline. It was inspired by the American methodological version of the French philosophical traditions, namely that of Bloch, Foucault, and LeFebvre. Consequent to this intentions, Ileta, in a manner, challenged the almost sacred authority of the primary, written document as the sole and most important source of history. That is, because the document is largely written by and for men of political, economic, or religious importance; and so, automatically only proofs of their own thinking.⁵⁷⁸ The people, the poor masses never really had the chance to speak and make themselves known in this source of history. The challenge was, hence, to find and accordingly utilize the concretizations through the years of how these seemingly silent Filipinos spoke and articulate their minds. There had to be, after all, a way to generally determine the mind sets, the mental conditions/milleu of the poor Filipino people in the past. Ileta found his answers by analyzing the non-documents of history; that is, the songs, the poems, the folklore, the jokes, even bodily movements while making speeches of the people through the centuries. Though for years before him criticized by many social scientists as unreliable historical materials, Ileta found greater reason to use Tagalog narrative poems and songs as sources for the narration of the popular movements in the Tagalog areas. He said:

One characteristic of such Tagalog sources as narrative poems and songs is their apparent disregard for accurate description of past events. But factual errors, especially when a pattern in their appearance is discerned can be a blessing in disguise... When errors proliferate in a patterned manner, when rumors spread "like wildfire," when sources are biased in a consistent way, we are in fact offered the opportunity to study the workings of popular mind. This is applicable not only to "folk" sources like riddles and epics but to works whose authors are known. The latter are

⁵⁷⁸ Ileta explained: "To write history "from below" requires the proper use of documents and other sources "from below". Anyone who plows through the range of materials available, say, in Tagalog, soon realizes why a history form the viewpoint of the masses has been long in coming. Although most of the sources used in this work --- poems, songs, scattered autobiographies, confessions, prayers, and folk sayings --- have been published or were known to previous scholars, they were utilized only insofar as they lent themselves to the culling facts or the reconstruction of events. For these purposes, Tagalog sources have proven to be of limited value. That is why, in studies of popular movements, Spanish and English-language sources constitute the bulk of documentation. No doubt the data in these sources are generally reliable and enable the narrative to be told. But since the language carries with it the history of its speakers and expresses a unique way of relating to the world, the exclusive use of, say, ilustrado Spanish documents in writing about the revolution, is bound to result in and ilustrado bias on issues and events which offer multiple perspectives. If we are to arrive at the Tagalog masses' perceptions of events, we have to utilize their documents in ways that extend beyond the search for *cold facts*." Reynaldo Clemena Ileta, *Pasyon and Revolution*...Op.cit., p. 10.

usually analyzed as products or expressions of individual creative minds, despite the fact that poetry or history can only be written within the context of a system of conventions which delimit the text. As long as a writer intends to communicate, he has to imagine the reactions of his readers who have assimilated the system of conventions used. Knowing something of this underlying system enables us to transcend questions of authorship, which is problematic in many Tagalog sources. Once we have gained some idea of the structure of the popular mind, data from conventional sources like official reports and outsider accounts can be fruitfully used. For example, we can get at the full significance of the observation that the Katipuneros wept after their initiation, only after we have analyzed and understood the complex meanings behind acts of compassion, weeping and empathy, which are abundantly illustrated in the literature. In other words, “weeping” acquires meaning only if it is integrated into a system of unconscious thought.⁵⁷⁹

With these words, Iletto was, in a manner, pioneering two relatively uncharted areas in Philippine historiography: first, in the area of methodology or specifically, in the area of the utility of sources of knowledge in history, and second, in the area of meanings conferred from the interpretation of the assigned sources of history. Generally, the former was not entirely new in the various circles of Filipino intellectuals. The method it denoted was known as literary criticism; and it was mostly used in the areas of literature and linguistics. Both the textual and contextual analysis were largely utilized in the process; meanings and new interpretations were therefrom extracted and incorporated in a well formulated framework of the narrative. This technique was never really used, nor even entertained to be used, in the area of history beforehand. Popular literature was, after all, too popular for the tastes and sensibilities of the earlier historians, who opined that the written document remains to be the main source of information in the historical narrative. The reinterpretation, in this regard, of the same method (literary criticism) in the light of the greater historical method provided, hence, refreshment, innovation, and an almost unlimited potential for other future works of history. The latter, on the other hand, which considering the kinds of sources that Iletto utilized, amounted to two methodological procedures contained in hermeneutics⁵⁸⁰ and semiotics⁵⁸¹, which in their turns were never really seriously utilized in most of the publications on history about and in the archipelago. Consequent to this, Iletto, with his work, was actually putting forward an alternative history; a history which was not necessarily comparable to the linear forms of the years beforehand. In line with the discussion on nationalism and history a few years after the first discussion of the Pasyon, he illustrated this form of new description of history as such:

In an alternative history we should find a whole range of phenomena which have been discredited or denied as history. This history should have a conception of historical beginnings as lowly, complex and contingent --- not romantizations of the barangay or communal society, not celebrations of some epic resistance to colonialism. It give equal status to interruptions, repetitions and reversals, uncovering and subjugations, confrontation, power struggles and resistances at the level of the local and specific, which our dominant histories tend to conceal. For only at this level can we begin to appreciate the dynamism at the heart of the so-called “dark age” of our history. Only at this level can we begin to grasp the notion of “association” which seems to

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁸⁰ Hermeneutics. The art and science of interpretation. For a more detailed discussion, cf: Introduction (D. Geistesgeschichte as History of Ideas, History of Ideas as Historiographieggeschichte) of this study.

⁵⁸¹ Semiotics. The study of signs and symbols and their relationships in language. For a more detailed discussion, cf. Pambid, Semiotika ng...Op.cit.

promise an alternative to that of the nation-state. Only at this level will we find a history that can resist attempts by power groups to appropriate it for themselves. We tend to identify nationalism with identity, unity, destiny. We would be better nationalists, I think, with a national history that welcomes difference, disorder, and uncertainty.⁵⁸²

An alternative history could definitely, in this view, be non-linear in nature.⁵⁸³ Linear history is, after all, consequential to the interpretations of the proofs of history and so, proofs of the mental structure of the foreign West. An alternative history, which stresses and narrates the constant development of events and happenings which were ultimately foreseen as events and happenings leading to a glorious end, is not necessarily passable and descriptive to/of the Philippine experience. There should be no shame on the part of the historian in describing failures, disorders, and doubts in the history of the islands; they are all parts and parcels of the whole. The silences, or what were earlier left out,⁵⁸⁴ in history should be aired and articulated. In a manner, Iletto was also making a form of constructive criticism on the written history of the archipelago of the past; or more specifically, on the interpretation of the history of the archipelago started by the ilustrados, by the propagandists of the nineteenth century, which was continued by many historians for many years afterwards. He was critical of the kind of history which stressed the illustration of the great and small traditions in history⁵⁸⁵ --- an procedure that was actually used by the colonial historian to point out their greater difference to the lowly natives of the archipelago. The Filipino historians, starting the nineteenth century, did not really move out of their way to verge from such an interpretation in history. What they did, instead, was to exert massive efforts in order to glorify elements of Philippine culture or events in Philippine history so that these --- and accordingly, the Filipinos and the Philippine nation --- could be comparable and accepted as one of or among the great traditions (and not just among the little traditions like what was described by the foreign scholars earlier) of the various nations of the world, of history. Iletto exerted efforts in moving away from this tendency. One could clearly witness that even in the structure of his Pasyon; that is,

⁵⁸² Reynaldo Clemena Iletto, "Critical Questions on Nationalism", Inaugural Lecture: Lorenzo Tanada Professorial Chair in History, De La Salle University, Delivered August 12, 1985, Manila: 1986.

⁵⁸³ Cf.: Reynaldo Clemena Iletto, "Outlines of a Non-Linear Emplotment of Philippine History", in *Selections of the Development of Southeast Asia*, Singapore: ISEAS, 1988.

⁵⁸⁴ Here were his words: "The Philippine history that we have today is a glaring example of how the raw data of the past has been organized, ordered, within a framework of development, emergence, linear time, scientific reason, humane pragmatism, governmental ordering, and so forth, *which we are not aware of*. The operations by which some events are highlighted while others suppressed, the division into arbitrary historical periods, the establishment of chains of cause and effect, the temporal ordering of phenomena in a certain way --- such as from primitive to advance, religious to secular revolts --- in short, the overall assembly or construction of history is obscured or kept out of sight in history textbooks and history teaching. The student is made to learn the facts of history, not the silences (or that which is left out), and not why is made in this way rather than that way." Iletto, "Critical Questions...Op.cit., p. 4.

⁵⁸⁵ Within this bounds of historical methods nuances, among other things of course, Iletto had a colorful published discussion with another historian, Milagros Guerrero of the U.P. Department of History. Cf.: Milagros Guerrero, Review Article: "Understanding Philippine Revolutionary Mentality" in *Philippine Studies* 29 (1981); Reynaldo Iletto, Notes and Comments: "Critical Issues in "Understanding Philippine Revolutionary Mentality" in *Philippine Studies* 30 (1982).

1 Toward a History from Below: The “Revolt of the Masses”, Understanding Philippine Society, The Pasyon and the Masses, Power and Anting-anting; 2 Light and Brotherhood: Cofradia Rituals and Prayers, Apolinario’s Teachings, A Tagalog Christ, The Aritao Commune, The New Jerusalem; 3 Tradition and Revolt: The Katipunan: Katipunan Manifestos, Initiation Rites, Return of King Bernardo Carpio, Lakaran of the Sons; 4 The Republic and the Spirit of 1896: Challenges to Malolos, Recovering of the Past, Poetry and Revolution; 5 The Path to Kalayaan, 1901-1910: Persistence of the Kalayaan Ideal, Sakay’s Katipunan, Kalayaan as Religion, Betrayal and Sakay’s Death, Idiom of Protest in the “New Era”; 6 The Pasyon of Felipe Salvador: Salvador’s Early Career, Social Conflict in the Republic, Santa Iglesia Struggle, 1899-1906, Meaning and Autobiography, The People’s Rising of 1910, Pasion, Death and....

Much efforts were obviously exerted by the author in interpreting and writing history through and in utility of the conceptual world of those who actually realized the events described in it. How these people of the past thought during their times as they proceeded in their ways, which in turn would receive the political notice from those who held power within their historical context (and hence, the attention of most of the historians as well in the years afterwards), were focused on in the entirety of the work. In consequence, the work nearly tended solely to illustrate the spirituality or the mystical (in the standards of the foreign scholars) qualities of the past Filipinos. That was but natural. Their own spirituality occupied and still occupies a great portion of the Filipinos’ mindsets. Spiritual considerations were naturally firstly (most of the times, unknowingly as well) taken, before any particularly important decision and action should be made. Quite a number of real Filipino concepts and ideas within this aspect of the Filipino personality were resultingly tackled within the narrative. The anting-anting, the various rituals and prayers, the idea of kalayaan, plus the philosophy of the katipunan were only some of the major areas discussed, in the light of the non-documents previously mentioned above, and naturally, in the realization of the set framework and principles of the author. As a result, the Filipino, who was rarely seen or actually discussed in most of the written histories of the past, became the rightful center of the narrative. A few aspects of his person and his identity were intelligently discussed and illustrated. His history, hence, increasingly became, in the process, the key to that pursuit which aims at realizing who the Filipino, outside that person who was glorified for his great traditions and outside that general ambiguous political concept of the masses, really is. The Pasyon of Ileta, among other things, concluded with three major statements: one, the inappropriateness of the Western methodological concepts of great and little traditions in the interpretation and writing of a Filipino history; two, the great possibilities and potentials of utilizing the non-documents (e.g. the pasyon itself which he utilized as a major principle as well as actual source) in the writing of history; and three, the granting of the rightful place of the average Filipino as the center of every historian’s quest in writing a Filipino people’s history.⁵⁸⁶ Ileta, in the process, opened doors not only for other

⁵⁸⁶ Here were his own words: “There is a well-known saying that “men make their history upon the basis of prior conditions.” But what determines human behavior must include not only real and present factors but also a certain object, a certain future, that is to be actualized. We have seen that even the poor and unlettered masses in the nineteenth century had the ability to go beyond their situation, to determine what its meaning would be instead of merely being determined by it. Not that the aspirations of the masses always were of a revolutionary nature or went beyond limited, private demands. Nonetheless, only those movements were successful that built upon the masses’ conceptions of the future as well as social and economic conditions. The subjects of this book have at one time or another been called bandits, ignoramuses, heretics, lunatics, fanatics, and, in particular,

historians but for most of the social scientists as well. The huge amount of still living oral and ritual traditions of the Filipino, in light or in example of the methodological process he utilized, promises a rich ground and basis for new interpretations and new explanations. The conviction on the almost equal authority of the non-document to that of the written document was reinforced; it promises greater freedom of interpretation or more creativity of expression and explanation within the narrative for the historian. The redirection of focus from that of the great men and better classes to that of the average Filipino from the classes below opened possibilities for new research stress and accordingly, new research results and consequences. Ileta's *Pasyon*, hence, provided the Filipino historian and social scientist his needed new wind for furtherance; or, in another view, his needed new challenge. Ileta's *Pasyon* furthered discussions among the intellectuals, it furthered the discourse; and in fact, reaffirmed the apt and dynamic idea that history is a discourse. It became subject and, most of the time, jumpstarts of the various researches, discussions and argumentations of many historians' and intellectual circles around and even outside the archipelago. It was, and still is, considered a breakthrough in the social sciences' scene of the country. Historiography on the Philippines was, through its example, at its finest.

Still, the work, though definitely pioneering in the Philippine context, also represented an almost ironical contradiction. There was already no doubt that Ileta exerted efforts towards the illustration of the mindsets of the masses or of those Filipinos from below, but because he used the American English language --- a language which was and still is not used by an average Filipino farmer, fisher, or worker in the archipelago --- it was also clear that he was not actually talking to and writing for those who were his actual subjects. Ileta was clearly speaking with those who speak and understand his language; he was basically speaking with his colleagues and with the other English-speaking intellectuals/social scientists. Ileta was, in this view, still very much a part of the earlier begun American historiographical discourse on the Philippine Islands, or, in other words, colonial American discourse on the Philippines. He was not pioneering something entirely new for the Philippines; he was, in reality, enriching a foreign discourse via the example of a study on his countrymen. In a manner, in the person of Ileta was still the embodiment of the propagandist/ilustrado of the late nineteenth century. And like his forerunners, he also experienced the same dilemma; as a socially aware intellectual, he knew that his loyalty was to his people, but his formal generally foreign training and practice as an intellectual --- more often than not --- made him accept quite a number of compromises when it goes on to the political overtones contained on the former. This dilemma of the intellectual was already recognized and discussed by Ileta's immediate forerunner, Renato

failures. Not only has this been a way in which the "better classes" keep these people in oblivion; worse, this signifies a failure or a refusal to view them in the light of their world. Oddly enough, such epithets are found in the *pasyon*; popular culture itself anticipates such attitudes on the part of the elite. But as we move forward on the path to *kalayaan*, we can hardly ignore the voices from below." Ileta, *Pasyon* and...Op.cit., p.256.

Constantino, who called it the *miseducation of the Filipino*⁵⁸⁷. The Filipino intellectual or, to be more apt to our subject, the Filipino historian readily and, most of the time, unconsciously discuss among themselves or among those of his former colonizers, while discussing his and his own people's plight, in the language of his formal training or in a foreign language. The created consequential discourse, which theoretically should be opened most especially to the subjects of the discussion, was, thence, done in the closed circuit of the foreign speaking, almost elitist, intellectuals. The historian was, in this regard and in his own doing, isolated from his own people who were his main narrative subjects. There was immediately an invisible divide between the Filipino historian and the Filipinos themselves; that is, because the historian did not make any effective and determined efforts in order to get across to his people the results of his professional exertions. Many of the historians of the time were quite aware of this problematic situation; for, like what was mentioned, it was already pointed out by one of the best among them. Still, there were not great actions made to really remedy the whole unbalanced scenario; that is, because that would have meant going against the greater tide and trend of the times, and going against the odds would be much too risky and much too difficult. Better just go and ride the tide of the general idea and concept of history with all its implications. Nonetheless, for already posted, the definitive question mark on the utility of a historian to his society was already palpable. The social and political intentions of the historian was, somewhat, put to the test. His audience, his reading public should --- and he was quite aware of this --- be his people, more than anybody else. The next logical question was, hence: is the historian prepared to do something, within the context of the practice of his science, really constructive about the whole thing. The consequential pursuit to answer these questions and challenges effectively led to another rounds of most productive years in Philippine historiography. Discussions, debates and argumentations, publications expectedly led to even more questions; but then resulting confusion or the resulting more complications was not really that important. What was much more significant was the fact that there was a conscious effort among the intellectuals, among the historians that they were one, though never in opinion, in the resolution that they were going to do something constructive to remedy the problematic situation. This provided the needed impetus for creativity and production. Eventually, not only the discipline of history was enriched and developed but other social sciences as well, including psychology and anthropology. The crisis within the practice of the discipline, in a manner, provided the opportunity for change, for the new wind. And ironically enough, the most challenging and, probably, most constructive among these suggested change would come from the area of the movers of the ongoing intellectual trends itself. It would come from the U.P. Department of History, from the same group of historians who are

⁵⁸⁷ Renato Constantino already discussed this in his *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*, but a full length essay on the same general subject also came out a few years later; that is, "Veneration Without Understanding". The miseducation of the Filipino, according to the author, largely happened during and through the Americans who came to the country at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century. This miseducation was the cause of the colonial mentality --- the general tendency, almost blind loyalty, of the Filipino to think that everything that is foreign is better and good in comparison to things from the Philippines itself --- and so, the disloyalty of the Filipinos themselves to their own land and people. In a manner or to put it simply, for him, the Filipino was indeed educated, but he was educated in the most inappropriate way.

not much different from (and in fact they were former colleagues of) Ileta or from those among the miseducated ones, in the category of Constantino. These historians would forward the Pantayong Pananaw, the philosophical and methodological guide and framework of the Bagong Kasaysayan; and in the process, begin the new era in the history and development of Philippine historiography. They would exert efforts in fusing both the ancient conceptual implications contained in kasaysayan and in the disciplinal/scientific scholarship traditions contained in historia/history. And so, they would, in this regard, effectively usher in the actual beginning of the age of the considerable real and fully-functioning Filipino historiography or Pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino; and in the process, contributed much in the quest to effectively illustrate the historico-cultural wholeness that the Filipino was and still is.

Part III

Bagong Kasaysayan as History (1974-2000)

In the decade of change and of politics of revolution, the 70's, a challengingly new school of thought would pursue to actively take part in the Philippine academic community. The birth of this new perspective/ philosophical/ methodological tool in history, the *Pantayong Pananaw*, will pave the way for the creation of a new history, *Bagong Kasaysayan*. The effect of this event in the idea development, within the particular realm of history and historiography, is quite wide-ranging. From its start in 1974 till 2000, an almost too short thirty six years period, its created ripples became undoubtedly felt in the production of new studies and dissertations; in the publications of articles, books and even textbooks; in professional meetings of historians and history fanatics; and even in seminar and classroom discussions. And because it speaks the language of the Filipino people and it is groundly based in the Filipino culture, its actual existence is proof of the flourishing of the actual *Filipino* historiography or, to be more apt, *Pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino*.

Largely due to the massive poverty, unequal political and social opportunity and stance, repression of expression, etc. experienced by almost all of the Filipino people (more than 85% of the total population) roughly from the 60's onwards, the following decade saw how these same people took on different political alternative ways to exert actual efforts in bettering their situation. There was, after all, no other way for them; they have to take action. And though undoubtedly different from each other, one thing unites almost all of these movements: theirs were exertions in finding other means of governing or running the Filipino state other than that being done and offered by the then government national structure. In the south, the Filipino Muslims, through the leadership of Nur Misuari, formed the strong Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) --- an armed organization with the goal of retrieving from the Philippine central government their believed to be ancient seats of Islam in the areas of Visayas and Mindanao and of building therefrom an Islamic state, separate from that of the Philippines. In the various areas of Luzon and Visayas, in the persons of farmers, fishers, and average workers, through the greater leadership of Jose Maria Sison, was the Partido Komunista Pilipinas (PKP) with its own structured armies, the New People's Army (NPA) and the National Democratic Front (NDF), formed and started. The PKP believed that an armed people's revolution was necessary; in order that the communist system could be properly installed in and built in governmental machinery of the archipelago. Brewing political uncertainties of the various ethnolinguistical groups in the mountain ranges of northern Luzon politically threatens the central government as well. But a united political front of these groups would not yet be formed; their territorial, political, and language isolation from each other would largely prevent them from such a realization. Unlike the above-mentioned two unified groups hence, the various communities of the

Cordilleran mountain ranges of northern Luzon made and demonstrated their political exertions almost always separated from each other; that is, eventhough when one analyzes them, theirs were nearly a single political plea upon/on the central government.

In the seat of the central government itself, in Manila, these massive multi-directed political attacks could be palpably felt. The media actively discussed and participated in the menagerie. The greater part of the Manilenos and Manilenas were almost politically electrified for action. More and more intellectuals were being convinced that the communist ideology would be the best guide in the new system that should be put up, after the removal of the present one, for the nation. Discussions, publications, and political demonstrations were being made almost everywhere in the city. The government, led by Ferdinand Marcos, was clearly apprehensive of the various implied consequences of these movements and activities. Tension was frequently present in all aspects of the nation's general existence. And expectedly enough, this atmosphere of fear and excitement would be utilized by the government to realize its self-serving will. Marcos and his men began declaring that there was a huge conspiracy being done against the present government. Martial Law, in accordance, would have to be declared. This is the only way, the government opined, that it could have the necessary political power, so as to take hold of the supposedly chaotic, national situation as well as to stop the supposedly terrorists, who were threatening the Filipino people's security itself. What follows afterwards was the story which almost did not escape any nation of the world. The figurative nail that hammered in the Filipino people into many years afterwards of oppression, suppression, and repression was appropriately put in. Consequently, all the political activities against the government must go therefrom underground. There was no other alternative; the martial law government did not tolerate anybody and anything who and which even just make simple comments against it. The military was ever present to impress and/or realize the tyrannical government's will. Even intellectual activities became fully controlled. Liberal thinking was not particularly entertained. The government controlled the media, controlled publication, and even controlled the teachings in the various schools and universities around the country. It has its own think tank; and so, it has its very own machinery for the kind of knowledge that it saw fit for the Filipino people to have. Various intellectual projects were pioneered through it by the government; examples included the Philippine encyclopedia project, the Cultural Heritage project, etc. Later on, the government even came out with its own official version of the history of the Filipino people --- the Tadhana series, an encyclopedic, voluminal history of the Philippines, researched and written by a group of especially selected Filipino especialistas but officially published under president's name, Ferdinand Marcos. Never was an historical project as almost monumentally financed nor as controversial as this one. And so, accordingly and expectedly, many Filipino historians became embroiled and participants of this as well.

The times' underground movement, for their part, on the other hand, seemingly took up the liking and primary utility of Renato Constantino's (*The Philippines: A Past Revisited*) version of history. In fact, many intellectuals --- even those who were not totally working and practicing their profession underground --- considered this book, even then, the most authoritative version of the history of the Philippines. Consequently, most of their exertions and decisions, thenceforth, become largely in relation or in the same general philosophical direction of this book. Many historians, for that matter, were convinced of the effectivity and appropriateness of the Marxist structural analysis, similar to what was applied in Constantino's work, in the analyses and interpretations of Filipino people's history. They therefrom automatically tended to use this in many of their intellectual exertions. It was, after all, contrasting to the analysis being utilized by the official version of history by the government. And so, it must and could only be the better one. Curiously enough, what was almost invisible in this whole process of exchange of ideas and opinions by the government on one side and by the so-called liberal intellectuals on the other side was the fact they were actually communicating and discussing within the same world of concepts and conceptualizations. They were both parts of the same historical discourse; that is, the discourse which functions and continually develops through the American English language, through a foreign conceptual world. They were continuators and developers of the historiographical idea represented in the word *history*. In a manner, hence, through this taken-up and followed through tendency, history as an idea was dynamically alive and being massively developed. Its implied foreign discourse was flourishing; and it even looked promising than ever. It was receiving huge support in different areas not only inside the Philippines but also from outside, from foreign intellectual/historians' circles. History as an embodiment of an historiographical concept and idea was, in a way, comparable to the great current of the times.

But a refreshingly new pulse and tide would be developed in one of the old centers of the said historical tendency. From the U.P. Department of History, through the larger pioneership of Zeus Salazar, would be the Pantayong Pananaw borne; and with it, the revolutionary first steps of the development of an actual Filipino historiography would be slowly but effectively realized as well. Surfactually taken, pantayong pananaw just means the we perspective; nonetheless, when one pursues to analyze the phrase further, one would see that it represents quite a multi-faceted and highly potential philosophical direction. The we in it signifies the exclusivity and/or almost the intended wanted isolation of the membership of that figurative whole, who, in turn, realizes the actual perspective or point of view, meant/referred to in the phrase, on the first place. The we then implies both creativity and originality, which were highly and undoubtedly appropriate for the various uses and needs of the whole who make the perspective. Furthermore, the intentional utility of the Pilipino language in the expression of the phrase plays a big part in its chosen philosophical direction. The phrase's implied exclusivity particularly referred to the exclusive membership within the conceptualization and discussion of those who speak, utilize, and comprehend the Pilipino language. The use of Pilipino

also meant that there was a particular intention to create a more appropriate conceptual world within the realm of the to be executed perspective or, even better, of the to be proceeded unto intellectual discussion. Consequently, upon utility of this perspective and philosophy, many concepts and ideas of the immediate years would be reinterpreted and redefined; in fact, a number of ancient ideas had to even be renewed and revived for they were taken in as the more apt than what were being used in their stead earlier. Among these ideas that were reviewed was that of history itself. Instead of further using history in representing their disciplinal work, those of the pantayong pananaw preferred to utilize the ancient Filipino idea, kasaysayan. The decision to utilize the said ancient word/idea represented, in this regard, not only a new philosophical direction but quite a clear political conviction as well. Nonetheless, though this historiographical development virtually signalled noble breakthrough and massive innovations in the disciplinal practice, the new Filipino intellectual-historian could still, expectedly enough, not turn his back on the innovation and disciplinal overtones contained and developed within the larger idea of past history/historia. And though he could not compromise the reason and philosophy behind the ancient idea of kasaysayan, he could also not just shrug his shoulders and forget all of his scientific training within the larger idea of history. He had to find, therefore, the golden way in the middle. And, accordingly enough, he did --- he did exactly through the eventual introduction/creation of the idea of Bagong Kasaysayan.

Bagong kasaysayan exerts efforts in reuniting the historical idea referred to by the concept of kasaysayan and the scholarship tradition implied to by the word history. It utilizes to the utmost what it considered most advantageous and most appropriate in the ancient Filipino and Philippines, and tries its hand in uniting the same to the advantages that could be gotten from the foreign intellectual tradition that was already long and almost universally available beforehand. In a manner, hence, bagong kasaysayan is the virtual particularization or specified concretization of the larger philosophical direction of pantayong pananaw in the espezialized area of historiography. Bagong kasaysayan aims to reinterpret, even rewrite, the history of the Filipino people according to its new set of standards and, through the utility of its newly defined group of concepts and meanings, express and impress new considerations, interpretations and meanings on the Filipino culture as a whole. As an end-result, hence, it is within this intellectual context of bagong kasaysayan that, basically, the new history of the Philippines was created; that is, the *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas* (History of the Philippines) or sometimes, *Kasaysayan ng Bayang Pilipino* (History of the Filipino People). History was in the process therein, after quite a long time, became done in the Pilipino language. In fact, even the historical discourse created thereafter became done in Pilipino as well. Articles, essays, monographs, books on history were therefrom written and published in the language Pilipino --- which, in its turn, slowly but surely gained more and more popularity as not only a potential, but the functional, more effective intellectual language. The official national language, as a long-range result, became largely accepted as an intellectual medium of exchange, which is not only comparable to but

could definitely substitute the largely earlier utilized American English as well. Discussions, argumentations and debates, exchange of ideas and opinions were therefrom done in Pilipino. There was a romantic dynamism and an all-present intellectual preoccupation all around. And for quite a remarkable instance, there were actual moves on the part of the self-isolated, almost elitist intellectual to go back to his people, *pagbabalik sa bayan*; that is, to give back and report to his people the produce of his intellectual processings and exertions, or in application to the historical discipline, to report to the people their mutual history as one cultural whole. Consequently, actual possibilities of discussion between the historian and the average member(s) of his own people became more than possible. History, as it should have been and as it should be, was in the process slowly being realized. And on top of it all, because there were new set of meanings and concepts being largely produced and created in relation to the larger disciplinal subject, there were now considerations of an actual Filipino historiography; that is, *pagsasakaysayang Pilipino*, the Filipino science of writing history. In this new historiography, the Filipino historian could individually determine his moves, phase and intellectual trend, which he finds more appropriate and passing to the practice of his science; that is, very much contrary to his stature beforehand, when he blindly followed the paradigms and trends set by his idolized foreign scholars in his historical/ historiographical practice. This does not mean, nonetheless, that the Filipino historian became therefrom free from any influence from his foreign colleagues; he would be continually challenged by the said foreign scholars, most especially, their Filipino representatives in the Philippines throughout his pursuits to practice his historiography. He would be continually challenged by compound front, generally pioneered by the foreign Philippinologists and their Filipino equivalents/ counterparts in the archipelago. He would be continually challenged by the modified form of colonial historiography --- nationalist historiography.

During the time that PP and BK is being introduced, applied and practiced by a number of Filipino historians, a number of his colleagues --- who are still convinced of the earlier historia-concept --- continually created and published their own version of Philippine history as well. In fact, these other rank of historians were also experiencing historical developments on their own. They embodied, as a result of such, the most immanent challenge to the developing discourse, being caused by the philosophical direction, *pantayong pananaw*, and historiographical trend, *bagong kasaysayan*, of the times and context. They embodied, in this regard, the practical contra-stance to that of PP and BK. And consequently, hence, like what would be expected in such a situation, an all-encompassing professional competition started between the practioners of these schools of thought. Both sides would be forced therefrom to develop and be better because of their contrasting stance. In a manner, it is the duel between the historiographical ideas of history and that of *kasaysayan*, within the Philippine context. The former enjoys the practicality of availability of its own larger disciplinal and scientific developments around the world; the latter, on the other hand, enjoys the possibilities for originality, creativity, potential, utmost and most effective contextual utility, and huge, almost uncharted areas

for greater discussion. The latter, because it speaks the language of the people, enjoys the greater popularity in most of today's intellectuals', historians', students', history-enthusiasts' circles in various parts of the archipelago; but the former, nonetheless, hadn't altogether given up the competition yet. It continues to put up challenges for kasaysayan. And that is just good so. In the end analysis, the whole process therein causes nothing any less than huge leaps, towards the development of historiography on the Philippines or, to put it better, towards the progress of a dynamically operative and functional Filipino historiography. The Filipino historical practice is thereby effectively being accountably and appropriately modified.

Chapter 7

Bagong Kasaysayan as an Historical Concept

The coming of *historia* as an historical concept within the Philippine context effectively meant the continuous existence of a second additional but isolated strand of historiographical conceptualization to the already long-existing ancient historiographical conceptualization embodied in the concept *kasaysayan*. Two isolated strains of historiographical conceptualization, *kasaysayan* and *historia*, consequently and separately *developed* on the islands. *Kasaysayan* and *historia* experienced all forms of enrichments and set-backs almost parallel to each other. *Kasaysayan* as the guiding historical concept of all forms of oral histories, e.g. genealogy, folklore, mythology, etc., continuously existed within the ethnological groups of the country; while *historia* as the guiding historical concept of all forms of written histories continuously existed within the various literate and/or institutionally educated population of the archipelago. But because *historia* virtually controlled all of literature and/or publication, *kasaysayan* seemed to have been intentionally put aside as part of the considered *lower* culture of the Philippines. *Kasaysayan* became the nominal historical/historiographical concept of the cultural minority, or of those who were not parts and portions of the *moving and movable* odds. *Historia* dominated over. That is, because it was (and in fact, still is) the historiographical concept of those who held all forms of power, e.g. intellectual, economic, political, social, cultural. *Historia* was the fulcrum of that which was considered the intellectual and scientific history. As a consequence, because *historia* was, in end effect, an imported concept, the resulting discussion and/or discourse around the history of the country functioned and proceeded in a foreign language, with the greater utility of foreign norms, standards, conceptualization, and theoretical analysis and considerations. Both the public and private school systems based and made in a foreign language, American English, only further supported this domination of *historia* or, to be more exact in application to what greatly happened during the 20th century, history. *History was disciplinal, scientific, academic; thence, it was also intellectual*. It should prevail. And it did. It was the greater background, the take-off point, of the historiographical developments of the archipelago. It was always there. Most of the actual considered developments within historiography (discussing the islands and its peoples) were but various experiments and/or simulations of different analysis theories of history and/or actualization or realization of new interpretations within the greater narrative told and guided by the concept of *historia/history*. There were hardly moves to go against this greater historiographical trend. History was, after all, almost convenient. It was supported and continued by quite a dense literature not only from the Philippines itself but also from outside, from other English-speaking and publishing lands such as the U.S.A., Canada, England, and Australia. It is continuously utilized by a relatively big number of quite politically, economically, militarily, and intellectually powerful peoples. Utilizing it, accordingly for the Filipino historian, was basically going with the and/or working with the hegemony

of the world. History was almost the most convenient, even most trendy, international discourse. In fact, in today's standards, it is even considered the most important background of that ideal global historical as well as the considered intellectual community. That was (and still is) why many Filipino historians were unwilling to verge away from it. History was, after all, the most practical ticket to the international discourse, with colleagues from everywhere. It is the most effective pass, in order to belong to that taken in to be ideal global community of scholars and intellectuals. Still, not everyone was in this opinion.

During the late sixties, but more intensively during the seventies, a new historical/ historiographical concept would be introduced. It would pursue, in a manner, to unite the two existing and developing strands of historical/historiographical concepts of *kasaysayan* and *historia*. It is the new history or, to put it aptly ***Bagong Kasaysayan***. It would be effectively started in the University of the Philippines Diliman, through the pioneering of Zeus Salazar, who was, at that time, a newly returned (from his studies abroad) Faculty member of the Department of History. *Bagong Kasaysayan* aims to revive the old meaning of the word *kasaysayan*, in its pursuit to rewrite the national history; it wants to write a history which centers on the development of the Filipino people alone. It wants to redefine and reinterpret history which was for a long time seen and considered as stories of foreigners who came to the land. It wants to make a *new history*. This new history would renew the old **philosophy** and point of view of *kasaysayan*; but so as to render itself scientific, it would also utilize the **methods** which were from the nineteenth century and onwards popularized and used in the practice of the disciplinal *historia/history*. The result of this is a redefinition of the three most important aspects and/or practice realizations of the craft: philosophy, methodology, and meanings within the text. This new historiography would produce a visionary new history with a definitive ideal philosophical guide: the ***Pantayong Pananaw***.

*Pantayong Pananaw*⁵⁸⁸ roughly translates to the *we perspective*. Chronologically considered, it was actually the first one conceptualized or developed. *Bagong kasaysayan* was a consequence or the result of the direct application of *pantayong pananaw* in the more specialized disciplinal area of history and historiography. To use the *pantayong pananaw* in written history is to have an exemplary ideal whole, which reflects and studies itself, in order to deeply understand itself more. In this written history, the said ideal body is the center of discussion, the most important aspect of the story being told. *Pantayong pananaw* suggests that national history should *really* be about the Filipinos as a people. It should be written for the Filipinos. It should be written *using the standards* of Filipinos

⁵⁸⁸ To be direct but relatively short, *Pantayong Pananaw* is (a) a perspective/ a methodological procedure of history; (b) a diachronic philosophy of history; (c) a synchronic analysis of the nation's present status; and (d) an ideal towards the creation of a new singularity --- *bansa*. "Ano ang *Pantayong Pananaw*? Ang *Pantayong Pananaw* ay (1) isang *pananaw/ pamamaraan*, (2) isang pilosopiya ng *kasaysayan* (diakroniko), (3) isang analisis ng *kasalukuyang kalagayang panlipunan* (sinkroniko), (4) isang *mithiin patungo sa isang bagong kabuuan*

themselves as a people. It should be written in the language that all Filipinos use, understand, and feel; it should be *written in Pilipino*. The Pilipino language is a significant aspect of pantayong pananaw; the use of the former, in application of the latter, in the general area of the social science (within which, history is a part of) significantly stresses the exclusivity of the membership (specifically composed of only those who speak and comprehends the Pilipino language) of those who make the view, about a particular subject, and those who are being spoken with. In a manner, in application of the pantayong pananaw, the Pilipino language --- and naturally those who speak, understand, and use it as well --- was being given the highest honor, in the way that it is being fully utilized as an appropriately functioning intellectual language of discussion and/or discourse.

Pantayong pananaw is on the whole a considerable umbrella philosophy that should ideally be used as the guiding principle in all efforts regarding the writing of history. It is largely different from the historiographical principles that was used in written histories of the earlier times. Through the norms and standards of the pantayong pananaw, these old written histories were classified accordingly; and naturally, reviewed and aptly analyzed by the new generation of historians of the times. The earlier written histories were classified to be either in the *pansilang pananaw* or in the *pangkaming pananaw*.⁵⁸⁹ Histories in the pansilang pananaw are those written by a member(s) of a foreign culture who visited or one of those who conquered on the country or culture they visited or conquered. Histories on the pansilang pananaw, or the they perspective, were basically those narratives --- published, privately transmitted or otherwise --- written by the foreign visitor/ chronicler/ historian on the Philippines. They have a pansilang pananaw for the whole narrative normally utilize a particular descriptive or illustrational perspective of the author, who greatly see or unconsciously stresses the difference, if not the barbarity or even the exoticness, of those he was discussing to that of his own and his people, whom he was talking or speaking with. The histories in the pangkaming pananaw, on the other hand, were those reactive histories to the earlier written ones of the pansilang pananaw.

Pangkaming pananaw translates to the us perspective. Histories in the pangkaming pananaw are histories with an almost defensive attitude in its description, illustration of the historical narrative. These histories basically answer or react to the seemingly hurting (in the view of the authors anyways), sometimes even scathing, written histories of the foreign historians earlier. Histories in the us perspective seemingly aim to particularly stress that: “us, Filipinos, might be different and exotic from you foreigners but you yourself have various particularities like us as well; and those are...” Histories in the pangkaming perspective have, in this regard, the end goal to earn equality for the Filipinos with those of other nationalities or, to be more exact, with those whom they were speaking with. Histories in the pangkaming pananaw are, unsurprisingly enough, written in the foreign language. They were firstly written by the *propagandistas/ ilustrados/ los indios bravos* of the late

(bansa).” Zeus Salazar, “Ang Pantayong Pananaw: Isang Paglilinaw”, Paper read in Letran College, Calamba, Laguna, 3. December 1997, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁹ Cf., Part II of this study. Chapter 4 discussed and analyzed the histories in the pansilang pananaw; while chapters 5 and 6 discussed and analyzed histories in the pangkaming pananaw.

nineteenth century, continued by the *pensionados* in the early twentieth century, then further continued by the *trained/formally educated historians* of the same century. Histories of the pangkaming pananaw were firstly, hence, written in Spanish, for the target audience were the conquering Spaniards and secondly, in American English, for the target audience were the conquering Americans. After the apt classification of these past written histories, the new breed of historians of today, expectedly, after seeing the shortcomings made in the written histories of the past, could better create their own version of the same history, a history with a pantayong pananaw, a new history or bagong kasaysayan, an actual *Kasaysayan ng Bayang Pilipino*. That is, a history which most importantly aim at defining and narrating the history of the Filipino people, according to the norms and standards or according to what the Filipino people consider important, for it should be a history for the Filipino people alone. A kasaysayan ng bayang Pilipino ideally, hence, should be responsible not only narrating the history of the Filipino people but at the same time, giving the Filipino the national pride of knowing who he is, what he was and is capable of, and what his strengths and weaknesses were and are. A kasaysayan ng bayang Pilipino would ideally illustrate the identity of the Filipino as a cultural whole. A kasaysayan ng bayang Pilipino exclusively put the Filipino at its center, nothing is as important as him alone. Everything in the narrative had to revolve around his cultural person; and so, at the same time, assist in the definition of the groundwork for an ideal political singularity, the historico-cultural singularity which is the Filipino people. Thence, a kasaysayan ng bayang Pilipino, most especially in relation to our study, effectively realizes the begin of a real and working Filipino historiography.

A. The Beginning of Bagong Kasaysayan Through the Pantayong Pananaw

Bagong kasaysayan embodies the third major historical/ historiographical idea in the development of history in the Philippines. It is the further development of the considerably larger philosophy, Pantayong Pananaw, in the espezialized area of historiography. The development of pantayong pananaw itself happened within the larger context of the University of the Philippines in the 70's, during the Martial Law Era and the decade of massive political storms in the Philippines. While the political underground scenes have their own version of the history of the Philippines (Renato Constantino's *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*⁵⁹⁰), the martial law government was also busy making and forcing itself and its opinions on the same subject within the larger context of the social sciences.⁵⁹¹ And because the latter exclusively held all of the political will and power on the land, it

⁵⁹⁰ Cf., Chapter 6.

⁵⁹¹ Here is what happened, according to the Filipino psychologist Sta. Maria: "Unfähig seine Präsidentschaft aufgrund des überwältigen nationalen Drucks einer dritten Legislation fortzusetzen, erklärte 1972 Marcos das Kriegsrecht, das er damit rechtfertigte, indem er behauptete kommunistische Verschörungen würden seine Regierung bedrohen. Er nahm seine politischen Gegner und einige nationalistische Studentenführer gefangen, schloß den Kongreß und bildete die "New Society" für nationale Integration, Identität, und Entwicklung. Um diese Ziele zu erreichen, wurden Forschungsinstitutionen etabliert, die die folgenden Fachrichtungen favorisierten: Ökonomie, Demographie, Politikwissenschaft und Soziologie für Politik- und

automatically held all the available chances and opportunities as well, in order to make itself and its opinion massively known and distributed. Concretely stated, the government controlled the machinery for the knowledge distribution on the land; and it utilized this influence according to its framed or set needs and requirements. In fact, for one, Marcos⁵⁹² even published his own political these which, on the whole, rationalized not only the declaration but the necessity of the martial law government in the Philippines. He based the logic of his government's politics on what he called the *revolution from the center*, or his version of a *Democratic Revolution*. According to him,

The simple-minded view that government cannot lead a democratic revolution --- "for there is no revolution from above" --- does not take into account the fact that history is change, that conditions change, and that government evolves in theory and practice. Countries develop their own peculiarities and traditions. Only thirty years ago, the semifeudal, semicolonial conditions in China made a Communist revolution inevitable; free elections in Chile elected a Marxist president, who was not inclined to put the bourgeois parties to the sword. Philippine democracy, on the other hand, was the dream of the Revolution of 1896 and it evolved under American colonialism. That *the people is all* is an article of faith in Filipino political thought, whatever gap there may be at times between faith and practice.

The government under this doctrine does not consider itself as the head, the crown, the apex, of the national community. It is not at the summit but at the core; it is the power center surrounded by the people, to whom it proposes and whom it leads --- standing *in front* of them but not *above* them. The old, traditional picture of the government as top man on the totem pole, true of colonial times but no longer true now, perpetuates the misunderstanding of democratic government. It betrays an adherence to useless political categories, useless because they are dated and because they do not apply to the peculiar doctrine of Philippine democracy.

It may finally be said that the masses do not originate revolution: they respond to the call and leadership of a revolutionary minority. But a revolutionary minority in a democratic society, whatever its shortcomings, may have some other purposes than the liberation of the masses; the system of the government that it hopes to establish may result in less rather than more freedom for the people. A democratic government, then, is obliged to make itself the faithful instrument of the people's revolutionary aspiration.

This is the entire concept of a revolution from the center, a Democratic Revolution.⁵⁹³

Entwicklungsplanung; Anthropologie für nationale Integration; und Geschichte für nationale Identität. Das Etablierten dieser Institutionen, sowie die wachsende Zahl von Sozialwissenschaftlern in Regierungspositionen, machten das Anwachsen der Forschungsaktivitäten und die fröhere Teilnahme der Sozialwissenschaft an nationalen Entwicklungsbestrebungen möglich --- eine Rolle, die ausgeführt wurde "with a greater sense of purpose and vigour than anytime in the period of the Philippine Republic" (Feliciano, 1984: 476f)" Marie Madelene Sta. Maria, Die Indigenisierungskrise in den Sozial Wissenschaften und der Versuch einer Resolution in Sikolohiyang Pilipino, Universität Köln, Diss., 1993, p. 122.

⁵⁹² Marcos y Edralin, Ferdinand, 1917-1989. Tenth President of the Philippines and the Sixth of the Republic of the Philippines. Born to Mariano Marcos and Josefa Edralin in Sarrat, Ilocos Norte; graduated U.P. College of Law, 1939; topped bar examinations; accused of murder (1938) in the assassination of Julia Nalundasan (1935) the victorious political opponent of his father for the National Assembly; found guilty by the Laoag Court of First Instance (1939) but acquitted by the Supreme Court (1940) in a decision penned by Justice Jose P. Laurel; fought in World War II; claimed 27 war medals on the basis of affidavits submitted 20 years after the war; elected Congressman second district Ilocos Norte (1949) on the Liberal Party ticket; elected to the Senate under the Grand Alliance of Liberals and Progressives (1959); elected Senate President (1963); elected President of the Philippines over re-electionist Diosdado Macapagal (1965); re-elected President (1969) over Sergio Osmena, Jr.; declared Martial Law 21. September 1972 but announced it only 23. September after important arrests had been made; lifted Martial Law 17. January 1981 by Presidential Proclamation No. 2045; elected again as President in 198 elections under the 1973 Constitution; declared snap presidential elections held 7. February 1986; declared elected President by the Batasan Pambansa 17. February 1986; deposed by EDSA People Power Revolution and forced to flee the Malacanang Palace 25. February 1986 by helicopter okabes furnished by the U.S. Government and later flown to Hawaii; died in exile in Honolulu, 1989. (Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Science, Vol. I, Op.cit., pp. 278-279.)

⁵⁹³ Ferdinand E. Marcos, *The Democratic Revolution in the Philippines*, Manila: 1974, pp. 77-78.

The government which presupposed and purported itself the defender of the people --- against the growing influence and popularity of the communists, also declared as the Red Plague --- also took upon itself to restructure and apply its own version of democracy on the same people.⁵⁹⁴ Freedoms for speech, press, and association were aggressively curtailed and controlled by the government. And because there was not supposed to be another way, it had to concentrate all the power within itself so as to effectively and affectively realize on the land and people all of its set plans and resolutions. An all powerful government, which concentrates the executive, legislative, and even the judiciary within itself and which is fully supported by the military, was not only hence necessary, it was the seemingly most logical consequence. And so, the Marcos tyrannical martial rule was begun. Its pledge was of course the practice of the government's political these; that is, the realization of the democratic revolution from the center, the realization of the government's self-created concept of a Democratic Revolution. Concretely stated, that meant for the Filipinos of those times, the beginning of the application or the regime's ideal of ang *Bagong Lipunan*, the New Society⁵⁹⁵. The regime became present in almost all of the aspects of every Filipino's everyday living. In fact, and more importantly, it even exerted systematic efforts in order to reengineer the Filipinos' mindsets, the Filipinos' thinking. Within the context of the country's public school system, the teachings and practice of the New Society, ang Bagong Lipunan, was massively propagated. In all of the elementary and high schools of the land, the day would be begun with the raising of the flag, the nationalist pledge to the republic (*Panatang Makabayan*)⁵⁹⁶, and the singing of the song "Bagong Lipunan". At the end of the day, the

⁵⁹⁴ Political analyst Jose Abueva's words in this regard put the whole situation in a tat. According to him, "Marcos foresaw an all-embracing change in values and behavior that would be required of all Filipinos by the Democratic Revolution and the New Society. It would be a change away from an exclusively self-centered orientation to an inclusive one in which personal advantage would be linked with the good of others, of the whole nation, now and even beyond one's lifetime into the indefinite future. The intended changes are summarized in the term *disiplina* ("discipline"), which was the ubiquitous early exhortation and warning of martial law authorities. *Disiplina* has since been used in the New Society to change Filipino political culture and behaviour through a variety of ways: presidential decrees, proclamations, general orders and instructions, new rules and regulations, old laws and codes, the flag, the national anthem, indoctrination, New Society songs, slogans, maxims, proverbs, citizen campaigns, presidential awards, commemorative ceremonies, varied applications of force and coercive sanctions customary in democracies, and calculated violations of human rights characteristic of authoritarian systems." Jose Veloso Abueva, "Ideology and Practice in the "New Society" in Marcos and Martial Law in the Philippines, ed by David A. Rosenberg, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1979, p. 35.

⁵⁹⁵ Formally considered though, the Bagong Lipunan (or New Society) was the embodiment of the four-year economic program of the Marcos Regime. According to Marcos himself during the announcement of his Four-Year-Development Plan for the Fiscal Years 1974-1977, theirs (his government's) was the commitment for the realization of the Development Plan for the New Society, the commitment to forge a nation. "Its objectives are six: to attain a more equitable distribution of income and wealth, to expand employment opportunities, to promote social development, to stabilize prizes at reasonable levels, to accelerate economic growth, and to promote regional development and industrialization." Marcos, *Op.cit.*, pp. 210-211.

⁵⁹⁶ Here is the whole text of this pledge (*Panatang Makabayan*): "Iniibig ko ang Pilipinas/ Ito ang aking lupang sinilangan/ Ito ang tahanan ng aking lahi/ Ako ay kanyang kinukupkop at tinutulungan/ Upang maging malakas, maligaya, at kapaki-pakinabang/ Bilang ganti ay diringgin ko ang payo ng aking mga magulang/ Susundin ko ang mga tuntunin ng aking paaralan/ Tutuparin ko ang tungkulin ng isang mamamayang makabayan at masunurin sa batas/ Paglilingkuran ko ang aking bayan ng walang halong pag-iimbot at buong katapatan/ Sisikapin kong maging isang tunay na Pilipino sa isip, sa salita, at sa gawa."

flag would be ceremoniously taken down, while the song “Bagong Lipunan” would be at the same time sung. It was, in this regard, a seemingly effective and systematic conditioning of the younger minds; and it was expectedly done with a particular consideration, on the part of the government, that these younger minds would be the accordingly molded and influential adults of the very near future. The government, in consequence, had a say in everything; and they went into everything. That is, from the general governmental exertions to the smallest details that had to do with the selling of fish on the various wet markets. And they were most present in schools; no school child does not know or even heard of the government’s Bagong Lipunan. No school child know any other version of the history of the Philippines outside the official version of the government or, at the least, outside those history textbooks written by the second generation of history textbook writers --- the same textbooks, which were firstly reviewed and approved by the martial regime. It was not tolerated that anything or anybody contrary to the government and its programs would and would be discussed in the schools and in the books utilized therein. Everything must be done and proceeded unto according to the desire of the Marcoses and their government.

This iron determination was supported by a rank of scholars and intellectuals under the government’s payroll. These intellectuals acted as, in effect, Marcos’ advisers, at the same time, his think tank as well. They were the ones responsible for thinking out and conceptualizing the details that had to do with both the internal and external sides of government. Much effort, for example, was put on the rationalization or the creation of the arguments leading to the rationality of the declaration of the martial law on the archipelago. The allegedly new constitution of 1974 had to secure the fact that all that occurred and was done during the start of the authoritarian rule in 1972 --- including the declaration of martial law itself --- would be binding and legal. At the same time, the Philippines had to pose a measure of normality to the world. It could not be under the martial law forever; that is, because that would massively hinder other nations of the world to welcome the political nation in its embrace or more specifically, that would stop the flow of monetary aids (supposedly for the Filipino nation) --- which the Marcoses needed --- from the various international institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). The government’s think tank, hence, made sure that both the internal and external image of the Marcos martial government was safe and normally intact. And in fact, the created new system of the government was so ably appropriated that one would even have that peculiar feeling of normality during daytimes in the country’s different

<I love the Philippines/ It is the land of my birth/ It is the home of my race/ I am kept and helped by her/ In order to be strong, happy, and useful/ In rightful return, I will follow the will of my parents/ I will follow the rules/ regulations of my school/ I fulfill the responsibilities as a nationalist and rule-abiding citizen/ I will serve my land, without questions and with full trust/ I will pursue to become a true Filipino in mind, in word, and in deed.>

provinces.⁵⁹⁷ Marcos was even praised and gloried by a good number of the nation's population in these bucolic orts.

In the more specialized area of education, furthermore, the Marcos government foremostly executed Presidential Decree No. 6, which activated the proposals of the Presidential Commission⁵⁹⁸ to survey Philippine education. It made way to the establishment of many manpower training centers in the various areas of the country, establishment of technical institutions in order to train skilled technicians who are critically required in fast developing industries, and improvement of science education as a basis of technological developments. Construction of schoolhouses and classrooms was at the same time concentrated and worked on as well. All college students became required to join civic-work and community development programs in the various villages around the country. And furthermore,

⁵⁹⁷ The much greater portion of the country's population became even less politically participative than in the years from before. "This is not surprising, given the preoccupation of most people, especially in the small towns and the rural areas, with the struggle for subsistence, their limited knowledge and information about public affairs (particularly under martial law), their seeming indifference to legal issues, their dependence on such governmental assistance as may reach them, or their desire simply to be left alone by the government. The absence of elections, of an open press, or of effective criticism of the government contributes to this situation. Besides, the martial law regime is able to obtain citizen acquiescence or acceptance and support through its guarantee of peace and order in most places, the expansion of public works and other governmental employment, the expansion of public works and other governmental employment, the extension of credit to rice farmers, and the availability of rice and other essential commodities at regulated prices, as well as by its control of public information." Abueva, *Op.cit.*, p. 49.

⁵⁹⁸ It was largely recognized that there was a massive failure in the country's education system; and this generalization was only proven true by the Philippine Commission on Education of 1970. It reported that only around 2.6 percent of Filipino families can afford quality education. The rest get poor quality education of none at all. It furthered: "Our institutions of higher learning turn out 92,000 graduates every year; and a total of 342,867 of our people are in the service of our educational system. The quality of the output and the results leave much to be desired when measured against the national objectives. Those who are educated have very limited opportunities. Of the 1,007,133 college-educated Filipinos, only 60.6 percent were employed as of 1970; of the 1,041,004 with one to three years of college behind them, only 38.3 percent had work; of the 1,038,306 high school graduates, only 7.8 percent had jobs. And then, most of those employed were misplaced --- with commerce, education and even law graduates doing clerical jobs.

Still there was continuous, strong political pressure for more education paid for by the parents, because of the expectation that a university degree was the key to a well-paying, white collar job. The expansion of the program resulting therefrom brought about deterioration of the quality of education. In the grade schools, government policy appeared to be merely to build as many school buildings as possible (and even with this, there was a schoolroom crisis every year) without a corollary program of turning out a sufficient supply of competent teachers. In the other levels, there was general overcrowding of classrooms, and academic standards were admittedly low. The deterioration of education and so many unemployable graduates resulted in tremendous waste of money and an increased level of frustration among the people.

It was also recognized that the courses provided were not relevant to the needs of a growing economy as they gave more emphasis to classical learning and purely academic courses and attention to vocational and technical education development. Thus, while there was overabundance of graduates of law and foreign service, arts and sciences, commerce and business administration, and teacher education who were prepared for white-collar jobs, there was a shortage of training for workers in different skills and crafts for modern production in the factories, shops, and farms, and the service industries.

Another failing of the system was the absence of a civic and moral education program. Probably, the general breakdown of morals and values among the people was due to this, and there had developed a discontinuity in the morals and values from the old generation to the new. Of course, in the present environment where there are conflicting value judgements, it is difficult to decide what values to transmit to the students. Also there would be serious demands on the teacher and student as well and it could lead to the classroom becoming an arena of conflict and confrontation between different value beliefs." Filemon C. Rodriguez, *The Marcos Regime. Rape of the Nation*, New York/Washington/Atlanta/Los Angeles/Chicago: Vantage Press, 1985, pp. 126-127.

through the Presidential Decree No. 146, all high school students who intended to enter college or higher institutions of learning must firstly pass a governmental entrance examination which was from thence on called the National College Entrance Examinations (NCEE).⁵⁹⁹ In general, therefore, only a few years after the actual declaration of martial law, the most convenient supportive system --- in this regard, in the more specialized area of education --- was also created; that is, a support system which would appropriate and/or realize the ideals and implied precepts in the government's ideal society: the new society or the bagong lipunan. Part of the general program of actions in the same area, of course, was the review and possible betterment, which almost always goes down to unending praise of the goodness and virtues of the Marcos martial regime, of the actual almost unitary of contents of the education to be propagated in the various institutions of learning. The government exerted efforts in the writing and publication of the schools textbooks; that is, because all possible efforts should be made in order to make the Filipino, not only capable and up-to-date to the developments in science and technology, but more importantly, comparable to that of the other nationalities of the world. And in fact, in virtually the same breath, during 1974, it even assigned and supported a group of selected intellectuals to critically examine the manuscripts of the to be produced series of books, featuring the greatness of the Filipino life and culture by a group of enterprising Australians, backed up by some supposedly Philippine experts. The Marcos government or, to be more exact, Imelda Marcos, somehow right beforehand came to know of these Australian entrepreneurs who wanted to cash in on the Filipino publication market through their planned production. The said foreigners wanted their work/publication to be part of the official readings, as pamphlets, of the grade school and high school students of the country; therefore, they really have to get the go signal and the blessings of the martial law government beforehand. That, naturally, in the opinion of the government, should never be allowed to be pulled through. After all, if there should ever be somebody who should cash in on the Filipino market, that somebody should nobody else be but the government itself. And so, the martial government executed apt moves, in order to purport the foreigners. As already implied, a group of Filipino intellectuals became assigned to critically study the Australians' work before it even reached the press. The group was led by the then chairman of the National Library/National Historical Institute, Serafin Quiason; and composed of Zeus Salazar, Samuel Tan, Alex Hufana, and Cesar Hidalgo.⁶⁰⁰ It basically finished its work of critical analysis on every article of the encyclopedic series of the Australians within the premises of the National Library itself. And expectedly enough, these intellectuals became so effective in their work, so that, in the end, the Australians gave up the idea of the reference series. Still, the rights for the purportedly monumental reference pamphlets/books series was eventually bought by a private but closely connected to the Marcos regime, Filipino organization between 1977 and 1978; and so, in the end, it managed to somehow come out in the Philippines

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰ Zeus Salazar, "Ang Historiograpiya ng Tadhana. Isang Malayang Talakayan" in Ma. Bernadette Abrera and Dedina Lapar (Pat.), *Paksa, Paraan, Pananaw ng Kasaysayan*, Op.cit., pp. 193-199.

around 1977 as the *Filipino Heritage*.⁶⁰¹ It was written in English, published within an obviously almost unlimited financing and logistics; but in general, not much different from the much earlier published (1958) encyclopedic series edited by Zoilo Galang⁶⁰². Nonetheless, because of much better packaging and massive distribution, it virtually became the most important --- if not the recognized sole --- reference about the Filipino and his culture in almost all of the schools during those years. Every school child, as it was foreseen by its creators, refer to the series during his times in every learning institution around the country.

It was almost in the same line of thought that the history of the Philippines encyclopedic series was conceived of. The original idea of the whole thing was conceived of by the same group of Filipino intellectuals, who were criticizing the articles for the then still to be published *Filipino Heritage* of the Australians. Instead of solely working further on the critical analysis of the foreign articles on the Filipinos, the group thought of doing a real Filipino encyclopedia or a history of the Philippines. In the meantime, Marcos was becoming more convinced that the best way to counteract the foreign action for an encyclopedia on the Philippines was to write and publish another book. And because he was also becoming more aware of the growing political activism of the church, he could not just turn to any group of intellectuals with obviously a clerical connection. That was probably the pushfactor that made him think of the group which was then working on the critical analysis of the Australian project; that is, the group of Quiason. They were, after all, quite acceptable for they are known to have a broad minded approach and view on the country's church; so that, in a manner, they were just right for the exertions to be done. And so, between the last months of 1974 till the first months of 1975, the group worked on the basic detailed working outline of the history of the Philippines which would then afterwards to be passed to the president for approval. It was just a matter of time that Marcos became sold to the idea of the conceptualized history. A 19-chapters book which was originally conceived of by the group was suggested to be a 19-volume encyclopedic work on the history of the Filipino people. With each part representing a volume, here was its general outline and periodization:

⁶⁰¹ *Filipino Heritage*. Vols. I-X, Singapore: Lahing Pilipino Publishing, Inc., 1977. Here was how it rationalized its publication: "During the postwar years new data about this country have been uncovered, changing, or amenging, previous concepts about the Filipino history and culture. A fresh viewpoint on the Filipinos and the archipelago they live in was a long felt need. *Filipino Heritage* is an attempt at presenting the making of the Filipino nation in the light of the latest findings by the most authoritative scholars on the Philippines and Southeast Asia." (Alfredo R. Roces, "Introduction, *Filipino Heritage*, Vol. I, Singapore: Lahing Pilipino Publishing Inc., 1977.)

The volumes utilized a topical, encyclopedic approach in its entirety. This seemed to be intentional. The editor in chief explained: "While there is a chronological string to the entire series, *Filipino Heritage* is presented not as a continuous story but through a mosaic of diverse topics, first because the entire work represents the combined efforts of diverse disciplines and expertise; and second, because such a format allows for variety and easy breakdown into short topics. There are 593 topics in the series, written by about 186 contributors. Each writer's opinion, in general regarded as authoritative, has been respected. On some occasions, therefore, the reader will find differences of viewpoints and he may draw his own conclusions." (Ibid.)

Tadhana: The History of the Filipino People
 Volume I (The Philippines Up to 1565) The Roots of the Filipino Heritage
 Part I Archipelagic Genesis, the Philippines Through Geologic Time (Up to Pleistocene or Glacial Period)
 Part II Adam in the Philippines (ca. 250,000 B.C. – ca. 9,000 B.C.)
 Part III The Austronesians in the Philippines (ca. 9,000 B.C. – 1,500 B.C.)
 Part IV The World Between (ca. 1,500 B.C. – 200 A.D.)
 Part V Philippine Forms (200 A.D. – 1565 A.D.)
 Volume II (1565 – 1896) The Formation of the National Community
 Part I Encounter, 1565 – 1663
 Part II Reactions, 1663 – 1765
 Part III Transition, 1765 – 1815
 Part IV Transformation, 1816 – 1872
 Part V, Triumph, 1872 – 1896
 Volume III (1896 – 1946) The Promised State: A Nation in Travail
 Part I Birth of a Nation, 1896 – 1907
 Part II Participation and Partnership, 1907 – 1921
 Part III Crisis and Consolidation, 1921 – 1930
 Part IV Ferment and Control, 1930 – 1941
 Part V Conflict and Direction, 1941 – 1946
 Volume IV (1946 – Present) Search and Synthesis: Towards the New Society
 Part I Dilemmas of Nationhood, 1946 – 1951
 Part II Nationalism and Reforms, 1951 – 1966
 Part III Radical Alternatives, 1966 – 1972
 Part IV National Synthesis: The New Society, 1972 – 1976

The work, thenceforth, became to be called the *Tadhana*/History of the Philippines project. And though foremost conceived to just counteract the Filipino Heritage project, it was no time that it slowly transformed into a noble exertion with the foremost mission to create a history for the Filipino people; that is, a history which would be comparable to the Oxford History of England, within the larger form like that of the Britannica or that of the Americana encyclopedia. The mission was, hence, to make a well researched and studied encyclopedic history of the Philippines, designed for the Filipino people itself. This was probably the reason --- not to mention, of course, the almost unlimited power of the regime on both the land and people --- why the project attracted quite a number of Filipino intellectuals.⁶⁰³ The project received the full financial and logistical support of the government. In addition to this, there was an added perk of the opportunity to travel outside the country without the suspicious observance, and so, most probable hindrance of the national government. Most of the Filipino intellectuals were, most of the time, always suspiciously observed by the regime's military for they were almost always taken in to be Marxist, and so, either treasonous or seditious in the eyes and consideration of the martial rule. Stepping out of the country for these intellectuals was, thence, during those times, quite near to impossible. But through the *Tadhana* project, most of them were sent in different portions of the world, in order to research and gather original documents and data for the project. And so, they got to somewhat breathe the free air of the foreign lands they knew beforehand --- because like their ilustrados forerunners of the 19th century,

⁶⁰² Cf., Zoilo Galang, *Encyclopedia of the Philippines...*, Op.cit.

⁶⁰³ Some of the intellectuals who later on assisted, joined or cooperated with the project included Wawell Osorio, Reynaldo Ilete, Rod Paras-Perez, Romeo Cruz, Peralta, Bailen, Fred Evangelista, and others. Cf.,

most of these scholars were graduates of foreign universities --- and at the same time, got to practice the science they not only love, but was trained for. Though undeniably under the patronship of the dictator Marcos, who naturally and clearly determined the course of everything --- even some of the minor contents or details of history --- that had to do with the project, it was still considerably a rare opportunity for the selected scholars, especially in relation to the politically strangling situation on the archipelago at that time. Consequently, these scholars had to compromise⁶⁰⁴ quite a few of their political principles thencefrom. It was unusual times, and it called for unusual responses and actions. All the set volumes of the work were apparently eventually finished; but only volumes I-X (Beginning Till 1896) reached and came out of the press. They came out under the authorship of its patron, Ferdinand Marcos, who explained in the introductory portion of the firstly published volume that the series was chosen to be called Tadhana because

...to my mind the story of a people is not merely a heritage but a destiny; it is their condition and their goal, their past informing their future. Implicit in Tadhana of course is heritage, but it is an active heritage, not an inert mass of artifacts and memories, because by common purpose it is harnessed to mobilize the national will and the national pride for the attainment of ideals. A sense of history cannot but stir a people to improve their lot.⁶⁰⁵

Contentwise, independent of the nature of its production and publication, the published volumes --- even quite a number of years afterwards --- were unequal in its approach and quality. In the words of a couple of its real makers, it remains to be the first real successful attempt in looking at and writing the history of the Filipino people according to the perceived Filipino people's viewpoint.⁶⁰⁶ Unlike most of the earlier published histories, Tadhana exerted efforts in finding out and writing down the roles of the Filipino Muslims and the other indogenous peoples in the people's history; another Luzon-centered history was, in this regard, avoided. It was, hence, the time's representative history of the considerably most comprehensive balanced view on the roles of the various ethnic groups of the

Salazar, "Ang Historiograpiya...", Op.cit. and Romeo V. Cruz, *Ang Paggawa ng Tadhana Mula 1980*, in Abrera and Lapar (Pat.), *Paksa, Paraan, at Pananaw ng Kasaysayan...* Op.cit., pp. 200-203.

⁶⁰⁴ One very good example of these compromises was the fact that they had to make way, through one whole volume of the whole series, for the explanation of the regime's New Society (Bagong Lipunan). And with this action, naturally, they effectively let themselves be used as among the propaganda machineries of the dictatorship. According to Salazar, this action became eventually considered as logical by the group for even when Marcos would finally be out of power, one could not deny that there was once this New Society and that there was once a Marcos period. And so, they "have to put that somewhere in the history of the Philippines." Salazar, "Ang Historiograpiya..." Op.cit., p. 194.

⁶⁰⁵ Ferdinand Marcos, "Preface", *Tadhana. The History of the Filipino People, Volume Two The Formation of the National Community (1565-1896), Part I Encounter, 1565-1663*, Manila: 1976.

⁶⁰⁶ Here was how it put its basic outline: "The Proto-Filipino forms were subjected to external forces of civilization in a historic process which began with the Spanish advent in 1565. The transformations which took place in this process were clearly distinguished by certain changes in the political, economic, religious, and socio-cultural aspects of Philippine life. The period from 1565 to 1901 represented the timespan during which the Filipinos struggled first to assimilate and participate in the hispanization process, gradually and consciously moving towards the idea of national community in the reform or propaganda movement (1882-1896). But the failure of Spanish frailocratic rule to heed the legitimate aspiration of a colonized people created a counter society which took over the colonial state in the Revolution of 1896. Aiding in the long process of preparing for a national ideology was the Muslim resistance which continuously sapped the vitality of the Spanish resources

archipelago. The natural history portion of the work, furthermore, was impressive in its calibre and the obvious determined research centrality on the archipelago itself. It set the beginning of the history of man on the country, for one, to as early as 250,000 B.C.; and in fact, began everything else from the geologic developmental period millions of years ago. It triumphantly featured the Philippines through the long geological (natural) history, till the development of man on its various terrains, till the migration of the sea-faring Austronesians, through the development of the pioneering communities.⁶⁰⁷ The detailed and professional nature of such a discussion was the best during the time of its publication; and it remains to be unequal to this day.

Almost all of the auxiliary disciplines were utilized in order to make the voluminous work in topmost quality. Anthropology, historical archaeology, comparative ethnology, historical linguistics, prehistoric archaeology, comparative religion, comparative folklore, and analysis of the protohistoric documents were among the most important disciplinary methodology used. It would, on the whole, be seen that the latest, seen most appropriate methodologies in the various disciplinary fields of the world were obviously tried on the whole exertion. Despite its scientific accomplishments, however, the series did not receive the appropriate praise from the intellectual community of the country. The political color contained in the volumes was *much too Marcos*, hence *dictative*, for most of the times' intellectuals.⁶⁰⁸ And besides this, because the volumes came out under the name of the dictator, there

and which complemented the Filipino Christian resistance within the colonial state...." "Abstract", Tadhana Outline, Manila: 1975.

⁶⁰⁷ Consider its statement of basic outline: "The Philippines today is the product of a synthesis of a modern and the traditional. This synthesis was brought about by the series of "new societies" (This was evidently put in especially for Marcos. -P.L.R.) which marked the progressive development of a people whose cultural diversity and interactions with external forces of world civilizations eventually resulted in the formation of the Filipino nation. The developmental process, in which both internal and external elements of culture were blended into a unique national society, begins from the earliest possible formation of a "base culture" in prehistoric times which involves five distinct periods: (1) the beginning of the archipelago (up to the Pleistocene or Glacial Period) which shows the Philippines being constituted through the history of the rock formation and volcanic processes; (2) Man's past in the Philippines (from ca. 250,000 B.C. to ca. 9,000 B.C.), when the archipelago participated in the development of the human species and its early culture; (3) the coming of the Austronesians (from ca. 9,000 B.C. to ca. 1500 B.C.) which reveals the Philippines as the staging ground for the epic peopling of the oceanic world; (4) the constitution of a Southeast Asia culture area (the World Between) in which the Philippines would occupy a primordial place (ca. 1500 B.C. to ca. 200 A.D.); and (5) the beginnings of the Proto-Filipino forms (from 200 A.D. to 1565) which shows the Philippines as evolving its own unique patterns of culture or ways of life reflected in the baranganic and allied systems, the folk religions, and the communal-trade economy."

"Abstract", Tadhana Outline, Manila: 1975.

⁶⁰⁸ The more prevalent and popular historical analysis technique during those times was that of the structuralist Marxist approach. According to one review, the first published volume (Volume II, Part I, 1976) was not reflective enough of the actual struggle of the masses, of the lower classes of men, during the times discussed in the book. The review said: "Kung mababanggit man sa aklat and isang kontra-lipunan, ito ay patungkol sa mga "katutubo laban sa mga dayuhan" at hindi patungkol sa "pinagsasamantalang uri laban sa mga nagsasamantalang uri". Ang pagkakapantay-pantay ng mga lahi, ang sinaunang sibilisasyon at ang pagpapanatili nito ang siyang binigyang pansin upang maging batayan ng pangangailangan ng isang malakas na LIDER upang ibagsak ang ESTADONG KOLONYAL. Binanggit mismo ni Rizal, "Ano ang kahalagahan ng Kalayaan, kung ang mga alipin ngayon ang siyang magiging tirano sa hinaharap." Angkop pa rin hanggang sa ngayon ang babalang ito ni Rizal. Ang tanong sa kasalukuyan ay: mawawala ba ang pagsasamantala kung malilipat ang kapangyarihang pulitikal sa kamay ng mga katutubo mula sa mga dayuhan? Ang kalayaan kaya sa malawak nitong pakahulugan ay magpapalaya sa sambayanan mula sa sosyo-ekonomikong relasyon na hindi nakakaugnay sa "katarungan" at "pagkamagkakapatid" ng mga pilosopong pulitikal ng Renaissance?" Jaime Veneracion,

was no other formal way of taking it in and processing it outside that of Marcos' person. The Filipino public during those days were supposedly unknowing of the actual people behind the historical masterpiece. They were to take in whatever information that the regime fed them; similar to the system of various military regimes all over, no other else was accepted nor tolerated.

Exactly the same situation of the man on the street, however, could never be said among the circle's of the country's intellectuals. Because of the nature of their institutional training, they were, during these times, effectively parts of three kinds of discourse; that is, firstly, that between themselves and the global intellectual community, secondly, that between themselves and the Marcos regime, and thirdly, among themselves as a particular community. Communication within, because of the context, was naturally officially controlled by dictatorship; but more important was the fact that there *was* communication, it was never fully stopped by the regime. And like everywhere else in any portion of the world, whatever the preoccupation of intellectuals --- whom themselves were parts of a community --- would always be spoken of in the community they belong in. There were, hence, rumors going around the community about these groups of intellectuals who were "helping" Marcos with his books; and these rumors, like always, did almost have the ring of truth in them, but a confirmation was never really made.⁶⁰⁹ After all, that would be officially verging away from the formally fed truth of the regime; and that was practically skirting the danger of earning the wrath --- which could mean imprisonment or even fast *execution* (death) --- of the dictatorship. Nobody wanted that. There were other things that one could be preoccupied of. And one of them, most especially of our study, was the slowly strengthening Pan-Filipino campaign within the practice of teaching, researching, and writing of the Department of History or, more specifically, of Zeus Salazar⁶¹⁰ in the Department of History. Beside being connected to the Filipino Heritage project as well as being one of the key players in the

"Mga Panunuring Aklat. (Ferdinand Marcos, TADHANA: The History of the Filipino People, Tomo II, Ikalawang Bahagi (Encounter: 1565-1663), Manila: 1976, x, 477 pah.)" in *Kasaysayan I* (Nobyembre, 1977) ed by Zeus Salazar, Lunsod Quezon: Departamento ng Kasaysayan, Pamantasan ng Pilipinas, 1977, pp. 213-216.

⁶⁰⁹ The truth about TADHANA's scholarship, like everything else during the same years, would only come out after the Marcos regime was toppled down. The official declaration of the authors would only be made in 1989, during a history conference, sponsored by the Department of History and the ADHIKA (Asosasyon ng mga Dalubhasa at may Hilig sa Kasaysayan), in the University of the Philippines, Diliman.

⁶¹⁰ Zeus A. Salazar, 1934-. Docteur en Ethnologie, Sorbonne, Université de Paris. He also studied in the University of the Philippines Diliman (Philippines), Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes (Paris), Freie Universität Berlin (Germany), and Universiteit te Leiden (Holland). He is a retired professor of the University of the Philippines Diliman; he is presently serving as a guest professor for the Department of Psychology and Department of Literature and Pilipino at the De La Salle University in Manila, Philippines. He also served as a guest professor at the Studiengang Geschichte, Universität Bremen (Germany); Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris); Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Istituto Universitario Orientale (Napoli); Inter-University Center for Post Graduate Studies, Dubrovnik (Yugoslavia); Institut für Völkerkunde, Universität Köln (Germany); Department of Prehistory and Anthropology, Australian National University (Canberra). He also lectured in Istituto Italiano per Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Italy), at the Universität Hamburg (Germany), and at Budva, Montenegro. He was awarded "Chevalier des Palmes Académiques" from France; "Gawad Pagkilala" from the Linangan ng mga Wika sa Pilipinas, Kagawaran ng Edukasyon, Kultura at Sports; and "Gawad Lope K. Santos" from the Sentro ng Wikang Pilipino, U.P. System. Cf.: Salazar, *The Malayan Connection*, Op.cit., p. 374.

Tadhana project⁶¹¹, Salazar was, foremost, a teacher of the U.P. Diliman. Together with Virgilio Enriquez and other Filipino psychologists, they grounded the organization *Samahang Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (Filipino Psychology Organization) which aimed, among many others, to define and promote the Filipino personality and psychology through the use of real and actual Filipino norms and standards. Within his own Department, Salazar was the most active in working for and practicing the language Pilipino in both teaching and publishing --- an action that could considerably be taken in as the beginnings of the Pantayong Pananaw, the key philosophy of the Bagong Kasaysayan.

After being away for further studies for more than fifteen years abroad, Salazar returned to his home university, U.P.D., in 1968. Like most of the colleagues before him, his educational training was a mixture of the highly Americanized studies in the Philippines and western (in this case, continental European) studies abroad. Like those before him, he was, hence, trained to think and practice his science in languages, foreign to his own; and he was aware of it. And so, like most of his colleagues, he was also effectively part and (on the whole, always potential) participant to three forms of intellectual discourse of the times; that is, that between himself and his fellow intellectuals in the Philippines, that between himself and the dictatorial government of the country, and that between himself and the other intellectuals of his kind in various countries overseas. He was active in all of the three. Accordingly, hence, with the use of standards set by the historian Renato Constantino, Salazar, in reference to his formal training and in consideration to most of his published works during those times, was also among those miseducated Filipino intellectuals. His difference, however, was the fact, that he knew this, plus, he was determined to do something about it; that is, starting the times that he came back home after studying for a long time overseas.

He was quite young when he started out with his campaign; he was in his early thirties. He easily thence got the support of his immediate age-group, who were during those times almost also thinking along the same lines as he was. Most of them understood what Salazar was trying to do. Not much was actually asked from them. Most of them somewhat accordingly cooperated with him. His plea was quite simple. He was determined to utilize --- though that, even for him who's from another language group (Bicol) and was trained to think and practice his science in foreign languages, was difficult --- Pilipino in all his teaching exertions in the university.⁶¹² The national language should be used as the medium of communication in the classroom environment, between the professor and the students.⁶¹³

⁶¹¹ He was the author of the first published volume of the TADHANA series; that is, the Volume II, Part I or Encounter (1565-1663). Cf.: Salazar, "Ang Historiograpiya ng... Op.cit..

⁶¹² It was not the first time though the P/Filipino was exerted to be utilized as the medium of instruction at the Department of History, University of the Philippines. Guadalupe Forres-Ganzon started on doing exactly this in the 1950's; but unfortunately, the action did not become as effective and affective it was during those years thought out to be. For the testimony on this, see: Zeus Salazar, "Ang Wikang Pambansa Bilang Midyum ng Pagtuturo sa Unibersidad" (mimeographed paper).

⁶¹³ According to him: "Ang paggamit ng Pilipino sa pagtuturo ng anumang asignatura o sangay ng karunungan ay may kaugnayan (at dahil dito'y dapat iangkop) sa kasagutan ukol sa tatlong mahalagang suliranin. Ang

Though seemingly simple, Salazar, according to his own testimony, did not have the easiest times in realizing his goal within the context of his home university. Pilipino, the language, was practically foreign to him, most especially with regards to the practice of his profession; its utility, hence, virtually equated to the task of learning it anew as an effective medium of communication. That's an intellectual challenge, at the same time, that shouldn't be difficult for, after all, he is Filipino, he grew up in the Philippines, and he could speak and understand the language; and so, he most probably thought, it was just a matter of appropriating the language as a medium of discussion within the classroom context of history. Naturally, like everything else, that was easier said than actually done.

American English has been long recognized as the most effective and most important language of discourse in the U.P. In fact, it was already part of the university's tradition as an institution of formal academic learning. American English was the language of learning⁶¹⁴; and it was already ingrained in the deepest portions of the university. Doing things otherwise or, to be more exact, using a language other than English, hence, meant going against what was already long used to. It was nearly violating tradition --- an almost sinful act for most of the times' institutionally trained historians. The young and relatively enthusiasm-full Salazar with his campaign did not gain much popularity among the older professors (academic historians) in his department, the Department of History. For these older historians, that would have meant, for all intents and purposes, that they would have to relearn many things that they have been for quite a while already teaching and practicing. That would be most difficult for them; and ironically enough, their whole situation could easily be understood. They have been used to a particular way of doing things, and so, they would be most hard-headed in doing them in another way. That is, even though the offered new way represent a relatively more sound principle or philosophy than their old way, and they knew it. The not so friendly odds though did not stop Salazar. He continued with his vision of utilizing Pilipino as the medium of communication in all his history classes. He taught the history of Europe in Pilipino.

And because he was aware that the hardship of the task was not only limited to himself but also affective of his students, he executed some additional perks in his classes, so that the latter would be more enthusiastic to cooperate with the realization of the vision. American English was still allowed to be utilized in exams as well as in research papers. But those students, who would utilize Pilipino in

nangunguna'y may kinalaman sa pagkakatanggap ng wikang Pilipino at sa pagpapatanggap nito bilang pamagitan salita --- alalaong baga, kung gaano karubdob ang pagsang-ayon sa pagsasa-Pilipino ng pagtuturo at kung paano mapapakinabangan ito sa utay-utay na pagpasok ng Pilipino. Ang ikalawa'y nauukol sa kasapatan ng ating wika at sa hustong pagbabagay nito sa kanyang nababagong kagamitan. Ang huli'y natutungod sa bunga't bisa ng paggamit ng Pilipino sa gawaing pangkaisipan --- kung ano ang magiging pagtingin at pakikipag-ugnay sa sariling wika, kapag laging kailangan ng gumagamit ang magsikap at maging mulat sa mga ningning at aninag nito. Lumitaw at siniyasat ang tatlong katanungang ito sa naganap kong pagpasok ng wikang Pilipino sa pampamantasang pag-aaral ng Kasaysayan at Dalubtauhan." Zeus Salazar, "Ang Pagtuturo ng Kasaysayan sa Pilipino", in Zeus Salazar (Ed.), *General Education Journal (1970-1971)*, Lunsod Quezon: University of the Philippines Press, p. 35.

⁶¹⁴ Cf., Chapter 6.

both of the mentioned exercises would be granted additional points for their final notes of the course.⁶¹⁵ Salazar opined, if the American teachers of yesteryears and their succeeding Filipino counterparts were allowed to fine (punishing with a specific amount of money) Filipino schoolchildren whenever they were caught speaking their own language, in order to ingrain in them that American English should be utilized all the time within the school premises; so he can very well reward those students who were relearning and reusing the language that they were taught to put aside within the areas he was in control of within the university context. His main goal was, after all, to train students to process ideas and intellectually express themselves in a language they knew but was not so very used to; that is, in Pilipino. He should be allowed to do whatever pleases him; U.P., in his mind, was still a republic in its own, it still enjoyed the academic freedom that it declared for itself quite a long time beforehand. Consequentially, in contrast to the older ways of assigning students to submit research papers, Salazar assigned his students to translate English books on European History to Pilipino. That was their most important task for his classes --- translation. Effectively, that meant that the students have to first read and understand the published history; translate it in Pilipino; and then, transcribe it as an historical narrative. That was a novelty, most especially for the department of history during those years.

Pilipino is the language of the Philippines; and so, explained Salazar, it was only fitting that Pilipino should be used as the language of learning in his classes. History should be taught to a specific audience in the language that really speaks of their own land and people; there shouldn't be any compromises whatsoever. In this regard, Salazar was zeroing on the three aspects that has to do with the practice of the disciplinal science of history; that is, the language of the taught discipline, the subject of the taught discipline, and the target audience of the taught discipline. The persistence on the utility of Pilipino as the language of the discipline implied the advantage of being a Filipino on the part of the historian who is narrating the history, as well as the expected mastery of the same on the subject of his own people, and his expected natural rapport with his expected audience, who are the Filipino people themselves. For Salazar, the author, subject and audience of history should definitely be indicative of the land and people of the Philippines; they all should be Filipino. Congruently stated with this, hence, was the conviction that, the language of the practice should be Pilipino, the national language of the Philippines. And teaching history in Pilipino within the university context would definitely be part of this mission/vision, part of this philosophy. The course, after all, was being done in the Philippines; it should therefore utilize the language of the country and the people it is being served unto, Pilipino.

The exclusivity of the implied discourse of the discipline was stressed. Salazar knew, from the beginning, how important this detail was; that was why, though difficult, he insisted on teaching in

⁶¹⁵ Cf., Salazar, "Ang Pagtuturo ng..." Op.cit., pp. 34-50.

Pilipino. And that was also the reason why he expectedly reiterated the same implied philosophy during those times, when he became one of the active representatives of the dictatorial government's involvement with the Filipino Heritage project in 1974. Comprehending the reasons behind and all the fuss over another encyclopedia about the Philippines written in English was, for him, nearly impossible. The effort was clearly not pioneering, for it was already done years beforehand; plus, it was clearly not conceived of in the service of the greater portion of the Philippine population, for it was written in a language foreign to their own. Salazar opined, hence, that another encyclopedia or any social science exercise in English was pointless; it does not really serve the people, whom should be the most important target audience of any social scientist, of any historian, for that matter, who claim that he is Filipino. Furthermore, he explained, any activity of the scientist should be for his own people; and so, his narrative, for one, should be made in such a way that its point of view would exclusively for himself and his own people. This was only fitting; after all, the subject of their narrative would only be themselves or at the most, their own ancestors, and nothing else. The narrative should be for the Filipinos alone; in his words, the point of view should be exclusively for, about, and be Filipino. It should be *pantayo*⁶¹⁶ in nature.

The word *pantayo*, however, was not easily accepted as a scientific terminology during those times. In strict practice, Pilipino grammar forbids such a word-structuring. Let us study it a bit closer. *Pantayo* is composed of two words, the affix *pa(n)* and the pronoun, acting as word base, *tayo*. The affix *pa* (or *pan*, or *pang*) is a noun derivative, which is normally utilized, in order to express,

- (1) the instrument used for performing what the WB denotes, e.g. *pangalis* or *pangkalis* 'what is used for scraping' (< *kalis* 'scratch, rasp, scrape, scour'), *panulat* or *pangsulat* 'what is used for writing' (< *sulat* 'write'), *pangbutas* 'what is used for boring holes' (< *butas* 'hole').
- (2) the abstract idea of the significance of the WB, *pangangatawán* 'physical build' (< *katawan* 'body'), *pangungusap* 'language, art of speech' (< *usáp* 'talk'), *pamumuhay* 'way or manner of living' (< *buhay* 'life').⁶¹⁷

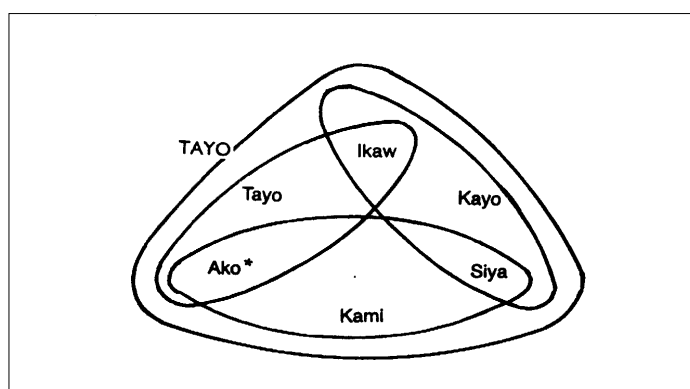
The affix *pa-*, in order to form a noun, hence, would be normally attached to a verb (like in the first instance above) or a proper noun (like in the second instance above) which should in itself act as the word base or root word of the to be formed noun. Theoretically, *pa-* should not be attached to anything else; it should not be attached to a pronoun, like in our word's case, which is *tayo*.

Grammatically considered, *tayo* is the pronoun for the plural form of the first person. Upon normal usage, it is utilized to incorporate everyone in a conversative circle; or, to put it more concretely, it is used to incorporate the *ako* (I), the *siya* (she/he), and the *ikaw/kayo* (you). (Cf., Figure 10.)

⁶¹⁶ Cf., Salazar, "Ang Historiograpiya ng...Op.cit.

⁶¹⁷ Cecilio Lopez, "Preliminary Study of the Affixes in Tagalog", in Ernesto Constantino (Ed.), *Selected Writings of Cecilio Lopez in Philippine Linguistics*, Op.cit., pp. 37-38. In the same article, Lopez explained further that "pa- with and without prenasalization conveys two distinct and different ideas: (1) without prenasalization, it is a nomen agendi (a-sentences) and (2) with nasalization it is very much like a nomen substantivum and is vest rendered by the gerund in English (b-sentences). The usual phonetic change follows

Figure 10
The Filipino Pronoun's Illustrative Scheme



Covar 1989

Surfacially, hence, tayo involves everyone; in fact, it could be generally translated to the pronoun we. Appropriately, when we put the affix pa(n) and the pronoun tayo together, the produced word --- or in this case, an *unword* for it doesn't really exist earlier --- would mean, *something that is for us*. In this regard, pantayo is taken in as a physical object or an abstraction of a thing or an entity which is being utilized by everyone, who are parts of the pronoun, we. *Quite confusing.*

On the other hand, it could also be considered otherwise. Tayo could normally imply an entirely exclusive conversation between a speaker and a target audience, as well. It encompasses the speaker and his target audience; at the same time, put both of these elements as the virtual exclusive portions of a closed whole. Tayo, in this regard, pertains to exclusivity of belongingness to a closed circuitry. And so, pantayo could mean something that is exclusively for us. What was, in this view, stressed was the exclusivity of the conversation being done between a speaker (or more) and his (their) targeted audience. Put this way, thence, pantayo could actually refer to a quite meaningful philosophical singularity. And like all singularities, it has a general abstractive but at the same time a specified aspect within. It is generally abstractive for it could embrace all and everything that has to do with tayo (we); but it is also specific, for it particularly points out its own isolative character(s) from that of others, meaning those who were not being addressed to or those who don't belong to the closed circuited whole that is tayo (us).

And so, when Salazar utilized this term in application to a particular viewpoint that was amissed in a social scientific work, he was in the process introducing a philosophical guideline, that strongly put importance on the question of who or what the actual readership of the finished scientific piece should be. The expected readership influences everything that has to do with the actual work; it affects its form and structure, its text, its statement of a problem even the way the results would be afterwards presented, its physical representation, etc. A work should be able to talk or converse with its readers;

with nasalization, i.e. b, p > m, d > n or takes ng before itself, t > n, g takes ng before it, k > ng, s > n, and a vowel takes ng before it.”

it is only in this manner that the sense or the ingrained message of a particular work would actually be put across. Readership virtually dictates how a work should be presented. Consequently, a work would not only be reflective of the kind of person or scientist its writer is, it should also be highly considerate or thoughtful of who its wanted or targeted readers would be.

A work that was *pantayo*, in this regard, for Salazar, was a work which was specifically engineered and written for the greater number of the country's population or, to put it more apt during the times that he coined the phrase, for the Filipino masses. A *pantayo* work was not written in English; it is written in the language of the masses, in Pilipino. A *pantayo* work speaks to the Filipino people, it speaks Pilipino; and so, it is reflective of the culture⁶¹⁸ of its readers as well. It is reflective of the greater Filipino culture, which one could normally read in this people's language and its linguistic qualities themselves. It is the living proof of the unifying baseframe of the Filipino people, who retained and still have a singular language tradition and cultural person.⁶¹⁹ A *pantayo* historical work, which was what Salazar meant in 1974 as he coined the word, would then be a history which was specifically written for the Filipino masses, for the Filipino people. It is much different from the history of the Philippines written by the colonial masters, for those were purported to be histories in the *pansilang pananaw*⁶²⁰; plus, it is different from those histories written by the Filipino intellectuals starting from the late 19th century onwards, for those, in their turn, are compared as histories in the *pangkaming pananaw*⁶²¹. It is, in fact, also much different from the histories written and published by the institutionally trained historians of the times. These almost newly published (and still quite useful for most of the Philippine schools till today) are, in reality, histories in the modified version of the *ilustrados'* *pangkaming pananaw*. The historians, in this form of history, addresses the foreign language (usually American English) audience, and not the Filipino people themselves, who speak the language Pilipino. In consequence, the histories produced, though supposedly the history of the Philippines, became virtually foreign for they are not totally understood by the majority of the Filipinos; plus, they tend to look at the Philippines and the Filipinos as a clinical object --- a thing or an object seen from afar by a particular observer. The histories, thence, seemed to become *some things*, which are --- in effect --- written not from the inside, and so, not for those who belong and move within the inside; and most importantly, not based on the concepts, ideas, sentiments, etc. of

⁶¹⁸ Salazar explained: "Ang buod ng pantayong pananaw ay nasa panloob na pagkakaugnay-ugnay at *pag-uugnay* ng mga katangian, halagahin, kaalaman, karunungan, hangarin, kaugalian, pag-aasal, at karanasan ng isang kabuuang pangkalinangan --- kabuuang nababalot sa, at ipinahahayag sa pamamagitan ng isang wika; ibig sabihin, sa loob ng isang nagsasariling talastasan/diskursong pangkalinangan o pangkabihasnan. Isang reyalidad ito sa loob ng alin mang grupong etnolinguwistikong may kabuuan at kakanyahan, sa atin at sa ibang dako man ng mundo." Zeus Salazar, "Ang Pantayong Pananaw Bilang Diskursong Pangkabihasnan", in Bautista at Pe-pua (M g a Patnugot), *Pilipinolohiya: Kasaysayan, Pilosopiya at Pananaliksik*, Maynila: Kalikasan Press, 1991.

⁶¹⁹ "Ang pantayong pananaw ay isang buong (ibig sabihin, di watak-watak na) diskursong pangkalinangan o pangkabihasnan, ang pinakakatangian ng isang kalinangan o kabihasnang may kabuuan at kakanyahan. Batayan siya, samakatuwid, ng pagkakaisa ng isang grupo ng taong may sariling wika-at-kultura." *Ibid.*

⁶²⁰ Cf., Chapter 4.

⁶²¹ Cf., Chapters 5 and 6.

those from the inside, who's supposed to be its main audience.⁶²² Pantayong pananaw, utilized in a historical work, is written in Pilipino --- a historical work, which could be easily understood by the majority of the people and with which the people could easily relate unto, even actually see themselves into. For all intents and purposes, a pantayo historical work would be the actual and real Filipino people's history. It would be a history which would, most importantly, help its readers with the struggle of answering the question about its own identity as a people, with a particular cultural person and a specific individuality, not only in reference to those other peoples of the world, but more importantly, as a singular --- sometimes, even isolated --- being.

These exact considerations and prerequisites on a historical work were during those times the ideals. They were never before actually realized. Like what were discussed in the previous chapters, the most dominant historical concept of the times and context was basically embodied in the word history (historia) itself; and the concretizations and practice of such were not, what one would conceive of, when one takes to the heart the considerations and prerequisites above. In a manner, hence, these considerations and prerequisites on a historical work were really introducing a new idea, a conception, which was probably already hinted at beforehand but was never actually seriously developed as a singular embodiment of a particular historical conceptualization. Salazar was, in this regard, with his pantayo view in direct application to the people's history, modestly beginning a new era in the history of historiography on the country. He was beginning a new kind of history; that is, the beginning of something, evidently different from the traditional conception of the word history itself. On the whole, hence, this new conceptualization could and *should* not be just called "new history". It was more than that. In fact, "history" could not exactly be utilized anymore to refer to what was newly conceived of. There had to be a more appropriate terminology for the new conceptualization.

And like the experience with the idea of pantayo, this new terminology was somewhat just naturally developed a couple of years afterwards. The all-embracing and highly appropriate term that was eventually made, in order to incorporate and embody the new historical conceptualization, was "bagong kasaysayan". This developed new terminological phrase somehow completely embodied what was implied and idealized in a pantayo historical work, and more! It looks back and gives honor to the ancient Filipino idea of history, but at the same time, it provides enough room so that it would not be trap in the limitations, which were expectedly set by the conventional parts of the ancient concept. The developers of the new concept knew for a fact, that they could not easily erase the era.

⁶²² "Pinuna ko noon na ang pananaw ng inihahain na ensiklopedia ay hindi pantayokundi pangkami, sapagkat ang kinakausap ay mahihinuhang mga taga-labas (o mga elite na medyo o lubusang tagalabas na ang batayang pangkaisipan) at hindi ang mga Pinoy mismo. Makikita ito sa mga sumusunod na pangyayari: (1) ang wika ay banyaga at hindi naiintindihan ng nakararami sa lipunang Pilipino; at (2) ang tendensiya ay tingnan ang ating bansa bilang obheto/paksain ng pag-aaral mula sa labas --- ibig sabihin, hindi mula sa loob, hindi rin para sa taong taga-loob, at lalong hindi nasasalalay sa mga konsepto, pandama, at diwa mismo ng mga kalinangang Pilipino at mga kabihasanan ng kapilipinuhan sa agos ng kasaysayan nito hanggang sa ngayon." Salazar, "Ang Pantayong Pananaw Bilang Diskursong Pangkalinangan", Op.cit.

History as the most historical and historiographical conceptualization pulsed within the community of historians and their students. History as an idea was, after all, never all wrong. It is not to be denied, that within its set discursive context were many details that had to do with methodology and other details developed. These developments should, in this regard, not be easily thrown down the drain. They were and still are effective tools of historians everywhere; they *should*, thence, still be present in the newly developed historical conceptualization. And they were, accordingly, made to. The reintroduced term made sure that these methodological, and some philosophical, developments would not be lost. As much as the new term embraces the ancient Filipino concept “kasaysayan”, it also incorporates many details from the imported and developed concept “history”. Both of them have their appropriated place in the term bagong kasaysayan.

The term is basically the same as or it is a reiteration and renewal of the ancient term kasaysayan⁶²³; but its dynamic characteristic is provided for in the added *foreword* “bago(ng)”. Bago (*bágo*) is a Pilipino adjective, which means new, recent, or modern; or when affixed with *pag-* (*pagbabágo*), it means change.⁶²⁴ But bago in our term is evidently utilized as an adjective; and so, we would treat it as such in the following discussions. Considerably, hence, bagong kasaysayan simply means new history or, to put it more appropriate for we know that the two concepts are widely different from one another⁶²⁵, renewed kasaysayan. The resulting meaning that was relaid through the term is quite interesting. There were two clear messages which were put forth through our term. Firstly, that it is different from the used to history. That is, because if it is just within the framework of the used to term, then it shouldn't be called bagong kasaysayan at all. Average equation would lead us in believing that it should just be called new history instead. That makes sense. After all, the same or the similar action was frequently done by many historians through the years. And so, when a commonly believed to be similar concept was called otherwise, then it only adds up that the concept was not in any way similar at all. Bagong kasaysayan differs from new history.

⁶²³ Cf., Chapter 1.

⁶²⁴ Teresita Ramos, *Tagalog Dictionary*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1971, p. 26. Here are the meanings of the same word in a few sample dictionaries of some of the major Filipino languages:

“bágo. Variant of Bágó, before; bágo. Before (time sequence), Bágó magalas dos. Before two o'clock.; bágo. New, MAG- to change (in appearance, manner, the weather), MAG- -AN, to change the appearance of something, to alter, to amend, to transform, -AN, newcomer, beginner, novice.” Malcolm Minto, *Bikol Dictionary*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971, p. 79.

“bágo. Adj. New; N /ka...on/ (kabag-ohón) newness; V /ma-. MaN-: -on/ change Mabág-o unya ‘ang akong hunuhuna! My ideas will change later; N /ka-....-an/ (kabag-óhan) the change” Elsa Paula Yap and Maria Victoria Bunye, *Cebuano-Bisayan Dictionary*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971, pp. 41-42.

“bág-o, dili daan, adj. New, modern, fresh, novel, recent (bago) – adv. Recently, newly, as bag-ong napili, recently elected (bago); bág-o, wala pa maanad, adj. Unfamiliar, unaccustomed, as bag-o ako ning dapita, I am unfamiliar in the place (manibago); bágo, pahimong bag-o, v. To make new again, renew, remodel, renovate, refurbish (baguhin) – kabágo, n Newness (kabaguhan)” Tomas Hermosisima, *Dictionary Bisayan-English-Tagalog*, Manila: Pedro Ayuda & Company, 1966, p. 43.

⁶²⁵ Cf., Parts I and II of this study.

Furthermore, the term clearly gives credit to an ancient Filipino concept, to *kasaysayan* itself. It looks back and, in a manner, revives an old concept; and so, gives a distinct honor to those who utilized it through the years past. The term, in this regard, looks back, honors, and gives stress to an ancient concept which, through the merits of the adjective *bago*, is perceived to be renewed, revived, or appropriately modernized. *Bagong kasaysayan*, in this regard, represents the harmonious coming together of two seemingly odd couple; and those are, the rigid traditions of the past and the dynamism of the present. For the historians who purported to be practitioners of the concept, that, concretely meant two basic philosophical process; firstly, the exertion of going back to the past or going back to the people in order to find out and extract what the actual meanings of the ancient term were; and secondly, the exertion of recalibrating and reconceptualizing the ancient concept, according to the foreseen needs as well as the rigidities and dynamism of the disciplinal science wherein it should be appropriated in. Both were relatively difficult on the historians' part, for it meant the *trouble* of going against the convenience of old ways, which they were trained to do since the times of their institutional education in the various universities; and the frustratingly *bothering effort* of chartering new --- though theoretically subconsciously always parts of the people's (which they were/are actually parts of) mindsets --- conceptual territories. And to top it, furthermore, both exertions meant more work. Both were just beginnings of a chain of interconnected efforts to be done; both meant processes, which have to be pushed through and followed through, till the ideal end of things would be reached and accomplished.

And so, in a manner, the beginning of *bagong kasaysayan* which was stimulated by the earlier conceptualization of *pantayong pananaw* was quite a revolutionary event for the historians. Without actually compromising any of its own conceptual history, *kasaysayan* had to be appropriated to the prerequisites of the present. The constellation or, to be exacter, the working relationship of the ancient concept to the eventually evolved disciplinal science, represented in the idea, of history should be somewhat structurally framed. Both have their distinct places in historiography; and so, both should obviously be present in the practice of the science. The question, that should be accordingly stated afterwards, should be along the lines of how to specifically illustrate the most appropriate relationship between the two concepts of history in the practice of history on the Philippines. And expectedly, the tasks to be done does not stop at what was obviously stated.

Working concepts within the practice of the science have to be redefined as well. *Bagong kasaysayan* equates to the exertion of giving utmost importance to what the Filipino cultural identity is within the practice of the disciplinal science of history; and this, accordingly, gets down to the mammoth task of retrospective survey of the various working concepts of the practice and their required revision, sometimes appropriation, or even total rejection afterwards. These concepts included, among others, that of nation, nationalism, heroism, etc. which were earlier taken for granted as but natural portions of

the practice of the science, were looked at, reviewed, and accordingly utilized or not utilized within the realms of the bagong kasaysayan. Because the basic precept of bagong kasaysayan is the pioneer importance of Filipino in the narrative, the mentioned sampling of working concepts --- which in reality were imported as well like that of the word history itself --- were not that apt and effective anymore. A whole new set of working concepts within the bounds of the practice of bagong kasaysayan should, hence, be conceived or considered. And theoretically, since the people have unconsciously preserved these concepts within the working cultural whole, the task at hand was just the seemingly simple action of going back and communing with the Filipino masses whom, in the first place, should be the ones that the historian is serving and should be communicating with. The historian should redefine many of his concepts utilized within the practice of his science; and at the same time, renew his relationship with his people, whom should be the main sources of the new norms and standards that he utilizes in the actual practice of the bagong kasaysayan.

Consequentially, the working conceptual world which would effectively be utilized and illustrated within a bagong kasaysayan would be the Filipino and/or Pilipino world of concepts. The narrative, in effect, would not only be descriptive of the people's past, it would be illustrative and explanatory of the people's distinct cultural identity. Otherwise stated, the various measures and conceptualizations from outside would not have a major role in the narrative; in fact, unlike before, when they were basically utilized in order to ironically explain to Filipinos what and who the Filipino is, they would rarely, and if!, be mentioned anymore. The narrative of history would, therefore, be truthfully Filipino; and in fact, would not even attempt at becoming anything nor anymore else. It would be narrated by a Filipino directly to his fellow Filipinos; and it would be most importantly about things that concern exclusively both of them. Its most important task would be the explanation to the Filipino people who they were and, probably in a way, who they could also be in the perceived present as well as in the future. The narrative would be, in this way, a communion and communication effort between an historian and the Filipino masses about the same community and people they both belong in. The closed circuitry implied at in the pantayong pananaw would then have been realized in the much specialized area of historiography.

Henceforth, when considered from afar, bagong kasaysayan actually embodies the third era in the history of history as an idea in the Philippines --- kasaysayan was the first, then there was historia, and lastly, there was bagong kasaysayan. It is representative of the third most important idea that sets the bounds and norms of the practice of history, of historiography, in the islands. It is the final embodiment of the exertions and insistence to put the ancient traditions of the Filipino cultural past together with the systematic, dynamic, and scientific elements of the almost universal present. The philosophy and principles of the old (kasaysayan) would be united with the clinical methods and

stylistics of the present (history). As a result, bagong kasaysayan, aptly considered, is virtually or practically the beginning of the real, and actually working, Filipino historiography.

B. The Philosophy and Methodology of Bagong Kasaysayan

Bagong kasaysayan perpetuates to unite the historical and scholarship traditions contained in the concepts of kasaysayan and historia. Consequently, it is within this union that the philosophy and methodology of the said historical idea is also generally defined and modified. Its greater philosophy owes itself from that of kasaysayan, while its methodology is basically taken from the scholarship and scientific tradition of history. Bagong kasaysayan works and takes off from the precept of the utmost importance of the Filipino or, to be more exact, the Filipino people in the discussions within the narrative. Its whole guiding principle is modified, shaped, and influenced by the optimal consideration to its subject and object of discussion, as well as its intended audience or readers; that is, *bayan* or the Filipino people. Everything in the narrative should be conceptualized, researched, and made in accordance and consideration to the Filipino people, who are its most important audience. In consequence, the narrative would be engineered in such a way that it would be easiest to be comprehended by its audience; end goal, after all, of the whole exercise would be to communicate a particular message of learning and/or understanding about all of them with its audience or, even better, to make the audience feel that they are part of the whole activity of the discussion, for the author make them feel welcome to participate in the discussion anytime that they feel so. Bagong kasaysayan would, in this regard, be an effective exchange of ideas and opinions between its author and its audience --- an exertion, which could only be seen as natural, for they both of them are, in the long run, just discussing themes which exclusively concern only both of them.

But not to be forgotten though is the fact that bagong kasaysayan is still very much part and, in actuality, concretization of an already long recognized as an institutional discipline. Like most of its kind then, it still has to operate within the bounds of the structural system with which it was built and defined as a science. The methods have to be kept for they are the ones which put it apart as a discipline, and in fact, among the oldest, universal world disciplines. To disregard the methods would practically mean going against its very own basic principles, both as a known philosophy and science of the past. In order, hence, to be further recognized as an institutional science, bagong kasaysayan have to continue utilizing the methods; that is, the basic historical methods which were formulated within the bounds of historical idea of historia. The utmost importance of the bayan in the narrative though, on the other hand, modify this principle. The terms of inquiry built in within the idea of history were made, for one, by a long-standing literary community; it follows, in this regard, that the terms of inquiry gravitated on written sources of historical data. This ground definition cannot be

completely applied to that of the Filipino people, who do not have the same length or even the same form of literary tradition as those who constructed the terms of inquiry in the said idea. Other ways have to be, thence, made, in order that the same depth that could be gotten from written sources would be made for the Filipino people. And this need is principally answered by quite a wide range of auxiliary disciplines, which include cultural anthropology, ethnology, linguistics, folklore, etc., for our science. In effect, bagong kasaysayan becomes a cooperative effort of various scientists, in its almost sacred goal of defining and explaining to the Filipino people, whom they were in the past and whom they are and could be in the present and probable future.

Bagong kasaysayan's philosophy and methodology were, on top of everything else, functioning on the one and the same principle; that is, the realization of a pantayong pananaw in the practice of the science of history, in historiography. Expectedly, the messages, the meanings, the generalizations, and the explanations arrived at within the narrative would be comparatively different from those of the earlier forms, even generations, of histories. They would be more appropriate to the needs and requirements of the Filipino people, who are its target audience. In fact, they would be more parts and parcel, within the greater realization of the philosophy and principles of the localized kasaysayan of the ancients. Bagong kasaysayan would answer and explain questions and phenomena which were considered by its audience, the greater Filipino people, as important or significant. This role was earlier done by the various concretizations of the idea of historia. In effect, hence, bagong kasaysayan practically took over both the science and the concretization of the narrative. It had to, in this regard, redefine and reappropriate itself not only as a narrative but, more importantly, as a representative of a disciplinary science of the times and context. Apropos, explained Salazar,

...ang kasaysayan ay isang salaysay hinggil sa nakaraan o saan pa mang paksa na may saysay para sa sariling lipunan at kultura. Hindi maaaring ang isang salaysay tungkol sa isang grupo ng tao ay may saysay na malalim para sa ibang grupo ng tao. Higit sa lahat, may saysay iyon sa grupo ng tao mismo na paksa ng kasaysayang isinasalaysay. Malayo ito sa kinagawian nating depinisyon sa eskuwelahan (na tatag ng mga Amerikano) na ang Kasaysayan daw ay pag-aaral ng nakaraan ("History is the study of the past."). Mas importante ang dalawang tanong na "kaninong nakaraan" at "para kanino isinasalaysay". Kaya, para sa kasalukuyang yugto ng ating historiograpiya, ang Kasaysayan ay dapat maging isang ulat hinggil sa nakaraan sa kabuuang lipunan at kultura ng bansang Pilipino.⁶²⁶

Kasaysayan is the significant narrative or any other thematic about or related to the past of a people and culture. Kasaysayan though could not be any narrative about a specific group of people which has a deep significance to another group of people. More importantly, kasaysayan should be significant to the subject-people of the narrative being told. In today's historiography, henceforth, kasaysayan should be the considered most important expression about the past of the whole community and culture, that is the Filipino nation. And so, with these explanation, the word and concept kasaysayan

⁶²⁶ Zeus Salazar, "Ang Pantayong Pananaw sa Agham Panlupunan: Historiograpiya", in *Philippine Currents* (November, 1989), Manila: p. 25.

should, for all intents and purposes, substitute history in its earlier place as the representative of both the chronological narrative and the disciplinary science. The two referred to meanings of the word are, after all, internally and completely connected to each other; so that, they could not be possibly referred to by two completely different terms. The two meanings should be referred to by a singular terminology; and that is, in our case, *kasaysayan*. Essential to this process of transference and change is the task of making the ancient concept really different from history; or, to be more exact, in differentiating it from the foreign concept that is history, most especially, in application to the Philippine context and to its chronological history proper. Naturally, *kasaysayan* should and was pictured as the more appropriate concept for the needs of the Philippines and its people, the Filipinos. It is Filipino; and so, acceptably, in application to the precepts of *pantayong pananaw* beforehand, it is always most applicable to the Filipinos' needs in comparison to any foreign or imported concept. Furthermore and interestingly enough (most especially for the young and forward-moving social scientists), the ancient concept is, this time, not so ancient anymore; it is infused and synthesized with the dynamics of the science it belongs in and represents. It is appropriated to the context, both in the larger Philippines and in the more specialized area of its institutional discipline; it is, hence given a new life, it is renewed, and in fact, even invigorated. It stands for a particular historical philosophy, plus, it has its own set of systematic methods. *Bagong kasaysayan*, henceforth, clearly represents, in this way, the disciplinary scientific Filipino history and its consequential narrative product.

The *bagong kasaysayan* narrative, in effect, embodies a particular scenario, wherein the historian --- in his application of the *pantayong pananaw* in his narrative --- speaks and addresses two most important audiences, the Filipino people (*bayan*⁶²⁷) and the other Filipino historians. All of the three speak and utilize the Filipino language in their correspondence; all of them are parts and portions of the same people --- the main focus of their discussion. They represent one dynamic discussive whole; and their stage and venue of discussion is the *bagong kasaysayan* narrative itself. Theoretically, though it is a fact that the historian would be the only one who actively make the discussion, because they all speak the same language and virtually operate on the same paths of mind, the other two addressants could anytime make their voices and opinions heard. They are, after all, participants to a particular discourse; that is, a national discourse, which operates and functions within the *bagong kasaysayan* or, to be more apt, within the general disciplinary area of history, of the new history. The ideal, which is already long practiced in many of the countries around the world, in effect, happens in *bagong kasaysayan* --- with it, history as an institutional disciplinary science effectively becomes a national discourse. The created situation, in consequence, was very much different from that of the earlier years of the disciplinary science of history on the archipelago. In contrast to the practice earlier, the historical discourse do not occur among historians alone. The academician-historian does not particularly dictate and practically run the discourse anymore; he and his colleagues do not exclusively

⁶²⁷ For the earlier discussion on the concept of *bayan*, please refer to Part I of this study.

discuss the history of the Philippines to themselves anymore. Largely in light of the new language of the discourse, a bigger number of potential participants could be expected therein. Generally considered, the historian talks to and with the Filipino people within the new discourse; and so, in the process, the seemingly isolated former would be reunited to the same people he is addressing and in reality, the same people he actually belongs to as well. Almost a revolutionary change would then be, in this way, executed; and that could be easily witnessed. Because of the nature of the discourse earlier, the academician historian or the intellectual historian had been figuratively separated to the same people who are both the actual subject and metaphorical object of his exertions. It is through bagong kasaysayan and its consequential discourse that he becomes reunited again to his subject and object; and in the same breath, hence, realize his most important utility as an historian of a particular country and people. Through the bagong kasaysayan, the historian regain his communicative and/or connection line to the Filipino people, to the bayan, who are, on the first place, his most important target audience. Understanding, comprehension, or aptly put, communion are expected to be reached at in the exertion; and consequently, cooperation in order to realize a singular (or sometimes even more) goal(s), as well.

However, though the end effect of the whole exercise would be the ideal, it prerequires quite a lot of concrete exertions from the historian himself, who's expected to write and create the narrative bagong kasaysayan. Foremost from these is the equally humongous and almost invisible necessity for the historian to go through the process of going and touching base with his --- mostly repressed or intentionally self-suppressed --- Filipino person. In a manner, he has to first go back to his roots, to the most essential things that made himself as a Filipino cultural being. He was long isolated from this person; and in the same breath, long isolated from the majority of his people as well. Fortunately though, just as the Filipino majority, this person within him never really dissappeared. Like the Filipinos through many years, this inner person was just mostly repressed and never really allowed to grow and develop. And so, in a manner, the intellectual-historian was just letting that inner person benumbed, or temporarily (in some cases, even permanently!) deprived of power of movement and action. The process of numbing and suppression was in fact so effective, that he sometimes even convince himself that this person inside does not exist. He isolate himself too much, that he even believes that he is in actual communion with his people while in reality he was addressing a foreign cultural being to his own. In a manner, he is practically lost, and he was not even properly aware of it! An executive action should henceforth be exerted, in order to remedy the whole situation. The historian has to go back, not only to himself, but most importantly, to his people; in this way, a microlevel struggle would be effectively fought in order to win a kind of macrolevel one.

How did the institutionally trained Filipino historian ended up in this position anyways? The country's long colonial experience and the eventually established school system contributed to its creation. That

small population's portion, which always swung between cooperation and argumentation with the colonial powers, became virtually separated in their ways and general manners with the greater population's portion, who most of the time did not have a chance to even merely see a colonial master in their locality. Consequently, a huge/ great cultural divide, *dambuhalang pagkakahating pangkalinangan*⁶²⁸, between these two portions was erected. Both are parts and parcels of the same people. But these two, sadly enough, because of different local and world views, different published mindsets, different obvious actions and reactions, different general ways of living were practically two different entities. In the anthropological sense, they are two different culture groups. One could loosely be called national culture; that is, because this group's ways were basically patterned from that foreign political whole, *la nación*⁶²⁹/*patria filipina*, which the ilustrados of the late 19th century

⁶²⁸ This term was conceptualized and published by Salazar. Here was how he explained its meaning: "Sa pangkalahatan ay dalawang kalinangan sa pakahulugang antropolohikal ang nakapaloob at maaring sumaklaw sa kasalukuyang lipunang Pilipino --- ang "kulturang nasyonal" na nagmula sa Propaganda bilang resulta ng pagkatatag ng nación/nation (nasyon) sa pamumuno ng mga elite at ang "kalinangang bayan" bilang kinalabasan ng proseso ng pagkabuo ng mga pamayanang Pilipino sa isang Bayang Pilipino, ang Inang Bayan ng Himagsikan 1896. Ang una'y uminog sa konsepto ng "nasyong Pilipino" na sa simula'y binuo sa wikang Kastila (la nación/patria filipina) ng mga Propagandista at Rebolusyonista at pagkatapos ay isinulong ng linyang (Aguinaldo) > Quezon > Osmena > (Laurel) > Roxas > Quirino > Magsaysay > Garcia > Macapagal > Marcos > Aquino sa pakikipagtulungan sa mga Amerikano, kung kayat sa wikang Ingles ang pagkahulma ng estado sa ngayon. Ang pangalawa naman ay nakaugat sa karanasang pangkasaysayan ng mga bayang Pilipino na nagkakumpol-kumpol sa isang Bayang Pilipino sa harap ng panunuot ng Kanluran. Kailanman ay hindi sa banyagang wika binigyan ng pakahulugan ang karanasang ito --- halimbawa, ang mga rebelyong bayan, mula kina Bangkaw hanggang kina Bonifacio at sa mga sumunod na pag-aalsa matapos isukol ni Aguinaldo ang Himagsikan ng mga Anak ng Bayan noong Disyembre 1897. Ang mga elite, sa kanilang dako, kadalasan ay nagpahayag ng kanilang mga layunin at kaisipan sa wikang dayuhan. Masasabing ang wikang Tagalog o P/Filipino ang naging tagasaklaw ng mga layuning bayan ng mga paghihimagsik ng taumbayan, lalo't higit yaong mga tinatawag na mesyaniko, hanggang sa Himagsikan ng 1896 at sa ibayo nito." Salazar, "Ang Pantayong Pananaw Bilang Diskursong Pangkahibanan"...Op.cit.

⁶²⁹ Here are the meanings and etymological history of the word: "Nación. Femenino. El acto de nacer. En este sentido lo usa el vulgo, en lugar de nacimiento; y así se suele decir: ciego de nación.// El Estado ó cuerpo político que renoue un centro común supremo de gobierno.// Se dice también hablando del territorio que comprende, y aun de sus individuos, tomado colectivamente.// Conjunto de los habitantes en alguna provincia, país ó reino, y el mismo país ó reino.// Se usa vulgarmente en singular y en masculino para significar cualquier extranjero.// De nación. Modo adverbial con que se da á entender la naturaleza de alguno, ó de donde es natural. ETIMOLOGIA. Nacer: latín, natio, onis; forma de natus, nacido; catalán, nacio; portugués, nacao; provenzal, nation, naision; francés, nation; italiano, nazione. SINONIMIA. Artículo primero --- Nación, Pueblo. La palabra colectiva nación comprende á todos aquellos que tienen el mismo nacimiento, que son oriundos del mismo país. Pueblo designa una gran multitud, un gran número. Así en el sentido literal y primitivo, nación indica una relación común de nacimiento, de origen; y pueblo, una relación de multitud, de congregación (Cienfuegos). Artículo segundo --- Nación, Pueblo. En la idea representada por la voz pueblo hay más individualidad y menos dignidad que en la representada por nación. Usamos esta última cuando hablamos de las instituciones, del territorio, del régimen político, del idioma, de la literatura propios y peculiares de alguna gran fracción de la humanidad, y decimos pueblo cuando hablamos de sus costumbres, de sus hábitos, de los hechos en que toman parte sus individuos como tales. La nación es un ser ideal más abstracto en cierto modo que el pueblo. La nación es el todo; el pueblo es la suma de las partes que componen la nación, pero excluyendo la idea de los grandes vínculos que ligan á las mismas partes cuando se da á su conjunto el nombre de nación. Decimos que en las naciones de Oriente está arraigado el despotismo, y que los pueblos del Norte tienen una constitución más robusta que los de los climas cálidos. En el pueblo que habita el territorio de una nación, puede haber individuos que no le pertenecan. Nación es un reino ó república que tiene unidad en las principales condiciones de su existencia, como el origen, el gobierno, el idioma, la religión dominante, la legislación y la parte que ocupa en el globo, en cuyo caso su nombre sustantivo propio significa lo mismo que adjetivo derivado de él y agregado á la palabra nación. Lo mismo es Rusia que la nación rusa; lo mismo Bélgica que la nación belga; pero si hablamos de las acciones y prácticas de los individuos, acciones y prácticas que, por muy generales que sean, admiten

conceptualized, began, and popularized on the archipelago. It was taken over by the elite leadership, e.g. Aguinaldo, and his followers, during the second phase of the Philippine Revolution, and then continued by the country's presidents (Quezon > Osmena > Laurel > Roxas > Quirino > Magsaysay > Garcia > Macapagal > Marcos > Aquino > Ramos > Estrada), with the support of the Americans, in the years following. Consequently, the whole political structure of the country or, to put it simply, the Philippine state became largely shaped and influenced by the same concept: *nación*. It was firstly conceptualized in Spanish; and then, continuously developed in American English through the following years. It still utilize the latter in all of its official expression and general processesings to this day. It virtually feeds on the foreign culture of the country's elite and educated, who speaks and understand, in their turn, this *machinery's* foreign language, namely, English.

The other culture group, on the other hand, speaks Pilipino. It is grounded on the long and various experiences of the different Philippine ethno-linguistical groups (the Bayang Pilipino), in the face of the colonial challenge of the West or, in particular, the Spaniards and the Americans. Bayang Pilipino

muchas excepciones, no diremos nación, sino pueblo. Así decimosque el pueblo chino, y no la nación china, es muy diestro en los trabajos manuales; que la cerveza es bebida favorita del pueblo inglés, y no de la nación inglesa. También se usa la voz pueblo para designar una parte sola de la nación; esto es, la gente común, á distinción de las personas de clase y categoría; por ejemplo: en el alzamiento de España contra la usurpación francesa, no sólo tomó parte el pueblo, sino que la timaron también el clero y la nobleza.

Artículo tercero --- Nación, nacionalidad. Estudiemos la diferencia que hay entre estas dos frases.

Tal hecho no conviene á la nación española.

Tal hecho no conviene á la nacionalidad española.

Al decir que no conviene á la nación española, expresamos la idea de que no conviene á los individuos que componen á España, ya porque menoscabe sus derechos, ya porque mengue su decoro. Al hablarse de la nación, se habla de los individuos nacionales.

Al decir que aquel hecho no conviene á la nacionalidad española, no se habla de los individuos que componen á España, sino de España, de ese país, de esa masa política, constituida y organizada bajo el espíritu de su historia y de sus leyes rodeada de sus usos, costumbres, idioma, creencias. Se habla de la nación como carácter, como atributo; en una palabra, como distintivo. La nacionalidad no es otra cosa que la representación constitucional, el símbolo de la nación, su persona política, si así puede decirse. Cuando hablamos de nacionalidad española, no hablamos de los españoles, sino de la historia, de las leyes, de los usos, de las costumbres, del idioma y de la creencia de un país que se llama España.

Nación quiere decir pueblo.

Nacionalidad quiere decir patria.

Lo que perjudica á la nacionalidad, viene de fuera.

Los impuestos arruinan á la nación.

Las irrupciones destruyen la nacionalidad.

Nación es un nombre concreto, lo que se denomina en gramática sustantivo común.

Nacionalidad es un nombre abstracto: significa la cualidad que tienen las cosas de ser nacionales.

Nación y nacionalidad vienen del sustantivo latino *natio*, *nationis*, que no tenía el sentido que tiene en nuestra lengua. Para los latinos, *pueblos* era una nación civilizada; *ciudad*, una nación política; *gente*, una nación originaria, genealógica, por decirlo así: era una nación como raza ó sangre; *nación* era más bien una colonia, es decir, una amalgama de hombres sin los vínculos del derecho y de la cultura; una población, no una masa política, no una sociedad. Por esto dice Tácito: que el nombre de una nación (colonia, comarca) fué prevaleciendo poco á poco sobre el de la gente (nación entera), hasta el punto de que todos se llamaban germanos: <<ita nationes nomen in nomen gentis evaluise paulatim, ut omnes Germani vocarentur. >>

La nación es hoy para nosotros lo que era el pueblo y la ciudad para los latinos: una grande comunidad política y civilizada." R. Roque Barcia, Diccionario General Etimológico de la Lengua Española, Tomo III, Barcelona: F. Seix Editor, 1879, pp. 875-876.

or, to put it more aptly, Kalinangang Bayan(g Pilipino)⁶³⁰ was loosely begun various rebel movements among the different local communities of the archipelago during the peak of the Spanish colonial sovereignty over the land. It reached its peak as a countrywide development through the independence movement of the KKKANB, led by Bonifacio during the last years of the 19th century; continued and manifested through the millenarian and social banditry movement, e.g. Sakay's Republika ng Katagalugan⁶³¹, against the Americans during the first half of the 20th century; and both consciously and unconsciously continued among many villages on the islands, and most especially, among many millenarian movements around the country to this days. Kalinangang Bayan⁶³² never spoke and operated in any other language, except Tagalog or F/Pilipino. In fact, it could easily even be asserted that, the language Pilipino was the singular, most important medium of expression of the people's deepest goals and motivation; it is the language of the people's revolutionary movements, most especially those of the messianic kinds till its most elaborate expression during the Philippine Revolution of 1896. Furthermore, it is the language of the people; it is continually spoken and utilized by the Filipino people through the years of the colonization, till today. It never really died; it was dynamic enough to accept many changes, but it never ceased to exist, for a greater proportion of the country's population continually speaks it. The massive poverty on the archipelago never really

⁶³⁰ Though not entirely equivalent to each other, *kalinangan* is the Pilipino word for the word culture, in its anthropological sense. Apropos, kalinangang bayang Pilipino could be loosely translated to Filipino people's culture.

⁶³¹ Cf., Orlino A. Ochoa, *Bandoleros. Outlawed Guerrillas of the Philippine-American War, 1903-1907*, Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1995.

⁶³² Kalinangang bayan, as a concept, was explained by Salazar as well. According to him, "Sa mga kalinangang etnolinguwistiko nakaugat ang Kalinangang Bayang nagkahugis sa agos ng ating Kasaysayan bilang kasalungat ng Kulturang Nasyonal na nabuo ng mga elite sa pamamagitan ng (ipinilit o ninais na) panghihiram at pangongopya ng dayuhan. Habang ang kultura ng elite ay sa wikang Kastila noong Propaganda at ilang dekada pagkatapos, sa Ingles na ngayon; ang Kalinangang Bayan ay nabubuo ngayon sa wikang F/Pilipino batay sa Tagalog. Natural na sa proseso ng akulturasyon ay nakabuo ang bawat grupong etnolinguwistiko ng reaktibong kulturang batay sa buod ng kanyang kalinangan. Gayunpaman, ang Tagalog lamang ang nakabuo ng isang kontra-kalinangang may katatagan sa antas ng buong kapuluan, vis-avis sa kaayusang kolonyal. Hindi ito dahil sa ang kalinangang Tagalog ay may angking katangiang nagbubukod sa kanya sa iba pang kalinangang Pilipino. Magkakamag-anak at magkakapantay ang mga kalinangang Pilipino na lahat ay nakaugat sa kontinuum na Austronesyano. Ang tanging naging bentaha --- sa katunayan, sa simula'y disbentaha at kasawian --- ay ang pangyayaring namugad sa Katagalugan ang sentro ng kapangyarihang kolonyal. Ito ang nagdulot sa kalinangang Tagalog ng pagmatagalan at walang humpay na hamon upang harapin ang mga pagbabago mula at ayon sa kaibuturan ng sariling kaluluwa't diwa. Kaluluwa't diwang hindi naiiba sa kaluluwa't diwa ng iba pang kalinangang Pilipino. Kung kaya't para bagang ang kalinangang Tagalog ang siyang naging kinatawan-tagapagtaguyos ng pagka-Pilipino at tagapagtipon ng Kapilipinuhan vis-a-vis sa hamon ng banyagang kultura/sibilisasyon.

Malakas ang Kalinangang Bayan, sa kabila ng mga panghihimasok ng Kulturang Nasyonal ng elite. Nakasalalay ang lakas na ito sa ilang mga faktor. Una, dahil sa kahirapan ng bansa, hindi talaga epektibo ang sistema ng edukasyong tinanggap at pinalaganap ng elite mula sa mga Amerikano, laluna ang bahagi nitong pampubliko...Sa pangalawa naman, lumilitaw na ang batang mula sa hanay ng bayan ay mas ipinagkakapuri ang mga bagay-Pilipino kaysa mga tao't bagay na "imported"...Kaakibat ng kapaligiran ang pangatlong faktor; ang dami ng mga Pilipinong nasa hanay ng bayan. Ano man ang pangungutya at pag-aalipusta sa kanilang pangkalahatang kalinangan (bakya, "papyular" (popular culture), mababaw, pang-atsay, at iba pa), ang nakararami ang siyang nagpapasya sa hugis at kulay ng kalinangang Pilipino. Bilang huling faktor, masasabing alam din ng bayan na, bilang resulta lamang ng pangongopya, mababaw talaga ang kultura ng elite. Kaya hindi talaga seryosong mapagtutuunan ito ng pansin, ni karapat-dapat tularan. Hinggil dito, magandang pag-aralan ang pangungutya sa kulturang elite at banyaga sa pelikula at sa panitikan ng bayan, laluna sa mga pelikulang nagpapatawa..." Salazar, "Pantayong Pananaw Bilang Diskursong Pangkabihasan", Op.cit.

allowed the imported American educational system propagated by the Filipino elite to be effective on the greater number of the country's population, who'd rather work on making their living in their specific localities as learning to express themselves in a foreign language like what was expected in the schools. Furthermore, the greater number of people still supports and generally prefers things and persons from the Philippines, and not things and persons which are from other lands outside. This preference ranges from food stuffs to shoes and clothes to television shows and films. On top of it, the sheer number of people who continually goes on within this cultural context supports and assures the survival of the whole of the implied country-wide reality therein. This way, *kalinangang bayan*, though obviously politically suppressed by the power-holding national foreign culture, still manage to flourish; for it is, in the long run, representative of the real cultural personality of the Filipino people. In fact, it is so strong that when one studies it closely, one would realize that it doesn't actually care for the existence of the elite's national culture. It even goes to the extent of making fun or small jokes to the not-be-taken seriously cultural ways of the elite, who have been just aping and imitating the American foreign culture all these while. It is the living proof that *pantayong pananaw* is very much alive and dynamic in the ranks of the Filipino people, in *bayan*.

Like already discussed previously, because of the differences of ways, points of view, and most importantly, of expression among the Filipino society's totality, there summarily exists a figurative great divide in therein. This great divide, in accordance, effectively amounts to the creation of two culture groups among the country's population. Within these two culture groups, however, the elite -- who generally composes the so-called *national* culture ---, composes the relatively more *confused* population portion. Their whole existence is generally full of contrasts and paradoxes. For example, they are basically trained, so as to be able to handle in a foreign *national* culture; but they are, nonetheless, expected to practice their crafts, science, etc. with the *indigenous* *kalinangang bayang* Pilipino. And though consisting of the well-to-do and the institutionally educated few among the country's population (and so, *indigenous* as well), they still are considerably the most out-of-place in the whole contextual reality therein. They inherited the dual-personality-confusion of the *ilustrados* of the 19th century. They could not be Spaniards nor Americans; for they were born and raised in the Philippines. But they could not particularly and easily accept themselves as Filipinos, for they speak, handle and operate in a language foreign to the greater number of the Filipino nation. In the clinical sense, they have an innately dual personality; and so, they, in a manner, generally cannot specifically indicate and state, who they really are. Nonetheless, they still profit from their position among the country's population in many ways, as well; and so, they are naturally defensive of the present status quo therein and reluctant to give up their old, used-to ways. The country's whole political machinery -- which was shaped in the *national* culture and language they live and speak --- is still very much under their control. The elite, in this way, have always had the advantage over most of the Filipino people in the general area of understanding and utilizing, what is actually going on in the various

written and legal political practices and manifestations on the archipelago. Their status in the social structure grant them thereby the upper hand in almost all of the country's political life.

The Filipino intellectual or, for our purposes, the Filipino historian, through his institutional education, automatically become part of the elite's class, of that advantaged subculture in the Philippine society. And like how it was conceptualized from the beginning onwards, they --- as the products of the nation's system of education --- should provide the intellectual support system for the whole formal *national* structure. They are expected to be the potential leaders, the power behind the leaders, or simply, the power in the system's other support institutions. They are the new relatively rich class: upcoming, forward-looking, middle class --- meaning, not really rich but at the same time, not really poor. They are supposedly the members of the so-called middle class. He is heir to the tradition begun by the ilustrados of the late 19th century; he enjoys almost the same choices that they had during those times. They could, for one --- if they wish and work for it, hard enough --- be part of the upper advantaged class; that is, just as they could --- if they wish --- remain portions of the lower, poorer class. In a manner, it would seem, that the intellectual historian, through his scientific training, would --- yes --- be given formal entry in the elite's class, but at the same time, become isolated to that other bigger portion of the country's population, the poorer class; or vice versa. The historian's whole situation become thenceforth ironical. His entrance to professional, institutionally trained historian's living seemingly also meant his isolation to that bigger metaphorical laboratory, within which he is working with as a social scientist. The historian, through his work, becomes separated or, in fact, even isolated to the people he is working on; and, in the ideal realization of his science, he becomes isolated from the people, he is theoretically working for. That metaphorical great cultural divide, *dambuhalang pangkalinangang pagkakahati*, looms between him and the greater Filipino people. The problem --- that is, when he recognizes it as such --- would therefrom be, how to cross that divide or, to be more apt, what should his part be in reconciling these two parts.

Bagong Kasaysayan partly resolves this situation; with it, the Filipino historian should be able to reach and communicate again with the greater portion of the Filipino people. But beforehand, he should be able to go through the internal process of going back to his roots. He should go back to the Filipino within; with it, he is expected to be again in touch to the Filipino people, whom he should communicate with therefrom. The historian has to first go back to the Filipino people, he has to go through the process of *pagbabalik sa bayan*.

Almost all of the concepts --- including, nation, nationalism, culture, civilization, people, hero and heroism; as well as those of historical beginning, history line, historical truth and judgement, and many others --- that the historian have been utilizing for the narrative have been concepts and ideas, which were taken from the greater reach and conceptualization of the *historiá* as an history concept.

They are, in this regard, imported concepts; and so, foreign to the actual Filipino reality and, further, foreign to the application of the craft in the case of Philippine history --- that is, in the sense implied in *bagong kasaysayan*. They have to be, therefore, reconceptualized, reinterpreted, before they could be utilized in the new historiography. They have to be, in effect, effectively reconstructed, integrated and appropriated in the Filipino world of concepts, so as to be useful in the *bagong kasaysayan* practice of the Filipino historian.

The challenge thereon was taken. It became even more clear that the earlier taken-for-granted concepts and ideas, in the practice of the science, were foreign concepts and ideas; and so, unapplicable or inappropriate for utility in Philippine history. Nation as well as nationalism, like what was already discussed above, were foreign concepts; they could, therefore, not necessarily be used in Philippine history for they imply to a distinctly different community experience as that of the Filipino people. Nation and nationalism only applies to a very limited and distinct portions of the country's people and history. In place of them, the historian suggests *bayan* and *pagmamahal sa bayan* or, in the politicized form, *bansa* and *pagmamahal sa bansa*. The ancient meanings and utility of the concept *bayan* is, sort of, unified with the modern political implications of the concept nation in the concept *bansa*, which is consequently taken to mean, the political unity --- not only of a few, but the whole of the Filipino people. With the concept-*bansa*, the *dambuhalang pangkalinangang pagkakahati* within the Filipino society is expected to be effectively erased. With it, the two culture groups therein are figuratively unified, to make up a political singularity. And so, in a perspective, with its utility as an historical narrative's conceptual element, a highly political goal/ stand would also be discussed and publicized.

The words civilization and culture should also be carefully utilized. They are as foreign as the immediately discussed two above; and so, not necessarily optimally proper to the practice of the historical science on the Philippines. Civilization pertains to the place of the city, the city itself and the life therein; and so, it normally refers to a central ort, to a complex, where there are a group of buildings, which includes the town hall and the local administrative offices. A civilization is historically a result of a community's cooperative efforts, in order to withstand or struggle against a natural or, sometimes, an artificial enemy. The periodical rising level of a body of water around a seedling is an example of the former; while the periodical looting and robbing of one warring community to a relatively peace-keeping community is an example of the latter. The city, in this regard, is usually built in order (a) to meet the challenge posted by nature; (b) to more efficiently organize the people, in readiness for a possibility of attack or animosity against them; and (c) to optimally utilize the time and ort, wherein a people's seedling is somewhat eventually forced to live in. Consequently, a city had to be made from the strongest materials that a particular ort could give. It has to be made from bricks and stone. It only follows, hence, that a civilization meant a complex of

stone buildings, which house the community's hall and other administrative offices; a complex political structure, a writing tradition, a formal form of worship are only some of its expected by-products.

The concept, civilization, in this regard, could not possibly be applied to the ancient communities in the Philippines, for such a developmental context --- like what was discussed in the development of the word --- never existed there. Another concept should be thought out, in order to encompass what the communities in the Philippines experienced through the centuries. And the historian found this concept in that of *kabihasanan*; that is, the place or the ort, where the skills, craftsmanship or, to generalize, especialization in the different community's exertions prevail and are found.⁶³³

Kabihasanan, in this way, implies to the abstraction of the years of practice and experiences in a particular area of exertion of those, who finally reach the point, when they become masters of what they do.⁶³⁴ Unlike civilization, which specifically requires stone buildings in a town center, kabihasanan just requires the skill and abilities of a people; the former stresses on the structures while the latter stresses on the people who live or who could build the structures. In an islands-, coastlines-rich world of the ancient Philippines, the former would definitely be off-cue. There simply wasn't a great natural challenge, that would force the ancients to build a walled city around them. Still, there exists --- even to this day --- proofs that the ancients were not that dumb nor stupid, as some foreign or foreign-trained historians (in realization of the norms and standards implied in the civilization concept), aggressively wrote and publicized in their earlier works. The pottery tradition, the ancient form of writing, the breath-taking Banaue rice terraces in northern Philippines are only some of their genius' examples. Their experiences were simply different from those of the others, who eventually develop the city complex. The ancients, in this regard, did not have a civilization in its most elementary and basic meaning; they did not build stone buildings and paved streets. They built utilitarian structures, both in accordance to their needs and to the context they lived in. They built and lived their own kabihasanan.

Just as well, the word culture could not be easily utilized in the bagong kasaysayan too. In the past practice of the historical craft, culture slowly developed to be a word, which implies to and tended to stress a hierarchical societal structure. In history books, for example, much have been written about a higher and lower culture --- the former, pertained to the lifestyle and expression of art of the richer, elite class and the latter, pertained to the lifestyle and struggling and seemingly inappropriate art

⁶³³ Kabihasanan is a Filipino word, which is made up of the prefix ka, the word base bihasa, and the endfix an. Ka...an as affixes are normally used to firstly, refer to an ort and secondly, to make a noun out of a specific noun or verb, which is foremost utilized as a word base. (Cf., Chapter 1 for the details.) Bihasa refers to a person, who after years of practice, became a master of what he/she does, no matter what that maybe. Hence, kabihasanan is a place or an ort where these masters-of-their-art persons practice their art, live, and prosper.

⁶³⁴ Here is the description of the term in Pilipino: "ang kabihasanan ay ang kabuuan ng pamumuhay, na katatagpuan ng kagalingan at kahusayan sa iba-iba nitong aspeto, sapagkat ito'y *napagbihasaan* na ng isang grupo ng tao sa kanilang angking pook sa loob ng may kahabaan ding panahon."

expressions of the poorer class. High culture meant paintings, art galleries, ballet, orchestras, symphonies --- artistic expressions of the European or American west --- while lower culture was scornfully utilized to mean comics, local films, and inappropriate ways and actions of the poor. The word culture, hence, became therefrom largely limited in pertaining to one aspect of its actual anthropological meaning; that is, in the field of *fine* arts. It even, in the process, became critical in stressing the differences of the classes, in stressing the great cultural divide; and so, in end-effect, tended to look at the whole Filipino people as a divided entity and not a singularity. The Filipino concept *kalinangan* functions otherwise. It is based (WB/ RW) on *linang*, meaning development, or something which was enriched, bettered, developed through the years. *Kalinangan*, this way, literally means the place or the ort, where things became developed or where there was development through the years. And so, *kalinangan*, in its anthropological sense, means the abstraction refering to a way of life's totality, which was enriched and developed through the years by a specific or particular group of people.⁶³⁵ In application, hence, each ethnolinguistical community in the Philippines has its own specific, individual *kalinangan*; that is, just as all of them makes up --- most especially in consideration to the similarities among them, as one ancient people ---- a singular *kalinangan* as well.

These reconceptualization and reinterpretation of many concepts for the narrative, in general, signified the historian's practical historiographical modifications. In *bagong kasaysayan*, the historian was somewhat freed from the norms and standards set by the foreign concepts he was trained to utilize; in their stead, he was thereby given the almost new --- in fact, almost unchartered territories contained in the --- Pilipino concepts for the narrative. The historical beginning, the time line, the judgements and the considered truths of the past narratives could all henceforth be reinterpreted and accordingly rewritten; that is, because the historian would now be utilizing a wholly different set of measures, the Pilipino measures. In the process, other methodological procedures could be entertained. The written documents could clearly not be the sole sources of historical information anymore; and so, other disciplinal fields of the social science (even from the natural sciences, if it would be necessary) could be consulted for assistance. The fields of anthropology, ethnology, ethnography, linguistics, hermeneutics, semiotics, numismatics, archaeology, paleography, psychology, sociology, political science, and many others became useful for the historian. A great task was, in the process, shaped for him; but in the midst of the many details that he has to struggle with, one thing was very much required from him, before everything else. The historian would have to express and concretize his science --- that is, both in the written and the oral discourse --- in the language of the people, Pilipino.

The Pilipino language is the most critical factor of *bagong kasaysayan*. The language is not merely the narrative's and discussion's communication instrument; it is --- most especially in consideration to the individuality of every language among the host of others --- a particular story, in itself, as well. The

⁶³⁵ In Pilipino, "ang *kalinangan* ay ang kabuuan ng uri ng pamumuhay ng isang partikular na grupo na tao na

words, which make up the whole language, tell/ reveal the people's individuality. They implicitly narrates who the people⁶³⁶, speaking the language itself. In effect, the language of a narrative is, in its own, a story within a story. The language is, considered this way, evidently both the historiographical medium of expression and the historiographical elemental impression within the narrative.⁶³⁷ It would be utilized in order to literally express and narrate; and it would be unconsciously utilized as well, in order to manifest a particular innate meaning about the people or, to be more exact, about the culture of the people, it is discussing. To sum up, hence, the language is both the expression, in reference to particular meanings or messages, as well as the meanings themselves within the narrative.

There exists, hence, a clear connection between the language and the culture of a particular people. Yes, the former belongs to the most important manifestations of the latter; it is one of those things that differentiate one people to another. Still, there is an unmistakable more complex relationship as that between these two; most especially, when one consider them in their particular relation to history, both as a disciplinal science and as a narrative. Salazar put this relationship between these two through the following statements:

Kung ang kultura ay ang kabuuan ng isip, damdamin, gawi, kaalaman, at karanasan na nagtatakda ng *maangking kakanyahan* ng isang kalipunan ng tao, ang wika ay hindi lamang *dahuyan*, kundi, higit pa rito, *tagapagpahayag* at *impukan-kuhanan* ng alinmang kultura. Walang kulturang hindi dala ng isang wika, na bilang saligan at kaluluwa, ay siyang bumubuo, humuhubog at nagbibigay-diwa sa kulturang ito.⁶³⁸

The language is the way, the impression/expression, and source/resource of a culture. There is not a culture in the world, which is not carried by the language of the same culture. The language, in this regard, is both the metaphorical framework and the soul of a culture; and so, it is the same one as well which actually forms, shapes, and enervates a particular culture.

kanilang napagyaman o *nilinang* sa loob ng isang partikular na haba ng panahon.”

⁶³⁶ For one, as one of its most obvious examples, it tells of the kinds of peoples a people came in contact with through its many years of existence. An analysis of the words within the present Pilipino itself today would tell us this. Accordingly, the linguist Lopez told us: “Languages, like cultures, are rarely sufficient unto themselves but must continuously draw from outside sources, from either a neighboring or culturally dominant language, for the expression of new concepts or the designation of imported thoughts and goods...” Cecilio Lopez, “The National Language” in Zoilo Galang (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of the Philippines*, Vol. XX, Manila: Exequiel Floro, 1958, p. 441.

⁶³⁷ Zeus Salazar, “Wika at Historiograpiya: Ang Pag-aaral ng Kasaysayan Tungo sa Pagbubuo ng Bansa” in Ricardo Nolasco (Pat.), *The Archive. A Journal Devoted to the Study of Philippine Languages and Dialects*. Theme: Wika at Pagpapalaya. Mga Papel ng Ika-8ng Kongreso ng Linggwistiks sa Pilipinas, August, 1998, p. 211.

⁶³⁸ Zeus Salazar, “Ukol sa Wika at Kulturang Pilipino”, in Zeus Salazar (Pat.), *Jornal ng Masaklaw ng Edukasyon 23-24 (1972-1973)*, Lunsod Quezon: University of the Philippines Press, 1973, p. 55. <If culture is the totality of the mind, emotions, ways, knowledge, and experiences which molds and shapes the considerable identity of a group of people, language is not only the way, but more than that, the expression/impression and the source/resource of any culture. There is not a culture which would not be carried by a language, which as a ground basis and soul, the same one which forms, shapes, and enervates/enervates the culture itself.>

Let us look at these abstractions a bit closer. A language is the way, through which culture, as the compound of an individual people's mind, emotions, ways, knowledge, and experiences, travels. The language acts as a cylinder, a band within or on it culture (or elements of such) seeps or flows through. Meanings which feature the peculiarities of a people, most especially in their way of life, passes through and flows through the language. Language and culture, in this view, influence each other; just as much as culture shapes language, language could or has the abilities --- in accordance to the needs and peculiarities of the context --- to shape culture⁶³⁹ as well. The language acts as a continuum within and on it the various elements of the culture became manifested, further concretized, and somehow passed from one point to another. For example, the meanings, which make up the details that has to do with the Filipino ancient boat tradition, are confirmed and reiterated through the utility of many words within the Philippine language(s). Their further discussion (between persons, groups, peoples, etc. in both the oral and written form), practically takes advantage of the language to make the discussed meanings finer in character --- more detailed, or more exact, according to the needs of the ongoing discussion. The language is therewith used as a figurative river system into and through which meanings about the culture flow and travels through, in order to make them more refined and more adapted to the requirements of both the persons/peoples utilizing it in their specific context.

Along the same line, henceforth, language acts as the expression of a culture or, after passing from one speaker to the next in a discussion environment, of a clearer view --- most especially, with regards to the elements --- of a culture. Language becomes a tool or an instrument, utilized in order to disseminate details, information, meanings, viewpoints about a culture within the culture (people) itself, or even outside the, national environment of, culture (people). The end effect of both these internally and externally directed language utility, in order to express meanings about a culture, is the consequential stress firstly, on the individuality of a people, being spoken about, and secondly, on both the wholeness and dynamism of a culture of the same people. The expression in the Pilipino language of the individuality of the Filipino culture contributes, for one, to the dissemination among the Filipinos themselves of their specific identity not only as a people, but as a nation (a national polity) itself. Furthermore, the same expression, directed at the outside, sees to it that the other peoples are impressed with the fact, that the Filipino people are and make one singularity, as both a cultural unit and a political nation. Political details about nationhood --- in Pilipino, *pagkabansa* --- would therewith be better understood; and would definitely contribute in increasing the political awareness, and so, the actual political activity, among the Filipino people. A foreign language could never suffice in doing exactly the same for the Filipino people. That is, because within the language or, to be more exact, within every word in the language, a particular impression or a code, which could be easily comprehended by a Filipino --- for he is the heir to a long history of a people who developed

⁶³⁹ An interesting article which somewhat feature the various abilities of a language (among them, that of shaping a culture) is: Jovy M. Peregrino, "Wika, Isang Penomenong Panlipunan", in *Diliman Review*, Vol. 45 No. 4, 1997 – Vol. 45 No.1, 1998, Quezon City: U.P. CSSP, CAL, and CS, 1998.

P/Filipino as a language --- is automatically being transmitted. This impression or code is developed and determined by the people themselves, who speak the language; and the same impression and code as parts and portions of the language is transferred with the culture --- naturally, from one generation to the next. These codes and impressions (which could be any among the aspectual portions of any people's way of life; that is, intellectual, emotional, political, social, etc.), in a manner, embody the nuances and the meanings-between-the-actual-lines of the language. They represent the experiences, viewpoints, determinations, dreams and aspirations, ambitions through the years of the people, who make them.

And so, in the process, most especially in the realm of historiographical considerations, a language becomes both the source and resource of the people's culture. It is a figurative spring, which provides inspiration, details and information about a culture; while, at the same time, acting as a device and a means of support, in order to find out and discover more about a particular culture, and so, more about the people as well, who speaks or utilizes it. Many Pilipino words and their contained codes provide much information about the Filipinos as a people. The existence, for example, of the word *kalayaan* is the proof that the Filipinos of the old had their own concept (and naturally, its practice) of freedom. The ancients did not have to wait for the foreigners, so that they would have a sense and concept of freedom; they have had and practiced that all through their years. The utility of the words in the language naturally does not end at that. Words in the language could be considered as clues to the larger question of the details or even the actual development of the Filipinos as one people. *Dios* (*diyos*), for one, did not exist in all the Philippine languages during the ancient times; in most of the areas of Luzon, the closest equivalent to this --- that is, with almost (but of course, not totally) the same meaning --- is the word *Bathalang Maykapal*. Further investigation on the same word, in the various dictionaries for example, would reveal that the word, *Dios*, only came to the fore (and in use) on the archipelago upon the coming of the Spaniards or, more specifically, upon the introduction of their religion on the various Filipino communities through the Spanish language. And so, in a perspective --- when one reviews the whole situation --- the Pilipino language continuously retains quite an important historiographical role in the narrative. It could, through the selective application of a number of disciplinal methods, actually assist the historian in the making of the people's narrative or, to be more exact, in the making of cultural people's narrative. The connection between language and culture is henceforth, in the process, further cleared and stressed. The language determines culture; and so, when properly decoded and discussed, consequently contribute in the development of, or even in the mere recognition of, the identity itself of a particular people.

A history written in the language of the people, in this regard, not only obviously narrate the story of the subject, but features and stresses the actual culture of the people, who is the subject of the same. It effectively starts a discussion, which is national in character. This national communicative effort

contribute, in a way, to the identification of the people's identity as a specific singular community among those of the world; and this process eventually leads to the reinforcement, if not development itself, of an actual and efficiently functioning --- most especially, in comparison to those of the other nations of the world --- national sovereignty of the Filipino people. Written history (bagong kasaysayan) becomes, thenceforth, an instrument for not only political awareness, but more importantly, for national political union, as a sovereign people. The utility of the Pilipino language itself, in consideration to the suppressive context brought about by the official status of American English as the language of the politics and economy, could therefore be considered as an actual political stand or statement.⁶⁴⁰ Language becomes a political tool. And so, an intellectual --- in the desire to commune with the larger Philippines --- who uses Pilipino in his works, is actually putting up a progressive, liberal stand, especially in comparison to the elite-sponsored government, which does not normally do the same. The language-activist intellectual becomes a kind of political activist as well. That is, because he is promoting something, that is actually against the ways of the government. He exerts efforts in reuniting himself (after *being isolated*) with his people, the Filipino bayan; while the government --- plus, the elite class who support and promote it --- stubbornly continue on with its colonially structured system of rule and governance. This could be seen as one of the major reasons why the U.P., in the continuance of the tradition of being the national hubbub of the progressives, liberals, and the politically active individuals, remains to be the most firm, consequent, almost uncompromising in its decision to realize and practice the national language, P/Filipino, in all its major exertions⁶⁴¹ --- that is, most especially in the teaching field.

⁶⁴⁰ Cf., Pamela Cruz Constantino, "Tungo sa Pagdedebelop ng Wika at ng Bansa: Ilang Idea Ukol sa Modernisasyon at Nasyunalisasyon ng Wikang Pambansa", in Lagda. Publikasyon ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas, Hulyo, 1993, Lunsod Quezon: U.P. Diliman, 1993, pp. 14-23.

⁶⁴¹ Though basically structured and grounded by American colonials during the first decade of the 20th century (1908), the university's innate nature (especially, when one analyzes this closer) had actually no other way to go outside "adaption" or "assimilation" to its greater cultural context. Even if maybe it was never actually planned in, the language of the land had to still have a role in the university's total function as an institution. That is almost unavoidable in every institution of learning in a particular land everywhere around the world. The U.P. was not an exception to this. As early as 1914, there were already two courses on anthropology which basically include the study and analysis of the Philippine languages and dialects. In 1923, the Department of Linguistics was grounded; then it was restructured in the following year, in order to include the other languages of the Asian region, to become the Department of Oriental Languages. Then, in 1930, as the freshly Uni Hamburg doctor-graduate Cecilio Lopez returned, he started to chair the said language; and so, the intensive study and analysis from the different angles of the various Philippine languages (most especially Pilipino, or the national language), became also most popular among the various Filipino social scientists. In 1937, as Lope K. Santos came in as part of the U.P. faculty, this movement for the utility popularity of the national language became even more reinforced. And so, in 1960, definite exertions were made so that every student would have to have Pilipino courses behind them, before they could graduate from the university. Pilipino Language and Literature (as the course's title) became part of the university's General Education program. Every student became effectively required, as part of the declared bilingual education style of the university quite a long time beforehand, to have a six-units Pilipino course. In 1966, the Department of Pilipino and Philippine Literature (Departamento ng Pilipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas) was grounded. This department specializes on offering courses on Pilipino, Filipino literature, and other specialized inquiries and researches on the languages of the land. And so, when Ernesto Constantino came in the picture as the chairman of the Department of Linguistics between 1969-1974, the campaign within the university's grounds with regards to the Pilipino language became covered from another angle as well. Constantino started projects and other academic/intellectual exertions that not only promoted but most especially, skillfully studied the Pilipino language as an intellectual discourse. He effectively continued what Lopez began a couple of years earlier. (Jovita H. Orara, *Ang Papel ng U.P. sa Kilusan para sa Wikang*

Among the departments though --- with the exception of the department of linguistics, as well as the department of Pilipino and Philippine literature --- that tackled on this task, that of History seems to have the biggest success; that is, most especially with regards to its determination, effectivity and its consequential prevalence in all its exertions. Pilipino became more and more popular in this department as the most effective medium of both instruction and communication within the classrooms' environment. In the same manner, the language became thereby the language of administration as well. From its humble beginnings in 1968, it slowly begin to be big, as the language of the department's historians' pen (effectively) starting 1980. Researches (meaning, master's theses, then, not too long afterwards, doctoral dissertations⁶⁴²) came to be written in Pilipino, in the national language or, to be more appropriate to the context of those times, in U.P. Pilipino.⁶⁴³ Articles, essays, monographs, books, etc. followed suit not too long afterwards. In fact, even whole journals --- whereby the supporting cooperative efforts generally came from the decision of most of the academicians and intellectuals to retain their supposed liberal and progressive stance, in relation to that of the Philippine government --- became written and published in the national language. In effect, Pilipino was slowly transformed to become not only an oral, but, eventually, a written intellectual discourse within the bigger disciplinal field of history. The implied ideal became clearer in the process. The historians wanted to bring and offer *kasaysayan* to its most important audience, the Filipino people; they themselves wanted to go back, they wanted to belong --- in its most effective sense --- to the same people they racially and nationally belong with, to *bayan*. The intellectual historian, who have been isolated for quite a while, was, though not easy but complex, going *home*.

He found, however, his resolutions tin the methods of his science; that is, within the larger context of the same science he was institutionally educated and trained in as a professional historian. The philosophy of the *bagong kasaysayan* ideal is clear and consequential; but, nonetheless, it did not automatically meant as well, that the Filipino historian --- in its practice --- would have to turn his back to the precepts that make his field a systematized body of knowledge. Not everything about the whole idea of *historiá/history* is, after all, bad. The idea of history as a discipline already experienced great developments from various scientists all over the world through the years, and so, it would be such a waste to simply ignore them all. These developments became the figurative tools and/or instruments of the historian in the practice of his science. The pioneers of *bagong kasaysayan* were

Pambansa, 1908-1973, Lunsod Quezon: Sentro ng Wikang Pilipino, 1993.) In the meantime, in 1968, the Department of History started to offer some of its courses on history in Pilipino. Outside the department of Pilipino, no other department in the U.P. had done such. It was much popular, and so, easier to proceed in the classes with English as the medium of instruction and communication. But from this year on, the said department would be most zealous in continuing with its new program till it reached its today's stage, where almost all (except one or two courses on American history) courses offered are done in the national language, in Pilipino.

⁶⁴² Cf. The study's Bibliography: Unpublished Studies and Dissertations, finished and presented starting 1980.

⁶⁴³ Cf. (on the university's version of the Pilipino language), Orara, Op.cit.

aware of that from the beginning; and that was why they were ready to appropriate the basic methods of the science in application to a differently philosophically inspired historical narrative of bagong kasaysayan. The historical method⁶⁴⁴, in concrete consequence, for example, would still not be amissed in the historiography classes for every history student in the U.P. Furthermore, the breakthroughs of the German, French, English, as well as American historians in the science are also tackled. As a result, while not losing its eye to the offered philosophy within bagong kasaysayan, the major schools of thought within the scholarship tradition of history would be generally discussed --- and so, in the process, the institutional U.P. education of the history student is made up to become a totally well-rounded up experience, designed to make the Filipino history student as capable and as good as the other history students of the other universities around the world. There were very important additional tasks at hand for him and for the other practitioners of bagong kasaysayan though; and those are, in general, the processes of translation > reinterpretation > appropriation of the same methods of the science to the Philippine and Filipino cultural and historical context.

The basic historical method has to first have gone through the mentioned process, before it could actually be useful for the bagong kasaysayan historians. It is essentially the same however; it begins with the statement of the problem, proceeds with the investigation, then analysis and interpretation, then has to be written, and lastly, ends with publication. For every narrational exertion, there is the preconceived ground question and theme. This question or this historical problem could be formulated through the following: direct observance to the society's present situation; analysis and restructuring of the older or earlier historical problems, which were already answered by some published histories of the times beforehand; or reconsideration of the various individual angles of the different aspects of the society's living. Important, in this regard, is the requirement that the question has to be somewhat a key or an opener to an answer, which could be considerably significant, most especially to the Filipino people. After the statement of the problem was executed, the historian, whose doing the study, would be considering various hypotheses or answers to the same question as well. And so, logically, the period of investigation and research --- wherein the sources of information in forms of both the document and the non-document would be looked at, analyzed and made accordingly useful --- would follow suit. This search in itself embodies one of the pillars, that make history a science for the historian. There have been much innovations regarding the whole process in the years that passed; still, the unchangeable and unavoidable therein, in the eyes of every historian, on the whole, would be the document. The document is the historian's most important source of information. It is his most reliable source of data, in order to answer the question stated during the beginning of his practice. In a manner, the document is the unprocessed or raw history; and that is why, it is so important for the historian. Without the document, the historian has no story to tell, deliver, narrate. The document is the historian's written (or unwritten) witness to the times and

⁶⁴⁴ Cf., Atoy M. Navarro, "Ang Bagong Kasaysayan sa Wikang Filipino", Bagong Kasaysayan. Lathalain Blg.

context that he is describing in his work. It could be in the following forms: personal journals, memoirs, official reports to various institutions, receipts, etc. The document is, in generalization, the people's written witnesses of themselves in a particular time and context. And so, consequently, like everything else made by men, it is not always and not necessarily free from corruption and/or *impurities*. Just as today as much as during the yesteryears, it is quite easy to produce it (as well as its falsification), for one reason or another. In fact, during the times of war, falsification of documents was actually done and frequently recommended, in order to fool or confuse the enemy(ies). One of the responsibilities of the historian, thenceforth, before actually utilizing a document, is to check, and if possible, free the document from possible corruptions and/or impurities. The document has to be first groundly studied and analyzed; or, to put it technically, it has to go through the processes of internal and external criticism (*kritisismong panloob at kritisismong panlabas*). That means, in general, that the authorship, the contents of the document have to be first checked and crosschecked with other already officially known histories and historical facts; and then, the physical form of the document (kind of paper, kind of ink utilized, kind of writing utilized, and other paleographical details) has to be studied and analyzed, in order to confirm if it matches with the times and context, it is supposed to have witnessed. When all of this checks are finished, the historian would already have a definite idea if the document in question is usable for his purposes or not. And so, if the document passes, then it could already be taken in as raw data for the to-be-written history.

The next step for the historian would then be the reading and interpretation of the data described in the document. Accordingly, a good amount of the historian's personality, political conviction, and professional training would play a role(s) in this stage of the work. The document would be read and interpreted according to the historian himself. That is, in almost the same way that the next step of the historical method would be proceeded unto. The data extracted from the document(s) would be utilized in the historical narrative, according to how the historian see them fit. Every historian set a particular way with which the question in the beginning of the work would be answered in the form of a narrative. This way or, to put it appropriately, this outline is normally technically influenced by the philosophy of history that the historian is actively realizing in the work; and affected by the historian's whole personal and professional being as well. It is through a narrative's outline, in this regard, that one could clearly take a look at who the historian is. The narrative's outline could easily be seen in how the work was chronologically divided to represent parts or portions; that is, in the work's periodization (*peryodisasyon/ pagpapanahon*). Because the historical narrative is a description of a people's experiences within a relatively huge time period, it has to be properly managed or structured in way, that almost --- if not all --- of the aspects (in the anthropological sense) of the picture would be explained. The narrative has to be periodized. After all, history is a science of duration; and so, it is only logical that its division should be chronological. It is a science of man; therefore its divisions

should also be looked for in man.⁶⁴⁵ The historian decides how this division or periodization would be made; he decides on how the set time period of the narrative would be proportioned into time chunks, with particularities that has to do with the turning points in history or historical conjunctures (*bagtingang pangkasaysayan*).

Within the writing of the work itself, as part of the interpretative summation and in the actual conclusion itself, the historian would naturally have to do further analyses and studies. This processes are technically termed synchronic and diachronic analyses (*sinkroniko at diyakronikong pagsusuri*). The former is the figurative vertical analysis for the historian; it allows him to consider the various aspects and individual structures of an assigned time period, for example, as a singularity. It gives him the opportunity to come up with a deduction or an interpretative meaning in the end of a period of the narrative itself. Diachronic analysis, on the other hand, is the horizontal form of critical study. With it, the historian considers a multitude of time periods in his narrative as a whole. He treats these lot as individual singularities, which have to be compared and analyzed; and so, a conclusion about the whole thing could be expected at the end of the exercise. Both the synchronic and diachronic analyses help the historian in making conclusions and interpretations within his narrative; they help him in answering the question from the beginning of his work. They virtually help him in writing his own version of a history.

And so, when everything else is accomplished and the history (or to be exact, *bagong kasaysayan*) is written, the last step of the historical method is ready to be done: publication. The written history had to be printed and made widely available to a specific reading public, for whom it was, on the first place, written by the historian. Its publication would automatically subject it to open discussion; that is, between the historian himself and its target audience. Publication, in this regard, puts written history within the field of a discourse; and since, we are speaking of *bagong kasaysayan* within the context of Philippines, then we are also figuratively referring to an ideal national discourse within the specialized field of history. Publication of *bagong kasaysayan* invites, stimulates, and encourages interest, attention, and participation among its target audience, the Filipino bayan. In a manner, with publication, the historian is bringing home the fruit of his exertions to the subject as well as objects of his labor, the Filipino people. And so, at the same time, he is also reiterating two convictions: reunion with his people and belongingness --- not aboveness --- to his subject, the bayan.

Through the years, the historical method --- as a whole --- has been, expectedly enough, modified and developed by various schools of historians in many countries of the world. These modifications were, naturally enough, conceived and engineered in order to assist and make the professional responsibilities of the historian easier and more efficient to be accomplished. They help the historian

⁶⁴⁵ "History and Historiography", Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York: the MacMillan Company,

in writing, in general, better versions of history, or histories which are more appropriate to the time and context of its production and publication. These developments are not to be missed as well among the recommended methods of *bagong kasaysayan*. That is, most probably because Filipino historians -- owing to their mostly foreign training, and their consequential easy access to foreign literature and discourse --- were never really late in reading and appropriating most of these developments in their science in the Philippine context. Most of them read these developments, however, in their American English versions already; but, nonetheless, they were rarely not-in-touch in the discipline's greater development, for they always have their American colleagues, who basically does the translations for them. Still, there were Filipino historians who did not particularly rely so much on these translations. They went direct to the original versions of the science's developments; and then, did the work of translating them, directly to Pilipino, in order to make them useful in their practice of history.

Some of the pioneering historians, including Zeus Salazar and Noel Teodoro, of *bagong kasaysayan* did exactly this. They were partly responsible in bringing the French historical tradition or, basically, the *nouvelle histoire* into the new Filipino historiography. They were, however, foremost careful in pointing out the differences between the two. Salazar wrote:

Naiiba rin ang Bagong Kasaysayan sa *nouvelle histoire* ng Pransya na ang preokupasyong panlipunan at mapaglahat-lahat (totalisante), sa kabila ng pagiging historya, ay hindi naman nalalayo magkagayunman, sa hangarin ng una. Sa Pransya mismo, nasa panlipunan at mapagbuong “proyekto” ng *nouvelle histoire* ang pagkakakiba nito sa “tradisyonal” na *histoire événementielle*, na nakatuon lamang ang mapanuring pansin sa mga kaganapan bilang pangyayari at fakt. Sa kabilang dako, ang Bagong Kasaysayan sa Pilipinas ay “bago” *vis-à-vis* sa “dati” dahil itong huli’y nakatuon sa pagpapaliwanag sa banyaga (ang iba) sa wika-at-kultura nito (pangkaming pananaw) habang ang “proyekto” ng Bagong Kasaysayan ay ang maipaliwanag ang sariling kasaysayan (i.e., ang ating nakaraan) --- pati na rin ang kasaysayan (para sa atin) ng ibang kabuuan --- sa sariling Bayan ayon sa konsepto’t kategorya ng sariling kalinangan, sa sariling wika (ang wika ng pambansang kabuuan) --- ibig sabihin, sa pantayong pananaw.⁶⁴⁶

In contrast to *histoire événementielle*, which was mostly the statement of chronological facts as history, *nouvelle histoire* most importantly wants to create the totality of events in history, most especially the social portion of such.⁶⁴⁷ In a perspective, hence, *nouvelle histoire* shares the same general historiographical aims with *bagong kasaysayan*. However, BK is still, at the same time, entirely different from *nouvelle histoire*, for it clearly distances itself from the past Philippine histories, which were foremost written for a foreign audience or, to be apt, written in the *pangkaming pananaw*. Whereas there is no more argument whatsoever in both the *histoire événementielle* and *nouvelle histoire* with regards to the utilized language and described culture, *bagong kasaysayan* ---

(1932), 1959, p. 307.

⁶⁴⁶ Zeus Salazar, “Wika at Historiograpiya: Papel ng....” *Op.cit.*

⁶⁴⁷ For a general review of the development of this historical discourse, please refer to: Philippe Carrard, *Poetics of the New History. French Historical Discourse From Braudel to Chartier*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

because of both the intellectual and historical context it has to operate in --- had to still be firm in its language-and-culture principles and philosophy.

Nevertheless, when one analyzes the ideals of both *nouvelle histoire* and BK, in their goal to narrate history, one would not miss the fact that they are quite similar in their aim to deliver a true people's history; that is, a history not only of a few but a history of the totality of the whole population, as a singular national entity. And so, in the years following its conception, it would be noticed that BK would slowly take in many of *nouvelle histoire*'s methodological procedures. Its forerunner, the French *Annales* tradition⁶⁴⁸, was, for one, partly taken in. Consequently, written history was taken in as the reconstruction of the past, which include its physical, ideological and normative milieu; it should be scientific, but at the same time, it should never lose touch with its most important human element. This ideal narrative clearly differs itself from those of the earlier years; for those from earlier could only, on the whole, be normally either a political or an economic history. This ideal narrative is a societal history; it aims to narrate the totality of a human society. Owing to this, it could not solely rely on the classical sources of historical data and information; the ideal narrative demands more information, which could not be easily found in the classical sources. It had to be, hence, more innovative in finding its own historical details. The historian found the resolution to this problematic situation in the *new* auxiliary sciences, which basically included sociology, psychology, economics, and geography. The results of the exercises and practices of these sciences became and were treated as essential details for the further and much more effective delivery of an ideal historical narrative. Concretely, what in such an ideal narrative would be the description of the whole culture, meaning the totality of man's way of living, through time. It could, like previously mentioned, not entirely rely

⁶⁴⁸ This approach to history, began as and was popularly known as the Bloch-Febvre Movement. And here is how it was described: "While the conjunction of social and economic history was at its closest, a movement was launched that sought to disrupt it. Led by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, the movement represented the convergence of *Kulturgeschichte* and unschematic social history. Much of the inspiration that actuated it derived from Emile Durkheim, some may also have come from Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch, whose practice belied their belief that history and sociology are immiscible.

The aim of the movement was ambitious. Imbued with the conviction that the comprehension of sociocultural contexts demands they be studied as totalities, it inspired to convert social into societal history. It envisioned such history as a reconstruction of past epochs, that would include their entire physical, ideational, and normative milieu and that would be at once more "scientific" and more "human" than the movement they have usually received, an ideal that bears a strong resemblance to the objective of much recent cultural anthropology. Illustrative of the success with which that ideal could be translated into reality was Marc Bloch's own masterpiece, *Feudal Society* (1939-1940). The principal means that the movement prescribed for the achievement of such success was the creation of the coherent synthesis out of data drawn from sociology, psychology, economics, and geography. But it also ordained that the data to be accorded the most serious consideration were survivals from an earlier time, a variety of evidence whose value was first fully appreciated by Giovanni Battista Vico (1725) and a century later first fully used by Wilhelm Riehl. Assuming that such survivals, whether archaeological, cartographical, linguistic, or folkloric were much more reliable than documentary material, it held that they could provide the basal insight necessary to recreate the past. Bloch and Febvre founded in 1929 the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, which was both perpetuated and diffused the influences of the movement. That influence which remains strongest in France, where it is at present represented by such scholars as Charles Morazé and Robert Mandrou, has contributed heavily over the decades to the weakening of the traditional position enjoyed by political history." "History", *The Social Sciences Encyclopedia*, p. 453.

on written documents anymore; for they are normally descriptive only of a particular aspect(s) --- political, economical, or spiritual --- of that particular portion of society (usually, the elite), who controls or who was being affected by the pen. It should be scientific and utilize specific and exact details; and so, it should answer a question, make inquiries in connection to a set of hypotheses, etc. It should be a science; and try to avoid vagueness and ambiguousness. More important than narrating and narration, it should explain and answer the question it set for itself in the beginning of the work. It should exert efforts in describing more than what were normally seen through time; it should go beyond the explanation of the obvious or the more visible structures in a particular society. It should learn how to go to the hidden meanings, to the underlying structures, which changes throughout time and which generally serve as the framework for continuities in the lives and experiences of men, who are the most important subjects of the whole historical efforts. The French historian, Fernand Braudel⁶⁴⁹, who continued the movement through the continuous publication of the *Annales* began by Bloch⁶⁵⁰ and Febvre⁶⁵¹ earlier, called this underlying structures, *la longue durée*⁶⁵².

Underlying structures could be physical and non-physical. They are continuities which very slowly varies or changes throughout the duration of many years; and so, almost considerably unchanging but continually existing throughout the years. Examples of such include the land and climate or the physical environment, the flora and fauna of the land, the physiological stature of men, the particular mindset or thinking of a people. In this regard, with the consideration of the underlying structures, the

⁶⁴⁹ For a comprehensive biography, with a thorough discussion on his role in the development of French historiography, see: Barbara Kronsteiner, *Zeit, Raum, Struktur: Fernand Braudel und die Geschichtsschreibung in Frankreich*, Wien; Salzburg: Geyer-Ed., 1989.

⁶⁵⁰ For a comprehensive biography, see: Ulrich Raulff, *Ein Historiker im 20. Jahrhundert: Marc Bloch*, Frankfurt Am Main: S. Fischer Verlag GmbH, 1995. Here was how Fernand Braudel partly described him though: "Heute (1965) ist Marc Bloch wahrscheinlich der in Frankreich und im Ausland meistgelesene französische Historiker. Sein Werk wurde größtenteils in fremde Sprachen übersetzt und ist, abgesehen von Details, auch im Ausland unumstritten, wofür es mancherlei Gründe gibt: Es vereint vollendete Gelehrsamkeit mit Vorsicht in der Interpretation und einer tiefen Abneigung gegen wortreich-grandiose Erklärungen. Obwohl ein Freund und Bewunderer Henri Pirennes, findet sich bei Marc Bloch nichts, was mit dessen brillanten (und heute so umstrittenen) Theorien über Öffnung und Schließung des Mittelmeers gegenüber dem lateinischen Abendland vergleichbar wäre. Vielleicht weil es Marc Bloch im Gegensatz zu Henri Pirenne oder Lucien Febvre nicht vergönnt war, den Gipfel seines Wissens zu erreichen (es wäre heute (1965) 79 Jahre alt, das heißt ein Jahr älter als Lucien Febvre bei seinem Tod im Jahr 1956), vielleicht aber auch, weil sich bei ihm die wissenschaftliche Neugier nicht von seiner Neigung zu strenger Gelehrsamkeit trennen ließ. Diese Vorsicht und Klugheit stelle ich auch bei seinen Schülern Robert Boutruche, Michel Mollat, Peirre Goubert, Paul Leuillot und Henri Brunschwig fest." Fernand Braudel, "Marc Bloch" in in Fernand Braudel, *Schriften zur Geschichte 2. Menschen und Zeitalter*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, (1990), 1993, p. 363.

⁶⁵¹ A good biography of Lucien Febvre is: Hans-Dieter Mann, *Lucien Febvre. La pensée vivante d'un historien*, Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 1971. Here was how Fernand Braudel described him in his work though: "...Wer Lucien Febvre in seinem Handeln und seiner intellektuellen Kraft wirklich kennenlernen will, muß nicht nur seine Bücher, sondern auch seine zahlreiche Aufsätze und Rezensionen lesen, in denen er wie in seinen wunderbaren Briefen das Beste von sich selbst gegeben hat. Wer darüber hinaus auch die Freude hatte, ihn in seiner ungekünstelten Art reden zu hören, der weiß, daß Lucien Febvre der größte französische Historiker seit Michelet, Taine und Fustel de Coulanges war und ihre außerordentliche Größe ganz unbestreitbar erreicht hat." Fernand Braudel, "Lucien Febvre", in Fernand Braudel, *Schriften zur Geschichte 2. Menschen und Zeitalter*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, (1990), 1993, p. 358.

historian is automatically going beyond the traditional areas of his concern, as well as beyond his usual practice of science. The historian is searching for new meanings and interpretations for his narrative; and so, help from the mentioned new auxiliary sciences above is considerably valuable in the totality of his efforts. But of course, the whole field is open for innovations; in fact, because such were never actually realized in the earlier years, the whole field is ripe for conceptual changes. The research on a people's mindset, which began as concretizations and exercises within the science of psychology, widened its embrace to include the whole practice of philosophy; and so, as an immediate effect, quite seriously started a relatively new area of the discipline, which is the history of mentalities, the history of man's thinking.

In this manner, leaps and developments within the general area of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (Filipino Psychology), roughly starting during the early 70's, became crucial portions or important elements for the practice of bagong kasaysayan as well. History, in the process, slowly took on the job of giving light to the question of who the Filipino really is; it exerted efforts in studying and analyzing the Filipino personality and personhood. The questions tackled within the narrative became more and more geared towards the explanation of the Filipino identity, of the Filipino's self concept, of the Filipino's world concept, or simply, of the Filipino through time. Psychology became partly instrumental in realizing this new direction of the discipline; but since part of or since the additional question to be answered within the narrative had more to do with the social Filipino or with his relationship to his fellowmen, the discipline and methodological procedures contained in the relatively new area of cultural anthropology also started taking part within. This direction towards cultural anthropology, however, was almost to be expected even from the beginning. That is, because bagong kasaysayan, after all, aims at the most effective description and illustration of the totality of the Filipinos' way of life --- the Filipinos greater culture. And this aim is not much different from what cultural anthropology actually does. During the following years, henceforth, after its conception, more researches within bagong kasaysayan took on questions, for example, that had to do with the Filipinos' sense of spirituality, with the Filipinos' ancient religion, with the Filipinos' concept of diseases and healing, and even with the Filipinos' sense and concept of power. Other disciplines and methodological procedures of the greater social sciences became called for, in fact, became needed in the process. Semiotics and Numismatics became exceptionally useful in reading both anthropological and historical meanings from cultural materials left and/or still utilized by many subject communities on the archipelago. Oral histories and testimonials became natural sources of historical information as well. The general trend of the historian's actual written work became largely epistemological in nature. Meanings through the better interpretation of older historical data, both the written and the non-written (archaeological artifact or anthropological material), was what became sought after. The

⁶⁵² For the explanation of the concept of the *longue durée*, see: Fernand Braudel, "Geschichte und Sozialwissenschaften. Die Lange Dauer", in Fernand Braudel, *Schriften zur Geschichte 1. Gesellschaften und Zeitstrukturen*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, (1969), 1992, pp. 49-87.

historian, in effect, who was largely confined to the walls of either the library or of the archives from the years back, took on the responsibility of participative history; he became more and more ready to take on field work --- which included not only the process of ocular inspection of the place of his research, but also collection and study of material culture, as well as interviews of available witnesses of the history, he is writing. The historian took on, what technically became called as historical hands-on work.

And since the general nature of the singular Filipino people is the totality of a multiple and different ethno-linguistic communities, the bagong kasaysayan historian naturally tendered to lean on the disciplines of Ethnography and Ethnology while practicing his science on the field. This was most convenient, for most of these communities never really took on writing in order to preserve their histories, and so, there were actually no other way to study them outside the methods offered by the said two disciplines. Earlier generally considered as local histories, henceforth, took on the forms of Ethnohistory; that is, in order to embrace and include those portions of the political locality or region, who did not totally acculturation to the colonial culture, like what most of the communities of the flatlands of the archipelago did. But curiously enough, instead of stressing the expected uncompromising differences of the different ethno-linguistic communities around the country, the various researches of bagong kasaysayan on the same only more and more proves the similarity, sometimes even oneness, of the different communities, and so, their belongingness to the same singular national people as well. The stress of the whole exertion is, in end-effect, to find out as much as one could do, about the almost invisible greater Filipino people, the Filipino masses, in the earlier published histories. And since most of this mass did not even have a chance to control (like what the elite or the educated did) of literature, the historian have to give his best not only in looking for him within the *cracks in the parchment curtain*, but also in other areas, which included their superstitions, songs, rituals, dances, genealogical histories, myths and legends or kwentong bayan. Bagong kasaysayan historians are convinced, that the ancient Filipino (or the true Filipino, in contrast to the colonized and colonial Filipino) is properly conserved in the immediately mentioned oral traditions; it his job, therefore, to look for him there and make him appear in his narrative. It is the historian's responsibility to bring the long marginalized masses in and as the center of his professional efforts. Not only the actual texts of the oral tradition would be helpful to him in this endeavor, the study of the language itself could give him assistance. In effect, the methods of literary criticism, folklore studies, and comparative linguistics would be handy.

More and more, in a manner, BK embodies the role of being virtually the compendium of the exertions of multiple disciplinal methods and procedures. The various areas --- which included political (either local or national in character), economic, religious, art, and military --- of the discipline became modified. Specialized and/or particularized areas became popular among the many

historians' circles; and the thrust of the efforts of these areas was practically one: to go back and research on the indigenous person of what's politically called today as the Filipino. Epistemological researches, Ethnohistory, Labor history, Institutional history, Military history, Ethnological Migrations history, Natural Catastrophes history, Intellectual history were only some of the areas pioneered. In the meantime, published national histories became somewhat repackaged as well. Many textbooks became appropriated to the new discourse as well; and so, effectively, a good amount of new popular historical knowledge among the people, or the bayan, whose the main subject of the historian's exertions, came to be. Furthermore, these new interests and studies seemed to open up a whole new perspective on the histories of other lands, outside that of the Philippines. Researches on the indigenous Filipino communities made many historians more and more realize, their similarities not only within the national community as a whole, but their similarities to the communities of the nearby nations within the political region of Asia as well. Consequentially, an increasing number of historians became interested in research and study of the nations in the SEAn Region, at the same time, henceforth, efforts became veered away from the earlier fascination to research on the nations of the Western hemisphere, which were, surely enough, considered so far, or almost unimportant to Filipino concerns anyways. A whole new world became virtually opened for the historian; potentials and possibilities abound for him. There was no language barrier between himself and his professional practice anymore; he is doing history through his and the language of his people, plus, he is utilizing norms and standards not set by anybody else but his own people through times and contexts. He is independently doing history, in order to commune and be one with his subject, with the Filipino bayan. Concretely stated, hence, he is doing the *Kasaysayan ng Bayang Pilipino*, the history of the Filipino people. He is, in a view, making the ideals of a true people's history of the earlier decades come to the fore. In the process, the intellectual historian is finally going back, and serving his own. And he is accomplishing quite a significant task in his exertions: he is triumphantly realizing a national historical discourse; and in the process, contributing towards the creation of a historiography, which is rightfully and truly Filipino. He is creating histories which are primarily for the Filipino, for they are histories meaningful for the Filipinos alone.

Chapter 8

A History for the Filipinos, 1974-1992

The new Filipino historiography, *bagong kasaysayan*, was begun as an academic exercise. It was developed by professionally trained intellectuals from the Philippines' main institution of learning, the University of the Philippines. *Bagong kasaysayan* is the consequential result of the application of *pantayong pananaw* in the specialized area of history and historiography. Both though were declared to be supposed parts and parcel of a bigger intellectual areal exertion, which, like them, was newly developed, in order to refer to a different academic discourse called for by the times and context. This academic context, within which *pantayong pananaw* and *bagong kasaysayan* was supposedly borne in, was named *Pilipinolohiya*. Though superficially similar, this new area is not to be mistaken with the American academicians' *Philippine Studies*. The former is a pursuit to study and analyze the totality of Filipino culture and history *from the inside*; while the latter study and analyze the same *from the outside*. *Pilipinolohiya* treats the Filipino as a subject, significantly affective of both the researcher and the researchee. *Philippine Studies*, on the other hand, treats the Filipino as a subject of curiosity or, sometimes, of strategic knowledge, that could be utilized in advantage of the good of the land of the researcher himself. In general, hence, *Pilipinolohiya* is specifically developed for the Filipinos, while *Philippine Studies*, for the utility of peoples, foreign to the Filipinos themselves. *Pilipinolohiya*, as an academic area, was largely pioneered by thinkers from the traditional, academic disciplines of psychology (which created the school of thought *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*), anthropology (which pioneered the idea of *Agham-Pantao*), and history (which started, as discussed in the previous chapter, the *Pantayong Pananaw* and *Bagong Kasaysayan*). Each one of these disciplines support each other. They are one, in their main intention of exerting all efforts to find out more over who and what the Filipino is, a pursuit done not for anybody else but for the Filipino people alone. The field of history though is, among the three disciplines, most productive and wide-encompassing. It particularly stressed and illustrated its will, its present stance, and its most wanted future.

Foremost though, *bagong kasaysayan* had to differentiate itself from the other earlier published histories of the land and people. Efforts have to be exerted, in order to make known that it is not to be mistaken with the different publications of the prevalent colonial historiography. It had to, henceforth, study and reinterpret the various historical publications of the years beforehand. Accordingly, it classified the histories written by foreigners as literature with *Pansilang Pananaw*. *Pansilang pananaw* translate to the *they perspective*. These accounts have the *they perspective* because its writers have always used the rhetorical considerations of *they* in describing the Filipinos whom they chronicled to have seen in the islands when they arrived, e.g. *they* who are different than us, *they* who are barbarians, *they* whom we must educate, etc. Histories with *pansilang pananaw* are not

specifically written for Filipinos (although they are, to some extent, about the Filipinos); they are for the compatriots of the actual foreign writers. In these texts, Filipinos were but foreign beings who became the *exotic* subjects of the more important foreigners who write the accounts.

This historical point of view would be reacted on by the newly educated elite, the ilustrados, during the nineteenth century. They would hence start on a new historiographical direction which is known today as *Pangkaming Pananaw* or the *us perspective*. *Pangkaming Pananaw* is a defensive perspective, who on the whole just reacts to the early historical philosophy of *pansilang pananaw*. *Pangkaming pananaw* defends the Filipinos as against the *unjust ways* with which they are named, referred to, etc. in the earlier written histories of the foreigners. In effect *pangkaming pananaw* are written histories in which the subjects are the Filipinos are became *victims* (in many ways) of the foreigners while speaking to the foreigners who made the advances in the earlier written histories. The language of this history would as a consequence also foreign --- at first, Spanish; but later on, American English.

Pantayong pananaw, by the end of its engineered classification of the published histories, would, in a manner, try to breakaway from all that was started by the two previously mentioned perspective. It wants to describe the development of the Filipino people, without lingering too much on the much talked about and seem to be over-rated colonial experience. It wants to discover and discuss who the Filipino is by digging deeply into his culture, in his very way of life. And because *pantayong pananaw* speaks with the people, it speaks the true language of the people: *ang wikang Pilipino*. It is very important to stress the importance of the language in realizing *pantayong pananaw* in every literature; that is, because the language itself is the mirror of culture. The Filipino language is the source, the way, the very soul of the Filipino culture. The language is therefore very critical in the realization of all the things that the *pantayong pananaw* stands for. When history is not written in the national language, it follows that it does not have *pantayong pananaw*; it would still be, to some extent, in the realm of *pangkaming pananaw*.

History with a *pantayong pananaw* is, therefore, necessarily written in Pilipino. It cannot be anything else. It is only in this form that history would be acceptably within the new historiography; that is, within *bagong kasaysayan*, within the new Filipino historiography. But naturally, the job of the *bagong kasaysayan* historian doesn't end at that. There exists around him new challenges, which had to be comprehended and accordingly, answered to. The idea of history --- in the sense of being the embodiment of colonial historiography --- was developed in the relatively many years after its arrival within the Philippine intellectual context. It took on quite an attractive form in the years in between. It took on the form of *nationalist history* or, later on, *makabayang kasaysayan*. The works of Agoncillo and Constantino were the pioneering exemplars of such. Then, came Iletto's innovative

work on the history of the 1896 Philippine Revolution in the picture. It may seem, thenceforth, that history, superficially taken, was flourishing well on the archipelago. The bigger number of published histories within the years following were still very much in the general practice of the idea of history.

Still, as history itself deemed, things changes. Nothing remains to be exactly the same for all times. Everything had to be somewhat developed, enriched, made different, even destroyed. There is no escape and no compromise. Things changes. And exactly the same principle could be said on the idea of history, in relation to the development of the idea of bagong kasaysayan. The long pervailance and prevalence of the former would be undeniably affect, if not totally halt, by the latter. And in a manner, this development was considerably foreseen by the practitioners of the former, themselves.

Constantino, one of the pioneers of nationalist history, knew that there is something essentially wrong with the Filipino intellectual-historian's practice of the idea of history on the Philippine context. He described the institutionally trained intellectual as *miseducated* --- that is, a scholar, who is firstly, fatefully isolated from the same people, whom he is supposedly serving; and secondly, a scholar, who is serving, in the practice of his science, the same anti-colonial/anti-Filipino principles, which he is supposedly fighting against. The Filipino intellectual is, in this way, seen as the personification of ironical contradictions; his personality, in fact, is almost schizophrenic in nature. And so, though most of the times never really accepted, the same intellectual is in constant search of his identity.

Bagong kasaysayan, in the especialized practice of historiography, provide the Filipino intellectual-historian with some answers to this search. He did not have to physically destroy anything in the process. That is, except, probably, his most essential view and actual practice of the science. But from him was the trashing of efficiency and system of the science never expected. In fact, the intellectual is effectively granted the opportunity to practice a history, which somewhat unifies the idea of history, which he knew and grew up with and the idea of history, which he was institutionally trained in. International developments in the practice of the science would always be welcome in bagong kasaysayan; that is, so long as these developments would not take the forefront in the creation of the historical narrative on the Philippines. Bagong kasaysayan uncompromisingly requires, that the historian create a history, significant and important, only for the Filipinos and nobody else. History should, at the least, be written in Pilipino.

In this regard, innovations begun, for example, within the practice of the idea of history in the Philippine context, such as Iletto's Pasyon and Revolution, could be utilized to its advantage. Iletto's Pasyon represented a breakthrough in the practice of history among most of the Filipino historians. It practically stimulated the interest on how the Filipinos' mind worked and processed ideas through history. The Filipinos' world of meanings became, thenceforth, a big issue for most of the historians, among them, the practitioners of bagong kasaysayan. In a manner, history of the minds was started.

And expectedly enough, this intellectual trend was modified and developed accordingly. It was not too long that the epistemological considerations on the Filipino throughout the years in history eventually led to the general interest on who the actual Filipino is. And so, a virtually a new trend, though naturally connected to the one earlier, was effectively begun. The ethnic identity of the Filipino, seen and concretized in the different aspects of his culture, became asked about and asked for in the various intellectual exertions of the historian. He is, from this day on, expected not only to tell the story of the Filipino people, he is also expected to explain the identity of the same. Analytical history was asked for. The bagong kasaysayan historians replied accordingly. Most of the researches and studies done during its first years would be in answer to this greater need.

The extent of the effect to which bagong kasaysayan actually went, is afterwards almost surprising. It can be seen in the new studies and dissertations in the different Universities; in the publications of articles, monographs, and books; in professional congresses; in regular discussion groups or even classroom situations. Evident in all of these is the fact that, a truly fervent need to create a history only for the Filipino people became largely and finally present in the undeniably reawakened and/or more socially conscious academic community of the country.

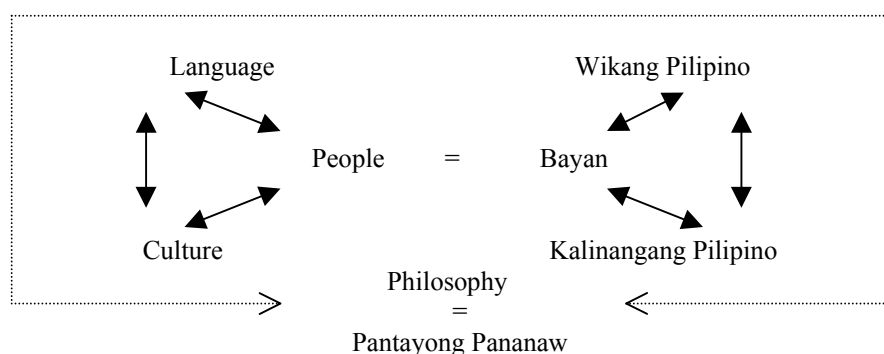
A. The Redefinition of Philippine History Through the Pantayong Pananaw

Pantayong Pananaw was conceptualized within the context of the national political crisis in the Philippines. Continued poverty and general dissatisfaction made the greater Filipino people more and more distrustful of everything that had to do with the Filipino politicians and their government. The politicians became seen as the symbol of graft and corruption; and so, the major reason for the continued suffering of the masses. Political activity and demonstrations among the Filipino people became the consequence of such. But the institutional government did not give in to anything of the people's demands. Instead, doubtful of his enemies and aggressively reluctant to give up the highest political position on the land, Ferdinand Marcos declared Martial Law. Marcos thenceforth systematically got rid of all his potential and already considered enemies. He closed up the legislative branches of the government, remove opposite judges in the judicial branch, and concentrated all the effective powers of the government in his office. He proceeded afterwards in realizing, in all counts, his set ideals, embodied in New Society or Bagong Lipunan. Research institutions with particular strengths and directions (Economics, Demography, Political Science and Sociology for political and developmental plans; Anthropology for national integration; and History for national identity) were grounded to efficiently realize its goals. It was through this exertion, not to mention their increasing number in the actual governmental proceedings proper, that the Filipino social scientists became more

and more involved in the various political aspectual concretizations on the archipelago.⁶⁵³ In fact, their participation during this era was so big, that it was quite unparallel to those from the earlier times and contexts. Almost all of the exertions of the Filipino social scientists during these years became, in one way or the other, politically oriented or even, considerably, essentially political.

Within the practice of the individual sciences itself on the larger field, one would notice a general distrust of the Filipino intellectuals on western --- particularly American --- models of social science analysis. One would notice, for another, that there was a remarkable decrease of foreign practicing scientists on the islands. There seemed to be not such a great need for them on the archipelago. Clearly, during these years, the Filipino scientists were searching for a better, more appropriate models in application to the Philippines context. And expectedly enough, they found their answers. Two general trends in both reaction and explanation to the western influence on the Philippines would be seen in their works in the following years. The first model utilized the dependence theory --- the dominative and dependent relationship between advanced, capitalist nations and the poor, undeveloped Third World --- in their analysis, while the second model utilized an indigenization-from-within, with an uncompromising use of the national language in their researches and development of instruments and methods which were made in observation and study of the Filipino experiences through the years,⁶⁵⁴ process in their scientific exertions. The first model was mostly used by political scientists and sociologists⁶⁵⁵ while the second model was mostly utilized by psychologists, anthropologists, and historians. It was clear though that both models, even if they became largely different and separate from each other in the years following, were developed answers in the Filipino social scientists mission in creating a general, all-embracing social science, which would be more appropriate for the Philippines and its peoples.

Figure 11
People's Language, Culture, and Pantayong Pananaw



⁶⁵³ Sta. Maria, *Die Indigenisierungskrise...Op.cit.*, p. 122.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁵ Sta Maria narrated: "Die Entwicklung der Politikwissenschaft und der Soziologie in dieser Periode war insofern ähnlich, als daß Sozialwissenschaftler sich in beiden Fächern in Studien, die direkt auf die Regierungspläne für nationale Entwicklung bezogen waren, involvierten, oder als Berater oder Experten in Regierungsinstitutionen fungierten. Dies waren auch jene Sozialwissenschaftler, die dem Regime gegenüber kritisch eingestellt waren, und ihre Ansichten gegen Imperialismus, Kolonialismus, Abhängigkeit ausdrückten.

As a singular concept though, to get back to our earlier point, *pantayong pananaw* belongs to the second type of social science analysis. In a manner, it was one of the answers to the pursuit of a number of Filipino intellectuals, in order to indigenize the practice of the science on the archipelago. It was one of the measures provided so as to actually *Filipinize* the social science or, to be more exact, the historical science in the Philippines. With its utility, a specific history, independent of any other than its own and significantly identified according to the values, standards, measures of the Filipino people themselves, would be expectedly made and written. Eventually, and in application to the same larger principle of indigenization mentioned earlier, the Filipino language started to become useful in the various exertions of the specialized historical field. There exists an eternal connection between a language and a culture; and this connection virtually defines and identifies a particular people. That is, just as much as there is a connection between the *wikang Pilipino* (language Pilipino) and the *kalinangang Pilipino* (Filipino culture), which in turn, identifies the *bayang Pilipino* (Filipino people). *Wikang Pilipino* is the way, expression, impression, source, and resource of *kalinangang Pilipino*; and so, in a manner, *kalinangang Pilipino* lived and dynamically continues within and through *wikang Pilipino*, as well. Both of them, *wika* and *kalinangan*, define who the Filipino is; both of them define the particularity which is the Filipino people, the *bayang Pilipino*. This language-and-culture definition of a people is the most uncompromising philosophy behind the *pantayong pananaw*. In this regard, therefore, *pantayong pananaw* is the most appropriate philosophy for a social science, which, in turn, represents the larger body embracing all the other specialized disciplinary sciences that deals and studies a society and the interaction and behaviour of its members. That is, because the application of *pantayong pananaw* within a particular discipline concretely reiterates and supports both the definition and recognition of the Filipino culture. The main goal of the science is therewith almost considerably accomplished. Its utility, though, by the Filipino social scientist during those politically stormy times of the late sixties and early seventies was not particularly easy nor simple.

The institutions of knowledge and learning during those times were, like already discussed, built and proceeded unto through the utility of a foreign language, through the American English language. An institutionally educated individual then was effectively a part of the local American discourse in the Philippines or, to rephrase, a member of the American intellectual discourse in the Philippines. That this educated individual was actually a Filipino in birth and origin, was taken in as a minor detail. The discourse was conveniently longer in existence (practically since the turn of the century, upon the coming of the American colonizers) there, as the individual; and so, the institutionally educated only continued and developed it accordingly. Not much of an effort was required from him. But years of both development and misdevelopment --- dependent, naturally, on one's viewpoint --- on the islands, expectedly, changed the whole scenario. The various nationalist movement around the country, which

Indem sie ihre Energien auf beide Gebiete des Involviertseins verwandten, lieferten Politikwissenschaftler und

never really stopped since their major breakthrough during the KKK-led 1896 Revolution, plus the increasing popularity of the foreigners, as being one of the major reasons for the continued poverty on the archipelago, continually contributed to the conclusion, that the Americans and what they stood for were, in a manner, not particularly *healthy* for both the Philippines and its peoples.

For the intellectual, though, knowing this statement and actually fully applying its implied principles in the practice of his science were totally different stories. For one, it is almost always difficult to go against an inherited scholarship tradition. That is, after all, nearly the same as going against the basic principles of a known or considered, structured body of knowledge --- which is itself a corporative body of years of development --- or of a disciplinal science. For two, it is most difficult; for it would automatically mean turning one's back to a systematically learned methods and techniques and paddling through a totally unknown and unchartered territorial domain. It would mean actual development and creation, instead of just continuing and enriching. In a way, it would mean active participation instead of passive receptance of the given and learned. It would mean going against the greater odds. And for three, for the intellectual, it would automatically mean, his figurative descension (in a viewpoint) from his set pedestal; and his re-union with his subjects, the Philippines and the Filipino people. Some regarded this, expectedly enough, as something unpalatable; for the intellectual could thereby, perhaps, loose his supposed elite status among the society. He could loose his learned (from formal learning institutions) role in the same society; and so, automatically, loose both his priveleges and his major sources of living as well. He could loose his edge --- being the ability to make himself both autoritative and at the same time, somewhat, unclear in the practice of his discipline --- among his people. And naturally, that would be against his most elemental nature itself, which always protects and continues an already used to status quo. In this regard, the politically and socially aware intellectual, of the late sixties through the early seventies, had quite a big decision to make. Quite a big hurdle was for him to overhaul. One cannot go around it, he could only forego it for awhile; but it had to be somewhat, someway, made. The Filipino historian was aware of this. And so, accordingly, he made his decision.

Some of them found a kind of compromise in the dependency theory⁶⁵⁶. A nationalist stand, while not necessarily revoking nor totally rejecting the foreign Anglo-English language in the practice of their

Soziologen keinen theoretischen Fortschritt oder Forschungen in ihren Fächern." Ibid., p. 132.

⁶⁵⁶ Here was how a political analyst described the dependency theory: "Until recently, literature on the problems of development in the industrializing areas of the globe --- the "South" or Third World --- has tended to concentrate on the *internal* dynamics of change in these regions: party structures, ethnic and class conflict, urbanization, land tenure systems, and the like. Third World countries have *contrasted* with the industrial societies of the North in the understanding that the representative of different stages of development. In the last few years, all this has been called into question by a group of writers who, whatever their differences, share the view that the various stages of development among world societies should not so much be contrasted as *linked*, and that these linkages should be understood to express the evolution of forces that can be studied only at the level of world, not local, history. To study the Third World is thus to study the history and nature of imperialism as it rose in the North and expanded into the South, shaping local society in its image.

disciplines, was, with it, made and continually kept up. The traditional tone, which was actually begun and popularized by the second generation textbook history writers, was somehow continued. That is, the nationalist historical stand, with a Marxist structural historical analysis, most especially of those of Agoncillo and Constantino, was continually utilized and developed. The drive of many historians was to realize an ideal people's history, a history of the masses. Reynaldo Ileto, with the publication of his dissertation (Cornell, 1974) in 1979⁶⁵⁷, provided a possible method in doing just that --- that is, a people's history. The *pasyon* (Holy Week people's ritual of dramatized singing of the suffering of Jesus Christ) was utilized in order to investigate the actual meanings behind the Philippine Revolution of 1896; or, to be more exact, to investigate the meanings attached by the footsoldiers, the average members of the KKKANB, who led the 1896 Revolution. A history from below was, in the process, realized. In contrast to the textbook writers though, Ileto exerted efforts not only in giving attention to the leaders of the masses (e.g. Andres Bonifacio of KKKANB) but in finding out how the average member --- of the compounded *masses* --- of the movements who realized the revolts and revolutions in Philippine history. The practices and beliefs of the people were, in a manner, put to the fore and taken in as the ideologies of the Filipino people. An innovative methodological consideration and its consequential historical view, which essentially continues and celebrates a Philippine nationalist stand, were therewith started.

This new school of thinking calls its approach *dependency theory*, thereby stressing the way in which the Third World "depends" in its economic, social, and political structures on the formative influence of Northern imperialist domination. From the perspective of dependency theory, the conventional American way of studying the Third World "development" or "modernization" is an exercise in ideological obfuscation, deliberate or otherwise, designed to conceal the way imperialism works. Developmentalism does this by focusing theoretical attention on the South alone, as though it can be meaningfully understood apart from the greater global history to which it belongs. In this manner, the imperialistic system disguises its power, shielding itself from ideological attack." Tony Smith "The Case of Dependency Theory" in W. Scott Thomson (Ed.), *The Third World: Premises of U.S. Policy*, California: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1983, pp. 203-204.

The most elementary assumption of dependency theory is "Hegel's admonition that the whole has a logic greater than the sum of its parts. Concretely put, this means that whether we are interested in individual psychology or tefate of nations, we must approach our subject by seeing it on the broadest relevant canvas where all the factors influencing its development at the present. This is the level of the "whole", the "totality". It is crucial to understand that an analysis conducted at the lower level of interaction, at the level of a "part", will never show us, of itself, this greater pattern. To the contrary, the "part" can only be understood by its place within the "whole", which alone gives it meaning. In the case of Third World development today, it should be fairly apparent that this approach entails: it means that such issues can only be comprehended *globally*, and this along two dimensions, one of which may be called vertical or historical and the other to be seen as horizontal, or involving the entire international system. Any attempt to see issues of Third World development on a more reduced scale, so the dependency school would hold, must fail, succumbing to the illusion that a "part" is explicable in its own terms alone. In a word, to study the South, one must study imperialism --- its origin, its present dynamic, its likely future evolution. In this light, it will be seen that *the development and wealth of the North and the underdevelopment and poverty of the South are a function of one another.*" Smith, "The Case of... Op.cit., pp. 206-207.

For further individual applicative examples of this school of thought, see: Magnus Blomsstrom and Bjorn Hettne, *Development Theory in Transition. The Dependency Debate and Beyond: Third World Responses*, London: Zed Books Ltd., 1984; or Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London: Penguin, 1991. A basic read almost classic in character is, of course, Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967.

⁶⁵⁷ Reynaldo Clemena Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution. Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, (1979), 1998.

Zeus Salazar, a few U.P. Department of History instructors and professors, and some students followers were, during the same years, following a different line of thought. They took up the other decision strand in their pursuit to create a real Filipino history. In 1974, they cooperatively published the *Kasaysayan. Diwa at Lawak*⁶⁵⁸, a compendium of history articles and essays written in the national language, in Pilipino. After that cooperative history book of Agoncillo and Zaide⁶⁵⁹ in 1940-1941, this book was the first seriously done history of the Philippines in the national language. Many of the articles and essays though have to first be translated to Pilipino. The exertion was, of course, according to the editor (Salazar) necessary. He said:

...ang pagsasalin mula sa iba't ibang wika at kultura ng daigdig ay talagang kailangan upang maipasok sa ating pangkalahatang yamang-dunong ang anumang mamarapating angkinin natin bilang natatangi at may kasaralang pagkakultura-at-wika; at kung talagang tapat tayo sa sarili at lohikal hinggil sa pagbuo ng minimithing pambansang kalinangan, kailanman hindi ito maaaring ipahiwatig at impukin sa alinmang wikang di-Pilipino, kahit na ang Ingles. Kung gayon, marami pang pagsasalin ang dapat isagawa mula sa banyagang wika at sa iba't ibang dako ng daigdig, sang-ayon sa ating sariling pangangailangang sosyo-istorikal at sa sariling pandamdang at pagtingin hinggil sa mga ibang pagkakultura-at-wika. Bawat nabubuhay na kabuuang kultural ay umaangkin ng galing sa iba at sa labas, batay sa sariling batas ng pagkakultura, upang umiral at huwag pumanaw at maangking pa nga ng iba. Bilang isang organismong istoriko-kultural na may sariling kakanyahan, ang pamayanang Pilipino ay dapat humango (at sumalok pa nga) sa buong daigdig, tumanggap ng pangkalinangang ambag at impluho mula sa alinmang panig, subalit ang lahat ng ito'y dapat ilagak sa sariling wika, sapagkat dala ng wika ang ating kulturang kanya ring

⁶⁵⁸ Zeus Salazar (Pat.), *Kasaysayan: Diwa at Lawak*. Published as *Dyornal ng Malawakang Edukasyon* (Journal of General Education), Blg. 27-28, 1974-1975, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1974.

⁶⁵⁹ Teodoro Agoncillo and Gregorio Zaide, *Ang Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas*, Maynila: M.Colcol & Co., 1941. The book was made for those Filipino people who did not have the opportunity to learn other foreign languages, which were normally utilized in Philippine history. According to the authors: "Ang kawalan ng isang aklat sa wikang Tagalog na nauukol sa pangkalahatang kasaysayan ng Pilipinas ay nagdulot sa amin ng marubdob na pagnanasang magbukas ng isang daang magiging tagapag-akay sa tanang mamamayang hindi nagkapalad na matuto ng mga wikang banyaga --- mga wikang kinasusulatan ng kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Kinilala ang ganyang kakulangan, kami'y nagpunyaging maglabas ng aklat na itong bagama't di ganap, sa kabilang dako nama'y makatutulong sa karaniwang mamamayang Tagalog o mamamayang marunong bumasa at umunawa ng Tagalog." They've framed their version of history according to the following chapters: I. Ang Pilipinas Bago Dumatal ang mga Kastila, II. Ang "Pagkakatuksa" sa Kapuluan, III. Anino ng Krus at Tabak, IV. Ang mga Pari at ang Pagtatatag ng Pamahalaang Kastila sa Pilipinas, V. Ang Imperyalismong Kastila at ang Pakikidigma sa mga Portuges at Olandes, VI. Ang Intsik at Hapon sa Pilipinas, VII. Sa Dahon ng Dugo't Luha, VIII. Ang Bandilang Inggles sa Pilipinas, IX. Pagkatapos ng Sigwa, X. Isang Estado sa Loob ng Estado, XI. Ang Suliranin ng Bisitasyon at Sekularisasyon, XII. Ang Panahon ng Pagtatakda ng Pangangalakal sa Pilipinas, XIII. Ang Panahon ng Malayang Pagkakalakalan, XIV. Ang Pilipinas sa Cortes ng Espanya, XV. Ang Diwang Makabayan at sina Gom-Bur-Za, XVI. Ang Paaralan at Pag-aaral Nang Panahon sa Kastila, XVII. Pasapyaw ng Pagmalas sa Kalagayan ng Pilipinas Bago Sumiklab ang Himagsikan, XVIII. Ang Panahon ng Pagpapalaganap, XIX. Ang Katipunan, XX. Lagablab ng Himagsikan, XXI. Lagablab ng Himagsikan (karugtong), XXII. Ang Pamahalaang Mapanghimagasik, XXIII. Ang Diplomasya ng Himagsikan, XXIV. Ang Digmaang Pilipino-Amerikano, XXV. Bagong Hari, Bagong Ugali, XXVI. "Ang Pilipinas Para sa Pilipino", XXVII. Ang Pagsulong ng Pilipinas sa Ilalim ng Amerika, XXVIII. Ang Malasariling Pamahalaan, XXIX. Limang Taon ng Malasariling Pamahalaan, XXX. Ang Wikang Pambansa.

Outside the fact that it was written in Pilipino, the book was still very much in the tradition of the history textbook of the times and context. The point of view it utilized was still that of the pangkaming pananaw (Cf. Chapter 6), while the periodization it realized was still that of the tripartite tradition (liwanag-dilim-liwanag scheme), with the theme of colonization dominating its whole narrative. Its general tone was, in addition, illustrative of the times and context. History was taken in not most importantly as a disciplinary science but as an artistic expression. The narrative, in effect, was peppered with the poetic quality, which was normally seen and utilized in literature and other figurative expressions, but not necessarily anywhere else.

It did not receive the attention, in the process, and readership it should have had. As far as we could tell at the moment, after its publication in 1941, the book was not anymore printed.

pinauunlad. Kaya kailangan ang pagsasalin sa Pilipino, isang gawaing lalo pang magkakamit ng ibayong lawak at kabuluhan sa tulin at ritmo ng pagiging pagkakultura-at-wika.⁶⁶⁰

Translation is necessary for it is the only effective way of integrating anything essentially foreign into the Filipino intellectual tradition. Every existing cultural whole *imports* things from outside, in order to further exist, not to perish, and not to be gobbled up by another cultural whole. The Filipino people, as an historico-cultural, dynamically capable organism, should import and accept cultural contributions and influences from the outside; but all of these have to be first translated to Pilipino, for the national language carries with it the Filipino cultural wholeness itself which it is trying to enrich and develop. Translation is therefore necessary, for it is the most effective integration of anything imported to the cultural wholeness, that is the Philippines and the Filipino people. It must be done in all the branches of disciplinal knowledge in the Philippines, because in the long run, it would make way for the actual and true learning and comprehension --- in contrast to the superficial acceptance through a foreign language, e.g. American English language --- on the part of the Filipinos, who are doing the and learning within the institutional science. In a manner, the technicality and impersonality of a disciplinal science in a foreign language would be --- through translation to Pilipino --- relatively easier to comprehend, and so, easier to apply, practice, or put into action within the Philippine context afterwards. Science would be effectively translated and, in consequence, transferred to the roots of Filipino culture; and as an expected result, efficient and affective learning of the people. The author of a scientific essay would then be directly addressing, and in fact, discussing with his definitively selected audience, the Pilipino-speaking Filipino people. And in a manner, two principles were stressed; those are, first, the importance of effective communication between and among the Filipinos and second, the significance of the actual utility of the Pilipino language in all the exertions of the science within the Philippine contextual reality.

Salazar, with the above published statement, not only explained translation and his language philosophy⁶⁶¹, he also implied the historical philosophy and general historiography, that he and some

⁶⁶⁰ Zeus Salazar, "Mula sa Patnugot" in Salazar (Pat.), *Kasaysayan: Diwa at Lawak...Op.cit.*, pp. IX-X. <...translations from different languages and cultures of the world are really necessary, so that they could be incorporated in our general databank, as truly ours and as integrated portions of our cultural-linguistical personhood. And if we are true to ourselves and logical towards the ideal of a national culture, then such a procedure could never pull through with the utility of any other language --- not even with Anglo-English --- but Pilipino. Therefore, in accordance with our own socio-historical needs, as well as with our own sentiments/ measures and perspective to other world cultural-linguistical singularities/ wholes, we still have to do a number of translations from different foreign languages and areas of the world. Every living cultural whole appropriates something from outside its personhood, in order to further exist and not to be eaten/ integrated by other cultural wholes. As an organic, historico-cultural, capable whole, the Filipino people should appropriate (in fact, even hoarde) from the world. They should appropriate various cultural contributions and influences from all sides. But all of these should be put and proceeded unto in our own language; that is, because our language carries/ holds the culture, which it wants to enrich on the first place. That is why translation is necessary in Pilipino. It is a task, which would continuously grant embroadment and significance, in our way towards a cultural-linguistical singularity/ personhood/ individuality.>

⁶⁶¹ Salazar explained his language philosophy earlier. It was published in two essays a couple of years earlier. They are: Zeus Salazar, "Ang Pagtuturo ng Kasaysayan sa Pilipino", *General Education Journal* Blg. 19-20

of his companions would slowly and effectively put into writing in the following years. Almost all the articles, for one, in the compendium seemed to point to the single message, that the changes and events-occurrences within Philippine history were products of inner and innate processes, which are characteristics to the singular Filipino culture alone.⁶⁶² They seemed to stress and illustrate that both the history and culture of the Philippines is necessary, for it is the kind of viewpoint that the times and context deemed right. A point of view from the inside, e.g. Filipino, on the general themes of history and culture was, in the process, also stressed.⁶⁶³ Isagani Medina, for example, opined in his essay, that nationalism could only be effective in the Philippines if it would be integrated within the Filipino traditions and within the Filipino values, which have to do with their measures for right and wrong (*tama at mali*).⁶⁶⁴ Nationalism, for it to be affective, he explained further, should be integrated within the Filipinos' mindsets, within the Filipinos' worldview. Samuel Tan, in his essay, argued almost within the same line as well.⁶⁶⁵ He was in the opinion that the Islamic element is only a part of the Filipino Muslim world. A closer and longer observation to many Muslim communities would point to the facts that one, there occurred quite a lot of indigenization and/or localization of many Islamic practices; and two, many un-Islamic practices and traditions --- which were, by the way, frequently disguised as Islamic, for the practitioners themselves --- still exist within the everyday life of the same communities. Salazar, for his turn in the same compendium, wrote an essay⁶⁶⁶ which directly explained his critical views on the historiography of the published Philippine prehistory, plus, naturally, his recommendations for the betterment of the same. The Philippines --- as could be deduced from the essay --- is an historical organism with its very own individuality, which is based on its various historical experiences in the distant or remote past. Instead of utilizing the influence theory (e.g. Islamic, Christian, or Indian influence), like what many historians before him did, in illustrating the existence of the Philippines' remote past (prehistory), Salazar opined that individual, relatively independent ancient communities existed on the archipelago during those early years.⁶⁶⁷ These communities embodied the politico-cultural units, that made the archipelago, in the process, an organic

(1970-1971); and Zeus Salazar, "Ukol sa Wika at Kulturang Pilipino", *Mga Bagong Pag-aaral sa Wika, Literatura, at Kultura. Dyornal ng Masaklaw ng Edukasyon*, Blg. 23-24 (1972-1973).

⁶⁶² Sta. Maria, *Op.cit.*, p. 125.

⁶⁶³ Dante Ambrosio, "Pantayong Pananaw. Isang Hibla ng Makabayang Historyograpiya", U.P. Diliman: unpublished paper.

⁶⁶⁴ Isagani Medina, "Manira Nihon Rijojukan (Ang Konsulado ng Hapon sa Maynila, 1888-1898)" in Zeus Salazar (Pat.), *Kasaysayan: Diwa at Lawak...Op.cit.*

⁶⁶⁵ Samuel K. Tan, in Salazar (Pat.), *Kasaysayan, Op.cit.* For further and better explanations, see: Samuel K. Tan, *Decolonization and Filipino Muslim Identity*, Quezon City: U.P. Department of History, 1989.

⁶⁶⁶ Zeus Salazar, "Ang Pagsasakasaysayang-Pilipino ng Nakaraang Pre-Ispaniko", in Salazar (Pat.), *Kasaysayan... Op.cit.*

⁶⁶⁷ This was, of course, in realization to his conviction that the most important trait of every nation is the proof that its very existence is the continuance of an individual and particular ancient past. According to him: "Ang pinakamahalagang katangian ng mga estadong nalikha sang-ayon sa naunang simulain ay ang katunayang sila'y para bagang bahagi ng katutubong tanawin, tumubo sa lupang etniko mismo bunga ng udyok ng mga sirkunstansyang internal at ekolohikal --- alalaumbaga, ang kanilang pagkabuo bilang estado ay gawa at kinalabasan ng sariling kalooban at kapaligiran. Bagamat totoo ngang "banyaga" (sa kahulugang nitong "mula sa labas ng kinagawiang karanasan ng bawat grupong etniko") ang mga kaisipang teoretikal na pinagbatayan ng

historical unit in itself. In this regard, the today recognized various communities --- be it Christian, Muslim, or the mountain ranges ethno-linguistic --- of the archipelago share a singular ancient beginnings. The foremost job of the historian, in his quest to illustrate the individuality of these ancient beginnings, is to try to decolonize the today's communities of its Islamic and Christian elements. To do this, according to him, the historian need to:

...a) ang maghanap sa *iisang kakanyahan* o kaya sa *magkakahawig na kakanyahan* ng mga grupong etniko sa ating nakaraan; at b) ang gamitin ang kaalamang ito nang mapanlikha upang maisaayos ang nalalabuang pagtingin sa ating sarili bilang lipunang pambansa at sa isa't isa bilang mga "Kristiyano", "Muslim", "dating Pagano" o "Pagano" --- isang kinakailangang pagwawasto sa may mga anim-na-raang taong kasaysayang pulitikal at isang kasangkapang mapagbuo't mapagbuklod para sa kasalukuyan sa harap ng kinabukasang sinimulang hubugin natin mismo noong 1896 at ngayon lamang talagang sinimulang balangkasin sa kanyang buong hugis at sa lahat ng implikasyon *bilang pahiwatig ng isang pangkasaysayang entidad*, isang komunidad na nagsimulang mag-isip hinggil sa kahulugan ng sariling kasaysayan, ng tadhanang tanging kanya sa panahon at sa kalawakang kinaroroonan ng ibang pagkakultura-at-lipunan.⁶⁶⁸

The singular identity or the similar traits between the ancient communities should be researched and focused on. These similarities would be then useful in organizing the seemingly vague Filipino people's point of view on their status as a political unit or as a nation and on each other as "Christian", "Muslim", or "Pagan". It has been more than four hundred years of political development for the Philippines already, it is only about time to execute this correction. It would be an instrument of construction and union --- which was long begun in 1896 but only recently seriously tackled with its whole set of meanings and implications as a formal expression of an historical entity ---, a community which started to think and ponder on its own history, on its own destiny within the time and context utilized by its equals, by other cultural people of the world.

In order to accomplish this, Salazar suggested the utility of the scientific results of auxillary sciences; that is, the utility of the earlier considered *secondary sources* of historical data and information. Non-written documents would be most useful in the quest to find out more and write on the prehistorical portion of the country's general history. The research results from archaeology, ethnology, comparative linguistics, and folklore should be taken advantage of in this part of the historian's work. These exertions would be more than enough in avoiding the utility of influence theory, most especially within the general tendency of appropriating historical and prehistorical data gathered from the experiences of countries in the western hemisphere, in the country's prehistory. Though undeniably

pagtatag ng kabuuang pulitikal, sang-ayon at tumutugon lamang sila sa isang nadaramang "pangangailangan" ng pag-iral bilang organismong etniko-kultural." Ibid., p. 164.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 167-168. <...a) to look for/ seek after the singular characteristic or similar characteristics among the ethnic groups in the past; and b) to further creatively utilize this knowledge, so as to systematize our seemingly unclear self-conceptualization as a national community, and as an individual, Christian, Muslim, ex-Pagan or Pagan --- a necessary correction to about six-hundred-years political history; and a constructive, unifying instrument for the present, which was begun to be built in 1896, but actually only now begun to be established, according to its own shape and all its implications, as a statement of an historical entity, a community which

useful in the search for some explanations of the Filipinos' humanity and individuality as a people, the influence theory would still not be enough in explaining the whole of the Filipinos' personality and personhood. That is, because the Filipinos' individuality is an historical development; it was never assigned nor granted.⁶⁶⁹ And so, with these precepts in mind, Salazar suggested a new time scheme for the history of the Philippines.⁶⁷⁰ He suggested a new periodization, which effectively put the beginning of the history --- or to be more exact, the prehistory --- of the country around 500,000-250,000 B.C. till around 5,000-6,000 B.C.; went through two more periods of the Austronesians (5,000-6,000 B.C. till the 10th century) and of the Proto-Filipinos (10th century till 1521); through the period of the *written* or *documented* Filipinos (1521 till the present). In effect, the history of the Philippines became somewhat larger and longer, with respect to the accepted chronological considerations, in range and encompassment. Furthermore, a prehistorical scheme⁶⁷¹, independent of

begun to ponder on its own history's significance, on its own fate, within the greater period and context of other socio-cultural wholes.>

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 177.

⁶⁷⁰ Here was his suggested time/periodization scheme (p. 187):

Table 3
Z. Salazar's Philippine Pre-History's Periodization Scheme

> partikularisasyon o pagliliit		< ekspansyon o paglaki			V pagtatambak		
Kailan	Kapana-hunan	Katawagang Teknikal	Katangiang Pangkasaysayan >	Panlipunang Anyo <	Anyong Pulitikal <	Pangkalinangang Hugis >	Batas ng Pagsulong V
Mula 1521 hanggang sa kasalukuyan	<i>Pilipino</i>	Kasaysayan o Istorya	Pagsibol ng Anyong Pilipino ng Pamayanang Pambansa	Bansa o Pamayanang Pambansa	Bansang Estado mula sa Estadong Kolonyal (Kristiyano) at Estadong Tradisyunal (Muslim at iba pa)	Tungo sa <i>Kulturang Pilipino</i> mula sa mga pag-aanyong pangkasaysayan	Interaksyon ng pamayanan sa Kalikasan, sa sariling tradisyon at Kasaysayan, at sa kapaligirang rehiyunal at <i>pandaigdig</i> .
Mula ika-10ng Dantaon M.K. o bago rito hanggang 1521	<i>Mala-Pilipino</i>	Mala-Kasaysayan o Protoistorya	Pagsibol ng Kaanyuang Rehiyunal ng Timog Silangang Asya	Bayan o Kalipunang Etniko	Estadong Tradisyunal o "Etniko"	<i>Kabihasnang rehiyonal</i> ng Timog-Silangang Asya mula sa Austronesiko at sa mga pakikipag-ugnayang istorikal	Interaksyon ng kalipunang etniko sa Kalikasan, sa sariling tradisyon at sa kapaligirang rehiyonal (Kalikasan, tradisyon at mga pwersang istorikal)
Mula 5,000-6,000 B.K. ? hanggang ika-10ng Dantaon M.K. o bago pa rito	<i>Austronesiko</i>	Bagong Bato at Panahong Metal	Paglaganap ng Kabihasnang Austronesiko	Lipi o Pinalawak na Mag-anak	Tradisyon	Kabihasnang Etniko o Tradisyonal	Interaksyon ng Lipi sa Kalikasan at sa sariling tradisyon.
Mula kahit kailan (500,000-250,000 B.K. hanggang 5,000-6,000 B.K.)	<i>Pre-Austronesiko</i>	Matanda at Gitnang Bato	Paglaganap ng mga uri ng tao bilang tao; hominisasyon	Pamilyang Nuklear o Pangkat	?	Kultura bilang Kasangkapan sa pamamalagi at pag-iral sa Kalikasan	Interaksyon ng Pangkat sa Kalikasan.

⁶⁷¹ In addition, Salazar also institutionally (per publication) introduced two conceptual ideas with the work. He re-introduced the idea and concept of *kasaysayan*, to mean the story which is significant to the subject, author and audience of the process --- the Filipinos; or in a manner, to mean the earlier taken in as the disciplinal

the measures dictated by other cultures from the country's historical and contextual past, but instead seen from the actual Filipino viewpoint, using the Filipino measures and standards and more importantly, the Filipino language, was institutionally (through publication) introduced.

In a manner, with this essay, and in fact, with the whole compendium, Salazar also declared a political statement, which encompasses the practice of, not only of the historical science, but the greater disciplinary sciences (more urgently, within the social sciences) on the country. The national language, Pilipino, was somewhat newly introduced through the work not only as a potential but as an actual written language of intellectual discourse. Pilipino was, in effect, taken up not only as a trait, but more importantly, as an actual orientation of the disciplinary science of history. This would be taken up as a further stimulus for their work and intellectual philosophy by other social scientists within the U.P. Diliman, most especially by a number of Filipino psychologists there.

The U.P. Department of Psychology already begun taking up the possibility of reorienting their science starting 1970 after the university president's (Salvador Lopez) suggestion to the National Board of Education of offering formal education in all levels in both English and Filipino. The department chairman (Alfredo Lagmay) put forward to his faculty members thencefrom the opportunity of teaching their courses in the U.P.D. in Filipino (instead of the already used to Anglo-English language). Two faculty members, Amaryllis Torres and Fredegusto David, took up the challenge and offered their classes in the academic year 1970-1971 in Filipino.⁶⁷² David though received mostly negative reactions from both colleagues and students in the process; and so, accordingly decided not to continue on with the teaching plan. He was told that most of the psychology materials are in English anyways, there was hardly anything written in Filipino; thence, if he continued on teaching in Filipino, he was in the process sacrificing not only effectivity but learning itself, which is his supposed most important task. Torres, in her turn, did not give up so easily. She took up the intellectual challenge seriously. She, herself, started reading up materials (not only books but everyday periodicals) written in the national language. She continued on teaching psychology to U.P. students till the time that she transferred to another department (U.P. Institute of Social Work and Community Development) in 1975. One problem though during those years for her was quite clear. There were hardly any Filipino materials on psychology; and that makes the whole task of reorientation difficult, not only for her but for the students as well.

This problem though would be presented with a resolution within the same period. After his studies in Northwestern University in the U.S.A., Virgilio Enriquez came back to the U.P.D. in 1971. And

science of history. Plus, he introduced the idea of *pagsasakasaysayan* as the Filipino process of making and creating --- including some of the major components which are philosophy of history, methodology, periodization, and even the eventual meanings to be put across--- an actual history, which is *kasaysayan*. For the full illustration of these ideas, please refer to Chapter 7.

⁶⁷² Sta. Maria, Op.cit., p. 136.

because he remained in contact with the Psychology Department's chairman earlier, he knew of the reorientation movement and its accordingly recognized urgent need of offering courses in the national language, in Filipino. Enriquez was undoubtedly, even during those years, an expert in the said language. He came from and grew up in a Tagalog province; plus, he was, in the past, asked a few times already (most especially by his father) to translate texts (including his dissertation in N.W.U.) from English to Filipino. And so, in a manner, he knew the difficult task implied by the reorientation of the, *of his*, discipline at home, in U.P.

Upon his return to formal teaching career in 1972 in U.P., Enriquez started offering and doing his psychology courses in Filipino. The lack of materials was resolved through the systematic translation exertions at the same time. Students of the courses, like their colleagues in history during the same years, were asked and tasked with the translation of the frequently utilized Anglo-English materials. The produced translated articles in the process were put up in a compendium; and published as *Diwa: Katipunan ng mga Lathalaing Pangsikolohiya*, under the editorship of Enriquez.⁶⁷³ In the meantime, a colleague, Lilia Antonio, from the *Departamento ng Pilipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas* (Department of Pilipino and Philippine Literature) cooperated with him in overcoming the task of translation and publication of useful materials for the science. The two practically then made up the *Philippine Psychology Research House*, an institution grounded by Enriquez himself in 1971 which helped in realizing the needed works for the enrichment of the discipline's practice on the country. As a major result, thenceforth, they came up with a compendium of articles entitled *Sikolohiya ng Wika*⁶⁷⁴ in the year following. And this was only the beginning. Because psycholinguistics was the main interest of Enriquez, the years following saw a number of publications under his editorship within this same general theme.⁶⁷⁵

Enriquez took on the task of translation and publication. Not too long afterwards, he took on actual research and results publication on the main task of any nation's disciplinary psychology as well. Through his courses on the psychology of perception and personality, the following compendium became published: *Persepsyon: Mga Teorya at Metodo* (1978), *Sikolohiya ng Persepsyon: Mga Panimulang Pag-aaral* (1977), *Pagkataong Pilipino Tomo I-II* (1975), *Mga Konsepto, Pananaw, at Panimulang Teorya sa Pagkataong Pilipino* (1975), and *Pagkataong Pilipino: Mga Panimulang Pananaliksik* (1978).⁶⁷⁶ These publications seemed to have accordingly passed through and made their

⁶⁷³ Virgilio Enriquez (Pat.), *Diwa: Katipunan ng Lathalaing Pangsikolohiya*, Quezon City: Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, 1973.

⁶⁷⁴ Virgilio Enriquez (Pat.), *Sikolohiya ng Wika (Working Papers in Psycholinguistics)*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1972.

⁶⁷⁵ They are: *Sikolingwistikang Pilipino* (1974), *Philippine Studies on the Psychology of Language* (1974), *Sikolingwistikang Pilipino, Tomo II* (1976), *Sikolingwistikang Pilipino: Mga Karagdagang Ulat* (1976), *Mga Pag-aaral sa Sikolohiya ng Wika at Komunikasyong Pilipino* (1977), and *Mga Pananaliksik sa Sikolohiya ng Wika* (together with Lilia Antonio as editors, 1978).

⁶⁷⁶ Sta. Maria, Op.cit., p. 137.

marks within the social awareness and prevalent nationalist feelings of many intellectuals of the times. Many psychologists of the Ateneo de Manila University followed suit; that is, what their colleagues in U.P.D. already begun. More and more classes in the universities became offered and done in Pilipino.

In the mid-70's the, U.P.D. Department of Psychology chairman Lagmay, in the further realization of the reorientation of the science, started the project of searching the roots of Philippine psychology in the culture and history of the country. A group of social scientists within the university, and who were already part of the implied intellectual movement begun earlier, took up the challenging job and grouped themselves into an organization, *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, which mainly worked on the development of the indigenous psychology, the Filipino psychology, as a formal, institutional, scientific exertion. As its groundwork, Enriquez, in his published article in 1975, formally illustrated the concept (sikolohiyang Pilipino/Filipino Psychology) by differentiating it with sikolohiya sa Pilipinas (Philippine Psychology).⁶⁷⁷ The latter, he explained, is different from the former, for it is something that could just incidentally (and not intentionally nor developed naturally) be there in the country. While Philippine psychology is comparable to the Filipino concept of *tao sa bahay*, which pertains to a (or more) person(s) who visited or passed by a house or household, sikolohiyang Pilipino is comparable to the concept of *taumbahay/taong-bahay*, which pertains to a person(s) who actually lives in the house and make up the household. The former has the quality of being transitive and transitional, while the latter, the quality of being an actual, even essential, portion of the organic whole that is the Philippines and its people. Sikolohiyang Pilipino is something which has been always there; it is something which is created and developed consciously and otherwise by the Filipinos themselves through time and contexts. It is based and concretized in the Filipino culture and language. Sikolohiyang Pilipino is

...tungkol sa *kamalayan* na tumutukoy sa damdami't kaalamang nararanasan; sa *ulirat* na tumutukoy sa pakiramdam sa paligid; sa *isip* na tumutukoy sa kaalaman at pagkaunawa; sa *diwa* na tumutukoy sa ugali, kilos o asal; sa *kalooban* na tumutukoy sa diin sa damdamdamin; at sa *kaluluwa* na siyang daan upang mapag-aralan din ang tungkol sa budhi ng tao. Kung gayon, malawak ang nasasakop ng sikolohiyang batay sa mga konseptong malilintang sa wikang Pilipino.

⁶⁷⁷ According to him: "Ang kalikasan ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino ay nilinaw na sa isang papel na inilahad sa kumbensyon ng Psychological Association of the Philippines sa pamamagitan ng isang analohiya o paghahambing: Bagamat halos pareho ang pakahulugan ng m g a salitang "taong-bahay" at "tao sa bahay", mapapansin na may higit na malalim na kahulugan ang salitang "taumbahay" kaysa mga salitang "tao sa bahay". Mas madalas tayong maging tao sa bahay sapagkat ang pagiging tao sa bahayay hindi kailangang kusain, pag-isipan, o sadyain. Maari pa ngang napadaan lamang ng sandaling-sandali o kaya'y hindi talagang tagaroon ang nagkataong tao sa bahay. Sa kabilang dako, mayroon namang talagang nakatira na sa bahay ay ayaw pang maging taumbahay. Nahahawig dito ang pagkakaiba ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino sa Sikolohiya sa Pilipinas. Ang Sikolohiya sa Pilipinas ay may mga aspetong maihahalintulad sa tao sa bahay na dalaw lamang samantalang ang Sikolohiyang Pilipino ay kahalintulad ng taong bahay, sapagkat dapat na kusang tanggapin muna o pag-isipan upang mabuo o malinang ang mga aspetong teoretikal, metodolohikal, at empirikal ng nasabing sikolohiya." Virgilio Enriquez, "Sikolohiyang Pilipino: Perspektibo at Direksyon", in L.F. Antonio, E.S. Reyes, R.E. Pe, at N.R. Almonte (Mga Pat.), *Ulat ng Unang Pambansang Kumperensya sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, Lunsod Quezon: Pambansang Samahan sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1976. Also in Rogelia Pe-pua (Pat.), *Sikolohiyang Pilipino: Teorya, Metodo, at Gamit*. Filipino Psychology: Theory, Method and Application, Quezon City: Akademya ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1989.

Dahil dito, masasabi na ang pakahulugang batay sa pagsusuri sa wika at kulturang Pilipino ay higit na masaklaw kaysa sa palasak na pakahulugang ang sikolohiya ay ang agham ng pagkilos ng mga organismo.⁶⁷⁸

Sikolohiyang Pilipino is about the humanity, personhood, and personality of the Filipino, which could be read and heard in his language, which in itself is an elemental concretization of both his culture and history. It is not only about the ways and moves of an organism, who happens to be a Filipino; it *is* about the wholeness and particularities of the Filipino organism. Sikolohiyang Pilipino is about the Filipino. And so, it should be done and proceeded unto within the norms, standards, and conceptual world of the Filipinos, in the Filipino language.⁶⁷⁹ Foreign standards and practical methodologies have nothing to do in this realm and disciplinary area. They did not and would not be effective in the Philippine context for they were created and developed in a totally different and foreign context to that of the former.

In effect, the movement which begun as a reorientation of psychology, became so wide-ranged, to almost virtually take up the task of indegenization or Filipinization of the greater social science. Innovative experimental methods for psychology were introduced, practiced, and published⁶⁸⁰; the *Philippine Research and Training House* (PPRTH), which aimed at training teachers and professors to

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid. <...about kamalayan, which pertains to the feelings and knowledges experienced; about ulirat, which pertains to the awareness of the context and surroundings; about isip, which pertains to knowledge and comprehension; about diwa, which pertains to attitudes and act or deed; about kalooban, which pertains to the stress on emotionalities; and about kaluluwa, which is the way towards the analysis of man's budhi. Therefore, the breadth of psychology, culled from the various Pilipino concepts, is wide. For this reason, it could be said that the meanings, derived from the analysis of Filipino language and culture, are much more philosophical as those meanings, derived from the popular consideration of psychology as a behavioural science.>

Here is E. Enriquez's own translation of the same citation: "psychology is the study of kamalayan (consciousness) which includes emotive and cognitive experience; ulirat or awareness of one's immediate surrounding; isip which refers to knowledge and understanding; diwa including habit, trait and behaviour; kalooban including internal feeling and perception and kaluluwa (psyche) which forms the basis for understanding the conscience or soul of a people." Virgilio Enriquez, *Pagbabangong Dangal. Indigenous Psychology and Cultural Empowerment*, Quezon City: Akademya ng Kultura at Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1994, p.3.

⁶⁷⁹ That is, because, "Malawak ang sakop at malalim ang implikasyon ng pagbusabos sa wika. Dahil sa mahigpit nakaugnayan ng wika sa kultura't kaisipan, ano pa nga ba ang bunga ng wikang busabos kundi diwang alipin. Kung wika ang instrumento sa pananankop ng kaisipan, wika rin ang instrumento sa pagpapalaya ng sambayanan at pag-unlad ng pambansang kultura. Ang wika ay nagsisilbing "daluyan, imbakan-kuhanan at ekspresyon," ayon kay San Buenaventura. Kung patuloy na gagamitin ang wikang dayuhan sa halip na wikang katutubo, hiram na kamalayan ang mananaig. Kung hindi gagamitin ang katutubong wika bilang imbakan-kuhanan ng kaalaman at karanasan, ang resulta ay kulturang baog: ang kultura ng makabanyagang elitista." Virgilio Enriquez, "Wika at Kamalayan", in Virgilio Enriquez, *Ang Sikolohiyang Malaya sa Panahon ng Krisis*, Lunsod Quezon: Akademya ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1991, p. 3.

⁶⁸⁰ Cf.: Carmen E. Santiago, "Pakapa-kapa: Paglilinaw ng Isang Konsepto sa Nayon"; Amaryllis T. Torres, "Pakapa-kapa as an Approach in Philippine Psychology"; Lydia F. Gonzales, "Ang Pagtatanung-tanong: Dahilan at Katangian"; Ma. Gracia A. De Vera, "Pakikipagkwentuhan: Paano kaya Pag-aaralan ang Pakikiapid?"; Santiago D. Pedriago Jr., at Virgilio Francisco, "Pagdalaw at Pakikipag-palagayang Loob sa Mamumulot ng Basura"; Lamberto S. Nery, "Pakikisama as a Method: A Study of a Subculture"; Erlinda Nicdao-Henson, "Pakikipanuluyan: Tungo sa Pag-unawa sa Kahulugan ng Panahon" in Regelia Pe-pua (Pat.), *Sikolohiyang Pilipino: Teorya, Metodo, at Gamit. Filipino Psychology: Theory, Method and Application*, Quezon City: Akademya ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1989.

teach psychology in Filipino with a Filipino and Asian orientation⁶⁸¹; the *Pambansang Samahan ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (National Association for Filipino Psychology), with the aim of

...developing active and scientific cooperation with similar organizations in the Philippines and abroad with particular emphasis on Asia. Its other purposes aside from national well-being include the delineation and use of psychology and related disciplines in applied settings such as education, medicine, agriculture and industry. Finally, it aims to develop all aspects of the Filipino consciousness towards an effective scientific and universal psychology,⁶⁸²

was grounded. Yearly conferences on the general theme and stress of such was thencefrom sponsored and done. Filipino intellectuals from various disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, history, linguistics, literature, education, philosophy, medicine and psychiatry, political science, and agriculture, cooperated and participated therein. The conferences tackled the different aspects of the Filipino culture and society, e.g. national development, national consciousness, Filipino worldview, ethnic consciousness, and national responsibility.⁶⁸³ The studies and articles-essays in these conferences were accordingly put together as compendiums and published for larger use and consumption. Thenceforth, they became portions of the larger intellectual movement for indigenization or, to more apt, for Filipinization. It received massive support from various members of the academic community. Salazar, for he was already starting and practicing basically the same philosophy within his disciplinal field of history, was one of the major supporters of the movement. He participated in the conferences from the beginning on. In fact, it was during these times that he took up the historical basis of Filipino psychology (*Ilang Batayan Para sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino*)⁶⁸⁴, conceptualized the idea of *kamalayan* and *kaluluwa*⁶⁸⁵, contributed in the understanding of the ethnic consciousness in correspondence with national responsibility⁶⁸⁶, and psycholinguistically analyzed the idea of *hiya*⁶⁸⁷, in union with the aims and principles of the organization (*Pambansang Samahan ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino*); and of course, accordingly furthered and contributed therewith towards the development of the greater Filipino social science.

Though quite grandiously promising during its early years, *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* would gradually somewhat loose grounds. It did not receive the expected support from the government and well-off

⁶⁸¹ Virgilio Enriquez, "Decolonizing the Filipino Psychology: Philippine Psychology in the Seventies" in *Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review*, 45 (1-4), 1980.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁶⁸³ Sta. Maria, *Op.cit.*, p. 141.

⁶⁸⁴ Zeus Salazar, "Ilang Batayan Para sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino" in L.A. Antonio, E.S. Reyes, R.E. Pe, and N.R. Almonte (Mga Pat.), *Ulat ng Unang Pambansang Kumperensya sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, Nob. 9-12, Manila: Pambansang Samahan sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1976.

⁶⁸⁵ Zeus Salazar, "Ang Kamalayan at Kaluluwa: Isang Paglilinaw ng Ilang Konsepto sa Kinagisnang Sikolohiya" in L.A. Antonio, E.S. Reyes, E.S. Samson, at Paguio (Mga Pat.), *Ulat ng Ikalawang Pambansang Kumperensya sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, Manila: Pambansang Samahan sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1977.

⁶⁸⁶ Zeus Salazar, "Kamalayang Etniko at Pananagutang Pambansa", *Ulat ng Ikaanim na Pambansang Kumperensya sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, Lunsod Quezon: Pambansang Samahan sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1980.

portions of society. It was not too long, on top of that, that its major pioneer, in the person of Enriquez, started reviewing his target audience. Instead of targeting only the Filipino-speaking audience, he started writing and publishing works beginning 1977 for a foreign, Anglo-English-speaking public.⁶⁸⁸ He was in the opinion, that in order that his theoretical generalizations about the Filipino psychology would be more rigorous if it would be somewhat *validated* by a audiences from other cultures, e.g. by English-speaking cultures. That was, naturally, not in accordance to one of the major precepts and language philosophy of the whole movement; and so, its individual actualization/publication embodied a contradiction to that of the nobly grandiose intellectual movement. Enriquez was accordingly criticized afterwards by his colleagues within the larger community of social science.⁶⁸⁹ His change of mind and appropriated exertion, however, already took its course and its

⁶⁸⁷ Zeus Salazar, "Wika at Diwa: Usang Pansikolinggwistikang Analisis sa Halimbawa ng Konsepto ng Hiya" in Susan Cipres-Ortega (Pat.), *Ulat sa Ikalabindalawang Seminansa Sikolohiya ng Wika*, Lunsod Quezon: National Computer Center, 1981.

⁶⁸⁸ Sta Maria narrated: "Enriquez bereits, seine Ideen an ein fremdes Publikum zu richten, als er Filipino Psychology in the Third World, 1977, schrieb, während er a einem Programm für transkulturelle Forschung in Hawaii teilnahm. In dieser Publikation, lieferte Enriquez eine Erklärung über die Psychologie der Filipinos, und stellte die sikolohiyang Pilipino als eine Perspektive für Psychologie vor. Hier machte er die Unterscheidung zwischen "indigenization from within" und "indeginition from without", und schlug vor, daß Psychologen die Idee der "Dekolonisation" annehmen sollten, die damals von einigen westlichen Anthropologen und Soziologen untersucht wurde. Enriquez stellte dann seine Ansichten über Indigenisierung in einer 1979 an der University of Hong Kong abgehaltene Konferenz über transkulturelle Psychologie dar, während er die Kommentare von Robert Serpell, Juris Draguns, und Victoria Bunye über die Formulierung seiner Ideen anerkannte. Von 1982 bis 1984 war Enriquez mit Lehr- und Forschungstätigkeiten an der University of Hong Kong und der University of Malaya in Malaysia beschäftigt. 1984 entwickelte er die Idee einer "Liberation" Psychologie in seinen Diskussionen mit Elizabeth Protacio-Marcelino, einer Kollegin in der U.P. Abteilung für Psychologie. Diese Diskussionen, die sich auf englische Interpretation seiner These über Sprache und Kultur konzentrierte, erbrachte 1983 einen Artikel und 1984 ein Buch über "neocolonial politics and language struggle in the Philippines", beide in englischer Sprache Gefangener unter dem Marcos Regime war, für seine Hilfe in "the task of sharing in English the sikolohiyang Pilipino concepts and ideas originally articulated in Filipino"..." Sta. Maria, Op.cit., pp. 151-155.

⁶⁸⁹ And expectedly enough, Enriquez defended his actions. According to him: "The validity of a theory is not dependednt on its form or the language used in its articulation. When a theory, concept, procedure or practice is developed in another culture, one should be careful not to uncritically transfer it lock, stock and barrel to a target culture. Cultural validation refers to the practice of validating studies and findings through systematic replication in the different cultures of the world. Thus we have a broader data base for cultural, social, and psychological theories. Cultural validation is particularly important in culture as target approaches. Since the source of the theory/concept is outside the cultre, scientific rigor demands that the concept be tested in its new setting. Uncritical acceptance just because a concept is "native" or "local" is just as dangerous as uncritical rejection of a theory just because it happens to be from a "Western" or "imported" source. It is generally argued from the scientific point of view that that source or proponent of a theory is immaterial. Indegenous psychology as a formal discipline does not confine itself to the study and analysisi of indigenous concepts and ideas. Rather, it goes beyond these and extends to modern psychological practice. The utility of traditional indigenous concepts can be readily seen even in modern industrial, clinical, school and community settings whenever people steeped in indigenous beliefs and values in varying degrees are involved. Cases from community development, guidance and counselling, social work, industrial and management psychology, clinical psychology, psychodiagnosis, and psychotherapy show that the practitioner of the indegenous psychology persuasion can effectively utilize local beliefs and practices not only to empower the indigenous peoples but also to develop an effective psychology. Deeply rooted traditional indigenous psychology is an indispensable resource of modern psychology. There is no inherent contradiction between local traditional beliefs and modern psychological practice. In fact, various cases demonstrate that the two can relate to each other. Sikolohiyang Pilipino seeks to draw from both by subjecting both modern psychological practice and traditional indigenous psychological concepts and methods to to rigourous scientific norms and standards." Virgilio Enriquez, *Pagbabangong Dangal. Indigenous Psychology and Cultural Empowerment*, Quezon City: Akademya ng Kultura at Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1994, pp. 5-6.

consequences. Compromisingly, a number of the organization's members started taking up the position of dependency theory (with varying stress on colonial and neocolonial aspects) in their explanation and larger practice of the science; and so, slowly, if not effectively, turn their backs in the development and realization of an indigenous or, to be appropriate, a Filipino social science. Anglo-English was, in the process, further utilized as the language of their discourse; it remained, for them, as the most convenient and most practical language after all.

Luckily though, this was largely concentrated to only a number of Filipino psychologists; not everyone became quite ready to compromise --- if not totally give up --- the begun indigenization of the science. The goal was, in fact, in the meantime, receiving and gaining grounds in other areas. The national language is continually being utilized as the language of discourse, both in the oral and written concretizations of the various disciplines of the mentioned areal scientific generalization. It was becoming more and more popular in theology as well as in the practice of anthropology; and expectedly, continuously being developed and practiced in history. Most impressive and not to be missed though were the developments reached in the area of theology and philosophy. The works produced in these areas were, in reality, started by their authors with the intention on finding out more about the Filipinos' religiosity or, to be more exact, the Filipinos' christian religiosity.⁶⁹⁰ Results though proved that they found out more than that. Indeed the works somewhat illustrated the Filipinos' christianity, but at the same time, they also provided clues on the further explanation on who the Filipinos' are, on how they think, and on how they see and consider some of the elements in their world or, to put it simply, on how they view the world they are living in. The works, henceforth, greatly contributed to the understanding of the Filipinos' way of thinking, of the Filipinos' life and

It is not to be missed in the above quotation that though Enriquez was still basically clearing up the same theme that he begun in the 70's through the utility of Pilipino, his basic theoretical philosophy already had a compromising tone, which is normally found in works using the dependency theory as ground base. The Philippines and its peoples were again, in the process, pictured as entities to be "empowered" --- implying thenceforth that it was many times maltreated by another most powerful. And so, the whole work was again concentrating and going around the idea of colonization, of dependency, of neocolonization; and the star of the whole process, in a way, would, thus, be the colonizer, the more powerful. The Philippines and its peoples would then had to virtually sacrifice research efforts on its own, for it has to share research efforts on its former colonizer, holder, or even owner. In the end, therefore, the work was not really an actual contribution to a Filipino scientific effort; it is a mere addition again to the bulging colonial (or neocolonial) scientific effort.

⁶⁹⁰ Consider, for example, Jose de Mesa's aim in writing, conceptualization, and eventual publication his book: "Nakasalalay ang pag-unawa ng tao hinggil sa buhay sa kanyang mga karanasan. Anumang paliwanag na walang kinalaman o di naka-ugat sa mga karanasang ito ay malamang na di-maunawaan o dili kaya'y di papahalagahan. Totoo rin ito para sa ating Pananampalatayang Kristiyano. Kung hinahangad natinang maiging pag-unawang ating pagiging mga Pilipinong Kristiyano at ang wasting pagpapahalaga nito, nararapat lamang na ito ay ipahiwatig sa wika't diwang katutubo. Lubhang kinakailangan, kung gayon, ang pagka-ugat ng paglalahad ng pananampalataya sa karanasang Pilipino at sa kaisipang Pilipino." Jose de Mesa, "Paunang Salita", *Kapag Namayani ang Kagandahang-Loob ng Diyos*, Quezon City: Claretian Publications, 1990, vii. His mission was clearly to find out more about the Filipino Christian religiosity. But instead of utilizing standards foreign to his subjects, like what was already often done in the past by some of his colleagues, he chose to utilize standards which were and are considerably Filipino as well. That is, because they were basically consequences and results of actual Filipino experiences in his own times and contexts; they were, in a way, recognized standards from the Filipino cultural experiences in their past.

world philosophy; and at the same time, further opened doors to other interpretations and researches within or following the eventually resulted unto similar lines.

The names Jose de Mesa⁶⁹¹ and Albert Alejo⁶⁹² would not be missed in this particular area. Naturally, they fully utilized Pilipino in their works; and in fact, went beyond mere mechanical utility of the said language. Both of them utilized the language itself as a the source of meanings and/or interpretations for the text.⁶⁹³ Hermeneutics, or, in general, the science of meanings, was, in effect, their most important method in this regard. It eventually led them, in the process, to find out more about the Filipino concept *loob*,⁶⁹⁴ as the basis of the Filipinos' view of their reality and as the basis of Filipinos'

⁶⁹¹ Jose de Mesa. "...Dr. de Mesa wurde in 1946 in Manila geboren. Nach dem Bakkalaureat in Philosophie begann er an der Maryhill School of Theology mit dem theologischen Grundstudium, das er mit dem Magistergrad abschloß. Es folgten religionswissenschaftliche Studien an der Katholischen Universität von Leuven (1978) mit dem Abschluß einer Dissertation (Ph.D.) zum Thema Inkulturation, die 1979 als Buch mit dem Titel "And God Said: Bahala na! The Theme of Providence in the Lowland Filipino Context" veröffentlicht wurde. 1986 absolvierte de Autor noch einen weiterführenden Studiengang an der St. Paul University von Ottawa, Canada.

Die Arbeit J.M.de Mesa im Bereich der Akkulturation auf den Philippinen fand im August 1991 auch staatlicherseits Anerkennung durch die Verleihung des Gawad ng Pagkilala-Preises, der von der Regierungskommission für sprachliche Entwicklung an Personen verliehen wird, die einen bedeutenden Beitrag zur Bereicherung der Filipinosprache geleistet haben. Es war das erste Mal, daß dieser Preis jemandem zuerkannt wurde, der im Bereich der Theologie arbeitet..." Jose De Mesa, Maginhawa --- den Gott des Heils erfahren. Theologische Inkulturation auf den Philippinen, Freiburg/ Basel/ Wien: Herder, 1992, p. 239.

⁶⁹² Fr. Albert Alejo, S.J. He is "Pareng Bert" in the realm of poetry; while "Kuya Bert" for many children, who looks up to him. He was born in Cagayan de Oro, grew up in Obando, Bulacan, and studied within and outside the school for priests. He finished his Bachelor's degree in Sto. Thomas University; and his Master's degree in Ateneo de Manila University. He frequently lectures on the subjects of the Filipino culture and of the workers' honor. <trans.> Albert E. Alejo, *Tao po! Tuloy! Isang Landas ng Pag-unawa sa Loob ng Tao*, Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications, School of Arts and Sciences, Ateneo de Manila University, 1992, (book's backcover).

⁶⁹³ Here was how De Mesa phrased his view on the Filipino language: "Ang wika ay di isang etiketa na ipinapaskel sa isang bagay upang mabigyan ito ng tumpak at takdang pangalan. Higit pa rito ang papel na ginagampanan ng isang wika sapagka't ang bawa't wika ay kumakatawan sa isang pananaw sa buhay. Sa kadahilanang ito, mababakas ang angking talino at kaluluwa ng isang lahi sa kanyang wika. Mahigpit ang ugnayan ng wika at diwa ng isang kalinangan. Dahil dito ang bukod-tanging diwa ng isang kalinangan ang ating naririnig sa mga pangungusap ng nagbibigay buhay sa isang wika. Sa kadahilanan ding ito ang pagsasalin, ayon sa mga Italiano, ay pagtataksil sa kaisipan na napapaloob sa isang wika, "traduttore traditore"." De Mesa, *Kapag...Op.cit.*, p.3.

⁶⁹⁴ Theirs (De Mesa's and Alejo's) were --- though definitely the most impressive in calibre --- of course not necessarily the pioneering works in this line. There were earlier publications discussing and philosophising the Filipino concept of loob. The first serious study was published in 1974, under the authorship of Leonardo Mercado, entitled *Elements of Filipino Philosophy*. Though still written in English and still followed the general intellectual tendencies begun by the ilustrados of the 19th century, the work pioneered the study and analysis of the Filipino loob. The basic precept of the work was really not bad; that is, the philosophy on the Filipino language in relation to the Filipino philosophy. In fact, it is already comparable to those utilized by some of the best works on the same subject a few years after its publication. According to Mercado: "A person's way of thinking can be deduced from his words and his actions because words and actions are products of the human mind. Hence an analysis of Philippine languages and behavior can lead to knowing the Filipino mind." (Leonardo Mercado, *Elements of Filipino Philosophy*, Tacloban City: Divine Word University Publications, 1974, p. 8.) Still, the work was still elitist in character. It was never intended for the wider consumption of ordinary Filipinos, like how a book on a people's --- on their own --- philosophy should be. It utilized foreign (Western) concepts, norms and standards in trying to stress to the reader that the Filipinos have *indeed* its own philosophy, a philosophy which is comparable and not too different from those of the Western ideals. The book is after all, not for everyone, it "is intended primarily for non-ordinary readers of higher college level, that is, readers who have received a Western education and unwittingly have been trained to think in the Western bias.

feelings, thinking, and attitude. And because their findings and conclusions were much nearer to the actual illustration of the Filipinos way of thinking, then their works already effectively went much, much further than the sociological interpretations --- or to be exact, loob's one denomination, *utang na loob* --- begun during the 1960's.⁶⁹⁵ De Mesa and Alejo viewed the concept of loob from within; that is, from the actual viewpoint of the Filipinos themselves, who developed and still uses the said concept. In the standards set by the Filipino Bagong Kasaysayan, both of them utilized the basic principle(s) of Pantayong Pananaw.⁶⁹⁶ Consequently, there was a continuous development in further philosophization of the concept loob.⁶⁹⁷ De Mesa, within the espezialized area of theology and philosophy, viewed loob in relation to prayer as

Consequently not a few of them look down on the ordinary Filipino. Hence the author cites Western references to show that Filipino philosophy is legitimate and worthy of respect." (Mercado, Elements...Op.cit., p. 13.)

⁶⁹⁵ The sociological interpretation of the concept *utang na loob* was popularized through the works of the American anthropologist and sociologists, Kaut, Hollnsteiner and Lynch. Examples of their works include Charles R. Kaut, "Utang na Loob, A System of Contractual Obligations Among Tagalogs", in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 1961, Vol. 17; Mary Hollnsteiner, "The Lowland Philippine System in Municipal Politics", *Philippine Sociological Review* 10 (1962); and Frank Lynch and Alfonso de Guzman II (Eds.), *Four Readings on Philippine Values*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1970. It is considered in these readings that the concept *utang na loob* is just another nominal Filipino experience, within the context of Filipino politics of exchange or making up (in return or payment for a favor done).

This conceptualization would be furthered during the following decades by Filipino sociologists, spearheaded by Randolph David of the U.P.D., themselves; and so, in effect, the misinterpretation begun would be continually both patronized and popularized through teaching and publication. See: Randolph David, "The Politics of Utang na Loob", *Veritas*, May 13-19, 1984.

⁶⁹⁶ This similarity could, for one, be seen in De Mesa's conceptualization of the Filipino culture, *kalinangan*, in connection to the aims of his works and actions: "Ang kalinangan ng isang tao ay siyang pangkalahatang pananaw ng taong iyon. Pumili man tayo o hindi, batid man natin o hindi, ang ating mga palagay ay nababatay sa isang tanging pananaw, malamang ang pananaw na ating nakagawian. Magkaakibat lagi ang pag-unawa't pananaw. Sa paglalahad na mababasa dito naging palagiang patnubay namin ang katutubong pananaw ng mga Pilipino. Ito ang siyang nagsilbing gabay sa amin sa pag-unawa sa pananampalatayang Kristiyano. Sa dahilang ito, naging mahalaga sa amin ang paggamit ng katutubong wika sa pangkalahatan at ang pagpili ng mga salitang patakaran (key words) na nagsilbing puso ng paglalahad." De Mesa, *Kapag...Op.cit.*, p. 2.

With these declaration, De Mesa was actually utilizing Pantayong Pananaw in the area of theology! It is quite vague, if he was really consciously doing this; but it seemed that he was already putting in practice the philosophy and the implied methodology of pantayong pananaw from the disciplinal area of history and historiography.

⁶⁹⁷ In a way, there was almost a systematic series of studies related to and/or done about the concept of loob. They are all parts and parcels to the deeper and more meaningful understanding of the said concept through the years; and so, in a manner, they are related to each other. Each one is somewhat part of the other. Mercado's research in 1974 was in reality almost made during the times the the poet Emmanuel Lacaba ("Ang Loob: Ilang Tala sa Paglimi-liming Pilipino", in *Literary Apprentice*, 1974) figuratively dwelled on the philosophical considerations of the concept of loob. Zeus Salazar's study follows afterwards; they are: "Ang Kamalayan at Kaluluwa: Isang Paglilinaw ng Ilang Konsepto sa Kinagisnang Sikolohiya" (in L.A. Antonio, E. Reyes, E.S. Samson, at Paguio (Mga Pat.), *Ulat ng Ikalawang Pambansang Kumperensya sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, Manila: Pambansang Samahan sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1977) and "Wika at Diwa: Isang Pansikolinggwistikong Analisis sa Halimbawa ng Konsepto ng Hiya" (in Susan Cipres-Ortega (Pat.), *Ulat ng Ikalabindalawang Kumperensya sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, Lunsod Quezon: National Computer Center, 1981). And then, Ileta's *Pasyon and Revolution* (Reynaldo Clemena Ileta, *Pasyon and Revolution. Popular Movements in the Philippines... Op.cit*) comes next.

De Mesa's studies (1984) follows and then those of Roque Ferriols (*Pambungad sa Metapisika: Una Hanggang Ikatlong Yugto*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1984; *Pambungad sa Pilosopiya ng mga Sinaunang Griyego*, Lunsod Quezon: Kagawaran ng Pilosopiya, Ateneo de Manila University, 1983; and *Pambungad sa Metapisika: Ika-apat Hanggang Ika-anim na Yugto*, Lunsod Quezon: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1984) comes up. Then that of Vicente Rafael (*Contracting Colonialism. Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), which would be followed by Dionisio Miranda's work (*Loob. The Filipino Within. A Preliminary*

...ang panloob na sarili, ang ubod ng pagkatao at ang kinasasalalayan ng tunay na halaga ng isang tao. Para sa mga nasa kapatagan, ito ang nagsasabi kung anong klaseng tao ka o kung sino ka ba bilang isang tao. Masasabi kong ang loob ang siyang kasukdulang tagapagsa-ayos na sentro ng buong katotohanan ng tao. At higit pa ryan, ito ang mismong kalawakan (zone) ng pagkanilikha na siyang salalayan ng mga ideya, damdamin, at pagkilos.⁶⁹⁸

Rephrased: loob is the innermost self; at the same time, it is the heart/ core of a person. It is in loob that the real and actual worth (Dasein) of a person could be found. It is the organizing structural center of man's reality. And more than that, it is the areal zone of man's being, the basis of his ideas, emotions, and actions. In a view, hence, loob is both the singularity and the totality of the person of a Filipino. It is his whole being as a cultural singularity; and furthermore, as both a social and spiritual organism, when he takes part in a specific community. De Mesa's descriptions of loob in his various studies contributed a lot in the further analysis of the Filipino's spiritual person; and at the same time, like what a good study should actually affect, they opened doors for further research and analysis.⁶⁹⁹ His work though was originally published in English⁷⁰⁰; and so, it only effectively reached the English-speaking intellectuals, nonetheless considerably Pilipino-thinking intellectuals, of the country.

This could not be totally said in the case of Albert Alejo's masterpiece, which specifically concerned itself in the philosophization of the concept of loob. He wrote and published in Pilipino. For him, even in consideration and honor to those works on the same subject published a few years before him, loob is a most complex concept, which needs as much study and analysis, from its users themselves, as possible. In his final remarks, he even reiterated this complexity of loob. He brilliantly illustrated the multi-facetness and dept of the said concept in the whole lenght of his work, but still avoided giving a definitive and conclusive definition of it. It is clearly implied, however, that in his view, the Filipino loob has specific contents (*laman*), depth (*lalim*), and breadth (*lawak*). According to him,

Investigation into a Pre-theological Moral Anthropology, Manila: Devine Word Publications, 1989); and finally, crowned with the work of Albert Alejo (Tao po! Tuloy!...Op.cit.) a year afterwards.

⁶⁹⁸ Jose De Mesa, "Loob and Prayer", Witness, Second Quarter (1984), p. 53. Quoted from Alejo's work (Tao po! Tuloy!...Op.cit., p. 30). Also in Jose De Mesa, In Solidarity with the Culture, Quezon City: Maryhill School of Theology, 1987 (p. 57) and in its german version, Maginhawa --- den Gott des Heils erfahren. Theologische Inkulturation auf den Philippinen, Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 1992 (p.74). <Loob, the internal self, is the heart of one's humanity and the basis of one's true worth. For the flatlands' people, it is the measure of a person's qualification, in fact, of a person's identification as a human being. I think loob is the ultimate organizer of the center of a person's personhood (Dasein). And furthermore, it is the actual creative space/zone, wherein ideas, feelings, and behaviour rest/ habitate.>

⁶⁹⁹ A direct example of this is: Hermann Josef Ingenlath, Bausteine für eine Theologie der Basisgemeinden. Theologische Akzente christlicher Basisgemeinschaften auf den Philippinen, Frankfurt Am Main/ Berlin/ Bern/ New York/ Paris/ Wien: Peter Lang. Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1996.

⁷⁰⁰ Ten years after its first conceptualizations and actual publication in 1980, De Mesa's essays and articles came out as a compendium in Pilipino as well. That is, José de Mesa, Kapag Namayani ang Kagandahang-Loob ng Diyos, Quezon City: Claretian Publications, (1980), 1990. It is a collection of the following essays: "Mga Batayang Simulain ng Paglalahad", "Hirap at Ginhawa sa Buhay ng m g a Pilipino", "Si Hesus at ang Pamamayani ng Kagandahang-loob ng Diyos", and "Ang Sambayanang Kumakatawan sa Diwa ni Hesus". This

Sa kasalukuyang sumisibol na mga pagsusuri sa loob ng tao, kasama na ang saynaysay na ito, lumilitaw na ang loob ay isang kumpol-diwang talagang hitik at siksik sa kayamanan. Hindi lamang ito salitang paulit-ulit at madalas na ginagamit. Talagang kumakatawan ito sa matipunong katotohanan ukol sa tao. Dagdag dito, ang loob, ay hindi lamang pala isang pitak ng puso o luklukan ng mga damdamin, isip at alaala, kundi isang malawak na daigdig ng sari-sari at sabay-sabay na ugnayan sa sarili, sa kapwa, sa mga bagay, sa panahon, sa lipunan, sa Maykapal at sa buong kalikasan. Ang loob ay hindi isang bugtong na salita lamang --- kundi isang salitang-bukal, salitang-ugat ng marami pang salitang buhay. Kaya nga may katwiran tayong umasa na sa pagbubukas na ito ng daigdig ng loob, maaari ring dumaloy ang sari-saring pagninilay ukol sa tao, lalo na sa larangan ng sikolohiya, antropolohiya, pilosopiya, historia, kultura, etika, teolohiya at maging ekonomiya. May lilitaw ring pag-aaral sa pagbubuo ng indibidwal na paninindigan, sa kaugnayan ng personal at estruktural, at sa usapin ng kolektibong loob ng bayan.⁷⁰¹

Further researchal and analytical efforts and exertions on the same concept is recommended. Directed and/or viewed from the different *lenses* of the various disciplines, the results of these efforts could richly contribute to the definition and/or illustration of the collective loob of the Filipino people through times and contexts. Implicitly demanded, naturally, to this recommended further studies is the utility of the national language, Pilipino, in its figurative future exertions. Alejo, like his mentor Ferriols⁷⁰², has always been firm on his language principles. He made his reasons clear, even in the preface of his work; he opined

publication was, in a way, the shorter version of the earlier published compendium, *In Solidarity with the Culture* (Op.cit.), which was later translated and published in German.

⁷⁰¹ Albert Alejo, *Tao po! Tuloy!*...Op.cit., p. 116. <In the present researchal/ analytical preoccupation on loob, including this study, it would seem that loob is a philosophical idea, which is highly dynamic and rich in interpretation. It is not merely a multiplicly utilized word. It fully embodies the gravity of truth in man's existance. Furthermore, loob is not only the heart nor the home of internal feelings, knowledge and understanding, and memories, it is a wide context of the different and simultaneous communication of one with one's self, with neighbors, with things, with the period, with the society, with God, with the whole Nature. Loob is also not merely a figurative word --- although it is really quite a figurative one --- but a souce word, a root word, a word basis of other dynamically living words. This is the reason, why we are convinced that this figurative researchal opening exertion would lead to further researches, most especially in the areas of psychology, anthropology, philosophy, history, culture, ethics, theology, and even ecology. Studies on the development of individual conviction, based on the personal and structural self, as well as on the issues of the bayan's loob would also presumably follow. *Note: This citation's translation is merely an interpretation. It was quite hard to translate, for a great number of concepts discussed and mentioned therein are really Filipino; and so, almost impossible to translate in another language. Its general message, I reckon, is contained nonetheless in the translation. ---PLR*

⁷⁰² Sta. Maria, Op.cit., pp. 148-151. Ferriols' lifeswork is largely characterized by his passion in putting into writing his conceptualization of who the Filipino is through the definition of the Filipino philosophy, in the Filipino national language. The following are his most often cited lines on this theme: "Madalas may nagtatanong: Mag-iimbento ka ba ng pilosopiyang Pilipino? O kaya: Maari bang magkaroon ng pilosopiyang Pilipino? Ang mga tanong na iyan ay pag-aaksaya ng panahon. Kung talagang nais ng isang taong mamilosopiya, ang hinahanap niya ay ang totoo na nagpapakita sa kanya. At gagamitin niya ang anomang makatutulong sa kanyang paghahanap ng totoo. Kung pinag-aabalahan niya'y Pilipino ba ako? O Intsik? O Indian? O kung ano?...hindi na siya namimilosopiya. Lalabas na siyang gaya ng taong tingin ng tingin sa salaming sa walang katapusang pagka-bagabag na baka hindi siya mukhang Pinoy. Bukal sa lahat ng tao ang hanapin ang katotohanan, at lahat ng wika ay likha ng tao. Kaya't taglay ng bawat wika ang kapaitan at pananabik ng paghabol sa katotohanan: paghabol na ginanap ng mga unang naghubog at ng mga sunod na gumamit sa wikang iyon. Kaya't lahat ng wika ay maaring gamitin sa paghanap ng totoo kung may kalooban ang gumagamit. At kung ayon sa totoo ang kanyang paggamit. Madalas akong pagpunahan na kung katotohanan ang hinahanap mo, hindi importante kung anong wika ang gagamitin mo sa iyong pamimilosopiya. Iyan ay isang delikadong puna. Kung ... susubukan mamilosopiya sa isang wika na ibang di hamak sa sinasalita ng mga nagmamaneho ng dyipni, nagwawalis-tingting sa mga kalsada, nagsisilbi sa mga turo-turo, masasabi kaya na ang taong iyon ay gumagalaw sa katotohanan? Sapagkat hindi mapagkakaila na, angkinin man ng tao o sadyang limutin, palaging mananatiling totoo na lahat ng tao, pati

Hindi lahat ng naunang nakabasa ng akdang ito ay nasiyahan sa paggamit ng wika at pananalinhaga. Hindi ko sila masisisi. Hanggang ngayon ay nangangapa pa rin ako sa paghahanap ng mga tamang salita upang bigkasin ang naaaninag sa diwa. Subalit higit kong ikinabibigat ng loob --- at talagang tumatalab sa akin --- ang madalas na mangyari na nakapalamuti lamang ang ating mga katutubong kataga sa mga akdang sa Ingles nakasulat. Pinipili ipaliwanag sa atin ang katutubong kataga sa pamamagitan ng dayuhang wika. *Para naman tayong ibang tao!* Sa tahimik na paraan, parang gusto kong tumulong upang palayain ang ating mga kataga sa pananakal ng mga panaklong, sa pagkaipit sa mga panipi, sa latay ng mga italics at sa pagkakasangkapan sa salita bilang katutubong pamagat sa makadayuhang pananaliksik o bilang mga daglat ng mga kilusan o samahan na walang gamit sa salita kundi propaganda. Pinipili lamang sila dahil magagamit ang kanilang mga titik at hindi dahil sa kanilang pagkakabit sa katotohanan.⁷⁰³

Figuratively put, Alejo, in his way, wants to contribute in the efforts to *free* the Pilipino words --- in fact, the whole language --- from the *bondages* (in the usual form of being laces or ornaments in essays or books), it has been getting from earlier intellectual works written in English. In a view, though a number of social scientists members of Pambansang Samahan ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino during these times were doing the contradictory, Alejo continually believes on the capacities and the further potentials of the Pilipino language of being an actual, operative language of intellectual discourse.

A number of intellectuals/ academicians in the U.P.D. never stopped believing otherwise; and in fact, eventhough Enriquez started on “sharing” Sikolohiyang Pilipino with the English-speaking public, their number was even continually growing. More and more intellectuals were becoming convinced of the logic of indeginization of the practice of their disciplines within the country. Beside those, *for us anyways*, of the Pantayong Pananaw group led Zeus Salazar of the history department, another group led by Prospero Covar⁷⁰⁴ of the anthropology department was slowly but surely making their

ang mga namimilosopiya, ay napapaligiran ng mga kapuwa tao na nagsasalita. At kapag ang nagisikap mamilosopiya ay pumili ng wikang gagamitin niya, ang kanyang pagpili ay bunga ng kanyang atitud sa salita ng mga pumapaligid sa kanyan. At ang atitud ay maaring katotohanan, maaring kasinungalingan.” Roque Ferriols, Pambungad sa Metapisika, Quezon City: Office of Research and Publications, Ateneo de Manila University, 1991, p. 236.

⁷⁰³ Alejo, Op.cit., (“Pasintabi”), x. <Not everyone, who read this work, were happy with my utilized language and my philosophization. I do not blame them. I, myself, still grope and grapple with the right words, in order to express the things that I could somehow see in my diwa (totality of habit, trait, and behaviour --- plr). But it really pains me --- and it really burdens my soul --- to continually see that our indigeous words continually remain as decorations/ ornaments in works, written in English. These works forces us to understand our indigenious words through the utility of a foreign language. *We are, however, one with each other!* (Note: *Para naman tayong ibang tao!*, is really untranslatable. ---plr) In a humble way, I would like to assist in freeing our words/ terminologies from the entrangling parentheses, from the entrapment of quotation marks, from the lashes of italizations, and from the self-serving utility of indigenious words/ utilities, in order to indigenously entitle an innately foreign research and/ or exertion or entitle a movement or an organization, which is nothing more than propaganda. The indigenious words/ terminologies are thereby only chosen to serve a particular self-seving purpose, and not to pertain to a particular actual reality.>

⁷⁰⁴ In a manner, Prof. Covar represents, for most of the younger members of the social science disciplinal departments in the U.P.D., the third portion --- Prof. Salazar and Prof. Enriquez as the first two --- of the “Tatlong Persona” (the Holy trinity), who leads the generally unitary Filipinization movement of the country’s social science. He is among the most respected scholars among the academic communities in the Philippines. Here was how he was described by a couple of his students in the recently published compilation of his essays

names thereby --- following the same general tendencies of social sciences' Filipinization through the utility of the language Pilipino --- known. Prospero Cover would eventually be the forerunner of the idea of *Kaalalang Bayan* and the indigenization of the disciplinary practice of anthropology, through the conceptualization of the term *Agham-taol/ Agham Pantao*, which should represent his and some other colleagues' practice of the previously mentioned science. And incidentally enough, these scholars would get the general institutional support of the U.P.⁷⁰⁵ on their language philosophy. Filipino would consequently be declared as not only the official language, but the operative language (medium for both instruction and administration) of the University of the Philippines system.

At the same time, the academic community was being fed by various Filipino publications from the Sikolohiyang Pilipino school as well as from the Pantayong Pananaw school.⁷⁰⁶ Salazar, together with Covar, during the deanship of the former in the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy (Dalubhasaan ng Agham Panlipunan at Pilosopiya) would even further their movement's philosophy by exerting efforts in extirpating the college's graduate program *Philippine Studies*, and replacing it with the program *Pilipinolohiya*. In the same year (1989), Covar himself officially published his own conceptualization of the mentioned Filipino idea; according to him,

Ang bagong katagang Pilipinolohiya ay binubuo ng dalawang salita: una ay Pilipino; at ang pangalawa ay lohija na isina-F/Pilipino na Latin, logos, na ang katuturan ay sistematikong pag-aaral. Gaya ng alam ninyo, ang Pilipino ay maaaring mamamayan ng bansa F/Pilipinas at/o kabilang ng lahing F/Pilipino; o dili kaya'y yaong katawagan sa ating wikang pambansa bago

and articles on the Philippine culture: "Nag-umpisa siya sa mga magsasaka ng barangay Corolan sa Sta. Maria, Laguna. Tapos na niya noon ang A.B. Sociology (1957) a M.A. Sociology (1961) sa U.P. Sumunod niyang pinag-aralan ang Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi. Ito ang paksa ng kanyang Ph.D. dissertation sa University of Arizona (1975) kung saan siya napiling isa sa mga tanghal na pantas sa sentenaryo ng pagkatatag nito. Una siya sa mga umunawa sa mga katutubong mananampalataya sa Bundok Banahaw. Doon niya dinala ang mga mag-aaral ng field school of anthropology isang tag-init. Mula noon, lumawak na nang lumawak ang pananaliksik niya at paggabay sa mga mag-aaral: street food, ukit sa Paete, Laguna, anting-anting, pagkataong Pilipino, Florante at Laura, Katipunan, ang kalusugan sa Pilipino...

Tatlumpung-limang taon na walang puknat ang kanyang pananaliksik, pagtatanong, at pagsusulat tungkol sa ating kultura hanggang sa humantong siya sa *Kaalalang Bayan*, ang buod at nilalaman ng ating pagka-Pilipino. Nailahad na niya kung ano at kung paano yong natatanging pamamaraan natin sa pagbubuo ng sariling kalinangan. Ngayo'y ang binubusisi naman niya'y kung bakit ganoon.

Higit na 120 ang "napatapos" niya ng M.A. at Ph.D. bilang adviser sa Pamantasan ng Pilipinas. Patuloy ang pakikibahagi niya ng kanyang kaalaman sa mga iba't ibang guro at mag-aaral, at ngayo'y sa mga mambabasa. Patuloy ang pamumukadkad at pamumulaklak ng kanyang palatanong at mapaglarong isip." Prospero R. Covar, "Sino Siya" in *Larangan. Seminal Essays on Philippine Culture*, Maynila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1998, p. 125.

⁷⁰⁵ The U.P. Board of Regents, the highest policy making body of the country-wide university system, passed on May 29, 1989 the university's language policy. Among the details, the university not only declared in this policy that it would utilize Filipino as a medium of instruction and administration --- following, of course, a five-year transition period upon the policy's passing and declaration --- it would also lead in the movement to make Filipino, the national language, the official language of instruction in all of the members of the nation's educational system. Cf.: "Palisi sa Wika", *Inaprubahan ng Lupon ng mga Rehente*, 29, Mayo 1989. Also as one of the appendices (Appendiks C) in Jovita H. Orara, *Ang Papel ng U.P.... Op.cit.*, pp. 189-196.

⁷⁰⁶ In year 1989, the Sikolohiyang Pilipino school would publish its own textbook, discussing both the basics and major principles of its movement, through: Rogelia Pe-pua (Pat.) *Sikolohiyang Pilipino. Teorya, Metodo at Gamit*, Lunsod Quezon: Akademya ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino; while Zeus Salazar's two major essays/ articles ("Pantayong Pananaw: Isang Paliwanag" and "Ang Pantayong Pananaw sa Agham Panlipunan: Historyograpiya") on the Pantayong Pananaw would be published in the academic journal *Philippine Currents*.

pinalitan ito ng Filipino, ayon saating saligang batas o konstitusyon nang 1986/87. Samakatuwid, ang Pilipinolohiya ay sistimatikong pag-aaral ng (1) Pilipinong kaisipan (psyche) (2) Pilipinong kultura at Pilipinong lipunan. Ang wika at iba't ibang larangan ng sining: musika, pagguhit, eskultura, sayaw, arkitektura, drama, panitikan, pelikula, pilosopiya, pati na ang relihiyan ay aking ibinibilang sa kultura. Sa kabuuan, ang lahat ng ito: kaisipan, kultura at lipunan ang pinag-aaralan upang palitawin ang pagka-F/Pilipino ng bawat larangan. Ang lahat ng larangang nabanggit ay hinabi at nililok ng mga F/Pilipino.⁷⁰⁷

In a view, Pilipinolohiya simply pertains to the systematic study⁷⁰⁸ of the Filipino people, culture, and society. Each of the foreseen studies of the different aspects of the people's culture should particularly be made in order to stress the Filipino-ness of each analyzed field. All of the concretizations of these aspects were, after all, made and developed by the Filipino people themselves through centuries of existence (as a *kabihasnang Pilipino*); it is only thence both natural and logical that their results would only further reiterate the sense of Filipino-ness. They are not only pro-Filipino; they are Filipino.⁷⁰⁹ They are made while utilizing the Filipino point of view; and so, they are made from and with the inside's viewpoint (mula sa loob). They are using the Filipino language as their medium of communication and discussion.

The departments of psychology through the sikolohiyang Pilipino, of history through the bagong kasaysayan, and of anthropology through the agham-tao or agham pantao worked, in a way, together in realizing the ideals of this new study and/or analysis direction of pilipinolohiya. Among the three though, the last mentioned was the most developed. It started to be conceptualized during the time that pilipinolohiya was being begun; that is, in 1989. In general, agham-tao or agham pantao became accordingly taken to mean the Filipino disciplinal science of anthropology. It is the systematic study of the nature of the Filipino person, the Filipino personhood, and naturally, the Filipino community. It was often discussed in various discussion groups, in informal meetings, as well as in anthropology

⁷⁰⁷ Prospero Covar, "Pilipinolohiya", in *Pilipinolohiya*, 1989: CSSP, U.P. Diliman, typescript, p. 1. Also in Prospero Covar, *Larangan*, Op.cit., p. 27. <The new terminology 'Pilipinolohiya' is consist of two words: first is Pilipino, and second is lohiya --- Filipinized Latin word, logos, which pertains to systematic study. Pilipino could pertain to the people of the nation Philippines, or to a member of the Filipino race; or it could pertain to our national language, Pilipino --- before it was replaced with Filipino through the 1986/87 constitution. In this regard, Pilipinolohiya refers to the systematic study of (1) Filipino psyche, (2) Filipino culture and society. The language and the various artistic fields, including music, painting, sculpture, dance, architecture, theater, literature, film, philosophy, even religion are conceptualized as portions of culture. In general, all of the following: mind, culture, and society are studied, in order to stress the Filipino-ness of every area/ field. All of these mentioned areas/fields are created and shaped by Filipinos.>

⁷⁰⁸ Accordingly, Covar's view on the method of pilipinolohiya is: "May paala-ala sa sayantipikong lapit na ang metodo ay dapat angkop at akma sa datos. Samakatuwid, ang datos ay siyang nagdidikta ng metodo, hindi ang metodo ang naghahanap ng datos; hindi ang datos and kasangkapan ng metodo. Dapat tayo'y maging malikhain sa pag-imbento ng metodo sa Pilipinolohiya gaya ngeskala ng pananaliksik nina Enriquez at Santiago at yaong aking binuong tambalang lapit." *Ibid.*, p.30.

⁷⁰⁹ Covar explained, "Ang Pilipinolohiya na may katutubong kamulatan at kamalayan ay nakaugat sa pananaw ng mga F/Pilipino upang makabuo ng pambansang kabihasnana at hindi lamang upang pag-aralan ang mga nangyayari sa F/Pilipino at sa bansa. Ang dalubhasa sa Pilipinolohiya, i.e. Pilipinolohista (Philippinist) ay may pananagutan sa bansang F/Pilipino na hindi masasakyan ng banyaga. Nag-aatubili ako sa pagtanggap na may banyagang mas F/Pilipino pa kaysa sa katutubong F/Pilipino. Ang maka-F/Pilipino o makabayan ay nagtatangkang maging F/Pilipino at umibig sa bayan. Sa tunay na F/Pilipino, ito'y bahagi na ng kanyang paninindigan, ibig sabihin ay nasa dugo at laman." *Ibid.*, p.34.

classes of Covar; but it would only finally become its published form a few years afterwards. In 1993, the idea of agham-tao or agham pantao would be utilized as a disciplinal context, that would support the explanation of the nature of the Filipino personhood --- *pagkataong Pilipino* --- through the utility of folkloric analysis or kaalamang bayang dalumat.⁷¹⁰ Like what was already explained and written in many essays, monographs, and books of the times, Covar, in this professorial lecture, was convinced that the pagkataong Pilipino is composed of loob and labas⁷¹¹; but he modified this even further and explained, that it is also composed of lalim (depth). He compared the Filipino personhood to the metaphorical figure of a banga (jar), which has all the three: loob (inside), labas (outside), and ilalim (depthness)⁷¹² that is normally filled up. He stated:

Sa makatotohanang pangungusap, sa putik nagbuhat ang banga, sa matalinhagang pangungusap naman, ang tao ay sa putik rin naman nagmula. Ang katawan ng tao ay parang isang banga. Ang banga ay may labas, loob, at ilalim. Gayundin naman ang kaluluwa ng tao. Sisidlan ng banga. Ang laman nito ay kaluluwa. Sa ilalim tumatahan ang kaluluwa, kaniig ang budhi.⁷¹³

For Covar, the Filipino personhood --- figuratively taken --- is normally concretized through the different physical channels of labas, which basically receives its *commands* from loob. And because there is labas and loob, it is only logical that there is lalim. Within the Filipino's lalim, Covar furthered, resides the Filipino psyche (kaluluwa) together with the Filipino conscience (budhi). The duality of labas and loob functions between the said two constituents of lalim as well.⁷¹⁴ Kaluluwa functions as the representation of labas; while budhi, that of loob. In a manner, hence, the Filipino conscience is channelled and represented through and by the Filipino psyche.

⁷¹⁰ Prospero Covar, "Kaalangang Bayang Dalumat ng Pagkataong Pilipino", Lekturang Propesoryal, Marso 3, 1993, Bulwagang Rizal, U.P. Diliman.

⁷¹¹ Covar recognized the contributions of Ileta, Enriquez, Salazar, De Mesa, and Alejo on the research and explanation on the subject of both loob and labas as the figurative analytical representations of the Filipino person and Filipino personhood. In a manner, through his work, Covar was both reiterating and modifying statements made before him; and so, in the process, furthering the already begun discussions --- intellectual discourse --- on the same general theme.

⁷¹² Cf.: Prospero Covar, "Unburdening Philippine Society of Colonialism", Diliman Review, Tomo 34, Blg. 2, 1995. Also in Covar, Larangan...Op.cit, pp. 21-26.

⁷¹³ Covar, "Kaalangang Bayan...Op.cit. Also in Covar, Larangan...Op.cit., p. 9. <Realistically considered, the jar comes from clay; metaphorically considered, man also comes from clay. Man's body is like a jar. A jar has an externality, an internality, and depth. Man's soul is similar. A jar has to be filled up. Its internality is filled with kaluluwa. In its depth habitates kaluluwa, together/ one with budhi.>

⁷¹⁴ Here was how he illustrated his conceptualization of the Filipino personhood through the metaphor of labas, loob and lalim (Ibid., p.10):

Table 4
Tambalang (Axiomary Relationship Among) Labas, Loob, at Lalim

Labas	Loob
Mukha (Face)	Isipan (Mind)
Dibdib (Breast)	Puso (Heart)
Tiyan (Stomach)	Bituka (Large Intestines)
Sikmura (Small Intestines)	Atay (Liver)
Lalim	
Kaluluwa (Soul)	Budhi (Conscience)

This statement is not totally different from those made in the earlier studies on the same general theme. In fact, it could even be said that it was another modification or further clarification of the all-embracing theories already made earlier; but then again, that is actually not its singular significance. Covar's statement is, in a view, remarkable for it further proves that there is an existing intellectual discourse, a discourse which aims to find out more about the Filipino through the utility of the Filipino norms and standards, the Filipino conceptual world, through the Filipino language, the national language of the Philippines. It is a further contribution to the disciplinal area of Pilipinolohiya, the systematic study of the Filipino(s) that aims to define the pambansang kabihasang Pilipino (national Filipino civilization), which, in this manner, is conclusively different from its forerunner, Philippine Studies. Salazar made the difference between these two clear, two years after the start of the graduate school program carrying the same name (Pilipinolohiya) in the U.P.D., C.S.S.P. He explained,

...Pilipinolohiya aims at understanding Pilipinas from within --- i.e., it has a singular focus and a single vantage point, that of the Filipino nationality. Therefore, the disciplines (including disciplinal tools, approaches, methods and ways of posing problems) are only of auxillary importance, however professionally they might (as they must) be applied.

Implicitly, Pilipinolohiya's concern is to report and explain about Pilipinas to Filipinos in their own terms and with a view to strengthening Filipino nationality, to pursuing Filipino national goals and ideals (pambansang adhikain at mithiin). It is in this sense that Pilipinolohiya constitutes the basis for knowing or studying (and understanding) other nationalities and cultures in the world within "areal studies" which the University of the Philippines is just beginning to develop.

In contrast, Philippine Studies is precisely an "areal studies" for the nationalities and cultures studying the Philippines from their own viewpoints (which Pilipinolohiya does not dispute from them but also claim for Pilipinas). In other words, Pilipinas is "the Other" for others but *is not* and *cannot be* for itself! Pilipinolohiya thus studies Pilipinas as the Filipino collective national Self, and endeavor which other nationalities carry out implicitly for themselves, generally with the support of various "areal studies" for the understanding of the world around them....⁷¹⁵

⁷¹⁵ Zeus Salazar, "Philippine Studies and Pilipinolohiya: Past, Present, and Future of Two Huristic Views on the Study of the Philippines", Paper read in the 12th Yearly Conference of the International Association of Historians in Asia (IAHA) in Singapore, 24-28, June 1991; and in the European Conference on Philippine Studies in CASA-University of Amsterdam in Amsterdam, 25, April 1991. Also in Zeus Salazar, *Pilipinas sa Dunia Melayu...Op.cit.*, pp. 313-314. Here is the tabular differences of the two:

Table 5
The Differences Between Pilipinolohiya and Philippine Studies

Pilipinolohiya	Philippine Studies
1. Pilipinas focus of vision	1. Pilipinas an aspect of the peripheral vision of the country or culture doing the "areal studies".

Pilipinolohiya is naturally and unquestionably Filipino, while Philippine Studies could be anything, depending on the nationality and point of view utilized by the researcher, who is studying or taking up the Philippines as his theme. As study programs, the two represents two clearly different points of

<p>2. Interdisciplinarity as a result of focal use of the disciplines and their methods and approaches. Focus on whole (Pilipinas) and problems related to it necessarily leads to an integrating use of all applicable disciplines. Corollary: Acquisition and utilisation of disciplines and methodologies from any and all sources.</p>	<p>2. Multidisciplinarity or pluridisciplinarity. "A chacun son dada et sa discipline," within the purview of the culture to which the researcher belongs. Corollary: Reluctance to look out of and beyond one's accustomed discipline. Holland: cf., Activist and sociological preoccupation with the Philippines in relation to concern with ancient colony "East Indies", recently, some ideological concern; "developmental" preoccupations of various groups. France: Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes (orientalism): concept of "langues-orientales-vivantes" v.s. old orientalism (dead languages). Both are considered non-Western since "Eastern Europe" is already "oriental". Within this, "Malay-Indonesian Studies", ethnological studies stumbling on the Philippines considered as "tapestry of ethnic groups". Germany: - Cologne: Malayologie, recent specific interest in the Philippines - Bonn: practical (language) - Passau: Southeast Asia, with the Philippines and Indonesia as components. On Studies: - Hamburg (orientalism): Austronesian language from time of Dempwolff USSR: Academy of Sciences. Section of Asia (cf. Levinson), model for all of Western Europe.</p>
<p>3. Indigenous methods and approaches sought, appreciated, even preferred. (This results often from awareness --- even certainty --- of the non-applicability and even danger of Western methods, as well as dissatisfaction with them.) In other words, it is the subject matter and specific research objectives which determine (and sometimes forces) the use of invention of different methods and techniques.</p>	<p>3. Western methods, techniques and approaches (all summed to be universal in applicability and generalizability) are de rigueur. Furthermore, they are applied to the Philippines as an area since they supposedly can indifferently be applied to any area. They are in fact applied often to prove or strengthen their universality. Usually, comparatively, for use in Western terms and, of course for understanding in Western contexts and ends.</p>
<p>4. Confirmation and validation of elements of scholarly discourse: the entire Filipino people and within Filipino culture and scholarly tradition.</p>	<p>4. Confirmation and validation of discourse 1) within specific scholarly tradition: cf. Orientalism; "Third World", "developmental studies", "solidarity groups", etc., or "International". Philippine Studies tradition if this exists or is created; 2) Philippine Studies "experts" within one linguistic tradition (cf., in English) or within specific circle of scholars; and 3) Occasional Filipinos of the tradition's or circle's choice.</p>
<p>5. Addressed for Filipinos for their edification and use, to reinforce their nationality, to push them to creative action. Also as basis and point of observation for knowing the rest of the world and other peoples (Filipino areal studies), the results of which benefit the Filipino and (if they so wish and are interested) also other peoples; but, in order to access this special knowledge, they will have to learn P/Filipino and have some real understanding of Filipino culture and reality.</p>	<p>5. Addressed to specific nationalities (Western or some other industrial society, like Japan or the Soviet Union) originating the studies --- in particular, to their respective peoples. Or addressed to some mythical international audience, be this scientific or popular; to Mankind? God? Universal Knowledge? Science with a capital "S"? The Categorical Imperative? Utility or utilization by people of these originating societies. Perhaps their betterment or for international understanding!</p>
<p>6. Responsibility of scholarship: to the Filipino people.</p>	<p>6. Responsibility of scholarship: to the particular scholar's own people or his "colleagues" in the "international fraternity" of Philippine Studies scholars, who validate one another's works.</p>
<p>7. Language: Filipino.</p>	<p>7. Language: Varied (i.e., the languages of the originating nationalities). Predilection for the so-called "international" language of English (where intercultural and crosscultural nuances are lost or subsumed in the uniformity and the generality of an assumed "universal science").</p>
<p>8. Basis in history: in Rizal's idea, at the outset; plus result of following America in Academe; but since 1989, definition and rootedness in Filipino culture and history.</p>	<p>8. European "Philippine area" has common discourse with Pilipinolohiya (Rizal), but clearly defined even in the 19th century. In the case of U.S.: Imperial experience in P.I. and WW II experience of America, similar to European countries with their respective colonies. For Europe: some source also in American "areal studies" concept. P.S. But differences for each country.</p>
<p>9. Pilipinolohiya practitioners tend to see similarities and identities within the Philippine domain and relatively more differences between Philippine domain and outside cultures.</p>	<p>9. Philippine Studies sees more differences within Philippine domain and has a heyday trying to discover similarities outside the Philippine domain (the discourse on "influence"). The most adequate at this are the old and continuing believers in concepts like the "Third World" and (now) "globalization", as well as non-repentant "comparatists" without methods.</p>

views, tendencies, and naturally, intellectual discourses. Pilipinolohiya could corporately embody studies --- irrelevant of disciplinal direction --- on the Philippines, its cultural and historical people, with a pantayong pananaw. On the other hand, Philippine Studies, as both program and studies direction, compendiates studies --- irrelevant as well of the disciplinal direction --- of the traditional, colonial scholarship, which were at first began by the Spaniards in the 16th century, followed by other Europeans during the 19th century, followed by the Americans during the last years of the 19th century till the century afterwards. It was largely written and done in Spanish in the earlier centuries; but became dominantly done in English starting the turn of the century. Philippine Studies were principally made, in order that the colonizers would and could know more about --- for the creation of better (for them, naturally) administrative, colonial order --- the Philippines, and its peoples.

The same scholarship tradition would be continued within the context of the national school system, which was established by the American colonizers on the country. Formal institutional learning resultably became unitary foreign (dominantly American) learning within the Philippine localities. Consequently, the Filipino, institutionally trained professional or intellectual never knew other forms of point of view outside that American point of view of studies they both inherited and learned in schools. It was therefore unavoidable that there would be contrasting opinions, even argumentation, when another point of view, tackling the same subject, would be introduced. This is what happened between Philippine Studies, upon the introduction of Pilipinolohiya, in the huristic sense; as well as what happened between the idea of history upon the introduction of bagong kasaysayan or, to be more chronologically appropriate, upon the introduction of pantayong pananaw. In effect, the picture, that was generated immediately afterwards, was pantayong pananaw in the context of the traditional, colonial historiography.

The practitioners of the latter --- expectedly enough --- put up a good challenge to the former. The years between 1974 till 1992 would not only be witness to the beginning and growth of pantayong pananaw and its bagong kasaysayan within the disciplinal practice of history, it would also be witness to the further practice and new interpretations of *history* within the scholarship tradition set by the idea of historia/history of the colonizers of the archipelago. Local and regional histories, in answer to the stimulus begun by American Philippinists (or to be more exact, by John Larkin in his study on the Pampangans, 1972), would be increasingly researched upon and written about. Most of the historical studies, for one, done in the U.P.D. Department of History were local or regional in nature.⁷¹⁶ Their most important mission was singular: to rechannel the energies of professional historians, in order to avoid the almost eminent concentration to Manila-centric histories and to redirect attention to the other portions of the archipelago, which have its important parts/roles as well in the actual events in national

⁷¹⁶ Please see the various historical studies presented to the Department of History, University of the Philippines Diliman, 1980-1996 in the study's Bibliography (Unpublished Studies and Dissertations).

history. This trend would practically be supported by a network of historians⁷¹⁷ and history-writers from the different parts of the archipelago. As a national organization, they would be pioneers in the holding of yearly conferences, where new studies, researches, and interpretations would be continually presented; while the network itself was being, at the same time, renewed and further enriched. Characteristic to all the products of their exertions was its nationalist tone. History for this generation was seen as an instrument to push forward nationalist sentiments and to patronize (perhaps even stimulate) nationalism for and among its chosen audience, who theoretically should be the Filipino people themselves. Most of the efforts they exerted were done, to know more about the periods of Philippine Revolution, 1896-1898 and of those afterwards. In general, they were the modern, up to date historians of the times, inheritors to the scholarship tradition, begun by the Filipino propagandists of the 19th century, and largely influenced as well by the works and philosophy of the *Filipino-centric* third generation history textbook writers, led by Teodoro Agoncillo and Renato Constantino. They were the applicators of the dependency theory in the disciplinal area of history, the new academic historians, the new generation of the intellectual discourse, embodied and begun through the idea of *historia*; and so, in a way, the new practitioners --- and with regards to the introduction of *pantayong pananaw* and *bagong kasaysayan*, the defenders as well --- of the traditional, colonial historiography.⁷¹⁸ Quite a number of them made their own mark within the espezialized community; and in their particular way, created new pulses/ interests within the community itself.

Samuel Tan, upon his entrance to the academic historians circle of the country, in 1967 --- when his “Sulu Under American Military Rule, 1899-1913” first came out --- practically stimulated the

⁷¹⁷ Included in this network were their English-speaking (and writing!) Philippine Studies experts/colleagues as well. The more prominent --- not to mention influential --- among them were the following: John Larkin (*The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province*, 1972), Marshall MacLennan (*Peasant and Hacendero in Nueva Ecija: The Socio-Economic Origins of a Philippine Commercial Rice-Growing Region*, 1973), William Scott (*The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon*, 1974), David Cruikshank (*A History of Samar Island, the Philippines, 1768-1898*, 1975), James Warren (*Trade, Raid, Slave: The Socio-Economic Patterns of the Sulu Zone, 1770-1898*, 1975), Norman Owen (*Kabikolan in the Nineteenth Century: Socio-Economic Change in the Provincial Philippines*, 1976), and others.

From the 1960's and onwards most of these Philippinists ---especially Larkin and Cruikshank --- were on the opinion that “local histories will supply the necessary building blocks that will someday help in the construction of a substantial edifice for Philippine history.” (John Larkin, “The Place of Local History in Philippine Historiography”, in *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, U.S.A.: September, 1967; and Bruce Cruikshank, “Philippine History: Accomplishments and Practice: 1955-1976”, in Donn Hart (Ed.), *Philippine Studies: History, Sociology, Mass Media, and Bibliography*, Northern Illinois: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1978, p.18.) Quite a number of Filipino historians --- who were somewhat connected to these experts --- took these words as some sort of a cue; and so, consequently, the production of local/regional histories in the Philippines gained number. In fact, it became almost a fad/ trend in Philippine historiography during the following years. Every student of history during those years considered it almost a moral responsibility to write a local history of their home province/ region for it was the best way of giving honor --- with regards to being immortalized in the pages of written history --- to their forefathers.

⁷¹⁸ M. Guerrero explained her view on the reasons and logic behind this phenomen among many of the Filipino historians. According to her, “A conditioning brought about by centuries of colonial subjection have made many historians define Philippine history according to the outside forces that affected Philippine life, society and culture. Thus the tendency to establish periodization and historical watersheds according to what is considered to be an important policy by the metropolitan power or according to constructs in history that is essentially

beginning of an espezialized group of young historians on the closer study and analysis of Mindanao and the Muslim-Filipinos.⁷¹⁹ He is of Tausug-Sama-Chinese descent; and so, as a result, innately included among the pleas in his works was the stress on the importance of the expression of what actually happened in Mindanao history, according to those who came from there and/or in fact, still live there. Tan, like most of the Filipino academicians and intellectuals before him, completed his studies outside the country --- that is, in the United States. He is, in this way, very much a part of the American intellectual discourse on the Philippines. He is part of the discourse embodied in the concept of Philippine Studies as an area studies. And because during those years (when Tan was completing his studies) the number of American Philippinists espezializing on Philippine local histories were continually increasing, it was only rational that their Filipino counterparts --- both in the United States itself and in the Philippines --- would be taking their cues from them, and accordingly, would therefrom be practically doing the same as their's. Tan would not be an exemption, most especially upon his return to active academic life in the Philippines, among these providential Filipino counterparts. His historical philosophy during which was the unmistakable reflection of his noticeable presence in the campaign for the writing of both local and regional histories in the country. He said,

...It is the solemn duty of every tribe, group, sector, region, locality, village, or society to provide the national community with the histories of their own people. In other words, the hope of enriching Philippine national history lies in the hand of every one of us who can write the histories of our own in any vehicle that we may find convenient.⁷²⁰

Local and regional histories, for Tan, must be written for they were foreseen to be the most effective ways, with which the national history could be enriched. Local and regional histories were foreseen to be the histories, which could give the national version of the same, its local color, its local taste; that is, in the same way that colored pictures, for example, make a journal or a magazine more interesting. This was, during those times, quite hard, for most of the members of the professional historians' circles have been only concentrating on the making of national histories. Tan was ready to take on the seemingly hard implied work in the process. He set the basic meanings referred to in the terms; according to him

At the outset, the term "regional history" must be distinguished from two other terms: "local history" and "oral history". By "regional history" is meant that type of historical work which is more or less structured on the basis of geo-political criteria, distinct but not separate from national history, while "local history" refers to that category of historical writing which emphasizes a specific or limited aspect of national life, geographic or otherwise. Thus, "regional history" is, in a sense, a kind of local history...On the other hand, "oral history" is...a kind of history which exists

Western in orientation..." Milagros Guerrero, "Gaps in Philippine Historical Writing", Quezon City: (Typescript).

⁷¹⁹ Two other Filipino historians, for one, would immediately follow suit. They were Reynaldo Clemena Ileta (Maguindanao, 1860-1888: The Career of Datu Uto of Buayan. Data Paper No. 82, Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University, 1971) and Cesar Adib Majul (Muslims in the Philippines, Quezon City: Asian Center, University of the Philippines Press, 1973).

⁷²⁰ Samuel Tan, "The Methodology of Regional History", in *The Journal of History*, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1-2, January-December, 1977, Manila: Philippine National Historical Society, 1978, p. 5.

not in written literature but in oral traditions, narratives, and personal experiences, which are passed on orally from generation to generation. By “oral history” is meant not only the structure of the form of the historical materials, but also, the pseudo-historical nature of the materials themselves. That is, for the materials to be classified as “oral”, they do not have to remain in the unwritten stage...⁷²¹

He would be among the earliest professional Filipino historians, who would tackle both the methodology and practice of the above mentioned, in application, naturally, to the Philippines’ setting. He proposed the application of the interdisciplinary⁷²² and/ or multidisciplinary perspective, which he saw as

...not the minization but the strengthening of historical methodology. That is, the involvement of one or more disciplines in the classification and analysis of historical data enriches historiography. It is not, however, implied that in any historical work all the disciplines have to be integrated. It is rather selective on the basis of the assumption that certain subjects of historical inquiry can best be treated by a number of disciplines rather than by all the disciplines. It is thus the primary work of the historian, national or local, to be able to determine what disciplinary approaches would best serve that interpretation.⁷²³

This was, during those years, quite an innovation, for most of the Filipino historians. It meant that they were being introduced with the newest within the international developments within the larger area of the social sciences; and it meant that they were being granted greater freedom for new interpretations in their work, in their to be written histories. And these, expectedly, were tantalizing stimulus for the target audience, who were the professionally trained Filipino historians in the whole country at that time.⁷²⁴ They would accordingly take steps, as what was already foreseen by Tan and

⁷²¹ Ibid., pp.5-6.

⁷²² The interdisciplinary approach would be something like a trend for many Filipino social scientists starting the late seventies till most especially during the eighties. In fact, during the latter, history would be somewhat trendy for most social scientists. It would be a concern of everyone. Prof. Rene Mendoza, for one, also aired his opinion on the matter in his paper during the 9th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia in Manila in 1983. Like what was already said and discussed by Tan six years beforehand, he would suggest the utility of interdisciplinary approach in the writing of history. His conclusion was “...these issues and the possible consequences of using insights from disciplines other than history, indeed point sorely to the need for an integrative, interdisciplinary approach for historians in treating institutional histories, or movements, or of classes of people. This implies then that the training of the historian needs to go beyond that of history major particularly where the writing of history is to be undertaken from other than the “great men (and women?)” approach that seems to pervade in traditional historical writing.” René Mendoza, “Periodization in Philippine History. Problems in Setting Boundaries in Time and Discipline Or: The Historian as the Ultimate Interdisciplinary Specialist”, Paper read at the 9th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA), 21-25 November, Manila.

⁷²³ Ibid., p. 7. Also in Samuel Tan, “Methodology and Practice of Regional History”, in *Mindanao Journal* Vol. VI, Nos. 2-4, Oct. 1979-June 1980, p. 7.

⁷²⁴ This paper was first read during the First National Conference on Local/Regional History held at the Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro City from September 22-24, 1978, supported and organized by the *Philippine National Historical Society* (PNHS), and co-sponsored by the *National Historical Institute* (NHI) and the University of the Philippines Diliman (UPD). Officially, this conference had the following objectives: 1) to focus attention and promote interest in the field of local/regional historiography as an important tool in the writing of a truly national history for the Filipinos; 2) to provide refresher course on the methodology of local/regional historiography; 3) to provide a forum for discussion/ appreciation of the relatively unknown findings of Filipino specialists/ scholars in the field of local/ regional historiography; and 4) to acquaint researchers and the general public with the resources and activities of specialized departments of some institutions of higher

his colleagues, in the following years. The Philippine intellectual community would consequently be witness to the increasing number of both local and regional histories, in various forms.

This resulting picture was not really surprising; that is, because the target historians, during those years, received both the professional and institutional support they needed for the task at hand. Yearly conferences promoting the said historiographical field was intentionally and regularly held in the various portions of the country.⁷²⁵ Centers and/or organizations of/for local histories became encouraged and supported.⁷²⁶ Academic, and even hobby, historians from different universities and parts around the country regularly saw each other, discussed, even argued with one another in these conferences. Intellectual discourse, which was earlier largely limited to published literature, found, in the process, a further venue; and that was, in end-effect, good for the development of the disciplinary science of history. And because the discourse was done in the English language, it was not too long that the foreign Philippinists⁷²⁷ also made their presence known and participated in this new venue. This was quite an event; because it virtually meant that the intellectual discourse among the intellectuals within the country was getting its further validation from the participation within the same discourse by *colleagues* (Philippinists) from countries outside that of the Philippines, who in their turn were getting validation from the same process. It was almost symbiotic.⁷²⁸ The two groups of social

learning. (Marcelino Foronda, "Introduction", in *The Journal of History* Vol. XXII, Nos. 1-2, Jan-Dec, 1977, Manila: Philippine National Historical Institute, 1978, pp. 3-4.)

⁷²⁵ The Philippine National Historical Society (grounded in 1941) and the Philippine National Institute alternatively took the job of sponsoring and/or holding these yearly conferences in the different portions of the archipelago. They thenceforth became first, largely responsible for the promotion of local/regional histories and second, largely responsible for the networking (and consequently, cooperative efforts) of the historians around the country. As a result, it was in these yearly conferences, where the active and/or participative intellectual discourse among the Filipino historians (sometimes, with foreign Philippinists as well) were held and done.

⁷²⁶ In 1975, for example, the *Cebuano Studies Center* of the University of San Carlos in Cebu was established. It is a special library and research center pertaining to the study of Cebu. "The more immediate responsibility of the center, of course, should be to collect materials from within the area or locality. These materials should be properly accessioned, indexed, filed, and preserved. Finding aids should be prepared to facilitate reference service and retrieval of information. Copyright restrictions must be indicated. Of special importance is the recording of oral traditions: folklore and interviews with both prominent persons as well as average citizens for data on social and cultural life. Because of advances in historiography there will be a growing need for data and materials which for now are not popularly collected: like the bibliographies of ordinary men, records of trade unions and business organizations, and others. A controlling concern in all of these is of course local history and culture...."

The center can perform many services, both in and outside the scope of its functions as a library: it can make available photographic prints and xerox reproductions to clients; conduct language courses and arrange translator and clerical services for scholars; keep a directory of resource persons and carriers of tradition in the area; instill a consciousness in the community for the importance of documents, artifacts and other source materials; and encourage recognition of the people with significant cultural contributions." Resil B. Mojares, "The Cebuano Studies Center", in *The Journal of History*, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1-2, January-December, 1977, Manila: Philippine National Historical Society, 1978, pp. 34-35.

⁷²⁷ Some of the more prominent examples of these Philippinists include: William Henry Scott, Yoshiko Nagano, Ruurdje Laarhoven, and a few others.

⁷²⁸ Just as much as Filipino social scientists were doing to their counterparts abroad, the foreign Philippinists were also reviewing their Filipino colleagues on the archipelago. The American Philippinists became quite actively organized in this regard. A number of publications were made as such. Examples are: John Larkin (Ed.), *Perspectives on Philippine Historiography: A Symposium*, New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies; Donn Hart (Ed.), *Philippine Studies: History, Sociology, Mass Media, and Bibliography*, Illinois: Northern Illinois Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1978; and a few others.

scientists (Filipino historians on the one hand and the foreign Philippinists on the other) were validating each other, and were being given the chance to flex their academic prowess in the exercise. Both were, thenceforth, profiting from their discourse.

More and more Filipinos became engaged with history or, to be more exact, with local history; and this would be unmistakably eminent during the 80's. An increasing number of Filipino *local history experts* would make their names known within the small intellectuals' circles around the country.⁷²⁹ Researches would be intentionally done on towns, provinces, regions, with almost a singular aim that more should be known about these areas for all the efforts earlier were primarily concentrated on Manila and other areas of the island Luzon. The Manila- or Luzon-centered researches must be, once and for all, limited. The Philippines is definitely more than the said; and so, it was only logical that the other areas of the country would be researched, written, and published on. That's the historians' responsibility, not only to his people, but to the universal science itself, which is history. But that's not completely it. Histories should be consciously done, so that it could spread a specific message to the Filipino people. They should be able to stimulate among the people, not only pride as Filipinos but love for the Philippines itself. Histories should be nationalist in tone. Enough has been written about the colonizers --- Spaniards, the Americans, even the Japanese --- in the past literatures about the country. The Filipinos --- the masses --- should feature in the histories; they should be the focus of the works, everybody else should just be mentioned or minimally discussed. Works, henceforth, of Teodoro Agoncillo and Renato Constantino should be good examples; but the disciplinary developments in the United States or other industrialized nations, especially where Philippine Studies were done, of the world should also be taken into consideration, for they could most probably help in making better Philippine histories as well. In a manner, the modern Filipino historian should be pro-Filipino using or in the standards set by foreigners --- by his colleagues in the international academic community, who were concretely taken, the Americans, British, and Australians --- in his historical exertions, in his works.

⁷²⁹ This interest on local history among many professional historians was interestingly commented by Cruz as such: "One or two sour notes however accompanied this recent renaissance of local history-writing by experts and professional historians. Most if not all of them have adopted a paranoid style of (1) assuming an air of martyrdom for the imagined snobbish treatment and insult hurled by national historians to local history and its practitioners, and (2) simultaneously adopting a superior mien and attitude based on the mistaken notion that without local histories there can never be a national history, conveying a one to one correlation between the whole and its parts.

There is no doubt that local history has just emerged as one of the most promising areas of historical inquiry. But to pit local history against national history is simply too much. True that local history can help explain further national events and developments. But it is equally true that some national events cannot find any parallel in local episodes and development.

The emergence of local history as an area of investigation is of course significant since it (1) may probably lead to revision of interpretations in major areas of Philippine history, (2) can be the basis for a broader thesis about national history, (3) may revolutionize methodologies and stimulate conceptual innovations that will revitalize history as a discipline, and (4) focus attention on the "history of the people" or history "from bottom up".

Romeo V. Cruz, "Sources of Local History", *Asian Studies*, Vols. XXII-XXIV, 1984-1986.

The Filipino modern historian saw himself fully equal to these colleagues; in fact, he consider himself really a part of the English-speaking, *international* community in which these colleagues were parts. His work, in this regard, is not just theoretically for the Filipino people, but more importantly, it is a contribution to the intellectual discourse of the abstract international group, he should be part of. The Filipino historian's work is almost considered as the local equivalent, the extention or modification (at the most)⁷³⁰ of his American, British or Australian Philippine Studies experts-colleagues in the Philippines context. It was, therefore, not surprising to see Filipino historians, who thinks and logically works, like his foreign colleagues. His subject are the Filipino people; but his theories and further examples came from the experiences of those outside the Philippines.

But naturally, things did not work out so smoothly as it was originally thought of. Researches and studies of foreign Philippine Studies experts on local histories virtually state that there is no such thing as a singular Filipino people; every region, province, locality, ort, etc. represents a particular, separate, independent culture.⁷³¹ The clear implication in most of these is the statement that there is no unitary Filipino people; there is only a multiplicity and, more importantly, diversity of experiences of various cultures through both spaces and times on the territory, generally known as the Philippine Islands. In revision, in this view, to the regional/local histories done in the last twenty years (roughly, 1970-1990), with the beginning point of considering the said especialized form of histories as building blocks for an ideal national history, through the limited example of his study on Samar history, the American Philippinist Cruikshank stated:

...the raft of regional histories in the last twenty years seem to speak of such different themes, topics, places, and times that it is hard to see how they might fit together except as examples of grander themes, such as the impact of the world economy in the nineteenth century Philippines...This study of Samar suggests that less dramatic and more widespread patterns of

⁷³⁰ Areas in the discipline which were, in one way or the other, already researched, focused, published on by American, British, or Australian colleagues were not touched on anymore. They were automatically considered as already some of the best interpretations. Filipino historians should best be not to wast their times and energies on the same topics. The best that they could do would be either to review the said works, in order to express their *local/native* opinion on the matter; or to modify these works, in order to key in and establish new data within the discourse. The latter, for example, would be done by Resil Mojares in 1981. He reviewed the developments in Philippine Historiography in the years 1971 to 1981. He grounded his choice of period in this way: "My choice of the years 1977-1981 is facilitated by the presence of an excellent review of postwar Philippine historiography until 1976: Cruikshank 1976. The present review does not attempt to cover other activities related to historical research, like publishing, bibliography, and teaching. Neither is it intended to be a full inventory of published or completed work. Omissions, therefore, should be expected and should not be taken, in all cases, as "judgements by silence". For other reviews, see Larkin 1967 and Owen 1974." Resil B. Mojares, "Recent Philippine Historiography: An Evaluative Review", in *The Journal of History*, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-2, January-December, 1982, Manila: Philippine National Historical Society, pp. 178-190.

⁷³¹ These studies include the following: John Larkin, *The Pampangans: Colonial Society in a Philippine Province*, Berkeley: 1972; Robert Bruce Cruikshank, *A History of Samar Island, the Philippines, 1768-1898*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Wisconsin, 1975; James Warren, *Trade, Raid, Slave: The Socio-Economic Patterns of the Sulu Zone, 1770-1898*, Ph.D. Diss, Australian National University, 1975; Norman Owen, *Kabikolan in the Nineteenth Century: Socio-Economic Change in Provincial Philippines*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, 1976; Bruce Leonard Fenner, *Colonial Cebu: An Economic-Social History, 1521-1898*, Ph.D. Diss., Cornell University, 1976; Alfred McCoy, *Ilo-ilo: Factional Conflict in a Colonial Economy, Ilo-ilo Province, Philippines, 1937-1955*, Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1977; and others.

settlement and migration were occurring in the rest of the archipelago, and that such patterns warrant study in their own right and should not be concealed by the unusual development of haciendas, migrant labor, and sugar milling in a few regions of the Islands. It seems evident from Samar's regional history that a relatively isolated area of the archipelago not only had its own history, not only participated in some of the main themes of the history of the archipelago, but also is able to suggest new interpretations and directions of research into the autonomous history of the Philippines.⁷³²

There could, in this regard, be no singular, national Filipino history. That is almost near to impossible, if the citation above would have its actual implications. Researches proved that each province, region, locality is different; and so, there could only be local and/or regional histories, which could less be building blocks for a national history for the Philippines but more as continuations or extensions of world-wide movements and occurrences. In other words, histories of various parts in the country are more applicable as parts and portions, not of a national history but of an ambiguous world history.

This message was, naturally enough, not necessarily palatable for most of the professional Filipino historians. There was generally a mixed reaction among their ranks. The message was virtually against what most of them have been trying to do and promote among the people in the past twenty years.⁷³³ It was against the ground principle of their set movement starting in the seventies; which aimed at the greater promotion of local histories, which should be raw materials for the conceptualized ideal national history of the country. On the other hand, since they speak and utilize the same language --- literally as well as professionally --- as their foreign Philippinists colleagues, they could also find logic and rationality in their new conclusion about and around the said theme above. There were, for most of them, no doubt, that the reasoning and arguments of the Philippinists were sound, almost fool-proof. That is, because, these Philippinists were, after all, utilizing the same theories and methods, that they --- as modern Filipino historians --- were utilizing as well. The new interpretations of the Philippinists make, in this regard, sense. But this realization and acceptance did not particularly help the Filipino historian. The fact is, the new interpretation of his foreign colleague brought him in a critical position. It essentially goes against all the aspects of his nationalist sense, which he basically only intellectually processed through the writings and exertions of foreign social scientists like and

⁷³² Bruce Cruikshank, "Regional History and Historical Perspective: A View From Samar", in *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 18 (1990): 97-117, pp. 115-116.

⁷³³ A leading mover in this promotion, Bauzon, even practically stated that, it is the historian's responsibility --- as a conscience of the nation --- to make local histories, for it is the best way in producing the most applicable materials for the making of an ideal national history. According to him: "That is the most important contribution a historian, being the conscience of the nation, can make: to look into the patterns of a people's reactions to the environment and to social, political, economic, and even cultural developments, and reckon with these to bring them toward a direction that would bring a better life for the people. And towards this, an authentic history is the composite of integrated local histories not just documented from some far-off place but from the locus of where the events and other phenomena occurred and by the people who lived and are living them. Therefore, history becomes not a discipline of cold hard facts put together by academicians from a distance and from stacks of dust-ridden documents, but becomes what it should be: a story of a people with all its drama and color as they happen." Leslie Bauzon, "Historians as Conscience of the Nation", in *The Journal of History*, Vol. XXXIV, Nos. 1-2 Jan-Dec 1989 and Vol. XXXV, Nos. 1-2 Jan-Dec 1990, Quezon City: Philippine National Historical Society, 1991, (pp. 1-4), p. 4.

including the authors of the said new interpretation. He had to, therefore, make some kind of a decision, with regards to his next professional exertions.

The answer he eventually provided though was quite simple, but at the same time almost predictable. Major historiographical developments on the country from the seventies onwards undeniably produced local Philippine experts --- brilliant apprentices of foreign Philippine Studies experts themselves in their own formal institutions of learning. Just as much as their foreign teachers, these local experts exerted great efforts in becoming specialists on Philippine local histories themselves. Most of them, expectedly enough, succeeded. That is, because, the most important aim --- the production of the most ideal national history --- of their exertion was quite heroic; and so, there was no reason at all for procrastination. By the 1990's each province/ region/ locality in the country boasted of at least one local specialist. It would not necessarily be therefore good for anybody, if these idealist local experts would be told that the reason ---especially in relation to the latest conclusions of their former foreign teachers --- for their exertions from the beginning was for nothing. That would almost be near to stating that their professional existence do not have reason. And of course, no man would have the appetite to know nor hear this. On the other hand, they understand the logic of their masters' new conclusions; those new interpretations could not just be put aside. A compromise must be, in this regard, made. They found this compromise in the newly being reinterpreted dependency theory of Latin American social scientists. Filipino social scientists found more and more parallels and similarities between various historical even cultural experiences of the Latin American countries and the Philippines. In their mind, during the process of pondering, what passes for Latin America could only logically be applied to the Philippines as well.

Consequently, this dependency theory should be, as much as possible, cleverly applied in the different fields of the local scenes in the archipelago. That goes, naturally, for history as well; that is, for the practice of history, in general. Local histories as well as national ones should continually be made; but they should clearly exert efforts in explaining the Filipino --- who he was, is, etc. --- or the Other within the guiding dependency theory. Histories, more than ever, should be nationalistic in character; it should purport and express the Filipino and the Philippines as a distinctly singular political body. This direction would already be evident in the 1988 conference of the Philippine National Historical Society. Its declared aim was:

...“In Search of Historical Truth”. It was an apt theme, one which was addressed to every Filipino, because it called upon the people to develop greater historical consciousness, to have greater pride in their nationalistic identity, to participate responsibly in the task of nation-building, and to foster a deeper appreciation for their precious cultural heritage based on the accurate portrayal of their historical background and experiences as members of the Filipino body politic.⁷³⁴

⁷³⁴ Leslie Bauzon, “Foreword”, in Leslie Bauzon (Ed.), *In Search of Historical Truth, Selected Papers on the 9th National Conference on Local and National History*, Quezon City: Philippine National Historical Society and Heritage Publishing House, 1992, viii.

Papers in this collection, consequently, included, among others, “The Formation of the Filipino Nation” (O. Corpuz), “Early American Land Policy in the Philippines” (G. Uy Choco), “Ethnic and Center-Periphery Political-Social Relations in Mindanao” (C. Aguilar), and “The Anatomy of Mindanao Anatomy” (A. Hapas). They were basically reflective of the new directions that the discipline was going; that is, towards the greater application of the dependency theory in the making of nationalist histories of the Philippines. Proven correct and/or incorrect details⁷³⁵ and events, as results of the historians’ major preoccupation (in addition to local history, of course) during the 1980’s, in history were further stressed. As one of the direct effects of Ileta’s Pasyon though, other areas of research and interpretations were becoming more and more popular. The book, after all, presented more avenues for researches and interpretation of the Filipino as the Other; that is, the Filipino, independent of the measures and standards of the traditionally classic but major Western schools of thoughts and existent according to his own terms, norms and values. Much energies would be invested in investigation on the rationalities behind the Filipinos’ actions through time, on his way of thinking, on his mentality. Concretely taken, that meant the explanation of the Filipino as the Other in his own history. Tan made further researches and publications on the Filipino Muslim Identity, even the logic of the Bangsamoro Struggle⁷³⁶ of some of the portion of the same, naturally in contrast to the largely colonized Christian portion of the population. Medina exerted efforts in the clarification of the *tulisan*-phenomenon⁷³⁷ (banditry phenomenon) of the mountain ranges of Cavite, Luzon, in

⁷³⁵ The major details which were proven non-existent (hoax) by the historians were the following: The Ten Datus of Philippine Pre-Spanish History, The Code of Kalantiao, The Story of Princess Urduja. For further example discussions, please refer to Felipe Jocano, “Questions and Challenges in Philippine Prehistory”, William H. Scott, “Kalantiao: The Code that Never Was”, Rosario M. Cortes, “Princess Urduja as a Historical Problem” in *Historical Bulletin* Vol. XXVII-Vol. XXVIII, 1983-1984, Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1991.

⁷³⁶ Samuel Tan, *Decolonization and Filipino Muslim Identity*, Quezon City: U.P. Department of History, 1989; Samuel Tan, *Internationalization of the Bangsamoro Struggle*, Quezon City: U.P. Center for Integrative and Development Studies, U.P. Press, 1993.

⁷³⁷ Medina explained: “The original Tagalog word *tulisan* (from *tulis*, “pointed”, descriptive of the weapon used) is now accepted in major contemporary lowland Christian languages such as Ilocano, Kapampangan, Pangasinan, Bikol, Visaya, Waray, Aklanon, and Hiligaynon. Corollary to the word *tulisan* are *malhechor* and *bandido* which necessitate further clarification. At the turn of the 19th century, *malhechor*, according to the Spanish penal code, was “one who commits transgression of law... whether by habit... (or) one who is accustomed to crime or dedicated to robbery (and) one who forms part of a gang of robbers or vicious men who by their instincts for the offense carries with it desolation and fear.” The legal concept was undoubtedly derived from Book XII, Title XVII of the *Novisima Recopilacion* in which reference was made to “habitual offenders” and “highwaymen”....*Bandido* or *bandolero*, during the 1880’s in Spain, meant “bandit, known thief and highway robber.” Thus, *bandolerismo* was a “kind of crime characterized by a group in state of rebelliousness”... It is in this author’s view that the resettlement of Filipino “under the bells,” making them “little Brown Spaniards,” was vehemently resisted by Filipinos who did not recognize Spanish authority and laws, and therefore, refused to become part of the *reducción*. They fled to the hills and were called *ladrones monteses* (“mountain thieves”), *tulisanes*, *tagá-labás* or *taong-labás* (literally, “outsiders”, i.e., outside of the established *reducción*.” Isagani Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution (1571-1896)*, Quezon City: U.P. College of Social Sciences and Philosophy Publications, 1994, pp.60-61.

Isagani Medina would be known as the local Filipino expert for all the aspects of Cavite local history. He was in the beginning a trained librarian, but his interest in the historical discipline finally brought him to finishing up his formal institutional learning in the latter. He was known to be a scholar of small details; and was jokingly called as a walking encyclopedia of Philippine history in small, academic circles.

contrast to the colonized portion of the flatlands population. The Filipinos' revolutionary nature (in contrast to the Western scientists' passive opinion of the same) through time and contexts were creatively researched and published on.⁷³⁸ Plus, in general, ethnohistory⁷³⁹, with archaeology and cultural anthropology in addition to the oral history approach⁷⁴⁰ as major auxiliary disciplines, would be modifyingly explored, in growing interest, not to mention curiosity, to the different (mostly non-literate) ethno-linguistic communities of the country. Social history, in contrast to the political and economic histories of earlier, would also be more and more popular. And in fact, it is in this regard, that there would be an increasing number of researches and academic exertions on women, not only as a social being (in contrast to the earlier concentration on the men) but also as the representation of the *other* half of the population in a people's history.⁷⁴¹ This is, expectedly enough, a direct effect on the Philippines intellectual circles of the growing interest on the same subject on most of the countries of the English-speaking western hemisphere of the world. This would be such a trend that even research centers would be grounded and conferences and/or symposia would be held, specifically for further exertions in the area.

There wouldn't be much production in the generalized area of national histories. Remarkably enough, modern Filipino historians do not particularly consider themselves competent enough to make the highly academic and/or brilliantly conceptualized national history of the country. The national histories which would be largely utilized from the 70's till the 90's were still those of the third generation history textbook writers, which included those of Agoncillo, Constantino, Dela Costa, and Arcilla. They would be reprinted, in order that they would be used for basic Philippine history knowledge in most of the colleges around the country. Outside these reprints, therefore, there wouldn't be much of revolutionary publication that would shake the whole intellectual foundation they've already built earlier. Samuel Tan would be the only one who would actually write and publish an near exemplar of such in 1997.⁷⁴² Expectedly enough, he had quite a good discussion on the

⁷³⁸ An example of such is: Orlino Ochoa, "Bandoleros", *Outlawed Guerillas of the Philippine-American War, 1903-1907*, Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1995.

⁷³⁹ The pionering works in this area include: Samuel Gaabucayan, "The Pinatubo Aytas and the American Clark Air Base: A Case Study of Socio-Cultural Change in The Journal of History, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-2, 1982, pp. 166-177; Violeta Gonzaga, "From "Tribal Swiddeners" to Peasants and Enterpreneurs: A Study of the Changing Buhid Economy in The Journal of History, Vol. XXXII-XXXIII, 1987-1988, pp. 128-140; Domingo Non, "The Clobal Economy: Its Implications on the T'boli, in The Journal of History, Vol. XXXII-XXXIII, 1987-1988, pp. 188-205; Heidi K. Gloria, "The Writing of the Ethnohistory of the Bagobos" in The Journal of History, Vol. XXXIV-XXV, 1989-1990, pp. 23-28.

⁷⁴⁰ In the espezialized area of local and oral history, this book would be accordingly published: Marcelino Foronda, *Kasaysayan, Studies on Local and Oral History*, Manila: Dela Salle University Press, 1991. It is the compilation of Foronda's researches and conceptualization on the theme through the years of his academic life.

⁷⁴¹ A good example of this research area is: Ma. Luisa Camagay, *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, University Center for Women Studies, 1995.

⁷⁴² Samuel Tan, *A History of the Philippines*, Manila: Manila Studies Association, Inc., Philippine National Historical Society, Inc., 1997. This work belongs to the scholarship tradition started by the third generation history textbook writers; but it is nonetheless comparable to the length and breadth taken up by its forerunners in the past. The author himself explained the reason for this; according to him: "This small volume is more of an approach to the study of Philippine history rather than a classroom text. Consequently, details such as dates,

different cultural minorities of the archipelago therein. The work though --- like its forerunners --- still largely discussed around the greater influence of colonialism on the Philippines.⁷⁴³ This is even more evident on the conclusion of the said; according to Tan,

...Thus the struggle for true independence continued against a new form of colonialism which is called “neo-colonialism” in which the colonized has become the instrument of their own new bondage. The struggle has become even more burdensome and complex because of the failure to strengthen the cultural bonds between the communities and to decolonize the values that have governed their relations. In a word, the bond of national unity is as elusive as the reality of peace.⁷⁴⁴

In this way, with the mentioned published work, not much was actually consciously added to the results of the other history books of the earlier years. It is still a part of the historical discourse embodied in the imported concept of history, which first came to the islands through the Spanish colonizers during the sixteenth century.⁷⁴⁵ At the same time, it is an heir and continuation of the scholarship tradition started by the ilustrados of the 19th century, which experienced its second peak starting the 1960’s till the first years of the 1970’s of the 20th century, during the times of the third generation history textbook writers.

events, persons, et. usually found in standard texts are not as emphasized as concepts and interpretation. The reason is simply to just present my own interpretation of history extracted from lectures delivered in classes and seminars. The encouragement to put the lectures in such a compressed form as this publication came from my students, friends, and associates.” (Ibid., iv.) The strength of the work though lies in its explanations and discussions about some of the biggest Filipino ethno-linguistic groups, including the various groups of Filipino Muslims and the different minority groups of the archipelago. This is not really surprising for Tan aimed “to give the cultural communities, the “Other Filipinos”, a space they deserve in Philippine history. They have lost practically all the wherewithal for social, political, and economic progress to the process of modernization whose erosive impact on traditional rights to resources has resulted in social marginalization.” (Ibid.)

⁷⁴³ Consider its outline: Introduction/ I. Evolution of the Land, 100-2 Million Years/ II. The Cultural Breakthroughs, 250,000 B.C.-200 A.D./ III. Patterns of Ethnicization, 500 B.C.-1280 A.D./ IV. The Rise of Communities, 1280-1663 A.D./ V. Colonialism and Traditions, 1521-1898/ VI. Imperialism and Filipinism, 1898-1946/ VII. Neocolonialism and Nationalism, 1946-1972/ VIII. Democracy on Trial, 1972-1986/ IX. Democracy at Work, 1992-1997/ Conclusion. In a manner, the work still follows the classical tripartite view of Philippine history or the liwanag-dilim-liwanag periodization scheme of the country’s history. For the further explanation of this periodization scheme, see Chapters 5 and 6 of this work.

⁷⁴⁴ Tan, *A History...Op.cit.*, p. 121.

⁷⁴⁵ Consider, for one, R. Cruz’s definition of history, upon his discussion on the various approaches to Philippine historical studies: “Admittedly, history is first and foremost a story and there are all kinds of story: dull, imaginative, and interpretative. At one end of the history spectrum is the chronicle that puts together in a meaningful or meaningless fashion a succession of events, persons, places to be memorized making one believe that history is dry and rote. At the opposite extreme there is the narrative of events causally related with those that happened previously, mixed with timid explanations of situations, circumstances, and influences that modify the behaviour or action of historical personalities. Considering the many varieties of history, most fall not at the above extremes but somewhat between.

With such latitudinal range of variation historians must treat history not as an exclusive account of sequential changes over time, not as a collection of bits and pieces of historical materials without regard to interrelationship (the antiquarian approach), not as a highly schematized model which is all interrelationships and articulations, but as a multifarious subject enjoying highly valued freedom and wide range of areas of performance --- philosophy, the arts, social sciences...This all-embracingness of history makes it a very ambiguous and difficult subject but it has its compensation in intensifying understanding or comprehension of the truth.” Romeo V. Cruz, “Approaches to Historical Studies”, in *Historical Bulletin* Vol. XXVI, Nos. 1-4, January- December, 1982, p. 18.

The actual production though of different versions of *national histories* could be limitedly witnessed in the specialized area of national history *teaching* in and for the elementary schools in the country. As what was discussed in the previous chapters, this area was generally dominated by the second and third generation history textbook writers --- most especially, Alip, Zafra, and Zaide --- from as early as the years after the WWII till the 1970's. Changes in the discipline, including methods and interpretations, during the latter unavoidably affected the specialized practice in the area. This would be already remarked in the "Ibon Teacher's Manual in Philippine History", upon its publication in 1980. Considerably taken, this was almost the exertion to realize --- so that it could be practiced in the teaching of young Filipinos in both the elementary/grade schools and secondary/high schools --- the changes and advances made in the discipline from its more rigid academic form.⁷⁴⁶ The manual suggested a new "evocative and liberating" teaching approach⁷⁴⁷; that is,

The stress is on learning by doing rather than teaching. The teacher becomes a mere facilitator rather than the authority. The learner in his turn becomes a teacher...The teaching- learning process becomes a collective endeavor among teachers of different institutions and among students of different sections of a particular school.⁷⁴⁸

This new approach was specifically designed in order to do away with the so called "textbook method", which on the whole contributed to the perpetuation of the antiquated view that history is just a compendium of cold dates, facts and events; the furtherance of the teacher-centric classroom approach; the delimitation of the students' to a single interpretation of history; and the realization of the government's prevailing thought and social order. This new approach has a particularly different direction. Its commitment is the people; accordingly,

Whether the analysis involves the mere framework or historical data, the new approach takes into consideration the historian's point of view. It does not mean the twisting of facts to conform to a subjective belief or value system but rather the realization that historical facts do not just happen. Facts become historical because we have a system of thought that make them significant. It is necessary to reexamine why we have made them so.⁷⁴⁹

The importance of content analysis as well as the determination of points of view, plus the periodizations utilized in history was discussed and stressed in the book. Furthermore, the subject and object in a historical work was also tackled; and so, in corollary to this, the history of the inarticulate

⁷⁴⁶ Its own editors' words, in description to their exertions in the book, were: "...It is the latest synthesis of our experiences in running seminar-workshops throughout the Philippines these past four years." "Foreword", Ibon Teacher's Manual on Philippine History, Manila: Ibon Seminars and Instructional Program, Ibon Databank Phils., Inc., (1980), 1985.

⁷⁴⁷ For a specialized discussion on the trends of/ in teaching history, please refer to the following: Dalmacio Martin, "The Teaching of History" in *Historical Bulletin*, No. 6, December 1958; Dalmacio Martin, "History in Public School Curriculum" in *Historical Bulletin*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1960; Gloria Martinez-Santos, "The Teaching of History", August 28-29, 1975, Legaspi City, Manila: National Historical Institute, 1975; and Milagros Guerrero, "New Trends in Teaching History", Proceedings and Position Papers during the Third Regional Seminar on History. January 22-23, 1972, Dumaguete City. Published in Manila: National Historical Institute, 1976.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibon Teachers... Op.cit., p. 3.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

(or the history of the people/ masses) was also taken into account.⁷⁵⁰ Clearly implied in the work is the need for the stimulation of both national and nationalist pride among its target audience, meaning the young pupils and students. This would also be the reason, why there were discussions on local as well as cultural histories. A mere political history do not have a place in the classrooms anymore; in its stead, a wholistic approach on the matter was suggested. That is, a history which take into account not only the political, but the economic, the social, and the cultural aspects as well; a history which is multi-disciplinary in methodological approach. One of the first attempts in realizing these principles was Jaime Veneracion's "Agos ng Dugong Kayumanggi (Isang Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas)" in 1987⁷⁵¹. Though it has a Pilipino title, this history textbook is originally written in English. And when one studies its contents, one would see that it aimed at realizing the ideals written and suggested by the teacher's manual above. It was not, expectedly enough, during those years, immediately taken in by the different schools in the country. Many of them continuously utilized the different works of the third generation textbook writers. The whole situation would only be revolutionized after the ratification of the 1986 Philippine Constitution empowering the National Department of Education and Sports (DECS)⁷⁵² which, in turn, started on regularizing or standardizing institutional education around the country, including, in our case, history education. This, though, would be better discussed in the next portions of the study.

There were hardly changes, to get back, within the specialized area of the discipline among the different academic circles in the country. The most important plea was still the production and realization of nationalist people's history of the Philippines, that is, both in the local and the national levels. Nationalist feelings should be stimulated, with the use of different approaches, in the works. In the discussions on the development both of the Filipino nation and the definition of the Filipino identity through times and contexts, that should be foremost. Other things should be secondary. The nationalist Filipino historiography pressingly wanted and wants to pass on the message of nationalism to its target audience; it wants to communicate. Language is considered only secondary to this goal. It is not important if the work would be in English --- which is always the case in the so-called nationalist historiography of the Philippines. For the nationalist historian, the message is more significant.⁷⁵³ He would continue on writing in the same language that he is used to for he is a part of an intellectual discourse started long before him. Whatever movement and point of view, e.g. the

⁷⁵⁰ In consequence, the following essays/articles were included in the work: Ma. Serena Diokno, History for Whom?, Paper read for the 1977 Social Science Conference, U.P. Los Banos; William Henry Scott, History of the Inarticulate, Diliman Review, July-September, 1979.

⁷⁵¹ Jaime Veneracion, *Agos ng Dugong Kayumanggi (Isang Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas)*, Quezon City: Education Forum, 1987. Veneracion is responsible for the conceptualization of *ugpungang pangyayari* (conjuncture), that is, revolutionary events in history which generally changes the trend in a period and make way for the beginning of another. He, in cooperative efforts with Salazar, Covar, and Enriquez, would be one of the leading figures towards the promotion of Filipinization of the greater social sciences in the Philippines.

⁷⁵² This department was the heir to the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports of the Marcos dictatorial era in Philippine history. It has a comparable set of functions as its forerunner.

Pantayong Pananaw, different to his would be therefore considered contrastive and dangerous⁷⁵⁴ not only for the local practice of history in the Philippines but for the ideal, almost abstract, universal practice of the discipline in the world.

The nationalist historians would continue on practicing their scholarship inheritance through the presence of massive perpetuation of pantayong pananaw and bagong kasaysayan within the disciplinal area/ field of history. As a consequence, there was almost a polar positioning of historians; one group continually practice the idea embodied in history, while the other group creatively practice the idea embodied in bagong kasaysayan (or pantayong pananaw in kasaysayan). They both would express their views in all the areas of intellectual discourse. The argumentations, in concrete, revolve around the view on Philippine history and culture; they revolve around both the interpretation as well as expression, but most especially the latter, of the said. The argumentations and debates were so different and so intense, that, in a manner, the whole process could not simply be termed as intellectual discourse anymore. It was two debating sides, actively contrastive and productive, against each other. The issue of perspective (pananaw) became the determining factor of how a participant in the debates became influenced, molded, and/ or impeded in writing history and in making history as well. And so, in a manner, the debates were already in the realm of an actual *Historikerstreit*.⁷⁵⁵ It would usher in the most productive, not to mention creative, times within the development history of the disciplinal area of history of the country.

⁷⁵³ Personal Interview with Ma. Serena Diokno, U.P. Third World Studies Center, University of the Philippines Diliman, April, 1999.

⁷⁵⁴ Cf., Ma. Serena Diokno, "Philippine Nationalist Historiography and the Challenge of New Paradigm", Paper read at the Colloquium on Indigenous Southeast Asian Historiography, 13th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, Tokyo, Japan, 5-9 September 1994.

⁷⁵⁵ This is a very German phenomenon. It is the active argumentation among historians, which aimed at answering the question of how it (the past) actually happened, *wie es wirklich gewesen ist*. These actions or these debates were quite important for, in end-effect, the whole process was being done in order to determine what the past actually means (in terms of how it could be useful) to the present, which could largely influence the future. A *Historikerstreit*, in a manner, could be seen as something which is intentionally done in order to determine or illustrate a usable past (naturally, to both the present and the future). German historians newly made and experienced this during the 80's (1983-1987). Leading names in this event included Hermann Lübbe, Andreas Hillgruber, Hans Mommsen, Michael Stürmer, Ernst Nolte, Christian Meier, Jürgen Habermas, Frank Schirrmacher, Michael Brumlik, Klaus Hildebrand, Günther Gilleßen, Joachim Fest, Bianka Pietrow, Eberhard Jäckel, Jürgen Kocka, Georg Fülberth, Helmut Kohl, Martin Broszat, Joachim Hoffmann, Thomas Nipperdey, Gerd Ueberschär, Johann Wolfgang Brügel, Johann Georg Reißmüller, Heinrich August Winkler, Wolfgang Mommsen, Kurt Pätzold, Ulrike Hörster-Philipps, Joachim Perels, Heinz Galinski, Detlev Claussen, and Walter Grab. This phenomenon is quite interesting and so, we will go back to it later, in application to our study. The following though, in the meantime, are interesting read on the newly occurred German experience: Reinhard Kühnl (Hrsg.), *Streit ums Geschichtsbild. Die "Historiker-Debatte". Dokumentation, Darstellung und Kritik*. Köln: Pahl-Rugentien Verlag, 1987; Charles S. Meier, *Die Gegenwart der Vergangenheit. Geschichte und die nationale Identität der Deutschen*, Frankfurt/ New York: (1988), 1992; Gina Thomas (Ed.), *The Unresolved Past. A Debate in German History. A Conference Sponsored by the Wheatland Foundation*, New York: St. Martin Press, 1990; Jürgen Peter, *Der Historikerstreit und die Suche nach einer nationalen Identität der achtziger Jahre*, Frankfurt Am Main: Peter Lang, 1995.

B. The New Philippine History: Bagong Kasaysayan

The years between the introduction of pantayong pananaw (1974) and 1992 --- through the Historikerstreit --- would eventually usher in towards the development of the new history, bagong kasaysayan, and in a sense, the development of an undeniably Filipino historiography. These years virtually became its actual operative start; as it was both pioneered and supported by students and professors of history in the U.P.D. during which. It should, however, be mentioned that, though noticeable in number, U.P.D. was not the only institution, where this transformation within the scientific discourse would be found. Scholarship based on the written Pilipino became, on the whole, during the same years, quite enriched. In the realization of the government's campaign program for a bilingual (English and Pilipino) education⁷⁵⁶, more and more studies and researches --- most especially those presented to formal institutions of learning --- were done and delivered in the national language, Pilipino. The works written in Anglo-English were, expectedly enough, more as those written in Pilipino; nonetheless, it would be remarked that a relatively big percentage of the new, upcoming intellectuals tended to consider writing and, more importantly, conceptualizing in Pilipino was not only possible, it was doable. 1974 till 1992, in this regard, represented the beginning of the Filipinization of the scholarship in the Philippines. The national language was, in the process, being reengineered and reconstructed, in order that it would be a fully pledged language for intellectual discourse in the country.

A number of bibliographical analyses and reviews were already done, proving this statement. Enriquez⁷⁵⁷ and Pe-pua⁷⁵⁸ collected, organized and presented works written in Pilipino for the psychology as a disciplinal area. In their mission to collect and present materials for bilingual education in 1988, Gonzales⁷⁵⁹ and Sibayan⁷⁶⁰, on their parts, were able to review 358 theses and 12 dissertations written in Pilipino between the years 1974-1985. Ocampo followed suit with his reviews in the social sciences in 1991⁷⁶¹, in the specialized area of historiography in 1992⁷⁶², and in greater

⁷⁵⁶ Corollary to the government's adaptation (campaign and development) of "Filipino" as the national language of the Philippines (1973 Constitution), the National Board of Education passed the bilingual policy --- the utility of both English and Filipino in teaching for all the levels of formal, institutional education on the whole archipelago --- in August 7, 1973. Cf., Orara, *Ang Papel ng U.P...* Op.cit., p. 144.

⁷⁵⁷ Virgilio Enriquez, *Ang Pagsusulat at Paglalathala sa Wikang Filipino sa mga Piling Larangan ng Sikolohiya*, Quezon City: Master's Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1983

⁷⁵⁸ Rogelia Pe-pua, "Intelektwalisasyon at Istandardisasyon ng Wikang Filipino sa Sikolohiya" in Aurora Batnag (Ed.), *Gawad Surian sa Sanaysay Gantimpalang Collantes, 1989-1991*, Manila: *Linangan ng mga Wika sa Pilipinas*, 1991.

⁷⁵⁹ Andrew Gonzalez, "The Intellectualization of Filipino – Agenda for the Twenty First Century", in *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, Quezon City: December, 1988.

⁷⁶⁰ Bonifacio Sibayan, "Terms and Points of Reference in Intellectualization with Particular Reference to Filipino", in *Philippine Journal for Linguistics*, Quezon City: December, 1988.

⁷⁶¹ Nilo Ocampo, "Ang Paglilalang ng Pilipino sa Larangan ng Agham Panlipunan" in Batnag (Ed.), *Gawad Surian...Op.cit.*

⁷⁶² Nilo Ocampo, "Makasaysayang Habi: Historyograpiya sa Filipino sa U.P.", in *U.P. Newsletter*, Quezon City: Agosto, 1992.

scholarship in his study in 1993⁷⁶³. In the last mentioned, he found out that there were, in sum, forty nine dissertations⁷⁶⁴ presented to various universities between 1972-1992. Because of the governmental context of bilingual policy though, most of these doctoral studies were in the areas of teaching (education) and literature; nonetheless, areas of art history (specifically, performing arts and literature), psychology, philosophy and history (especially local and oral histories) would not be missed in the list as well. In general, these studies do not represent a great percentage in the total number of studies made and presented to various institutions during the same years. Still, they represent a clear progress --- in consideration to the fact that scientific studies done in Pilipino virtually started from nothing in the years beforehand. Their presence implies the potential of a national scholarship, based on exertions done and delivered in the nation's declared national language, Pilipino. Ocampo's recommendation, by the end of his study, most especially to those who frequently say that there were never enough sources and references for them to create scientific materials in Pilipino, was for them to take up the challenge of the seemingly hard work, in order to create the materials that would be sources and references in Pilipino⁷⁶⁵ for the other scholars following themselves. Filipinization, after all, should not remain a rhetoric; it should be a philosophy of action within the various disciplinal areas of the greater science.

⁷⁶³ Nilo Ocampo, "Mga Disertasyong NakaFilipino: Tungo sa Pambansang Iskolarship", in *Lagda. Publikasyon ng Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas*, Quezon City: U.P. Diliman, Hulyo, 1993.

⁷⁶⁴ Here is the breakdown of these dissertations, showing both the actual number of dissertations made and the names of the universities where they were made. (Ibid., p. 3.)

Table 6
Hatian sa Mga Institusyon (Quantification of Institutionally Presented Studies)

Unibersidad ng Pilipinas Diliman	25
National Teachers College	5
De La Salle University	4
University of Santo Tomas	3
Angeles University Foundation	2
Centro Escolar University	2
Manuel Luiz Quezon University	2
Baguio Central University	1
Divine Word University	1
Northwestern College, Isabela	1
Pamantasan ng Nueva Caceres, Naga	1
Philippine Normal College	1
University of Pangasinan	1

The following though shows the number of dissertations made, every year, between 1972-1992 (Ibid., p. 4.):

Table 7
Hatian sa Mga Taon (Number of Yearly Presented Studies)

1970 – 1	1985 - 3
1974 – 1	1987 - 2
1979 – 3	1988 - 3
1980 – 3	1989 - 1
1981 – 5	1990 - 13
1982 – 1	1991 - 4
1983 – 2	1992 – 4
1984 – 3	

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

This slow but nonetheless definitive progress in the national scholarship, in terms of studies and researches made, would not be missed in the specialized area of history and historiography as well; that is, specifically in the studies presented to the Department of History of the U.P.D. during the same years mentioned above. In a manner, these studies represent --- for the discipline --- the beginnings of the Bagong Kasaysayan, through the realization of the Pantayong Pananaw in the practice of the science. They were the products of the then students of history; and so, the exertions' products of the upcoming, new generation, young Filipino historians --- the students of the pioneers of the new school of thought embodied by the philosophical concept of pantayong pananaw of 1974, the most important principle behind the new history, bagong kasaysayan. These studies though would only be most noticeable between the years 1981-1992. It was during these years when the studies and researches were formally presented to the U.P.D. as a learning institution, which is capable of granting different levels of educational degrees. And in the process, therefore, it was also during these times that they became documented portions of historical development within the discipline.

Those presented during the years at the beginning were, on the whole, still very reflective of its times and context. Like their English counterparts, they were further exemplars of the propagandists' tripartite perspective of history, they were influenced by Agoncillo's concept of lost history, consequently, they tended to concentrate on the contemporary history, and lastly, they were generally always moved by Constantino's nationalist philosophy as well as style of writing Philippine history. To rephrase, these studies during the beginning could be considerably taken in, to be among the classical political histories of the country; that is, with quite a big difference: they were written in the national language, in Pilipino. For institutionally trained historians during these times, that was almost writing in a foreign language --- a viewpoint which could be, like already discussed in the previous sections of this study, taken, by most of Filipino scholars, to be true, because scholarship in the Philippines have been always proceeded unto through a foreign (in relation to those of the land) language, that is, Spanish and Anglo-English. But other scholars have already done it; and so, for the U.P. student, it was only a matter of doing the challenge, in order to realize a particular goal. In 1981, E. Pastores presented *Ang Burges-Komprador sa Pilipinas, 1898-1941*⁷⁶⁶ (The Capitalist Bourgeoisie of the Philippines, 1898-1941); and within the same year, E. Miranda presented *Ang Alitan nina Quezon at Osmena noong 1930: Bagong Pananaw*⁷⁶⁷ (The Struggle Between Quezon and Osmena in the 1930's: New Perspective). In the following year, N. Ocampo presented *Ang Palawan sa Panahon*

⁷⁶⁶ Elizabeth Pastores, *Ang Burges-Komprador sa Pilipinas: 1898-1941*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1981.

⁷⁶⁷ Evelyn Ansay-Miranda, *Ang Alitan Nina Quezon at Osmena Noong Dekada 1930: Bagong Pananaw*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1981.

*ng Kolonyalismong Espanyol at Republikang Pilipino, 1621-1901*⁷⁶⁸ (Palawan During the Spanish Colonialism and the Philippine Republic, 1621-1901). These three basically pioneered the institutionally-bounded (in relation to the U.P.D.) historical studies done in Pilipino. They were reflective of the intellectuals' ponderings during these times. Colonialism and, its counterpart, nationalism still played great parts in the works. History is still very much taken in, to be a political mechanism for the stimulation of nationalism among its readers, for the stimulation of social change among the people; and so, in a manner, still a modification of its 19th century function for the Filipino ilustrados. Its authors intentions were clearly along the lines of firstly, reinterpretation of the country's political history; secondly, creation of a people's (masses') history; and thirdly, concretization or specification of the so-called masses or people in the country's history. They were not really new; in fact, these intentions were to be expected. They were intentions of liberal (generally, tending to be leftist), socially aware and politically active scholars caught in the times of political suppression and oppression, brought about by the Martial Law of the Marcos Government.

But it would seem that the authors of the works would be discovering something, they were not actually expecting, along the process of the national language utility. The authors were young historians, socially aware and at the same time, academically aware of the latest developments in their discipline as well. That was the reason, why their works were not only nationalist in character, but at the same time, adjusted to the trends of the discipline in the Philippine context. Ocampo's study was the most passing exemplar of this; it was nationalist in tone and like most of its English counterparts of the times, it was an example of a local history. But unlike most of its counterparts, it went beyond an average political local history. Because of the language and the all-embracing approach it utilized, it easily became an actual cultural history, with a tendency to be an ethnohistory. Consider the words of its author, in description of his study,

Ang pulo ng Palawan ay look na inunang sakupin ng mga Kastila. Gayunman, ang lalawigan ito ang pinag-ugatan ng mga Batak, Tagbanua, Paláwan, at Kuyonan, bukod pa sa pagiging tanggulan ng mga Moro ng panahon laban sa mga Muslim, ang mga Kastila ang siyang naunang puspusang nagtangka sa integtrasyon ng lalawigan bagaman sa balangkas na kolonyal. Gayunman, nanatiling nagsasarili ang mga katutubo, nabubuhay sa kanilang pre-Mahometano at pre-Hispanikong batayan...⁷⁶⁹

It would be seen in this quote that, the interest on colonialism and its effects on the locality was clearly there; but the research and its results seemed to somewhat transform the consequential perspective

⁷⁶⁸ Nilo S. Ocampo, *Ang Palawan sa Panahon ng Kolonyalismong Espanyol at Republikang Pilipino, 1621-1901*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1982. This study was later on published as: Nilo Ocampo, *Katutubo, Muslim, Kristiyano: Palawan, 1621-1901*, Kolonya: Bahay Saliksikan ng Kasaysayan, 1985.

⁷⁶⁹ "Abstract", *Ibid.* Also in U.P. Theses and Dissertation Abstracts 1980-1982, Quezon City: U.P. – N.S.T.A. Integrated Research Program "A", 1985, p. 69. <The island of Palawan was first occupied by the Spaniards. It is, however, the home of the Batak, Tagbanua, Paláwan, and Kuyonan; beside being the defense of the Moros --- who earlier pursued to integrate the island according to its polity --- during the Muslims-Spaniards War.

reflected in the presentation of the work. In a manner, the author discovered the actual people in the locality he was studying. While using the political perspective provided by the provincial locality he was looking at, he saw the actual people living there as members of various ethnolinguistic groups, who were somewhat affected by his greater, nation-wide theme of colonialism and nationalism. Consequently, the author landed in a form of ethnohistory; but more than this, he was able to present an ethnohistory in that language known and utilized in all of the archipelago, in Pilipino. He was, in this regard, able to present a history which somehow perpetuate a sense of history (*kamalayang pangkasaysayan*) in the language of the people through the simple act of writing the work in the same language, and so, promote scholarship in Pilipino. He was able to create a *kasaysayang pampook*, a history (kasaysayan) which exerts all its efforts in finding out more how ethnolinguistic groups as singular unitary wholes (as bayan) changed and developed through times and contexts.⁷⁷⁰ The work, in this regard, was quite a breakthrough for the discipline. In a manner, it would set a particular standard example for a history --- or to be more exact, local history --- with pantayong pananaw in the following years; it represented the new history, bagong kasaysayan, for the historians' generation, amongst the author of the work is a part and member of.

His example would be followed a couple of years after upon the presentation of J. Veneracion's dissertation under the Philippine Studies program of the U.P.D. The work is entitled *Pagbabago at Pag-unlad sa Lalawigan ng Bulakan: Isang Panimulang Kasaysayan*⁷⁷¹ (Change and Development in the Province Bulacan: An Introductory History). It embodied, in a manner, a clear improvement, from what was started and presented in the work of Ocampo. The title itself reveals the perspective utilized in the work. It was a clear history of the province, with a clear interest on how the province itself changed and developed through time. Unlike the previous works, it did not place its center of attention --- and its implied research --- on colonialism. The work was, in this regard, presenting a history of the province Bulacan, independent of any resolution nor need to explain itself to a particular public, who only knew and have interest in the place because of its colonial experience. It was presenting a kasaysayan, a history which is significant for itself, for those who have lived and are still living both within the province and in the Philippines as a country itself. The work, though obviously following the greater measures contained in the disciplinal meanings contained in the term local

Nonetheless, the indigents remain independent. They continually live in their pre-Mohammetan and pre-Hispanic existance.>

⁷⁷⁰ Accordingly Salazar --- in explanation why the book did not pay much attention to the detailed development of each ethnolinguistic group in Palawan --- in the introductory remarks he made for Ocampo's work said: "Sapagkat mula nga sa kabuuang pambansa ang pagtanaw ng libro sa mga pangyayari sa Palawan, hindi rin napag-ukulan ng lubos ng pansin ang mga katutubong "grupong etnolinguistik". Hindi "ethnohistory" (etno-kasaysayan) ang balak sulatin ni Propesor Ocampo kundi kasaysayang pampook. Di tulad ng kasaysayang pampook na tumitingin sa mga pangyayari mula sa kasaysayang pambansa, ang etno-kasaysayan ay nakatuon sa mga kabuuang etniko (bayan), kagaya halimbawa ng Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon ni Keesing..." Zeus Salazar, "Paunang Salita" in Ocampo, *Katutubo...Op.cit.*

⁷⁷¹ Jaime Veneracion, *Pagbabago at Pag-unlad sa Lalawigan ng Bulakan: Isang Panimulang Kasaysayan*, Quezon City: Phil. Stud. Ph.D. Dissertation, U.P. Diliman, 1984. The work was published as: Jaime Veneracion, *Kasaysayan ng Bulakan, Kolonya: Bahay-Saliksikan ng Kasaysayan*, 1986.

history like its forerunner, went even beyond the bounds begun by Ocampo through his *kasaysayang pampook*. The analyses done in the work took up not only the perspective of looking at the community from the cultural viewpoint of the ethnolinguistic whole as an *ethnos*, it also took up the perspective of looking at the same from the cultural viewpoint of the Philippines as a political representative embodiment of all the ethnolinguistic groups in the archipelago. For Salazar, Veneracion, in this regard, created and started an example of a *kasaysayang-bayan*. He explained this as:

Ang *kasaysayang etniko per se*, na tatawagin natin ditong “*kasaysayang-bayan*”, ang siyang maiuugnay sa *kasaysayang pampook* at pambansa at dahil dito’y dapat isulat sa wika ng kabuuang pambansa, para sa mga mamamayan nito. Paksa ng *kasaysayang-bayan* ang siyatin ang pinagmulan, pagsulong at kalagayan ng mga grupong etno-linguistiko sa loob ng isang kabuuang pambansa o bansang-etniko.

Sa Pilipino dapat isulat ang *kasaysayang-bayan*, sapagkat kailangang ipakita sa pamamagitan nito ang pagkakaugnay ng kabuuang pambansa at ng mga sangkap nitong kabayanan o grupong etnolinguistiko --- *i.e.*, na isang uri --- katunayan, isang mataas na uri --- ng “kabuuang etniko” o pagkabayan (*ethnos*) ang bansa at ang kakanyahan nito’y nagmumula at nakaugat sa lahat ng mga grupong etnolingguwistikong bumubuo ng Kapilipinuhan. Kaya’t kung tutuusin, may dalawang “lokal” na bahaging-disiplina ang *kasaysayang pambansa* --- ang *kasaysayang pampook* at ang *kasaysayang-bayan*: sa una’y tinitingnan ang lokal na baitang ng *kasaysayan* mula sa ibaba, sa puntodebista ng kultura, ng mga sangkap-pangkalinangan; samantalang sa pangalawa’y nagsisimula ang pagsusuri mula sa itaas, mula sa puntodebista ng mga institusyong pulitikal at pang-administrasyon.⁷⁷²

Much care and attention were taken and given in the work, in order to explain and illustrate its utilized philosophy, method, as well as periodization. Veneracion’s most important aim was to create a history of the common man, a kind of history which is not particularly centering on a person but a history which is about the day to day living of the common man, together with the great heroism and struggle of the Filipinos as a nation and people.⁷⁷³ His experiences while living (methodologically, *pakikisalamuha*) with the people he was writing about, plus the works of Marc Bloch, Max Gluckman, Maurice Godelier, Georges Balandier, Fernand Braudel, E.H. Carr, etc. assisted him in creating his

⁷⁷² Zeus Salazar, “Paunang Salita”, in Veneracion, *Kasaysayan ng Bulakan*...Op.cit. <Ethnic history, per se, would be called from this point onwards as “*kasaysayang-bayan*”. One could innately connect it with local and national history; and for such, it is only fitting to write it in the national language --- that is, because, it is, after all, exactly written for the people. *Kasaysayang bayan* concentrates on the beginning, development, and present status of an ethnolinguistic group, within the context of a national community or within the context of the national ethnicity./ *Kasaysayang-bayan* should be written in Pilipino, for it would thereby show the clear relation between the national community and its elemental components, which are made up by the different ethnolinguistic groups. In fact, it would thereby show that the national community is the high form of communal ethnicity, a national ethnicity --- which is rooted in the totality of all the ethnolinguistic groups, who, in turn, make up the Filipino people. And so, in a manner, there are two “local” subdisciplines within a national history -- a *kasaysayang pampook* (local history), and a *kasaysayang-bayan* (ethnic/ regional/ local history). The former looks, studies, and begins a local history, from below, from the cultural viewpoint, through the various elements/ aspects of culture; while the latter looks, studies, and begins its analysis of the same, from above, from the perspective of the various political and administrative divisions.

⁷⁷³ His exact words were: “Bilang reaksyon sa mga historyador na alipin ng sarili nilang kahambugan, nabuo sa aking isip na gumamit ng metodong angkop sa paglalahad ng mga karanasang pangkaraniwang tao, isang uri ng *kasaysayang hindi nakahilig* sa mga partikular na tao kundi isang pagsasaysay ng pang-araw-araw na buhay kasama na ang pinagmamalaking kabayanihan at pakikibaka...” Veneracion, *Kasaysayan ng*...Op.cit., p. 5.

own version of history, kasaysayang pampook, or for Salazar, kasaysayang-bayan. He conceptualized a relatively composite view on periods and periodization in history; he opined,

Ang pagbabalangkas kung gayon ay isang pag-iisip ng mga elementong maaaring gawing gabay upang mapadali ang paglalahad sa isang paraang matatandaan at mauunawaan. Sa pagbabalangkas na ito, tatlong elemento ang bibigyan ng pansin: 1) pangkalikasan, 2) istruktural, at 3) pangyayari. Mahalagang panlahat na elemento sa tatlong ito upang matawan na bahagi ng nakalipas ang konsepto ng pagbabago at panahon. Ang konsepto ng nakaraan ay nakasalalay sa pagbabago. Katulad din ito ng pagsasabing kung walang pagbabago sa isang bagay, ito ay walang nakaraan. Bilang halimbawa, makikita natin sa isang bansa ng ang mga kaisipang tulad ng kalangitan at kadiyosan, mga konseptong absoluto at panghabang panahon, ay walang nakalipas sapagkat mga bagay na walang pagbabago. Sa kabilang banda, ang konsepto ng pagbabago ay nasusukat sa pamamagitan ng isang tiyak na panahon o piryod. Ang konseptong ito ng panahon ay isang bagay na mga tao lamang marahil ang nakakagagap; ang mga hayop at halaman ay walang kaisipan upang tandaan ang paglakad ng panahon. Kayat ang kasaysayan bilang isang subhetibo o pansariling konsepto ng nakaraan ay isang katangian ng tao.⁷⁷⁴

Periods, for him, are markers of change and development through time; periodization is the act of marking these changes and developments in history, so that it would be better remembered as well as understood. There are three elements in history which could be analyzed so that a historian could create periods in his version of history; they are, nature, structures, and individual, revolutionary events or happenings⁷⁷⁵. The concept itself of the past is based on change; on the other hand, the concept of change could only be measured as portions of a specific time period. This concept of periods is something which could only be made and proceeded unto by man. In this regard, history, furthered Veneracion, as a subjective or self-made concept of the past is clearly a human engagement.

With the same words, the author of the work was going beyond the usual belief --- if it could be actually termed as that --- of most of the times' historias that periodization in history is something which was already done in the past and so, conveniently or unavoidable for the next exertions within the discipline. He was empowering or, at the least, encouraging Filipino historians to create their own periods in history, to actually exert efforts in periodization, according to how they see fit or, to be more scientific, according to how the analyses in their research turned out. This view was quite an advancement both in connection to the greater development within the Filipinization of the social

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 8. <The creation of a framework is, in a manner, a conceptualization of a probable guide, that would particularly make a delivery easier to remember and understand. Three elements should be considered in such a procedure: (1) natural context, (2) structures, and (3) event. The past-concept is principally based on the change-concept. This is the reason, why the saying goes, if a thing does not change, then it follows, that it also do not have a past. Examples of such are those of a nation's concepts of heaven and godliness. They are absolute and timeless concepts; they have no past because they do not change. On the other hand, the change-concept could be measured through a determined time or period. It could, in this regard, be only measured by men. Animals could not measure change; for men alone have the capability conceptualize change's measurement --- that is, time or period. For this reason, history as a personal, subjective concept of the past is characteristic of men alone. >

⁷⁷⁵ Actually, it was in this regard that he conceptualized the disciplinal term *ugpungan* or, roughly translated, conjuncture in history. According to him: "Sapagkat mga partikular na pangyayari ang nagpapabago sa istruktura ng lipunan, masasabing ito ang "ugpungan" o tulay mula sa luma tungo sa bago. Ang mga partikular na pangyayari at tao ang ikultan o "turning point" ng kasaysayan at ang mga ito ay palatandaan ng ang isang piryod ay nagwakas upang magbigay daan sa bago." Ibid., p. 11.

sciences in the country and to the development within the disciplinal area of history as well, or to put it aptly, within the disciplinal development of bagong kasaysayan, upon the application of pantayong pananaw. Auxillary disciplinal methodologies, including ethnology, geography, sociology, were used, in order to realize the aims of the work. Consequently, Veneracion merited the work as an individual, unitary, and independent historical theme⁷⁷⁶, a feat which was contrary to the other local histories done during the same times and context. The latter remained to be works which just feature the local versions of political events, which were already described and discussed in political national histories in the past; they were virtually the local magazines, which were expected and done to provide pictures and color for a national history. Veneracion, in relation to this, pioneered a new form of local history. He made a history which is independent and could stand on its own. He created a history, which could be well comprehended and related unto both by Bulakenos, who live in the locality of his researchal exertions and by all of the Filipinos on the whole archipelago as well. Indeed, he created a kasaysayang-bayan. Unfortunately, this accomplishment would not be given its due immediately after its actual presentation.

Because of revolutionary political events, including the Benigno Aquino Assassination and the consequent Edsa Revolution which toppled the Marcos Dictatorship, in the country, there wouldn't be much production in the historical discipline --- in fact, in almost the whole of social sciences --- during virtually the whole decade of the 80's. Ocampo's and Veneracion's works would only be followed a few years after, in 1989. That is, with F. Gealogo's *Ang Mga Taong-Labas at ang Subersyon ng Kaayusang Amerikano sa Katagalugan, 1902-1907*⁷⁷⁷ (The Taong-Labas and Suversion in the Katagalugan Within the American Order, 1902-1907). This work did not particularly feature innovation in method, most especially in relation to its forerunners, but it was nonetheless grandiose in its expression of the philosophy it utilized and the perspective it has on the disciplinal subject of history. It was one of the early concretization of the echo, sometimes even considered reverberations, created by the publication of Iletto's Pasyon and Revolution. It properly treated history as a discourse;

⁷⁷⁶ The same feat could be attributed to a Master's Degree Thesis presented to the U.P.D. Department of History during the same year. This study was Regulus Tantoco's "Malolos sa Dantaon XX" (Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1984). It was another example of a local history along the tradition started and seen in Ocampo's work a couple of years earlier. The author exerted efforts in proving throughout the work that the area of research, Malolos, has its own history, independent from other historical themes in the Philippines, including that of the nation itself. He opined, "Ang Malolos o alinpamang bayan ay may kasaysayan na hindi kamukha at hindi maihahambing sa iba pang bayan sapagkat nariyang ang pagiging katangi-tangi ng kasaysayan. Ang Malolos at ang kasaysayang taglay nito ay isang katangi-tanging bagay sa Kasaysayan, walang kamukha at namumukod na kakanyahan nito."

Tantoco's work was remarkable in its effective utility of oral history (interviews). He somehow able to collect and document, in the process, many superstitions and traditions, which assisted him quite a lot in illustrating the way of thinking or the mentality of the inhabitants of his subject through times and contexts. In relation to this, Tantoco would be later on be known as an authority in the area of folklore (kaalamang bayan) of the Tagalog Region, most especially in the Bulacan area.

⁷⁷⁷ Francis Gealogo, *Ang Mga Taong-Labas at ang Subersyon ng Kaayusang Amerikano sa Katagalugan, 1902-1907*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, 1989.

while putting most of its philosophical concentration on the three elements of the discipline, namely, man, place, and event. The last though was largely focused on. According to him,

...pangyayari bilang salamin lamang ng paggalaw ng binagong-kahulugan ng aktor-pangkasaysayan. Ang pagbabagong-kahulugan ng aktor-pangkasaysayan ay tumitingin sa mga pangyayari bilang tanda lamang ng paggalaw ng kolektibang kamalayan, kalikasan at istrukturang panlipunan. Ang tatlong aktor-pangkasaysayan na ito'y siyang tunay na nagpapapagalaw sa mga pangyayari. Ang tatlong ito'y siyang maituturing na nakalubog na elemento ng kasaysayan na sa huling banda'y siya talagang nagtatakda ng mga kaganapan.⁷⁷⁸

Event in history are only made through the movement of the collective consciousness, nature, and social structure --- the three *hidden structures* in history, which in end-effect greatly create and affect change and movement in the narrative.⁷⁷⁹ Corollary thenceforth to this philosophical contextual consideration, Gealogo discussed --- like what Ileta did in his work --- his conceptualization of the Filipino mindset, the Filipino mentality during the assigned time period of his work. He considered the average individual --- as member(s) of the masses --- in his version of a people's history. Consequently, he was able to somewhat further explain the phenomenon of social banditry --- as it was written by foreign and colonial historians of the past --- in written history. He was able to further discuss the Filipino as the Other in history. He explained the Filipino Outsider or, to be more appropriate, ang Taong-Labas (as those people who chose to live outside of the created colonial system of the Americans in the Tagalog Region), through the utility of the loob-labas dualism in written Filipino history. At the end of his study, he pointed out that

Sa tingin ko'y lubos na mauunawaan ang loob at labas ng isang lipunan kung hindi lamang pagtingin sa loob ang pagkakaabalahan ng mga manunuri. Sa labas din ng kalakarang panlipuna'y may makikitang silay ng kalayaan --- ang kalayaan sa buhay ng mga taong-labas.⁷⁸⁰

There should be equal attention given to those two figurative portions of society, so that one would have a wholistic view of the collective being studied through times and contexts in history. In a manner, this was a rephrased statement of earlier historians, who exerted efforts in promoting a true people's history, a history of the masses, of the people, a history of those who did not have the chance of holding or being in positions of power --- be it political, economical, nor religious. It was a plea to give as much attention to those people who were not usually mentioned in written documents of history, to the Other in history, to the rightful movers and makers of events in history.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 2. <...an event is merely a reflection of the altered concept's movement of an history-actor. An history-actor's altered concept treats an event as a mere concretization of a movement in a collective mind, nature, or social structure. These three aspects are, in this regard, the three actual history-actors; they cause the actual events in history. They are the considerable hidden elements in history, which, in end-analysis, actually determine the events therein.>

⁷⁷⁹ Gealogo's philosophy was undeniably influenced by Michel Foucault, Emmanuel LeRoi Ladurie, Fernand Braudel, A. Gramsci, Walter Benjamin, not to mention Filipino historians which included Renato Constantino, Reynaldo Ileta, and during these years, Jaime Veneracion.

Gealogo's work embodied the new trend in the historical studies in the following years. Hidden structures as keys in the explanation of many elements in the nation's history became somewhat *en vogue*. In addition to this, there was a need in many history students to explain and discuss the war-like side of the Filipinos through times. It was seen important to specify that the Filipino is not always soft and emotional --- like what most foreigners conceived them to be --- but war-like and/ or struggling as well. This aspect was, in a manner, almost comparable to those of the ilustrados' in the 19th century; but naturally, it was not completely similar. This time, everything was proceeded unto in the language of the land, in Pilipino; and so, the discourse which was being done was happening between Filipinos only. The discourse was being done inside the Pilipino-speaking audience. The utility of concepts such as loob, labas, bayan, even the renewed kasaysayan only proved this. Filipino measures and standards were continually being used throughout the intellectual procedure contained in the actual historical discussions. Consequently, the Filipino world of concepts was being slowly described, illustrated, and in fact, even modified.

The studies presented in the following years would only further prove this. B. Tacata presented *Ang Pagpupunyagi at Pakikibaka ng mga Maranao Pagkatapos ng Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig: Paghahanap ng Sariling Pagkakilanlan*⁷⁸¹ (The Exertions and Struggles of the Maranao After the Second World War: The Search for Self-Identity) in 1991. This was another example of a local history and it featured virtually all of the remarks made on its forerunners. It was a local history with an all-embracing cultural approach; and it featured the war-like side of one of the considered Other (in relation to the Tagalogs or the colonized, who were always the center of discussions) in earlier written history: the Muslim Maranaos, while exerting efforts in explaining the search for identity of the same community through history. Tacata's work, in this regard, embodied the maturing or continually developing perspective of the new breed of Filipino historians, the users of Pantayong Pananaw and the creators of Bagong Kasaysayan, the makers of the new historical discourse. It represented the pulse which would be most noticeable in the following years, in fact, even directly in the year after its presentation, in 1992.

This year earned the most number of formal historical studies written in Pilipino, presented to the U.P.D. It represented a breakthrough for the development of pantayong panaw and bagong kasaysayan in the disciplinary area of history, within a formal institution of learning. Two local histories, two labor histories, one historical criticism, and one historical semiotics were presented. They began the varied directions that the school of thought went to and would still be going in the

⁷⁸⁰ Gealogo, *Ang Mga Taong-Labas...* Op.cit., p. 180. <I think a society's internality and externality would be better understood, if the critic/ researcher does not concentrate on the internality's study alone. A ray of freedom --- the freedom of the outsiders --- could also be found, for one, outside a community. >

⁷⁸¹ Bonifacio Tacata, *Ang Pagpupunyagi at Pakikibaka ng mga Maranao Pagkatapos ng Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig: Paghahanap ng Sariling Pagkakilanlan*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1991.

foreseen future. F.N. Rodriguez presented *Pagbabago ng Larawan: Reducción sa Zamboanga sa Ika-19 na Dantaon*⁷⁸² (Transformation of Picture: Reducción in Zamboanga During the 19th Century) and E. Ramos, *Tayabas, 1571-1907*⁷⁸³ (Tayabas, 1571-1907). Both inherited the scholarship style and considerations utilized and somewhat begun in Ocampo's study of earlier. The interest (divergence from the traditional center) in these studies would be somehow equalized by the thematic tackled in the new version of urban history by the same historians' generation. That is, through the discourse on the urban poor or, to put it appropriately, the history of the labor force as an example of a people's history in an urban context which is Manila --- the traditional center of most of the earlier written history. D. Ambrosio presented *Militanteng Kilusang Manggagawa sa Kamaynilaan: 1972-1982. Paghupa, Pag-ahon, Pag-agos*⁷⁸⁴ (Militant Labor Movement in Metro Manila: 1972-1982. Weakening, Restrengthening, Development); and then, F. Llanes presented the biographical history *Sa Indayog ng Kilusang Paggawa: Mga Hugpungan sa Pagkilos in Bert Olalia, 1917-1983*⁷⁸⁵ (To the Rhythm of the Labor Movement: Conjunctures in Bert Olalia's Actions, 1917-1983). The strength of both of these studies lay in the authors' evident first hand experience in living with and moving with the subjects of their researches. Like Veneracion before them, they both evidently utilized the social investigation approach, so as to have an insider (emic) perspective of their thematics. Ambrosio stressed the importance of man as the key factor for change or movement in history. Man is shaped by his surroundings, by his context --- a context which he himself was created from and he himself created. The history of the labor movement is one of the good examples of this principle; or to rephrase, it is an example of the history of man, who is greatly affected by the context which both sets and limits his existence and development. Ambrosio said,

Ang kasaysayan ng paglakas ng militanteng kilusang manggagawa sa kundisyon ng batas militar ay isang salaysay ng patuloy na pagpupunyagi ng tao na maunawaan ang kanyang kapaligiran, malampasan ang mga limitasyong itinakda nito, at mabigyang kaganapan ang mga matatayog na adhikaing nagbibigay-kabuluhan sa kanyang buhay at pagkatao. Isa itong pagpapatunay na, sa huling pagtutuos at sa kabila ng lahat, sa mga kamay pa rin ng tao nakasalalay ang paghubog ng kanyang kapalaran at kinabukasan.⁷⁸⁶

Still, though context spells a lot in the actual movement within the history of man, it is still man himself, who has the potential to not only affect and rearrange his context, but affect the actual movement of his history as well. The history of the militant labor movement in the Philippines, most

⁷⁸² Felice Noelle Rodriguez, *Pagbabago ng Larawan: Reducción sa Zamboanga sa Ika-19 ng Dantaon*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1992.

⁷⁸³ Elsie Ramos, *Tayabas, 1571-1907*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1992.

⁷⁸⁴ Dante Ambrosio, *Militanteng Kilusang Manggagawa sa Kamaynilaan: 1972-1982. Paghupa, Pag-ahon, Pag-agos*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1992.

⁷⁸⁵ Ferdinand Llanes, *Sa Indayog ng Kilusang Paggawa: Mga Hugpungan sa Pagkilos ni Bert Olalia, 1917-1983*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1992.

⁷⁸⁶ Ambrosio, *Militanteng Kilusan...Op.cit.* <The history of the workers' militant struggle during the Martial Law is the history of the continuous struggle of man to understand his environment, to overcome its set limitations, and to realize his great ideals, which virtually give meaning to his life and humanity. This is a proof, that in end-analysis and inspite of everything, the shape of fate and the look of future are still molded in the hands of men.>

especially during the Marcos Dictatorship, is a good evidence of such. Ambrosio effectively proved this in his work, and at the same time, contributed a lot towards the explanation of the structure and/ or the actual existence of the different militant labor or labor movements, on the whole, in the greater Manila area. In a manner, these were also among the accomplishments of Llanes' work; but instead of exerting efforts like Ambrosio in the explanation of the labor movements as a history of a particular group or sector, he concentrated his efforts in the discussion of the life of one this sector's more important leaders, Bert Olalia. Llanes furthered the quite potentially-rich theoretical considerations on man or, to put it in his words, on the individual, who mediates between the various structures of this world, in all the actions or moves he undertakes; and so, as end-effect of the whole process, makes history. He said,

...Kumikilos ang indibidwal ayon sa mga panuntunang istruktural ng isang "geographic at cosmic environment", sangkot nito ang mga balangkas na ekonomiko-heograpikal, sosyo-pulitikal at kultural-intelektwal na pinamamagitan ng partikular na mga relasyong panlipunan sa isang lugar at panahon...Ngunit ipinapalagay din ng may-akdang ito na ang indibidwal ay hindi isang pasibong elemento sa daigdig na kanyang ginagalawan. Namamagitan ang diyalektikal na ugnayan sa pagitan ng indibidwal at ng mga istruktura ng daigdig na ito.⁷⁸⁷

The work proved that the labor leader, Olalia, during the span of his career towards the time of his killing, was a good example of such an individual. Through it, in this regard, Llanes, like Ambrosio, contributed towards the further development on the dialectic on man as the key element in both of the historical process and historical discipline, most especially in bagong kasaysayan. It concretized the figuratively and/ or ideally illustrated history of the inarticulate or history of the people from earlier, through the articulation and expression of the history of a particular sector among the greater Filipinos, or the history of the Filipino poor and politically, economically, religiously powerless. In the historiographical sense, it helped in the modification of a particular dialectic which, among others, compositely makes up the guiding philosophy of the historical narrative, which consequently therefrom become somewhat illustrative of the historical ideal, foreseen from the beginning.

Unavoidably enough, though this historical ideal of bagong kasaysayan takes in and accept various sources of historical data towards its self-realization, it could still not totally put aside the written or documented sources of historical information. Documents are written accounts of witnesses to particular events in the past; they practically state, in this regard, most of the descriptions and/of facts in an historical narrative. Every historian, hence, knows that they could not be taken for granted. Consequently, it is only fitting that he should spend time and efforts not only on the actual explanation of particular aspects of the written sources of history, but on the general dialectic pertaining to the

⁷⁸⁷ Llanes, Sa Indayog...Op.cit., p. 14. <...The individual takes action in accordance to the structural regulations of a geographic and cosmic environment, which are made up of economico-geographical, socio-political, and kulturo-intellectual aspects, that are intermediated by particular social relations in a particular place and time... This author is, however, convinced, that the individual is merely not a passive element in the world that he is living in. There exist a dialectical relationship between him and his world's various structures.>

same. D. Lapar presented a study to the U.P.D. in 1992 following the said general directive. The title of her work is *Ang Liham ni Fray Gaspar de San Agustin: Isang Mapanuring Pamamatnugot*⁷⁸⁸ (Fray Gaspar de San Agustin's Letter: A Critical Presentation). It is a pioneering work, of its kind, within the greater area of the bagong kasaysayan or its forerunner, pantayong pananaw. It is an exemplar on historical criticism, while practicing all the accepted and innovative methods pertaining to internal and external criticism of the written source of history. In accordance to such, it contextually and textually analyzed an originally Spanish document (the letter of Fray Gaspar de San Agustin on the Filipino Peoples from 1720).⁷⁸⁹ The document itself is an historical discourse. Lapar said,

...Ang dokumento ay kailangang suriin, at kung nakasulat sa wikang banyaga, ay dapat isalin para magamit ng at maging makabuluhan sa historyador sa pagsusulat ng kasaysayan sa sariling wika...Hangga't hindi maisasalin sa sariling wika at mapauunawa sa pananaw at Kaisipang Pilipino, ang dokumentong nasa Kastila at Ingles, bagamat tungkol sa Pilipino, ay walang kabuluhan sa Pilipino...Ang lubos na pag-unawa sa mga batis na Pilipino ay isang mahalagang hakbang tungo sa pagmumulat ng kaisipang Pilipino sa kabuluhan ng kasaysayan...Ang paliwanag at salin sa wikang Pilipino ay may pananaw na Pilipino at ito ay maintindihan at maaari nang magamit ng mga Pilipino. Sa paraang ito, ang dokumentong salin ay nagiging makabuluhan sa mga mambabasa at nakikita nila ang kahalagahan nito para sa mga Pilipino. Ang pagsasalin ng mga dokumentong pangkasaysayan at ang pagsagawa ng pag-eedit nito na may kapantasang Pilipino, para ang mga ito ay maintindihan na at magamit ang siyang sentral na layunin ng pag-aaral na ito.⁷⁹⁰

The document embodies not only a particular viewpoint, it represents a specific world of meanings in itself. The document, before it could be fully useful towards the creation of a particular narrative, should, in this connection, be first critically analyzed. And when it is written in a foreign language, it should be accordingly translated to the language seen fit by the historian; or, in this case, it should be translated to Pilipino. In this process, there is a conscious exertion on the part of the historian to firstly, transfer the document into the Filipinos' world of meanings and secondly, or accordingly, preliminarily interpret the document according to the known measures and standards of the Filipinos. Both the historical and hermeneutical forms of analyses are, in this point, quite handy for the historian. But the efforts, naturally, would be worth it. A full comprehension of the document among its

⁷⁸⁸ Dedina Lapar, *Ang Liham ni Fray Gaspar de San Agustin: Isang Mapanuring Pamamatnugot*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1992.

⁷⁸⁹ Carta de Fr. Gaspar de San Agustin A Un Amigo Suyo En Espana Que Le Pregunta El Natural Igenio de los Indios Naturales de Estas Islas Philipinas, 1720. Copies of the manuscript are in Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, Madrid; E. Navarro Collection, Colegio de Filipinas, Valladolid; Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. Its translated version is published in Emma Blair and James Robertson, Vol. 40...Op.cit and in Gregorio Zaide and Sonia Zaide, *Documentary Sources of Philippine History*, Vol. 5, Manila: National Bookstore, 1991.

⁷⁹⁰ Lapar, *Ang Liham*...Op.cit., pp. 1-53. <...The document has to be analyzed; and if it is written in a foreign language, it has to be translated, so that it would be significant to an historian, writing on his own language... When continually not translated in our own language nor made understood in the Filipino Mind, a Spanish or an English document --- eventhough about the Filipino(s) --- still remains insignificant to the Filipino... The full understanding of Filipino sources is an important step towards the Filipinos' awareness in/to history. A critic and translation in Filipino has a Filipino perspective. It could therefrom be understood and be further used by Filipinos. The translated document becomes thereby significant to readers. Its national worth would be thereby reiterated. In this regard, translation and critic of historical documents have a particular significance in Filipino written scholarship. They transform an earlier foreign document into a comprehensible and utilizable historical material. For exactly these reasons is this study made.>

Filipino audience could then be afterwards expected; and this would, expectedly as well, greatly contribute towards the realization of an unadulterated historical consciousness among the same. The critical analysis, including the translation and eventual publication, of a document to the Pilipino language represents an undoubtable step towards the furtherance and modification of Filipino scholarship. It exemplifies the historiographical, procedural or developmental approach on a good portion of the greater historical discourse, e.g. the written sources of history, of both the pantayong pananaw and bagong kasaysayan. Lapa's study is one of the earlier concretization of the Filipino historians' stimulated interest on the Filipino mindset or, to put it aptly, on the Filipino mentalité as well as on the accordingly realization of the same through the various professional historians' exertions. The presented study of another colleague of her's, B. Abrera, is a further exemplar. Abrera, during the same year, presented *Ang Numismatika ng Anting-anting. Panimulang Paghawan ng Isang Landas Tungo sa Pag-unawa ng Kasaysayan at Kalinangang Pilipino*⁷⁹¹ (The Numismatics of Anting-anting. Preliminary Creation of the Road Towards the Understanding of the Filipino History and Culture). This study is quite an innovation for the school of thought.

Similar to its immediate kind, the study is a further exertion towards the realization of a Filipino people's history through the utility of the latest and/or most creative disciplinal method and the application of the pantayong pananaw. Abrera, like her colleagues, went beyond the earlier stereotypical researchal method of professional historians. In addition to the accustomed archival and bibliographical research, the historian thereby lives with the subject. That is, not only in order to collect oral histories or oral testimonies nor to execute ocular inspections of the subjects' geographical context, but also in order to fully experience the everyday lives of the subjects. This is naturally possible for, after all, one of the most basic consideration of the historian is the fact that he or she is not so different from his or her subject; they are parts and parcels of the same people, the Filipino people. Furthermore, the history which should be created, after the whole procedure was gone into, would be for nobody else, but for themselves; and so, the supposedly standards of the past does not particularly nor necessarily count. Abrera, like her colleagues, did all these; but, in a manner, did more. In order to find out more about the Filipino culture, she chose to research on an atypical --- but at the same time, so usual as well for everyone on the whole archipelago knows about it⁷⁹², in a way or another, but do not dare explaining nor even simply go into it --- characteristical element of the

⁷⁹¹ Ma. Bernadette Lorenzo-Abrera, *Ang Numismatika ng Anting-anting. Panimulang Paghawan ng Landas Tungo sa Pag-unawa ng Kasaysayan at Kalinangang Pilipino*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1992.

⁷⁹² Abrera said: "...Ang konsepto at kahulugan ng anting-anting ay laganap sa Pilipinas. Makikita at mapapatunayan ito sa ating mga wika. Sa pagsusuri ng mga wika ng Pilipinas na may talaan at kahulugan sa Pilipino, Ingles, o Kastila, matatagpuan ang katagang anting-anting o m ga kasingkahulugan nito. Sa kasalukuyang panahon ginagamit ang mismong katagang anting-anting sa wikang Iloko, Bikol, Pampangan, Tagalog, Sambales, Bontok, Hiligaynon, Leyte, Samar, Cebu, Tausug, Maranao, Maguindanao, at Sulu --- ibig sabihin, mula hilaga hanggang timog ng kapuluan." Abrera, *Ang Numismatika...Op.cit.*, p. 1.

same; that is, the Filipino anting-anting⁷⁹³. Abrera designed a particular methodological procedure, so as to accomplish her goal. She explained,

...Sa tradisyunal na kahulugan, ang numismatika ay ang pag-aaral at pagkokolekta ng mga salapi, token, medalya at mga katulad na bagay sa kanilang kontekstong pangkasaysayan... Ang numismatika ng anting-anting ay ang panimulang gawain upang maging sistematiko ang pag-aaral ng anting-anting bilang mga obhetong magagamit sa siyentipikong pag-aaral, higit sa lahat sa istoryograpiya. Dito pumasok ang taksonomiya o pag-uuri ng anting-anting ayon sa anyo. Ang pag-uuri ay hindi lamang gawaing pang-numismatika kundi gawaing pangkasaysayan, bilang pag-uuri ng batis na bahagi ng kritikang panlabas ng dokumento, dahil tinitingnan ito sa pagtitipon at pag-aalaga ng mga batis upang madaling kunin at pag-aralan ng mga mananaliksik.⁷⁹⁴

Through the numismatical procedure, including, of course, taxonomy, the objects --- or the material cultural artifacts --- would be studied and accordingly classified. It is important that the found would be appropriately collected, then diachronically arranged, so that they could be somewhat put in an logical and intelligible system. They would have to, in this sense, go through the external and internal criticism. It is afterwards expected, that the said objects --- anting-anting --- could be treated like a usual informative source of both history and culture, or, at the least, like the average hermeneutical objects for the further researchal exertions for meanings in history and in the other disciplinal areas of the social science.

Abrera's research on the anting-anting eventually led her to more clues pointing and illustrating the Filipino people's cultural being as the focus or major theme of the Filipino people's history. The Filipino value system, which was also the main interest of both the Filipino psychologists and Filipino

⁷⁹³ Before Abrera formally presented her study on the anting-anting, N.Pambid under the academic program of Pilipinolohiya presented a study on the same direction. Pambid is a student of the anthropologist, P.Covar; and she presented her study (Nenita Pambid, *Ang Semiotika ng Anting-anting*, Quezon City: M.A. Thesis, U.P. Diliman, 1989) three years before Abrera's presentation. The two studies were, through the similarities, quite different. Abrera's study utilized historical and historiographical methods in her work; while Pambid tended to ethnological and anthropological methods. And like the titles suggested, Abrera's work was more towards the numismatical description of anting-anting while Pambid's was more towards the semiotical illustration of the same. Here was how, for one, how Pambid described her work: "Inalam ang semiotika ng anting-anting sa pamamagitan ng paghihimay ng iba't ibang aspeto ng kultura ng anting-anting: mula sa teknolohiya o paggawa, at kung saan matatagpuan, klasipikasyon at pag-uuri ng mga anting-anting ayon sa mito ng paglikha ng Infinito Dios na isinapigura at nagkahugis sa anyo ng Retablo ng Paniniwala na makikitang pitak-pitak sa mga simbahang milenaryo, sa mga librito at libro, poster at mga drawing ng Kadeusan. Tinalakay din ang iba't-ibang aspeto ng gamit nito: ang pinaniniwalaang kababalaghang nalilikha, consagracion at pagbubuhay ng anting-anting sa pamamagitan ng oracion upang mapaandar ang potensiya at bisa nito, at pag-aalaga sa pamamagitan pa rin ng panalangin o oracion at matayog na pananalig sa kapangyarihan ng anting-anting." Pambid, "Abstrak", *Semiotika...Op.cit.*

As a remark after her researches, Pambid stated that the anting-anting "bilang sign o pamapahiwatig ay may pahiwatig na kababalaghan. Ang pamamaraan ng pag-uugnay ng sign at kahulugan ay sa pamamagitan ng paggamit ng mga taong nag-aalaga at gumagamit ng anting-anting na nag-aantay ng milagro upang magbago at bumuti ang kanilang kabuhayan." Pambid, *Semiotika...Op.cit.*

⁷⁹⁴ Abrera, *Numismatika...Op.cit.*, p. 10. <...Numismatics, in the traditional sense, is the study and collection of money, token, medals, and other related objects, in their historical context... Anting-anting's numismatics is a preliminary task, so that anting-anting, as objects for scientific inquiry, most especially in historiography, would be systematic. Anting-anting's taxonomy and qualitative analyses come foremost herein. The qualitative analyses thereby is not only a numismatic procedure, it is also an historiographical task. It is the qualification/

anthropologists of the times and context, was somewhat given its historical and historiographical venue through her work. The Filipino mindset, the Filipino world perspective, in connection to his religious consciousness, was given more light. The work, on the whole, contributed a good portion in the academics' greater exertions of the times. More and more clues were given, in order that the Filipino personhood --- pagkataong Pilipino --- as a building block of the Filipino culture --- kalinangang Pilipino --- would be described, discussed, and explained. Historiographically taken, Abrera singularly transformed in her work an average, almost everyday object --- or artifact --- into a disciplinal or scientific source of historical knowledge or, to be more exact, as the source of bagong kasaysayan. The work incorporates one of the first breakthroughs of the school of thought, in its development between 1974 till 1992. It symbolizes the wide horizon that the innovative and hard-working Filipino historian could go, if he or she chose only to do so. And in a manner, it also embodies the industry and passion not only of the young historians of the times, but of all the young social scientists, intent on the Filipinization of their disciplines of the same.

The vigor and energy in published --- written and spoken --- literature spoke of this unmistakable passion, most especially within the specialized area of history and historiography. In fact, between 1974 and 1992 the intellectuals' circles in almost all of the big centers on the archipelago would be fed with various actual accounts, featuring the many developments within the historical discourse. Contrary to what was earlier accepted, the utility of the national language in the discourse opened new realms or, at the least, doors for the intellectual. New angles and interpretations in both history and culture became largely entertained and discussed in country's academics' (in)formal discussion groups, symposia, conferences, and other forms of professional meetings. The U.P.D. was venue to most of these events; and expectedly enough, its hosting of the said started a trend, which would be followed and pulled through by many big universities in the big centers around the country. Generally, professors, students, and enthusiasts of Pilipinolohiya --- to encompass anthropology, psychology, history, Filipino literature, philosophy --- were the energy and people behind these exertions. They represent the liberal and scholarly Filipino academic intellectuals of the times. In the area of history, they are the new historians or, to put it more appropriately, the new students of Filipino history and the new historiography. They would be among the speakers and participants in a national multi-disciplinal and multi-sectoral conference, sponsored by the U.P. Department of History, BAKAS (*Bahay Saliksikan sa Kasaysayan*), and the history-students' organization LIKAS (*Lipunang Pangkasaysayan*), in 1989. It was begun and introduced almost like the average conferences of the times; in fact, this could be read in the introductory greetings of the college dean at the start of the conference. The conference, according to him would be

classification of a source, which, in turn, is actually part of the documents' external analyses. Its collection and protection are looked and studied; so that it would be better utilized and analyzed by a researcher afterwards.>

...forum para sa bukas-isip na pagpapalitan ng mga kuro-kuro at opinyon hinggil sa iba't ibang aspeto ng pag-aaral at pagtuturo sa kasaysayan. Magandang pagkakataon din ang kumperensyang ito para magkaroon ng pag-uugnayan ang mga historyador ng ating pamantasan at bansa at maisaalang-alang nila hindi lamang ang kanilang nagawa kundi pati na rin ang mga dapat pang magawa, kung ano pa ang dapat pag-ukulan ng pansin, kung saan ang patutunguhan ng pangkasaysayang pananaliksik at kung paano mapag-iibayo ng historyador ang kanilang pagtungo sa pagtatayo ng isang maunlad at matatag na pambansang pamayanan na batay sa diwa ng nasyonalismo...⁷⁹⁵

It should be a venue for the historians and history teachers around the country, to express and exchange opinions on the different aspects of studying and teaching history. It is also the best opportunity for historians, history teachers, and history enthusiasts to meet and congregate, with a great expectation, that they could build up a professional network, which could plan or, at the least, discuss on how they could better, develop, and further practice the same profession they are all in or parts of. These sounded quite ideal, almost poetic for they spoke of what everyone in the profession wishes or works on. But these reasons, though veritable, were not necessarily the exact aims of the whole exertion. Salazar, who was one of the most responsible in organizing this meeting, concretely stated the major aims of the procedure in his welcome remarks to the conference delegates; he said,

...Nanggaling kayo sa iba't ibang dako ng Pilipinas upang tayo ay mag-umpugan ng isip hinggil sa kasaysayan at sa pagbabago ng ating pananaw sa kasaysayan. Makikita ninyo sa darating na araw na matagal na ang pangangailangang ito --- na mabago ang ating pananaw sa kasaysayan, na mapalawak at mapalalim ang ating kaisipan hinggil dito. Isa na rito ay ang maipasok ang kabuuan ng Pilipinas sa ating kasaysayan.⁷⁹⁶

Upon interpretation, the conference was made, so as firstly, to review the participants' view regarding history and secondly, or accordingly, to change and reevaluate their view on kasaysayan. The most effective incorporation of all of the parts of the archipelago in the nation's history, which represents the wish of almost every Filipino historian around the archipelago for quite a while now, is one of the expected consequence of the full realization of these exertions. The conference was considerably the first formal congregation of professional historians, with the specific aims of reevaluation of their

⁷⁹⁵ Leslie Bauzon, "Pambungad na Pananalita at Pagtanggap sa mga Delegado", Unang Pambansang Kumperensya sa Historiograpiyang Pilipino, Marso 27- Abril 1, 1989, U.P. Faculty Center Conference Hall, Quezon City, Philippines. Published as a book: Ma. Bernadette Abrera and Dedina Lapar, Paksa, Paraan, at Pananaw sa Kasaysayan. Ulat ng Unang Pambansang Kumperensya sa Historiograpiyang Pilipino, Quezon City: U.P. Departamento ng Kasaysayan, U.P. Lipunang Pangkasaysayan (U.P. LIKAS), Bahay Saliksikan sa Kasaysayan (BAKAS), 1992, p. 2.

<...a forum for the open-minded exchange of viewpoints and opinions on the different aspects of the study and teaching of history. This is also a good venue for the meeting of this university's and the whole country's historians. Hereby would be considered, not only the past exertions, but the foreseen future exertions --- including what should be further researched on, where the historical researchal exertions are heading, and how could an historian contribute towards the making/ building of a national community based on nationalism --- as well.>

⁷⁹⁶ Zeus Salazar, "Pagbati sa mga Delegado", Unang Pambansang Kumperensya sa Historiograpiyang Pilipino... Op.cit., p. 3. <...You all came from different portions of the Philippines, so that we could meet and brain-storm on the concept-kasaysayan and on our changing perspective on the concept-kasaysayan. You would witness in the following days, that this is quite an old need --- that is, to change our view on kasaysayan, so that we could broadly and and more comprehensively view it afterwards. Inclusive to this procedure is, for one, the integration of the whole Philippines in our history. >

disciplinary science and reintroduction of the ancient concept *kasaysayan* --- as the *bagong kasaysayan* -- therein. It was a conscious oral distributive effort or exertion which particularly focus on the dialectics of the discipline and its practice. The various themes, methods, and the perspectives of history of the past and of *kasaysayan*⁷⁹⁷ of the aimed at present and future, both in the narrative and in teaching were fully discussed in the national language, Pilipino. Consequently, after its conceptualization in 1974, *pantayong pananaw* together with *pansilang* and *pangkaming pananaw* of the tripartite view of history found its way to a target audience, which was largely composed of historians, history teachers, and history enthusiasts from the different universities and schools of the archipelago. In a manner, for the pioneers of the conceptualization, this was their pilot exertion of *pagbabalik sa bayan* --- go back to the people --- in the sense, that they propagate the newest developments and the most urgent intellectual projects to their colleagues, who are also their people. Apparently the efforts were resoundingly successful; that is, for by the end of the conference a resolution establishing an historical organization for the propagation of the new historiography⁷⁹⁸ was passed and approved by the whole body. The professional organization which was established therefrom was the *Asosasyon ng mga Dalubhasa at may Hilig sa pag-aaral ng Kasaysayan*, ADHIKA (Association of the Specialists and Enthusiasts on the Historical Science/ Studies).

Adhika, from that time on, became responsible for holding yearly history conferences, which generally worked on the realization of the principles and determinations stated upon its establishment, in different points of the country. The disciplinary area of history was renewably discussed, the importance of the application of the same on the national or nation-wide scale, with *consideration* to the different portions or local areas of the archipelago, as a singular, unitary whole was stressed. In 1991, it launched a sequential yearly conference project in preparation for the celebration of the

⁷⁹⁷ *Kasaysayan*, not only in its country-wide application, was discussed. There were particular discussions on the dialectics and practice of local history (*kasaysayang pampook*) as well. They include: Luis Dery, “*Kasaysayang Lokal ng Bikol at ang Pagsusulat ng Bagong Teksbuk ukol sa Pambansang Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas*” (pp. 107-110); Violeta Lopez-Gonzaga, “*Mga Pamamaraan sa Pag-aaral ng Bagong Kasaysayan: Halimbawa ng Kasaysayang Lokal ng Negros*” (pp. 111-123); and Jaime Veneracion, “*Kasaysayang Pampook: Ilang Paglilinaw*” (pp. 124-131) in Abrera, Paksa...Op.cit.

⁷⁹⁸ “*Resolusyon sa Pagtatayo ng Asosasyong Pangkasaysayan Para sa Pagtataguyod ng Bagong Historiograpiya*”, Pinagtibay Abril 1, 1989 sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, Diliman, Lunsod Quezon, Republika ng Pilipinas, sa okasyon ng Unang Pambansang Kumperensya sa Historyograpiyang Pilipino, U.P. Faculty Center, Marso 27- Abril 1, 1989. The six resolution included the following: “*Yayamang lipas na ang panahon ng tradisyunal na historiograpiya; Yayamang isinusulong sa kasalukuyan ng mga pwera sa pagbabago ang mapagpasyang mga pagbabago kapwa sa kaayusang panlipunan at sa Agham Panlipunan at Pilosopiya, sa pangkalahatan, at sa Historiograpiya, sa partikular; Yayamang kailangang iagapay ang mga pagbabago sa Agham Panlipunan at Pilosopiya at sa Historiograpiya sa kolektibong pagsisikap na kamtin ang lahatang-panig sa panlipunang pagbabago sa Pilipinas; Yayamang kailangang mulat o organisadong isulong ang isang Bagong Historiograpiyang Pilipino na nagtataguyod sa mga adhikaing pangkultura ng buong bayang Pilipinas batay sa mga mithiin ng sambayanang Pilipino na baguhin at paunlarin ang kanilang kalagayan sapul pa ng panahon ng pananakop ng kolonyalismong Espanyol; Yayamang kailangang buklurin ang lahat ng historyador at iba pang mga mag-aaral ng Kasaysayan sa mulat at organisadong pagsulong na ito ng Bagong Historiograpiya nang sa gayon ay maisalin sa kongkretong mga ganansya ang kanilang mga kolektibong pagsisikap; Kung gayon, dapat pagtibayin, tulad ng ngayo’y pinagtibay ng Unang Pambansang Kumperensya sa Historiograpiyang Pilipino na buuin ang Asosasyon ng mga Dalubhasa at may Hilig sa pag-aaral ng Kasaysayan (ADHIKA) para sa pangkalahatang simulain ng inilatag sa resolusyong ito.*” Published in Abrera, Paksa...Op.cit., p. 237.

centennial celebration of the Philippine Revolution. The first conference held in this occasion took up the theme of *Mga Interpretasyon ng Rebolusyong 1896* (Interpretations of the 1896 Revolution). It was, like its forerunner in 1989, held in U.P.D. and attended by a delegation of participants from different parts of the archipelago. The following year, 1992, the conference series was pulled through in the northern portion of the archipelago, in Mariano Marcos State University in Batac, Ilocos Norte. The theme tacked therein was *Katipunan: Isang Pambansang Kilusan* (Katipunan: A National Movement)⁷⁹⁹. It treated the earlier accepted as a Luzon-centered history theme, e.g. *Kataastaasang Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (KKKANB), as a national historical discourse, which holds great potential towards the creation of a national history featuring and stressing the cultural being of the whole Philippines. It was the pioneering conference upon the beginning of the series, sponsored and organized by Adhika, which has the most number of delegates. This was not really surprising for the organizers targeted teachers (grades school, high school, and college teachers) from the different institutions of formal learning around the country as their participants. This was, for the organizers, the most effective way of propagating the latest on the discipline and on the various interpretations concerning the actual practice of the discipline, e.g. the Philippine Revolution, to the Filipino people. That is, by approaching and teaching the teachers, who basically shape or, at the least, influence the historical consciousness of the pupils, students, of the young Filipinos. Naturally expected from the process was the consequent further distribution or publication --- through teaching or holding of echo seminars or conferences in their home localities --- of the newly-gained know-how and interpretations on the parts of the delegates or conference participants. This principle was, naturally enough, sound and rational, at the same time, it gives honor and importance to the considered virtually thankless job of teaching history in the different schools' levels on the archipelago.⁸⁰⁰ And expectedly enough, the organizers' exertions in the process did not go to waste. There were good and positive responses during and after the conference. And so, from that year on, it (parallel to that of

⁷⁹⁹ The proceedings of thus came out as: Ferdinand Llanes (Ed.), *Katipunan. Isang Pambansang Kilusan*, Lunsod Quezon: Asosasyon ng mga Dalubhasa, May-hilig, at Interes sa Kasaysayan, Inc. (ADHIKA), National Committee for Historical Research, and National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), 1994.

The rationale of the whole conference was explained by the editor of the proceedings accordingly: "Isang pambansang kilusan ang Katipunan. Ito ay hindi lamang lumagi sa walong lalawigan pinag-umpisahan nito; sinaklaw nito ang buong kapuluan, may iba't ibang lalim lamang ang pag-uugat o lawag ng paglaganap nito sa iba't ibang pook, tulad ng isinasalarawan ng mga pampook na salaysay sa ikalawang bahagi. Ang Rebolusyon ay hindi lamang paggigiit ng pulitikal na agenda ng sambayanan o ng mga makauri't makapangkat na interes; ito'y pagsasabuhay, higit pa, ng panlipunan at pangkabihasnang mga mithiin ng proyekto. Samakatuwid, ang pagkapambansa ng Katipunan ay nangangahulugang nilayon nito hindi lamang ang KABANSAAN kundi ang KAGINHAWAHANG PAMBAYAN din at ang pagbabalik/ pagpupusisyon ng KATUTUBONG KABIHASNAN sa isang masaklaw na kontra-ehemonyang rebolusyonaryong diskurso at praktika... Ang KABANSAAN ang tradisyunal na paksain sa Rebolusyon. Ngunit ngayon na lamang napapalalim ang kunteksto't kabuuran nito bilang panlipunang kamalayan at pambansang proyekto. Naiuugnay na ito, halimbawa, sa makauring usapin, i.e., pang-elite ito kung naghahangad lamang ng kalayaang pamumunuan at pakikinabangan ng mga nagmamay-aring uri; o pangkaramihan kung ito'y inihuhugpong sa mga panlipunang adhikaing nagluluwal ng KAGINHAWAHANG PAMBAYAN, na sinimulang isateorya ng tambalang Bonifacio Jacinto. Maaaring ito ang batayan ng pag-iiba ng mga pananaw ng mga historyador tungkol sa Rebolusyon..." (Ferdinand Llanes, "Pambungad ng Editor", in Llanes, *Katipunan...Op.cit.*, vi.)

⁸⁰⁰ These principles would be continuously exercised by the Adhika in its series of conferences in the years following 1992 till the culmination of their project in 1998.

the historia-oriented professional historians and history teachers, sponsored by the Philippine National Historical Society, PNHS) virtually became the yearly congregation of history theoreticians and practitioners, in order to discuss and exchange opinions and interpretations on the discipline --- on kasaysayan --- and the various aspects therein.

Quite a wide range of subjects and themes were discussed and tackled in the occasion of these yearly conferences. With the 1896 Philippine Revolution as its all-important theme, participants were able to course the conference procedures, so that the other considered significant espezialized areas of the Filipino culture and history would be groundly researched on or, at the least, given intellectual exertions accordingly. In the almost all-important realization of a bagong kasaysayan, participants of the conferences somewhat cooperatively paved the way towards the deeper, more meaningful analytical interpretation of the revolution; and through it, a better understanding of their own cultural and historical personhood or identity. Outside that of kasaysayan itself, a number of new conceptualization, which were considered significant for the study and analysis of the people's history and culture, were during the occasions given time and attention. And this was, in a view, part of the general careful utility of words and concepts to be used in the narrative or of an exemplar of the aimed at bagong kasaysayan.

These exertions, which were greatly seen in conferences, was somewhat supported by publication. The various conceptualizations regarding both pantayong pananaw and bagong kasaysayan would be accordingly published, more often enough, upon their completion. For they were all written in Pilipino, their publication supported and continuously realized the fruition of Filipino pressed written intellectual tradition and scholarship. Starting 1985, after its introduction in 1974, products of the new historiography would be published. N. Ocampo's local history, with Salazar's introduction, would be published in this year. It was published in Germany⁸⁰¹ through the Bahay Saliksikan ng Kasaysayan (BAKAS). The year following, J. Veneracion's work was published through the same office. Then C.

⁸⁰¹ The book though was not the first publication with a direct relation to the new Filipino historiography which was published in Germany. Two years beforehand, Z. Salazar's edited work was also published there. The work is: Zeus Salazar (Ed.), *The Ethnic Dimension. Papers on Philippine Culture, History, and Psychology*, Cologne: Councelling Center for Filipinos, Caritas Association of the City of Cologne, 1983. Salazar's works there, beside the actual editing, included: "Etnic Psychology and History: The Study of Faith Healing in the Philippines" (pp. 89-106), "A Legacy of the Propaganda: The Tripartite View of Philippine History" (pp. 107-126), and a document translation: "A Filipino Petition to the Kaiser for German Intervention in Favor of the Philippine Revolution" (pp. 131-153).

This work was quite significant for firstly, this was where Salazar explained the concept of "kasaysayan" of the ancient Filipino communities, in contrast to that of "historia" which was started but carefully continued by the propagandistas through their tripartite view of Philippine History; and so, somewhat already prepared the grounds for the introduction of the didactic and principles of the eventual conceptualization and publication of the new Filipino historiography, bagong kasaysayan. At the same time, it was also in the work that he explained the phenomenon of faith healing in the country, with a particular leaning on its part in Filipino indogenous psychology and history.

Alaras' cultural anthropological work⁸⁰² on the millenarian movements in Mt. Banahaw followed in 1988. This work basically put across that the millenarian, sometimes sarcastically termed as "cult", movements in the mountain ranges between the Laguna-Quezon areas, in Luzon, embody the sources of oral information about the ancient belief system, ancient religion of the ancient communities on the archipelago. The study and analyses of these groups, so Salazar in his introduction explained, would -- while concretizing how the singularity of the people as a cultural whole was broken through the colonizers for they represented those who were forced to live in the mountains in order to practice their faith --- lead to the further illustration of the ancient Filipino culture, and so, help towards the actual definition of the holity which composed the Filipino people of today.

A number of significant essays came out in 1989. During this year, Salazar, came out with his conceptual these on pantayong pananaw, "Pantayong Pananaw: Isang Paliwanag"⁸⁰³ (Pantayong Pananaw: An Explanation), and bagong kasaysayan, "Pantayong Pananaw sa Agham Panlipunan: Historiograpiya"⁸⁰⁴ (Pantayong Pananaw in the Social Sciences: Historiography). He reiterated almost the same these in both of his participative exertions, in his paper, during the first national history conference of Adhika during the same year; that is, through his "Ang Historiograpiya ng Tadhana: Isang Malayang Panggunita-Panayam" (Tadhana's Historiography: Open Review and Interview) and "Historiograpiyang Pilipino: Tungo sa Pagbubuo ng Pantayong Pananaw sa Kasaysayan" (Filipino Historiography: Towards the Conceptualization of Pantayong Pananaw in History). And lastly, during the same year, he presented his paper on the ancient priestesses in Filipino history, "Ang Babaylan sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas"⁸⁰⁵ (The Babaylan in Filipino History), during the conference on women's role in history, which was organized and supported by the U.P. Center for Women's Studies.

On the same conceptual thread, his "Ethnic Psychology and History: Reinterpreting Faith Healers"⁸⁰⁶ came out as a part of book of readings for Sikolohiyang Pilipino in the following year, 1990. This was a modified version of the essay-article which was published in 1980 and 1983; that is, "Faith Healing in the Philippines: An Historical Perspective"⁸⁰⁷ and "Ethnic Psychology and History: A Study of

⁸⁰² Consolacion Alaras, Pamathalaan: Ang Pagbubukas sa Tipan ng Mahal na Ina, Kolonya, Alemanya: Bahay-Saliksikan ng Kasaysayan, 1988. Prospero Covar, Reynaldo Ilete, and Zeus Salazar were the scholars who supported the completion and realization of the research exertions of this work and accordingly, its publication afterwards.

⁸⁰³ Zeus Salazar, "Pantayong Pananaw: Isang Paliwanag", Philippine Currents, IV: No. 9, September, 1989.

⁸⁰⁴ Zeus Salazar, "Pantayong Pananaw sa Agham Panlipunan: Historiograpiya", Philippine Currents, IV: Nos. 11-12, November-December, 1989.

⁸⁰⁵ Zeus Salazar, "Ang Babaylan sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas", in Women's Role in Philippine History. Papers and Proceedings of the Conference, 8-9 March 1989, U.P. Diliman: The University Center for Women's Studies, 1989. Also in Women's Role in Philippine History: Selected Essays. Second Edition, U.P. Diliman, Quezon City: The University Center for Women's Studies, 1996.

⁸⁰⁶ Zeus Salazar, "Ethnic Psychology and History: Reinterpreting Faith Healers", in Virgilio Enriquez (Ed.), Indigenous Psychology: A Book of Readings, Quezon City: Akademya ng Sikolohiya, PPRTH, 1990.

⁸⁰⁷ Zeus Salazar, "Faith Healing in the Philippines: An Historical Perspective", Asian Studies XVI, No. 1, April, August, December, 1980.

Faith Healing in the Philippines”⁸⁰⁸. It was through the publication of thence that Salazar became one of the known experts in the study and analyses of faith healing, most especially with the principles of Sikolohiyang Pilipino and history on the background. And though originally written in English, the analytical method used throughout the work was obviously done from the Filipino perspective; and so, from the pantayong pananaw perspective. In the ethnological researchal sense, the emic categories in analysis of the ethno, which was the Philippines, was applied --- with consideration to categories and principles from Sikolohiyang Pilipino --- in the work.

But the mentioned, expectedly enough, were not Salazar’s singular, unitary interest. During the same year, in the occasion of the preparation for the Philippine Revolution’s Centennial Celebration, he came out with “Gawain at Pananaliksik ng mga Samahang Pangkasaysayan sa Lalawigan para sa Sentenaryo ng Rebolusyon”⁸⁰⁹ (Works and Researches of the Provincial History Organizations for the Revolution’s Centennial Celebration). The centennial celebration of the revolution, during these times, was one of the foremost interest of every Filipino historian. Everyone contributed, in their particular ways, towards the successful celebration of the said. In fact, it was the most important project of the pioneers of the new Filipino historiography; that is why, it was the necessary theme of most of the conferences, meetings, or symposia they organized and executed. And so, in a manner, it was the theme of the application or practice of the new Filipino historiography, of bagong kasaysayan. It was an essential portion of the new historiographical trend and development, which would be continuously made in the following years.

In 1991, for one, Salazar came out with a book on the state of the utility of Pilipino in teaching in the U.P.D., with a particular contribution on the Department of History’s actual work on the same⁸¹⁰. And then, his essay- article “Ang Pantayong Pananaw Bilang Diskursong Pangkabihasnan”⁸¹¹ (Pantayong Pananaw as Cultural Discourse) became published as well. The written discourse during the same year was then supported by the publication of J. Veneracion’s “Ang Kasaysayan sa Kasalukuyang Henerasyon”⁸¹² (Kasaysayan for the Today’s Generation), which was, in a manner, a modification and a further interpretation of what was already begun and conceptualized in Salazar’s earlier works, featuring the concept of kasaysayan in contrast to that of historia or history. Like its forerunners, the work is an exemplar on didactic or philosophy behind the considered new Filipino historiography of

⁸⁰⁸ Zeus Salazar, “Ethnic Psychology and History: The Study of Faith Healing in the Philippines, in Salazar (Ed.), *Ethnic Dimension...Op.cit.*

⁸⁰⁹ Zeus Salazar, “Gawain at Pananaliksik ng mga Samahang Pangkasaysayan sa Lalawigan para sa Sentenaryo ng Rebolusyon” in *Diliman Review*, Vol. 38, No. 1, December, 1990.

⁸¹⁰ Zeus Salazar, “Ang Paggamit ng Wikang Pambansa sa Departamento ng Kasaysayan” in Zeus Salazar (Pat.), *Ang P/Filipino sa Agham Panlipunan at Pilosopiya. Ulat ng Unang Kolokyum Ukol sa Paggamit ng Wikang Pilipino: Pagtuturo, Pananaliksik at Pagsasanay*, 9 Pebrero 1989, Manila: Kalikasan Press, 1991.

⁸¹¹ Zeus Salazar, “Ang Pantayong Pananaw Bilang Diskursong Pangkabihasnan” in Bautista, et. al, *Pilipinolohiya: Kasaysayan, Pilosopiya, at Pananaliksik*, Manila: Kalikasan Press, 1991.

⁸¹² Jaime Veneracion, “Ang Kasaysayan sa Kasalukuyang Henerasyon” in *Historical Bulletin Vols. XXVII-XXVIII, 1983-1984*, Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1991.

the times and context. Its actual publication though was quite significant, for it signified the beginning of the actual discussion and discourse on the theory and theory-building on the new historiography; and so, in a way, it signified the start --- for Salazar almost singularly dominated the written discussions of the same beforehand --- of the written discourse on the matter. It signified the beginning of a particular school of thought in writing within the ranks of the times' Filipino historians.

A statement which would be further proven the following year, 1992. That is, because it was during this year that the proceedings of the first national historians' conference in 1989, which eventually borne out ADHIKA, came out as a book. In the process, the conceptualization, the methods, and the perspective of the new historiography, bagong kasaysayan, was cleanly discussed and seen in print. The unsaid, but clear, message from the whole procedure is that, the language Pilipino is an effective and the virtually most appropriate language of intellectual, historical discourse. The written discourse of the new school of thought was somewhat formalized and made available for further discussion, application and practice, or even argumentation. The commencement of the differences of opinions between Filipino historians --- a form of Historikerstreit --- was, in a way, accomplished; and at the same time, the begin of one of the most productive times for history, as an intellectual development in the country, was given way. Differences of perspectives between historians eventually lead to modifications and developments with regards to actual researches on the Filipino psyche or mentality, personhood, culture, and their places in the people's history. Consequently, historical researchal publication would be even more productive in the following years.

And this was not limited to the espezialized area of the discipline. Developments would also be noticed in the publication field of history textbooks. The father and daughter historians, G. Zaide and F. Zaide, came out with *Kasaysayan ng Republika ng Pilipinas. Edisyon Para sa Pamantasan*⁸¹³ (History of the Republic of the Philippines. College Edition.) in 1989. Their work represents the pursuit of one of the more influential third generation history textbook writers (G. Zaide) to practice his learned discipline in the Pilipino language. The philosophy, methods, meanings and interpretations found in the book are, in this regard, largely translations --- from English to Pilipino --- of what were already frequently written and published in the senior author's earlier works. Consider, for one, the work's declared view on history,

Lubos kaming naniniwala na ang isang aklat tungkol sa kasaysayan ay dapat na maging masaklaw, matimbang, nakawiwiling basahin at higit sa lahat, mayaman sa batayan. Masaklaw ito sa paraang dapat na magtaglay ito ng buong kasaysayan ng bansa mula noong panahon ng baranggay hanggang sa kasalukuyan. Ang ating kasaysayan ay isang epiko ng masisigla, matatalino at palakaibigang mga tao na dumanas ng maraming siglo ng iba't ibang kultura, ngunit nanguna upang matamo ang isang naiibang identidad bilang isang bansa.

⁸¹³ Gregorio Zaide and Sonia Zaide, *Kasaysayan ng Republika ng Pilipinas. Edisyon Para sa Pamantasan*, Maynila: National Book Store, Inc., 1989.

Matimbang ito sa paraang ang isang kasaysayan ay dapat maglahad ng pag-unlad ng mga tao sa larangan ng pulitika, ekonomiya, sosyo-kultural, relihiyon at agham. Ang kasaysayan ay tulad ng isang kumikinang na prisma na maraming tapyas, isang magandang tapestri na maraming sinulid at kulay, isang kronolohiko ng mga petsa, pangyayari at mga tauhan sa loob ng isang panahon. Maaaring masailalim ang prosesong ito sa maraming interpretasyon, ngunit sa kabuuan, ang gayong pag-unlad ay dapat na maglundo sa mga katotohanan tungkol sa pakikibaka, adhikain at tagumpay ng mga mamamayan.

Nakawiwili sapagkat ang kasaysayan ay dapat ilarawan sa paraang nakabibighani at sa wikang kawili-wiling basahin.

Mayaman sa batayan sapagkat ang kasaysayan ay dapat masulat batay sa mapagkakatiwalaang pangunahin at pantulong na batayan. Ang dokumentasyon ang buhay ng mapagkakatiwalaang kasaysayan...⁸¹⁴

That is, kasaysayan should be all-embracing, balanced, entertaining, and rich in documentary sources. These were, naturally enough, not so new anymore. Zaide already mentioned these oft in his earlier works. Upon application though, one would read that the entertainment element in the author's philosophy was considered quite important. History, in this view, should foremost be pleasant and entertaining. It should somewhat stimulate inspiration from its readers. It should be the story of development. In effect, the work should not be so different from those written by G. Zaide in the past.⁸¹⁵ That is, with the great exception of its chosen language, which is the official national language of the times, Pilipino. This characteristic element is one of the more noticeable similarities it shares with the new historiography of bagong kasaysayan. The book itself could, in this regard, be taken in

⁸¹⁴ G. Zaide and S. Zaide, "Paunang Salita", *Ibid.*, ix. <We firmly believe that an history book should be broadly-encompassing, fair, enjoyable, and, most importantly, rich in historical data sources. It should be broadly-encompassing, in the sense, that it should discuss the nation's whole history --- from the times of the baranggay up to the present. Our history is an epic about the happy, intelligent, and hospitable people, who experienced a number of centuries with different cultures, but succeeded, nonetheless, in retaining a peculiar identity as a a nation. / It should be fair in a way that it lay down the people's development in the fields of politics, economics, socio-cultural, religion, and science. Kasaysayan is akin to a brilliant prism, with a number of cuts; it is a beautiful tapestry, with many threads and colors; it is a chronology of dates, events, and persons in a particular period. This whole picture could be put in many interpretations; but, on the whole, historical developments should be based on the truth about the people's struggle, ideologies, and triumphs./ It should be enjoyable, for history should be illustrated in an attractive and enjoyable reading language./ It should be rich in data sources, for history should be written based on dependable primary and secondary sources. Documentation is the virtual life of a trustworthy history.>

⁸¹⁵ Consider the outline of the work: 1. Mga Saligang Panheograpiya ng Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas, 2. Ang Pilipinas Bilang Isang Bansang Walang Kaparis sa Daigdig, 3. Simula ng Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas, 4. Pamana ng Asya sa Mga Pilipino, 5. Ang Muling Pagtuklas ng Pilipinas, 6. Ang Pananakop sa Pamamagitan ng Krus at Espada, 7. Ang Sistema ng Pananakop ng Espanya, 8. Ang Hangarin ng Espanya na Magkaroon ng Imperyo sa Asya, 9. Pakikipag-ugnayan sa mga Intsik at Hapones, 10. Ugnayan ng Pilipinas at Mexico, 11. Ang Mga Digmaang Moro, 12. Pananalakay ng mga British sa Pilipinas, 13. Mga Paghihimagsik ng Pilipino Laban sa Pamahalaang Kastila, 14. Kaunlarang Pang-ekonomiya sa Panahon ng Kastila, 15. Pamana ng Espanya sa Mga Pilipino, 16. Ang Pangungulimlim ng Pamumuno ng Espanya, 17. Pagsilang ng Nasyonalismo sa Pilipinas, 18. Ang Kilusang Propaganda at ang Katipunan, 19. Ang Himagsikan ng Pilipinas, 20. Ang Pagdating ng Estados Unidos at ang Wakas ng Pamumuno ng Espanya, 21. Pagpailanlang at Pagbagsak ng Unang Republika ng Pilipinas, 22. Ang Pamumuno ng Amerika at ang Demokratisasyon ng Mamamayang Pilipino, 23. Kaunlarang Pang-kabuhayan sa Ilalim ng Estados Unidos, 24. Ang Pamana ng Amerikano sa mga Pilipino, 25. Ang Komonwelt ng Pilipinas, 26. Ang Pilipinas at ang Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig, 27. Ang Pananakop ng mga Hapones at ang Ikalawang Republika ng Pilipinas, 28. Kalayaan at ang Ikatlong Republika ng Pilipinas, 29. Ang Batas Militar at ang Bagong Lipunan, 30. Mga Pagsilang ng Bagong Republika ng Pilipinas, 31. Ang Pagbagsak ng Diktadura ni Marcos at ang Pagpapanumbalik ng Demokrasya sa Ilalim ng Pamumuno ni Pangulong Aquino. Except for the addition of chapters 29-31, the book is generally not so different from many of Zaide's in the past. Everything was merely translated from English to Pilipino, in order to accordingly fit to the chosen language of the present work.

as the pursuit of the traditional academic historian to go and fit his disciplinal practice to the pulse of the times and context. And this was not really surprising because textbooks for lower levels --- elementary schools and high schools --- are already experiencing changes and transformations. These areas were not, for one, totally dominated by the third generation history textbooks anymore. In accordance, for example, to the government's Secondary Education Development Program (SEDP) through the Instructional Materials Corporation of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports, a new breed of history textbooks were created, published, and accordingly suggested for utility in the national school system. And so, with the mentioned prerequisites, *Araling Panlipunan I. Pagtatatag ng Bansang Pilipino*⁸¹⁶ (Social Science I. Establishment of the Filipino Nation) was published in 1989. It was created to

...tumugon sa pangangailangan ng mga mag-aaral sa unang taon na maunawaan at mapahalagahan ang kasaysayan ng bansa tungo sa pagiging mabuting mamamayan. Upang makamit ang layuning ito, nilinang ang kasaysayan sa pamamagitan ng pamamaraang kronolohikal ayon sa pananaw ng isang Pilipino.⁸¹⁷

Accordingly, in the whole length of the book, the Filipino perspective was religiously kept up. Unlike the earlier textbooks, it did not dwell and give so much attention on the history of Spaniards nor of the Americans on the Philippines. These people were present in the book; but contrary to what was done in the past, they were not the centers of the discussion anymore. The authors obviously exerted great efforts, in order to present a narrative on the Filipino nation, from a Filipino perspective. The book is composed of four big divisions or periods, if one would allow. They are the following:

Unang Yunit: Ang Simula ng Bansang Pilipino
 Kabanata 1. Lupang Hinirang, Kabanata 2. Simula ng Bansang Pilipino, Kabanata 3. Pagsikil sa Kamalayang Pilipino, Kabanata 4. Pagsibol at Pag-unlad ng Nasyonalismo
 Ikalawang Yunit: Tungo sa Pagsasarili
 Kabanata 5. Pagsupil sa Nasyonalismong Pilipino, Kabanata 6. Pagkabalang ng Kalayaan
 Ikatlong Yunit: Sa Panahon ng Pagsasarili
 Kabanata 7. Mga Hamon sa Kasarinlan, Kabanata 8. Rehimeng Awtoritaryan
 Ikaapat na Yunit: Ang Bagong Pilipino
 Kabanata 9. Pagbabagong-Tatag ng Demokrasya, Kabanata 10. Ang Mamamayang Pilipino

The history of the country was seemingly evaluated, analyzed, and accordingly written from the viewpoint of within. And because it was written in Pilipino as well, it could be generally considered that the work is created with a pantayong pananaw and in this regard, made in the premises or agreeable to the standards of the new historiography embodied in bagong kasaysayan. This was, naturally enough, quite new, not only for the students themselves, but for the teachers as well. The authors, as well as the organizers, of the book knew this. It was therefore necessary to provide space

⁸¹⁶ *Araling Panlipunan I. Pagtatatag ng Bansang Pilipino. Unang Taon. Mataas na Paaralan, Maynila: Instructional Materials Corporation, Kagawaran ng Edukasyon, Kultura, at Isports, 1989.*

⁸¹⁷ "Panimula", *Ibid.*, v. <...to meet the needs/ requirements of first year students in understanding and treasuring the nation's kasaysayan, so that they could therefrom be the future ideal citizens. And so, with this in mind, we chronologically designed the nation's kasaysayan, in accordance to the Filipino perspective...>

and room for preparation and manœuvre for the teachers. A teaching manual is thenceforth significant. And so, accordingly enough, one was written and published, specifically with the new textbook.⁸¹⁸ This would assist the teacher in teaching the subject and guide him towards the eventual introduction and discussion of the new perspective --- in contrast to that of earlier --- of history or, to be exact, of kasaysayan, in direct application to that of the Philippines as a historical and political whole. It clearly states what the teacher, for one, should always take into consideration, when teaching the subject,

Ang mga gawain sa mga aralin ay hindi dapat ituon lamang sa paggunita ng mga petsa at pangyayari. Kailangang bigyang-diin ang pagkakaugnay-ugnay ng mga pangyayari at ang mga dahilan at epekto ng mga ito.

Ang mga paraan ng pagbibigay-halaga (evaluation) ay hindi rin dapat ituon lamang sa nasusulat na pagsusulit. Ang pakikilahok ng mga mag-aaral sa talakayan at ang kaasalang ipinakikita nila sa silid-aralan ay dapat bigyang-halaga ng guro.⁸¹⁹

Relationships or interconnections between events and people, and not just memorization, in history should be stressed and made clear to students. Furthermore, participation in class discussions should be stimulated and encouraged; that is, on top of exams or quizzes, as forms of students' evaluation. With these, by the end of the school year, students are expected to,

1. Naipamamalas ang pag-unawa sa batayang kaisipan sa heograpiya, kasaysayan, at agham pampulitika;
2. Naipamamalas ang kritikal na pagsusuri sa mga lokal at pambansang pangyayaring pangkasaysayan at isyung pampulitika;
3. Napahahalagahan ang bahaging ginampanan sa kasaysayan ng mga lokal na bayani at iba pang tauhang pangkasaysayan;
4. Naipamamalas ang pag-unawa at pagpapahalaga sa nasyonalismong Pilipino at sa mga dakilang tao na nagpaunlad ng ganitong kamalayan;
5. Napahahalagahan ang mga kontribusyon ng mga Pilipino sa iba't ibang larangan;
6. Naipamamalas ang makatwirang pagtatanggol sa mga karapatan, matapat na pagganap sa mga pananagutan, at paggalang sa maykapangyarihan;
7. Naipamamalas ang mabuting saloobin at gawaing makatao at maka-Diyos;
8. Naipamamalas ang pagmamahal sa bansang Pilipinas at sa kinakatawan at sinasagisag nito.⁸²⁰

The all-around, mentally-healthy --- most especially under the general theme of history and government --- individual is expected to be developed in the duration of the teaching year. He should be law-abiding, respective of both his own culture and history; plus, he should be able to think on his

⁸¹⁸ Araling Panlipunan I. Pagtatatag ng Bansa Pilipino. Unang Taon. Mataas na Paaralan. Manwal ng Guro, Maynila: Instructional Materials Corporation, Kagawaran ng Edukasyon, Kultura at Sports, 1989.

⁸¹⁹ "Mga Tagubilin sa Paggamit ng Manwal ng Guro", Ibid., p. 1. <Every chapter's activities should not only be directed at memorization of dates and events. The interconnection of events, their contexts, and their effects should also be stressed. / Evaluation procedures should not also be limited to written tests alone. The students' class participation and class behaviour should also be evaluated by the teacher.>

⁸²⁰ "Mga Layunin ng Araling Panlipunan I", Ibid., p. 2. <1. Shown comprehension in the ground basis of geography, history, and political science; 2. Shown critical analytical prowess in the areas of local and national historical events and of political issues; 3. Valued the local heroes' and other history-actors' role in history; 4. Shown comprehension and evaluation on Filipino nationalism and on the great personalities, who pioneered and developed this thinking; 5. Valued the Filipino contributions in different fields and areas; 6. Shown logical defense of innate rights, apt realization of responsibilities, and respect for those in power; 7. Shown good intentions and humanly, as well as godly deeds; 8. Shown love of the Philippine nation and of all those, who/ which represent and symbolizes it.>

own, or execute active mental procedure accordingly. History, in this way, is an instrument, towards the realization of a specific or particular cause; and that is, in general, the development of a thinking, just, and cooperative Filipino citizen. This aim is not necessarily an innovation. It has been in the background since the start of the teaching of history in the nation's schools almost from the start. It is just that, it is only now that it was clearly stated in the teaching manual, with a specification that everything should be done and executed in the or through the national language, Pilipino. And that, represents a forwardly movement in the specialized area of the discipline; that is, most especially in direct application to secondary schools history teaching. It embodies the arrival of the new historiography, bagong kasaysayan, in the lower levels --- where the historical thinking and awareness of the youth are largely shaped and influenced --- of the national school system. It could open doors towards the production of the other possible interpretations or versions of history.

Developments in the discipline are expectedly discriminated in the various areas of its practice. This is a further proof that the discourse is not exclusive to a few people in the discipline. It is open and it encourages everyone to participate, to express their opinion and arguments on the matter of culture and history. That is, because, after all, the theme and the perspective utilized is no other than themselves and theirs respectively. It is the Filipino people themselves who would say what and which is or are significant in their history, for history would be made according to their own measures and standards. It is a people's history, a kasaysayan; and so, the people should be optimally foremost and clearly featured or illustrated in the whole process and its eventual written or oral product. History is not anymore the exclusive concern of the historians. The historian, to be more appropriate, is obliged to go back to the people, to experience and be aware of who his subjects --- on top of what he could get from his sources --- really are. In the terminology of the new historiography, he is somewhat required to proceed with the process of pagbabalik sa bayan. That is because, his subject is, in end-effect, also his target audience and speaking partner; and so, it is but just that he --- while practicing the rigours of his discipline --- engineer his work, so that the requirements of the two would be accordingly and fittingly fulfilled or answered. The time for the new historiography is, in this regard, just ripe and seemingly rightfully punctual.

Chapter 9

The New Philippine History and the Filipino Historiography, 1992-2000

The new Philippine history and historiography, brought about by the conceptualizations and theoretizations of the immediate years earlier, would be noticeably present between the years, 1992 until 2000. The perspective, philosophy, and methods of the said would be written and published; and so, consequently formally submitted to written discourse of the historical discipline, which it belongs to, in the following years. Theories and didactics, relating to their disciplinary profession, became some of the major preoccupations of the innovative and liberal historians of the times and context. Theories and texts within a narrative were undoubtedly tackled as significant related areas within the historiographical practice. A historian, in this regard, could not simply write an historical narrative. Theoretical and philosophical considerations regarding the particular practice of his discipline should be foremost considered, before any move regarding the actual writing of the narrative's text should be executed. Quite a number of publications were made and proceeded unto expectedly in this regard. And because --- as what were already explained in the previous chapters of this study --- the nature of the new historiography is contrary to the convenient or used-to years of scholarship of the land, it accordingly started quite a passionate exchange of opinions and arguments among many Filipino historians. It would be the subject of many academic discussions which would not only confine itself inside the country but would even make its way in international conferences. The new historiography, *bagong kasaysayan*, and its ground philosophy, *pantayong pananaw*, would be slowly but definitely transform itself into an operating school of thought, with two opposing sides --- one for it, and another against it; but curiously enough, both just discussing, talking about, and using it. What followed, as result therefrom, was somewhat a phenomenon, which is almost comparable to an *historikerstreit* among the historians' circles of the land. The discipline history experienced in the process its *finest*. Professional historians of both the older and the younger generation were encouraged, almost stimulated, to research, write, and air their views on the subject. While theories and philosophical considerations were continuously tackled, so were the general theme of the actual historical narratives. These two portions of the practice were simultaneously worked and published on during the period, 1992 until 2000. Over-all production, as end-effect, for the disciplinary history of the land became impressively high. And accordingly, productivity in a particular area of the social science do not singularly remain at its particular context. Theoretically, the subject-target audience of the exertions, the Filipino people, were procedurally being offered quite a massive, scientific efforts and perseverance from the part of its professionally trained historians, at the same time. For the times' innovative Filipino historians, they --- meaning the *Bayang Pilipino* --- is the most significant element in all his disciplinary as well practical exertions. Everything else should be considerably secondary.

Corollary to this, Salazar, during the previous period, conceived the *kasaysayang-bayan* to term a modified Filipino version of an ethnohistory and local history, would be furthered and developed, in order to create a *kasaysayang pambansa*; that is, a national Filipino history. The Filipino people --- the bayan --- should, expectedly enough, be the center of this exercise. Researches and related activities should generally be channeled, in order to find out more, to define, and to illustrate the Filipino people --- that is, who they were, how they lived and how they think through times and contexts, through history. The implied goal of such should, after all, be singular; and that is, to define and then, closely study the historic-cultural personhood of the Filipinos, as the present political union or more importantly, as a people. It is naturally hoped --- most especially on the part of those who actually execute the accorded actions, for it is the ideal rationale of their actual existence, as the nation's intellectuals --- that these exertions would greatly contribute to the pursuit of defining who the Filipino people of today is, of articulating the people's identity as a political union among the multitudes of the present world. This, of course, is not particularly new, it almost belongs to the implied historian's professional credo; but it is nonetheless not to be missed in every historian's published articulation. And the times' publications were not exemptions to this. The most important mission of the historian, in comparison to the previous centuries, remains the same --- to write and create the most appropriate history of the times and context. Armed with the new historiography, efforts were exerted to accomplish just that.

It is in this context that *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas*, in place of *Historia de las Islas Filipinas* and/ or *History of the Philippine Islands*, was conceptualized, written and accordingly published. It is the foreseen concretization of the philosophy and methodology of the new Filipino historiography. It is the supposed statement of the times' historian, who specifically address and encourage his subject-target audience --- bayang Pilipino --- in a discussion, a discourse about themselves. Interviews of his subjects, collection of oral histories, general ocular inspection of his subjects' context, hands-on historical research or greater operational field work would not be missed anymore in every historian's methodological procedure. In a manner, the historian, with both his researchal exertions and publication, somehow starts a form of an operational diachronic discourse with the Filipino people thereby. Articles, essays, monographs, books, as well as history textbooks were, in this regard, intensively proceeded on towards massive propagation. Naturally, these materials utilized the recognized national language, Pilipino; and so, as an immediate result of such, the Pilipino scholarship was also thereby being enriched and further developed.

In the meantime, the historians of the traditional school of thought (embodied in the earlier *historia*) exerted efforts in practicing the discipline, in the way that they've been long used to. They accordingly took up the publications of the new historiography as a stimulation for a theretofore discussion and argumentation with them, as a particular group, as well. In this regard, publications of the new

historiography were studied and analyzed through the standards and measures of the disciplinal practice, they were professionally trained in. Essays, articles, and conference papers were consequently created therefrom. A number of arguments against the new historiography were in the process presented. They included ethnocentrism, puritanism, provincialism, localism, and the priority to superficial language in the place of the ideal message in the narrative. These statements were compacted and presented in intelligible articles and essays; they represent the opinions of the second party in the ongoing *historikerstreit* among the Filipino historians of the times and context. In a manner, they embody the synchronic discourse among the professional historians.

Like the previously mentioned diachronic discourse, this synchronic discourse would also lead to the eventual furtherances and developments within the general practice of the disciplinal history and historiography of the country. Essential, for one, in the practice is not only the classical historical method but the utility of various auxillary disciplinal methods of different sciences, which included sociology, comparative ethnology, psychology, material anthropology, comparative and historical linguistics, hermeneutics, numismatics, semantics, and taxonomy. Historians gravitated more and more on the realization of either multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary approach in their individual exertions and executions. The different researches and innovations, embodied in the theses and dissertations presented to many formal institutions of learning, between 1992 till 2000 became the virtual proofs to this scientific trend. The new historiography somewhat opened doors to new interpretations, and so, new meanings as well in the historical narrative.

New conceptualizations were made and realized; they included, *himagsikan*, *kabayanihan*, *babaylan/catalonan*, *kababaihan*, etc. In the area of the actual historical discourse and historiographical stylistics differences, *talastasan*, *makabayang kasaysayan*, as well as *kasaysayang bayan* were somewhat conceived, publicly introduced, and corollary applied to individual practices of individual historians. The period, in this regard, really represented some of the most productive times in the general developmental trend of the discipline's history on the country. The process of the historical discourse clearly makes the difference. It spells, with modesty aside, the concrete forwardly movement of the times' operational Filipino historiography. That in itself is considerably a revolutionary occurrence within the greater Filipinization of the country's social sciences.

This is significant, not only for the actual local practice but for the discipline's practice in the context of the international academic community as well. While the historians of the traditional school of thought were busy criticizing the historians of the new historiography, the latter became largely preoccupied in creating innovative, pioneering forms of histories. In the process, they not only answered the arguments thrown unto them but also proceeded unto in their supposedly ideal discourse with the Filipino people. These new histories, while at the same time enriching the historical

professional practice in Filipino, it also somewhat stated its own chosen place in the world and as well as its view of the world intellectual practice. Its implied world view though is largely connected to its language philosophy. To look back: that is, like what was already discussed in the previous chapters, the national language Pilipino is the medium and communication instrument of bagong kasaysayan. The pantayong pananaw of the new historiography virtually requires this. That specifies, that all of the new historiography's products --- be it written or even oral narratives --- must be expressed and/ or delivered in and through the national language Pilipino. The language --- being the record, path, and expression of a people's history and culture --- is somewhat given its own free room; and with it, of course, a strong cultural and political statement on the part of the Filipino people. It is thenceforth important to note that the new historiography, bagong kasaysayan, flows through towards its intended Filipino public via the Pilipino language. This is its most expressive way of saying that the people's loob is its center of concern; everything else should afterwards accordingly be channeled to that.

Inclusive to this channeling process are those information or, to be exact, histories coming from outside the Filipino people's, the Philippines' concerns. The new historiography do not in any way consider these information unimportant. They play a particular role not only in the discipline's development, but in the people's foreseen ideal development thereby as well. Knowledge and know-how from the outside are welcomed and appropriately entertained. They would therefore not be digressed. Instead, unlike in the past, when they would be normally processed in the Anglo-English language, they would be processed directly through and in the Pilipino language. Considered significant information and historical expression from the outside world would then be directly translated to Pilipino. Translation, in the process, embodies the actual step towards the indeginization --- or to be exact, Filipinization --- of the imported knowledge from the outside. It represents the essential step towards the actual and proper appropriation of the imported knowledge to those set or seen needs and requirements of the Filipino people, in the espezialized area of social science's historical disciplinal field.

The new historiography is, in this regard, never closed to the other countries of the world. It welcomes specialists, experts of different areas and nations. Direct exchange of histories through translation is much encouraged. That is why, Filipino scientists and scholars are urged to learn and acquire other foreign languages --- instead of just focusing on Anglo-English, which was conveniently taken earlier as the mediator-language between other foreign languages and Pilipino --- for that is their doorway to a great amount of information, of histories, of countries and nations with the same language(s). Expectedly, these scholars would be the new experts within the new historiography; they should be the same people, who would represent the new historiography's Filipinized areal studies, *Pangbanwang Pag-aaral*. These scholars would then be given the ideal responsibility to dialog with the outside world; and then, to appropriately and directly channel the information --- histories ---

gathered from the process towards his people, Bayang Pilipino, in their own language and according to their own standards and measures. They would, ideally taken, then be producing histories of the new historiography as well; that is, bagong kasaysayan utilizing the pantayong pananaw, but with clearly specified themes, which is (or are) regarding the outside world of both the Filipino people and the Philippines. And this, in end effect, is a good sign that the earlier elitary discipline (for its utilized foreign language) is on its intended way towards Filipinization --- that is, back towards the greater number of the same people, who are, importantly enough, both its subject and target audience.

A. Philippine History and the National Discourse

The new Philippine history and historiography between 1992 and 2000 is bagong kasaysayan. This was compoundly proven by quite a number of literature, propagated and published during the period. The historiography's perspective, pantayong pananaw, was frequently discussed, opined or argued on, criticized, and/ or generally written about in many venues of both disciplinal and intellectual discourse. In this regard, it was during this period that the said historical philosophy/ historiographical perspective would be effectively considered as a school of thought. The enormity of philosophy and perspective was repeatedly discussed in many historians' and intellectuals' circles. Historiography as a methodological procedure was a constant theme in many discussions, be it in the usual written form or in the not-so-usual oral form. And remarkably enough, most especially in the greater Filipino intellectual context, everyone seemed to be interested in history, historiography and its potentials not only as a singular disciplinal field, but as the illustration of the ideal for both the Filipino people and the Philippines.

The production of actual Philippine historical narratives was, in the meantime, not necessarily forgotten. On the contrary, there came out quite a number of different forms of Filipino historical narratives during the period. This was already formally begun by Salazar, Ocampo, and Veneracion upon the introduction of kasaysayang-bayan in 1986. Social history and ethnohistory in the general form of a local history was accordingly created and published. Consequently, a number of masters and doctoral students of history innovatively patterned their own versions of this newly introduced historiography in their formally presented studies/ researches in different institutions of learning of the country. Independent histories of ethnos, bayan, which in themselves were portions of the greater ethnos, bayang Pilipino, were researched on and systematically written. Pilipino as the language of written historical discourse was at the same time further propagated; and that, in itself, meant a development --- no matter how big --- of the Filipino written scholarship and a further realization of the Filipino written intellectual tradition. Expectedly enough, that's a good portion of the aimed at indiginization or Filipinization of the social scientific general practice of the country.

But to return to our discussion, the developments reached in the relatively specialized area of local history during the previous period was quite significant to the furtherances and modifications within historiography in the following period of 1992 until 2000. Creative exertions, for one, in the area of national history were during the latter. This was, however, not really surprising for, even during the previous period, local histories were already taken in as not necessarily autonomous to that of the national forms. On the contrary. This was discussed upon the publication of Ocampo's work in 1985. In his introduction of the work, Salazar declared,

Napakaimportante pa naman ang pampook na kasaysayan sa pagpapalaganap ng isang pangkalahatang kamalayan ng pambansang kasaysayan. Sa aking pakiwari hindi maihihiwalay ang kasaysayang pampook sa kasaysayang pambansa. Walang awtonomiya ang kasaysayang pampook; bahagi siya ng pangkalahatang disiplinang nakatuon sa kabuuan ng bansa. At ito'y makikita sa akda ni Propesor Ocampo, na ang konklusyon nga ay larawang mikrokosmo ng nangyari sa buong Pilipinas ang Palawan.⁸²¹

Local histories could, in this regard, be the microcosmic versions of the national histories. Events, people, and contextual venues in local histories are, accordingly enough, not entirely independent nor autonomous to events, people, and contextual venues seen in the national history of the country. And more importantly, vice versa. In fact, propagation of local histories is considerably significant for the propagation of general consciousness for the national history. Both forms of history are worth all of the historians' efforts. Both should be accordingly researched on and created. Local histories, as already discussed in the previous chapter, were the first between the two, which was concentrated on by a few historians. The time afterwards is, in this connection, ripe for more concentrated efforts and exertions on the national history or, to be exact, *pambansang kasaysayan*. This intellectually challenging direction of undertaking, in application of the new historiography, would be taken up by Salazar. He, plus his students of the time, cooperatively worked on and would come out with a detailed outline of a history of the Philippines or, according to the letter, *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas*⁸²² in 1993.

⁸²¹ Salazar, "Paunang Salita", in Ocampo, Katutubo, Muslim, Kristiyano...Op.cit. <Local history plays quite a significant role in the propagation of the national history's general awareness. I reckon that local history could not really be separated from national history. A local history do not enjoy autonomy; it is part of the general discipline, which aim at nation building. And this would be seen in Prof. Ocampo's work. It closed with a Palawan's illustration, which virtually represents a microcosmic picture of the state of the Philippine nation then.>

⁸²² Zeus Salazar, *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas*. Isang Balangkas, Lunsod Quezon: U.P. Departamento ng Kasaysayan, 1993. The rationale behind the creation and publication of the book was stated by Salazar in his "Foreword". He said: "Makikitang ang mga buod ay produkto ng pagtutulungan ng mga guro at estudyante. Sa katunayan, minadali ang paghahanda upang maging gabay ang aklat kapwa sa pag-aaral ng aking mga mag-aaral sa *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas* at sa pag-uunawa sa Paglalarawan at Eksibit sa Balangkas ng *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas* na siyang proyekto ng dalawang klase para sa Linggo ng *Kasaysayan*, Setyembre 20-24, 1993, sa Bulwagang Rizal ng Dalubhasaan ng Sining at Panitikan (KAL) ng U.P., sa pagtataguyod ng U.P. Departamento ng *Kasaysayan*. Gawa ng Kas. 1 MHV-2 ang mga buod. Katumbas ng mga buod ang dummy ng paglalarawan na ambag din naman ng Kas. 1 MHU-2."

History was divided into three large time periods; that is, *Pamayanan* (250,000 B.C.- 1565 A.D.), *Bayan* (1565 –1913), and *Bansa* (1913 –1992)⁸²³. The conceptual titles of each portion were critically chosen and carefully conceptualized, in order to embracingly capture the trends and meanings developed through time and context, in each of the said periods, therein. The results of the efforts are quite interesting, and worth the look and study. The concepts *pamayanan*, *bayan*, and *bansa* were carefully presented within the historical and cultural context of the country throughout the work. *Pamayanan*, as the conceptual embodiment of the first period in the country's history, is explained as such,

Sa unang bahaging ito nabuo ang pamayanang Pilipino bilang batayan ng ating klasikal na Kabihasan noong ika-16 na dantaon. Ang kahulugan ng “pamayanan” sa kontekstong ito ay ang pagkakaugnay-ugnay ng mga Pilipino hindi lamang sa pisikal na pagtatagpo nila sa isa’t isa (kalakalan, digma, ugnayang pampamilya, at pang-estado tulad halimbawa ng relasyon ng Brunei, Maynila, Taga-Luzon at Butuan, atbp.) Kundi sa pundamental na batis at pagkahawig ng kanilang sariling kalinangan (ibig sabihin, ang pagkakaisa ng diwa at kaugalian na batay sa kanilang nakaraan) at kapaligiran (na pinagbubuklod-buklod ng dagat at mga ilog at nagdudulot sa mga dating Pinoy ng batayang Kabuhayan). May pagkakabuklod-buklod, samakatuwid, ang mga Pilipino noon sa kabuuan ng Kapuluan: bumubuo sila ng isang pamayanan, isang komunidad ng kabihasan na maaaring maging batayan ng kaisahang pulitikal sa moderno nitong pakahulugan.⁸²⁴

Accordingly, the ground basis of the union which existed on the archipelago between 2500 B.C. and 1565 A.D. were the similar cultural and geographical context shared by the ancient communities. Formal political structure was expectedly absent on the islands during those times. Nonetheless, the surfacial, physical meeting points, including trade, war, familial relations, or inter-state relations, among the people; and more importantly, the fundamental sources and similarities of their own culture and physical surroundings among the same unified them as a singularity, which on itself could be a

⁸²³ Here is the detailed outline of the work:
Introduksyon.

Unang Bahagi: *Pamayanan* (250,000 B.K.-1565) Panimula: Ang Unang Yugto ng Kasaysayang Pilipino, I. Sicalac at Sicavay: Sinaunang Pilipino, 250,000 B.K.-7,000 B.K., II. Ang mga Austronesyano sa Pilipinas, 7,000 B.K.-800 B.K., III. Sinaunang Kabihasnang Pilipino, 800 B.K.- 1,280 M.K., IV. *Pamayanang Pilipino sa Paglaganap ng Islam*, 1280-1565, V. *Kabihasnang Pilipino sa Ika-16 na Dantaon*, Pagbubuo: *Kalinangan, Pamayanan at Estado*.

Ikalawang Bahagi: *Bayan* (1565-1913) Panimula: Ang Pagkabuo ng Estadong Pilipino, VI. Krisis ng *Pamayanang Pilipino*, 1565-1663, VII. *Bayan, Pueblo at Ciudad: Bagong Pamayanan*, 1663-1745, VIII. *Batayan ng Pagkakaisa: Balik sa Estadong Etniko*, 1745-1815, IX. *Bayang Pilipino: Katutubo at Banyaga*, 1815-1861, X. *Bayan at Nacion*, 1861-1913, Pagbubuo: *Kalayaan at Kasarinlan*.

Ikatlong Bahagi: *Bansa* (1913-1992) Panimula: *Nasyon at ang Pagbubuo ng Bansa*, XI. *Adhikaing Kalayaan: Pagbubuklod at Pagkakaisa*, 1913-1946, XII. *Iginawad na Kalayaan: Pagsubok sa Estadong Nasyonal*, 1946-1972, XIII. *Paghahanap ng Kasarinlan: Lihis na Landasin*, 1972-1986, XIV. *Paghahanap ng Kasarinlan: Pagtutuwid ng Landas*, 1986-1992, Pagbubuo: *Damdaming Bayan, Nasyonalismo at Diwang Pambansa*.
Perspektiba: *Kabuuan at Pambansang Kabihasan*.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1. <It is in this part, where the *pamayanang Pilipino*, as the basis of our ancient 16th century civilization, was built. *Pamayanan*, in this context, does not only pertain to the physical meeting (e.g., trade, war, familial relation, state relation --- like the relationship among Brunei, Manila, Luzon, Butuan, and others) of people, but to the fundamental sources and similarities of their own culture (meaning, singularity in thought and behaviour, which are based on their past) and environment (which was interconnected through the seas and rivers; and which granted the ancient Filipinos their most basic sources of living). In this regard, the ancient Filipinos seemingly made up an archipelagic community; they made up a *pamayanan* --- a civilizational community, which could be utilized as a basis of its present conceptualization.>

basis of a political union, according to its present meaning. Archaeology, anthropology, ethnology, comparative and historical linguistics, plus oral history were the major auxiliary disciplinary methodological procedure utilized, in order to realize both context and text of this period in the work. The island culture and history of the ancient communities, and the most significant individual conceptualizations and meanings therein, were herewith illustrated; while at the same time, the basis for the following period, bayan, was somewhat prepared. The second period of history embodies the development of the earlier ancient communities towards the Filipino state, bayan. It is described as,

...ang panahon ng pagkabuo ng estadong pangkapuluan sa batayan ng paglawak ng estado ng Maynila bilang sentral na estado sa kapuluan na sasaklaw pati ng mga estadong tradisyunal na Muslim sa Sulu at Mindanao. Samantala mabubuo rin ang pangkapuluang konsepto ng “Bayan” mula sa mga dating kahulugan nito (yaong nakita ng mga Kastila bilang “pueblo” at yaong tumutukoy sa “pamayanan” bilang “grupong etniko”). Noong ika-19 na dantaon, makasasabay ang dalumat ng nasyon bilang mapagbuong konsepto ng arkepelago. Dala ito ng mga mestisong Kastila at Kriolyo mula sa Amerikano Latin at mapapasadiwa ng mga ladinong Pilipino (paring sekular at, Propaganda), habang patuloy na umuunlad ang pinalawak na konsepto ng Bayan bilang “lupang tinubuan” at kabuuang may kasarinlan (i.e., may kakayahang pangkalinangan at kakayahang magsarili). Magkakatagpo ang dalawang direksyon ng pangbuo ng arkipelago noong panahon ng Rebolusyon (1896-1902), subalit magkahiwalay uli sila noon peryod ng “Sangang Daan” sa patuloy na pakikibaka o kaya pakikibagay sa bagong manlulupig (1901-1913).⁸²⁵

The loosely incorporated ancient communities, through the forces of the circumstances brought about by the coming of foreign cultural bodies on the archipelago, were transformed into small, formal political unions, which would later on cooperatively embody the eventual singular political state, during this period. Generally, hence, the political --- in its modern sense --- bayan was consequently developed on the islands. Its creation generally stimulated by the introduction of the foreign political union, represented in their concept of *nación* or, during the turn of the century, nation. This consequential political singularity on the islands would be the most important basis of the modern Filipino state during the following period, the modern period of the nation's history or, to put it more appropriately, the period of *bansa*. The last large period revolves around the theme of

...kung paano maitutugma ang lahat ng may kinalaman sa ideya ng NASYON sa ideya ng BAYAN sa loob ng kaibang may taglay na kasarinlan na tinatawag nating bansa. Tulad ng nakita sa ikalawang bahagi, lumawak ang panahong ito (1565-1913) ang konsepto ng BAYAN mula sa isang lugar na may sentro at kapaligiran sa isang dako, at isang kabuuan ng mga bayan na may sariling wika (KABAYANAN O GRUPONG ETNOLINGUISTIKO) sa kabilang dako, tungo sa

⁸²⁵ Ibid., p. 27. <..the period of the creation of the archipelagic state, which was based on the continuous enlargement of Manila, as the archipelago's central state, which affects/ rules over even the Muslims of Sulu and Mindanao. In the meantime, the archipelagic conceptualization of “bayan” would also be defined; that is, that which was witnessed by the Spaniards as “pueblos” and that which was referred to as “pamayanan” or ethnic group. It would be paralleled later, during the 19th century, with the development of the concept “nación”, to refer to the archipelagic polity. *Nación* is brought in to the islands by the half-Spaniards and Latin American Creoles. It would be therefrom integrated and accordingly developed by the Filipino secretaries (*ladinos/ escribanos*). Consequently, it would compete with the further developing “bayan”-concept, which was respectively represented then by the concept of “land of birth” (*lupang tinubuan*) and “sovereign/ independent community” (*kabuuan may kasarinlan*). These two nation-building conceptual directions would meet during the Revolution (1896-1902), but they would again separate during the Crossroad Period, in the context of the struggle against a new national oppressor (1901-1913).>

dalumat ng BAYAN bilang kabuuang pangkalinangang sumasaklaw sa kapuluang Pilipino. Noong ika-19 na dantaon, nakapasok sa Kapilipinuhan ang konsepto ng nasyon, dala ng mga kriolyo't mga mestisong impluwensiyado ng mga rebolusyon sa Latin Amerika, at ito'y nakuha naman ng mga ladino na naging paring sekular (Pelaez, Burgos) at pagkatapos "ilustrado" (Rizal, del Pilar, Lopez-Jaena). Ngayon, sa panahon ng BANSA (1913-1992), kakailanganing mapag-isa ang nasyon na nakatuon sa kalayaang pulitikal at kabuuang may sariling wika at kalinangan. Kapwa ang BAYAN at ang NASYON ay simulaing produkto ng ating kasaysayan, bagamat malinaw na mas malalim ang pagkaugat ng una sa Kapilipinuhan kaysa sa huli, na mas bata pa sa paggunita ang laki dahil mas nakakabit sa ating karanasan tungo sa kabansaan. Sa unang kabanata (1913-1946) at (1946-1972) ay itinuon ng mga elite (pinalawak na uring Ilustrado, kasama ang mga naging "pensionado") ang problema ng "Kalayaan" (independensyang pulitikal at pangkabuhayan). Sa dalawang huling kabanata (1972-1986), litaw nang lalo ang suliranin ng KASARINLAN bilang identidad o kakanyahang pangmalalimang taglay ng BAYAN. Lalong magiging makabuluhan samakatuwid, ang pangangailangang mapag-isa ang NASYON at BAYAN sa loob ng malalim, malawak at masaklaw na dalumat ng BANSA.⁸²⁶

The last period generally discusses the frequent clashes between the political and social order created by the foreign concept, nation to that of the political and social reality which created the indogenous concept, bayan. The already tackled great cultural divide within the Filipino people in the previous chapters of this study would be discussed and explained in its greater historical context in this portion of the historical narrative. Researchal and analytical exertions were clearly made, in this regard, so as to try to illustrate --- like almost all national histories of different countries of today's world --- at the end of the study, the present Filipino people or, generally taken, the present archipelagic political state of the Philippines, as well as the ideal picture of the same, when a few requirements could be fulfilled in a foreseen future. The development of the wholly functional, reconceptualized bansa in the Philippine context is the ideal political picture, set by the historical narrative. On the other hand, what was clearly illustrated in the work is the existance and development of the times' Filipino people. They were generally termed as the "masses" or the vaguely taken "Filipino people" in the earlier history textbooks; but in the work, they were the bayan or, to be more appropriate, the bayang Pilipino. They exist, prosper, and embody the greater number of the country's population of today. They are the Filipino people; and so, they somewhat rightly deserve --- most especially, directly in our case --- the attention and scientific efforts of the country's intellectuals, scholars, scientists.

⁸²⁶ Ibid., p. 46. <...how all the aspects that has to do with the nation-idea would be integrated with all the aspects that has to do with the bayan-idea, through a sovereign individuality, which we call bansa. As what the second part has shown, the period 1565-1913 witnessed the development of the bayan-concept, in reference to a place with a center and environment, on the one hand, and a compendium of bayans, with a particular language (kabayanan or ethnolinguistic groups), on the other hand, and finally, in reference to the cultural individuality, which encompasses the whole Philippine archipelago. In the 19th century, the nación-concept was able to infiltrate in the Filipino people through the efforts of the creoles and the half-Spaniards, who were largely influenced by the Latin American Revolutions. This concept was appropriated by first, the ladinos, who, in turn, became the secular priests (Pelaez, Burgos), and then, the ilustrados (Rizal, del Pilar, Lopez-Jaena). Today, in the period of bansa (1913-1992), nation, which aims at political freedom, should be united with the individuality, with its own language and culture. Bayan and nation are both products of our nation's history; eventhough the former is obviously more rooted to our nation-ness as the latter, which, in turn, is seemingly young in our memories, for it is largely connected to our experiences towards nation-building. In the first chapter (1913-1946; and 1946-1972), the elite (modified ilustrados' class, joined by the pensionados later on) concentrated its energies on the resolution of the issue "kalayaan" (political and economic independence). In the last two chapters (1972-1986), the problem of kasarlan, as a problem of identity and deeper cultural individuality based on bayan, would be made even clearer. It would be, therefore, be clearer, that the need to unite nation with bayan, within the deeper, wider, more significant bansa-concept, is urgently required.>

The strength of the work actually lies in its constant exertion to concentrate on the theme, or, to put it aptly, on the bayan. What was evident throughout the work's length is the fact that the author wanted to industriously remain not only on bayan as its most important theme but on bayan as its utilized perspective as well. The perspective of the people was constantly used as the perspective of the work itself. This was not really seriously done in any of the history textbooks of the past. And so, though the work was not really as rich in historical details as the average past history textbook, it is pioneering in perspective and/ or viewpoint; that is, direct with regards to published history textbooks, for university use. Furthermore, it embodies and discusses one of the most popular theme of the times and context; and that is --- expectedly enough --- the Filipino bayan. Filipino social scientists from different disciplinal areas were generally preoccupied with the theme and question of the bayan during the period between 1992 and 2000. It was minimally granted a few pages of conceptualization in every scientific work, published during the said time. This expectedly led to the better clarification of the said concept; and that in itself is quite advantageous for it eventually transform bayan from an intellectual innovation to almost a historical hand material. The publication of *Pagbabalik sa Bayan. Mga Lektura sa Kasaysayan ng Historyograpiya at Pagkabansang Pilipino*⁸²⁷ under the editorship of F. Llanes in the same year that Salazar's work came out, is a relatively good example of this almost an intellectual trend. The book was actually the documentation of a program of the U.P. Department of History --- "History Week" --- on September 19, 23, and 25, 1992. The eventually chosen theme of the occassion then was *Mga Pantas at Balikbayan: Paggunita at Pagbabalik sa mga Pagsisimula*. This was done, because

Una nga'y nakita ang kaisahan ng mga paksa sa linggong iyon --- pawang mga paggunita o pagbabalik-aral sa pag-unlad ng disiplinang pangkasaysayan: kay Teodoro Agoncillo at sa mga pagsisimula ng historiograpiyang Pilipino. Pagkatapos, napansing ang mga panayam bago at pagkaraan ng Linggo ng Kasaysayan ay umiinog din sa diwa ng pagbabalik sa mga pagsisimula, nakatuon naman sa ugnayan ng mga Pilipino sa mga dati nitong mananakop.⁸²⁸

It would then seem that if we take the above statements into consideration, the word and concept bayan was not only considered as the compound for the people, but the figurative totality of the basics, the beginning, the foundation of each --- that is, the historical science, Philippine history and historiography, even the historians themselves. It is in this regard that the resulting title of the book, pagbabalik sa bayan, could also be taken as the return to the basics, beginnings, or even foundation. This is not to say though that the implied process of the terminology would be congruent to a fundamentalist effort, comparable to particular movements within many institutional religions of

⁸²⁷ Ferdinand Llanes (Pat.), *Pagbabalik sa Bayan. Mga Lektura sa Kasaysayan ng Historyograpiya at Pagkabansang Pilipino*, Lunsod Quezon: Rex Book Store, 1993.

⁸²⁸ Llanes, "Mula sa Patnugot", *Ibid.*, iii. <First the discussed themes' similarities --- recollection and review of the historical discipline: on Prof. Teodoro Agoncillo and on Filipino historiography --- during that week was shown. And then, it was also noticed that all the lectures before and after the History Week touched on the spirit of going back to the beginnings, on the Filipinos' relation to their earlier colonizers.>

today. The process implied --- like what was already discussed in the previous chapters of this study -- therein concerns the Filipino intellectual, who have been isolated and distanced from their own subject, object, target audience, rightful speaking partners, and own people for quite some time. It doesn't necessarily meant his return to the fundamental of his science; but instead, his more concrete return to the original, ideal perspective, in the practice of his specific science. It means, his metaphorical return to his people. Bayan --- deduced herefrom --- could mean, the Filipino people, the symbolic fundamentals, as well as the figurative procedural return direction of the earlier isolated Filipino intellectual. It is definitely quite a composite concept; and accordingly, its depth would even be further given multiple ponderance as well as researchal exertions in the following years.

But one thing though is definitive among these complexities, bayan is the Filipino people; and so, for our purposes, the most important theme and target public of the new historiography, bagong kasaysayan. Ideally aimed at in the new historiography is the illustration and explanation of bayan or its accorded representation, kalinangan (way of living) and kabihasan (civilization), through times and context; that is, in the general form of an historical narrative. In a view, bayan's kalinangan and kabihasan illustrated through an appropriately channeled perspective of an historical narrative is what actually meant or generally worked on/at in an exemplar of the new historiography or, to be exact, bagong kasaysayan. This, in our point of view, could most probably be the guiding principle, why in the translated and revised edition of J.Veneracion's *Agos ng Dugong Kayumanggi*⁸²⁹ (first publication: 1987), the country's history was specifically engineered, in order that the concept, meanings, and language of "bayan" would eventually act as the fulcrum of all historical movements and developments. It is in this regard that the general theme, outline and periodization, utilized approach, as well as the contents of the work's new edition is somewhat --- though definitely, not totally --- differentiated to its original form, a decade earlier. The chosen ideal end of the nation's history, unlike in the first publication, is decisively exact, as it is presented and delivered in the length of the work. Naturally enough, it is still connected to, in fact, it is the procedural ideal end-result of the constantly evolving bayan; and that is, the *sambayanan*. Veneracion explained this ideal as

...nangangahulugang isang bayan; tunguhin natin sa kinabukasan. Isa pa lamang simulain ito; hindi isang tunay na kaganapan. Nagkahati-hati ang ating bayan sa maraming larangan, sa materyal na pagmamay-ari, sa oportunidad, sa kamalayan. Ang historikal na pagkakahati ay sa pagitan ng mga rehiyon at tribu, ng mga napaloob sa teritoryong Moro, at ang nadomina ng kolonyalistang Kastila na tinawag na Indio, at ang mga nasa bundok at gubat na tinawag na mga Igorot at Lumad. Ngunit sa bawat tribu at teritoryo, may mas malalim na pagkakahati ng mga uri, ng isang elite na nagsasamantala sa malawak na masa ng mahihirap. Ang pagkakahating ito ay makikita sa uri ng tirahan, ng sasakyan, ng libangan, ng wikang ginagamit. Ingles, mamahaling kotse, Forbes Park, sa isang banda at diyaryong bakya, jeepney, wikang Pilipino o diyalekto sa kabila. At ang pagkakahating ito ay hindi limitado sa mga nakristyanong lugar lamang. Makikita rin ito sa mga Moro, sa relasyon ng mga sultan at datu sa mga karaniwang Moro, at mga tribung napagsasamantalahan.

⁸²⁹ Jaime Veneracion, *Agos nd Dugong Kayumanggi. Isang Kasaysayan ng Sambayanang Pilipino*. Binagong Edisyon, Quezon City: Abiva Publishing House, Inc., 1998.

Ang pagbubuo sa sambayanan ay mahabang prosesong historikal. Maaaring magdaan ito sa prosesong kultural tulad ng pagbuo ng iisang pambansang wika, ng makukulay na alamat, awit at tula. Ngunit higit sa lahat, kailangang nakabatay ito sa isang pangkabuhayang magsasaad ng pagkakapantay-pantay ng mga mamamayan. Hindi ang pamahalaan ang makapagpapatibay nito. Tulad ng naganap sa ibang bahagi ng daigdig, ang pagbuo ng sambayanan ay nagmula sa pagtaas ng kamalayang masa mismo upang isagawa ang historikal na misyon sa pagbabago at pag-unlad ng kanilang uri.⁸³⁰

Sambayanan, in a way, is Veneracion's version of Salazar's bansa in his version of the nation's history, from 1993. Both of these histories, however, virtually aim at the same end --- the effective, symbiotic union of the two greater halves of the nation's present economic classes: the rich and the poor. Naturally expected in this union is the resulting equal division of wealth, opportunities, and welfare. That is, because the richer few of the population have long enjoyed and have had the upperhand in all of the mentioned for a while now. It is only fitting, thence, that the greater poor among the same would have its long due metaphorical share.

In general, this similarity of the national history's end is a further characteristic of the new historiography. It gracefully and readily takes the side of the greater number of the Filipino people of today, the poor and the wretched, in its expression and narrative explanation of the compound, bayang Pilipino. That, of course, is to be expected; for, after all, the new historiography discusses, speaks with, is measured by, and is theoretically narrated by the same, by the bayang Pilipino. It is the narrative, the concretization in the disciplinal field of historiography, of the considered people's perspective or the pantayong pananaw. It is, more importantly, Filipino. This is the reason, why the end historical narrative product is an embodiment of an historiographical trend, that is very much unlike to those of the earlier centuries; that is, because it is wholly Filipino. Its most important theme is the Filipino people, it utilizes the standards and measures of the Filipino people, it speaks directly with the Filipino people, it utilizes the language Filipino as its communication medium, and it is written by a participative member of the Filipino people. It is in this connection that the new

⁸³⁰ Ibid., p. 206. <...meaning one nation, a future ideal. It is merely a goal at the moment, it is not yet a reality. Our nation became disintegrated in many areas --- in material possession, in opportunities, in mentalities. Historical disintegration was eventually created between regions and tribes; that is, between those who belong to the Moro territories, those (the Indios) who were colonized by the Spaniards, and those (Igorots and Lumads) who inhabit the mountains and the forests. But in every tribe or territory, there exist a more significant social division --- the division between the continuously oppressing elite to the much larger mass of poor. This division reveals itself through the kind of houses, transport-vehicles, entertainment, and language-used. On the one hand, English, expensive cars, Forbes Park dominate; on the other, its tabloid newspapers, jeepneys, Pilipino language or dialects. And this division does not merely exist among the Christianized areas; this would be seen among the Moros as well --- that is, between the sultan and datu, on the one hand, and the average Moro, as the oppressed class, on the other.

Sambayanan's building is a long historical process. It could be proceeded unto through the cultural process, which could be the creation of a national language, of colorful legends, of songs and poems. It is most important, however, that it should be based on an economic equality, which would somehow secure equality of opportunities for the people. No government could realize this. Like what already happened in other portions of the world, sambayanan's building should start from mass/ people's awareness (and determination), in actualizing an historical mission of change and development to their class alone. >

historiography's product(s) could properly or appropriately be called *Filipino* history or, to be apt, *Kasaysayang Pilipino*.

In *Kasaysayang Pilipino*, the historian effectively communicates or speaks with his subject, the Filipino people. The historian somewhat engages and, expectedly, invites participation in a form of horizontal discourse with his own people, on the general subject of their mutual history and culture, through the utility of their mutually owned language, in the written, published form. A number of articles, monographs, books, and textbooks would be made and accordingly published. The new historiography, its philosophy, and its perspective were frequently discussed on, written on, and as the last station, published on during the length of the period. And because most of these publications were actually results of discussions between historians on the subject, they represent and embody as well, the primarily vertical discourse between members of the academic discourse, which were this time --- upon publication --- essentially offered to the people, in the group's pursuit to start a further horizontal discussion with the same. The publications somewhat symbolizes the active participation of the historians not only in enriching their local practice of the discipline, but also in enlivening their contact and communication with their subject-reading public, the *bayang Pilipino*. The proceedings of the ADHIKA 1989 national conference, tackling exactly this subject --- wordly, the theme, method, and perspective of the new historiography --- was collected, edited, and published in 1993; then, Llanes' edited collection on the same followed; then, Bolinao's⁸³¹ edition on the same general direction followed suit. The last though deserves a bit of discussion, for the former two already had their share in the above immediate portions of this study. In a manner, this book is the compendium of the historians' exertions to practice their disciplinal especialization in different area studies --- different countries --- or in Pilipino, *Araling Erya*, while specifically engineering their work for the Filipino people. It is the pursuit of applying *pantayong pananaw* on area studies, so as to intentionally contribute towards the general enrichment of the new history and historiography, *bagong kasaysayan*. Experiences of researches and formal studies by Filipino historians in foreign countries, including France, the United States, Hawaii, South Korea, China, and Malaysia, were consequently presented. The Filipino historian/ professor, both as a student of culture and history as well as a researcher, a discussant, a discussion partner, and a kind of diplomat or country's representative in various foreign countries, was in the process illustrated. Quite a huge horizon in the academic realm was at the same

⁸³¹ Lou de Leon-Bolinao (Pat.), *Kasaysayan 2000. Mga Panayam sa Pangangibang-Bayan: Tungo sa Pagpapaunlad ng Disiplina ng Kasaysayan sa Pilipinas*, Lunsod Quezon: Departamento ng Kasaysayan, Unibersidad ng Pilipians, 1993. The work was entitled so, according to the editor, in union with the mission-vision of the U.P. Department of History then; that is, "1) Gawing buo, tama, at totoo ang kasaysayan ng ating bansa na batay sa "pantayong pananaw", ayon sa pagpapakahulugang unang isinulong ni Dr. Zeus Salazar ng Departamento ng Kasaysayan, Dr. Prospero Covar ng Departamento ng Antropolohiya, at Dr. Virgilio Enriquez ng Departamento ng Sikolohiya; 2) Ilagay ang lipunang Pilipinas sa konteksto ng pagiging malaya at maunlad na bansa sa Timog-silangang Asya, binuo at hinubog ng kaiba (unique) at taal na kultura nito; at 3) Iugnay ang ating kultura at kasaysayan sa higit na malaki pang global community habang papalapit tayo sa Dantaon 21." (L. Bolinao, "Paunang Salita", in Lou de Leon-Bolinao (Pat.), *Kasaysayan 2000. Mga Panayam sa Pangangibang-*

time formally opened for him upon this book's publication. The historian of the new historiography was at the same time formally launched from his seemingly narrow area of Philippines and Filipino especialization to that of the larger area, which is made up of the different countries of today's world.

In the meantime, researches were also being directed in order to deeper get and delve into the Filipino mentality, through concentration and specification in considerably other forms of history. The Filipino woman institutional religious was researched on, tackled, written about in J. Veneracion's institutional history, *Paglalakbay sa Dekada, 1831-1991*⁸³². She was discussed within the context of the institutional history of the Filipino Catholic nuns, that is, of the Augustinian Sisters of the Philippines or of the, more popularly known at home as, Augustinian Sisters of Our Lady of Consolacion. As a historical narrative, the work was innovatively designed to form a kind of travel through time; the discussion was began and contextualized in today's time period, then continued through the narrative of the institution from its beginnings towards its various experiences in history, and then ended, through the discussion again of the other aspects of today's time period. The principle behind the writing style was to somewhat draw a circular time frame; and accordingly, Veneracion realized this throughout the work. The Filipino or, to put it aptly, the *Filipina* was, in this regard, successfully pictured as a person, as member religious of an institution, and as a part of the specific historico-cultural whole of the bayang Pilipino. The produced work could definitely be considered one of the earlier products of the new Filipino historiography.

The Filipino way of thinking would be further researched and generally worked on, most especially in connection with the centennial celebration of the 1896 Philippine Revolution and of the 1898 Philippine Independence, through seemingly massive concentration on the details and fleshing out of the revolution, the movement, and its meanings for today's context and contextualizations. In 1994 for example, F.Llanes' *Katipunan* was published; then, in the same year, an issue of the *Philippine Social Sciences Review*, under the editorship of J. Veneracion, was granted for the theme of the mass movements in Philippine history⁸³³. In the following year, Z. Salazar, in cooperative efforts with D. Ambrosio, M. Atienza, and E. Azicate, came out with "Ang Pagsalakay ni Bonifacio sa Maynila"⁸³⁴ (Bonifacio's Attack of Manila). This work, in a sense, effectively put across the message that, the 1896 Philippine Revolution --- contrary to the long, popular opinion --- was systematically planned,

Bayan: Tungo sa Pagpapaunlad ng Disiplina ng Kasaysayan sa Pilipinas, Lunsod Quezon: Departamento ng Kasaysayan, Unibersidad ng Pilipians, 1993.)

⁸³² Jaime B. Veneracion, *Paglalakbay sa Dekada, 1831-1991*, Manila: Augustinian Sisters of Our Lady of Consolacion, 1993.

⁸³³ Jaime B. Veneracion (Pat.), *Ang Kilusang Masa sa Kasaysayang Pilipino, 1900-1992*. *Philippine Social Sciences Review*. Special Issue, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Diliman, January-December, 1994.

⁸³⁴ Zeus Salazar, et. al., *Agosto 29-30, 1896: Ang Pagsalakay ni Bonifacio sa Maynila*, Lunsod Quezon: Miranda Bookstore, 1994.

prepared, and organized by Andres Bonifacio⁸³⁵, its highest leader and commander. It is somehow part of the intellectual pursuit of the times and context, in proving that the revolution, contrary to the otherwise believed it to be, was an active and dynamic movement, even through the direct utility of the measures dictated by the present's disciplinary sciences. Corollary to this message was the continuous appropriation and realization, from the part of the historian himself, of measuring the Philippine revolution, not according to the ideological beginnings and standards of other revolutions experienced and done by countries of the peoples of the Western hemisphere, but according to how the Filipinos of those historical times, could have seen and measured their own movement and procedural actions. Efforts were exerted, in order to try to explain the possible ideology and philosophy of the Filipino revolutionists during their momentous movement in 1896. One would, in this way, have the impression that the greater number of historians or, to be more embracing, of social scientists already unquestionably accepted, that the Philippine Revolution was independently operated and proceeded upon by the Filipino people; and so, it could only be generally and limitly compared to other revolutions executed by different peoples of the worlds. The theme and subject of the revolution should, in this regard, be studied and analyzed on its own; that is, independent to or of any other similar forms of movements, which occurred in the same chronological time direction in other portions of the world.

This research and publication direction would be further seen in the more intensive manner during the following year, 1996⁸³⁶; that is, during the centennial anniversary of the begin of the 1896 Philippine Revolution itself. Five works, at the least, on and related to the above said subject, came out during that year. They are: D. Ambrosio's *Lakbay-Larawan: Monumento at Pananda ng Rebolusyong 1896*⁸³⁷ (Pictures' Travel: Monuments and Memorials of the 1896 Revolution), I. Medina's *Mga Kababaihan ng Kabite sa Rebolusyon, 1896-1902*⁸³⁸ (Women of Cavite During the Revolution, 1896-1902), Z. Salazar's *Talaarawan 1996. Handog sa Sentenaryo. Himagsikang 1896*⁸³⁹ (Historical Journal 1996. Contributory Offer to the Centenary. 1896 Revolution) and *Talaarawan 1997. Digma ng*

⁸³⁵ A biographical monograph of Andres Bonifacio also came out during this same year. It was specifically designed to be handy material, for all levels of institutional learning and of historical expertise. The book is: Ed Aurelio Reyes, Bonifacio. *Siya ba ay kilala ko?*, Maynila: Edukar Enterprises, 1995.

⁸³⁶ An explanation of this seemingly flood of published literature was the University of the Philippines' 100-Books project, in union and celebration with the whole nation's Centennial Anniversary of the 1896 Philippine Revolution. The university, in cooperative efforts with all the colleges and the university press, pledged to publish 100 books about and in relation of the mentioned momentous event. Consequently, a number of new interpretations and new researches of both the old and new Filipino social scientists were given and granted the chance and opportunity to be put in the written and published discourse.

⁸³⁷ Dante Ambrosio, *Lakbay-Larawan: Monumento at Pananda ng Rebolusyong 1896*, Quezon City: CSSP Publications, 1996.

⁸³⁸ Isagani Medina, *Mga Kababaihan ng Kabite sa Rebolusyon, 1896-1902*, Quezon City: CSSP Publications, 1996.

⁸³⁹ Zeus Salazar, et.al., *Talaarawan 1996. Handog sa Sentenaryo. Himagsikang 1896*, Lunsod Quezon: Miranda Bookstore, 1996.

*mga Anak ng Bayan. Himagsikang 1897*⁸⁴⁰ (Historical Journal 1997. War of the Sons of Bayan. 1897 Revolution), and R. Tantoco's *Malolos: Isang Panukalang Museong Bayan*⁸⁴¹ (Malolos: An Advised Museum Province). New forms of historical studies and researchal directions, while centering on the all-embracing theme of the revolution, were at the same time, somewhat, introduced in the mentioned works. Upon the general auxillary application of the numismatical methods to that of the historical ones, Ambrosio conceived of and somewhat reintroduced a (re)new(ed) historical photography or, in a manner, history in photography. The implied message of his work is the reminder, that today's Filipino people are virtually surrounded by marks and clues of the historical events made and executed by their forefathers; and so, the Filipino people not only make (both, in the sense, of actually affecting events in history and of constructing and creating memorials of history), in a manner, they are practically surrounded by its own history. Medina's work, on the other hand, was the convergence of women, local, and military history in a unit. It is a new researchal direction and its consequential interpretative perspective on his provincial expertise, Cavite.⁸⁴² Salazar's two works embodied the historian's pursuit to make the new history and historiography closer to the average individual; that is, by writing down a form of "history today" or, to be exact, "the Philippine Revolution today", side by side with a normal daily planner. Essays and excerpts from longer works of the younger historians on the general theme were graciously included in this calendar; and so, the new historians' generation was at the same time given room in the work. Historical consciousness among the Filipinos, most especially in the occassion of the Philippine Revolution's centenary, was the most important implied message of the two books. Tantoco's work, in its turn, was, surprisingly enough, on the same general direction. Upon presentation of his historically based arguments, he suggested the formal acceptance and its consequential and accordingly conceived of transformation of the province Malolos, where the 1896 Revolution had one of its biggest theater of war and where the resulting 1898 Philippine Republic was formally announced and grounded. His plea was, expectedly enough, to preserve and restore, what were still left in the whole province of those historical events, a hundred years earlier.

On the whole, the mentioned works perpetuated new knowledge, interpretations, and general consciousness on the theme of the Philippine Revolution, while at the same time, reiterating its actual meanings and significances to today's Filipino people. In addition to this, it should be noted, that the new history and historiography or, to be literal, its resulting printed products, were also being promoted, distributed to a larger reading realm, and, in a way, like already discussed previously, opened for further discourse. The effectivity on the reading public, hence, of the message held in the

⁸⁴⁰ Zeus Salazar, et. al., Talaarawan 1997. *Digma ng mga Anak ng Bayan. Himagsikang 1897*, Mandaluyong: Palimbagang Kalawakan, 1996.

⁸⁴¹ Regulus Tantoco, *Malolos: Isang Panukalang Museong Bayan*, Quezon City: CSSP Publications, 1996.

⁸⁴² Medina's general researchal interest and resulting expertise on the province of Cavite was begun through his doctoral dissertation, *Cavite Before the Revolution (1571-1896)*, which was formally presented to the U.P.D. in 1985. The work though would be published nine years afterwards; that is, as Isagani R. Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution (1571-1896)*, Quezon City: CSSP Publications, 1994. This would be followed by more books and articles, centering and featuring the same general locality.

former was generally due to the innovation and creativity of the latter breakthrough in the disciplinal history. It was, in this regard, not surprising, that the following years saw more and more interest and inquiries on the new historiography. The new generation of history students and historians exerted efforts in pulling this curiosity through the fore. In 1995, a group of Filipino historiography students compiled and edited their different exercises and activities regarding the new historiography during their last year in college.⁸⁴³ In 1997, young historians, A. Navarro, M. Rodriguez, and V. Villan came out with *Pantayong Pananaw: Ugat at Kabuluhan. Pambungad ng Pag-aaral ng Bagong Kasaysayan*⁸⁴⁴ (*Pantayong Pananaw: Beginnings and Meanings. Introductory Analysis of Bagong Kasaysayan*). In 1997, N. Santillan and B. Conde compiled and published relevant history essays and articles in their *Kasaysayan at Kamalayan*⁸⁴⁵ (*Kasaysayan and Awareness*). These plus the supportive readings and articles written by older historians⁸⁴⁶ facilitated the further distribution and transfer of knowledge and know-how, with regards to and in connection with the new Filipino history and historiography, featuring the pantayong pananaw and bagong kasaysayan, and its already published practice. Consequently, it did not exclusively remain within the circles of Filipino historians; the disciplinal innovation reached other intellectual circles of the greater social sciences, which eventually lead afterwards to the consequential discussion, dialog, and cooperative exertions between the said two sides. Historians, therefrom, worked with anthropologists, psychologists, comparative linguists, ethnologists, literature critiques, and other members of the greater social sciences. The year 1998 saw the first publications of these cooperative efforts; they were A. Navarro and R. Abejo's *Wika, Panitikan, Sining, at Himagsikan*⁸⁴⁷ (*Language, Literature, Art, and Revolution*), plus, A. Navarro and R. Palad's *Tayabas: Pagmumulat sa Kasaysayan, Himagsikan at Sentenaryo*⁸⁴⁸ (*Tayabas: Awakening in History, Revolution, and Centennial Anniversary*). In the process, the figurative isolation of history as a strict disciplinal practice of the professional historian became somewhat broken; an event, which, in a manner, gave way to a more fluid form of open dialog and discourse with other Filipino intellectuals. As end-effect, therefore, within the context of the the all-embracing trend of

⁸⁴³ Edward Yulo, Salome Quijano, at Tonney Calimag (Pat.), *Pagsasanay sa Historyograpiya, 1994-1995*, Mandaluyong: Palimbagang Kalawakan, 1995.

⁸⁴⁴ Atoy Navarro, Mary Jane Rodriguez, Vicente Villan (Pat.), *Pantayong Pananaw: Ugat at Kabuluhan. Pambungad sa Pag-aaral ng Bagong Kasaysayan*, Mandaluyong: Palimbagang Kalawakan, 1997.

⁸⁴⁵ N.M.R. Santillan at M.B. Conde, *Kasaysayan at Kamalayan. Mga Piling Akda Ukol sa Diskursong Pangkasaysayan*, Lungsod Quezon: Limbagang Pangkasaysayan, 1998.

⁸⁴⁶ These readings, essays, and articles, among a few more earlier ones, included the following: Ferdinand Llanes, "Merging Currents: Trends in Philippine Historiography, 1987-1992"; Oscar Evangelista, "A New Periodization of Philippine History: Its Implication on the Study of Japanese Participation in Philippine History" *Bulletin of Asian Studies*, Vol III, Osaka: The Association of Asian Studies, 1993; Ferdinand Llanes, "A New National Perspective in Filipino Historiography" Paper read at the International Workshop on Historiography and National History, September 18-22, 1994, Universiti Brunei Darussalam; plus, Ma. Serena Diokno, "Philippine Nationalist Historiography and the Challenge of New Paradigm" Paper read at the Colloquim on Indigenous Southeast Asian Historiography, 13th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, Tokyo, Japan, 5-9 September 1994.

⁸⁴⁷ Atoy Navarro at Raymund Abejo (Pat.), *Wika, Panitikan, Sining, at Himagsikan*, Lungsod Quezon: Limbagang Pangkasaysayan, 1998.

⁸⁴⁸ Atoy Navarro at Ryan Palad (Pat.), *Tayabas: Pagmumulat sa Kasaysayan, Himagsikan, at Sentenaryo*, Lungsod Quezon: Limbagang Pangkasaysayan, 1998.

indigenization and/or Filipinization of the sciences, the new historiography (*bagong kasaysayan*) was further treated as an intellectual discourse.

The most remarkable considerable effect though of the new historiography's introduction and its eventual spread was not --- surprisingly enough --- necessarily in the academia. It was in the history textbook (for both elementary and high schools use) production from 1994 onwards. The new generation of historians wrote and came out with an entirely new generation of history textbooks; and so, as a procedural effect, also actively took participation in shaping the historical perspective, consciousness, and awareness of younger Filipino minds. They produced, in a manner, *bagong kasaysayan*. They consciously and intentionally came out with history textbooks written and conceptualized in the linguistico-cultural whole Filipino. It should be noted though that, this development within the specialized area did not just come out of nowhere. On the whole, it was still an essential portion of the larger procedural development within the field. Professional historians were long aware --- most specifically, during the 70's --- that history textbook writing plays a good part in the direct influence on the Filipino people's general perspective on history. This was the reason, why the most remarkable development in connection to this area in the early 80's was the creation of a modified textbook and a modified teachers' manual⁸⁴⁹ for the specific subject of the history of the Filipino people. This somewhat presented, if not an entirely new perspective, a potentially rich view and interpretation of the country's national history. The direct participation of younger historians in the said also added a further potential dynamism and engagement in the whole process. Younger historians do not completely let the older, earlier generation take the usual, most dominant part in the general book production. They take active participation, starting this time. In a manner, they intend to write and produce the history they see fit and apt for the times and context they are living in; they aim to create their own version of history, and accordingly share it to the even younger generation than themselves. And so, expectedly enough, their first products became seen and read in the following decade, the 90's.

Their eventual resulting tendency towards the new historiography, on the other hand, was not really that surprising. Their methodological immediate procedures before the actual writing could only result in the eventual application and realization of what we already discussed as the new historiography or, to be apt, *bagong kasaysayan*. A great awareness of the irony and problematic within the disciplinary history's practice on the classroom context became more and more obvious during the observatory and experimental period executed by younger social scientists in the different areas of the archipelago. That is, the problematic which continually exists between the fact that the already written history textbooks are all in a foreign language (Anglo-English), and the recognized need of younger historians, that history should be returned and brought nearer to the Filipino students,

who speak and better operate in their very own language, Pilipino. The provided immediate solution to this problematic was to specifically engineer the English text of the books, so that they would effectively communicate heartfelt love for both country and nation to its younger Filipino students/readers. Nationalist histories were provided. Nationalist sentiments and feelings were accordingly taught to pupils and students afterwards. But it seemed that these measures were not enough. Nationalism, in direct connection to the historico-cultural whole that is the Philippines, continued to be exotic and foreign (sometimes, even laughingly considered as old fashioned) to many students. And so, logically examined, the provided immediate solution did not particularly deliver the expected and hoped for results. Another resolution had to be designed and appropriated. Younger historians found this in the internally directed indiginization of the social sciences, which was also intensively begun in the 70's --- that is, at the same time that the nationalist form of history was highly propagated--- and which became more popularized as theory and potential practice in the 80's. They found their possible solution in the Filipinization of history; or to be more appropriate, in *pantayong pananaw* and in its concretization, in *bagong kasaysayan*. And like already mentioned, the foremost taken step in accordance, thenceforth, was the writing and production of history textbooks in the national language⁸⁵⁰, in P(F)ilipino.

In 1994, S.Zaide came out with *Kasaysayan at Pamahalaan ng Pilipinas*⁸⁵¹ (*Kasaysayan and Government of the Philippines*), a book designed and written for first year students in high school or secondary school education. S.Zaide virtually continued the tradition started by her father, G.Zaide, in this book. It still follows the linear philosophy of history, wherein the event-consequence pattern of chronology largely dominates; it still appropriate the influence form (e.g. Malay influence, Colonial influence, incl. Spanish, Latin American, English, American influence) of analysis in the length of the narrative; plus, it still follow the tripartite periodization --- *liwanag-dilim-liwanag* --- of Philippine history. On the other hand, her work undoubtedly differentiate itself from those of her father's, in a way that, she intentionally wrote it as part of a form of missionary work, envisioning the Philippines as a chosen land and the Filipinos as the propagators of Christianity during the last years of the 20th century.⁸⁵² These characteristics somehow completely color and announce the work as nominally

⁸⁴⁹ Cf., *Ibon Manual on Philippine History*,...Op.cit.; *Ibon Teacher's Manual on Philippine History*,...Op.cit.; and the corollary discussions on the same in this study, Chapter 8.

⁸⁵⁰ This, naturally enough, was not entirely new. History textbooks written in Filipino was already done by earlier historians. Unfortunately, they were not so wide-spread and not as successful as their English counterparts. The earliest example of such were cooperatively written by two of the most influential third generation history textbook writers/historians, Gregorio Zaide and Teodoro Agoncillo; that is, Teodoro Agoncillo and Gregorio Zaide, *Ang Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas*, Maynila: M. Colcol & Co., 1941.

⁸⁵¹ Sonia M. Zaide, *Kasaysayan at Pamahalaan ng Pilipinas*, Quezon City: All-Nations Publishing Co., Inc., (1994, 1995, 1996, 1997), 1998.

⁸⁵² She said, "Naiiba ito sa mga aklat ng kasaysayan, ang amin ay may bisyon na nagtatakda sa Pilipinas, bilang napiling bayan, na siyang magpapalaganap ng Kristianismo sa bandang huling mga taon ng ika-20 siglo. Napakahalaga ang *Kasaysayan ng Daigdig* sapagkat ang bansang ginagamit ng Panginoon sa pagpapalaganap ng Ebanghelyo ay uunlad at magkakaroon ng higit na kapangayarihan. At ang ating bansa at mamamayan ang magsisiganap nito. Kung mauunawaan ang dakilang tadhana na ito sa ating bansa, maaaring gamitin ng mga

average in its historiographical merits; but nonetheless, it was still very much a part of the new pulse in the country's historiography. The language it utilized confirmed this element. S.Zaide, herself, was somehow aware of this; that is, of what her father and what she believes as the all-embracing start of a new history of the Philippines, through the utility of Filipino in her published work. A new history-textbook's perspective was won in the process, a perspective which effectively and definitely put the Filipino(s) at the forefront --- in all respects --- within the historical narrative.

This beginning would even be modified in the published textbook for elementary (grade 5) pupils the following year, 1995; that is, through C.Danao and R.Lacap's *Kalinangan*⁸⁵³ (Culture/ Civilization). This book was not merely a translation of an originally English textbook. It would be obvious during the length of the work, that the authors exerted quite an effort in conceptualizing and generally framing the work, from the start on, in the Filipino language. The guiding philosophy of the narrative was not different from its forerunners; but its periodization somewhat separate it on its own. Nine periods made up history; that is, Panahon ng Kauna-unahang Tao sa Pilipinas, 22,000-200 B.C.; Panahon ng Ninunong Pilipino Bago ang Pananakop ng Espanyol, 900 A.D.-1521; Ang Mga Pilipino sa Panahon ng Espanyol, 1521-1898; Ang Panahon ng Pagyabong ng Nasyonalismo at ang Pagtatatag ng Republika ng Pilipinas, 1872-1899; Ang Pilipinas sa Panahon ng mga Amerikano, 1899-1946; Ang Pilipinas sa Panahon ng mga Hapones, 1942-1945, at ang Pagbabalik ng Komonwelt, 1945-1946; Ang Pilipinas sa Panahon ng Ikatlong Republika, 1946-1972; Ang Panahon ng Pamahalaang Krisis, 1972-1986; and Ang Pagbabalik ng Demokrasya sa Pilipinas, 1986-Kasalukuyan. Though the foreign colonizers were not particularly lost in the narrative, the authors tried nonetheless, to narrate and illustrate, not the history of the said foreigners on the islands, but the history of the Filipino people themselves, who own and inhabit them. Contrary to the third person utility of earlier English history textbooks, *Kalinangan* displays and use the second person to address its readers, the Filipino pupils. The authors, in this regard, do not consider themselves different from their readers. They, together with their target readers, both make up one people, the Filipino people. And the book, contrary to the long used to, do not necessarily tell the readers, how to be a proper Filipino; it tells that the reader is a Filipino, a member of a historico-cultural whole, which independently has its own beginnings and various possibilities in the future.⁸⁵⁴ In a manner, it implies that the Filipino people has an

Pilipino ang kanilang buhay at talino sa misyon na ito ng Diyos.” Sonia Zaide, “Paunang Salita sa Ikatlong Edisyon”, in S.Zaide,...Ibid.

⁸⁵³ Carolina Danao and Rosalia Lacap, *Kalinangan 5*, Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House, Inc., (1995), 1998.

⁸⁵⁴ The authors said: “Ang aklat na ito ay para sa iyo, batang Pilipino. Inihanda ang aklat na ito para maunawaan mo at pahalagahan ang kasaysayan ng lahing iyong pinagmulan at malinang ang pagnanais na lalo pang mapaunlad ang iyong sarili bilang isang mabuting Pilipino; makilala mo at ipagmalaki ang mga bayani, pinunong-bayan, at mga huwarang Pilipinong patuloy na nagsisilbing inspirasyon sa ating bansa; mapahalagahan mo ang mga pagsisikap at sakripisyong ginawa ng mga bayaning Pilipino sa pamamagitan ng pag-alala, paggalang, at paggaya sa kanilang mabubuting gawa; maunawaan mo ang mga tungkulin at karapatan ng mga mamamayan ng isang bansang demokratiko at malinang ang pagnanais mong makilahok sa pagpapanatili at pagpapaunlad ng demokrasyarito sa ating bansa. Marami kang matututuhan sa aklat na ito. Gamitin mo ito at ingatan tulas ng isang mabuting kaibigan.” Carolina Danao at Rosalia Lacap, “Paunang Salita”, in *Ibid.*, ix.

independent history; and more importantly --- most especially, for the historians --- the Philippines and its people could have a written history, specifically designed and written according to its needs and requirements, as an independent and closed circuitry.

The authors of the book, naturally enough, were not alone in the above discussed principles. They embody some of the earliest speakers of their generation as a particular group of history textbook historians. In addition to this, it would be seen that the authors begun a particular trend as well; that is, in creating history textbooks through the combined efforts of an historians team. This would be further proven through the published history textbooks in the following year, 1996. There are, at least, four new history textbooks which came out during this year. C. Batario-Cristobal, et.al. came out with *Pilipinas*⁸⁵⁵ (Philippines); A. Gonzalez, et.al., with *Kasaysayan at Pamahalaang Pilipino*⁸⁵⁶ (Kasaysayan and Government of the Philippines); M. Lamorena and O. de San Antonio, with *Ako at ang Daloy ng Kasaysayan*⁸⁵⁷ (I and the Flow of Kasaysayan); while V. Sebastian, et.al., with *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas (Sa Diwang Makabayan)*⁸⁵⁸ (Kasaysayan of the Philippines (In the Nationalist Spirit)). They are history textbooks, specifically designed and written for grade 5 pupils (between 9-11 years old children) in the primary/ grades schools and for first year students in the secondary/ high schools (11-13 years old youths), according to the measures and standards set by the national government --- that is, through the Department of Education, Culture, and Sports (DECS). Generally taken, they are virtually the consequential concretization of the greater theoretical exertions and conceptualization of the previous historians' generation. They are the products of the earlier students of history, the books of the new historians' generation. This would be more and more obvious, when one closely analyzes each of the works.

Pilipinas is virtually the newest history textbook form of the conceptual combination of Salazar's published outline of Filipino history (1993) and Veneracion's published Philippine history textbook (1987/1998). The country's history is divided into four large portions, each represented by a conceptual basis; that is, Pagbubuo ng *Pamayanan*, Pagbubuo ng *Bayan*, Pagbubuo ng *Bansa*, and Tungo sa *Sambayanan*.⁸⁵⁹ With this periodization, the authors hope that the pupils would experience

⁸⁵⁵ Cristina Batario-Cristobal, et.al., *Pilipinas*, Quezon City: Trinitas Publishing, Inc., 1996.

⁸⁵⁶ Bro. Andrew Gonzalez, FSC, et.al., *Kasaysayan at Pamahalaang Pilipino*, Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House, Inc., 1996.

⁸⁵⁷ Melina Lamorena and Oliva de G. San Antonio, *Ako at ang Daloy ng Kasaysayan*, Manila: National Book Sore, Inc., 1996.

⁸⁵⁸ Victoria V. Sebastian, et.al., *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas (Sa Diwang Makabayan)*, Manila: V.S. Publications & Trading, 1996.

⁸⁵⁹ Here was how the authors rationalized their periodization: "Nahahati ang aklat na ito sa apat na yunit. Ang Yunit I ay tumatalakay sa sinaunang panahon --- ang panahon ng ating mga unang pamayanan. Saklaw nito ang pagtalakay sa pagbubuo ng lupaing Pilipinas, ang mga unang tao, at ang pulitika, kabuhayan, at kultura ng ating mga ninuno sa mga unang pamayanang kanilang titinatag. Ang Yunit II ay tumatalakay naman sa tinahak nating landas tungo sa pagsasama-sama ng mga pamayanan sa ilalim ng mga Sultanato na naudlot bunga ng pagdating mga mananakop na Kastila. Tinatalakay rin dito ang mga pagbabagong pinairal nila sa ating lipunan at kung paano ito tinugon ng mga Pilipino noon.

the importance of the past, so as to better understand and comprehend their present condition. Kasaysayan was utilized throughout the book, in order to term the disciplinal practice and Filipinized meanings contained in history. The perspective it realized was pananaw-Pilipino; that means, “*ang mga pangyayaring naganap sa ating bansa ay titingnan natin sa sarili nating mga karanasan na ginagabayan ng kung ano talaga ang katotohanan*”⁸⁶⁰ (all the events that happened to our land would be looked at and studied according to our experiences, while being guided by actual proven historical truths). Accordingly, periodization, contextualization, and elementary utility of auxillary disciplines in history were also given attention and generally practiced throughout the length of the book. Furthermore, pupils were somewhat encouraged to practice history --- that is, according to the motto of hands-on history --- through the inclusion of recommended activities, not to mention practical quizzes, on every chapter’s end of the work. In a sense, hence, the generally sophisticated theoretization and conceptualization in (as well as in connection with) to the practice of the disciplinal history, most especially within the context of Filipinization of the social sciences from within, on the country’s history from the early 70’s onwards were somewhat exerted to be realized in the work.

The same exertion --- though naturally, in a relatively different extent and depth --- would be seen in A. Gonzalez’s *Kasaysayan at Pamahalaang Pilipino*. Like *Pilipinas*, it is generally a part of the indigenization movement in the practice of history as a portion of the greater Filipino social sciences. It is a book written and created for first year high school students; and so, accordingly adapted to the expected educational maturity and learning abilities of 11-13 year olds.⁸⁶¹ And while the periodization (generally, tripartite periodization of the Philippine history) utilized in the book was not so different from that utilized by the third generation history textbook writers, the work try to make itself different by its obvious exertion to practice the multidisciplinary approach in history. Most of its new history data, details, and general interpretations were taken from this approach. In addition to this, nationalism and responsibilities of a Filipino as a citizen of the Philippines were given extra attention

Sinusuri naman ng Yunit III ang mga kaganapang nangyari tungo sa ating pagiging isang bansa. Tinatalakay nito ang bahaging ginampanan ng Katipunan bilang samahan ng mga Pilipinong nagnasang maging isang malayang bansa mula sa mga dayuhang mapaniil at mapagsamantala. Kung paano naagaw ng mga panibagong grupo ng mga dayuhan ang kalayaang nakamit na at napairal ang mga patakaran tungo sa kanilang layunin at tinatalakay rin dito.

Paksa naman ng Yunit IV ang kasalukuyang Pilipinas at kung ano ang ugat ng mga kalagayang panlipunan umiiral ngayon. Tinatalakay rito kung paano nahirapan ang ating bansa mula sa pagkawasak nito noong Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig. Mula rito ang naging pundasyon ng mga panunungkulan ng iba’t ibang pangulo mula kay Pangulong Roxas hanggang sa Kasalukuyang panunungkulan ni Pangulong Ramos. Ang lahat ng mga paksang ito ay tinatalakay upang maunawaan ng mga mag-aaral ang kabuluhan ng nakaraan sa pag-unawa ng kasalukuyan. Inaasahang sa pamamagitan nito, malilinang ang mga mag-aaral na mulat, mapanuri, at mapanindigan.” Batario-Cristobal, et.al., “Panimula”, in *Pilipinas...Op.cit.*

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

⁸⁶¹ Here were the authors’ explanation regarding this: “Ginamit ang matataas na kasanayang pangkabatiran sa pagbabasa, pagsisiyasat, pagbubuo, paghihinuha, at pagpapahalaga upang mabago ang karaniwang pagtatalakay na nauwi sa pagbabanggit ng mga katotohanang pangyayari o di kaya’y mga katanungang tinutugon ng pagpapakahulugan sa pangungusap o paglalapat lamang. Sa mga pagsasanay na kinakailangan ang pagbabasa, ang mga takdang sulat ay ibinibigay na karagdagan at gawaing pagpapayaman para sa mabisang pagkatuto at

in the work. In this regard, one would somehow have the impression that the book tries its best in realizing and concretizing love of one's political country, the Philippines state, through the illustration of a politico-historical basis, throughout the book.

Virtually the same would be seen in our next book, *Ako at ang Daloy ng Kasaysayan*, which is written for grade 5 pupils in elementary schools. The tripartite periodization was applied therein; while basic political awareness and consciousness, most especially in relation to love of one's country, was being imparted. It is virtually the elementary version of the high school textbook, which was that of Gonzalez, et.al., for this historians' generation. It is generally the embodiment of an heir to the third generation history textbook writers, during the times of Filipinization of the practice of history, in the written discourse, specifically for Filipino school children. On the other hand, our fourth textbook for the year 1996, *Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas (Sa Diwang Makabayan)*, somehow managed to combine the general traits found in the first and second (and so, in this sense, also the third) books. Though its all-embracing message was nationalism, the authors also did not lose hold of the perspective --- concretized through periodization --- of the work. Efforts were exerted, in order to realize a Filipino perspective therein. History was divided into four big portions: *Ang Pagbabalik Gunita sa Simula ng Bansang Pilipinas* (Review of the Beginnings of the Philippine Republic), *Landas sa Pagsasarili* (The Way Towards Independence), *Sa Panahon ng Kasarinlan* (Period of Independence), and *Ang Makabagong Pilipino* (The Modern Filipino). Innovation exerted in Batario-Cristobal's *Pilipinas* --- e.g. periodization, contextualization, hands-on history --- and in Gonzalez's *Kasaysayan* --- e.g. multidisciplinary approach, simulations --- would also be found in the work. Furthermore, students are principally trained to think, process data on their own, plus, exert self-efforts, in order to modify learning and generally, experience the historical discipline and practice at a closer range. Authors, in a manner, encourages free thinking and innovation in the learning boundaries and atmosphere of the country's history, on the part of their target audience, the Filipino youth or the pupils of the first two levels of the country's formal learning institution. Historical consciousness, included with cultural awareness, national identity, etc., was at the same time being promoted.

This would be continued in the textbooks published in the following years; that is, between 1997 to 1998. Ibon Foundation came out with two history textbooks during this period; in 1997, it came out with *Ang Kasaysayan at Pamahalaan ng Pilipinas*⁸⁶² (The History and Government of the Philippines) for high schools and in 1998, with history textbook, *Sibika at Kultura sa Umuunlad na Pilipinas*⁸⁶³ (Civic and Culture of the Developing Philippines) for grades schools. The former, with the massive

maunlad na kasanayang pandamdamin." Gonzalez, et.al., "Paunang Salita", in Gonzalez, et.al., *Kasaysayan at... Op.cit.*, xii.

⁸⁶² Ramon Guillermo and Sofia-Guillermo-Almirante, *Ang Kasaysayan at Pamahalaan ng Pilipinas*, Manila: Ibon Foundation, Inc., 1997.

⁸⁶³ Maria Theresa Nera-Lauron, *Sibika at Kultura sa Umuunlad na Pilipinas*, Manila: Ibon Foundation Inc., 1998.

exception on the language utilized, is not so different with the previously published Ibon textbook of the 80's. It is the concretization of the nationalist spirit⁸⁶⁴ present in many history textbooks of the third generation history textbook historians, which was led by Agoncillo and Constantino. There weren't many new historical details, meanings, and interpretations expressed in the book's length. The narrative it delivered was, basically, already told. Nonetheless, like already mentioned, the language it used made the book quite different from its forerunners. It effectively and formally presented and practiced history, not as *history* like in the past, but as *kasaysayan*; that is, as part of the new historiography, *bagong kasaysayan*, of the present Filipinos' generation. This revolutionary difference (and considerably more!) is also present in the foundation's 1998 history textbook publication for grade 5 pupils. Though evidently written to suit the minds and comprehension abilities of 10-11 year old school children, it was able to deliver quite a density of historical details and information through some of the most integrative methods of learning of the times and context.⁸⁶⁵ Historical data and interpretations developed during the previous years were integratively included in its narrative. Practical quizzes and history-applicative activities were especially written, for example, at the end of every chapter. A relatively robust history textbook was, in this regard, somewhat made friendlier to not only school teachers, but most especially for pupils as well.

The same general trait could also be found in our last textbook for our set period, *Ang Bayan Ko*⁸⁶⁶ (My Bayan). Like *Sibika at Kultura* above, it is specifically written for grade 5 pupils, according to the set standards and measures of the DECS, as well. It also contains both the frequently utilized data of the earlier historiographical years as well as the most recent history data and information of the immediate years⁸⁶⁷; plus, it also presented practical quizzes and activities in every chapter end. And though like its immediate forerunner, it focused on colonialism as the most historically revolutionary event in the narrative, its utilized medium of instruction --- namely, P(F)ilipino --- made it still part of the cutting edge of the new historiography of the times and context, *bagong kasaysayan*. It is therefore

⁸⁶⁴ Consider its chapters-plan: 1. Ang Mga Katangiang Pangheograpiya ng Pilipinas, 2. Ang Unang Panahon sa Pilipinas, 3. Ang Pagdating ng mga Kastila, 4. Ang Pamahalaang Kolonyal, 5. Ang Panlabas at Panloob na Hamon sa Pamahalaang Kolonyal Noong Ika-17 at Ika-18 na Siglo, 6. Ang Nasyonalismong Pilipino, 7. Ang Himagsikang Pilipino, 8. Ang Himagsikang Pilipino (Ikalawang Bahagi), 9. Ang Okupasyong Amerikano, 10. Ang Kampanya Para sa Pagsasarili at ang Komonwelt ng Pilipinas, 11. Ang Pangalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig, 12. Ang Ikatlong Republika ng Pilipinas, 13. Ang Pamahalaang Pilipinas. Guillermo and Guillermo-Almirante, *Ang Kasaysayan...Op.cit.*, p.5.

⁸⁶⁵ The book is divided into 8 general portions: Unang Bahagi, Pilipinas: Bansang Mayaman, Bansang Malaya; Ikalawang Bahagi, Ang Pananakop sa Pilipinas at Pag-aaklas ng mga Pilipino; Ikatlong Bahagi, Ang Pakikipaglaban Para sa Kasarinlan; Ikaapat na Bahagi, Ang Pilipinas: Tungo sa Pagsasakit; Ikalimang Bahagi, Ang Ikatlong Republika ng Pilipinas; Ikaanim na Bahagi, Ang Batas Militar at ang Ikaapat na Republika; Ikapitong Bahagi, Pagbagsak ng Diktadura, Panunumbalik ng Pag-asa; Ikawalong Bahagi, Ang Pamahalaang Pilipino. Nera-Lauron, *Sibika...Op.cit.*, iii-x.

⁸⁶⁶ Restituta San Pedro-Guerra and Erlinda F. Andal, *Ang Bayan Ko 5*, Quezon City: Abiva Publishing House, Inc., 1998.

⁸⁶⁷ It also has eight general parts/ units; that is: Unang Yunit, Ang Mga Unang Pilipino; Ikalawang Yunit, Mga Pagbabago sa Panahon ng mga Espanyol; Ikatlong Yunit, Panahon ng Amerikano; Ikaapat na Yunit, Panahon ng Komonwelt; Ikalimang Yunit, Panahon ng mga Hapones; Ikaanim na Yunit, Panahon ng Ikatlong Republika;

part and parcel of the new pulse, of the new perspective and message of the present historians' generation to the Filipino people, who are the subject-target of their professional exertions. It is part of the new historians' pursuit to dialog and discuss with the bayan; it is part of the diachronic discourse between the historian and his subject-target, the Filipino people. It is, in this regard, one of the further proofs that the new generation of historians specifically direct massive publication according to their recognized set philosophy and principles, which, as already discussed in the previous chapters of this study, challenge the traditional perspective on history and its practice, inherited from the archipelago's colonizers. Though basically practicing the same profession, the practitioners of the latter school (let's call it history school) somewhat felt attacked by the actions and activities of the practitioners of the former (pantayong pananaw or bagong kasaysayan school). Actions and reactions were called for; and they, expectedly enough, would accordingly be realized. Exchanges of articles, conference papers and conference philosophical directions between the two schools would eventually ensue. A number of arguments and points of differences would be presented and discussed by each side in the mentioned publication venues; and so, a form of *historikerstreit*, would be, in the end, contextually and historiographically created. In a manner, a kind of synchronic historical discourse between the ranks of Filipino historians --- from both the two schools of thought -- - was begun.

Curiously enough, these exchange of opinions did not immediately take the written form. It begun with mere exchanges of oral opinions on the general theme; and consequently, polarized the relatively small number of Filipino historians into two opposing historiographical sides. These argumentation would only have its publicly delivered, then, eventually written and/ or formal forms between 1992 till 1998. M.S. Diokno, in her paper "Philippine Nationalist Historiography and the Challenge of New Paradigms"⁸⁶⁸, represents the embodiment of this critique of the history school of thought on the pantayong pananaw/ bagong kasaysayan school of thought. In a manner, the former school --- declared as Philippine nationalist historiography --- stated itself almost like a stature, which has to defend itself against the onrush of new paradigms, namely the pantayong pananaw, in historiography. After an overview of its understanding of pantayong pananaw, it embracingly stated that its subject --- pantayong pananaw --- is essentially a mere declaration of aspiration; that is, the desire of the historian to engage in a historical discourse with the Filipino people through the language of the latter. The new paradigm, it immediately added, has, however, many questionable areas, most specifically in connection with its theory and method. Corollarily to this declaration, hence, it generally presented five major arguments against the latter. First, it questioned why a reactive nationalist history, in

Ikapitong Yunit, *Ang Pilipinas sa Ilalim ng Batas Militar at Ikaapat na Republika*; Ikawalong Yunit, *Ang Pilipinas sa Panahon ng Bagong Republika*. Ibid., iii-xii.

⁸⁶⁸ Ma. Serena Diokno, "Philippine Nationalist Historiography and the Challenge of New Paradigms", Paper read at the Colloquium on Indigenous Southeast Asian Historiography, 13th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, Tokyo, Japan, 5-9 September 1994.

defense of self or nation (people), could not be accepted as a collective, indigenous act.⁸⁶⁹ It is convinced, that a reactive history is a step towards the building of the nation; that is, just as the Philippine Revolution was a movement for liberation from Spain, active in nation-building but also reactive against Spanish revolution. Second, it questioned the possible realization of what Salazar (as the leading exponent of *pantayong pananaw*) declared about the presence of an internal mechanism⁸⁷⁰ in the development of the Filipinos as a people.⁸⁷¹ For Diokno, this assertion would then basically mean that the historian would constantly spend his professional exertions --- through the examination of the past and provision of facts --- in his need to prove, that this internal mechanism actually exists. The past though is made by the people's actions; and so, when the historian read this past according to how he sees fit, and not according to how it was, then a problem of interpretation on the part of the historian was already at hand. Third, Diokno questioned the credence of *pantayong pananaw*'s claim that Filipino Philippine history should not be written in any other language, other than Filipino.⁸⁷² She is convinced, that the language does not necessarily figure as the most important element in a work; the content/ text of the work should necessarily figure as the most essential. Fourth, the denigration of *pantayong pananaw* proponents to reactive, defensive history (implication to nationalist history) and the intrinsic nature of their school of thought itself --- that is, in its determination to liken and fit itself according to pronoun designation, that is, as *pantayo* (we) which is different, from *pangkami* (you) and *pansila* (they) --- one would automatically think that the latter is in its essence, reactive as well.⁸⁷³ It is reacting to the points of view, which it designated as you and they perspectives. And fifth, *pantayong pananaw* is dogmatic⁸⁷⁴; and in a sense, preventive of differences of opinions, of discourse

⁸⁶⁹ Diokno said: "For example, why cannot reactive history also be indigenous? Is not defense of self or nation (people) a deliberate, collective indigenous act? More important, is it not, too, a step toward building a nation in a popular sense? The Philippine revolution was a movement for liberation from Spain, proactive in the sense of creating a nation but also reactive against Spanish domination. Why should the two be viewed as separate?" *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸⁷⁰ Cf., Salazar, "A Legacy of the Propaganda: The Tripartite View of Philippine History", in Salazar, *The Ethnic Dimension...Op.cit.*, p. 126.

⁸⁷¹ Diokno declares: "...That there is "an internal mechanism" must be constantly proven by examining our past and providing the facts; or that there ought to be remains to be created today and in the future. The first is the historian's task; the second, the people's. The two intersect but their roles are distinct. It is the job of the historian to interpret facts already established or uncover facts yet unknown. On the other hand, it is by the labor of the people that reality is fashioned, ideally but not often enough in keeping with their aspirations. The problem with mixing the two is that the historian can manipulate the first in order to suit the second." Diokno, *The Nationalist...Op.cit.*, p. 5.

⁸⁷² "Let us say a work written in Filipino is substantially foreign or pro-foreign in orientation (as were the pro-U.S. bases leaflets circulated a few years ago, written in Filipino for mass consumption). Does that make the work indigenous even if its thrust is decidedly pro-foreign? In other words, is expanding the arena for discourse through the use of Filipino language the sole consideration in the construction of an indigenous history? Does not content figure at all?" *Ibid.*

⁸⁷³ "...By setting "we" apart from "you" and "they", the *pantayo* perspective responds basically to the differences among the three points of view, particularly in the Filipino language which has a special way of including and excluding parties outside the self. In a very real sense, therefore, the *pantayong pananaw* is as reactive as history from below is to history from above, or history of the inarticulate is to history of the articulate." *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸⁷⁴ "The universal, all inclusive "we" perspective has time and again proven to be a useful rhetoric tool, in politics, as well as in historiography. This is so because, as the *pantayo* approach unwittingly demonstrates,, as did colonial scholarship before it, historical discourse boils down to a question of power. Certain paradigms are so passionately argued (regardless of their theoretical fragility) that they tend to acquire dogmatic proportions. I

and discussions, and of debate and opposition. Diokno warned that passionate declarations on the part of the pantayong pananaw school could amount akin to hegemony; and so, to dangerous grounds of monotony and prevention of actual historical discourse --- implying, of course, to that between historians themselves.

Contextually considered, the figurative answers or replies to this argumentation from the part of the pantayong pananaw school came just a week and a half later, after the above paper's actual oral presentation. F. Llanes presented "A New National Perspective in Filipino Historiography"⁸⁷⁵ to --- ironically enough, like Diokno's paper, beforehand --- an international conference audience. The general tone of the paper is not defensive nor offensive; and so, in this regard, not quite reactionary to Diokno's argumentation. It is a formal statement, an explanation of what the time's Filipino perspective --- the pantayong pananaw --- is, through the plotting of its beginnings and major developmental trends and strains in the years following till the present. And curiously enough, the statements made throughout the text seemingly answered the argumentations thrown by the history school through Diokno's paper on the pantayong pananaw (PP) school. It principally declares that PP is a development of the historiographical analyses during the 70's, which unwittingly recognized that the problem with written earlier Philippine histories was their utilized perspective, and corollarily to this, their methodology. PP, in this regard, seeks both the revision of Philippine history and the plotting of Philippine historiography within the context of a critique of Philippine historical writing. Traditional historiography (read: nationalist or reactive history) could not be indigenous, for it is virtually based and structured to fit and address a foreign audience or, to be more appropriate, a foreign-tongue speaking audience.⁸⁷⁶ The Filipino people, for the historian, then was a mere object --- never a partner --- in the resulting historical discourse. Histories were therefrom produced according to the terms of the foreign speaking partners. They were made to continually prove the existence of the country's own civilization; there were, therefore, no serious efforts in the inquiry about the "internal dynamics of Philippine society as it evolved over the centuries"⁸⁷⁷. Any actual discourse with the people was, in a sense, completely put aside. Historians seek to write histories, which virtually seek approval from the addressed foreign audience. This was efficiently done through the utility of a foreign language, the American English, and the application of their categories and idiom.

respect and appreciate the passion (which has the effect of heightening conviction), but when historical paradigms are enforced as dogma, there lies the danger...Why engage in discourse at all if everyone thinks in the same way? To guard against this danger, it is important that Filipino historians enlarge the space for discussion and debate and treat discourse, as Jenkins so aptly puts it, as an "embattled terrain." Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁸⁷⁵ Ferdinand Llanes, "A New National Perspective in Filipino Historiography", Paper read at the International Workshop in Historiography and National History, September 18-22, 1994, Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

⁸⁷⁶ Llanes stated: "...For pantayong pananaw, then and now, Filipino thinkers and historians have viewed Philippine culture and history in light of the perspective of the foreigner or the former colonizer. The idea has been that Filipinos have written about their own history but in the manner of reporting to a foreign audience (who used to be a master). They have not communicated to the Filipinos themselves in a common discourse. Of course, they have written these works for the consumption of fellow Filipinos but these speak of the Filipino people only as an object of a discourse with a foreigner..." Ibid., p. 2.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid.

Periodization, in accordance, is virtually controlled by foreign experiences on the islands; apropos, colonization would be the fulcrum of history. Consequently, the message of written history would be this, namely, the Filipino people would never be without the colonial experience. A national history narrating the continuous development of indigenous social formation was, in this sense, completely lost.⁸⁷⁸ National history was, in effect, merely a discourse of the few foreign speaking lot; that is, the discourse of the elite. In order to remedy or correct the situation, national history had to be brought back to the Filipino people; national history should be transformed into an internal discourse among the people. And this is exactly what PP aims to do; that is, to write Philippine history in terms of the people's culture, which is basically coded in their language, P(F)ilipino. Concepts, categories, and models would consequently be looked and analyzed according to this code. Produced written history would expectedly not reactive to foreign influence (read: colonization, colonial experience) anymore. National history would then emphasize the cultural singularity of the Filipino people, within the context of the national polity. The narrative would discuss the internal mechanism which transform the Filipino people towards a community and eventually, a civilization.⁸⁷⁹ History would, in effect, not be reactive; it would be individually independent. It addresses the Filipino people, according to their own language and measures; it addresses the Filipino people, towards the consequential construction of an internal discourse within a singular cultural whole. It addresses the Filipino people as both "we" and "us", as it is always meant the P(F)ilipino pronoun, *tayo*. In this sense, it widens the horizons for the historians. A number of history and history-related research possibilities were opened for him. The historian was not limited by the strict norms of the foreign scholars anymore; he is given more freedom for both research, inquiry, and interpretation. This time, he could put norms and standards of his own people, in the practice of the discipline, in application. And so, on the contrary, PP is not dogmatic. This is proven the healthy production in terms of research inquiry, both in the academic and the popular areas, of today's historical discipline. Llanes, in this regard, enumerated the productive exertions of the PP school⁸⁸⁰; that is, most especially, in the specific areas of history of mentalities, history of the indigenous roots, investigations on the spatio-cultural aspects, and even in area studies research.

⁸⁷⁸ Llanes explained, "...The problem with this is not exactly the opposition to colonialism or imperialism per se but the glossing over or even rejection of the indigenous discourse. The assertion that such a problem merely reflects an elite attitude of accomodation with or subservience to the foreigner could be correctly and sharply stated. Thus, even if historical works would assail the former coloniser, the periodization therein remains attached to the coloniser as its reference point. A schema for national history, framed by the continuities of an indigenous social formation, could not be imagined." *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸⁷⁹ Llanes said, "...The emphasis (of the national history schema) is the becoming of a cultural entity into a national project. In the narrative, the discourse deals with the internal processes of becoming as a community and as a civilisation. It grapples with the interaction of early Filipinos with te physical environment, the evolution of a worldview, the formation of an ethnic state, the continuities of these beginnings under conditions of external interruption, and so forth, ans so on, showing a motion of development within. Of course, it still deals with colonisation but it approaches this from the perspective of the motion and the continuities of the bayan. Finally, the discourse is in Filipino, explicitly addressed to the Filipino people, using concepts and categories drawn from their cultural experience." *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

In a view, hence, contrary to the fears of the history school, the existence and further development of PP actually provides further room for discussion and discourse.⁸⁸¹ The above discussed exchange of opinion representatively embody the synchronic form of this. That is, in addition to the diachronic form which PP begun with the Filipino people themselves. These two forms are the new Filipino historical discourse. They are virtually today's general classification of channels and roads, wherein developments and progress in Philippines and Filipino historical discipline are exerted and executed. They are done in P(F)ilipino and published in the Philippines; that is, within the general philosophy of the we perspective, of PP, as the major developments of the new history, bagong kasaysayan. Progress in method and in narratives' individual interpretations and meanings were consequently reached and practiced, in the process. The sole utility of the historical method does not necessarily spell the production of an appropriate history anymore. It became largely accepted that a historian should either utilize the multidisciplinary or, better still, the interdisciplinary approach in the practice of the discipline. This embroadens not only his potential historical data sources, but his methodological procedural horizons for the analysis, interpretation, and writing of the narrative as well. The historian, in this regard, is given all the gradations of the various sciences' lineal extremes measures, in order to arrive at the answers to his historical question and/or inquiry. The historian is, henceforth, metaphorically given more than enough room for innovation. And so, accordingly enough, Filipino historians answer to the invitation. Researches and innovations, represented by the presented theses and dissertations to formal learning institutions, between the period 1993 until 2000 greatly feature this creative reply(ies). The revolutionary production in this area in 1992 would be followed by more dynamism and creativity in the years following. The researchal impetus, featuring Filipino mentalite, ethnicity, and general historico-cultural identity, would be deepened and even furthered towards specialized history areas, which were beforehand relatively unchartered. And accordingly enough, the presented studies during the period were undeniably parts and portions of the new historiography, of bagong kasaysayan; that is, because the lot of them were conceptualized, written, and delivered in the medium of the new historiography, in Pilipino.

The general trend of interest is the history of the surfacially voiceless, of the powerless, of the poor; and so, the history of the articulated on "Filipino people" or "Filipino masses" of the earlier portions of historiographical development. Young historians want to put them in the limelight. They wanted the long accepted metaphorical form take physical, actual form; they wanted the peripheral figures of

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 7-12.

⁸⁸¹ This discourse is considerably so broad, that it is not only exclusively participated in by professional historians, in the especial ranks of intellectuals, but by other members of the social sciences as well. Included in the proofs of this accepted discursive participation are: Arnold Molina Azurin, *Reinventing the Filipino Sense of Being and Becoming. Critical Analyses of the Orthodox Views in Anthropology, History, Folklore, and Letters*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995; Fernando Villarca Cao, *Retracing the Shadows, Refracting the Light. Critical Outlines Toward a New Historiography*, San Pablo City: Oraciones, 1996; Virgilio Enriquez, *Pagbabangong Dangal. Indigenous Psychology and Cultural Empowerment*, Quezon City: Akademya ng Kultura at Sikolohiyang Pilipino, 1994.

earlier written history take centerstage in their production, in their professional exertions as historians. Consequently, young historians were able to effectively make the earlier unarticulated, speak, conceptualize, idealize, etc. for themselves. V. Paz in his study *Mula kay Kapitan Kulas, Patungo kay Ka Dodo: Isang Pag-aaral sa Pagsulong ng Tradisyon ng Pakikibaka, 1930-1936*⁸⁸² (From Kapitan Kulas, Towards Ka Dodo: A Study on the Development of Struggle-Tradition, 1930-1936) researched and explored on the tradition of peasant armed struggle in the Philippines. It inquired on the tradition of social banditry as an exemplar history of the marginalized groups⁸⁸³, of the criminalized communities in the mountain ranges, of the considered criminals by the social order on the flat lands. Expectedly, in application to the new historiography, he did not limit himself in merely utilizing written sources --- or formally considered documents --- for his work; Paz utilized newspaper reports, interviews, pictures (and so, applied semiotics) as well. Earlier presented studies, most especially that of Abrera⁸⁸⁴, were also discussed on the research inquiry specifics, in order to particularly delve on the numismatics of the anting-anting utilized by the studied social bandits. The earlier conceptualizations and applied innovative methods within the developing new historiography were, in this regard, somewhat continued as well as being modified and further realized.

This continual discourse among historians is reflected in the following works as well. R. Bailon's *Ang Panginigibang-Bansa ng mga Taga-Currimao, 1921-Kasalukuyan. Isang Pasalitang Kasaysayan*⁸⁸⁵ (The Overseas Migration of the Currimaos, 1921-Present. An Oral History) effectively pioneered a particular work, which is generally exemplification of an ethnographical migration theory on a local history work scale, through the greater utility of oral history techniques. Methodologically considered, hence, it conceptualized and systematically practiced oral history⁸⁸⁶ as the main source of historical

⁸⁸² Victor Joaquin Paz, *Mula Kay Kapitan Kulas, Patungo kay Ka Dodo: Isang Pag-aaral sa Pagsulong ng Tradisyong ng Pakikibaka, 1930-1936*, Quezon City: U.P. M.A. History, 1994.

⁸⁸³ Paz explained, "Sa pangkalahatan, maaring sabihin na si Asedillo ay nasa kamalayan na ng tao ngunit wala halos kaalaman tungkol sa kanyang pagkatao at mithiin sa mga batis ng nailathala. Ang bansag na bandido o tulisan sa nasabing grupo ay naging sapat na dahilan kung bakit hindi gaano ito binigyan ng pansin. Ang tradisyon ng panunulat ng kasaysayan na nagbibigay halaga sa mga tinatawag na "marginalized groups" ay relatibong may kabaguhan. Maliban dito, hindi katulad ng mga taong nailagay sa mga aklat ng kasaysayan na nanggaling sa uring ilustrado o naghaharing uri, wala halos makikitang mga pangunahing dokumento na direktang nakaugnay kay Asedillo o kay Encallado. Karamihan ng kanilang mga personal na mga papeles at dokumento'y nakuha ng Konstabularyo at higit na marami pa ang nawasak noong Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig o di kaya'y nawasak ng kusa ng panahon at pagbabalewala..." Ibid, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁸⁴ Cf., Abrera, *Ang Numismatika...Op.cit.*

⁸⁸⁵ Rowena Quinto-Bailon, *Ang Panginigibang-Bansa ng mga Taga-Currimao, 1921-Kasalukuyan. Isang Pasalitang Kasaysayan*, Quezon City: U.P. M.A. History, 1994.

⁸⁸⁶ Bailon explained, "...Ang pagtalakay sa migrasyon sa pag-aaral na ito ay napapaloob sa konteksto ng bagong kasaysayan kung saan ang paksa ay lumilihis na sa mga aspetong pulitikal at pangkalahatang sitwasyon ng bansa sa ilalim ng mga dayuhan. Tinitingnan nito ang mga elementong nakakaapekto o nakapag-papabago sa kaayusang panlipunan na nakaugat sa ating kultura. Sa bagong kasaysayan, lumalawak na ang teritoryo ng historyador dahil sa tinitingnan nito ang iba't ibang aspeto, pumapasok dito ang interdisiplinaryong pamamaraan nakung saan ginagamit ng historyador ang mga pamamaraan ng iba't ibang disiplina at sa pag-aaral na ito ang demograpiya, ang sosyolohiya, ang antropolohiya at ang sikolohiya."

"...Sa pamamagitan ng pakiki-panayam ay nakuha ko ang mga kakulangang hindi naibigay ng mga nakasulat na dokumento...Ang metodolo-hiyang pasalitang kasaysayan ay napakahalaga ng metodo sa pagbubuo ng kasaysayan ng isang maliit na bayan. Karamihan sa mga nakasulat na batis ay patungkol sa mga pangunahing

data for an ethnographical/ cultural historical study of a migrating population. Oral history could, therefrom, be not merely considered as a supportive data source in an historical work, it could be the primary data source, with the document --- the written sources --- as the secondary materials source. In addition, the interdisciplinary methodological procedure is also applied in the work; and so, demography, sociology, anthropology, and psychology acted as major auxiliary disciplines in the presented work. Bailon, in effect, was offering an innovative technique in a generally considered local study, featuring migration history.

In the meantime, M. Tulio essentially did the same in her presented study the following year. She offered an alternative view on the historical areal study of Mindanao Philippines or on the areal studies of the Muslim Filipinos in her work, *Panahon ng Rebolusyon. Mula 1892-1902 sa Mindanao*⁸⁸⁷ (Revolutionary Period. Mindanao, 1892-1902). She viewed the area in the context of the national revolution in the late 19th century; that is, with the applied principle that Mindanao and the Muslims are effectively part of the nation-state Philippines, and so, element and participative as well of the national revolution, aiming at expelling the foreign colonizers from the whole archipelago of the said period. The 1896 revolution has always been considered as mostly a movement of the center, a movement generally participated in by the people of the main island of Luzon. Tulio's work aims to prove otherwise; it aims to declare that the revolution had a real national in character, people of the southernmost island --- Mindanao --- participated at the same time with Luzon people as part of one revolutionary movement. In a manner, the work is a further example of the history of the periphery, the history of the forgotten in the earlier written works; that is, as an elemental constituents of the essential, ideal part and portion of the more appropriate new history of the Filipino people of the present times and context, as part of the bagong kasaysayang pambansa. Every historian of the times, in one way or the other, has the same vision in his mind: the realization of a better, more appropriate national history. And so, corollary to this, all the exertions of every historian cooperatively and coordinately moves towards this vision's metaphorical realization. F. Gealogo's dissertation, *Kabayanan, Kabahayan, Kababaihan: Ang Kasaysayan at Demograpiya ng San Jose de Malaquing Tubig*⁸⁸⁸ (Kabayanan, Kabahayan, Kababaihan. A History and Demography of San Jose de Malaquing

bayan sa Pilipinas gayunpaman sa mga nakasulat na ito ay marami pa ring puwang na matatagpuan... Ito ang pinakalayunin ng pasalitang kasaysayan, ang mangalap, magrekord, mag-ayos, at mag-preserba ng mga datos....”
 “...Napapalakas ng pasalitang kasaysayan ang pagkatotoo o kredibilidad ng mga nakasulat na batis. Sa pamamagitan din ng panayam ay maaring makakuha ng mga ideya tungkol sa kaisipan at damdamin ng mga tao, bagay na nakapakamahalaga sa pagsusulat ukol sa kanilang karanasan at pananaw...”

“Ang pasalitang kasaysayan ay hindi mahirap kung ang mananaliksik ay kabilang mismo sa kulturang pinag-aaralan... Ang aking pakikipanayam ay natural at para lamang akongnakikipag-huntahan... Sa pamamagitan ng aking pakikipaghuntahan sa kanila ayaking nailapit muli ang aking sarili at sa pamamagitan ng kanilang pakikipagkooperasyon at maalab na pagtanggap sa akin na matagal ding nawala ay aking naunawaan ang damdamin ng ilang migrante kung bakit ninanais nilang bumalik sa aming bayan...” Ibid.

⁸⁸⁷ Marilyn Tulio, *Panahon ng Rebolusyon. Mula 1892-1902 sa Mindanao*, Quezon City: U.P. M.A. History, 1995.

⁸⁸⁸ Francis Alvarez Gealogo, *Kabayanan, Kabahayan, Kababaihan: Ang Kasaysayan at Demograpiya ng San Jose de Malaquing Tubig*, Quezon City: U.P. Philippine Studies Diss., 1995.

Tubig), is not an exemption to this. In this study, Gealogo utilized the three concepts and conceptualizations of kabayanan (town), kabahayan (house clusterings), and kababaihan (women)⁸⁸⁹ as major elemental markers in monitoring changes, movements, and developments within a demographical history, in a local scale. The three are inherently connected which each other; they contain both the attribution of individuality and collorality, for each is a singularity of meanings, as well as a modification and definition of the others in the group. The three though, as a compound main theme in a historical work, are considerably unimportant in the earlier studies. They represent forms of peripheries, in this regard, as well. Focus on them in a demographical and/ or historical work is not only pioneering, it also embody a potential, new perspective in a relatively older particular area (demography) of the greater disciplinal area of historical research. In effect, the work, just like all the other in the new historiography, virtually showcased, the historian taking charge of his science, through the command he basically concretizes in the perspective to be read in his produce.

R. Mactal accomplished the same in his work, *Hongkong Junta/Comite Central Filipino, 1896-1903: Ang Pagpapatuloy ng Rebolusyong Pilipino sa Ibang Bansa*⁸⁹⁰ (Hongkong Junta/ Filipino Central Committee, 1896-1903: The Philippine Revolution's Continuation Overseas), which discussed developments within a division in the Filipino army during the second portion of the formally taken up Philippine Revolution against the Spain. The theme of the work is not necessarily new; but the perspective utilized in the work presents, nonetheless, a refreshing difference in its actual deliverence and expression. Both the actual and implied message, in the process, of the work becomes quite different than those of the same theme in earlier published works. The work is, in this regard, definitely part of the times' discourse on the 1896 Philippine Revolution as a national, well-thought out people's movement, which did not completely stop afte the 1897 Pact but continually pulled through till 1903. It is part of the intellectual trend, which is stimulated by the centennial celebration of the revolution starting 1992 till 1998.

This could only be nominally accepted as a truance in P. Reyes's *Isang Kabanata sa Kasaysayang Intelektwal ng Pilipinas. Panahon at Kaisipang Pangkasaysayan ni Pedro Paterno*⁸⁹¹ (A Chapter of the Philippine Intellectual History. The Times and the Historical/ Historiographical Thought of Pedro

⁸⁸⁹ He explains, "...mahalaga sa pag-aaral ang pagtingin sa tatlong antas ng kabayanan, kabahayan, at kababaihan bilang mga pangunahing lokus ng pagsusuri sa kasaysayang demograpikal... Ang pagtatakda sa tatlong nabanggit ay bunga na rin ng pangangailangan ng maunawaan ang mga nagaganap na kalagayan at proseseong demograpikal sa iba't ibang dimensyon ng antas ng pagkaranas nito: sa antas lokalidad na pinangyarihan ng kalagayan bilang karanasang pambayan; sa antas ng mga pangkat na magpapakita ng kolektibong karanasan ng tao ukol sa mga pangkat na magpapakita ng kolektibong karanasan ng tao ukol sa mga katangiang nabanggit; at sa antas ng indibidwal na siyang nagbibigay katangian sa mga partikular na karanasan ng mga tao bilang isahang kalagayan nito. Magka-gayunman ang pag-iiba ng tatlo, mahalagang banggitin na ang mga ito ay tinitingnan bilang magkakaugnay, kung hindi man, nagbibigay-kahulugan sa isa't isa." Ibid., pp. 12-13.

⁸⁹⁰ Ronaldo Mactal, *Hongkong Junta/ Comite Central Filipino, 1896-1903: Ang Pagpapatuloy ng Rebolusyong Pilipino sa Ibang Bansa*, Quezon City: U.P. M.A. History, 1996.

⁸⁹¹ Portia Reyes, *Isang Kabanata sa....Op.cit.*

Paterno), for it particularly discussed a controversial, highly quarrelled upon man during the revolution, Pedro Paterno. This man is for quite a while --- most especially starting the times of the third generation history textbook writers --- now accepted as the traitor of the revolution. The study put forth a different view of the same man. Paterno was studied within the context of his times; and he was studied as an intellectual, through the measures and standards of an intellectual history, and not through the usual political history of the past. The goal was to present the life and thoughts of Paterno, as a scholar and historian, and to feature these presentation as portion of the national intellectual history of the Philippines, most especially for the disciplinal area of history and historiography. Among the realms of philosophization, the work helped at the conceptualization of an intellectual history⁸⁹² and somewhat effectively reunited the disciplinary areas of philosophy and history, which anyways started during the ancients as one and the same. Methodologically, it applied what were already begun in the presented studies of the new historiography; but concretely tended on the utility of philosophy, material anthropology and hermeneutics as major auxilliary sciences. Generally, the work aimed at commencing studies on the particular area of intellectual history or history of ideas of the Philippines and its people, as, expectedly enough, part of the general all-embracing ideal national history of the land and its inhabitants.

This pioneering trend would be essentially continued in the following years. F. Gatan renewed interest and reconceptualize the idea and practice of ethnohistory (ethnokasaysayan) in her presented work, *Isang Durungawan sa Kasaysayang Lokal ng Nueva Vizcaya: ang Nakaraan ng mga Isinay at Ilongot, 1591-1947*,⁸⁹³ (A Window Towards the Local History of Nueva Vizcaya: the History of the Isinay and Ilongot, 1591-1947). Though local/ regional history in territorial scale, it featured and practiced the principles of an ethnohistory, because it thematically discussed the history and development of two neighboring ethnolinguistic groups of the same area. These two are the Isinay and Ilongot, long inhabitants of the mountain ranges of today's Nueva Vizcaya, which is now highly populated by another linguistic group, the Ilocanos. How these groups contrastively, symbiotically, parallelly lived with each other through times and context within the same region, is the main theme of the work. And while most of these groups were considerably non-documenting groups for quite a

⁸⁹² Reyes explained, "Sa pinakamalawak nitong esensya, ang tinatalakay ng isang kasaysayang intelektwal ay ang lahat ng katunayan ng pagproseso ng ideya ng sangkatauhan. Ang pinakama-halaga nitong batis ng kaalaman ay ang mga isinulat at produkto ng pilosoper, alagad ng sining manunulat siyentista na naimortalisa sa kanilang mga obra o di kaya'y sa mga tanging kasaysayan ng mga espesipikong disiplina na kanilang kinabibilangan --- pilosopiya, panitikan, sining, agham, relihiyon, at iba pa. Ngunit ang isang kasaysayang intelektwal ay hindi abla sa buod o kahit na esensya man lamang ng kanilang m g a obra; higit sa lahat, ang isang kasaysayang intelektwal ay may layong malaman ang paraan kung paano kumalat ang ideya ng isa o higit pang dalubhasa sa isanglipunan; may layon itong pag-ugnayin ang isang ideya sa isang banda, at angisang partikular na pangkalahatang paniniwala, kagustihan, o di intelektwal na salik ng isang lipunan sa isang banda. Sa pinakamakitid na paraang ng isang epektibong kalakarang pangkaisipan; ngunit sa pinakamalawak na paraan, ang isang kasaysayangintelktwal ay malakpit na sa ismag uri ng paglalalahad ng retrospektibong sosyolohiya ng kaalaman." Ibid.

⁸⁹³ Fe Yolanda Gatan, *Isang Durungawan sa Kasaysayang Lokal ng Nueva Vizcaya: ang Nakaraan ng mga Isinay at Ilongot, 1591-1947*, Quezon City: U.P. M.A. History, 1997.

number of centuries, their historical study is considerably part of ethnographical/ ethnological history of our present's scholarship measures; and so, ethnohistory. Gatan necessarily had to define ethnohistory⁸⁹⁴, its standards, and its practice in the philosophical framework of her work. She did this, in the light of the new historiography, in the light of pantayong pananaw and bagong kasaysayan; and in the process, defined and realized ethnokasaysayan.

This new perspective could also be basically be found in the presented urban history by P. De Castro in his *Ang Pisikal na Pag-unlad ng Maynila Mula 1571 Tungo sa 1593. Batay sa Pagsusuri ng Istorikal na Mapa ng Maynila*⁸⁹⁵ (Manila's Physical Development, From 1571 to 1593. In Accordance to the Study of Manila's Historical Maps). It presented an urban history of Manila through the general application of numismatics, or, in particular through the utility of historical maps as primary sources of historical data and information. In effect, the work made a form of marriage between the disciplinal sciences of history and geography⁸⁹⁶; in order to come up with its considered historical narrative of an urban context. More and more, it would be seen that new historians hencefrom, in the practice of the interdisciplinary (or sometimes, multidisciplinary) method in the realization of the historical discipline, choose a particular disciplinal area, which they could consider as major auxilliary discipline in their narrative. B. Conde in her work, *Ang Potograpiya Bilang Batis Pangkasaysayan Tungo sa*

⁸⁹⁴ Gatan explained and termed it then as ethnokasaysayan; she said, "May malakas na kaugnayan ito sa paglilinang ng mga kasaysayang lokal at rehiyonal na binibigyang halaga ang pag-aaral ng kasaysayan mula sa ibaba sa halip na mula sa mga imposisyong ideolohikal na naka-angkla sa mga klaseng nakapangyayari. Tunay ngang nakaangkla ang etnokasaysayan sa kultural na pluralidad ng lipunang Pilipino at ang mga samo't saring pagkakahati-hati na makikita sa kaniyang istruktura."

"Kung hihiwagin ang etnokasaysayan ay nakatuon sa dalawang bagay: una sa etnograpiyong historikal at pangalawa, ang historiograpiya ng mga grupong etniko. Ang una ay isang muling pagbubuo sa paglalarawang etniko ng isang nakaraang bahagi ng kultura ng grupong binabanggit, partikular ng isang paglalarawang nakabatay sa dokumentong nakasulat at batay sa panahon ng nasabing kultura...Ang ikalawang pinagkakaabalahan ng etnokasaysayan ay ang historiograpiya ng mga grupong di marunong magbasa't magsulat. Ito'y may kinalaman sa pagbabago-bago ng mga porma, istilo, at interpretasyon ng literaturang historikal ng mga grupong etniko... Mahalaga ito sa pagturo ng mga pagbabagong kanilang dinanas lalo na't sa kontekstong kultural, kinakailangang matarok kung anong tungkulin mayroon ang tradisyon sa lipunang kapanabaw o kapanahon." Ibid.

⁸⁹⁵ Patrick Anthony De Castro, *Ang Pisikal na Pag-unlad ng Maynila Mula 1571 Tungo sa 1593. Batay sa Pagsusuri ng mga Istorikal na mapa ng Maynila*, Quezon City: U.P. M.A. History, 1997.

⁸⁹⁶ De Castro explained, "Ang pag-aaral ng pisikal na pag-unlad ng Maynila ay ginawa sa pamamagitan ng pag-aaninag ng pag-unlad ng build-up ng lungsod. Batay sa heyograpiyang pananaw, ang build-up ay bahagi ng lungsod na ang mga gusali at iba pang inprastruktura ay hindi pinaghihiwalay ng mag taniman o gubat; ang pagpapatayuan ay nagkakumpulan; at ang espasyo ng lote ng mga tirahan at iba pang inprastruktura ay regular. Kaya ang nasa loob at gilid ng magkakadikit na inprastruktura ang bahagi ng lungsod na kasama sa build-up; samantala ang nasa labas ng pook ng pagkukumpulan ng mga inprastruktura at regular na pagsasaayos ng mga lote nito ay ipinalalagay na nasa labas ng build-up ng lungsod.

Tuluyang pinag-aaralan ang build-up sa disiplina ng heyograpiya na ang pangkalahatang paksang pinag-aaralan ay ang relasyon ng tao sa kaniyang kapaligiran. Unang pinag-aaralan ito bilang bahagi ng malaking aralin ng settlement studies sa Heograpiyang Pang-tao (Human Geography), isang bahagi ng heyograpiya na umunlad patungo sa dulo ng nakaraang siglo (ikalabing siyam), nang ang interes nito tungkol sa naturang paksa ng heyograpiya, ang pag-aaral na relasyon ng mga grupo ng tao sa kanilang magkakaibang pakikibagay sa bawat uri ng topograpiya sa isang rehiyon ay inilapat sa konteksto ng lungsod upang malaman naman kung ano ang iba-ibang uri ng pakikibagay ng tao sa mga bahagi ng lungsod." Ibid.

*Pag-aaral ng Kalinangang Bikol*⁸⁹⁷ (Photography as Historical Source-Materials. Towards the Study of Bicol Culture) chose photography as an ethnological disciplinary assistance in the production of an ethnographical history. Photos were mainly utilized in the work as the primary materials of the actual historical narrative. In a manner, the principle: photos in history, history in photos was applied and practiced in the work.

N. Santillan principally applied the same principle in his presentation. But instead of using still shots, he utilized moving pictures --- movies --- as his primary materials; and so, *pelikula sa kasaysayan, kasaysayan sa pelikula*, films in history, history in films. His work though is in the general area of institutional history, that is, *Kasaysayan ng LVN Pictures (1938-1961): Isang Ambag sa Pag-aaral ng Pelikulang Pilipino*⁸⁹⁸ (History of LVN Pictures, 1938-1961: A Contributory Work Towards the Study of Filipino Films/ Movies). It concentrated on the developments of one film production firm, which caused not only the film industry's development, but all-encompassing film production's development of the Philippines through the years as well. The implied message, of course, of this study --- just like all the studies of the new historiography --- is to prove and showcase that Philippine history is operationally independent. It could stand on its own. It does not have to showcase the history of the west, so as to prove its very existence as an historical whole. Within the historical occurrences of the country are unique internal mechanisms, which make them happen and continually exist through times and context as a singular land and people. That is why, it is extremely important that today's considered traditions be connected with that of the ancients; that is, that today's Philippines and Filipinos be narratively united with that of the ancient communities, who lived and inhabited in the same region of the archipelago. O. Tonsay in his *Pakikidigmang Ampibyong Pag-uugat sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas (800 B.K.-1946)*⁸⁹⁹ (Marine Wars: Beginnings in Philippine History, 800 B.C.-1946) and V. Villan in his *Hangaway: Ang Pakikidigma ng mga Hukbong Panayanhon sa Himagsikan, 1896-1907*⁹⁰⁰ (Hangaway: Panayhon's War Culture During the Philippine Revolution, 1896-1907) essentially exerted efforts in realizing this in their studies. Tonsay connected today's marines' war ways and techniques to that of the *piratical* traditions of the ancient communities on the islands, roughly starting in 800 B.C. Villan, on the other hand, the battle techniques and viewpoint of the Panayanhon (people of Panay) during the Philippine Revolution to the ancient war viewpoint and techniques of the earlier communities, embodied in their concept of hangaway. Both of these studies utilized the usual historical method, the expected interdisciplinary procedure; but tended to gravitate on the utility of comparative historical linguistics, in order to support their hypotheses. That is,

⁸⁹⁷ Mary Bernadette P. Conde, *Ang Potograpiya Bilang Batis Pangkasaysayan Tungo sa Pag-aaral ng Kalinangang Bikol*, Quezon City: U.P. M.A. History, 1998.

⁸⁹⁸ Neil Martial Santillan, *Kasaysayan ng LVN Pictures (1938-1961): Isang Ambag sa Pag-aaral ng Pelikulang Pilipino*, Quezon City: U.P. M.A. History, 1998.

⁸⁹⁹ Omar T. Tonsay, "Pakikidigmang Ampibyong Pag-uugat sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas (800 B.K.-1946)", Quezon City: U.P. M.A. History, 1998.

⁹⁰⁰ Vicente Villan, *HANGAWAY: Ang Pakikidigma ng mga Hukbong Panayanhon sa Himagsikan, 1896-1907*, Quezon City: U.P. M.A. History, 1998.

because, this is necessary in the interpretation and reading of folklore and oral traditions of the particular population areas, they concentrated on.

This could not be completely said on our last exemplar, R. Hernandez's *Mapanuring Paglilimbag: Isang Pagsasalin at Pagsusuri ng Historia de la Insurrección Filipina en Cavite (Kasaysayan ng Paghihimagsik ng mga Pilipino sa Cavite) ni Don Telesforo Canseco, 1897*⁹⁰¹ (Critical Editorship: A Translation and Critical Analysis of 'History of the Philippine Insurrection in Cavite' of Telesforo Canseco, 1897), for his primary material source is in the written form. Nonetheless, it is still very much a part of the new historiography; for it embodies the realization of its accepted philosophy, methodology, and accepted meanings and interpretations. In fact, it is the furtherance and continuation of the already earlier presented study of Lapar⁹⁰² in 1992. It is a critical analysis and comprehensive annotated translation of a long accepted documentary source on the Philippine Revolution of 1896. It is one of the evident representations of the philosophical stand of young historians; and it is one of the further proofs that there is a continuous written discourse between and among the same through the years. Historians are communicating and discussing among themselves; so as they could more effectively communicate and discuss with their subject-target audience, the Filipino people. The discipline history is being continually developed in the process. New interpretations, new meanings are procedurally being added to the newly structured narrative of history. They are discussed and applied in the various publications of the new pulse; that is, of the new history, of bagong kasaysayan. In effect, these new interpretations and new meanings slowly became the widely utilized conceptualizations within the narrative of the new history.

Among the already explained concepts of pamayanan, bayan, sambayanan, bansa as major considerable organizing singularities pertaining to the historico-cultural whole, which is the Philippines and its peoples, indigenous, supportive and compacting concepts referring to the development of the Philippines as political singularity were also inquired in, researched, and discussed in publications. This efforts concentration was done, like already mentioned, as contributory professional actions, in occasion with the celebration of the centennial celebration of the 1896 Philippine Revolution. This would be facilitated by the start of the series of monographs, under the banner of "Bagong Kasaysayan", through the BAKAS⁹⁰³, starting 1997. Curiously enough, in its first publication, included with the actual monograph is the much cited work of Z. Salazar of 3 years beforehand, which basically answers S. Diokno's questions in her paper. According to Salazar,

⁹⁰¹ Jose Rhommel Hernandez, *Mapanuring Paglilimbag: Isang Pagsasalin at Pagsusuri ng Historia de la Insurrección Filipina en Cavite (Kasaysayan ng Paghihimagsik ng mga Pilipino sa Cavite) ni Don Telesforo Canseco, 1897*, Quezon City: U.P. M.A. History, 1998.

⁹⁰² Cf., Lapar, *Ang Liham ni...Op.cit.*

⁹⁰³ This is the short version of *Bahay-Saliksikan ng Kasaysayan*, a publication office, which was specifically grounded for bagong kasaysayan works and which started publishing historical works in year 1985.

Hindi sinasabi saan man na mali per se ang “pangkaming” historiograpiyang pamana ng Propaganda, tulad ng ipinangangalandakan ng ilan... Lamang, hindi ito angkop sa pagtuklas ng kakanyahang pambansa sapagkat --- dahil reaktibo at nakikipagtalastasan sa Kanluran sa wika, kultura, at diskurso nito --- nakakabit talaga ito sa penomenong “kolonyal” na sa kahabaan ng kasaysayan... ay napaikli... Hindi tuloy mula sa loob ang pagtingin sa ating kasaysayan kundi mula sa labas.

Kaya walang pasubaling magagamit ng “pangkaming pananaw” ang katagang “indegenuous” (katutubo) para tukuyin ang historya o histori ng Pilipino sa kanyang reaktibong punto-de-bista. Kabalintunaan kung tatawagin ng pantayong historiograpiya ang sarili bilang “indiheno” o katutubo. Katutubo lamang ang Pilipino kung siya ay pinagmamasdan mula sa labas, sa perspektiba ng o bilang reaksyon sa banyaga. Para sa sarili niya, ang Pilipino ay Pilipino, piryod; “katutubo” lamang siya kung idinidiin niya ang buod ng kanyang sarili vis-à-vis sa dayuhan (pangkaming pananaw) o kung ang banyaga ay iginigiit ang kaibhan ng Pilipino sa kanya (pangkayo o pansilang pananaw). Sa dalawang kaso, may paghahambing: nakakabit ang Pinoy sa iba; hindi niya inautupag ang pagpapalitaw ng kanyang kasarinlan/ kakayahan mula sa loob ng kanyang kalinangan at ayon sa kanyang pagkakaunawa sa sarili; nanganganino o pinanganganino lamang siya.

Kaya talagang “indegenuous” (indeheno) ang reaktibong kasaysayan, bagamat, sa loob ng mapagsalungat na pagpapahalagang ito, mahirap sigurong bigyan ng tumpak na kahulugan ang konseptong “collective indogenous act”, sapagkat kailangan dito na ang lahat sa isang grupo ng tao ay nakaharap (at kumakausap) sa banyaga at tumatanggap sa dikotomiyang katutubo/ banyaga, kung saan ang “katutubo” ay ang Iba at ang kanyang pagkaka-Iba ay nakasalalay sa pagtingin at pagtatakda ng banyaga (na siya naman talagang Iba para sa naturang grupo)...

Ang kasaysayang may pantayong pananaw ay hindi maaring maging “indegenuous”, sapagkat hindi ito inuulat sa alinmang banyaga (sa imahinasyon man o sa reyalidad) kundi sa sarili, sa loob ng sariling kalinangan, ayon sa mga katagorya ng kalinangang iyon. Ang “pook pangkasaysayan” ay ang sarili at ang pagpapakahulugan ng “materyang pangkasaysayan” ay nagmumula at nakatuon dito...⁹⁰⁴

With these statements, the PP school virtually relegated the allegations of the nationalist historiography (history) school to the background; and at the same time, declared and firmly decided that it would concentrate its energies on its most important job --- history making. That is, with the

⁹⁰⁴ Zeus Salazar, “Panimula” in Salazar, et.al., Agosto 29-30 1896. Ang Pagsalakay ni Bonifacio...Op.cit. Also in Zeus Salazar “Isang Paglilinaw”, in Z. Salazar, “Ang ‘Real’ ni Bonifacio Bilang Teknikang Militar sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas”, Bagong Kasaysayan. M g a Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas, Lathalain Blg. I, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1997. <It was never declared that the pangkami historiography ---Propaganda’s inheritance --- is not right. It is merely inappropriate towards the national capabilities determination, because it --- being innately reactive and communicative with the West, in language, culture, and discourse --- is intimately connected with the “colonial” phenomenon, which, in turn, made the perspective on a long national history effectively short. Our national history is thereby effectively seen from the outside, and not from the inside. This is the reason why the pangkaming historiography could, in illustration of its reactive perspective, easily characterize Filipino history as “indigenous” (katutubo). It would be a paradox, if the pantayong historiography would qualify itself as “indigenous”. The Filipino could only be indigenous, if he is looked at from or looked in reaction to the outside. Inside himself, a Filipino is a Filipino, period. He is only indigenous if he would like to stress the heart of himself in the face of a foreigner (pangkaming perspective) or if a foreigner stresses his difference to the Filipino (pangkayo or pansilang perspective). In both of these cases, a comparison is always present --- the Filipino is thereby always connected with the Other; he does not illustrate his own individuality/ capability from the inside or on the basis of his own culture and understanding of himself; he is merely phantomizing or being phantomized by somebody else.

In this regard, reactive history is really indigenous. Upon closer study, however, it is also a contradiction in itself. The phrase “collective indigenous act”, for example, could thereby be difficult to define and conceptualize. In a collective indigenous act, it is necessary that everyone in a unified people’s group faces (and addresses) the foreigner and accepts the dichotomy indogenous/foreigner, wherein and indogenous is the Other, and his Other-ness is based on the perspective and measures set by the foreigner (who is actually the Other for the said group, on the first place)...

A kasaysayan with pantayong perspective could never be indigenous, because it is not being reported/ delivered to any foreigner (not in imagination nor in reality). It is being delivered to oneself, to the internality of one’s

taken consideration that production and publication would then be both its witness and speaker. Conceptualization, theoretization, and newest, most innovative researches of the PP school would thenceforth be accordingly published in this monographs series. Salazar begun the series himself. The first two publications of the series were monographic expressions on the discourse on Andres Bonifacio in the context of the Philippine Revolution; that is, *Ang ‘Real’ ni Bonifacio Bilang Teknikang Militar sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas*⁹⁰⁵ and *Si Andres Bonifacio at ang Kabayanihang Pilipino*⁹⁰⁶. These two monographs principally discussed and proved, that Bonifacio was an actively and strategically thinking general during the wars of independence against Spain, while featuring this singular message within and upon the practice of conceptualization and standards of the Filipino people from the ancient times onwards. Corollarily, in the first monograph, in order to explain Bonifacio’s genius as a military general and tactician, Salazar introduced and critically analyzed the man’s war plan, with the “real” as its fulcrum. Bonifacio’s real, according to Salazar, was his back-up plan, if his actual offensive military attack against the Spaniards do not work out.⁹⁰⁷ It is in areas designated as real (could be within cave formation, or in the mountains, or in the forests) that the troops could retrench, when the attack of Manila would fail. Within the reales, the troops could further regroup, accumulate energies, and plan further attacks and/ or battles against the enemy. Salazar traced this strategic thinking to the ancient conceptualization and practiced tradition of *ilihan*, *banua*, and *bayan*; and then, he plotted along the text, how these conceptualized strategy was put into practice and was manifested throughout the years, even going back during the period of the Austronesians on the archipelago.⁹⁰⁸ The reales, Salazar opined, were concretized evidences, that Bonifacio during the revolution was expecting and planning for a relatively longer military struggle against the enemy. And curiously enough, his war plans corollarily passes and contextually appropriates to the mentality of the Filipino peoples from the most earliest years of material culture existence on the archipelago.

culture, based on the categories of the same culture. The historical context therein is the self; and the conceptualizations of the historical materials comes from and is directed in it as well.>

⁹⁰⁵ Zeus Salazar, “Ang ‘Real’ ni Bonifacio Bilang Teknikang Militar sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas”, Bagong Kasaysayan. Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas, Lathalain Blg. I, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1997.

⁹⁰⁶ Zeus Salazar, “Si Andres Bonifacio at ang Kabayanihang Pilipino”, Bagong Kasaysayan. Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas, Lathalain Blg. 2, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1997.

⁹⁰⁷ Salazar explained, “...Ibig sabihin, para kay Bonifacio, isang bahagi ng maingat na istratohiyang militar ang paghahanda ng “real”; kung hindi magtatagumpay ang direktang pagsalakay sa Maynila, maaring umatras at magkuta sa naturang bundok at sa iba pa, upang mula sa mga baseng ito ay ipagpatuloy ang laban...” Salazar, *Ang Real...Op.cit.*, p. 2.

⁹⁰⁸ And so, he concludes, “Nakaugat sa isang malalim na kasaysayan ang “real” ni Bonifacio. Bilang *ilihan*, bahagi ito ng pakikidigmang Austronesyano, bilang pag-urong ng bayan sa isang ligtas na lugar, kadalasan isang burol o bundok o kahit na malalaking punongkahoy (*Bagobo*). Bilang pakikidigmang bayan, angkop ang *ilihan* sa simula sa baitang ng kaingin bilang tipo ng produksyong agrikultural. Nang naging mas marami ang tao at mas matatag ang lipunan sa antas ng *balei/ balen/ bayan*, naging mas matatag din ang *ilihan* at iniuugnay sa permanenteng tirahan (na maaaring may kuta na nga); ngunit, kahit na rito, ang *ilihan* ay isang muog sa malayo at liblib na lugar sa kabundukan. Ang nakita ng mga Kastila ay laganap na nang maraming siglo. Sa panahon ni Bonifacio, ginawa ang *ilihan*, bilang *real*, na teknika ng pakikidigmang panghimagsikan – i.e., kung “*nalalaginlin*” ang mas malawakang pagsalakay. Ipinaloob samakatuwid ang *real* sa istratohiyang matagalang digmaang panghimagsikan, isang ideyang magiging mas lantad lamang sa buong daigdig sa tinatawag na “*kilusang mapagpalayang-bayan*” ng Ikatlong Daigdig.” *Ibid.*, p. 30.

The same historiographical narrative direction could also be found on the second monograph, wherein Salazar discussed Bonifacio within the context of the Filipino people's oldest conceptualization of heroism or, to be exact, *kabayanihan*. In the narrative, Salazar basically explained, why Bonifacio is not a hero, but a bayani. Historical and inherent conceptual differences between the two concepts, hero and bayani, were then stated and discussed. The two were, in this connection, contextualized in their appropriate world conceptualizations and expected realities they considerably belong in. The former is evidently a foreign concept, a creation of a particular historico-cultural whole, different from that on the islands; the latter, on the other hand, was featured as inherently rooted to the historico-cultural whole, which was continued and survived by the Filipino people of today. The former was accordingly assimilated by the elite, colonized, economically better off Filipinos; while the latter was continued and passingly utilized by the greater numbered economically poorer Filipinos, the bayan. Bonifacio, in this regard, was not a hero; for the cultural whole that he aimed to create in his historical actions was not appropriate nor even just comparable to the visionaries of a hero in a particular formally political state (*estado*), but the cultural wholeness envisioned and idealized by a bayani of a historico-cultural bayan.⁹⁰⁹ The two concepts of hero and bayani, thence, represented two strains and directions, which existed and continued parallel to each other from the latter half of the 19th century onwards on Philippine soil. They represent two different worldviews, two entirely different movements in the country's history; and so, in today's reality, they represent the two portions, which is created through the great divide (*dambuhalang pagkakahati*) in the country's population. The first was artificially created through the onslaught of foreign ideas from the outside, while the latter was natural, long created and developed by the ancient communities on the archipelago, and continued by the greater number of Filipinos --- the bayan --- throughout the years. Though parallelly existing, the two could not really communicate with each other; they have and speak different languages.

This different languages --- and so, conceptual worlds --- became evident and concretely shown during the coup de etat that Aguinaldo accomplished, when he and his ilustrados followers took over the leadership of the revolution against Spain from Bonifacio and his group starting in 1897. As this happened, the bayani's movement for the actualization of bayan/ bansa was formally ended, while the hero's movement for the actualization of the political state was formally started. For Salazar, the former's movement is appropriately *paghihimagsik*; while that of the latter's is what was later on recognized as the political independence struggle or *revolucion* (revolution).⁹¹⁰ The existence and

⁹⁰⁹ And so, Salazar concludes, "Ang pagsasaayos ng kabuuan, hindi lamang sa larangan ng praktika, kundi pati at laluna sa ispiritwal, ay isang katangian ng bayani. Samakatuwid, ang pagbubuo ng Bansa ay banal na gawain ng mga tunay na bayani ng ating panahon, panahong lipos pa ng kabayanihang taal-sa-Pilipino ni Bonifacio." Salazar, Si Andres...Op.cit., p. 54.

⁹¹⁰ Zeus Salazar, "Wika ng Himagsikan, Lengguwahe ng Rebolusyon: Mga Suliranin ng Pagpapakahulugan sa Pagbubuo ng Bansa", Bagong Kasaysayan, Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas, Lathalain Blg. 5, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1998. Also in Atoy Navarro and Raymund Abejo (Mga Pat.), Wika, Panitikan, Sining at Himagsikan, Lunsod Quezon: LIKAS, 1998.

realization pursuits of these two within a singular political movement metaphorically created confusion and misunderstanding, for each represented a specific world of meanings and conceptualization, in the seemingly singular vision of creating a political state by both the anak ng bayan and the revolucionarios during the last years of the 19th century. Their continuous existence during those times became witness to two different group's particular pursuits of realizing two specific meanings and interpretations. Here was how Salazar categorically classified the differences between these two ideas:

Table 8
Differences Between Revolución and Himagsikan⁹¹¹

Kategorya (Category)	REBOLUSYON	HIMAGSIKAN
Pinagmulan (Roots)	Rebolusyong Pranses (French Revolution)	Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas (Philippine History) Kalinangang Pilipino (Filipino Culture)
Dalumat (Concept)	Nación	Inang Bayan
Batayang Kalinangan (Cultural Basis)	Kanluranin/ Kastila	Pilipino/ Austronesyano
Tagataguyod na Uring Sosyal (Supporting Social Class)	Creole/ mestizo/ ilustrado	Magsasaka/ manggagawa/ ilang ilustrado o principalia
Ideolohiya (Ideology)	Liberalismo ng ika-19 na dantaon (19 th Century Liberalism)	Kalayaan/ kasarinan/ kaginhawahan ng Bayan/ liwanag at dilim/ katwiran
Pagsasagawa (Procedure)	Palitan ang mga Kastila sa estadong kolonyal --- i.e., pagpapatuloy nito, ngunit sa mga kamay ng ilustrado (Remove the Spaniards from the colonial state --- i.e. its continuation in ilustrados' hands)	Tumiwalag sa "Inang Sukaban," itatag ang isang bagong estado (Haring Bayan); pagbabalik-loob/ pagbabalik sa dati (Completely separate from the oppressive mother, establish a new state --- Haring Bayan, return to oneself/ return to the old)
Baitang ng Pagsulong ng Konsepto (Conceptual Developmental Steps)	Pransya-Amerika Latin-Creole at mestiso sa Pilipinas Ilustrado (tangay di-umano ang mga kliyente nito bunga raw ng "patron-and-client" relationship) (France-Latin America-Creole at Philippine Mestizos Ilustrados --- who are allegedly influenced by the patron-client relationship)	Himagsik Pagbabangon Pagtatanggol sa sarili Paghihimagsik 1. Pagbabalik sa dati 2. Pagbubuo ng bagong kabuuang sosyo-pulitikal-kultural Himagsikan (sama-sama) para kay Inang Bayan

⁹¹¹ Blended two tables, which were originally entitled: "Talahanayan D Pagkakaiba ng Rebolusyon at Himagsikan" and "Talahanayan E Kaayusang Pulitikal ng Nación and Bayan", Ibid., p. 71 and p. 78.

Uri ng Kabuuan --- Kaayusang Pulitikal (Individuality - -- Poltical Organization)	Organo (Organ)	Nación REPUBLIKA (Filipinas)	Buong istruktura ng kolonyang Kastila (Whole Spanish colonial structure)	Inang Bayan Kapatiran/ Haring Bayan (Katagalugan)	Katipunan, balangay, atbp.
	Pamunuan (Leadership)		“may pinag-aralan” (abogado, hal.) o may karanasan sa mag organo ng estadong kolonyal (hal. Gobernadorcillo, atbp.) (institutionally educated e.g. lawyers or those with experience in the colonial state organ e.g. petty governors)		Lahat ng mga Kapatid maaaring mamuno, batay sa kalinisan ng loob (liwanag) at katwiran (Everyone of the Brothers/ Sisters could lead, based on his/ her loob’s purity (light) and reason)
	Paraan ng Pagpili (Procedure of Choice)		Kastila --- representasyon (Spanish --- representation)		Direktang halalan (Direct democracy)
	Ugnayan (Relationship)		Pormal (may uniporme, atbp.) (Formal, with uniforms, etc.)		Di-pormal (Unformal)
	HUKBO (Army)		Konskripsyon/ binabayaran/ bahagi ng nación (Conscripted/ paid/ part of the nation)		Walang bayad Buong bayan (lahat ng mga kapatid) ang Hukbo Ang ANB ang bumubuong nakikipaglambang Hukbo (Not paid The whole Bayan --- all the Brothers/ Sisters are part of the Army The ANB is made up of battling Army)

The two concepts are, as would be noted, inherently different. Like illustrated above, they are categorically different in roots, conceptual framework, cultural context, sponsoring social class, ideology, actions and executions, conceptual development, and aimed political organization. Each of them has a particular conception of the kind of order and system, it aims to create in a foreseen future. And though both basically work for change on the archipelago, *revolucion* essentially aim for change through forces and/ or pressure from outside the land, while *himagsikan* particularly aim for change through forces from inside the land and people themselves. The former dependently look on the outside for help, while the former independently worked on helping itself to the change, which it desires and/ or wishes.

Expectedly enough the analyses made in the historical narrative discussed above is interdisciplinary in nature. Comparative historical linguistics as well as ethnography were, for one, groundly utilized, in order to arrive at the conclusive remarks of the text. These two disciplinal directions, including hermeneutics, anthropology, and *sikolohiyang Pilipino*, seem to be some of the most popular among the *bagong kasaysayan* historians as auxiliary sciences to history. Z. Salazar's "Ang Babaylan sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas"⁹¹² displays this even further. In this work, the ancient position of the *babaylan/ catalona*⁹¹³ (priestess) is contextualized within the larger theme of the Filipino woman through periods of Filipino history. After her loss of power and stature in the community upon the coming of the Catholic male priests, she became suppressed and had to generally take the role of the Christian church-going religious, who assists the Catholic secular priests in the maintenance and overall management of the church. The woman, hence, became largely nailed to the role of assistanceship in the church, or of a mother and housewife, or management of small businesses, or other daily, boring everyday existence. She virtually lost her ancient status of power and influence in the community. Fortunately though, in quite many communities in the mountain ranges as well as in a number of Muslim communities, where the ancient ways were still maintained and practiced, the woman's high stature was somewhat retained. She still takes the role of being the keeper of both the intellectual and scientific knowledge of the community; as well as acts as the traditional priestess, most especially in *lumad* (ethno-linguistic groups) communities. Furthermore, in today's world, through formal and institutional education, the Filipino woman slowly takes over the roles that was taken from her during the times of colonization. She is now back as a doctor, psychologist, teacher, even historian. She is accumulatively and alternatively regaining her role and taken up works in the ancient community as a *babaylan*. In the meantime, her ancient know-how in medicine and religion is also being continued by a new breed of *babaylanes*; that is, the faith healers, who feature most clearly in the various *kapatiran* (religious groups) in the different mountain ranges of the archipelago. And so, according to Salazar,

⁹¹² Zeus Salazar, "Ang Babaylan sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas", *Bagong Kasaysayan. Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas*. Lathalain Blg. 4, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1999.

⁹¹³ For the modified discussion on the ancient role and works of the *babaylan*, please see Chapters 1 and 2 of this study. Zeus Salazar, Milagros Guerrero, Fe Mangahas are some of the more influential Filipino social scientists as well as authorities, specializing on the theme of the *babaylanes/ catalones* in Philippine History.

Narito pa sa ating piling ang mga babaylan, samakatuwid. Sa katunayan, hinuhubog pa nila ang lipunan at kalinangan Pilipino, at patuloy pa nilang huhubugin ang Kapilipinuhan. Subalit hindi pa rin sila magkakaugnay. Mula sa mga faith healer at kababaihan ng mga kapatiran hanggang sa mga “makabagong” propesyonal na babae o “modernang Pilipina”, walang pagkakapatuloy-tuloy, sa isip man o sa gawa. Inapo man sila ng babaylan sa diwa, babaylan man talaga silang lahat, hindi pa rin sila nagkakaintindihan hinggil sa mga pangkabuuang elemento ng ating kasalukuyang lipunan at kalinangan. May dakilang pagkakahating pangkalinangan pa rin tayo, kahit na sa hanay ng mga babaylan. Magkatalikuran pa rin ang mga babaylan ng elite at mga babaylan ng tunay na Pilipino.⁹¹⁴

In this regard, the work effectively connected the ancient woman to the modern woman of today; and corollarily, regarded their roles as one and continuous through times and contexts in history. While necessarily giving research and analyses attention to one of the considered minorities in written social scientific work, which is relatively representative of the research focus of the new Filipino history, the work serves the purpose of expressing both historical and cultural identity among its target Filipino --- or to be appropriate this time, Filipina/ women --- readers. It is an exemplar of both pantayong pananaw and bagong kasaysayan at its finest; and expectedly enough, it would be furthered by the series within the year and in the immediately following hencefrom. New theories and new perspectives would be published. In the general classification of minorities and ethnicity in history, N. Kimuel-Gabriel's study on the timawas (roughly translated and referred to today as shameless, free-loading, using individuals) through the different periods in Filipino history⁹¹⁵; M.J. Rodriguez's study on the women in Philippine Revolution⁹¹⁶; and M. Paluga's study on the concept and interpretation of the araw (sun) and gahum (hegemonic power) of the religious group, New Israel, in the mountain ranges of Mindanao⁹¹⁷ came out. In the revolution discourse, P. Reyes' study on the Philippine Revolution as it was reported in German newspapers⁹¹⁸, and Z. Salazar's study on Emilio Jacinto's Kartilya in relation to the Filipino psyche through history⁹¹⁹ were published. And then, in the realm of historiography, A. Navarro's "Ang Bagong Kasaysayan sa Wikang Pilipino: Kalikasan, Kaparaanan,

⁹¹⁴ Salazar, "Ang Babaylan...Op.cit., pp. 24-25. <The babaylans, hence, are still among us. In fact, they continuously shape the Filipino community and culture; and they would continue shaping the Filipino people in the future. From the faith healers and the millenarian groups' women towards the modern, professional women or the modern Filipina --- there are, unfortunately, no particular continuities; that is, not in thought nor in deed. Eventhough they are actually the spiritual granddaughters of the ancient babaylans or eventhough they are all babaylans anyways, they could still not communicate with each other, because of the presence of the all-encompassing elements in our present society and culture. Though you are all babaylans, the great divide still exist among you. The elite babaylans and the Filipino babaylans still continuously have their backs on each other.>

⁹¹⁵ Nancy Kimuell-Gabriel, "Ang Timawa sa Kasaysayang Pilipino", Bagong Kasaysayan. Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Lathalain Blg. 3, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1999.

⁹¹⁶ Mary Jane Rodriguez, "Ang Kababaihan sa Himagsikang Pilipino", Bagong Kasaysayan. Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Lathalain Blg. 7, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1999.

⁹¹⁷ Myfel Joseph D. Paluga, "Araw" at "Gahum" ng New Israel sa Mindanaw. Isang Pag-aaral sa Sekta ng Moncado Alpha Andomega sa Perspektibang Historiko-kultural, Bagong Kasaysayan. Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Lathalain Blg. 9, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 2000.

⁹¹⁸ Portia Liongson Reyes, Ang Himagsikang Pilipino sa mga Pahayagang Aleman, Bagong Kasaysayan. Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Lathalain Blg. 5, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1999.

⁹¹⁹ Zeus Salazar, Ang Kartilya ni Emilio Jacinto at ang Diwang Pilipino sa Agos ng Kasaysayan, Bagong Kasaysayan. Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Lathalain Blg. 6, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 1999.

Pagsasakasaysayan⁹²⁰ came out. PP as a school of thought and its concretized product in historiography, Bagong Kasaysayan, is clearly gaining great grounds and influence --- most especially, with regards to the number of its publications --- in young Filipino historians. It would not be too much to say, therefore, that they seemingly found logic, reason, and comprehension in both the philosophy and methodology of the new historiography. Furthermore, they found publication chance and space for their newest researches and interpretation in the apparatus of the new pulse. And naturally, in a oldies turfs system like history, the last is quite a fresh, welcome innovation for the young intellectuals. Young historians are, in this regard, being heard and, on top of it, being read. The Filipino vertical intellectual discourse on history and historiography includes and welcomes their participation. Communication and discussion were being proceeded to; and accordingly enough, it was not too long, that opposition and differences within the general ranks became considered, and, not surprisingly enough, found publication. In effect, the earlier two-parties discourse --- between the nationalist historiography (a.k.a. history) school and the pantayong pananaw (a.k.a. bagong kasaysayan) school --- became quite modified to include two other *alternative* perspective on Filipino history and historiography. These *new* perspectives are generally termed and referred to as the ***makabayang kasaysayan*** and ***kasaysayang bayan***.

Makabayang kasaysayan (literally, pro-bayan history) is the representative embodiment of the renewed and seemingly appropriated (to the greater intellectual currents) nationalist historiography school; that is, most especially between years 1996-2000. It has two elementary concretized streams, in terms of publication. The first stream, while once and a while utilizing italicized or quoted F(P)ilipino terms in its conceptualized need to explain the people's cultural personhood, maintained its inherited English medium of communication; and the second stream, while expectedly retaining its inherited philosophical and hermeneutical considerations direct from the Propaganda Movement, utilizes F(P)ilipino as its language. Recognizing the importance of using the national language, the nationalist historiography school somewhat closed a renewed compromise in its professional practice in the historiographical discipline. Though the greater number of its members still uses English in their works, for contextual political correctness reasons, they also formally recognize and accept works created and expressed in the national language. The requirement that the significant content (let's call this content philosophy) is foremost in an historical work still dominates the school of thought. It is in this context that English and Pilipino works are formally recognized as equals; that is, in the singular goal of perpetuating the nationalist sentiment among its readers. Consequently, for one, the quarterly journal Ibon EfD (Education for Development) Quarterly⁹²¹, would be seen featuring both English and

⁹²⁰ Atoy M. Navarro, *Ang Bagong Kasaysayan sa Wikang Filipino: Kalikasan, Kaparaanan, Pagsasakasaysayan, Bagong Kasaysayan. Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas*. Lathalain Blg. 11, Lunsod Quezon: BAKAS, 2000.

⁹²¹ Here is the declared philophysical stance of the institution: "Education for Development. Truly relevant education for genuine development for our people and our country. IBON believes that education is crucial in developing our people in that they may contribute to the realization of a truly just and free nation.

Pilipino articles in its publications; or to put it more appropriately, at least one to two articles in every issue of the same would be written in the national language. The historical essays, no matter in which language they were written, published therein though are still clear portions of the nationalist historiography school of thought. The content philosophy dominates all its publication on the Philippine Revolution discourse. Colonization and foreign political domination --- like what was long used to within the same school of thought --- were featured as the fulcrum within the totality of the discussion efforts. Nationalism is continuously still the most significant message in these articles; in fact, it would even be redefined within the journal by one of the most significant pillars of the school of thought, namely, R. Constantino. Consider his words,

In this age of globalization spearheaded by transnational and multinational institutions based in the North, nationalism is the only defense of countries of the South against these forces seeking to reconquer the economies of their former colonies. This is why nationalism has been under subtle attack lately, and not surprisingly, by those who would negate its essence by redefining it to suit their present political exigencies. Its fundamental principles and directions are branded as old, obsolete, and fit for consignment to the dustbin of history...Nationalism needs to be asserted with even more vigor in this age of transnationalism and globalization. Its basic premises are national sovereignty, the preservation of national patrimony, and the advancement of national interest. These premises still hold even in this age of international competition. For nationalism is neither isolation nor autarky, it is protectionism, yes, but only insofar as strengthening (not coddling) Filipino producers so they will not only survive the transnational juggernaut but also prosper in both the local and global marketplace. The industrialized countries of the North still practice protectionism...So what's wrong if we practice it when needed?⁹²²

It would, in this regard, seem that the nationalist sentiment representably contained in the quarterly is not so different from those feelings stimulated by the movement written and embodied in the Propaganda Movement of the 19th century and dominantly featured in the writings of the third generation history textbook writers. The only difference is that, instead of contextualizing it within colonization empires, it feature the same sentiments within the globalizing, diasporas-building world community. The set enemies though were still the same; they remain the foreign colonizing, empire-building West or, to put it apt in today's standards, the foreign capitalizing, protective countries of the North. And so, again, though there is apparent dislike and even contempt of the Western countries, the measures and standards of judgement within the length of the works therein are still remarkably Western as well in origin and in inherent nature. They are still portions, in this connection, of the

Education for Development represents the concept and objective of IBON's program for the formal education sector, IBON partnership in Education for Development (IPED). Launched last year, the IPED seeks to assist educators and teachers in the development of curricula, development of teacher training programs, development of textbooks and supplementary teaching materials, and development of library programs, among others for the purpose of achieving a truly relevant and transformative education for the Filipino.

Education for Development Quarterly, the journal, is part of the IPED program and will seek to inform educators and teachers on current issues facing our society, especially those with particular impact on education. We will also publish articles on matters related to curriculum development, teaching strategies and methodologies and others. We also hope that through this publication, we can develop a continuing dialogue on education, on the IPED program and how we can all contribute to a continuing effort for the development of quality, relevant and transformative education." Antonio A. Tujan, Jr., "Education for Development", IBON Education for Development Quarterly, June 1996, Manila: Ibon Partnership in Education for Development, 1996.

Western intellectual discourse; and therefore, apparent inheritors of the history (nationalist historiography) intellectual discourse. Corollary to this, the history pedagogical principle⁹²³ it has as a singular body is reflective of the same mentioned general principles.

The same general characteristics would be seen as well in two of the most remarkable published books of the greater nationalist historiography/ *makabayang kasaysayan* school of thought during the period. Though both utilized English as their medium of expression, both also formally recognized and articulate on the importance of utilizing P(F)ilipino as possible medium of expression. Both are obviously structurally designed, in order to stimulate nationalist sentiments from its target audience, who are, theoretically speaking, the Filipinos themselves. Filipino terms and concepts are graciously scattered in both the works. In fact, curiously enough, both of these national histories share the same (or at the least, similar) titles --- *Kasaysay*⁹²⁴ and *Kasaysayan*⁹²⁵. The former is a pictorial national history which

...attempt to bring the past to our people in a narrative that is easy to read. Pictures and illustrations, many of them probably to be seen only for the first time by the reader, accompany the story. What emerges is a pictorial tableau about the Philippines and the Filipinos from their pre-colonial past until their struggles for independence first against the Spaniards and then against the Americans.

The story of the Filipinos, a hospitable and patient people, is a saga of struggles to repel foreign conquest and, dominated and abused by alien rulers, to regain freedom. It is a story that merits retelling.⁹²⁶

Consequently, though it has quite a considerably hermeneutically sound title⁹²⁷, what was created is another coffee-table national nationalist history book. And though it was supposed to have been written for the people, its selling price in bookstores is not necessarily within the people-friendly rates. Our second book, *Kasaysayan*, is almost the same. It belongs to the coffee-table/ glass shelf category

⁹²² Renato Constantino, "Essays on the Centennial", *Education for Development Quarterly*, June 1997, Manila: Ibon Partnership in Education for Development, 1997, pp. 13-14.

⁹²³ This is generally discussed by the editor in chief of the quarterly; according to him, "It is time to reclaim our history and our heritage as a people. Teachers in history and social studies have a distinct responsibility in promoting the patriotic tradition of anti-colonial struggle of the Filipino people. In particular, the centennial celebration of the Philippine revolution of 1896 must be continued through the centennial celebration of the Philippine-American War that broke out in 1898. Likewise, we must also continue the struggle to rid our history of the colonial distortions and gaps." Antonio Tujan, Jr., "Lost History", *Education for Development Quarterly*, September 1998, Manila: Ibon Partnership in Education for Development, 1998, p. 4.

⁹²⁴ *Kasaysay. The Story of the Filipino People*, Manila: University of Sto. Tomas, National Historical Institute, Philippine Historical Association, 1998.

⁹²⁵ *Kasaysayan. The Story of the Filipino People. Vols. 1-10*, Manila: Asia Publishing Company Limited, 1998.

⁹²⁶ *Kasaysay...Op.cit.*, coverpage.

⁹²⁷ Here was how it explained its title in the book's introduction: "Saysay is the Filipino word for story or sense. When combined, the two applications suggests a more complex ideas, as in 'a story that makes sense.' Prefixed with ka, saysay becomes active --- an eyewitness. A story that gains credibility because it is told by one who had a part in it.

In this book, *kasaysay* becomes the collective story of the Philippines. A story of its people, from the aborigine to the modern Filipino, all of whom have made a personal contribution to national narrative. Whether that role is

history books as well. It is the latest encyclopedic type Philippine national history series; and so, highly comparable to the National Heritage series and the Tadhana volumes of the past years. It has ten volumes, namely,

- Volume 1 The Philippine Archipelago
- Volume 2 The Earliest Filipinos
- Volume 3 The Spanish Conquest
- Volume 4 Life in the Colony
- Volume 5 Reform and Revolution
- Volume 6 Under the Stars and Stripes
- Volume 7 The Japanese Occupation
- Volume 8 Up From the Ashes
- Volume 9 A Nation Reborn
- Volume 10 A Timeline of Philippine History

They were written and edited by some of newest representative of nationalist historiography of the times; meaning, the former immediate students and/or disciples of the third generation history textbook writers.⁹²⁸ In connection to this, their creation --- though containing some of the latest findings in individual researches and conceptual discourses within the different periods --- is still reflective of the inherited 19th century Propaganda Movement philosophy of the 1970's nationalist historiography. In this regard, the target audience (Filipino people) remains --- and is continually treated as --- foreign (or *native*) and outside of the historians' personal existence. And so, for the Filipino people, the work itself --- though discussing them, as a people --- remains foreign and afar; it is *about* their history and not *their* history.

The latter of these two would exerted to be done by the newest representative strain of (or along the tendencial direction of) bagong kasaysayan, or, to be exact, by the pioneers of kasaysayang bayan. According to F.Llanes, an earlier student of Z. Salazar,

Sentral sa Kasaysayang Bayan ang pagsisiyasat, pagdadalumat at pagsasalaysay (tektuwalisasyon) ng pinagmulan at dinaanang proseso ng ating pagkakabuo bilang isang bayan. Hindi lamang ang mismong konsepto ng bayan ang dinadalumat kundi ang kamalayan at ang mga kalagayang istruktural na pinagbuhatan/ pinaghulmahan nito. Sinasaklaw ng kalagayang istruktural ang materyal na kalagayan ng pamumuhay at ang mga relasyong panlipunang pinagbatayan ng kolektibong paggalaw ng taong bayan. Tinutukoy naman ng kamalayan ang kabuuan ng pagkamalay (pag-iisip) at pagdadalumat ng taong bayan sa kanyang lipunan at kapaligiran. Sa buod, pinapaksa ang konsepto at realidad ng pagsibol, pagbubuo at pagpapatuloy ng bayan sa daloy ng panahon, yaong mga batayan ng materyal at pagkaisipan ng bayan, bilang balangkas at pampaksang materyal ng pagsulat ng kasaysayan ng Bayan.⁹²⁹

active or passive does not matter. Both the leader and follower are swept by events into playing out the moment.” Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁹²⁸ Volume 1 is edited by Raymundo S. Punongbayan, Prescillano M. Zamora and Perry S. Ong; Volume 2, Fr. Gabriel S. Casal, Eusebio Z. Dizon, Wilfredo P. Ronquillo, and Cecilio G. Salcedo; Volume 3, Jose S. Arcilla, S.J.; Volume 4, Maria Serena I. Diokno and Ramon N. Villegas; Volume 5, Milagros S. Guerrero and John N. Schumacher; Volume 6, Milagros S. Guerrero; Volume 7, Ricardo T. Jose; Volume 8, Maria Serena I. Diokno; Volume 9, Alexander R. Magno; and Volume 10, Henry S. Totanes.

⁹²⁹ Ferdinand Llanes, “Kasaysayang Bayan: Pagsulat ng Kasaysayan ng Bayan (Isang Panimula Tungo sa Paglilinan), in Nilo S. Ocampo (Ed.), Mga Pag-aaral sa Kasaysayang Bayan, Adhika, Taunang Dyornal ng

And so, with these words, F.Llanes formally declared that he is coining and illustrating the conceptual definition of the *new* Filipino historiographical movement, which supposed to have started in 1989; that is, upon the first yearly conference of the ADHIKA. Though quite obvious that this definition was the reworded or rephrased version of the various definitions and illustrations of both *pananaw* and *bagong kasaysayan* of the earlier years, F.Llanes still irrevocably expresses that *kasaysayang bayan* is different from the first two.⁹³⁰ As the members-historians first met in 1989, he opined, *kasaysayang bayan* was begun. In this regard, as the present chairman of the said organization, he declared that his *kasaysayang bayan* is the name of the total historical produce of members historians of the same from that beginning-year onwards. He is not so keen on using the term “bago” for his *kasaysayan*, because he said that first, his *kasaysayan* still takes a *larger* percentage of its singularity from the ancient tradition of the same word, and second, he thinks that naming oneself as new is self-conscious and self-righteous.⁹³¹ And so, for him, *kasaysayang bayan* as a name for the historiographical movement is better for it is supposed to be more appropriate, definitive, and focused. In accordance therefrom, all the works of ADHIKA members should be

Adhika ng Pilipinas, Inc., Tomo I, 1999, Lunsod Quezon: ADHIKA, 1999, p. 7. <Central to *Kasaysayang Bayan* are the investigation, conceptualization at narration (textualization) of the start and the procedural taken way of our development, as a *bayan*. *Bayan*’s conceptualization is not its singular exertion; it also exert efforts in illustrating its establishment’s awareness and structural state. The structural state involves the community’s material state and the social relations, wherewith *bayan*’s collective movement is based. Awareness, on the other hand, refers to *bayan*’s all-encompassing mindset and conceptualization of its own society and environment. And so, to sum up, *Kasaysayang Bayan* thematizes the concept and reality of *bayan*’s beginning, establishment, and continuation within the time’s tide. It concerns itself *bayan*’s material and intellectual bases, as the framework and material theme of a *bayan*’s history’s writing.>

⁹³⁰ He explained: “Ang kategorya/ katawagan --- ang deskripsyon ng eskuwela --- ay *Kasaysayang Bayan*. Ito’y upang bigyan ng diing ang *kasaysayang* ito’y tuon sa/ hango sa bayan, hindi isang pusturang “maka”(bayan). Ang metodo rin, sa kabuuan, ay hindi mekanikal na ipinapataw mula sa labas kundi binabalangkas kaugnay ng kundi man hinahalawmula sa loob ng proseso o dinamiks ng pagkakariyang (pag-iral ng) at pagiging (pagkabuo ng) bayan. Dagdag pa sa pananaw, ang tindig ng *Kasaysayang Bayan* ay hindi depensibo o mistulang isang di-mapakaling pagtutumbas ng sarili sa diskursong banyaga; samakatuwid, hindi kailangang igiit ang sarili bilang “tayo,” (dahil isa ngang *kasaysayang* naroon na/ taal sa bayan) o idiin bilang “bago,” na kaiba sa isang tinagurian/ implisitong luma, ang (tradisyong) *Kasaysayan*, mga awit-salaysay, atbp, na siyang pinag-uugatan ng *Kasaysayang Bayan*). Ang ngalang taglay ng adhikang *Kasaysayang Bayan* ay maihalalintulad sa ibang larangang panlipunan o dalumat sa sining at agham panlipunan na ang mga pagpapalagay/ pagpapahalaga’y hango sa/ gawa ng/ naroon na/ nakaugat sa bayan tulad ng kategoryang kamalayang bayan o kaalamang bayan.” Ibid., p. 9

⁹³¹ Here are his own words: “Hindi matalas ang pagagamit ng deskripsyong “bago” sa gawain ng ADHIKA sa historiograpiyang Pilipino. Una, ang malaking tradisyong taglay ng *Kasaysayang Bayan* ay nagmumula pa rin sa diwa ng sinaunang *Kasaysayan*. Ikalawa, may dating itong self-conscious, self-righteous (tulad ng pagbabansag-sa-sariling “bago” na makikita sa bantago na mga katawagang “Bagong Lipunan” (ng pasistang diktadurang Marcos), “Bagong Hukbong Bayan” (New People’s Army), “Bagong Lumipas” (A Past Revisited, ni Renato Constantino), na malaking bahagi’y taglay pa rin ang, kundi man saklot ng, sinauna at luma. Kung simpleng tukuyin ang diwa ng gawain (*Kasaysayang Bayan*), tuwiran at depinido ang paghahanap ng perspektiba at hindi nangangailangan ng paglagi/lablis na pagtingin/pagpapahalaga sa sarili kaugnay ng iba. May panahong ginagamit din ng ADHIKA ang deskripsyong “bago” sa resolusyon nito ng pagtatatag sa pariralang “bagong historiograpiya”. Ito lamang ay nakatuon sa metodolohiya. Gayunman hindi ito nakaugaliang gamitin ng ADHIKA. Ginamit ni Jaime B. Veneracion ang “bagong” (may panipi) *kasaysayan* na ang pakahulugan niya’y pagtatagpo ng sinaunang “*kasaysayan*” at ng ideya ng “*historya*”. Kaya, hindi tali sa katuturan ng “bago”, ang partikular (at pangkalahatan) na deskripsyong *Kasaysayang Bayan* sa gawain ng ADHIKA sa historiograpiyang Pilipino ay may lapat, tiyak, at nakafocus.” Ibid., Fn. 22, pp. 21-22.

considered not anything but production of the “school of thought” kasaysayang bayan.⁹³² And so, ADHIKA’s most important present and future exertions, so officially opined its chairman, should be the realization of the new direction of the said.

Contextually and textually considered, the assertions and arguments of the above were, if not presumptuous, quite weak.⁹³³ From a supposed non-existence, it was suddenly revealed as something totally new, independent, and ingenious; and not only that, it was born, not as a normally beginning conceptual singularity, but as a fully functional 10-year old “school of thought”. Consequently, one would have an impression of a child, who after awhile of ponderance on PP and BK in the context of his version of Philippine historiographical development, most especially in the face of the seemingly irresistible Marxist⁹³⁴ structural class analysis, suddenly screamed: “Eureka! I just made an important philosophical discovery! Filipino historiography should be called from now on as Kasaysayang Bayan!” This new school of thought is better, for it declared that, it is not self-righteous⁹³⁵; and it does not only include methodological and philosophical considerations from the French tradition, it also include those from the Germans⁹³⁶ (examples: structural class analysis, *Hermeneutik*, and *das Dasein*) and Italians (example: organic society of Antonio Gramsci).

Of course, these were not in anyway completely new. As would be seen in the previous chapters of this study itself, all of them were already inclusively discussed and conceptualized within the PP and

⁹³² Included among these so-called Kasaysayang Bayan school of thought production, outside the compiled essays itself where it was supposed to be revealed and defined, were Grace P. Odal, “Ang Diwa ng Ba’i sa Kalinangang Bayan” in *Kasaysayang Bayan. Dalumat/ Siyosat sa Kasaysayang Bayan*, Lunsod Quezon: ADHIKA ng Pilipinas, Inc., 1999; and *Kasaysayang Bayan. Sampung Aralin sa Kasaysayang Pilipino*, Lunsod Quezon: ADHIKA ng Pilipinas and National Historical Institute, 2001.

⁹³³ Z. Salazar already made and published a thorough critique of this self-declared new school of thought Kasaysayang Bayan. After discussing the latent weakness and vagueness of the said, he pondered on the reasons that F.Llanes could have had in his alleged discovery of the new idea. According to Z. Salazar, “Tuloy, mahahalatang ang subhetibong faktor ay nakapaloob sa katunayan sa pagnanasa ng isang maliit na tapyas ng manggang (*Mangifera indica*, L.) hinog na, na maging kahit man lamang isang hilaw na sinigwelas (*Spondias purpurea*, L.). Gayunpaman, kahit na magkapamilya (*ANACARDIACEAE*) and mangga at sinigwelas, itong huli’y maaaring manggaling lamang sa isang tangkay ng siniguwelas na rin --- ibig sabihin, lahat na tunay na kaisipan ay kailangang magsimula sa isang binhi, sa sariling pagsisikap/ pag-iisip. Kaugnay ng lahat ng ito marahil ang obhetibong faktor --- i.e., ang pagbibigay ng panibagong pagpapahalaga ng lumikha ng “kasaysayang bayan” (?) sa dating nakahiligang Marxismo at aktibismo. Sa kabila o kaalinsabay ng “pagbabalik sa Bayan”, isang uri ng pagbabalik-loob ito kung hindi man tunay at buhos-kaluluwang pagyakap muli sa ideolohiya...” Zeus Salazar, “Pangkalahatang Tala”, in Z.Salazar, *Manifesto ng Partido Komunista...Op.cit.*, (pp. 173-193), p. 189.

⁹³⁴ A most remarkable recent study on Marxism/ Socialism in the Philippines, with a well-conceived analysis of PP and BK of Z. Salazar is: Ramon Guerrero Guillermo, Pook at Paninindigan: Mga Ugat ng Talastasang Sosyalista sa Rebolusyong Pilipino, Lungsod Quezon: Limbag Potopot at Amado V. Hernandez Resource Center, 2000.

⁹³⁵ The declaration or the clear expression of non-possession of a negated quality is of course --- so would many of today’s philosophers say --- an implied (or an unconscious) positive acceptance of the same negated quality. Two negatives, after all, still make and come up to a positive. Apropos, hence, a declaration of not being self-conscious and self-righteous is in itself a declaration of self-consciousness and self-righteousness.

⁹³⁶ Their utility of these handmaterials though are strictly relegated to the materials’ Anglo-English translations. Members of this Kasaysayang Bayan, according to my research, do not particularly go to the original German

BK, through the BAKAS publications from years earlier. In general, KB, though debatably successful, is merely a pursuit to better, if not share with, the former within a specific discourse, concerning the Filipino historiography. It is a presented singular argument within the Filipino historiographical discourse, part of what A. Navarro termed as *talastasang bayan*.

...Mula sa salitang-ugat na talas, ibig sabihin ay “talim” at “kinis” o “pino”. Samantala, ang talastas naman ay tumutukoy sa “alam”, “batid”, “talos”, at “tanto”. Samakatuwid, talastasan ay kolektibo o sama-samang “pag-alam”, “pagbatid”, “pag-talos”, o “pagtanto” ng anumang ideya o kaisipan sa layong mapapino o mapahusay ito. Kaiba sa konseptong diskurso na nakalimita sa ideya ng pagpapalitan ng kurokuro, ang talastasan ay higit na masaklaw. Mayroon itong ispesipikong tunguhin; pinuhin at pahusayin ang paksang pinag-uusapan.⁹³⁷

Talastasang Bayan is, in this regard, the discussive exertions within a group, in order to reach clarity and fineness of the theme of discussion. Understanding and comprehension within the discussing group is, hence, its ideal. It should be noted though, that an atmosphere of openness and readiness for discussion is a foremost requirement of this process. When this prerequisite is not at hand, then, effectivity and actual realization of clarity within the group could not possibly be made.

Corollary to this, upon study, TB or intellectual discourse is noticeably a further contribution to the general development of today’s Filipino historiography or Pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino. Long ponderance and great energies on historiographical status, references, and detailed fineties of so-called philosophies do not particularly contribute much in the implied process therein. In fact, many practicing historians opine that, long ponderance on philosophies of history eventually kills the practice of history itself. It is always wise, therefore, to somewhat set some form of middle way within the length and breadth of an intellectual discourse, concerning the said. For today’s Philippines, we opine, the most important task at hand is but the continuation, development, enrichment of what was begun by PP and BK earlier; that is, the further conceptualization, creation, and publication of a Filipino history, the continuousness of Kasaysayang Pilipino.

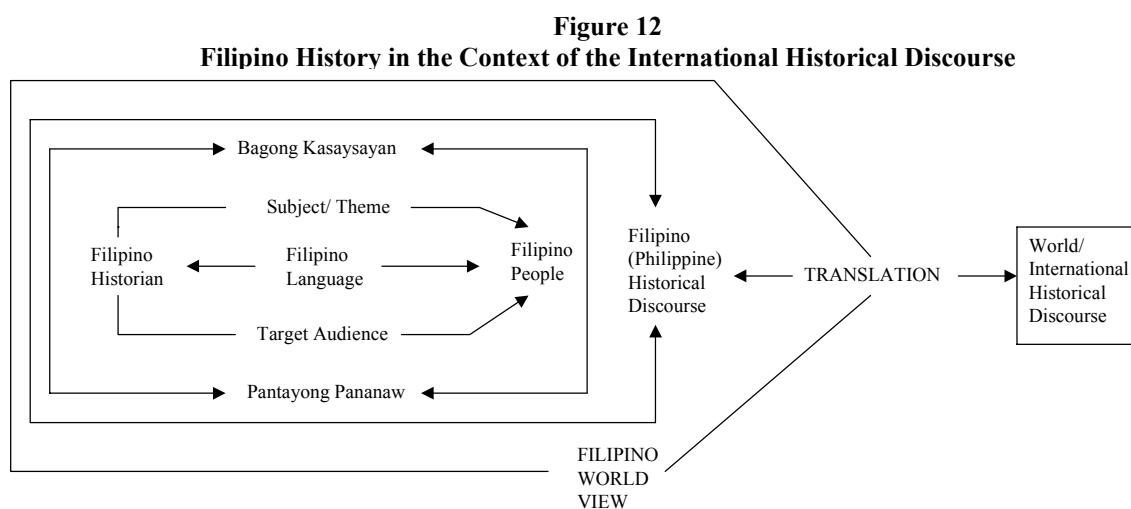
B. Filipino History in the Context of the International Academic Discourse

The existance and further development of both Filipino history and historiography does not necessarily mean that the disciplinal area is completely closed to the knowledge and experiences of the

materials, so as to first directly translate them to Pilipino and then secondly, apply and realize them in their works.

⁹³⁷ Atoy Navarro, “Introduksyon”, in Navarro, et.al., *Pantayong Pananaw: Ugat at Kabuluhan...Op.cit.*, p. 1. <...From the WB talas, meaning sharp and smooth or fine. In the meantime, talastas means knew, understood, comprehended and appropriated. Therefore, talastasan is collective or cooperative knowledge, understanding, comprehension, and appropriation of every idea or mindset, in the contextual aim of its refinement and ensharpenment. It is quite different from the discourse-concept, which is limited on the idea of exchange of

outside world. The exclusive utility of Pilipino as the language of discourse does not necessarily mean that the history profession within the country would be isolated from those outside. On the contrary, Filipino history would in end-effect bring and deliver knowledge --- histories, for that matter --- from outside its political boundaries even more closer to the Filipino people. Filipino history is in fact designed, so that its readers --- the Filipinos --- could be both participative and engaged in the international academic discourse. It is conceptualized in a way, that outside-the-Philippines historical knowledge would be efficiently and ably comprehended by its target reading public, that they could afterwards not only effectively communicate and discuss about the same in other areas or arenas of communal, even intellectual discourse, but further use it for their everyday living as well.



Filipino history --- the corporeality of Bagong Kasaysayan --- is basically the historical narrative with and of the Pantayong Pananaw. It is the composite, scientific historical narrative, wherein the Filipino historian determinedly thematizes and addresses his own people, the Filipinos, through the Pilipino language as the medium of communicative exchange. Filipino history becomes therefrom, not only the disciplinal discourse of the historian, who treats and process historical materials as both context and text, but the somewhat inviting discussive people's discourse on their own wholistic, organic historico-cultural personhood. And because it utilizes the mostly spoken and understood language of the land (national language, Pilipino), then, it practically becomes --- or at the least, makes possible the creation of --- the venue for national discourse as well. Filipino history embodies a handy material, with which Filipinos could discuss about themselves, as an organic historico-cultural whole, and, at the same time, know more about themselves, as a particular national ethnicity as well. For Filipinos, it could be an instrument for self-reflection, self identification, view of one's self within the context of his ancestors' history towards his immediate chronological period, view of one's self within the world; or simply, an instrument for considered significant knowledge.

opinions. Talastasan has a relatively more breadth than that. It has a particular goal --- refinement and

Filipino history doesn't therewith particularly limit itself to a particular area of concern as a specific subject or theme. On the contrary, so long as they are soundly argued as significant for the Filipinos, it is virtually liberal and potential to all forms of knowledge. Its singular uncompromising requirement is that, it should be conceptualized, written, and presented in the national language, in Pilipino. Filipino history --- no matter in which specific disciplinal category or classification it is or should be --- must be written in Pilipino. All historical materials, historical sources of data must be firstly appropriately processed in Pilipino, before the historian could utilize and inclusively write them in as parts or essential elements in his Filipino history. Knowledge from outside the country's political boundaries must, corollary to this, appropriately processed as well; before they could be useful for the narrative, which is specifically designed to be the times' representative embodiment of the Filipino discourse. Knowledge from the outside must be foremost processed and accordingly translated to the national language, Pilipino. Knowledge from the outside is, after all, the corporeality of the international intellectual discourse, which normally flows and functions through different potential languages, depending on where ever or which ever land they are made and published. It is relatively important, most especially for the land and people of its origin and perpetuation; and could be potentially important for the Filipinos and the Filipino discourse as well. It could not be practically important for the latter though, when it is published on its raw, unprocessed form nor on its other foreign language (e.g. English) form. It would then be noticed and maybe understood by only a few, who speaks and understands the foreign language of the published text; but then, it would not even be surfacially noted by the greater number of the Filipino population of the land. It could not be part of the average man's general view of his life nor of his world; it could not be possibly part of the Filipino public's discourse. It would be much too foreign to be even near to that.

On the other hand, processing and appropriate translation could put this problematic aside. When accomplished, this procedural method could, in end-effect, transform a piece of the foreign, overseas intellectual discourse to an elemental potential portion (if not content itself) of the Filipino national discourse. A foreign piece of information could then be a possible portion of the more general Filipino worldview, a possible portion of his mentality. In a manner, an originally foreign piece of information would be practically familiar; and so, not foreign anymore, but instead processed to be indigenous, to be Filipino. Translation is, in this regard, a significant procedure in the whole process. It is the basic procedure towards indigenization, the elemental step towards Filipinization. It represents the key procedure, wherein the international academic discourse could have a particular place in the Filipino national discourse, and accordingly, in the Filipino people's world view as well. Put in this way, hence, translation almost becomes the basic procedure, wherein foreign historical disciplinal practice could possibly be appropriated within the Filipino (Philippine) historical

disciplinal practice. Translation is the noun, referring to the transitive verb, translate, which principally means

...to render or express the sense of (a word, passage, or work) into or in another language; to interpret, to express in clearer terms; to express, paraphrase, or convey (an idea, etc.) from one art or style into another; to transform, to change; to remove from one office to another (esp., a bishop to another see); (Mech.) to move (a body) so that all parts follow the same direction, to give motion without rotation.⁹³⁸

And so, simply stated, translation literally refers to the transformation of one form into another. It refers to the process, wherein there are two distinct available fascades for a specific on-hand singularity, and involves an actionaire, who is suppose to realize the changing action. The translation process is included in the oldest methods of the arts and sciences. For more than 2,000 years, peoples have been proceeding and executing the said process according to their set or recognized needs and requirements. Its first years though were mostly spent on the classical writings (outstanding works of art, e.g. the Bible, the Torah, the Koran, etc.); and so, somewhat dismissed as the prescientific or traditional period. It was only starting the 1940's that this historical developmental trend was broken; and that is, through the systematization and general practice of the basic process of translation, which led to the actual beginning of the *Übersetzungswissenschaft* (translation science, translatology, translation science, translation theory).⁹³⁹ And so, accordingly, the process developed to become a disciplinal practice in itself among the family of the human sciences.

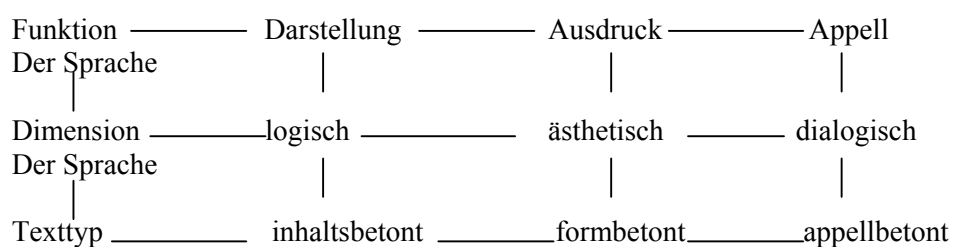
For the general area of the social sciences or, to put it the narrower sense, for the science of linguistics, translation is an operation performed on languages; it is a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another.⁹⁴⁰ Translation is the replacement of textual material in one language (Source Language) by equivalent textual material in another language (Target Language). There are considerably three distinct classification in the translation process: a) Full vs. Partial translation; b) Total vs. Restricted translation; and c) Rank of translation. In a, distinction relates to the *extent* (in syntagmatic sense) of SL text which is submitted to the translation process. Apropos, in full translation, every part of SL text is replaced by TL text; while in partial translation, some parts of the SL text are left untranslated: they are simply transferred to and incorporated in the TL text. In b (Total vs. Restricted translation), the distinction relates to the *levels* of language involved in translation. Total translation means all levels (incl., grammar and lexis) of the SL text would be replaced by equivalent TL text; while restricted translation means that replacement of SL textual material by equivalent TL textual material at only one level (phonological or graphological level/ grammar and lexis). Finally, in distinction c, differentiation in translation relates to the *rank* in a grammatical (or

⁹³⁸ Cassel Popular English Dictionary..., Op.cit., p. 876.

⁹³⁹ Mary Snell-Hornby, *Translation Studies. An Integrated Approach*, Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamin's Publishing Company, 1988, pp. 1-5.

phonological) hierarchy at which translation equivalence is established. Translation are usually rank-bound at word or morpheme rank; that is, they set up word-to-word or morpheme-to-morpheme equivalences, but not equivalences between high-rank units such as the group, clause or sentence. The popular terms free, literal, and word-for-word translation partly correlate with and concretize this distinction. Free translation is unbounded translation, word-for-word translation is essentially rank-bound to word-rank, and finally, literal translation is the area between the first two; for it may start with word-rank translation but may make changes in conformity with TL grammar, making it group-group or clause-clause translation.⁹⁴¹ In all of these distinction, the question of meaning and meaning-transfer is the most all-embracing. That is, because, in end-effect, the most natural goal of the translation process is the deliverance of the same meanings from the SL text to the TL text. Some refer to this deliverance as transcodification, others transference of meanings.

But because each language is a natural singularity in itself, the entirety of this goal is acceptably non-realizable. Each procedural translation always involves loss of meanings; due to a number of factors. It provokes a continuous tension, a dialectic, an argument based on the claims of each language; which generally results in the concretizations, lying and playing within the continuum of overtranslation (increased detail) and undertranslation (increased generalization).⁹⁴² For this reason, translation is definitively not bounded to a specific procedural exercise, it is also a procedural exercise to be studied and analyzed; that is, in order to make its basic function (translation process) more familiar, more efficient. And so, the all-embracing work of the translation theorist/ translologist becomes more pronounced; that is, the definition of how translation (in the widest possible range of texts and text categories) works. Corollary to this, in 1971, Katharina Reiß⁹⁴³, while basing Karl Bühler's Organon Model (1965)⁹⁴⁴ of language functions, presented an objective criteria for assessing the quality of translation. She presented this in the following diagram:



She then proceeded in offering criteria for translation, according to the respective text type: a metaphor in the translation, but this is not necessary for a metaphor in an informative text. The same

⁹⁴⁰ J.C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation. An Essay in Applied Linguistics*, London: Oxford University Press, 1965, p. 1.

⁹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-26.

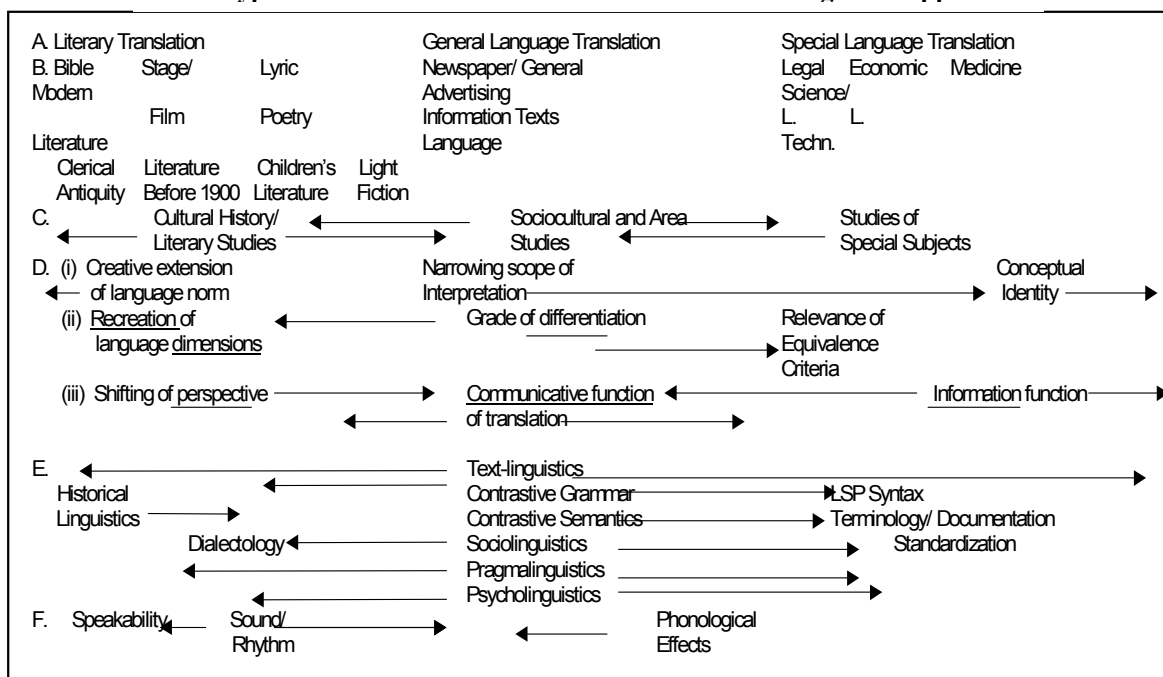
⁹⁴² Peter Newmark, *Approaches to Translation*, Oxford/ New York/ Toronto/ Sydney/ Paris/ Frankfurt: Pergamon Press, (1981), 1982, p. 7.

⁹⁴³ Katharina Reiß, *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik*, München: Hüber, 1971.

⁹⁴⁴ Karl Bühler, *Die Sprachtheorie*, Stuttgart: Fischer, Jena, 1965.

applies for idiomatical expressions. But then again, such a strict prescriptive generalization is quite dangerous. And so, accordingly, Reiß's work became a subject both for many critiques as well as modifications⁹⁴⁵ in the following years. Prescriptive grids --- like that of Reiß's --- creates an illusion of clear-cut objectivity, which do not particularly happens when applied to real-life procedural translation. And so, Reiß's grid do not specifically lead to scientific objectivity; but in distortion.

Figure 13
Text Type and Relevant Criteria for Translation. An Integrated Approach



Snell-Hornby, 1988

⁹⁴⁵ P. Newmark, for one, presented his modified interpretation of the same scheme in the *Approaches to Translation*, Op.cit., p. 15):

Table 9
Language Functions Affective to Translator

	EXPRESSIVE	INFORMATIVE	VOCATIVE
(1) Typical examples	Literature Authoritative texts	Scientific and technical reports and textbooks	Polemical writing, publicity, notices, laws and regulations, propaganda, popular literature
(2) 'Ideal' style	Individual	Neutral, objective	Persuasive or imperative
(3) Text emphasis	Source Language (SL)	Target Language (TL)	Target language
(4) Focus	Writer (1 st person)	Situation (3 rd person)	Reader (2 nd person)
(5) Method	'Literal' translation	Equivalent effect Translation	Equivalent effect Recreation
(6) Unit of translation Maximum Minimum	Small Collocation Word	Medium Sentence Collocation	Large Text Paragraph
(7) Type of language	Figurative	Factual	Compelling
(8) Loss of meaning	Considerate	Small	Dependent on cultural differences
(9) New words and meanings	Mandatory, if in SL text	Not permitted unless reason given	Yes, except in formal texts
(10) Keywords (retain)	Leitmotifs Stylistic markers	Theme words	Token words
(11) Unusual metaphors	Reproduce	Give sense	Recreate
(12) Length in relation to original	Approximately the same	Slightly longer	No norm

In real-life practice is a language irreducible to a system of static and strict clear-cut categories. And so, in place of the above described reductionist tradition, M. Snell-Hornby suggest a prototypology,

...a dynamic gestalt-like system of relationships, whereby the various headings represent an idealized, prototypical focus and grid-system gives way to blurred edges and overlappings. Blend-forms are part of the conceptual system and not the exception. Whereas the typology aims at separation and sharp delimitation, the prototypology aims at focussing and at subtle differentiation.⁹⁴⁶

She suggested the utility of an integrated approach (Cf., Figure 13) in translation studies. With this approach, she opined, a system of relationships between basic text types --- as prototypes --- and the crucial aspects of translation would be established. On the diagram, she furthered,

...the horizontal plane represents a spectrum or cline, where sharp divisions have been replaced by a notion of gradual transition, hence no demarcation lines have been drawn in. At the same time, on the vertical plane, the diagram represents a stratificational model which, in accordance with the gestalt-principle, proceeds from the most general level (A) at the top, downwards to the most particular level (F) at the bottom --- or, in other words, from the macro- to the micro-level.⁹⁴⁷

This prototype is conceptualized, so as to express the integrative and independent characteristics of translation studies as a disciplinal science, which is suppose to cover all kinds of translation, from literary to technical. With the integrative approach, translation studies would be basically interdisciplinary, but at the same time, not really fully dependent in any of its set auxillary disciplines. This developmental trend is excellent; for, after all, today's century is the age of various translations⁹⁴⁸. Translation is increasingly required in the seemingly increasingly smaller today's world community. It is the most convenient source of information about each unit of the acceptably multi-cultural picture of the so-called global community. In fact, every translation in each cultural circuitry is turning more and more to be the embodiment of foreign cultures⁹⁴⁹ therein; and so, elemental, affective even, in the shaping of a culture's world view and general cultural psyche. Corollary to this, therefore, the translation procedure itself should be keenly observed and studied, so that one would be assured that its produce is still in accordance and appropriation to the target culture it is suppose to be published and consumed in.

In the general practice of translation, there are two available forms; that is, the communicative and the semantic forms. Communicative translation aims to stimulate the readers in the TL, as close as

⁹⁴⁶ Snell-Hornby, *Translation Studies...* Op.cit., p. 31.

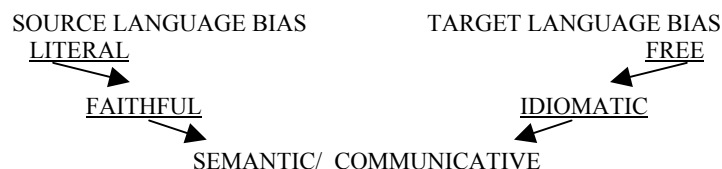
⁹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 32-33.

⁹⁴⁸ Translation is not only a concern of the human sciences, even the natural sciences or, to be exact, the greater area of mathematics are very much concerned with it. A number of studies are already made, for one, on machine translation. One of the most recent studies in this area is: Frank Van Eynde (Ed.), *Linguistic Issues in Machine Translation*, U.S.A./ Canada: Pinter Publishers, London and New York, 1993.

⁹⁴⁹ Cf., Doris Bachmann-Medick (Hrg.), *Übersetzung als Repräsentation fremder Kulturen*. Göttinger Beiträge zur Internationalen Übersetzungsforschung, Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag GmbH & Co., 1997.

possible, the same reaction as those in the SL. Semantic translation attempts as closely as the semantic and syntactic structures of the TL allow, the exact contextual meaning in the SL.

Figure 14
The Communicative and Semantic Translation⁹⁵⁰



There are naturally a complex array of differences between these two in translation theory; but since we are concerned at this moment with practice, we would remain in the applicative portion of the same. Communicative translation *goes out* of the SL and into the TL; it generously addresses itself to the readers of TL. Semantic translation, on the other hand, *remains* in the SL; and only assists the readers in TL in understanding the connotations and general humanly message of the original text.⁹⁵¹ In a manner, put in the anthropological rough measures, semantic translation is etic in approach; while communicative translation is emic in approach. But that, like already mentioned, is quite a rough standardization; both the semantic and communicative translations are emic --- for they both pursuit to remain loyal to a linguistical and cultural reality within their SL-TL continuum --- in nature. Both, it should be noted though, aim, in end-effect, for discourse; they both aim at the propagation of information from the SL to the expected readers in the TL. Delivered and accordingly consumed by its target audience in TL, both realize their reasons for being. With the differences of applicative range and form, both take relatively good consideration the readers in the TL. And this is only proper, because, after all, the translation procedure is not particularly being done for the readers in the SL; it is being proceeded upon and specifically done, particularly, for the readers in the TL. In this view, the

⁹⁵⁰ Newmark, *Approaches to...* Op.cit., p. 39.

⁹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-83. Here though are some of his remarkable statements on the differences between the two forms of translation procedures: "I am assuming that whilst a semantic translation is always inferior to its original, since it involves loss of meaning, a communicative translation may be better, since it may gain force and clarity what it loses in semantic content. In communicative translation the translator is trying in his own language to write a little better than the original, unless he is reproducing the well-established formulae of notices or correspondence. I assume that in communicative translation one has the right to correct, or improve the logic; to replace clumsy with elegant, or at least functional, syntactic structures; to remove obscurities; to eliminate repetition and tautology; to exclude the less likely interpretations of an ambiguity; to modify and clarify jargon (i.e., reduce loose generic terms to rather more concrete components), and to normalize bizzareries of idiolect, i.e., wayward uses of language. Further, one has the right to correct mistakes of fact and slips, normally stating what one has done in a footnote. (All such corrections and improvements are usually inadmissible in semantic translation.)

In theory a communicative translation is ipso facto a subjective procedure, since it is intended primarily to achieve a certain effect on its readers' minds, which effect could only be verified by a survey of their mental and/or physical reactions. In fact, it is initially as constrained by the form, the structures and words of the original as a semantic translation (the pretranslation process) until the version is gradually skewed to the readers' point of view. Then the translator starts to ask himself whether his version is 'happy', i.e., a successful 'act', rather than whether it is true, i.e., an exact statment. He begins to extend the unit of translation, having secured the referential basis, i.e., the truth of the information; he views words and phrases in expanding waves in their linguistic context, restructuring or rearranging clauses, reinforcing emphases. Nevertheless, each lexical and grammatical unit has to remain accounted for --- that is his Antaeon link with the text." (p. 42)

translator --- though expected to be somewhat (not only linguistically but, especially, culturally as well) masterful in both the SL and TL --- is naturally required to somewhat put the readers in TL at the foreground in the practice of his work. Whichever classification it would be --- full or partial, total or restricted, rank-bounded (free, literal, word-for-word), reductionist, integrative, semantic, communicative --- so long as it is delivered and consumed within the public it is created for, translation is always good. While retaining the consideration on and respect for the particularity of each language and the great possibility of meanings' loss during the process, translation --- in itself --- is, in end-analysis, the most convenient medial procedure for the possible exchange of knowledge and information between and among various cultural singularities of the present world. This, naturally enough, is affective of the historical and historiographical practice as well. In fact, this principle is quite early recognized by many historians, working on Philippine history. It was just that, it was oddly interpreted by many for quite a number of years. The first published translations on the land were either in Spanish or in Anglo-English; they were still very much part of the already described *historia* school of thought, and so, the colonial historiographical tradition. Nevertheless, like already tackled in the previous portions of this study, revolutionary scholars from all areas of the academe would exert efforts in turning this tide into another direction. Starting the early years of the 70's decade, at the height of the *etic* indegenization practice (application of anti-colonial/ post-colonial/ post-structural/ dependency theory historiography) in the greater social sciences, *emic* indegenization (indegenization from within) would be started and accordingly practiced in different disciplinal areas as well. For the latter, actual and practical loyalty for the Filipino historico-cultural wholeness must be retained; and so, it was only natural that all exertions for indegenization must come from within, all exertions in the sciences must be actual and practical Filipinization.

This is the reason, why the first publications of both the *pantayong pananaw* and the *bagong kasaysayan* had to do with its language philosophy; and why the first realizations of the same were translated (F/Pilipino) versions of earlier publications on the land. It should be stressed that these translations were parts and parcels of the whole process of realizing both the PP and BK. Though somewhat at the same time expressing a political stature⁹⁵², elemental within the practice of the historian, they are essential portions of the new history and historiography, part of *Pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino*. Comparable though to everything else, this area of the disciplinal practice, in general, experienced stages of development; and these would be relatively good exhibited in the discipline's --- as well as discipline related's --- publications on the land. The National Historical Institute was partly instrumentally responsible for the realization of the first stage of development. After a rather long period of publishing translated (to Anglo-English) historical and historically-related Spanish works, it tried its hand at publishing translated (to P/Filipino) historical

⁹⁵² For a most recent, interesting study of the relation among ethnicity, nationalism, and politics of language, see: Stephen May, *Language and Minority Rights. Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Politics of Language*, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2001.

and historically-related Spanish and English works as well. There was naturally a big difference between these two; the former enjoyed a good amount of larger publication chances as the latter. Like what was long used to on the land, there were more published translated materials in Anglo-English than in P/Filipino; that is, because, as what was already discussed in the previous chapters of this study, Anglo-English was for a number of years the only recognized and largely practiced --- with and upon --- academic and/or intellectual language of the land. Nonetheless, it is still significant to mention, that the said national office --- through actually primarily responsible for the realization of historical and historically-related researches of the larger office, Department of Education, Culture, and Sports ---- exerted efforts, so as to somewhat do otherwise. An example of such is “Ang Himagsikang Pilipino”⁹⁵³ of Teodoro Kalaw, which was originally written in Spanish, then published in Anglo-English (1925), then, finally published again in the national language (1989) through the efforts of Virgilio Almario. The office though did not particularly became recognized therefrom as a publishing body for P/Filipino translations nor for latest academic research written on the same language.

This function would be more appropriated by the U.P. Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, an institution created upon the passing of the university’s Filipino language policy in 1989. The U.P. Sentro was specifically grounded, so as to support the further development of Filipino written scholarship through the publication of earlier (but accordingly translated) works and newly written academic exertions in the national language. And so, in cooperative efforts with the U.P. Press, it took up the responsibility of channelling and supporting the publication of Filipino works, most especially beginning 1992, upon the beginning of U.P.’s 100-books project as contributory efforts for the national centennial celebration of the Philippine Revolution and the Philippine Republic. Translations as well as newly written works were therefrom accordingly published. Sentro, in this regard, assisted (and still is instrumental) in the increase of both the thereon further developing density and volume of Filipino written published scholarship.

The Department of History, in the meantime, was holding (almost hosting during the similar period) venue as well for the furtherance of the same general intellectual development, specifically connected with translations. Its first breakthrough though in the area was represented by the presentation of D.Lapar’s⁹⁵⁴ master’s thesis in 1992. It was not only a development of the greater translation studies of the country; it was a potential further development for the general Filipino historiography. It is a translation with an annotative editorship of a long recognized and utilized historical document, which was originally written in Spanish. The translation of the document itself expressed the message and the intended meanings of the original document; the annotative editorship, on the other hand, wrote

⁹⁵³ Teodoro M. Kalaw, *Ang Himagsikang Pilipino*, trans., by Virgilio Almario, Maynila: Pambansang Suriang Pangkasaysayan, 1989.

⁹⁵⁴ Cf., Dedina Lapar, *Ang Liham...Op.cit.*

down the implications, the interpretations, the meanings for both the professional historians and the Filipino people as a whole of the same. In end-effect, the originally foreign document is *deforeignized*; it is *localized* through the actual translation and stripped of its original foreign cultural implications and references on the latter portion of the same work. It becomes effectively *appropriated*; and eventually transformed into a Filipino document. After the whole procedure, the document becomes available for Filipino historians, for their own determined historical exertions and preoccupations. The document is now available as a convenient and efficient material of *bagong kasaysayan* or, to be more apt, of *pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino* and *kasaysayang Pilipino*, as a whole.

Six years afterwards, this same scientifically sound procedural exertions as a formal, presented study would be followed by R. Hernandez's⁹⁵⁵ work. It is a translation with an annotative editorship of Canseco's *Historia de la Insurrección Filipina en Cavite*. It generally followed the pattern set by D. Lapar's work of earlier. It effectively appropriated and Filipinized a foreign, earlier isolationist historical document. It created and made available a hand-material for Filipino history and historiography. In a manner, it brought the message that there is an existing and practicing translation studies, specifically for the rationality and general purposes of, or within, the greater disciplinary area of Filipino history. And fortunately, this study did not particularly remain within the formal learning institution of the U.P. Department of History. It is published not too long after its formal defense and presentation to the latter. It therefrom realized its end-piece procedure as an academic exertion; it reached publication and so, expectedly reached the specifically set target audience, namely, the Filipino people.

Z. Salazar's *Manifesto*⁹⁵⁶ experienced a similar procedural exertions. It was a translatory procedural actions for eventual expected appropriation, as expected result. Different from the first two studies though, it did not start its work from an originally Spanish written work; it started from an originally German written work. To rephrase, German is the SL and P/Filipino is the TL in the whole process. This somewhat represented, in this regard, a ground breaking action for the disciplinary practice on the archipelago. Though (other) foreign language historical materials were basically accepted and utilized in the practical area of discipline from the earlier years, they were basically processed and generally utilized in Anglo-English, and not directly in P/Filipino. The first two mentioned works above, though completely revolutionary in their own for their utilized perspective, philosophical considerations, and all-embracing political stand, remained, on the other hand, with the usual expected pattern of Spanish as the SL and Filipino as the TL. Z. Salazar's *Manifesto*, therefrom, somewhat affectively widens the new historians' (and their historiography) exertions and preoccupations. He declares this as an elemental step towards the appropriation procedure of the greater project, *pantayong pananaw*, and so, part of the *bagong kasaysayan*. He opined,

⁹⁵⁵ Cf., Jose Rhommel Hernandez, *Mapanuring Paglilimbag...Op.cit.*

Ang una sa mga naturang pangangailangan ay ang pagsasalin mula sa Iba at Kapwa o Kaugnay na kalinangan at kabihasan/ sibilisasyon sa lahat ng larangan ng kaalaman at karunungan tungo sa pagbubuo ng pambansang kabihasan ng Kapilipinuhan. Kaugnay ito ng proyektong Pantayong Pananaw (PP) ng pag-aangkin, sa abot ng makakaya at kakayanin ng Kapilipinuhan, na kaalaman at karunungan mula sa iba't ibang kabuuan sa buong daigdig simula pa nang ang mga ito'y maging/umiral...⁹⁵⁷

Though remaining in the expected TL --- as essential element in the practice of the bagong kasaysayan --- it basically introduced a new (eventhough considerably old as well in the practice, like mentioned above) SL. Its implied message was, of course, that so long as it is required or needed by the consuming expected public, an historian could proceed with the set translatory procedure, no matter whatever the language of the original text would be in. The only basic requirement it has is the direct translation from the SL to the TL; there should not be any mediary language, like what was used to be, on the scene. It follows, hence, that the translator should minimally have mastery of both the languages in from of him; that is, at least the SL and the TL at hand. The work is, in this view, metaphorically opening various doors for the disciplinal practice of history on the archipelago. It is basically implying that unlike the usual, where the Filipino historians is singularly required to learn, understand, and rudimentarily translate Spanish, he is now being given the most effective rationality of learning, understanding, and translating other foreign language, which he is expecting to utilize in the greater practice of the historical discipline on the islands. Direct translation of the same, after all, gives him accessive opportunity of transforming a completely foreign hand material to a Filipino hand material, which basically just invites actual usage in the practice of the discipline afterwards.

The practice mentioned here naturally pertains to the direct application of the translated, spec., appropriated material on the historical narrative. It refers to the furtherance of the translation studies towards interpretative application on an historical expression or deliverance, on history. Translation, spec., appropriation, becomes, in this regard, like already mentioned by Z.Salazar above, an elemental step in the inherent historical method of the practice. It becomes part of the data sources' processing, before the actual application and appropriation for interpretation and modification --- depending on the historian --- in the text or narrative. The actual results of this whole process do not necessarily mean a Filipino history thematizing the Philippines or the Filipino people's culture; it could be a whole new set of Filipino history discussing and thematizing other culture's history and/or general existance. It could be a simple study of an aspect of the culture of the others; in the Filipino philosophical view, it could be a simple study of the labas (outside) through the perspective and standards of the loob (inside). To rephrase, it could be the disciplinal realization of the Filipino areal studies. Z. Salazar

⁹⁵⁶ Cf., Zeus Salazar, *Manifesto ng Partido Komunista...*Op.cit.

⁹⁵⁷ Zeus Salazar, "Pagsasalin at Pang-aangkin", *Ibid.*, p. 164. <Foremost among these needs is the translation of the Other's and the Neighbor's or Companion's culture and civilization, in all the fields of knowledge and expertise, towards the building of the Filipino national culture/ civilization. This is related to the Pantayong

have been implying and suggesting the serious start and preoccupation on this area, as one of the areas to be realized in the project PP, for a number of years now; nonetheless, he formally conceptualized this again as an area, and declared the need for interest and preoccupation on it. He said,

Bawat kabuuang sosyo-pulitiko-kultural na may PP (at samakatuwid may kakanyahan at kasarinalan) ay may sarili't nagsasariling araling kabanwahan na nasasalalay sa paghahahangad at pangangailangang makilalala at maunawaan ang mga kaugnay at ibang kabuuan upang ang mga kaalaman at karunungan natatamo ay makatulong sa sariling pag-iral, sa pagsulong ng sariling interes sa mundong ibabaw, sa makabuluhan at mabungang pakikipag-ugnayan sa iba at kaugnay o kapwang kabuuang sosyo-pulitikal at pangkalinangan. Subalit hindi (pa) ito normal na kaisipan para sa karaniwang Pilipino, laluna para sa mga mayhawak ng kapangyarihan sa kasalukuyan. Dahil sa sistema ng edukasyon sa Ingles at sa pagpapatuloy (at pagpapaibayo pa nga) ng Ingleserong elit sa mga institusyong pang-estado, sosyo-kultural, pang-ekonomiya at panrelihiyon na ipinamana ng kolonyalista nilang "motherland", hindi nahahalata ng karamihan na ang kaalaman/ karunungan nakapaloob sa at nakakalap sa pamamagitan ng "kulturang nasyonal" ay hindi nabuo natin mismo ayon sa ating sariling mga interes kundi hiram, gawad o hango lamang mula sa dating kapangyarihang kolonyal. Kung kaya't hindi lamang ang ating pagkaalam sa sarili kundi gayundin ang mismong pagkakilalal/ pagkilalal/ pag-alam natin sa iba --- at mas malungkot pa --- sa kaugnay na mga bayan at kultura dulot ng isang banyagang pananaw at interes.⁹⁵⁸

This is the natural goal course of the new historiography. A number of studies, passing its set pattern are, for one, already published; that is, even before its formal considered start and conceptualization as an acceptable particular area of the disciplinal new history. A number of Filipino intellectuals were already suggesting its realization even during the early years of the 90's; articles and essays, both conceptualizing and pursuing to realize such were, in this regard, already written and accordingly published.⁹⁵⁹ They interchangeably termed this area as Araling Pang-erya⁹⁶⁰, Araling Kabanwaan, and/ or Kasaysayang Kabanwaan. They include⁹⁶¹ Z. Salazar, et.al.'s *Kabihasnang Asyano: Isang*

Pananaw's Project of Appropriation of all knowledge and expertise of all cultural singularities of the world, from their recognized beginnings or establishments.>

⁹⁵⁸ Zeus Salazar, "Pagbubuo ng Araling Kabanwaan", *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168. <Every socio-politico-cultural whole with PP (and so, with own capacity and individuality) has its individual and its individualizing area studies, which are based on the desire and the need to know and understand the related and other *wholes*. The knowledge and expertise gained therefrom would assist in its further individual existence, in the realization of its own world interests, in the significant and fruitful relationship with the other and neighboring or relating socio-political and cultural wholes. But this process is not yet natural in the average Filipino mind; that is, most especially among those in power. Because of the furtherance of the Anglo-English education system as well as the further existence of the English-speaking elite in state, socio-cultural, and religious institutions, which are passed unto to them by their colonialist "motherland", it is generally not seen that the molded and compended in the national culture expertise are not really created by Filipinos, but merely borrowed, granted or based from the past colonial power-holders. For this reason, our knowledge of ourselves as well as our comprehension of the Other --- and this is much more sad --- and of the related lands and culture are caused by foreign perspective and interest.>

⁹⁵⁹ Cf.: Z. Salazar, *Ang Kasaysayan: Diwa at Lawak...Op.cit.*; Ma. Luisa Bolinao (Pat.), *Kasaysayan 2000...Op.cit.*; Maruja Asis (Pat.), *Mga Eksilo, Inang Bayan at Panlipunang Pagbabago*, Lunsod Quezon: U.P. CIDS at Scalabrini Migration Center, 1999.

⁹⁶⁰ Cf.: Clemen Aquino (Pat.), *Ang Lupon sa Araling Pang-erya: Isang Panimula*, Lunsod Quezon: U.P. Dalubhasaan ng Agham Panlipunan at Pilosopiya, 1992; Clemen Aquino (Pat.), *Ang Migrasyon ng mga Pilipino: Tungo sa Araling Pang-erya*, Lunsod Quezon: U.P. Dalubhasaan ng Agham Panlipunan at Pilosopiya, 1992.

⁹⁶¹ Atoy Navarro, "Kasaysayan at Talastasang Bayan sa Wikang Pilipino: Sa Duyan ng Pagbubuo ng Inang Bayan, Bansa, at Sambayanan, Adhika, Tomo I, Lunsod Quezon: ADHIKA ng Pilipinas, Inc., 1999, (pp. 25-52), p. 35.

Pangkasaysayang Introduksyon⁹⁶²; N. Teodoro's *Ang Kontekstong Pangkasaysayan ng mga Kaisipan ni Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904), Ibu Wanita Indonesia*⁹⁶³; A. de la Vega's *Kabihasnang Asyano sa Gitna ng Pagbabago*⁹⁶⁴; Z. Salazar's *The Malayan Connection: Ang Pilipinas sa Dunia Melayu*⁹⁶⁵; J. Veneracion's *Higit pa kina Thalia at Eddie: Ugnayang Mexicano at Pilipino sa Ika-19 na Dantaon*⁹⁶⁶; and P. Reyes's *Ang Himagsikang Pilipino sa mga Pahayagang Aleman*⁹⁶⁷. A couple of presented masters' theses⁹⁶⁸ to the U.P. Department of History generally belong to this general classification as well; they are, in this regard, also somewhat contributory to the greater developments in this particular area of the discipline. Translation of foreign text hand materials for these studies representably creates the edge they generally made for the historical science. It is elemental to the greater researchal exertions, which aim to significantly define the historico-cultural Filipino and Philippines, the Inang Bayang Pilipinas. The said foreign text is, in this regard, taken in by the historian as a specific, singular intellectual discourse on its own. On the other hand, the translatory procedure of the text for the actual use (whether interpretative, explorative, etc.) in the historical narrative --- that is, in line with the general Pangbanwang Pag-aaral ---- embody the all-embracing philosophical principle within this area of the discipline that clearly announces that, translation is appropriation, pagsalalin bilang pag-aangkin; translation is taken in as an effective way towards Filipinization of the science from within, pag-aangking mula sa loob.

To rephrase and in consideration to the previous discussions in this study, it would seem that the so-called Pangbanwang Pag-aaral --- linguistically formed through, pang + banwa(ng) + pag-aaral --- could considerably congruent with Bayanang Pag-aaral/ Pananaliksik --- bayan(ang) + pag-aaral/ pananaliksik. And though it is comparable with the disciplinal nature of the American concept of Areal Studies, in consideration to the conceptual basis within the Filipino philosophical worldview as well as its set realization in the sciences, it is evidently more than that. The same name could, therefrom, not easily taken over, in its practice and realization in the Philippines and/ or Filipino disciplinal history context, as a whole. Bayanang Pag-aaral/ Pananaliksik refers to (a) the researchal exertions within, in consideration to, by, for, and in the language of the bayan; and (b) the studies exertions --- in its intercultural (pangbayanang/ pangkalinanganang/ pangkabihasnangang) nature

⁹⁶² Zeus Salazar, Jaime Veneracion, Wilfredo Tamayo, at Elizabeth Pastores, *Kabihasnang Asyano: Isang Pangkasaysayang Introduksyon*, Maynila: Miranda & Sons, 1981; Binagong Edisyon, Quezon City: Cacho Publishing House, Inc., 1990.

⁹⁶³ Noel Teodoro, *Ang Kontekstong Pangkasaysayan ng mga Kaisipan ni Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904), Ibu Wanita Indonesia*, Professorial Chair Paper, Bilang 96-11, Lunsod Quezon: CSSP Publications, 1996.

⁹⁶⁴ Angelito de la Vega, *Kabihasnang Asyano sa Gitna ng Pagbabago*, Lunsod Quezon: Abiva Publishing House, Inc., 1997.

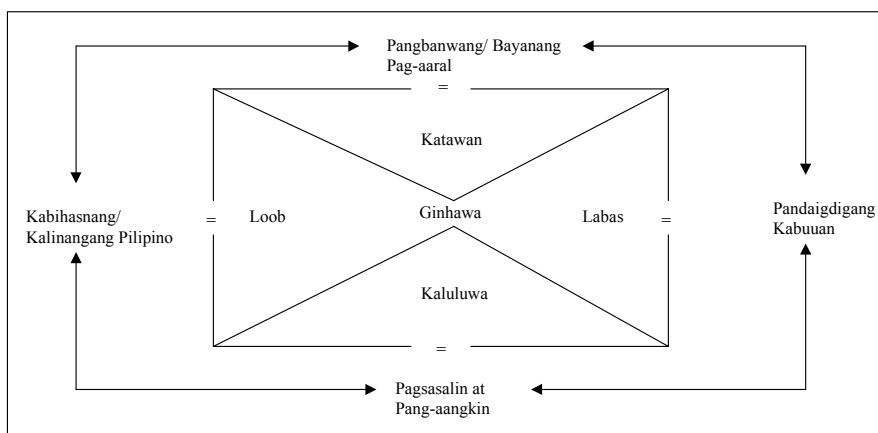
⁹⁶⁵ Zeus Salazar, *The Malayan Connection: Ang Pilipinas sa Dunia Melayu...Op.cit.*

⁹⁶⁶ Jaime Veneracion, *Higit pa kina Thalia at Eddie: Ugnayang Mexicano at Pilipino sa Ika-19 na Dantaon*, Professorial Chair Paper, January-December 1998, Lunsod Quezon: CSSP Publications, 1998.

⁹⁶⁷ Portia Liongson Reyes, *Ang Himagsikang Pilipino sa mga Pahayagang Aleman*, Bagong Kasaysayan, Bilang 5, Lunsod Quezon: Palimbagan ng Lahi, 1999.

⁹⁶⁸ Cf.: Tantoco, Malolos..Op.cit.; Ramos, Tayabas...Op.cit.; Quinto-Bailon, *Ang Pangangibang-bansa...Op.cit.*; Mactal, Hongkong Junta...Op.cit.

Figure 15
Filipino Personhood in the Context of the International Academic Discourse



Reyes, 2002

(kalikasan) --- about the formations of other historico-cultural units, according to the general conceptualizations, measures, and perspective of the Inang Bayang Pilipino, Filipino Motherland. It is both the place and the exertions, featuring the greater intercultural or multiple cultural theme, which is specifically conceptualized, considered, and designed, in further definition, formation and illustration of the greater organic Filipino historico-cultural whole, for the Filipino people's readership and general consumption. It practices both the synchronic and diachronic forms of analysis. It is synchronic in a sense that it always begins and is most importantly framed and standardized by the singular unit, which the the Filipino historico-cultural personhood; and at the same time, it is diachronic, in the other sense, for it considers, studies, oftly compares itself, and generally analyzes other historico-cultural personhoods, embodied by today's different nation-states. In a manner, comparable to Salazar statements above, it is bagong kasaysayan, wherein the Philippines/ Filipino people which has an independent and practicable pantayong pananaw is studying, considering, and analyzing other cultural wholes, which themselves has pantayong pananaw as well. It is a disciplinal area for the science of history, wherein the historico-cultural Filipino singularity is analyzing, studying, featuring other historico-cultural singularities, so as to strengthen and/ or support the definition and illustration of itself as an independent circuitry.

Bayanang Pag-aaral/ Pananaliksik, through its philosophico-methodological stance of pagsasalin bilang pag-aangkin (translation as appropriation), displays the independently considering and studying kalinangang/ kabihasnang Pilipino, while actually thematizing its own view of the world order, which is basically made up of today's various ways of living and different political singularities. In modified application of the Filipino anthropologist Covar's conceptualization of Filipino anthropological psyche⁹⁶⁹, this intellectual order --- as could be displayed in a particular study which should be part of the disciplinal area --- could amount to congruencies between kalinangang/ kabihasnang Pilipino and

⁹⁶⁹ Cf., Table 4 of this study.

Loob, pandaigdigang kabuuan and Labas, pagsasalin at pag-aangkin and Kaluluwa, and bayanang pag-aaral and Katawan. They generally have a symmetrical relationship with each other; and so, each one is essentially a portion of the other. Each one somewhat supports, almost makes, the other further exists and develops. Each one, in addition, is represented and embodied by the other. On the other hand, all of them could not be without the existence of Ginhawa, which is the seat, center, and beginning point of both the Filipino as an organic individual and the Filipino people as a composite historico-cultural reality. All of the mentioned conceptual units begins and, therefrom, is always affected by ginhawa.

Bayanang Pag-aaral/ Pananaliksik, for that matter, Bagong Kasaysayan --- as both the disciplinal science and its expected concretization as a research, study, work or narrative --- features this general order. Or to be exact, it should and is expected to be the microscopic representation of this systemic order, which is generally utilized so as to paint both the microscopic Filipino individual's psyche and the macroscopic compound and organic Filipino historico-cultural personhood. The completion of the task though is not particularly realized upon the conceptualization, writing, and interpretation of a bayanang pag-aaral/ pananaliksik. Like all the other concretization of the bagong kasaysayan, it has to reach the last level as well. It has to be delivered to and reach its intended reading public, the Bayang Pilipino. It has to be printed and accordingly distributed; it has to be published. While at the same time that the Filipino written intellectual discourse as well as the Filipino historiography are both being enriched in the process, the conceptualizations inherently incorporated within the work is also being offered for questions, remarks, opinions, criticisms from its intended audience --- the Bayang Pilipino or, to be figurative, the Inang Bayang Pilipinas. It is therefrom being offered for further discussion and/ or discourse; or at the least, it is being offered to be read and consumed. From this point on the work is expected, in one way or the other, to color the readers' all-embracing worldview, which, on its own, plays a role in their everyday decisions and actions. It thence embody, for the intellectual, both the end --- because it is already published --- and the potential furtherance --- because of the possible reactions from the reading public (from colleagues and from the general Filipino audience) --- of his disciplinal work's general practice. It is, in this regard, generally a critical time for both the practice of history and for the historian himself, for it embodies the science at its most enviting, open realization, at the same time, it embodies one of the high points of an historian's professional career. It could be a beginning of various possibilities; and, naturally, that is to the good of everything and everyone metaphorically involved in the whole process.

Concluding Remarks

...Denn Geschichte ist die Welt des Menschen. Ihr Studium hält die Amplitude des Menschseins offen. Dank ihrer sind wir nicht auf das beschränkt, was wir als unser Eigenes wissen oder meinen. Sie beschreibt alle unsere Möglichkeiten. Und was für Zukunft wir je haben werden, wird davon abhängen, wie weit wir das Erbe der geschichtlichen Tradition, aus der wir alle kommen und das uns alle mehr und mehr vereinigt, wahren und mehren.⁹⁷⁰

Change and transformation considerably belong to the most essential elements, which continuously amount to the existence, modification, and development of living --- that is, in all its varied statements, concretizations and related realizations. They are the mechanism, which principally causes the continuous existence, maintenance, and general continuation of life. And accordingly enough, they are not only affective to the actual living beings, they are just as much affective to the different creations caused by the same. That is, just as man is changed and transformed with and through times and contexts, are all of his creation changed and transformed --- by himself, as creator --- with and through times and contexts as well. His tools and instruments, being the extensions of his being, should continually meet his changing considered and recognized needs and requirements. These tools and instruments equally include physical and non-physical objects together. They embrace all of the elements contained in the whole continuum; and so, they embrace the little hairpin just as much as they embrace the abstract quantum physics. They include the physical just as much as the social sciences; and so, accordingly enough, in particular application to our study, they include the science of history as well.⁹⁷¹ History --- as a narrative, as a science, and most importantly, as an idea --- is continuously changed and transformed through times and contexts. It is transformably utilized, expressed, concretized, delivered, and propagated within *and* through the chronological and contextual continuum.

We witness this in the Filipino historiography's history as an history of ideas, here in our study. Change and transformation generally define and describe the whole of our presented narrative. They are undeniably there, for one, upon the presentation of our narrative through three history-ideas, which became propagated in the Philippines during the different periods; that is, through the *kasaysayan-historia-bagong kasaysayan* chronological matrix. With it, is the Filipino historiography's history as an history of ideas, similar to many other historical narratives, virtually expressed as an history of the

⁹⁷⁰ Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Welt ohne Geschichte" (1972), in Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Gesammelte Werke* 10. *Hermeneutik im Rückblick*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, (1995), 1999, p. 323.

⁹⁷¹ Hence, it is not quite surprising that T. Nipperdey, while discussing the same general theme, stated the following: "...Das Wozu der Geschichte ist nicht mehr selbstverständlich, es gibt keinen emphatisch leidenschaftlichen Glauben mehr an die Geschichte. Die Geschichtswissenschaft relativiert die lebendige Verbindung mit der Vergangenheit, sie relativiert die Traditionen und die Bilder und Legenden, die wir uns von der Vergangenheit machen, von den Helden zum Beispiel, die unsere Urgroßväter noch kannten. Ja, sie relativiert auch unsere eigenen Erinnerungen..." Thomas Nipperdey, *Nachdenken über die deutsche Geschichte. Essays*, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, (1986), 1990, p. 13.

changes and transformations --- or development, to be general --- of the Filipino idea for/ of history. Each idea within the mentioned matrix experienced its prevalent utility and following modification during and within the different chronological and contextual periods in the country's general historical development. Each one of them was (and in some ways, still is) and became the representative, all-encompassing idea of/for history during particular historical periods among the Filipino intellectuals and the Filipinos, as a whole. Each, hence, individually affected, shaped and influenced the Filipinos' sense, illustration, interpretation, concept of history. The three, in this regard, are not only periodal representations of the development of history-idea in the country, they are also the periodal representative of the Filipino people's mindsets on/ for history.

Kasaysayan is the idea of history among the earliest and generally politically-isolated, living communities on the archipelago during the ancient period of ca. 200 B.C. until 1565 A.D. It was utilized then, in order to refer to something "significant" (*may/ walang kasaysayan*) or to a "significant story" (*kasaysayan ng/ni...*); it was, in this view, utilized both as an adjective and as a noun among the earliest communities. It was interchangeably applied to both the personal and the more compound level, as a whole, of each of the communities. Kasaysayan could therewith considerably be an object or something abstract, including a story or a narrative. A burial jar could, in relation to this, be a kasaysayan, just as much as a grand ethnoepic could be one as well. The deciding factor in either one of these two classifications back then was the innate presence of "significance" or "importance", which are, in actuality, traits that only the utilizing community(ies) could singularly decide and accordingly grant on them. Every kasaysayan is, in this regard, a clue, not only to the real, material culture of the early communities on the archipelago, it is also a clue towards the illustration of their immaterial culture, generally made up of their communal mindset, starting from their conceptualization of the immediate surroundings to even that of the whole cosmos. Their existence, particular application, and modification reiterates the primacy and undoubtable predominance of the utilizing community on/in their particularly considered past, accepted present area, and their specifically foreseen future on the ancient archipelago. They are "material" proofs of the then immanent internal, unimpaired individuality, decisiveness, wholeness, and sovereignty --- over their context, themselves, their destiny --- among each of the living communities on the islands. In a way, hence, they were specific representations of both the cultural and historical person and personhood --- that is, the individuality and/or identity, of the early communities during the ancient period.

The implied order therewith though would generally be impaired upon the external introduction of *historia* by the incoming, colonizing Spaniards. A new historiographical strain, held and developed by the then all-encompassing power-holders of the archipelago, was through it effectively started. Of course this strain was foreign to the inhabitants of the islands at that time. It was very much different to their kasaysayan. It was not sung nor recited during fests, rituals, or special occasions; it could be

read. *Historía* --- including its earlier forms, *cronicas*, *estado(ismo)s*, *relaciones*, *sucesos* --- was written on long-enduring material, on paper; and so, could be read and be easily passed to following generations. The islands-inhabitants' gods, ancestors, and mythical heroes were absent in this new strain; in their stead were the Spanish god, their ancestors, their leaders and their monarchy put into place. *Historía* was the historical narrative of the (military, political, economic) power-holding foreign colonizers; it was the history of their colonial experiences on the islands. And so, accordingly enough, it was written in their own language (Spanish), in their scholarship tradition, and in the practice of their own conceptualizations, judgements, norms and measures; it was written as both part and expression of their own historical and cultural persons. It was written in homage and glory to its authors' historico-cultural origin; it was written in rationalization and explanation of all their decisions and exertions. *Historía* was passed not only among the foreign colonizers, it was unadulteratedly passed to the collaborating, local rulers on the islands as well. It was considered as an integral portion of the acculturating/hispanizing procedure, that an islands-inhabitant should pass and go through, before he could as much as only be formally recognized as a subject of the whole colonial structure on the archipelago. Consequently, it was inherited and appropriately utilized by the most outstanding, hispanized Filipino intellectuals during the late 19th century as well. They wrote in Spanish; and appropriately practiced the Spanish conceptualization, judgement, norms and measures in all their intellectual, scholarly exertions. Their *historía* though was relatively different from their Spanish masters. Their *historía* pursued to defend the islands-inhabitants against the "attacks" and persecution of the earlier, written *historías* of the Spaniards. Their *historías* defended the islanders as against their Spanish colonizers; and so, their *historías* became seen and considered as portions of the general campaign for the political recognition of the archipelago, or for the so-called nationalist movement later on of the hispanized Filipino bourgeoisie. And so, upon the nominal realization of the strived-for political recognition of these ambitious new elite at the turn of the century, these *historías* became an integral portion of their aimed-for political independence as well. The historiographical strain, foremost embodied and incorporated in the concept *historía*, was thereby fully taken over and aptly supported by the worked on political structure on the islands by the hispanized Filipino collaborators to the Spanish colonial masters. *Historía* became thereby effectively established as the official historical expression of the political structure on the archipelago. It continually develop from there on, from both the foreigners and the islanders themselves, as a particular historical expression about and on the archipelago and its inhabitants.

Even the change of colonial masters did not particularly put a halt to this continuous development. On the contrary, the coming of the Americans and the following establishment of their own general colonial structure expedite and made efficient the propagation and wide distribution of the *historía* historiographical strain on and among the archipelago's population. *Historía*, in its Anglo-American form: *history*, became formally and widely taught in and through the enforced national school system

on the islands. And quite similar to its Spanish colonial experience, it became largely expressed therein as the history of the (colonizers) Americans on the Philippine Islands. Consequently, Filipino pupils and students in formal learning institutions became learned and trained in the American version of a Philippine history. They --- like “good” colonials/apprentices/little brown brothers to the Americans --- would therefrom accordingly proceed with the conceptualization, philosophization, disciplinization, illustration and expression of history, as their masters told and taught them to. They made and further develop history in the language, norms and standards, conceptualization, logic, and system of their colonial masters. That is, even after the American formal colonial structure was abolished on the islands. And though the ideological guiding direction of each historical expression was developmentally altered through the following years, the all-encompassing colonial scholarship tradition of history therewith persisted and became continually developed about and on the Philippines. In a manner, hence, eventhough not necessarily written by Americans but by the Filipinos themselves during the following years, all the historical expression on the Philippines became nonetheless the virtual extention and/or mere modification of the American colonial historical scholarship on the islands and its peoples. A Filipino historiography, in end analysis, did not particularly exist. There was in its place, a “Philippine” historiography; that is a historiography, thematizing the Philippines and its peoples, almost interchangeable with the American Area Studies on the Philippines or Philippine Studies. And naturally enough, for possession of the prevalently utilized language, cultural norms and standards, scholarship tradition, the Americans (intellectuals) remained dominant and commanding therein. The Filipino historians were always their local counterparts and speaking partners. A symbiotic relationship, with regards to the Philippine history as theme and major preoccupation, between these two ranks of intellectuals henceforth persisted. Each group support the other. Each retains, receives, and reiterates its intellectual authority and status from and through the other. A convenient historiographical system is firmly established. Historía flourished thereby.

Problematic though in such is the fact that, this historiographical tradition remained exclusively known and practiced among the few Filipino historians and their American counterparts. It is innately, and so, remained foreign to many Filipinos. And though being practiced and applied on the archipelago and its people, the idea, discipline, and expression of history is thereby isolated in itself. The practicing Filipino historian is thereby isolated from his theme and ideal target readership. It was hence clear that the disciplinal practice had to be indigenized and properly appropriated.

And so, expectedly enough, the Filipino historians pursued to realize this goal and ideal, through the systematic application of Filipinism, people’s history, history from below, history of the inarticulate, history of the poor, Marxist history, nationalist approach to history in the various practices of their discipline. The earlier academic disciplinal history is thereby effectively transformed to become an academic discourse. The Filipino historians became effectively a force as a group. The discipline, its

practice, the interpretations, the data, the meanings therein became their major concern and most important subject for discussion, argumentation, discourse. Consequently, venues for such discussions, including seminars and national conferences, became therefrom regularly organized and done in many portions of the archipelago. It would be thence generally impressed, that the discipline is being busily practiced and accordingly modified by the seemingly passionate Filipino intellectuals throughout these times. A great amount of literature and publications proved and witnessed this to be true. The historical discipline was being indigenized and appropriated throughout these times. The external indigenization approach was thereby being applied, in order to Filipinize the disciplinal practice and the general idea of history on the Philippines. The particular Philippine nationalist form of history and historiography was the end-product of this; that is, the particularly pro-people (read and translated as, defensive of the poor Filipinos against any form of suppression, oppression --- be it foreign or otherwise) version of the historical/historiographical disciplinal practice in the country. The Filipino historians saw themselves thereby as the responsible defender of the Filipinos against any form of intellectual aggression coming from their foreign “counterparts”. In fact, they consider it their almost holy responsibility to write and practice such a history and historical narrative; all other historians doing and practicing their discipline otherwise were tainted and generally considered as a non-member in their rank. Changes, new interpretations, new approaches are thereby suspiciously, if not hostilely, looked upon.

And so, it was not really surprising that Pantayong Pananaw experienced quite a difficult birth among the same general circle during the middle of the 70's. PP all-encompassingly embody everything that was not particularly trusted upon by the greter number of Filipino historians during those times. It introduces a revolutionary approach, which effectively damages their convenient, practical, long-used-to niches within the disciplinal practice of history. It introduces a new philosophy and method, where the Filipino historian has to effectively unlearn what he was earlier formally trained in, so as to learn and charter a totally new terrain in the disciplinal practice. It introduces and idealizes a new history, where the historian himself must transform and go through a particular process, so that he could proceed with the profession. For most of them, PP effectively embodies the almost ineffectivity of the earlier developed, convenient practice; and at the same time, the discomfort of starting therewith anew. It is an innovation, which basically challenges nearly everything that was earlier or previously accepted and accordingly applied.

PP is conceptualized to be the exclusively Filipino perspective in every scientific exertion. A source specifically executes his actions thereink, so as to particularly address and commune with an equally accepted target audience. Nothing encumbers this process; the source and the target audience are figuratively one, for they are essentially the same. It is hence not only a simple sharing of information. It is a methaphorical self-reflection, where the source pursues to communicate/ come-back

to himself so as identify, who he was, who he is and who he still could be. PP is the point of view, where the author and the audience are exclusively one, in a specifically closed circuitry, most especially in the face and in consideration to the others, who do not belong therein. It is thereby accepted that the learning process; that is, understanding and discussion fluidly happens within. PP enwraps the Filipinos within a particular procedural discourse, which should only be exerted through the utility of the P/Filipino language. P/Filipino is foreseen to be the mechanism, which particularly closes the author-and-audience's direct discourse connection to each other, and, at the same time, exclusively put both of them in an exclusive communicative venue. PP, at this point, becomes a method as well. It is the systematic procedure, where the P/Filipino language is utilized so as to remove the barriers between an author and his target Filipino audience within a process of communion. And it doesn't stop at that. PP, being principally a perspective and a methodology, could be applied to almost everything. It is the guiding principle for the wholistic study and analysis of the Filipino people's history through times and contexts. PP could be the diachronic philosophy of history, which a Filipino author could utilize as a beginning point towards the particular determination of his own people's historico-cultural personhood through different contextual times and spaces. The past is thereby expected to be seen in a better light. It would not be so foreign anymore, like it was always pictured in earlier written histories. It would be seen in direct consideration to the present; history is thereby illustrated, so as to understand the present better. The cultural life and existence of the greater number of today's Filipinos parallel to that of today's elite, for one, could be better understood, upon the narrative expression of the development of the great cultural divide, which was quite firmly established during the 1896-1898 Philippine Revolution. The modern intellectual development of Filipinos, for another, could be traced to the intellectual revolution among the country's people, which occurred in the latter half of the 19th century. PP, in a manner, directly connects the present with the past, at the same time, that the author directly discusses with his targeted Filipino audience within an actual intellectual discourse. Considerably taken, therefore, when we further the analysis from this point, PP is not only a mechanism for the study and analysis of the past, it is also a mechanism for the study of the present, as well as a mechanism towards the realization of an ideal future. PP is an analysis of the present situation; and so, synchronic in nature and approach. It is an analytical procedure (of a Filipino scholar) in an analytical exertion, where the Philippines and Filipinos could be understood as it and they are, as particular singularities within today's chronological and contextual time. Therein are today's Filipinos, through the intellectual exertions of a Filipino historian, encapsulated and exclusively embraced to make up a particularly self-reflecting wholeness, or a unitary, closed singularity. The diachronic and synchronic analysis proceeded thereby virtually coalesces the people's self-analysis towards self-identification, as an independent historico-cultural person, especially in consideration to those other historico-cultural persons (trans. and read, as other peoples) outside themselves. Therefrom are the Filipinos, being a particularly independent singularity themselves, ready to become and realize an ideal historico-culturally based political

singularity. That is, a political singularity which is not controlled and operated by a few powerful economically well off; instead, a political singularity, where, most significantly, the great cultural divide between the richer and the poor do not exist, and where all of the Filipinos could integrally voice and take part in the political structure's set activities and exertions. PP historians already discussed this ideal national polity in their works. J.Veneracion called this ideal as *sambayanan*, Z.Salazar called this *bansa*. They both consider such as the ideal future of their version of the Filipino people's national history; and so, in a manner, the symbolic corporeals of their pervent desire for their own people's better future.

Such works became quite widely spread in the Philippines between 1974 until the present. They are exemplars of today's *Bagong Kasaysayan*, (Re)New(ed) *Kasaysayan*, which are basically the historical narratives where PP is utilized, applied and practiced. They are, on the other hand, quite complicated, when they are historiographically considered. *Bagong Kasaysayan* embodies the present's prevalent historical development in the Philippines; it is the latest stage of development of history as an idea and historical expression in the country. BK is, in this regard, generally conceptualized to syncretize the two historiographical scholarly traditions of *kasaysayan* and *historía*. The ancient Filipino idea of *kasaysayan* should be there for that assures that the historiographical narrative, which would be expressed is independtly chosen, determined, and considered important by the Filipinos, as a people, alone. *Kasaysayan* assures that the historical narrative is truly Filipino: it is written by a Filipino; in the F/Pilipino language; in application of the Filipino philosophy, measures, judgements, conceptualizations, and meanings; for and in major deliberation to the Filipino people. On the other hand, history's scientifization through the years should also be present and accordingly applied in the country's newest historiography. For this reason, history's scholarly tradition should also be there, together with *kasaysayan*. This means, that BK should not loose sight and apt application of the methodological leaps, developments, and general requirements --- including the classical method, the utility of auxillary disciplinal methods, the multi- or interdisciplinary approach, etc. --- within the historical discipline. Filipino historians, with or without BK, are, after all, still parts and members to a particular academic community. And like all other disciplinal groupings, they have a specific set of agreed upon, determined ground principles. When these ground principles are, hence, not applied and realized in the practice of the discipline; then, the belongingness of the practitioner in the community and, more importantly, the scientific soundness of his product are automatically put into doubt. BK should, in this view, maintain its status as the application of the disciplinal history. Hence, while the Filipinos' interests are appropriately put to the fore, the systematic method should also be continually applied and practiced in the making of the actual historical narrative.

Bagong Kasaysayan is, in this way, the Filipino historians' actual appropriation, as their own, of the historical science. It is the corporeal internal Filipinization of history, as a discipline. Therein is the

Filipino historian not at all required to apply a particular philosophy, interpretation, judgement, measures of any outsider, no matter what he played in the people's past. Therein is the Filipino historian free (and in fact, expected) to apply the philosophy, conceptualization, judgement, measures, interpretations, meanings of his own people. His produce would be both reflective and reiterative of his people's person. His product is, in this regard, not pro-Filipino. His product is simply, Filipino; a Filipino history. This, though, is not so easy to accomplish for the Filipino historian. He is, in the context of country's colonial educational system, formally trained within the foreign scholarly tradition of history. The making of BK, for him should thereby be a metaphorical remapping of almost unlearned territories. At the same time, hence, that he is appropriating the disciplinal practice, he would, most significantly, also have to reorient and reintroduce himself to his targeted audience: to his own people. He should no longer be isolated and distanced to his theme; he would have to figuratively go back to himself and to his people. He would have to know who he is and who his people are, so that he could generally apply this knowledge in his disciplinal exertions. The people's present language and culture make up some of the major rediscoveries that he should execute. The Filipino historian, in his study of the past, is, in this way, firmly rooted in the present. In fact, it could even be said, that in the practice of his discipline, he is also actively participating in the communing process with his people in the present. He is preoccupied in pursuing to understand the present, in light of the study and analysis of the past. His most important goal is the identification thereby of the Filipino people's actual nationhood. He hopes, similar to many other *hoping* historians of the world to-day, thereupon that his learning-process-partners or target Filipino reading public would be stimulated and inspired to build and realize the much appropriate and ideal political system and structure in the future. But then again, every historical narrative is just that, a narrative. It is a version of the story of what was done, how it came about, etc. What the future brings is still very much open. The historian could, hence, only prognose, hypothesize, hope. In the end, it is the people who would decide what in the future would and should be. Every BK historian is aware of this; and so, every BK, in itself, is also respectful and considerate to the primacy of the Filipinos in the all-encompassing, considerably unending historical process. Bagong Kasaysayan, similar to many historical expression, first awaits, and then, records.

And so, to go back to our foremost concern in this study and at the same time sum up, the development of PP and BK, similar to kasaysayan and historia before them, are parts of the historical process and development within the Filipino historiography's history. They are innate portions of the history-idea in the country through times. They are the embodiments of the Filipino intellectuals' struggle towards the total appropriation and Filipinization of their systematic history. They are the historians' contributions, towards the construction/reconstruction of an ideal future Filipino nation. They are, in this view, unfinished. PP and BK are embodiments of a continuous national process, not only as actual histories, but also as history-idea or historiographical conceptualization. They are still,

hence, in continuous, further development. In this regard, so long as the present Philippines and the Filipinos further exists as a continually developing people with and through times and contexts, PP and BK would considerably furthered and developed as well. That is, because first, they are naturally exclusive histories, which are particularly directed at/for the F/Pilipino-speaking audience; second, they are available materials for the illustration of the people's ethnicity and for the potential blueprint of the future ideal nation; and finally, they are natural statements of sovereignty in the (a) disciplinary practice, (b) world intellectual community of historians (c) politico-cultural world community. Further production and publication of PP and BK or, to be more apt, BK assures a better historically, culturally, and politically aware Filipino people. The learning and exchange process between the author and his audience therein is more efficient and effective; a dynamic, open, healthy discourse is, in this way, always present therein. BK could only thereby profit and further be enriched and modified. Even the so-called globalization trend could not hamper this development. The historiographical trend, like already discussed in this study, already has a specific mechanism for the individual developments in the said phenomena. It would virtually *process* the globe, as it see fit. Everything is thereby possible, for BK is powered and put to the fore by passionate, hard-working, ambitious historians. The historian's craft is, for most of them, not only a profession, it is nearly a mission. The academe and the learning institutions, which are themselves innately ready for intellectual furtherance and which are, in addition, actually partially made out of these historians themselves, could thereby either participate or give support in this mission or, to be exact, in this all-encompassing historiographical change, transformation, development.

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