Brains of the Nation
Pedro Paterno, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes
and the Production of Modern Knowledge

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Ateneo de Manila University Press
THE NATIVE ENCOUNTER with European knowledge did not begin with Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, or Isidelo de los Reyes. When in 1521 Ferdinand Magellan plied chief Humabon of Cebu with gifts, thrilled him with words extolling the power of the Spanish King and God, and proceeded to convert him and his followers, thought worlds collided. Humabon did not have a Pigafetta to record the native side of the encounter. The events that followed however—Magellan’s death in the shallows of Mactan, the massacre of his men—illustrated what has been demonstrated time and again: acts of conquest and conversion are not always what they seem.

Magellan’s death was a temporary setback. Spanish colonization would begin four decades later and did not end until 333 years after. In the course of this time, the intellectual encounter took forms more systematic and unequal but always in ways neither side fully imagined.

It is here that our story begins.

EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES laid the foundation of Western scholarship in the Philippines. The most pervasive form of colonial authority, the Catholic Church generated new knowledge through the institutions and
practices missionaries initiated. Missionaries spread a new religion, established churches and schools, organized devotional associations, introduced crops and technology, and built towns. Moreover (and this is what primarily concerns us here) they "externalized" the Philippines in a body of written texts that did not only underline how colonialism was conducted, it has become an indispensable archive for students of the Philippines even today. They wrote these texts as necessary aid for pastoral work and social control and because they saw themselves as "men of learning" and privileged agents in advancing knowledge of the world. Working out of a Euro-Christian tradition and enmeshed in the politics of colonial domination, they did not produce disinterested knowledge. Yet their textualization of the country formed much of the basis for how the Philippines would be represented and counter-represented.

By the start of the seventeenth century, five religious orders had established missions in the country: Augustinians (1565), Franciscans (1578), Jesuits (1581), Dominicans (1587), and Recollets (1600). Needing to learn local languages for mission work, missionaries produced grammars (arroz) and dictionaries (voculario). They studied the most important languages as well as lesser-known ones like Gaddang, Ibanag, and Bagobo. By 1776 there were more than twenty kinds of grammars written of Tagalog alone. Writing in 1860 that he had read thirty-seven of these grammars, Pedro de Sanlucar wrote that "there are so many grammars in this language [Tagalog] that it alone surpasses in number (being so limited in territorial extension) the number of grammars of the spoken and dead languages of Europe." Missionaries introduced Romanized writing, enriched native lexical systems with Latin and Spanish, did translations and palaeographic studies, and laid the basis for scientific linguistics. They analyzed indigenous literary forms. A chapter on Tagalog poetry in Augustinian Gaspar de San Agustín's *Compendio del arte de la lengua tagala* (1703) was praised by Epifanio de los Santos as "the first work that dealt with Tagalog poetry and its metrics.

European missionaries did groundbreaking work in geography, medicine, and the natural sciences. Moved by the urge to organize, classify, and thus render the unfamiliar familiar, they mapped territories, studied plants and animals, inventoried products, and classified persons and "tribes." They needed to know the people they sought to convert and wrote about their origins, racial characteristics, social organization, reli-

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**The Filipino Enlightenment**

Missionaries introduced a new historicographic mode by rendering written and printed reports on their mission territories and the labor of their orders. The most notable examples are the Augustinian Gaspar de San Agustín's *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (1698) and Joaquín Martínez de Zuniga's *Historia de las Islas Filipinas* (1803), Franciscan Marcelo Ravendenir's *Historia de las Islas Filipinas, Japon, China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam y Camboya* (1601) and Juan Francisco de San Antonio's *Cronica de la apostolica provincia de San Gregorio* (1738–1744); Jesuit Pedro Chirino's *Relation de las Islas Filipinas* (1664) and Francisco Colín's *Labor evangelica* (1660); the Dominican Diego Adurte's *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores* (1640); and Recollect Juan de la Concepción's fourteen-volume *Historia general de Filipinas* (1788–1792). Missionary histories took various forms (memorias, informes, cartas) and often covered other parts of Asia since the Philippines was base for Christian evangelization in the region.

An archetype of the missionary-scholar was the Augustinian Manuel Blanco (1779–1845), who produced local histories, maps, a manual on the use of weaving looms, and published samples of Tagalog *dulú* poetry. Teaching himself botany with Linnaeus's *Systema vegetabilium* (1774) and Antoine de Jussieu's *Genus plantarum* (1789), he published the monumental *Flora de Filipinas*; *según el sistema sexual de Linneo* (1837). Botany also attracted the German Jesuit Georg Josef Kafel (1661–1706) who worked on medicinal herbs, established the first apothecary in Manila, opened a botanical garden, wrote scientific reports, and corresponded with English and Dutch physicians in India and the Netherlands Indies. The Jesuits' crowning achievement in Philippine science was *Observatorio de Manila* (1865), which won international renown for meteorological studies at a time when meteorology was just emerging as a
science in Europe. It published the monthly Boletin del Observatorio de Manila, carried out astronomical, seismological, and magnetic investigations, and communicated with scientific institutions in Europe and America. Missionaries worked out of prior European knowledge. As agents of a grand civilizing project, they were less interested in understanding a strange, new people in their own terms as in marking the "lack" or "absence" they would fill. In recording the people's history and traditions, they worked within received intellectual frames of Biblical history and Europe's speculative sciences on race and religion. They explained grammatical features of local languages in terms of Latin structures and categories and evaluated native poetry in the grids of Spanish and Latin phonetics and metrics. As a result, written grammars differed considerably from actual native speech. Disquisitions on indigenous poetics imperfectly preserved the dynamics of local practice.

Their writings were not completely homogeneous. There were differences in assessments of local culture and colonial policies according to the time and circumstances of writing. A religious, institutional perspective, however, dominated missionary scholarship. The Spaniard Juan Alvarez Guerra summed up the ubiquity of the Church in the spread of new knowledge when he said in 1872: "The convent in the Philippines does not only synthesize the arts and sciences but also the laboratory, the infirmary, and the model country house."

The late rise of civil government and modern commerce delayed the formation of secular-scientific discourse outside the religious communities. Before 1887, the only lay historian of note was Antonio de Morga (1559–1636), a High Court judge whose Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas (1669) Rizal annotated and reprinted in 1890. Before and after Morga, non-missionary texts were produced in the form of exploration narratives, military and economic reports, and civic chronicles. Many of these did not become available until the nineteenth century. Among the earliest to be published were Tomas de Comyn's Estado de las Islas Filipinas (1820), Sibliardo de Mar's two-volume Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842 (1843), and Jose Montero's three-volume Historia general de Filipinas (1887–1895).

The European Enlightenment primed the production of scientific knowledge. Bourbon reforms inspired the first Spanish botanical expedi-
It must be stressed that while natives felt the practical results of the textualized knowledge Europeans produced, they did not themselves have access to the texts. Well into the nineteenth century, practically the only type of printed literature circulated among natives were religious pastoral works in the vernaculars (prayerbooks, catechisms, saints' lives). The Bible was not circulated. What passed for it was the pagsan, the "Filipino Bible," a versified vernacular account of the life of Christ that was more often chanted than read. Until 1800, popular publishing on secular topics was limited to a few manuals on literacy, numeracy, and health.

Written in foreign languages, European texts were either unpublished documents or books printed abroad or circulated in a very limited way. The problem was not just one of access. Natives were the object rather than subject of this kind of knowledge. European scholarship was knowledge produced for Europe.

UNTIL THE END of the eighteenth century, Spanish rule was discontinuous and uneven. Comparing the Philippines to a more intensely colonized Spanish America, John Leddy Phelan argued that for a host of reasons—geographical particularism, distance from the imperial center, lack of Spanish personnel—the archipelago's inhabitants "survived the shock of the conquest with far less psychological and material damage to themselves than did many native races of the Americas." He believed that the cultural changes wrought by colonialism were of "a more orderly, a more selective, and a less demoralizing character." Even as this may be so (at least when considering the archipelago as a whole), it must also be pointed out that there was no countervailing force approaching the Inca or Aztec kingdoms in America or the more developed polities elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

When the Spaniards came the most developed polities were Islam-"ized" communities in Mindanao and parts of Luzon. In Mindanao, Spanish encroachments met with considerable resistance, as illustrated in the career of Sultan Kudarat (1580–1671), who rallied the Maguindanaos, Maranaos, and other inhabitants to preserve "the most extensive indigenous political dominion in the history of the Filipinos." Muslim resistance, however, was largely defensive and there was no concerted effort to establish Muslim political hegemony in the wider archipelago.

388

THE FILIPINO ENLIGHTENMENT

In Manila in the 1580s, where the Spaniards had begun to rule, the chiefs of Tondo and surrounding villages, smarting over their loss of power and Spanish exactions, hatched an ambitious conspiracy to drive out the Spaniards that would involve chiefs in Pampanga, Bulacan, Barangas, and Laguna. Indicating the extensive networks of maritime chiefs at the time, the conspirators sought Japanese assistance, anticipated an imminent British attack on Manila after hearing of the capture of a Spanish galleon by the English privateer Thomas Cavendish in 1588, and sent an envoy to the Sultan of Boneo to seek an alliance against the Spaniards. While the networks were wide, they were fragile. The Tondo chiefs had problems building local alliances; the conspiracy was discovered and brutally suppressed; and its leaders were hanged or exiled.12

In the main, resistance was localized and where it was more sustained and organized, as in the Muslim sultanates, it was contained and kept at the margins of the colonial state-in-the-making. The native response to colonialism involved not only active resistance but ranged from acts of avoidance and selective engagement to collaboration and alliance-building. Spanish colonialism was not the product of unilateral action by Iberian conquistadores and frailes but alliances with local chiefs who provided the resources, manpower, local knowledge and leadership that made possible the extension of Spanish power. Chiefs were co-opted with titles, positions, and privileges, but, more important, were actively engaged in calculations of risk and benefit in the face of a new power.

The inchoate character of precolonial politics is to be seen in indigenous culture. Compared to Spanish America or other parts of Southeast Asia, traditions of scriptural, architectural, or iconographic representation were not richly articulated. While a precolonial writing system existed, this was neither deep in use nor widely diffused. Jesuit chronicler Pedro Chirino wrote in 1604: "For none of these three things, religion, idolatry, and superstition, nor for matters appertaining to government and polity do they make use of their written characters; for they have never made any use of these latter save only for writing letters to each other. The whole of their government and religion is based on oral tradition." Sinibaldo de Mas wrote that "no books nor any kind of literature in this character (alphabets) may be met with, except for a few anastomous verses written in a highly hyperbolic style, and hardly intelligible."13

389
It became a commonplace in early nationalist polemics to blame Spanish missionaries for destroying precolonial writings but while there were recorded instances of such destruction, it was not widespread. The writing craft was incipient at Spanish contact. Its relative newness and material constraints (bamboo, stones, palm leaves) were such that writing was limited to recording verse fragments and short messages rather than epics or chronicles. More important, local communities did not have the scale or level of articulation of indigenous states elsewhere with their need for the legitimating uses of writing, such as the production of royal chronicles and legal treatises. In brief, sufficient conditions did not exist for the expanded use of writing.

With Islam, Arabic was introduced by the fifteenth century. This cultural infusion may have generated new literary forms, such as genealogies (sareeds), legal codes (tawasitan), and religious orations (hutubad). Bishop Domingo de Salazar reported in 1588 that he had been informed that Muslim preachers in Mindanao “have emigrated and are now building mosques” and that “there is a school where [boys] are taught the Arzuman.” There was no organized effort however to establish mosques or religious schools (madarass) outside Muslim communities. A substantial written literature in Arabic or the local languages did not develop. As historian Samuel Tan remarks, “no indigenous Muslim written materials earlier than the late 18th century exist to account for early origins before colonial contact.”

A wealth of indigenous knowledge existed, as Jose Rizal and his contemporaries set out to prove. The proof however—the kinds of proof Western discourse privileged—was not readily evident. Indigenous traditions of knowledge were most vital in oral, ritual, and localized forms. While translocal affinities were such that larger cultural complexes were developing at Spanish contact, this dynamic of expansion and elaboration was stalled, scattered, or suppressed. Precolonial society had “persons of knowledge,” bards, seers, and ritual specialists. Viewed by the Spaniards as bearers of “superstitions” and agents of resistance, they were persecuted or cowed. Local cultural forms, like epic narratives, were pushed to the margins of colonial society. While these forms constituted an ideological resource for numerous revolts during the colonial period, they would not enter into the discourse of “nationhood” until late in the nineteenth century.

The "loss" of tradition—a familiar lament among nineteenth-century nationalists—is poignantly illustrated by a few examples. It was not until the close of the nineteenth century that the first fragments of folk epics were recorded. The first to be published, the Ilokano Lammang, was written down (and obviously edited) by a Spanish Augustinian, Gerardo Blanco, and given to Isabela de los Reyes who published the 947-line Ilokano text in El Ilocano (1889) and Folk-Lore Filipino (1890). The Bikol Ibalang was jotted down by Franciscan Bernardino de Melendreses (1815-1867) from the performance of a local minstrel. Melendreses translated it into Spanish and a 264-line fragment of this translation appeared in Wenceslao Retana’s Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino in 1895.

In attempting to reconstruct the genealogy of Manila’s ancient rulers, Isabela de los Reyes did not have much to go by except some nineteenth-century Spanish-colonial wills and testaments. In reaching back into the precollonial past, T.H. Pardo de Tavera turned to Malay chronicles from neighboring countries, accessing them by way of Europe. Similarly, Rizal studied the Philippines in libraries in Europe. Discovering the Ambrosian codex of Pipageta in the British Museum in 1888—more than three centuries after Pigafetta wrote his account—Rizal read it in Italian, copied it, and excitedly wrote to a friend saying that one of the Filipinos should learn Italian and translate the manuscript to Tagalog or Spanish “so that it may be known how we were in 1520.”

In 1555, King Charles I issued an edict on education in the empire: “To serve God, our Lord, and for the general welfare of our vassals, subjects and natives, there should be established in our realm universities and general studies where they may be educated and graduated in all the sciences and faculties.” The ambition behind the edict was not matched by realities on the ground. Earlier than in most of Asia, the country saw the introduction of institutions of modern, European learning but, for political and practical reasons, natives could not fully participate in these institutions.

European-style mission schools appeared in the sixteenth century. These developed slowly and unevenly and were almost exclusively devoted to teaching Christian doctrine and the most rudimentary learning
skills. In 1595, the first secondary school, the Jesuit Colegio de Manila (later renamed San Ignacio) was established. Tertiary education started in the seventeenth century when the first bachelor's and doctorate degrees in arts, philosophy and theology were granted by Colegio de Manila and Colegio de Santo Tomas. Higher education was "only for Spaniards" as was the case at the time in Latin America, the model for colonial and missionary policies in the Philippines. The colegios of San Jose (1601), Santo Tomas (1611), and San Juan de Letran (1620) admitted an inconsequential trickle of Chinese mestizos and indígenas students by the end of the seventeenth century. Santo Tomas—which became a "royal and pontifical university" in 1645—graduated a few "Filipinos" (possibly Chinese mestizos) at the close of the eighteenth century but Filipinos attended the university in significant numbers only in the nineteenth.

In brief, higher education was not available to Filipinos (indigenes and Chinese mestizos) on equal terms with the Spaniards for more than 200 years of Spanish rule. Academic programs were focused on the training of priests and the ecclesiastical sciences of philosophy, theology, and canon law. Admission was racially restricted and biased in favor of those who could pay tuition. Women were even more disadvantaged. The first schools for girls, the colegios of Santa Potenciana (1594) and Santa Isabel (1632), were meant for those of Spanish descent and prepared them for motherhood or a religious life, with little academic instruction. Though teacher-training schools for women appeared after 1871, higher education was effectively denied women until the twentieth century. Santo Tomas did not admit women students until 1924. It is a remarkable fact nevertheless that in Santo Tomas the Philippines had what was Asia's first and oldest European-style university.

Printing came in the sixteenth century with the xylographic production in Manila of Doctrina Cristiana in 1593. Between 1595 and 1800, a total of 541 books was published. Until the end of the eighteenth century, however, printing was a monastic monopoly, devoted almost exclusively to producing pastoral and language texts, mostly intended as an aid for the religious. It was not until the nineteenth century that a "print culture" emerged with the circulation of more and new kinds of books, the emergence of lay authors, and the widening of readership. There were no public libraries before 1887. Various civil and ecclesiastical decrees and instructions restricted the publication and circu-

lation of printed matter in the islands. Censorship was in force except for a few years during the period 1813-1824.

To visitors from Europe, the country seemed caught in a medieval warp. Writing from the Philippines to a friend in France in 1766, the French scientist Guillaume Le Gentil remarked: "I am writing you, sir, from the other side of the world, and I might even add, from the fourteenth century." Of the state of education in the colony he wrote: "All the ancient prejudices of the schools would appear to have been abandoned in Europe only to take refuge in Manila, where they will probably survive for a long time... Spain is a hundred years behind France in science, and Manila is a hundred years behind Spain."

Seeing the country in terms of a European chronology as a place stranded in space and time will be expressed time and again. With its "discovery" by Europe, the country comes into the lens of Western eyes, constructed in Eurocentric relations of distance, difference, and subordination. Looking for signs of "modernity" in the colony, visitors found little. Before 1870 (when the first steamers arrived from Barcelona via the Suec), news from Europe took at least four months to arrive in the Philippines. Fedor Jagor observed in the 1850s: "The traffic with Spain was limited to the conveyance of officials, priests, and their usual necessities, such as provisions, wine and other liqueurs; and, except a few French novels, some atrociously dull books, histories of saints, and other works."

Manila offers very few opportunities for amusement. There was no Spanish theatre open during my stay there, but Tagalog plays (translations) were sometimes presented. The town possessed no clubs, and contained no readable books. Never once did the least excitement enliven its feeble newspapers, for the items of intelligence, forwarded fortnightly from Hong Kong, were sifted by priestly censors, who left little but the chronicles of the Spanish and French courts to feed the barren columns of the local sheets. The pompously celebrated religious festivals were the only events that sometimes chequered the wearisome monotony.

Englishman Robert MacMicking made a similar observation of the reading habits of Manilans in 1850. "Books are scarce and expensive," he said, "and are in little demand by most of the residents." Austrian
BRAINS OF THE NATION

visitor Karl von Scherzer complained in 1858 that there was only one newspaper at the time of his arrival and Manila's two printing houses produced almost nothing but religious works. In the same year, English official John Bowring said: "Literature is little cultivated; the public newspapers are more occupied with the lives of saints, and preparation for, or accounts of, religious fiestas, than with the most stirring events of the political world." Of the state of education, he remarked: "Public instruction is in an unsatisfactory state in the Philippines—the provisions are little changed from those of the monastic ages."

These observations refer largely to Manila and its citizens. One imagines that the "lag" must have been greater in the countryside where, often, the only contact natives had with Europe was limited to the rare cases who were not always the finest specimen of this world. Unlike the case of Latin America, the natives' direct contact with Spanish culture, outside religion, was limited. Spaniards constituted less than one percent of the population at any time during Spanish rule.14 Less than two percent of the population could speak Spanish that was not pidgin.

That the country remained relatively isolated, imperfectly penetrated by Europe, meant that well into the colonial period much of local life unfolded according to its own imaginaries and historicities. To speak of "country" and "society" is misleading since what obtained at the time was something much less than unitary but more like a conglomeration of zones of indeterminate, shifting identities defined by the degree of local autonomy or, conversely, control by the colonial state in its inexpressively mixed ecclesiastical and civil forms. Until the nineteenth century, life in many parts of the country—with its own forms of knowledge, its production and transmission—unfolded apart from, parallel to, or lightly touched by the new regime of truth into which the Spaniards sought to incorporate natives.

Though a world of difference existed between Spain's civilizing ambitions and realities on the ground, significant cultural interaction did take place. How quickly and diversely natives engaged the new power is shown in the remarkable story of the Banals. One of the leaders of the Tondo Conspiracy of the 1580s was Juan Banal, apparently a son-in-law of Lakandula, the "king" of Tondo. After the conspiracy was suppressed he was sentenced to exile in Mexico for six years and disappeared from the records. Fourteen years later, Miguel Banal, who may have been Juan's son, had already been incorporated into the Spanish colonial order as gobernadorcillo of Quiapo. He would speak to power differently. Seeking redress for having been forcibly dispossessed of his family's lands by the Jesuits, he sent petitions addressed directly to the Spanish King on July 2, 1603, and July 25, 1609. In his letter of July 25, 1609, he lamented that nothing had been done about his complaint and that instead a Jesuit brother came armed with "negros and Indians" and burned his house and threatened him. Addressing the King, he asked for protection "since we are Indians, who cannot defend ourselves by suits, as we are a poor people, and it would be a matter with a religious order." Describing the assault on his property, he said that "after seeing his [the Jesuit] intention to seize all my property and bind me, I did not raise my eyes to behold him angered, because of the respect that I know is due the ministers who teach us the law of God." He went on to say: "I have been unable to find anyone who dared write this letter for me. The letter is therefore written by my own hand and in my own composition, and in the style of an Indian not well versed in the Spanish language." After the standard courtesies, he closes with: "The useless slave of your royal Majesty, Don Miguel Banal." Whether or not Banal in fact composed the letter, it is clear that natives learned to negotiate in the language of colonial power very early.

There is a postscript to this story. In just a few decades, another Banal, Marcelo (1632–1697), would join the Augustinian Order as a lay brother. (Earlier, Lakandula's own son, Martin, also became an Augustinian brother but died in 1590 before he could profess the monastic vows.) Ostensibly Miguel Banal's grandson, Marcelo was adopted by the Augustinians to be trained in their convent, not only because of the boy's musical talent but out of appreciation for the fact that the Augustinian church complex in Manila stood in what used to be land owned by the Banals. Having spent years with the Augustinians, Marcelo pronounced the perpetual vows of poverty, charity, and obedience as a lay brother (hermano leigo), the first native to do so, on September 5, 1652. He took the name Brother Marcelo de San Augustin in honor of the founder of the Order.

AS REPRESENTATIVES of a new regime of knowledge and power, Spaniards set the ground in which a native "intelligentsia" began to emerge. It was the practice of missionaries to recruit talented young men, usu-
ally from the local elite (later called principales), as informants, translators, copyists, catechists, canteores (singers), fiscales (parish secretaries), and sacristanes (acolytes). A Recollect chronicler wrote in 1756 of this class of natives:

The holy orders of Filipinas are wont to take account of the sons of the chief Indians of the villages under their charge, in order to teach them good morals from childhood, and rear them with those qualities which are considered necessary to enable them to govern their respective villages afterward with success, since the administration of justice is always put in charge of such Indians. They live in the convents from childhood in charge of the graved fathers. The latter are called masters, although in strictness they are tutors or teachers. . . .

Documentation on these early encounters is sparse. It is clear, however, that we do not only have a case of young, compliant natives conscripted as mission assistants but natives actively engaging Spaniards to protect old prerogatives or appropriate new sources of power. Members of the indigenous elite parlayed their status and wealth to gain preferments in colonial church and government. They became donados and beatas (auxiliaries of the religious orders) and, later, priests, local officials (cahebas, gobernadorcillos), soldiers and lower-rank officers, and the first university students. When the occasion or need arose, they were also leaders of local protest actions and revolts. How natives manipulated colonial relations was a subject of continuing anxiety among Spanish authorities who complained about the various stratagems natives employed to influence local elections, sabotage government projects, or take control of church affairs. Principales parlayed "local knowledge" and control of manpower and resources to bolster their position vis-à-vis the Spanish priest. They proved very skillful in exploiting to their advantage the instruments of the colonial regime. The Jesuit Pedro Murillo Velarde ruefully observed in 1749:

In almost all the towns there are usually certain individuals who have clerked for the Spaniards in Manila, and there familiarized themselves with pleadings and actions at law. They have no diffi-

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THE FILIPINO ENLIGHTENMENT

culty in persuading the natives to make a thousand false affidavits, for their intimate association with the Spaniards has given them a great fondness for stamped paper. And if the father tries to restrict their activities, a meeting is organized on the instant, and a petition drawn up against the priest is fairly covered with signatures and crosses. . . .

Natives who wish to file a suit against the priest go to one of these quondam clerks, who carefully keeps a number of old dossiers, complaints, and bills of particular for just such a purpose. The higher the fee, the more outrageous the accusations, which he prepares in much the same way as a purgative, the dosage being increased in the measure that a more complete evacuation is desired. Signatures are affixed to the petition by people who have no idea of what it contains; instead of its being read to them, a convivial glass of wine is drunk instead. The document, covered with flourishes and crosses, is now brought to the appropriate official, to wit, the official who has the least love for the priest; for they are most expert in this. No navigator can tell how the wind blows better than these natives can predict where their petition will be received with approval. And if the official to whom it is presented happens to be of some importance, a great deal of suffering lies in store for the innocent father until the truth is finally revealed. 21

The first known native intellectuals appeared "in the light" of Western learning—and, one might add, the grace of European record-keeping. The story of the Talanggas sisters of Pampanga—Dionisia (1691–1732) and Rosa (1693–1731)—as pieced together by Luciano Santiago, is richly suggestive of native agency in local encounters with the new religion. 22—Bautista de San Sebastian de Calumpang, the beguinage founded by the Talanggas sisters in 1725, had a troubled existence. The first such community founded by indios, its story is conventionally read as proof of the transcendental power of the new faith. Yet it can be read as well as the story of native initiative in accessing new sources of power. The authorities’ anxieties over the control of such groups as the community of the Talanggas sisters, their fear of contaminations of culture and race, point to realities of syncretic practice of the new faith. (Consider, for instance, the stricture against the Talanggas beatas speaking in Tagalog "within the
walls" of their community house.) Unfortunately, we do not have much information on this case than what is allowed by the Spanish records.

The more celebrated case of those of Tomás Pinpin and Pedro Bukaneq. Born in Abucay, Bataan, "between 1580 and 1585," "píchego de origen," Pinpin worked in the Dominican printshop run by the missionary-linguist Francisco Blancas de San José. (The printshop was located in Binondo in 1602 and moved to Abucay in 1608 when Blancas de San José was assigned as cura of the town.) Pinpin's skills won him fame as a printer, credited with such products as Blancas de San José's Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala (1610), the first published Tagalog grammar; Francisco Lopez's Arte de la lengua icola (1627), the first Ilokano grammar; and Sueños Felices (1637), a report on the Spanish campaign in Mindanao and Ternate in 1636–1637 that, some claim, is "the first Philippine newspaper." Pinpin was not just a printer but an avid student of languages. He wrote Libro a naisuwatan ami a bayas ti Doctrina Cristiana (1621), the first book to be printed in Ilokano, and Arte de la lengua icola (1627). A tradition has built around him even though little documentary evidence exists on his life. It is told that he was an Ilonggubaby found "early one morning in March 1592" in a basket drifting in the river separating Vigan and Bantay and then taken to an Augustinian priest who baptized him Pedro Bukaneq, from buka + neg, or "Christianized Ilonggo." He was born blind and ugly ("like Socrates"), facts that may have been interpreted (like the Moses-story of his origins) as part of his magnificent qualities. In any case, he won renown as a lexicographer "who mastered Latin, Spanish, Ilokano, and Ilonggo." Skills that reportedly won the "admiration of the court of Philip II of Spain [who was in fact long dead when Bukaneq reached adulthood] and the Holy Father of Rome." A gifted musician and preacher, he was also reputed to be a seer who once identified a murderer by just placing his hand on the man's chest.12

Pinpin and Bukaneq represent the first generation of lalino (the Spanish term for natives literate in Spanish and a local language), who were among the first natives to appear in the European record. These included lay catechists (like the Visayan Miguel de Ayrauno [1593–1809] and Pedro Calungpad [1654–1672] and Tagalog Lorenzo Ruiz [1605–1637]), tertians of the religious orders (like the Pampangan Felice Sonson [1611–1686] and Tagalogs Marcelo Banal and Ignacia del Espiritu Santo [1663–1748]), as well as the printers, engravers, and artists (Diego Talakay, Domingo Long, Francisco Suarez, Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay) who helped missionaries in running printshops, producing maps, and executing the new art forms the church needed (like statuary, paintings, and church decorations).13

Lalino is commonly used with reference to authors, like the Tagalogs Fernando Bagonghanga, who wrote an adulatory verse preface to Blancas de San José's Memorial de la vida cristiana en lengua tagala (1605); Pedro Suarez Osorio, whose poetry appeared in Alonso de Santa Ana's Explicacion de la doctrina Christiana en lengua tagala (1628); and Felipe de Jesus, who contributed a complimentary poem to Antonio de Bovio's Bartolom as Jochab (1712). Little is known about these early cultural intermediaries, the country's first visible writers. Usually recruited from the native elite, they were the kind of men and women who in another time might have been the bards and priests of a different tradition.

From extant reports, an impression of dynamic foreign-native interaction, of much assimilation and hybridization, can be drawn. Bukaneq's case is suggestive. Straddling two traditions, he aided friars in producing Christian texts and preached (it is said) the Spaniards' religion, yet was also steeped in indigenous lore. It is claimed that he composed the Ilokano epic Lam-ang by renovating an old Ilonggo narrative in the style of a Euro-Christian romance, substituting Christian elements for the pagan in the narrative.14 Unfortunately, we cannot examine Bukaneq's oral performance or the written text into which it was purportedly rendered. While Bukaneq's example may be hypothetical, the metamorphosis of indigenous material into Christian forms was central to the drama of religious and social conversion. Spanish missionaries did not only introduce new verbal forms but used indigenous literature as vehicle for new messages. It is said of Francisco Blancas de San Jose, Pinpin's patron, that he "composed many songs in their (the natives') language after their own manner of verse, but on sacred themes."15 This was a two-way process since natives themselves, as in the case of Pinpin and Bukaneq, did
their own translation of European matter whether under or outside the friars' supervision.

Vicente Rafael has given us a finely detailed view of this process in his analysis of Pinpin's Libro, documenting the strategies of evasion, containment, and appropriation in the act of translating language and domesticating the strangeness and danger of what it intends. Rafael shows the unexpected possibilities for assertions of autonomy in the local translation of alien thought systems, whether encoded in grammar, arithmetical, or religious. Where Pinpin enters into a foreign medium—the printed book, the language manual—and contaminates it with other meanings, Bulanen (our imagined composer of Lam-ang) assimilates the foreign into an indigenous form, the chanted epic narrative.

In either case, we have historical moments in a long, drawn-out engagement in which cultural forms do not remain fixed and relations of power unchanged. In 1911, T.H. Pardo de Tavera did not only call Pinpin "the first philologist, the first humanist, the first author, and the first Filipino printer," he conscripted him as a figure in a Spencerian narrative of modernization. Taking Pinpin as prototype of the printers and engravers who appeared with the emergence of typography in the seventeenth century, Pardo calls Pinpin the exemplar of the "industrial type," a new class of persons in Philippine history. Pinpin was "the first to have an occupation and a social situation by virtue solely of his capacity." With productive, specialist skills, he cooperates voluntarily in social life and exemplifies "liberty in the free man." Concerned with a theory of "social types," Pardo overstates the historical break as well as the autonomy of seventeenth-century artisans. He is one of the first, however, to mark the deep epistemological changes generated by Spanish colonialism.

Cultural intermediaries like Pinpin occupied an ambivalent position in society since it was not always clear how and in what directions their loyalties were shaped. Persons with access to two worlds, as signified by bilingualism, they were viewed either (or both) as persons to be emulated or persons not to be trusted. This ambivalence is preserved in the history of the word *ladrino*. Originating in Spain (from *latino*) where it referred to Old Castilian and Romance languages and, later, to a bilingual or polyglot, the word traveled to Spanish America where it named the *indio* or negro who could speak Spanish and, more broadly, had become versed in Spanish ways. In the Philippines as in Spanish America.

the word also preserved its Iberian connotation of someone who was crafty and cunning. The *ladrino* (*ladrina*) is not the indigenous sage (*paahan, paanong*). What defines him is not so much wisdom or knowledge (*alam, dawon*) as fluency of speech, often in a new language. It is a skill at once attractive and dissembling, admired and mistrusted. This double signification would recur as a theme in the history of intellectuals in the Philippines.

IF SOMETHING of the shock of the colonial encounter is exemplified in the hybridities of Pinpin and Bulanen, a further turn is taken by Gaspar Aquino de Belen, a native of Rosario, Batangas, who ran the Jesuit printshop in Manila (1703–1716). He has been hailed as "the first great Tagalog poet" for his *Mahal na Pasion ni Jesu Cristo* (*Natin na tola* ("The Sacred Passion of Jesus Christ Our Lord in Verse") (1704), an original work in the venerable Spanish tradition of verse accounts of Christ's Redemption. Many vernacular versions of the *payson* exist but de Belen's 984-stanza text, the first printed narrative poem by a native author, was one of the most influential. It is remarkable for the sureness with which it dignifies a foreign form in the folk rhythms of its verse and the manner in which it infuses a local sensibility to its depiction of scene and character. This indicates a sense of confidence and ease with which a native inhabits a foreign form and, as it were, speaks out of it. Contrasted to Pinpin's work a century earlier, the text conveys an earnestness of voice and faith that demonstrates the advance of Christian conversion in Tagalog society.

Despite de Belen's seeming Christian orthodoxy, Spanish missionaries were wary about local renderings of Christian texts like the *payson*. After de Belen, there was a turn—the critics Bienvenido Lumbara and Nicanor Espriu point out—from "indigenization" to "standardization" as clerical authors "cleaned up" the popular payson of "errors" in style and doctrinal content. This is illustrated in the anonymous *Cabangon ng Payson Mahal ni Jesu Kristo panginoo natin* ("Account of the Sacred Passion of Jesus Christ Our Lord") (1814), known as *Payson Pilipil* (because it was falsely attributed to Mariano Pilipil, a learned Filipino secular priest), and *El libro de la vida* (1852) by Aniceto de la Mercado, a Filipino priest from Bulakan. Both versions are attempts at "codifying" the *payson* as a response to the rampant, popular reinterpretations of the
form in the oral tradition. In de la Merced’s dry and erudite version, in particular, a turn was made (Lamberto argues) towards “urbanity” and “correctness” in a time of increasing Christianization and urbanization. Pilapil and de la Merced signify the emergence of a new class of intellectuals, the native clergy. The priesthood was the first avenue to higher education and social status in the colonial system for Filipinos. For practical, institutional, and ideological reasons, the avenue was exceedingly narrow. In the eighteenth century, however, the first Filipino seminary, Seminario de San Clemente (1705), was opened and the first indigenes and mestizos broke through the limpia de sangre barrier to obtain a university education. As educational opportunities opened up, a fair number of indios secular priests were produced by 1762 (fifty to sixty in the archdiocese of Manila). Luciano Santiago has listed twelve “Filipinos” (indios and mestizos) who earned doctorates in the ecclesiastical sciences (sacred theology, philosophy, canon law) between 1772 and 1796.39

There is a remarkable continuity between the precolonial elite and the early native clergy, as shown in the case of “the first indio priest,” Francisco Baluyot, who was ordained in 1698. The Baluyots were an old and prominent Kapampangan family involved in a revolt in Pampanga in 1660 that was sparked by oppressive Spanish economic exactions. The revolt spread to neighboring provinces and was suppressed after its leaders, including a Baluyot, were hanged. It is ironic but not completely surprising that in the decades that followed several Baluyots would join the priesthood.40 When they were not involved in local uprisings, the local elite took the initiative in accessing the privileges of the clerical estate, thus aiding the rise of the native clergy. This was done particularly through the practice of the capellanía (chaplaincy), a private pious grant to the church, usually in the form of tilled or residential land, the income of which was applied for the support of a priest or capellan (chaplain). The donor usually determined the choice of chaplain and may reserve the post for blood relatives (in which case it is called capellanía de sangre). Meant as an act of piety, the capellanía was also a medium for “capitalizing” family members in the priesthood.41

The careers of native priests illustrate, on one hand, the impressive abilities of natives in learning the new culture and, on the other, the consciousness of colonial subalternity that would seed nationalism in the nineteenth century. Illustrating the former is Bartolome Saguinín (c.1694–1772), said to be of prehispanic Tagalog nobility, who was educated in the Jesuit college of San Jose, ordained priest in 1717, and rose by virtue of his merits to become synodal examiner in moral theology and parish priest of the prestigious district of Quiapo in Manila. Fluent in Tagalog, Spanish, and Latin, he was part of the “Congregación de Tagalista Priests” created by the Manila archbishop in 1748 to select and edit the best Tagalog translation of the Doctrina Cristiana among many versions already in print or manuscript form. Saguinín’s only surviving book—which makes him, according to Luciano Santiago, “the first Ivatan priest-pot and writer”—is Ilustración doctiri d.d. Simon de Anda et Salazar eilim in Mantileni curia senatori dignissimo censurum criminalium auditori aquisitio in laboriosissimo tempore hibi a britannico (Sampaloc, 1760), a collection of twelve Latin epigrams that honor the gallantry of governor Simon de Anda during the British Occupation of Manila (1762–1764), an event in which Saguinín participated as chaplain under Anda.42 The astonishing fact of an indig publishing a book of Latin odes in the eighteenth century shows the remarkable precocity with which natives assumed the idioms and symbols of the new culture. European “mater“ had seeped into the imaginings not only of native priests but local literati as shown in an interesting episode narrated by the missionary Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga. In 1796, a high Spanish naval official, visiting Lipa, Batangas, was honored in an elaborate welcome ceremony in which a local resident delivered a Tagalog verse eulogy (basa) replete with references to the voyages of Ulysses, the travels of Aristotle, and other incidents in ancient history, garnished with such flights of poetic license as Aristotle drowning himself in chagrin at not being able to measure the depths of the sea and Pliny throwing himself into the mouth of Vesuvius in his zeal to investigate the cause of its eruption.43

Disciplined by their vows, the native clergy occupied a subordinate role in the church. It is said that they began to assume a race-based group identity as early as 1771–1777 when they were caught up in conflicts between church and state and the archbishop and religious orders over issues of vocation, royal patronage, and restrictions on the powers of the religious orders.44 We know little, however, about what the first native priests thought, wrote, or said.
The rise of the Filipino priest as writer came in the mid-nineteenth century with the expansion and improvement in the training of the native clergy. This nineteenth-century clerical intelligence included the Tagalog Vicente García, Pampangan Anselmo Jorge de Pajardo, Iloko Justo Claudio, and Hiligaynon Anselmo Avanceña. For the first time (with the rare exception of Pinpin and Saguisin), Filipinos wrote and published books in their own name. A benchmark work is Modesto de Castro’s Pag-awalan ang dalaung bintihi na si Urbana at si Félica na nagturo ng mahaling kasalanan (1864), the most popular example of the manual de urbanidad or book of conduct, a genre popular in the late colonial period. It went through several editions and was translated into other Philippine languages. A manual aimed at regulating social and moral behavior, Urbana at Félica is wholly orthodox in its religious and moral prescriptions but, as the first example of an extended vernacular prose narrative by a local author, it points to the advent of the novel in the Philippines in the decades that followed. De Castro (1819-1864), a native of Laguna and graduate of Colegio de San José, was a secular priest with a reputation as an autor clásico for his sermons and “precise and elegant” writings. 65

In sum, the first “modern” native intellectuals emerged in the shadow of the Church. These included catechists, scribes, printers, and artists. They were followed by native clergymen, who began to be prominent in the mid-nineteenth century. They constituted a social formation intimately complicit in the twin project of Christianization and colonization although, as Pinpin and de Belen show, they were not passive transmitters of new knowledge but creative agents in its dissemination. Conditions, however, were such that one could not speak of a “Filipino intelligentsia” prior to the mid-nineteenth century, not only because the Filipino as national had not yet evolved but because an “intelligentsia” as a self-aware, secular community of persons did not exist. The early printers, translators, and church poets were few in number and operated as independent artisans and literati, linked individually to first-patrons instead of horizontally to each other. The contemporaries Pinpin and Bukaneg may have been vaguely aware of each other, if at all. Pinpin’s Libro is remarkable for its stance—a Tagalog openly addressing “fellow Tagalogs” in print—but it is doubtful whether it was widely circulated since the early books, for such reasons as cost and scarcity of paper, were not meant for popular distribution but reference use by missionaries. Monastic control of publishing inhibited the formation of a secular literature. There was, however, much creative work outside the orbit of print and the surveillance of authorities. This is indicated in the anxieties frequently voiced by Spanish observers about “mistranslations” of doctrinal works and the “heretical” and “profane” activities engaged in by natives even during Church-related events. The creation of the “Congregación de Tagalíta Priests” in 1748 signified that unauthorized redactions of Christian texts, mainly in manuscript form, had proliferated. In 1842, Sinibaldo de Mas observed how young men and women had converted the singing of the Lenten pasyon into “a carnival amusement, or to speak more plainly, into a pretext for the most scandalous vices, and the result of these caprice is that many of the girls of the village become enceinte.”66 In 1878, an Augustinian complained about the “bad trends of the times and anti-Christian ideas” carried in hybrid local renderings of European metrical romances and religious tales. 67 Writing in the 1880s of pasyon performances in and around Manila, Vicente Barrantes described all-night sessions in which the chanting of religious verses contended with the irreverent sounds of people gossiping and playing music more evocative of a popular dance than a religious occasion. 68 Such was the “profaning” of the pasyon that even went out with a whip to disperse revelers and censors had to act to control the proliferating folk versions of the pasyon.

There were realms of culture that could not be effectively monitored or policed because they took private, oral, and ephemeral forms, or took place outside the reach of iglesia (church) and tribunal (government hall). These did not exist as a separate tradition but were constituents of a dynamic and evolving colonial culture. They determined the more visible, canonical cultural texts (like books) or problematized them by indicating what was silenced or suppressed.

HORACIO DE LA COSTA calls 1760-1860 “the formative century.” 69 In the main population centers, the construction of churches and schools, introduction of printshops and other technologies, and changes in ways of life stimulated new forms and styles of thinking about the world. The country’s increased integration into empire and the world economy irre-
vocably changed local society, creating ground in which people had to define themselves in relation to a changed world and the disturbing presence of the other.

In 1762–1764 the British Occupation of Manila shook the colony's isolation. Although it was short and the British controlled only Manila and Cavite, it opened to foreign trade the port of Manila (which was closed to the world except the Manila-Acapulco galleon and Chinese traders), liberalized commerce, and denied Spanish power in the eyes of the inhabitants. While part of the population remained loyal to Spain, certain sectors (like the Manila Chinese and the Sultanate of Sulu) supported the British and sections of the country descended into lawlessness or rose in revolt (as in the insurrection led by Diego Silang in the Ilocos).

In the decades that followed the Philippines was transformed by a changing world economy and what was a politically turbulent nineteenth century in Spain. The Spanish Enlightenment (Ilustración) under Carlos III (1759–1788) strengthened the civil state against the powers of the Church and nourished secular forces in the colony. Under governors Simon de Anda and Jose Basco, efforts to foster economic self-sufficiency encouraged the expansion of cash-crop agriculture, the most dramatic instance of which was the tobacco monopoly (1782–1882). The termination of the galleon trade in 1813 sealed the end to an era of isolation. Manila was formally opened to the trade of all nations in 1835, followed by the ports of Iloilo in 1855 and Cebu in 1863. The exclusion of non-Spanish foreign residents, a policy already eroded by the early nineteenth century, officially ended in 1863 when non-Spanish foreigners were permitted to take up residence in the provinces and engage in any economic activity. All these took place during a politically tumultuous time in Spain. The South American wars of independence (1808–1825) signaled the breakup of the Spanish Empire and a complex struggle of liberal and conservative forces plunged Spain into a prolonged state of civil unrest as coups and civil war led to a bewildering succession of governments.

With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the voyage from Europe to the Philippines was cut down from three to four months to just a month. In 1870 the first steamer arrived in Manila direct from Barcelona via the Suez. The "opening up" of the colony did not only mean that the Philippines was linked more closely to the outside world but that the economy was growing...
who worked under the missionaries' patronage, or de la Merced and de Castro, who wrote as part of their vocation as churchmen, de la Cruz and Baltazar were "free-floating" intellectuals. Writing for a living, they were part of an emerging town culture in which persons with learning and literary skills could earn both prestige and an income by producing verses and plays for theater and other occasions. Our first known examples of writers operating outside the domain of the church, they were precursors of the professional men of letters in the nineteenth century.

Of the petty elite of Tondo in Manila, Jose de la Cruz (called Huesng Siwi, from the practice of his being gifted chicks, siwi, in exchange for his poetic compositions) was an autodidact who is said to have taught himself Spanish, Latin, philosophy, and theology. He headed an itinerant troupe of comedia players and lived off commissions producing poetry for private and public purposes. He is credited with having authored numerous lyrics, plays, and romances (some of which has survived except for fragments published in 1933). Remembered for his legendary skills in verse-making, he was a poet in the oral tradition as well as child of an emerging book culture. He is reported to have said: "My library is my own mind. A rich library is not what is needed but to put in the mind what it contains."

Baltazar (also Balagtas) apprenticed as a versifier under the Tondo bard. The son of a village blacksmith in Balacan, he moved to Manila when he was eleven and entered into the domestic service of a family who paid for his secondary education at Colegio de San Jose. His stay in Manila introduced him to an expanding native literati that included his teacher Fr. Mariano Pilapil, a well-regarded Latin scholar. Baltazar had a troubled and unhappy life. After being jailed in 1838, reputedly on a trumped-up charge filed by a concisa who was a rival in love, he left Manila for Bataan where he married, worked in the lower civil service, and raised a large family. He was imprisoned again for having cropped the hair of an alferon's housemaid and probably something else besides since he spent nearly four years in prison. Driven in part by his need to make a living from commissions, he wrote "more than a hundred" comedias and corridos, of which only barely a dozen titles are known today and only three of which have survived intact.

His masterwork, Pinagdaansang Baboy ni Florentes at ni Laura sa Cabariang Albania (The History of Florente and Laura in the Kingdom of Albania) (1838) is a long romance in dodecasyllabic quatrains. It shows a poet versed in Greek and Roman classics, "universal history," and Europe's courtly tradition. In the manner of metrical romances, it claims to have been "based on various 'historical scenes' or portraits relating to events in ancient times in the Greek Empire" (Quinasub sa matalang "cuadros historico" o pinunsuang nagasauban sa mga pangyayari ng unang panahon sa Impero ng Greya). Its literary orientation is signified in the poet's address to the "reader" (sa babata nito) in the 1861 edition, asking that his lines not be altered and that readers refer to his footnotes and analyze the "deeper" sense of his lines. It is not a mere miming of European tradition. Florente at Laura is an original composition. By the force of his language and skill in shaping his characters' subjective life in a woeful tale that condemns unjust powers, Baltazar localizes the exotic, stamps his personality on a foreign form, and gives to the Enlighten-

ment faith in reason a native voice. Taken as a veiled indictment of colonial oppression, Florente at Laura has been regarded as a text that marks the transition from folk realism to the more vigorous and overtly political realism of the Propaganda Movement.

Baltazar was a favorite among early nationalists. When Rizal left for Europe in 1882, he carried with him a copy of an 1870 edition of Florente at Laura. Its status as a political allegory, however, has been debated given the poem's exotic material and cryptic relations to actual events. In this respect, it is important to stress how it was read or heard in its own time. Florente at Laura was not just a printed text: it circulated in manuscript copies, entered the oral tradition, sung by amateur and semiprofessional bards, and generated meanings in ways now difficult to document. In a sensitive study of the poem's language, Virgilio Almarico points to the semantic and affective values of the poem's Tagalog words that may have suggested covert "sociopolitical" meanings to its Tagalog readers.

What has gone largely unrecognized by critics is that the poem was composed at a time when the country witnessed a convulsion of rational-critical dissent and the earliest manifestation of a "national" consciousness. A conjunctural moment was the promulgation of the Cadiz Constitution of 1812 which set Spain on the road to a parliamentary monarchy in the troubled context of a domestic revolution and the war against France. In providing that laws were to be the same for all citizens on both sides of the Atlantic and in the Philippines, the 1812 Constitution
gave impetus to revolution in Latin America and the beginnings of autonomist politics in the Philippines. In Manila (where Baltazar was in the city), a brief spell of press freedom (1813–1824) stimulated the expression of liberal ideas. Ramillete Patriotic Mt. Pinamocan (May 27, 1821) reported that “clandestine publications are multiplying in a scandalous manner.” “Five or six of this class are being circulated in these parts.”9

Manila’s weekly La Filantropía (1821–1822) criticized pedantic school education, discrimination against indios and creoles in student admission, and book censorship (citing the ban on the importation of Rousseau’s Social Contract). These papers had a small, precarious existence but, for the first time, political dissent was openly expressed in print.

How “Filipino” intellectuals engaged the realities of the time is indicated in the stories of four diverse contemporaries of Baltazar, the indios Mariano Pilapil and Apolinar de la Cruz and the creoles Luis Rodriguez Varela and Domingo Roxas.

A secular priest, Mariano Pilapil (1759–1818) belonged to a prominent Bucalan family.10 Illustrating the process by which the indigenous elite carved out space for itself in the colonial system, the Pilapil family invested in education, produced priests, and donated land to the church for a capellanía on condition that Pilapil in the clergy take precedence in being appointed its chaplain. Mariano Pilapil earned a doctorate in sacred theology from Santo Tomas (making him the first native to earn a doctorate) and built a distinguished clerical career, publishing pastoral and pedagogical texts, and serving as ecclesiastical censor and philosophy professor at Colegio de San Jose. Though the most accomplished native priest of his time, he found his accent in the church hierarchy blocked for racial reasons, a fact he did not suffer in silence but protested with formal appeals to higher authorities, including the Spanish Crown.

After the Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed in Manila on April 17, 1813, Pilapil was one of the four delegates elected to represent the Filipinos in the Spanish Cortes. (The others were two Spanish-mestizo priests and a creole layman; another indio tagalo, also a priest, was chosen as an alternate.) It was the first election of its kind in which the electors (albeit small and mostly priests) included indios. The election stunned colonial authorities already quite aware of the role creoles and priests played in revolutionary movements in Spanish America. The arch-

bishops and other church dignitaries snubbed the proclamation of the elected delegates in the Manila Cathedral on September 19, 1813. Critical pieces against Pilapil were anonymously circulated (but traced to him), eliciting a response from Pilapil and his students at San Jose who published their riposte in verse form in Dos mascaradas descubiertas (1813).11 For reasons that are not known Pilapil did not leave for Spain together with the other delegates. When the decree of the Cortes secularizing parishes reached Manila in December 1814 it was Mariano’s cousin, Domingo Pilapil (1755–1822), parish priest of Bacoor, who led others in boldly petitioning the archbishop to publish and implement the decree. Instead Domingo and his co-signers were imprisoned in the city’s convents and released only two months later, in March 1815, when news of the abdication of the Cortes on May 4, 1814, finally reached the Philippines. We know little of what the Pilapils did subsequently, but the rights of the native and secular clergy they espoused would widen into a movement in the decades that followed.

The “liberal space” that opened up under the 1812 Constitution also revealed the tensions between creoles and peninsulars in the colony.12 Spanish authorities were suspicious of the loyalty of creoles—called “Filipino Spaniards” (españoles Filipinos) or simply “Filipinos”—because of the role of creoles in the Spanish-American revolutions. Discriminated against by peninsulars, creoles—many of whom had never been to Spain and had neither friends nor personal relations there—proudly identified with the land, calling themselves hijos del pais (sons of the country).

The most vocal advocate of native rights was the creole Luis Rodriguez Varela (1768–1826), a Manila-born Spaniard who was educated in France, served in Manila’s Ayuntamiento and received in 1795, for reasons that are not clear, the title of Conde Filipino from Charles IV. Author of several works, including a patriotic tract on the French invasion of Spain, Proclama Historial (1809), he called for expanding education in the colony and defended the rights of the native clergy in the controversy surrounding the election of Pilapil and other delegates to the Cortes.

In El Parnaso Filipino (1814), a book of poems he published in the flush of enthusiasm that followed the 1812 Constitution, he stirred debate with his extravagant claims of the artistic and scientific accomplishments of indios and creoles in the land he called Pera del Oriente. Betana dismisses him as a “pedestrian writer, scurrilous, an occasional portrayer, a
patriot in his own mind," but credits him as "the precursor of redemptorist politics," "precursor de la Risa, los Lopez Jaena, los del Pilar." Retana exaggerates but Varela was not inconsequential.

In 1815, news of the abolition of the Cadiz Constitution in 1814 sparked a bloody uprising that started in Sarrats, Ilocos, and spread to neighboring towns. It was, however, suppressed in a matter of days. Enmity between peninsulars and creoles, was behind a plot in 1822 of creole military officers—led by the brothers Manuel, Jose, and Joaquin Bayo—to take over the government and declare Philippine independence. The conspiracy was discovered and its leaders punished. The following year, another conspiracy of Mexican and creole officers, led by the Spanish mestizo Andres Novales, sparked a mutiny in which the mutineers arrested Spanish officials, took control of installations, including the Governor's Palace, and declared Novales (in the manner of General Agustin de Iturbide of Mexico) "Emperor of the Philippines." The coup was crushed on its first day and its leaders executed. A French eyewitness to the events, Paul de la Giraudiere, wrote of Novales: "At midnight he was outlawed; at two o'clock in the morning proclaimed Emperor; and at five in the evening shot."

These were short-lived events that mostly involved Spaniards, Mexicans, and creoles. They were, however, more than military mutinies. Leading creole citizens, like Varela, businessman Domingo Roxas, and lawyer Jose Maria Jugo, had been under surveillance on suspicion of subversive activities. Roxas (1782–1843) was one of the country's wealthiest businessmen. Jugo (1780–1855), a Manila-born Spaniard, was a law professor at Santo Tomas and (with Varela and Roxas) active in Real Sociedad Economica de Amigos del Pais. Varela, Roxas, and Jugo were taken under custody in the aftermath of the Novales revolt and, together with the Bayot brothers who had languished in prison since their abortive conspiracy in 1822, shipped off to Spain on February 18, 1823, to stand trial. They were exonerated after more than a year's appeal. (Varela died in Spain while Roxas returned to the Philippines.)

While the unrest was quickly contained, the interregnum saw the racial foundations of colonial rule publicly attacked in print, perhaps for the first time. Responding to an article in Noticiero Filipino (August 5, 1821), an anonymous political tract, El Indio Agraviado, published in Sampaloc in 1821, denounced the oppression of indios.

This is what you (Spaniards) are saying among yourselves: If we allow the Indians to learn Spanish, some of them may turn out to be satirists and scholars who will understand what we say, dispute with us and write things against us. If we allow them to prosper they will become rich, they will mix with us freely, sit beside us, eat at the same table, aspire to high and important offices, become persons of distinction. Is it not shameful that they should be on the same level as ourselves? And so, that they may never rise from their miserable condition, that they may always be poor, that we may have them to serve us always, let us not teach them Spanish; let us leave them in their ignorance; let us not help them correct the barbarous speech and stupid ideas that among them pass for polite conversation; let us not provide them with money, that being always needy they may learn to steal. Thus we shall be able to call them thieves and they will have nothing to say in their defense because they will be thieves. And if by a miracle they refrain from stealing, being in need they will do what work they can for whatever wage they can get. By this method or system we will always be the masters and they will always be poor, miserable and ignorant, bearing all injuries, unable to defend themselves. We will possess all, and all will have need of us. Was this not what your lordships had in mind from the beginning, that you may always have the better of us, as you do? There is not doubt at all about it. What then is left for the poor Indian? If he tries to reason with you, he is impertinent; if he keeps his peace, he is a dole.

A state of nervousness characterized the period. When a cholera outbreak hit Manila in 1820, rumors spread that the epidemic was caused by foreigners poisoning the waters. A riot broke out on October 9 that killed 39 Europeans in Manila. A British naval officer writing about the situation in 1822 noted the anti-Spanish feeling among natives and creoles. Some of the disaffected, he said, "are rapidly spreading doctrines gleamed from the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Tom Paine, etc. . . . stimulating the populace with songs of liberty and equality." Such remarks as "the country belongs to the Indians, La tierra es de los Indios" are common "even amongst the lowest orders." Referring to the xenophobic riots of October 1820, he lamented that a crisis will surely come now
that “the doctrine of El Pueblo Sobrano [‘the sovereign people’] is hourly echoed in [the native’s] ears by those who are least capable of managing him when once aroused.”

Concern for public order occasioned moves to strengthen press censorship and regulate the movements of people. An edict in 1826, for instance, provided for the registration of vagrants and the arrest of persons caught posting anonymous pasaportes or satirical posters.

Several tendencies were at work in the early formation of a critical intelligentsia—assertion of the rights of the secular clergy, Enlightenment liberalism, “creole patriotism,” and the economic empowerment of local principalities. Sinibaldo de Mas, in his 1842 informe, raised the dire prospect of creoles forging common cause with indios and recommended that “the Spaniards born in the Philippines must be reduced as much as possible in number.” He warned against the spread of liberal ideas: “It is indispensable that we avoid the formation of liberals, because in a colony, liberal and rebellious are synonymous terms.” Saying that for the colony’s maintenance “the colored population must voluntarily respect and obey the whites,” he recommended the closure of Manila colleges and an end to the ordination of native priests. Mas bewailed the increased assertiveness of indios and mestizos and the many instances of insubordination he suffered during his stay in Manila. “I have traveled among Turks, Egyptians and Bedouins, without pomp nor escorts and I can say that in no place have I been object of less respect and deference than in the Philippines.” To “break the pride of the natives,” he exhorted, “it is necessary to keep [them] in such an intellectual and moral state that despite their numerical superiority they may weigh less politically than [the Spaniards], just as in a balance a pile of hay weighs less than a bar of gold.”

Critical public discourse was restricted. Priests (like the Pilagis) worked in a disciplined institutional setting that militated against autonomous debate. Philippine creoles (like Varela)—compared to creoles in Latin America—were few in number and could only issue quixotic declarations or mount pocket mutinies that were readily suppressed. They constituted a collection of individuals rather than a social movement. Their aims were limited, advancing the rights of the secular clergy within the church and the prerogatives of the local-born within the imperial system.

414

Other, deeper forces were, however, at work as indicated in the Apolinario de la Cruz “rebellion” of 1841. The son of fairly well-to-do peasant parents in Tayabas, de la Cruz (1815-1841)—also Hermano Pule—went to Manila in 1830 with the desire to enter the religious orders. This was an avenue closed to indios at the time. He could have gone the route taken by the Pilagis but his family may not have been prosperous enough to capitalize a clerical profession for the young Apolinario. Working as a donado in San Juan de Dios Hospital, driven by an exceptional religious zeal, he became a lay preacher and in 1832 organized a Cofradia de San José, a confraternity devoted to the practice of piety and works of charity. By 1840 the cofradia had expanded to include a few thousand members in several Tagalog provinces and acquired a life of its own outside the control of the church. Its phenomenal expansion, and the fact that the organization specifically excluded those other than “pure-blooded” natives, alarmed the authorities. Harassed and persecuted, Hermano Pule and his followers (who, it was reported, hailed their leader as “King of the Tagalogs”) withdrew to establish a “commune” in the hinterland. Government forces attacked the encampment in late 1841, killing “almost a thousand” Cofradia members. Pule was captured, summarily tried, and executed, his body cut into pieces, his head publicly displayed in a cage on top of a pole.

The bloodbath raised a hail of public criticism in Manila. A year later, on January 20, 1843, soldiers of the “Tayabas regiment” based in Malate—who had relatives and friends among the victims in the Cofradia massacre—mutinied under the leadership of Sergeant Isidro Samaniego. The mutiny was brutally suppressed. The French consul in Manila reported to his superiors a few days later that at the height of the mutiny the rebels “were heard to cry out to their countrymen to rise in arms and fight for independence.” “This was the first time that the word, independence, had been uttered in the Philippines as a rallying cry.” With Gallic aplomb, the consul reported: “It is a milestone, Your Excellency, on the road to freedom.”

The Hermano Pule revolt was not the country’s first religious revolt but may be the first to directly engage the institutions and forms of colonial authority. De la Cruz was not a kobylety preaching a return to precolonial religion. He aspired to join a European religious order, used as vehicle a European medieval organization (cofradía), and adopted
European ritual and verbal genres (pasyon, novena). While Reynaldo Ileto has shown that these took effective form to the degree that they were animated by indigenous notions of virtue, power, and community, it was an indigenized Christianity rather than, say, a Christianized animism that provided de la Cruz a "language" for articulating local notions of renewal and resistance.26

It is interesting that a key devotional text, Cofradia members chanted in their gatherings, Dalit sa kababastosan sa langgam na caratagan ng mga banal, was copied from Meditaciones, cuan marga mabat na pagsumay na sadu sa Santo ng Erexcrisio (1645) by Pedro de Herrera, an Augustinian praised by his contemporaries as a "Horace" in the Tagalog language. Herrera's dalit compositions were meant to supersede (and thus suppress) "bad" native poetry. They were, Virgilio Almario says, "the first truly successful incription (pagisipan) of Christian doctrine into indigenous form and language."27 The irony of its use by the Cofradia illustrates the recurrent fact in local intellectual history that a Spanish appropriation of an indigenous language (Tagalog) and form (dalit) as medium for colonial-Christian evangelizing would be reappropriated by natives who, in recuperating older meanings "hidden" in the language, would perform versions of community and salvation other than what the Spaniards intended.

De la Cruz withdrew to the wilderness only after the persecution began, and his petitions to "legalize" the cofradia (addressed to the bishop of Nueva Caceres, the archbishop, and the Manila Audiencia) were denied or set aside by the authorities. In these petitions he was counseled or aided by prominent liberals in Manila, including the landowner Diogo Gonzalez Azoaia and merchant Domingo Roxas. Azoaia was one of the delegates elected to the Spanish Cortes in 1813. Roxas, who was persecuted for the Bayot and Novales mutinies in 1822–1823, was a dynamic businessman with investments in such enterprises as mining in Cebu, a water-powered spinnery, and a gunpowder factory in Laguna. Implicated again in the Hermano Pule revolt and Samaniego mutiny (it was alleged that he supplied gunpowder to the rebels), the sixty-year-old Roxas was imprisoned with his two sons in Fort Santiago. He died in prison on June 10, 1843.28

Roxas's association with de la Cruz appears bizarre in the light of the binary divide historiography has constructed between folk rebels like Hermano Pule and men like Roxas (who styled descendents of today's Roxas, Ayala, Zobel, and Soriano families). The connection may have been concocted or magnified during de la Cruz's trial to convict an influential creole with a "subversive" record. Government paranoia was such that in the wake of the Hermano Pule revolt authorities even considered an ordinance that would permit only Spaniards to reside in the walled city, the creoles being sent out to live in the suburbs.29 The Roxas-Pule link, however, should be taken not just as a product of paranoia but as a sign of dynamic interrelations within local society.

While much of de la Cruz's career remains unclear what is known signifies an important aspect in the native encounter with foreign power. Saguisain and Pilapil worked under the rules of established colonial institutions; Balagtas and Huesng Siuw operated at the margins of colonial power. Rejected and persecuted, Hermano Pule took instruments the Spaniards created and deployed them in dangerously subversive ways. This was not a lament in the wilderness (as critics have falsely represented in the matter of Balagtas, Pule's contemporary) but a bold claim to the right to interpret power, and to power itself.

THE INTERRELATED STORIES of Pilapil, Varela, Roxas, and de la Cruz are sketchily documented and the relations somewhat tenuous. They signify, however, the social and political intersections that formed the national intelligentsia of the nineteenth century. There are four intertwined strands in this emergent formation: clerical intellectuals (Pilapil), creole patriots (Varela), an empowered bourgeoisie (Roxas), and folk-popular intellectuals (de la Cruz).

They constitute an uneven discursive terrain owing to differences in social location, conditions of emergence, and the nature of their grievances and aspirations. They are all, however, formed and shaped by colonial processes—Christian evangelization, Hispanic acculturation, and colonial economic expansion. They all had their own grievances: discriminations against natives and seafarers in the Church; the bias against mixed-blood and "local-born" Spaniards; the constraints on an ascendant bourgeoisie; and the oppression of peasants and rural dwellers. They expressed these grievances differently and were energized by domestic and external events in different ways. Creoles were the most directly affected by the Latin American revolutions and expressed themselves in forms of "creole patriotism," in assertions of parity ("we are as much
Brains of the Nation

Spaniards as the peninsular-born) or dreams of autonomy. Peasant rebels, on the other hand, were not unaffected by “large events” (as shown in the uprisings triggered by the British Occupation and the abolition of the Constitution of 1812)—even the Hermano Pule rebellion was not a case of pure indigeneity—but they drew sustenance from a more indigenous body of ideas that, throughout the colonial period, expressed itself in various forms of resistance.

These intersections were remembered. Four decades after Pinalip and Varela, another creole, Jose Burgos, would expand Pinalip’s reverberative advocacy of the native clergy and invoke Varela in a brief on native abilities that would, for the first time, enlarge on Filipino as name for a multi- racial, proto-national community. Jugo was one of the liberals surveilled by the authorities at the time of the Cavite Mutiny of 1872. Joaquin Pardo de Tavera was Jugo’s law partner and Jugo’s daughter would figure as benefactress of expatriate Filipinos in Spain, Isabelo de los Reyes among them. Rizal would acknowledge Pinalip and Jugo among the nationalists’ intellectual antecedents. And Pedro Patermo would, in his own fashion, live out the ancien regime dreams of Conde Filipino.

Their great wealth and status as “not quite Spanish” exposed the Roxas family to persecution. Domingo Roxas’s son, Jose, was a member of the Comite de Reformadores headed by Joaquin Pardo de Tavera in 1872. Domingo’s grandson, Pedro, was tagged together with his cousin Francisco and brother-in-law Jacobo Zobel as the highest leaders of the Katipunan in 1896. Pedro’s properties were embargoed at the outbreak of the 1896 revolution and he would have been arrested had he not jumped ship in Singapore on his way to Europe. Francisco was arrested in August 1896 and executed by firing squad. The government confiscated his properties. Zobel, a wealthy German pharmacist married to Trinidad de Ayala, Pedro’s sister-in-law, was associated with the 1872 reformadores and imprisoned in 1874 for alleged involvement in a separatist plot. He died of a heart attack at the revolution’s outbreak in 1896.

The Hermano Pule revolt would inspire other acts of insurrection. And turn-of-the-century ilustrado historians would trace the beginnings of the Philippine revolution (if for reasons of their own) to such events as the Pule revolt. The linkages are tenuous but they would thicken in the decades that followed.

Fedor Jager observed in 1872: “The colony can no longer be kept secluded from the world. Every facility afforded for commercial intercourse is a blow to the old system.” The expansion of the colonial state and market economy stimulated new needs and new ways of looking at the world. Urbanization, improved communications, and a larger, more mobile population opened spaces for the circulation of ideas and formation of a “public.” Schools, newspapers, voluntary associations, and other sites of what Jurgen Habermas calls “the public sphere” expanded as networks for rational-critical discourse. After the 1860s Filipino increasingly came to refer not only to creoles but natives and Chinese and Spanish mestizos. An intelligentsia was formed that was modern in the manner in which it engaged Western knowledge and Filipino in its sense of location and nationality, one that was shaped by a consciousness of difference and “outsideness” in relation to the knowledge it had to confront and possess in the process of defining itself.

Colonial education expanded despite material and ideological constraints. Already in 1846 Jean Mallat wrote, if too optimistically, that
NOTES


It is interesting that Sultan Kudarat’s oft-quoted speech—which Corpus cites as a “rare and profound” native statement on “concepts that modern intellectuals discuss as political obligation and political liberty”—has survived as an indirect recording by a Jesuit missionary. See Corpus, Roots of the Filipino Nation, 1:153. On the use of re-


See the remarks of an English traveler in 1828: BR, LII:98–99.


512

67. Sinbuldo de Max, Report on the Condition of the Filipinos in 1862 (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1963), 121. 133, 159. This is the confidential third volume of *Informe sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842* (1843). Also see the memorial of Spanish official Manuel Bermudez Porroar on April 26, 1827: BR, I:182–273.


69. De la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History*, 188.


74. Teodoro Agoncillo says that Bonifacio and Jacinto implicated the Roxases and other wealthy businessmen through forged documents to punish them for their non-support of the Katipunan and force them to take the side of the revolution. See *The Revolt of the Mamon* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996; 1st ed., 1956), 146.


78. Agustin de la Caveda Mendez de Vigo, *Historia* (Manila, 1876), extracted in Abelia, "Higher Education in the Filipinos," 29–30. See Aloma, *History of Education*, 97–98. Aloma provides a different set of figures, saying that by 1887 there were 1,016 state-supported primary schools for boys and 582 for girls, with a combined enrollment of 177,113.