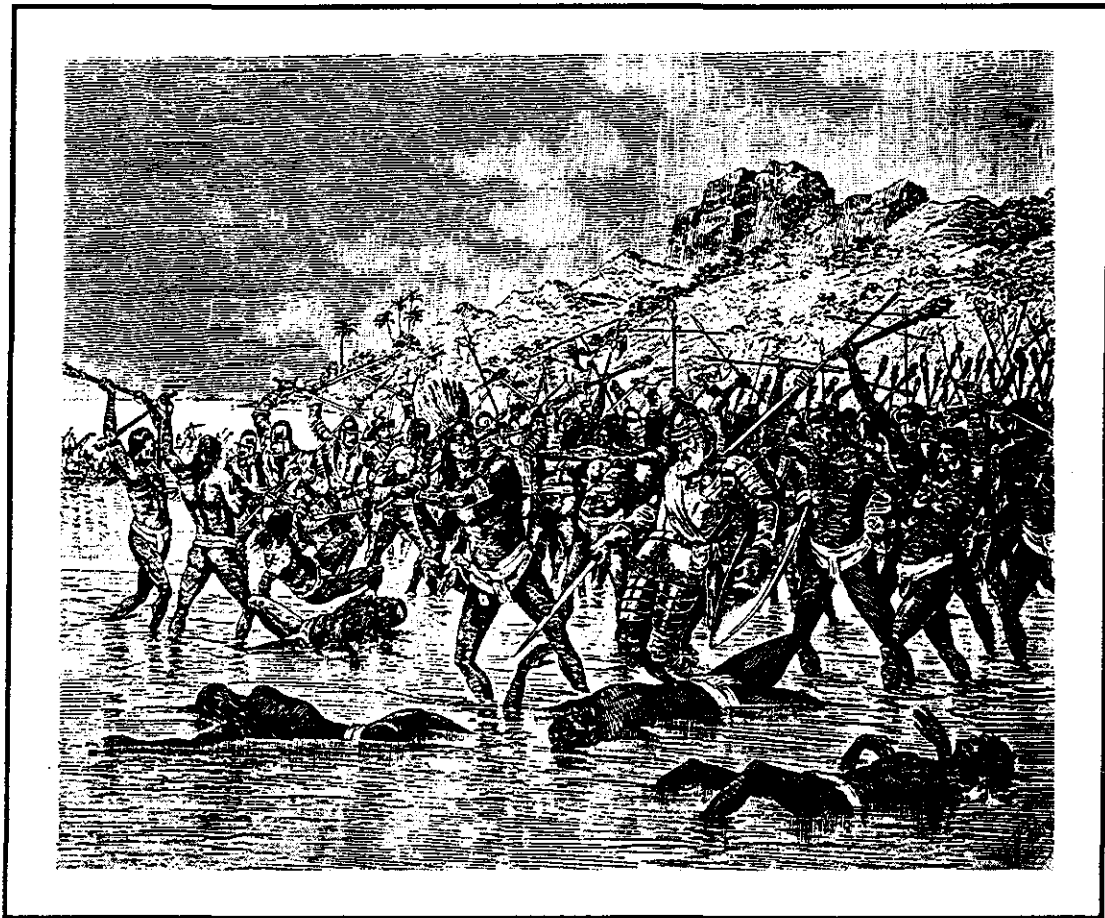


The Age of Discovery:
Impact on Philippine Culture
and Society
SECOND EDITION



Edited by

BELINDA A. AQUINO
DEAN T. ALEGADO



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Center for Philippine Studies

The Center for Philippine Studies was originally established as a Program in 1975 to offer an interdisciplinary academic curriculum on Philippine Studies, promote scholarly research and professional interest in the Philippines and Filipinos overseas, provide information and educational resources to groups, individuals, and institutions interested in the Philippines or Filipinos, maintain a comprehensive library collection of Philippine material, and recognize the contributions of Filipinos to the State of Hawaii. It is the only academic center in the US offering graduate and undergraduate courses on the Philippines including four levels of Filipino and Ilokano. Students may pursue BA and MA degrees with concentration in Philippine Studies. The Center is part of the School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

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COVER

The print on the cover is reproduced from the *The Philippines – Pigafetta's Story of their Discovery by Magellan* by Rodrigue Lévesque published in Gatineau, Quebec, Canada in 1980. It shows an artist's rendering of the death of Ferdinand Magellan on the island of Mactan in Cebu, Philippines during a battle with native chief Lapu-lapu and his men. According to Lévesque, Pigafetta's account describes the battle as taking place on 27 April 1521. Magellan had ordered the burning of the native villagers' houses to scare them. Instead, they attacked the Spanish invaders furiously with spears and stones. "They followed us shooting their poisoned arrows four or five times, so much so that they, recognizing the captain (Magellan), aimed at him so much that twice they shot arrows right by his head." Magellan was wounded in the arm. Seeing this, the villagers "threw themselves all upon him, and one with a long javelin gave him a blow in the left leg, thereupon he fell face forward, now all of a sudden, they threw themselves upon him, with their hardened spears, and with these javelins . . . they slew the mirror, the light, the comfort, and our true guide." (p.62)

Foreword To The Second Edition

The Center for Philippine Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa in 1992 embarked on an ambitious program to examine critically the meaning and impact of the "Age of Discovery" on Philippine culture and society following Columbus' voyage to the Americas in 1492. The Spanish conquest of the Philippines in the 16th century is part of the controversial "Columbian legacy" in world history and history of ideas. The impact of European expansion was not limited to the Americas and the trans-Atlantic axis, nor did it end with Columbus. The arrival of Magellan in the Philippines in 1521 set into motion events and processes that are still being experienced today.

The 1992 program focused on these events and their repercussions in a series of lectures and slide presentations, and in a volume of essays that examined the impact from six different perspectives and provided an annotated bibliography. This monograph, entitled *The Age of Discovery: Impact on Philippine Culture and Society*, proved so successful that it was soon out of print. In response to the demand for copies, particularly among school teachers who have little available resources on the topic, the Center for Philippine Studies decided to reissue the publication and expand it by including two new essays.

The Center for Philippine Studies is one of ten area centers within the School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. The Center's mission is to promote and assist teaching and research of the Philippines at the University and to foster the understanding of the Philippines in the wider community. This last mission is especially vital in view of the large Filipino community in Hawaii — one that presently constitutes approximately 15 percent of the state population.

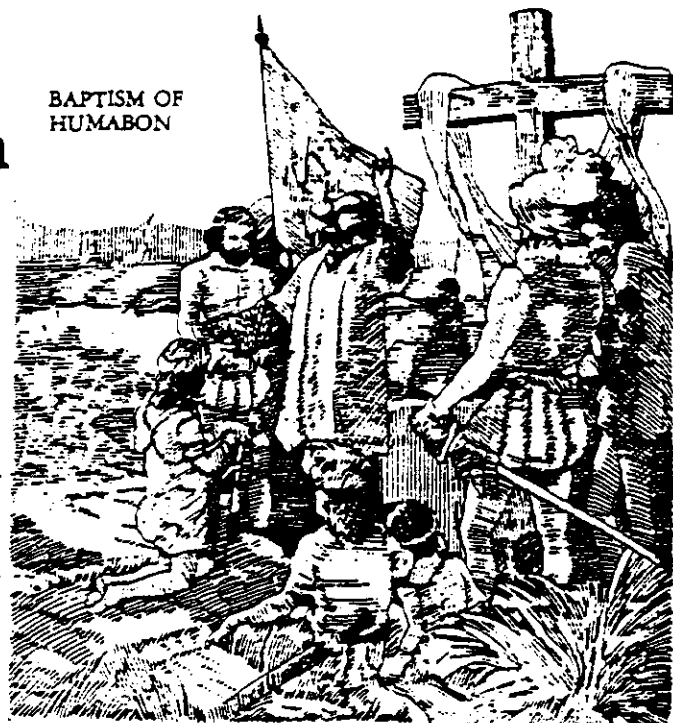
The chief sponsor for the Center's project on the "Age of Discovery" was the Hawaii Committee for Humanities (HCH), one of the most active and imaginative funding agencies in the State. The Hawaii Committee for the Humanities, in cooperation with the State Commission on the Columbus Quincentenary, awarded the Center a grant of \$25,000 to undertake the program.

The School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies commends the Hawaii Committee for the Humanities and the Center for Philippine Studies for their partnership in creating excellent public programs and we welcome the reissue and expansion of the monograph. Making the monograph available again will help to insure that both the academic and local communities gain a greater understanding of the complexity of the history of the Philippines and the strength and endurance of Filipino culture.

Willa J. Tanabe, Interim Dean
School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Rethinking Magellan and Rediscovering the Philippines

BAPTISM OF
HUMABON



On October 12, 1992 various parts of the world, notably North America, led in the celebration or observance of the Columbus Quincentennial. This marked the 500th anniversary of the so-called "Age of Discovery," which was set in motion by Christopher Columbus' fateful voyage in 1492 leading to the "discovery" of what was to become the "New World." He was supposed to have been looking for India in search of spices.

Columbus' achievement caught the imagination of his contemporaries in Spain and Portugal in this incipient age of conquest. What is now being referred to as the "age of discovery" was actually a series of invasions beginning in the 15th century of territories outside of Europe. The growth of "cosmographical knowledge" enabled these aggressive and ambitious men to launch explorations and expeditions to various parts of the vast unknown world across the ocean. Spain's thrust into the "New World" extended far beyond the American continent.

In 1511, or roughly nineteen years after Columbus' landing on the island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean, the Crown of Portugal laid claim to Malacca halfway around the globe, in what is now Malaysia. This marked the beginning of European expansion in the region, described by historian Martin J. Noone as "the great sprawling centre of Asiatic commerce, legendary Chersonese, emporium of multitude of nations, Chinese, Arab, Hindu, Japanese, Siamese, and the island races of the southeast archipelago." Malacca was the principal distributing center for cloves, cinnamon, pepper and nutmeg grown in the Moluccas, Sumatra and Mindanao.

Actually earlier, in 1509, Lisbon dispatched Diego Lopez de Sequiera to survey Malacca, on the belief that the Spice Islands were in the vicinity, and not in India as previously thought. Another ship, captained by a certain de Sousa, included among its officers Ferdinand Magellan, who had been an officer in the Portuguese possessions in India and Malacca, and his friend Francisco

Serrano. The conquest of Malacca was the most spectacular development in this period, for this great entrepot was the key to "the whole far eastern trade."

The soldier of fortune Magellan switched his loyalties to Spain, assembled a fleet under his flagship *Trinidad*, and sailed on September 20, 1519 from San Lucar, Spain. On March 17, 1521, Magellan and his epoch-making expedition sighted ground on "the Archipelago of San Lazaro," in what is now the island of Samar in the Philippines. This event would change the course of history forever in this part of the world, notably in the country that was to be called *las islas Filipinas*, after King Philip (Felipe) II of Spain.

For several generations of Filipinos, their first introduction to Philippine history was that the Philippines was discovered by Ferdinand Magellan and that the first Catholic mass was held on Limasawa, a tiny island south of Leyte.

The "Magellan myth" would live on for centuries and every Philippine history book would invariably begin in 1521 with the "discovery." Magellan's portrait or monument would grace public plazas or buildings. In Cebu today, the "Magellan Hotel" is a prominent landmark. Millions of Filipino parents would name their first-born son Ferdinand. Magellan's predecessor in the Americas, Christopher Columbus, would be honored with the formation of *Knights of Columbus* organizations across the country.

Meanwhile, the intrepid native leader on Mactan Island in Cebu, *Lapu-lapu*, who killed the interfering Magellan in battle, is largely forgotten. To Filipinos today, *Lapu-lapu* is the name of a fish (red snapper). He is not seen or treated as a hero.

Following the "discovery" of the islands, another *conquistador*, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, effectively annexed for Spain the newfound territory, creating in the process the primate city of Manila in 1571 as the center of conquest, consolidation, government, colonial culture, and conversion of the *indios* (native population) to Christianity. The islands were, according to Spanish chronicler Antonio de Morga, subjected to "the sovereign light of the holy Gospel," and the conquest was seen as the "handiwork of His [King Philip's] Royal hands."

For the next three hundred years, this "sover-

eign light" would lead to not only one of the longest but also one of the most cruel colonial regimes in world history. The Spanish regime systematically destroyed native communities and their institutions. It brutalized the *indios*, making them work as forced labor in the government's various projects, or as indentured servants to friars or public officials. Above all, the Spaniards imposed an alien religion, Catholicism, on the population whose sacred native beliefs and shrines had to be destroyed. The vanquished were viewed as savages or pagans who had to be civilized. In many cases, the *indios* would simply be killed outright. Genocide was a tool of conquest.

José Rizal, the Filipino national hero who was executed by the Spanish authorities in December 1896 for his involvement in the Filipino nationalist movement, exposed the brutality and repression of the regime in his two novels *Noli Me Tangere* ("Social Cancer" or "The Lost Eden") and *El Filibusterismo* ("The Subversive" or "Reign of Greed"). Rizal unmasked the Spanish hypocrisy which, "under the cloak of religion, has come to impoverish and to brutalize us." In *Noli Me Tangere*, the country's suffering under the Spanish yoke is symbolized by the female character Sisa, who loses her mind searching for her two sons, who are accused of stealing by the local priest. Her sons are beaten up and one dies, while the other escapes. Sisa becomes the town's madwoman singing on occasion or being made to dance for the entertainment of the *alferez* or petty officer. She manages to see her living son before she dies. Rizal's novels also depict women being violated by Spanish friars and soldiers, based on what was actually happening at the time. This was symbolic of the rape of the country by Spain's despotic rule.

For three centuries, the Filipinos were prisoners and slaves in their own country, subject to every conceivable kind of exploitation and abuse. But over the years, the Spanish cruelty and abuses to the natives would be glossed over. The Spaniards would be credited in the history books as giving the Philippines a sense of national identity. The term *Filipino*, which originally referred to Spaniards born in the Philippines (to distinguish them from those born in Spain, the *peninsulares*), was gradually applied to all people in the country.

This was what the "Age of Discovery" meant to Filipinos in the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. It was not until the end of the 19th century that Filipinos regained their freedom, following more than 200 rebellions in several parts of the country, which culminated in the successful Philippine Revolution of 1896. The Filipinos proclaimed the first independent republic in Asia on June 12, 1898.

But in a strange twist of fate, the Philippines was once more colonized by another imperial power, the United States of America, which "bought" the Philippines from Spain for \$20 million, following the Treaty of Paris in December 1898. And this new colonial regime would last for another forty-eight years, with its ill effects still visible in the current life of the nation.

As in the Spanish period, American colonial rule, essentially continued the pattern of socio-economic exploitation of the Philippines with the collaboration of a native political elite. The Americans did not disturb the lopsided feudal social structure, even as they undertook programs for public education, public health, public service, communication and public works, and other trappings of modernization. The introduction of "democracy" is seen as the American legacy in the Philippines, but it was more nominal than real, because it had no economic basis. No meaningful socio-economic reforms were introduced by the American colonial regime.

Across the United States in 1992, the Columbus Quincentennial was observed with various activities, which sought to look into the impact of the "Age of Discovery" on countries affected by that upheaval five hundred years ago. The Philippines fell into that web of European territorial expansion. As Agoncillo notes, the highly independent *barangays* (native settlements) in mid-16th century began to stagger under the impact of Spanish power and eventually lost their freedom.

Our goal in putting together this publication is to encourage a deeper understanding of the consequences of the European conquest of the Philippines, including the injustices and inequalities it created, which continue to affect several sectors of Philippine society today.

Likewise, we want to call attention to the need to know more about the indigenous populations

and native cultures before the Western conquest. Philippine historiography leans heavily to the Spanish and American periods. Misrepresentations and distortions exist in historical records. Very few references exist on the pre-Hispanic, pre-colonial era when the Philippine communities then were scattered on the path of the advancing *conquistadores*. It is hoped that this effort to reshape our understanding of the Philippines will lead to more sophisticated or enlightened types of interpretations that recapture the sensitivities and perspectives of native Filipinos.

In seeking to recover the true Filipino history, we need to look more deeply into the pre-colonial milieu. The islands that Magellan supposedly discovered were always there. They had long been there with their own cultures and religions. They were going about in their own peaceful ways and traditions. Magellan simply stumbled upon them and upset the whole native ecology. The tribal people resisted the Western intrusion. *Lapu-lapu* killed Magellan when the latter tried to intervene in a local feud. The people also resisted wholesale baptisms or conversions to Christianity. Mindanao was never effectively controlled by Spanish rule. The Moslem communities already had a sophisticated cultural system. Throughout the archipelago, uprisings against the Spaniards were undertaken by native Filipinos. They did not always win but they fought nonetheless.

Yet these were never really studied and made integral parts of institutionalized Philippine history. Filipinos were instead subjected to a process called "cultural imperialism," in which idealized versions of Magellan and his fellow *conquistadores* holding the Cross on one hand and the Sword on the other were happily greeted by natives, who would later be baptized and given Christian names like *Santos, de los Reyes, de la Cruz*, and so on. However, the Philippines did not fall completely into the orbit of Spanish colonization and Filipinos retained their indigenous names — *Tatlonghari, Punongbayan, Putong, Palpallatoc, Langit, Dait, Gamulo*, etc.

Historical distortions and myths die very hard, if at all. It is these myths that our textbooks and institutions mindlessly repeat over the ages which have conditioned colonized peoples to accept injustice and inequality. The "colonial mentality"

has resulted from this phenomenon that Filipino social critic Renato Constantino calls "the miseducation of the Filipino."

We do not want to romanticize the natives and "demonize" the foreign conquerors, as it were. Unfortunately, there is nothing more that can be done to change the past. But we can certainly learn from it. And just as the groups in America currently rethinking Columbus want to dispel the biases and misrepresentations about the Western conquest that have been institutionalized, we on the other side of the globe who underwent a similar "cultural encounter" (usually a euphemism for conquest and domination) want to rethink Magellan and reconstruct our history correctly wherever we can.

The essays featured in this publication hope to put things in proper perspective. It is this process of rethinking and reconstructing the way we look at the history of our country which gives real significance to the observance of the Columbus Quincentennial in 1992. For us Filipinos this should be an opportunity to rediscover ourselves.

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The Native Chief Lapu-lapu.

A Brief Philippine Pre-History

The dating and route of the first entrance of humans to the Philippines is controversial. A minority hypothesis is that they first came to Taiwan from South China when Taiwan was a part of the mainland of China. They then would have moved south to northern Luzon by way of a land bridge and across narrow channels of water where this bridge was incomplete. This would probably have happened during the Late Pleistocene, sometime before 40,000 years ago. The archaeological sites suggesting this hypothesis are in the Cagayan Valley, west of Tuguegarao. The geology of these sites is extremely complicated and their dating and their association of Pleistocene fossils with man-made tools is controversial. The more widely accepted hypothesis is that they entered Palawan during the Late Pleistocene when it was joined to Borneo and the latter was a part of the Southeast Asia mainland as a result of the greatly lowered sea level during the late Ice Age. Archaeological sites on the west coast of Palawan are reliably dated back to 30,000 years ago with considerable human deposits below, and thus earlier than this date. It is likely that both routes were used. Certainly humans were scattered on various parts of the Philippine islands by 10,000 years ago, using simple stone tools and living a hunting and gathering life. These people were the primary ancestors of the present-day *Negrito* groups — though they were not themselves *Negritos* — and some of the small ethnic groups living in the mountains of Mindanao. I have called this earliest period of human occupation of the Philippines the *Archaic Period*, from perhaps as early as 200,000 years ago to 7000 years ago (Solheim 1981:22-25).

About 8,000 years ago, a way of life oriented to the sea began to develop in southern Mindanao and northeastern Indonesia. The people who developed this culture, whom I have called the *Nusantao*, gradually explored the tides, currents, and coastlines to the north and extended their explorations to Taiwan, coastal South China and



northern Viet Nam by around 7000 years ago. This moving around by sea brought to an end the practically complete isolation of the earlier Philippine groups from each other and from outside the Philippines. From this time on there was contact among the peoples of the different Philippine islands, with neighboring islands in Indonesia and, to a lesser extent, with Taiwan. I have called this time in the Philippines the *Incipient Filipino Period* and dated it from 7000 to 3000 years ago (Solheim 1981:25-37). I have divided the *Incipient Filipino Period* into three parts:

“Early Incipient from 5000 to 3000 B.C., Middle Incipient from 3000 to 2000 B.C., and Late Incipient from 2000 to 1000 B.C. In [my] opinion the changes and additions to culture, during these subperiods, did not occur at the same time in all areas, but started at different times in different places and spread along the developing routes of communication and, probably, trade. In some areas, more remote from the more heavily used sailing routes, there was a time lag in development so that, for example, a method that first appeared in one area in Palawan may not have come into use in eastern Samar for

a thousand years or more. While our interest is in the development of Filipino culture, these subdivisions are based on elements of culture that came from outside or began at a margin of the Philippines because these are easier to recognize archaeologically than the more important general development of culture. No doubt internal cultural development led to land-oriented, island interior cultures and coastal, water-oriented cultures, but this development is not noticeable as yet. The changes interpreted as marking the subdivisions made here are: for *Early Incipient*, the blade and small flake tool traditions and flake shell tool tradition spreading from the south; for *Middle Incipient*, the spread of ground and polished shell and early forms of polished stone tools and plain, red-slipped and paddle-marked pottery; and for *Late Incipient*, the further spread of pottery manufacture, the beginning of elaborately decorated pottery, and more types of stone tools. The subdivisions do not necessarily correlate with major social or cultural changes in the lives of the people." (Solheim 1981:26).

The Nusantara developed a maritime trading and communication network throughout the Philippine islands, along the coast of China and Viet Nam, extending north to include Korea and Japan by 2000 B.C., east from eastern Indonesia and Mindanao into the Pacific at the same time, and west to India by 1000 B.C. Through this network the Philippines came into indirect contact with the peoples and cultures of much of the southern and eastern world and into direct contact with the peoples of coastal Viet Nam and South China. Coastal living Filipinos made up an integral part of the Nusantara.

By 2000 B.C. people of the Cagayan Valley were probably practicing horticulture and were making sophisticated pottery sharing numerous elements of form and decoration with peoples of Taiwan and South China. Shortly after 2000 B.C., similar cultural elements were appearing in western Palawan and later in the Visayan Islands, southern Luzon and coastal Mindanao with close similarities to coastal Viet Nam. Major migrations were not involved in these developing Filipino cultures but were brought about through the information/communication networks of the Nusantara, and intermarriage between Nusantara people who traded into the Philippines from outside and coastal Nusantara of the Philippines.

The *Formative Filipino Period* I have dated from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 500:

"Development trends started during the *Incipient Period* continued during the *Formative Period*, but at an increasingly more rapid rate. Regional differences within the islands became more distinct, yet at the same time there were some widespread similarities that began to suggest a unity in the Philippines. These similarities do not stop at the borders of the present-day Philippines; they occur in much of eastern Indonesia as well. Southern portions of Mindanao, for example, were culturally more similar to Borneo and Sulawesi than to the northern portions of Luzon. The more noticeable change archaeologically during this period was the rapidly increasing variety and quality of personal ornament and pottery decoration. This suggests increasing ceremonial (at least in connection with the dead), increasing wealth, and possibly a more variable distribution of this wealth. Some wealth items were undoubtedly imported, for they were made from materials that were not locally available. Some items may have come from as far as the east coast of India. A major weakness in the archaeological data from this period, and for that matter from all periods from the Late Incipient on, is that virtually all sites excavated have been burial sites; consequently, extremely little is known about the social organization and day-to-day life of the people. In spite of this lack of information, it seems likely that during this period the cultures of the Philippines reached their zenith as Southeast Asian cultures, virtually unaffected by influence from outside Southeast Asia. At the same time they had become sufficiently distinct from most of the rest of Southeast Asia to allow us to speak of the Filipino peoples. The foundation of Filipino culture was in place by the end of this period.

The *Formative Period* is also divided into three parts: *Early Formative*, from 1000 to 500 B.C.; *Middle Formative*, from 500 B.C. to A.D. 100; and the *Late Formative*, from A.D. 100 to 500. Changes in the *Early Formative* appear to have been the most radical, and the period was characterized by the rapid development of jar burial, the proliferation of styles of forming and decorating pottery associated with burials, the use and manufacture of bronze artifacts, and the presence of an increasing number of jade, carnelian, and gold ornaments. All these developments occurred in Palawan and have been, to a lesser extent, noted in the Cagayan Valley of northern Luzon and central Luzon in the provinces near Manila.

The *Middle Formative* saw the first use of

iron artifacts in the Philippines; but there is nothing to indicate that iron was locally manufactured at this time, and iron objects are rare until early in the *Established Period*. While there were not as many changes evident in the Palawan sites during the Middle Formative, new knowledge spread from Palawan to the central Philippines. During the Middle Formative in the Philippines the *Nusantao* sailing-traders probably attained their greatest influence; and there is very suggestive evidence supporting this contention in Southeast Asia, southern Japan, southeastern India, and probably in Sri Lanka. While changes in the *Late Formative* are not yet noticeable in the Philippines, probably partially because of the lack of excavations will show that some changes did occur.

During the *Late Formative* the major influence on all Southeast Asian cultures, particularly those oriented towards the sea and trade, changes from internal (i.e., Southeast Asia as the moving force) to external (China, India, and Europe became the determining powers). The Roman Empire learned of the wealth of the east; and beginning approximately two thousand years ago, trade between the eastern Mediterranean and China, which had started by overland routes, shifted to the sea and included India as well. Around A.D. 100 the route from southern China to southeastern India was first used. As this route developed the *Nusantao* sailor-traders became an important part of the system, extending their activities into the western Indian Ocean and along the east coast of Africa. Southeast Asian products and status items, such as fine woods, rhinoceros and hornbill horn, etc., were sold to China; but Southeast Asia was no longer the center or focus of its own destiny. Economically, the Philippines suffered from this change, not because their economy deteriorated, but because western Indonesia and coastal Mainland Southeast Asia took over the central position which the Philippines may well have held during the *Middle Formative*.

No doubt during the *Formative Period* there was development of island interior, land oriented cultures, but virtually nothing is known about these developments because very few sites that date from this period have been excavated in interior areas. We can, however, be reasonably sure that there was some communication between interior and coastal peoples because trade items, such as salt, iron, and beads, found their way inland. (Solheim 1981: 37-59)

By 2000 years ago there were many different cultures in the various Philippine islands, differing from each other but sharing many elements of Southeast Asian Culture, in social organization,

art style, and languages. All of the languages were Austronesian, closely related to the languages of Indonesia, most of the Pacific Islands, Malaysia, and the languages related to Cham in Viet Nam and eastern Cambodia, and somewhat more distantly related to the languages of Taiwan.

I have dated the *Established Filipino Period* as A.D. 500 to 1521:

"By the beginning of this period the many different Filipino cultures, with their distinct though related languages, were probably roughly in the areas where they were first noted historically. The population of the Philippines was no doubt still small. While there are no indications of an unusual increase in population during this period, there was probably some redistribution of population. By A.D. 1000, for example, there were probably a few concentrations of population near the mouths of major rivers. These would have been trading towns and, as hypothesized by Hutterer (1977), would be gateway locations to their hinterlands up river in the interior He felt that before trade with China started, the interior population consisted of either hunters and gatherers or swidden (slash and burn) farmers who had relatively little contact with neighboring groups or with the coastal people. The primary products wanted by the traders for the Chinese market were jungle products such as rattan, special kinds of wood, beeswax, medicinal plants, different kinds of resin, etc. . . ." (Solheim 1981: 59-78)

Coastal-dwelling Filipinos have been an integral part of the international *Nusantao* maritime trading/communications network for more than 4000 years and the interior living Filipinos, through their trade with coastal Filipinos, were to a somewhat lesser degree a part of this international information sharing network. I should mention that there has been a popular reconstruction in the Philippines of a Filipino code of laws and a history of royal immigrants and their retainers, from Brunei to Panay, several centuries before the coming of the Spanish. This reconstruction was based on several manuscripts written in Spanish, which were in turn said to be translations of much earlier manuscripts. It has been established, without question, that these manuscripts were not translations of earlier manuscripts but were made up by the authors, based on their own ideas of what might have happened (Scott 1968). There is no archaeological evidence to support a movement of people, in any quantity, from Brunei to Panay.



"The present-day Muslims, especially the younger ones, have adopted the modern western manner of dressing for everyday use, but they have not totally abandoned their traditional costumes." (Tuladan:74)

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The Philippines Before 1521 A.D.

For some Philippine nationalists the time before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1521 is seen as a Golden Age. At that time the people of the Philippines were believed to have a sense of belonging to the Malay World and were thought to be literate, prosperous, and united under their chiefs. The Spanish conquest is believed to have put an end to this idyllic condition and led to the decline and destruction of the Philippine people. Spanish and American colonialism is seen as the cause of the present-day problems faced in the Philippine society. What do we know about the condition of the Philippine society in the early 16th century on the eve of the arrival of the Europeans?

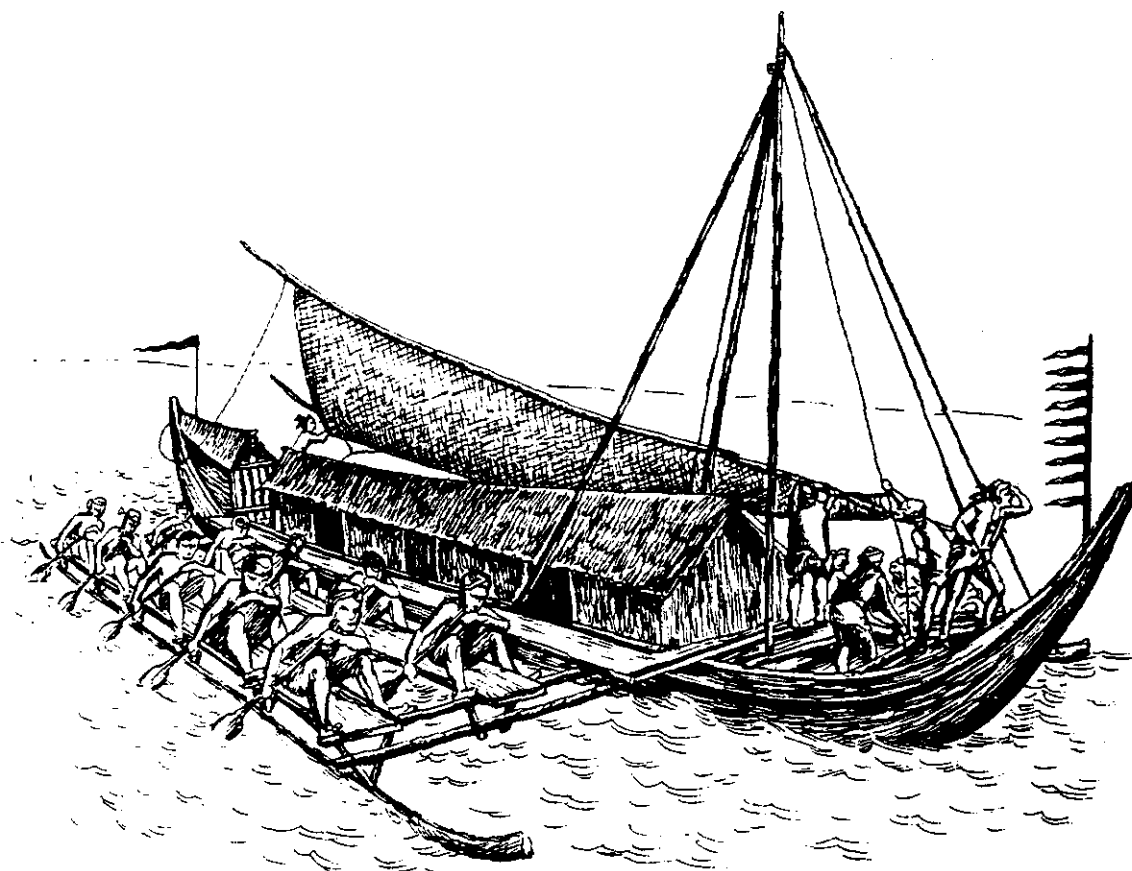
The inhabitants of the Philippines lived in kinship-based settlements known as *barangay* under a chief, generally known as *datu*. Most *barangay* were small, having from ten to thirty houses, but there were some large ones of a hundred or more houses. The *barangay* was the largest social unit in most of the Philippines. It was considered to be pre-political since having none of the attributes of a governing organization, it was more of an extended family-type arrangement. The size of a *barangay* was determined by its location within the natural environment. On the eve of the Spanish arrival, there were two locations in the Philippines that showed signs of an organizational structure of a larger scale. These were the town of Jolo in the Sulu Archipelago and the town of Manila on the island of Luzon. Both of these places had developed a more sophisticated structure in the century before the Europeans arrived. More about these in a moment, but first some further information about the normal *barangay*.

Barangay were located mostly along the leeward coasts of islands, or along rivers, or in inland plains that were well-watered. Their productive base was agricultural; rice-growing in either an irrigated or swidden form was the main crop, supplemented by fish, livestock, and fruits and vegetables. This was very similar to the economic base of most other parts of the East



Datu

Indian archipelago. The Philippine people were indeed very much part of the Malay World. As in other parts of this World, the members of a *barangay* were socially differentiated into chiefs, freemen, and slaves. The chiefs or clan-heads with their immediate family and associates had extensive control over the social and economic life of the community. Chiefs were men of personal ability and prowess who were recognized leaders of their communities. In a few places burial mounds have been located that were venerated sites at which, the people believed, the spiritual force of a powerful chief resided. There were generally rules and regulations that protected the status of the chiefly group, but we know little about how these laws were applied; it is generally thought that life within the *barangay* was quite benign. Freemen were heads of households with some right to productive land. Slavery was more of a bonded dependency than the kind of harsh plantation labor that we generally associate with that term. Some slaves who were captured in raids were then generally settled on the land, and in a generation or two were integrated into the community. Others were debtors who secured their debts with their labor, really the only capital that was available to most persons. The *barangay*, like *negara* in other parts of the



"An artist's conceptualization of a 'baranghai,' 'binday,' or 'barangai,' an ancient boat possibly of Malay design that could carry from 60 to 90 persons as shown." (Scott:33)

Malay World, focused on the chief or datu in a totally personal manner; the hierarchical and stable nature of this personal attachment was the essence of the social nexus. Without such a personal tie there was no access; individual initiative was not prized, and the greatest punishment one could suffer was to be expelled from the community.

Life in the barangay was isolated and relatively prosperous. There was abundant space for settlements and adequate food from the land and water from the streams. The spatial separation of the settlements and the islands resulted in many languages or dialects being spoken; these languages were all part of the Malayo-Indonesian family of languages. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans there was a written script, but little has remained. An early Spanish report that everyone was literate and writing all the time seems highly

exaggerated, for were this the case, much more of this early literacy would have come down to us. It is thought that land preparation, planting and harvesting, hunting, and house building were done by cooperative labor, or *bayanihan*, among kinfolk and neighbors, which still exists in some rural areas of the Philippines. The ordinary houses were built of bamboo and wood with nipa-palm roofs, though some of the homes of chiefs were larger and more substantial. The great religions had not yet entered the islands except as noted below. Belief in spirits was all pervasive, and natural phenomena such as volcanoes, mountains, waterfalls, etc. were revered. Spiritual beliefs were also related to ancestors. Spirit houses where *shamans* dispensed curative waters and amulets also existed, and in many instances became the locations of later Catholic churches.

While most barangay were sufficient onto their own needs and therefore remained limited in size and autonomous in control, there was an exchange throughout the islands. The movement of products and artifacts occurred from earliest times: in some places earthenware has been found that was traded some 3000 years before the Europeans arrived. However, the Philippines did not participate until quite late in the great traditions that resulted in great empires being formed in other parts of Southeast Asia. These great traditions were mainly associated with the spread of Buddhism and Hinduism from India which resulted in empires such as Srivijaya (*ca.* 600-1250 A.D.), Angkor (*ca.* 802-1432 A.D.), Pagan (*ca.* 1044-1287 A.D.), and Majapahit (*ca.* 1293-1478 A.D.), which left behind monuments and memories of a higher form of statecraft. In the Philippines the great tradition of China, dating from Song (960-1279 A.D.) and Ming times (1368-1644 A.D.), was also present on the peripheries, since products and merchants from China were known in the Philippines long before the Europeans arrived. Chinese records of the 13th century identify the country of Ma-i as a major trading point; Ma-i has been identified as Mindoro. However, these trading arrangements with China did not result in a need to supersede the barangay level of organization with larger forms of statecraft. Actually, this is not very remarkable, for most of the rest of the East Indian archipelago was similarly managed. Most of the great Southeast Asian empires mentioned above were probably little more than courtly and commercial centers whose economic base was vested in extended kinship-based, agrarian settlements that provided labor for the great center and products for the commerce. In the islands east of Bali, including the area of the present-day Philippines, there was little of the superstructure to be found until the 14th or 15th centuries.

In the century or century-and-one-half before the Europeans arrived, the great tradition that began to affect change was Islam. Islamic merchants had undoubtedly traversed Southeast Asia in the late 7th or early 8th centuries. By this latter date there were already Moslem communities in China. In Southeast Asia, however, the conversion of local chiefs to Islam is generally dated in the late 13th century. The city of Malacca, which was founded about 1400 A.D. and whose

rulers converted to Islam some years later, is generally seen as the center from which Islam spread throughout the archipelago. This spread is closely associated with mercantile activity. Again, the Philippines were at the far end of the islands stretching eastward from the Malay peninsula, but traders from Borneo and Sulawesi entered the area from the south, even before the founding of Malacca, according to some accounts. These merchants and conveyors of the Faith were not native to the area, claiming instead origins in Sumatra or a vague area to the west known as Arabia. The town of Jolo in the Sulu archipelago became a sultanate by the 15th century and melded the local barangay communities together into a more centrally controlled state. Soon another sultanate was formed on Magindanao with its center near the present-day city of Cotabato. These states were not socially different from earlier social arrangements except as social distinctions became more sharply defined.

Agricultural and forest products which had always formed the basis of the trade in the area were now augmented by an active slave trade. The coastal communities of the Visayas served as the supply source for slave raiders. On the northern island of Luzon, the area of Manila Bay over centuries had developed into an extensive agricultural and trading area. Contacts with China were old, but had never led politically or economically to much more than a confederation of barangay to regulate the exchange of local products such as honey, beeswax, livestock and exotic birds, food products, palm wine and sugar in exchange for porcelain and metal products. Sometime, probably around 1500 A.D. this trade also began to be organized by Moslem merchants, either Chinese or Malay, and a more sophisticated state system was developed. It was this rather recent creation of a state that Legazpi encountered when the center of Spanish control in the Philippines was shifted from Cebu to Manila in 1571. With the arrival of Roman Catholicism a competition with Islam was started that would introduce the peoples of the Philippines to two of the world's great religious faiths, Islam and Catholicism. As the traditions of the barangay communities turned to the service of the new economic and religious orders, a new period was introduced into Philippine life.

Rizal's *Sisa* and *Basilio*: Characters as Symbols of National Identity

Literature as a form of art was used by the Spanish colonial regime to further its interests in the Philippines. This was done principally by "Christianizing" the oral literature of the natives. Various indigenous epics were replaced by the *Pasyon*, the life of Jesus Christ sang in the major languages during the Lenten season, and by *awits* and *corridos* which heavily reflected adaptations of European metric romances. Folk narratives echoed European virtues and traditions, while folksongs and proverbs became the vehicle for teaching Christian ideals and values. These folksongs, narratives and adaptations were even performed on stages in churches and outside through rituals and religious entertainments, such as the *comedia*, *santacruzán*, *senakulo*, *flores de mayo*, and *pastores*.

Indeed, the Spanish priests, who were the only people in direct contact with the natives during the colonial period could have used no other tool as potent as literature "in exerting a pervasive influence" (Lumbera 1982) to shape the behavior of the Christianized Filipinos. Much of the Spanish colonial literature in the Philippines was created with the encouragement and supervision of the friars. There was a Permanent Censorship Commission which looked into all the narratives and periodicals to be printed to ensure that the circulation of "undesirable" materials would be prevented.

But the colony could not be suppressed forever. The growth of trade and influx of liberal ideas aided the emergence of a new social class, which in turn gave birth to a new breed of writers: Filipinos writing for Filipinos. These were the writers of the Propaganda Movement which created "a national consciousness," revolving around a nationalist movement from the time of Father José Burgos to the period following the publication of *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*.

Father Burgos (1837-1872), who wrote *La*

Loba Negra, about the assassination of Governor-General Fernando Bustamante in 1719, is called "the intellectual ancestor of the Propaganda Movement" (Schumacher 1975). It was Burgos who began working on the issue of secularization, which would later be taken over by the Propaganda Movement as one of its objectives.

José Rizal was eleven years old when the three Filipino martyr priests, Burgos, Gomez and Zamora, were executed in 1872. His two novels published several years later showed his sensitivity to the clamor for reforms that was building up in his era. *Noli Me Tangere* was the first realistic novel produced in Philippine literature. It portrayed Philippine society at the time by using characters in situations that exposed the evils of Spanish frailocracy and colonialism. As Rizal himself admitted, his task was one of enlightening

José Rizal



"Noli Me Tangere"
"The Social Cancer" translation by Leon Ma. Guerrero

his people through this novel in the hope that they could find solutions to their social and political problems. In his words:

I shall do with you what was done in ages past with the sick, who were exposed on the steps of the temple so that the worshippers, having invoked the god, should each propose a remedy.

Among other things, this paper analyzes the two characters, *Sisa* and *Basilio*, of *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* (*Noli* and *Fili*), to show that the presence or absence of the mother in a child-parent relationship can affect the development of identity. It will attempt to show that the loss of personal identity represents the loss of national identity caused by colonial oppression.

A brief summary of *Noli* and *Fili* is in order.

After seven years of studying in Europe, Crisostomo Ibarra returns to the Philippines and learns of the cruel death of his father, Don Rafael Ibarra, in prison. Don Rafael had been a victim of persecution by the friars. Instead of harboring the initial anger he felt, Crisostomo transcends his rage by addressing himself to the task of building a modern town school. He tries to secure official approval for this school which, in his mind, would be run in the European fashion. It would be through this school that he hopes to build the future of the country.

But the well-meaning Ibarra eventually learns that goodwill is not enough to quash "the sacerdotal intrigues, the ineffectuality of good-intentioned bureaucrats, the selfishness of the bourgeoisie, and the cultivated indifference of the people." (Mojares 1983) His principal antagonists are: (1) Father Damaso, the Dominican curate of San Diego town who caused Don Rafael's degradation, and who was also the real father of his childhood sweetheart and betrothed, Maria Clara; and (2) Father Salvi, another Dominican friar who lusted after Maria Clara.

At the laying of the school's cornerstone, Ibarra is almost killed by some of the men in the service of Father Salvi. Ibarra is later excommunicated for striking Father Damaso, who had insulted the memory of his father at the very banquet Ibarra hosted for the school building. Father

Damaso thereafter arranges Maria Clara's wedding to one of his relatives. Meanwhile, Father Salvi plots an uprising that implicates Ibarra, leading to the latter's arrest and imprisonment. As he is reflecting on what one's political aims should be in a country like the Philippines, Ibarra is rescued by the mysterious Elias. In a chase on the lake, one of the two—Elias and Ibarra—is killed, the other survives and finds his way into the forest.

Noli ends with an unresolved yet forward-looking note expressed by the dying hero, Elias, toward the end of the novel.

I die without seeing the sun rise on my country. You who are to see the dawn, welcome it, and do not forget those who fell during the night.

Fili, on the other hand, begins with the mysterious character Simoun, who is bent on hastening the downfall of the colonial regime. He bribes the friars and civil officials and sows intrigues among the educated middle class. Simoun's goal is to instigate armed rebellion among the people. Simoun is actually Ibarra in disguise. He returns to rescue Maria Clara from the convent where she had secluded herself after the rumored death of Ibarra. In reality, the novel is a narrative of aborted dreams. Simoun dreams of freeing Maria Clara from the influence of the friars, but his beloved dies before he realizes his objective. Simoun then aspires to avenge oppression by offering haven and support to the victims of injustice (e.g., Tales, the schoolmaster, and Placido Penitente), only to be met with cynicism and placed in jeopardy. In the face of all his failures, Simoun commits suicide.

According to Lumbera (1982), the final chapter of *Fili* is a "dramatic working out of the novelist's view of revolution through character analysis, in which Simoun's pain and anguish are juxtaposed with Padre Florentino's quietism and moral certitude to bring the novel to a deeply moving conclusion."

To expose the evils and weaknesses of the frailocracy in the Philippines, Rizal weaves into the novel secondary characters, social types and subplots. Through them, he successfully paints the ugly images of the friars: cruel, false, murderous, lecherous, lusty and arrogant.

Foremost of these secondary characters is Sisa. In the novel Sisa represents the Philippines. It is only befitting that a woman, and a mother at that, would serve as the symbol of a country. Sisa's story reflects the plight of the Filipino family at the time, which became an easy prey to the vices and values of the colonizers. Her husband, Pedro, succumbs to gambling and abandons the family. The absence of their father forces the two sons, Basilio and Crispin, to support their family as church bell ringers.

This situation mirrors two glaring facts at once: the beginning of the disintegration of the Filipino family and the Filipino woman's economic helplessness. It is apparent that Sisa's inability to support the family in the absence of her husband, as well as her blind acceptance of the sustenance provided for by the two working young sons, is a result of an assumed expectation that women are dependent on their husbands or the males in the family. During the colonial period, the education of women prepared them only for the art and institution of marriage.

The implied murder of the young boy Crispin by the parish priest is a savage introduction to the evil of the Spanish friars. In pain, rage and shame, Sisa loses her sanity. She becomes a ghastly sight roaming the city of San Diego — a visible social malady echoing the people's loss of identity. For what are remembrances except memories of one's culture, one's tradition, one's values — the very elements that constitute a nation's selfhood or personality? Because a mother bequeaths her memories to her child, she ensures the continuity of faith and dedication to the family in particular, and to the country in general. She teaches the child devotion to everything and promulgates individuality. She becomes a model of interaction to the family, to other people, to the '*kababayans*.' Mothers teach children faithfulness to their culture. Nancy Chodorow (1978) writes:

An important element in the child's introduction to "reality" is its mother's involvement with other people — with its father and possibly with siblings. These people are especially important in the development of a sense of self and in the child's identification.

Basilio, Sisa's surviving son, does not

grow up with a positive sense of self and identity. He does not have any devotion to his family or nation. His self-actualization does not constitute any form of loyalty (an aspect of nationalism) to his brood/culture. He echoes this in *Fili*, the sequel to *Noli*, when confronted by Simoun who tells him:

Take the lead in forming your individuality, try to lay the foundations of a Filipino nation. . . . Hope only in yourselves and your own efforts If they refuse to teach you their language, then cultivate your own, make it more widely known, keep alive our native culture for our people. . .

Basilio answers:

What you want me to do is beyond my strength. I do not play politics. . . . I have another end in life; my only ambition is to alleviate the *physical* ills of my fellow citizens.

And when confronted by Simoun about his loyalty to family — to his dead mother and brother — Basilio retorts:

The vindication of the courts, pure revenge, all this put together would not bring back one hair on my mother's head or the smile on my brother's face. What would I get out of avenging them?

Basilio's traumatic separation from his mother during his childhood thwarts the attainment of his selfhood, his sense of identity. In Chodorow's terms, this "brings anxiety that she [mother] will not return, and with it a fundamental threat to the infant's still precarious sense of self."

Up to the end, Basilio's suffering continues. His girlfriend Juli was, like his own brother, victimized by the friars. Father Comorra rapes her as she comes to plead on Basilio's behalf. She commits suicide by plunging from the belfry of the church. A remorseful Basilio approaches Simoun:

. . . I have been a bad son and a bad brother. I forgot my brother's murder and the tortures my mother suffered, and God has punished me. Now all I have left is the determination to return evil for evil, crime for crime, violence for violence.

But it is too late. The revolution has failed. Simoun plans to annihilate everyone — natives, half-breeds, Chinese, Spaniards, everyone without courage, without resolution — by bombing them. He fills a lamp with nitroglycerine and plans to conceal it as a wedding gift to Juanito and Paulita. He confesses to Basilio that, earlier, he had mined the house where the festive gathering would take place. At the moment, the lamp would lose its glow and as soon as someone touches it, everything will blow up.

Basilio tends to agree with Simoun. However, he walks the streets of Manila indecisive and terror-stricken with the knowledge of the deadly lamp. He passes by the former house of Capitan Tiago and finds it glowing with light. This is where the horrifying explosion would take place. Then he stumbles upon the love-smitten Isagani, eyes transfixed at the bride, a melancholy smile on his lips.

Basilio tries to drag Isagani away but his friend merely shrugs. For one moment he forgets his panic. He divulges Simoun's plan, hoping to save his friend. Once again, Basilio's resolution falters. He proves his unwillingness to destroy the grandeur of colonialism. As might be expected, Isagani runs to rescue his beloved, snatches the terrible lamp before it explodes and dumps it to the waters of the Pasig river. Again, an event that once more aborts Simoun's hope for a final revenge. Arensmeyer (1972) observes:

Basilio represents the Filipino in his best and worst aspects and so fulfills Rizal's final bitter analysis of the effects of colonization summed up in Father Florentino's pronouncement at the end of *El Filibusterismo*: "whoever submits to tyranny loves it!" Basilio is a device but a well-realized one. In his intelligence and diligence and determination to serve his people as a doctor, he falls into the all-too-human trap of ambition and pride. Although he is willing to risk his medical degree by helping Simoun, he is more motivated by revenge for Juli's death than for the cause of freedom.

Basilio's behavior as a character representing the Filipino could best be summarized as the lack of ideology caused by the absence of his mother during his formative years. The trauma of

this absence (which can be compared to the forceful takeover of a small but formerly stable country like the Philippines by colonial powers) damaged the psyche of Basilio (who represents modern Filipinos). Indeed, Sisa's loss of sanity and subsequent death is symbolic of one's estrangement from the cultural identity that needs to be recaptured.

Whether one is Basilio, or Sisa, or Simoun, matters little. What is important is the fact that Rizal, through his two novels, has articulated a powerful response to colonial oppression and suppression of national identity. Rizal unveils or demystifies the tragic experiences of the Filipinos under the Spanish regime: the lifestyles, values, beliefs and attitudes, and the radical transformations taking place in the physical and spiritual levels of existence. Through his characters, like *Sisa* and *Basilio*, Rizal addresses the problem of how Spain damaged the Filipino national identity.

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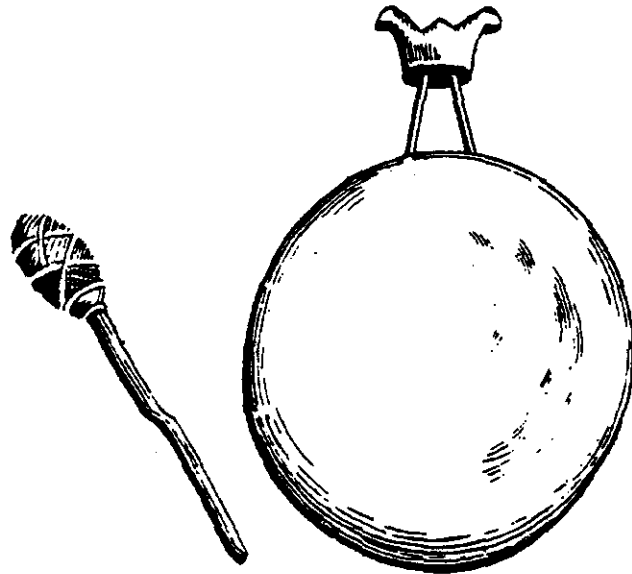
Philippine Music as Colonial Experience and National Culture

I view the colonial experience of the Philippines from a post-Marcos, post-Clark Air Base, 1992 vantage point; it is a view with mixed feelings. On the one hand, during the Spanish colonial period (1600-1898) much of the music that is now considered distinctively Filipino developed, and during the American colonial period (1898-1946) the first flowering of both native and foreign scholarship about traditional music took place. Thus the tongue-in-cheek description of the Philippine colonial experience as "three hundred years in the convent and forty years in Hollywood" could be amended to "... and forty years making sense of the first three hundred."

On the other hand, the dramatic penetration of "Western" culture into an evolving Southeast Asian Filipino one was clearly disruptive. Left to its own Asian resources, the Philippines might have developed cultural traditions comparable to Indonesia's *gamelan* (gong orchestra) or Thailand's *kohn* (masked dance theatre). However, the point is moot and the possibility of a "purely Asian" Philippine Culture a matter of nationalist speculation.

In this brief discussion, I wish to consider music as part of Philippine tradition. Although I concentrate on the Philippines, I feel that the points raised here relate to the broader issues of cultural tradition and traditionalism, questions that Hawaiian culture and Native American cultures are also addressing at present. I approach the topic from an "insider's" viewpoint using three kinds of evidence: first, the sentiments of present Philippine society expressed through social interactions, structured forums and the popular mass media; second, the history and factual knowledge presented in scholarly sources; and third, the pattern of personally observed societal attitudes and behavior regarding specific musical genres during my field work in the Philippines.

For the Philippines the topic of cultural tradition is a great concern; it has taken on a



Gansa

The gansa is in popular use among the Igorots of Luzon.

number of new dimensions in the contemporary era. Cultural tradition (including music) impacts directly upon national identity and thus carries social and political implications.

At the moment the Philippines seeks a political status that is more clearly independent of the United States, which has been both colonial power and benefactor for nearly a century. In the process of redefinition the country sees, pragmatically, its context and its locus of interaction to be with its immediate Asian neighbors. In the past the Philippines has prided itself as being "the only Christian nation in Asia"; its close relations to the U.S. has been expressed by the epithet "Little Brown American": both historic slogans point to a nation heretofore distanced from its Asian surroundings. However, changing realities - the shifting balances of political and economic power affected by such developments as petrochemical resources in Southeast Asia, manufacturing growth in East Asia, and an outward — oriented, region-

ally-focused, foreign policy in China — has made it incumbent upon the Philippines to pursue a redefinition.

In general cultural life this pursuit coincides with the increase (since 1972) of Tagalog-language theater, the development of *Pinoy* rock — popular music with texts in Philippine language rather than in English, and the proliferation of numerous “coffee-table” picture books exploring aspects of Philippine tradition, including festivals, cuisine, dance and distinctive modes of transportation. A signal publication for identity is *Being Filipino* (Gilda Cordero-Fernando 1981), a collection of essays and art work that identifies social stereotypes and describes the respective role of each in Philippine society. The musical establishment of the Philippines (represented by the Cultural Center of the Philippines and the University of the Philippines College of Music), although firmly established in the traditions of Western art music, has taken steps to promote a Philippine identity within these traditions. Operas based upon Philippine history, such as *La Loba Negra* by Francisco Feliciano (1984), and instrumental compositions using Philippine materials, such as *Agungan* by José Maceda (1966), attest to this undertaking.

The concern for a Philippine tradition has internal as well as external motivation. Internal motivation includes the recognition that a shared cultural tradition reinforces national unity, a dream articulated by José Rizal in the initial resolve to address Spanish colonial domination in the late 19th century. The nation is a political entity made up of a diverse number of cultures representing some 80 distinct languages; regional differences are reinforced by natural geographical barriers — islands, mountain chains and the sea. The possibility of forging a pan-Philippine cultural identity or tradition is not without its challenges. However, the undertaking is seen not only as a desirable adjunct to political unity; it also arises from a popularly-held feeling that there is an indefinable cultural bond among the various language and regional groups.

External motivation arises from Philippine self-comparison to Asian neighbors such as Japan, Han China and Java. First, such neighbors exhibit a centralized establishment with associ-

ated musics of long tradition. Second, the musics themselves appear more “authentically Asian” than those of the Philippine majority. In the historical present when the terms *acculturation* and *Westernization* have a negative value in most of the Third World, the Philippines appears doubly disadvantaged *vis a vis* the rest of Asia: it has no established music tradition of long standing — and the musical traditions supported by the present establishment are clearly products of acculturation and Westernization.

The quest for a pan-Philippine tradition is not recent, but has been a concern for at least a century. Individuals from the privileged class — *ilustrados* (educated class) and *mestizos* (mixed European and Filipino) — residing in Europe wrote and planned for sovereignty and an independent identity. Dr. José Rizal, the Philippine martyr-hero (educated in Spain and in Germany) expressed this sentiment in such writings as *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*. Both reflected his hopes for a nascent Philippine nationalism whose culture would be distinct from and independent of the 19th century Spanish *petite bourgeoisie* that comprised the colonial power structure.

Filipino intellectuals define the nature of a representative tradition from at least three different viewpoints.

One viewpoint sees a catalog of musical genres. In the flood of Filipino scholarship during the American colonial period (1898-1946), apologists regarded Philippine tradition as those musics that differed from the prevailing Western popular (jazz, vaudeville) and elitist (symphony, opera) genres. The earliest known presentation of this type appeared in 1915 entitled “Music of the Philippine Islands” by Josefa Jara, a three-page commentary reprinted in two other journals that same year. However, the significant work upon which subsequent accounts drew for both methodology and purview is *Musical Instruments and Airs of Long Ago* by Norberto Romualdez (a relative of Imelda R. Marcos). This modest publication, taken from a series of lectures, was based upon his observations as a circuit justice travelling throughout the Philippines. Other authors, notably Madrid (1954), Espina (1961), and de Leon (1966), reinforce this viewpoint. Unfortunately, several of the genres described were already ex-

inct. Thus this first view of Philippine tradition encompasses a list of genres without consideration for the historical condition of each.

A second viewpoint of tradition is process-oriented. It posits that tradition derives from a performer's recognizably Filipino treatment or approach to musicmaking, rather than from an established canon of music genres. That is, national tradition is exemplified by the individual artist, who creates or performs "in a Filipino way." The most ardent champion of this viewpoint is Antonio Molina whose writings encompass three historical periods and three languages. He argues his case in "*El sistema tonal de la música Filipina* [the tonal theory of Philippine music]" (1937), "*Ang kundiman ng himagsikan* [the song of revolution]" (1940), and "Intellectual curiosity on aural phenomena" (1970). Other writers include Romero (1963) and Mangahas (1972). The operating definition of *Filipino tradition* as anything a Filipino does is reminiscent of Charles Seeger's definition for ethnomusicology.¹

A third viewpoint is genre-specific. It holds that national tradition consists of musical genres developed in the Lowland Philippines during the Spanish and American colonial periods. This definition appears to be gaining ground in the cultural pragmatism of the past decade and will be examined more closely here. The documentation relative to this attitude exhibits considerable historical depth and appears to have contributed to its level of general acceptance. It has been promulgated in both mass media and public education

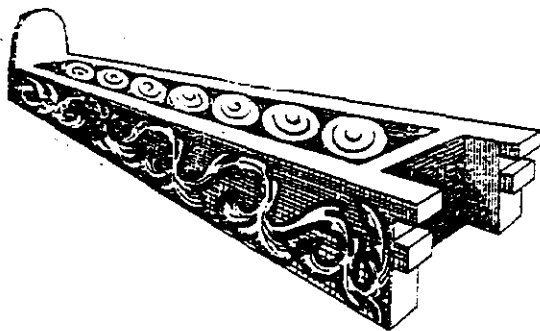
infrastructures; in the domain of cultural representation it has achieved a *de facto* status.

Documentation includes publications by Spanish expatriates, including Walls y Merino's "*La música popular de Filipinas* [folk music of the Philippines]" (1982) and Diego's "*Danza's filipinas* [Filipino dances]" (1946). American writers also supported this point of view, notably Brouckere in "A word about native Philippines bands and musicians" (1916) and Hiestand in "Philippines, a land where everyone sings" (1923). Filipino scholars also promulgated this position. Contributions include "Folk music — its place in our public schools" by Lardizabal (1933); the highly influential compendium of Philippine dance music, *Philippine National Dances* by Reyes-Tolentino (1946); and "Philippine music — past and present," by Kasilag (1961). More recent writings, such as those by Maceda (1974) and Samson (1974-75), take exception to this viewpoint, thereby acknowledging its pervasiveness in contemporary Philippine thought.

When "music of the Philippines" is treated, the genres most often mentioned are the *banda*, the *rondalla*, the *sarsuwela*, and the *kundiman*. Each has its birth in the Spanish colonial period (1600-1898)—reflecting various responses to the colonial situation — and continued on into the American colonial period (1898-1946).

Banda. The *banda* or wind band is the only one of the four genres that maintains a clear parallel to its Spanish counterpart. It was used by the Spanish establishment both for secular (governmental) occasions as well as religious ones. The present musical style, particularly that for religious observances, is surprisingly similar to that of town wind bands of Spain and Mexico. The *banda* is indispensable to local celebrations, including the *Santacruzán* (originally a religious observance, it has presently evolved into a kind of beauty pageant) and the Holy Week processions, during which *santos*, life-size icons of Biblical personages, are carried and venerated.

Throughout the Spanish colonial period the *bandas* were apparently sponsored by the diocese (*simbahan*) or by the town government (*municipio*). During the American period the wind bands received positive reinforcement by the military band; an American-style band was founded



Kulintang
One of the most ancient percussion instruments.

by a Black American officer, Col. Walter Loving. Named the Philippine Constabulary Band, it created a sensation at the 1906 Chicago World Exposition (Ejercito y Ferriols 1945, Rubio 1959, de Leon 1963).

The Spanish *banda* and the American band occupy two separate streams of wind band music in the Philippines. The American band repertory and style is generally prevalent in urban settings for secular concert music. The Spanish-style *banda* maintains its original uses in town celebrations, both secular and religious.²

As one of its major functions, the *banda* provides a locus for regional identity. It is often the performing medium for the *serenata*, a musical competition between two different towns. The bands alternate, playing repertory of a particular type (march, *paso doble*, waltz) as called for by a referee. The competition may last a few hours for an entire day, depending upon the strength of the musicians and the size of the repertory for each group. The *serenata* ends when one side "surrenders;" thus, the winner is determined by acquiescence.

Rondalla. The *rondalla* is a plucked string ensemble which derives its name and general musical characteristics from Hispanic sources, both European and New World. With the exception of the guitar, all *rondalla* plucked lutes underwent further evolution in the Philippines, contrasting in construction with their Spanish and Mexican counterparts. For example, the Philippine *bandurya* has courses of three strings rather than pairs of strings typical of the Spanish *bandurria*. Further the Philippine instrument is tuned in a series fourths rather than the *bandurria*'s mixture of fourths and thirds.

The musical style is "Hispanic" — simple triadic harmony and shifts between parallel major and minor modes without modulation. Popular 19th century rhythms — the *paso doble*, the polka, the waltz, the march and the *habañera* — are the basis for the repertory.

Its earliest use in the Philippines, like that of its Spanish counterpart (known variously as *rondalla*, *cumparsa* or *estudiantina*), was for serenade and for dance accompaniment. The ensemble gradually developed other uses, such as competitions, concerts and school music. This

history is traced in my article, "*Das filipinische Rondalla-Orchester als Spiegel oder Bestandteil der Filipino-Geschichte*." (The Filipino Rondalla as mirror or component of Filipino history). At present it is regarded by Filipinos as the most "typically Filipino" instrumental music ensemble and is prominent in cultural missions, official receptions, and celebrations of national significance. Thus, one of its major functions is as cultural emblem.

Kundiman. The third genre, the *kundiman*, represents a conscious attempt by Filipino composers in the Western idiom to create a national artsong tradition comparable to the German *lied* and the French *chanson*. This major activity began at the turn of the century by *ilustrados* (Borromeo-Buehler 1985) trained in Western music — Abelardo, Suarez, and Buencamino, to name a few. The composition of *kundiman* continues today, with numbers of them finding their way into film scores.

The term *kundiman* derives from an earlier folk genre (which also partook of the Hispanized musical style); it was an improvised dance-song (Rubio 1973). The title is most often explained as a reduction of the Tagalog phrase "*kung hindi man/ if this were not so*," a stock opening for an improvised text usually dealing with frustrated or unrequited love. By the time the composed *kundiman* appeared the folk genre was already extinct, apparently going into decline in the early part of the 19th century.

The specific musical referent of this genre purports to be the Italian concert *Neopolitana*, which was familiar to the 19th century Filipino privileged class through touring artists from Europe and their own travels on the continent. Such a background reinforces the identity of the *kundiman* as an artsong tradition and explains the preference for a *bel canto* vocal style. Its use as a concert music reflects the early 20th century nationalist resolve to place the Philippines (specifically the Filipino concert performer of European art music) in a position of parity *vis a vis* the Western concert world.³

An important function of *kundiman* is cultural identity; it is a means for the Filipino artist to acknowledge his cultural heritage in music.⁴ Programming *kundiman* for an overseas artsong

recital is almost protocol, which the Filipino singer appearing in Europe or America rarely fails to observe. It is also expected of the vocalist in the Philippines as well, as a perusal of graduation recitals at various tertiary schools of music in Manila reveals.

For the artist touring overseas it serves to establish ingroup solidarity with Filipino members of the audience, many of whom decide to attend the concert because the performer is Filipino. This function is especially well served in the United States, where the visiting artist often relies upon the resident Filipino population to provide the audience for the concert.⁵

The *kundiman* is an instance in which the name of a pre-existing folk genre, a rural improvised song-dance, is coopted to denote a created genre with specific cultural-political aims and a derived musical style.

Sarsuwela. The *sarsuwela* is Philippine music theater derived from the Spanish *zarzuela*. Although the Philippine *sarsuwela* had a relatively short golden period — some thirty years between 1890 and 1920 (Hernandez 1976) — it is still regarded as the Philippine musical theater. At the present time there are frequent revivals of *sarsuwela* productions and organizations dedicated to their re-performance, such as the Zarzuela Foundation of the Philippines. It is vernacular light opera, whose initial *libretti* represented reworkings of popular 19th century Spanish *zarzuelas*. However, the *sarsuwela* adapted itself readily to social commentary and protest, against both the Spanish (as in *Walang sugat*/without a wound by S. Reyes) and the Americans (*Dahas ng pilak* / the power of money by de los Reyes).

The principal use of *sarsuwela* was and continues to be entertainment. However, its functions included social protest and ridiculing authority. These so-called “seditious *sarsuwela*” productions were often closed down by the authorities (Bonifacio 1974). However, they demonstrated that the techniques of protest and criticism already existing in indigenous rural genres could be effectively incorporated into a “Western art” form, which itself was to become radically Filipinized. This lesson has not been lost upon the current group of relatively younger Filipino filmmakers, including Lino Brocka (who died in 1991)

and Behn Cervantes. Both have made this Western entertainment medium a forum for political and social criticism.

A second function in the contemporary period is nostalgic idealization of this earlier era by a broader (in terms of class) population base. For example, Nicanor Tiongson’s 1982 revival of the Tagalog *sarsuwela* *Pilipinas Circa 1907* played to large audiences in the open-air stage of Rizal Park in Manila and was an oblique commentary upon the present political-social-economic situation (Fernandez 1985). An English version of this *sarsuwela* was presented by the Center for Philippine Studies at Kennedy Theater at the University of Hawaii in the summer of 1989.

The four genres (for most Filipinos) represent Philippine musical tradition and stand in contrast to specifically regional musics, such as the *kulintang* [gong ensemble of the Muslim south] (Cadar 1975, Kiefer 1970, Maceda 1963), the *ogayyam* [improvised song of the upland peoples on Luzon island] (Pfeiffer 1976:17), or the *balitaw* [dance-song of Visayan language groups] (Gutierrez 1955). However, clear distinctions among these categories — music in the Philippines, music of the Philippines, and Philippine music — still await incountry consensus.

The concluding observations below arise out of my creative and scholarly activities in Philippine music. I suggest that they help us to understand the quality of the colonial experience (especially under Spain and Mexico) and the traditions it generated.

1. Borrowing the contrastive terms (but not necessarily each concept in its entirety) from Redfield (1960:40-59)⁶, the state of musical tradition in the Philippines at present appears to be a number of *little traditions* in search of a *great tradition*. Regional musics (the little traditions) are clearly defined — usually by the criterion of language; but none enjoy full support of the national establishment. No grouping of musical genres can be considered *Filipino* with either the same conviction or by the same set of criteria that identifies *gagaku* as *Japanese* or Bach’s works as *German*. At the moment consensus is only at the level of acknowledging the need for a “great tradition.” General agreement about its content has yet to be reached.

However, the Philippines, in its representations to the outside, apparently assumes a working, *de facto* definition of pan-Philippine tradition. For international touring programs of the Bayanihan Dance Troupe, the University of the Philippines Concert Choir, and the Department of Tourism's Performing Arts Ensemble the assumption is implicit, reflected in programming — and corresponds to the third approach explicated above.

2. The existence of a Philippine tradition becomes increasingly desirable within the context of international arts exchange. Each national entity needs cultural symbols as artifacts to exchange with others. The successful "dance diplomacy" carried out by the Bayanihan Dance Troupe during the past three decades shows that the Philippines' ability in arts exchange is considerable. Further a national dance tradition seems to have emerged from this activity. Some critics may dismiss it as folklorism, but it is nevertheless a dance theater with wide popular appeal and acceptance (Trimillos 1985a).

3. Colonization of the Philippines began processes that led to a national identity — and by extension, to a national art tradition. Filipinos acknowledge that it was the colonizers who forced the separate indigenous peoples to regard themselves as Filipino, united through their collective experience of domination by a foreign power (Guerrero 1968:x). A similar impetus for identity has already been analyzed for the Black American experience by LeRoi Jones (1968), who observed that enslavement of Blacks in the United States was a critical stage in the development of a Black-American culture. For the Philippines, musics developed during the colonial experience might find ready acceptance as national tradition: because their antecedents are foreign (with appropriate qualifications for the term *Kundiman*), no single linguistic group holds regional-proprietary attitudes toward them. The absence of such attitudes might prevent the kinds of resistance to a national music tradition encountered during the establishment of *Pilipino* as the national language. Because *Pilipino* was based upon one regional tongue, Tagalog, it was resisted by non-Tagalog speakers for some forty years, well into the new era (Gonzales 1980). The 1987 Constitution provides that *Fili-*

pino is the national language of the Philippines.

If I were to accept the fatalism of my Filipino forbears, the final word would be: colonialism happened. However, as an ethnomusicologist, I cannot accept the reductionism of "*bahala na*" (if God wills). As a pragmatic researcher (and sometimes advocate) of music in the Philippines, music of the Philippines, and Philippine music, I feel a national music tradition is of critical relevance to this country. The opinion is consonant with my view of the arts in the international political arena, discussed elsewhere (Trimillos 1984b):

1. The arts entity is an expression of a people readily available to the outsider;
2. It is an avenue for localized initiative in an increasingly internationalized technological environment;
3. It is a domain that allows equitable and mutual interchange among nations and cultures;
4. It is an "artifactual" resource that can be shared internally and externally; and
5. It is a part of the international *modus operandi* of most nations.

There is already a consciousness if not consensus in the Philippines that a national tradition is desirable. However, its content and the process by which that content is determined — evolved, recontextualized, redefined or created anew — has yet to be determined. It is my feeling that the power structure, "the establishment," can and should have a significant if not primary role in that process. As the locus of power, the definition of its criteria (political, economic, religious, or intellectual), and the hierarchy of these criteria become clearer, the content for a national Philippine tradition will emerge. It is my opinion that this content will derive its inspiration, if not its substance, from the colonial heritage — unfortunate and unhappy though it may have been. For it was the condition of being colonized that led to the articulation of a Filipino identity and generated identifiable sets of experiences shared by the peoples of the archipelago.

ENDNOTES

1. "Ethnomusicology is what ethnomusicologists do." Charles Seeger put forward this definition during a graduate seminar at the University of California (Los Angeles) in 1966; it has become part of the "oral tradition" of ethnomusicology.
2. Guidelines for town bands are contained in *Pambansang Samahan ng mga Banda sa Pilipinas* [1960] (A Guide for Music Bands Organized and Formulated by the Musicians' Commission of the National Federation of Philippine Bands).
3. Notable is that the Philippine interest in an indigenous-language, Western-style artsong was shared by a number of its neighbors during this same era. In the first decades of the 20th century Japan introduced the art songs of Kosaku YAMADA and Kiyoshi NOBUTOKI (Lieberman 1965), China witnessed a flourishing activity led by composers Yu-mei HSLAO, Tzu HUANG and Yuan-jen CHAO (Kuo 1970), and Korea saw the emergence of Nan-pa HONG, Chemyong HYON and Tong-jin KIM as pioneers in artsong there. See Yi Hung-yol, *Han'guk yangak p'alsibnyon-sa* [Eighty Years' History of Western Music in Korea]. Seoul: Chungang University, 1968.
4. For another view see Ninotchka Rosca, "Reviving the Killed Kundiman," *Pace*, Vol. 1, No. 31 (April 28, 1972), p. 38.
5. This aspect is explored in Ricardo D. Trimillos, "Music and Ethnic Identity: Strategies for The Overseas Filipino Youth Population." Paper read at the ICTM 28th Conference Helsinki (Finland), 1986.
6. For example, his characterization of the little tradition as unlettered (1960:42) does not apply in the Philippine case. See Robert Redfield, *The Little Community — Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

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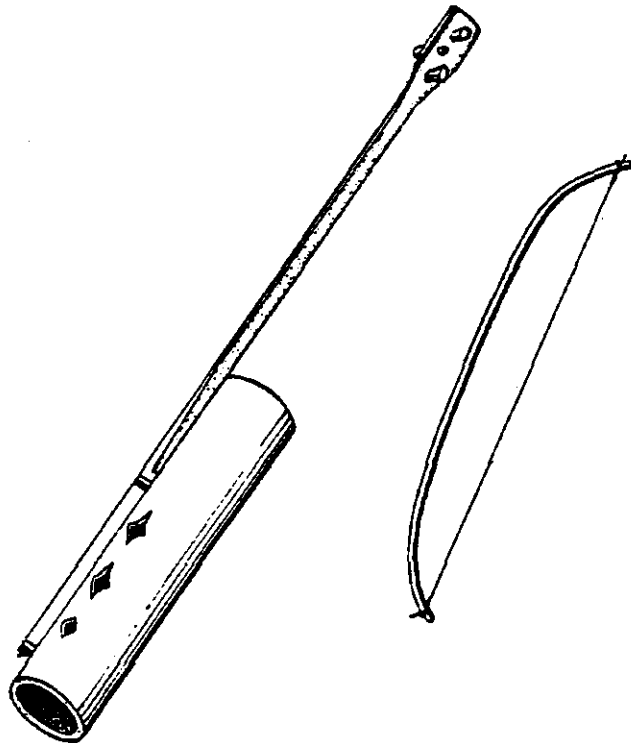
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Discoverers, Discoveries, Discovering Ourselves: Language in the Encounter Between Discoverer and Discovered

In my role as linguist in this forum, I want to talk about the humanly central role of language in all we are discussing; I will talk about three discoverers: Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand Magellan, and James Cook. Regardless of whether it is the PC (Politically Correct) version, or perhaps the RC (Really Correct) version of history which you prefer, it seems to me undeniable that these three white males do deserve our attention today. That we might attend to them together, despite their differences, is a function, in part at least, of the fact that our discussion has as its major sponsor the Center for Philippine Studies of the University of Hawaii. As a linguist I want to look at language in this history, and by the time my few moments have expired I want to have at least started to tell you why, in all this, we still have a very great amount of discovering to accomplish. We too need to be discoverers, and so there are lessons to be learned of those who have carried that label before.

The Center for Philippine Studies, I want to suggest, can function as a sort of intermediary — an intermediary between America and the Philippines, between Filipinos and Hawaiians, and between Hawaii and the rest of the United States of America and the rest of the world. In this too there is discovering to be done — but in the process of attending to that, we would well attend to some of the errors in the work of the three early discoverers, as we can learn from them, even from their mistakes.

Columbus, it is said by some, discovered America. Of course, we are all aware how it is that many, even eager businessmen and politicians, have shied away from the celebration of the event behind that claim in this 500th anniversary. October 12 passed pretty much unheralded in America.

It was already some years ago that the State of Hawaii, aware of the inherent irony and also sensitive to the hurt still felt by many native Hawaiians, changed the old celebration of Columbus Day into the later Discoverer's Day and then abandoned that holiday altogether, in favor of celebrating Martin Luther King Day. I was one among many who lauded those changes. For many, not just today but for some decades already, it has not been acceptable (some would say simply not PC) to celebrate the arrival of Columbus in the New World. It seems embarrassing, a gratuitous insult to Native Americans — and all the more so as Native American voices are given public and academic stages, and as modern scholarship of the past couple of decades has developed our understanding of what Professor David Stannard has labeled the "American holocaust." Yet many of us are conflicted in all this. Just recently (and not without protests) the United States launched its space shuttle named Columbia once again. Was this launched in part as a symbolic act reasserting the RC¹ against the PC reluctance to celebrate Columbus? Well, in any case, the Ivy League cannot be expected to shut down Columbia University, or even to change its name. Columbia, the gem of the ocean, will continue to be included in the nation's musical repertoire, even if not on the top ten, and visitors to Washington, DC will, it seems reasonable to predict, many years hence still pass through Union Station and come out toward the Capitol building and stand before the monument to Columbus there. They will tour the Capitol building itself and gaze upon the beautiful Columbus Doors and the Brumidi canopy fresco of fifteen epic events in America's history beginning with his landing of Columbus, 1492.

First, I want to take up Ferdinand Magellan.

Many of us, perhaps because of our school experiences, do not know enough of history, and a link between Columbus and Magellan may be too arcane for us. Yet Columbus's success in the eyes of Europe was no doubt part of what inspired Magellan to his actions, what goaded those who funded his expedition to their support — and indeed quite literally Magellan may have walked in some of the very footsteps of Columbus before he took command of his three famous ships. Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos and Chairman of the Council of the Indies, had, twenty five years before meeting Magellan, been one of those called on to consider Columbus's proposal to seek the Indies by sailing west in the direction permitted by the Pope. Bishop Fonseca had mocked Columbus as a crazy Italian and had, as events developed, been humbled by Columbus's accomplishment. Magellan, after sailing and fighting for Portugal in Malacca and the Moluccas, experienced the frustrations and disappointment of the scandal of being charged with corruption in the service of the King of Portugal. Disillusioned yet still ambitious, he turned to Spain, married the daughter of a wealthy Portuguese expatriate businessman, and through his father-in-law met Bishop Fonseca, who perhaps tried to redeem himself by becoming Magellan's sponsor to the King of Spain. It was Bishop Fonseca himself who drew up the elaborate contract between Magellan and King Charles V.

But it was seeking his fortune and playing politics, maneuvering between two political leaders in what was to become known as the Philippines which brought Magellan to his end. Between Humabon whom Magellan had baptized and taken as ally, and Humabon's powerful rival Lapu-Lapu, Magellan overestimated his strength and his ability to overpower the one on behalf of the other. In the ensuing military encounter, betrayed by the false confidence that sixty of his men could defeat more than twenty times that number, Magellan shed his blood and lost his life at the shores of Mactan. Today Magellan is remembered in Cebu in the name of a hotel and in the shrine or monument said to contain fragments of the cross he raised (as well as in a funny song, very popular, which reminded us of "Magellan"), but Lapu-lapu is honored with a government-issue stamp and is also remembered on Mactan with a statue.

To us in Hawaii, this fact of a statue for Lapu-lapu may be eye-opening, as we do have a statue for Captain Cook where he died at Kealahou Bay, but we have nothing to commemorate the Hawaiian warrior who brought Cook down, like Magellan, in the shallow water at the shore.

There is a bit more I want to say about Magellan and his interaction with those people who came to be called *Filipinos* (and who just recently announced that they were considering a modification to the name of their country, relinquishing Republic of the Philippines and returning to *Filipinas*).²

Before this first military encounter of Europeans and Filipinos, there was some peaceful talking and teaching that went on, and for which we should be grateful that we have a record. You will have noticed in the program's brochure the illustration of Philippine syllabary writing. Magellan and his men were unaware of the existence of this way of writing in the islands they encountered. Before the Spanish left the Philippines their impact would have all but totally eradicated that method of communication and record-making. (See also mention of this in the paper by Ricardo Trimillos in this publication.) Still, these voyagers did make an effort to communicate with the people they found. Making use of the assistance as interpreter of a man some call Enrique de Malacca, a Malay whom Magellan had brought on this voyage from his earlier Portuguese adventure in Malacca, Magellan's assistant and chronicler Antonio Pigafetta made a vocabulary list to reflect the language of these new subjects of Crown and Cross. Close study of that list of one hundred and fifty or so words provides a salutary lesson for us today. Many of the words preserved are easily recognizable as identical to contemporary Sebuano across the span of five centuries: *mata* (eye) appears in Pigafetta's list as *matta*, *dila* (tongue) as *dilla*, *pusud* (navel) as *pussud*. Granted, you have to cancel out the doubled consonant in the spelling, but that is easy. Other spellings are even closer to contemporary Sebuano: *coco* the nail is *kuku* in John Wolff's dictionary,³ and the elbow *sico* is *siku* in Wolff; we also find *tubu* (*tubu*, sugarcane) and *babui* (*bábu*y, pig). The egg is *itlog* (*itlug*).

Yet other entries in the list which Pigafetta's voyage preserves are records of something else,

something we ought to take to heart. They show us instances of cross-cultural mistakes, language misunderstandings. Some of these involve difficulties with handling sounds: *luia* for ginger (*luy-a* in Wolff); they just did not know how to spell a word that sounded like that. There were word-final sounds that they did not hear, evidently. *Boho* (hair), which we know now is *buhuk* (hair on head). Still my students last semester, one from Taiwan, one from Japan, one from Singapore of Chinese background, and one a local *haole* (Caucasian) also had difficulty hearing the end of this and other words as pronounced for us by a Sebuano-speaking graduate student. Some of the words in Pigafetta's list appear with a problem the Spanish in 400 years never surmounted, that of hearing final -ng as *n*: *Ilon* for *ilung* (nose) and *Apin* for *aping*. Initial *ng*-conquered the tongues of Americans as well as the Spaniards before them; if we know this we have little trouble seeing through Pigafetta's *Nepin* for *ngipun* (teeth). Then there are words that illustrate semantic difficulties in that first interethnic study of Pigafetta, his Malay interpreter, and the unnamed Sebuano who provided the words collected. One I have already mentioned: *Apin*. Pigafetta gives *Apin* for the jaws. It is easy to imagine how such a misunderstanding took place.

First, as I noted above, *Apin* should be understood as really *aping*. Then we must note that what *aping* means is cheek, not jaw. The word for jaw in Sebuano is *apapangig*, but one can understand how that might be more difficult to elicit than the word for the more visible surface phenomenon. Other words like this: The body *tiam*, which involves that Spanish difficulty with finals, so -*m* should really be -*n*. The word is *tiyan*⁴. Moreover, the gloss given is wrong in a fashion somewhat similar to the mistake with *aping*. *Tiyan* really means stomach, of course, and not body. Pigafetta gives the eyelids *Pilac*; *piluk* is eyelash and wink or blink an eye in contemporary Sebuano⁵ and it probably meant the same thing in 1521. The word *eyelid* is *tabuntabun*.⁶

Another interesting error of yet another sort is this: Pigafetta: The woman *perempuan*. He also lists The married woman *Babai*. What happened here? *Perempuan* is a Malay, not a Sebuano word. Perhaps Pigafetta simply got confused and wrote down as Sebuano the word his

Malay interpreter was using to try to elicit a Sebuano form. Or perhaps the Sebuano knew the Malay word and just gave it back (although this would not very likely happen in Cebu today). Maybe the Sebuano just wanted not to be involved in assisting any of these strangers to have anything to do with young Sebuano unmarried women. Maybe they were merely trying to preserve social order. Language plays a crucial role there, of course.

Now I will turn to Cook, and bring us home to Hawaii. Captain James Cook, and John Banks (the man who was Cook's equivalent of Magellan's Pigafetta), were, two and three-quarters centuries later, quite familiar with Pigafetta's narration of Magellan's ships and their voyage around the world. The voyages of Cook's ships likewise have given us vocabulary lists from the Tahitians and the Maori and the Hawaiians they encountered. Comparisons of the lists is rewarding (and it is quite surprising to me that these lists and the study of comparing them seem to have no place in our schools). Just the lists of numbers in both Cook's (Banks) and Pigafetta's *Zzubu* (Cebu or Sebu) list are most instructive. Time is short and I cannot develop this with specific examples, but it is easy enough for you to see what to do next on your own, I hope. (A few of these, for teachers and students to study, are appended at the end).

I want to close by mentioning something that brings us right back to our present. On the McNeil-Lehrer Newshour for the evening of October 12, 1992, the essay that usually closes that program was presented by Richard Rodriguez. This is a man, a Hispanic American, who became well-known for an autobiographical book *The Hunger for Memory*⁷. This book made Rodriguez the darling of an RC set of public commentators who were pro-English only and vehemently opposed to bilingual education in U.S. schools. In Rodriguez's commentary, he pleaded with the audience to continue to celebrate Columbus Day, for that, as he explained, was his birthday and the birthday of many like him — those whose progenitors were both Spaniard and Native American Indian. This was the first time I found myself listening to Richard Rodriguez with any sympathy. We should think about his point in connection with all of our own friends (and children) who are *mestizo*, *mestiza*, *tisoy*, *hapa* (terms indicating

mixed ancestry).

Finally I want to recall the lament of University of Hawaii professor *emerita* Elizabeth Carr, who decried the fact that we have learned vastly more about the ecological condition of Kaneohe Bay than we have learned about the language in the heads of the children who live along its shores or the shores, valleys and the hillsides of the rest of Hawaii. I would like to propose that we might well extend ecological thinking to apply it to the value of linguistic diversity. As Jack Weatherford wrote in his recent book, Columbus arrived in the new world in 1492, but America has yet to be discovered.⁸ We must leave space for our children, the Hawaiian children, the Filipino immigrant and the Filipino-American children, the *mestizo*, *mestiza*, *hapa*, the locals as well as the newcomers, so that they can play their own role in that discovery.

ʌ	ʌ	A	ʌ	ʌ	L
ʌ	ʌ	I, E	ʌ	ʌ	M
ʌ	ʌ	U, O	ʌ	ʌ	N
ʌ	ʌ	B	ʌ	ʌ	NG
ʌ	ʌ	D	ʌ	ʌ	P
ʌ	ʌ	G	ʌ	ʌ	S
ʌ	ʌ	H	ʌ	ʌ	T
ʌ	ʌ	K	ʌ	ʌ	W
			ʌ	ʌ	Y

Two kinds of ancient Filipino writing with approximate English equivalents.

Appendix

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	English gloss
	lua	Rua	Rua	rua	Dua	duha	'2'
	kolu	Torou	Torou	toru	Tolo	tulu	'3'
	ha	Hea	Ha	whaa	Vpat	upat	'4'
	lima	Rema	Rema	rima	Lima	lima	'5'
	ono	Ono	Ono	ono	Onon	unum	'6'
	hiku	Hetu	Etu	whitu	Pitto	pitu	'7'
	walo	Warou	Warou	waru	Gualo*	walu	'8'
	iwa	Heva	Iva	iwa	Ciam	siyam	'9'

*The manuscript's final vowel appears to be *o* or *u*, written over *a*.

Column 1 is left blank for students to look up how the Hawaiian words were spelled in the records of Cook's voyages.

Column 2 is modern Hawaiian.

Column 3 is from Joseph Banks's record of "OtaHITE."

Column 4 is from Joseph Banks's record from the Endeavor's circumnavigation of New Zealand under Capt. James Cook.

Column 5 is modern Maori.

Column 6 is Sebuano as recorded from "Zzubu" by Pigafetta.

Column 7 is modern Sebuano as in Wolff.

(Note that the word for *eye* given above is Sebuano *mata* with Maori *mata* the Hawaiian *maka*. Attending the words for **three** and **seven**, one can see that, across the set of languages, they are different consistently in the same way. The pattern of connection is preserved even in the differences.) Other words presented in the text of this paper might serve as starting points for students who would like to expand these comparative lists.

SOURCES

(For the Appendix)

1. For Columns 3, 4, and 5. Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, (1991).
2. For Column 6. Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation*, vol. 2. Translated and edited by R. A. Skelton from the manuscript in the Beinecke Rare Book Manuscript Library of Yale University. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969).
3. For Column 7. John U. Wolff, *op. cit.*

ENDNOTES

1. Some would say that RC stands for "Right-wing Correct," since anything PC is taken to be a version of the left.
2. No matter what, we can expect that our papers in Honolulu will still identify that country by the label PI (for Philippine Islands). A full forty years after the end of US territorial control of the Philippines, and after official shift from PI to RP (for Republic of the Philippines), the papers continue to insist on PI, once even defending such usage by insisting that it was shorter! That could well be true in the eyes of a typographer, but it still seems politically insensitive and anachronistic.
3. See John Wolff, *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan*. Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph Issue No. 4. (Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 1972). Note that *Cebuano* and *Sebuano* are variant spelling of the same name. Visayan (or Bisayan) is a language family.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 1027.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 762.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 954.
7. See Richard Rodriguez. *Hunger for Memory*. (Boston, Massachusetts: David R. Godine, 1982).
8. Jack Weatherford. *Indian Givers: How Indians of the Americas Transformed the World*. (New York: Ballantine Books, A Fawcett Columbine Book, 1988), p. 255.

The Filipino Plantation Community in Hawaii: Experiences of a Second-Generation Filipina

As discussed elsewhere in this publication, the age of discovery had an especially devastating effect on the people of the Philippines. From the Western point of view the arrival of the Spanish in the 16th century began a process of leading the Philippines into the path of Western culture. From the point of view of the Filipino people, in retrospect, the Spanish arrival marked the beginning of the mixture of indigenous cultures that had existed for several centuries with that of European culture.

Filipino culture was a blend of what had existed in 1521 overlaid with the impact of more than three centuries of Spanish intrusion and later of several decades of American occupation. The earliest Filipino immigrants to Hawaii in 1906 had only a few years of the American experience, but by the time the largest numbers began to arrive after World War I, a generation of Filipinos had been influenced by the "Little Brown Brother" colonial philosophy of the American expansionists.

The Filipinos who came to work on the sugar plantations of Hawaii were thus the product of this fusing of Malay, Spanish and American cultures. In reality, however, Filipinos (like most colonized or multicultural people) are not always aware of their culture, or conscious about which culture is which.

The Hawaiian sugar planters attempted to ensure that those they recruited were agricultural laborers who would be satisfied to remain on the plantations to fulfill their contracts. The planters were usually successful in recruiting laborers, although many accounts are told of better educated recruits successfully passing themselves off as farm laborers.

One such person was my father. He was a graduate of Ilocos* Norte High School and the

Provincial Normal School, and was more interested in pursuits of the mind than in the farming and managing of his family's lands. Determined to leave the Philippines without telling his family (he knew that his family would not give him their blessing if he told them of his intentions), he spent several weeks before arriving at the recruiting agent's office roughing up his palms with rocks in order to be able to show calloused hands and succeed in being recruited. This may not have happened too often, and most of those recruited were indeed farm laborers with little education and fewer employment possibilities in their homeland.

When my father was recruited he left the Philippines alone and went to a plantation on Kauai where he had been assigned as a laborer. After a year, he asked to be transferred to Oahu Sugar Company in Waipahu, on the island of Oahu, where he was to be employed as the company's office assistant payroll and sugar cane weight clerk. He married my mother, whose high school education in the Philippines was interrupted when she left for Hawaii with her father, mother, and two younger brothers. Her father had been recruited to be the chief cook and manager of the company's boarding house where my father was employed shortly after being transferred from his laborer's job on Kauai to Oahu.

In Hawaii there was a noteworthy difference between the Filipino immigrant workers and the Japanese who arrived earlier. The Filipinos came from a land that had been colonized by the Americans after more than three centuries of Spanish rule. The Japanese, on the other hand, came from a country which was already a world power and a relatively homogenous society. Because of Japan's position among world powers it could try to bring pressure on the United States,

and often did, when there were complaints of worker mistreatment. (This did not mean that the intervention of the Japanese government on behalf of its citizens in Hawaii were always successful.) The Filipinos had no such recourse because the Philippines before independence in 1946 was a colony of the United States.

Considering the much larger number of males compared with the females, it is not surprising that Filipinos in Hawaii lived two quite different lifestyles. The largest group consisted of single men who lived in dormitory-style housing. In the early days the plantations provided boarding facilities for single Filipino laborers in structures called "clubhouses." They often were comprised of a kitchen, a large dining room, a social hall, and a recreation hall.

Only a small minority of Filipinos lived in single family units. However, these units did not exist in isolation of nuclear and extended families, and frequently of fictive families (families whose members are not related by blood).

Often single males who were related to one or another of the family members, or were just friends, would share living quarters, expenses and household chores. Many single males would be asked to become godfathers to the family's children, thus becoming honorary fathers to those children. There were at least two relatives living with our family. They tended the vegetable garden, helped with the cooking and housework, and were treated and respected as members of the family.

In older plantation homes, where the plantation did not object to the tenants adding on or changing the design of the house, whenever a relative arrived, rooms were added.

After 1965, when a new wave of Filipino immigrants came and plantation families were buying their own lots and homes (fee simple), families began rebuilding their homes to resemble the two-story Spanish-type architecture of the Philippines.

The low wages paid sugar workers, lower for Filipinos than for other groups in the early years, required ingenuity in order to survive. It was common for workers to grow vegetables in their gardens and to share their harvest with neighbors and friends. Where land was not

available near their living quarters, they would cultivate their vegetables in unused plots of land near the sugar cane fields.

A group of neighbors and relatives shared large quantities of food: for example, a large can of *bagoong* (Filipino fish sauce) would be bought cooperatively and shared by the members of the group.

A pig would be slaughtered and butchered in someone's backyard and the meat cuts divided among five to ten families, depending on the size of the pig. The organizing family would get such delicacies as the head, tail, and the innards.

Some bachelors (2 to 4 individuals) would buy a automobile together and share its use. The workers helped each other to buy household appliances, equipment, tools, or large purchases requiring loans. Lending money to each other without written contracts was common.

Since a high percentage of laborers were Ilokano, their foods were vegetables cooked with dried shrimp or fish and slices of pork or chicken. In contrast, our Tagalog friends and neighbors used more tomato sauces, potatoes, peas and garbanzos in their cooking. Gradually, each group began cooking each other's dishes.

The favorite foods were *pinakbet* (the Ilokano vegetable stew resembling the French *ratatouille* but with *bagoong* and fish, shrimp, pork, or pork rinds, and with very little broth), and *dinengdeng* (sliced eggplant, long green beans, bitter melon, okra, and lima beans cooked in broth consisting of *bagoong*, fresh tomatoes and dried shrimp).

Conditions peculiar to Hawaii meant that these dishes underwent changes. Less *bagoong* was used while more pork and tomatoes were included in the recipes. In the U.S. mainland even greater changes were necessary. The *pinakbet* cooked by the Mexican wife of my father's cousin did not look at all like *pinakbet* to me because of the changes she had to make since basic ingredients were not available, or she felt that *bagoong* had too strong a flavor.

The Filipino tradition of *bayanihan* (helping each other) was a common practice among all groups on the plantation. The laborers helped each other build chicken houses, garages, playrooms or screened work rooms. For weddings and

baptismal parties the relatives, neighbors and friends helped with the preparations of the lunch or dinner, which included *kankanen* (sweets made of sticky rice, sugar, and coconut milk). On the plantations, probably due to the scarcity of women, the men did the large-scale cooking; the women made the rice cakes. Families often took care of the orphaned children of their friends with little or no monetary help, with just the satisfaction of a mutual debt of gratitude in mind.

A majority of the Filipino immigrants were Catholic. A much smaller number were Methodists and Congregationalists who had become Protestants through the work of the Boards of Mission of those denominations in the Philippines and Hawaii. Those denominations established churches on the plantations where services were held in the language of the members. The sugar planters supported the work of those churches by constructing buildings for the Protestant Churches on almost every plantation.

Both Catholics and Protestants practiced rituals that were not entirely Catholic or Protestant, but contained elements of animism. The *atang* (offering), food for deceased relatives, was common on household shrines; it was a common practice to go to the beach after a funeral service to immerse oneself. My mother, despite being dyed-in-the-wool Congregational Protestant, would always say upon returning home from any outing "*Adda kamin*," ("We are back"), just to inform the house spirits that the family members have returned home.

At all parties, large or small, participants who could play a musical instrument, dance or sing, were asked to perform. It was considered ungracious not to perform when asked to do so. Children who could perform or those who were taking music and/or dance lessons were expected to perform for their elders and for guests. At our family parties, my parents were always asked to sing duets. Usually they sang Ilokano songs that were popular in their youth. Even our family parties were formally organized with a designated master of ceremonies and a formalized program featuring speeches and testimonies.

Filipinos on the plantations would use the language of their native regions when among speakers of the same language. It was common for parents to use their native language with their

children even when the children responded in English. My parents spoke English fluently, but they spoke Ilokano to each other and to me and my sister. Even though we answered in English, they continued to speak to us in Ilokano.

A special vocabulary developed from the Filipino experience on the plantation and spread to other groups. It included expressions such as:

1. *Bulakbol* (lazy, probably from "blackballed," that is, someone blackballed by the plantation and who, therefore, could not work, even if through no fault of his own, was regarded as a ne'er-do-well).
2. *Salamabit* (son-of-a-bitch) and *Salamagan* (son-of-a-gun), expressions used in place of Filipino swear words when resorting to Hawaiian English Creole (pidgin).
3. *Sabidong* (poison) Gang, a term used on the plantation to refer to a work group assigned to spray chemicals to eradicate weeds in the cane fields.
4. *Manong*, *Manang* (Ilokano terms of respect for older brother/sister, but also used for other older people usually of the generation of one's older siblings); *Tata*, *Nana*, (terms for father/mother, but also used for older people of one's parents' generation). They were often used derogatorily or incorrectly by members of other groups.
5. *Booli-booli* (the way many Filipino laborers in the early plantation era pronounced "benevolent" when referring to benevolent societies which provided their members with financial help). *Booli-booli* often had a bad connotation because some of these aid societies did not fulfill their obligations to the laborers who had invested most of their savings.
6. In speaking English the traditional Ilokano honorifics of *Manong* and *Manang*, *Tata* and *Nana* were not usually used. They were replaced by *Mr.* and *Mrs.* My mother-in-

law, who was of Anglo-Saxon background, could not understand why my mother insisted on calling her "Mrs. Miller" even after they had known each other for a number of years.

Unlike many American children, Filipino children were not paid to do chores around the house. Money which they earned was given to their mothers. The mothers in turn gave the children what was needed for daily school or other expenses. Children were taught to help educate their younger siblings and were not expected to say to their parents, "You owe me \$5 for yesterday's grocery shopping," or "for my having cleaned the house."

Filipino parents commonly told their children they were not only American but also Filipino. However, since the children attended American schools and moreover the radio and the newspapers were in English, they often had difficulty knowing to which group they belonged. Many second-generation Filipinos born and raised on the plantations found protection from ethnic slurs against Filipinos by identifying themselves as Spanish or Chinese. Children often were required by their parents to wear Filipino costumes during

community celebrations, but as they approached their teens, refused to do so for fear of being teased *manong*, *buk-buk*, or *bayaw*, all terms of derision.

Important events in Philippine history were marked by major community celebrations, the most important of which were the observances of the birth and death of the Filipino patriot, Dr. Jose Rizal, and the Philippine Commonwealth Day. On such occasions members of the Filipino community wore Filipino dresses and *Barong Tagalog* (men's embroidered native shirt). These events were marked with the recitation of poems and speeches in Ilokano, Tagalog, or Visayan, folk dancing and singing.

The Filipinos who came to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations survived because, like other groups that came before them, they drew from those aspects of their culture that enabled them to continue to adapt. This, in turn, helped them to emerge gradually as a distinct and important group whose languages, history, religion, food, customs, and music have made an impact on the social, economic, and political institutions of American society.

* The older spelling is *Ilocos*, but in current usage, this is also spelled *Ilokos*.

Philippine Chronology Up To 1946

25 - 30,000 B.C.	Ancestors of the <i>Negritos</i> start arriving from the south (Borneo) through land bridges.
3 - 6,000 B.C.	Austronesians arrive from Indonesia and other parts of Southeast Asia.
1,500 B.C.	Migrants arrive in northern Luzon from Indochina, South China and Formosa.
800 - 500 B.C.	Another wave of migrants arrive from Southeast Asia and South China believed to be the ancestors of present-day <i>Kalingas, Apayaos, Ibanags, Tagbanuas, Mandayas, Manobos, Bagobos, Kulamans, Bilaans, Tirurays and Subanons</i> .
400 - 100 B.C.	More migrants - referred to as the <i>Kalanay and Novaliches</i> people - arrive from the coasts of Indochina and settle in the Visayan islands, Mindoro, Marinduque, the Calamianes islands, and Palawan.
300 - 200 B.C.	Another group of migratory <i>Malay</i> people from the western coast of Borneo arrive and settle in Mindanao, parts of Visayas and Luzon. They introduce irrigated agriculture, smelting, forging and manufacture of iron and other metals, the art of weaving on a hand loom, and the manufacture of beads, bracelets and other ornaments.
100 A.D. - 1200	Another group of Malays arrive, the ancestors of the <i>Ilokanos, Tagalogs, Bisayans, Pampangos, Bikols, Pangasinans</i> .
960 — 1279	Records indicate contact and trade between China and people in the Philippines during the Sung dynasty.
1300 - 1390	Muslim traders and religious teachers from India and Arabia arrive. Muslim sultanates in Sulu are established.
1366 - 1644	Records indicate contact between China and people in the Philippines during the Ming dynasty.
1400	Manila founded as a trading port between Canton, Moluccas and Sulu.
1450	A powerful Muslim sultanate is set up in Sulu after marriage between <i>Abu Bakr</i> from Sumatra (Indonesia) and daughter of <i>Rajah Baginda</i> of Sulu.
1520 (Nov. 28)	<i>Magellan</i> and his crew enter the Pacific Ocean for the first time and give it its name.
1521 (March 17)	<i>Magellan's</i> expedition arrives in Suluan island in Samar, the first Europeans to set foot on Philippine shores. They name the entire archipelago <i>Islas de San Lazaro</i> .
1521 (March 30)	<i>Magellan</i> celebrates Easter Sunday with <i>Rajah Kolambu</i> of Limasawa island, the first mass held in the Philippines. Later in the day, a cross is erected and <i>Magellan</i> claims the islands for the king of Spain.
1521 (April 7)	<i>Magellan</i> and his crew reach Cebu and make a blood compact with <i>Rajah Humabon</i> . On Sunday, 14 April, more than 800 natives, including <i>Rajah Humabon</i> and his family, are baptized and given Christian names, and made to recognize Spain's sovereignty over them.
1521 (April 27)	<i>Lapu-lapu</i> and his men kill <i>Magellan</i> and drive off the rest of his forces in a fierce battle on the island of Mactan. With 18 surviving men aboard, the <i>Victoria</i> arrives in Spain on 8 Nov. 1522, becoming the first Europeans to circumnavigate the world, and proving the existence of a water route to the Moluccas by sailing west.

1526 - 1564	Spain sends 8 unsuccessful expeditions to colonize the Philippines.
1565	<i>Legazpi</i> arrives in Cebu and begins a successful Spanish campaign to colonize the Philippines.
1571 (May 19)	<i>Legazpi</i> conquers Manila by defeating the forces led by <i>Rajah Soliman</i> and <i>Rajah Lakandula</i> . On 3 June, Manila is declared a city and becomes the capital of New Castille, the seat of the Spanish empire in Asia.
1575	<i>Galleon Trade</i> begins as Manila becomes the transshipment point between China and Acapulco, Mexico.
1584	<i>Pampangos</i> revolt against forced labor in the gold mines of Ilocos, harsh methods of tribute collection, and widespread food shortages in Pampanga and Manila. This is just one of more than 200 unsuccessful localized rebellions against the Spanish until the 1896 Revolution.
1622	A native priest or <i>babaylan</i> named <i>Tamblot</i> leads an uprising of more than 2,000 in Bohol burning churches while calling on the Boholanos to reject the Catholic religion.
1649	<i>Sumuroy</i> leads an uprising against the Spanish in Samar to protest forced labor. The rebellion spreads throughout the island as churches are burned and friars driven out. To crush the revolt Spanish forces from Leyte, Manila and Zamboanga are sent to Samar. <i>Sumuroy</i> is killed, along with his father and brother, and their heads are displayed in Catbalogan.
1660	<i>Maniago</i> leads a revolt in Pampanga against forced labor, forced conscription into the Spanish army and navy, and illegal expropriation of rice and other produce. <i>Maniago's</i> revolt spreads to other parts of Central Luzon including Pangasinan. He writes to other native chiefs in Ilocos and Cagayan Valley to join him in an attack of Manila. <i>Maniago</i> is betrayed by other Pampango chiefs in exchange for some privileges and selfish advantage, a pattern that would happen again and again in the Filipino people's long struggle against colonial rule.
1660 - 1661	<i>Malong</i> leads one of the biggest and most threatening rebellions against Spanish rule in Pangasinan. His rebellion spreads to Pampanga, Zambales, Ilocos and Cagayan as an estimated 40,000 men join his army. The Spanish recruit mercenaries from other parts of the Philippines, an armed force led by two Spanish generals defeats <i>Malong</i> in a fierce battle in Pangasinan. <i>Malong</i> is executed in his hometown of <i>Binalatongan</i> (now <i>Binalonan</i>) and his head is placed in a pole and displayed in the town center.
1744 - 1829	<i>Dagohoy</i> leads a revolt against the Spanish in Bohol after a friar refuses to give his brother a Christian burial. More than 20,000 Boholanos join him and successfully defeat all Spanish forces sent to capture him. <i>Dagohoy</i> declares independence from Spain and sets up the Bohol Republic which lasts 75 years.
1762	The British invade and occupy Manila for 2 years as an off-shoot of the <i>Seven Years War</i> in Europe. The defeat of the Spanish forces by the British sparks native uprisings throughout the country. Spanish officials and friars are either killed or expelled. Of these revolts, the major ones occur in Pangasinan and Ilocos. <i>Palaris</i> leads a revolt in Pangasinan and Tarlac that would last until 1765. With more than 10,000 men, <i>Palaris</i> drives all friars and Spanish officials out of Pangasinan. <i>Palaris</i> is captured in January 1765 and is hanged in his hometown of <i>Binalatongan</i> . <i>Diego and Gabriela Silang</i> lead an uprising in the Ilocos which lasts for 5 months. The Spanish are expelled from Vigan and the tribute and forced labor are abolished. <i>Diego Silang</i> is betrayed and assassinated. His wife <i>Gabriela</i> assumes command of the rebellion, but is captured and hanged in public.
1785	Following the ending of the subsidy from Mexico and the establishment of the tobacco monopoly, the <i>Royal Philippine Company</i> is set up. Direct trade with Spain is opened which facilitates the entry of the Philippines into international system of trade. A domestic economy begins to emerge after 1785.
1812	This year sees the promulgation of the <i>Cadiz Constitution</i> by Spanish Liberals who share power

in a provisional government with the Spanish monarchy in the struggle to end Napoleon's occupation of Spain. The Constitution extends the rights of man not only to Spaniards in the peninsula but to all subjects of Spain. Many people in the Philippines take the proclamation to mean universal equality and the abolition of the tribute and forced labor. The governor general is forced to issue a decree saying that the constitutional decree does not apply to the *indios*. Ferdinand VII's comeback as king of Spain results in the return of reactionary absolutism and the end of the short-lived liberal period in Spain and the colonies.

1813	The <i>Galleon Trade</i> ends and by 1821 Mexico gains its independence from Spain, forcing the Spanish to develop the Philippines to make it economically more self-sufficient.
1841	<i>Apolinario de la Cruz</i> , also known as <i>Hermano Pule</i> , leads a revolt in Laguna and Tayabas after his religious order, the <i>Cofradia de San Jose</i> , is rejected by the Spanish authorities. Angered by what they feel to be racial discrimination against <i>indios</i> , <i>Pule's</i> group — which is called <i>Colorum</i> due to their religious mysticism — retreats into the mountains of Laguna and Tayabas. <i>Pule</i> and other leaders of the <i>Cofradia</i> are captured. Their bodies are dismembered and exhibited in the main towns of Tayabas. Native Filipino soldiers from Tayabas who are quartered in Manila and sympathetic to Apolinario dela Cruz attack Fort Santiago, but are quickly suppressed.
1861 (June 19)	<i>José Rizal</i> , the Philippine national hero, is born in Calamba, Laguna, south of Manila.
1863 (Nov. 30)	<i>Andres Bonifacio</i> , the founder of the <i>Katipunan</i> and leader of the 1896 Revolution, is born in Tondo, Manila.
1869	The Suez Canal is opened and regular steamship service is established between Manila and Europe which facilitates the influx of liberal ideas into the Philippines.
1872 (Feb. 17)	The Filipino native priests - <i>Gomez, Burgos and Zamora</i> - are publicly executed by the Spanish for alleged participation in the mutiny of 200 Filipino soldiers in Cavite. The deaths of the three Filipino priests, who had actively campaigned for the rights of native clergy - awakens a powerful sense of nationalist consciousness among Filipinos.
1887	<i>José Rizal's</i> first of two classic novels, <i>Noli Me Tangere</i> (The Social Cancer) is published. Banned by the Spanish authorities in the Philippines, the <i>Noli</i> plays an important role in forging a Filipino national identity as it depicts Spanish colonial oppression.
1889	The first issue of <i>La Solidaridad</i> is published in February in Spain. It becomes the voice of Filipinos working for reforms and advocating an end to abuses by Spanish colonial authorities and friars in the Philippines. The reform movement is known as the <i>Propaganda Movement</i> .
1891	Rizal publishes the second of his two novels, <i>El Filibusterismo</i> (The Subversive). It depicts the alternative choices open to Spain: either implement reforms in the Philippines or face violent revolution. Like <i>Noli</i> , <i>Fili</i> is banned by the Spanish from distribution in the Philippines. Rizal's writings earns him the undisputed intellectual leadership of the Philippine nationalist movement.
1892	Rizal returns to the Philippines from Spain and founds <i>La Liga Filipina</i> , an organization seeking peaceful reform and Filipino representation in the Spanish <i>Cortes</i> (parliament). Rizal, however, is arrested by the Spanish authorities and exiled to Dapitan in Mindanao. Reacting to Rizal's arrest, Andres Bonifacio and the more militant members of <i>La Liga</i> organize the <i>Katipunan</i> , a secret revolutionary organization that seeks to end Spanish colonial rule and win freedom for the Filipinos.
1896	The Philippine Revolution breaks out on 26 August as the Spanish discover the existence of the <i>Katipunan</i> . Within a few weeks, the revolution spreads to the provinces around Manila as well as in other parts of the country. On 30 December, Rizal is publicly executed by the Spanish in <i>Bagumbayan</i> (Luneta) and his death intensifies the revolution.
1897	Bonifacio, the founder of the <i>Katipunan</i> , is executed on 10 May and the leadership of the <i>Katipunan</i> is assumed by <i>Emilio Aguinaldo</i> and his Cavite faction. On 1 November, Aguinaldo

and other revolutionary leaders approve a Constitution and establish the *Biak-na-Bato* republic, which officially declares Philippine independence from Spain. On 16 December, Aguinaldo signs a peace agreement with the Spanish governor general. Aguinaldo and other leaders leave for exile in Hongkong on 27 December.

1898	The <i>Spanish-American War</i> breaks out on 24 April following an explosion on the U.S.S. <i>Maine</i> in Havana, Cuba. A U.S. Navy fleet docked in Hong Kong under Commodore George Dewey is ordered to proceed to Manila to destroy the Spanish fleet. Aguinaldo and other exiled Filipino leaders hurry back to the Philippines to reorganize the revolutionary army, thinking that the Americans would assist the Filipinos in finally putting an end to Spanish rule in the Philippines. On 12 June Aguinaldo raises the Philippine flag in <i>Kawit, Cavite</i> and declares the birth of the Philippine Republic. With revolution spreading throughout the country, the remaining Spanish military forces are driven to Manila surrounded by 12,000 Filipino soldiers. But the Spanish refuse to surrender until the American troops land on the outskirts of Manila on 14 August. The U.S. military forces under <i>General Otis</i> , however, refuse to allow Aguinaldo and his men to enter Manila. Only then did Aguinaldo realize that the U.S. has no intention of helping the Filipinos establish an independent government. On 10 December 1898, despite the fact that the Filipinos are virtually in control of the entire country and the Spanish are hostage in Manila, Spain signs the <i>Treaty of Paris</i> ceding the entire Philippines to the U.S. for \$20 million. Despite demands by Filipinos to be present at the Paris peace talks, their representative is not allowed to sit in the discussions transferring colonial control of the Philippines from the Spanish to the Americans.
1898 (Aug. 14)	U.S. General Wesley Merritt establishes military government in the Philippines.
1899	Aguinaldo transfers the seat of the new Philippine Republic to <i>Malolos</i> and convenes a constitutional convention and Congress that elects him president on 23 January. On 4 February, fighting breaks out between Filipinos and American soldiers in San Juan, Manila, which begins the <i>Philippine-American War</i> .
1899 (March)	Schurman Commission appointed by U.S. President William McKinley arrives in Manila to investigate Philippine conditions and interview pro-American <i>ilustrados</i> of the country.
1901	Aguinaldo is captured by American troops in <i>Palanan, Isabela</i> on 23 March. On 4 July the U.S. establishes a civil government and declares the Philippine "insurrection" over. Other Filipino revolutionary leaders — <i>Malvar, San Miguel, Ricarte, Guillermo, and Sakay</i> — however refuse to recognize American rule and continue to fight. The last revolutionary leader, Makario Sakay, is finally captured and hanged in public on 13 September 1907. Other Filipino nationalist leaders who refuse the oath of loyalty to the U.S., such as <i>Apolinario Mabini</i> , are exiled to Guam. It takes 126,000 U.S. troops to defeat the revolutionary army of the Philippine Republic. (Official U.S. records show that <i>more than 200,000 Filipinos died as a result of the war and more than 600,000 were wounded</i> .) To suppress Filipino nationalism, the U.S. Congress passes a series of <i>anti-sedition laws</i> , including the <i>Flag Law</i> , which prohibit the public display of the Philippine flag from 1907 to 1919. Several Filipino writers are imprisoned for writing "seditious plays."
	In August 1902, Pascual Poblete organizes the <i>Nacionalista Party</i> (different from the party of the same name founded in 1907) to campaign for Philippine independence.
1902-03	<i>Simeon Ola</i> leads an "insurrection" in Bikol region against the Americans. At about the same time, uprisings in the Visayan provinces are widespread, especially in Cebu, Samar, Leyte and Panay. " <i>Papa</i> " <i>Isio</i> leads <i>pulajanes</i> (rebels) in "hit-and-run" warfare with Americans.
1907	American colonial policy of "tutelage for self-rule" for the Philippines is implemented with the election for the National Assembly. <i>Sergio Osmeña</i> is elected first speaker. Due to restrictive property qualifications, only 98,251 or 1.41% of the population out of 7 million able to vote.
1909	U.S. Congress passes the <i>Payne-Aldrich Act</i> which allows unlimited entry of American goods to enter the Philippines free of duty in exchange for allowing a quota of Philippine agricultural export products, such as sugar, hemp and copra, to enter the U.S.

1910	<i>Felipe Salvador</i> , popularly known as <i>Apo Ipe</i> , is finally captured by U.S. troops and the newly created Philippine Constabulary for leading a peasant rebellion in Central Luzon. Salvador is hanged in public. The popularity of "Apo Ipe" would lead his followers and future <i>Colorum</i> rebellions to regard him as a cult hero like Rizal.
1913	U.S. Congress allows total "free trade" between the U.S. and the Philippines. "Free trade" policy basically relegates the Philippines as a agricultural and raw material exporting country dependent on the U.S. for manufactured goods. It would result in the neglect of Philippine industrialization for several more decades.
1916	<i>Jones Law</i> reorganizes Philippine Legislature and creates Senate with 24 members.
1920 - 30	Peasant-based and messianic <i>Colorum</i> movements and uprisings break out in many parts of the country in this decade. The <i>Colorum</i> movements are undertaken by oppressed peasants who see their leaders as messiahs leading them to liberation and redemption from oppressive landlords. There is the <i>Sociedad de la Confianza</i> in Leyte and Samar, and the <i>Caballeros de la Sagrada Familia</i> in Pampanga, Bulacan, Pangasinan, and Nueva Ecija. One of the most serious <i>Colorum</i> revolts occurs in Tarlac in 1923 led by <i>Pedro Kabola</i> and the <i>Kapisanan Makabola Makaranag</i> . In 1927, a <i>Colorum</i> movement re-emerges in six central Visayan provinces led by <i>Florencio Intrencherado</i> with an estimated following of more than 26,000 peasants. <i>Intrencherado</i> 's followers expel landlords in several towns in Negros and Iloilo, confiscating lands of <i>hacenderos</i> and seizing government buildings. <i>Intrencherado</i> is captured and committed to serve for life in an insane asylum in Manila.
1922 (Feb.)	<i>Partido Nacionalista Colectivista</i> is organized with Manuel L. Quezon as its president. This is the a result of the split in the Nacionalista Party to break away from Sergio Osmeña.
1923-24	<i>Colorums</i> lead uprising in Mindanao. The <i>Colorums</i> belong to a secret peasant society with adherents in the provinces of Leyte, Cebu, several provinces in Mindanao, Rizal, Tarlac, Batangas and Laguna.
1929-30	<i>Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas</i> (Communist Party of the Philippines) is founded.
1931	In January <i>Pedro Calosa</i> , a farmer who was a plantation laborer in Hawaii, leads a peasant rebellion in Tayug, Pangasinan. Calosa, whose <i>Colorum</i> society is named <i>Sociedad ti Mannalon</i> (Society of Land Tillers) and the <i>Sinaruay</i> , attack the town of Tayug, seize the municipal building and burn in a bonfire at the town plaza tax records, debt records and tenancy contracts. Calosa hopes the Tayug uprising would ignite the whole of Central Luzon in a peasant revolution that would achieve independence for the country and reward all participants with equal shares in lands confiscated from landlords.
1934 (March 24)	U.S. President Roosevelt signs <i>Tydings-McDuffie Law</i> granting independence to the Philippines after a 10-year transition period.
1934 (July 10)	202 delegates elected to Constitutional Convention to draft charter for the Commonwealth and future independent Philippine republic. <i>Claro Recto</i> elected president of Convention.
1935 (May 2-3)	The <i>Sakdal</i> in Laguna led by <i>Benigno Ramos</i> , campaign against maldistribution of property, excessive taxes, concentration of land ownership, especially in the Church and demand immediate Philippine independence.
1935 (Nov. 15)	<i>Philippine Commonwealth</i> inaugurated with Manuel L. Quezon and Sergio Osmeña as president and vice-president, respectively.
1937	After two decades of struggle, Filipino women win right to vote. Women leaders campaign nationwide to win plebiscite on female suffrage by nearly half a million votes.
1937 (Nov. 9)	President Quezon proclaims <i>Tagalog</i> as the national language and designates 19 June 1940 as the day when it should be taught in all schools.

1941	7 December, Japan declares war against the U.S. by bombing Pearl Harbor. On 26 July the Philippine reserve and regular forces were incorporated into the U.S. Army under General Douglas MacArthur. Japan invades the Philippines on 8 December and moves toward Manila on 31 December.
1942 (Jan. 2)	Japanese forces occupy Manila.
1942	Quezon and his cabinet escape from the Philippines via submarine on 20 February. General MacArthur escapes to Australia on 11 March. Bataan and Corregidor fall to the Japanese imperial army in April.
1942 (March 29)	Peasant leaders form resistance movement, <i>Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon</i> (People's Army Against the Japanese), in Central Luzon.
1943 (Oct. 14)	Japanese-sponsored Philippine Republic under <i>Jose P. Laurel</i> is proclaimed.
1944 (Oct. 20)	General MacArthur and his forces land on Leyte and proceed to "liberate" the Philippines from the Japanese with his famous line " <i>I have returned.</i> "
1945 (Feb. 27)	MacArthur (as Military Administrator) turns over the civil government to President Sergio Osmeña. (Quezon died in exile in 1944.)
1946 (July 4)	Philippines becomes an independent republic. (Independence Day would later be changed to June 12). <i>Manuel A. Roxas</i> becomes first president.



Filipino weapons and *Kataas-taasan, Kagalang-galangang Katipunan Ng Mga Anak Ng Bayan* (KKK) Heroes, Andres Bonifacio (top) and Emilio Jacinto.

A Bibliography on the Philippines: Pre-Hispanic to Nineteenth Century

This bibliography is divided into three sections. The first section lists general works which provide background information on the history and culture of the Philippines. The section covers the prehistoric or pre-Hispanic period and the third covers the Spanish era from Magellan's arrival in the Philippines up to the revolution at the end of the 19th century.

The materials selected for this bibliography are available at Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii at Manoa. Some books may also be found in the public libraries.

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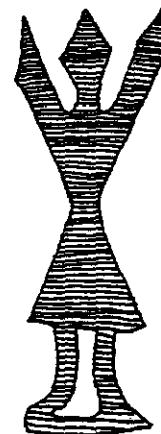
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"A collection of articles on Philippine history and life in the years 1880-1911." Excellent illustrations.



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SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

OAHU:

Honolulu

October 24, 1992; 9 a.m. - 2 p.m.

Music Bldg., Room 36

University of Hawaii at Manoa

Belinda A. Aquino

"Rethinking Magellan and Rediscovering the Philippines"

Michael L. Forman

"Discoverers, Discoveries, Discovering Ourselves: Language in the Encounter Between Discoverer and Discovered"

Ruth Elynia Mabanglo

"*Sisa and Basilio*: Characters as Symbols of National Identity"

Helen Nagtalon-Miller

"The Filipino Plantation Community in Hawaii: Experiences of a Second-Generation Filipina"

Wilhelm Solheim II

"A Brief Philippine Pre-History"

Ricardo D. Trimillos

"Philippine Music as Colonial Experience and National Culture"

Robert Van Niel

"The Philippines Before 1521 A.D."

Dean T. Alegado

"The Age of Discovery: Impact on Philippine Culture and Society" (Slide Show)

MAUI:

KAHULUI

November 7, 1992; 9 a.m. - 12 noon

Student Lounge

Maui Community College

MOLOKAI:

Hoolehua

November 14, 1992; 9 a.m. - 12 noon

Molokai Intermediate & High School

(Venue subject to change)

LANAI:

Lanai City

November 21, 1992; 9 a.m. - 12 noon

Lanai Library

BIG ISLAND:

Hilo

November 28, 1992; 9 a.m. - 12 noon

UH - Hilo Campus Center

BIG ISLAND:

Kona

December 5, 1992; 9 a.m. - 12 noon

Konawaena High School

KAUAI:

Lihue

February 6, 1993; 9 a.m. - 12 noon

Kauai Community College

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Ginger Ladd, Logistics and Scheduling Coordinator