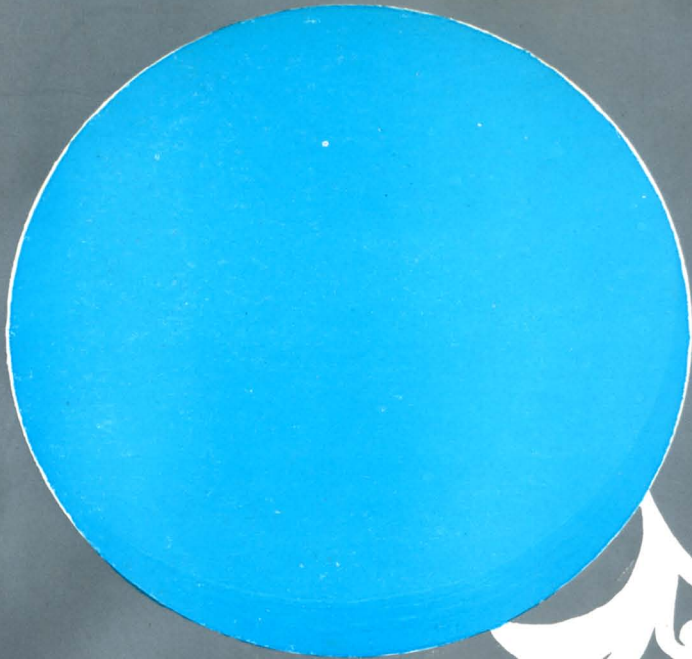


*Indexed  
1963  
Feb 77  
8*



# ASIAN STUDIES

Volume I SPECIAL ISSUE 1963

LECTURES IN HONOR OF  
DR. CECILIO LOPEZ

# ASIAN STUDIES

---

Volume I

SPECIAL ISSUE

1963

---

## LECTURES

In honor of

DR. CECILIO LOPEZ

*Emeritus Professor of Linguistics  
and Oriental Studies*

Edited by

JUAN R. FRANCISCO

*Instructor in Indology*

With a Foreword

by

RUBEN SANTOS CUYUGAN

*Director of the Institute*

INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES  
Quezon City, 1963

*Ins-4796*

Copyright

by the

INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

1963

- 1957 Ninth Pacific Science Congress, member, Standing Committee on Anthropology and Related Sciences and chairman, Subcommittee on Linguistics and convener, linguistics symposia, Bangkok, Thailand
- 1957 First Round-Table Conference of Southeast-Asian Language Experts, Bangkok, Thailand
- 1959 Second Round-Table Conference of Southeast-Asian Language Experts, Hongkong
- 1960 Tour of Southeast-Asia on a Language Project with Prof. Prom Purachatra of Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand and Dr. Nguyen Dinh Hoa of the University of Saigon, South Vietnam
- 1961 Guest of the Federal Republic of Germany to participate in the Centennial Celebration of Dr. Rizal and made a study of the educational system in contemporary Germany.
- 1961 Tenth Pacific Science Congress, read a paper on "Research Needs in Indonesian Languages," chaired symposium on "Contributed Papers in Linguistics," and participated in the panel discussion on "Research Frontiers in the Pacific."
- 1961 Read a paper entitled, "Spanish Overlay in Tagalog" at the Golden Jubilee Congress, University of Hongkong.
- 1962 Discussed with colleagues abroad meet problems concerning several research projects; contacted personally research workers in the field of linguistics in a number of linguistic centers abroad for the effective organization and planning of the program on linguistics which he is preparing in the capacity as member, representing the Philippines, of the Standing Committee of the Division of Anthropology and Social Sciences and concurrently chairman of the Subcommittee on Linguistics, Eleventh Pacific Science Congress, to be held in Japan.
- 1962 Ninth International Congress of Linguists held at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

## EDITOR'S NOTE

Three of the contributions in this volume had earlier been published because there had been no prior plans to publish them in one volume—Dr. Saniel's (one) in the *Journal of South East Asian History*, vol. II, no. 2, September 1963; this Editor's (two) in the *Philippine Studies*, vol. II, no. 3, 1963, and in the *Science Review*, vol. IV, sec. 7, July 1963. Since these papers had been read in the Lopez Lecture Series which contains the present volume, they have to be reprinted here, with the permission of the journals wherein they have been previously published.

Acknowledgements are due to Dr. R. B. Fox and Mr. A. E. Evangelista, both of the National Museum, for the Buddhist Image from Batangas and for furnishing the photograph of the Agusan Image; to Mlle. S. Siauve and M. P. Z. Pattabiramin, both of the Institut Francais d'Indologie, for furnishing extraneous materials relevant to the identity of the Buddhist (Batangas) Image. To Mr. Rodolfo Perez, of the College of Fine Arts, U.P., acknowledgments are also due for the cover design of this volume, and for other services that he has unqualifiedly rendered to the Institute.

The lectures published in this volume were read in the order as they are printed here on the 16th, 18th, 21st, 23rd, 25th, 30th January and 1st February, 1963. On the 28th January, Prof. Alejandro M. Fernandez delivered his lecture on *The Philippines and North Borneo*, but it is not included in this volume, for, at press time, his final manuscript has not reached the Editor. We regret that this has come to pass.

Mr. S. V. Epistola, who organized the Lecture Series, was supposed to have edited this volume. But, since he had to leave for Harvard University to pursue graduate studies, the task of editing has been given to the present Editor.

This Journal is not responsible for statements and opinions expressed in the papers. Such statements and opinions are the authors' own and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the Editor and the Institute.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Foreword— <i>R. Santos Cuyugan</i> .....	iii
Editor's Note .....	iv
List of Plates .....	vi
PART I	
Farewell to a Scholar— <i>Carlos P. Romulo</i> .....	1
Response— <i>Cecilio Lopez</i> .....	6
PART II	
A Buddhist Image from Karitunan Site, Calatagan, Batangas Province— <i>Juan R. Francisco</i> .....	13
Some Problems of Philippine Linguistics— <i>Ernesto Constantino</i> .....	23
The Golden Image of Agusan: A New Identification— <i>Juan R. Francisco</i> .....	31
The Haiku as a Poetic Form— <i>S. V. Epistola</i> .....	41 ✓
Ōcū Japanese: Their Plans for the Expansion of Japan to the Philippines— <i>Josefa M. Saniel</i> .....	52
The English "Country Trade" with Manila Prior to 1708— <i>Serafin D. Quiason</i> .....	64
Two Intellectual Traditions— <i>Leopoldo Y. Yabes</i> .....	84
APPENDIX	
Curriculum Vitae— <i>Cecilio Lopez</i> .....	107

---

MANAGING EDITOR  
 ANDRES I. FERNANDEZ  
 Administrative Assistant  
 to the Institute

## LIST OF PLATES

- I. Obverse Face of the Buddhist Image
- II. Reverse Face of the Buddhist Image
- III. Siva and Parvati in Tribhanga Pose
- IV. Rama and Sita in Tribhanga Pose
- V. The Golden Image of Agusan

## **PART I**



## THE FAREWELL TO A SCHOLAR

by CARLOS P. ROMULO

TODAY WE ARE WITNESSING THE CLOSING OF A SERIES OF LECTURES SPONSORED by the Institute of Asian Studies as its expression of gratitude and esteem for a colleague and leader in research—Dr. Cecilio Lopez.

Several of our professors have earned the boon of retirement and have quietly slipped away. A few have been honored directly by the University. The University has seen it fit to grant to them the appointment of Professor Emeritus. I understand that with Dr. Lopez, whom I am recommending to the Board of Regents for appointment as Professor Emeritus, the case is enviably different. His own colleagues in the field of Asian Studies have seen fit to honor him in the best way they know—and that is, to share with us through a series of lectures, their ideas on varied aspects in the field of teaching and research to which they have dedicated their careers as members of our faculty.

I feel that it is one of the proprieties in this Lecture Series in honor of Dr. Lopez that the papers read should consist of the research by the younger faculty of the Institute of Asian Studies. Nothing could be more fitting a tribute, for the direction of Dr. Lopez's interest has always been in research.

I had, on several occasions, emphasized the significance of research in the University. I now want to outline my concept of research. Committed as the University is to the dissemination of knowledge, to the discovery of new ideas, and the encouragement of further discoveries of ideas, I feel that, corollary to the classroom concerns (which, of course, are equally important and challenging), the University should now and hereafter emphasize research work. If I succeed in getting the additional appropriation that we need, our 5-year developmental program envisages an increase from the meager ₱100,000 now allotted to research to ₱500,000 for the first year. It is through research that we come to comprehend the universe of facts and come to translate into intelligible terms the inert irreducibility of our impersonal quotidian. Taken in these terms, research must therefore be recognized as a necessary aspect of liberal edu-

---

Remarks by Dr. Carlos P. Romulo, President of the University of the Philippines, during the Lecture Series sponsored by the Institute of Asian Studies on the occasion of the retirement from service of Dr. Cecilio Lopez, Friday, February 1, 1963.

cation. The University needs to recall its central intelligence, as it were, to the essential quality of imagination of variousness; or, as it was said of Montaigne, strive to have a mind that is *divers et ondoyant*. The aspect of variety is for the researcher to provide and sustain. A university cannot content itself with merely the available knowledge or information it has on hand at any present time, but, in keeping with the life of culture and history, must endeavor to provide what I have referred to as its central intelligence an accurate sense of the multitudinousness of reality. I spoke of accuracy because that is how the liberal imagination could be raised upon as regards the validity of its coordinated experience. Of course Alfred North Whitehead has told us that a university education is to be conceived as essentially concerned with the making of relationships, with analysis and synthesis rather than with bits of information and details. Still, and without appearing to repudiate Whitehead, we should perhaps also say that one way by which the mind could come to recall itself from its tendency towards abstractness is through the discipline of research which imposes on it the inescapability of having to contend with facts, with what is already known and also cultivates in the scholar the courage of repudiating errors however established they are or passionately believed in.

Research must also recognize the necessity of having a creative intelligence. In recent times there has been a tendency—I don't know how pervasive in our midst—to regard research as exclusively data-gathering; annotations of obvious information, or some kind of "leg work" wherein the procedure of going to hinterlands to gather esoteric and inconsequential artifacts becomes dignified as part of a serious academic discipline. Without discounting the value of this task, which it must be acknowledged has its uses, research must also be regarded mainly as an intellectual enterprise in which the mind is challenged to transcend the limits of available knowledge into yet undiscovered areas of ideas and values. So that as the University collaborates with other institutions in the national schemes, it also participates in the task of thinking over the dilemma of contemporary culture and civilization and thus become morally engaged in the responsibilities of mankind in general.

Such a commitment on the part of the University inheres from its very nature as an institution of scholarship and learning. In the context of the nation where any university finds itself established, it is at the same time expected to provide a community for the intellect where each citizen takes an allegiance to truth and excellence. With this in mind, perhaps a direction of research interest could be started where the intelligence of the University could participate in no less than the *zeitgeist* of contemporary culture.

On another occasion, I took the opportunity to propose that we start to regard the national arts and letters as taking place alongside the whole artistic and literary phenomena in the Western world. This would imply that we should judge ourselves and our culture in terms of the best that have been achieved in the whole of human civilization. And what is applicable to the national arts and letters should also be consistently upheld in the various aspects of our endeavors so that we may evolve a culture and national tradition constituting ourselves and yet not done violence to the best terms and standards of the civilized world. And herein lies the relevance of research to even classroom work. Nothing could be more fatal than for a teacher to be implementing, even with the most perfect of methods, knowledge and information that has already been thought anew or has undergone revision, or has been completely nullified. Nor should the independence of the teacher be taken to mean imperviousness to the immediate actuality of the present state of knowledge. It is for the university to define the culture that inevitably comes to be identified with its own identity as being in a competitive relation to the already achieved culture of, say, Europe or America, or the rest of Asia. The competitive relation suggested here does not of course take the form of a violent struggle to destroy the civilized values of other cultures; nor is it the kind of competition that prevails in the *laissez-faire* world of economics. Culture and the life of ideas do not advance in this manner. But, certainly, incumbent on the University is to be aware of what has traditionally been the state of knowledge of the world and to be conscious of what it is now; what the best minds in contemporary world are thinking; what has been done to replace the disintegration of values caused by the recent discoveries about the nature of the physical universe, the new attitudes towards this state of things; and, being aware of all these, it is for the university to make its seriousness and intelligence felt, to manifest its genius, if you will, by showing that its conscience is not totally indifferent to these universal phenomena in its capacity to assimilate the implications of the present state of knowledge and to show what it can do to advance or create it.

It is for this reason that I have decided to project nationalism in the University. As a sovereign nation, we must nevertheless show ourselves enlightened in our patriotic regards and where there is merely a cult or organized movement, the University must provide an ideology. That is why any serious contribution to the world of knowledge and ideas, any achievement in the realm of excellence, should also be regarded as advancing nationalism even if the endeavor or contribution to thought does not mention the national geography or even if it does not become pas-

sionately angry over the national squalor. "Instead of being a colony, strive to be a nation," Simoun told Basilio in *El Filibusterismo*. Likewise, we in the University should define ourselves as a nation. This should be possible when our achievements in arts and letters, in science and philosophy, would be distinguished by our having paid attention to universal concerns and, instead of being content with the average, the parochial, instead of settling down to mediocrity justified by narrow patriotism, we may perhaps succeed in re-thinking ourselves and manifesting this in our commitment to the assiduous effort mankind to help itself transcend its present condition.

The holding of these lectures is not only appropriate, but it is descriptive of the temperament of scholarship on this campus. I would characterize this scholarship as one imbued not only with intellectual enthusiasm but with a much more valuable and indisputably a virtuous quality: the quality of warmth. Dr. Lopez's colleagues have expressed, through these lectures, the ardor which some of the best minds on this campus hold for him; they have likewise given an earnest, indicative of their fervor for research, and a promise to build on, to add to and enrich the area of knowledge in which the scholar and man being now honored has himself turned up so much virgin soil and cultivated much ground, bringing not only recognition to himself all over the world but prestige to the University of which he is a part and which has become doubtless a part of his life.

Let it be known that much warmth can be felt even by austere-hearted scholars. This friendship, while perhaps rare, is, to my mind, necessary; and I am very pleased to have found it here in the University. We do not wish that the University be regarded, especially by those who have dedicated the best years of their life to it, as a cold-hearted, ungrateful institution; and, perhaps, more than this, ruthless for having successfully sapped all the energies of our youth and manhood, and cruel for forgetting to put a warm and comforting arm at our elbow when, plagued by old age, we have to leave its portals with trembling knees and rickety bones. It is perhaps in fear of this fate that much scholarship can suffer and the academic life threatened by the hardening of intellectual and moral arteries.

Fortunately, we are setting a precedent today, a precedent that is not only human but just; a precedent that is in fact necessary, that should have been first in the order of things, and one of the most eloquent ways of handling farewells and goodbyes in the academic world. In the case of Dr. Lopez, how felicitous it is to say of him, never did the University give so little to one who gave it so much. As he leaves us, at least his

colleagues can try to make up for what the University could not give him.

So to Dr. Lopez—linguist, scholar extraordinary, pursuer of knowledge and seeker of truth—the University says goodbye even as it invites him to stay on as a researcher and well-loved scholar. For, indeed, we have a place here ready for you as always and that place is not only in the roster, nor can it be readily symbolized by desk or an office. For it is a place that is in the heart of everyone here this afternoon and in everyone who values scholarship and the academic life to which all of us are dedicated.

## RESPONSE

by CECILIO LOPEZ

President Romulo, Dean Fonacier, colleagues whom I now envy for their youth, and friends:

NO HEAVIER PUNISHMENT CAN BE INFLICTED ON A COLLEAGUE THAN TO make him speak after President Romulo. Anticipating nothing more than a friendly tête-a-tête, I thought there was no need to scribble even a few guide notes for this afternoon. But after having seen my name following that of President Romulo, I convinced myself that prudence is the better part of valor, if I were to forestall the possible onset of disturbances in my vocal apparatus, which can be embarrassing indeed. Therefore, this draft.

It is a tradition in European universities—a tradition wisely adopted in American colleges—to honor a colleague upon reaching a milestone in his career, generally upon retirement, by dedicating or presenting to him a *Festchrift* or *Festgabe* (in German speaking countries), a *Festschrift* (in Scandinavian countries), a *Hommages* or *Mélanges offerts a* (in France), a *Studi* or *Scritti in onore* (in Italy), a *Estudios dedicados* or *Homenajes a* (in Spanish speaking countries), and in English speaking countries an *Anniversary Issue* or *Jubilee Volume*, or succinctly simply *To* or *For . . . on his . . .* (Those dedicatory studies are not to be confused with memorial volumes.)

This series of lectures is quite unique for several reasons. As far as I can recall, this is the first of its kind held in the U.P., and that it is given in my honor which, frankly speaking, I don't deserve (because I have not accomplished anything extraordinary which a member of the faculty could not have accomplished under similar circumstances), that makes it doubly significant for me. And when, further, the occasion is honored by the presence of President Romulo who took time out of his usual tight schedule, to share with us words of counsel and inspiration, this occasion is, indeed, for me very memorable . . . , threefold memorable. I am deeply touched, to say the least, very thankful *to all*, particularly to my younger colleagues who started what I believe should be a practice in the U.P. For in academic circles, an honor like this one is highly treasured by the recipient as a token that his toils have not been in vain. It simply is not matched by material rewards.

WHEN AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE APPROACHING TWILIGHT OF HIS CAREER, the feeling of the need for imminent geriatric consultation sets in, one is inclined to reminisce. But I will not bore you with reminiscences. All that I can say is, that after more than four decades—starting in the Department of Zoology as a young nervous novice of an assistant instructor for which nervousness I was not perhaps entirely to blame because I was then working with Professor Day, spelled day, and Professor Light, spelled light, and, believe me, as far as their relations were concerned, this particular day and this particular light simply defied the natural laws of solar rhythms); as a too conscious instructor in the Department of Modern Languages (teaching languages which in those years were ideologically disparate, namely, French and German); as the inevitable successor to the head of the Department of Oriental Languages (I say inevitable because no other was available); as a willing compromiser in the solution of the task assigned by constitutional mandate to the Institute of National Language (which solution I am not sure now is the best one); and after WW II as an enthusiastic associate in the organization of the U.P. Graduate School; and lastly, ending up as a mellowing co-gatherer of the stray strands of the Institute of Asian Studies after storm and stress left it prostrate—yes, after all these transformations, I believe I can be allowed the luxury of claiming that, whether for better or for worse, I have played my part. But these were of yesteryears. And there are still some unfinished business.

WHEN DEAN FONACIER AND I WERE IN THAT RANK WHEN OUR VOICES were like the proverbial shout in the wilderness, we had been dreaming of the day when the U.P. would institute a program of Philippine studies. The reasons were then, and are more so now, so obvious to need detailing. When we took over the Institute of Asian Studies, the opportunity presented itself, and Philippine studies is now the core of its program. This core is dovetailed, synchronized, as it were, with course offerings on other countries in Asia by the cooperating disciplines. To be sure, there are still gaps, many gaps, in the program. Happily, the call of President Romulo for a five-year development program came very apropos. And we submitted one such program for the IAS. If our reading of the weather-vane over at Quezon Hall is correct, and I think, it is, then there is every reason for optimism about the future of Philippine and Asian studies in the U.P. Mr. President, in terms of area coverage and preparation of the staff in the disciplines, including a small library, the nucleus is there, and a healthy one it is, as witness the quality of the papers read here. All that this nucleus needs is some encouragement and support. This is one unfinished business.

ANOTHER IS VERY CLOSE TO MY HEART, NAMELY, LINGUISTICS . . . , as linguistics, not as fiction. In linguistics we have hardly explored, much less mined, the veins of a veritable treasure trove. There are no reliable data on the approximate, even approximate, number of languages and dialects in the Philippines. So far no passable descriptive grammar has been written and no dictionary worthy of the name compiled, whether monolingual or bilingual, of any one single Philippine language. No comprehensive research has been undertaken on the extent and degree of relationship of the Philippine languages among themselves and with those of the neighboring countries, or of the quantitative and qualitative coverage of our borrowings and adaptations. Research on bilingualism and on the retrieval of less-known languages which may soon disappear is practically null. (Dr. Constantino deals with similar problems more in detail in his paper.)\* We are still quite ignorant of much in our languages which can shed light on our history, on the routes of the peopling of the Philippines along geographical and time axes, on the analysis of our social structure and systems of kindship, on the interpretation of our psychology and value judgments, say, in economics, to mention only a few research possibilities. And may we append a reminder that in area studies linguistics is at least ancillary, if not central.

The other unfinished business is a branch of my immediate interest in the disciplines, and in which the U. P. can also take the leadership. I mean the role of linguistics in language learning, popularly known as "applied linguistics", (Like any other applied discipline, in applied linguistics the "applier" must have had a rigorous training in linguistics, if success is to be expected.) We have been hearing comments on the deteriorating control of the English language by Filipino students, so much so that to listen to a conversation in this language, we are told, is to be a spectator in comedy of errors. That the texts and the technique used in the teaching of Tagalog repel rather than attract the students. No less adverse are the comments on the failure of the students to acquire even a winking acquaintance with the Spanish language after completion of twenty-four units (i.e. eight academic semesters or four calendar years). This is how the picture now looks with respect to those language. But the U.P. should be in a position to do more in matters of languages. It is axiomatic that a Filipino college graduate, like his counterpart in other countries, should know a foreign language other than the medium of instruction. It is further axiomatic that in small countries, like the Philippines, there should be an elite corps of language specialists who can be relied on for internal administration as well as for international rela-

---

\* See paper of Dr. Ernesto Constantino entitled "Some Problems of Philippine Linguistics" printed in this volume. [ed.]



tions, if the country is not to depend on foreigners whose loyalty may not be as unassailable as that of the native born. Whether for remedial purposes to improve control of the English language, or as a technique to render the study of Tagalog more palatable, or to facilitate the acquisition of Spanish and other foreign languages, applied linguistics can be the answer. Right now, there is a potential core of Filipinos trained in applied linguistics whose knowledge and experience can be exploited to advantage, when coordinated under competent leadership.

In enumerating the unfinished business, I use the pronoun "we" advisedly. I would like to emphasize that in that use, although not overly expressed, the antecedent of "we" is Filipinos (without excluding foreigners who are qualified to cooperate with our approval).

In closing, "What will you do after retirement?", I have been asked by friends who are solicitous of my welfare. The post-retirement years will not necessarily be an academic cul-de-sac. There are some overtures which are tempting enough to encourage me to put finishing touches to several projects which are in varying degree of completion. And when the time comes that these projects shall have been completed, then I will have the opportunity to realize the ardent hope to dedicate them to this University . . . , this University to which I owe so much and yet have given so little in return.

President Romulo, Dean Fonacier, and friends, I can not, leave this Room-223 in the College of Arts and Sciences without reiterating my most profound thanks to all.



## **PART II**

**To**

**CECILIO LOPEZ**

**Teacher, Scholar, Linguist  
and Friend.**



A BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM KARITUNAN SITE,  
BATANGÁS PROVINCE

by JUAN R. FRANCISCO

(With Four Plates)

A RECENT VERY SIGNIFICANT DISCOVERY IN PHILIPPINE ARCHAEOLOGY is a clay medallion with an image in bas relief. It was excavated from a test square in a habitation area of Karitunan site, municipality of Calatagan, Batangas. The test excavation ran to a depth of 60 centimeters through midden material. The discovery was made in Summer, 1961. The site had been dated, together with at least 20 sites dotting the shoreline of Calatagan, in the late 14th and early 15th centuries A.D.

Associated with this medallion are an appreciable number of native earthenwares and trade porcelains. The porcelain (and stoneware) are a mixture of Chinese (early Ming and some older heirloom pieces), Siamese (Sawankhalok) and Annamese provenance.

The medallion is semi-oblong in form, measuring 2.6 inches in height, and 1.9 inches in width. Compared with the native pottery excavated in the same site, Karitunan, the clay used in the *manufacture* of the medallion appears to show characteristics of the clay used in this native pottery. While a comparison has also been made with the broken Sawankhalok and Annamese pottery, the clay of the medallion showed less or no affinity with that of the Siamese and Annamese ware material.

It may be postulated that the medallion is of local manufacture. Judging from the unfinished appearance of the reverse side of the object, it may have been fired before the image was given its finishing touches, if its appearance, per se, were considered as a criterion. This reverse face shows fingermarks, which may have been made in the process of manufacture. Signs of disintegration, apart from the unfinished appearance, may suggest that the medallion was relatively not well-fired.

There are certain marks on the obverse face of the object that may suggest that a mould (cast?) had been used in the manufacture, although the unfinished appearance suggests more definitely that the object could

---

JUAN R. FRANCISCO is an instructor in Indology of the Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines. He holds a Ph.D. degree (Sanskrit) from the University of Madras, India. He is a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Malayan Branch; the International Association of Historians of Asia, and All-India Oriental Conference. He is a regular contributor to scholarly journals in the Philippines and abroad. He is an Honorary Curator of Indo-Philippine Studies and Consultant of History, National Museum, Manila.

have been fashioned out directly from a model. The fingermarks may also suggest that they were impressed by pressure upon being stamped on the supposed mould (cast?).

If the artist fashioned the medallion, either directly or by means of a mould (or cast?), from a model, it may be fair to suggest that it is intrusive into the whole culture pattern-character of the site. The carriers of the trade-wares, with which the medallion was associated, may have possessed such a model, from which our object was copied. That it may have been carried as an "amulet" is fairly certain; and may have been used as an object of worship. In which case the carrier may have been a Buddhist, or a least one who was inclined towards the Buddhist religion and practice, or one who carried it as an ornament without knowing its actual votive significance.

*The Image.* IN A PAPER BY THE PRESENT WRITER, THE IMAGE WAS described and identified

as a *Hari-Hara* (Siva-Visnu, which is Hinduistic) figure of either the Cambodian or Cham type. But it may turn out to be the Siamese *Padmapani*, which is Buddhistic, for there appears to be traces of the lotus (padma) held by the right hand (pani) with its stem projecting down the foot of the image.<sup>1</sup>

The image is in the *tribhanga* (three bends) posture.

The *tribhanga* posture is confirmed to be non-characteristic of all Visnu images, and the same can be said of Buddha icons (as well as Hari-Hara) except in the Jataka scenes.<sup>2</sup> However, Siva (also his consort, Parvati) is sometimes in slight *tribhanga*, while Rama (and Sita) is one of the divinities which is mostly found in the real *tribhanga* pose.<sup>3</sup> The Devis<sup>4</sup> are almost always represented in *tribhanga*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Sri Vijaya and the Philippines: A Review," paper presented to the All-India Oriental Conference, XXIst Session, October 12-14, 1961, Kashmir, India, in *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, XXVI, March 1961, (No. 1), p. 87-109.

<sup>2</sup>Confirmation letter from the Institut Francais d'Indology, Pondicherry, India, dated 7 December, 1961. "...enclosed herewith three photographs representative of the *tribhanga* pose. Mr. Pattabiramin has indicated on the reverse side the sites and names of the divinities. He brings to your notice that in Indian art Visnu is never in *tribhanga* pose—the same can be said of Buddha's images (as well as of Hari-Hara) except in Jataka scenes.

"Siva is sometimes in slight *tribhanga*. Rama is one of the divinities which is mostly found in the real *tribhanga* pose."

"The Devis are almost always represented in *tribhanga*."

The letter is signed by Mlle. S. Siauve, Secretary of the Institute.

<sup>3</sup>*ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>The name Devi is a generic name for Hindu goddesses, whether she is a consort of a god or not. But specifically, Devi, as consort of Siva, is the great goddess known variously as Sati, Uma, Parvati, Durga, Kali. *Vide* Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. I (Bolinggen Series XXXIX. New York: Pantheon Books, 1955), p. 141.

<sup>5</sup>*op. cit.*

Compare the Philippine image with the Nepalese bronze Avalokitesvara-Padmampani statue, now on display at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. "The Bodhisattva here shows himself quietly . . . in a posture called "three bends" (*tribhanga*), in which the head, the torso, and legs slant in contrary directions: the legs and hips to the right, the trunk to the left, and the neck and head then gently to the right."<sup>6</sup>

In a letter by M. P. Z. Pattabiramin, the image is confirmed to be "Padmampani en pose de tribhanga."<sup>7</sup> With this confirmation, the present author's first alternative identification (that is, "the Hari-Hara . . . of either Cambodian or Cham type . . .," may now be dismissed, and confine the discussion on the second alternative, which has been confirmed in the same letter mentioned above (to be referred to subsequently as PL-1) and in another letter (PL-2) by the same distinguished archaeologist.<sup>8</sup>

The second alternative is that "it may turn out to be the Siamese *Padmampani*, which is Buddhist, for there appears to be traces of the lotus (*padma*) held by the right hand (*pani*) with its stem projecting down the foot of the image . . ." The first part of the alternative is confirmed as *Padmampani*, which M. Pattabiramin identifies to represent the Avalokitesvara<sup>9</sup> in the *Padmampani* form (PL-1).<sup>10</sup> But the second must be dismissed here as we have an authoritative identification of the image as a whole on the basis of the comparisons made by our correspondent.

DESPITE THE RATHER DISINTEGRATED NATURE OF THE IMAGE, the following are the results of M. Pattabiramin's comparison of the photographs that were sent to him with those found in India and Further India. Apart from its identification as Avalokitesvara in the *Padmampani* form, the god or deity, more specifically Bodhisattva, is in his human aspect, for he is

<sup>6</sup> Zimmer, I, p. 185; II, Plate 600.

<sup>7</sup> M. Pattabiramin is Chief of the Archaeological Section of the Public Library of Pondicherry, attached to the Institut Francais d'Indologie, Pondicherry. His letter is dated 23 March 1962. (PL-1)

<sup>8</sup> Dated Pondicherry, 13 April 1962. (PL-2)

<sup>9</sup> "The Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is known also as *Padmampani*, 'Lotus-in-hand,' a lotus flower on a long stem being usually held in his left hand. He is generally supported by a lotus pedestal . . ." (Zimmer, I, p. 181.) He ". . . is a personification of perfect compassion and indifference (two at once), exceeding—if possible—even the attitude of the Buddhas. In his legend we are told that out of compassion for the countless myriads of creatures, he renounced with a solemn vow the attainment of Buddhahood and final extinction, so that he might continue preaching the Buddhist doctrine until the last being was brought to enlightenment and thus released from the round-of-re-birth. Avalokitesvara is 'the being who is capable (*isvara*) of enlightening insight (*avalokita*)', but, who, out of infinite mercy, postponed his own attainment of nirvana." (Zimmer, I, p. 182.)

<sup>10</sup> *Vide* Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), Table IV, p. 55. *Vide* excerpt of this Table in the Appendix of the present paper.

represented with only two arms. The left hand holds a vase in the form of a lotus, and the right hand is in the *varada mudra*.<sup>11</sup> Compare this image with a Nepalese bronze Avalokitesvara-Padmapani statue. The right hand is in the posture known as "granting gifts" (*varada mudra*), while the left holds a lotus (the part of the stalk passing through the fingers having disappeared).<sup>12</sup>

The head is "topped with a head-dress which looks like a sort of an oval aureole, within which is the image of Amitabha."<sup>13</sup> This resembles the Buddhist art of Burma or Siam (PL-2). M. Pattabiramin writes further:

Très fréquemment on trouve dans l'Inde les statues de Buddha avec l'Amitabha une sorte d'auréole oval figurant autour de la tête. Par exemple la statue de Buddha avec Amitabha qui se trouve à Arikamedu est appelée Birmankovil c'est à dire provenant de Birmanie. (*ibid.*)

Compare this iconographic trait with that found on the head-dress of a stone and a bronze Lokeshvara statues from South Siam. Both images have head-dresses which are oval in form, within each is found the image of the Buddha Amitabha.<sup>14</sup>

It is not the purpose of the present paper to discuss the iconographic significance of the Amitabha in the oval aureole of either our image or the Buddha. Hence, we may reserve its discussion for a later paper, as, presently, materials for this purpose are inadequate in the libraries in the Philippines—for that matter in Manila and in Quezon City.

The image judging from the iconographic traits belongs to the 12th or 13th century A.D. Siamese art. It is interesting to note that it was excavated in a decidedly 14th-15th century A.D. site.<sup>15</sup> The distance in time between the art's early development in Siam and its emergence in Calatagan is understood only if we take a broad view of the trading time taken between commercial centres during those times. It may be said that the image arrived at Calatagan around the middle of the 14th century A.D. It is certain that it could not have arrived except with traders, perhaps porcelain traders, judging from its associations with this kind of wares.

<sup>11</sup> *varada mudra* is a gift-bestowing gesture, "the gesture (mudra) that bestows (da) a wish or a boon (vara)." (Zimmer, I, p. 165.)

<sup>12</sup> Zimmer, I, p. 185; II, Plate 600.

<sup>13</sup> Amitabha is the Buddha of "infinite and immeasurable (amita) enlightening splendour (abha)". (Zimmer, I, p. 204, *passim*.) His image is found upon the head-dress of Bodhisattvas, e.g., Avalokitesvara-Padmapani or even the Buddha, is a symbol of his being the source of infinite wisdom. He is the teacher and guardian of the Bodhisattvas.

<sup>14</sup> Vide Reginald Le May, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam* (Cambridge: University Press, 1938). Illustration Nos. 43,44.

<sup>15</sup> Vide Robert B. Fox, "The Calatagan Excavations," *Philippine Studies*, VIII, 3, August, 1959.



It was noted earlier (*vide supra*) that the image may have been copied from a model. It may be postulated further that the model from which the image was copied certainly came earlier than the date of the site (being already primarily burial in nature), and that it could have been carried around, in spite of its rather unfinished appearance, as an "amulet," like its model, which as it has been commented upon may have been also one. It may have belonged to a trader, perhaps a porcelain trader. If he possessed an "amulet" which became the model of the medallion, it may have been also used by him who had copied it and his heirs for at least 50-75 years, before it was made part of its owner's grave furniture. The medallion's very much disintegrated obverse face may account for its long years under ground, till its excavation in Summer, 1961.

It may even be suggested that the original (medallion?) may have been left as a gift by the trader-owner. It is certain that the recipient of such a gift may have used it also as an "amulet" for sometime; and that clay copies of such an object may have been made. It is, therefore, not without basis to postulate that if there really existed a model left in Calatagan, and copies of which were made, more extensive and intensive excavations of the Calatagan sites may yield such original (medallions?) and perhaps other clay copies. It would not be surprising if the original (medallion?) turns out to be made of metal, perhaps bronze, or some other metal.

WHILE THE PRESENT IMAGE, TOGETHER WITH THE AGUSAN TARA STATUE<sup>16</sup> and the Mactan Avalokitesvara icon<sup>17</sup> may show interesting evidences of the "extent" of Mahayana Buddhist expansion in the East,<sup>18</sup> it may not necessarily exhibit the permeation of Philippine culture by the Buddhist cultural orientation. It only gives us a minimal idea of the Indian Buddhist incursion in the Islands—but not one that would have to be reckoned with in the present cultural orientation of the Filipino people. Unlike the influence on the language and literature of the Indian Hindu upon early Philippine cultural life,<sup>19</sup> the influence of Buddhistic material and/or even the intangible culture is comparatively nil. Searching the whole Philippine canvas of culture life, we find no more than what we have men-

<sup>16</sup> *Vide* Juan R. Francisco, "The Golden Image from Agusan: A New Identification" (also published in this volume).

<sup>17</sup> *Vide* John Carroll, "The Word Bisaya in the Philippines and Borneo," *Sarawak Museum Journal*, IX, 15-16 (n.s.), 1960, fn. 14.

<sup>18</sup> It is interesting to note that Mahayanistic Buddhism seems to have penetrated deep into the East and South-East Asian culture much earlier (and more extensively?) than Hinayanistic Buddhism. *Vide* P. V. Bapat, *2500 Years of Buddhism*. New Delhi, 1959.

<sup>19</sup> *Vide* Juan R. Francisco, *Indian Influences in the Philippines (With Special Reference to Language and Literature)*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Madras, India, August, 1963.

tioned above regarding the material evidence, and perhaps nothing of the intangible.

Perhaps, the only significance that may be attributed to the image is its association with the Sawankhalok porcelains. This may explain in one way or another the early relations of the Islands with the Siamese peoples, although it may possibly be indirect, if in the long run it may be proved that the image and/or the porcelain wares were brought to the Islands via the intervention of trade entrepreneurs. Indeed, it may be certain that whether these artifacts were brought directly or indirectly, they have a lasting place in the whole historico-cultural perspective of the Filipino people.

In résumé, the definite identity of the image may now be laid down. It is a Mahayanistic Buddhist image, the Boddhisattva Avalokitesvara in the Padmapani form, with the Buddha Amitabha represented in the oval nimbus of the image. Other Buddhistic iconographic characteristics confirm the image's identity and its affinity with similar Buddhist sculptures in Siam (India and Nepal). This affinity is proved further by its association with the Siamese (Sawankhalok) porcelains excavated in the same site where our medallion was discovered.

In spite of all these seemingly convincing and definitive proofs of the image's identity, it is, however, with great interest that future research will give more information regarding this image. We look forward with anxiety to the results of a number of archaeological excavations in the Islands, e.g., the Palawan diggings, etc., whose yields may uncover similar artifacts which will shed more light upon our present image.

## APPENDIX

### THE PRINCIPAL FORMS OF AVALOKITESVARA \*

ONE HEAD	I. Human Form	I. Avalokitesvara.	Mudra: namahkara (devotional)
			Symbol: rosary & pink lotus
		II. Padmapani	Mudra: vara (charity)
			Symbols: vase & lotus
			Distinctive mark: Amitabha in Crown

\* Vide Note No. 10, *supra*.

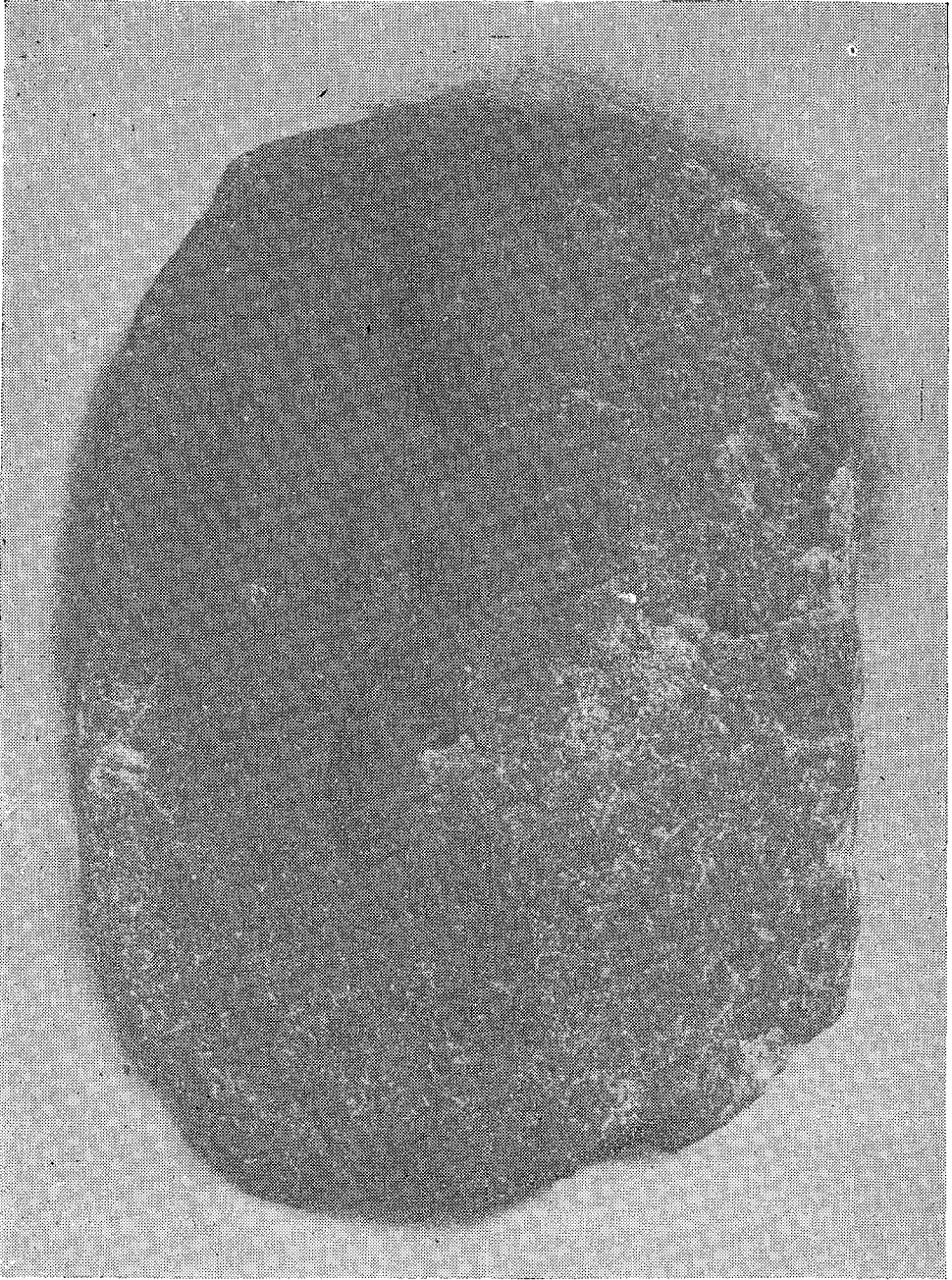


PLATE I

OBVERSE FACE OF THE MEDALLION WITH THE AVALOKITESVARA-PADMAPANI  
IN BAS RELIEF. THE BODDHISATTVA IS IN THE TRIBHANGA  
(THREE BENDS) POSTURE.

*Courtesy of the National Museum, Manila*

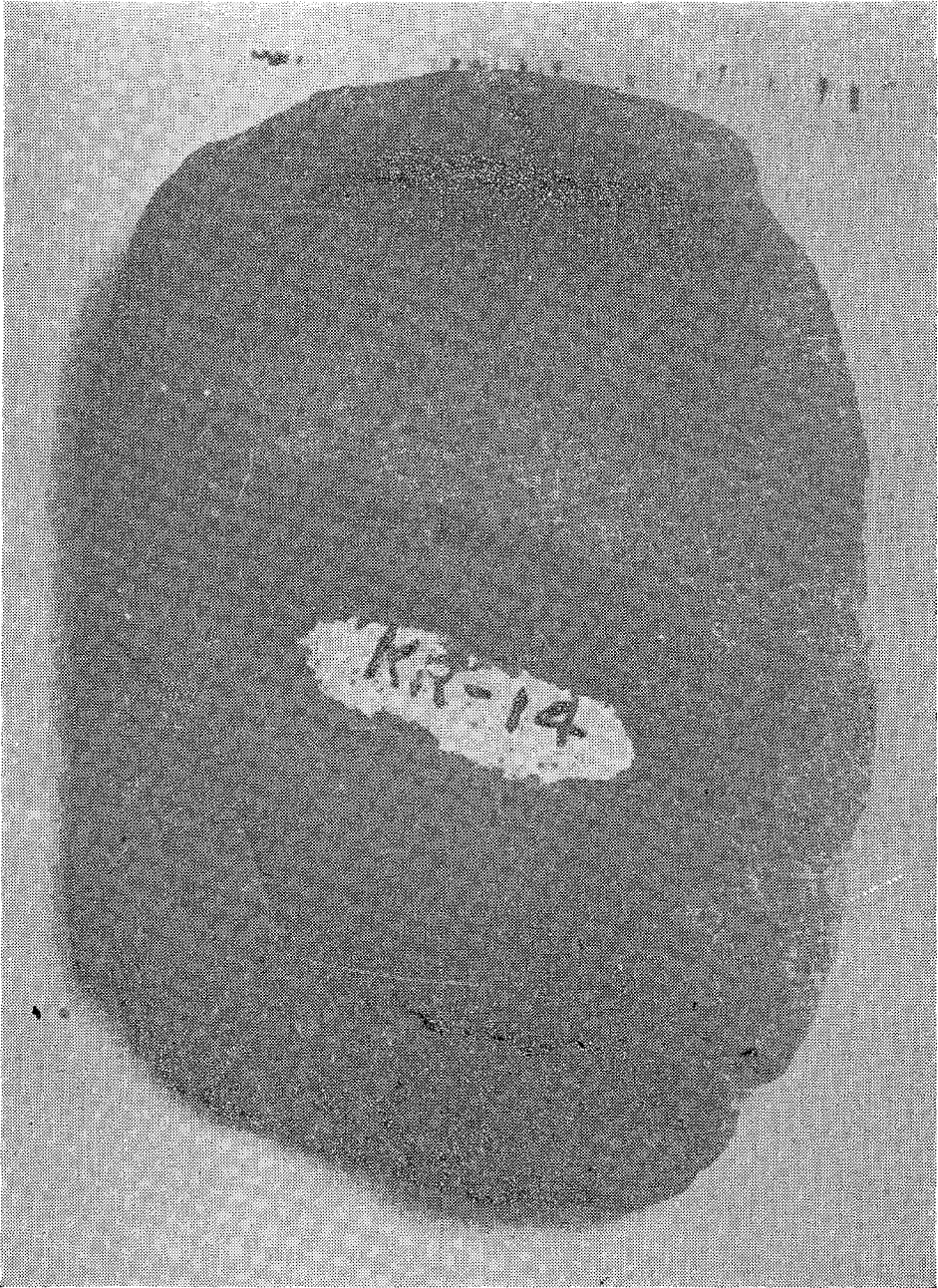


PLATE II  
REVERSE FACE OF THE MEDALLION WITH FINGERMARKS. KR-14 REFERS  
TO THE SITE, KARITUNAN, ARTIFACT No. 14.

*Courtesy of the National Museum, Manila*

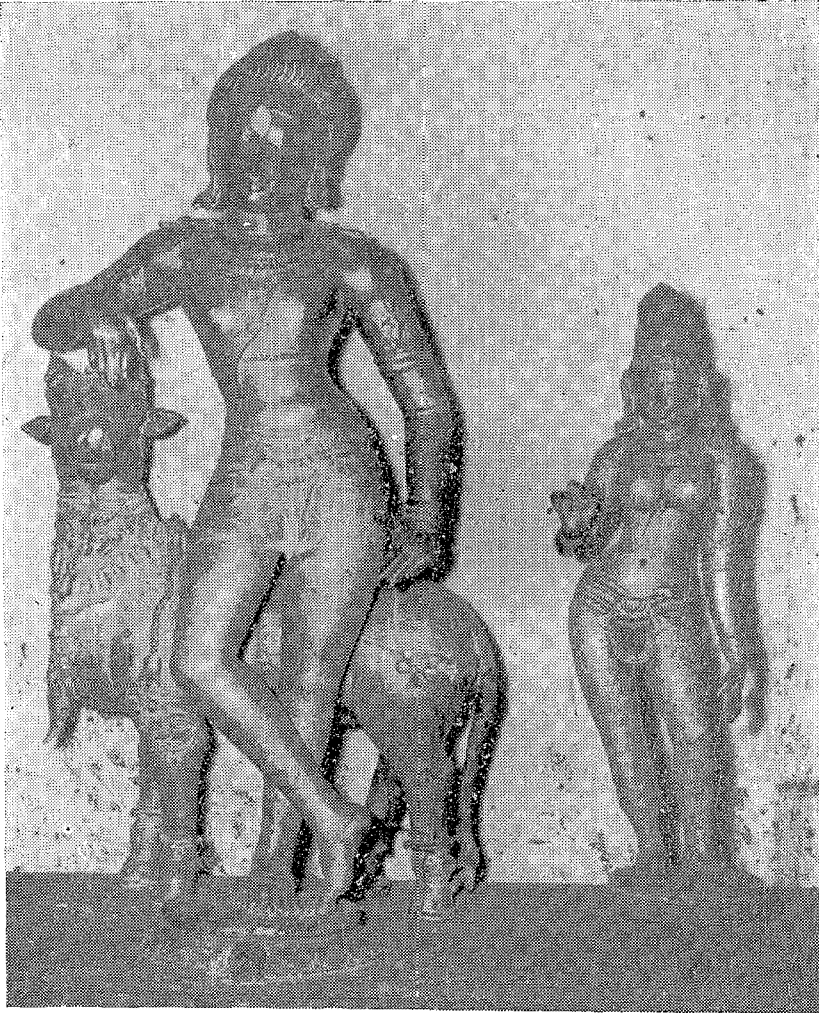


PLATE III

SIVA IN SLIGHT TRIBHANGA, AND PARVATI IN REAL TRIBHANGA.  
(FROM KILVELUR, NEGAPATAM TALUQ, MADRAS, INDIA.)  
SIVA HERE IS REPRESENTED AS VRISHABHANTIKAMURTI.

*By permission of the Institut Français d'Indologie,  
Pondicherry, India*

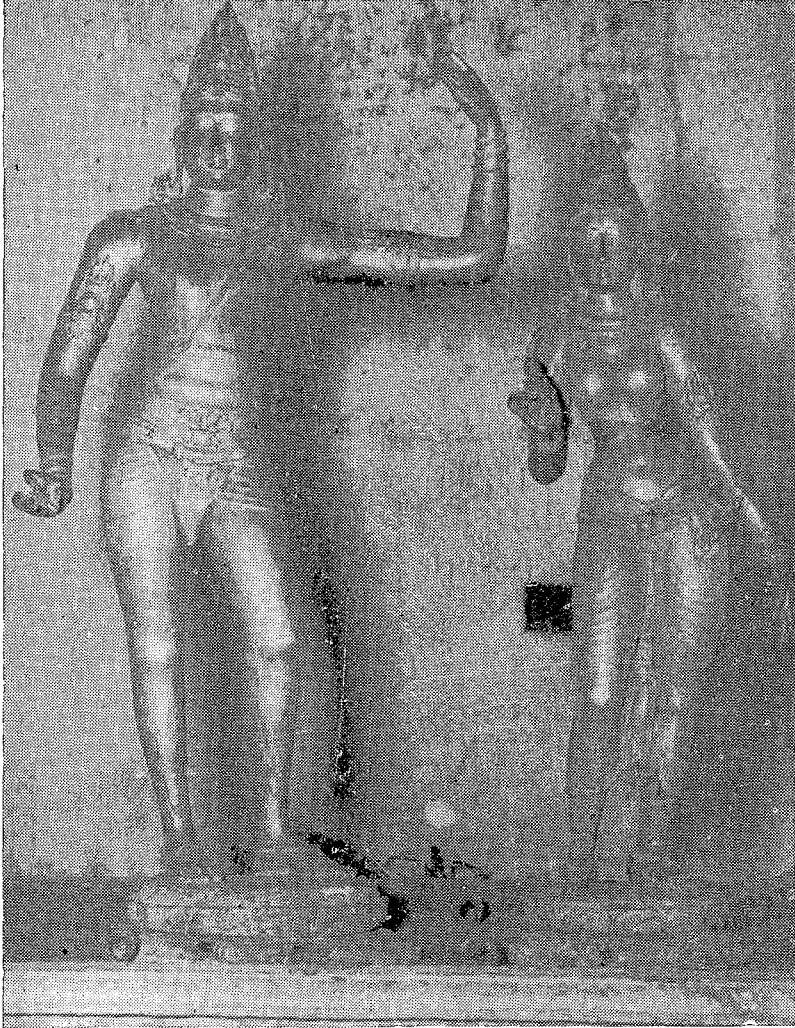


PLATE IV

RAMA AND SITA IN TRIBHANGA. (FROM TIRUCHERAI, KUMBAKONAM TALUQ, MADRAS, INDIA.)

*By permission of the Institut Français d'Indologie,  
Pondicherry, India*

## SOME PROBLEMS IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

by ERNESTO CONSTANTINO

0. *Introduction.* Philippine Linguistics as the scientific study of Philippine languages is relatively very recent. Perhaps it can safely be said that it started as an autonomous and distinct field of study only after the turn of the twentieth century with the coming of the American to the Philippines.<sup>1</sup> Its development up to the present time went through two distinct stages roughly corresponding to the Pre-World War II period and the Post-World War II period.

0.1 *Pre-World War II Period.* Before the outbreak of the Second World War Philippine Linguistics did not seem to be very active, and it did not seem to have made significant progress. The study of Philippine languages and dialects especially on a scientific basis, with the notable exception of Tagalog and perhaps also Ilokano, was generally neglected. This neglect of Philippine languages and dialects can be attributed to two successive events. First, in the first quarter of the twentieth century the attention of the linguistic scholars in the Philippines was directed towards the problems arising from the use of English as the medium of instruction in schools throughout the Philippines.<sup>2</sup> Second, in the 1930's until the outbreak of the Second World War attention was directed towards still another problem: that of evolving a Philippine national language.<sup>3</sup>

Whatever scientific study of Philippine languages and dialects was done during the Pre-World War II period was done primarily if not exclusively by five linguists: three Americans, one German and one Filipino.<sup>4</sup>

---

ERNESTO CONSTANTINO is an Assistant Professor in Linguistics. He holds an A.B. degree (*cum laude*) from the University of the Philippines, 1953, a Ph.D. degree from Indiana University, 1959, and took post-doctoral studies in Malayo-Polynesian Linguistics at Yale University, 1958-1959. He is an Associate of *Current Anthropology* and a member of the Editorial Advisory Board, *Oceanic Linguistics*. He is at present the chairman of the Department of Linguistics.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Philippine Linguistics during the Spanish rule in the Philippines, see John Leddy Phelan, "Philippine Linguistics and Spanish Missionaries," *Mid-America, An Historical Review*, XXXVII, 3 (July, 1955), 158-170.

<sup>2</sup> See Joseph Ralston Hayden, "Wanted: A National Language," Chapter XXIV in *The Philippines, A Study in National Development*, New York: Macmillan, 1955, pp. 583-603.

<sup>3</sup> See Ernest J. Frei, *The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language*, Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1959.

<sup>4</sup> The three Americans were Carlos Everett Conant, Leonard Bloomfield, and Frank R. Blake; the German was Otto Scheerer; the Filipino is Cecilio

All of these linguists, with the exception of two, were essentially interested in the history and genetic comparison of Philippine languages, usually together with other Austronesian or Malayapolynesian languages. Consequently, most of the linguistic works written during this period were on the genetic comparison of Philippine languages. Nonetheless, Scheerer, Bloomfield and Blake (three of the five linguists mentioned above) did write grammatical descriptions of Tagalog, Ilukano, and other Philippine languages.<sup>5</sup>

During the Japanese occupation of the Philippines there seemed to be no noteworthy activity in Philippine Linguistics. All efforts of a linguistic nature were directed towards the teaching of Japanese to Filipinos and the propagation of the Philippine national language.

0.2 *Post-World War II Period.* After the Second World War, to be more specific after 1950, Philippine Linguistics underwent a new orientation which we may call the American orientation. Two events occurring almost simultaneously were directly responsible for this. The first of these events was the establishment in the Philippines of a branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc.<sup>6</sup> The second event was the sudden popularity of the so-called "second language teaching" among English teachers and educationists in the Philippines.

The establishment of a Philippine branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics brought to the Philippines the modern techniques in descriptive linguistics which were developed in the United States before, during and after the Second World War. The members of the Institute, who were (and still are) missionaries trained in linguistics, applied the techniques of descriptive linguistics in studying Philippine languages and dialects. They studied Philippine languages and dialects in the field especially the lesser-known ones. They made phonemic analyses of many Philippine languages and dialects; they devised practical orthographies for them; they constructed literary materials in them; they translated religious materials into them. Though in general the members of the Insti-

---

Lopez. Perhaps H. Costenoble and one or two others should be added to these linguists.

<sup>5</sup> Leonard Bloomfield, "Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis," *University of Illinois Studies in Languages and Literature*, Part II, Vol. III, No. 3, 1917, pp. 134-316; and "An Outline Guide of Ilocano Syntax," *Language*, 18 (July-September 1942), 193-200; Otto Scheerer, *The Naboloi Dialect* (Department of Interior, Ethnological Survey Publications, Vol. II, Part II), Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1905, and *The Particle of Relation of the Isinai Language*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1918; Frank R. Blake, *Grammar of the Tagalog Language* (American Oriental Series, Vol. I), New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1925.

<sup>6</sup> See "Fifth Anniversary Report of the Summer Institute of Linguistics," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, XXIII (June-December 1958), 359-369.



tute do not seem interested in, or have not gone far enough in, studying the grammar of Philippine languages and dialects, especially the syntax, they have nevertheless up to the present time published in monograph form grammatical analyses of three Philippine languages and dialects.<sup>7</sup>

The Summer Institute of Linguistics came to the Philippines in 1953. At about the same time, if not a little bit later, the linguistic approach to the teaching (and learning) of a foreign language (also called second language) popularly known as the "second language" approach caught fire in the Philippines. This as a consequence created a great interest, especially among language teachers, in descriptive linguistics and contrastive linguistics, and much later because of contrastive linguistics in transformational analysis of the Chomsky type. This interest in second language teaching culminated in the establishment of the Philippine Center of Language Study in 1957.<sup>8</sup>

The immediate results of these two events which trace their origin in the United States were: (1) the change in emphasis or interest in Philippine Linguistics from historical and comparative (Indo-European) linguistics to descriptive (American) linguistics, (2) the description and analysis of more Philippine languages and dialects, and later (3) the contrasting of the major Philippine languages with English. However, the interest in descriptive linguistics and contrastive linguistics did not mean the end of historical and comparative linguistic activity in the Philippines. Historical and comparative linguistics was kept alive in the Philippines through the sustained devotion of the lone Filipino linguist (who was trained in Europe in the historical-comparative tradition in linguistics) and of one or two American linguists.<sup>9</sup>

This, in brief, is the short history of modern Philippine Linguistics. The status of this field of study is now established; it is increasingly becoming more active; its future looks very very bright indeed. However, like any new field of study, it still faces many problems. This short lecture will present and discuss some of these problems.

1. *The Problems.* The problems facing Philippine Linguistics may be defined in terms of needs. These needs are divided into two types:

<sup>7</sup> Howard P. McKaughan, *The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs*, Manila: Institute of National Language, 1958; Phyllis M. Healey, *An Agta Grammar*, Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1960; Elmer Wolfenden, *A Re-Statement of Tagalog Grammar*, Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Institute of National Language, 1961.

<sup>8</sup> See Sirarpi Ohannessian, "UCLA Becomes Important Center for Teaching English as a Foreign Language," *The Linguistic Reporter*, III (February 1961), 3; also Trusten W. Russell, "Fulbright Programs in Linguistics and the Teaching of English," *The Linguistic Reporter* III (December 1961), 1.

<sup>9</sup> The two Americans are Isidore Dyen of Yale University and Douglas Chrétien of the University of California at Berkeley.

external needs and internal needs. External needs refer to those needs which lie outside the discipline itself but which directly affect its growth. Internal needs consist of those needs which lie within the discipline itself.

2. *External Needs.* There are two basic external needs in Philippine Linguistics: (1) the need for more Filipino linguists who will study Philippine languages and dialects, and (2) the need for more research projects on Philippine languages and dialects. There are of course other needs which are secondary to these needs (and will not be discussed in this lecture). For example, there is the need for more teachers and courses in Linguistics. There is also the need for more money to do research work on Philippine languages and dialects.

2.1 *Filipino Linguists.* The need for Filipino linguists has always been an urgent problem. Before the Second World War up to 1959 the Philippines had had only one Filipino linguist; in fact this Filipino linguist may be called the first Filipino linguist.<sup>10</sup> At present, two or three or may be four Filipino can be added to this lone linguist. However, only one or two of these new Filipino linguists are active in Philippine Linguistics. That is, only one or two of these new linguists are doing research work on Philippine languages and dialects. And the Philippines has more than 100 distinct dialects belonging to perhaps more than 80 different languages most of which are still undiscovered or undescribed or very inadequately or incorrectly described, and some of which are fast becoming extinct. Thus, in spite of the addition of four Filipino linguists the need for more Filipino linguists remains an urgent problem.

The training of more Filipinos to become linguists is not an easy task. For one thing, very few Filipinos at present are interested in linguistics because they think, perhaps not very correctly, that there is no money in it and also because of the common misconception that linguistics is merely learning to speak many languages. Another reason is that many Western linguists do not seem to be eager or don't have the time to train natives in this part of the world to become linguists. Many Western linguists would rather use the 'natives' or speakers of 'exotic' languages as their informants or data gatherers.

It should not be inferred from the preceding statement that foreign (Western) linguists are not needed in the scientific study of Philippine languages and dialects. They are needed. In fact, they were the pioneers in the study of Philippine languages and dialects. And they have contributed a lot to the development and modernization of Philippine Linguistics. All that we want is that more Filipinos should participate in the study of their own languages and dialects..

<sup>10</sup> He is of course Dr. Cecilio Lopez.

One reason why we want Filipinos to study Philippine languages and dialects is of great importance to Philippine Linguistics and general linguistics. The Filipino linguist is in a better position to make satisfactory analyses of Philippine languages and dialects than the foreign linguist. The Filipino linguist has one big advantage over the foreign linguist: he is a native speaker of at least one Philippine language or dialect and as such he has intuitions about his language or dialect and other Philippine languages and dialects (since all Philippine languages and dialects are very closely related to each other) which will provide him a good start in making valid analyses of Philippine languages and dialects. The foreign linguist who does not possess intuitions about any Philippine language or dialect often times distorts Philippine languages and dialects to fit the structure of his native language, or also he describes a Philippine language as though it were Eskimo.

It should also be stressed that the linguists that are needed in Philippine Linguistics are those who will study Philippine language and dialects as an end in itself and not as a means to some end. That is, we need Filipino linguists who will study Philippine languages for the sake of describing and analyzing them scientifically, and not for the sake of being able to speak them, or teach them, or for the sake of being able to teach English or Spanish or Tagalog to Filipinos better. Only linguists who will study Philippine languages and dialects in and for themselves will be able to make substantial and permanent contribution to Philippine Linguistics.

2.2 *Research.* At present only two or three Filipino linguists and about two or three American linguists are doing research work on Philippine languages and dialects. And there are only two or three research projects on Philippine languages and dialects currently being undertaken. We need more linguists, Filipinos and foreigners alike, to do research work on Philippine languages and dialects. And we need more research projects on Philippine languages and dialects.

The lack of a sufficient number of Filipino linguists and the inadequateness of research on Philippine languages and dialects have hampered progress in Philippine Linguistics. In fact, these two problems are directly responsible for the internal needs in Philippine Linguistics which will be described next.

3. *Internal Needs.* The internal needs in Philippine Linguistics will be grouped into six: (1) the need for a linguistic survey of the Philippines, (2) the need for a critical survey of works on the languages and dialects of the Philippines, (3) the need for the scientific analysis of many Philippine languages and dialects, (4) the need for more comparative studies

(genetic, areal, typological) of Philippine languages, (5) the need for a dialect geography of the Philippines, and finally (6) the need for studies on language contact, bilingualism, and borrowing in the Philippines. These needs will be taken up one after the other in that order of mention.

3.1 *Linguistic Survey.* Up to now, no systematic linguistic survey of the Philippines has been undertaken. The last enumeration and description of Philippine languages and dialects was made by Beyer in 1916,<sup>14</sup> and this has been copied and revised by others. Beyer's enumeration and description of Philippine languages and dialects has long been out of date; also it is far from satisfactory from the linguistic point of view. It is very clear now that many languages and dialects were not included in the list.

The making of a linguistic survey involves the task of determining which dialects constitute a single language, and which dialects belong to different languages. The undertaking has never been done yet in the Philippines. For example, some people consider the dialects spoken in the cities of Cebu, Iloilo and Tacloban as dialects of the same language (they call this the Bisayan language); others consider these three dialects as belonging to three languages (Sebuano, Ilonggo and Waray, respectively). But no one has tried to apply the linguistic method of testing whether these dialects belong to the same language or to different languages.

3.2 *Survey of Linguistic Works.* The lack of a systematic linguistic survey of the Philippines is paralleled by the lack of a critical survey of works on the languages and dialects of the Philippines. Such a survey is needed for several reasons. It will give us an idea of the status of Philippine Linguistics. It will provide us not only with a list of works on the languages and dialects of the Philippines but also with a critical evaluation of these works as to scope or adequacy and quality or scientificness. It will tell us how many languages and dialects of the Philippines have been described and analyzed and which of them are adequately and scientifically studied. It will tell us the extent of the Filipino participation in the study of Philippine languages and dialects. Lastly, it will indicate to us the urgent problems or needs in Philippine Linguistics.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>14</sup> H. Otley Beyer, *Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916*, Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1917. But see also Harold C. Conklin "Preliminary Linguistic Survey of Mindanao," Paper read at the Mindanao Conference held in Chicago from May 13-15, 1955, mimeo.

<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, it is impossible to include in this lecture a list of works on Philippine languages and dialects. Many of the works on Philippine languages and dialects and many authors are not mentioned in this lecture.

3.3 *Scientific Analysis.* The need to analyze Philippine languages and dialects using the methods of modern linguistics seems to be the most basic and urgent problem in Philippine Linguistics. Many Philippine languages and dialects still remain unidentified and undescribed. A number of them have been phonemically described only. Very few of them have been grammatically described. Many Philippine languages and dialects have been described and analyzed in the traditional way only.

3.4 *Comparisons.* Some studies have been made on the genetic comparison of the phonology of Philippine languages. These studies were mostly made by Conant, Costenoble, Chretien, Dyen and Lopez.<sup>13</sup> The unpublished work of Lopez entitled "A Comparative Philippine Word-List" is the most extensive of the studies made so far. This research work includes 2,000 sets of words from more than 20 different Philippine languages.

In the genetic comparison of the grammar of Philippine languages, some studies have been made by Blake and Lopez. Blake's work is short and preliminary in nature.<sup>14</sup> Lopez's work entitled "Comparative Philippine syntax" which is in the last stages of completion is more extensive. It includes data from about 12 or more Philippine languages.

In the typological or structural comparison of Philippine languages nothing has been done except for one current research project which was started in 1961 in the University of the Philippines. The preliminary findings of this project was reported at the Tenth Pacific Science Congress held in Honolulu, in 1961.<sup>15</sup> A part of this project, a morphosyntactic comparison of the ten major Philippine language which received a grant from the Philippine Center for language Study will be completed this year.

The lexicostatistical comparison of Philippine languages has been attempted this year. A preliminary comparison of this sort was made on the language of northern Luzon in 1953.<sup>16</sup> Dyen included several Phil-

<sup>13</sup> Carlos Everett Conant, "The RGH Law in Philippine Languages," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXI (1910), 70-85, and "The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages," University of Chicago, 1913; H. Costenoble, "Tracing the Original Sounds in the Languages of Today," *Philippine Magazine*, 34 (January, 1937) 24, 38-39; C. Douglas Chretien, *The Dialect of the Sierra de Mariveles* (University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. IV, No. 2) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951; Isidore Dyen, "The Tagalog Reflexes of Malayo-Polynesian D," *Language*, XXIII (1947), 50-55.

<sup>14</sup> Frank R. Blake, "Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar," *American Journal of Philology*, 28 (1907), 199-253.

<sup>15</sup> See Ernesto Constantino, "Typology of Some Philippine Linguistics," in Stephen A. Wurm, "Oceanic Linguistics at the Tenth Pacific Science Congress held in Honolulu from August 21 to September 6, 1961," *Oceanic Linguistics*, I (Summer 1962), 4.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Fox, Willie Sibley and Fred Eggan, "A Preliminary Glottochronology for Northern Luzon," University of Chicago: Philippine Studies Program, 1953 (mimeo.).

ippine languages in his lexicostatistical comparison of Malayopolynesian languages.<sup>17</sup> Thomas and Healey made sub-groupings of Philippine language on lexicostatistical basis.<sup>18</sup>

3.5 *Dialect Geography*. Though many Philippine languages, like Tagalog, Ilukano and Ibanag, have several dialects not a single dialect geography of any area in the Philippines has been made. The dialect geography of the Philippines done by Pittman and associates in 1952<sup>19</sup> is not properly a dialect geography since it treats more of the variations among different languages than of variations within the same language.

3.6 *Language Contact*. Practically no study has been made on the contacts of Philippine languages among themselves and with outside languages like Chinese, Spanish and English.<sup>20</sup> There are no studies on bilingualism in the Philippines. There are now several works dealing with borrowed words in some Philippine languages, like Tagalog, Ilukano and Sebuano, from non-Philippine languages, like Chinese, Spanish, English and Sanskrit. But no study has been made on borrowed words in one Philippine language from another Philippine language. The receptivity or non-receptivity of Philippine languages to foreign words has not yet been studied.

4. *Conclusion*. The foregoing are some of the problems or needs in Philippine Linguistics. These needs will always be there unless more Filipinos will become interested in the scientific study of their own languages and dialects. In other words, we need more Filipinos, who, like Dr. Lopez, will devote their full time to the scientific study of Philippine languages and dialects.

<sup>17</sup> Isidore Dyen, "The Lexicostatistical Classification of the Malayopolynesian languages," *Language*, 38 (January-March 1962), 38-46.

<sup>18</sup> David Thomas and Alan Healey, "Some Philippine Language Subgroupings: A Lexicostatistical Study," *Anthropological Linguistics*, 4 (December 1962), 22-33.

<sup>19</sup> Richard S. Pittman and Associates, *Notes on the Dialect Geography of the Philippines*, University of North Dakota: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1953.

<sup>20</sup> But see Keith Whinnom, *Spanish Contact Vernaculars in the Philippine Islands*, Hongkong: Hongkong University Press, 1956.

## THE GOLDEN IMAGE OF AGUSAN—A NEW IDENTIFICATION

by JUAN R. FRANCISCO

(With One Plate)

PERHAPS ONE OF THE MOST SPECTACULAR DISCOVERIES IN PHILIPPINE archaeological history is the golden statue known as the "Agusan Gold Image".<sup>1</sup> For a clearer view of the subsequent discussions, the image may be described briefly. It is a figure of a female deity (?), seated cross-legged; made of twenty-one carat gold and weighs nearly four pounds. It has a richly ornamented head-dress and many ornaments in the arms and other parts of the body. It was found on the left bank of the Wawa River after a storm and flood in 1917. It is now on display in the Gold Room of the Chicago Museum of Natural History.<sup>2</sup>

Professor Beyer writes that the image "appears to date from the 14th century or earlier." Of this statue, he writes further that

A study of this image was made by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, of Batavia, in 1920, who came to the conclusion that it was made by local workmen in Mindanao, copying a Ngandjuk image of the early Madjapahit period—except that the local artist overlooked the distinguishing attributes held in the hand. It probably had some connection with the Javanese miners who are known to have been mining gold in the Agusan-Surigao area in the middle or late 14th century. The image is apparently that of a Siwaite goddess, and fits in well with the name "Butuan" (signifying "phallus"). Pigafetta's account of the court of the "king of Butuan", whom he visited at Magellan's behest in 1521, bears this out—as the non-Mohammedan king of Butuan was apparently a survival from the old Madjapahit colony of a century earlier.<sup>3</sup>

He writes, furthermore, that

Mr. John M. Garvan further states that the Manobo chiefs knew of this image long ago; that one of their number kept it secretly hidden as a priceless *pusaka* (sacred heirloom) for an unknown number of generations; that it had been lost during a great flood which destroyed several villages during the late 19th century, and the guardians moved away to another district with the view of escaping the vengeance that they feared

<sup>1</sup> H. O. Beyer, "Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology", *Philippine Journal of Science*, vol. lxxvii, no. 3-4, 1947, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> The information given us by Beyer (*ibid.*) surrounding the image's ending up at the Chicago Museum of Natural History is interesting. (Read the same reference).

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 301-302.

their ancestral spirits might wreak on them; and that after its rediscovery in 1917 they were afraid to claim it again. (The probable truth of this story is strongly supported by the number of bronze Sivaite and Buddhist images found by the early Jesuit father among the Mandayas; the Siva image from Cebu,<sup>3a</sup> and other similar finds).<sup>4</sup>

Before commenting upon the various aspects of Beyer's views regarding the image, it would be of interest to cite here what two Indian scholars write about it. R. C. Majundar<sup>5</sup> presumes that it is an image of a goddess, but in the absence of any attributes he finds it difficult to identify. But K. A. Nilakantha Sastri<sup>6</sup> writes that if it shall decidedly be proved that the image is a goddess, it is still difficult to say whether it belongs to the Hindu or Buddhist pantheon.

FUNDAMENTALLY, THERE ARE CERTAIN ASPECTS IN BEYER'S VIEW that are apparently barriers towards the pursuance of further study of the image. One aspect is his reference to Dr. F. D. K. Bosch's identification of the image. Undoubtedly, Dr. Bosch may have seen certain characteristics of the image which may have led him to identify it as a copy of a *certain* Ngandjuk image of the early Madjapahit period. The Dutch scholar may have put down in his identification these distinguishing attributes that may have been left out by the local artist who copied the image, and thereby he could have definitely identified the image to belong to either the Hindu or Buddhist pantheon. But Beyer did not cite these characteristics overlooked by the local artist, if Dr. Bosch actually had made this identification, for the former fails to cite furthermore the work of Dr. Bosch that may have contained the study of *the* image.<sup>7</sup> This is one fundamental barrier to the further study of the image, for we can not check on Dr. Bosch's definite views about the identify of the statue. In fact, we do not even have the supposed comparable Ngandjuk image with which we can compare this golden image.

Another aspect is his identification of the image as "apparently that of a Sivaite goddess, and fits in well with the name "Butuan" (signifying "phallus") is rather doubtful, for this is extending the imagination far

<sup>3a</sup> Vide John Carroll, "The Word Bisaya in the Philippines and Borneo", *Sarawak Museum Journal*, vol. ix, no. 15-16 (n.S.), 1960. Mr. Carroll writes a note (fn. 14) on this image: "A picture of this image is in H. O. Beyer & Jaime C. de Veyra) *Pictorial History of the Philippines*, p. 36-7. However, I think it is an Avalokeshvara, not Siva."

<sup>4</sup> *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, vol. ii—*Suvarnadvipa*, part 2, p. 345.

<sup>6</sup> *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, p. 8, 144-145.

<sup>7</sup> In 1958, while the present writer was still in India pursuing his research for the doctoral degree, he wrote Professor Beyer (through Mr. Moises C. Bello, of the University of the Philippines Discipline of Anthropology) inquiring about the paper written by Dr. Bosch on the identification of the image. The reply to this enquiry was never received.



too much. Even the "testimony" of Pigafetta does not necessarily afford solid ground for us to accept Beyer's view. Moreover, that the king of Butuan was a "non-Mohammedan" does not necessarily logically follow that he was a Hindu, much more a Saiva by persuasion.

The citation from John M. Garvan of a tradition (or mythus?) seems even more questionable. But for the Cebu image (which has been perhaps rightfully doubted by John Carroll to be a Siva icon (*vide* Note 3a, *supra*), where are the number of bronze Saiva and Buddhist images which were found by the early Jesuit priests among the Mandayas? Indeed, these images, if they exist, are very crucial in the full understanding of Indo-Javanese cultural penetration in the Islands.

In fact, the diffidence of the two Indian scholars to identify the image thereby putting it to a definite pantheon was justifiable. It is, however, understandable that they were reluctant to put their fingers upon any certainty for they had seen the image through published photographs which were not very clear and sharp. This diffidence may further be explained in terms of the absence of definite identifying *mudras* (hand gestures) of the image, apart from the supposed attributes that these scholars expected to see. It may be stated in passing that these *mudras* are fundamental in the study of Indian (Hindu and Buddhist) iconography.

PERHAPS, WE ARE IN A MUCH BETTER POSITION AT THIS JUNCTURE TO make one or two suggestions as to which pantheon the image belongs. (This may dispel the diffidence of the two Indian scholars to identify the image). We just obtained on loan a photograph of the image which is very sharp and clear.<sup>8</sup> We are therefore able to see clearly many of the ornaments which did not show in the photograph examined by the two Indian scholars mentioned above.

*First Suggestion.* If Dr. Bosch had made a very extensive study of the image (as Beyer had cited the famous Dutch Scholar), he could not have missed one of the most outstanding attributes of the image. That is, the flame-like projection from the rather very ornamental head-dress. If this flame-like projection is actually a representation of a flame which characterizes (?) a great number of Buddha images in the South East Asian locus,<sup>9</sup> then it may undoubtedly belong to the Buddhist pantheon. A

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Fred Evangelista, Archaeologist of the National Museum, lent the present writer the photograph. He obtained this from the Chicago Museum of Natural History while he was pursuing graduate work at the University of Chicago, in 1956.

<sup>9</sup> *Vide* and *Cf.*, Henri Parmentier, *L'Art du Laos* (Publications de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Hanoi, 1954). Vol. i, p. 269, 271, 275; vol. ii, Fig. 140-a, c,g; Fig. 142, Fig. 144-a, -b; and Fig. 145-a, -b.

Also Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* (Bolinggen Series 39, New

question may, however, arise: If the flame is characteristic of Buddhist images, how then can its appearance in a female "deity" be explained? Perhaps, this question may be set aside for the present because we are not yet in possession of materials with which to answer it.

If on the basis of the attribute, it is a Buddhist image, with a Ngandjuk relation, it may belong to the Indo-Javanese art of the Madjapahit period. It may then be related to the cult of Queen Dedes, who on her death (or even before) was celebrated as a Prajñāparamita. It must be stated here that Queen Dedes was the consort of Ken Angrok (1220-1227),<sup>10</sup> and that they were Buddhists by persuasion. It may be suggested that the Agusan image could have been a lesser goddess related to the Prajñāparamita as an attendant.

Moreover, if this will certainly be identified as a goddess of the Buddhist pantheon, it may yet turn out to be a portrait of a queen, which expresses "the idea that the members of the reigning families, when dead, were assumed into the essence of the supra-celestial divine being, or that while alive they functioned as avatars of the forces that support the world."<sup>11</sup> Indeed, this concept is expressed in the funerary representation of Queen Dedes conceived of as Prajñāparamita, the Sakti of the Adi Buddha. The Agusan Image may be an unknown statue of an Indo-Javanese (Madjapahit) queen represented as Sakti of one of the Buddhas or Boddhisattvas.

York, 1955). vol. ii, Plates 590, 591-b, 593-b, and 595.

The same flame-motif is also represented in the Buddhist images of Dvaravati, Siam. (Vide Pierre Dupont, *L'Archaeologie Mone de Dvaravati* (Publications de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, vol. xli, 1959), Text vol., p. 165 & Plate vol., Fig. 336-337.

Cf. these images possessing the flame-motif on their crown (usnisa) with bronzes discovered in Nēgapatam (and preserved in the Madras Government Museum) representing the standing Buddha (without the usnisa, however, but) whose head is surmounted with a flame of the Singhalese tradition (*ibid.*, Text vol., p. 184).

But cf., Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (Bollingen Series, New York, 1953), p. 152, 153, and 154: "That the flame is a symbol of Siva . . ."

<sup>10</sup>In Mahayana Buddhism, there are many female powers one of which "is a counterpart of the great goddess of Hinduism, the Universal Mother. She is known as Prajñāparamita (Plate 499), "The perfection of the virtue (paramita) of the enlightening transcendental wisdom (prajña)', . . . 'the enlightening wisdom (prajña) that has gone (ita) to the far shore (param)'—the shore of the transcendental void where that wisdom eternally abides." (Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 140.)

The Indo-Javanese Prajñāparamita (plate 501) is described as ". . . the most spiritual manifestation possible of maternal principle. . . . For this transcendent image seems to have been what is known as the 'consecration figure' of an actual Javanese princess—Queen Dedes of the Dynasty of Singhasari." (*ibid.*, p. 143-144).

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 144.

Furthermore, if this is a Buddhist image, it would give credence to John Carroll's view<sup>12</sup> that the Cebu copper statue is Avalokitesvara (Avalokitesvara), and not a Siva image according to Professor Beyer.

*Second Suggestion.* On a closer study of the image, it has been found out that Professor Beyer may not have been entirely wrong in his identification of the image as "Sivaite" (although we can not subscribe to his view of its relationship with the word *Butuan*, "phallus").<sup>13</sup> The image may be a Sakti of the Siva-Buddha (Bhairava?) and may it be rightfully named Bhairavi (?)? The Siva-Buddha is a religious (?) development in Java, in which the destructive or ferocious aspect of Siva (that is, the Bhairava aspect)<sup>14</sup> is synthesized with the debased Tantric forms of Buddhism (both in Java and Sumatra) which was introduced from Bengal in circa 13th century A.D.<sup>14a</sup>

The image's connection with the Siva-Buddha aspect may be explained from the prominent representation of what seem to be skulls as

<sup>12</sup> *loc. cit.* "Avalokitesvara, a Bodhisattva in the Buddhistic concept or mythos, is the 'being who is capable (Isvara) of enlightening insight (avalokita)', but who, out of infinite mercy, postponed his own attainment of nirvana," (Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 182.)

<sup>13</sup> The connection that Professor Beyer assumes between the image' being identified as Sivaite and the name *Butuan*, "phallus", may be dismissed on the ground that *Butuan* may after all mean "the place where bones are in abundance" (*butu*, "bone" plus *-an* a native suffix).

<sup>14</sup> In India, "Ramanuja describes the Kalamukhas as using a skull as a drinking vessel, smearing themselves with ashes of a dead body, eating human flesh, holding a club, setting up a wine-jar as a site for offerings to the deity" (who is Siva, as Bhairava) and . . . Sankara was said to have had "controversies with Kapalikas—at Ujjayini . . . where Siva, as Bhairava, was worshipped with human sacrifices and wine libations". (Vide *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xi, p. 93-a.) Also S. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, V, p. 2-3, ff.

The Kalamukhas and the Kapalikas are believed to be worshippers of the Destructive (Bhairava or Bhairavi) aspect of Siva and his consort, Parameśvari.

<sup>14a</sup> Vide P. V. Bapat (Ed.), *2500 Years of Buddhism* (New Delhi, 1959), p. 95: ". . . . There are interesting accounts of kings in the later period of Sri Vijaya history who were followers of this cult. Two important Mahayana texts in Java are known: The *Sang hyang kamahayanan mantranaya* and the *Sang hyang kamahayanikan*. . . ."

(The first work consists of Sanskrit verses with a Javanese translation, while the second consists of somewhat free Javanese version of a Sanskrit original mixed with a number of original Sanskrit verses. The second text gives a detailed exposition of the sacred principles of Mahayana, but the first gives the picture of a more popular but degraded form of Mahayana. Its title *Mantranaya* is probably another form of *Mantrayana*. In any case, it is really an exposition of the *Trantrayana* or *Vajrayana*, both in its theoretical and practical aspects, and explicitly refers to the five kinds of sensual enjoyments (*kamapaneakam*) which no doubt refer to *panca-makara*. There exists a fairly detailed account of King Krtanagara of Java (1254-1292 A.D.) who was passionately devoted to this degraded form of Buddhism. *ibid.*, fn. 1, p. 95.)

The *pañca-makara* are the five essentials of the left-hand Tantra ritual. These five essentials are *madya*, "wine"; *mamsa*, "meat"; *matsya*, "fish"; *mudra*, "intertwining of fingers"; and *maithuna*, "sexual union."

ornaments around the region of the arm just above the elbow; around the wrists, and upon the head-dress (if they do not represent lotus buds<sup>15</sup>). In fact, if it were conceived of as the Sakti of the Siva-Buddha, it may show that she may possess some of the fundamental characteristics similar (?) to those possessed by Prajñāparamita, who is the Sakti of the Adi Buddha (*vide supra*). Moreover, the rather prominently developed breasts speak of that fundamental function of a female—the ideal of motherhood, the chief element in creation.<sup>16</sup>

It may be suggested, furthermore, that if it is a Tantric image, it may be related to the Ganesa statue of Singhasari, which is ornamented with human skulls, and sits upon a slab of stone supported by human skulls.<sup>16a</sup>

*Third Suggestion.* This suggestion more or less confirms the present writer's surmise in the first suggestion, that the image belongs to the Buddhist pantheon. This confirmation comes from U Bo Kay (Conservator, Archaeological Directorate, Rangoon, Burma) and R. J. Thapa (Director of Archaeology, Kathmandu, Nepal). Both "agree that the image belongs to the Buddhist pantheon, as to the manner of sitting, calmness of facial expression, long ears and halo around the head. They, in fact, venture the opinion that the image represents a female deity of the Mahayana Buddhism."<sup>17</sup>

Corollary to this confirmation, P. R. Srinivasan (Assistant Superintendent of Epigraphy, Archaeological Survey of India, Ootacamund, S. India) "identifies it as that of a Tara, probably late Medieval. 'Some people call such images of female deities as female Boddhisattvas'."<sup>17a</sup>

*Fourth Suggestion.* This suggestion does not necessarily involve iconographic attributes, but that of the image's date. According to R. C. Majumdar, the head-dress and other ornaments show the influence of Indo-Javanese art of the 10th century A.D.<sup>18</sup> If it were a Buddhist image, judging from the two foregoing suggestions, it may then belong to the

<sup>15</sup> If they are lotus buds, the image may also be Hinduistic, for the flower (lotus) is a prominent symbol in Hinduism and in Buddhism.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, vol. i, Chapter V. "Indian Ideals of Beauty", p. 68-157. In this chapter, the well-developed breasts as one of the prominent attributes of Indian beauty are given very extensive attention to by the author.

For more information about the Sakti concept, *vide* Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, p. 137-148.

<sup>16a</sup> Zimmer, vol. ii, plate 504.

<sup>17</sup> The confirmation comes in the form of Notes taken by Mr. Evangelista (*vide* fn. 8, *supra*) after he had shown the photograph of the image to the above cited authorities whom he met in the International Archaeological Congress held in New Delhi, India, in December, 1961. These Notes had been transmitted to the present writer in a letter (Manila, dated 24 January, 1962).

<sup>17a</sup> *Vide* same letter.

<sup>18</sup> *loc. cit.*

second half of the Sailendra period Sri Vijaya history (900-950 A.D.).<sup>18a</sup> The Sailendras who ruled Sri Vijaya between 850 and 950 A.D. were Buddhists. And therefore, the whole sculptural techniques would have been influenced by Indo (Buddhist)—Javanese art of this period.

Moreover, if this image belongs to the Buddhist pantheon and therefore may have been artistically influenced by the Indo-Javanese art of the 10th Century A.D., the inference may be that this image could have been related to the Buddhist tradition that was prevailing at that period, and which was responsible of the building of the famous Barabudur, the text-book in stone of Buddhism, and other Buddhist monuments at Kalasan and Mendut (in Java).

WHILE MENTION OF THE ICONOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES OF THE IMAGE HAS been inevitably made, it is not the purpose of the present paper to explain and discuss their symbolism in relation to their religious significance. An excursus on these will have to be deferred for a separate paper, for materials on this subject are not readily available in the Philippine libraries.<sup>19</sup>

It is, however, hoped that the foregoing discussions will suffice to show that the earlier "identification" by Professor Beyer was comparatively doubtful. This is, moreover, to stimulate further study of the image and its implications in the entire historical perspective of the Philippines in pre-hispanic times.

NO DEFINITE INFERENCES ARE TO BE DRAWN FROM THE ABOVE DISCUSSIONS, for the suggestions are not conclusive. The points raised in the suggestions, particularly in the first and second, were advanced, because they seemed logically related to the image under study. These may be taken, in future studies on the image as basic ground for the determination of its final identification.

However, as to the present writer's view on the four suggestions, he is comparatively inclined to the 1st suggestion, which has been *fortified* by the confirmation laid down in the 3rd suggestion. Indeed, it seems incontrovertible that with these two suggestions the image is a goddess of the Buddhist pantheon, in the Mahayana group. It is related to the concept that it is a female Boddhisattva, and at the same time the counterpart of the Hindu goddess (Sakti), as a Tara (or wife of a Buddhist god), which is a peculiar development of Buddhism in South East Asia.

<sup>18a</sup> Vide K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *History of Sri Vijaya* (Madras, 1949), and G. Coedes, *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indo-Chine et d'Indonesie* (Paris, 1948).

<sup>19</sup> Letters had been sent to the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, the Institut Francaise d'Indologie, the Kern Institute, Leiden, requesting for comparable iconographic materials. It is hoped that with these materials will give us firm ground to identify the image with a degree of certainty.

As to the date of the statue, its probable connection with the Tantric development of Buddhism in South East Asia would put it in the late 13th or early 14th century A.D., and this is confirmed by Mr. P. R. Srinivasan (*Vide Suggestion 3, supra*).

If the foregoing suggestions were to be affirmed by the discovery of corroborating evidences, the present writer believes that his efforts will have been fully justified, inspite the stand he took in the previous paragraph. With this justification, moreover, the Philippine's early cultural-historical contacts with the outside world would fully be understood and appreciated. The Islands' artistic history will have been also partially explained as a continuum from the primitive to the modern. But, if evidences to the contrary were also found, Philippine pre-European art history will have been explained in the light of its indigenous character. Thus, it may be rightfully claimed that Philippine art, in its early history, had reached a "certain degree of aesthetic perfection?" as evidenced by this priceless discovery—the Agusan Gold Image—if it may be considered as representative of pre-European Philippine art.







## THE HAIKU AS POETIC FORM

by *S. V. Epistola*

THERE IS A STORY TOLD ABOUT A WESTERN POET IN JAPAN. HE MIGHT very well have been a Filipino poet writing in English in the manner and tradition of those who produce poems in that language—a Western poet. Our man had read from T. S. Eliot that one who would labor at literature should participate in the “larger tradition of world literature,” and he had at once embarked upon the serious business of trying to get acquainted with such a tradition in the large. He travelled about on the generosity of some foundation, and eventually he landed in Japan where, armed with formidable letters of introduction from persons of quality, he quickly gained the acquaintanceship of poets in Japan.

The first chance he got, our man asked the Japanese poets if there were one among them who might be considered to be a participant in “the larger tradition of world literature.” The Japanese, largely because they were Japanese, immediately went into a huddle and consulted with one another. It was, for them, a most difficult problem, and they asked our man to repeat himself a few times. No, the Japanese finally said, they knew of no one of any consequence in Japan who might be thought of as “a participant in the larger tradition of world literature.” Anxious to be helpful, they added hopefully that they knew a lot of persons—poets of consequence—who were doing excellently or had done brilliantly within the confining limits of Japanese literature.

Our man was naturally disappointed, but since he would have to submit a report to the foundation in New York, he just had to find something—anything—which he could include to give bulk to his report. Hence, his second question: What sort of poems would *such poets* of consequence be writing? This time, the answer came quickly in a babble of simultaneous speech. Why, such poets would of course be writing masterful Japanese poems. Our man had been schooled in the idea that a poem is a poem no matter in what language, and he was aghast that such an

---

SILVINO V. EPISTOLA is an instructor in Japanese Language and Literature. He holds an A.B. degree from the University of the Philippines, 1952. He finished a Japanese Language course at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1959; took research studies in Modern Japanese Literature at the University of Tokyo, 1960; and is at present taking graduate studies at Harvard University under a Rockefeller Fellowship.

answer could even be seriously proffered. Patiently, in the manner of adults talking to small children, or of ministers trying to make drunks understand the virtue of sobriety, our man asked what a Japanese poem might be. He was given an example, and one of the group intoned,

*Furuike ya kawazu tobikomu/ mizu no oto.*

"There, that is a poem," our man was told. He countered, "Very interesting, but will you recite the rest of it?" The Japanese were amazed. "But there is no the-rest-of-it," they said. Then they took turns at explaining what the words in Japanese meant. They said, "*Furuike ya* means an ancient pond with an exclamation marker." Our man nodded. Yes, he understood that the ancient pond is uttered as an exclamation, "An ancient pond!" "Then *kawazu tobikomu* means 'A frog leaping.'" Our man understood that, too indicating his enlightenment with a vigorous nodding of the head. "And then the final part of the poem, *mizu no oto*, means *the sound of water*." Yes, our man understood that, too. As a matter of fact, he understood everything that had been translated for him. "But is that all?" he wanted to know. "Yes, that is all." "That is a poem?" "That is a poem, a Japanese poem, a *haiku*." "But where is the poetry?" The Japanese were stumped, as they say in the United States. It is said that our man reported to the foundation in New York that the Japanese write telegrams and they call these poems. Very clever people, he commented before confessing that for the life of him he could not see where the poetry lay in such "telegrams."

This story may be apochryphal, but it is repeated here for the problem it calls attention to. Really, now, how do telegrams become poems? Or in the jargon of literary scholars, in what sense may the *haiku* be conceived of as poetic form?"

AS LITERARY HISTORIANS IN JAPAN ARE FOND OF POINTING OUT, THE HAIKU is the culmination of a tradition that dates back to the *Kojiki* or *The Records of Ancient Matters* which is more than twelve hundred years old. Consisting of three books, the *Kojiki* contains myths, legends and chronologically ordered accounts of significant happenings in the Japanese Empire in addition to a number of poems or songs which did not have a standard number of syllables. It is thought that from these *Kojiki* poems or songs there developed the *waka* which is characterized by five syllable lines alternating with seven syllable lines. By the 8th century, Japanese poets were writing poetry in three distinct forms. If a poet alternated five syllable lines with others of seven syllables he was said to be writing *tsyooka* or, literally, long poem. Should he begin with a five syllable line, follow it with one of seven syllables, add a third line of five syllables,

a fourth and a fifth of seven syllables each, he produced a short poem called *tanka*. Should he begin with a five syllable line, follow it with two seven-syllable lines, and add a fourth line of five syllables followed by a fifth and a sixth of seven syllables each, what he produced was the poem called *sedooka*. Of the *tsyooka*, the *tanka* and the *sedooka*, the *tanka* became the most popular. By stringing together many *tanka* a poet produced a poem of 50 or 100 lines. This is the *renga* in which a *tanka* of 17 syllables alternated with another of 14 syllables according to strict rules of composition, which covered manner of expression, form and subject matter. By freeing themselves from all these restrictions, the poets created a new poetic form, the *haikai* or, literally, humorous *renga*. The humor which was usually satirical or sometime only jesting in nature was the poet's reaction to the convention that *renga* should deal only with noble subjects in a lofty manner. The opening line of *haikai* was then called *hokku* or, literally, opening verse. In time the *hokku* got separated from the *haikai*, developing into what is now the *haiku*. For convenience or for decorative purposes, the *haiku* is sometimes written in three lines, but it is really a one line poem, consisting of three parts of five, seven and five syllables, respectively.

The *haiku* was an instant popular success. It was brief and apparently simple. For this reason, even farmers set out to become poets. Pile upon pile of paper covered with *haiku* were immediately produced and then as quickly forgotten, for the simplicity apparent in the seventeen syllable poem was but a mirage, an illusion. Actually, those seventeen syllables presented a difficult problem. The poet had before him the resources of the language. He had a countless array of syllables at hand, and yet he could use no more than seventeen of them. But which one should he string together to make his *haiku*? And in what manner? In the search for answers to these questions, *haiku* masters were born, and from their efforts the aesthetics of *haiku* was evolved. However, the enormity of the technical and aesthetic problems connected with the composition of *haiku* did not affect the popularity of this poetic form at all. The Japanese continued to try their hand at *haiku* and a great number of these people went to study the art under *haiku* masters in the manner of music students taking lessons under recognized teachers or of Zen novices attaching themselves to some well-known Zen master.

OF THOSE WHO HAVE BECOME HAIKU MASTERS, THE GREATEST IS UNDOUBTEDLY Matsuo Basyoo or Basho as his name is rendered in most English books. He started out as a professional warrior, a *samurai*, but he abandoned this profession and its privileges when he decided to become a poet, a *haikai* master, and he ended up by becoming the greatest *haiku*

poet ever. It must be pointed out here that there was no real incompatibility between writing poetry and soldiering professionally. The *samurai* was expected to handle the writing brush in poetry jousts with the same consummate skill that he wielded his long sword in battle for his lord. Apparently, the man wanted to work at his poetry without having to go out and kill somebody. But Basyoo was not one to sit at home, writing poems on the strength of a sterile imagination. He went out into the world, as they say, and he wandered up and down his country, travelling even on the little known by-ways in the remote provinces of the Empire and writing poetry as he went. Other poets journeyed to famous places to look at the sights one was expected to see, but Basyoo glorified in his poetry the neglected places. He celebrated the lonely grandeur of places few knew about. Unlike the other poets, he never became a Buddhist priest, although it is said that he dressed and acted very much like one. And, he had predicted, he died in a travellers' inn while on the way to some unfrequented spot in some remote province.

Two of Basyoo's *haiku* are often quoted by literary scholars in Japan as being expressive of the Master's concept of what the poet should try to achieve in his poems. The first of these *haiku* is that of the frog leaping into an ancient pond, which our Western poet took for a telegram. The other one will now be presented.

*Kare-eda ni/ karasu no tomaritaru ya/ aki no kure!*

This *haiku* is said to remind the Japanese of the Chinese expression frequently seen as the title of paintings, "A wintry crow on a leafless tree." It is perhaps for this reason that this *haiku* is quite well known in Japan. It opens with "Kare-eda ni," or, in English, "Upon a withered branch," and continues with an exclamation, "karasu no tomaritaru ya," which may be rendered in English as "A crow has alighted!" Incidentally, the word, *ya*, is one of those traditionally used in the *haiku* to heighten or convey the poem's emotional content. The *haiku* closes with "aki no kure," which is "Autumn twilight" in English. If we follow the progression of the poem image by image, what we have here is the withered branch succeeded by crow which has alighted upon it and an autumn evening. Or what amounts to the same thing, we might break down the poem into these images. If this or the other is all we can do with the *haiku*, however, we find that we do not really have very much more than a telegram. At that, the telegram does not seem to be addressed to us, or if it were, we have forgotten its supposed referent.

The word, *ya*, provides the clue. We know that it is there to heighten the emotional content of the first two parts of the *haiku*. But what is

the emotional content? We wonder, and we return to the initial two images. "The withered branch" is clear enough. In a manner of speaking, this is a part of the tree which has already "died." The second image brings with it a question. Why should it be a crow that should alight upon this withered branch? And we recall all the crows whose habits we have watched in life. These are birds of prey. They go for living things, they pounce upon such as they can find, and they attack while on the wing. But here the crow has perched upon a dead branch, and for the moment we see crow and withered bough together, the quick and the dead united in one frame. At last the crow has nothing to prey upon, and it is there, perched upon a dead branch, its dinner already missed. "Autumn twilight," then comes as a sort of revelation. It is autumn, the season when most trees begin to "die", heralding the advent of winter. And it is also twilight, when the hustle and bustle of the day's life ceases.

Upon a withered branch  
 A crow has alighted  
 Autumn twilight.

Inevitably, then, we sense the sadness which we can only know, when we finally reach the autumn of life or the twilight of our days, the crow which has come to perch upon a withered branch.

The other *haiku* which we have already quoted follows a somewhat different structural pattern. First, there is this very ancient pond rendered even more simply in the first part of the *haiku*, "Furuike ya." Then we are presented the image of a living thing in action, the frog leaping into the ancient pond, which is stated baldly in the *haiku* as "kawazu tobikomu." And then there is the sound of water, "mizu no oto." The pond in this *haiku* is so ancient that people generally attach to it the idea of permanence. It has been there for a long time, and it is easy to think that it will always be there. Then there is the frog leaping, a picture of the momentary. Here, then, are two apparently unrelated entities—a very old pond and a leaping frog, the permanent and the truly transitory. The coming together of the old pond and the leaping frog produces the sound of water.

An ancient pond!  
 A frog leaping  
 The sound of water.

As the old Zen masters have been saying, the coming together of the Eternal and the transitory produces Enlightenment.

These two *haiku*, in the sense that we have come to understand them, are highly compressed statements which perfectly express a moment of vision, an instant of spiritual Enlightenment. This, to Basyoo, is the ideal the poet should try to achieve in every poem he sets down on paper. Every poem should be this kind of compact statement expressing an inner experience of great significance.

WE COME NOW TO THE NEXT PROBLEM: HOW ARE SUCH POEMS POSSIBLE within the restrictions of form imposed by the seventeen-syllable structure of the *haiku*?

It appears obvious in the two samples just examined that the *haiku* is a statement about what has been experienced. Our analysis has shown that the statement is made in terms of images or, to be more exact in our language, perceptions of objects in the external world of nature. Furthermore, our analysis reveals that the images coming when they do add up to a unified whole which is expressive of the complete realization of some vision or insight into the experienceable world. If our understanding is correct, then we must look at these images not as images merely but as symbols as well. Their referent is some object in the external world, an object to which people collectively react in one way rather than in another. The presentation of the image of a particular object, recalls the emotional reaction which accompanies the perception of that object in experience. In this sense, then, the image is a symbol of that particular emotional reaction.

If we should now operate in the context of Japanese culture in which the *haiku* is a phenomenon, we shall find that to particular perceptions are attached not only clearly definable emotions but also certain "significations." For instance, in the *furuike haiku* of Basyoo "the ancient pond" is taken as signifying permanence or eternity. The pond is ancient, no one remembers a time when it was not there, and for this reason it is thought that the pond had always been there. Now it is not difficult to think next that this very old pond will always be there, safe from the ravages of time unlike the sound of water which we hear for only one all too brief instant, perishing the very next moment in the heavy silence that we imagine surrounds the ancient pond. By recalling the signification that is peculiarly its own, the image becomes a symbol of that particular signification.

By treating the image in this manner, it becomes possible to create a small universe which can be represented as a picture of the larger universe that encloses us all. Because this small universe is created in terms of certain emotion-laden images, the poet guides us to feel one way rather than another. And if we are not led astray by our ignorance or our

inability to read intelligently, we as readers achieve the vision or the insight that the poet had wanted us to perceive. However, the risk is great that we might lose our way and, consequently, miss the poet's message altogether. Great as this might well be, the risk may not be evaded, and the *haiku* masters have devised rules which, in practice, become the means by which the poet retains decisive control of his material as he leads his reader from image to image to the one and only possible realization.

According to one of these rules, every word in the *haiku* must be indispensable and inalterable. One of Basyoo's *haiku* very nicely illustrates the point at issue in this rule.

*Yuru haru o/ Oomi no hito to/ osimikeru.*

"Yuku haru" may be rendered as "the departing spring," "Oomi no hito" as "the men of Oomi" and "osimikeru" as "lament" in the sense that this is a completed action. The word, *o*, which comes after "yuku haru" is a marker indicating that the preceding phrase is the direct object of the verb, *osimikeru*. The word *to*, at the end of the *haiku's* second part is another marker which functions very much like the English "with." This *haiku* may, therefore, be rendered:

The departing spring  
With the men of Oomi  
Have I lamented.

This particular *haiku* was severely criticized by Syoohaku, the critic, on the ground that Basyoo could have written "Tamba" instead of "Oomi" or "departing year" instead of "departing spring." However, the criticism appears groundless as those who have seen the lake of Oomi in spring, would certainly attest. At this particular place, there would be no real reason to regret the passing of the year. For that matter, there would be nothing at Tamba, which could possibly make one lament the passing of spring. As Kyorai had once upon a time retorted, "What could be more natural than to regret the passing of the spring, when the waters of Oomi are veiled so enchantingly in mist? Besides, it is especially fitting a poem for one who lives by the lake to have written." In this *haiku* "departing spring," "Oomi" and "lament" are so inextricably linked together that it is impossible to dispense with any of these elements.

With Kyorai we may now retort, "What could be natural than to regret the passing of youth, when in a time of tranquility we call to mind the memories of its days? Besides it is especially fitting for one

who has known what it is to be truly young to feel so deeply about youth's passing."

However, technical proficiency or cleverness in the choice of words is only one of the *haiku* master's preoccupations. He knows that he has to develop this proficiency, but he also knows that it would never do to be merely clever or technically skillful. He is an artist, besides being a craftsman. There are higher considerations, and he must school himself in the aesthetics of his art. There are qualities which his poems must possess if they are to succeed as *haiku* at all. Three of these aesthetic qualities are stressed in *haiku*; namely, *sabi*, *syori* and *hosomi*. These terms connote loneliness, quietness and deeply felt emotion and, in some sense, they may be considered as elements related to sympathy, compassion and delicacy. As such, *sabi*, *syori* and *hosomi* serve to express the poet's mood.

THE TERM, *sabi*, CALLS TO MIND A TYPE OF BEAUTY CONSIDERED IN JAPAN as peculiarly Japanese. Basyoo who used this term in his frequent lectures on the *haiku* to his pupils, never really defined it, and what is worse his followers gave such obscure explanations of *sabi* that it is now difficult to determine its precise meaning. The hard put scholar and critic cannot but turn to the *haiku* which have been singled out by the followers of Basyoo as the best examples of *sabi* and from these reconstruct what the master must have meant by *sabi*. One such *haiku* is this one by Kyorai, a disciple and close friend of Basyoo.

*Hanamori ya| shiroki kasira o/ tsukiawase.*

The first part of the *haiku*, *Hanamori ya*, is an exclamation, *The flower guards!* These are men employed to prevent theft or destruction of the trees during the cherry blossom viewing season when people throng to the cherry groves. The second part, *shiroki kasira o*, is the direct object of the verb, *tsukiawase*, which constitutes the third and final part of the *haiku*. Literally, *shiroki kasira* may be translated as *white heads*, an obvious reference to the white hair of the flower guards who are usually old men, and *tsukiawase* as *hold together* or perhaps, more appropriately, *bend each to each*.

The flower guards!  
White heads  
Bent each to each.

The presence of the *hanamori* implies a joyful sight, a grove of cherry trees all in full bloom and people in festive mood enjoying themselves. Cherry blossoms are sometimes pink, although the most common color



is white, so there is no harm in imagining that the cherry blossoms at this particular place are white. Then the heads of the *hanamori* bent each to each presents the image of a cluster of white, matching the clusters of cherry blossoms in the branches above. It is at this point that it would do well to be reminded that the cherry blossom operates in the context of Japanese culture as the symbol of the *samurai* way of life, death when life is still young and beautiful. But in this *haiku* the cherry blossom is matched with the white hair of old *hanamori*, men who have been denied the privilege of dying in their moment of greatest glory. Inevitable, then, is the feeling of melancholy, of forlornness.

If it is *sabi* which has led us to this feeling, we might say that this quality suggests melancholy or forlornness, the quaint charm and beauty of something that has grown old and mellow with the passage of time. As our analysis has revealed, the quality of *sabi* does not pertain to any of the elements constituting the *haiku*. It is the quality of the *haiku* itself as a whole.

SYORI IS DERIVED FROM THE VERB, SYORU, WHICH MEANS "TO BEND." THE term calls to mind a tree bending before the wind, or a pine bough under the snow, suggesting the pathetic charm of something bowing before a great force, and arousing a feeling of pity. This pathetic charm defines in a way the quality of *syori*. Like *sabi*, this particular quality does not pertain to the subject of the *haiku* but to the entire poem itself. To make the point clear, this *haiku* may be presented for critical examination. It is by Kyoroku who was a disciple of Basyoo.

*Too-dago mo/ kotsubu ni narinu/ aki no kaze.*

The *haiku* begins with a reference to ten dumplings, *too-dago mo*, which is the direct object of the verb, *narinu*, which may be literally translated as "have become." The phrase, *kotsubu ni*, may be rendered in its idiomatic sense as "smaller." The *haiku* closes with an evocative, *aki no kaze*, or wind of autumn.

Even the ten dumplings  
Are now smaller  
The winds of autumn.

The reference to dumplings at the beginning of the *haiku* suggests a particular place on the Tookaido, the Utsu-no-ya Pass, where *dango* is a specialty. In the thinking of the Japanese, dumplings and Utsu-no-ya Pass are inextricably associated. However, the Pass is in a lonely neighborhood in Suriga Prefecture, and people who have to travel the Tookaido, look forward to reaching the place on account of the dumplings

which they know await them there. Now it seems the place have fallen into difficult times, and the cooks who make these dumplings, have been forced into making them smaller. Finding in his hands ten dumplings which are smaller than the ones he had expected, the traveller exclaims, "Winds of autumn." Instead of complaining about the smallness of the dumplings, he bows to the circumstances which, though very inconvenient, cannot be helped. "Aki no kaze."

HOSOMI REFERS TO THE THIRD QUALITY STRESSED BY THE HAIKU MASTER as something relevant to their art. Literally, the term means "slenderness," and it suggests the pitiful beauty of fragile things and helpless creatures, arousing a sense of forlornness. This forlorn beauty of the fragile and the helpless defines *hosomi*. The classical example to illustrate *hosomi* is the following *haiku* by Rotsuu, a disciple of Basyoo.

*Tori-domo mo/ neitte iru ka/ Yogo no umi.*

The first two parts of this *haiku* may be taken together as a question as indicated by the interrogation maker, *ka*, which ends the second part of the poem. *Tori-domo* literally means *birds*, but in this *haiku* "waterfowl" seems to be the one meant, indicating that it is winter. The verb, *neitte iru*, may be rendered as *sleeping*. The *haiku* closes with the reference to Lake Yogo, *Yogo no umi*.

Even the birds  
Are already fallen asleep?  
Lake Yogo.

Instead of as a question, the first two parts of the *haiku* may be taken as the wondering remark of a traveller on the banks of Lake Yogo. The waterfowls are certainly helpless creatures in their sleep on the wintry desolation of the lake, but even they are asleep while he could only walk on and suffer cold and fatigue. He identifies his own helplessness with that of the birds, and he senses his own pitiful state, which is mirrored by Lake Yogo in the frosty dreariness of its empty expanse.

It may very well be that there are other aesthetical qualities which *haiku* masters take into consideration in their work, but those of *sabi*, *syori* and *hosomi* are the ones deemed of elemental importance. These qualities pertain to the *haiku* itself as a complete unit, and they are not achieved by stringing together images associated with any one of them. That a particular *haiku* possesses one or the other quality does not depend, therefore, on its having among its component elements one or more images associated with such a quality.

However, to establish the aesthetical quality of his *haiku*, the poet is helped by the use of *ki-go* or season-word, which represents some *ki no mono* or thing of the season. The season-word, though, does not necessarily place the poem within the span of any season as defined by an almanac. Its frame of reference is man's feelings regarding winter, spring, summer or autumn. For instance, to establish *hosomi* as the dominant quality of the *haiku* by Rotsuu, which we quoted, the poet used *tori-domo* which is a season-word for winter. The reference, of course, is not to the winter that we know in experience but rather to the feelings of cold and desolation which the Japanese associate through habit and custom with this particular season.

The use of season-words is considered mandatory in the *haiku* although there have been poets, like Issa, who have dispensed with it in some of their *haiku*. In general, however, the *haiku* masters have followed the tradition relating to the use of season-words. Some have even made their own additions to the list of season-words, so that a complete listing of season-words would contain an estimated 15,000 items at present. Of these, probably only 500 are in general use.

However, the season-word is only a means by which the poet establishes whatever quality he may desire his *haiku* to possess. This quality he must supply from his own inner resources, for it expresses what he has himself seen or come to realize. He picks out his words to convey the images by whose interaction the quality is established. Should he succeed in his endeavor, he produces a poem which cannot but leave its readers with "a wild surmise."

On this ground the *haiku* stands as poetry.

-----

Reference:

The Nippon Gakujustu Shinkokai. *Haikai and Haiku*. Tokyo, 1958.

## FOUR JAPANESE: THEIR PLANS FOR THE EXPANSION OF JAPAN TO THE PHILIPPINES

by JOSEFA M. SANIEL

BETWEEN 1886 AND 1891, FOUR JAPANESE NATIONALIST-ACTIVISTS<sup>1</sup>—Yoko Tosaku, Sugiura Jugo, Suganuma Teifu and Fukumoto Makoto—described their plans for Japanese expansion to the Philippines. These men, writing during the time of ideological ferment in the early Meiji period, represented a significant trend of thought when Japan was greatly concerned with the problem of attaining an international position to assure her national security. This was also a period when the Japanese government, guided by the Meiji oligarchs, adopted a “policy of restraint” from territorial expansion which might involve Japan in foreign conflicts while they were undertaking the modernization as well as the industrialization of the country and working for the revision of the “unequal treaties.”

To the Japanese nationalist-activists, however, expansion was a means of building up Japan's national prestige and strength which, they believed, would enable the country to face the Western Powers and to settle with them for an extension of “equality” to Japan through the revision of the “unequal treaties.” In presenting their expansionist ideas, the Japanese nationalist-activists seem to have borrowed the current European neo-imperialistic<sup>2</sup> justifications for expansion to underdeveloped areas of the world. Thus, the Japanese nationalist-activists rested their case on four arguments: that Japan had a “surplus population” for which outlets had to be found; that Japan needed raw materials and food; that Japan had a right to preventive self-defense; and that Japan had a mission of civilizing and/or aiding backward areas of the world especially their neighbors.

---

JOSEFA M. SANIEL is an Assistant Professor in East Asian Studies of the Institute of Asian Studies. She holds a Ph.D. degree (Far Eastern Studies) from the University of Michigan, 1962, and is a member of several scholarly societies among which are the Philippine Historical Association, International House of Japan, the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences. Her book, “Japan and the Philippines, 1868-1898,” just came off the press in October this year.

<sup>1</sup> By the term nationalist-activists, I refer to the energetic, Japanese nationalists who vigorously opposed the Meiji oligarchs' “policy of restraint” from Japanese expansion in order to avoid foreign involvement while Japan was modernizing her feudal institutions.

<sup>2</sup> Neo-imperialism was not mainly a colonizing or a simple commercial imperialism. It can be described as an *investment imperialism in regions not as well adapted to European habitation*. See C. J. H. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900* (New York: Harper Bros., Pub., 1944), 217.

## I

THE FIRST OF THOSE WHO PRESENTED A DEFINITE PLAN OF JAPANESE EXPANSION to the Philippines was Yoko Tosaku, who at the close of 1886<sup>3</sup> proposed the establishment of the "Society of the South Seas"—the *Nanyo Kyokai*,<sup>4</sup> as the Japanese put it. Yoko Tosaku<sup>5</sup> seems to have been the first of those who had a definite plan for Japanese expansion to the Philippines.

Yoko Tosaku conceived of the *Nanyo Kyokai* as the organization to map-out a large-scale colonization of *Nanyo* (the South Seas)<sup>6</sup> which glowed rich with promise of colonization. His scheme brought out in bold relief the South Seas partible into three districts which were to be colonized in succession. The first district included Palawan, Sulu, and Mindanao—lands in the Philippine archipelago; the second included the Caroline islands and the Marshal islands; while the third district was merely referred to as the islands south of Ogasawara, close to Java.

To implement Yoko Tosaku's scheme, the first step was for the *Nanyo Kyokai* to send two boatloads of Japanese to observe conditions in the first district—three islands<sup>7</sup> of the Philippine archipelago—and become acquainted with the chiefs and people of these islands. After the latter's goodwill had been won, the Japanese observers could start negotiating for land grants.<sup>8</sup> Poverty-ridden Japanese could thus immigrate from Japan and would be supplied by the *Nanyo Kyokai* with the seeds of different grains and enough food at the start to last them till a harvest was yielded. Besides cultivating land, the settlers were to engage in various crafts and industries that would make the colonies self-sufficient.

<sup>3</sup> It was in the same year that the Japanese government sent Consul Minami to the Philippines in order to investigate existing conditions, and a year before Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru negotiated with the powers unsatisfactory terms for the revision of the "unequal treaties" and which, according to Prof. Dalmar Brown, resulted in the birth of modern Japanese nationalism.

<sup>4</sup> Irie Toraji, *Meiji nanshin shiko* (History of Japanese expansion to the Southern Seas), (Tokyo: Idashoten, 1943), 73.

<sup>5</sup> Then Chief of the Record Section of the Metropolitan Police Office.

In 1876, Yoko Tosaku was a clerk at the Foreign Affairs section of the Metropolitan Police Office when the Japanese Minister to Russia Enomoto Buyo, requested the newly appointed Japanese Minister to Spain and Portugal, Ueno Kagenori, who was then Minister to England, to unofficially sound the Spanish government regarding its willingness to sell the Ladrones or the Marianas islands to Japan in case the latter would plan to purchase them. See *ibid.*, 24-35; 76-77.

<sup>6</sup> *Nanyo* (the Southern Seas) was the term used by the Japanese to refer to the Spanish possessions in Oceania including the Philippines, the Marianas, the Palaus, the Carolinas, together with the Malay peninsula, Indochina and Indonesia.

<sup>7</sup> Palawan, Sulu, Mindanao.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

All these activities were to be directly supervised by branch offices of the *Nanyo Kyokai* to be established in each of the three islands.<sup>9</sup>

The next step was to colonize the second district in a manner similar to the settlement of the first area after that of the latter would have been set agoing. Then of course the colonization of the third district was to follow likewise. If things had gone according to plan, Ogasawara Island would have developed into a gateway of trade for the third and second districts, and the islands of Okinawa and Miyako would have served as gateways to the first district. Yoko Tosaku's plan would have simultaneously retrenched government expenses in that convicted criminals<sup>10</sup> could have been sent as immigrants to the South Seas.

Yoko Tosaku's major concern was the movement of "surplus population" from Japan to the three districts of colonization. After the establishment of colonies, the development of a prosperous trade between these and Japan would have been an offshoot redounding to the credit of the *Nanyo Kyokai*, nay, of Yoko Tosaku himself. Unfortunately, the scheme remained just that, a scheme.

While Yoko Tosaku's first target was the colonization of the first district,<sup>11</sup> his plan did not consider the colonial status of the Philippines. However, attention was given to this fact by two other writers. Like Yoko Tosaku's ideas, theirs also influenced future writers on Japanese expansion to the Philippines. They were: (1) Sugiura Jugo who wrote *Hankai yume monogatari* (Story of Hankai's dream) sometimes referred to as *Shinheimin kaitendan* (The new common people who gave themselves to despair), and (2) Sukanuma Teifu who wrote *Shin Nihon no tonan no yume* (New Japan's dream of aspiration to the South Seas) and the *Dai Nihon shogyoshi* (Comprehensive commercial history of Japan).<sup>12</sup>

## II

SUGIURA JUGO<sup>13</sup> IN 1887 PREFERRED TO USE THE NOVEL AS HIS MEDIUM, probably his safest means of expressing his ideas on Japanese expansion to the Philippines. Jugo's was a time when censorship of the press became

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Whom he presented as totalling 320,410 in Japan by 1885. *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, the three islands of Palawan, Sulu, Mindanao.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 76-77.

<sup>13</sup> Sugiura Jugo was educated in England from 1877 to 1880 and was, therefore, familiar with the situation in Europe and European expansion into the South Seas. He often wondered why Europeans who had great respect for individual freedom could not do the same in their colonies. He was especially concerned with the tyrannical policy of Spain in the Philippines. Together with Miyake Yujiro (pen name, Setsurei) and Shiga Jukyo, Sugiura published one of the nationalistic magazines, the *Nihonjin*.

more rigid because the Japanese government was facing an unfavorable nationalistic reaction to the unacceptable provisions for treaty revisions negotiated by the Foreign Minister Inoue. It was thus a time when the Japanese government kept from involving itself in expansionism as demanded by the nationalist-activists, lest treaty revisions be further complicated and delayed.

Camouflaging Sugiura's ideas was a dream of Hankai (*Hankai yume monogatari*).<sup>14</sup> Briefly, the dream visualizes a speaker who is trying to convince his audience (consisting of the *shinheimin*, the new common people formerly legally outcasts from Japanese society) to start a just war of liberation of the Philippine Islands from Spanish oppression. This would, in turn, create "a free and refreshing world" for the *shinheimin* to settle in. Then the speaker describes how the *shinheimin* was to raise an army transportable to the Philippines where they could initially farm and wait for the right moment to rise up against Spain. Spain, the speaker continues, was a country too enervated to return any attack on the Philippines even if she sent her standing army from the home country. The speaker thus hopes that at this point of the struggle, the discontented Filipinos would help the Japanese fight Spain. The story ends. The dreamer awakes.

Sugiura Jugo's novel, considered<sup>15</sup> the first book perhaps describing accurately the existing conditions among the natives in the South Seas,<sup>16</sup> introduces the idea of Japan's civilizing mission in the Philippines and the responsibility of the Japanese to lead the backward Filipinos in the latter's fight for freedom from Spanish despotism. It also reflects Jugo's conviction that it was necessary to control a territory for part of the Japanese population to move into.

### III

#### THE *Hankai yume monogatari* MUST HAVE IMPRESSED SUGANUMA TEIFU<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> A summary of the story is found in Irie Toraji, *Meiji . . .*, *op. cit.*, 77-80.

<sup>15</sup> By Irie Toraji, *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>17</sup> Sukanuma Teifu was born in 1865 at Ogaki in Hirado, an island off Nagasaki Prefecture. The author visited Sukanuma's home at Ogaki during her stop over at Hirado on July 30, 1960. Upon viewing Sukanuma's home which was nestled within rice fields, and considering the material remains which indicated that Hirado was once a thriving port of foreign trade, it was not difficult to imagine how a brilliant mind like Sukanuma's which underwent the discipline of Chinese scholarship directed by Hirado's Chinese scholars and later by professors at the Tokyo University, would be led to search relentlessly for a solution to the poverty of the people of his town who had to turn to the cultivation of a limited area of land since the center of foreign trade had been transferred elsewhere. It must also be remembered that Hirado is in the neigh-

so that he reviewed it<sup>18</sup> before members of one of Hirado's nationalistic study clubs, the *Yui Gakkai*. Suganuma Teifu's comments aroused the club member's interest. Some of them copied the novel and "always carried it around," consequently increasing their hopes for Japan's southward expansion.<sup>19</sup> According to Hirado's local historian, Hanawa Kunzo, it was then that Suganuma Teifu promised the people of his town that he would investigate a place abroad which they could cultivate. When everything would be ready, they would organize themselves into different expeditionary groups and follow him.<sup>20</sup>

In order to fulfill his promise and because he thought that "extending national power abroad was a more important preoccupation for Japan than reforming domestic conditions,"<sup>21</sup> Suganuma Teifu sailed for the Philippines the following spring, after he had convinced another nationalist, Fukumoto Makoto, to follow him.<sup>22</sup> But before presenting Suganuma Teifu's findings in the Philippines, it is well to consider briefly his major works dealing with Japanese expansion to the South Seas—to the Philippines in particular.

Following Sugiura's use of a dream to bemark his ideas on Japanese expansion, Suganuma Teifu wrote on the dream of Japan. His work, entitled *Shin Nihon no tonan no yume* (New Japan's dream of aspirations to the South Seas), is divided into two parts: Volume I entitled "Tatsu no maki" (Volume of the dragon) and Volume II, "Tora no maki" (Volume of the tiger). Each volume had three chapters and nine sections.<sup>23</sup>

---

borhood of Fukuoka where economic discontent among the *samurai* reached a peak during the post-restoration period. Suganuma Teifu's solution was Japanese expansion through trade with, and emigration to the Philippines. The people of Hirado count Suganuma Teifu as one of their town's famous men. So he occupies a special place at the Matsuura Museum of Hirado. For a short biography of Suganuma Teifu, see (1) Kuzuu Yoshihisa, *op. cit.*, 750-752; (2) Mikami Keisho, *Firipin jijo* (The present condition in the Philippines), (Tokyo: Takushoku Shimposha, 1952), 273-279, where a reproduction of "The Life of Sadakaze Suganuma" which was published in the *Philippine Review* of January, 1917, is included in its original English version; (3) Akanuma Saburo, *Suganuma Teifu*. Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1941.

<sup>18</sup> This was when he returned for a short sojourn at his hometown, after his graduation at Tokyo University in the summer of 1888.

<sup>19</sup> Irie Toraji, *Meiji . . .*, 81-82.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> "Suganuma Teifu-shi no shosho" (The detailed report on the cause of Mr. Suganuma Teifu's death), *Nippon*, August 2, 1889, 1.

<sup>22</sup> Suganuma Teifu left for the Philippines on April 1, 1889 when he was an employee of *Nippon*. Before his departure, he had convinced Fukumoto Makoto, another nationalist, to follow him. The latter sailed for Manila a month later. See "Suganuma Teifushi no fun" (The sad news of Suganuma Teifu's death), *Nippon*, August 2, 1889, 1. In the last report, Fukumoto describes how Suganuma Teifu convinced him to go to Manila because both of them were interested in the South Sea area for the good of their country.

<sup>23</sup> Irie Toraji, *Meiji . . .*, *op. cit.*, 82.



Among other things the book proposes: (1) that Japan should take steps to protect herself from the expansive moves of the European Powers in the East and in the South Seas by either helping neighboring countries, such as Siam, in warding off Western encroachments, or by aiding or achieving control of neighboring European colonies such as French Annam, Dutch Java, and Sumatra: (2) that Japan should not fear China or Korea but "The white people who have limited our right to tax and have stepped upon our right to pass our own law and who despise us;"<sup>24</sup> (3) that Japan should search for new territories among the group of islands called the Philippine Islands which have been under Spain for quite a long while; this was so, according to Suganuma Teifu, because "The gods have wanted to give this new territory to Japan. Therefore, the gods left them in another's hands for a while because they had feared that the Philippine Islands would be occupied by others. Then the gods are waiting for our occupation . . . ;"<sup>25</sup> (4) that considering the strength of the Spanish Army in the Philippines and Spain's navy, one hundred battle-ships costing ¥100,000,000—an amount which could be raised from the customs revenue once the "unequal treaties" would be modified—would be enough to defeat Spain in the Philippines; (5) that in this way, Japan could expand abroad, by herself and without any help from anyone, for according to Suganuma, "In order to achieve a great purpose, one must not depend on others. If a man would devote himself to his nation at the risk of his life, he would surely succeed . . . ;"<sup>26</sup> (6) that as Hideyoshi once gave it a try, Japan should decide on a policy towards the Philippine Islands and once decided, Japan should send to the Philippines agricultural emigrants to be supervised and assisted by an emigration company; (7) that encouraging agricultural emigrants would not only be profitable to the emigration company but would also be important because "everywhere many emigrants would go, various industries would prosper. Friendship with the natives would deepen. At the same time, the trade of Japan would be prosperous . . . the company would build commercial ships that could cross oceans and make provisions against pirates, then the ships could take the place of warships when a chance comes . . ." <sup>27</sup>

In *Dainihon shogyoshi*,<sup>28</sup> Suganuma Teifu presents similar ideas expressed in his first work. However, in this second book, he stresses the possibilities of expanding Japan's trade and the need of interesting the country's trade to augment the nation's wealth. He equally emphasizes the importance of diplomacy to a country's national prestige; and counsels

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, 84.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, 85.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, 87.

<sup>28</sup> It was his graduation thesis in Tokyo University.

the avoidance of repetition of his forbear's isolation policy.<sup>29</sup> It is thus easy for us to discern why Suganuma Teifu decided to proceed to Manila. While in Manila, it is said that he carried out his investigations of the geography, history, culture, and government of the Islands during the daytime and wrote about them in the evening.<sup>30</sup> One of the points, echoed by later writer's he made in a serialized article<sup>31</sup> was that Mindanao and Paragua (now known as Palawan) of the Philippine archipelago which he describes as rich in natural resources were hardly developed, and that Spanish control over these islands was weak, if not dubious. He pointed out that these islands would be good for Japanese settlements.<sup>32</sup>

Besides presenting data he had gathered in the Philippines, Suganuma Teifu indicated the advisability of developing Japanese interests in the Philippines, her closest neighbor, and that this should be part of Japan's plan of expansion into the islands around the equator.<sup>33</sup> He found the brisk trade in Manila very encouraging and noted the bright possibilities for Japanese immigration into the island of Luzon, especially in the provinces of Cagayan and Isabela which were thinly populated.<sup>34</sup>

In order to encourage Japanese to immigrate into the Philippines, Suganuma Teifu made note of Filipino similarities with the Japanese: (1) of the 'Tagalogs' in physical features (except that the Japanese were not indolent);<sup>35</sup> (2) of the Visayans' who with their vivacity and mercantile proclivity competed with the Tagalogs in Manila (the Visayans, Suganuma conjectures, must have come from the same stock as the Japanese);<sup>36</sup> and (3) of the bravery and skillful hands of the *Moros* although there is no similarity at all between the Japanese and the *Moro* languages and customs.<sup>37</sup> The attempt at establishing similarities and kinship between the Japanese and the Filipinos, not only bespoke ease of assimilation and adjustment of the Japanese settlers in the Philippines but also justified Japan's mission of helping fellow Asians (especially kin) referred

<sup>29</sup> Sugauma Teifu, *Dai Nihon shogyoshi* (Comprehensive commercial history of Japan), (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1943). See also Irie Toraji's comments on *Dai Nihon shogyoshi* in Irie Toraji, Meiji . . ., *op. cit.* 89.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>31</sup> Only part of the results of his investigation had been posthumously serialized in nine installments of the *Nippon* from June 23 to August 27, 1889, under the title of "Manira tsushin" (Communications from Manila).

<sup>32</sup> Sugauma Teifu, "Manira tsushin" (Communications from Manila), *Nippon*, August 22, 1889, 1.

<sup>33</sup> *Nippon*, June 23, 1889, 3.

<sup>34</sup> *Nippon*, July 28, 1889, 3.

<sup>35</sup> *Nippon*, August 3, 1889, 1.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

to by some scholars as Pan-Asianism a cherished project of Asian unity under Japanese leadership and inspiration.<sup>38</sup>

Filipino discontent warranted by a flaccid Spanish colonial government is unfolding in Suganuma's second book. The archipelago's rich natural resources still untapped seem designed to rouse the lethargic Japanese. How undeceiving are Suganuma's proddings: "Japanese young men who are still confused by the bad dream of a 'close country,' wake up! The place to bury your bones is not only in the grave . . ." <sup>39</sup>

Without doubt Suganuma Teifu advocated an emigration plan similar to that earlier proposed by Yoko Tosaku. Like Sugiura Jugo, he opined that Japanese settlers—with the help of the natives (and Suganuma realistically adds) with the help of a hundred battleships—would eventually overthrow Spanish control over the Islands. Of the first three writers on Japanese expansion to the Philippines, it was Suganuma who brought into the picture Japan's need for expanding into the neighboring territories in order to defend herself from the "white people" who were either entrenched in, or were expanding into, these areas. The last argument for Japanese expansion into the Philippines was ably presented to Japanese nationalists and to the reading public, by one who, in a death-bed promise to Suganuma Teifu was to carry out the latter's unfinished work. (Suganuma died of cholera in Manila on July 6, 1889.)<sup>40</sup> Fukumoto Makoto it was who made this promise.

#### IV

A PROMINENT WRITER OF THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY, FUKUMOTO MAKOTO, was known to his readers by a number of pen names, like Nichinan Koji and Fukumoto Nichinan.<sup>41</sup> Born in 1857 at Fukuoka, a center of discontent among post-restoration landless or propertyless *samurai*, he came from approximately the same area as Suganuma Teifu which might indicate that both were exposed to similar miserable realities. And reasonable it was for both talented minds to conceive of alleviating wretched conditions through Japanese expansion to the Philippines, expansion through immigration. Immigration also meant increasing Japan's trade and certainly strengthening Japan's provisions for preventive self-defense.

<sup>38</sup> M. B. Jansen, *Sun Yat-sen and Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Nippon*, July 28, 1889, 3.

<sup>40</sup> "Suganuma Teifu-shi byobotsu . . .," *loc. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> For a short biography of Fukumoto Nichinan, see (1) *Taishi kaikoroku* (Tokyo: Taishi Korosha Denki Hensankai, 1936), II, 875-880; (2) Kuzuu Yoshihisa, *op. cit.*, 542-546.

Fukomoto made his first trip to the Philippines in 1889. After that trip, he was certain that Eastern Asia as an objective of Japan's expansion would insure his country's security from outside threat. Was it a wonder that he with other nationalists organized the *Toho Kyokai* whose journal enabled Fukomoto to publish one of his major contributions to Japanese knowledge of the Philippine military organization and defense: the "Nanyo heibei teiyo" or "The Summing-up of Spanish Defense in the South Seas"—<sup>42</sup> published in 1891 after Fukomoto's second and last visit to the Philippines? As in the other reports of Fukomoto on the Philippines, weak Spanish colonial control over the Philippines was indicated. Fukomoto especially pointed out that the natives <sup>43</sup> lacked discipline but were not cowardly.<sup>44</sup> This state of affairs in the Islands was dangerous to Japan because it would invite intervention or eventual control of the Philippines by some strong power.

Fukomoto particularly feared German watchful interest <sup>45</sup> in the Philippines, because if Germany would control the archipelago, then Japan would have to face a "mighty country" at its southern boundary (constituted by the southernmost island of the Ryukyus) and "our people would not be able to sleep safely."<sup>46</sup> This is Fukomoto's contention for Japan's southern expansion in his article entitled "Nihon to nanyo" (Japan and the South Seas) which was serialized in four installments of the *Nihonjin*.<sup>47</sup> It reflects Fukomoto's belief that ". . . if a country desires to keep its independence, preserve its security and promote its welfare, it has to try to avoid facing a mighty country . . ."<sup>48</sup> He attempted to prove the

<sup>42</sup> *Toho kyokai hokoku*, No. 1 (March, 1891), 1-46. This work consists of Fukomoto's translation (he was fluent in reading and speaking French) of a report on the Spanish military organization and defense in the Philippines written by one of Fukomoto's friends at the French Consulate in Manila. To this report, Fukomoto added information he had gathered during his two visits to the Islands as well as his own observations and comments.

<sup>43</sup> Who constituted the greater number of the men in the army and who were never promoted to the rank of officer (which was reserved only for Spaniards).

<sup>44</sup> "Nanyo heibei teiyo" (The Summing-up of Spanish defense in the South Seas), *Toho Kyokai hokoku*, No. 1 (March, 1891), 11-12.

<sup>45</sup> Fukomoto's great concern about German interest in the Philippines is gathered in the first installment of his first series of articles on the Philippines, entitled "Korairoku" (Incoming communications), *Nippon*, June 19, 1889.

<sup>46</sup> Fukomoto Nichinan, "Nihon to nanyo" (Japan and the South Seas), *Nihonjin*, May 3, 1890, 12.

<sup>47</sup> No. 44 (April 3, 1890), 19-21; (2) No. 45 (April 18, 1890), 21-23; (3) No. 46 (May 3, 1890), 9-13; (4) No. 47 (May 18, 1890), 6-10.

A French translation of the third installment (May 3, 1890) done by K. O. Oshimaru, interpreter of the Spanish Legation in Japan, together with its Spanish translation, was forwarded by the said Legation to the Governor General of the Philippines in the former's despatch dated May 27, 1890, "Consules," (Mss; Philippine archives deposited in the U.P. Main Library).

<sup>48</sup> "Nihon to nanyo" (Japan and the South Seas), *Nihonjin*, No. 44 (April 3, 1890), 20.

validity of his conclusion by citing cases in Chinese and European history.<sup>49</sup>

Fukumoto next poses the question “. . . what policy should [we follow] in order to keep the southern border [of Japan] secure?” And his answer was, “Here is one way, if Spain could continue holding the [Philippine] Islands, we should help her; if she cannot keep the Islands, we should take them from her and govern them.”<sup>50</sup> But after proving that Spanish control over the Islands was too weak to withstand any future attempt of Germany to acquire the Philippines,<sup>51</sup> and pointing out that there was a disadvantage of sending Japanese immigrants<sup>52</sup> to the Philippines because from his experience the Spaniards discriminated against the Japanese,<sup>53</sup> Fukomoto concludes his article by remarking that “. . . if the Japanese [however] would move into the Islands and even after they had set a good example for the Spaniards, the latter would continue their planless and cruel policies, and would not be able to control the Philippine Islands, then . . . the Japanese should govern the Islands instead of the Spaniards. Consequently, the anxiety regarding the security of the southern border, would cease—the prosperity and prestige of Japan would be greatly increased.”<sup>54</sup>

Fukomoto's concluding statement epitomizes the prevailing Japanese nationalistic-activists' aspirations which simultaneously expressed neo-imperialistic goals. It was for the same nationalistic hopes that Fukomoto made not one but two trips to the Philippines where he gathered enough information on the Islands—information which would be of interest to those who supported Japanese expansion into the Spanish colony. He reported his observations on his first visit to the Philippines in twelve installments of the *Nippon*<sup>55</sup> in 1889. The title of this series of articles was “Korairoku” (Incoming reports). During his second visit to the Islands early in 1891, Fukomoto again wrote a serialized article for the

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-21.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* No. 45 (April 18, 1890), 21.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* No. 46 (May 3, 1890), 10-12.

<sup>52</sup> Fukumoto might have had in mind ideas of earlier writers on Japanese expansion to the Philippines who proposed the plan of moving Japanese immigrants to the Philippines and that these immigrants were to engage in cultivation and to wait for an opportune time to rise up with the Filipinos against the Spanish colonial rule.

<sup>53</sup> “Nihon to nanyo,” *Nihonjin*, No. 47 (May 18, 1890), 9.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.

<sup>55</sup> The series started on June 19, 1889, and ended on November 23, 1889. It must be added, however, that there was a lapse of time between the eighth installment published on July 27, 1889, and the ninth installment published on November 7, 1889.

*Nippon* entitled "Nanpenkibiroku"<sup>56</sup> (The Report on small yet important symptoms [of unrest] in the Southern Provinces).

The "Korairoku" dealt with data similar to those touched by Suganuma Teifu, except that Fukumoto Nichinan pointed out in more details the similarities and kinship relations between the Japanese and Filipinos in terms of physical characteristics and material objects the Filipinos used, as, for instance, one kind of sword which the *Moros* used.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, Fukumoto concentrated on the weakness of Spanish military organization and defense in the Philippines,<sup>58</sup> the cases of inefficiency and corruption of the Spanish officials in the Islands, their neglect of the rich natural resources of the country and their apathy to the miserable conditions in the Spanish colony.<sup>59</sup> In the eleventh installment of the article, Fukumoto's conclusion boosted nationalistic sentiments for Japanese expansion. He remarks, ". . . how many people are there outside of Japan who are doing their best for Japan? How about . . . looking around. There are Luzon, Formosa, Miyakojima, and Oshima. Such islands form a chain even though these islands are scattered in the neighborhood of Japan. Why do the people [i.e., the Japanese] not work in these islands?"<sup>60</sup>

The "Nanpenkibiroku" mainly dealt with the various uprisings the Spanish colonial government in the Philippines had to suppress (the major ones being those of the Carolinas and those of Mindanao) Fukumoto especially took note of the inadequacy of the Spanish army in the Philippines to quell these various disturbances. For instance, it was reported by the Spaniards that over two thousand soldiers were stationed in Manila. But after the second expedition was dispatched to the Carolinas,<sup>61</sup> for a while, according to Fukumoto, there was no soldier left in Manila.<sup>62</sup> Obviously Fukumoto Nichinan's was an argument for Japanese expansion to the Philippines as a means of preventive self-defense for Japan.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>56</sup> It was serialized in five installments, from February 11, 1891 to February 21, 1891.

<sup>57</sup> See "Korairoku," *Nippon*, November 7, 1889, 3; November 9, 1889, 3. Fukumoto mentions his attempt to trace descendants of Japanese in Manila.

<sup>58</sup> *Nippon*, July 5, 1889, 1.

<sup>59</sup> *Nippon*, July 14, 1889, 3; July 17, 1889, 3; July 19, 1889, 1; July 20, 1889, 1; July 21, 1889, 1.

<sup>60</sup> "Korairoku," *Nippon*, November 9, 1889.

<sup>61</sup> To reinforce the first expedition sent to suppress the rebellion in those islands in 1890.

<sup>62</sup> "Nanpenkibiroku" (The report on small yet unimportant symptoms [of unrest] in the Southern Provinces), *Nippon*, February 14, 1891, 1. See also Fukumoto Nichinan, "Nanyo heibei teiyō," *op. cit.*, 13.

<sup>63</sup> Because Spain weakly controlled the Islands and that his condition could lead to the acquisition of this colony by another strong European power, for instance, Germany.

To conclude this paper, we can say that Fukumoto Makoto like the other three Japanese—Yoko Tosaku, Sugiura Jogo and Suganuma Teifu—viewed Japan's expansion to the Philippines as part of their country's expansion to *Nanyo* (the Southern Seas). The underlying justification of all their plans, especially that of Yoko Tosaku, was Japan's need of the Philippines as an outlet for her "surplus population." This justification implied or was followed by expressions of hopes for the consequent development of trade with the Philippines, a country engaged in agricultural production of food and agricultural cash crops then thought of by the Japanese nationalist-activists as two of Japan's needs *vis a vis* their claim of a growing population and increasing industrialization. Sugiura Jogo underscored Japan's mission of civilizing and/or aiding backward areas of the world especially a neighbor—that is, the Philippines—as the main argument for Japanese expansion to the Islands. Suganuma Teifu and Fukumoto Nichinan realized the need of such help but justified it in terms of Japan's right to preventive self-defense. Of the four Japanese, only Suganuma Teifu and Fukumoto Makoto took steps towards the realization of their plans.

To make the plans of these four Japanese-activists for Japan's expansion to the Philippines significant and relevant to the development of Japanese activities in the Philippines before the last Pacific war, I would like to pose two questions: (1) Could there be a possibility of viewing twentieth century Japanese activities in the Philippines as inspired by any of the four plans for Japan's expansion to the Islands? (2) Could a link be established between the techniques used by the Japanese in founding an agricultural settlement in Davao with those suggested by Yoko Tosaku? To answer these questions, there is a need of undertaking further basic research of sources written not only in Japanese but also in other languages such as those written in English by the American Philippine administrators and perhaps those written by foreign consuls assigned to the Philippines. But even if these questions would remain unanswered, the plans of these four Japanese nationalist-activists—Yoko Tosaku, Sugiura Jogo, Suganuma Teifu and Fukumoto Makoto—have indicated that during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, there were Japanese who thought of the possibility of Japan's expansion to the Philippines then under the moribund Spanish colonial administrative control.

## THE ENGLISH "COUNTRY TRADE" WITH MANILA PRIOR TO 1708

by SERAFIN D. QUIASON

IT IS THE AIM OF THIS PAPER TO EXAMINE HOW THE ENGLISH COUNTRY trade"<sup>1</sup> with Manila was developed and conducted prior to 1708. The term "country trade" requires some definition and explanation. It was applied by the English to the intra-Asian trade within the area from the east coast of Africa to China. The advent of the European East India Companies greatly stimulated development of this port-to-port trade as more and more channels of commerce were opened up. Quite naturally, the expansion of the direct Europe-Asian trade and the intra-Asian trade had an ever-increasing influence on the types of goods traded. These momentous changes re-oriented the traditional pattern of Asian trade. The European East India Companies were not alone in their deep interest in this lucrative intra-Asian trade; indeed their servants, too, participated in their capacity as private traders with the object of increasing their personal fortunes. In India, the servants of the European East India Companies reaped substantial incomes from the indulgence in the country trade.

The English East India Company servants engaged themselves as early as the 1620's in private trade, a practice which the Court of Directors had to recognize as a matter of expediency. Until the advent of the English "free merchants" the bulk of the country trade remained largely in the hands of the Company servants. The English free merchants, although not officially affiliated with the East India Company, were permitted to settle in the Company's settlements in India and to engage in

---

SERAFIN D. QUIASON is an Assistant Professor in History and a member of the U. P. President's Committee on North Borneo. He holds an A. B. degree (*cum laude*) from the University of the Philippines, 1952, an A.M. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania, 1954, 1962. He is a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He has a research grant at present for the translation, annotation and analysis of Fray Diego Bergaño's "Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga . . . Sampaloc, 1932," under the sponsorship of the Office of Research Coordination, University of the Philippines.

<sup>1</sup> This "country trade" was commonly referred to as the Eastern or Malay Trade in the sense that the English merchants carried their trade from port to port as well as direct trade in the Malay Archipelago and China. The Manila-Madras trade or popularly known as the "Manilha trade" was an integral part of the Malay trade. See Holden Furber, *John Company at Work*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge: 1949, p. 162. Consult also John Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Archibald Constable and Company, Edinburgh: 1820, Vol. III, p. 293.



private trade under special license. Among the free merchants were many former Company servants who had either retired or resigned from active service.

The ships employed by both the Company's servants and the English free merchants were known as "country ships." These ships, locally built in India, were either owned by the English Company servants and English free merchants, or were chartered from native ship owners. Moreover, the country ships were placed on an altogether different footing from the East India Company vessels (East Indiamen) in that they were not subject to the supervision of the Company administration.

BEFORE WE TRACE THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH COUNTRY trade with Manila in the period covering the years 1670-1708, it is essential to consider the early attempts of the Spanish at Manila to open commercial contacts with India. From the time of the establishment of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines up to about the third quarter of the 17th century, there was no serious effort made on the part of the Spanish government to open a new channel of trade between the Coromandel Coast and Manila. Referring to this apparent lack of Spanish interest, Casimiro Diaz, a Spanish historian remarked:

. . . This commerce with the coast of Coromandel had remained quite neglected by the Spaniards of the Filipinas—who never had maintained any other trade and commerce than that of China, Japón, and Macán . . .<sup>2</sup>

It was not until the time of Manuel de Leon, the Spanish governor-general from 1669 to 1677, that the establishment of another branch of Asian trade was undertaken in outright disregard of the Spanish spirit of exclusiveness and abhorrence of foreign intercourse.<sup>3</sup> Again, Casimiro Diaz, observed:

The former lines of commerce were renewed and other new ones opened up—such as that of the coast of Malabar and Santo Tomé—called the Coromandel coast and those of Suratte, Macán, and Batavia.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Casimiro Diaz, "Augustinians in the Philippines," B and R Vol. 42, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> The law of 1593 passed by the *Consejo de Indias*, the highest governing body of the Spanish colonies, prohibited Spaniards from going to China and other Asian ports to fetch merchandise for transshipment, but they could freely buy what was brought by the Chinese. This law was not strictly enforced. "In the Philippines, the gap between the law and its observance was expanded by geographical isolation." See John L. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison: 1959 p. 84; John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, Scribner's Sons, New York: 1899, p. 273; see also Juan J. Delgado, S.J., *Historia General-Sacro-Profana, Política y Natural de las Islas del Poniente Llamadas Filipinas*. Manila: 1892 Tomo Unico, p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> Casimiro Diaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

In 1674, the first known enterprising Spanish trader, Juan Ventura Sarra, a native of Catalonia, who later settled in Manila, made a voyage to Siam<sup>5</sup> and Malabar. Another Spanish resident of Manila who made a commercial venture into the Coromandel Coast was Don Luis Matienzo,<sup>6</sup> a daring merchant. The following year, bringing along with him a substantial amount of silver, he proceeded via Malacca and purchased goods, mostly cotton "piece goods," at Masulipatam.<sup>7</sup> His purchase, which had been easily disposed of at Manila, gave him a comfortable profit to whet the interest of the citizens of the city to engage in this traffic. However, the first Spanish vessel to call at the port of Madras in June, 1678, was the *San Miguel*.<sup>8</sup> The following year, she made a second visit to Madras, and her commander this time was not John Domingos, an Armenian, but Francisco Cornera. During the time of Streynsham Master, "the governour of Manila and other persons" consigned, through their agent, Francisco Carneiro de Alcassona, the sum of 10,064 Ryalls of 8/8, 600 Pagodas, 60 Ryalls of gold, and 85 chests of Copper"<sup>9</sup> to Pedda Vencatadry, for the purpose of purchasing Indian textile goods of all sorts and descriptions. After the lapse of 8 years, another Spanish vessel, the *Jesús Nazareno*<sup>10</sup> was dispatched to trade at Madras, under the command of William Nagle.<sup>11</sup> She was followed by two Spanish ships from "Manilha. . . with considerable stocks to buy cloth"<sup>12</sup> in January and February 1693. The last Spanish merchant to make his purchases at Madras came with Don Teraleo, the commander of the *San Jose* in 1694. He spent about four months completing her cargo "probably with connivance and concurrence of some of the joint stocks merch."<sup>13</sup> When he was ready to leave Madras, he had bought "2000 bales of cloth for Manilha."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>5</sup> In the early 1670's, a Spanish ship "from Manila had brought treasure in exchange for calicoes and etc., "John Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, K. Paul Trench Trübner & Co., London: 1890, p. 170.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Charles Fawcett, (ed.) *The English Factories in India 1670-1677*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1936 Vol. II, pp. 98-102.

<sup>8</sup> *DCB*, 1678-1679, p. 69; 1679--1680, p. 76; 1680-1681, p. 93.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1681, pp. 56-57.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1686, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> There is evidence of Irishmen in Manila in the 1680's and in the 18th century, but no information has so far been found telling that they were Irish Jacobite exiles of the English Revolution of 1688. William Dampier mentions a certain Irish Roman Catholic named John FitzGerald in Manila who was married to a Spanish mestiza. FitzGerald spoke fluent Spanish, taught "physics and surgery," and lived well there. "Dampier in the Philippines," B and R, Vol. 39, 1683-1690, p. 88. See also Pedro Murillo Velarde, "Jesuit Mission," B and R, Vol. 44, p. 29.

<sup>12</sup> *DCB*, 1694, p. 122.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *LFSSG.*, 1694, p. 34.

There were also irregular and intermittent Spanish voyages from Manila to Macassar, Cochin-China,<sup>15</sup> Cambodia, Tonquin,<sup>16</sup> Batavia,<sup>17</sup> and Siam.<sup>18</sup> Before the breakdown of Portuguese Macao-Spanish relations, the Manila merchants went to Macassar to purchase "four sorts of white cloath"<sup>19</sup> and a large quantity of pepper estimated to about 100 tons per annum. The Macassar traders realized a profit of 150% from the sale of cloth alone. The pepper was sold at "15 rialls of eight"<sup>20</sup> per picul. Casimiro Diaz, in his account of a goodwill mission from the King of Macassar in 1658, states:

It had a very rich trade with Philippine in former times, but it has entirely ceased since 1673 when commerce was first established with the coast of India.<sup>21</sup>

One significant effect of these early private ventures was the strong stimulus they gave to other adventurous Spanish citizens. Some Spanish merchants responded enthusiastically to the splendid opportunity of getting the finest cotton and silk fabrics directly from India at a price more reasonable than that which they actually paid to the Siamese, Chinese, or Macassar traders at Manila. Within a comparatively short time after the inauguration, the direct trade proved a boon to many citizens of Manila. So profitable and large in volume was the direct trade that further determined efforts were made to extend it to other directions. As time passed, the taste for Indian commodities was generally making its way through the luxury-loving Spaniards of Mexico via Manila.<sup>22</sup> For many years, the

<sup>15</sup> In the 1690's, the Spaniards from Manila used to have some of their galleons built at Cochin China. See "Thomas Bower to Nathaniel Higginson, April 30, 1696," Alexander Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory*, Printed by W. Ballantine, London: 1808 Vol. 1, p. 91.

<sup>16</sup> An appreciable amount of "country trade" also existed between Tongking and Manila. See Ma Yi Yi, "English Trade in the South China Seas, 1670-1715," Ph. D. thesis, (University of London, 1958), p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> The Sultan of Bantam undertook several profitable ventures in Manila and invited the Spanish Governor to trade at Bantam. The Spanish Governor returned the compliment by sending a small vessel to Bantam. "Bantam Letter to Surat, June 8, 1668" Fac. Rec. Ch. II, 1623-1683, Vol. I, fol. 423.

<sup>18</sup> In the 1680's, the King of Siam sent annually a *somah* to Manila which was laden . . . "of Surat, and Coromandell, some raw and wrought silkes of China . . . Iron, and makes returns in Ryalls of eight" . . . , John Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

<sup>19</sup> See William Foster, (ed.) *The English Factories in India, 1642-1645*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1913 p. 192.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, "The piece of eight" was a coin whose weight and intrinsic value was equivalent to eight reals of silver. "Various Documents Relating to Commerce," B, and R, *op. cit.*, Vol. 12, f.n. 11, p. 73.

<sup>21</sup> William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York: 1959, p. 143.

<sup>22</sup> For nearly over two centuries, Manila played the role of a "way station," as C. R. Boxer describes it nicely, between Asia and Mexico. In this regard, Professor Holden Furber also cogently states: "Prior to 1760, the islands had been as it were, an appanage of New Spain trading solely with Acapulco in

liberal but unauthorized commercial policy of Governor Manuel de Leon was carried on by his successor Juan de Vargas Hurtado whose administration ended in 1684.<sup>23</sup> During the entire term of Hurtado, Manila maintained a flourishing trade "with foreign nations, as those of Coromandel Coast, Bengal and Surrate."<sup>24</sup>

These early Spanish voyages, although successful, were never sustained over a long period, because of the heavy dependence placed on the periodic arrival of Chinese trading junks. In this regard Hosea B. Morse cogently states that:

The Spaniards were the second to enter into the China Trade, first visiting in 1575, but their carrying trade they left to the Chinese trading with Manila.<sup>25</sup>

The Directors of the English East India Company, in spite of the repeated failures to obtain through diplomatic means the liberty to trade at Manila, never fully lost sight of the possibilities of trying every expedient way to enter the Manila market.

After the diplomatic rebuff at the Court of Madrid, the task of obtaining entrance into and the development of the exclusive Manila market was entirely relegated to the Company agents and later on to private merchants at the factories in India. With the loss of Bantam, the Directors gave up many of their projects for trade in the Far East and began to concentrate the power and resources of the East India Company on the Indian Sub-Continent. The calamity further afforded the Company servants and private traders ample opportunity to devise a strategem of approach to the restricted Manila trade that could be adopted with effectiveness and skill.

---

Mexico, by means of an annual galleon. Politically, administratively, financially, they were in the West not in the East and all communication with Spain took place via Spanish America." Professor Furber emphatically stresses the fact that "before that date the Spaniards were content to supply the European East India companies with silver for export to India and China." See C.R. Boxer, "The Closing of Japan in 1636-1639," *History Today*, Vol. 6, No. 2, December, 1956, p. 831; Consult also Holden Furber, "An Abortive Attempt at Anglo-Spanish Commercial Cooperation on the Far East in 1793," *Hispanic-American Historical Review*, November, 1936, Vol. 15, pp. 448-463. Cf. Holden Furber, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>23</sup> Governor Hurtado was also active in the constructions of vessels and the *Sto. Niño* was built during his term of office, 1677-84, "The Events of Manila, 1690-91," B and R. *op. cit.*, Vol. 40, p. 31.

<sup>24</sup> Casimiro Diaz, *op. cit.*, p. 152. Confirming this extensive trade of Manila, Murillo also states that trading vessels came "from Coromandel, Surrate, and other parts of the Orient," See Pedro Murillo y Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Pilipinas de la Compañia de Jesus, Que Comprehende Los Progresos de esta Provincia desde el año de 1616, Hasta el de 1716*, Manila: 1749, p. 300.

<sup>25</sup> Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Gilds of China with an Account of the Guild of Merchants or Cohong*, Longmans, Green, & Co., London: 1932, p. 66.

THE COMMERCIAL SUCCESS OF THE PORTUGUESE IN PREVIOUS TIMES AND THE Armenian ship *Hopewell* in 1668 in gaining access to the Manila trade provided an excellent impetus to employ non-English owned vessels and super-cargoes of foreign nationalities to establish trade contacts with Manila. When a report from the Surat Presidency telling that Khwaja Minas,<sup>26</sup> an Armenian, had for three consecutive years been engaged in a trade with Manila, the Directors' favorably reacted to the suggestion of trading indirectly by sending English and Coast goods on Armenian vessels. Before the Surat Presidency could do anything in that direction, the Company agents at Madras had already made a preliminary attempt to infringe upon the restricted but lucrative Manila market. Major William Puckle, in his diary, mentions that "the servants of the Company (Coromandel Coast) traded to the Philippines"<sup>27</sup> besides other Asian countries in the 1670's. The trade to Manila, of course, was done surreptitiously by utilizing the services of the Indo-Portuguese merchants of St. Thomas and Madras.

The Indo-Portuguese came to live in Madras shortly after the occupation of the town by the English in 1639. To induce other Indo-Portuguese settlers to Madras, the East India company not only granted them free exercise of religion but also accorded them the same commercial privileges and rights as those of the English private merchants. The exercise of the latter privilege was, however, contingent upon the payment of a bond and customs duties of 4% to the English. In 1680, the Madras Council submitted a report to the effect that "our greatest income arises from the customs upon their Portuguese commerce . . ." <sup>28</sup> Within a period of three decades, the Portuguese were able to build up an extensive and prosperous trade in India and the neighboring Asian countries. The prosperity of the Indo-Portuguese community in the 1670's and 1680's was also characterized by corresponding increase in the Indo-Portuguese population. The basis of this was the liberal English policy towards all alien settlers particularly the Portuguese.<sup>29</sup>

However, the greatest single benefit the Indo-Portuguese rendered to the East India Company was their usefulness in the development of the

<sup>26</sup> Khwaja Minas appears to be the first Armenian to have attempted to trade with Manila. In 1668, the ship *Hopewell* sailed to Manila with "a cargo of £15,000 in Calicoes, etc." William Foster, *op. cit.*, 1668-1669, The Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1927, p. 195.

<sup>27</sup> Sir Charles Fawcett, *op. cit.*, p. 262. See also William Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

<sup>28</sup> K. J. Crowther, "Portuguese Society in India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." D. Phil. thesis (Oxford University), 1959, p. 274. See also Henry D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800*, Published for the Government of India, London: 1913, Vol. 1, pp. 279, 304.

<sup>29</sup> The Portuguese population in Madras around 1650 was estimated to about 500 or 600. K. J. Crowther, *ibid.*, p. 273. See also Henry D. Love, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

“country trade” with Manila. Among the Portuguese who had well served the Company’s trade with Manila, Joao Caroon seems to be the most outstanding. He was first employed as an interpreter with a compensation of 5 pagodas per month, and later as a pilot of the Armenian vessel, *Conjevaron*.<sup>30</sup> Thomas Bowrey, writing about the invaluable service of the Portuguese to the Company and particularly to the Manila trade in the period between 1669 and 1679, says:

... Yet notwithstanding such vast quantities are yearly sent hence for England, great Stores are transported and vended into most places of note in India, Persia, Arabia, China and the South Seas, more especially to Moneela one of the Molucca Isles, belonging to the King of Spaine, but are sent thither in the name and under the *Colours of the Portugals* borne and bred in India; noe others being admitted a free trade thither, and especially the English, haveinge the same prohibition as to trade to the Spanish Garrisons in Mexico and Peruana in America.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, we find that long before the entry of William Dampier into the territorial waters of the Philippine archipelago, the Madras Council had already made headway in the establishment of direct voyages to Manila. Concerning the manner in which the early phase of the “country trade” relations with Manila was conducted, William Dampier, who visited Mindanao and Sulu in 1684, observes:

... Sometimes the English merchants of Fort St. George send their ships thither as it were by Stealth, under the charge of Portuguese Pilots and mariners: for as yet we cannot get the Spanish there to a Commerce with us, . . . This seems to arise from a jealousie, or fear of discovering the Riches of these Islands, for the most if not all the Philippine Islands, are rich in gold.<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, Dampier, noting this attitude of the growing Spanish mercantile class toward the English trade, says:

The Spanish Inhabitants, of the smaller Islands, especially, would willingly trade with us, if the Government was not too severe against it, for they have no goods but what are brought from Manila (sic) at an extraordinary dear rate.

<sup>30</sup> *DCB*, 1695, p. 91; 1669, p. 47; 1700, p. 28. In 1689, the Honorable Company ship *Defence* commanded by Captain William Heath left for Canton via Manila after the monsoon had already set in. To insure the safe passage of the ship, the service of an experienced Portuguese pilot was enlisted, together with another English pilot. See *LTFSG.*, 1689, p. 36; *DCB.*, 1689, p. 63. See also Henry D. Love, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 41.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal 1669 to 1679*, Sir Richard C. Temple, (ed.), Hakluyt Society, Cambridge: 1905, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, Adams and Charles Black, London. 1937, Vol. I, p. 307.

. . . if any of our Nations could seek a trade with them, they would not lose their labour: for the Spaniards can and will smuggle (as our seamen call Trading by Stealth) as well as any Nation . . . and I have been informed that Captain Goodlud of London in a voyage which he made from Mindanao to China, touch at some of these Islanls, and was civilly treated by the Spaniards who bought some of his commodities, giving him a very good price for the same.<sup>33</sup>

The practice of issuing passes to the English "Manilha Shippes" "to goe under Portugues coulers"<sup>34</sup> became an accepted procedure and continued to persist even after 1688, the year when the Treaty with the Armenians was signed.

THE ARMENIANS WERE THE OTHER GROUP OF SETTLERS WHO PLAYED A SUBSTANTIAL part in the development of the so-called "Manila Trade." Many of them, too, drifted to Madras and settled there in 1688, through the assistance of Sir John Chardin, a famous traveler.<sup>35</sup> It was Josiah Child who had long perceived the advantages to be gained in employing the Armenians within the existing rules prescribed by the Company. He had good reasons to ask his subordinates to "encourage the Armenians in lading Indian goods, to treat them with kindness, and to urge them to reside in the Company's settlements."<sup>36</sup> The Armenians were a people, as far as he is concerned, "profoundly skillful as well as careful, diligent and exceedingly frugal in their ways."<sup>37</sup> He had visualized what great benefits the Company would derive from transforming the factories into centers of Asian trade and enhancing the revenues, should his desire to employ the Armenians be carried out.

On the basis of an agreement entered into between Sir Josiah Child on behalf of the Directors and Coja Phanoos Khalanthar on June 22, 1688, the Armenians were granted the same privileges that were accorded the Indo-Portuguese and English free merchants. The right of the Armenians to carry on trade with Manila and other Asian ports is specifically stated in the fourth article of the treaty:

That they may voyage from any of ye Comp<sup>sa</sup> Garrisons to any ports or places in India, ye South Seas, China or ye Manillas, in any of ye Comp<sup>as</sup> ships or any permissive free ships allowed by ye Comp<sup>a</sup>, and may have the liberty to trade to China, ye Manillas, or any other ports or places

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 308.

<sup>34</sup> "Elihu Yale to Francis Martin, Director General for the Royal French East India Company, June 23, 1688," *LFFSG*, 1688, p. 34.

<sup>35</sup> F. E. Penny, *On the Coromandel Coast*, London: 1908, p. 127.

<sup>36</sup> Shafaat Ahmad Khan, *The East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century in its Political and Economic Aspects*, Oxford University Press, London: 1923, p. 249.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

within ye limits of the Compasch<sup>re</sup> upon equal terms, duties and freights with any free Englishman whatsoever.<sup>38</sup>

On the nature of the treaty of 1688, H. A. Stark makes this comment:

This treaty of 1688 did not forensically possess all the binding force of an international Act for it had been negotiated with a single individual of a race which had ceased to exist as a political nation. But it had gathered validity by the sanction of usage . . . Whether binding or not as a treaty, this much at any rate was certain, that is, had been held out by the Company to encourage the resort and settlement of Armenian traders . . .<sup>39</sup>

Under the said specific proviso of the treaty, the Armenians carried on a considerable trade with Manila either on their own account or in joint partnerships with the English private merchants. Some groups of enterprising Armenians owned a few trading vessels that plied with an astonishing degree of regularity between Manila and Madras. In hiring seamen, the Armenian ship owners showed partiality to the Europeans, particularly English seamen, owing to their conduct, courage, superior skill in the art of navigation.<sup>40</sup> They offered them attractive wages and privileges. The pilot of the *Cajetan*, Francis Davenport, received as much as "10-15 pounds per month," and the gunner, William Swan got "6-9 pounds"<sup>41</sup> plus the privilege of bringing merchandise freight free. In the 1690's, the Armenians of Madras were not as numerous as the Portuguese, but "the bulke of their Trade doe very considerably contribute to the Revenue."<sup>42</sup>

As free access to Manila was allowed only to traders of Asian origin, English-owned goods were freighted on vessels owned by Armenians, Moslems, Hindus, and Parsis. Charles Lockyer, who was a Company servant in 1702-1704, tells us in the following passage about the employment of Armenian "colours."<sup>43</sup>

Trade they drive to all parts eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, that of China is most desired for the gold and fine goods brought thence; but the Company sending directly from England vessels of their own has quite

<sup>38</sup> *Desp. fr. Eng.*, 1686-1692, p. 157. Cf., Mesroub Seth, *History of the Armenians in India*, Calcutta, 1895, p. 49.

<sup>39</sup> Herbert A. Stark, "The Armenians in India," *Calcutta Review* January, 1894, Vol. XCVIII, p. 140.

<sup>40</sup> See William H. Coates, *The Old Country Trade of the East Indies*, London: 1911, p. 20.

<sup>41</sup> *DCB.*, 1698, p. 52.

<sup>42</sup> *Pub. Desp. to Eng.*, 1694-96, p. 35.

<sup>43</sup> Since there was no Armenian government, the Armenian vessels plying between the Coromandel coast and Manila used Moorish colors. Henry D. Love, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 133. Mesroub Seth tells us that other Armenian vessels "were officered with Englishmen and sailed under European flags." Mesroub Seth, *The History of the Armenians in India*, Calcutta, 1937, p. 581.



spoiled it. *Manilha*, under Armenian colours is a profitable voyage; Batavia, and the coasts of Java, Jahore, Malacca, Quedah, Pegu, Arracan, Bengall and all the Coromandell Coast, are yearly visited, with Acheen, Priaman, Indiapore, Bencoolen, Bantall, etc., on the West Coast of Sumatra, . . .<sup>44</sup>

On many occasions, coast goods were brought in English-owned bottoms which assumed Asian names and were provided with Portuguese or Armenian captains<sup>45</sup> and seamen. Actually, the English merchants from Madras trading at Manila found it advantageous to name their vessels after terms of Indian origin or places in India, such as *Tanjore*, *Annapourna*, *Trivitore*, *Triplicane*, *Conjevaron*. To appeal to the religiosity of the Spanish ecclesiastics as well as citizens, other vessels derived their names from individuals or saints, true to the character or religious background of the Portuguese captain, such as *Nos Senhora de Boa Vista*, *St. Thomas*, *St. David*, *St. Paul*, and *Nos Senhora de Rosario*. Still another ingenious way of concealing the identity or ownership of the vessel was by designating an "alias" to the English ship, as in the case of the *Trivitore*, whose name was the *Jaggernot*.<sup>46</sup> The proffer of "some suitable presents"<sup>47</sup> was another effective means of hastening and facilitating the business of the English merchants at Manila. Another clever device employed was to consign the goods to Manila in the name of a prominent Hindu merchant.<sup>48</sup>

ALTHOUGH THE SPANIARDS IN MANILA HAD SHOWN A STRONG AVERSION TO "paganism" and the Islamic faith, they entertained a greater feeling of apprehension regarding the Dutch, the English, and the French. To relieve the Spaniards of their recurring fear of foreign aggressiveness, the East India Company preferred the Portuguese and Armenians who were religiously acceptable as well as politically innocuous to the Manila authorities.

The first voyage to be launched from Madras under the Portuguese flag was that of the *Triplicane* in 1674. Between 1675 and 1677, there was a brief interruption in the Madras-Manila voyages. The annual voy-

<sup>44</sup> Charles Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade in India*, (London, 1711), p. 15.

<sup>45</sup> Feodor Jagor, the famous German traveler who visited the Philippines in the years 1859-1860, says that after the British occupation of Manila, the English vessels trading with Manila assumed "Turkish (sic.) names and were provided with Indian (sic.) sham captains." Jagor's *Travels* in Austin Craig, (ed.), *The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes*, D. Appleton & Co., New York: 1917, p. 115. See Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia General de Filipinas desde el descubrimiento hasta nuestras días*, Tomo II, Madrid, 1894, pp. 120-121; see also "Viana's Memorial of 1765" B. and R., *op. cit.*, Vol. 48, p. 271.

<sup>46</sup> DCB., 1690, p. 54.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 1689, pp. 61-63.

<sup>48</sup> DCB., 1699, p. 51.

ages were revived in 1678 with the dispatch of *Tanjore* under the command of Domingo Mendis de Rosario, a Portuguese pilot. Again in 1689 and 1680, manned by another Portuguese pilot, Thomas Perez, the *Tanjore* made her second and third visits to Manila from Madras. She was followed by the *Trivitore* in 1680, the owner of which was Elihu Yale. From then onward, there came a steady arrival of trading vessels at the port of Manila. Each year, two voyages were made to Manila. The ships were properly issued a "printed passes"<sup>49</sup> and usually departed from Madras in the months of February and March, or, at the latest, in June and July in order to sail with the prevailing winds and also to be in time for the trading season at Manila. A ship calling at Malacca took about ten and a half months, more or less,<sup>50</sup> to sail to and from Manila. Many of the "Manilha Ships" traded in one or more ports, either in going to or in coming back from Manila.

The pattern of the "country trade" with Manila, in the early phase of its development, was basically determined by the types of goods and products shipped. The items for export to Manila were amply guided by a list of goods suitable for the Manila market. From time to time, the list was modified to conform with the fluctuating Spanish demands at Manila. By 1680, the lists became very specific and became concentrated on a few highly prized commodities. As to the quality of the goods, the revised list included the following specifications in order of their preferences:

*Goods Proper for Manilha from Madras and the Coast of Coromandell Vizt.*<sup>52</sup>

Long cloth ordinary 70 Cov<sup>d</sup> long & 2 Cov<sup>broad</sup>  
Sallampores ordy 32 CI & 2 C

<sup>49</sup> DCB., 1679-1680, p. 76; 1680-1681, p. 93; 1697, p. 67.

<sup>50</sup> Charles Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>52</sup> The old list included all "sorts of cloth required from the Coast propper for Manilha:

25 Bales	Slave Clouth
30 "	Cambays
15 "	Allejaes—red of 8 Fathoms
5 "	Chilles, blue or red of 4 Fathoms
200 "	Ormoce Long Cloth, white
50 "	Sallampores Cloth, blue
50 "	" " red

Iron, in bars, 5000 Pecull

50 Gobarrs—rich of several sort and flowers of the Gaud manner

40 Pieces Comillrs litto

20 Pieces chints very fine

20 Pieces Rumbuttors "

40 Pieces Tappy Sorzassors—ditto

Bantam Letters to Fort St. George, May 25, 1668, with postscript of June 8, 1668, Fac. Rec. Ch. 1623-1699, Vol. 13, fols. 326-328. See also Report in the Trade of India, Fort of St. George, 1680. B.M., Add MSS 84, 123, fol. 36.

Bettlelaes, a few ordy           40 c long & 2 c<sup>brd</sup>  
 Cambays ordinary  
 Do fine  
 Sallampores fine a few  
 Diamonds cut that weight 3 Stones to a Mangelin  
 Metchlepatam Romalls  
 Alejaes 16 Co Co 2<sup>brd</sup>  
 Saltpeter<sup>53</sup>

In the early 1670's, the quantity of cotton piece goods recommended for export to Manila did not exceed 500 bales. At the turn of the century, the shipments of cotton piece goods were increased six fold. The second article which held the greatest hope for profit was iron. The quantity expected to be exported ranged from 5000 to 6000 peculs.<sup>54</sup> In addition to Indian "piece goods," diamonds and pearls were the other important items of export to Manila.

AT THE OUTSET, THE EAST INDIA COMPANY DIRECTORS LAID DOWN THE PROGRAM for promoting the sale of English manufactures in Manila—a policy in keeping with the traditional desire to create a market for national woolen products in the East.<sup>55</sup> In 1681, the Company's eagerness to introduce "Coholecester Bayes"<sup>56</sup> in Manila was clearly manifested. The Company planned to invest annually 8,000 or 10,000 pounds worth of English manufactures, long cloth, Sallampores, and other proper goods,<sup>57</sup> and afforded as a form of incentive to the Company's servants a 5 per cent commission. The Spanish merchants at Manila ordered from Amoy "50 peces (of Coholecester Bayes) for a tryall,"<sup>58</sup> but it turned out that such goods did not sell well in Manila. In 1686, the Company Directors tried again but in vain to consign English woolen stuffs to Bartholomew Rodriguez, a Portuguese Jew at Madras.<sup>59</sup> As it turned out, there was no ready market in Manila for such English goods. Under these circumstances, they ordered the *Rochester* to carry the unsold English goods back to England. Hence, the Company's experiment in creating a market

<sup>53</sup> The sale of saltpeter, guns, anchors, and other naval stores to the Spaniards in Manila was subject to the approval of the Madras Council.

<sup>54</sup> Bantam Letters to Fort St. George, 25th May, 1688 with post-script of June 8, 1688, Fac. Rec. Ch., 1623-1699, Vol. 13, fols. 326-328.

<sup>55</sup> Earl H. Pritchard, *Anglo-Chinese Relations During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, University of Illinois, Urbana: 1930, p. 45. See also D. K. Bassett, "The Trade of the English East India Company in the Far East, 1623-1684," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Part II, April and October 1960, p. 148.

<sup>56</sup> *Desp. fr. Eng.*, 1681-1686, p. 132; see also *LTFSG.*, 1682, p. 135.

<sup>57</sup> *Desp. fr. Eng.*, 1681-1686, p. 7.

<sup>58</sup> *LTFSG.*, 1682, p. 135.

<sup>59</sup> Ct. Bk., April 1687—March 1690, Col. 35, fol. 236. See also *Desp. fr. Eng.*, 1686-1692, p. 87; Henry D. Love, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 485.

for English goods proved a complete disappointment because of the climatic conditions in the Philippines and the high prices for the English goods.

The trade in calicoes undoubtedly was of immense value, being the chief export from Madras in the early phase of the country trade. This is clearly reflected in the "Report on the Trade of Siam" written in 1678:

The ships from Suratt, and Coromandell, bring cargoes of sev:<sup>11</sup> sorts of Calicoes propp. for ye:<sup>use</sup> of yt: Countrey and Exportacion to Japon, China, and Manillah, wch: they barter for Tynn Copp., Tutinague, and Porcellaine, . . .<sup>60</sup>

Calico was gradually displaced in importance by the "Long Cloth ordinary of Conimere"<sup>61</sup> and other sorts of textiles such as Gurras, Chintz, and Salampores.

It is difficult to give a full record of the value of the year-to-year exportation because the exact figures are few. In a voyage sponsored by the Council in 1684, *Annapourna* carried a cargo worth only £15,000.<sup>62</sup> Later on, the *Annapourna* would realize 100,000 pagodas per shipment from the sale of 3,000 bales of Long Cloth. A bill of lading and invoice of a small Armenian ship bound for Manila indicated the value of goods to about 39,662 pagodas.<sup>63</sup> As many as "1000 pieces of Long Cloth Ordinary"<sup>64</sup> were shipped to Manila towards the closing years of the 17th Century.

Sugar, sappanwood, brimstone, copper, tobacco, wax, deer nerves,<sup>65</sup> cowries, silver, and gold works, and leather constituted the Manila export—silver specie predominating. To take one commodity alone, in the trading season of 1686, between 10 and 13 maunds of "Manila Tobacco"<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup> John Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

<sup>61</sup> A common complaint lodged against the "Manilha ships" by the Governor and Council of Fort St. George was the system of making advanced payment to the tune of 5000 Pagodas in ordinary cotton goods to the Indian weavers. This practice, according to the Council, tended to bring up the prices of the cotton piece goods and to cause a scarcity. On the contrary, Professor G. Unwin points out the system of advancing large sums of money to Indian weavers stimulated the production of all sorts of piece of goods in demand, increased their sale, and provided employment to thousands of native workers. *LTFSG.*, 1684, p. 69. See also G. Unwin, "Indian Factories in the 18th Century." Issued by the Manchester Statistical Society, January 1924, p. 57; *DCB.*, 1692, p. 38; *ibid.*, 1690, p. 37.

<sup>62</sup> Sir Charles Fawcett, (ed.) *The English Factories in India*, (The East Coast and the Bay of Bengal) New Series, The Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1936, Vol. IV, p. 80.

<sup>63</sup> The bales of cloth designed for the Manila market bore the mark "L. C.M." *Pub. Desp. to Eng.*, 1694-1696, p. 27.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 1700, p. 39.

<sup>65</sup> Alexander Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, p. 87. See also "Thomas Pitt's Report in the Trade of India," B.M. 24, 123, fol. 36.

<sup>66</sup> *LTFSG.*, 1686-1687, p. 130.

were purchased on a wholesale basis by Passancore Venketty Putty, a Hindu merchant from Conjeveram. The shopkeepers of Madras were kept well stocked with Manila tobacco, ganjee and betel leaves by a group of Hindu merchants whose right or "cowle"<sup>67</sup> to farm out such commodities was granted by the Deputy Governor. The other important article for "ye making of Countrey Powder" was brimstone.<sup>68</sup> At least 10 maund of brimstone was yearly carried to Madras by the "Manilha" ships. The current price of the brimstone ranged from 6.18 to 8 pagodas per candy.<sup>69</sup> In addition to the other articles that found ready sale at Madras were "silver philligrin works,"<sup>70</sup> Manila plates,<sup>71</sup> silver trunks,<sup>72</sup> fine gold chains and chests<sup>73</sup>—all made by the Chinese craftsmen in Manila. Silver Manila trunks and gold chains were among the valuable items presented to many Indian or Moslem potentates like Nabob Dawed (doud) Cawn<sup>74</sup> and Abdull Labbey<sup>75</sup> as gifts by the Governor of Fort St. George. Besides the silver and gold products, Manila leather<sup>76</sup> for the use of the Fort St. George garrison occupied an important position.

THE "MANILHA TRADE" WAS HIGHLY VALUED NOT BECAUSE OF THE MANILA products already mentioned but because of the silver that formed the bulk of the return cargo. The growing dependence of Madras on silver coming from Manila was made evident in Nathaniel Higginson's letter to the Deputy Governor of York Fort in Sumatra. It reads in part:

. . . wee depended with great reason on a supply of Dollars from Manilha, but one ship lost her passage, another came by way of Macao, and another came directly, but neither of them brought a dollar, nor there is 1000 dollars to be bought in ye place . . .<sup>77</sup>

The amount of Spanish dollars that was realized in outright sale of Indian goods at Manila varied from time to time. It usually ranged

<sup>67</sup> Upon the payment of 133 Pagodas and 12 fanams to the Company, the "cowle" for farming out tobacco and ganjee was granted for a period of one year to the following Chittees:

Upallapa, Naranda, Eram Raz, Guragaila Paupaia, Bundur Baulu, Punjele Tango, Veraugu Pilla, Naungalu Peria, Paupe Redde, Verapa Chema Nurte, and Vincaputtee Panura Ramana. DCB., 1693, p. 50., *LTFSG.*, 1693-1694, p. 16.

<sup>68</sup> *LTFSG.*, 1700, p. 4.

<sup>69</sup> DCB., 1696, p. 84; *LTFSG.*, 1699-1700, p. 11.

<sup>70</sup> DCB., 1687, p. 173.

<sup>71</sup> E. B. Sainsbury (ed.) *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1671-1673, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932, Vol. 9, p. 103.

<sup>72</sup> *LTFSG.*, 1694, p. 31.

<sup>73</sup> DCB., 1698, p. 34.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 1700, p. 3.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 1702-1703, p. 22.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 1693, p. 11.

<sup>77</sup> *LTFSG.*, 1698, p. 61.

from 10,064 to 100,000 Spanish dollars<sup>78</sup> per year. The Spanish dollars brought in by the "Manilha ships" like the *Annapourna* were sold "at the Buzar price."<sup>79</sup> In the early years of the 1700's the current price of Spanish dollars was between 16 and 16¾ for every 10 pagodas.<sup>80</sup> Aside from silver, an appreciable quantity of "copangs"<sup>81</sup> brought from Manila, were taken to the mint to be coined. The weight of 324 copangs from Manila, after being minted, would produce the equivalent values of 1668 pagodas; the mintage duties being one-half per cent or 110 pagodas.<sup>82</sup>

The country trade with Manila up to the closing years of the 17th Century was a virtual monopoly of the Company servants at Madras. The reasons for this are not far to seek. In the first place, the number of English free merchants actively participating in the Manila trade prior to 1701 was negligible. To verify this point, let us take a glance at an official estimate of the number of English residents living in the Coromandel coast in 1699:<sup>83</sup>

*Gentlemen*

Company's servants at Fort St. George	30
Company's servants at Fort St. David	13
Company's servants at Visagpatam	3
Freemen	35
Seafaring men not constant inhabitants	38
	119

*Women*

Wives	26
Widows	14
Unmarried	10

Charles Lockyer, who was a Company servant in 1702-1704, also testifies that "all private trade in Country Ships has been so long ingross'd by the Company servants that they really think they have a right to do it at their own Rates."<sup>84</sup> In the second place the passage of the Parliamentary re-

<sup>78</sup> *DCB.*, 1681, p. 56; 1692, p. 31.

<sup>79</sup> The Consultation and Dyary Booke of Thomas Pitt, Esq. Pres. and Gov. and Council. Their proceedings and Transactions in the Affairs of the Rt. Hon. English East India Company on the Presidency of the Coast of Choromandell, Januarie, B.M., 22. 843, 1700. fols. 65, 161, 166, 177.

<sup>80</sup> *DCB.*, 1687, p. 45.

<sup>81</sup> *DCB.*, 1687, p. 45.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56; Much of the gold exported from Manila to Madras came from the rich mines in Luzon. See *Man. Cons.* 1762-1763, Vol. 3, p. 11.

<sup>83</sup> J. Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Times, being a history of the Presidency from the first Foundation of the Governorship of Thomas Pitt, 1639-1709*, Madras: 1861, Vol. I, p. 356.

<sup>84</sup> Charles Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

gulation in 1694 granting to all Englishmen equal rights to trade in the East<sup>85</sup> heralded the breaking up of the servants' control of the Manila trade. A comfortable latitude was allowed by the Court of Directors to the East India Company servants in the matter of private "country trade," mainly because their salary was pathetically low.

Many Company servants actually reaped a steady if not handsome income from the indulgence in the "Manila trade." The leading Company official in Madras who showed an active and keen interest in the early trade relations with Manila was Elihu Yale. He owned at least three or four ships<sup>86</sup> plying regularly between Madras and Manila. An idea of how much profit a Company servant might expect per venture is gathered from the "*Letter Book of Thomas Pitt.*" The case of William Dobyms, a Company official in London, is an interesting one. He was able to realize a profit of 49 per cent<sup>87</sup> from his investment of 500 pagodas in one of the ventures of the *Santa Cruz*, an Armenian vessel, to Manila. Other examples were of Mr. E. Bridge and a Mr. Lowell, who sent their goods to Manila under the name of Gruapa,<sup>88</sup> a Moorish merchant. Another example which deserves notice was William Jearsey, who formed a business partnership with Hodge Abdull Goddar,<sup>89</sup> a moorish merchant. On one occasion, Jearsey together with his Moorish associate, had endeavored to load goods on a moorish ship<sup>90</sup> for Manila at St. Thome, but was dissuaded by the President and Council on the grounds that it would spoil the intended voyage designed for that port.

We cannot ascertain, however, the number of Company servants engaged in private trade with Manila, nor can we determine the total value of their share with exactitude. The Company servants were averse to the regulations requiring them to keep and send an annual register of private trade. The objection arose partly from the fact that the Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese were not burdened with such requirements by their respective governments. The practice of registering private trade was not properly enforced after the time of William Langhorne.<sup>91</sup> There was ac-

<sup>85</sup> Sir Evan Cotton, *East Indiamen, The East India Company's Maritime Service*, The Batchworth Press, London: 1949, p. 124.

<sup>86</sup> The *Annapourna* was formerly owned by Pedda Venkatadri, and she used to frequent the port of Manila even before she was sold to Elihu Yale. Sir Charles Fawcett, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>87</sup> Letters to William Dobyms, February 18, 1705, and John Affleck, February 19, 1765, in the *Letter Book of Thomas Pitt, 1704-1706*, Vol. 8, B.M. Add. MSS. 22, 849, fol. 20.

<sup>88</sup> *DCB.*, 1699, p. 51.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 1681, p. 21.

<sup>90</sup> There were also two vessels from Surat owned by a group of Moors that frequented Manila in the 1680's *Ibid.*, 1687, pp. 9, 12, 27, 31, 34.

<sup>91</sup> Charles Fawcett (ed.) *The English Factories in India* (Western Presidency) New Series, The Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1936, Vol. I, pp. 162, 180.

tually no Englishman in Madras who would "give a true account of the value of goods against his own interest."<sup>92</sup> In the absence of extant records showing the total value of the servants' private trade with Manila, we can only say that it must have been a substantial source of income, for their salaries were extremely meager.

THE VOYAGES OF THE COUNTRY SHIPS TO MANILA AND BACK WERE ATTENDED with a certain degree of risk. The "Manilha Ships" had to encounter not only the vicissitudes of tropical storms, but also the danger of attacks arising from piracy and, in time of war, from French or Dutch men-of-war. Moreover, the pirates seem to have preferred to intercept native trading vessels. They took precaution against attacking the East India Company ships which were provided with better means of self-defense than the Armenian vessels. Prior to the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe, they were more liable to be attacked by European pirates than by the enemies' men-of-war. The Red Sea, the Mozambique Channel, the Persian Gulf, and particularly the Mediterranean<sup>93</sup> were the main theaters of pirates' operations. They sometimes extended their activities as far as the Straits of Malacca.

Along the Malabar Coasts, there was also the danger from local pirates. The ship *Santa Cruz*, for instance, an Armenian vessel, with considerable cargo under the care of Alvaro Carcella bound for "Goa, Suratt, Manilha and C(hin)a," was captured by the "Danes or Pyratts"<sup>94</sup> somewhere between Goa and Surat. The receipt of news from the Danes at Tranquebar about a pirate ship heading toward the Straits of Malacca to lie "in wait for the Manilha or China ships"<sup>95</sup> momentarily caused a delay in the schedule of departure and arrival of the vessels from their respective ports of embarkation. The pirate ship, belonging to the "island of St. Maries near Madagascar," carried "24 great guns, 70 Europeans and 30 cofferies."<sup>96</sup> Another trading vessel harassed by a pirate was the *Pembroke Frigate* belonging to the East India Company. On her return voyage from "Delagoa" in late May, 1702, she was fired at and her commander was seized to act as pilot for the pirate ship enroute to the Straits of Malacca. The appearance of this ship was sufficient to cause a virtual stoppage of "a ship going to Canton, a second to Tonqueen, a third to Manhilla."<sup>97</sup> It was the ship *Conjevaron*<sup>98</sup> that was ordered by her proprietors, who realized the great risks involved, to desist from proceeding to Manila. Again in 1706, a pirate ship lurking in the

<sup>92</sup> Charles Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>93</sup> Sir Evan Cotton, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>94</sup> *DCB.*, 1690, p. 14.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 1700, p. 40.

<sup>98</sup> *Desp. to Eng.*, 1703-1704, p. 9.



vicinity of Malacca almost succeeded in capturing a "Manilha Ship" owned by a group of "Armenians, Moors, and Gentues."<sup>99</sup> This time, it was a brigantine armed with sixteen guns and manned by about 50 Europeans under the command of an Englishman named Jones,<sup>100</sup> who was believed to have come from New England. The Governor and Council at Madras expressed their deep concern over this incident for two reasons: firstly, the owners were inhabitants of India and the vessel itself carried a pass duly issued by them; and secondly, to deny the Armenians the Company's protection might eventually result in their migration to other places where security of property might be fully guaranteed.

Another interesting feature to be considered is the indirect benefits the East India Company derived from the early "country trade" with Manila. Every "country ship" bound for Manila had to pay 4% sea customs;<sup>101</sup> in addition to nominal anchorage fees. The growing importance of the "Manila trade" had been fully recognized as an additional source of income in revenues for the East India Company towards the closing years of the 17th century. The decrease in sea customs was keenly felt in 1699; its underlying cause was ascribed partly to the migration of Armenian and Moorish traders to Bengal and partly to the failure to send the annual ships to Manila and China.<sup>102</sup> Since the yearly land and sea customs for the last quarter of the 17th Century are incomplete, it is impossible to get a clear picture of the close relationship between the Manila trade and fluctuation of the Madras customs revenues in the first phase of the "country trade."

THE OTHER SOURCE OF INCOME FOR THE EAST INDIA COMPANY WAS THE fee charged for the permission to load goods on the "Manilha ships." Local Armenians like Coja Gregoria and Coja Usuph had to secure a permit before they were allowed to ship "37 bales of goods"<sup>103</sup> to Manila. The Madras Council was not amenable to the request made by Ignatius Marcus, an Armenian, to freight a ship at San Thomé<sup>104</sup> on the grounds that it would not only lead to the advancement of San Thomé, but would also contribute to the lessening of the customs revenues of Fort St. George. Duties on both imports and exports undoubtedly formed the greatest source of the Company's revenues at Madras. The collection of imports was clearly stipulated in the Regulation of Customs of 1680 issued in Streynsham Master's time:

<sup>99</sup> *DCB.*, 1706, p. 7.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 1707, p. 8.

<sup>101</sup> *Ct.Bk.*, April 24, 1705—April 23, 1708, Vol. 42, fol. 31. See also K. J. Crowther, *op. cit.*, p. 274; *Desp. fr. Eng.*, 1686-1692, p. 87.

<sup>102</sup> *DCB.*, 1700, p. 16.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 1704, p. 115.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 1697, p. 17.

All goods (except planks and such bulky things of small value) going and coming by sea must pass through the Sea gate and there be searched examined and customed, and being chopt witt Red Ink. (p) may pass out or in without further question from  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} G \text{---} C \\ E \end{array} \right]$  any person.<sup>105</sup>

To take one commodity, the Manila tobacco, its import duty was 20 pagodas per candy.<sup>106</sup> Thomas Pitt, in his report to the Company Directors, describes the manner in which the freight on goods was collected:

The freight of goods from Fort St. George Coast of Coromandel to Manila is 25% which is paid at Manila a specie on all sorts of goods, vizt. 18 per cent freight and 7 per cent to the supercargo to be clear of the charge customs and all. The returns are brought back freight free. The *Anna* of *Powrna* (sic.) may carry from the Fort 3000 Bales which amount to 100,000 pagodas the freight of which reckoning the advance made upon it there may amount to 36,000 pagodas some say above 40,000 pagodas.<sup>107</sup>

As the 17th Century drew to a close, the "Manilha trade," although still clandestinely carried on, was established on a firm basis, through the initiative, resourcefulness, and persistent drive of the servants in the East for the silver wealth of Manila. The Court of Directors was pleased with the satisfactory result of the experiment conducted from its Madras settlement. It was after all, Madras, and not Surat, or Bencoolen, or even Amoy that finally became the base of penetration into the exclusive Manila market. The Court of Directors never lost sight of the potentialities of the "Manilha trade" and, as late as 1705 the idea of making further improvements in the conduct of the trade between Madras and Manila still lingered on. It was inspired by Thomas Pitt, the Governor of Fort St. George, who kept Arthur Moore of the Court of Directors informed of the thriving trade with Manila and asked his opinion as to what other ways and means could further improve that side branch of the Company's trade. However, because of the main preoccupation of the Court of Directors with the internal changes and pressing problems resulting from the agreement of 1702<sup>108</sup> which called for the union of the old and new companies, no opinion was rendered by the Committee of Buying,<sup>109</sup> to which was referred the matter relating to the Manila trade. A momentous event took place in 1708 when the two rival companies were formerly amalgamated by an act of Parliament. For the "United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies,"<sup>110</sup> as the company was

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 1680, p. 30.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Thomas Pitt's Report on the Trade on India, B.M., Add. MSS. 34, 123, fol. 37.

<sup>108</sup> Earl H. Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>109</sup> Ct. Bk., *op. cit.*, fol. 31.

<sup>110</sup> Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1958, p. 335.

officially known, it meant the opening of a new era of intense commercial activity and great expansion. This also ushered in a new phase of development for the "Manilha trade" during the subsequent decades.

#### ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

- A. The Records of the East India Company, preserved at the India Office Library, London, England:
- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| CT. Bk.        | Court Book (Minutes of the East India Company) |
| Fac. Rec. Ch.  | Factory Records, China                         |
| Mad. Pub. Pro. | Madras Public Proceedings                      |
| Mar. Rec.      | Marine Records                                 |
- B. The Published Records of Fort St. George (Superintendent of Government Press, Madras, India)
- |                       |                                |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>DCB.</i>           | Diary and Consultation Books   |
| <i>Desp. fr. Eng.</i> | Despatches from England        |
| <i>Desp. to Eng.</i>  | Despatches to England          |
| <i>FSDC.</i>          | Fort St. David Consultations   |
| <i>LFFSG.</i>         | Letters from Fort St. George   |
| <i>LTFSG.</i>         | Letters to Fort St. George     |
| <i>LTFS D.</i>        | Letters to Fort St. David      |
| <i>Man. Cons.</i>     | Manilha Consultations          |
| <i>PMC.</i>           | Pleadings in the Mayor's Court |
- C. B. and R. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, 55, Vols.. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio, 1903-1909.
- D. B.M. British Museum

## TWO INTELLECTUAL TRADITIONS

by LEOPOLDO Y. YABES

IN THE WESTERN OR EUROPEO-AMERICAN CULTURAL SYSTEM the emergence and development of two broad intellectual traditions, namely the clerical and the secular, may be traced from about the Middle Ages.

The people of the Philippines, in so far as they have been influenced by the Europeo-American cultural system, also are heirs to the same clerical and secular intellectual traditions.

It is necessary, then, before taking up the two traditions as they have developed in the Philippines, to trace them to their origins in the European environment.

### I.

First it should be necessary to define some terms and delimit the meanings in which they will be used here.

The term "intellectual" shall be understood here, not as a term of derision or mockery, as sometimes used in Philippine and in some other societies, but as a reference of deep respect, as commonly used in French society, to refer to any person, be he clerical or secular, who has dedicated himself mainly to the life of the mind and who, understandably enough, hopes to influence society with his ideas or way of thinking.

The term "clerical intellectual" shall be understood here as a cleric or member of a priestly or monastic class who exercises leadership of the intellect not only among his class but also among society. It shall also be used to include a lay leader of the intellect who thinks or acts in the manner of the clerical intellectual.

The term "clerical intellectual tradition" shall be understood here as the way of thinking or acting or attitudes of clerics and monastics as transmitted or inherited from age to age. Aside from demanding paramountcy of their social class in the social system, they also claim to derive

---

LEOPOLDO Y. YABES is a Professor of English, Humanities and Philippine Institutions and Acting Secretary of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. He holds Ph.B. and M.A. degrees from the University of the Philippines, 1935, 1950. He is a prominent Rizalist and a prolific writer, having published over a hundred articles and several books and pamphlets. He is the managing editor of the *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* and *The Diliman Review*.

from an unseen source the authority which they exercise over the spiritual and social lives of men and women. Originally and basically dedicated to problems of the life hereafter, the clerical tradition nevertheless has exerted tremendous influence on the worldly activities of human beings.

By "secular intellectual" shall be understood here a leader of the intellect with a non-clerical or non-religious orientation and who is recognized as such by secular society. Unlike the clerical intellectual who has prior ideological commitment, the secular intellectual usually is a free agent and has no such prior commitment. In other words, he does his own thinking and draws his own conclusions as warranted by his findings, while the clerical intellectual looks to prescribed authority not only as guide but as final arbiter in the conduct of his intellectual, emotional, and spiritual life.

The term "secular intellectual tradition" shall be understood here to mean the non-clerical or non-religious way of thinking or acting or attitudes transmitted or inherited from generation to generation. This way of thinking need not be anti-clerical or anti-religious although sometimes it becomes such. It gives more importance to the attainment of happiness on earth than to the promise of happiness in the life hereafter.

By "conventional wisdom" shall be understood here, in the sense John K. Galbraith<sup>1</sup> uses it, as the wisdom characterized by its general acceptability in the clerical intellectual tradition or in the secular intellectual tradition. As to be expected, conventional wisdom lasts longer in the clerical intellectual tradition because of the dogmatism and rigidity of this tradition, while the conventional wisdom of the secular intellectual tradition changes more rapidly or frequently because of the flexibility and mobility of this tradition.

## II.

The beginnings of the clerical intellectual tradition may be traced to the Middle Ages, when the monasteries were the main if not the only source of light in a benighted Europe, where the learned monastics and theologians preserved the learning already acquired and added to it through their own studies. Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Peter Abelard, and Roger Bacon were among the leading monastic intellectuals at the time.

It was also around this time—the thirteenth century—that universities reached fuller development: Paris (1215); Sorbonne (1257); Oxford, Pa-

---

<sup>1</sup> *The Affluent Society* (Harmondsworth: 1962), pp. 17-27.

dua (1228); Rome (1245); Salamanca (1250). The University of Paris was recognized as "the center of a Pan-European intellectual influence resting above all upon its faculties of theology and arts."<sup>2</sup>

I like to look at the Renaissance and the humanist movement as attempts to secularize the thinking and attitude of the people who, for centuries, had been steeped in the other-worldly philosophical outlook of the clerical tradition. The Renaissance was the kindling of interest in a cultural tradition (the Greek and Roman) that by and large had been more secular than religious; and humanism was a logical development from the revival of interest in the secular life. Humanism has been described not as a literary but as an intellectual movement, "a movement of the human mind which began when, following the rise of the towns, the urban intelligentsia slowly turned away from the transcendental values imposed by religion to the more immediately perceptible values of Nature and of man."<sup>3</sup>

Machiavelli liberated political science from the theological outlook, while Galileo, in affirming the Copernican heliocentric theory against the prevailing geocentric dogma, did much in secularizing the physical sciences. However, Thomas More, who was a contemporary of Machiavelli, and whose *Utopia* was written almost at the same time as *The Prince*, cannot be placed in the tradition of Machiavelli, although he was himself a humanist. He was a layman, but he was closer to the clerical tradition than to the secular tradition.

I am not inclined to consider the schism of Martin Luther as fundamentally a breakaway from the clerical intellectual tradition, because even after he had broken away from Rome, he was still essentially an Augustinian monk in mentality. Of course he declared for freedom of the mind, and that was a step toward liberalism, but in actual practice he still was authoritarian and was not very tolerant of views contrary to his. It can be said in his favor, though, that usually reformers or prophets cannot afford to be very tolerant, or they would fail in their mission. His contribution to the strengthening of the secular intellectual tradition came about unintentionally, maybe even fortuitously, when as a result of the Peasant Uprising in 1524-25, he was forced to align himself with the Princes of Germany and thereby subordinate himself to them. The subordinate position of the church in relation to the state in Protestant countries has contributed to the secularization of the mind of man during the last four centuries. But as indicated by the experience

<sup>2</sup> Richard Hofstadter and W. P. Metzger, *The Department of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: 1955), p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ferdinand Schevill, *History of Florence* (New York: 1936), pp. 316-317.

of some secular states, the secularization of thought does not always contribute to the freedom of the mind.

And yet it was really this secularization of thought that brought in the beginnings of science to the European continent. Before its liberation from the clerical tradition, the European mind was not free to speculate beyond the approved grooves of thought. Philosophy and natural science were only a handmaiden of theology; theology was the queen of the sciences. But with the advent of Copernicus, Leonardo, Galileo, and Francis Bacon in the fields of the natural sciences, and of Machiavelli Boccaccio, Rabelais, and Montaigne in the humanities and social sciences, the human mind, long fettered, took on wings and ranged the farthest reaches it was capable of reaching. Before the introduction of the secular way of thinking, knowledge was largely speculative and dogmatic; with the advent and growing ascendancy of secular thought, empirical and inductive reasoning, which is the basis of all scientific procedure, made possible the opening of the modern scientific and technological age.

The question might be raised here whether there is conflict between secular thought and clerical thought, or between scientific thought and religious belief. There need not be any between the latter, but there could be between the former. For if secular thought tends towards scientific orientation and methodology and clerical thought tends towards theological orientation and methodology, then there could be great danger of conflict since the scientific attitude is usually one of open-mindedness and scientific conclusions are always held tentative but the theological attitude is usually one of intolerance and its conclusions are dogmatic and authoritarian. As an American academic man <sup>4</sup> says:

There is no conflict between science and religion, but there may be deep conflicts between science and theology. The theologians are specialists whose business is to define religious beliefs, dogmas, duties. Their tendency is to draw lines and to say that people who stand to the right of them are good people, while those who stand to the left are bad, heretics, criminals. Death is too good for the latter; they must be driven out like vermin.

In past times theologians had enough power to do such things and to persecute often with extreme cruelty the people whose theological opinions differed from their own. The wars of religion of the sixteenth century were so full of atrocities because the good theologians were always ready to pour oil upon the fire . . . .

It is remarkable that the struggles between science and Christian theology did not cease after the Middle Ages and the Renaissance but continued throughout the best part of the last Century, in spite of scientific and technological victories which were of incredible magnitude.

---

<sup>4</sup> George Sarton of Harvard University, in Joseph Needham (ed.), *Science, Religion, and Reality* (New York: 1955), p. 13.

It might be added that even at present the clerical intellectual tradition has not contributed to the free and mature development of the intellect of man.

### III.

It was the Medieval intellectual tradition—of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, of Domingo de Guzman and Torquemada—that was brought into the Philippines by the Spanish *conquistadores* and missionaries of the sixteenth and succeeding centuries. It was Renaissance in much of Europe and although the humanist Desiderius Erasmus had died decades before a very much disillusioned man—both with Rome and with Martin Luther—humanism was already a force to reckon with in many areas on the continent. Yet Spain was not one of these areas; as a matter of fact it was in Spain where the institutions of the Holy Inquisition flourished most and longest.

So into a Philippine society that was largely animist in belief was introduced an authoritarian intellectual tradition deriving its powers from a supernatural source of which it claimed to be the exclusive interpreter. At the time of the conquest and for centuries before, this tradition had adhered to the Ptolemaic or geocentric concept of the universe; and any other concept, like the Copernican or heliocentric concept, was considered heretical and heavily punishable. So it is interesting to note here that about the time (1616) the Jesuit Cardinal Roberto Belarmino was commanding Galileo not to persist in indorsing Copernicus' heliocentric heresy, Belarmino's book on the Christian Doctrine was being translated into the more important Philippine languages and published for use in the evangelization of the pagan Filipinos.<sup>5</sup>

One of the more important early converts to the new intellectual tradition was Pedro Bukaneg, a lay Augustinian brother who is sometimes referred to as the Apostle of the Ilocos. Among the few extant literary pieces credited to him is a poem entitled "Pampanunot Ken Patay" ("Thoughts on Death"), which reflects an attitude towards life on earth that is thoroughly medieval, regarding it essentially as empty and only transitory to the heavenly existence.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The special committee named by the Holy Inquisition to examine Galileo's work *Dialogue on the Two Chief Systems of the World*, which was issued in 1632, reported among other things: "He (Galileo) has been deceitfully silent about the command laid upon him in 1616, viz., to relinquish altogether the opinion that the Sun is the center of the world and immovable and that the earth moves, nor henceforth to hold, teach, or defend it in any way whatsoever, verbally or in writing." Quoted by Charles Singer, "Historical Relations of Religion and Science", in Joseph Needham, ed., *Science, Religion and Reality* (New York: 1955), p. 140.

<sup>6</sup> Francisco Lopez, *Gramatica Ilocana* (Malabon: 1895), p. 317-318.



In due course this clerical intellectual tradition became supreme in the country, at least in the converted areas. This development was inevitable because of the union of church and state and because, as a consequence of which, of the paramount role achieved by the friar clerics over the civil and military authorities of the colony.

There is this one marked difference between the European clerical intellectual tradition and the clerical intellectual tradition as developed in the Philippines. The clerical tradition in Europe recognized the humanity and rationality of its communicants, and even of its enemies. Proof of this is that it punished heresy; at least a heretic is endowed with reason, hence the Holy Inquisition was instituted for the punishment of error.

The clerical intellectual tradition in the Philippines looked down on the Filipinos—the *indios*—as either less than human or as perpetual children who were not endowed with enough reason to be responsible for their acts. It should be interesting to note, in this connection, that the provisions of the laws of the Inquisition were never made applicable to the Filipinos; they were applied only to the Spaniards resident in the colony. Also corroborative of this statement was a declaration made by the last Spanish archbishop of Manila, the Dominican Bernardino Nozaleda, before the Taft Commission in 1909. In this testimony Nozaleda affirmed that the “the Filipinos . . . had an absolute want of character,” and had “not sufficient mental capacity to digest any abstract question;” that “prudence and discretion are absolutely unknown to them”; that “soon after they leave an educated atmosphere, they lose all they have learned,” and that “their affection for their children is more that of the animal than human.”<sup>7</sup>

It was the general claim of most of the Spanish chroniclers that the main objectives of the missionaries was to stamp out superstition among the pagan natives. A very laudable objective, and yet no less than T. H. Pardo de Tavera<sup>8</sup> is author of the statement that another system of superstition was substituted for the old. He wrote:

All of the fear for the mysterious as well as the belief of the primitive Filipinos in occult powers that destroyed health, attracted misfortunes, brought victory or led to disorder were preserved, changing only the spirits that governed the happenings in life and natural phenomenon . . . The patron saints recommended by the missionaries took the place of the ancient *anitos*, representatives of their ancestors who intervened in their former idolatry in all the incidents in life . . . When the missionaries preached their religion, they condemned the ancient pagan superstitions,

<sup>7</sup> United States Senate Document 190; 56th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 96-112.

<sup>8</sup> *The Character of Rizal and the Legacy of Obscurantism* (Manila: 1960), p. 68.

but they taught another new superstition more powerful than the primitive one, not only because of the prestige of the new patrons, who are all members of a celestial court organized like a celestial aristocracy . . . but for using to communicate with their God the same language supposed to have been spoken by Him—the Latin language—in which the priests say their prayers and chant their hymns.

If therefore the clerical intellectual tradition in Europe was unsympathetic to science, the clerical intellectual tradition in the Philippines was much more so. In the first place, the clerical intellectual tradition in the Philippines during most of the Spanish regime could hardly deserve to be called intellectual because the friar-missionaries that came here were as a rule not endowed with a high quality of intelligence and were not well educated, in contrast to their confrères in Europe. In the second place, it was to their selfish interest that the people be kept in relative ignorance, because if they became enlightened they would find out about the general ignorance of the friars and lose their esteem or any fear of them.

The hostile attitude towards education and enlightenment for Filipinos, however, was not confined to the friars and clerics; it was also shared by the colonial civil and military authorities who, under our definition, may be classified as belonging to the clerical intellectual tradition. Even a Spanish diplomat, who made a study of Philippine conditions during the first half of the nineteenth century, urged the closure of colleges for men in Manila as inimical to the stability of the colony for producing potential liberals and rebels. In the last volume of his three-volume report on Philippine conditions in 1842, he offered these observations:<sup>9</sup>

. . . The workhand, the goatherd do not read social contracts and neither do they know what occurs beyond their town. It is not their kind of people who have carved the destruction of absolutism in Spain, but those who have been educated in the colleges and who know the price of security and accordingly fight for it. We must always keep this in mind if we have to think sincerely. It is indispensable that we avoid the formation of liberals, because in a colony, *liberal* and *rebellious* are synonymous terms. The consequence of this maxim is to admit the principle that every step forward is a step backward; circumscribe education to primary schools where the three "r's" can be taught, with one school in every town as is the present practice and under the care of the curate. The colleges for men now extant in Manila should be closed.

To help prevent the infiltration of dangerous thoughts into the colony, the friar-missionaries found it necessary to control the reading mat-

<sup>9</sup> Simibaldo de Mas, *Informe Sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*. Volume III, translated into English by Pablo K. Botor (Quezon City: 1961), p. 10.

ter that was printed in the country or that entered from abroad. Strict censorship was in force throughout most of the regime, directed mostly by the ecclesiastical authorities. Even the Comision Permanente de Censura, established in 1855, was controlled by ecclesiastics although it was a creation of the colonial government. "It was specially careful," says a close student of Philippine bibliography, "to prevent the publication or importation of any book that attacked or belittled the established religion or the state, either criticizing them as institutions or censuring their members, or that contained material deemed detrimental to public morals."<sup>10</sup>

According to W. E. Retana's account<sup>11</sup> of the proceedings of the Commission, in the year 1866, the Commission approved three books for importation but with changes, and prohibited twenty-three, among them *Aventuras de Robinson* and seven historical works written with a democratic point of view. In 1867 it approved fifty religious tracts and one newspaper for publication in the Philippines. It disapproved importation of twenty-two books including Dumas' novels, *Los derechos del hombre*, and *Las mil y una noches*. *Don Quixote* was admitted with the suppression of the following sentence: "*Las obras de caridad que se hacen flojamente, no tienen merito ni valen nada.*"

Some twenty years later, in 1887, this same Commission, in a report to the Governor General written by an Augustinian friar, Salvador Font, curate of Tondo, Manila, in connection with Rizal's novel *Noli me Tangere*, recommended, "*que se prohibita en absoluto la importacion, reproduccion y circulacion de este pernicioso libro en las Islas.*"<sup>12</sup> Earlier that year, a faculty committee at the University of Santo Tomas had made a similarly strong recommendation against the same book to the rector of the University.

All this happened less than a century ago in the Philippines. What happened one hundred or two hundred years earlier could have been worse.

At any rate, the friars were able in no time to consolidate their spiritual and temporal power over the people. By the very nature of their work, they were closer to the people than were the colonial authorities. As a general rule, they also stayed longer. On the average the Manila archbishops had a longer tenure of office than the governors-general. Throughout the Spanish regime Manila had only twenty-five archbishops, but the Philippines had about one hundred and twenty governors-gen-

<sup>10</sup> John W. Osborn, "Books and Bookselling in the Philippines," Philippine Library Association *Publications*, I (1935).

<sup>11</sup> As summarized by J. W. Osborn. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>12</sup> As quoted in Rafael Palma, *Biografia de Rizal* (Manila: 1949), p. 100.

eral. Whoever had the longer tenure obviously could wield the greater authority and exert the greater influence. The ecclesiastical authorities, certainly were aware of this; hence in a struggle for power with the colonial authorities, almost always they emerged triumphant.

It was in the field of education that the clerical intellectual tradition fought most tenaciously for the maintenance of its supremacy. It has always held, as part of its conventional wisdom, that education is properly the responsibility of the home and the church and not of the state, and so from the beginning in the Philippines education had always been managed by the clergy. Primary education was under the care of the friar-curates and secondary and professional education was under the University of Sto. Tomas, a Dominican school. By 1870, under the influence of European liberalism, the government of Spain itself, through the Moret decrees, sought to secularize education partly by placing the administration of what passed for a system of higher education into the hands of laymen. The Maura Law of 1893 also provided that the *capitan municipal*, as town executive, was to be inspector of schools in place of the friar-curate. But the implementation of these laws was fought violently by the friars and they succeeded in keeping education relatively undisturbed under their control to the end of the Spanish regime.

#### IV.

The Filipinos, however, refused to be kept indefinitely in a state of ignorance by the friar tradition. They could be regimented under an authoritarian and monolithic regime only up to a certain point, and no further, they had enough sense of self-respect left to fight for their freedom to think and act for themselves. Besides, elsewhere the secular and libertarian forces were at work to counteract the efforts of the older and more powerful clerical intellectual tradition. The gains achieved by such struggles in Europe and America, no matter how distant, could not fail ultimately to infiltrate into the country past the strict thought censorship.

The rise of secular thought and the development of modern science in the wake of the Reformation was something that could not be stopped or even slowed down by the clerical tradition. As a matter of fact the momentum became stronger when the clerical resistance grew more fierce. "When intellectuals ceased to be solely bearers of religiosity, the very act of separation, however gradual and unwitting and undeliberate, sets

'up a tension between the intellectuals and the religious authority of their society," observes a student of intellectual history. He goes on:<sup>13</sup>

Ecclesiastical and exemplary religious authority became an object of the distrust of intellectuals, and in so far as the authority of the government of earthly affairs associated itself with the religious powers, it too shared in that skepticism . . . . In the West where the separation of religious and other intellectual activities has become most pronounced, a more general feeling of distance from authority has been engendered and has become one of the strongest of the traditions of the intellectuals.

This kind of situation was to be seen most clearly during the period of the Enlightenment in France. Among most intellectuals, if there was no open anti-clericalism, there was at least distrust of clerical authority. There was a similar attitude towards the civil authority. The rising prestige of science and scientists helped in strengthening the secular position as against the traditional clerical prestige. A deism that did not depend on a priesthood for the practice of its worship was substituted by many intellectuals for the established religion.

What are variously known and referred to as the Reform or Propaganda movement and the Philippine Revolution itself may appropriately be described as the product or inspiration of the French Enlightenment and the American and French Revolutions. Although their writings still contained scholastic terminology, which may be traced to their formal sectarian education, it is very evident that Antonio Ma. Regidor, Graciano Lopez-Jaena, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Jose Rizal, T. H. Pardo de Tavera, and Juan and Antonio Luna had read up extensively on the literature of the Enlightenment and of the two great Revolutions of the 18th Century, and had assimilated some of the ideas that had inspired those historic movements.

As proof of this statement, it may be pointed out that the Reformists advocated the secularization of education or at least its liberation from friar control; as a matter of fact the more radical of them wanted the friars to be expelled from the country. However, even if many of them were anti-clerical, they were not necessarily against revealed religion, although a number may have turned to deism as more in consonance with their secular outlook. It may also be pointed out that although many of them in the beginning still advocated incorporation of the Philippines into the Spanish Kingdom as a regular province, they eventually declared themselves, with possible exception of Rizal and a few others, as in favor of self-determination or independence—which was the logical development

---

<sup>13</sup> Edward A. Shils, "The Traditions of Intellectuals," *The Intellectuals*, ed. by George B. de Huszar (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), p. 57.

from the experience of the American Revolution and the subsequent rise of nationalism. Also there is a healthy respect of the Reformists for the fundamental human freedoms<sup>14</sup>—the freedoms the enjoyment of which were eventually guaranteed in the Malolos Constitution. Rizal himself, besides writing of these freedoms, had actually translated into Tagalog a fundamental declaration of the French Revolution on the Rights of Man. And finally the scientific orientation, as a general rule, of the Reformists was very clear.

This social, political, and intellectual ferment may perhaps be best illustrated in Rizal's novels, especially the *Noli Me Tangere*. We have here two clashing forces, an older one represented by the friar orders who are in control of the educational program as well as the ecclesiastical system, and a younger one represented by the educated and science-oriented elements of the population. Frays Damaso and Salvi were examples of unedifying priests who were not only sexually immoral but intellectually dishonest and spiritually bankrupt. Opposed to the education of the masses, they plotted secretly against Ibarra's project of a schoolhouse by ruining Ibarra himself. Ibarra, Tasio and Elias—who were the representatives of the more enlightened portion of the population of San Diego—could therefore be made to symbolize the secular intellectual tradition, while Frays Damaso and Salvi and all those who shared their way of thinking and acting may be made to symbolize the clerical intellectual tradition. Ibarra, Tasio and Elias may be referred to as direct inheritors of the French Enlightenment, while Damaso's and Salvi's origins may be traced farther back to Torquemada and Rodrigo Borgia.

Largely through the efforts of such intellectuals as Emilio Jacinto, Apolinario Mabini, Tomas del Rosario, Antonio Luna, Jose Alejandrino, and T. H. Pardo de Tavera and of such non-intellectuals as Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo, the clerical intellectual tradition lost much of its power and prestige during the two phases of the Philippine Revolution. Among the intelligentsia of the time, however, this tradition was still strong as indicated in the debate and voting on the proposed provision of the Malolos Constitution to adopt Catholicism as the state religion. An amendment that would have the state recognize the freedom and equality of religions as well as the separation of church and state received a tie vote on the first balloting and won by only one vote on the second ballot.<sup>15</sup> However, it is significant that, as finally promul-

<sup>14</sup> There is plenty of evidence of this in the columns of *La Solidaridad* (1889-1895), which called itself *quincenario democrático*.

<sup>15</sup> Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos; The Crisis of the Republic* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1960), pp. 297-306.

gated, the Constitution established a secular and republican state, the first to be founded in Asia.

Into the vacuum left by the clerical intellectual tradition as a result of the loss of some of its power and prestige during the American colonial regime, naturally moved in the secular intellectual tradition. As expected the secular nature of the state was reaffirmed and invigorated under the American colonial regime. So the secular intellectual tradition instituted by Rizal, Plaridel, Lopez-Jaena, and Pardo de Tavera was also strengthened under the American rule with the cooperation of such statesmen as Rafael Palma, Sergio Osmeña, and Manuel L. Quezon, of such jurists as Jose Abad Santos and Jose P. Laurel, of such educationists as Francisco Benitez, Jorge Bacobo, and Camilio Osias, and of such writers as Teodoro M. Kalaw, Claro M. Recto and Fernando M. Maramag.

It is to the credit of the American colonizers that, thanks to their secular and democratic tradition, they did not rehabilitate the master-slave moral tradition of the Spanish clerical system in the Philippines. They called their rule one of American-Filipino partnership. Municipal and provincial elections were held soon after the conquest and a popular national assembly was elected in 1907. A secular public school system which culminated in a secular state university was established. Filipinos could hold much more responsible positions than were open to them during the Spanish rule. They could become chief justice or associate justice of the Supreme Court, Speaker of the House of Representatives, President of the Senate, President of the University of the Philippines, Secretary of Department, or Commissioner or Director of Bureau. The atmosphere was auspicious for the strengthening of the secular intellectual tradition which, inspired by the campaign for political independence,<sup>16</sup> slowly took deeper root among the liberal intelligentsia, whose nucleus came from the young people educated in the public and other secular schools and who were in the forefront in the fight for the basic human freedoms.

---

<sup>16</sup> It should be interesting to note here that the clerical tradition in the United States and in the Philippines was opposed to early independence for the Philippines as called for in the Clarke Amendment to the Jones Bill (1916), which promised to recognize Philippine independence as soon as stable government could be established here. Evidently under instructions from ecclesiastical authorities, about thirty Democratic representatives, "identified with the Roman Catholic Church broke away from their Party-line, and joined the Republicans" in voting down the amendment, which would authorize the United States President to proclaim Philippine independence within two or four years from the date of approval of the bill, unless there were disturbances in the Islands. Napoleon J. Casambre, "Manuel L. Quezon and the Jones Bill," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, XXIII (June-Dec. 1958), pp. 277-282.

All this time—that is, during the first two decades of the American colonial rule—the clerical tradition seemed to have kept itself discreetly in the background. With a shameful past it could not presume to lead in a society dominated by American secular and democratic values. However, it viewed with alarm the weakening of the closed, monolithic and stratified society built under the Spanish rule and the emergence of an open, pluralistic and mobile society with the introduction of several competing social institutions and ideas and practices. The Aglipayan schism, the Protestant inroads, in other words the institution of the freedom of worship, which was understood to mean freedom not only to worship but also not to worship, condemned by the clerical tradition as one of the errors of liberalism—these were bad signs for a quick comeback to power. A favorite target for attack then, as it is today, was the secular public school system. In a circular dated 19 November 1919, a high prelate instructed his clergy as follows:<sup>17</sup>

As a first step, after you have made the parents see the social evils that result from the godless school, such as crimes against purity, murder, suicide, rape, and robbery, disobedience to civil and ecclesiastical authorities, in short, the corruption of customs—all the ripe fruit of those lay schools—Your Reverences hint to them to declare without euphemism in letters or petitions addressed to us their irrevocable determination that their children be given a Christian education in the government schools. We on our part will take care of sending on these petitions to the Legislature.

The good prelate conveniently forgot that there was more immorality and corruption during the Spanish regime than at the time he wrote his circular, and yet, to use his logic, this rampant immorality and corruption during the Spanish colonial rule should be attributed to the religious instruction in the exclusively sectarian system of education during that regime.

But that is the nature of the clerical intellectual tradition. It can never reconcile itself to the continued existence of secular education, because secular education is not God-centered and therefore will not recognize the pre-eminence of clerics either as a social class or as intellectual leaders. About fifteen years later, it again made a bid in the Constitutional Convention in 1934 for a constitutional mandate for compulsory religious instruction in all schools. It lost its bid, but about four years later, in 1938, it succeeded in persuading the unicameral National Assembly to pass a religious instruction bill. On the advice of Osmeña, who was Vice-President and concurrently Secretary of Public Instruction, Quezon vetoed the bill and challenged the prelates to bring the issue to the

---

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Pardo de Tavera, *op. cit.*, p. 55.



polls that year. They did not, but at present and for a few years back, there again has been a movement, led by laymen who belong to the clerical intellectual tradition, to propose an amendment to the Constitution to provide for compulsory religious instruction in all schools.<sup>18</sup>

The fact is that after the war, especially after the establishment of the Republic, the clerical intellectual tradition has become more militant and more politically powerful. It has faithful disciples in the Legislature, in the executive departments, in the judiciary, in the educational establishments. Reminiscent of the tremendous power that it used to wield during the Spanish regime was its successful blocking, only a little more than a decade ago, of the effective use in public secondary schools of the English version of a notable biography of Rizal by a prominent Filipino writer in Spanish. In connection with this work, a high Filipino prelate, along with other high prelates mostly Filipino, wrote a widely publicized pastoral letter to the faithful saying, among other things:<sup>19</sup>

In the Catholic nation that is our beloved Philippines, there is a small sector of society which would pretend that one of the marks of glory of Jose Rizal, our undisputed national hero, and the ideal of our youth and of all our people, is that he was a Mason, died a Mason, that is a member of a sect expressly condemned by the Church. And to advance this proposition it is now sought to place in the hands of the youth in high school, the biography of the hero: *The Pride of the Malay Race*. x x x

The discrediting of the authorities of the Church together with the passion to pose as an ideal for Catholics, one portrayed as a champion of Masonry, is what, even at first glance is easily discovered to be behind the militant demand to introduce in the schools the book we are considering. And therefore, complying with our duty to watch over the spiritual welfare of the faithful we prohibit, under pain of grave sin (with the notation that ignorance or parvity of matter may lessen the gravity of the sin and that permission will remove all fault) and in the case of contumacy under pain of canonical sanctions, the reading and retention of these books, whether in the original Spanish or in the English translation, by any of the faithful in our respective jurisdictions.

The only major defeat the clerical tradition suffered was the passage of the Rizal Law in 1956; but it seems even the Rizal Law, is not being adequately implemented except in the University of the Philippines. As a matter of fact it has encouraged a strong movement to have the law repealed. It has infiltrated secular government establishments like the National Science Development Board and it has tried very hard to infiltrate even the secular University of the Philippines, including its Insti-

<sup>18</sup> Not so long ago a high official at the University of the Philippines actually proposed the establishment of a Department of Religion at the University. Vidal A. Tan, *Our Philosophy of Education* (Quezon City, 1954), p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> I. T. Runes and M. M. Buenafe, *The Forgery of the Rizal Retraction and Josephines' 'Autobiography'* (Manila: 1962), pp. 11-13.

tute of Asian Studies and some other research units. As usual its first step has been to undermine the integrity of the University and of the research units. Whatever may be the inadequacies of the outgoing administrators of the Institute, it can be said to their credit that they have had the wisdom and the strength of character to prevent the clerical tradition from creeping into, and influencing the policies of the Institute. It would be inimical to any research body for it to be unduly influenced by persons who are no longer open-minded and free because of their previous irrevocable commitments to certain ideologies, methodologies, and epistemologies.

In this connection, a perceptive observer of the contemporary Philippine scene will not fail to note that while in America and in certain areas of Europe, leading scientists and statesmen have already discerned with joy the emergence since the end of the war of what appears to be a truly democratic-scientific society, in the Philippines not a few of our prominent countrymen are still looking backward to the Middle Ages for rules of conduct of the mind and of the body to guide the thinking and attitude of Filipinos of the Space Age of the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>20</sup>

## V.

Despite the growing political power of the clerical intellectual tradition, however, clerics as a class do not seem to have acquired much of the prestige and influence exercised by their kind during the Spanish colonial regime. Under a theocratic era such as that of the Spaniards, among the traditional learned professions, the priesthood could easily place first or second in prestige, above either law or medicine or both. A recent survey of opinion undertaken among seniors in three leading high schools in the Manila metropolitan area including the U.P. High School and in three representative high schools in the province of Laguna disclosed that priests and ministers now are not so highly regarded—at least not among intelligent young people—as physicians, college professors, and lawyers. They were ranked fourth by the students, with physicians, college professors and lawyers preceding them in that order, and with the corporation executives trailing them closely.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Grenn T. Seaborg, "A Scientific Society—The Beginnings", *Science*, (Feb. 16, 1962); Ambrosio Padilla, "On Religious Instruction," *The Manila Chronicle*, Feb. 20-24, 1963; Oscar Ledesma, "Religious Instruction Backed," *The Manila Chronicle*, Feb. 28, 1963.

<sup>21</sup> Gelia T. Castillo, "A Study of Occupational Evaluation in the Philippines," a paper presented to the First Research Conference of the University of the Philippines, Quezon City, 21-23, June 1961.

This could be an indication that the secular intellectual tradition is not as weak as some people fear it is and that, if it cannot equal or dominate the clerical intellectual tradition, at least it will be strong enough to check the abuses of the other tradition. The secular tradition in the Philippines will derive its strength mainly from that part of the tradition of the nation that is liberal and democratic; and so long as that tradition is not completely cut off from the Europeo-American liberal democratic tradition and so long as this latter tradition remains dominant in the Western cultural system, there is hope that the secular intellectual tradition will gather greater strength as the Filipino people become more educated and enlightened and grow in greater and more widespread abundance in the material blessings of life. This will need more improved and more widespread education on all levels and in all areas from the basic disciplines to the professions and technology and an improved national economy that can be the result only of greater and more extensive industrialization.

Mainly through the instrumentality of the secular, liberal, and democratic tradition, therefore, the Filipino people may yet be able to build up a national civilization that will be rich in the secular, liberal, and democratic values and yet will not be bereft of the other values, usually called spiritual, which make for a fuller, more expansive and more satisfying existence.

#### SELECTED READING LIST

- Agoncillo, Teodoro A. *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1960. xvi, 831 p.
- . *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1956. xvi, 456 p.
- Alzona, Encarnacion. *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565-1930*. Manila: University of the Philippines' Press, 1930. xl, 390 p.
- Benda, Julian. *The Betrayal of the Intellectuals (La Trahison des Clercs)*. Trans. by R. Aldington. Introd. by Herbert Read. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1959. xxxii, 188 p.
- Blanshard, Paul. *Communism, Democracy, and Catholic Power*. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952, x, 340 p.
- Bratton, Fred Gladstone. *The Legacy of the Liberal Spirit: Men and Movements in the Making of Modern Thought*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1960. x, 319 p.
- Bronowski, J. and Bruce Mazlish. *The Western Intellectual Tradition, from Leonardo to Hegel*. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1960. xviii, 522 p.
- Burns, C. DeHisle. *The Horizon of Experience: A Study of the Modern Mind*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1933. 372 p.
- Bury, J. B. *The Idea of Progress; an Inquiry into its Origin and Growth*.

- Intro. by Charles A. Beard. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1955. xl, 357 p.
- Camus, Albert. *The Rebel*. Trans. by Anthony Bower, with a foreword by Sir Herbert Read. Harmondsworth (Middlesex): Penguin Books Ltd., 1962. 270 p.
- Cassierer, Ernst. *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*. Trans. by F. C. A. Koelln and J. P. Pettergrove. Boston: Beacon Press, 1960. xiii, 366 p.
- Castillo, Gelia T. *A Study of Occupational Evaluation in the Philippines*. Paper prepared for the First Research Conference of the University of the Philippines held June 21-23, 1961 at the College of Engineering Theatre. Ms. of 28 pages.
- Civic Code Committee, comp. *Filipino Civic Code*. Edited and Annotated by Encarnacion Alzona. [Manila]: Philippines Historical Association, 1958. xvi, 101 p.
- Commager, Henry Steele. *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the 1880's*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. xl, 476 p.
- Cooper, Lane, ed. *The Greek Genius and Its Influence: Select Essays and Extracts*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952. xiii, 306 p.
- Corpus, Onofre D. *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines*. Manila: University of the Philippines, 1957. xv, 268 p.
- Costa, H. de la. *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1588-1768*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961. xiii, 702 p.
- Coulton, G. G. *Inquisition and Liberty*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959. 354 p.
- Curti, Merle. *The Growth of American Thought*. 2d ed. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1951, xiii, 910 p.
- Demiashkevich, Michael. *The National Mind: English, French, German*. New York: American Book Company, 1928. xii, 508 p.
- Dewey, John. *Philosophy of Education (Problems of Men)*. Ames, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1956. 311 p.
- Eliot, T. S. *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949. 128 p.
- The Fate of the Liberal: A Radio Discussion over Station WGN the Mutual Network. The Reviewing Stand of Northwestern University, VII (October 6, 1946), 1-12.*
- Ferguson, Wallace. *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*. Boston: 1948.
- Fernandez, Perfecto V. *The Legal Status of the Churches in the Philippines*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1961. 23-120 p.
- Fromm, Erich. *The Fear of Freedom*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961. xi, 257 p.
- Galbraith, John K. *The Affluent Society*. Harmondsworth (Middlesex): Penguin Books, Ltd., 1962. 258 p.
- Galileo, Galilei. *Dialogue on the Great World Systems; in the Salisbury Translation*. Abridged Text Edition, revised, annotated, and with an Introduction by Giorgio de Santillana. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. xix, 130 p.
- Gregory, Sir Richard. *Gods and Men: A Testimony of Science and Religion*. London; xix, 130 p.
- Humalian, Leo and E. L. Volpe, eds. *Great Essays by Nobel Prize Winners*. New York: The Noonday Press, 1960. xvi, 334 p.

- Heim, Karl. *Christian Faith and Natural Science*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1957. 256 p.
- Hessel, Eugene A. *The Religious Thought of Jose Rizal: Its Context and Theological Significance*. Manila: Philippine Education Company, c1961. xii, 289 p.
- Higher Education and Philippine Culture: A Tentative Report to the Rector of the Ateneo de Manila by Special Committees Representing the Various Disciplines to Commemorate the Centenary of the Founding of Ateneo, 1859-1959 Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 1960. xvi, 196 p.
- Hight, Gilbert. *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature*. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1949. xxxviii, 763 p.
- . *Man's Unconquerable Mind*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. 138 p.
- Hofstadter, Richard and Walter P. Metzger. *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955, xiii, 527. p.
- Hoover, Herbert. *The Challenge to Liberty*. New York and London, Charles Scribners' Sons, 1934. 212 p.
- Hughes, N. Stuart. *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought, 1890-1930*. New York: Vintage Books, 1961. xi, 433, xv.
- Humphrey, Hubert H. "Liberalism. *American Scholar*, XXIV, (Autumn 1955), 419-433.
- Huszar, George B. de, ed. *The Intellectuals: A Controversial Portrait*. Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press, 1960. viii, 543 p.
- International Congress on Rizal, 4-8 December 1961: *Data Papers*. Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1961. viii, 311 p.
- Kalaw, Teodoro M. *Five Perceptives from Our Ancient Morality: An Interpretation*. Trans. from the Spanish by Maria Kalaw Katigbak. Manila: 1951. viii, 128 p.
- . *Philippine Masonry; Its Origin, Development and Vicissitudes Up to the Present (1920)*. Manila: 1956. xx, 250 p.
- Laski, Harold J. *Reflections on the Revolution of our Time*. New York: The Viking Press, 1953, 1943. ix, 419 p.
- . *The Rise of European Liberalism: An Essay in Interpretation*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1958. 287 p.
- Laurel, Jose P. *Bread and Freedom*. Manila: 1953, viii, 159 p.
- Lea, Henry Charles. *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages: An Abridgement by Margaret Nicholson*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1961. xiv, 906 p.
- Lerner, Dansel ed. *The Human Meaning of the Social Sciences*. New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1959. 317 p.
- Lerner, Max. *America as a civilization*. Vol. One—The Basic Frame; Vol. Two—Culture and Personality. New York: Simon and Schuster, c1957. Second Printing, xi, 1010 p.
- Libro a Naisuratan Amin ti Doctrina Cristiana nga Naisurat iti Libro ti Cardenal Agnagan Belarmino quet Inaon ti Fr. Francisco Lopez, Padre a San Agustin iti Sinasantoy. Malabon: Tipo-lit. del Asilo de Huerfanos, 1895. LXIV, 412 p.

- Lopez, Francisco. Gramatica Ilocana. Corregida y Aumentada por el P. Carro. Malabon: Establ. Tipo-Litografica del Asilo de la Consolacion, 1895. xvi, 354 p.
- Lopez, Salvador P. The Social Philosophy of Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera. Manila: University of the Philippines, 1933. M. A. Thesis in Philosophy.
- Lopez-Jaena, Graciano. Discursos y Articulos Varios. Notas y Comentarios por el Prof. Jaime C. de Veyra. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1951. xx, 369 p.
- Mabini, Apolinario. La Revolucion Filipina; con una estadia Biografico sobre el autor por Rafael Palma. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931. 2 vols. Vol. I: x, 292 p.; Vol. II: viii, 360 p.
- Majul, Cesar A. Mabini and the Philippine Revolution. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1960, xx, 477 p.
- . The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution. Introd. by Leopoldo Y. Yabes. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1957. xiv, 202 p.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. Freedom and Civilization. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960. xiv, 338 p.
- . A Scientific Theory of Culture, and other Essays. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. ix, 228 p.
- Masakayan, Jose H. Y. *et. al.* eds. Academic Freedom; A Special Issue of the Philippine Collegian. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1957. 199 p.
- McCarthy, Edward J. Spanish Beginnings in the Philippines, 1564-1572. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1943. ix, 145 p.
- McKeon, Richard. Freedom and History: The Semantics of Philosophical Controversies and Ideological Conflict. New York: The Noonday Press, Inc., 1952. 95 p.
- , *et. al.* Interrelations of Cultures: Their Contribution to International Understanding. Paris: UNESCO, 1953. 387 p.
- Miller, Perry. "The Responsibility of Mind in a Civilization of Machines." American Scholar, XXXI (Winter 1961-1962), 51-69.
- Miller, Perry, R. L. Calhoun, N. M. Pusey, R. Niebuhr. Religion and Freedom of Thought. New York: Doubleday, 1954. 64 p.
- Minogue, K. R. "The Modern Liberal's Casebook." The American Scholar, XXXI (Summer 1962), 359-371.
- Molnar, Thomas. The Decline of the Intellectual. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, c1961. 369 p.
- Muller, Herbert J. The Uses of the Past: Profiles of Former Societies. New York: The New American Library, 1954. 384 p.
- Needham, Joseph, ed. Science, Religion and Reality. Introd. Essay by George Sarton. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1955. 345 p.
- Nef, John U. Cultural Foundations of Industrial Civilization. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960. xv, 164 p.
- Northrop, F. S. C. The Meeting of East and West: an Inquiry Concerning World Understanding. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949. xxii, 531 p.
- Ortega y Gasset, Jose. The Revolt of the Masses. New York: New American Library, 1952. 141 p.

- Osborn, John W. "Books and Bookselling in the Philippines." *Philippine Library Association Publications*, I (1995), 47-58.
- Osiang, Camilo. *The Filipino Way of Life: The Pluralized Philosophy*. Boston: Ginn and Co., 1940. xiv, 321 p.
- Padilla, Ambrosio. "Our Constitution, 1935-1963." *The Manila Chronicle*, Feb. 16-17, 1963.
- . "On Religious Instruction." *The Manila Chronicle*, Feb. 20-24, 1963.
- Palma, Rafael. *Biographia de Rizal*. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1949. xxv, 398 p.
- Pardo de Tavera, T. H. *The Character of Rizal and the Legacy of Obscurantism*. Trans. from the original Spanish by Dr. Encarnación Alzona. Quezon City: 1960. xiii, 100 p.
- Parrington, Vernon I. *Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the beginnings to 1920*. 3 vols. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930.
- Pascual, Ricardo R. *Partyless Democracy: A Blue-print for Political Reconstruction of the Post-War Philippines*. Foreword by B. M. Gonzales. Quezon City: [U.P. Press], 1952. x, 302 p.
- . *The Philosophy of Rizal*. Manila: Pedro B. Ayuda and Company, 1962. xvi, 335 p.
- Passin, Herbert ed. *Cultural Freedom in Asia*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1956. xiii, 296 p.
- Pater, Walter. *The Renaissance*. Introduction by Arthur Symons. New York: *The Modern Library*, n.d. xxxi, 199 p.
- Phelan, John L. *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Philippine Responses, 1565-1700*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958.
- Plaridel, M. H. *Monastic Supremacy in the Philippines*. Manila: Imprenta de Juan Atayde, 1898. 180 p. Trans. from the Spanish by Encarnación Alzona and published by the Philippine Historical Association.
- Powys, John Cowper. *The Meaning of Culture*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., c1929. ix, 275 p.
- Quirino, Eliseo and V. M. Hitorio, eds. *Thinking for Ourselves: A Collection of Representative Filipino Essays*. Manila: Oriental Commercial Co., Inc., 1924. 436 p.
- Recto, Claro M. *The Evil of Religious Test in Our Democracy*. [Iloilo: Central Philippine University, 1950] 15 p.
- Retana, W. E. *Aparato bibliografico de la historia general de Filipinas*. Madrid: Inm. de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Rios, 1906. 3 vols.
- Reyes, Benito F. *The Scientific Proofs of the Existence of the Soul*. Manila: The Lotus Press, 1949. 273 p.
- Riesman, David. "Some Observations on Intellectual Freedom." *American Scholar*, XXXIII (Winter 1953-1954), 9-24.
- Robinson, James H. *The Mind in the Making; the Relation of Intelligence to Social Reform*. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1921, 235 p.
- Romulo, Carlos P. *The Challenge of Excellence and other Addresses*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1962. 21 p.
- . *Education in a Developing Society and Other Official Statements*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1962. 19 p.

- Runes, I T. and M. M. Buenafe. *The Forgery of the Rizal "Retraction" and Josephine's "Autobiography."* Manila: B. R. Book Company, 1962. xii, 198 p.
- Russell, Bertrand. *A History of Western Philosophy and Its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945. xxiii, 895 p.
- Sandmell, Samuel. "The Evasions of Modern Theology," *American Scholar*. XXX (Summer 1961), 366-379.
- Schevill, Ferdinand. *History of Florence.* New York: 1936.
- Schweitzer, Albert. *The Philosophy of Civilization.* In Two Parts. Trans. by C. T. Campion. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960. vii, 347 p.
- Science and Freedom: The Proceedings of a Conference Convened by the Congress for Cultural Freedom and Held in Hamburg on July 23rd-26th, 1953.* London: Martin Seeker and Wasburg, Ltd., 1955. 295 p.
- Seaborg, Glenn T. "The Scientific Society—The Beginnings." *Science*, 135 (16 Feb. 1962), 505-509.
- Sinco, V. G. *Education in Philippine Society.* Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1959. ix, 186 p.
- Sorokin, Pitirin A. *The Crisis of Our Age; The Social and Cultural Outlook.* New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1941. 338 p.
- Tan, Vidal A. *Our Philosophy of Education.* Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1954. 8 p.
- Tawney, R. H. *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1926.
- Van Baumer, Franklin Le, ed. *Main Currents of Western Thought. Readings in Western European Intellectual History from the Middle Ages to the Present.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, xvi, 699 p.
- Veyra, Jaime C. de. "The Lagda." *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*. XVIII (Sept. 1953), 287-326.
- Voltaire. *Philosophical Dictionary.* Translated with an Introduction and Glossary, by Peter Gray. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1962. 2 vols.
- Wach, Joachim. *Sociology of Religion.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958. xii, 418 p.
- White, Andrew Dickson. *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.* New York: George Braziller, 1955.
- White, Leslie A. *The Science of Culture: A Study of Man and Civilization.* New York: Grove Press Inc., c1949. xx, 444 p.
- Yabes, Leopoldo Y. *The Filipino Struggle for Intellectual Freedom and Other Essays on Philippine Life and Thought.* Quezon City: 1959.
- . *In Larger Freedom: Studies in Philippine Life, Thought and Institutions.* Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1961. viii, 471-612 p.
- . *Jose Rizal: Sage, Teacher, and Benefactor of Humanity.* Quezon City: 1961. 64 p.
- . *The University and the Fear of Ideas and other Essays on the Higher Learning.* Quezon City. 1956. 40 p.



# APPENDIX



## CECILIO LOPEZ: CURRICULUM VITAE

- 1923 B. S., University of the Philippines, Zoology major, languages minor
- 1921-23 Assistant Instructor in Zoology, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines
- 1923-26 Instructor in French, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines
- 1928 Dr. Phil., University of Hamburg, Germany, Linguistics major, ethnology and phonetics minors
- 1928-29 Post-doctoral, University of Leiden, Netherlands
- 1929 Institut Brittanique, Paris, France (summer)
- 1930 Wissenschaftliche Hilfsarbeiter, Seminar für Afrikanische u. Südsee-Sprachen, University of Hamburg (fall term)
- 1930-37 Assistant Professor and Acting Head, Dept. of Oriental Languages, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines
- 1937-45 Secretary & Executive Officer, Institute of National Language, Commonwealth of the Philippines
- 1945-60 Professor & Head, Dept. of Oriental Languages, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines
- 1946 Member, National Council of Education, Republic of the Philippines
- 1950-51 Fellow in Linguistics, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (Michigan and Yale)
- 1951-55 Secretary, Graduate School, University of the Philippines
- 1953-57 Chairman, Social Science Research Center, University of the Philippines
- 1954-55 Acting Director, Institute of National Language
- 1955 Acting Dean, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines
- 1956-63 Executive Secretary, Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines
- 1957-58 Chairman, Division of Humanities, University of the Philippines
- 1957 Acting Dean, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines
- 1963 Emeritus, etc. Professor of Linguistics and Oriental Studies, Executive Secretary, Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines

*Publications*

- 1925 The Tagalog Language of Marinduque, Mimeo. Paper submitted in a class in Philippine linguistics under Professor Otto Scheerer, University of the Philippines.
- 1931 "Das Verwandtschaftssystem der Tagalen und der Malaien." *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Bd. XII, Hoft 3. (Reviewed in *Anthropos*, 1931)
- 1931 The Language Situation in the Philippine Islands. A series of papers on Philippine progress. Prepared for the Institute of Pacific Relations. Manila. p. 47.
- 1930-31 "A Contribution to our Language Problem." *The Philippine Social Science Review*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 107-117; Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 273-283.
- 1932 "Our Language Problem." *The Philippine Social Science Review*, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 92-100.
- 1936 "Review of Otto Dempwolff's *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*." *The Philippine Social Science Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2.
- 1937 "Tagalog Words Adopted from Spanish." *The Philippine Social Science Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 223-246. (Reviewed by Marcel Cohen in *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, Vol. 38, 1937)
- 1937 "General Features of Philippine Languages." *The Philippine Social Science Review*, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 201-207.
- 1937 Preliminary Study of the Affixes in Tagalog. *Publications of the Institute of National Language*, Vol. II. (Reviewed by Marcel Cohen in *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, Vol. 39, 1939)
- 1939 Studies on Dempwolff's *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*. *Publications of the Institute of National Language*, Bulletin No. 1, 63 p.
- 1939 A Comparison of Tagalog and Malay Lexicographies. *Publications of the Institute of National Language*, Bulletin No. 2, 92 p.
- 1940 A Manual of the Philippine National Language, Bureau of Printing, 327 p.
- 1940 The Tagalog Language (An Outline of its Psycho-Morphological Analysis). *Publications of the Institute of National Language*, Bulletin No. 5, 23 p.

- 1941 Studies on Tagalog Lexicography (Tagalog Words for Spanish Loan-words, No. 1). *Publications of the Institute of National Language*, Bulletin No. 6, 29 p.
- 1941 Reduplication in Tagalog. *Publications of the Institute of National Language*, Bulletin No. 7, 171 p. (Revised edition June, 1948; reprinted in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Deel 106, Afl.2, 1950, 311 p.)
- 1943 Estudios sobre la Lengua Tagala, Por José Rizal. Translated into Tagalog with a foreword by Cecilio Lopez. *Institute of National Language*, 40 p.
- 1949 Studies on Sugbuanon Affixes. *The Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, pp. 29-35; Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 183-226.
- 1956 ———— and assistants, An Annotated Bibliography of Philippine Social Sciences, Vol. I; Economics. *Social Science Research Center*, University of the Philippines, X-525 p.
- 1957 ———— and assistants, List of Graduates with Graduate Degrees and Title of their Theses. *Social Science Research Center*, University of the Philippines, 1-108 p.
- 1957 ———— and assistants, An Annotated Bibliography of Philippine Social Sciences, Vol. II (Part 1); Sociology. *Social Science Research Center*, University of the Philippines, v-153 p.
- 1960 ———— and assistants, An Annotated Bibliography of Philippine Social Sciences, Vol. III (Part 1): Political Science. *Social Science Research Center*, University of the Philippines, vii-175 p.

#### Reviews

- 1959 *Iloko Grammar* by Morice Vanoverbergh. *Anthropos* 53:324-26.
- 1961 *Iloko-English Dictionary* and *English-Iloko Thesaurus* by Morice Vanoverbergh. *Anthropos* 56:337-39.
- 1962 *An Agta Grammar*. By Phyllis M. Hoaley. *Journal of Asian Studies*. XXI, 4:569-70.

#### Research in progress

1. Comparative Philippine syntax (twelve languages; Guggenheim project).
2. A comparative Philippine word-list (about 2,500 words in twenty-one languages).
3. Spanish overlay in Tagalog. (Read in short form at the Golden Jubilee Congress, University of Hong Kong, Sept. 8-16, 1961).

4. Non-productive infixes in Malayo-Polynesian.
5. Doublets in Malayo-Polynesian.
6. Comparative syntax of Malay and Tagalog. (Delivered in State Universities in Indonesia as guest lecturer of the Republic of Indonesia, September-October, 1959).

*Membership in professional societies and boards*

1. Linguistic Society of America.
2. American Oriental Society.
3. Association for Asian Studies, Inc. (U.S.A.)
4. Société de Linguistique de Paris.
5. National Research Council (Philippines)
6. American Anthropological Association.
7. Editorial Advisory Committee, Thorndike-Barnhart Dictionaries.
8. Editorial Board, Oceanic Linguistics (in process of organization as result of panel discussion, Tenth Pacific Science Congress, August 21–September 6, 1961, Honolulu).
9. Phi Kappa Phi (University of the Philippines Chapter).

*Guest lecturer*

1. In State universities in Indonesia, September-October, 1959.
2. Last of four speakers on the occasion of the Centennial Celebration of Dr. José Rizal held at the Old Auditorium of the University of Heidelberg, Germany, June 19, 1961, with title of talk in the German language "Die Odysee Dr. Rizals im Spiegel der deutschen Sprache." (The Rector of the University of Heidelberg, Ambassador Ingles and Professor Kolb of Hamburg were the first three speakers.)
3. Spoke before the class, with the Rector of the University and professors present, of the Seminar für Ethnologie, University of Bonn, July 10, 1961, on the topic "Die geistige Begegnung zwischen dem Westen und Südost-Asien," with the talk followed by discussion.

*Congresses and conferences attended and academic tours made*

- 1927 International Congress of Orientalists, Leiden, Netherlands
- 1950 Summer meeting, Linguistic Society of America, Ann Arbor, Michigan
- 1953 Eighth Pacific Science Congress, Philippines; convener, Linguistics symposia
- 1957 General Conference, Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning, Bangkok, Thailand

- 1957 Ninth Pacific Science Congress, member, Standing Committee on Anthropology and Related Sciences and chairman, Subcommittee on Linguistics and convener, linguistics symposia, Bangkok, Thailand
- 1957 First Round-Table Conference of Southeast-Asian Language Experts, Bangkok, Thailand
- 1959 Second Round-Table Conference of Southeast-Asian Language Experts, Hongkong
- 1960 Tour of Southeast-Asia on a Language Project with Prof. Prom Purachatra of Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand and Dr. Nguyen Dinh Hoa of the University of Saigon, South Vietnam
- 1961 Guest of the Federal Republic of Germany to participate in the Centennial Celebration of Dr. Rizal and made a study of the educational system in contemporary Germany.
- 1961 Tenth Pacific Science Congress, read a paper on "Research Needs in Indonesian Languages," chaired symposium on "Contributed Papers in Linguistics," and participated in the panel discussion on "Research Frontiers in the Pacific."
- 1961 Read a paper entitled, "Spanish Overlay in Tagalog" at the Golden Jubilee Congress, University of Hongkong.
- 1962 Discussed with colleagues abroad meet problems concerning several research projects; contacted personally research workers in the field of linguistics in a number of linguistic centers abroad for the effective organization and planning of the program on linguistics which he is preparing in the capacity as member, representing the Philippines, of the Standing Committee of the Division of Anthropology and Social Sciences and concurrently chairman of the Subcommittee on Linguistics, Eleventh Pacific Science Congress, to be held in Japan.
- 1962 Ninth International Congress of Linguists held at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.