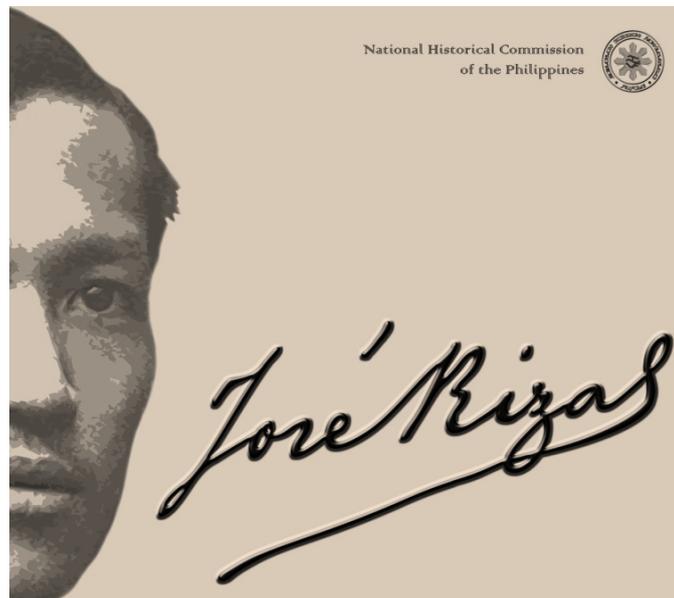


Dr. José Rizal

“Connecting the Philippines and Germany”

An Overview of a Symposium held in Berlin on 14. June 2011



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José Rizal
“Connecting the Philippines and Germany”

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1. Introductory Remarks

This working paper contains two keynote speeches, which were presented on occasion of the Dr. José Rizal Symposium at the Humboldt University on 14 June 2011, commemorating the 150th birth anniversary of this national hero of the Republic of the Philippines. The event, entitled “Connecting the Philippines and Germany”, was organized jointly by the Southeast Asian Studies section of the Institute of Asian and African Studies at Humboldt University and the Philippine Embassy in Berlin.

As most readers will know, José Rizal was born on 19 June 1861 in Calamba, Laguna in the Philippines. He studied philosophy in Manila and Madrid as well as medicine at the Universities of Paris and Heidelberg. In Wilhelmsfeld, a small town near Heidelberg, Rizal finished his first and very influential novel *Noli Me Tangere* (touch me not), which was then published in Berlin in 1887. This book laid the ground work for the nationalist movement in the Philippines, as it contained a profound criticism of Spanish colonial rule. On 30 December 1896, after his return to the Philippines and the start of the independence movement, Rizal was condemned to death and subsequently executed. Thus he became a prime figure in Philippine national consciousness. Travelling through Europe Rizal was influenced by many personalities and ideas, not in the least by his experiences in Germany. Therefore Rizal and Germany constitute part of an interconnected, transnational history, the dimensions of which still deserve further historical research.

Both speeches rendered mirror one another, since the Philippine as well as the German dimension of this connected history through the person of José Rizal are highlighted here. The author of the first text is Dr. Ambeth Ocampo, a very well-known and authoritative historian in the Philippines. He is currently chairman of the Department of History at Ateneo de Manila University. Before, he led the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (2002-2011) and was Chairman of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (2005-2007). Prof. Dr. Bernhard Dahm is professor emeritus of Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Passau. In the early 1970s he was at Yale University before he took up a chair in Kiel. Prof. Dahm introduced the format of area studies in Germany and in his writings on Southeast Asia he also honored Rizal in the form of a book, entitled *José Rizal. Der Nationalheld der Filipinos* (Göttingen 1988). Prof. Dahm received the Dr. José Rizal Award for Philippine-German Cultural Relations in 2010.

I would like to thank both speakers for their stimulating insights offered in this working paper. Also many thanks to the officers of the Philippine Embassy in Berlin, in particular Minister Christine Queenie Mangunay and First Secretary Roberto G. Manalo, as well as my student assistants Nina Siekmann and Maren Wilger, for making this event as well as this publication possible. My appreciation also to Ms. Leah Basinang Ruiz, Charge d' Affaires, a.i. of the Philippine Embassy in Berlin.

Berlin, 26 June 2011

Prof. Dr. Vincent Houben

2. Rotten Beef and Stinking Fish: Rizal and the Writing of Philippine History

Dr. Ambeth R. Ocampo

Antonio de Morga, lieutenant-governor of the Philippines (in the late sixteenth century), described the food of the *indios* as follows:

“Their daily fare is composed of: rice crushed in wooden pillars and when cooked is called morisqueta (this is the staple throughout the land); cooked fish which they have in abundance; pork, venison, mountain buffaloes which they call carabaos, beef and fish which they know is best when it has started to rot and stink.”¹

Reading this text in the British Museum 280 years later, Rizal was so incensed that he later responded in print with:

“This is another preoccupation of the Spaniards who, like any other nation, treat food to which they are not accustomed or is unknown to them, with disgust. The English, for example, feels horror to see a Spaniard eating snails; to the Spaniard, roast beef is repugnant and he cannot understand how Steak Tartar or raw beef can be eaten; the Chinese who have *tahuri* and eat shark cannot stand Roquefort cheese etc. etc. This fish that Morga mentions, that cannot be known to be good until it begins to rot, all on the contrary, is *bagoong* [salted and fermented fish or shrimp paste used as a sauce in Filipino cuisine] and those who have eaten it and tasted it know that it neither is nor should be rotten.”²

Rizal’s sarcastic rebuttal appears, surprisingly, not in his satirical novels or his polemical tracts, but in a scholarly work—his annotated re-edition of Morga’s *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. Aside from the racial slurs to which Rizal was reacting, however, Rizal maintained mixed feelings for the Morga, depending on its usefulness for his thesis that Spanish colonization retarded, rather than brought civilization to the Philippines and its inhabitants.

Unfortunately Rizal’s Morga has been relegated in the canon, under his “minor writings,”³ and remains largely unread due to the pre-eminence of his novels, *Noli me tângere* and *El Filibusterismo*.

Unlike the novels, which have been attacked and condemned regularly in the past century, the Morga remains largely ignored. It is lamentable that, despite being a classic of nationalist historical writing, Rizal’s Morga is seldom read today.

That Rizal’s annotations are largely disregarded today stems basically from the recent advances in historical, archaeological and ethnographic research. Although many of Rizal’s assertions have been

¹ W.E. Retana, (ed.) *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, (Madrid: Libreria General de Victoria Alvarez, 1909) p. 174.

² *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* por el Dr. Antonio de Morga obra publicada en Mexico el año de 1609 nuevamente sacada a luz y anotada por Jose Rizal y presedida de un prologo del Prof. Ferdinand Blumentritt. (Paris: Libreria de Garnier Hermanos, 1890) p. 264 Note 3, Hereinafter cited as Rizal-Morga. Esta es otra de las preocupaciones de los Españoles que, como cualquiera otra nacion, tratandose de las comidas hacen ascos de aquello a que no etan acostumbrados o que desconocen. El Ingles, por ejemplo, siente grima al ver a un Español comer caracoles; a este le repugna al roastbeef y no comprende como se puede comer el beefsteak tartaro (carne cruda); el Chino que tiene *tahuri* y come tiburón, no puede sportar el queso Roquefort, etc. etc. Este pescado que menciona Morga no sabe mejor cuando esta comenzado a dañiar; todo lo contrario: es bagoong y cuantos lo han comido y probado aben que ni esta ni deber estar dañiado.”

³ Austin Craig, *Rizal’s Life and Minor Writings*. (Manila: Philippine Education Co. 1927).

validated by recent research, the fact is that his work is now dated. Moreover Rizal's annotations are secondary, and today's scholars concentrate more on the primary source, Morga, than on Rizal's notes. Few Filipinos today, even the most patriotic, would find the time and energy to read the small text of Rizal's footnotes, even if penned by the national hero.

Another factor in the relative obscurity of Rizal's annotations on Morga was censorship during the Spanish colonial period. Like *Noli me tângere* and *El Filibusterismo*, the Rizal edition of Morga was banned in the Philippines in the late nineteenth century. Therefore, copies confiscated by Spanish customs in Manila and other ports of entry were destroyed. Due to the burning of one particularly large shipment of the Morga, the book attained "rare" and "out of print" status within a year of its publication. It did not see a second printing and the few copies in circulation were left hidden and unread by frightened owners.

There was also the problem of language, which restricted the impact of the Morga to a small, educated, Spanish-reading elite in Manila. Among this already minute circle, one could count with the fingers of one hand, the people who would read a historical work like Morga over the more entertaining Rizal novels. Rizal's Morga was not read by the masses, although people heard a great deal about this controversial work. Rizal's Morga, thus unread, is almost forgotten.

This essay deals with Rizal's views on Philippine history. It attempts to place Rizal's Morga within the framework of his work, as well as in the larger context of Philippine historiography. Rizal's Morga may not have been read widely, but its significance lies in the fact that with this edition, Rizal began the task of writing the first Philippine history from the viewpoint of a Filipino.

One matter has to be clarified at the outset. Rizal is often credited with "re-writing Philippine history." The notion of "Philippine history" is ambiguous to begin with: it can mean either the history of the place or the history of the people of the place. The difference between these two histories is related to the different concepts of the Filipino and the Filipino Nation. The former did not exist until Rizal's time, and the latter did not exist until the establishment of the short-lived Philippine Republic under Aguinaldo in 1898. If Philippine history is taken to mean the history of the place, then Rizal was indeed re-writing history, because there are numerous Spanish chronicles written from the late sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. However, if we mean the history of the Filipinos, then, being the first history and having nothing to re-write, Rizal was actually writing Philippine history. The historiographical importance of this little-read scholarly work by Rizal is that it was the first historical work on the Philippines by a Filipino. It is the first history written from the point of view of the colonized, not the colonizer.

Rizal seems to have been reflecting on his country's history shortly after completing *Noli me tângere*, in late February 1887, and obviously drawing on the popular Tagalog proverb, "*Ang hindi marunong lumingon sa pinanggalingan hindi makararating sa pinaroroonan*" (He who does not know where he came from, will never reach his destination). He realized the importance of the past as a tool to understand the present and eventually confront the future. Although he wished to embark on some historical research, he restrained himself, admitting his inadequacy in a letter to the Austrian ethnographer, Ferdinand Blumentritt, asking him to write a history of the Philippines:

"The Philippines would be grateful to you if you will write a complete history of our country, judged from impartial criteria. I believe that you are the only one who can do it. I have the courage for this, but I do not know enough. I have not read as many books about my country and the Spanish libraries are closed to me; furthermore my time is needed for other things and everything I say will always be suspected of having been inspired by a partisan spirit, but you would be read as an impartial judge; you have no selfish interests...you do not have to amend historical truth neither for the sake of Filipinos nor the Spaniards, and you could contemplate the past in cold blood like an outside observer...I think that you are the man best equipped for this task..."⁴

⁴ Letter to Blumentritt. 13 April 1887 from T.M. Kalaw, ed. 5 vols. *Epistolario Rizalino*. (Manila: Documentos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Filipinas. 1930-1938) V. Part I:116. Hereinafter cited as *Ep. Riz.*

By this time, Rizal had begun another novel, a sequel to *Noli me tângere*, but towards the end of June 1888, he tore up the completed chapters, changed the plot entirely, and began anew to produce a work which would influence his countrymen “to think correctly.”⁵ Then, in the middle of August 1888, resigned that Blumentritt could not be persuaded to write a history of the Philippines, Rizal set his literary labors aside, and began to work on his country’s history.

Armed with a letter of introduction from the Director of the India Office Library, Reinhold Rost, he applied for and was granted a reader’s pass to the British Museum, where he began to consult early printed materials on the Philippines. “I’m busy,” he wrote to his friend, Blumentritt. “I’m assiduously reading all the ancient [i.e. primary] sources on the history of the Philippines, and I do not think I want to leave London until I have read all the books and manuscripts that have references to the Philippines. I want to become the ‘Filipino Blumentritt.’”⁶

Close to August 18, 1888, Rizal was copying out, by hand, the entire first edition of Morga’s *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, annotating it along the way, confident that Antonio Regidor, a wealthy countryman, in exile in London following the Cavite Mutiny of 1872, would publish the work when completed.⁷ As an added incentive, Regidor promised Rizal that as soon as he had recovered his investment in the book, all profits would be divided equally between author and publisher. Rizal, however, was a realist who accepted that scholarly books such as the Morga would not be financially rewarding. Thus he stated in a letter to Blumentritt that his aim was simply to “present a new edition to the public, above all the Filipino public...I do this solely for my country, because this work will bring me neither honor nor money.”⁸

His fears proved correct, for he did not earn anything from the Morga. In fact, Regidor unexpectedly backed out of the venture without the courtesy of an explanation. One of Rizal’s friends hinted at racism, as Regidor was of Spanish extraction. After all his work in the copying, editing, and annotation of the *Sucesos*, Rizal had a finished manuscript but no publisher. Undaunted by the initial frustration, Rizal decided to publish the Morga himself. By the end of September 1889 he had brought the manuscript to Paris, where printing costs were lower than in London, and sent a letter to Blumentritt requesting him to write an introduction to the book.⁹

The concrete result of four months of intense historical research in Bloomsbury was Rizal’s second book with a typically long Spanish title, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas por el Doctor Antonio de Morga. Obra publicada en mejico en el año de 1609, nuevamente sacada a luz y anotada por Jose Rizal, y precedida de un prologo del prof. Fernando Blumentritt* (Events in the Philippine Islands by Dr. Antonio de Morga. A work published in Mexico in the year 1609, reprinted and annotated by Jose Rizal and preceded by an introduction by Professor Ferdinand Blumentritt). Herein consistently referred to as Rizal-Morga or *Sucesos*.

⁵ Letter to Mariano Ponce. 27 June 1888. *Ep. Riz.* II: (20-21).

⁶ Letter to Blumentritt. 12 October 1888. *Ep. Riz.* V (part 1:311).

⁷ Letter to Blumentritt. August 18, 1888. *Ep. Riz.* V, (part 1, 1889).

⁸ Letter to Blumentritt. *Loc cit.* Original in German, Spanish translation as follows: “Estoy ahora muy ocupado con *Morga*, pienso copiar toda la obra y regalar una nueva edicional publico, sobre todo al publico filipino...Hago eso sólo por mi país, porque esta obra no me traerá ni honor ni dinero.”

⁹ Letter to Blumentritt. May 20, 1889. *Ep. Riz.* V (Part 2:441.) And also letter of July 23, 1889 same volume *Ep. Riz.* (p.471.)

A short biography of Morga and an outline of the structure of his book is necessary at this point. Antonio de Morga was born in 1559 in Seville. He graduated from the University of Salamanca in 1574 and in 1578 attained a doctorate in Canon Law. He taught briefly in Osuna, later returning to Salamanca to read Civil Law. In 1580 he joined the government service, and was appointed in 1593 to Manila as Lieutenant-Governor, the second most powerful position in the colony next only to the Governor-General of the Philippines. In 1598 he resigned this post to assume the office of *oidor* or judge in the *Audiencia*.

Morga's fame (or infamy depending on which account you are reading) came in 1600, when he was put in charge of the Spanish fleet against a Dutch invasion under Olivier van Noort. Although the Dutch sailed away, the Spaniards lost heavily, and according to Morga, he had jumped ship and swam ashore with nothing but the enemy standard in his hand. The Dutch account of the battle describes Morga hiding and crying in his flagship before it sank. Morga's reputation in the colony sank, like his flagship, and in 1603 he was transferred to Mexico.

A particularly malicious biographical note on Morga is provided by W.E. Retana (1906) in his three-volume *Aparato Bibliografico de la Historia General de Filipinas* (Bibliographical Apparatus for a General History of the Philippines).¹⁰ In his entry on the *Sucesos*, Retana cites a domestic scandal to comment on Morga's hard character. Briefly, Juliana, Morga's eldest daughter, was discovered in 1602 to be in love with a man of a lower social standing, a soldier from Mexico. Morga and his wife first tried to discourage the relationship by beating up Juliana, shaving her hair, and finally locking her up in the house. Yet Juliana managed to escape from her parent's house by tying bed sheets together, and lowering herself from her bedroom window to the street.

When Morga discovered that his daughter had eloped, he brought in the governor-general himself to persuade Juliana from marriage. They were all unsuccessful. Juliana silenced parental opposition by threatening to commit social suicide by marrying a Negro¹¹ if she was not allowed to marry her lover. Morga never spoke to his daughter again, and left her in Manila when he moved to Mexico.

From Mexico, Morga was moved to Quinto in 1615 where he was president of the *Audiencia*. Again Morga found himself in trouble, and in 1625 was investigated for corruption and eventually found guilty. However he escaped humiliation and the gallows by dying in 1636 before the case was wound up.¹²

Morga began his work, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, it is claimed as a way of saving face after the disaster with the Dutch invaders in Manila in 1600. Hence, it is Morga's version of the battle of Manila Bay left to history. The work consists of eight chapters:

- I. Of the first discoveries of the Eastern islands.
- II. Of the government of Dr. Francisco de Sande
- III. Of the government of don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa
- IV. Of the government of Dr. Santiago de Vera

¹⁰ W.E. Retana. *Aparato Bibliografico de la Historia General de Filipinas* (Madrid: 1906) Vol. 5, pp. 58-61.

¹¹ Retana uses the word "negro" which could mean a "colored man," as opposed to a white Spaniard or European. Perhaps, it could also mean *indio* but definitely not "black" or African.

¹² This biography is based on the lengthy biographical essay in Retana's Morga, and the introduction to the Cummins edition of Morga. The family scandal is condensed from Retana's *Aparato*.

- V. Of the government of Gomes Perez Dasmariñas
- VI. Of the government of don Francisco Tello
- VII. Of the government of don Pedro de Acuña
- VIII. An account of the Philippine Islands.

The first seven chapters mainly concern the political events which occurred in the colony during the terms of the first eleven governors-general in the Philippines, beginning with Miguel Lopez de Legaspi in 1565 to Pedro de Acuña who died in June 1606. For present-day Filipinos, chapter eight is the most interesting, because it gives a description of the pre-Hispanic Filipinos, or rather the *indios* at the Spanish contact. This same chapter was indispensable to Rizal, not only for its ethnographic value but more to help him re-construct the pre-Hispanic Philippines which Rizal wanted to present to his countrymen.

In his preface to the Morga, Rizal states that he did not change a single word in the text, save those that required re-spelling in modern Spanish orthography or corrected punctuation:

“Born and raised in the ignorance of our past, like most of you, without voice or authority to speak about what we did not see nor study, I considered it necessary to invoke the testimony of an illustrious Spaniard who governed the destiny of the Philippines at the beginning of her new era and witnessed the last moments of our ancient nationality. Therefore, it is the shadow of the civilization of our ancestors which the author now evokes before you. The high office, the nationality, and merits of Morga, together with the data and testimonies of his contemporaries, mostly Spanish, recommend the work to your thoughtful consideration.”¹³

Why did Rizal choose Morga over other Spanish chronicles? Why does he recommend Morga to his countrymen? Surely, Antonio Pigafetta’s account of the Magellan expedition was more detailed, and closer to the point of first contact between the Philippines and Spain. Rizal’s choice of re-printing Morga rather than other contemporary historical accounts of the Philippines was due to the following reasons: the original book was rare; Morga was a layman not a religious chronicler. Rizal felt Morga to be more “objective” than the religious writers whose accounts included many miracle stories. Morga, compared to religious chroniclers, was more sympathetic to the *indios*; and finally, Morga was not only an eyewitness but a major actor in the events he narrates.

Morga’s *Sucesos* was originally published in Mexico in 1609, and was therefore rare. In his introduction, Blumentritt notes that the book is “so rare that the few libraries that have a copy guard it with the same care as they would an Inca treasure.”¹⁴

In 1971, when J.S. Cummins of University College London translated, edited and annotated the latest edition of Morga for the Hakluyt Society, he listed just twenty-five extant copies of the Morga in libraries and other research institutions. It is possible that there are some unrecorded copies in private collections, but it is safe to assume that there are less than thirty extant copies of the first edition Morga.¹⁵

¹³ Rizal-Morga. Preface.

¹⁴ *Op cit.* Introduction

¹⁵ J.S. Cummins, (ed.) *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. (London: Cambridge University Press 1971) p. 37.

Ironically, the Morga was disseminated 259 years after its original publication in a widely read English translation by H.E.J. Stanley,¹⁶ published in London by the Hakluyt Society in 1868 under the title *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan and China at the close of the Sixteenth Century*, which is misleading, since the book is basically on Spain in the Philippines, and describes, mainly, how the colony was used as a foothold in Asia, from which other Spanish expeditions were launched.

The original Spanish text of 1609 had never been re-printed in full until the annotated Rizal edition came off the press of Garnier Hermanos in Paris in 1889.¹⁷ After the Rizal edition, there was a magnificent edition by Wenceslao Emilio Retana, which saw print in 1909. Probably the most accurate edition, as it reproduces even the misprints of the original, it also had a great amount of supplementary material in Retana's extensive introduction and copious notes. What makes Retana's edition invaluable is the primary source material, by Morga himself and other contemporaries, drawn from the Archivo General de Indias in Seville which amplify and enrich the main text. Its only drawback is that it is inaccessible to those who cannot read Spanish.

In the Philippines, Rizal's Morga was re-issued in photo-offset reproduction only in 1958, by which time few Filipinos knew or cared for books in Spanish. An English translation of Rizal's Morga was commissioned and published by the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission in 1961, but has proven unsatisfactory compared with the most popular English edition of Morga at present the one by J.S. Cummins published by the Hakluyt Society in 1971.

The preceding bibliographical notes not only stress the rarity of the original but also reveal that Rizal was not satisfied with the Stanley edition, which he thought contained errors of fact and interpretation which required correction. In the eighth chapter, for example, is a titillating description of the sexual habits of the pre-Hispanic *indios*. Like Magellan's chronicler, Antonio Pigaffeta, Morga noted the use of penis rings or *sagras* by the *indios*.¹⁸ This short, sexually explicit, passages was not rendered into English by Stanley who was obviously constrained by his Victorian scruples. On page 304 of Stanley's Morga the offending paragraph is left in the original Spanish. In the Rizal edition, everything is reproduced in full with no censorship and included some annotations.¹⁹

Although he was doing his research in London, it is strange that Rizal did not contact or correspond with Stanley regarding the Morga. Rizal felt, like Blumentritt who wrote the introduction, that the annotations to Morga should be made not by a foreigner but by an *indio*.

Rizal's second consideration for the choice of Morga was it was the only civil, as opposed to religious or ecclesiastical, history of the Philippines written during the colonial period. Chronicles by Spanish colonial officials (or non-religious) were rare, making the Morga, for over two centuries, the only secular general history of the Philippines in print.²⁰

The main complaint against religious historians was that they dealt more with church history than the history of the Philippines and its people. In an unsigned article entitled "Reflections on historical publications relating to the Philippines" which appeared in *Ilustracion Filipina* in 1860, the writer asked why:

¹⁶ *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan and China at the close of the sixteenth century* by Antonio de Morga. Translated from the Spanish with notes and a preface, and a letter from Luis Vaez de Torres, describing his voyage through the Torres Straits by the Hon. Henry E.J. Stanley. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1868.)

¹⁷ Despite the completion and initial distribution of copies of Rizal's Morga in autumn 1889, the title-page was post-dated 1890.

¹⁸ Pigafetta, Antonio. *Magellan's voyage*. Translated and Edited by R.A. Skelton. (Yale University Press, 1969).

¹⁹ Rizal-Morga, p. 309.

²⁰ Cf. C.R. Boxer article in *Historians of Asia* as well as Retana, (*Aparato* III) p. 1169. Entry 2891.

“...despite the thousands of documents, hundreds of historians and the on-going writing of a general history of Spain, the Philippines has been ignored for three centuries. There is much to be written, but the historians of the Philippines of the old school (*antiguo sistema*), write volumes upon volumes which go down to very trivial details such that they fail to get readers interested in the history of the Philippines...a general history of the Philippines is demanded of the culture of the century.”²¹

A general history of the Philippines was an ambitious undertaking considering the rarity of secular and, more importantly, *indio* historians. Until Rizal’s edition of Morga, there was no history of the Philippines written by an *indio*, or one written from the viewpoint of the *indio*.

In 1925, the American historian Austin Craig pointed out that as the Philippines had been a colony of Spain, the histories of the Philippines written during the colonial period were nothing but chapters in the larger history of Spain. In short, what was available was not a history of the Philippines but a history of Spain in the Philippines. This idea was acted upon by Teodoro A. Agoncillo in the 1960’s, who, like Rizal, espoused the writing of Philippine history from the Filipino point of view as opposed to that of the foreigner. The main difference between Agoncillo and Rizal, however, is that the *indios* of the nineteenth century had yet to consider themselves a nation, and could not have considered themselves—as Filipinos.

The third consideration for the choice of Morga was Rizal’s opinion that this secular account was more objective, more trustworthy, than those written by the religious missionaries which were liberally sprinkled with tales of miracles and apparitions:

“All the histories written by the religious before and after Morga, up to our days, abound with stories of devils, miracles, apparitions, etc. These form the bulk of the voluminous histories of the Philippines.”²²

Rizal’s annotations fall into two categories. First are the straightforward historical annotations, where Rizal amplifies or corrects the original. Second are the annotations which, though historically based, reflect his strong anti-clerical bias. The latter is something uncalled for in a scholarly work, but these notes give Rizal’s edition its distinct flavor. Rizal branded religious interpretations of events as “pious lies.”²³

He emphasized that Morga’s *Sucesos* was devoid of the characteristic *Deus ex machina* interpretation of historical events which was popular for the friar chroniclers of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Their aim was not to record history as is, but to document the achievements of their religious orders and, more importantly, to edify their readers. Friar chronicles cannot be described as history in the modern sense, but a narrative with a moral lesson. Often these chronicles were written to encourage religious vocations or material donations for the missions in Asia.

An example of this clash in historiography can be seen in Rizal’s caustic comments on the friar accounts of the Chinese uprising of 1603. He was particularly harsh on the claims that the Augustinian, Antonio Flores, who, in the words of Aduarte, a Dominican friar

“...in one night took off the bottoms of two hundred vessels, burned some bigger ones and sank others, and with two arquebuses and something more than 400 bullets, from five in the morning until six in the evening, killed more than 600 Chinese...later, he alone killed more than 3,000.”²⁴

²¹ *Ilustracion Filipina*. (Vol. II No.3. July 1, 1860). pp. 149-151.

²² Rizal-Morga. p. 311, note 1

²³ *Op. cit.* p. 190.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 225, note 2. **90** rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History

Not to be outdone, the Franciscans attributed the Spanish victory over the Chinese not to the gallant men who manned the cannons at the gates of Intramuros or repelled the rebels from the walls of the city, but to the founder of their order, St. Francis of Assisi, who was allegedly seen protecting Intramuros and fighting of the Chinese with a flaming sword. Due to this tale, St. Francis was proclaimed by the Archbishop of Manila *serafin custodio de Manila* (Seraphic Protector of Manila) whose feast day was now celebrated annually as a holiday. The government subsidized the ceremony that accompanied this religious feast.

To challenge this account, Rizal cited contemporary accounts of the Chinese uprising written by laymen, which made no mention of the miracle of St. Francis. According to Rizal, as two other chroniclers, Morga and Argensola, were silent on St. Francis, perhaps the miracle was added only years after the event.²⁵ How elated Rizal would have been had he found out that the four hundred sworn statements about the saintly apparition given by Chinese prisoners sentenced to death for the uprising, were made after they converted to Catholicism, and that they were baptized and pardoned.²⁶

Furthermore, Rizal utilized Morga to discredit the work of the Dominican chronicler Diego de Aduarte, whose *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la orden de Predicadores en Philipinas* (History of the Province of the Holy Rosary of the Order of Preachers in the Philippines) was published in Manila in 1640 and was considered so authoritative it was often cited or repeated by later historians. In an extended footnote, spanning two pages, Rizal contrasts the work of Aduarte and Morga, admitting that although the Dominican's work was pleasant, charming, animated, and written in a picturesque style, it was, marred by gaps, contradictions and distortions, unlike Morga, who was more "faithful as a chronicler of his time...if he covers up many things for political reasons...he never distorts events."²⁷

Aduarte had later been named a bishop, and according to an adoring biographer, the friar was so holy and ascetic, he wore patched shoes and after his death miraculously grew a beard in his coffin. Unable to resist commenting, Rizal says acidly "we have other saints with less beard and better shoes."²⁸

Apart from their deliberate distortion of events in their propagation of a religious interpretation of Philippine history, Rizal takes the friar chroniclers to task for going against their vows of poverty. In one of his annotations, Rizal estimates the wealth held by the religious corporations, particularly the Franciscans and Dominicans, who owned much property and land in the Philippines. Rizal shows that the Dominicans maintained properties even in neighboring Hongkong.²⁹ He concludes that, "of course since the beginning [of the colonial period] the friar missionaries had very few opportunities to suffer for religion."³⁰

Rizal's anti-clericalism should be seen in the context of his education in the politically unstable, liberal Madrid of the late nineteenth century, where the Republicans blamed most of social ills on priests and religious. In addition, there were Rizal's experiences of oppression in colonial Philippines. That he was particularly sharp on the Dominicans can be explained by the agrarian disputes his family faced in Calamba which was a Dominican *hacienda*.

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

²⁶ Gonzales-Liquete. *Repertorio historico*.

²⁷ Rizal-Morga, pp. 122-123. rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History 91

²⁸ *Loc. cit.* "...santos tenemos con menos barbas y mejores zapatos."

²⁹ *Op cit*, p. 346, note 2.

³⁰ *Op cit*, p. 347, note 1. rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History

However, Rizal had a soft spot for the Jesuits, who, incidentally are not friars, under whose tutelage he received his early education.

Only after the religious consolidated their position, did they begin to spread calumnies and to debase the races of the Philippines with a view to giving themselves more importance, making themselves indispensable, and thus excusing their stupidity and ignorance with the pretended coarseness of the *indio*. There is, however, an exception, in the Jesuits who always educated and enlightened the *indios* without declaring themselves as eternal protectors, tutors, defenders, etc. etc. [of the *indios*].³¹

The Jesuits, unlike the other religious orders, were spared arrest and abuse by the Filipino forces during the second-phase of the Philippine Revolution that began in 1898. This can partially be explained by the fact that many leaders of the revolution were former students of the Jesuit-run Ateneo Municipal. The Jesuits did promote a progressive educational system, with its emphasis on philosophy, the humanities and the natural sciences. Despite his soft spot for the Jesuits, however, Rizal also includes the jibe in his later annotations that the Society of Jesus was fifty years behind enlightened secular opinion and science in Europe.

Moreover, the Jesuits maintained a good reputation regarding their vows of poverty and chastity simply because the Order was suppressed by the Pope in the eighteenth century. The Spanish King ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits and the confiscation of their property in all Spanish dominions; therefore the Jesuits had been absent from the Philippines from 1768 until they were allowed to return in 1859. Upon their return, the other religious orders that had taken over their property now refused to yield both physical and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Thus the Jesuits were sent to establish missions in the southern, predominantly Muslim, island of Mindanao. A twist of history made them lose an opportunity to become a wealthy land-owning religious corporation despised by *indios*.

The fourth consideration in Rizal's choice of the Morga was that it appeared more sympathetic, at least in parts, to the *indios*, in contrast to the friar accounts, many of which were biased or downright racist in tone and interpretation. In a letter to Blumentritt, on September 17, 1888, shortly before embarking on his annotations, Rizal expressed his preference for Morga:

“The Morga is an excellent book; it can be said that Morga is a modern learned explorer (*moderno sabio explorador*). He has nothing of the superficiality and exaggeration so typical of present-day Spaniards; he writes very simply, but in reading him there is much between the lines because he was governor general in the Philippines and after, head (Alcalde) of the Inquisition.”³²

The fifth and last consideration was that Morga was an eye-witness, and therefore a primary source, on the Philippines and its people at the point of first contact with Spain. Rizal spoke highly of Morga's integrity as a colonial official, which may have been true of his term of office in Manila, but, according to more recent editions, by Retana (1909) and Cummins (1971), his scruples seemed to have deteriorated as he advanced in age and career.

Rizal's often humorless rebuttals of biased Spanish accounts of his country and his people emphasized, on one level, the need for an *indio's* interpretation of history, while on another, re-created the glories of the lost pre-Hispanic Philippines. Rizal argues that the pre-Hispanic Filipinos had their own culture before 1521, and thus were not saved from barbarism, and did not require “civilization” or a

³¹ *Op cit*, p. 329, note 2. In the official JRNCC English translation by E. Alzona, the line, “they almost always did justice to the indios,” is nowhere to be found in the original Spanish text, which reads:

“Solo despues que los religiosos vieron su posicion consolidada, empezaron a esarcir calumnias y a rebajar las razas de Filipinas con la mira de darse mas importancia, hacerse siempre necesarios y excusar asi su torpeza e ignorancia con la pretendida rudeza del indio. Hay que execptuar, sin embargo, a los Jesuitas, quienes casi siempre han enseñado e ilustrado, sin pretender por eso declararse como sus eternos protectores, tutores, defensores, etc. etc.”rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History **93**

³² Letter to Blumentritt. *Ep. Riz.* Vol. V Part 1, p.308. Original letter in German, but I have translated from the Spanish copy.**94** rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History

new religion from Spain. Rizal insists that the flourishing pre-Hispanic Philippine civilization, obliterated by Spain and the friars, could have developed on its own into something great. Rizal emphasizes that the pre-Hispanic civilization had metallurgy, a ship-building industry, trade contacts with China, and even a system of writing and accompanying literature, all ruined by Spanish colonization. Rizal comments that the Philippines of his time was no better than the pre-Hispanic Philippines: if Spain had not come, or had left the Philippines to its own devices, everyone would have been better off.

This interpretation of history makes Rizal both a boon and a bane to Philippine nationalism. He made historical assertions necessary for his time and purposes, but Filipinos a century later educated on the same viewpoint refuse to see Rizal's work in the context of recent scholarship. Most of Rizal's historical assertions have been validated by recent research. However, there are flaws in his re-construction of pre-Hispanic Philippine civilization. Three examples central to Rizal's arguments will suffice to prove his influence.

Generations of Filipino schoolchildren from the American colonial period to the present have been raised to accept that the pre-Hispanic Filipinos had a system of writing and an accompanying written literature which was destroyed by the missionaries who saw these as "works of the devil." Second is the view that the pre-Hispanic Filipinos had an advanced knowledge of metallurgy, the evidence being the fine cannons made by an *indio* named Panday Pira. Third was the existence of a pre-Hispanic ship-building industry. All these, it is said, were systematically ruined by the Spanish.

Filipino historians today have to re-consider the assertions made by Rizal a century ago in the light of current archaeological and anthropological research. In Morga's fourth chapter, for example, on the term of Governor Santiago de Vera, there is a reference to a foundry run by an *indio* from Pampanga named Panday Pira:

for its defense, he had set up a foundry for the making of artillery under the hands of an old *indio* called Pandapira, a native of the province of Pampanga. He and his sons served in this line of work until their deaths many years later."³³

The word "panday" in Java and Borneo means "metal-worker" or "ironsmith." How Pandapira became a "cannon-maker" can only be traced to Rizal. Although Morga made only a passing reference to this *indio* artillery-maker, Rizal elaborates in his annotation, stressing that

"That is, an *indio* who already knew how to found cannons even before the arrival of the Spaniards, hence the epithet 'old.' In this difficult branch of metallurgy, as in others, the present-day Filipinos or the new *indios* are very much behind the old *indios*."³⁴

In the next chapter, the fifth, on the term of Governor General Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, there is another reference by Morga to the foundry:

"Edificio de piedra la fortaleza de Nuestra Señora de Guia, dentro de la ciudad de Manila, a la parte de tierra, y hizo fundir alguna artilleria para su guarnicion, por mano de un indio antiguo, llamado Pandapira, natural de la provincia de Pampanga, que el y sus hijos sirvieron desto muchos años despues, hasta que murieron."

"Esto es, un Indio que ya sabia fundir cañones aun antes de la llegada de los Españoles, por eso el epiteto *antiguo*. En este dificil ramo de metalurgia, como en otros, se han atrasado los actuales Filipinos o los Indios nuevos." [Perez-Dasmariñas] established a foundry for artillery in Manila where, owing to the lack of expert or master founders, few large pieces were made."³⁵

³³ Rizal-Morga p. 23

³⁴ *Ibid* p. 23, note 1.

³⁵ *Op at*, p.27.

Rizal now takes the opportunity to point out, in a footnote, that the indigenous foundry run by Panday Pira disappeared after the Spanish settled in Manila, conquered from the *indios*:

“This demonstrates that, when the *indio* Pandapira died, there were no Spaniards who knew how to do what he did, nor were his children as skilled as their father.”³⁶

Today Panday Pira, the cannon-founder, joins the Pantheon of Heroes and other “great” Filipinos who are immortalized in school textbooks, despite historical and archaeological evidence to the contrary. In Retana’s edition of Morga, his long footnotes on Pandapira contain transcriptions of sixteenth century archival documents from Seville which refute Rizal’s assertions that cannon-making was a flourishing indigenous industry. The documents from the colonial government in Manila requesting higher authorities in Mexico to send cannon makers show that the Filipinos were unable to forge the thick European-style cannons.

A letter from Governor Vera on June 26, 1587 to the Viceroy in Mexico gives an account of his artillery and requests more.

“I cannot find anyone who knows how to found cannons, because those provided are by indios who

“...hizo casa de fundicion de artilleria en Manila, donde (por falta de maestros fundidores) se acertaron pocas piezas gruesas.”

“Esto demuestra que, muerto el indio Pandapira, no habia Españoles que supieran hacer lo que aquel, ni los hijos serian tan habiles como el padre.” cannot make large cannons. I request Your Excellency to send from New Spain founders and officers to manufacture cannons.”³⁷

Retana continues, “This is to say, that the natives did not know how to found large cannons. The 26 large pieces alluded to by de Vera could very well come from the Spanish ships or those well-made by Robles, the Spanish master founder. If Panday Pira and his sons were indeed such experts at making large cannons there would be no reason for de Vera’s request.”³⁸

Robles, he notes elsewhere, died before 1587. Thus, his arrival in the Philippines could be dated to about 1575-1576. Retana takes Filipino historians—above all Rizal—to task for trying to claim too much from so little, by insisting that cannon-making was a flourishing indigenous industry. The documents he cites prove otherwise.

Retana has more to say. He cites an ethnographic article by Blumentritt (whose opinion was held in high esteem by Rizal and other Filipino writers) which stated that the pre-Hispanic foundry the Spaniards encountered in Manila was run by a Portuguese cannon-maker! It is odd that Rizal, who read practically every word Blumentritt had written on the Philippines, overlooked an important line in *Filipinas en tiempo de la Conquista*,³⁹ which states that the Portuguese taught the Tagalogs the founding of cannons. Blumentritt states further that cannons were brought to the Philippines by Portuguese adventurers and deserters, challenging the opinion of other scholars who maintained that this “indigenous” industry could trace its provenance to Borneo. Retana gives the *coup de grace* :

“...in a word, in the art of metallurgy with relation to the founding of cannons, the Filipinos did not regress, on the contrary, they gained, thanks to the training given by the Spaniards.”⁴⁰

³⁶ *Loc. cit.* note 4.

³⁷ *Op cit.*, p. 406.

³⁸ *Loc. cit.*

³⁹ *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica*. Tomo XXI. Madrid: 1886, p. 217. **98** rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History

⁴⁰ Retana-Morga, pp.418-419.

Historical evidence provided by Retana is supported by recent archaeological research. Dr. Eusebio Dizon, Chief of the Archeology Division of the National Museum of the Philippines, wrote his doctoral dissertation on pre-Hispanic Philippine metal implements. His research showed that the *indios* were a metal-using people, but did not possess the metallurgical knowledge attributed to them by Rizal or the subsequent historians who drew on Rizal's work. He noted, however, that it is possible that the *indios* were capable of forging the small cannons, or *lantakas*, which are still manufactured by the Muslim in the Southern island of Mindanao, although they are not used for warfare but as ornaments for interior decoration. The pre-Hispanic *indios*, as far as current archaeological data is concerned, were not capable of founding the heavy European-style cannons used in the sixteenth century.⁴¹

It may be argued that Rizal did not have the benefit of late twentieth century research. His work, no doubt, was commendable for its time, but in his zeal to re-create the greatness of the lost pre-Hispanic Philippine civilization, he sometimes drew on imagination more than evidence. Rizal's historical annotations have to be seen as a part of a propaganda effort. Scholarly annotations to a sixteenth century chronicle were used as propaganda. History was utilized as a weapon against Spain.

Another example may be necessary to demonstrate Rizal's exaggeration. Morga describes Filipino boats large enough to carry "one hundred rowers on the border (*vanda*) and thirty soldiers on top (*pelea*)," on which Rizal elaborates to mourn the extinction of the indigenous boat-making industry:

"The Filipinos...[were] celebrated and skilled in navigation, but far from progressing, have become backward. Although boats are still built in the islands now, we can say that they are almost all of European model. The ships that carried one hundred rowers and thirty fighting soldiers disappeared. The country that at one time, with primitive means, built ships of around 2,000 tons, now has to resort to foreign ports like Hongkong... for unserviceable cruisers."⁴²

On the same page, Rizal laments the environmental costs of Spanish boat-building, by describing the pre-Hispanic Philippine landscape as being "covered in shadows," as an abundance of trees were cut down with no thought of conservation, so that some species became extinct.⁴³

There is no doubt that the pre-Hispanic *indios* were a sea-faring people who built swift and light vessels that could traverse the length of the archipelago or cross into neighboring countries for trade. Recent archaeological excavations in the southern city of Butuan in Mindanao have enlarged our understanding of pre-Hispanic Philippine boats. Some remains are as large as Morga

"Los Filipinos...celebres y diestros en la navegaci3n, lejos de progresar, se han atrasad3, pues si bien ahora se construyen en las islas barcos, podemos decir que son casi todos de modelo europeo. Desaparecieron los navios que contenian cien remeros por banda y treinta soldados de combate; el pais que un tiempo, con medios primitivos fabricaba naos cerca de 2,000 toneladas (Hern. de los Rios, pag.24) hoy tiene que acudir a puertos extra3os, como Hong-Kong...inservibles cruceros." describes, but nothing comes close to the massive 2,000 ton boats of which Rizal boasts.⁴⁴

Spanish colonization is further blamed for the loss of the pre-Hispanic Philippine syllabary, and thus the extinction of a written literature. Aside from a few signatures by *indios*, in their own script, on

⁴¹ Interview. Eusebio Dizon. National Museum, Manila. September 1991. rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History 99

⁴² Rizal-Morga, pp.267-268, note 1.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.268.100 rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History

⁴⁴ Some of these boats are presently on display in the National Museum in Manila, while others may be viewed, *in situ*, at the National Museum branch in Butuan City. rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History 101

early Spanish legal documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, no full documents written in the pre-Hispanic Philippine script has ever been found.

During the First European Philippine Studies Conference in Amsterdam in April 1991, Anton Postma presented a paper on a copper plate allegedly discovered in Laguna, with an inscription that has been dated to 900 A.D. He stated, among other things, that “Philippine official history has been enlarged with the revelation of this copper document,” and called for a re-examination of historical data in the light of this find. Postma has been largely ignored, simply because the provenance of the copper plate has not been fully established. It was sold by an antique dealer to the National Museum, which has not verified the site where it was allegedly found. The inscription on this copper plate is neither in the pre-Hispanic Philippine script, or is it in any of the various Philippine languages. The so-called Laguna copper plate was probably imported from elsewhere in Southeast Asia. This is a further demonstration of the need to prove certain aspects of pre-Hispanic Philippine civilization. It is a vain attempt to validate Rizal’s assertions on the widespread use of pre-Hispanic writing and the written literature that presumably accompanied it.

Morga observed that writing was widely in use all over the pre-Hispanic Philippine, that all *indios*, men as well as women, could read and write at least properly in their own language.¹²⁸ Rizal cites similar observations by the Jesuit Pedro Chirino, who claims that there was universal literacy; that everyone in the late sixteenth century Philippines could read and write in their own language. Rizal uses Chirino and Morga to express his opinion on literacy in the late nineteenth century Philippines:

“Now the same thing cannot be said. The government, in print and in words, tries to procure the instruction of the Filipinos* but in deed and at bottom, it foments ignorance, placing the instruction in the hands of the friars who are accused by the Peninsular Spaniards, Insular Spaniards, and Foreigners [i.e. Europeans] of the brutalization of the country and prove themselves with their conduct and writings.”⁴⁵

Using Morga, Chirino and other early chronicles that mention the pre-Hispanic Philippine syllabary, Rizal goes one step further in assuming that there was a great volume of written literature at the time the Spaniards arrived in the Philippines. However, at present, there is no extant body, not even a fragment, of this pre-Hispanic written literature. The Jesuit Chirino mentions that he burned a “book” which was condemned as the “work of the devil.”

* Rizal himself is sometimes confused in his use of “Filipinos,” as in this case where the context points to *indios*.

“Ahora no se puede decir lo mismo. El gobierno, en impresos y en palabras, procura la instruccion de los Filipinos, pero en el hecho y en el fondo fomenta la ignorancia, poniendo la instruccion en manos de los frailes, acusados por los Peninsulares, Filipinos, y Extranjeros de querer el embrutecimiento del pais, y probandolo ellos mismo con su conducta y sus escritos.” From this small reference has sprung the general view that the missionaries destroyed all pre-Hispanic “books” and manuscripts.

That all trace of pre-Hispanic writing was destroyed is highly improbable. The missionaries are blamed for a long-lost pre-Hispanic literature which probably did not exist. As pre-Hispanic documents continue to elude scholars, recent anthropological research has yielded a wealth of oral literature, which is believed to go back to pre-Hispanic times. The Philippines has a large body of complex literature, such as that in Palawan, which has a complete cosmology and mythology. But these are oral literature, and is only now being recorded and transcribed, to be preserved in printed form.

To be fair to the much-maligned early missionaries, knowledge of the pre-Hispanic syllabary was probably preserved rather than obliterated by the friars, who learned and documented the different languages and alphabets they encountered in their mission fields. They undertook numerous linguistic and grammatical studies of Philippine languages, and compiled the first dictionaries. Instead of blaming the friars for the loss of pre-Hispanic literature, nationalist historians should thank these men for preserving the syllabary they are accused of destroying.

⁴⁵ *Op cit*, pp. 290-292.

The first book printed in the Philippines, in 1593, the *Doctrina cristiana en lengua tagala* (Christian Doctrine in the Tagalog language) is a translation of the Roman Catholic Catechism and prayers into Spanish and Tagalog, with the latter printed in both the pre-Hispanic syllabary and the Roman alphabet. Another work which used the pre-Hispanic syllabary was a catechism printed in 1621, translated into Ilocano. Both these and other missionary studies on Philippine languages and grammars like *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* by Fr. Blancas de San Jose (1610) and *Arte de la lengua iloca* by Fr. Francisco Lopez (1617) suggest that the friars documented and preserved rather than destroyed pre-Hispanic writings.⁴⁶

One of the few artifacts in the National Museum of the Philippines raised to the level of a “National Treasure” is an earthenware pot excavated at site in Calatagan, Batangas in 1962, which has pre-Hispanic characters clearly incised around the rim. Often taken as firm evidence of the wide-spread use of pre-Hispanic writing, nobody has asked why only one specimen has been found to date, and more importantly why the characters resembling the Tagalog syllabary on the Calatagan pot do not translate into anything intelligible. The National Museum has yet to release their expert-deciphered text on the Calatagan pot. Are these incised characters really pre-Hispanic writing, or are they simple decorative motifs? The Calatagan pot unfortunately leaves more questions than answers.

The importance of Rizal’s annotations to Morga was that he tried to use history and historical revision not just to express his personal views on the historiography, but to create a sense of national consciousness or identity. Historical revision is always met with varying degrees of opposition, and Rizal’s first attempt at writing Philippine history was no exception. That the Spaniards would object was inevitable, and Rizal was prepared for this. When the Morga was officially banned in the Philippines, Rizal was not surprised. However, the first criticism of Rizal’s historical work was not by a Spaniard or by one of Rizal’s enemies, but by Blumentritt in the introduction to the book itself. Often overlooked, this introduction contains observations which are hidden under a mountain of praise.

Blumentritt noted, for example, that Rizal’s “observations on the conduct of the European conquerors and civilizers are in general not new to the historian. The Germans specially discussed this theme.”⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Blumentritt continued with:

“...these new points of view give your notes an imperishable value, an undeniable value even for those who dream of an inaccessible superiority of race or nationality. The scholar will salute your erudite annotations with enthusiasm, the colonial politician gratitude and respect. Through these lines run a flood of serious observations equally interesting and important to historians and ministers of overseas colonies alike.”⁴⁸

Then he cites two defects of Rizal’s scholarship which have been condemned, and rightly so, by later historians: an historical use of hindsight, and a strong anti-clerical bias. Blumentritt, in his glowing introduction, did not forget to state that

“My great esteem for your notes does not impede me from confessing that, more than once, I have observed that you participate in the error of many modern historians who censure the events of past centuries according to the concepts that correspond to contemporary ideas. This should not be so. The historian should not impute to the men of the sixteenth century the broad horizon of ideas that moves the nineteenth century. The second point with which I do not agree is some vented against Catholicism. I believe that you cannot find the origin of numerous events regrettable for Spain and for the good name of the European race in religion but in the hard behavior and abuses of many priests.”⁴⁹

⁴⁶ W.E. Retana, *Los Antiguos Alfabetos de Filipinas Notas Bibliograficas*. (Madrid, 1895) Also Volume I of his *Aparato Bibliografico*. rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History **103**

⁴⁷ Rizal-Morga, Introduction. **104** rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History

⁴⁸ *Loc cit.* rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History 105

⁴⁹ Rizal-Morga, *Prologo* xii.

Hindsight and anti-clericalism are fatal defects in a purely scholarly work but, as mentioned earlier, Rizal used history as a propaganda weapon against the abuses of the colonial Spaniards. Rizal's Morga should be seen and excused in this context. The problem with Rizal is his constant ambiguity: Is he trying to be a scholar or a propagandist? Hence the Morga was deemed too historical, too scholarly for propagandists, while historians and scholars found the work too biased, too much a work of propaganda to be taken seriously.

While Blumentritt's critique was undeniably tempered by his friendship for Rizal, one must remember that Rizal solicited the introduction. What finally saw print was a version approved and slightly edited by Rizal. Unfortunately, this draft introduction is not extant, but we can extrapolate from the Rizal-Blumentritt correspondence to see what Rizal found objectionable, what he wanted deleted from the introduction.

Writing from Paris on November 19, 1889, Rizal thanked Blumentritt for writing the introduction to his edition of Morga. He liked it very much, and praised it for being written "both with head and heart." Be that as it may, Rizal reacted strongly against Blu

"La gran estimación de tus notas no me impide confesar que más de una vez he observado que participas del error de muchos historiadores modernos, que censuran los hechos de siglos pasados según conceptos que corresponden á las ideas contemporáneas. Esto no debe ser. El historiador debe no imputar á los hombres del siglo XVI el ancho horizonte de las ideas que conmueven al siglo XIX. Lo segundo con que no estoy conforme, son algunos desahogos contra el catolicismo; creo que no en la religión, sino en el proceder duro y en los abusos de mucho sacerdotes deben buscarse el origen de muchos sucesos lamentables para la religión, para España y para el buen nombre de la raza europea. mentritt's mention of "Quiopquiap" (pseudonym of Pablo Feced, brother of ex-governor Jose Feced y Temprado, a prolific journalist who wrote racist, anti-indio articles). Rizal told Blumentritt that Quiopquiap may be highly regarded in Spanish circles in Manila, but he was not worthy of attention. Rizal declared that he did not want "to soil the pages of my book" with this name. "I do not write for the Spaniards in Manila, I write for my countrymen and we all detest Quiopquiap."⁵⁰

Three days later, on November 22, 1889, Rizal returned the draft of Blumentritt's introduction together with his "corrections." Even if Blumentritt had earlier authorized Rizal to edit it however he wished, out of courtesy Rizal sought Blumentritt's final approval. Apart from the deletion of the name Quiopquiap, Rizal cut out the text relating to *fraternidad* (fraternity) between *indios* and Spaniards. Rizal told Blumentritt that, despite his good intentions, his notion of fraternal love between Spaniards and *indios* was liable to give the wrong impression.

"You wish the Spaniards to embrace us as brothers, but we do not ask for this by always imploring and repeating this because the result is humiliating for us. If the Spaniards do not want us as brothers, neither are we eager for their affection. We will not ask for fraternal love as if it were like alms. I am Spain; but we do not solicit the *compassion* of Spain, we do not want compassion, but justice... Fraternity like alms from the proud Spaniard we do not seek. I repeat, you only have the best intentions, you want to see the whole world embraced by means of love and reason but I doubt if the Spaniards wish the same."⁵¹

Despite his intense feelings, Rizal's tone remains very cordial with Blumentritt. It must be stressed here that Rizal did not take criticism well, especially if it came from racist Spaniards like Quiopquiap or Vicente Barrantes, whom Rizal answered in their propaganda paper *La Solidaridad*. Indeed, he was surprisingly hostile to a fellow patriot in "A Reply to Mr. Isabelo de los Reyes," which saw print in *La Solidaridad* in 1891. In this article we see all the more clearly the real motives of Rizal's scholarship.

Isabelo de los Reyes (1864-1938) was a journalist, businessman, labor leader, politician and prominent member of the schismatic *Iglesia Filipina Independiente* (Philippine Independent Church) which

⁵⁰ *Ep. Riz* V p.510.

⁵¹ *Op cit.* V, pp.516-517.

“canonized” Rizal. He was interested in aspects of Philippine history and culture, especially that which concerned his home province—the Ilocos. His fieldwork and compilations of folklore, history and customs have proven to be of great ethnographic value for present-day scholars. De los Reyes had been corresponding with European scholars with research interests in the Philippines long before Rizal came into contact with Blumentritt. De los Reyes published many books, pamphlets and articles, including: *El Folklore Filipino* (Philippine folklore) in two volumes, which was awarded a silver medal in the Philippine Exposition in Madrid in 1887. He had left *Historia de Filipinas* unfinished, with only one volume completed. He also published *Las islas Visayas en la epoca de la conquista* (The Visayan islands at the time of the conquest); and numerous compilations of his journalism, *Filipinas articulos varios sobre etnografia, historia y costumbres de los Filipinos* (The Philippines: various articles on the ethnography, history and customs of the Filipinos); and the two-volume *Historia de Ilocos*. Some of de los Reyes’s works were even translated by Blumentritt into German and published outside the Philippines.⁵²

It is in his *Historia de Ilocos* that de los Reyes upsets Rizal. De los Reyes called attention to the discrepancy between some of Rizal’s annotations to Morga vis-a-vis his own research. These differences of opinion were explained, according to de los Reyes, by Rizal’s excessive patriotism:

“But that very laudable patriotism of his, it seems to me, blinds him at times, and as an historian ought to be rigorously impartial...the optimism of the said author turns out to be passionate in some points, taking exceptions of the general rule, and vice-versa. The consensus among authors who had no reason to lie in these cases ought to be taken into account. The true character of that [pre-Hispanic] civilization and what is still preserved of it in the present customs of the people...”⁵³

Rizal was so irritated that he responded by attacking de los Reyes in the October 31, 1890 issue of *La Solidaridad*, using the sarcasm he normally reserves for racist Spaniards and friars:

“I do not know how discreet it is to raise oneself as a judge of others...[when] neither one or the other was an eye-witness or more or less an influential actor. But this, which in anyone else could be censured as vain presumption, ceases to be so in Mr. Isabelo de los Reyes who knows very well how to interpret the historians of the Philippines.”⁵⁴

As de los Reyes was fond of using Philippine terms in his work, especially words in his mother-tongue, Ilocano, Rizal took him to task for (mis)translating Morga’s “*principales*” into its Ilocano equivalent, *agturay*.

“I have read Morga about seven times and I do not remember that he had ever mentioned *agturay*. I do not know if Mr. de los Reyes in his laudable desire to Ilocanize the Philippines thinks it convenient to make Morga speak Ilocano. It is true that this author, in describing the customs of the Tagalogs, said that they were generally current in all the islands; but this does not mean that Ilocano customs are the ones that prevail.”⁵⁵

Rizal continues the barrage by flaunting his familiarity with the primary sources in Philippine history, finding fault with de los Reyes for using “unreliable” sources, like those of the sixteenth century friar

⁵² See the three biographical essays in W.H. Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain*. (Quezon City: New Day, 1985) “Isabelo de los Reyes, Father of Philippine Folklore,” pp. 235-244; “Isabelo de los Reyes: Provinciano and Nationalist,” pp. 245-265; and “Reaction to American imperialism: Isabelo de los Reyes,” pp. 285-299. rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History **109**

⁵³ Quoted in Rizal’s reply to de los Reyes. *La Solidaridad*, n.p.

⁵⁴ Rizal, *Op cit.* n.p. **110** rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History

⁵⁵ *Loc cit.*

Martin de Rada who described the *indios* as assassins, thieves, highwaymen, and cowards. Rizal belittled de los Reyes's scholarship by claiming that he had used a mere French translation of a manuscript, while he had used the original.

Rizal claims he had read all the early accounts of the Philippines, cover to cover, except that of Plasencia, which was unavailable. "I never state anything on my own authority," Rizal notes. "I cite texts and when I cite them, I have them before me."⁵⁶

Although de los Reyes did not have the opportunity to spend as much time as Rizal in the British Museum, he was, nonetheless, thorough in his research for *Historia de Ilocos*: he "read more than a hundred historical and non-historical works, just to cull two or three items from each of them." He supplemented archival research by utilizing "oral traditions for more recent events."⁵⁷ Notwithstanding this, Rizal cites Pigafetta, Chirino, Morga, Argensola, Colin, San Agustin, and Aduarte, rallying all his sources against the one main source of de los Reyes, pronouncing proudly that

"As I based my assertion on seven contemporary writers, I do not know if in this case, I shall be the exception and de los Reyes the general rule. I know that the authority of de los Reyes is worth seven times more than mine; but with my seven authors and he with his Fr. Rada, we can balance ourselves, if he does not take offense...dealing with historical facts, only the testimony of contemporaries can be authoritative, a testimony that ought to be subjected to the processes of criticism."⁵⁸

Rizal is being petulant in bragging about his familiarity with primary sources: but significantly, this sour exchange offers an important insight into Rizal's views, especially into his Tagalog-centered view of history. Beneath this historiographical argument lies not scholarship or the reliability of sources, but patriotism. History must be used for a purpose, not only to enlighten but to make his countrymen "think correctly," to see history not from the viewpoint of the Spanish chroniclers but from the *indios*'s point of view. Rizal concludes his tirade by washing his hands:

"Let it be put on record that this question was provoked by Mr. de los Reyes, that until now I have only spoken of him with admiration and respect, even if I do not agree with his opinions, for I have always believed that I could not raise myself to be his judge."⁵⁹

Earlier in the essay, Rizal unconsciously unveiled his view of committed scholarship: "...had we no positive proof of de los Reyes's patriotism, we would believe that by giving so much credit to Fr. Rada, he had intended to denigrate his own people."⁶⁰ This is an important point, because it shows that Rizal was an early exponent of "committed scholarship," to use a current term, which saw nothing wrong in driving data into a particular framework, or giving the narrative a particular bias to push home a point. Rizal, blinded by his patriotism, as de los Reyes aptly put it, forgets the true purpose of scholarship, distorting truth to suit the needs of propaganda against the Spaniards and their particular interpretation of Philippine history.

The ambiguity in Rizal becomes very clear in this little known essay against de los Reyes. Rizal was not seeking to be a scholar or historian; he was merely using history as a weapon for the propaganda movement. Juan Luna wrote to Rizal immediately after reading "Una contestación á I. de los Reyes." in *La Solidaridad*, warning him that public disagreements between the propagandists was counter-productive as it was giving the Spaniards "a great laugh." Luna said that de los Reyes was also his friend, but he had done wrong by refuting Rizal's annotations to Morga, "which are exaggerated by

⁵⁶ *Loc cit.*

⁵⁷ Scott, *Op. cit.* p.246. rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History 111

⁵⁸ *Loc cit.*

⁵⁹ Rizal-de los Reyes, *Op cit*

⁶⁰ *Loc cit.* 112 rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History

your excessive patriotism.” He called for more restraint in contradicting the work of others simply because “they imagine in another manner.”⁶¹

Rizal’s patriotism made him over-sensitive or even intolerant of criticism. Parallel to his historical bias in favor of the *indio* was the *ilustrado* concern to project the ideal or “correct” image of the *indio*. This clearly demonstrated their leanings and, in a sense, their own racist conception of history, reversing that of the Spaniards. De los Reyes’s attempt at objectivity, or at least a measure of fairness, in his research and writing was suspect in the eyes of his more zealous countrymen. De los Reyes once remarked that:

“*Indios* think it is shocking and shameful to write *El Folklore Filipino* because, they say, this is to publicize our own simplicity. I am an *indio* and an Ilocano—why should I not say it? And when my beloved brothers learned about my modest articles on Ilocano folklore which they published in *La Oceania*, they rose up against me, saying I had disgraced my own people.”⁶²

By re-creating the proud pre-Hispanic civilization corrupted by Spanish colonization, Rizal’s Morga had set the tone for Philippine historiography, and provided one of the base positions from which Filipino identity was to be built. Any critical remarks on the *indio*, even if supported by research, were not to be tolerated because this was deemed unpatriotic.

Pardo de Tavera, in *Biblioteca Filipina*, describes de los Reyes’s work as “full of curious observations and can even be faulted for superficiality at times, [but] it cannot be said that de los Reyes falsified history or more or less propagated falsehood and absurdities in an attempt to glorify the ancient [i.e. pre-Hispanic] civilization of the Filipinos.”⁶³ Contrary to popular belief, therefore, Rizal was not the only Filipino at the time interested in the pre-Hispanic Philippine past. The important point in the scholarship of these two men is that de los Reyes represented objective scholarship and research while Rizal stood for committed scholarship. Both expressed an interpretation of Philippine history for Filipinos and patriotism was the fulcrum which determined the degree of objectivity and propaganda in their work.

Rizal’s view of Philippine historiography is expressed in his annotations to Morga’s *Sucesos*, in his essay *Filipinas dentro de cien años* (The Philippines Within a Century), and most clearly in an outline periodization of Philippine history which he prepared for the International Association of Philippinologists, hoping that it could convene a conference of European Philippinologists in Paris during the International Exposition of 1889.⁶⁴ I. Pre Hispanic Philippines.

Geography, Geology, Hydrography, Flora and Fauna, Government, Civilization, Literature, Earliest information about the Philippines in Europe, Bibliography, etc.

II. Arrival of the Spaniards *to the loss of Philippine autonomy and her incorporation into the Spanish nation.* (1521-1808)

Influence of Spanish civilization on the social life of the Philippines. Conversion into Catholicism, Encomiendas, Wars and Invasions, Immigration, Government, Commerce, Religious troubles, etc.

III. Incorporation of the Philippines into the Spanish nation up to the Cavite Mutiny (1808-1872).

⁶¹ Luna to Rizal. November 8, 1890 *Ep. Riz* v p.122 rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History 113

⁶² Quoted in Scott. *Op. at.* p. 252.

⁶³ Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, *Biblioteca Filipina*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903)

⁶⁴ *Ep. Riz* V pp. 383-389. Original in French. **114** rotten beef and stinking fish: Rizal and the writing of Philippine History

Government, Representation in the Spanish Cortes, *Loss of her character as a Spanish province and the declaration of her status as a colony, Reforms, Criticism, Influence of the Monastic Orders on the material progress of the Islands, the Philippines compared with other colonies, etc.*

IV. Linguistics

Classification of languages spoken in the Philippines Tagalog, Visayan, Ilocano, l'espagnol de kusina [literally Kitchen Spanish or the pidgin Spanish spoken in Cavite], studies on modern literature of the Tagalogs, modern literature of the Philippines, religious books, etc V. Races and Independent Regions which includes all Muslim sultanates, independent tribes, Negritos, etc.⁶⁵

The fifth part on Race and Independent regions was an afterthought, as seen in the correspondence between Rizal and Blumentritt. It was not in the original outline, suggesting that Rizal saw the Muslims of the Southern island of Mindanao, as well as the non-Christian, non-Hispanized *indios* of the mountains, differently from the lowland Christian *indios* of which he was part. Note too that, as in the annotations to Morga, Rizal did not refer to non-Christian Filipinos collectively as "Filipinos," in the way that he referred to the Hispanized *indios* of Luzon and the Visayas.

More importantly, I have italicized some lines in the outline to stress Rizal's linear conception of history, and how he uses the arrival of Spain as the turning point, the break in Philippine history that stunted the pre-Hispanic Philippine civilization. Colonization, according to Rizal's view of history, led to the loss of both Philippine autonomy and its distinct character.

Rizal's survey and study of the Philippine past showed that all the chronicles on his country and people were written by Spaniards, and thus reflected their biases. Unlike neighboring countries, Java, Burma, or Vietnam, which had an abundance of ancient, pre-colonial, written texts, the Philippines had nothing but the Spanish chronicles. Further complicating the matter was the fact that Rizal attempt to write on the pre-Hispanic Philippines before the arrival of archaeology, and was thus left with no choice but to use Spanish written sources. In the course of his research, he constantly had to decide which sources to use for his history of the Philippines, but his patriotism largely determined his choice.

⁶⁵ Letter to Blumentritt, February 6, 1889. *Ep. Riz.* p.406.

2. Rizal and Germany: First Impressions and Lasting Influences

Bernhard Dahm

After having finished his exams in Spain in the summer of 1885, Rizal decided to visit also other European countries before returning home to the Philippines. He wanted to specialize in ophthalmology and to learn the major European languages to be able to read scientific works or literature in French, English and German. Still in the same year he left for Paris to visit the eyeclinic of Dr. de Weckert, and wanted to continue his specialization in ophthalmology in the following year in Germany.

In France he had been before in 1883, he had learned the French language, had visited Paris, had Filipino friends, living there and he already knew a good deal of French mentality. Germany, however, he only knew from hearsay or from reports in the Spanish press and the summer of 1885 was not a good time for Spanish-German relations. Berlin had been the venue of an international Kongo-Conference, lasting from November 1884 to the end of February 1885. Among the agreements of the 14 Signatory States, including all major colonial powers, there was a resolution that a colony will only be recognized as such, if the territory in question is de facto ruled by the state, claiming its possession. Thereupon the Germans, interested in a colonial base in the Pacific, had hoisted the German imperial flag on August 24, 1885 on Yap, the main island of the Carolines. Once, they had been Spanish territory, but had been abandoned by Spain already in the early 18th century. When ships from Manila arrived to prevent a take-over by the Germans it was already too late. Bismarck refused to withdraw, unless Spain could prove its claim to the islands by providing documents, while Spain spoke about a German act of brutal aggression. The conflict was only resolved in October 1885 through arbitration by Pope Leo 13th. He recognized Spain as the sovereign, but gave to Germany special trading rights. Nevertheless, Spain felt humiliated by the late-comers among the colonial powers and one has to keep this poisoned atmosphere of 1885 in mind to understand the furious reaction in Manila and Madrid, when a year and a half later Rizal published his *Noli me tangere* in Berlin. He was accused of being a “Deutschling” or “alemanizado”, an “agent of Bismarck”, wanting to provoke a rising of his countrymen against the Spanish colonial power to help to establish a German colony in the Philippines. (Tannert, 21 ff). This, of course, was a complete distortion of Rizal's intentions at the time he left France for Germany in early February 1886: what he wanted were reforms, since, as he repeatedly declared at this time, the two races still urgently needed each other; this, however, not in a colonial relationship as master and slave, like in the past, but as older and younger brother in a common family with equal rights.

His decision to go to Germany was not motivated by the idea to get involved in politics. He wanted to come to know another European country and the reasons for its rapid progress, another motive was that the cost of living in Paris was very high and that he expected that it would be much lower in Germany, in particular if one stayed in a provincial capital. In his last letter to his family from Paris he wrote that he “*expected to learn German in six months, study a trade and continue my specialization in ophthalmology. In five months (even though) living with Filipinos, I learned French*” (LRF, 93).

Rizal arrived in Heidelberg on February 3, 1886. His first impressions of Germany after having crossed the Franco-German border were disenchanting: “everywhere one sees only uniforms, militarism, in all Germany the railroad employees being all military men” (ibidem, 99). And he was to see more uniforms after he had left the Railroad station, even among the Students of various corporations in the night of his arrival in a beerhall, where he tried to get information about study-conditions at the university.

But he soon found out that this was folkloristic rather than militaristic. The yellow-capped students of the Suabia-Corporation invited him to their table without the slightest racial reservations, they drank together, cheered each other, some inquired him about his homeland and toasted to the well-being of their respective people. There was only one problem: Rizal had still great difficulties in understanding spoken German and the students did not speak French or Spanish. So they turned to Latin for communication and they did surprisingly well. Rizal did not join the corporation of his new friends because he had little sympathy for their duelling each other, often a bloody affair, for no other motive but to test their bravery. Nevertheless, he went to their meetings twice a week, in order to improve his Ger-

man. Another custom of the Germans which Rizal found difficult to accept was their habit of eating potatoes. He writes “*German food is not disagreeable, only it is full of potatoes: For everything potatoes, day and night. Even at night they serve tea with potatoes and cold meat*” (ibidem, 102)

And what about German women and German girls? He surely had an eye for beautiful women, their charme and sweetness. But when describing his first impressions about Germany and the Germans, he does not seem to be enthusiast about German women. I quote: “*In general they are tall, big, not very blond, though fairly so. They are very amiable and very sincere*” (ibidem). This sounds reserved, if not cool, but it concurs with other characteristics he soon began to appreciate in Germany: Hard working, efficient, serious, reliable, sincere..., qualities, he would very much like to see revived also in the Philippines. Also his famous poem “*To the flowers of Heidelberg*”, written in this time, is not, as could be expected, an appraisal of Heidelberg women or girls, the poem addresses real flowers whom Rizal admired when he was walking along the banks of the Neckar or in the city’s gardens:

Go to my country, go, O foreign flowers, sown by the traveler along the road and under that blue heaven that watches over my loved ones Recount the devotion the pilgrim nurses for his native sod ... (RCP,127)

He sees himself as a pilgrim in a foreign land, devoting his time and energy solely for his country, his family and friends so that they might see a better tomorrow. This had been the reason for his coming to Europe, to Spain first, then to France, now to Germany and further on to other countries as well. He was trying to find answers to the question how to achieve progress in a land which was suppressed by forces, that were trying to make the Philippines a permanent abode for Spanish colonialism, after Spain had lost its great empire in Latin-America in the first half of the century under the influence of the slogans of the French and American revolutions.

These reactionary forces were not only to be found in government circles of conservative orientation. Even more infamous in trying to defend their interests were the friars of different orders, who, since the conquest of the Philippines, had received privileges and positions that they did not want to lose to new emerging groups among the Filipinos, demanding reforms in the administration, more say in the political process and an equal status with the peninsulares. Rizal himself had suffered under the arbitrariness of the representatives of state and church in his youth, he had heard from his brother Paciano about the mock trial and execution of the three innocent Filipino priests after the Cavite mutiny, whose only crime had been to demand more rights for the Philippine clergy. And since he and his family lived on land, leased from the Dominicans, who could raise the rent or dispel them from their ground any time they wished, Rizal had decided to continue his studies in Europe to explore the possibilities for reforms of the colonial system. To his surprise he found liberal minded groups in Spain, ready to assist the Filipinos in their claims for political rights. What was necessary therefore was, first of all, to make his own people abandon their lethargic attitude, to become more self-assured and to support the claim for reforms.

These considerations led to the concept of a novel that would exaggerate the evils at home in order that even the uneducated could recognize the injustice of the colonial system and would be ready to stand up against the most obvious evils of the suppressive system. This was the intention of the *Noli me tangere*, which Rizal had begun to write in Spain and France, and that was now completed during his time in Heidelberg. During walks in the Odenwald, Rizal had met the Protestant priest Karl Ullmer, and the latter’s friend, the catholic curate Heinrich Bardorf. With them he discussed religious issues, and he was impressed with the tolerance of the two servants of god in trying to better understand different dogmas of their respective churches. Pfarrer Ullmer, on his part, was impressed with the great devotion of Rizal to his country, and when he found out, that Rizal needed a quiet place to finish his novel, he offered him free board and lodging in his parsonage in Wilhelmsfeld, a village, a three hours walk away from Heidelberg.

Here Rizal found the leisure to complete the novel, the discussions with the two German priests and their moderating influence found their reflection in the text as did Schiller’s *Wilhelm Tell*, whose scenario reminded Rizal in some way of the situation in the Philippines. He was particularly impressed with the Rütli-scene of Schillers classic, where Werner Stauffacher, one of the Swiss freedom fighters, refers to a natural law, which gives an uncontested right to the oppressed to take up the sword if all other means to defend their rights have failed or are ignored. Rizal, however, is not yet ready to openly

advocate a revolution. This can be seen in the arguments of the reformer Ibarra and the rebel Elias, who repeatedly discuss this question. In the begin Elias is in favor of a violent uprising of the people and Ibarra contradicts, later Ibarra wants a revolution and Elias is against it – one has the impression, that the discussions of ä the pros and cons show that Rizal is undecided himself, it is a debate between his ego and his alterego. There seem to be two souls in his breast. Indeed, while writing the *Noli*, Rizal still believes it is possible to achieve reforms by alluding to the threat of bloody consequences, if Spain does not give in.

((This discussion is later continued between Simoun and Padre Fernando in his second novel *El Filibusterismo*, but there is a great difference: after the brutal suppression of the Calamba-petitioners, who had demanded an investigation of the landownership of the Dominicans at home, Rizal knew, all other demands for reform would be equally suppressed. Appeals to Spain would be in vain, the only remaining chance for success was to turn for help to God!))

After having finished the *Noli* Rizal left Heidelberg to visit other places in Germany, Leipzig, Dresden, and Berlin. But before he went there, he embarked on a Rhine-cruise, that lead him to Mannheim, Mainz, Bonn, Cologne, Coblenz Bingen and finally to Frankfurt. Knowledgeably he describes cities, buildings, castles and cathedrals and other sites he visited on this trip. Needless to say, Rizal was impressed with the scenes of natural beauty along the river and its historical sites. And yet: In a farewell to “the old and poetic Rhine” he writes “*The Rhine is beautiful: it reminds me of the Pasig of my native land and proudly I think that if the Pasig had on its banks more beautiful buildings, it would only envy the Rhine for its long course and abundant waters*” (RiG,49). Like in his poem to the flowers of Heidelberg natural beauty reminds him of home, he remains a pilgrim in a foreign land, and a critical one, too! In Frankfurt he admires for instance the building of the famous Staedel-Museum, with all its marble and mosaics, and wonders: “perhaps the building is more worth than its contents...” or, standing in front of a statue of Goethe, he finds that he “looks more like a rich banker than a poet” (RiG,49).

From Frankfurt, Rizal went on to Leipzig where he arrived on August 15. He had heard that here living costs were low and that he might find a cheap publisher for his *Noli*. But since his monthly allowance sent from home was modest, if it arrived at all, most of his time in Germany Rizal was short with money. So the printing of the *Noli* had to be delayed. It was finally published half a year later in March 1887 in Berlin, after his friend Maximo Viola had arrived there from Madrid, who then borrowed him the money.

In Leipzig Rizal worked very hard, he translated Schillers *Wilhelm Tell* and several of Andersens fairy tales into Tagalog which was not easy, it was often difficult to find equivalent words in Tagalog for European terms and ideas. So he writes in one of the first letters of a new and lasting correspondence and friendship with Ferdinand Blumentritt from Leitmeritz in Bohemia, of whose interest in Tagalog he had heard already in Madrid and whom he had sent a book, written in Tagalog and Spanish, before he had left Heidelberg. Blumentritt was a unique expert in Philippine Studies in Europe. In his fathers ancestry had been a Spanish governor in the Philippines and among the latters descendants was a lady that had migrated to Prague and had brought with her a library with a wealth of books on Spanish colonialism, in which Blumentritt, born 1853 in Prague, indulged himself when he was still going to school. He had early established his reputation among eminent European scholars and corresponded with them as an equal even though he was by profession only a teacher in a secondary school.

The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence has been edited 1961 by the National Centennial Commission containing the hand written letters, most of them in German Language and their English translation. One is impressed with the fluency of Rizals German after a stay of only half a year in Germany. One is also impressed with the breadth of his knowledge and of his interest in most fields of science and Blumentritt, recognizing the outstanding abilities of his promising new friend, did not hesitate to bring him into contact with German professors in Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin, the last place of Rizal in Germany , where he stayed from November 86 through May 87 .

He was living in Jägerstraße 71, third floor, just a few blocks from here, near the Gendarmenmarkt. He was seriously ill in the winter, due to the cold and perhaps also to malnutrition. But he made a remaining impression on scholars such as the Geographer Feodor Jagor, who had written a book on Travels in the Philippines when Rizal was still a small boy, or on Rudolf Virchow the famous pathologist and founder of the Anthropological Society of Berlin, who as a liberal was a declared adversary of Bismarck and opponent of colonialism. Virchow invited Rizal to become a member of the Anthropological Society and asked him for a lecture on the metric system in Tagalog, which Rizal gave in German language!

Already in Leipzig and Dresden Rizal had been received by other German scholars, who had done research in the Philippines such as Hans Meier, editor of *Meiers Universallexikon*, or by the Anthropologist and Director of the Ethnographic Museum in Dresden, Professor Adolf B. Meyer. He was impressed with the knowledge of the German scholars about the Philippines and writes to Bumentritt in one of his last letters from Berlin: *“Thanks to the German scholars we get accurate information about our country, and when everything in our country has been destroyed and we wish to verify the historical accuracy of certain facts we shall have to come to Germany to search for these facts in German museums and books. It is sad to arrive at this conclusion, but it is the truth.”* (RBC, 71)

The friendly reception by all these noted experts, who received and treated him as an equal and the lasting contact with them, which was held up by Rizal even during his exile on Dapitan, was one of the most valued lasting influences of his time in Germany. Another lasting influence from his time in Germany on the thinking and convictions of Rizal came from the meeting with ordinary German people, their working-ethic, their modesty and simplicity, combined with honesty and reliability in contrast to the grandeur, glamour and greed for personal wealth that he had seen elsewhere. All this was for him a model, if the Filipinos, after having achieved their independence, wanted to grow as a nation, respected by others and living in peace and harmony. The longest lasting influence from his time in Germany, however, was the friendship with Ferdinand Blumentritt, who admired him and defended him against all false accusations to the end of his life. Let me conclude with one of the last letters of Rizal, written on the day before his execution (RBC,539) :

“My dear brother,

When you receive this letter I shall be dead by then. Tomorrow, at seven, I shall be shot; but I am innocent of the crime of rebellion. I am going to die with a tranquil conscience. Adieu my best, my dearest friend, and never think ill of me.

Fort Santiago, 29 December, 1896,

José Rizal

Regards to the whole family, to Senorita Rosa, Loleng, Conrado, and Frederico. I leave a book for you as my remembrance.

One can contest, of course, that Blumentritt was a German. But culturally, Rizal as well as Blumentritt, the Bohemian, made no distinction between Austria and Germany in their time.

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4. Biographies

4.1 Dr. Ambeth R. Ocampo

Dr. AMBETH R. OCAMPO is the Chairman of the Department of History, Ateneo de Manila University. He served as Chairman of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (2002-2011) and concurrently Chairman of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (2005-2007). Dr. Ocampo writes a widely read editorial page column for the Philippines Daily Inquirer and has published 14 books on Philippine history, culture, Rizal, and others who figure in the birth of the Philippine nation.

4.2 Prof. Dr. Bernhard Dahm

Prof. Dr. BERNHARD DAHM is a recipient of the “Dr. José Rizal Award for Philippine-German Cultural Relations” in 2010, given by the Philippine Embassy in Berlin for his book entitled “*José Rizal: Der Nationalheld der Filipinos*,” which immortalized the life and works of Dr. Rizal in Germany. Born in 1932, he is a professor emeritus of the University of Passau in Germany, where he held the position of Chair of the Southeast Asian Studies from 1984 up to his retirement in 1997. He was a visiting professor specializing in Southeast Asian Studies at Yale University in 1972-73, before returning to Europe where he continued to focus on studies and writings in the development of the new states in Southeast Asia at the universities in Kiel and Passau.

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