

# A 'treasonous' history of Filipino historiography: the life and times of Pedro Paterno, 1858–1911\*

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**Abstract:** Pedro Paterno (1858–1911) is widely regarded as a 'traitor' to the Philippine nation. That reputation has its origins in his role in the negotiation of the 1897 Pact of Biac-na-Bato between the Philippine revolutionaries and the Spanish, under which the former agreed to abandon their struggle and collaborate with the colonial administration. Then when the USA in 1898 declared war on Spain, Paterno urged the revolutionaries to defend Spanish rule against the Americans, and he continued to urge resistance to the USA during the Philippine–American war. When captured, he swore allegiance to the USA, and was subsequently appointed President of the Consultative Assembly. He has long been an easy target for nationalist historians. This paper is not intended to re-examine his political trajectory. Rather, it focuses on Pedro Paterno as a scholar, as the author of a considerable number of works of history, and it seeks to place him in his intellectual context, an *ilustrado* who compromised with both colonialism and nationalism, with loyalties split between Spain and the Philippines.

**Keywords:** colonial historiography; *ilustrado*; Propaganda Movement; Philippine history; Pedro Paterno

*Of all the traitors in Philippine history, by far the most colourful and the one I loved to hate the most is Pedro Alejandro Paterno (1857–1911)... The so-called Maguinoo, the Prince of Luzon from 1898 to 1900, swore allegiance to, and later changed allegiances from Spain, the Philippines, and America, making him the original and perfect balimbing [star fruit].<sup>1</sup>*

\* This essay was first presented in a seminar for the Southeast Asian Studies Programme, National University of Singapore on 13 May 2003. Thanks to Vinia Datinguinoo, Goh Beng Lan, Ramon Guillermo and Jane Rodriguez for reading and commenting on earlier versions of the paper. Thanks also to Professor Ian Brown and the anonymous reviewer of SEAR for their useful comments and suggestions. Finally, I want to express my gratitude to Jamie Davidson, who was involved in the numerous stages of this article. It would not have been possible without him. However, any shortcomings are mine.

<sup>1</sup> Ocampo, A. (1993), 'Gallery of traitors', *Sunday Inquirer Magazine*, 13 June; Ocampo, A. (1995), *Bonifacio's Bolo*, Anvil Publishing Inc, Pasig City, pp 24–32 (emphasis added).

Treason, like heroism, never fails to fascinate or sarcastically amuse, as the quotation above demonstrates. It conjures up dark images of secret trysts and exchanges, of lies and deceptions, of blood money and special favours, of jaunts and incarcerations. National histories, like fiction, are frequently consumed by possibilities of treason. While injecting a sense of excitement into a narrative, this angle inevitably places historical figures into the dichotomy of good and evil in the evolutionary story of a nation.

In Philippine history, allegations of treason gave Pedro Paterno's person its contemporary prominence; his name is integral to state-sponsored national myths, in which the battle trope between heroes and traitors is waged. Paterno assumed the title of national 'traitor' because of his intermediary role in the negotiations that led to the 1897 Pact of Biac-na-Bato between Philippine independence-fighters and Spanish forces. This treaty concluded the first stage of the 1896 Philippine Revolution and provided a brief respite from the revolutionary bloodshed. Upon receiving promises of compensation, Filipino revolutionaries agreed to lay down their arms and collaborate with the colonial government. Importantly, the pact forced Emilio Aguinaldo and other leaders of the revolution into exile in Hong Kong, where they did not stay long, however. Some five months later, heartened by the readiness of fighters at home and the assistance of Americans looming, these leaders sailed back to the archipelago to resume the second stage of Filipino independence campaigns against Spain. On the verge of victory, these leaders saw their aspirations quashed by the massive onslaught of the forces of the United States of America, who sought to bring pressure to bear on the Spaniards.

In defiance of these newcomers, with the passionate verve that would mark his political life, Paterno urged fellow revolutionaries to return to the fold to defend Spain. The revolutionaries balked, however. Paterno's pleas prompted Aguinaldo to declare that he had committed a great injustice against the USA, which purportedly had no intentions of becoming Spain's successor. Soon thereafter, Spain accepted defeat in its war with the USA. In the ensuing Treaty of Paris, Spain sold its colonial rights to the Philippines for \$20,000,000 to the Americans, who now proceeded to embark on their Asian colonial venture.

It was probably Paterno's previous success in concluding the Pact of Biac-na-Bato that inspired him to appoint himself negotiator for the Filipino revolutionaries and approach the Americans for peace talks. Again, Paterno's overtures were rebuffed. Incensed, he enjoined his

compatriots to carry on the war against the Americans, who were doggedly pursuing Filipino revolutionaries throughout the archipelago, including the Aguinaldo-led government across the steep mountains of northern Luzon. Paterno, who accompanied these peregrinations, was captured the following year, whereupon he swore allegiance to the USA. Shortly thereafter, he was appointed President of the Consultative Assembly.

Paterno's irresolution under conditions of political crisis made him either a subject of ridicule or an easy target of blame for nationalist historians. He was vilified as a self-gratifying elite who had betrayed his people's cause. Short of portraying him as an enemy from within, renowned historian Renato Constantino referred to Paterno as the 'broker of the betrayal of the Revolution' and as an opportunist and collaborator. As Constantino's works became dogmatic among Filipino scholars, it was not surprising that his views were echoed in subsequent literature. Although never quite calling Paterno a villain,<sup>2</sup> the historian Ocampo did refer to him as the 'greatest *balimbing* [turncoat]' (*sic*) in the country's history.<sup>3</sup> The American historian Bain saw him as 'arrogant',<sup>4</sup> while the award-winning writer Martinez described him as 'shrewd and ambitious'.<sup>5</sup> In contemporary Philippine politics, being 'Pedro Paterno' has come to mean being an absconder.<sup>6</sup> Labels such as these have punished Paterno long after his death, and in the process have stymied efforts to take his complex personality seriously. Filipino historians have yet to study his voluminous works on history and society in depth.<sup>7</sup> More importantly, these very same historians have denied or ignored Paterno's signal contribution to the development of Filipino historiography.

Unknown (or unacceptable) to most of his detractors, Paterno belonged

<sup>2</sup> Ocampo, A. (2005), *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 5 September.

<sup>3</sup> Ocampo, A. (2004), *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 10 January.

<sup>4</sup> Bain, D. H. (1984), *Sitting in the Darkness. Americans in the Philippines*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, MA, p 172.

<sup>5</sup> Martinez, M. F. (2002), *A Historical Analysis of the Philippine Revolution. A Critical Approach to History as Simplicity*, International Academy of Management Economics, Manila, p 367.

<sup>6</sup> Vizmanos, D. (2002), 'Notes on US Military Intervention', Website: [http://www.cyberdyaryo.com/statements/st2002\\_0320\\_04.htm](http://www.cyberdyaryo.com/statements/st2002_0320_04.htm), accessed 12 December 2005.

<sup>7</sup> In 1990, as I began taking interest in Paterno, there was hardly any existing research. Recently, this has begun to change. In 2002, the De la Salle University Press republished his *Ninay*; and in 2004, the National Historical Institute in Manila came out with his *Ninay* and *El Pacto de Biac na Bato*.

to the vibrant Filipino intellectual fraternity of the late nineteenth century, a period when the foundations of Filipino historiography were laid. Paterno and his fellow 'Indios' began actively *writing* history vis-à-vis their colonial masters' variant. The great triumvirate of del Pilar, Lopez-Jaena and Rizal pioneered the anticolonial light–darkness–light periodization of the country's historical narrative. Save for a brief excursion into historiography (Rizal's 1889 *Annotations to the 1609 Events in the Philippines* by Morga),<sup>8</sup> none of them composed a fully fledged history text. But their propagandist colleague Paterno did, and more. Among his 36 major publications were a seven-volume general history and a three-volume critical history – more than 3,000 pages of analyses and interpretations. His writings displayed a mastery of the Spanish language and an impressive exploratory and investigative faculty. They also provided clues to his near-schizophrenic personality: the split intellectual loyalties of an *ilustrado* (enlightened/educated intellectual) between Spain and the Philippines. As with the works of Rizal or of de los Reyes, Paterno's writings embodied the complex, intellectual dialogical world of the times. But while de los Reyes and Rizal are valorized as national heroes, Paterno is remembered as a traitor to the nation and not as a significant historian in his own right.

This essay attempts to undermine such simplifications, which have impaired the reception of Paterno's historical works. It surveys Paterno's works from various libraries and rare book collections. I have cross-checked these sources with collaborating information through archival research and interviews with Paterno's descendants and those of his servants. Before discussing Paterno's intellectual life, however, it must be emphasized that this account does not intend to revise or resurrect his political legacy. Instead, it introduces a new prism in the study of his person: Pedro Paterno, the scholar. His major works and ideas are explored within the framework of an established, yet continually unfolding Philippine scholarly tradition. I hope to demonstrate the medium of thought and worldview of a typical *ilustrado* and how he contributed to his generation's imagination<sup>9</sup> of an independent *Filipinas*. Concurrently, I aim to illustrate how a colonized intellectual

<sup>8</sup> Rizal, J. (1909), *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas por el Doctor Antonio de Morga. Anotaciones*, Nueva edición enriquecida con los escritos inéditos del mismo autor ilustrada con numerosas notas que emplan el texto y prologada extensamente por W. E. Retana, Madrid.

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, B. (2000), *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised ed, Verso, London and New York.

compromised with both colonialism and nationalist responsibility at the same time. Hence, this study presents a specific scholar's case, which represents the general form of (in Fanon's terms) a narcissistic intellectual class<sup>10</sup> with its corresponding parallels in other conquered territories of today's world.

### Some considerations

Treason is heroism's antithesis; it exists because of the other's persistence. This is particularly so in narratives of national history. In spite of – or because of this – research on treason has not received the prestige of scholarly analysis that its opposite has obtained. For years, theorists have seized on heroism whilst disregarding autonomous analysis of treachery itself. This began to change, however, albeit in the moralizing context of Cold War geopolitics. A pioneer of treason studies, Rebecca West, simply criminalized the abstraction; she viewed treason as a problem, an abnormality that should be punished.<sup>11</sup> In West's wake, *traditics* (treason studies)<sup>12</sup> developed into an independent branch of disciplinary history. In 1987, Pincher described treason as any attempt to overturn a government established by law, but also carefully qualified it as a construct predicated on how loyalty itself is conceptualized.<sup>13</sup> After comprehensively surveying available theories, including Pincher's ruminations, Carlton concluded that there could be no relevant paradigm defining and rationalizing treason.<sup>14</sup> In his view, it is the context that identifies it and the circumstances that establish its act. Ben-Yehuda generally concurred with this approach, referring to a traitor as an individual who violates trust and loyalty in a variety of contexts and situations. For Ben-Yehuda, treason represents a high-profile crime, committed by people of particular standing – for example, military officers, politicians and civil servants. It is the most complex form of betrayal to the symbolic moral universe of a social collectivity,

<sup>10</sup> Fanon, F. (1961), *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans by Constance Farrington, Grove Press, New York.

<sup>11</sup> West, R. (1949), *The Meaning of Treason*, The Reprint Society, London; West, R. (1964), *The New Meaning of Treason*, The Viking Press, New York.

<sup>12</sup> 'Traditics' came from the Latin *tradere*, meaning to betray. This term was suggested in Pincher, C. (1987), *Traitors. The Labyrinths of Treason*, Sidgwick & Jackson, London, p xvii.

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

<sup>14</sup> Carlton, E. (1998), *Treason. Meanings and Motives*, Ashgate, Aldershot.

which in turn punishes this transgression.<sup>15</sup> Just as a politico-ideological turncoat is a traitor, intellectual mediocrity can itself be considered as traitorous, as Benda theorized in his (1928) *La Trahison des Clercs*.<sup>16</sup> Treason means disloyalty, duplicity, deceit, dishonesty, untruthfulness, corruption, dereliction of status. It necessitates the dialectical existence of a standardizing group, which demands trust and loyalty from its membership, while penalizing deviants for endangering its pursuits of homogeneity.

Here, Dilthey's conception of the social sciences,<sup>17</sup> which stresses understanding over explanation of historical phenomena, is valuable. Every development and category in history is taken to be relative and inseparable from a particular spatial and temporal context.<sup>18</sup> Drawing on Dilthey's insights, and in particular his concept of individual life histories as prisms towards understanding,<sup>19</sup> I explicate Pedro Paterno's intellectual career and historical thought. His times, worldview and *Dasein* are elucidated through a study of his texts, contexts and motivations. His works and employment of language are scrutinized to determine his contribution to late nineteenth century Philippine colonial and nationalist discourses, and specifically, to the development of the country's historiography. Finally, his works are interpreted to indicate a conception of self, which in turn could be useful in understanding the elite class to which he belongs.

### Traitor of the revolution

As discussed above, Pedro Paterno entered history through his crucial role in the arbitration from August to December 1897 between the Spanish colonial government, headed by Fernando Primo de Rivera, and the Philippine revolutionary forces, led by Emilio Aguinaldo. After more than a year's fighting and a number of losses suffered in

<sup>15</sup> Nachman Ben-Yehuda (2001), *Betrayals and Treason. Violations of Trust and Loyalty*, Westview Press, Boulder, CO.

<sup>16</sup> Benda, J. (1969), *The Treason of Intellectuals (Trahison des Clercs)*, trans by Richard Aldington, Norton, New York; Pels, D. (2000), *The Intellectual as Stranger. Studies in Spokespersonship*, Routledge, London and New York.

<sup>17</sup> Dilthey, W. (1883), *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften. Versuch einer Grundlegung für das Studium der Gesellschaft und der Geschichte*, Verlag von B.G. Teubner, Berlin.

<sup>18</sup> Kelley, D. R. (2001), 'Eclecticism and the history of ideas', *Journal of the History of Ideas* (hereafter abbreviated to *JHI*), Vol 62, No 4, pp 577–592; Richter, M. (1987), 'Begriffsgeschichte and the history of ideas', *JHI*, Vol 48, No 2, pp 247–263.

<sup>19</sup> Rickman, H. P., ed (1961), *Meaning in History. W. Dilthey's Thoughts on History and Society*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, pp 83–112.

Cavite, the revolutionary forces reconsolidated and established headquarters north of Manila at Biac-na-Bato in San Miguel de Mayumo, Bulacan.<sup>20</sup> Into the midst of this turmoil came Pedro Paterno, who offered his services for 'the termination of this fratricidal struggle by a convention of peace, which is bound to assure the prosperity of our beloved country'.<sup>21</sup> This mestizo won the trust of both parties; the Pact of Biac-na-Bato, consisting of three documents, was signed. The first deed stipulated the end of hostilities, the exile of Aguinaldo and other revolutionary leaders to Hong Kong, and Spain's indemnity payment of P800,000 to the revolutionists.<sup>22</sup> The second required the surrender of arms, promised pardon and reiterated the monetary promise to capitulators. The third provided for an additional sum of P900,000 to non-combatants who had suffered losses during the revolution.<sup>23</sup> It was this accord that won a truce and momentary harmony that was later interpreted as a betrayal of the people's struggle, however. The historian Renato Constantino, who penned the exceedingly popular text, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*, considered it in this light:

The Pact of Biak-na-Bato was a shameful repudiation of all that the Revolution had stood for. It made a mockery of the revolutionary cry for freedom that had resounded in Pugadlawin when the people, led by Bonifacio, were still in control of their Revolution. Biak-na-bato was the logical outcome of the ilustrados' seizure of power at Tejeros.

The Pact was nothing more nor less than a business proposition. The negotiations had not dragged on for five months because of any insistence by Aguinaldo's side that the Spaniards comply with any of the people's revolutionary demands. The principal bone of contention had been the amount to be paid to the leaders and the terms of payment.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Alvares, S. (1992), *Recalling the Revolution. Memoirs of a General*, Center of South-east Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, WI, p 222.

<sup>21</sup> Letter of Pedro Paterno to Emilio Aguinaldo, dated 9 August 1897; Zaide, G., ed (1990), 'Pedro Paterno acts as peacemaker', in *Documentary Sources of Philippine History*, Vol 8, National Bookstore Inc, Manila, p 449.

<sup>22</sup> Details of the treaty's mediation and immediate aftermath are narrated in Agoncillo, T. (1960), *Malolos. The Crisis of the Republic*, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, pp 25-48, 59-61 and 76.

<sup>23</sup> For varied accounts of the pact's negotiation, see Aguinaldo, E. (1899), 'Resena veridical de la revolucion Filipina' (np), Tarlac; Paterno, P. A. (1910), *El Pacto de Biyak-na-Bato*, Imprenta 'La Republica', Manila, pp 173-188; de Rivera, P. (1898), 'Memoria dirigida al Senado' (np), Madrid; Taylor, J. (1971-73), *The Philippine Insurrection against the United States, Vol 1*, Lopez Foundation, Pasay City, Exhibit 60, p 414; Zaide, ed (1990), 'The pact of Biaknabato', in *Documentary Sources, Vol 8*, pp 468-477.

<sup>24</sup> Constantino, R. (1998), *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*, 16 ed, The Foundation for Nationalist Studies, Manila, p 198.

For Constantino, then, the deal effectively undermined the revolution's ideals and handcuffed the people's passionate struggle for independence: Pedro Paterno, being its mediator, was pictured as a turncoat – the man who facilitated the selling-out of the revolution. As the embedded favourite enemy, he was frequently denigrated in Constantino's oeuvre. Referring to Paterno as 'the broker of the betrayal of the Revolution at Biak na bato, the President of the Spanish Consultative Assembly, and recent advocate of home rule under Spain',<sup>25</sup> Constantino placed him among the 'directing hands' that ultimately stole power from the people for the elite class.<sup>26</sup> Paterno's motivations were said to be self-serving, his decisions influenced by considerations of the threat of property destruction and personal suffering. Corollary to this, Constantino read Paterno's 1899 declaration of war against the Americans as mere 'opportunism'<sup>27</sup> in an attempt to influence the Filipino people to pursue his own interest. As legislative representative of the 1898 Philippine Revolutionary government in the face of the American onslaught, Paterno's cabinet was characterized as being 'capitulationist'.<sup>28</sup> He easily succumbed to the demands and insinuations of the colonizers; in fact, he cooperated with them to become one of the original 'collaborators'.<sup>29</sup>

In all, Constantino utilized Paterno as a foil in his preaching on nationalism. Paterno was fitted to personify Fanon's narcissistic intellectual, a natural enemy of an oppressed people fighting for freedom. Consequently, subsequent Filipino historians followed Constantino's path, condemning Paterno to the *kangkungan* [dustbin] of Filipino nationalist history. His writings were never considered as deserving of sympathy, let alone scholarly analysis. The interpretation of Paterno thus remained ideological, not historical. It is within (or against) this nationalistic context that a historian must construct an intellectual study of Pedro Paterno. What passions and motivations drew him to history? How did he conceive the Filipino nation and identity? Crucially, to what extent does Paterno's historiography fit the nationalist variant, and in what way does it disturb its foundations?

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p 217.

<sup>26</sup> This argument echoes Agoncillo's views in his *Malolos: Crisis of the Republic*. For Agoncillo, Paterno assisted in stealing the reigns of the government from the 'haves-nots' for his elite class (the 'haves'). Agoncillo, *supra* note 22, at pp 275–309, 373–408, 621–678.

<sup>27</sup> Constantino, *supra* note 24, at pp 222–223.

<sup>28</sup> Constantino, *supra* note 24, at p 228.

<sup>29</sup> Constantino, *supra* note 24, at pp 240–241.

## An intellectual's history

Born on 27 February 1858 in Santa Cruz, Manila, Pedro Alejandro Paterno was one of the 13 children<sup>30</sup> of mestizo-Chinese businessman Maximo Paterno and Carmen de Vera Ignacio. Typical at that time of children of wealthy parents, Paterno was privately tutored.<sup>31</sup> He later attended the prestigious *Ateneo de Municipal de Manila*, from which he graduated in 1871. He was set to travel to Spain to further his studies when his father, along with a number of wealthy Filipino businessmen, became embroiled in the 1872 Cavite Mutiny – a minor soldiers' strike, which was used to incriminate sympathetic members of the bourgeoisie and main actors of the clergy's *Filipinization* movement. As a result, Don Maximo was deported for life to *Islas de Ladrones* (present-day Guam).<sup>32</sup> The 14-year-old Paterno was nonetheless sent abroad. He studied philosophy and theology at the *Seminar Conciliar de Salamanca*, and later worked on his doctorate in Civil and Canon Laws at the *Universidad Central de Madrid*.

The year 1880 is the one in which we can comfortably state that Paterno became socially and politically active. He published a book of poems (*Sampaguitas*) and became more active in the small, Madrid-

<sup>30</sup> Nine of these children were Maximo and Carmen's; the other six were from an earlier marriage of Maximo and Carmen's cousin, Valeriana Pineda. Zaide, G. (1970), 'Pedro Paterno: peacemaker of the revolution', in *Great Filipinos in History*, Verde Book Store, Manila, pp 383–393.

<sup>31</sup> Florentino Torres y Santos was his tutor. He taught the young Paterno the *Doctrina Cristiana*, morality, history of religion, reading, writing, Spanish (including orthography), mathematics, geography, history, practical agriculture, urbanity law and music.

<sup>32</sup> Maximo Paterno staunchly supported the Madrid-based newspaper *El Eco Filipina*. Founded in 1871 by Jose Maria Basa and Manuel Regidor, *El Eco* progressively worked for 'Spain in the Philippines, Philippines together with Spain'. Exposing corruption in the colonial government, the paper suggested legal reforms that included the restoration of Philippine representation in the Spanish Supreme Court, press freedom, liberation of education from friar control, replacement of forced labour and tribute with reasonable taxes, secularization of the parishes, and abolition of the tobacco monopoly. In all, *El Eco* propagated progressive ideas in the colony. As such, the paper was conveniently blamed by the colonial government for instigating the uprising of soldiers in Cavite. See 'Archbishop Martinez' secret defense of the Filipino clergy (1870)', 'Cavite mutiny and the martyrdom of Gom-Bur-Za', 'Spanish version of the Cavite mutiny of 1872 (Jose Montero y Vidal)', 'Filipino version of the Cavite mutiny of 1872 (T.H. Pardo de Tavera)', and 'Official report of Governor Izquierdo on the Cavite Mutiny of 1872', in Zaide, ed (1990), *Documentary Sources*, Vol 7, pp 239–301.

based group of young *Filipinistas*.<sup>33</sup> This assembly of future luminaries, which included Jose Rizal, Antonio Luna, Mariano Ponce and Lopez-Jaena, met regularly to socialize and eat in the opulence of Paterno's house. Affluent and academically advanced, Paterno assumed the leadership of this crowd.<sup>34</sup> Notably, he and Rizal shared important affinities that put them on closer terms than the rest. Of bourgeois stock, the two budding writers were determined to take advantage of the freedom of organization and expression that being in Spain and in Europe more broadly offered; and both deeply held the conviction that the Philippines must be recognized and accorded the dignity it deserved. Rizal had exhibited still more political sophistication. In particular, on 2 January 1884, he proposed that the *Filipinistas* should write a collaborative novel that would stimulate interest in the miserable state of the Philippines.<sup>35</sup> This novel would also buttress the group's efforts to lobby for reforms. To Rizal's chagrin, this idealized collaborative work never materialized, for the group was apparently more interested in writing about or pursuing Spanish women.<sup>36</sup> The ambition to showcase life in the archipelago did not die, however. Individually, members of the *Filipinistas* wrote lavishly about the state of the colony to pique the interest of the Spanish intellectual class. In this regard, Paterno had no peers. An award-winning student, he started composing pamphlets, essays, speeches and books, feeding what was to become known as the Propaganda Movement.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> This term referred to Filipino students and other scholars (eg Ferdinand Blumentritt, Fernando Pastells) who had conducted research on the Philippines.

<sup>34</sup> For an account that disputes this observation, see Coates, A. (1968), *Rizal. Philippine Nationalist and Martyr*, Oxford University Press, Hong Kong.

<sup>35</sup> Schumacher, J. (1973), *The Propaganda Movement: 1880–1885, The Creators of a Filipino Consciousness, The Makers of a Revolution*, Solidaridad Publishing House, Manila, p 22; Coates, *supra* note 34, at pp 78–79; Zaide, G., and Zaide, S. (1999), *Jose Rizal: Life, Works and Writings of a Genius, Writer, Scientist and National Hero*, 2 ed, All Nations Publishing Co Inc, Quezon City, pp 88–89.

<sup>36</sup> This disappointment probably impelled Paterno and Rizal eventually to write *Ninay* and *Noli Me Tangere* respectively.

<sup>37</sup> The Propaganda Movement was pioneered by the 1872 Filipino deportees in Hong Kong, Yokohama, Singapore, Barcelona, Madrid, Paris and London. Filipino students abroad supported it over time, contributing their intellectual talents to the reform campaign. Eventually, it coalesced into a two-pronged movement, one part based in Spain, the other in the Philippines. In Madrid, the Propagandists sought the constitutional expansion of human rights, honest and efficient administration, and the restoration of representation in the courts. In the Philippines, they pleaded for the removal of corrupt officials, for freedom of expression, and the secularization of the parishes. Starting in 1889, thanks to the newspaper *La Solidaridad*, Barcelona became an important focal point too. Schumacher *supra* note 35; Zaide, G. (1954), *The Philippine Revolution*, The Modern Book Company, Manila.

Over the course of Paterno's 31 years of writing, he published at least 36 pieces, or roughly one a year (see Table 1).<sup>38</sup> On the whole, a survey of his publications demonstrates the development of an ambitious academic into a campaigner for peace, and finally into a cunning politician. His works reflect a scholar's maturation process in the context of the rise of Filipino scholarship and the cumulative imagination as a national community. Beginning in 1900, Paterno's ethnological treatises on Philippine culture and history became infused with a distinct nationalist zeal (see below). In effect, he broadened his earlier exclusive discourse with the Spanish. By including his progressive Spanish-speaking compatriots, he contributed to the nation-building campaigns of the time. For the sake of economy, I consider just a few of Paterno's works in the following sections.

Paterno's published history can be divided (and labelled) as follows:

- (1) 1880–1894, explorations in Filipino culture;
- (2) 1894–1905, exertions amidst historical crisis; and
- (3) 1905–1911, making sense of the past.

In the first period, Paterno wrote and lobbied for reforms he believed the colony justly deserved. He sought dialogue with the Spaniards to convince them that Filipinos were as civilized as Spaniards. Hence, at the tender age of 18, Paterno began realizing this course of action with his debut *Influencia Social del Cristianismo* [*The Social Influence of Christianity*].<sup>39</sup> In this pamphlet, he argued that the fundamental basis of civilization was mastery of its elements: the individual, family and society, the glue of which was Christianity. To deny this would be akin to destabilizing civilization. Thus, Christianity, for Paterno, was the light of civilization, the energy that propelled progress.<sup>40</sup> He wrote:

<sup>38</sup> Besides the works listed in Table 1, the literature also referred to another 13 titles. However, I have not come across these works. Paterno might have merely planned, but not written them.

<sup>39</sup> Paterno, P. (1917), *Influencia Social del Cristianismo: Discurso Pronunciado Ante La Academia Teologia Dogmatica y Polemica del Seminario Central de Salamanca*, Tercera Edicion, Tip. del Linotype del Col. De Sto. Tomas [1876], Manila.

<sup>40</sup> Spanish historiography on the Philippines applied a similar philosophy, equating Christianity with civilization. Examples include: de Morga, A. (1609), *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Mejico; de Plasencia, J. (1589), *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*; de San Agustin, G. (1689), *De los Indios Naturales de las Islas Filipinas*.

**Table 1. Pedro Paterno's published history, 1880–1911: a preliminary perspective.**

<b>Period</b>	<b>Title of the work</b>	<b>Place of publication</b>	<b>Year of publication</b>	<b>Classification</b>
1880–1894	<i>Sampaguitas y Poesias Varias</i>	Madrid	1880	Literature: poetry
	<i>Ninay</i>	Madrid	1885	Literature: novel
	<i>La Antigua Civilizacion Tagalog</i>	Madrid	1887	Monograph: history
	<i>Los Itas</i>	Madrid	1890	Monograph: history/ethnology
	<i>El Cristianismo en la Antigua Civilizacion Tagalog</i>	Madrid	1892	Monograph: history/theology
	<i>La Familia Tagalog en la Historia Universal</i>	Madrid	1892	Monograph: history
	<i>El Individuo Tagalog y su Arte en la Exposicion Historico-Americana</i>	Madrid	1893	Monograph: history
	<i>El Barangay</i>	Madrid	1894	Monograph: history/anthropology
	<i>Los Tagalogs</i>	Madrid	1894	Monograph: history/ethnology
	1894–1905	<i>El Problema Politico de Filipinas</i>	Manila	1900
<i>Sandugong Panaguinip</i>		Manila	1903	Literature: opera
<i>Buhay ni Rizal (na ikinalat sa Apat na Bahagui)</i>		Manila	1905	Literature: opera
<i>Gayuma</i>		Manila	1905	Literature: opera
<i>Magdapio, Operang Pilipino</i>		Manila	1905	Literature: opera
1905–1911	<i>Historia de Filipinas, Tomo I–VII</i>	Manila	1908–1911	History
	<i>Historia Critica de Filipinas, Tomo I–III</i>	Manila	1909	History
	<i>Synopsis de la Historia de Estados Unidos</i>	Manila	1909	History
	<i>Aurora Social; El Alma Filipina; Boda a la Moderna;</i>	Manila	1910	Literature: novelette series

Table 1 continued

Period	Title of the work	Place of publication	Year of publication	Classification
	<i>La Brevesa de Bayani; La Dalaga Virtuosa y el Puerte del Diablo; La Fidelidad; Los Herados de la Raza; Maring, Amor de Obrera Filipina</i>			
	<i>El Pacto de Biak na Bato</i>	Manila	1910	Monograph: political science
	<i>Pag-iibigan sa Antipolo; Salita at Buhay ni Bitwin at ni Batis sa Parang ng Bosoboso at sa Bayan ng Antipolo</i>	Manila	1910	Literature: story
	<i>En El Pansol de Calamba</i>	Manila	1910	Literature: story
	<i>Los Ultimos Romanticos</i>	Manila	1910	Literature: story
	<i>Gobierno Civil de las Islas Filipinas</i>	Manila	1911	Monograph: political science
	<i>Synopsis de Historia de Filipinas, Tomo I-II</i>	Manila	1911	History

Civilization has three elements: the individual, the family and the society. Accurate knowledge about these objects comprises the primordial basis of civilization. Christianity informs the true nature, relationship and finality of these objects. Hence, if the light of Christianity is turned off, then civilization is arrested from its feet and then buried under the soils of the earth. On the other hand, if Christianity glistens with the most brilliant light, then civilization shows its marvellous goodness that, in turn, leads to a more pure and peaceful region.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The original: *Tres son elementos de la civilizaci3n: el individuo, la familia y la sociedad. El exacto conocimiento de estos objetos es la base primordial de la civilizaci3n. El Cristianismo es el que ha enseado la verdadera naturaleza, las verdaderas relaciones y el verdadero fin de estos elementos. Por eso alli donde se ve apagada la luz el Cristianismo, alli la civilizaci3n se arresta por el suelo y se esconde en el fango de la tierra: y por el contrario alli donde el Cristianismo brilla con luz resplandiente, la civilizaci3n ostenta sus portentosas maravillas encumbrandose en raude vuelo a regiones mas puras y serenas.* Paterno *supra* note 39, at pp 3-4.

Here, Paterno worked within a distinctively Spanish line of thought, language and philosophy. He reiterated their equation of Catholicism with civilization; and thus unwittingly lent credence to their rationale for the archipelago's colonization. Paterno appropriated a linear progression style of history-writing and insinuated the idea of salvation/enlightenment to be an ideal end for his narration. While rather mundane for that time, this exposition did succeed in penetrating the colonizers' intellectual discourse, characteristic of the author's exertions from 1880 to 1894.

Paterno's reverence for the beauty of the Philippines was captured in his (1880) collection of poems, *Sampaguitas y Poesias Varias* [*Sampaguitas and Other Poems*], part of a series entitled *Biblioteca Filipina* [*Philippine Studies Collection*]. The impetus for this series, conceived and published in Madrid, was to show the 'ripe fruits of young Filipino intellectuals' labor'.<sup>42</sup> Paterno's poems brandished grandiose, metaphorical imagery, painting an oversentimental, romantic picture of the islands and their people.<sup>43</sup> The verses celebrated loveliness, family, the indefatigability of the human spirit and other pleasing, universal themes. Consider a fragment of his 'En la Fiesta de Antipolo' [In the Fiesta of Antipolo]:

It is May; the month of flowers,  
The beautiful dawn of the day,  
Gentle stage of the year,  
Springtime of life.  
In our veins circulate  
The currents of merriment,  
Like in the deep *Pasig*  
The gondolas of Manila.  
With cascades of flowers  
That sprouts on the banks,  
And the pleats of its waves  
Where the clear sun is mirrored.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Schumacher, *supra* note 35, at p 23.

<sup>43</sup> This literary practice belongs to the so-called *Costumbrismo/Romanticismo* genre, popular among (literary, visual and performance) artists in nineteenth-century Spain.

<sup>44</sup> The original: *Es Mayo; el mes de las flores./La bella aurora del día./Dulce juventud del año./Primavera de la vida./Circulan por nuestras venas/Las corrientes de alegría./Como en el profundo Pásig/Las gondolas de Manila./Con las cascadas de flores/Que brotan de los orillas./Y los pliegas de las ondas/Donde el claro sol se mira.* Paterno (1917), *Sampaguitas*, Tercera Edición, Tip. Del Col. De Sto. Tomás, Manila, p 32.

Drawing on Dilthey's theory on worldview and poetry,<sup>45</sup> Paterno's poems, serving as analogical structures, also implied the author's idealistic (or simplistic) worldview at the time. In particular, Paterno stressed the simplicity and exquisiteness of the colony to attract Spanish interest in the islands. Though unimpressive literarily, this orientalist poetry collection did signify the Filipino intellectuals' entrance into printed discourse – and in doing so, marked the beginning of the Propaganda Movement abroad.

In 1885, Paterno published the novel *Ninay*.<sup>46</sup> Although published two years earlier, this work has routinely been pitted against Rizal's famous *Noli Me Tangere*.<sup>47</sup> Critics have criticized *Noli*'s weak plot,<sup>48</sup> lack of originality and imagination, artificiality and stilted style;<sup>49</sup> but they concur on the work's superiority as an instrument of propaganda on the state of colonial Philippines. *Ninay*, on the other hand, was simply lambasted; it was neither quality literature nor effective propaganda. However, overlooked in these comparisons were their striking similarities. Primarily love stories, *Ninay* and *Noli* displayed life as it was (purported to be) in the archipelago. *Noli* was narrated around a single male protagonist, Ibarra; *Ninay* around the female protagonist, Ninay. As *Noli* has been dissected in excruciating detail, we need only take a brief look at *Ninay* in order to demonstrate its resemblance to or difference from the plotline of the former.

<sup>45</sup> For Dilthey, 'worldview' refers to interpretations of reality. A worldview could be expressed (and read) in poetry. Liberally dealing with a realm of ideas, poems expressed whatever could appear in men's minds – from external objects, to inner states, to values and decisions. Dilthey, W. (1954), 'Philosophy and the life-view of the poets', in *The Essence of Philosophy*, trans by Stephen and William Emery, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, pp 52–59; Dilthey (1957), 'The place of world views in poetry' in *Dilthey's Philosophy of Existence*, trans by William Kluback and Martin Weinbaum, Vision, London, pp 36–39.

<sup>46</sup> Paterno, P. (1885), *Ninay (Costumbres Filipinas)*, Version Castellana, Imp FORTANET, Madrid. It was translated into Tagalog by Roman Reyes, and was published through the 'La Republica' in 1908. This Tagalog version has an upper and lower pagination (henceforth 'up' and 'lp'). On *Ninay*'s inferiority to that of *Noli Me Tangere*, see Hau, C. (2000), *Necessary Fictions. Philippine Literature and the Nation, 1946–1980*, Ateneo de Manila Press, Quezon City, pp 62–63; Schumacher, J. N. (1991), 'The Propaganda Movement, literature and the arts', *The Making of a Nation. Essays on Nineteenth-Century Filipino Nationalism*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City, p 122.

<sup>47</sup> Rizal, J. (1961), *Noli Me Tangere*, Comision Nacional del Centenario de Jose Rizal [1887], Manila.

<sup>48</sup> Palma, R. (1949), *The Pride of the Malay Race. A Biography of Rizal*, translated by Roman Ozaeta, Prentice Hall Inc, New York, p 1.

<sup>49</sup> Arcilla, J. S. (1991), *Rizal and the Emergence of the Philippine Nation*, Office of Research and Publications, Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City, p 185.

The *Pasiyam* ceremony (a gathering on the ninth day after a relative's burial) provided the context of the story: forbidden love between the rich Ninay and the poor Carlos. As in his poems, Paterno utilized flowery language, giving the novel a pleasing, salubrious atmosphere. Consider, for example, the description of a boat procession during a Tagalog fiesta:

It is pleasing to gaze at the three long and narrow boats covered with banana tree leaves. Their roofs are decorated with bamboo arches, laden with cinnamon sticks, caiqui and fibrous ropes. From these boats, we hear the sound of an orchestra playing the *cumintang* – the song that the Tagalog kingdom grew with. The *cumintang* is sentimental, it moves the heart. This song pierces the soul with her daintiness; and awakens the senses with its order of fresh voices.<sup>50</sup>

Evoking beauty and harmony with words that capture warm, pleasing emotions, Paterno's narrative technique reflected the prose version of his poetry. More important, unlike Rizal in *Noli*, Paterno keenly explores the issue of religious syncretism in the form of pre-Christian ritual and thought in *Ninay*. From the dressing of the dead to the dramatic donning ceremony for the gravestone, he meticulously detailed a traditional burial as follows:

Berto held his chest. It felt as if his heart was breaking. However, with the strength of his resolve and the help of Carlos, they were able to lift the corpse, which they proceeded to smear with the perfumed sap of [trees] 'aradon and banalo'. After covering with non-decomposing tree trunks, the dead was buried. On top of the grave, Berto placed a marker. He wrote on this marker with the tip of his knife the following words: My Loleng, until I have avenged you! He then planted the surroundings of the grave with [poisonous shrub] 'liguia', which bore shoots that could kill. Berto thought, this plant should protect his beloved from anybody who wished her harm.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Naca-aaquit ng tingin, ang tatlong bancang mahahaba at maquiquipot, na nacaculubungan ng mga dahong saguing, napupumutihan ang canilang bubong ng mga balantoc na sinamomo, caiqui, at balibago; sa canila nariringig ang mga paquiquisalio ng isang orquestra sa cantang cumintang, cantang quinamulatan ng cahariang tagalog, madamdang at nacacatinag ng puso, nacapupucac sa calulua ang canyang catimiasan at sumasambilat ng diua ang pagcaca-ayos ng malalamig nilang tinig. Paterno supra note 46, at p 40 (up), p 10 (lp).*

<sup>51</sup> *Tinutop ni Berto ang canyang dibdib, at ang naramdama'y ibig pumulas mandin ang caniyang puso; nguni't sa caniyang pagmamaboong loob at sa tulong ni Carlos ay nabuhat din ang bancay na canilang pinahiran ng mababangong dagta ng 'aradon at banalo' tuloy binalot ng mga balat ng cahoy na di nabubuloc at canila isinahucay. Pagcatabo'y tinacpan sa ibabao ng isang mulauin na sinulatan ni Berto, ng dulo ng caniyang talibong ng ganitong mga catagaa: – Loleng co, hangang sa maipanghiganti*

Tellingly, Paterno sought not to pursue a comparative analysis of pre-Christian and Christian religious practices, for he treated the two as co-equals, existing side by side without crossing paths. This was Paterno's limit: exoticizing but not criticizing Philippine culture. *Ninay* was designed to feature then contemporary Filipino society, romantically exhibiting players inside and outside the politico-religious authority structure of the colonial order. Paterno thus implied that colonization, though politically effective, did not smother earlier ways and traditions. This is where *Ninay*, despite affinities, diverged from the revolutionary (and literarily superior) *Noli Me Tangere*. The former explored society in a cultural prism; the latter analysed it politically.<sup>52</sup> *Noli* brought to bear the fact that Spain had failed to recreate a humanist society out of its colony; in contrast, *Ninay* valorized a synergetic union of Filipino and Spanish cultures in the colonial order. What Paterno sought through it was the recognition of equality (in peoples' genius, quality of life) between Spain and the Philippines from his audience. Rizal, on the other hand, informed his public of a damned Spain as a result of making the colonial Philippines the obverse of what European civilization stood for. Despite these differences, *Ninay*, nonetheless, paved the way for *Noli* by initiating the novel as a safe literary medium for providing a window on a colonial society.

This was not the only time Paterno's work anticipated that of Rizal. His 1887 *La Antigua Civilizacion Tagalog* [*Ancient Tagalog Civilization*]<sup>53</sup> preceded Rizal's *Annotations to Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* [*Events in the Philippine Islands*] by two years.

*quita! – at saca tinamnan ang paliguid ng mga 'liguia' na ang mga usbong nito'y nacamatatay at ng maligtas ang pinacasamba niyang libingan sa sino mang magnanasang humamac.* Paterno, *supra* note 46, at pp 124–125 (up), pp 31–32 (lp).

<sup>52</sup> For expositions on the politics behind *Noli*, see Arcilla, *supra* note 49, at pp 177–193; Coates, *supra* note 34, at pp 115–116; Palma, *supra* note 48, at pp 73–85; Pascual, R. (1962), *The Philosophy of Rizal*, Pedro B. Ayuda & Company, Manila, pp 213–253; San Juan Jr, E. (1997), *Rizal in our Time. Essays in Interpretation*, Anvil Publishing Inc, Pasig City, pp 84–144; and Schumacher, J. N. (1991), 'The Noli Me Tangere as catalyst of revolution', *The Making of a Nation. Essays on Nineteenth-Century Filipino Nationalism*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City, pp 91–101.

<sup>53</sup> Paterno, P. (1887), *La Antigua Civilización Tagálog* (Apuntes), Tipografía de Manuel G. Hernández, Madrid. As the author, Paterno quintessentially called himself 'Maguino Paterno' in this book. He was convinced that he was of royal lineage, a Tagalog prince. As such, he often donned a friar-like costume that was adorned with a number of medals. He even had his own coat of arms. Indeed, he proved himself to be the flamboyant *ilustrado* of his time.

Consonant with his idea of civilization,<sup>54</sup> *La Antigua* was organized around the themes of the prehistoric individual, the family and Tagalog society, with the aim of impressing upon the reader that Tagalogs had enjoyed an ancient civilization on a par with that of China, India, Egypt and Greece. Citing accounts by Morga (1609), Colin (1663), Chirino (1604), San Antonio (1738) and others,<sup>55</sup> Paterno lavishly illustrated the existence of writing among the early Tagalog communities of Luzon.<sup>56</sup> He associated their *baybayin* script with Spanish, Etruscan, Greek and Latin. His meticulous work on the palaeography of the old alphabet would remain authoritative and would be heavily drawn upon by ensuing historians.<sup>57</sup>

Paterno also celebrated their monotheism. He compared the Tagalog god *Bathala* with Jéhova, Brahma and Buddha, believing that, as in the letters of the word 'Jéhova', the letters in *Bathala* had preternatural attributes. For Paterno, its invocation alone constituted a solemn prayer for Tagalogs.<sup>58</sup> To establish this, Paterno laid out the meanings behind the three letters B, H and L, which, taken together, stood for the creator of all, similar to Brahma.<sup>59</sup> Additionally, these letters symbolized the union and creation of man and woman, eternal and godly spirit, and the holy trinity.<sup>60</sup> In *Bathala* worship, as in Buddhism, Paterno explicated, the ancestors were worshipped as guiding spirits (*anitos*). He proceeded to showcase the existence of an early Luzon civilization, called *El Tagalismo*, synonymous with:

...real progress. They [Tagalogs] have had a lot of contacts, like with Christianity that introduced leaps of progress in their civilization. And it is hardly

<sup>54</sup> See Fn 39–41.

<sup>55</sup> Paterno cited: de Morga, A. (1609), *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Mexico; Colin, P. (1663), *Labor evangélica*, Madrid; Chirino, P. (1604), *Relacion de las islas Philipinas y de lo que en ellas an trabajado los Padres de la Compañia de Jesus*, Roma; de San Antonio, F. (1738), *Descripción*, Sampaloc; and P. Ezguerra (1747), *Arte de la Lengua de Bisaya*, Manila.

<sup>56</sup> Paterno, *supra* note 53, at pp 360–367. A copy of his palaeographic chart is to be found at <http://www.mts.net/~pmorrow/paterno.htm> (accessed 1 December 2005).

<sup>57</sup> Alip, E. (1950), *Political and Cultural History of the Philippines*, Alip & Brion Publication, Manila; Zaide, G. (1979), *The Pageant of Philippine History, Vols I–II*, Manila Education Company, Manila.

<sup>58</sup> He wrote: 'The most sacred name in the Tagalog civilization is the name of their God: Bathala. Like Christians, Tagalogs do not pronounce the name of their God all the time. They utter Bathala with great respect and veneration in very solemn moments.' Paterno, *supra* note 53, at p 35.

<sup>59</sup> Paterno, *supra* note 53, at pp 36–40.

<sup>60</sup> Paterno, *supra* note 53, at p 40.

impossible, given passed centuries of humanity [has shown] that all of the people on Luzon professes a very elevated culture.<sup>61</sup>

In this way, the existence of this early civilization facilitated the later blossoming of Hispanic culture in the archipelago; the former simply laid the foundations for the latter. This conclusion contrasted with those of fellow Propagandists, who argued that colonialism had destroyed a flourishing ancient civilization. Instead, Paterno submitted that colonialism enriched indigenous life. *La Antigua* represented Paterno's first attempt at historical expression, which he would develop subsequently. It also reinforced his Eurocentric analytical approach, in which associations with the continent (or with those cultures of Asia that the continent venerated) were considered a normative measuring-stick in his narratives on the archipelago and its inhabitants.

His (1892) *El Cristianismo en la Antigua Civilizacion Tagalog* [*Christianity in the Ancient Tagalog Civilization*]<sup>62</sup> took this same theme one step further, by arguing that ancient Tagalogs practised an embryonic form of Christianity centuries before the colonizers' religious imposition. This, he suggested, allowed the comfortable conversion of the islands' inhabitants to standard Catholicism. For Paterno, affinities abound.<sup>63</sup> The early communities' monotheistic worship of *Bathala Mei Capal* and their related doctrines were remarkably similar to the sacraments and the concept of redemption. Paterno postulated that this belief system had been brought to the islands by Indian traders,<sup>64</sup> who, in turn, became associated with St Bartholomew and St Thomas. While far-fetched, the work did put forward a probing theory on the islanders' appropriation of a European religion during the sixteenth

<sup>61</sup> ...un verdadero progreso. Muchos contactos tenía ya, como veremos después con el mismo Cristianismo, el más alto progreso conocido de las civilizaciones. Y es casi imposible, dada la centitud de los pasos de la humanidad, que todos los pueblos Luzónicos profesaran tan elevada cultura. Paterno, *supra* note 53, at p 77.

<sup>62</sup> Paterno, P (1892), *El Cristianismo en la Antigua Civilizacion Tagalog*, Imp de Sucesores Cueva, Madrid.

<sup>63</sup> For an account of early Christian conversion among these communities, see Rafael, V. (1988), *Contracting Colonialism*, Ateneo de Manila University Press, Quezon City; also: Wendt, R. (1994), 'Zwischen Unterwerfung und Befreiung. Spanische Evangelisation und einheimische Religiosität auf den Philippinen', in Wagner, W., ed, *Kolonien und Misionen. 3. Internationales Kolonialgeschichtliches Symposium '93*, LIT Verlag, Münster/Hamburg.

<sup>64</sup> Paterno had already hinted at this early Indian connection in *La Antigua*. Paterno, *supra* note 53, at pp 144–145.

and seventeenth centuries. Paterno belonged to the line of scholars who recognized the intimate connection between the old and new religions.<sup>65</sup> The coming of Catholicism, for them, was not a break, but a continuum.

Besides convergences in the realm of ideas, Paterno submitted that in practice the rituals and ceremonies of the early Tagalogs and 'modern' Catholicism in fact dovetailed – a topic tackled in his *La Familia Tagalog en la Historia Universal [The Tagalog Family in Universal History]*.<sup>66</sup> Of *La Familia's* many themes, the most fascinating for our purposes was Paterno's differentiation between *sandugo* [one blood]<sup>67</sup> and *pacto de sangre* [blood compact].<sup>68</sup> For him, the latter symbolized 'universal brotherhood, as it is declared in the Voltairean philosophy, akin to the mutual love among men that is called charity in the Christian church'.<sup>69</sup> The blood compact would then be a contract celebrating equality amongst men, as exhibited by the sixteenth-century agreement between Ferdinand Magallanes of Spain and Sikatuna of the Philippines. These parties bound themselves to an accord through the compact, which needed to be perpetually upheld, lest the ties dissolved.<sup>70</sup> Their agreement equalled nothing less than the creation of a *pueblo Filipina* – the archipelago's Filipino and Spanish population, which was to be benevolently ruled by an adopted motherland, Spain.

<sup>65</sup> A controversial theme, the issue of religious syncretism continues to stimulate interest among scholars. Those who have done research on the matter include Bernadette Abrera, Consolacion Alaras, Prospero Covar, Nenita Pambid, Isabelo de los Reyes and Zeus Salazar.

<sup>66</sup> Paterno, P. (1892), *La Familia Tagalog en la Historia Universal*, Imp Moderna Cueva, Madrid.

<sup>67</sup> *Sandugo* (Filipino) refers to an old ritual for sealing brotherhood, adoption and marriage among the early communities in today's Philippines. It requires contracting parties to drink from a cup of wine, which has been mixed with blood drawn from their own wrists or chests. In principle, the process should make the parties blood relations or family members afterwards.

<sup>68</sup> *Pacto de sangre* (Spanish) literally means 'blood compact'. It is carried out like the *sandugo*; however, the Spaniards took it to mean the legal agreement between themselves and the islands' inhabitants.

<sup>69</sup> Paterno, *supra* note 66, at p 108.

<sup>70</sup> In this reading of the *pacto de sangre*, again Paterno stood out among his fellow Propagandists, who used it as a rationale for the adoption of the Philippines as a daughter to Spain. Henceforth, Spain was bound to the responsibility of educating and guiding her accordingly. The renowned Propagandist, del Pilar, laid the failures of the mother in these duties at the feet of the all-powerful friars, who kept Filipinos from learning and, ultimately, from progressing. Del Pilar, M. (1888), *La Soberania Monacal en Filipinas*, Imprenta Ibérica de Francisco Fossas, Barcelona; del Pilar, M.

Among the Tagalogs, *sandugo* was more than a contract. It was the metaphysical and social glue that either bound a community together – for example, to be enacted before battle – or drew two or more individuals into a special union that could range from intermarriage relations to trade. Upon executing the ritual of *sandugo*, a Tagalog,

...would turn away from (senseless) violence and head in the direction of good and intelligent behavior instead. If *sandugo* originally served as a process to acquire paternity in an adoption, as it was practised among Itas and sometimes in our society also, in the period of Spanish conquest, *sandugo* acquired another meaning that was broader, more humane, brotherly, affectionate and loving. *Sandugo* came to be used in ending a war, forgiving enemies, establishing alliances, building affection and love, and other pleasant reasons for celebration. *Sandugo* came to signify the triumph of law over all, the universal charity.<sup>71</sup>

Paterno considered *sandugo* to be a ritual that brought peace and harmony to otherwise strained relations among Tagalogs, or a coping mechanism of a community in times of distress when faced by the aggressive actions of outsiders. In all, *sandugo* signified the presence of a high and advanced culture.

For centuries, the Spaniards insisted that they had to import (Hispanic) civilization to save the Filipinos from themselves, from paganism and barbarity. Though orientalist in tendency, Paterno's writings of this first period sought to challenge these claims by establishing the existence of a distinct and learned culture prior to colonization. Ironically, instead of campaigning for self-government predicated on the presence of this pre-colonial civilization, Paterno pleaded for Spain's more active engagement in the colony.

In 1893, after having spent almost 21 years in the motherland, Paterno returned to Manila to take up a director's post in the city library and museum.<sup>72</sup> Like most members of the elite, he did not participate in the

(1889), 'Sagot Nang Espana Sa Hibik Nang Pilipinas', in Gatmaitan, M. S. (1966), *Marcelo H. Del Pilar, 1850–1896. A Documented Biography with Tagalog, English, and Spanish Texts*, Muñoz Press, Quezon City.

<sup>71</sup> The original: ...*dejabba se ser biolento, y se hacia astito e inteligente. Si en su origen el sandugo sirviera para constituir la paternidad en la adopcion; como entre los Itas, y era de raro uso, en la epoca de conquista española tenia otra significacion mas amplia, mas humana, la fraternidad, amistad y amor, pues que servie para suspender hospitalidades, perdonar enemigos, establecer alianzas, fundar cariño y amor, y por cualquier ligero motivo se celebraba; era, con otro hombre, el triunfo del derecho sobre el hecho, la caridad universal.* Paterno, *supra* note 66, at pp 109–110.

<sup>72</sup> Cunanán, B. (1967), 'Pedro Paterno: diplomat of the revolution', *Chronicle Magazine*, 29 April.

*Katipunan*-led 1896 Revolution. Paterno only took action once the war had dragged on, negotiating the Biac-na-Bato truce, and thus embroiling himself in the revolt. Because of the high esteem he garnered from both sides, Pedro easily took part in both worlds.<sup>73</sup> This duality, however, merely obscured Paterno's overbearing political preferences. This came to a head in the following year at the start of the Spanish-American War in the Philippines, for Paterno simply could not imagine a prosperous and great Philippines without the auspices of his beloved motherland, Spain.<sup>74</sup> As the Consultative Assembly's President, he tried to persuade the revolutionaries to side with Spain. The revolutionaries decided otherwise.<sup>75</sup>

Still, Paterno was chosen as Congress President in Malolos, the seat of the revolutionary government.<sup>76</sup> He drafted the proclamation of the constitution (21 January 1899) and penned the formal inauguration of the Philippine Republic (23 January 1899).<sup>77</sup> In the meantime, the US Congress ratified the Treaty of Paris (10 December 1898), which transferred sovereignty of the islands from Spain to America (4 January 1899).<sup>78</sup> In Manila, the situation grew tense and armed conflict broke out a month later between Filipino and American forces. Paterno then declared war against the Americans,<sup>79</sup> and afterwards he

<sup>73</sup> Both sides apparently trusted Paterno, largely because of his known training and education in Spain. Primo de Rivera even became friends with the lawyer in Madrid, as they apparently moved in similar social circles. Agoncillo, *supra* note 22, at pp 49–50.

<sup>74</sup> Paterno's decision to side with Spain was 'a result of study and political experience... Unhappy is the Power that isolates itself! And what better ally can we have than Spain, a nation with which we are united for nearly four centuries in religion, laws, morals, and customs, understanding fully well her virtues and defects?' According to him, all people in the islands are Spaniards – Filipinos and European Spaniards. He believed that Spain would grant the Philippines home rule if the rebels would stand with the old colonial motherland against the USA. 'Pro-Spanish Manifesto of Dr. Paterno (Manila: 31 May 1898)', in Zaide, ed. (1990), *Documentary Sources*, Vol 9, p 174.

<sup>75</sup> The revolutionaries issued a pro-American manifesto. Short of calling Paterno a coward, they scathingly termed him *Sampaguitero* (jasmine flower vendor) – reminiscent of his 1880 book – who let himself be used by the Spaniards to provoke a civil war among Filipinos. 'The revolutionary leaders refute Paterno's manifesto', in Zaide, ed (1990), *Documentary Sources*, Vol 9, pp 213–219.

<sup>76</sup> Paterno's presidency of the Malolos Congress was ridden with controversy. In collaboration with Felipe Buencamino, he was involved in the struggle for control of the government with Apolinario Mabini. Agoncillo called this an internal conflict, a battle between the haves and have-nots. Agoncillo, *supra* note 22, at pp 373–408.

<sup>77</sup> Zaide, *supra* note 37, at pp 192–207.

<sup>78</sup> Zaide, *supra* note 37, at p 207.

<sup>79</sup> 'War proclamation of Premier Paterno (San Isidro, 2 June 1899)', in Zaide, ed (1990), *Documentary Sources*, Vol 9, pp 122–123.

fought alongside independence fighters, later fleeing to the mountains with the revolutionaries.<sup>80</sup> In 1900, he was captured in Benguet and imprisoned. Upon his acquiescence to cooperate with America's first colonial government (the Schurman Commission)<sup>81</sup> and assist in ending the war, he was released. Having unsuccessfully lobbied for an unconditional amnesty for all revolutionaries and after Aguinaldo's capture in 1902, Paterno sought somewhat paradoxically to realize his political ideals within the confines of the new colonial government. First, he established the Partido Liberal, which later became the Partido Independentista and then the Partido Nacionalista. He won a seat in the Philippine Assembly, and competed and lost against Sergio Osmena for the presidency in October 1907.

Albeit not as idiosyncratic as those from Paterno's first period, his writings from 1894 to 1905 – those labelled above as 'Exertions amidst historical crisis' – reflected a partial political maturation on account of his participation in the nation-building process. In 1900, he published *El Problema Politico de Filipinas* [*The Political Problem of the Philippines*].<sup>82</sup> As this was also the year of Paterno's capture and capitulation to the Americans, he may have conceived the idea for this book when he and the revolutionary government were being pursued by the Americans in the mountains of northern Luzon. Consequently, the work expressed what Paterno was beginning to believe to be Filipino nationhood. For him, it was:

...the union or unification of eight million people, who inhabit the Filipino archipelagic territories that are primarily made up of the islands of Luzon, Visayas, Mindanao and adjacents; men, who demonstrate a common Malayan origin. The ethnicity of the community is manifested in their habits, tradition and especial abilities of an upright character that could particularly be gleamed in their mother tongue Tagalog. This is a nation, a natural union; we see its strength through a

<sup>80</sup> Salazar, W. (2002), 'Uneasy observers: Germans and the Philippine-American War' in Shaw, A. V., and Francia, L., eds, *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream, 1899-1999*, New York University Press, New York, p 30.

<sup>81</sup> On 4 April 1899, this Commission declared that the US supremacy 'must and will be enforced throughout every part of the archipelago and those who resist it can accomplish no end other than their own'. At the same time, however, it promised Filipino autonomy. Consequently, it found alliance with a number of Aguinaldo's cabinet members, who in turn cooperated in finding 'peaceful arrangements' within the proposed American colonial structure. Kalaw, M. (1926), *The Development of Philippine Politics: 1872-1920*, Oriental Commercial, Manila.

<sup>82</sup> Paterno, P. (1900), *El Problema Politico de Filipinas*, Imp. y Estereotipia de J. Alemany, Manila.

political union called a state... The Filipino state, the mechanism of the Filipino nation.<sup>83</sup>

Paterno did not see that the most effective way towards the realization of this Filipino nationhood was through armed conflict against the Americans, however. I argue that Paterno's success in engineering the Pact of Biac-na-Bato informed his future pacifism. He became convinced of the right to self-government, preferably through peaceful means. In his 1900 article, 'El gobierno del pueblo Filipino' [Government of the Filipino people],<sup>84</sup> he put forth a simple *raison d'être* for the prolonged struggles of the Filipino fighters: they had been sovereign before the Americans arrived! Hence, Paterno explained, the prerequisite for peace negotiations with the revolutionaries would be the Americans' recognition of the islands as an equally free nation state.<sup>85</sup>

This plea, as previously mentioned, fell on deaf American ears. Paterno was captured, imprisoned and later forced to take the oath of allegiance. Soon after, he was documented as often dressed in strange, friar-like gowns and wearing a number of medals. Obnoxiously, he claimed to be royalty (a Tagalog prince) and thought that he deserved to be addressed as such. Despite these eccentricities, writing and publishing still dominated his life in the new colonial order; and both of these exertions still noticeably embodied the prevalent impulse among Filipino intellectuals. These activities expressed a conviction for the nationalist project. Paterno chose to appropriate these convictions to the most popular form of public presentation and persuasion of the time: the opera. In fact, he wrote four of them.<sup>85</sup> The gifted translator,

<sup>83</sup> The original: ...*la reunion o aglomeracion de unos 8 millones de hombres que pueblan territorio del Archipiélago filipino, compuesto principalmente de las islas Luzon, Bisayas, Mindanao, y adyacentes; hombres que ostentan relacion comun de origen malayo, demostrado comunidad de raza en su habitos, costumbres y aptitudes especiales de cierto caracter particular que vivicara su lengua madre tagala. Tal es la nacion, unidad natural; veamos su unidad politica llamada Estado... El estado Filipino, organo de la Nacion filipina. Ibid, p 3.*

<sup>84</sup> Paterno, P. (1900), "El gobierno del pueblo Filipino", Manila. This article was written as a response to an insulting essay by James Creelman in the *New York Journal*.

<sup>85</sup> Paterno, P. (1905), *Sandugong Panaguinip*, music by Ladislao Bonus, trans by Roman Reyes, (Manila, 1903); *Buhay ni Rizal (na Ikinalat sa Apat na Bahagui)*, *Isang Opera*, Manila; (1905), *Gayuma*, music by Ladislao Bonus, trans by Roman Reyes, Manila; and (1904), *Magdapio, Operang Pilipino*, music by Alejo Carluen, trans by Roman Reyes, Manila. Only *Magdapio* received a scathing critique: Riggs, A. S. (1981), *The Filipino Drama*, Ministry of Human Settlements Intramuros Administration [1905], Manila.

Roman Reyes,<sup>86</sup> and 'father of Filipino opera' Ladislao Bonus,<sup>87</sup> assisted him in these endeavours. Reyes translated Paterno's Spanish-language pieces into Tagalog, while Bonus wrote the music. In so doing, they made Paterno's works available to an enthusiastic theatre-going audience in greater Manila. Consonant with his earlier works, Paterno tackled the life and culture of ancient Philippine communities, featuring themes such as *bathala* and *sandugo*. For instance, the production of *Sandugong Panaguinip* [A Dream Union of Blood] showcased how *sandugo* united the otherwise quarrelsome peoples of Pasig, Cainta and Antipolo to take on the slave-raiding Muslims from the south. On the one hand, it would seem that this new medium of performance art did little to alter Paterno's earlier intellectual inclinations. He continued the theme of promoting a Tagalog ancient civilization. Yet there were subtle developments. In collaboration with Bonus and Reyes, these productions articulated a suppressed nationalist ideal and a subliminal form of anticolonial protest. Their language, themes and musical tradition (*moro-moro*)<sup>88</sup> were decidedly Filipino. Hence these theatre pieces excluded the colonizers, while enveloping their Filipino audience within a nation-based dialogue.

With these operas, we are reminded of Paterno's almost schizophrenic personality: his split intellectual loyalties between a colonizing motherland (Spain, then the USA) and the Philippines. This is particularly apparent when the issue of nationalism is at stake. Evidently, Paterno is comfortable with the idea of an independent Philippines only if his interests and elevated position are protected therein. Writings of the ensuing years further demonstrate this tendency.

<sup>86</sup> Reyes, S. (2002), 'Introduksyon', in Paterno, *Ninay (Ugali ng Catagalugan)*, De la Salle University Press, Manila, pp xii-xiii.

<sup>87</sup> 'Bonus, Ladislao', *Dictionary of Philippine Biography*, Vol II, Manila, p 56.

<sup>88</sup> Introduced in the sixteenth century to assist in the Spaniards' missionary campaigns, the *moro-moro*, also known as *komedya*, *linambay* or *arakyo*, refers to a Filipino play in verse that takes about 3-15 hours and several sessions of performance. It has two types: secular, tackling epic stories of love and vengeance; and religious, narrating the lives of patron saints. *Moro-moro* is characterized by (1) elaborate marches, (2) lengthy choreographed fighting between individuals and/or armies, and (3) magical artifices from heaven to save persecuted saints or Christians. Filipinos appropriated the *moro-moro* as the principal form of entertainment during town fiestas. Mendoza, F. (1976), 'The comedia (*moro-moro*) rediscovered' (np), Manila; Tiongson, N., ed (1991), 'Dulaan. An essay on Philippine theater', in *Tuklas Sining. Essays on the Philippine Arts*, Sentrong Pangkultura ng Pilipinas, Manila, pp 61-101; and Tiongson, N. (1999), *Philippine Theater: History and Anthology, Vol. II. Komedya*, University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City.

The final period – Making sense of the past (1905–11) – witnessed the strengthening of Paterno’s intellectual conviction and resolution (to collaborate with the US-sponsored Philippine nation) and crucially, the development of his historical thought. His seven-volume *Historia de Filipinas* [*History of the Philippines*] and three-volume *Historia Critica de Filipinas* [*Critical History of the Philippines*] were published between 1908 and 1911,<sup>89</sup> although significant portions of these series had already been printed as individual monographs. He pieced together his *Los Itas* (1890), *La Antigua Civilización Tagalog* (1887), *El Barangay* (1892), *Los Tagalog* (1894) in the *Historia Critica* series – as if he had finally become concerned about systematizing his thoughts on the past. In Paterno’s words, *Historia Critica* comprised:

...not just the succession of events, but general research concerning all mentalities, all languages, all tradition of men, related to the Filipino people, or all innovations, ways, laws, sciences, arts, literatures of the Filipino people in all places and all times.<sup>90</sup>

Not surprisingly, *Historia Critica* tackled pre-Hispanic Philippine history and culture. Drawing on a version of the waves of migration theory, Paterno explained how Negritos settled the interior, and Tagalogs and Bisayans (descendants of what Paterno termed ‘Indonesians’ and ‘Malays’) the coasts. The study of the Tagalog language will, for Paterno, illustrate their early worship (*Bathalismo*)<sup>91</sup> and sense of individuality (*Katagalisikan*).<sup>92</sup> For instance, a woman, being her own person, is not any man’s property, but equal to man in all ways. This mutual respect was celebrated during ritualistic weddings. Such celebrations, Paterno maintained, were typical communal concerns, in which a society’s members congregated and collaborated. They reiterated a religiously sanctioned bliss and egalitarianism among the ancients.

<sup>89</sup> Paterno, P. (1908–12), *Historia de Filipinas. Tomo I–VII*, Imprenta ‘La Republica’, Manila; Paterno, P. (1920), *Historia Critica de Filipinas. Tomo I–III*, Tip. Pontificia del Colegio de Sto. Tomas, Manila.

<sup>90</sup> The original: ...no tanto en la sucesion de los hechos, cuanto en la universalidad de las indagaciones, abarcando todo pensamiento, todo idioma, toda tradiciones del hombre, relacionado con pueblo filipino, o sea las creencias, costumbres, leyes, ciencias, artes, letras del pueblo filipino en todo lugar y en todo tiempo. Paterno (1920), *supra* note 89, Tomo I, ...p. 10.

<sup>91</sup> Paterno coined *Bathalismo* in reference to the ancient worship around the Tagalog epic hero, *Bathala Mei Capal* or *Bathala*. Paterno (1892), *El Cristianismo* and (1920), *Historia Critica*, Tomo II, pp 9–11. Related works: Isabelo de los Reyes (1900), *La Religion de Katipunan*, Tip. de J. Corrales, Madrid, or Nenita Pambid (2000), *Anting-anting. O Kung Bakit Nagtago sa Loob ng Bato si Bathala*, University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City.

<sup>92</sup> For Paterno, *katagalisikan* refers to a Tagalog’s individuality. Paterno (1920), *supra*

The old religion shared traits with Catholicism, opined Paterno. However, it also had attributes differentiating it from the Spanish faith. Paterno strove to prove his convictions through incursions into Tagalog words. For Paterno, a man's soul is composed of three separate consciousnesses: *caluluwa*, *diwa* and *lagyo*. *Caluluwa* pertains to the soul's intelligible portion; *diwa*, its sensitive part; and *lagyo*, its functional area. The first facilitates rationality that allows man to grasp all things spiritual and universal; the second gives man life and empathy; and the third maintains the health of his faculties, so that he can process both phenomena and ideas. Functioning as a circuit, the three provided the basis of a Filipino's individuality and embodied the essential portions of *kaloalhatian* (well-being) of his society as a whole. 'Bathalismo,' Paterno wrote,

...teaches that our soul, which is simply an essence, has primarily three awareness. This could be demonstrated through terms in the Tagalog language. In himself, a man has three different but related spirits: *calulua*, *diua*, and *lagyo*. The relatively simpler Spanish language does not have the appropriate words to refer to the supernatural world, invisible and spiritual. However, the ideas by Spanish philosophers of the golden age could be used here. These ideas are intellectual soul, which could refer to the voice of *calulua*; sensitive soul, in reference to *diua*; and vegetative soul to mean the traits associated with *lagyo*...<sup>93</sup>

This passage exemplifies the way in which Paterno sought to explain pre-colonial, indigenous worship in the islands through Spanish norms. Again, Paterno was writing for a Spanish audience, whose system of meanings take priority in a narrative about Filipinos, who, in turn, are 'othered'<sup>94</sup> in the discourse under scrutiny.

Paterno's predilection for equating the pre-Hispanic Tagalogs with the entirety of the archipelago's communities ranks among the most

note 89, Tomo II, pp 6–8. This term did not become popular in academic literature, however.

<sup>93</sup> The original: *...enseña que nuestra alma, con ser una substancia simple, tiene tres facultades principales, o por decirlo con genuinas expresiones del tagalog; el hombre encierra en su unico ser tres espíritus complemente distintos, calulua, diua y lagyo. La relativa pobreza de la lengua castellana no tiene vocablos para este language de otro mundo superior, invisible e espirital; pero pudieren darnos idea los conceptos de los filosofos españoles del siglo de oro, expresados en los terminos: alma intelectiva, que explica la voz calulua; alma sensitiva que describe el nombre diua; y alma vegetiva, cuyas cualidades comprende el vocablo lagyo.* Paterno (1920), *supra* note 89, Tomo II, pp 9–11.

<sup>94</sup> Bhabha, H. (1994), 'The other question. Stereotype, discrimination and the discourse of colonialism', and 'Of mimicry and man: the ambivalence of colonial discourse', in *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London, pp 66–84, 85–92.

disconcerting aspects of his works from this period. Fabricating an illusionary homogeneity, Paterno whitewashed the archipelago's heterogeneity; in the end, he evaded a genuine analytical study of the complexity of the country's ancient cultures.

His *Historia de Filipinas*, in turn, narrated an account of the Spaniards' arrival and settlement of the islands from 1519–1640. With a focus on governor-generals and archbishops, this seven-volume series was a *Spanish* history of the islands. Not a professionally trained historian, Paterno internalized the then mainstream colonial practice of history. For instance, Spanish scholars opined that 'history' should be predicated on and created from available written accounts of the past; in this way, Philippine history only begins with the coming of Spanish culture to the islands. Such an emphasis on documentation tends to make history elitist, and Paterno's *Historia* was no exception. The 'Indio' – the term Spaniards used to refer to an inhabitant of the archipelago – had no voice, let alone agency for change. S/he was an indigenized<sup>95</sup> and 'othered' abstraction.

Neither was Paterno solely preoccupied with Philippine history during this time. The presence of and his collaboration with the Americans led him to pen the 1909 *Synopsis de Historia de Estados Unidos (Apuntes)* [A Brief History of the United States (An Introduction)]. Though rather simple, *Synopsis* did pioneer area studies scholarship as a component of the period's Filipino scholarship. It would take another decade for *pensionados* (US-trained Filipino scholars) to follow Paterno's lead.

Following *Synopsis*, Paterno turned to textbook writing. His 1910 novella series was entitled *Aurora Social [The Social/People's Soul]*.<sup>96</sup> Conceived as teaching materials for his classes at Liceo de Manila (present-day Manila Central University), these novellas reflected the budding nationalist sentiments of the time, both romantic and didactic in spirit. Paterno's peculiar fusion of romance and analysis continued in his (1911) self-government thesis, 'El gobierno civil de las Islas Filipinas' [The civil government of the Philippine Islands]. In this tract,

<sup>95</sup> The process of 'indigenization' (read: 'discrimination') in the nineteenth-century Philippines is discussed in Salazar, Z. (1992), 'Der Malaie als Indio: José Rizal und die Rassendiskriminierung in den kolonialen Philippinen des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Wagner, W., ed, *Rassendiskriminierung, Kolonialpolitik und Ethnisch-nationale Identität*, LIT Verlag, Münster and Hamburg, pp 147–164.

<sup>96</sup> This comprised seven titles: *Aurora Social*, *Boda a la Moderna*, *La Brevesa de Bayani*, *La Dalaga Virtuosa y el Puerte del Diablo*, *La Fidelidad*, *Los Heraldos de la Raza*, and *Maring*, *Amor de Obrera Filipina* (1910, Imprenta 'La Republica', Manila).

Paterno argued that (1) a society consists of familial individuals, (2) a nation is the permanent congruence of individuals of the same race, (3) a state is the political machinery that guides a nation's everyday existence, and (4) a government is the political structure that men created to give their lives direction. Critically, 'El gobierno civil' stressed the individual's role in a national political order, elucidating the tasks and responsibilities expected from a Filipino in protection of his individual rights. While the book on the whole rationalized the country's protectorate status under the aegis of America, and thus portrayed a moderate stance on Filipino self-governance, it also reflected the slow absorption of a particularly American intellectual tradition – political liberalism – in Paterno's writings.

As can be gleaned from the above discussion, Paterno's publications reflected his complex personality. They reiterated a belief in the Filipino people's individuality – which was evident prior to his collaboration with the Americans – and right to self-governance, while concurrently expressing fascination at conveniences and comforts enjoyed under a colonizing motherland. Seeking audience and approval from Western scholars, Paterno routinely used standards of civilization in Spain or Europe (and later the USA) in his investigations of the Philippines and its people. Politically liberal yet broadly reactionary, Paterno's works never truly exhibited a clear political will. More than scholarly exercises, his writings were symptomatic of his own personality, as reflected in his language of choice: Spanish. They were meant for Spaniards. If he had Filipinos in mind, he mainly reached out to fellow *ilustrados*. This was the case even in his Tagalog-language operas; only the privileged few could afford to watch these theatrical performances.

Paterno died in Manila on 11 March 1911 at the age of 53.<sup>97</sup> He had led the life of a quintessential renaissance man – wearing a number of hats, some better than others. Paterno was a wily politician, skilfully 'appearing' where power was exercised. He was also a teacher, introducing the idea of textbooks in school. Importantly, Paterno was a prolific writer, who flitted from literature to social studies to history.

<sup>97</sup> This date was based on the records of the Philippine National Archives. They contradict Gregorio Zaide's statement in his *Philippine Revolution* (Zaide, *supra* note 37) that Paterno died on 26 April 1911 (p 73). The online wikipedia encyclopaedia concurs with Zaide's data. See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedro\\_Paterno](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedro_Paterno) (accessed 1 December 2005).

## Historical intent and exploration

Before concluding, it is imperative that we return to the question posed above: to what extent does Paterno's historiography fit the nationalist variant, and in what way does it disturb its foundations? The bulk of Paterno's writings were historical expositions. Consonant with his generation, he was convinced that a better future lay with a comprehensive study of the past. For him, the national narrative,

... can be divided into two: the mythological period and historical period. In the mythological period, we find explanations of how and when our archipelago was formed and who were its early inhabitants. In the historical period, we have the study of different races, who actually lived in the said islands. All societies have experienced a period of primitive barbarism, before rising up to become a civilization. The Luzon islands, like Spain, England and Germany, also went through such stages. To clarify, we can divide the historical period into three epochs: 1. of the aborigines, 2. of the Tagalog civilization, 3. of the Catholic civilization.<sup>98</sup>

Paterno appropriated the positivist method and relied heavily on written sources from Spanish archives and libraries. Huge chunks of his data, for example, were taken from then prominent historical accounts in Spanish, French and English, including Chirino's *Relacion*, Colin's *Labor Evangelica*, Letourneau's *Evolution de Mariage ét de la Famille*, Marsden's *History of Sumatra*, San Antonio's *Crónicas*, De Morga's *Sucesos*, to name but five.<sup>99</sup> However, because Paterno's contemporaries were also critical of their Hispanic counterparts, the historical sources they used went beyond accepted norms. First, they sought to discredit the Spanish historians' claim that 'the Philippines' began with colonization. Hence, it was vital to prove the existence of a dynamic and prosperous Filipino civilization prior to Hispanization. To accomplish this task, they sought out other sources of historical information.

<sup>98</sup> The original: *Dividiremos nuestra historia en dos períodos: el mitológico y el histórico. Dejamos para el periódico mitología la explicación de cómo y cuando se formó este archipiélago, y quiénes fueron sus primeros habitantes. En el periodo Histórico hemos el estudio de (1) las diversas razas que pueblan actualmente estas islas. Toda sociedad ha pasado por el período de la barbarie primitiva, antes de alcanzar el de la civilización. Las islas Luzónicas, de igual modo que España, Inglaterra y Alemania, han pasado gradualmente de un período de otro. Para mayor claridad dividiremos el periodo Histórico en tres épocas: 1. La de los aborígenes, 2. La de la civilización tagala, 3. La de la civilización católica.* Paterno, *supra* note 53, at pp 1–2.

<sup>99</sup> There are no indications, however, that Paterno could understand English or French. As a result, contemporary historians assume that he did not read all his foreign-language sources.

For Paterno, as was demonstrated above, this meant exploring the methods of anthropology, ethnology and historical linguistics. He coined the term '*historia critica*' to indicate this kind of history. Unlike the Spaniards' '*historia*', Paterno's version went beyond chronologically accounting events. Rather, *Historia Critica* was a comprehensive account of universal human actions and their manifestations. In practice, it concerned the Filipino mind, language, traditional belief system, laws, science, arts and literature over time and through changing contexts.<sup>100</sup> Aimed at being more contemplative and interpretative than its precedents, Paterno's history strove not only to explain the past; it was at pains to understand it.

Philosophically, Paterno entertained fascinating – some might say ludicrous – ideas about pre-Hispanic Filipino culture. Illustrative of this was his consideration of language as a source of valid historical information. He wanted to show the warmth and extended nature of the Tagalog family through the tabular study of various words (and their corresponding references) utilized therein.<sup>101</sup> To explain *Bathalismo* doctrines, he analysed the Filipino concept of the soul – man's unified essence. Significantly, in this particular conception, the individual constitutes the most basic social unit; each embodies a member of a family, which in turn represents the smallest organizational component in a *barangay* (village).<sup>102</sup>

More importantly, Paterno's construction of the Filipino nation was appropriated from his linear view of Philippine history: pre-Spanish (*de los Naturales*), the times of the Spaniards (*de los Espanoles*) and post-Spanish (*de la Revolucion, de los Americanos*).<sup>103</sup> The narratives of each of these major theses showcase the country's developmental march towards nationhood: the archipelago's ancient civilization, augmented by colonization, would rise again after the revolution and/or through the help of the benevolent Americans. This perspective exalts the experience of colonialism as the most significant event that begins and ends history. Paterno is always of two minds in appropriating this principle, however. He incessantly contradicts or concurs with the exigencies of colonialism in his writings. On the one hand, the

<sup>100</sup> Paterno (1920), *supra* note 89, Tomo I, p 10.

<sup>101</sup> Paterno (1920), *supra* note 89, Tomo II, pp 146–153.

<sup>102</sup> Typically comprising 30–35 families, a *barangay* is the country's smallest administrative unit.

<sup>103</sup> Pedro Paterno (1911), *Synopsis de Historia de Filipinas, Tomo I-II*, Imprenta 'La Republica', Manila.

Spanish language and worldview express and inform his thoughts and scholarship. The colonizers feature in his narrative, bettering the archipelago's environs and its peoples. Yet his works also took a distinct anticolonial stance. Like his colleagues in the Propaganda Movement, Paterno appropriated progressive ideas in his works, particularly in two important ways. First was the term 'Filipino', which was used to refer to the poor Indio, as against its conventional usage that referred to a Spaniard born in the islands. Second, they treated the islands as politically autonomous, not as provinces of the Spanish empire. Paterno empathized with the running cry of the 1896 Philippine Revolution by institutionalizing its mantra in printed scholarship. Intellectually, he fought for the idea of an established historico-cultural nationhood. His narrative preached national pride among his targeted audience: Spanish-speaking Indios.

The next generation of historians further patronized Paterno's historiography.<sup>104</sup> They too thought, wrote and published in Spanish, and so participated in a Spanish colonial discourse. Most fundamentally, they continued what the Propagandists had started – the undermining of Spanish historical discourse so as to demonstrate that the Philippines and the Filipino people had their own history, while still propagating in essence a Spanish colonial history. Their narratives revolved around the conquistadores' arrival on the islands and, consistent with the tradition begun by Paterno, primarily constituted a plea for change through an analogical presentation of the past. His use of unwritten sources would not be adapted by the following generation of historians, however.<sup>105</sup> Beleaguered by the positivist trend, their histories placed special import on the scientificity of the discipline by prioritizing the use of documents in history-writing and by

<sup>104</sup> Influential among this generation were T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Manuel Artigas de Cuerva, Epifanio de los Reyes, Teodoro M. Kalaw and Rafael Palma. For discussions on their historical thought and historiography, cf. Napoleon Casambre (1993), 'Ang Pagsisimula ng Historiograpiyang Pilipino, 1900–1950', in Llanes, F., ed, *Pagbabalik sa Bayan. Mga Lektura sa Kasaysayan ng Historiograpiya at Pagkabansang Pilipino*, Rex Bookstore, Quezon City; Ocampo, J. (1959), 'A study of Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera's contribution to historical writing with a critical analysis of his major works', MA thesis, University of the Philippines; and Zaide, G. (1974), 'Rafael Palma as scholar and historian', in *Historical Bulletin*, Vol XVIII, Nos 1–4.

<sup>105</sup> To this day, the use of this type of sources remains controversial among Filipino historians. Fearing accusations of being unscientific or being too imaginative, most historians prefer to rely heavily on written sources in their narratives.

pioneering the publication of these accounts. Historians claimed for themselves therewith the classical historical method: the use of written sources in answering the question, *what happened?* within the narrative. This disciplinization gained adequate support among Filipino historians to survive the transition from Spanish to American scholarship on the Philippines. Filipino historians hence participated in two fundamentally foreign dialogical spaces for both recognition and influence within knowledge production. The first half of the twentieth century saw a parallel scholarship tradition of Spanish-speaking Filipino historians and English-speaking American history writers. The old colonial language was slowly phased out with the enforcement of a public education system and with a more sophisticated print media. The academy came to appropriate a form of translation politics, encouraging Anglicization of earlier Hispanized historical practice, and processually, the dominance of an English-language intellectual discourse in the archipelago.

### **Closing remarks**

Brilliance and mediocrity are relational characteristics in a group; an individual's genius is measured vis-à-vis the lesser abilities of her/his colleague. Paterno, judged from the standards of his nationalist generation, often appears as whimsical, pacifist or, at worst, treasonous. A study of his scholarship, however, showed that he was not as different from his peers as historically imposed labels would lead us to believe. In fact, his writings exhibited an intrinsic attachment to the Propaganda Movement's intentions and ideals. His works engaged with Spanish intellectual discourse to prove the Filipino people's worthiness of political reforms. Although his conceptualizations were consonant with prevalent colonial constructs, his interpretations worked against an innate acceptance of Hispanic predominance. That said, Filipino identity, akin to nationhood, could not be imagined without Spain's patronage and influence; both of them, in effect, seemed to remain intimately Spanish. This is why Paterno could negotiate a pact such as that of the Biac-na-Bato, one that exhibited the utmost confidence in the colonial motherland to keep the peace in the colony. Although of diverse persuasions, Paterno and Aguinaldo nonetheless shared a similar view on the 'nationalist' project. They submitted loyalty to the same nation – *nación Filipina*, daughter to mother Spain.

Paterno's moderate political stance found expression in a constant preoccupation with the country's early culture and history. While incessantly romantic, Paterno sincerely believed in an embryonically Hispanic Tagalog civilization. In their basic thrust, his writings were anticolonial in that they established the islands' – or at least Luzon's – realizable historical past. Contrary to Spanish propaganda, for example, they declared that the Philippines was a product of its people's distinct cultural history. While pleading for recognition of an identity and political rights, these writings also demanded a share in knowledge production.

Our prolific *ilustrado* dared not take the next step, however. His writings unfailingly acknowledged Spanish colonial rights over the islands. He could not perceive the latter without the benevolent rule of the former. Thus, his works were also characteristically colonial in the sense that they appropriated the norms, standards and conceptualizations of the Spanish intelligentsia. He yearned for the colonial masters' approval. As a result, his works only succeeded in normatively defining the country's individuality in accordance with the colonial overlords' scrutiny. All told, Paterno's writings concurrently patronized colonialism and anticolonialism. Self-identification took form in both fraternal association with and defensive isolation from the overlords' model. An Indio, for example, was pictured as both strangely indigenous and familiarly Hispanized in the same breath. This strengthened the orientalist version of the self, and so estranged a Filipino reader from her/his own supposed image.

Such ambivalence, it should be noted, was also present in Paterno's inner struggle as an individual. His obsessive research of and interest in the past pursued a dialectic that pervaded his professional and personal life. Allotted as lobby for political change, his works also processually answered the question of national individuality. His texts attempted to explain the existence of a Filipino's person and personhood. Paterno's intellectual exertions were akin to a holistic catharsis to assist him in understanding himself better. He tried to reconcile his split loyalties to Spain and the Philippines through unending compromise, to no avail. In the end, his texts revealed him as a historical romantic and political pragmatic, who could not, despite all his exertions, extricate himself from his own demons. His heritage included an attribution of the Philippines with a hesitant national individuality and Filipinos with an ostensibly difficult view of themselves and their place in their own history. In all, Paterno's works

generated material from which a continuous and ultimately unsatisfying search for both explanation and comprehension of a people's own sense of being would flow.