

Isabelo delos Reyes and Early Philippine Studies, 1884-1891

LINO L. DIZON

ABSTRACT

This paper surveys the prodigious engagement of Isabelo de los Reyes in nascent Philippine studies, entwined with his career as a journalist under José Felipe Del-Pan. Spawning seven years, it starts in 1884 with the beginnings of folklore in the Philippines and ends in 1891, on Del-Pan's death and Isabelo's involvement in other preoccupations that included the Propaganda Movement capped by his documented lengthy dispute with Wenceslao Retana, the Spanish journalist. Among his many interests in early Philippine studies, two have been highlighted: Isabelo's incipient roles in Philippine folklore and in historical investigation.

KEYWORDS

Isabelo de los Reyes, nascent Philippine studies, folklore, Filipinologist

LINO L. DIZON is professor of Philippine studies and history at the Tarlac State University and the director of its Center for Tarlaqueño Studies. He holds a Ph.D. in Philippine Studies from the University of the Philippines, Diliman.

ALIAS PLÁTANO: 'DON BELONG' IN NASCENT PHILIPPINE STUDIES

This paper was merely spawned, to allay any anticipation of depth and further complicated by its delivery in the very city of origin of this great Philippine scholar—the magnanimous Heritage City of Vigan—from the author's Ph.D. dissertation, “Nascent Philippine Studies in the Life and Labor of José Felipe Del-Pan, 1821-1891” in 2008. Isabelo de los Reyes—or Don Belong—was a prodigy of Del-Pan.

A number of materials have sprouted on the multitudinous and lengthy career and voluminous concerns of Isabelo—starting from the insidious and satirical work on him by Wenceslao Retana (*Sinapismos* [Bromitas y Critiquillas]) in 1890¹ and the excellent pieces by William Henry Scott² to the more recent work by Resil Mojares.³ However, this paper is constricted or delimited on a measly slice of seven years from his long productive life, from 1884, when he beckoned the *Llamamiento al Folk-lore* by his great teacher, José Felipe Del-Pan, until 1891, the latter's year of death.

This topic was also inspired in part by Scott's consideration in 1980 that Isabelo is deserving of the title “The First Filipinologist” for his incipient “interest and experience in things Philippine” and for drawing conclusions “about Philippine paleography, prehistory, and anthropology which still stand today.”⁴ Scott was correcting Pedro Paterno's early epithet of Isabelo (1886, when he was still by then a 21-year-old graduate student of the University of Santo Tomas) as the “Father of Philippine Folklore” inasmuch as it was inappropriate “for a man who did not raise up a family of younger folklorists to follow in his footsteps.” Again, from Scott, the “First Filipino Folklorist” would have been more appropriate, though “The First Filipinologist” should be the most proper for his wide span of scholarly enthusiasm aside from folklore.

EL HOMBRE: EARLY BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Nicknamed Don Belong, Isabelo de los Reyes was born to Elias de los Reyes and Leona Florentino in Vigan, Ilocos Sur on July 7, 1864. His mother, of Spanish and Filipina descent, was recognized as the first woman poet of the Philippines. She wrote in both Spanish and Ilocano.

Due to his troubled marriage, Elias entrusted his 6-year-old son Isabelo to the care of Don Mena Crisologo, a wealthy relative and a writer in the Ilocano vernacular. The boy was enrolled in a grammar school attached to the local seminary run by Augustinians; their harsh discipline made him a critic of the friars all his life (a commiseration he was to share with his fellow Ilocano, Msgr. Gregorio Aglipay). In 1880 at age 16, De los Reyes went to Manila, where he finished the Bachiller en Artes at the Colegio de San Juan de Letran. After that, he studied law (which he finished in 1887), history, and paleography at the Universidad de Santo Tomas.

After his father died when Isabelo was 18, Isabelo, still only a *bagong tauo* (young man), had to earn money to supplement his allowance from his mother. He pursued his passion for writing, contributing articles to most of Manila's newspapers.

In 1884, while in such state, De los Reyes had been intrigued by the growing interest in the "new science" of *el saber popular* (folklore). Manila's Spanish newspaper, *La Oceania Española*, where De los Reyes had his early training in journalism under the auspices of his mentor, José Felipe Del-Pan, asked readers to contribute articles on *el folk-lore* and offered directions on how to collect material. Two months later, he set to work on the folklore of Ilocos, Malabon, and Zambales, what he called *el folk-lore filipino*. It became one of the greatest passions of his life. By 1886, as the French were starting serious study of folklore in relation

to their own native traditions, De los Reyes at the age of 22 was completing a manuscript for publication.

In 1887, by then only 23 years of age, De los Reyes won a silver medal at the *Exposición Filipina* in Madrid for his Spanish-language book entitled *El folk-lore filipino* (Filipino Folklore), from his *La Oceañia Española* articles that were compiled for him by his mentor Del-Pan. It was the same year that José Rizal published his first novel, *Noli Me Tangere*, in Berlin. That same year, Isabelo published his *Filipinas. Artículos Varios Sobre Etnografía, Historia y Costumbres del País*.

In 1889, he founded *El Ilocano*, said to be the first newspaper written solely in a Philippine vernacular. It was short-lived but influential. A year later, in 1890, he published his *Historia de Ilocos*.

Don Belong's mentor, José Felipe Del-Pan, died in 1891. On his part (he died in 1938), Isabelo still had a productive and engaging career, and continued to write and research extensively on Philippine history and culture.

SINAPISMOS: TYPIFYING DON BELONG

The multi-faceted and trailblazing typology for Isabelo was done of him by his arch-enemy, Wenceslao Retana, in 1890. It is interesting to note that both started their careers under Del-Pan. At the height of the Propaganda Movement, Retana lambasted De los Reyes in his *Sinapismos* (Bromitas y Critiquillas). His critique of Don Belong—probably filthy and below-the-belt during that period—is actually beneficial in typifying the ‘First Filipinologist.’ Retana’s tirade of De los Reyes was actually hurled against the latter’s multi-faceted career: as *EL FOLK-LORISTA*, *EL PERIODISTA*, *EL HÍSTORIADOR*, *EL PROSADOR* (!),

EL POETA, *EL VOCABULARISTA*, *EL CORREVEDILE* (*Correveidile*, the tattler), and *EL POPULAR* (the populist).

Retana's vilification should first be placed in context. The period above all, should be considered. Del-Pan, like him, and the other peninsular writers (Vicente Barrantes, Francisco Cañamaque, Antonio Chápoli Navarro, etc.) had all painted a caricature of the *indio* of their times, as they did of the wily Spaniard—both the recent arrival or the *bago* and the acclimatized one or old-timer, the *filipon* or the *aplatanado*. The dominance of a colonial frame of mind in seeing people and things, so evident in many colonists' writings on most of their experiences, was a product of an unsavory dreaded segment of adventurers, conscripts, unwanted or disgraced *políticos* and civil servants, trouble-makers, and persons expelled from their countries. Yet, in present scholarship, that frame of mind could not just be ignored. That frame of mind was distorted by what Renato Constantino termed as the "dead weight of colonial consciousness."⁵ What matters eventually in historical writing, as Constantino seemed to conclude, is not the dependence on old, colonial sources but new interpretations based on facts and reliable perceptions/impressions that could be somehow gleaned from those sources, for in many cases "they are all that we have." A classic positive attitude in this regard, to accommodate these sources in the fold of more current historiography, is to see them—to use a phrase of W.H. Scott—as data revealed through "cracks in the parchment curtain," or "chinks, so to speak, through which fleeting glimpses of Filipinos and their reactions to Spanish domination may be seen."⁶

DON BELONG AND 'NUESTRO INOLVIDABLE MAESTRO'

Among his biographical studies on Isabelo de los Reyes, W.H. Scott was able to say something of consequence about Del-

Pan. Though brief, it is a timely reminder on forgotten segments in the nativity of Philippine studies:

...(Del-Pan) himself was one of the most attractive colonials Spain ever sent to the Philippines. Dean of Manila journalists and a fatherly figure who surrounded himself with Filipino youth, he raised up a whole generation of Filipino journalists well versed in their profession and imbued with the proud traditions of the Fourth Estate.⁷

In his many publications later, De los Reyes would refer to Del-Pan as “*Nuestro Inolvidable Maestro*,” “our unforgettable teacher.” Budding *indio* journalists and writers of that period, the contemporaries of Isabelo, including Mariano Ponce, Juan Caro y Mora, Felipe G. Calderon, and the chemist Anacleto del Rosario developed their scholarship under Del-Pan’s patronage and paternal concern. Del-Pan was responsible in elevating the themes and directions of their works, and in assisting in having their writings published.

The call for the initial writing of *Philippine Folklore* by Del-Pan, oft-quoted in the present study, was a favorite episode in the biographical writings of both De los Reyes and Ponce.

Given the preferences of 19th century Philippine society, Isabelo was initially perplexed by Del-Pan’s insistence that he must go back to his people in the province to collect their stories and learn from them rather than jump on the bandwagon of his fellow Filipino *ilustrados* who preferred to study either in Manila or in Spain, saturating themselves with foreign knowledge and culture and in a foreign language. As he mentioned later, this became a turning point in his scholarship:

También aquellas aniterias que el Sr. Del-Pan, me obligaban á escribir con un castellano detestable fueron traducidas al

*alemán, al inglés y al francés, y por ellas recibí inopinadamente títulos de Sociedades académicas de Europa.*⁸

(Those *aniterias*⁹ that Del-Pan urged me to write in detestable Spanish were even translated from German, English, and French and for them, I unexpectedly received certificates from academic societies in Europe.)

It should also be recalled that De los Reyes won a silver medal for them in the 1887 Madrid exposition, the articles having been taken from his *La Oceanía* contributions that Del-Pan himself assembled in an anthology and submitted to the awards committee of the event.

Mariano Ponce had also a lot to tell on the beginnings of *Folk-Lore* in the Philippines. In 1889, in the second volume of the pioneering Philippine folklore anthology of De los Reyes,¹⁰ he wrote:

Mi afición á los estudios folk-loricos me hizo publicar en un periódico de Manila, La Oceanía Española, algunas observaciones acerca del Folk-lore de Bulacan, mi provincia natal.

(My interest for folklore studies encouraged me to publish in a Manila periodical, *La Oceanía Española*, some observations concerning the folklore of Bulacan, my native province.)

More than two decades later, in the volume of his essays *Efemérides Filipinas* which he published in collaboration with Jaime C. de Veyra, he still recalled the “*llamamiento al Folklorismo*,” the clarion call for the gathering of folklore materials in various localities of the Philippines, sounded by the elder Del-Pan as early as March 25, 1884.¹¹

Del-Pan's paternal affinity and relationships with *indios Filipinos* did not escape the suspicious eyes of his compatriots, as again recorded by the invective pen of Retana. In 1890, in his critical *Sinapismos* (Bromitas y Critiquillas), Retana again complained:

*Rarisimo es el autor, nacional ó extranjero, de cuantos han hecho estudios acerca de la psicologia de los indios filipinos, que no les señale preferemente dos grandes defectos que, dicho sea en tributo á la verdad, son propios de una inmensa mayor parte de nuestros hermanos de la Oceania; á saber:—vanidad,—ingritud.*¹²

(Most rare is the author, national or foreigner, who has done studies about the psychology of Filipino *indios* not indicating two defects which, be it said in deference to the truth, are characteristic of the great majority of our brothers at the *Oceanía*, namely, vanity and ingratitude.)

His tirade was particularly directed to De los Reyes, identifying him in his Propagandist' pseudonym of "*Platano*" (plantain):

Cuando Isabelo tenía veinte ó veintiun años, logró meter la cabeza en La Oceanía Española, diario del que es director y principal accionista el bondadísimo cuanto ilustrado señor D.J.F. del Pan. No entró Isabelo en calidad de individuo de la redacción. ¡Esto hubiera sido un colmo! Entró en concepto de auxiliar del administrador del mencionado periódico; algo así como amanuense, ó plumario, como dicen los indigenas de aquel hermoso país. Poco tenia que hacer el joven Reyes; y entre aburrirse contemplando filosóficamente su pupitre, ó seguir el consejo del señor del Pan, que se convirtió desde el

*primer momento en protector decidido del joven de Ilocos, éste optó por matar el tiempo leyendo obras y más obras de Filipinas, que el señor del Pan le iba prestando, con riguroso método para que aprovechase mejor el fruto de la lectura.*¹³

(When Isabelo was around twenty or twenty-one years old, he was able to get involved with *La Oceanía Española*, the daily newspaper whose director and main shareholder was the most benevolent and likewise illustrious Don J.F. Del-Pan. Isabelo did not qualify for the editorial staff. That would have been the height of the matter! He was admitted as an assistant to the Administrator of the said newspaper instead, something like an amanuensis [secretary or dictation-taker] or *plumario* as how they are called by natives of this beautiful country. There was little for the young Reyes to do and in between being bored contemplating philosophically in his desk or following instructions from Señor Del-Pan who from the very beginning became a resolute protector of this young man from Ilocos, he chose to kill time reading works and more works about the Philippines that Señor Del-Pan was lending him, accompanied by a rigorous methodology to make better use of the harvest of reading.)

In his excellent biography on Retana, Fr. John Schumacher mentioned that this prolific journalist, the “enemy” of the Propagandists, started his career in the *La Oceanía*, among other local periodicals in Manila at that time.¹⁴ His presence, together with Francisco Cañamaque, the Feced brothers (José and Pablo, also known as *Quioquiap*), and Antonio Chápuli Navarro provided the counterpoint to efforts of *indio Filipinos* to prove themselves in disciplines that Retana and his compatriots thought were their exclusive turfs.

DON BELONG AND THE BEGINNING OF 'FOLK-LORE' IN THE PHILIPPINES

The *aniterias* that De los Reyes was referring to were among the initial works on Philippine folklore. On March 25, 1884,¹⁵ he wrote in the preface of his other work, *El Folk-lore Filipino*:

La Oceanía Española featured for the first time this subject in an article entitled "Folklore (Folk-Lore) de Filipinas," inviting its readers to contribute what they know and for this, a program, more or less complete, was prepared. I was then a young man of 19 years and I was beginning to be interested in journalism when the intelligent and charming director of (this) newspaper, Don José Felipe Del-Pan, encouraged me to go on with my folkloric interests, gave me some books and requested me to write something about Ilocano folklore. On May 24, 1884 I started to do a research after which I published some articles about the *Malabones*, *Zambaleños* and *Filipinos folk-lore*. In the article on Filipinos, I wrote about the folkloric materials of general character in the archipelago. For this, I am grateful to Mr. Del-Pan and I sincerely wish that he continue to give this young Filipino the much-needed support.¹⁶

It was from this initiative of Del-Pan that Isabelo de los Reyes was able to write his initial collection of folklore materials, presumably the first in the country.

During De los Reyes's initial fight for the legitimacy of Philippine folklore as a scientific discipline, his initial solid support was from Del-Pan and his publishing firm of *La Oceanía*. Through the intermediation of Del-Pan, De los Reyes got the nod of leading folklorists in Spain and other parts of Europe, including "Dr. Machado y Alvarez, founder of Spanish

(F)olklore, and Dr. Alejandro Guichot y Sierra, Director of the *Boletín Folklorico de Sevilla*.”¹⁷

On May 15, 1885, De los Reyes recalled that he even submitted to various publications what he called a “letter of propaganda,” appealing for the recognition of folklore as a formal knowledge and soliciting contributions from the addressees. Yet, as he sighed, “there was not much response except some precious articles entitled *Alreredor de Un cadaver* which the celebrated painter, Don Miguel Zaragoza, dedicated to me in *El Porvenir de Visayas*.” Among the few who came in his defense was Dr. Jose La Calle y Sanchez, who wrote an article on June 27, 1885 under the pen name Astoll:

A learned son of the country wrote about the usefulness of undertaking (folkloric) studies and did not hesitate to go on courageously with all his efforts. Only the press helped the good purposes of the founder, but the steps it took met with the same success like those taken by others before in the name of culture. That is why Filipino folklore cannot be established. Neglect and indifference together with everybody's indolence hamper this endeavor.¹⁸

The consolation, at least for Isabelo, is his being acknowledged now as the “Father of Philippine Folklore.” Actually, this accolade for De los Reyes was already given by Pedro Paterno as early as 1886.¹⁹ The role of De los Reyes's progenitor, Jose Felipe Del-Pan, however, who initiated the actual beginning of folklore collection and studies in the Philippines is not generally known and is yet to be acknowledged, as far as this author's reading goes, in current Philippine folkloric articles.

A number of scholars have already acknowledged that the 1884 *Llamamiento* of Del-Pan marked the beginning of folklore studies in the Philippines and its impulse was felt in the career

of some *ilustrados*. W.H. Scott, although he did not withhold praise, was however subdued in his depiction of Del-Pan's role. Benedict Anderson, in profiling his 'anti-colonial imagination,' did not even make mention of Del-Pan, referring to him only as the 'Spanish editor' whom Isabelo de los Reyes contacted in response to the appeal. He concentrated instead on what the *nueva ciencia* folklore meant for a "clerically educated native" like De los Reyes in the 1880s in contrast to "those Spanish folklorists who were merely sentimental collectors of vanishing customs and conceptions for some future museum of the past."²⁰ That group was presumably where the Spaniard Del-Pan belonged, Anderson not aware of the progressive and positivistic inclinations of Isabelo's editor as presented by this study. More recently, Resil Mojares also dealt with the same slighting of Del-Pan and so he provided a suitable background that gave due credit to Del-Pan.²¹ "Del-Pan wrote as the enlightened Spaniard," Mojares claimed. "Isabelo was the enlightened *indio*."

Of interest though was how the three scholars had commonly envisioned the social value that De los Reyes gave to folklore especially in that agenda of the Filipino *ilustrados* of restructuring the Philippine past. "In the first place," as one of them, Anderson pointed out, "it offered an opportunity for a reconstruction of the indigenous past that was impossible in the Philippines by any other means, given the absence of pre-Spanish monuments or inscriptions and, indeed, the near-absence of written records." Five years later, as Anderson also pointed out, José Rizal would be doing the same thing. In disagreement with Isabelo at that time, Rizal had to rely on Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos* for the purpose.²²

No one really knew what Del-Pan had in mind in that 1884 appeal for contributions on folklore. It might have only been an exhortation to be abreast of an emerging discipline. Yet, it was far from an intent to assemble a caprice of a museum

collection, as Anderson alleged. Del-Pan was against such display of scholarship by merely self-indulgent, selfish collectors as he voiced out in his prologue in Bowring's *Visita* in the 1870s.

Isabelo had the answer in his memoirs. Del-Pan made an appeal to De los Reyes and his fellow youth then working in *La Oceanía* that stressed the urgency of the moment, of losing much time and being fruitless while in pursuit of love themes and other frivolous literature or mere recasting of foreign foolhardiness. Through this clarion call for Philippine folklore, the *inolvidable maestro* was again beseeching them to go back to the people—this time for the *saber popular*. It should be recalled that Del-Pan already made such appeal to the youth of the country in his 1859 *Viaje* in Central Luzon, an appeal for the *vida practica*, for a life of practical and fruitful labor and the sciences. *Saber popular*, or “popular knowledge” was how the student De los Reyes rendered the foreign concept of folklore in the Philippines, as an idea in nascent Philippine studies—as a means of going back to the roots of the people.

DON BELONG AND EARLY HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION IN PHILIPPINE STUDIES

Among the *rigoroso método*—rigorous methodology—that Retana complained about and scorned as being taught by Del-Pan to De los Reyes was probably the appreciation of old documents that the *Decano* had earlier mentioned in his *novelas historicas*, which include his *El medico de su honra*, *Reyerte Increible*, and *El Tesoro de Marianas*. As pointed out in the dedicatory page of *Reyerte*, Del-Pan was telling his friend that in his narrative, he was very realistic in its details, relating the plots as historians do. This was, as surmised, an early application of a deeper historiographical methodology through a potent use of narrative that could be achieved in, to use current parlance,

the “rereading of sources” and “designed pasts” or the different presentation of bygone events through new interpretations.

De los Reyes, in his later publications, would write so much of the rigorous methodology in which he was trained by Del-Pan. Among the early historical investigations he did was an article that appeared in *La Oceanía* on February 17, 1885, entitled “*Problema Histórico: Los Régulos de Manila*” (A Historical Problem: The Rulers of Manila). He mentioned what prompted him to do this engaging research:

*En 1885 tuve ocasión de leer un documento sumamente curioso: la copia notarial de las partes mas esenciales del expediente, que en 1660 se instruyó a consecuencia de haber solicitado del Gobierno general los descendientes de Lacandola (que era Régulo de Tondo cuando el fundador de la Ciudad de Manila arribó á este puerto), les eximiese de abonar todo género de tributos, fundándose en que Legaspi y Lavezares habían prometido, bajo juramento, favorecerles con grandes mercedes por los importantes servicios de su ascendiente al Gobierno, y en que dicha promesa aun no se había cumplido.*²³

(In 1885, I had the chance of reading an extremely curious document, a notarized copy of the more essential parts of an expedient, drawn up in 1660, that as a consequence of having solicited the Governor-General,²⁴ the descendants of Lacandola [who was the ruler of Tondo when the founder of the City of Manila arrived in this port], would be exempted from paying all kinds of tributes, based on what Legazpi and Lavezaris had promised under oath, extending them great favors for the important services [Lakandula] had rendered to the Government, and that the said promise has not yet been complied with.)

Full of enthusiasm about the discovery of this document, though not having sufficient time for an in-depth research into its circumstances, he had this stupendous biography about Rajah Lacandola published immediately in Del-Pan's periodical. His main thesis in this novel historiography was that existing historical sources available at that time contradicted the 1660 document regarding the plight of the descendants of the said ruler of Tondo.

Through this document, De los Reyes found out that the Spanish colonial government did not fulfill the promise of the former Governor-General (Sabiniano Manrique de Lara) in extending some special privileges for the descendants of Rajah Lacandola, particularly their supposed exemption from compulsory labor or the *polo y servicios* and payment of tribute.

To sustain his presentation, Isabelo also made use of oral history, most probably doing his research in Pampanga where Lacandola's descendants could be traced. He related this activity:

En 1834 habló algo Mr. Hügel de los descendientes del Régulo. De estos existen muchos hasta el día, y uno de ellos me ha asegurado que conservaban una espada, que Legaspi había regalado á Lacandola, hasta no hace mucho, en que un Alcalde Mayor que ha sido de Pampanga, habiéndola pedido para examinar, no la devolvió.²⁵

(In 1834, Mr Hügel²⁶ spoke something about the descendants of the Ruler (Lacandola). A number of them are still living until this day. One of them even told me that he was able to preserve a sword that Legazpi gave to Lacandola. However, not too long ago, a provincial governor said that the sword was a property of Pampanga, ordered it to be examined, and it has not been returned since then.)

It was most likely that the whole article of De los Reyes was prompted by what Retana deplored as narratives imagined “*entre aburrirse contemplando filosóficamente su pupitre* (while being bored contemplating philosophically at his desk)” and those conversations that the Ilocano lad had with Del-Pan. Isabelo provided some more background about this Lacandola sword he got from his teacher:

*Segun el Sr. Del-Pan, antiguo periodista de Filipinas, esta espada fué puesta hace unos quince años en Manila á disposicion de cuantos quisieron verla en el museo particular de D. Mariano Cortina, ex-Alcalde Mayor de Pampanga, y á todos pareció auténtica. El poseedor decía que se la habían regalado los descendientes de Lacandola, y fué censurado por la prensa local, pues ésta queria el señor Cortina hubiese imitado la conducta del general Claveria, quien rechazó esa espada, cuando esos mismos descendientes se la habían ofrecido, encargándoles que la conservasen como joya mayorazgada.*²⁷

(According to Señor Del-Pan, old journalist of the Philippines, the sword was on display for around fifteen years in Manila, in the museum of Don Mariano Cortina, ex-Alcalde Mayor of Pampanga for anyone interested to see it and many believed it was authentic. As he told the press, the possessor said that the sword was given by Lacandola's descendants. Señor Cortina, for the sake of propriety, should have imitated the conduct of Governor-General Claveria who refused that sword when same descendants offered it to him, entrusting it back to them and imploring them that it should be taken care of like a crowned jewel.)

For those advanced and preposterous ideas that Don Belong were to spew at that nascent period that gave birth to serious Philippine studies, the arch-enemy Retana ended his tirade with a sarcastic note which is—in the name of a discursive formation—worth mentioning:

Y termino con una preguntilla: ¿Quién es más tonto, don Isabelo ó los que le hacen algo de caso? Yo creo que los últimos; pues D. Isabelo, el pobre, es tonto de nacimiento. ¿Y qué culpa tiene el? ...

I end with one little question: Who is the greater idiot, Don Isabelo or those who pay attention to him? I say the latter, since Don Isabelo, poor fellow, was born that way. And how he can be blamed for that?

NOTES

- ¹ W.E.Retana. *Sinapismos* (Bromitas y Critiquillas). Madrid: Manuel Minuesa de los Ríos, Impresor, 1890.
- ² William Henry Scott. *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Emended Edition). Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1982. Papers in the volume include “Isabelo de los Reyes, Father of Philippine Folklore,” and “Isabelo de los Reyes, Provinciano and Nationalist.”
- ³ Resil Mojares. *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

- 5 “Foreword” in William Henry Scott. *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Emended Edition). Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1982. p. iii.
- 6 From a certain viewpoint, this was in consonance with an earlier advocacy of E.P. Thompson that documents, including photographs, must be “scrutinized upside-down,” implying that all of these, even those produced by members of the superordinate class, can be unintentionally revealing about otherwise disenfranchised or inarticulate members of society. As quoted by Mary C. Beaudry, Lauren J. Cook, and Stephen A. Mrozowski, “Artifacts and Active Voices: Material Culture as Social Discourse,” in David S. Whitley, ed. *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-Processual and Cognitive Approaches*. London: Routledge, 1998. p. 284.
- 7 W. H. Scott, *op.cit.*, p. 249.
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 Lit. “stories from *anitos*, or the idols of pre-Spanish Filipinos.” Seemingly, this was the initial term used by De los Reyes in collecting various tales from the barrios and other localities and what came to be known as folktales.
- 10 Isabelo de los Reyes y Florentino. *El Folk-Lore Filipino. Colección Comentada y Publicada...* Tomo II. Manila: Imprenta de Santa Cruz, 1889. p. 42.
- 11 Jaime C. de Veyra y Mariano Ponce. *Efemérides Filipinas*. Tomo I. Manila: Imprenta Y Librería de I.R. Morales, 1914. p. 278.
- 12 Retana, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 John N. Schumacher, S.J., “Wenceslao E. Retana in Philippine History,” in *The Making of a Nation: Essays on Nineteenth Century Filipino Nationalism*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1991. p. 135.

- 15 March 10, 1885 in Ponce's recollection. He mentioned also that he was not able to secure a copy for his *Efemérides* of 1914 on Del-Pan's call for it, except as printed again by *El Comercio* on March 15, 1885. *Efemérides*, *op.cit.*
- 16 Isabelo de los Reyes y Florentino. *El Folk-Lore Filipino*. Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Cofre y Ca. 1889. Reprinted with English Translation by Salud C. Dizon and Maria Elinora P. Imson. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1994. p. 11
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 18 As quoted in *ibid.*
- 19 As cited in Scott, *op.cit.*, p. 245.
- 20 Benedict Anderson. *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination*. New York: W W Norton & Co Inc, 2006. pp. 12-14.
- 21 Mojares, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.
- 22 Actually, Rizal would also be engaged in Philippine folklore while doing his annotation of Morga, with the publication of "Specimens of Tagal Folklore" and "Two Eastern Fables" in Trübner's Record (3rd series, May 1889 and July 1889). See John N. Schumacher, S.J., *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895. The Creators of a Filipino Consciousness, the Makers of the Revolution*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1973. p. 234.
- 23 Isabelo de los Reyes y Florentino. *Filipinas. Artículos Varios Sobre Etnografía, Historia y Costumbres del País* (Primera Edición). Manila: Librería Universal de Perdiguero, 1887. pp. 89-90, ff. The article was dedicated to Sr. D. Alejandro Guichot y Sierra Secretario del "Folklore Andaluz." This could be the anthology prepared by Del-Pan for the Madrid Exposition of 1887.
- 24 Most probably, Governor-General Sabiniano Manrique de Lara.

- ²⁵ De los Reyes, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
- ²⁶ Karl Alexander Anselm Freiherr von Hügel (April 23, 1795 – June 2, 1870) was an Austrian army officer, diplomat, botanist, and explorer. During his lifetime, he was celebrated by the European ruling classes for his botanical garden and his introduction of plants and flowers from New Holland (Australia) to Europe's public gardens. He traveled around Asia from 1831-1836, including the Philippines. In 1860, he published his notes on his Philippine travel, *Der stille Ocean und die spanischen Besitzungen im ostindischen Archipel* (loosely translatable as “The quiet ocean and the Spanish possessions in the East Indian archipelago”). *Der Stille Ozean* is a German expression for the Pacific Ocean.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*

REFERENCES

- Anderson, Benedict, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 2006.
- Beaudry, Mary C. et al., “Artifacts and Active Voices: Material Culture as Social Discourse,” in David S. Whitley, ed. *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-Processual and Cognitive Approaches*. London: Routledge, 1998. p. 284.
- De los Reyes y Florentino, Isabelo. *El Folk-Lore Filipino. Colección Comentada y Publicada...* Tomo II Manila: Imprenta de Santa Cruz, 1889.
- De los Reyes y Florentino, Isabelo. *El Folk-Lore Filipino*. Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Cofre y Ca. 1889. Reprinted with English translation by Salud C. Dizon and Maria Elinora P. Imson. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1994.

- De los Reyes y Florentino, Isabelo. *Filipinas. Artículos Varios Sobre Etnografía, Historia y Costumbres del País* (Primera Edición). Manila: Librería Universal de Perdiguero, 1887.
- De Veyra, Jaime C. y Ponce, Mariano. *Efemérides Filipinas*. Tomo I. Manila: Imprenta Y Librería de I. R. Morales, 1914. p. 278.
- Dizon, Lino L. *Nascent Philippine Studies in the Life and Labor of José Felipe Del-Pan (1821-1891)*. Tarlac: Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation and Center for Tarlaqueño Studies, TSU, 2008.
- Mojares, Resil. *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006.
- Retana, W.E. *Sinapismos* (Bromitas y Critiquillas). Madrid: Manuel Minuesa de los Ríos, Impresor, 1890.
- Scott, William Henry. *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Emended Edition). Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1982.
- Schumacher, SJ, John N. *The Making of a Nation: Essays on Nineteenth Century Filipino Nationalism*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1991.
- Schumacher, S.J., John *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895. The Creators of a Filipino Consciousness, the Makers of the Revolution*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1973.