

Philippine Historiography – Looking Back and Looking Forward: The History of Historical Studies

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INTRODUCTION

Philippine historiography can be traced to the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan (1521) and the advent of Spanish colonial period (1565) when printed and published records, consisting of chronicles, manuscripts and public documents became available, documenting early Philippine society and culture and Spanish colonization of *Filipinas*. For the period prior to the 16th century, the archipelago's society and culture can be partly, though insufficiently, reconstructed from archaeological remains and references to the islands in the records of other countries, like China, India, and the various states of mainland and island Southeast Asia.

This historiography essay will look at the history of the discipline of history in the Philippines, discussing the nature, characteristics and trends in historical writing, especially from the period in the 19th century when educated Filipinos, referred to as *ilustrados*, studied and wrote about their history, society, and culture. The essay will look at the most significant themes that have contributed towards developing a national history, and also identify some of the gaps and

issues in the writing (and teaching) of Philippine history. In so doing, perhaps an agenda for future historical studies could be planned that will address the imbalance that seems to exist in Philippine historical writing.

HISTORICAL WRITING ON/IN THE PHILIPPINES

Historical writing by Filipinos did not begin until the 1880s, and between 1880 and 1940, they were necessarily limited not only in number but also in scope. We can cite several reasons for this: first, literacy was limited as university education was not made available to Filipinos until 1863, and public education was not effectively established until the beginning of the twentieth century; and second, history as a discipline was probably not considered as important and popular as literature, as is still the case today.

Until almost the end of the 19th century, the history of the Philippines had been written by Spanish missionaries and government officials. Spanish historical writing on the Philippines before 1887 had two outstanding characteristics. First,

virtually all of it was written by friars of the religious orders, chiefly by missionaries of many years' service in the Philippines who had a good knowledge of the languages and the people. Second, it was inseparably connected with the historiography of Spanish missions elsewhere in Asia—in the Moluccas, Indochina, China and Japan with the Philippines serving as the outpost for these missionary activities. After 1887, several important secular historians enter the lists; but even so, the missionary influence remained very strong.

In general, the historical works written by missionary chroniclers tended to have a strong religious (and also racial) bias, oftentimes hagiographic in nature, although they do contain interesting and varied materials about the country and the people than is often realized. It is, however, very clear that in these chronicles, the Filipinos were submerged in histories which dealt mostly with Spanish history in the Philippines. With very few exceptions, they also reflected Spanish prejudices, lack of understanding, or refusal to understand the people they had come to colonize.¹

The only secular writer of the period before 1887 was Dr. Antonio de Morga (1559-1636), a judge of the *Audiencia* (the Supreme Court in the Philippines), whose *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Mexico, 1609) is one of the most interesting books on sixteenth-century Philippines. It has generally been accepted that Morga's work was judicious and impartial, although he never came to regard the Philippines and the Filipinos with the same sympathy and affection that some of the missionary writers showed.

The second lay history published was the three-volume work of José Montero y Vidal, which appeared between 1887 and 1895—*Historia general de Filipinas desde descubrimiento hasta nuestros días* (Madrid, 1887-1895). Montero y Vidal was very critical of the missionary historians. The other Spanish lay historian was Wenceslao E. Retana who had an enormous output on all aspects of the history, literature, and bibliography of the Philippines.²

It was not until the last two decades of the 19th century that Filipino *ilustrados* took courage (censorship was strictly enforced in the Philippines by the Spanish authorities) to write about themselves or Spanish administration of the Philippines. Among these were the Filipino propagandists in Spain, and more specifically Gregorio Sancianco y Gozon (1852-1897) who wrote *El progreso de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1881) and Jose Rizal who edited, with copious notes, Morga's *Sucesos* (Paris, 1890).

The pioneers of Philippine historical research and writing generally wrote in Spanish, only occasionally, in Tagalog. Among the most prominent of them were Pedro Paterno (1858-1911), Isabelo de los Reyes (1864-1938), T. H. Pardo de Tavera (1857-1925), Manuel Artigas y Cuerva (1866-1925), Jaime C. de Veyra (1846-1963), and Epifanio de los Santos (1871-1928). The two "giants" of this age of the pioneers were Rafael Palma (1874-1939) and Teodoro M. Kalaw (1884-1940). The works of these pioneers may appear to us today as "museum pieces" because they had not used the standard tools of historical research and methodology, but they nevertheless have formed the foundation of historical studies on the Philippines. Some of these pioneers did not only write on history, including local history, but also on ethnography, law, politics, prehistory, folklore, and literature.

Beginning with the third decade of the 20th century, when the Philippines came under American colonial rule, English became a popular medium of writing with most historical writers. Maximo M. Kalaw (1891-1955), Conrado Benitez (1899-1971), Leandro H. Fernandez (1899-1948), Encarnación Alzona (1898-2001), and Gregorio F. Zaide (1907-1987) all wrote almost exclusively in English, having been educated in the schools established during the American period.

Historical writing by Americans from 1898 to 1940 was probably slightly better than the generally biased Spanish accounts, although there were also a number of books written by Americans which greatly incensed the Filipinos. A good part of the literature up to 1940 were participants'

literature, with a few exceptions, generally concerned with explaining America's venture into imperialism or American policy towards the Filipinos.³

In the first decade since the end of the war and Independence in 1946, few historical studies were produced probably because scholarly attention was focused on more current events attending to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Philippines from the devastation of the Second World War and the Japanese Occupation. Chronologically speaking, postwar scholarship up to the mid-sixties focused on classical colonial history dealing primarily on colonial institutions established and the motives and policies of the Spaniards in Mexico (between 1565-1821, the Philippines was governed from Mexico) and Madrid; the Americans in Washington, D.C.; and in the colonial capital in Manila. This type of history was for the most part political and national in scope, and was traditionally and narrowly defined as the chronicle of political events involving civil or religious governance and the Manila elite.

By the late fifties and early sixties (and through the succeeding decades) modern Filipino-centric history really emerged in works on the late 19th and early 20th century and the analysis of political developments and nationalism were often made more sophisticated as historians began to employ the insights of other social science disciplines. The completed body of impressive works on Philippine history was produced by trained scholars who took their formal graduate training in Spanish colonial, American diplomatic, and East Asian histories, and then in Philippine/Southeast Asian history.

A cursory survey of some works completed during this period presents a wide-ranging and interesting landscape of Philippine history from the colonial to contemporary periods. A major theme of nearly all the histories dealing with the pre-1898 period is the Catholic Church and the friars. Specialized studies deal with such topics as episcopal succession, the geography of religious adherence before and after 1898, folk Christianity or split-level Christianity, contemporary religious

movements, the nature and methods of the conversion of Filipinos to Christianity, and the responses to Catholic conversion.⁴

Other topics have also been dealt with. Adding to classic institutional studies on the Manila galleon, the *Audiencia* of Manila, are studies on the Spanish bureaucracy and a detailed and preliminary study of nineteenth-century Philippines. There were also studies on economic history, such as on the late eighteenth-century activities of the Royal Company of the Philippines, the English "country trade" with the Philippines, the Economic Society of Friends of the Country, Spanish trade in the Pacific based in Manila, the impact of foreign trade on nineteenth-century Philippines, the Mexican *real situado* and the tobacco monopoly. Later works included studies on the *cabildo secular* of Manila, the US Army in the Philippines, and the Philippine Constabulary.⁵

The period of nationalism and revolution was a particular focus of historical writing, especially with the centennial celebration of the birth of the National Hero Jose Rizal (in 1961), the later Centennials of the Philippine Revolution against Spain (1996), and the Declaration of Philippine Independence from Spain (1998). Key works on the Propaganda Movement, the *Katipunan* and the Philippine Revolution, and a more critical study of Rizal (away from the previous hagiographic works) were produced in the decades of the fifties up to the 1990s and into the present century when the Centennial Commemorations (including the recent Sesquicentennial of the birth of Jose Rizal in 2011) resulted in a surge of works on Jose Rizal and other revolutionary heroes, the Philippine Revolution against Spain, and the Philippine-American War. These later works have enriched previous publications and compilations through the use of new sources, methodologies, and perspectives on nationalism and the revolution.⁶

For sure, classical colonial histories still constitute the bulk of the historical literature, including attempts at revisionism and re-interpretation and they will continue to be written, but there has occurred a shift in approach towards the latter part of the last century. Many scholars

now believe that the best way to study Philippine history is not to spend time on colonial administrators in Manila, whether Spanish, American or Japanese, but to try to discover what the “submerged” majority of the Filipinos were doing. In other words, writing the history foregrounding the Philippines and the Filipinos against the background of the Spanish/American/Japanese colonial occupations.

In the mid-sixties, the direction of Philippine historiography took a different turn with the publication of Edgar Wickberg’s classic article, “The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History,” (1964), which was the study of an entirely indigenous social group which became a major economic force in the 19th century. Influenced by Wickberg’s approach, local history studies were born. John Larkin, in his article, “The Place of Local History in Philippine Historiography,” (1967) proposed the study of the Philippines in terms of “the disparate socio-economic units that actually comprise the Philippine whole.” He argued that Philippine society is not a “monolithic structure susceptible to outside influence and change at a uniform rate.” What followed was his work on Pampanga Province.⁷

Since then a good number of major works, socio-economic in nature, covering practically all the significant population groups have been completed, many of them centered on the 19th century. This “new history” goes beyond the definition of Philippine history as the history of Manila-based elites—the “Big Names” of history—to a history of all the Filipinos, including the anonymous, voiceless masses, the “inarticulate majority—in the provincial town, the barrios, and even up in the highlands and the hinterland—hitherto ignored in traditional histories.

The shift from politico-diplomatic direction to the socio-economic/socio-cultural trend has necessitated the use of techniques and theories of related social science disciplines (anthropology, geography, demography, sociology, political science, psychology), the utilization of new sources (such as field interviews or oral history and vernacular sources, artifacts, literary texts, fugitive

sources, photographs), and the re-examination of old sources in new ways to flesh out Filipino reaction and the Filipino point-of-view from archival sources which may be Spanish, American/British or Japanese. The historian now looks for evidence from people who left very little in the way of personal documentation—almost everything and anything from the past that is usable. Through the insights of other social sciences, it has become possible for the historian to find more sophisticated differentiation within Philippine society—between rural and urban Filipino, between landlord and peasant, between commercial and agricultural groups, between Chinese and *mestizo*, between Christian and Muslim/non-Christian, between Visayan and Tagalog. Such studies have also been more realistic in understanding the continuities and discontinuities in Philippine institutions and culture which have changed and/or persisted throughout a long period of intensive colonial influence.

With this “new history” historians now look at subjects that heretofore concerned other social scientists, such as issues of culture change, social integration, demographic transformation, patterns of livelihood, agricultural expansion, economic development, kinship networks, residential patterns, and environmental issues, in an effort to write “total history.” This whole-culture, or holistic, approach probably makes more sense for the simple fact that “a human society is a single system...a complex whole, functionally interrelated, in which an innovation or the introduction of new elements necessarily leads to interconnected changes in others.”⁸

Perhaps one of the most exciting, if not controversial, works in the last thirty years is Reynaldo C. Ileto’s *Pasyon and revolution: Popular movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (1979). Ileto’s work was unlike earlier historical writings on nationalism and revolution in that he interpreted Philippine popular movements “from within” in terms of the perceptions of the “history-less, superstitious, manipulated masses” themselves. Earlier works used elite categories of meaning. He submitted standard documents to

varied kinds of analyses “to tease the secrets out of the materials,” while he also used previously ignored sources of folk songs, poems, and religious traditions to articulate the thinking of the masses. This was his “history from below.”⁹

The publication of some significant works on the history of the Philippines in the 20th century, covering the period of American colonial rule (1898-1941), the brief, but difficult, interim of the Japanese Occupation during World War II (1942-1945), and the contemporary period following the restoration of Philippine Independence in 1946, has expanded and, at times revised, the breadth and depth of Philippine historiography. Thus more recent Philippine historiography (since the late 1990s) has resulted in a rich harvest of works on new topics and new perspectives on Philippine history, covering all historical periods, no longer following traditional chronological lines but multi-disciplinary/interdisciplinary studies on culture and society—crime, society and the state, cultures of disaster, *ilustrado* politics and Filipino elite response, social history, cultural history, women studies, kinship, politics, the military establishment, friar estates and agrarian reform, popular movements and peasant revolts, demographic studies—and many others. The works were done not only by Filipino, Spanish, American and Japanese historians, but also by Australians, French, Russians, Mexicans, Portuguese, and Chinese, among others.

It seems to be the case that the post-1898 period still receives disproportionate attention, and fewer and fewer Filipino historians do work on Spanish materials because of limitations in the use of Spanish and the limited opportunities for research afforded them in archives in Spain, Mexico, the United States, and wherever *Filipiniana* materials are deposited. The Spanish colonial period, especially during the 16th to the 18th centuries, the “forgotten” centuries in Philippine history, are especially neglected. There is still a wide field open for research on the Philippine-American War (1899-1902 and beyond), especially on how this event affected the lives of Filipinos who experienced the war.

Be that as it may, the body of major works to date is impressive, with historians looking more and more on the “internal” history of the Philippines during the long colonial period. Philippine studies has become an exciting area of studies, not only among Filipino scholars, but also among American, European, Australian, and Asian historians. The works of some foreign scholars, advantageous to Filipino scholars in their use of foreign archival collections, still tend to be Eurocentric, but they can be counterbalanced by works of Filipino and other historians which look more towards an “autonomous Filipino history,” or “history from within.” Some studies have also been interdisciplinary/multidisciplinary in approach, which has certainly enriched historical studies, although there still has been little attempt at doing “border-crossing” research, as seems to be the trend these days in the social sciences. Be that as it may, clearly, the body of historical works, especially the more recent publications, has been very interesting in their topics, methodologies, and perspectives.¹⁰

It also helps considerably that every four years, an International Conference on Philippine Studies (ICOPHIL) is held alternately in the Philippines and in a foreign venue (in Europe, Australia, and the United States), where are gathered a good number of “*Filipinists*” presenting completed or ongoing research, across disciplines, on a wide range of topics on Philippine history, society and culture. Needless to say, the range of topics presented here, as well as in such international venues as the International Association of Historians in Asia (IAHA), International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS), and the occasional intermittent conferences with Portuguese, Mexican, and recently, some Latin/South American scholars, and professional relations with other foreign scholars, including Chinese historians, have also expanded the breadth and depth of Philippine historiography. Not to be ignored are the national historical conferences within the Philippines which have contributed to a wealth of historical knowledge on Philippine society and culture.¹¹

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF LOCAL HISTORY

It can be said with certainty that the most striking example of the increase in area interest in Philippine historiography in recent times is the growing number of local or regional histories that have been produced since the 1970s, many of them using archival materials (found in Manila, the United States, Mexico, and European archives) and social science concepts and interdisciplinary/multidisciplinary methodology within an historical analysis. In an archipelagic country like the Philippines, characterized by cultural and ethnic diversity, a history that treats the country and its people as a monolithic whole is not realistic. Local histories could well be “the necessary building blocks that will someday help in the construction of a substantial edifice for Philippine history.”¹² The building blocks are, however, not numerous enough yet, in areas and topics covered, and are not strictly comparable. The time periods studied often vary considerably, the shape of the blocks differs, depending on the theme and content of the historical research itself. Nevertheless, those that have been completed are a good collection of works on many provinces and regions of the archipelago, including studies on cultural communities, although they are not nearly enough to cover the broad spectrum of geographical and socio-cultural groups in the Philippines.¹³

The trend towards local/regional history has resulted in the establishment of local research centers, museums and special libraries, such as the Cordillera Studies Center, Center for Central Luzon Studies, Cavite Studies Center, Center for Kapampangan Studies, Institute of Bikol History and Culture, Mangyan Heritage Center, Center for Mindoro Studies, all in Luzon; Leyte-Samar Research Library, Cebuano Studies Center (University of San Carlos), West Visayas Studies Center, Central Visayas Studies Center, all in the Visayas; and the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture, Dansalan Research Center, Research Institute for Mindanao Culture, in Mindanao and Sulu.¹⁴

Interest in local history in the Philippines antedates the initiatives since the 1950s, and can be traced as far back as the works of nationalist writers of the late 19th century like Isabelo de los Reyes who published a history and culture of the Ilocos and the Visayas and Rafael Artigas y Cuerva on Leyte. In the 1950s, the Department of Education commissioned the compilation by public school teachers of reports on local history, folklore and traditions in the *Historical data papers*, now deposited in the National Library of the Philippines. The National Historical Commission of the Philippines (formerly the National Historical Institute), at various times, has undertaken training and dissemination activities aimed at promoting regional and provincial histories.¹⁵

There have been some efforts by historians, historical societies, and government agencies to bring history to a greater number of Filipinos whose interest in the subject is, at best, minimal, and whose general knowledge of the history of their country appears to be superficial. The main reason for this is the method of teaching history which for many students and teachers involves excruciating memorization of names, places, and dates. The significance of historical events and their repercussions in the context of the life of the nation are never presented for discussion and study. When you add to this the fact that these days the study of Philippine history has been diminished by official policy in some institutions which have relegated the subject to an elective, rather than a required subject as has been the case in the past since the decade of the 1910s, it is not surprising that the study of history, even and especially, Philippine history, is not a popular undertaking among Filipinos.

Cognizant of the need to develop and/or intensify historical consciousness, as well as encourage historical research, the Philippine National Historical Society (PNHS) has convened an annual national conference on local and national history, now going into its 33rd year, the purpose of which is to take history to the people while encouraging teachers and researchers in the provinces to write history from the people,

Kasaysayan mula sa bayan. With the National Commission for Culture and the Arts-Committee on Historical Research (NCCA-CHR) and the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP), PNHS undertakes various projects to bring history to areas beyond Metro Manila, into the far flung regions of the archipelago. These projects bring to the community of teachers and students in the provinces new and updated historical materials to enrich their knowledge of Philippine history and enhance their competence as history teachers. Local historians, including amateur practitioners of history, are encouraged to undertake researches in local history while they are also reminded that their local history should be situated in the context of national history. For in the words of a historian colleague, “without local realities national history will be unjust just as local history without [a] national perspective will be parochial.”¹⁶

For the past three decades, PNHS has aggressively contributed towards setting the pace and the agenda of historical research in the Philippines, by effecting a major intellectual shift away from what Resil B. Mojares, a distinguished PNHS member, described as “classical colonial scholarship” towards studies depicting “the grassroots of Filipino civilization and the life histories of individual Filipino communities showing rural life in its full detail and color.” The focus on local history recognizes that it is an important component and key to the understanding of national history, and is crucial in correcting sometimes inaccurate or imprecise generalizations made by national history. It is emphasized that a relationship must be established between local and national history, for without this linkage, local history becomes divisive and, therefore, of very little significance to national history except as part of local literature. Local cannot remain local—it must go beyond its local boundaries—hence local history must be in the context of national history. Further, because historical studies these days are also informed by other social science disciplines and the humanities, PNHS Conferences have also presented updated

studies in archaeology, anthropology, ethnohistory, literature, musicology, arts and the entire gamut of culture, and how these fields impact on national and local history. Filipino historians are reminded to teach history that will integrate the history of the regions and their peoples to the totality of Philippine national history.¹⁷

CORDILLERA HISTORY: FROM CRITIQUE OF COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY TO NEW INTERPRETATIONS¹⁸

From *memorias*, *estadísticas*, and *noticias* of the Spanish regime, and the preoccupation of censuses and colonial ethnographies during the American administration, initiatives to re-write Cordillera history and re-interpret Cordillera indigenous society have achieved significant strides. This development in historical studies has sprung from the recognition of the imbalances and inadequacies of homogenizing and generalizing national narratives. Influences of both theorizing and openness to new methodologies in history as an academic discipline have likewise been apparent in recent Cordillera historiography.

The beginnings of Cordillera regional histories date back to the colonial period when the colonial governments considered the region as distinct from the mainstream of their subject population. Julian Malumbres (1918) wrote a series of provincial histories of the eastern section of Luzon at a time when the political boundaries between the Cordillera and the eastern lowland communities of Cagayan were still in a state of flux. Following the American political regime in the Philippines, Felix Keesing provided a coherent account of interethnic relations of peoples of the Ilocos, Cagayan and the Cordillera in *The ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (1962). Following this earlier tradition of making a coherent regional history of the Cordillera, more recent interpretations with new foci, new approaches and attempts to use new archival data were done.

The historiography of lay American Episcopal missionary, William Henry Scott, may be

considered a marker in the re-writing of Cordillera History. Scott's *The discovery of the Igorots* (1974) remains the most comprehensive work on the Spanish period from the launch of their expeditions to the Igorot mines, the implementation of *reducción* to the establishment of *comandancias politico militar*, a special administrative unit for the unpacified areas. Using archival data which used to be inaccessible to local scholars, William Henry Scott established his niche. Maybe Rankean in his approach and methodology, Scott's scholarship dislodged myths of pan-Cordillera consciousness. His works straddle the disciplines of history and anthropology as he documented ethnographic data on Cordillera indigenous society. His works of analyzing pre-colonial society and later unhispanized societies under the Spanish colonial order bring to our attention the existence of social differentiation in Philippine society in pre-colonial times. This refutes the historical interpretation that pre-Spanish Philippines was classless, and social differentiation is attributed to colonialism. Scott's repudiation of a unified Cordillera struggle against Spanish colonialism and the classless character of pre-colonial society are significant reinterpretations of Cordillera history. Beyond historical scholarship this reinterpretation was a significant part of the discourse of indigenous society, which is the very crux of the existence of social movements in the Cordillera. His decision to take up residence in the area gave him the physical proximity, but his being white provided the distance.

British historian Howard T. Fry continued from where *The discovery of the Igorots* ended. Fry's *A history of the Mountain Province* (1983) covers the American colonial period until the post World War II rehabilitation of the region. Culled from American archival resource collections, Fry's history presents a general history of the region, the strategies of colonization, the exceptional triumphs of American colonial administration in integrating the wild non-Christian peoples of the Cordillera.

Completing the trilogy is Gerard Finin's *The making of the Igorot* (2005), which overlaps with

Fry's discussion on the American regime in the Cordillera, but deviates from Fry by remaining focused on the historical construction and reconstruction of Igorot identity founded on a consciousness—*Igorotism*. Finin's interpretation highlights the Igorot intelligentsia that has played a pivotal role in the formation of Igorot consciousness. While he tackles the emergence of social movements that evolved from the enflamed nationalism of the intelligentsia, there is the ambivalence to explain the diverse directions/trajectories. That Finin works around pan-Cordillera consciousness that was a result of the turbulent years of Cordillera resistance against the damming of the Chico brings back the myth of pan-Igorot consciousness. While *The making of the Igorot* accepts the process of becoming as a continuing history, Finin concludes that a level of pan-ethno-regional consciousness has been achieved. This is contrary to the interpretation that Igorot identity is still a contested terrain. This has become even more complicated as *Cordilleran* has started to replace Igorot identity. There is some ambivalence in settling the issue.

A more recent attempt to generate a regional history is northern Luzon-based Dominican Pedro Salgado's two-volume *Cagayan Valley and Eastern Cordillera, 1581-1898* (2002). As he articulates in his prologue, the intention of this historiographic work is to reconstruct history and society of the northeastern region during the Spanish period.

Regional histories of the Cordillera augur well toward providing a sense of coherence to a region that was historically reconstructed, first by colonialism and then the process of othering that resulted from the colonized-uncolonized divide. Regional histories of the Cordillera, though a most daunting task, have provided an arena for tracing the linkages between nation and region. Regional histories of the Cordillera have also integrated developments within the region, and traced the historical continuities in the relations of the highlands with the lowlands.

A survey of historical studies would show that almost every aspect of Cordillera society has been investigated, and that, moreover, scholarship has

been uneven. This displays the inherent openness of history to multi-disciplinary collaboration, such as on economic history and interethnic relations.

Cordillera history, the postmodern and other frameworks

The openness to new sources, the creative combination of methods and interpretations have allowed explorations of “histories at the interstices.” Independent scholar Eryn Ruth Alcantara has contributed historical vignettes featuring the Baguio market and other colonial spaces. The history of the body, ethnic markers like tattoos, material culture, the analysis of photographs, all in the mould of postcolonial theorizing have been attractive to scholars, both local and foreign who have chosen the Cordillera as their subject for historical studies. History has happily collaborated with anthropology for interpreting Igorot representations; the former provides the temporal context, and the latter, the ethnography.

In the final analysis, Cordillera historiography has been a historiography of identity, an issue most elusive. In whatever form, as regional history, local history, thematic, the re-writing and the continuing reconstructions of the Cordillera past addresses the issue of identity. Each historiographic work may be located in a breadth of identifying the relations of the Cordillera to the nation; the relation of the Cordillera to the lowlands, to northern Luzon, to other regions; and the relation of the Cordillera to the global order. Historical studies that aim to understand the character of Cordillera society could not be dissociated from the changing social forces, and these have to be studied in their temporal context.¹⁹

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE VISAYAS²⁰

In this review, historical studies that highlight the history of the whole Visayas, separately as local histories of islands, provinces, towns and cities, as well as studies that have tried to synthesize the history of the Visayas region, will be presented. There are useful bibliographic compilations on the

Visayas, covering several fields of study, most of them focusing on a specific Visayan island province, or some industry as prevailed in a province.²¹

An important development responsible for the production of studies on Visayas history and culture has been the establishment since the 1970s of various study centers in several institutions in the region. These study centers are involved not only in research in provincial and regional history but also in the collection, exhibition, and preservation of art forms and historico-cultural materials. The Leyte-Samar Research Center was established at the Divine Word University in Tacloban City, curated by the late Fr. Raymond Quetcuenbach, SVD (1929-1911) which preserved probably the largest collection of resource materials on Waray culture and Waray-waray language. The Center unfortunately, is now defunct. The University also published the *Leyte-Samar Studies*, a biannual publication about the non-written cultural and theatrical traditions of the Leyte-Samarnon group of the Visayas. The Cebuano Studies Center at the University of San Carlos, Cebu City, was established in 1975 as a research center devoted to all aspects of Cebuano culture, conceived in answer to the growing demands for research services in local history and vernacular literature. The University of the Philippines in the Visayas (UPV) established the Center for West Visayas Studies (in Miag-ao, Iloilo); the Central Visayas Studies Center (UP Cebu College); and the Leyte-Samar Heritage Center (UP Tacloban College).

Of these, the Center for Cebuano Studies has probably been the most productive and has published important studies on the history and culture of Cebu Province. As a center of research for all aspects of Cebuano culture, it houses a special library for source materials pertaining to Cebu as well as the predominantly Cebuano-speaking areas in the country. It is devoted to studies in the areas of humanities and social sciences, thus assisting in the promotion of Cebuano culture and the arts – history and ethnography, literature and biography, popular

and expressive culture, folk science, language translation and documentation, and women studies.²²

Sources of Visayas historiography

There have been other major sources of Visayas historiography (aside from those produced by the studies centers listed above) and the outputs in topics and themes have been numerous and varied. One major source of local history is the *Silliman Journal*, published by Silliman University, established in 1901 in Dumaguete City in Central Philippines. The discipline of history was the first to be included among the courses of instruction of Silliman Institute at the collegiate level. It was in 1912 that a major program in history was established with six different courses being offered. A graduate program in history leading to an MA degree was first offered in 1953. The *Silliman Journal* has been published twice a year since 1954.²³

PNHS, probably the most active proponent of local history in the Philippines today, publishes *The Journal of History*, and since the late 1970s has published papers on Visayas studies. Since 1978, the thrust of PNHS has been to encourage research on local history through an annual conference on local and national history which is conducted in the three major regions of the archipelago in Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao and Sulu. Thus far, PNHS has convened eight conferences in the Visayas (between 1978 and 2011) which have yielded a good number of significant publications on the local history of various aspects of Visayas society and culture. Mention should also be made of the surge in publications on local history, including Visayas history, during the Centennial Commemorations of 1996-1998.²⁴

Probably one of the most important publications on the Visayas to have been completed recently—mainly because it is one of the few early sources of Visayan society and culture—is the translation of Fr. Alcina's *Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas...* (*History of the Bisayan people in the Philippine Islands*), translated, edited and annotated by Fr. Cantius J. Kobak, OFM, and

Fr. Lucio Gutierrez, OP, in 2004. Fr. Alcina was a seventeenth-century Jesuit missionary who dedicated forty years of his life in evangelical work in the Philippines, thirty-six of those years among his "Beloved Bisayans." During that period, Alcina wrote the monumental nine-book *Historia*, which documented the ancient customs, traditions, beliefs, and literature—poems, ballads, songs and epics—of the Samareños. The volumes also contained materials on flora—trees, palms, bamboo, herbs and vines—and animals and fowl, "living creatures of the land, sea and air and around the Bisayan islands," which Fr. Alcina "interestingly weaves in all sorts of episodes, happenings, calamities, ... misfortunes, bits of historical glimpses of the pueblos, narratives about ideal and heroic Bisayan *datos, principalias* and men and women."²⁵

Another important work recently made available is *Reseña de la Provincia de Leyte* (Manila, 1914), written by Manuel Artigas y Cuerva (1866-1925), a Bisayan-Spanish *mestizo*, identified as biographer and bibliographer. The book was translated by Rolando O. Borrinaga and Cantius J. Kobak, OFM, as *The colonial odyssey of Leyte, 1521-1914* (Quezon City, 2006), probably one of the earliest extensively documented local or regional history published in the Philippines. It provides a history of Leyte from earliest times up to the first decade of the 20th century.

There have been many significant subsequent works on the local history of the Visayas and practically all the major Visayan island provinces have been written about. Admittedly, there are still gaps in historical research, and historiography could move beyond the usual history of towns, cities, provinces to a more comprehensive history of the land and people. The challenge that faces historians, not just historians on the Visayas, is how to collate all these historical studies, to construct a regional history of the Visayas that would really represent the historical discourses of the region and the nation.

Notwithstanding all that has been written about the Visayas, a noted Visayan (Cebuano) scholar, Resil B. Mojares, posed this question a few

years ago—“Is there a Visayan historiography?” The paper he presented at a PNHS Conference in Tacloban City in 2006 was his reflection of what studies on Visayan society and culture have accomplished thus far by way of the advancement of the historiography of the region, implying that perhaps there should be a rethinking and redirecting of the efforts at historical writing by historians in the region. He felt that the studies on local history “have not led to significant revisions of the narrative” and called for “a critical inventory of local histories written over the past thirty years” to show “how local studies [have] effectively interrogated, destabilized or revised dominant conceptions of Philippine society and culture.” He proposed revising Visayan historiography [and Philippine historiography for that matter] that will take the Visayas region as the “object of study,” indicating how “different [it is] from the histories produced in Luzon or Mindanao in terms of thematic concerns, methodological approaches and theoretical assumptions.” Mojares pointed out that “considerable homogeneity exists (among the Visayan islands) by virtue of location, proximity to each other, geology, climatology, history and ethnolinguistic character,” all of which should be taken into consideration to create a regional history of the Visayas.²⁶

In a series of five articles presented in several PNHS Conferences and published in *The Journal of History*, historian Earl Jude Paul Cleope, from Silliman University, proposed what could well be a possible framework to write one face of the regional history of the Visayas, focusing on the role of the seas surrounding the numerous islands as the unifying thread, as well as a link to the histories of nearby Mindanao and Sulu. Starting with an exposition on the conditions of the Visayas islands at the time of European contact and the subsequent Spanish colonization, through the examination of folklore and the etymologies of the various islands, the series moves on to document the response of the indigenous peoples as they lived through Spanish colonial rule, which came in the form of revolts that rocked the islands up to the 1880s. He then looked into the maritime raiding

phenomenon that occurred in the Visayan seas and related them in the context of the popular concept of slave raiding which the Spanish colonizers labeled as “Moro raids.” The final article in the series examines the Japanese Occupation of the Visayas, again pointing to the role of the seas in connecting the anti-Japanese resistance movements in the region and in Mindanao.²⁷ Other methodologies and perspectives can be explored, following the steps taken by Cleope.

The matter of a Visayas historiography, as articulated by Mojares, is a concern that applies also to other regions in the archipelago. In a country marked by a considerable diversity in culture and language, and separated by bodies of water surrounding the archipelago, applicable perspectives on historical research are needed to compose a “meaningful narrative of the nation.”

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MINDANAO AND THE SULU ARCHIPELAGO²⁸

The island of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago, which constitute the Southern Philippines, is a region of primary historical importance in the Philippines in terms of its culture and traditions. It is the single largest section of the Philippines to have remained largely unhispanized, and this fact should offer significant implications to understanding the history of the whole archipelago. Sulu’s position in relation to Indonesia and Malaysia, particularly the neighboring islands of Borneo and Sulawesi, meant that, historically, Southern Philippines also served as a common boundary for maritime movements of people and trade in Island Southeast Asia. It is possible, therefore, to deal with the history of the area as a whole, to include the Southern Philippines, at least for the period up to the 17th century.²⁹

The distribution of peoples and cultures in Mindanao and Sulu is based on two major criteria: religion and ecology. On the basis of religion, the ethnic groups of the southern Philippines are either converts to Christianity, converts to Islam, or unconverted traditionalists or animists. On the

basis of ecology or geography, the inhabitants of this area may be divided into highlanders, lowlanders, and sea nomads. Generally speaking, lowlanders tend to be converts either to Islam or Christianity, whereas the highlanders tend to be traditionalists. Such is the general ethnic profile of Mindanao and Sulu—a colorful mosaic of ethnic communities displaying a variety of material culture, social organizations, and beliefs.³⁰

For the Spanish colonizers, the peoples of Mindanao and Sulu presented an interesting group of people to be Christianized and hispanized. To them, especially to the missionaries, we owe our earliest information on the land and peoples of Mindanao and Sulu, our earliest versions of local or regional history. It can be said that the history of and historical writing on Mindanao and Sulu have been shaped largely by these Spanish efforts to colonize and Christianize the Moros and the Muslim resistance to such Spanish aims and the subsequent Spanish-Muslim rivalry in trade.

There is no dearth of historical writing on the Muslim Filipinos, although some groups have been written up more than others, and this applies also to the unconverted traditionalists. But little has been done to integrate the history of Mindanao and Sulu to the totality of Philippine national history. A few books on general Philippine history recently published have included, albeit in a limited scope, the history of the Muslim and traditionalist peoples of the Philippines. Among these are the recently revised book of Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino people* (1990); O.D. Corpuz, *The roots of the Filipino nation* (2 volumes, 1990); and Samuel K. Tan, *History of the Philippines* (1987).

Sources of Filipino Muslim history

The colorful history of Muslim Filipino communities antedates many of the other ethno-linguistic groups found in the Philippines and studies on their culture and traditions could very well serve as the foundation for the history of a nation composed of diverse cultural-linguistic communities as exist in the Philippines. However, in general, very little historical literature has been written by Muslim themselves, even less by the

traditionalists. The major reason for this may well be that the earliest traces or records have been fragmentary in nature and these groups have been quite content with the verbal articulation of their history through their vast and rich oral literature—poems, riddles, wise sayings, short narratives and epics—which have characterized these communities. It is characteristic of many cultural communities in the Philippines that historical sources are provided by indigenous written materials (where society was literate) and oral literature (which abound in preliterate societies).

Filipino Muslim history is a good example of local history with a significant national dimension. The “Moros” as they were called in colonial times, and presently “Bangsamoro,” come from a specific geographic area historically delineated as the homeland of the Islamized peoples of the Philippines. Given the sources available, the approach to Filipino Muslim history requires a historical methodology that would involve the integration of indigenous written and oral literature, supplemented by data from the other social sciences such as anthropology, archeology, and linguistics. The history of the area goes back to very ancient times, which has a definite significance in the prehistory and protohistory of insular Southeast Asia and Micronesia.

There are several written materials of historical value in Sulu and Maguindanao: the *sarsila* (*tarsila*), the *khutbah* and *kitab*, and the *luntar*. The Sulu *sarsilas* and Maguindanao *tarsilas* are primarily written genealogical accounts, either lineal or multilineal, and sometimes accompanied by an introductory legendary or traditional account. Other Muslim groups have also claimed similar *sarsilas/tarsilas*, but there are no existing copies that can be verified. A *khutbah* is a sermon or oration delivered during Friday congregational prayers and during the two great festivals of *Id ul-Fitr* and *Id ul-Adla*, and it was customary to include prayers for the reigning Muslim ruler. The *kitab* is a booklet or notes representing an attempt not only to present a list of sultans who have reigned but also some salient features of their character and exploits. The *luntar* (with affinity to the Sulawesi

lontara) is a semi-historical material legitimizing local leadership. Because of the nature of these materials and the problems of chronology they pose, these sources have limited value for the reconstruction of the history of the sultanates.

Oral literature with historical content is useful as sources for Tausug and Samal history. They consist of the *kissa* and the *parang-sabil*, narratives of sultans and datus and religious personalities, the *parang-sabil* being epical in structure and function, and unique to the Tausug. There are also folktales and folk-speech forms (*katakata*, *daman*, *masa-alla*, *malikata*, *tukud-tukud*, *tarasul*) which give some insight into social structures, values, and customs preserved in contemporary Tausug and Samal society. Again these sources are of limited value because the stories are interwoven with myths and legends that reflect folk sentiment, and are of marginal value to the historian. Nevertheless, there is no question that these literary traditions, ancient and contemporary, are crucial in the reconstruction of the ethnohistory of ethnic communities in the Philippines for they are reflective of the world-view of the people. A survey of citations of possible sources show historical data available in Malay/Indonesian and Chinese sources, such as in the writings of Chau Ju-kua and Wang Ta-yuan.³¹

The entire range of Spanish sources from 1565 to 1898 constitutes one of the richest materials for the history of Muslim Filipinos, however biased or exaggerated they may be, being colonial sources. These have provided us with invaluable materials on habitat, social structure, system of kinship, politics, the economy, religion, and languages. There is a huge body of archival materials on the Muslim Filipinos in the National Archives of the Philippines—for instance, there are about 200 bundles labeled "*Mindanao y Sulu*," plus materials labeled "*Piratas*," *Ereccion de pueblo*," and "*Varias provincias*." There is also a vast body of documentary and manuscript materials and published works still untapped in archives and libraries abroad, i.e., Spain, Portugal and Macau, the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, Mexico, the

United States, and probably elsewhere in other foreign repositories.

A great deal of the literature produced by Spanish writers were accounts of Muslim raids, piracy, slavery, and Spanish military expeditions to Mindanao and Sulu. Unexpectedly they reveal the strong prejudices of Spanish officials and missionaries confronting their old "Moro" antagonist. Spanish literature generally proceeded from two basic assumptions: that the Moros were savages, pirates and warlike, and should either be Christianized or put to the sword; and, that all Muslims belonged to only one ethnic group, uncivilized in culture and, debased by Islam. However biased the colonial Spanish sources may be, they nevertheless provide some useful information and it is possible to separate their biased or prejudiced interpretation and value judgments from the description of events or characterization of personalities in the narrative. When the British entered the area in the middle of the 18th century, they recorded important observations, particularly on the internal workings of the sultanates as well as on the all-important institutions of slavery, piracy, and trading. The activities of the British were related to their interest in southern Philippines, which adjoined the Malay Peninsula and Borneo, their sphere of interest. The Dutch sources relate relations with Maguindanao in connection with their possessions in Eastern Indonesia.³²

With the establishment of the American regime in 1899, studies of cultural communities began to get serious attention, although a great many of these were anthropological in nature. Among the major pioneering works on Mindanao and Sulu of this early period of American rule were those of Najeeb M. Saleeby, a Lebanese-born American official, whose works—*Studies in Moro history, law and religion* (1905) and *The history of Sulu* (1908)—laid the foundations for the genealogical history of the ruling families of Sulu and Maguindanao with his translations of the *sarsilas* and *tarsilas*. There were also works on the Subanuns (Emerson Christie, 1909); Davao "wild tribes" (Fay-Cooper Cole, 1913); Bagobos (Laura

Benedict, 1916); and Manobos (John M. Garvan, 1929). Until 1973 when Cesar Adib Majul published his *Muslims in the Philippines*, Filipino Muslim history had depended heavily upon Saleeby's works.

American literature on the Muslim developed along two distinct lines: first, it continued the anti-Muslim bias of Spanish literature, especially during the period of the Muslim-American wars which lasted from 1899 to 1912; and second, it held the view that the Muslim Filipinos were a "united, proud and sensitive race, rich in culture, loyal to tradition and devoted to Islam." Some American travelers and Protestant missionaries eventually began to look more critically at Muslim studies and collected data through observations and oral history. There is a large body of manuscript and printed sources on Mindanao and Sulu in the Library of Congress and the National Archives in Washington D.C., as well as in many other repositories in the United States, like the Newberry Library in Chicago.

The post-war period saw the flowering of Mindanao and Sulu studies, especially after the Mindanao Conference held in May 1955 at the University of Chicago, where Fred Eggan, an anthropologist, had set up a Philippine Studies Program. A period of about twenty years (1955-1975) saw the completion and/or publication of special studies on Mindanao and Sulu. By this time, interest in local/regional history had received impetus from graduate studies in history as well as from multi-interdisciplinary studies in the social sciences. Some of these studies were conducted under the auspices of Southeast Asia Programs of institutions like the University of the Philippines, University of San Carlos, Mindanao State University, Xavier University, Notre Dame College in Jolo, as well as universities in the United States, Australia, and Europe. Many of these studies used not only the historical methodology exclusively, but also folklore, archaeology, historical linguistics, geography, and sociology, among others.

A survey of the major works since the 1960s shows that researches cover a broad spectrum of the ethnographic canvas of Mindanao and Sulu.

Admittedly these scholars are anthropologists but there can be no doubt that given the nature of the materials they had to work with—the history is quite obscure and many sources are conjectural—their studies must necessarily be heavily ethnographical or anthropological. In the pursuit of the methodology of "new history," their studies are of more than passing importance to historians.

More recently, important materials have become available for research on Mindanao and Sulu, which hopefully would result in an enlarged Muslim historiography. The Jesuit Missionary Letters from Mindanao and Jolo (1861-1899), now translated and published, contain important information on the geography, history, ethnography and linguistics of the Maguindanao, not to mention data on the relations between the Jesuits and the Moros during the last quarter of the 19th century.³³

Samuel K. Tan, foremost historian on Mindanao and Sulu, himself a native of Sulu of Tausug/Chinese ancestry, has in recent years published indigenous materials in Jawi, folk Islamic writing using the Arabic alphabet for the writing of Tausug and Maguindanaoan materials, which he has collected from archives in the United States and the Philippines. *Surat Sug*, in two volumes, consists of Jawi letters, opinions, comments, reactions, requests, etc., written by Tausug leaders and compiled by the American authorities in Sulu from 1899 to 1935, which were transliterated into Tausug from Jawi and translated into English. In these materials can be discerned the Tausug perception of and their reaction to the establishment of American colonial rule and the changes wrought on their society by the imposition of foreign rule on the Sultanate. These primary materials, "crucial to the reconstruction of a more balanced and more realistic history of the Muslim South," will very definitely serve to "validate or enrich" earlier findings, and will ultimately correct recorded distortions and biased perspectives of the socio-economic and political realities of the peoples of Muslim Mindanao and Sulu during the long

period of colonial rule under Spain and the United States.³⁴

The range of historical research has been wide and varied—from the collection of essays on the general topic of Muslims in the Philippines to specialized studies on certain areas or groups of people, dealing with such topics as Mindanao or Sulu's relations with the British and Dutch; the socio-economic patterns of trading, raiding and slavery in Sulu; the American administration of Mindanao and Sulu; the tradition of Muslim armed struggle; and Maguindanao history and leadership. Perhaps it is appropriate at this point to emphasize that some of the most recent works completed and/or published have been significant because they utilized a variety of archival sources hitherto untouched by scholars. Majul, for instance, used Spanish, Dutch and British sources; Iletto used Spanish sources found in American repositories; Tan used archival sources in the United States; and Laarhoven used documents of the Dutch East India company.

There are gaps in the contemporary literature of the Muslim Filipinos where the focus has been on the issues of the "Moro Problem," specifically the issues of autonomy or separatism and Muslim-Christian understanding. The bulk of the literature is on the Maranao and the Tausug, with the Maguindanaoan the least studied. As well, the minor Muslim groups have received practically little attention, except for some works on the Samal and the Yakan. There is a need for an ethnographic history of the various groups that compose the Muslim Filipinos which will not look at them as a monolithic group. A pluralistic approach to the study would be the better alternative, one that will look at the basic differences in terms of ethnology and language, history and culture, without overlooking the similarities they share. This applies to all cultural communities in the Philippines—lowland and highland, coastal and mountain, with no distinction in culture, religious beliefs, and practices.

For Muslim Filipinos, as well as those cultural communities who have felt marginalized from the national narrative, and have experienced the bias

and discrimination of the lowland/coastal Christian majority, the matter of perspective in the presentation of their history is of utmost importance. They underscore the need to rewrite/reconstruct Philippine history in order to give recognition to the role they have played in national history. They want a Filipino Muslim history that would be impartial and truly reflective of the historical circumstances of the region, possibly using the framework of the indigenous pre-Islamic Indo-Malay heritage that is rightfully the basic foundation of Filipino historical and cultural traditions.

LOOKING FORWARD

Philippine historiography has made major strides in the past one hundred years and has moved from colonial/Eurocentric history to nationalist/Filipinocentric or autonomous/internal history. Histories have also moved from the center—Manila and Luzon—to the periphery—the provinces and regions; from the history of "the big men" to the history of the inarticulate masses of men and women who compose Philippine society. Methodologies have also changed, from one-dimension historical studies to multidisciplinary/interdisciplinary studies enriched by other social science disciplines. Historical studies have also presented nationalist literature and theories of indigenization, which at times have been the subject of controversial, albeit healthy intellectual inquiry.³⁵ The harvest has been rich and varied—all one has to do is survey the available literature and the variety of topics that have been worked on. Each new study brings up the need for further research and conceptual synthesizing. There will be no limit to the topics for research that can be undertaken by historians, especially in view of the still vast documentary/archival and other sources and resources available for historical study.

There are, however, immediate challenges that face Filipino historians. More studies on the long Spanish colonial period need to be undertaken by Filipino historians, despite the fact that colonial

sources would have to be used, which would become increasingly difficult as fewer and fewer historians are able and willing to undertake research in Spanish materials. This goes also for scattered materials in repositories abroad that are not written in English or any of the Philippine languages. Perhaps collaborative work would solve this problem. The bigger problem, however, is the opportunity to do research in foreign archives, given the limited funding resources available to Filipino scholars. Many depositories abroad have documentary materials that are not found in the Philippines and, therefore, not accessible to Filipino researchers, while it can also be pointed out that voluminous materials are available to researchers in the Philippines. Thankfully, some archival materials can be accessed through Internet portals, and these would help Philippine scholars look at foreign sources on the Philippines without having to travel abroad.

Another big undertaking for historians is the re-writing of national history that would be truly inclusive—that will portray the rich variety and cultural diversity of all Filipinos and that will revise most, if not all, of the current general histories that have marginalized minority communities in the country and have put forward facile generalizations without benefit of in-depth studies. Given the range of local and regional history that presently exists, a critical inventory of these materials would serve the purpose of adding such materials to a general national history that would be “a useful past” for all Filipinos.³⁶

There are major issues to confront the historian, especially on the matter of interpretation—whether local or regional or national history, particularly because colonial sources are important to the reconstruction of the past. The challenge is to reconstruct the past through the re-reading and reinterpretation of old/colonial sources and/or look for new sources (documents, oral history, material culture, whatever can add to the narrative) to move away from colonial and Manila-centric historiography.

History is one of the major subjects in Philippine schools—it is taught in the elementary

and secondary levels, and in the tertiary level. However, training to be a historian is not a preferred profession, and there is a serious lack of competent history teachers in Philippine schools, colleges and universities. There has not been a standardized curriculum for history majors that has been successfully or fully implemented, mainly because of the limited resources available to higher educational institutions where other professional programs are more attractive to students. There is a need to upgrade the teaching of history as there is a need to expand the frontiers of historical research. Teaching and research are important preoccupations for historians.

There are more than two thousand higher education institutions in the country. Of these, only two universities offer doctoral programs in the discipline—the University of the Philippines and the University of Santo Tomas, and this means that doctoral students have to come to Manila. Seven universities, located in Luzon and Visayas offer master’s degree programs; no university offers this program in Mindanao and Sulu. Five universities in Luzon and Visayas offer a master’s degree in history without thesis, mainly designed for teachers of history. Twenty-five universities throughout the archipelago offer undergraduate history programs. In many universities, instead of a Department of History, they have a Division/ Department of Social Sciences where history is included with other social science disciplines. A general survey course on Philippine History is mandated to be taught by the Commission of Higher Education (CHED) in all colleges and universities. It has been observed that history courses, even the basic survey course, are sometimes not taught by a history major graduate, at best by one who may have taken a degree in a multidisciplinary program like Philippine Studies.³⁷

The Department of History of the University of the Philippines was established in 1910, two years after the University was established in 1908, and it was the first to be designated as a Center of Excellence in History by CHED several years ago. The Department is the biggest in the College of

Social Sciences and Philosophy, and probably also has the biggest enrolment of history majors and graduate students among all universities in the Philippines offering a history course both in the graduate and undergraduate programs (presently about 61 undergraduate and 60 graduate). These numbers are not matched in other universities offering history programs. In some instances, programs in the regional universities have been suspended because of the lack of enrollees, although there are plans to restore and/or update and upgrade the program in the near future.

It is in view of this situation that in the recently revised undergraduate and graduate programs for history approved by CHED and planned for implementation throughout the country, the Technical Committee for History has put together a curriculum that will strengthen the programs of colleges and universities who train history teachers by requiring minimum standards for the implementation of the history program in terms of curricular offerings, faculty, and library requirements. The graduate programs (MA and PhD) will also provide the necessary competence for historical research. More importantly, the

revised curriculum was specifically designed to reflect the cultural diversity that characterizes Philippine society and that will teach a history of the entire nation, without excluding any cultural community; hence, there are courses on local history and the history of the Muslim and traditionalist cultural communities. The textbooks to be prescribed will also have to reflect that version of national history. History matters and it is the task of educational institutions to improve and promote understanding of history among Filipinos.

The challenge that faces the Filipino historian and the Filipino teacher of history is to teach and write Philippine history which will look at each ethnic community or region as an inter-related and interdependent component of the whole Philippine historical process, where no one is excluded and neglected. More important is the need for a meaningful analysis of the forces of history—religious, cultural, historical, economic, intellectual—that will bring all Filipinos into unity with the Philippine nation state and that will give coherence to the “collective destinies and splendid variety” of our national history.

NOTES

This article picks up from an earlier study on Philippine historiography – Bernardita Reyes Churchill (ed.), “State of the art – history and current situation of the discipline of history in the Philippines,” in *Philippine encyclopedia of the social sciences*, Vol. II (Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council, 1993), pp 1-177.

The study updates the trends in historical studies in the Philippines, covering both published and unpublished materials of the more important studies done by both Filipino and foreign scholars, mostly by historians, but also by other social scientists whose works have contributed significantly to the advancement of our knowledge of the Philippine past. It is not possible to include the historical literature to illustrate the history of History discipline in the Philippines. Thus, a full listing of even the more significant works has not been presented but I have noted as many of what I think are the key works by historians cited in the essay. I have cited bibliographic listings which can be supplemented by those that can be accessed in the Internet. Any omission of names and works does not reflect any judgment on the part of the author.

The materials for this paper have been drawn from the following studies: Marcelino A. Foronda, *Some notes on Philippine historiography* (Manila, 1972); Norman Owen, “Trends and directions of research on Philippine history: An informal essay,” *Asian Studies*, 12 (August-December 1974), pp. 1-17; Robert Bruce Cruikshank, “Philippine historiography: Accomplishment and promise, 1955-1976,” in Donn V. Hart (Ed.), *Philippine studies: History, sociology, mass media and bibliography*, Occasional Paper No. 6, (Dekalb, III, 1978); John A. Larkin, “Introduction,” in John A. Larkin (Ed.), *Perspectives on Philippine historiography*, Monograph series No. 21 (Yale University Southeast Asian

Studies, 1979), pp. 1-11; and Resil B. Mojares, "Recent Philippine historiography: An evaluative review," *Journal of History* XXVII:1-2 (1982): pp. 178-190; and Teodoro A. Agoncillo, "Philippine historiography in the age of Kalaw," in *History and culture, language and literature: Selected essays of Teodoro A. Agoncillo*, edited by Bernardita Reyes Churchill (Manila: 2003), pp. 3-29.

- 1 See C.R. Boxer, "Some aspects of Spanish historical writing on the Philippines," in D.G.E. Hall (Ed.) *Historians of Southeast Asia* (London, 1961), pp. 200-212.

For an extensive bibliography on the missionary chronicles, see Volume 55 of the monumental work entitled *Descriptions of the islands and their peoples, their history and records of the Catholic missions, as related in contemporaneous books and manuscripts, showing the political, economic, commercial and religious conditions of those islands from their earliest relations with European nations to the close of the nineteenth-century*, edited and annotated by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland, OH, 1903-1909), 55 volumes. Reprint Edition (Mandaluyong, Rizal, 1973).

- 2 José Montero y Vidal's other works include *El archipiélago filipino y las Islas Marianas, Carolinas y Palaus* (Madrid, 1886); and *Historia de la piratería malayo mahometana en Mindanao, Jolo y Borneo* (2 volumes, Madrid, 1888).

Wenceslao E. Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo Filipino: Recopilación de documentos históricos, científicos, literarios y políticos y estudios bibliográficos* (5 volumes, Madrid, 1895-1905); *Aparato bibliográfico de la Historia general de Filipinas* (3 volumes, Madrid, 1906); a new edition of Francisco Combes, S.J., *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo* (Madrid, 1897); *Vida y escritos del Dr. Jose Rizal* (Madrid, 1907); *Noticias histórico-bibliográficas del teatro en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1910); *Orígenes de la imprenta Filipina* (Madrid, 1911); annotated editions of Joaquin Martínez de Zuñiga, OSA, *Estadismo de las islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1893); and Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1909).

- 3 See "The forgotten Philippines, 1790-1946" by Peter W. Stanley, in *American-East Asian relations: A survey*, edited by Ernest R. May and James C. Thomson, Jr. (Cambridge, USA, 1972), pp. 291-316; and Glenn Anthony May, "The state of Philippine-American studies," in the *Bulletin of the American Historical Collection* 10 (October 1982), pp. 11-32.
- 4 A more extensive listing of works up to the 1970s, including journal articles, is found in Cruikshank (1978), pp. 56-62.
- 5 For a survey of materials published abroad, see John N. Schumacher, "Survey: Recent historical writing on the Philippines abroad," in *Philippine Studies* IX: 12 (January 1961): pp. 97-127; and *Philippine Studies* XI: 4 (October 1964), pp. 557-572. See also Cruikshank (1978), pp. 51-53.
- 6 See also Bernardita Reyes Churchill, "The Philippines and the historiography of 1898: Perspectives and critical bibliography," in Florentino Rodao and Felice Noelle Rodriguez (Eds.), *The Philippine revolution of 1896, ordinary lives in extraordinary times* (Quezon City, 2001), pp. 277-300.

There were many publications on the Philippine Revolution against Spain before the end of Spanish rule and shortly after Spain lost the Philippine colony to the United States in 1898. There are comprehensive bibliographies on this particular period, indeed, a difficult and painful circumstance in Spanish imperial history. The publications listed here are only a few of the contemporary Spanish works on the subject.

For a full listing of the publications of the various Centennial Commemorations mentioned, see publications of the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission (1961) on the life and works of Rizal and the Philippine Centennial Commission (1996-1998) on the Philippine Revolution against Spain. The National Historical Commission of the Philippines (formerly known as the National Historical Institute) has also been printing monographs and reprinting out-of-print publications on Rizal and the Revolution. There are now several translations of Rizal's two novels—*Noli me tangere* and *El filibusterismo*—as well as several new biographies of the national hero, written by both Filipino and foreign authors. It should also be noted that many fine works have been written by well-known Filipino literati (Nick Joaquin, Felice Prudente Sta. Maria, Adrian E. Cristobal) as well as many historical articles of a popular nature published in metropolitan dailies and magazines by professional historians and journalists.

See also the publications of the Philippine National Historical Society (PNHS) which actively participated and collaborated with the National Commission for Culture and the Arts and the then National Historical Institute (during the term of Samuel K. Tan as Executive Director and Chairman) in the Centennial Commemorations from 1994-1998. See Bernardita Reyes Churchill (Ed.), *Resistance and revolution: Philippine archipelago in arms* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts-Committee on Historical Research, 2002), a publication of selected papers from eight Echo Seminars on the Philippine Revolution (1896-1898), conducted countrywide from 1994-1997, in preparation for the Centennial of the Philippine Revolution against Spain and the Declaration of Philippine Independence on 12 June 1898; and *History from the people: Proceedings of the 1998 centennial regional seminar-workshop on oral and local history*, Volumes I-XVI, edited by Bernardita Reyes Churchill (Project Director), Digna B. Apilado, Eden M. Gripaldo, and Violeta S. Ignacio (Manila: National Historical Institute and Quezon City: Philippine National Historical Society, 1998, 1999.). The sixteen Regional Seminar-Workshops were conducted in all sixteen administrative regions of the archipelago.

For a brief history of PNHS, see Fn. # 17.

- 7 Edgar Wickberg, "The Chinese mestizo in Philippine history," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5 (March 1964), pp. 62-100; John A. Larkin, "The place of local history in Philippine historiography," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, VIII: 2 (September, 1967), pp. 306-317. See also Larkin's "The causes of an involuted society: A theoretical approach to rural Southeast Asian History," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXX: 4 (August 1971), pp. 783-795; and *The Pampangans: Colonial society in a Philippine province* (Berkeley, 1972). Picking up from the excellent study of Wickberg, Richard T. Chu has published a fine and well-researched volume, *Chinese and Chinese mestizos of Manila, family, identity, and culture, 1860s-1930s* (Leiden and Boston, 2010).
- 8 See William Henry Scott, "History of the inarticulate," in *Cracks in the parchment curtain and other essays in Philippine history* (Quezon City, 1982); Reynaldo C. Ileto, "Toward a history from below," in *Pasyon and revolution, popular movements in the Philippines, 1840-1940* (Quezon City, 1979); John A. Larkin, "Philippine history reconsidered: A socio-economic perspective," in *The American Historical Review*, 87: 3 (June 1982), pp. 595-628; Alfred W. Mc.Coy and Ed. C. de Jesus, *Philippine social history, global trade and local transformations* (Quezon City, 1982), and William G. Skinner, "Asian studies and the disciplines," *Asian Studies Newsletter (USA)*: XXXIX:4 (April 1984), pp. 7-9.
- 9 Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Pasyon and revolution, popular movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Quezon City, 1979). For the controversies generated by this book, see Milagros C. Guerrero, "Understanding the Philippine revolutionary mentality," in *Philippine Studies* 29 (1981), pp. 240-256; Reynaldo C. Ileto, "Critical issues in understanding revolutionary mentality," in *Philippine Studies* 30 (1982), pp. 92-119; and John N. Schumacher, S.J., "Recent Perspectives on the Revolution," in *Philippine Studies* 20 (1982), pp. 445-491.
- 10 For updated insights on studies on this period, see Glenn Anthony May, "The unfathomable other: Historical studies of US-Philippine relations," in Warren I. Cohen (Ed.), *Pacific passage: The study of American East Asian relations on the era of the twenty-first century* (New York, 1996), pp. 279-312; and Vicente L. Rafael, "Notes on the study of the Philippines in the United States," in *Philippine Studies* 56:4 (2008), pp. 345-358.
- 11 The International Conference on Philippine Studies (ICOPHIL) Committee was formed in July 1996 at the initiative of Belinda A. Aquino, Director of the Center for Philippine Studies, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, which hosted the 5th International Philippine Studies Conference that year. The International Committee (now called the International Board of Philippine Studies Conferences, or ICOPHIL Board for short) consists of heads of Philippine-related groups internationally, such as the Philippine Studies Association of Australia (PSAA – Michael Pinches); the Philippine Studies Group (PSG – Cherubim Quizon, Paul Rodell) of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) in the US; the Philippine Studies Association (PSA) in the Philippines (Bernardita R. Churchill); Philippine Studies Conference of Japan (PSCJ – Yoshiko Nagano, Nobutaka Suzuki); and a European Philippine Studies (Europhil – Otto van den Muijbergen, Rosanne Rutten) Committee. Several ICOPHIL Conferences have been held – the first one was held in 1980 at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan; the last one, the 8th ICOPHIL in 2008 in Manila. The 9th ICOPHIL will be convened by Michigan State University at East Lansing, Michigan, in October 2012.

The International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA) was established in Manila at the initiative of a group of Filipino historians from the Philippine Historical Association (PHA, established in 1958). The first IAHA Conference was convened in Manila in 1960, and since then, the Philippines has hosted IAHA Conferences in 1983 (convened by the Philippine National Historical Society) and 2006 (convened by the Philippine Social Science Council).

The International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) was founded in 1997 as a platform for representatives of academia and civil society to focus on issues critical to Asia and by implication, to the rest of the world. The first ICAS meeting in Leiden in 1998, and to date there have been six international conventions on Asian Studies held in various venues in Europe and Asia every 2-3 years.

National conferences on history have been held annually by three professional associations of historians in the Philippines— the Philippine National Historical Society (1941), Philippine Historical Association (1955), and *ADHIKA ng Pilipinas* (Philippine Association of Historians, Researchers, Teachers and Professionals, 1989). The Philippine Academic Consortium for Latin American Studies (PACLAS), a network of academic and research institutions and facilities fostering mutual cooperation in the area of Latin American studies, which convenes international conferences, was established in 2002 in Manila. The Fifth International Conference on Latin American Studies is scheduled in October 2012, at the University of Asia and the Pacific in Pasig City.

There have also been studies on the history of Philippine relations with Mexico and other Hispanic countries in the Americas, with European countries (Portugal and France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, Russia), Australia, with the People's Republic of China and Macau – not extensive, but informative of historical relations and the availability of Filipiniana materials in these countries.

- 12 See Larkin (1978), p. 317.
- 13 See Cruikshank (1978), pp. 18-19, for some of the early works on local history, including studies on the capital Manila. The historiography of the metropolitan capital—Manila—is extensive, although there are not as many in-depth studies on the historical antecedents of the various districts that comprised what was referred to as *Extramuros*, or the *arrabales* of the Spanish colonial Walled City of *Intramuros*. There has also been very little by way of social history of the city, although there are currently important archaeological studies on the earliest sites. More recently, there have been publications on Manila by the Manila Studies Association (founded in 1989), which are selected papers from its annual conferences, now going into its 21st Annual Conference to be held in July 2012. See *Manila* volumes, published in 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, and 2011.
- 14 Luzon: Cordillera Studies Center (University of the Philippines Baguio, Benguet); Center for Central Luzon Studies (Central Luzon State University, Muñoz,); Cavite Studies Center (De La Salle, Dasmariñas, Cavite); Center for Kapampangan Studies (Holy Angel University, Angeles City, Pampanga); Institute of Bikol History and Culture (Ateneo de Naga University, Naga, Camarines Sur); Mangyan Heritage Center (Calapan, Oriental Mindoro); Center for Mindoro Studies (Divine Word College, Calapan, Mindoro).
 Visayas: Leyte-Samar Research Library (Divine Word University, Tacloban, Leyte, now defunct); Cebuano Studies Center (University of San Carlos, Cebu); West Visayas Studies Center (University of the Philippines, Miag-ao, Iloilo); Central Visayas Studies Center (University of the Philippines Cebu).
 Mindanao: Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture (Notre Dame College, Jolo); Dansalan Research Center (Dansalan College, Marawi); Research Institute for Mindanao Culture (RIMCU- Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro); Surigaonon Heritage Center (Surigao City, Surigao del Norte).
- 15 Isabelo de los Reyes, *Historia de Ilocos* (Manila, 1890); and Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Relación de la Provincia de Leyte* (Manila, 1914), translated as *The colonial odyssey of Leyte (1521-1914)*, by Rolando O. Borrinaga and Cantius J. Kobak (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2006). A Spanish Governor of Batangas Province, Manuel Sastrón wrote *Filipinas, Pequeños Estudios, Batangas y su Provincia* (Manila, 1895).

The *Historical data papers* (HDP) consist of 105 volumes of the histories and customs covering practically all the provinces of the Philippines and some chartered cities, which were ordered to be collected by public school teachers, through presidential executive orders (1951 and 1963). The executive orders were prompted by the need to replace government records destroyed during the Japanese occupation. In general, the materials included in this compilation of historical and cultural data were intended to “perpetuate the social and cultural heritage” of the place, and, to a limited extent, to “help historians who may in the future wish to write a more detailed and authentic history of the life and culture of the people” of the locality. See Robert Bruce Cruikshank, “The *historical data papers* as a source of *Filipiniana*,” *Bulletin of the American Historical Collection* 1 (1973), pp. 14-23.

The National Historical Commission of the Philippines, the reorganized (by legislation in 2010) National Historical Institute, is the Philippine Government’s cultural agency established for “the promotion of Philippine history and cultural heritage through research, dissemination, conservation, sites managements and heraldry works.” This cultural agency had its beginnings in 1933 during the American colonial period with the creation of the Philippine Historical Research and Markers Committee (PHEMC). Subsequent reorganizations named the body the Philippine Historical Committee (PHC) in 1935, the National Historical Commission in 1961, and the National Historical Institute in 1972.

- 16 See Samuel K. Tan, “The methodology of rural history,” *Journal of History* XXII:1-2 (1977), pp. 5-11; Leslie E. Bauzon, “Local history: Rationale, problems, and prospects,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 6:3 (1978), pp. 157-165; and the following articles by Resil B. Mojares, “The writing of rural history,” *Journal of History* XXVIII:1-2 (1983-1984), pp. 1-9; “History from the periphery: Local history in Philippine history,” *Journal of History* XXXIV:1-2 (1989-1990), pp. 9-19; and “Revisiting local Histories,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 25 (1997), pp. 225-231; Marcelino A. Foronda, Jr., *Studies on local and oral history* (Manila, 1991).

See also the following historiographic essays on the state of historical writing on local/regional history, with specific focus on Luzon: Bernardita Reyes Churchill, “Bikol historiography: Trends and prospects,” *The Journal of History* XXXVI-XXXVII:1-2 (1991-1992), pp. 1-17; “The historiography of the province of Pampanga and the Kapampangan in the context of national history,” Unpublished paper, Pampanga 2001; “Popularizing history in the Philippines – Bringing history to the people,” unpublished paper, Leiden 2004; and “The historiography of Cavite province in the context of national history,” *The Journal of History* LI (January-December 2005), pp. 20-44; Stephen Henry S. Totanes, “Fifty years of the *Bikol Annals*: Towards a regional history of Kabikolan,” *Gibón 2* (Ateneo de Naga University Journal) (2002), pp. 63-84; Francis A. Gealogo, “Katagalugan historiography: Historical sources, current trends and future prospects,” *The Journal of History* XLIX (January-December 2003), pp. 1-21; Gil G. Gotiangco, Jr. II, “The province of Laguna in the writing of Philippine national history,” *The Journal of History* XLIX (January-December 2003), pp. 94-111; Digna Balangue Apilado, “The teaching and research of Ilocos history,” *The Journal of History* LII (January-December 2006), pp. 296-305.

- 17 PNHS is today the oldest professional organization devoted to study and research in Philippine history. It was officially organized on 2 February 1941 by a group consisting of the most prominent historians and practitioners of historical research of that time. The PNHS is a charter member of the Philippine Social Science Council and is presently accredited to the National Commission for Culture and the Arts-Committee on Historical Research and the National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

For information about PNHS see the *PNHS Newsletter* Vols. 1-11 (1995, 1996, 2002-2011). The official publication of the PNHS is *The Journal of History* I-XXXIX (1941-1994); XLV-LVII (1999-2011). Volumes XL-XLIV are back issues which are presently being completed, the delay in publication having been due to financial constraints. *The Journal of History* can be accessed and downloaded from www.ejournals.ph. See also PNHS website: <http://pnhsi.tripod.com>.

- 18 This portion of the article is taken from the paper presented by Ma. Nela B. Florendo at the 32nd National Conference on Local and National History, held on 20-22 October 2011, at Holy Angel University, Pampanga Province, Philippines. Florendo has written extensively on the historiography of the Cordillera. See the following articles: “Recapturing historic men and women: The life history methodology,” *The Journal of History* XLV:1-4 (January-December 1999),

pp.1-11; "Tracing historical confluences in lowland-Cordillera relations," *The Journal of History* XLVI: 1-4 (January-December 2000), pp. 1-4; "Voices from the margins: Local history and indigenous people," *The Journal of History* XLVIX (January-December, 2003), pp. 35-49; "History, space and ethnicity: Revisiting Felix M. Keesing's the history of Northern Luzon," *The Journal of History* LIV (January-December 2008), pp. 75-96; and "In Search of a Regional History: Tracing and Researching Northern Luzon History," *The Journal of History* LVIII (January-December 2011), pp. 52-73.

- 19 See Julian Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayan* (Manila, 1918); *Historia de Isabela* (Manila, 1918); and *Historia de Nueva Vizcaya y Provincia Montañosa* (Manila, 1919); Felix Keesing, *The ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (Stanford, 1962); William Henry Scott, *The discovery of the Igorots, Spanish contacts with the pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City, 1974); *Cracks in the parchment curtain* (Quezon City, 1982); and *Barangay: sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society* (Quezon City, 1994); Howard T. Fry, *A history of the Mountain Province* (Manila, 1983); Gerard Finin, *The making of the Igorot: Contours of Cordillera consciousness* (Quezon City, 2005); Pedro V. Salgado, O.P., *Cagayan valley and Eastern Cordillera, 1581-1898* (2 volumes, Quezon City, 2002); James J. Halsema, E.J. *Halsema: Colonial engineer* (Quezon City, 1991); Rodney Sullivan, *Exemplar of Americanism: The Philippine career of Dean C. Worcester* (Quezon City, 1992). See also Arnold Molina Azurin, *Reinventing the Filipino: Sense of being and becoming* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1993). Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam mapped: A history of the geo-body of a nation* (Chiang Mai, Thailand, 2004).

There are also many interesting journal articles on the Cordillera in *The Cordillera Review* and *The Journal of History*.

- 20 The materials in this section on Visayas Historiography are from the following papers: Earl Jude Paul L. Cleope, "Bibliographic notes on Visayas historiography," Earl Jude Paul L. Cleope and Rolando O. Borrinaga, "Bibliographic notes on Visayas historiography," which were papers prepared for the 32nd National Conference on Local and National History, 20-22 October 2011, held at Holy Angel University, Angeles City, Pampanga. See also Rolando O. Borrinaga, "The historiography of Eastern Visayas revisited," *The Journal of History* LIII (January-December 2007), pp. 40-75.
- 21 Some useful bibliographies can be accessed at the Cebuano Studies Center, University of San Carlos; Silliman University Library; and the West Visayas Studies Center, University of the Philippines in the Visayas in Miagao.
- 22 The University of San Carlos (USC) was established in 1935 in Cebu City as a private institution governed by the Society of the Divine Word (SVD). Aside from the publications already cited, the Cebuano Studies Center has also published two coffee table books: *Cebu: More than an island* (Makati, 1997); and *University of San Carlos: A commemorative history* (2005). The Center, assisted by the USC Department of History, has completed for publication a 55-volume set of the histories of Cebu Province, its 46 towns and 7 cities, and the Provincial Capitol. Its founding director, Resil B. Mojares, served in that position from 1975-1996; he was succeeded by Erlinda Kintanar-Alburo (1996-2011). The Center is presently headed by Hope Sabanpan-Yu. See Resil B. Mojares, "The Cebuano Studies Center," *The Journal of History* 1-2 (January-December 1977), pp. 31-37.
- 23 See selected articles published in the *Silliman Journal* (1947-2007) by the following local historians: F. Delor Angeles, Carlos M. Magtolis, Jr., Elias R. Saycon, Earl Jude Paul L. Cleope, Jesa D. Samson, Roslino I. Villamil, Regan P. Jomao-as, Joseph T. Raymond, among others.
- 24 The issues of *The Journal of History* from its first volume in February 1941 to 1981 also published papers on local history, including Visayas local history, but they were not numerous. Easily the most important article published during this early period was that of Fr. Richard Arens, SVD, "The Early Pulahan movement in Samar," (1959) – a landmark study on this anti-American social movement in Samar and Leyte at the turn of the 20th century.

After 1981 there were more papers on local history published in *The Journal of History*, and since 1987 with the holding of the First National Conference on Local and National History in Cagayan de Oro, PNHS has focused more on studies on local history. There are also articles on the local history of the Visayas in the series *History from the people (Kasaysayan mula sa bayan* - Volumes 6, 7, and 12), as well as in the volume, *Resistance and revolution: Philippine archipelago*

in arms (Manila, 2002), edited by Bernardita Reyes Churchill, consisting of selected papers from the Echo Seminars on the Centennial of the Philippine Revolution held in eight venues across the country between 1994-1997, including in the cities of Cebu, Iloilo and Tacloban.

- 25 Ignacio Francisco Alcina, S.J., *History of the Bisayan people in the Philippine Islands*, Translated, edited and annotated by Cantius J. Kobak, OFM and Lucio Gutiérrez, OP (3 volumes, Manila, 2002, 2004, 2005).
- 26 Resil Mojares, "Is there a Visayan historiography?" *The Journal of History* LIII (January-December 2007), pp. 1-12.
- 27 See the following articles by Jude Paul L. Cleope, *The Journal of History*, "The Visayas: Islands in the seas, a historical perspective," Vol. XLIX:1-4 (January-December, 2003), pp. 112-139; Vol. LIII (January-December 2007), pp. 13-39; Vol. LIV (January-December 2008):180-204; Vol. LV (January-December, 2009):176-204; and Vol. LVI (January-December, 2010), pp. 127-164.
- 28 Materials for this section have been taken from the following unpublished manuscripts by Bernardita Reyes Churchill, presented at several PNHS Conferences: "Historical research on Mindanao and Sulu: Trends and prospects" (General Santos, 1989); "Historical overview of Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan" (Marawi, 1991), "State of the art of historical writing on Sulu and Tawi-Tawi" (Bongao, 1992); "State of the field of Mindanao historiography" (Kabacan, 1993). See also "The historiography of Muslim Filipinos in the context of national history," presented in Bongao in 1994 and 1998 for the NCCA-Committee on Historical Research; and "The Bangsa Moro armed conflict in Southern Philippines: A historical overview and background to the current conflict" at the Roundtable Discussion on "Mindanao: The continuing crisis," Association for Asian Studies, Chicago 2005.

See also Moctar I. Matuan, "The state of research and scholarship on the Moros of Mindanao and Sulu" (PNHS, Marawi, 1991); Samuel K. Tan, "The methodology of Filipino Muslim history" (Paper 1986); "A framework for Filipino muslim history: Survey and Reformulation" (PNHS, Jolo, 1997); and "Beyond local history: The case of Sulu history in national perspective," *The Journal of History* LIV (January-December, 2008), pp. 1-20; Calbi A. Asain, "Preparing the Groundwork for a Mindanao-Sulu Historiography," *The Journal of History* LIV (January-December, 2008); Calbi A. Asain, "A critique of historical frameworks in Mindanao-Sulu historiography," *The Journal of History* LVII (January-December, 2011); and "The historiography of Mindanao, Sulu, and Tawi-Tawi: At the crossroads" (PNHS, Angeles City, 2011).
- 29 See Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the age of commerce, 1450-1680, Volume one: The lands below the winds* (New Haven and London, 1988); *Volume two: Expansion and crisis* (New Haven and London, 1993).
- 30 See Eric Casiño, "Arts and peoples of the Southern Philippines," in Gabriel S. Casal, OSB, *The people and art of the Philippines* (Los Angeles, 1981), pp. 123-127; also Jesus T. Peralta, *Glimpses: Peoples of the Philippines* (Manila, 2000).
- 31 Samuel K. Tan, *Selected essays on the Filipino Muslims* (Marawi City, 1982); and *Filipino Muslim perceptions of their history and culture as seen through indigenous sources* (Zamboanga City, 2003); Alexander Spoehr, *Zamboanga and Sulu – An archaeological approach to ethnic diversity* (Pittsburgh, 1973); Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The history of Sulu* (Manila, 1908); Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City, 1973).
- 32 See Pedro Chirino, S.J. (1604); Antonio de Morga (1609; 1890); Francisco Colin (1663); Francisco Combes (1667); Pedro Murillo Velarde (1749); Juan de la Concepción (14 volumes, 1788-1792); Francisco Gainza (1851); Emilio Bernaldez y Fernandez y Folgueras (1857); Vicente Barrantes (1878 and 1892); José Montero y Vidal (3 volumes, 1888); Pio A. de Pazos (1879); Juan Gonzales Parrado (1893); Palo Pastels (3 volumes, 1916-1917). Also William Dampier (1703); Thomas Forrest (1779); Henry Keppel (2 volumes, 1853); Frank Marryat (1848); Frances H. Guillemard (1889); Charles Wilkes (1844); Joseph Montano (1886); Ferdinand Blumentritt (1882).
- 33 Jose S. Arcilla, S.J. (editor, translator, annotator), *Jesuit missionary letters from Mindanao* Vol. 1: *The Rio Grande mission* (Quezon City and Manila, 2000); Vol. 2: *The Zamboanga-Basilan-Jolo mission* (Quezon City and Manila, 2000); Vol. 3: *The Davao mission* (Quezon City and Manila, 1998); Vol. 4: *The Dapitan-Balingasag mission* (Quezon City and Manila, 2000); Vol. 5: *The Surigao mission* (Quezon City and Manila, 2002).

- 34 Samuel K. Tan, *Surat Sug: Letters of the Sultanate of Sulu* (2 volumes, Manila, 2005); see also *Annotated bibliography of Jawi materials of the Muslim South* (Quezon City, 1996); with Samier M. Bakuludan, Munap H. Hainulla; Ermina K. Mariano *Annotated bibliography: Maguindanaon, Tausug, Yakan studies* (Quezon City, 1996; with Samier M. Bakuludan, *The Surat Maguindanaon* (Quezon City, 2002); with Munap H. Hairulla, *An annotation of the Marsada Kitabs* (Quezon City, 2002); *Basilan Kitabs* (Quezon City, 2007).
- 35 The discourse on nationalist historiography continues and the literature is available in published materials and in the Internet. For interesting discussions, see Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Knowing America's colony, A hundred years from the Philippine War* (Hawaii, 1999); also the essay of Reynaldo C. Ileto, and commentaries of Yoshiko Nagano and Patricio N. Abinales, Proceedings of the 2002 International Workshop – Can We Write History? Between Postmodernism and Coarse Nationalism; the essays of Yoshiko Nagano, Reynaldo C. Ileto, Vicente L. Rafael, Floro C. Quibuyen, in *Philippine historiography and colonial discourse: Eight selected essays on postcolonial studies in the Philippines* (Translated from Japanese by Michito Yoneno-Reyes) (UCLA, 2007).
- There have been discourses also in the Philippines contesting the nationalist historiography of Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Renato Constantino, among others. There have also been conceptual frameworks offered for the writing of national history as corrective measures to current narrow and biased literature considered inadequate and unacceptable. See for instance, Samuel K. Tan, *A history of the Philippines* (Quezon City and Manila, 1987, 1997); Leslie E. Bauzon, "Twenty-first century prospects for national history: A conceptual framework for the study of history and nation building," *The Journal of History* XLVI: 1-4 (January-December 2000), pp. 1-22; Arnold M. Azurin, "Reevaluating orthodox national history, Re-invigorating regional histories," *The Journal of History* LII (January-December 2006), pp. 18-31. In 1991, Zeus Salazar, History Professor, University of the Philippines, proposed a historical theory he called *pantayong pananaw* which required that the Filipino language be used in the writing of Philippine history, and sources written by foreigners should not be used, maintaining that they are tainted with biases, and historians must look for unconventional sources and oral history. See articles in *Forum Kritika* 13 (August 2009).
- 36 The general histories of Teodoro A. Agoncillo (1990) and Renato Constantino are the most used textbooks for required survey courses on Philippine history in many colleges and universities, replacing/displacing the earlier textbooks written by Gregorio Zaide and Nicolas Zafra which tended to be more Euro-/Hispanic-centric and dated. There have been written other recently published general histories – revisionist histories claiming to supplement and deviate from the two histories seemingly popular texts.
- 37 See CHED Memorandum Order (CMO) No. 16, Series of 2010: Policies and Standards for Bachelor of Arts History Program (11 June 2010) and CHED Memorandum Order (CMO) No. 22, Series 2011: Policies, Standards and Guidelines (PSG) for Graduate Programs in History (15 August 2011).