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FILIPINOS IN CHINA BEFORE 1500

WILLIAM HENRY SCOTT

According to Chinese records, Filipinos went to China before the Chinese came to the Philippines.[1] As late as the Tang Dynasty (618-906), the Chinese had no knowledge of any land between Taiwan and Java — unless an undescribed place called Polo, southeast of Cambodia is to be identified with Borneo. The farther reaches of the South China Sea were considered the end of the world, a mysterious and dangerous region containing only a few legendary islands inhabited by dwarfs and people with black teeth.[2] But by the tenth century, a luxury trade in foreign exotica coming up the Champa coast (Vietnam) from Srivijaya (Palembang) and the Strait of Malacca had become such an important part of China's economy that the first emperor of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) took steps to control it.[3] An edict of 972 indicates that Mindoro (Ma-i) was part of that trade:

> In the fourth year of the K'ai Pao period [972], a superintendent of maritime trade was set up in Kwangchow, and afterwards in Hangchow and Mingchow also a superintendent was appointed for all Arab, Achen, Java, Borneo, Ma-i, and Srivijaya barbarians, whose trade passed through there, they taking away gold, silver, strings of cash, lead, tin, many-colored silk, and porcelain, and

[1] I use the term "Filipinos" to mean speakers of the languages indigenous to the Philippine Archipelago, and "Chinese" to mean speakers of languages historically written in Chinese characters.

[2] Brief references are found in the early dynastic histories—the A.D. 84 *Han Shu*, 290 *San Kuo Chih*, 479 *Hou Han Shu*, 558 *Sung Shu, and* 643 *Sui Shu* — and a fragment of K'ang T'ai's lost third-century *Nan choi i wu chih* (*Record of strange things in the southern regions*); they have been competently surveyed in Wu Ching-hong's doctoral dissertation, "A study of references to the Philippines in Chinese sources from the earliest times to the Ming Dynasty," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, Vol. 24 (1959), pp. 1-181, with supplements in *Journal of East Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 6 (1958), pp. 307--394. Typical of more fanciful treatment are Wang Teh-ming, "An early mention of the Philippines in Chinese records," JEAS, Vol. 1 (1952), pp. 42-48, and "Sino-filipino historico-cultural relations. PSSHR, vol. 29 (1964), pp. 277-471, and J. Henry Baird, "The mystery of 'Huo-chang-chou' and the 'Chiau-ma'," JEAS, Vol. 3 (1953), pp. 123-129. O. W. Wolters' deduction in *Early Indonesian commerce* (Cornell 1967) from the K'ang T'ai fragment that "the islanders in the Philippines were sailing 800 miles and more across the open sea to Funan" in the third century (pp.8-9) has been cited by F. Landa Jocano in his 1975 *Philippine prehistory* (p. 138), but has since been rejected by Wolters himself in *History, culture, and religion in Southeast Asian perspectives* (Singapore 1982), p. 35, n. 3.

[3] See Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai trade," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 26, Part 2 (1958), and Wolters, *Early Indonesian commerce*.

> selling aromatics, rhinoceros horn and ivory, coral, ember, pearls, fine steel, sea-turtle leather, tortoise shell, carnelians and agate, carriage wheel rim, crystal, foreign cloth, ebony sapan wood, and such things.[4]

Five years later the Sung court established direct contact with Borneo. A merchant from China with the Arabic-sounding name of P'u Lu-hsieh (*P'u* was a common Chinese transliteration of Abu) persuaded the ruler of Brunei of the advantages of tributary status with the Celestial Empire, and volunteered to guide a Bornean vessel there with tribute envoys himself. The Bornean ruler took the advice, and in Peking his envoys presented a memorial which requested that the emperor order the Cham ruler not to intercept Bornean ships should they be blown there off course, and informed the court that Brunei was a 30 days' sail from both Ma-i and Champa.[5] Thus, whatever route P'u Lu-hsieh may have used, these details suggest that Borneo was already trading with both Ma-i and Champa, but that the ordinary route to China was via Champa, not the Philippine Archipelago. In 982, however, Ma-i traders appeared on the Canton coast, not on a tribute mission, but with valuable merchandise for sale, presumably having sailed there direct.[6]

A tribute mission was the Chinese idea of the fit diplomatic approach from the underdeveloped states and tribes which were historically her neighbors. The tribute, preferably exotica like pearls

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[4] *Sung Shih, Monographs* (*Chih*), ch. 139. Ma-i or Ma-it, seems clearly to be Mindoro: it was so known to early Spanish missionaries (chapter 36 of Juan Francisco de San Antonio's 1738 *Chrónicas* is entitled, "De la Provincia y Isla de Mait o Mindoro"); the word is still used by Panay fishermen and Mangyans around Bulalakaw; and the seas off the Calamianes Islands and Palawan are called the Mo-yeh Ocean in the sailing directions in Chang Hsieh's 1617 *Tung Hsi Yang K'ao* (*Eastern and Western Sea Pilot*), and Ma-yü Ocean in a contemporaneous rutter, the *Shun-feng Hsiang-sung* (*Recommended routes for favorable winds*). Fei Hsin's 1436 *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* (*Overall view from the Starry Raft*), however, confused it with Billiton Island and so called it Ma-i-tung, whence it evidently passed into the official Ming history as Ma-i-weng (see Wu, op. cit., pp. 143-145).

[5] The fact that Ma-i is rendered "Mo-yeh" in the 1367 *Sung Shih* and 1317 *Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao* (*Encyclopedia of literary offerings*) accounts has caused some scholars to question the identification, but the same reference is made to Ma-i in a 1375 essays on Borneo called "P'o-ni Kuo ju kung chi" ("Record of the country of Borneo's entering with tribute"), translated by Carrie C. Brown in "An early account of Brunei by Sung Lien," *Brunei Museum Journal*, vol. 2 (1972), pp. 219-231.

[6] The simple statement in Ma Tuan-lin's well-known encyclopedia, *Wen Hsien- T'ien- k'ao*, "There is also the country of Ma-i, which in the seventh year of the T'ai-p'ing Hsing-kou period [982] brought valuable merchandise to the Canton coast (ch. 324) has been the subject of considerable misinterpretation, perhaps because it was long considered the first historic reference to the Philippines. Some scholars have regarded the Filipino traders as being on a tribute mission; more than one has recorded them not as Filipinos at all but as Cantonese merchants appearing in Luzon; and the late H. Otley Beyer added an "Arab ship . . . with a load of native goods from Mindoro" in his introduction to E. Arsenio Manuel's *Chinese elements in the Tagalog language* (Manila 1948), p. xii.

or frankincense and myrrh, was an acknowledgement of the emperor's primacy among human rulers, not a tax or direct source of revenue. The tributary states did not become colonies or part of the imperial administrative system: they were simply enrolled as independent states now occupying their proper niche in the Chinese cosmic order of things. The Emperor, in his role as the Son of Heaven, loaded tribute-bearing envoys with gifts intended to demonstrate China's grandeur and extend her cultural sway—brocaded court costumes with gold-and jade-encrusted belts and high-sounding titles, bolts of marketable gossamer silks fit for the tropics, and long strings of coins of the realm.

The envoys themselves were state guests, and if they ranked as royalty in their own lands, they were treated as such in Peking, and confirmed in office by being enlisted as feudatory princes of the empire with regal seals and patents of office. And if they happened to die in China—a not uncommon fate for tropical potentates in northern climes—they were buried with royal honors in impressive tombs at state expense, and some direct descendant was pensioned off to stay and perform the filial sacrifices. Those who came from little harbor principalities and lived off trade cherished these emblems of rank and prestige when driving bargains with their peers closer to home, and vied with one another to obtain them. Sometimes they appealed for support against an aggressive competitor, but China rarely intervened militarily though it occasionally exerted pressure by refusing missions—that is, by cutting off trade. China's recognition and granting of titles generally reflect the relative economic importance of the states receiving them, for in Chinese polity, the tribute system was the formality under which overseas trade was conducted. Sometimes the system was observed in fact, sometimes only in theory, and sometimes as a cover for profit and fraud.

The first Philippine tribute mission to China appears to have come from Butuan on 17 March 1001.[7] Butuan (*P'u-tuan*) is described in the *Sung Shih* (*Sung History*) as a small country in the sea to the east of Champa, farther than Ma-i, with regular communications with Champa but only rarely with China. Where the text gives the sailing time to Ma-i as two days and Butuan as seven, it is obviously erroneous: there is no land east of Vietnam for 1,000 kilometers. Judging from other Sung sailing directions, Ma-i would more likely be 30 days away, and Butuan 17 days beyond that. It appeared on tribute missions again during the next five years, together with such other outlanders as Arabs, *Sanmalan* [Samals?], Syrians,

[7] Butuan is mentioned in the *Sung Shih* (*Sung History*), ch. 488—significantly—under Champa, and the description in the *Sung Hui Yao Kao* (*Collection of basic Sung documents*), ch. 197, is appended to the section on Champa. Additional dates of Butuan missions appear in the *Sung Shih*, ch. 7-8.

Tibetans, Uighurs, and assorted southwestern hill tribes, adding non-Butuan products like camphor and cloves to its offerings.[8]

Butuan seems to have attracted some notoriety. For four years, its King Kiling (*Ch'i-ling*) sent missions every year: on 3 October 1003, for example, Minister Li-ihan and Assistant Minister Gaminan presented red parrots in addition to the usual native products like tortoise shell. Then in 1004, the court handed down an edict prohibiting their export of Chinese goods, gold, and silver, by direct market purchases, especially ceremonial flags and regimental banners to which they had taken a predilection. ("People from distant lands don't understand rules and regulations," a minister complained.) In 1007 Kiling sent another envoy, I-hsü-han, with a formal memorial requesting equal status with Champa:

> Your humble servant observes that the Emperor has bestowed two caparisoned horses and two large spirit flags on the Champa envoy; he wishes to be granted the same treatment and to receive the same favors.

Champa, however, was one of China's oldest tributary states, having been sending missions since the fourth century, so the request was denied on the grounds that "Butuan is beneath Champa."

Finally, a new ruler with the impressive Indianized name or title of Sri Bata Shaja tried again. In 1011 he sent one Likan-hsieh with a memorial engraved on a gold tablet, non-Butuan products like "white dragon" camphor and Moluccan cloves, and a South Sea slave which he shocked the Emperor by presenting at the time of the imperial sacrifice to the earth god Fen-yin at the vernal equinox that year. But a tributary state able to deliver such precious products as cloves (the Chinese thought they came from Arabia) was not to be ignored. Accordingly, Butuan's Likan-hsieh, together with Ali Bakti representing King Chülan of Sanmalan, received the significant honor of military titles before departing—the Cherished Transformed General and the Gracious-to-Strangers General, respectively. And a Butuan memorial was granted which exalted Butuan and requested flags, pennons, and armor "to honor a distant land."[9]

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[8] Huang Zhong-yan of the Southeast Asia Research Institute in Guangzhou (Canton) identifies San-ma-lan as Zamboanga in *Zhong-guo Gu-ji zhong you guan Fei-lü-bin Zi-liao Hui-bian (Survey of Philippine materials in ancient Chinese records)* (Guangzhou 1980), p. 16, n. 2. Such an identification would accord well with linguist A. Kemp Pallesen's thesis that the Samals were far-ranging sea traders who settled on the Basilan Strait about the beginning of the eleventh century, and established an outpost in Butuan ("Culture contacts and language convergence," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California 1977). It is to be noted that San-ma-lan is only mentioned in the Sung sources together with Butuan, and that its ability to offer such tribute items as aromatics, dates, glassware, ivory, peaches, refined sugar, and rose-water suggests access to western Asian markets.

[9] See Appendix I for the complete passage from the *Sung Hui Yao Kao.*

At the end of the twelfth century, some Filipinos visited China on a very different kind of mission. Riding the southern monsoons of 1171 and 1172, Visayan (*P'i-she-ya*) raiders struck the Fukien coast just south of Ch'üan-chou Bay, evidently staging in the Pescadores off the coast of Taiwan. Governor Wang Ta-yu relocated 200 families to the area to support a coast guard detachment and offered a bounty for the raiders, tactics which quickly produced more than 400 captives and the death of all the leaders. Probably it was also Visayans who attacked Liu-ngo Bay farther down the coast, where two of their chiefs were captured—three days after they had defeated the constabulary—by County Clerk Chou Ting-chen, who thought they had come from the Babuyan Islands. Governor Wang, however, thought the P'i-she-ya were natives of the Pescadores, and Superintendent of Trade Chao Ju-kua, writing 50 years later, thought they were Taiwanese.[10]

Chao's account is difficult to take seriously, however: it includes fabulous details like escaping rape and plunder by dropping chopsticks to distract the raiders, and he thinks they made their attacks from bamboo rafts that could be folded up and carried around like collapsible screens. A 1612 Ch'uan-chao gazetteer, on the contrary, specifically states that the P'i-she-ya raiders of 1172 used sea-going vessels. Moreover, a biography of Governor Wang makes it clear that they were similar enough to other merchantmen for coast guard patrols to falsely accuse some Cambodian traders of being P'i-she-ya in hopes of claiming the reward. (After examining their cargo, the Governor released them with the comment, "P'i-she-ya faces are as dark as lacquer and their language incomprehensible; those are not.")[11] Since the natives of Taiwan do not appear in Chinese accounts as seafarers, these P'i-she-ya were more likely Filipino Visayans, known to the Chinese in the 14th century as slave-raiders who sold their captives at two ounces of gold apiece.[12] As a matter of fact, Visayan

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[10] The data are given in Chao Ju-kua's *Chu Fan Chih* (*An account of the various barbarians*); Chou's epitaph in Yeh Shih's *Shuei Hsin Wen Chi* (*Shuei Hsin collection of engravings*), ch. 24; Wang's biography in Lou Yao's *Kung Kuei Chi* (*The Kung Kuei collection*), ch. 88; and a 1612 gazetteer, *Ch'uan-chou Fu-chih,* vol. 10; and discussed in Wada Sei. "The Philippine Islands as known to the Chinese before the Ming period," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko,* No. 4 (Tokyo 1929), pp. 131-136, and W. H. Scott, *Prehispanic source materials for the study of Philippine history,* 2nd ed. rev. (in press), ch. 3.

[11] *Ch'üan-chou Fu-chih,* vol. 10, pp. 8-9. A similar quotation in the Governor's biography adds another significant detail: "The Visayan complexion is as dark as lacquer so their tattoos can hardly be seen."

[12] Wang Ta-yüan, *Tao I Chih Lüeh* (*Summary notices of the barbarians of the isles*), translated in Wu, op. cit., p. 111. The Chinese traditionally referred to all non-Chinese as "barbarians" because historically the only ones they knew were either preliterate cattle cultures or small states that looked to China for cultural inspiration. Although the terms, *fan* or *i,* are sometimes more delicately translated as "foreigners," I retain the original meaning be-

bards in the 17th century were still singing the romance of Datong Sumangga who made a raid on Grand China to win the hand of beautiful Princess Bugbung Humayanun of Bohol.[13]

China seems to have "discovered" the Philippines not long after the Visayan raids. An 1178 account of overseas trade was still unaware that some of China's trading partners were on the eastern side of the South China Sea, and flatly says the world comes to an end just east of Java.[14] But the Sung government, unlike preceding dynasties, encouraged Chinese merchants to carry their goods abroad in their own vessels and offered bonuses for doing so, while shipbuilding techniques improved and the mariner's compass came into use.[15] Thus by 1206, cotton-producing or -exporting Mindoro, Palawan, Basilan, and San-hsü (probably the islands between Mindoro and Palawan) were known, and by 1225 the Babuyanes also, and probably Lingayen, Luzon, and Lubang Island as well, and perhaps even Manila (*Mali-lu*).[16] Meanwhile, the Emperor sought to redress an unfavorable trade balance by issuing edicts in 1216 and 1219 to encourage the export of porcelain and silkstuffs. A century later, Malilu, Ma-i,

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cause it suggests the cultural rather than colonial nature of Chinese tributary status.

[13] A summary translation in Spanish is given in Francisco Alcina's unpublished 1668 MS, "Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas, Parte mayor i mas principal de las Islas Filipinas," Part 1, Book 4, ch. 16.

[14] Chou Ch'ü-fei, *Ling-wai Tai-ta* (*Answers to questions about places beyond Kuangtung*), translated in the introduction to Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: his work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chï* (St. Petersburg 1911), pp. 22-27.

[15] See Wang Gungwu, *The Nanhai trade* (1968); Paul Wheatley, "Geographical notes on some commodities involved in the Sung maritime trade," JMBRAS, Vol. 32, Part 2, No. 186 (1959), pp. 1-141; and Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (1967).

[16] The 1206 reference is found in Chao Yen-wei, *Yün Lu Man-ch'ao* (*Random notes of Yün Lu*), ch. 5, and those of 1225 in the *Chu Fan Chih,* best known in the Hirth and Rockhill translation cited in note 13 above, which has frequently been reprinted in the Philippines, most recently by Liu Ti Chen in Alfonso Felix, *The Chinese in the Philippines,* Vol. 1 (Manila 1966), pp. 266-269. Other translations are 1) Hirth's German translation in *Globus,* Vol. 56 (1889), pp. 238-239, and his *Chinesische Studien* (Leipzig 1890), pp. 40-43; 2) Ferdinand Blumentritt's Spanish translation, supposedly from a lost English translation by Hirth, in *Solidaridad,* Vol. 6, No. 135 (15 September 1894), pp. 181-183; 3) Blair and Robertson's English translation in *The Philippine Islands,* Vol. 34, pp. 185-190, from a Blumentrittt translation published by Clemente J. Zulueta in *Periódico Hebmadario Escolar,* 9 November 1901, reprinted in *The Journal of History;* Vol. 11 (1963), pp. 277-282, a word-for-word rendering of item 2 above; 4) a parallel Spanish and English version in the *Revista Histórica de Filipinas,* Vol 1 (1905), pp. 19-23 both signed by Paul Stangl but more probably the work of the editor, Felipe G. Calderon, since the Spanish explanatory remarks contain expressions like *"nuestros* progenitores" and *"nuestro* antiguo alfabeto" which are suppressed in the English; 5) Wu Ching-hong's reworking of the Hirth and Rockhill translation, op. cit., pp. 92-95; 6) W. H. Scott and Ju I-hsiung's English translation in *The Historical Bulletin,* Vol. 11 (1967), pp. 69-72; 7) W. Z. Mulder's English translation in "The Philippine Islands in the Chinese world map of 1674," *Oriens Extremus,* Vol. 25 (1978), pp 221-224; and 8) Scott's reworking of item 6 above in *Prehispanic source materials* (in press)

Butuan, and Sulu were reported to be dependencies of Brunei,[17] and in 1346, Maguindanao (*Minto-lang*) was mentioned.[18] This new geographic knowledge presumably reflects a direct China-Philippines trade route plied by sea-going junks out of Fukienese ports that made their last land-fall at the southern headland of Taiwan.

By this time, Filipinos were making use of these vessels themselves. As Wang Ta-yüan says in his 1346 *Tao I Chih Lüeh*:

> The men often take [our] ships to Ch'üan-chou, where brokers take all their goods to have them tattooed all over, and when they get home, their countrymen regard them as chiefs and treat them ceremoniously and show them to the highest seat, without even fathers and elders being able to compete with them, for it is their custom so to honor those who have been to Tang [ie., China].

As a non-Filipino, Wang missed the point of the deference he reports. In Spanish times, it was still the custom for Filipinos so to honor those who were well tattooed, for tattoos were the mark of personal valor in combat—though, of course, those purchased in China would have been bourgeoise counterfeits.

In 1368 a new dynasty came to power in China, the Ming, and its first emperor promptly dispatched emissaries to invite, or persuade, other countries and tribes to send tribute missions. Borneo responded in 1371, Okinawa in 1372, and Luzon in 1373. The even more energetic Yung Lo emperor during the first quarter of the 15th century sent a series of naval expeditions as far away as the shores of Africa (whence they brought back a giraffe for the imperial zoo), and cryptic official notices make it clear that the commercial and military implications of these armadas inspired a flurry of tribute missions from small lands politic enough to take the hint seriously. Although these fleets under the command of Muslim Admiral Cheng Ho did not reach the Philippines, other imperial envoys did, and Filipino traders themselves probably witnessed the full nautical display in ports like Malacca.[19]

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[17] Reference from the *Yung-lo Ta-tien* (*Great Yung Lo encyclopedia*), ch. 11,907, believed to come from the lost *Nan-hai chih* (*South Seas gazetteer*) of Ch'en Ta-chen, cited in Carrie C. Brown, "The Eastern Ocean in the Yung-lo Ta-tien," *Brunei Museum Journal*, Vol. 4 (1978), pp. 49-50.

[18] *Tao I Chih Lüeh* (see note 12 above), translated in Wu, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[19] The statement in various Philippine texts that the Cheng Ho expeditions visited the Philippines has been refuted by Hsü Yün-ts'iao, "Did Admiral Cheng Ho visit the Philippines?" *Journal of Southeast Asian Researches*, Vol. 4 (1968), pp. 96-97, and the true facts are available in careful studies like J. J. L. Duyvendak's "The true dates of the Chniese maritime expeditions in the early fifteenth century," *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 34 (1939), and J. V. G. Mills' *Ma Huan/ Ying-yai Sheng-lan*: *"The overall survey of the Ocean's shores" 1433* (Cambridge 1970). (Ma Huan accompanied Cheng Ho and his *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* specifically places in a list of places *not visited.*) I am unable to account for the list of Philippine ports Cheng Ho supposedly visited in Beyer's introduction to Manuel's *Chinese elements in the Tagalog language*, p. xiv, and Liu Ti Chen's "Comments by a Chinese scholar" in Felix, op. cit., p. 272.

A number of Philippine states responded to the emissaries who were sent out in 1403-1405 to announce the new reign and, as the Chinese expression had it, "cherish the barbarians and give them orders."[20] On 17 October 1405, Luzon and Mao-li-wu presented tribute together with envoys from Java.[21] (Mao-li-wu, also called Ho-mao-li, was on either Mindoro or Marinduque, and its representative was a Muslim called Taonu Makaw.)[22] Pangasinan (*Feng-chia-hsi-lan*) appeared five times during the next five years—Chieftain Kamayin on 23 September 1406, for example, and Chieftains Taymey ("Tortoise Shell") and Liyü in 1408 and 1409—and on 11 December 1411 the Emperor tendered the Pangasinan party a state banquet.[23]

Sulu appears in Chinese records in 1368 with an attack on Borneo from which it was only driven off by Madjapahit troops from Java. Sulu's first tribute mission was in 1417, when three royal personages arrived with a retinue of 340 wives, relatives, ministers, and retainers, and presented a memorial inscribed on gold, and such tribute as pearls, precious stones, and tortoise shell. They registered with the Board of Rites on 12 September as Paduka Batara (*Pa-tu-ko-pa-ta-la*) of the east country, Maharaja Kolamating (*Ma-ha-la-ch'ih-ko-la-ma-ting*) of the west country, and Paduka Prabhu (*Pa-tu-ko-pa-la-bu*) as what translates as "the wife of him from the caves" or, literally, "the troglodyte's wife."[24] (*Paduka, batara,* and *maharaja* are all Malay-

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20 This expression has given rise to an unwarranted assumption of resident Chinese governors and Philippine inclusion in the Chinese Empire. What it meant was to persuade local rulers of the advantages of tributary status, to facilitate the collection of goods, organization of missions, wording of memorials, and selection of envoys, and to establish regular trade—licit or illicit, depending on the philosophy of the reigning emperor at the time.

21 Reference to 14th- and 15th-century Philippine tribute missions to China are found in the *Ming Shih,* ch. 6, 7, 8, and 323, and the *Ming Shih Lu* (*Veritable records of the Ming*), T'ai Tsung ch. 37, 38, 45, 57, 118, 120, and 230, and Jen Tsung ch. 3. The official Ming history (*Ming Shih*), compiled by the succeeding dynasty as was standard Chinese practice, was not completed until 1739, but the detailed archival *Shih Lu* sources with exact calendar dates were compiled at the end of each imperial reign.

22 See Appendix II for the complete passage in Chang Hsieh's *Tung Hsi Yang K'ao.*

23 The fact that Chief Kamayin's name is transliterated by the Chinese characters for "excellent," "horse," and "silver" led Berthold Laufer in his 1907 "The relations of the Chinese to the Philippines" to list horses and silver among the Pangasinan gifts (*Historical Bulletin* 1967 reprint, Vol. 11, p. 10); this error was carelessly copied by Wu Ching-hong in his 1962 "The rise and decline of Chuanchou's international trade" (*Proceedings of the Second Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia,* p. 477), whence it passed into more than one Philippine text, but was not repeated by Wu himself in his later works.

Laufer also refers to a Philippine embassy led by a "high official called Ko-ch'a-lao" whom no other scholar has been able to locate and whom Beyer identifies as a "Chinese governor appointed for the island of Luzon" (op. cit., loc. cit.).

24 There has been some confusion in these names. The primary source—the *Veritable Records*—first refers to Paduka Prabhu as a wife, but in every

Sanskrit titles of royal eminence, and Brunei records always call the primary ruler of Sulu, Batara). On the 19th they were presented to the Emperor and received royal seals and investment as princes of the realm.

Paduka Batara was installed as the Eastern King and superior to the other two, Marahaja Kolamating as the Western King, and Paduka Prabhu—who now turns out to be the ruler himself, not his wife or as the "Cave King." The word "cave" (*tung*) is actually the name of one or more border tribes in the mountains of southwest China who, if not actual cave-dwellers, were at least characterized as fierce or stalwart warriors. It probably indicates that Paduka Prabhu was culturally different from his two peers. Perhaps he came from the coast of Borneo. It is noteworthy that camphor is listed among Sulu's tribute gifts though in fact it comes from northeastern Borneo. It is probable that Paduka Prabhu was Paduka Batara's brother-in-law which might explain the confusion between him and his wife. Be that as it may these were the kind of relations the Sultanate of Sulu would have with Sabah chieftains 300 years later.

On 8 October 1417, the Sulu delegates took their leave, proceeding down the Grand Canal accompanied by military escorts and laden with gifts and chinaware, court costumes, ceremonial insignia, caparisoned horses, 200 bolts of patterned silk, hundreds of thousands of copper coins, and enough gold and silver to cover the expenses of the trip and show a handsome profit besides. But in the government hostel in Tehchow, Shantung, Paduka Batara died. Imperial ministers promptly arrived to construct a tomb with memorial arch and gateway, perform the Confucian sacrifices for a reigning monarch, and erect a memorial tablet which names him "Reverent and Steadfast" and was still standing a kilometer north of the city wall in 1935. The deceased ruler's eldest son, Tumahan, was proclaimed his successor, and his concubine, two younger sons, and 18 attendants were given accommodations and pensions to observe the appropriate three-year mourning rites. The royal concubine and retainers were sent back to Sulu in 1423 in appropriate style, but the two sons remained

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subsequent mention as a king, and the original error has been incorporated in the well-known account in the Ming history. Then, following Paduka Batara's death, his mother sent his younger brother Paduka Suli on a mission where he remained two years and so appears in the records often enough to leave no doubt about his correct name. But a very similar name, Paduka Pasuli, appears in the 1461 official geography of the Ming Empire and adjacent areas, *Ta-Ming i-t'ung-chih,* as the king of the western country—that is, instead of Maharaja Kolamating—and this error is repeated in later Ming literature; see Roderich Ptak, "Sulu in Ming drama," *Philippine Studies,* Vol. 31 (1983), pp. 225-242, which felicitously reproduces the pertinent page from the *Ta-ming i-t'ung-chih.* This is no doubt why Cesar A. Majul says Paduka Batara's mother sent her brother-in-law, and considers him to be the western king ("Chinese relations with the Sultanate of Sulu" in Felix, op. cit., p. 151, and "Celestial traders in Sulu," *Filipino Heritage,* Vol. 3 [1977], p. 591).

behind. What happened to them is told in a Tehchow gazetteer from the middle of the 18th century:

> Besides the Chinese and Manchu population of this jurisdiction, there are two others—the Muslims, and the Wen and An families. Both practice the Muslim religion . . . . The two families Wen and An are the descendants of the Sulu king. The land of Sulu is in the midst of the Southeast Sea. During the Yung Lo period of the Ming Dynasty, its king, Paduka Batali, came to court, and on his way home died in Tehchow . . . His second son Wenhali and third son Antulu and some 18 followers stayed to tend the tomb. At that time, they could not mix with the Chinese because of their language, but the Muslims all took them in, and led their children and grandchildren to practice their Muslim customs, so they adopted their faith . . . Now there are 56 households of them, scattered in the northern and western barrios, and they intermarry with the Muslim people.[25]

It will be noted that the Chinese account attributes the Sulu princes' introduction into a Muslim community not to a common faith but to a common language. This language was no doubt Malay, the *lingua franca* of Southeast Asian commerce at the time, and the medium by which Arabic terms were introduced into Philippine languages—except religious terms, which apparently came direct from the Koran. Muslim settlements were scattered all along the internal trade routes of China, and many of their mosques still stand on the banks of the old Grand Canal, once the eastern terminus of a sea route which began in the Persian Gulf. Paduka Batara would thus appear not to have been a Muslim himself. But if he was the Sipad the Younger mentioned in the Sulu royal genealogy (*tarsila*), he had a Muslim son-in-law, Tuan Masha-ika-*mashayikh* is a plural form of the Arabic honorific *shaikh*—and one of his grandsons was still living when the Sultanate of Sulu was founded. According to a later tradition, Tuan Masha-ika's parents had been sent to Sulu by Alexander the Great, and if this Alexander was really Iskandar Shah of Malacca instead, he was Paduka Batara's contemporary.[26]

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[25] *Te-chou Hsiang T'u-chih.* Taipei National Library of Local Gazetteers: Northern China No. 38.

[26] Majul states that "'Sipad' is clearly a variant of 'Sri Paduka'" (*Muslims in the Philippines* [Quezon City, 1973], p. 14, n. 27) and there are at least two of them mentioned in the Sulu *tarsila* (genealogy), Sipad the Elder, and Sipad the Younger. The latter married his daughter Idda Indira Suga to Tuan Masha-ika, whose son Tuan Hakim, and Hakim's sons Tuan Da-im, Tuan Buda and Tuan Bujang, were all living *mantiri* chiefs at the time of Sumatran prince Rajah Baginda's arrival. Baginda in turn, gave his daughter's hand to another foreigner by the name of Abu Bakr, who became the first Sultan of Sulu and took the title Paduka. It is noteworthy that although the 17th sultan, Badar ud-Din I, claimed to be a descendant of Paduka Batara when sending a mission to China in 1733, the claim is not substantiated by the *tarsila.* (See Najeeb M. Saleeby, "The history of Sulu," *Bureau of Science Division of Ethnology Publications,* Vol. 4 [1908], pp. 148-149, or *Filipiniana Book Guild* Vol. 4 [1963], pp. 30-37.

Paduka Batara died on 23 October 1417 and was entombed on 20 November, and the Emperor's memorial tribute was set up the following September. Unfortunately, its biographic content is limited to such expressions as the following:

> Now then, the King, brilliant and sagacious, gentle and honest, especially outstanding and naturally talented, as a sincere act of true respect for the Way of Heaven, did not shrink from a voyage of many tens of thousands of miles to lead his familial household in person, together with his tribute officers and fellow countrymen, to cross the sea routes in a spirit of loyal obedience.[27]

It was because of this highly commendable conduct—the epitaph goes on—that the Emperor deigned to recognize him as paramount ruler of Sulu, suffered such unparalleled grief on learning of his demise, and ordered a sacrificial animal and sweet wine to be offered up so he would be known below the Nine Springs—i.e., in the land of the dead.

The epitaph is also a memorial to the tribute system. It expresses the basic philosophy concisely in a reference to the Hung Wu Emperor, founder of the Ming, who tried to enforce the system by closing China's ports to foreign trade in 1372:

> Of old, when our deceased father, First Emperor Kao Huang Ti, received the Great Mandate of Heaven, he extended order to ten thousand lands, and as the fragrant vapor of his deep humanity and virtuous generosity spread beyond the nearby regions to which it had brought happiness, those far away were sure to come.[28]

Not long after Paduka Batara's interment, the Emperor dispatched High Commissioner Chang Ch'ien to the Philippines on 15 December 1417. Commissioner Chang probably accompanied the military escort which took the young Tumahan back to Sulu, but his real mission was to bring Kumalalang, Mindanao, into line. (Kumalalang today is a rather backwater community at the head of Dumanguilas Bay on the road between Pagadian and Malangas in the province of Zamboanga del Sur.) Chang Ch'ien had had plenty of experience on this sort of mission: for several years he had directed Borneo's state affairs after installing the four-year-old heir of a Brunei ruler who died in Nanking. Now he presented impressive gifts to Kumalalang King Kanlai Ipentun like velvet brocade and skeins of heavy silk yarn, and seems to have spent more than two years there for the Kumalalang ruler followed him back to China in 1420.

On 16 November 1420 Kanlai Ipentun appeared at court with a large following which included his wife, children, and prime minister. On the 28th he sent up a personal petition:

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[27] *Te-chou Chih* (1673), ch. 1.
[28] Ibid.

> Your Majesty's simple-minded servant has been unable to understand why, although he is the one selected by his countrymen, he still has not received the imperial command; pray have the mercy to grant his investiture and his country's recognition.[29]

The petition received favorable action, the investiture ceremonies were celebrated, and the Kumalalang entourage feted and regaled to the last man. But on the way home, Kanlai Ipentun suffered the same fate as his Borneo and Sulu neighbors and died in Fukien on 27 May 1421. Board of Rites Manager Yang Shan arranged his funeral and interment, and the Emperor bestowed the posthumous title of "Vigorous and Peaceful" on him, and named his son La-pi as successor.

Chang Ch'ien's presence seems also to have had its effect in Sulu. The western ruler sent a tribute mission in 1420, and in 1421 the eastern king's mother sent her late son's younger brother, Paduka Suli, while the Kumalalang ruler was still there. On 14 May, Paduka Suli left his mark in Chinese history by presenting a pearl weighing seven ounces, then spent two years there, presumably visiting his nephews in Tehchow since he took his late brother's concubine back home with him. On 3 November 1424, young King La-pi of Kumalalang sent Chief Batikisan and others with a gold-engraved memorial, and the following week a number of other countries appeared, headed by Chief *Sheng-ya-li-pa-yü* (Sangilaya?) of Sulu.

This rush to Peking was the last of a series of missions which probably indicates a shift away from the old Brunei-Mindoro-Luzon track to new trading centers astride the direct spice route from the Southeast Sea. Unlike the rulers of Luzon, Mao-li-wu, and Pangasinan who were referred to as chieftains and who never sent memorials engraved on gold, the heads of state in Sulu and Mindanao were called by the Chinese term for monarch, *wang,* and were received with the same protocol as Iskandar Shah of Malacca, the most important entrepot of Southeast Asia at the time and a favorite staging base for Cheng Ho's fleets.[30] Sulu, with its pearl beds, access to Sabah camphor, and strategic location, seems to have inherited that

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[29] *Ming Shih,* ch. 323.

[30] The Chinese were most punctilious about establishing the legitimacy and precedence of foreign states and rulers before awarding tributary status. This is reflected in Kanlai Ipentun's November 1420 petition, and Butuan's of August 1011, and the fact that the senior Sulu ruler was listed simply as "Paduka Batara of the eastern country" until his investiture as king with a jade seal on 19 September 1417. It is also why they were slow to recognize the Spanish occupation of Luzon: what colonial history calls "the first embassy to China" appears in a Ch'üan-chou gazetteer in the following terms: "Lüsung [Luzon] attacked Lin Feng [Limahong] and drove him out, and what prisoners and booty there were they presented as an offering because they wanted to apply for tribute status equal to all the countries like Siam and Champa" (*Ch'üan-chou Fu-chih,* ch. 30). Ch'üan-chou Magistrate Lu I-feng and his cabinet then decided to seize the goods as spoils of war, and were rewarded by the Emperor with 20 taels of silver apiece for their performance.

older Butuan-Champa trade route which avoided Srivijaya territory. Indeed, modern linguistic evidence suggests that the Taosugs originally migrated there from Butuan. But now trade route led not to Champa but to Malacca, whose second ruler must have checked into the government hostel for tribute envoys in Peking right after those 350 Sulu delegates left for home.

The mysterious land of Sulu, with its pearls so lustrous they glowed under the sea at night and royal princes settled right in Shantung province, soon appeared in popular literature. A Ming drama titled *Hsia Hsi Yang* (*Voyage to the Western Ocean*) pictures it as being on the way to India, and has its King Paduka Pasuli capture Cheng Ho's ships for their cargos of silk and porcelain. The admiral escapes by a clever ruse: he lures the king on board to see a tree that bears porcelain instead of fruit. Paduka Pasuli introduces himself, *zarzuela*-like, with a little song:

> The foggy dew lifts off the sea and morning brightly dawns; The ocean waves and breaking surf grow calm within the shoal; And long time living on the sea has been this land of mine—The mountain chief of ocean tribes, whose total peace pervades.[31]

But it was the real Paduka Suli's seven-ounce pearl which captured the Chinese imagination. Indeed, by the time Huang Hsin-tseng wrote his *Hsi Yang Ch'ao-kung tien-lu* (*Record of tribute missions from the Western Ocean*) in 1520, it had grown in size:

> When I saw in the Book of Han the story of the two-inch pearl, and read in the biographies of the Immortals how in the time of Empress Lü an edict was handed down calling for a three-inch pearl and that a certain Chu Chung presented one and was given 500 gold pieces, and then Princes Lu Yüan secretly gave Chung 700 gold pieces to get a four-inch pearl. I considered it all false. But now that the *Starry Raft* collection says the Sulu king presented a pearl weighing eight ounces, I begin to believe it. No wonder he was given a gold seal! For even if things from distant lands are not very valuable, this would be reason enough for people from distant lands to come to court (ch. 1).

Sulu also receives more space in official Ming annals than any other Philippine state. The *Ta Ming Hui-tien* (*Great Ming compendium of laws*), for example, records many administrative and fiscal details connected with its missions. The second section under "Board of Rites, ch. 64—Tribute, ch. 2," gives a synopsis of its vassal relations and a list of tribute offerings (ch. 106), and a routinary entry at the end of the list of return gifts received by the envoys provides an insight into the tribute system itself: "They were granted the

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[31] "Feng t'ien-ming San-Pao hsis Hsi Yang," *Mo-wang Kuan-ch'so chiao-pen ku-chin tsa-chü* (Shanghai 1958), vol. 76, p. 30 v.

standard price for their goods and products, minus the tariff duties" (ch. 111). The section on "State banquets in local hostels for the maintenance of western and island barbarians" under the Provisions Accounting Office notes:

> Country of Sulu. Yung Lo 15th year: one banquet. The king of this country came to court, passing through the prefectual way-stations, and was supplied with food and maintenance. He returned the same way (ch. 106).

Ten years later, however, budgetary cutbacks which ended the famous Cheng Ho naval expeditions also discontinued the banquets and established the following austerity in maintaining foreign envoys:

> Ordinary daily gift-rations. For each barbarian monarch—one pair of chickens, two pounds of meat, one bottle of wine, firewood, and cooking ingredients. For each of the king's relatives—one pound of meat, one bottle of wine, firewood, and cooking ingredients. For each official and chieftain—a half pound of meat, half bottle of wine, firewood, and cooking ingredients. For his followers, women, petty officers, etc.—firewood only.[32]

Supplemented by other Chinese accounts, these bookkeeping details make it possible to outline Sulu's growth as an international emporium. The earliest description—Wang Ta-yüan's in 1346—mentions only local products like "bamboo cloth" (abaca or ramie), beeswax, tortoise shell, lake-wood "of middling quality," and pearls, devoting most of its space to discussing the profits to be obtained from handling the last item.[33] A century later, the 1417 tribute mission presented pearls, tortoise shell, and "precious stones"—which must have been imports—but Chinese pearls are listed among the Emperor's return gifts. Significantly, the 1421 tribute list does not include pearls and that seven-ounce giant was presumably too personal a gift to the Emperor to show up in the account books. But it does include high-priced non-Sulu products like brazilwood, black pepper, cubebs (*piper longum*), foreign tin, "plum blossom camphor" (i.e., first-class), and "rice-grain camphor" (broken fragments). Finally, in 1617, Chang Hsieh's *Tung Hsi Yang K'ao* specifically describes a trading center whose inhabitants receive Chinese goods on credit from agents who are euphemistically called "hostages" so as not to offend the Spanish government which controlled the Manila galleon trade.

CONCLUSIONS

The presence of Filipinos in China between 982 and 1427 is suggestive for the pre-colonial history of those peoples archaeologist

[32] *Ta Ming Hui-tien,* ch. 115.

[33] The translation is Rockhill's in "Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coast of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century," *T'oung Pao,* Vol. 16 (1915), p. 270.

Wilhelm Solheim has called *Nusantao*—"southern island people." None of these contacts were made on pioneering voyages of discovery, across sea routes already known in pursuit of commerce already profitable. Butuan in the eleventh century and Sulu in the 15th were dealing in non-Philippine products; spices, aromatics, silks, and porcelain. Merchants from Ma-i appeared in China only ten years after the establishment of an office of maritime trade in Kwangchow (Canton), a port with no seafaring tradition of its own. And 350 years later, Filipino merchants like Arabs in Malaysia, were traveling to Ch'üan-chou farther north in Fukienese vessels. By the late Sung, Ma-i was itself the central port for the exchange of local goods on a Borneo-Fukien route, and may well have been a Brunei outpost. Chinese accounts call it a "country" with officials imposing harbor regulations but mention no king, and it never sent a tribute mission of its own. The tribute missions themselves are even more suggestive, for they are limited to two very brief periods, the opening years of the Sung and Ming Dynasties when energetic new emperors were tightening up trading restrictions.

The Butuan missions are patent attempts to bypass Champa middlemen and were probably not repeated because they were successful, just as the Champa-Butuan trade itself was probably successful in bypassing Srivijaya controls south of Borneo. Luzon's prompt response to the first Ming emperor's closing of Chinese ports to foreign trade was probably an attempt also successful, to transfer Ma-i's emporium to Manila Bay. The early 15th century Muslim envoy from Mao-li-wu may have been a step in the process, and the Pangasinan mission's less successful attempts to participate directly in the Borneo-Mindoro-Luzon-Fukien trade. The first Sulu mission with its anomalous three "kings" and the recognition of one as superior to the others, may have been intended to consolidate its position on the new Malacca trade route by the formal alignment of political ties at home. It also seems to have attracted enough Chinese attention to its lucrative trade for the court to send an emissary to woo a Mindanao competitor in Kumalalang.

It is noteworthy that there is no Arab shipping or trade route in the story. The late H. Otley Beyer theorized such a route passing up the coasts of Borneo and the Philippines to Korea via Japan, and concluded that the Ma-i merchants who reached Canton in 982 must have got there on Arab vessels.[34] He pointed to an uprising in Canton in 758 and a massacre in 878 as motivation for a new Arab route, and the presence of Arabs in Korea in 846 as evidence of its existence.[35] Whatever the merits of its reasoning, however, there

[34] Beyer, op. cit., pp. xi-xii.

[35] The first Arab mission reached China in 651 by land, however, and even by sea they did not necessarily travel in Arab vessels e.g., one of the

is no need for any theory in the first place: the facts are readily available in the Braddell, Hourani, and Tibbetts studies of medieval Arab maritime commerce.[36] Arab sailing directions during the Tang Dynasty describe a course from the Strait of Malacca northeast to Champa, where it divides either to follow the coast around to China or to head directly across the open sea to Canton, with a feeder line collecting spices and aromatics in Sumatran and Javanese entrepots where they presumably had been delivered in *Nusanto* bottoms. Following the Canton disturbances, they simply withdrew to Tongkong (northern Vietnam) or Kalah on the Malay Peninsula, transshipping to local Chinese vessels there. During the Sung, they returned not to Canton but to Ch'üan-chou, where they played such a dominant role they were sometimes appointed to Chinese office, but by the end of the dynasty they found it more profitable to board the huge junks of China's new merchant marine in Malaysian ports. Not until then do Arab sources refer to islands on the east side of the South China Sea.

Beyer's willingness to construct a theory on such slender evidence appears to be based on the assumption that commerce in the South China Sea had to be carried either in Arab shipping or Chinese: he evidently did not consider the possibility of Filipinos conducting the trade themselves. Since his day, however, historians and archaeologists alike have rediscovered the maritime capacity of the Malayo-Polynesian peoples, and the farflung extent of their trading ventures. In the first century, they were supplying European markets with cinnamon by delivering it to the African coast in outrigger canoes which Pliny, like Chao Ju-kua after him, thought were "rafts"—and in the 13th were delivering Sung porcelains to islands still unknown to the Chinese like Sulawesi.[37] And when the Portuguese reached Malacca

envoys sent from Brunei in a Bornean ship in 977 was named Abu Ali (*P'u-ya-li*).

[36] Roland Braddell, "An introduction to the study of ancient times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca," JMBRAS, Vol. 17, Part I (1939), pp. 146-212; George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early medieval times* (Princeton 1951, Beirut 1963); G. R. Tibbetts, "Early Muslim traders in South-East Asia," JMBRAS, Vol. 30, Part I (1962), pp. 1-45; *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese* (London 1971); and *A study of the Arab texts containing material on South-East Asia* (London and Leiden 1979); see also Kei Won Chung and George F. Hourani, "Arab geographers on Korea," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 58 (1938), pp. 658-660.

[37] J. Innes Miller, *The spice trade of the Roman Empire, 29 B.C. to A.D. 641* (Oxford 1969), pp. 153-159; Hadimuljono and C. C. Macknight, "Imported ceramics in South Sulawesi," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, Vol. 17 (1983), pp. 66-91.

in the 16th, they were surprised to find native merchantmen of greater tonnage than their own *naos*.[38]

Magellan died in Mactan in 1521 just a century after Paduka Suli presented the seven-ounce pearl to the Emperor. At that time, Luzon ships were plying the waters between Manila, Timor, and Malacca, three points which describe a triangle that includes all of insular Southeast Asia. If one wishes to speculate about the advent of Tang porcelains or Arabic Korans in the prehispanic Philippines, therefore, a ready explanation is available namely, that they came in vessels built, owned, and manned by islanders born within that triangle.

[38] Pierre-Yves Manguin, "The Southeast Asian ship: an historical approach," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies,* Vol. 11 (1980), pp. 266-276.

Appendix I

"Butuan" from the *Sung Hui Yao Kao,* Vol. 197

BUTUAN. Butuan is in the sea. It has had mutual relations with Champa, but not much communication with China.

In October 1003 its King Ch'i-ling sent Minister Li-i-han and Assistant Minister Chia-mi-nan to present tribute of native products and red parrots. In February 1004 when the New Year Festival was proclaimed, the Emperor sent messengers in the middle of the night to fetch the Butuan envoys to see the lanterns and attend the feast, and they were also given strings of cash. In April 1004 Li-i-han and the others were sent to present tribute of native products. In October or November, an official complained, "The Butuan envoys trade for a lot of Chinese goods, gold, and silver, to take back to their country, and they also take all kinds of flags and pennons. People from distant lands don't understand rules and regulations. I would therefore recommend that new restrictions be imposed to prohibit their dealing directly in the marketplace, and making private contracts." It was done.

In July or August of 1007 King Ch'i-ling sent Minister I-hsü-han and others to present tortoise shell, camphor, *tai*-branches [?], cloves, mother-of-cloves, and native products. They were given caps, belts and robes, dishes and presents, and strings of cash, and provided with escorts. A month later, Butuan sent I-hsü-han to hand up a petition: "Your humble servant observes that the Emperor has bestowed two caparisoned horses and two large spirit flags on the Champa envoy; he wishes to be granted the same treatment and to receive the same favors." An official commented: "Butuan is beneath Champa. If this rank is granted, I fear there will be no more chief's standards left. I would recommend instead that they be given five small varicolored flags." It was done.

In March 1011 that country's King Hsi-li-pa-ta-hsia-ch'ih also sent an envoy, Li-kan-hsieh, with a memorial engraved on a gold tablet, to present cloves, white Barros camphor, tortoise shell, and red parrots when they came with tribute. At the time of the sacrifice to the earth god Fen-yin, he ordered his envoys to attend and present a K'un-lun slave, but the Emperor was grieved at her being so strange and far from home, and ordered her sent back. At the same time, King Ch'ü-lan of the land of San-ma-lan sent envoys to present jars of aromatics, elephant tusks, dates, almonds, "five-flavored seeds" [*Schizandra chinensis*], rose-water, fine-grained white sugar, cloudy glass bottles, and saddles. King Wu-huang of Wu-hsün and King Ma-wu-ho-lei of P'u-p'o-lo, both small countries in the sea, sent envoys together to present jars of aromatics and ivory. In July Li-kan-hsieh was granted the title of Cherished Transformed General, and the San-ma-lan envoy, Ya-li-pai-ti, Gracious-to-Strangers General, and Ya-p'u-lo of P'u-tuan-lo, Honored Skillful General; all had sacrifices and received favors. The next month Li-kan-hsieh and the others sent up a memorial exalting their countries and requesting flags, pennons, and armor to honor distant lands. They were granted.

Appendix II

"Mao-li-wu" from Chang Hsieh's *Tung Hsi Yang K'ao,* ch. 5

Mao-li-wu is the country of Ho-mao-li. The land is small and the soil barren; the interior of the country is full of mountains, and beyond the mountains is the open sea. The sea is full of seafood of all kinds. The people also know farming. In the third year of Yung Lo [1405] the king of the country sent the Muslim Tao-nu-ma-kao as emissary to present his credentials; he came to court and made offerings of native products. This country is neighbor to Lü-sung, so he came in company with the Lü-sung representative. Afterwards, the land gradually became fertile, and those simple people also became cultivated, therefore seafarers have a saying, "If you want wealth, be sure to go to Mao-li-wu, because it's an excellent land for so small a country."

There are some Wang-chin-chiao-lao [Maguindanao] people who are pirates on the seas. They travel in boats using long oars with ends like gourds cut in half. On occasion, those using these bailers get in the water to row the boat, and its speed is doubled. Seen in the distance out on the sea, they are like a few vague dots, but all of a sudden, the robbers are at hand; then scattering or hinding is of no avail, and nobody escapes. Mao-li-wu suffered many destructive raids with great loss of life, so that it has now become poor and wretched. Merchant ships going there avoid it for fear of the robbers, and set their course for other islands.

Famous sights. Mount Lo-huang: the top is white stone.
Products. Brazilwood. "Seed flowers" [?].

Commerce. When this little country sees the Chinese people's ships, they are delighted and would never think of mistreating them, so the conduct of trade is most peaceful. What the Chiao-lao who practice piracy want is for people to visit that land, and ships that go there to trade are treated well because they secretly plan to kill them by this strategy.

ANG KASAYSAYANG PANLIPUNAN NG PILIPINAS: ISANG REKONSTRUKSIYON MULA SA MGA DIKSYUNARIO'T BOKABULARYONG TAGALOG 1600-1914*

(A Reconstruction of Philippine Social History from Tagalog Dictionaries and Vocabularies, 1600-1914)

ISAGANI R. MEDINA
Propesor ng Kasaysayan
Departamento ng Kasaysayan, Pamantasan ng Pilipinas

Sa pag-aaral na ito'y, nais kong talakayin ang isang uri ng mga batis (sources) na mapagkukunan ng mga impormasyon ukol sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas: ang mga diksyunario't bokabularyong Tagalog mula 1600 hanggang 1914. Ito'y sa kadahilanang hindi pa nabibigyan ng diin ng ating mananaliksik laluna sa larangan ng kasaysayan, ang paggamit ng mga ito sa pagbubuong-muli ng ating kasaysayan laluna sa panahon ng Kastila hanggang sa pagtatapos ng ika-19 na dantaon.

Halos lahat ng ating mga mananaliksik at mga mananalaysay, ay mga di-limbag na manuskrito, artsibo at iba pang dokumento tulad ng mga limbag na aklat at pahayagan lamang ang binibigyang pansin. Wari'y ang di-pansing mga diksyunario't bokabularyo'y hindi pinagkukunan ng mga talata o impormasyon kundi lamang nagkakaroon ng mga problema ukol sa mga kahulugan o maaaring unang paggamit o ipinagbago ng mga salita. Subalit napakayaman o masasabing mina ng impormasyon ang mga ito kung tutuusin at pag-aaralan nang puspusan.

Batid ng lahat ang kahalagahan ng mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyo di lamang sa mga istoryador kundi na rin sa mga antropologo at mga dalubhasa sa wika, at iba pang larangan ng pag-aaral.

Binubuo sa tatlong bahagi ang pag-aaral na ito:

Una, ang pambungad, mga diksyunario't bokabularyong Tagalog na ginamit sa pag-aaral na ito at ang paraan o metodolohiyang ginamit sa pagrerekonstruksiyon;

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* Batay sa pasinayang panayam bilang Katedratikong Propesor sa Kasaysayan (Professorial Chair in History holder), Pamantasan ng Pilipinas, 1978-80, na binasa sa Faculty Center Conference Hall, U.P. Diliman, 21 Pebrero 1979. Tingnan din ang kanyang mga unang pag-aaral ukol sa bagay na ito, sa *Filipiniana Materials in the National Library* (Quezon City, 1971) at ang *Mga Diksyunaryo, Bokabularyo, Talasalitaan, Atbp. Ukol sa Mga Pangunahin at Di-Pangunahing Wika at Diyalekto sa Pilipinas,* 1521-1914 (ms.; Quezon City, 1978).

Ikalawa, ang kahalagahan ng pag-aaral ng mga pagbabago ng mga salita sa "diplomatics" o ang pag-aaral ng panloob ng dokumento at lingguwistika, bilang tulong sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan; at

Ikatlo, ang ilang mga halimbawa ng pagrerekonstruksiyon ng ilang aspekto ng buhay-panlipunan ng Pilipino na ipinakita sa halimbawa ng mga sinaunang Tagalog.

PAMBUNGAD

Hindi maikakaila na ang mga misyonerong Kastila ang unang sumulat at nagpalimbag ng mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyong Tagalog alinsunod sa kanilang propagandang maisabog nang mabilisan ang binhi ng Kristiyanismo sa Pilipinas.

Marahil ang kauna-unahang diksyunaryong Tagalog ay sinulat ni Padre Juan de Plasencia o Portocarrero, isang prayleng Pransiskano na kagawad ng kauna-unahang misyon ng nasabing orden noong 1578. Ito'y ang manuskritong *Diccionario hispano-tagalog* na sinulat makaraan ang dalawang taon ng kaniyang pagdating sa Pilipinas o noong 1580. Si Padre Plasencia rin ang "amá" o "utak" ng *reducción* ang isang pámayanan ng mga binyagang Pilipino na magiging ubod ng pagkakatatag ng mga bayán-bayán sa Pilipinas, isang napakabisang estratehiya ng mga misyonerong Kastila upang mapabilis ang pagbibinyag ng mga Pilipino. Ito'y naging matagumpay kayat ginaya ng iba't-ibang orden sa Pilipinas.

Sa loob ng itinagal ng pananakop ng mga Kastila, pitong paring Agustino, walong Pransiskano, tatlong Heswita, apat na Dominikano at dalawang Rekoleto, ang mga masusugid na palaaral o kundi man manunulat ng mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyong Tagalog at Kastila ang nakatalang gumawa ng mga ito. Sa kasawiang-palad, ang iba nito, laluna yaong mga manuskrito, kundi man nangatupok ng apoy, ay nangawala noong Rebolusyong Pilipino laban sa mga Kastila't Amerikano. Ang mga iba nama'y hindi matunton kung sino ang nagsisulat o nagtipon kaya.

Para sa pag-aaral na ito'y ginamit ko ang mga sumusunod na mga manuskrito at limbag na diksyunario't bokabularyong Tagalog, ayon sa petsa ng pagkakasulat o pagkalimbag:

Una, ang manuskritong *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* na sinulat sa Bataan ni Padre Francisco Blancas de San Jose (1560-1614), isang Dominikano, na itinuturing ding "Ama ng Tipograpiya sa Pilipinas," (tatawaging SJ mula ngayon). Ito'y tinatayang sinulat ng mga unang dekada ng 1600 na ngayo'y nasa pag-iingat ng Aklatang Pambansa ng Pransiya (ang Bibliotheque Nationale, Departement des Manuscrits. Fond: Malayo Polynesien; Cote 244, pages 1 a 504.

Acc. 43574 na nakitang *de visu* ng awtor noong 1961) na sinasabing hindi na inilimbag dahilan sa napatunayang higit na mabuti ang sa Pransiskanong paring si Pedro de San Buenaventura. Ito'y "nawaglit" sa kaalaman ng mga pantas hanggang noong 1912 nang unang banggitin ni Antoine Cabaton sa kanyang *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits indiens, indo-chinois & malayo-polynesiens* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912), ii, 320 pahina, na inilabas nga ng nasabing aklatang pambansa. Inilarawan ito sa pranses nang ganito: "Tagalo-espagnol et espagnol-tagal. xvii^{e} siecle. Papier europeen et chinois, 451 et 540 pages de 200 x 290 mm., 33 1. Rel. parch." Si Padre Blancas de San Jose (o San Joseph) ay unang dumating sa Pilipinas noong 1595 at itinalaga sa Bataan. Ginamit sa pag-aaral na ito ang kopyang microfilm sa Aklatan ng Pamantasan ng Pilipinas.

Ikalawa, isang diksyunaryong tagalog na walang pangalan ng may-akda na may humigit-kumulang na 500 dahon o *folio* sa manipis na *papel de arroz* na maaaring may petsang magtatapos ng 1600 o simula ng 1700. Ito'y matatagpuan sa Artsibo ng Unibersidad ng Santo Tomas sa Maynila (na USTMS, mula ngayon). Ito'y may ilang pahina ng mga tuntuning pambalarila para sa wastong paggamit at pag-unawa ng talatinigang ito. Halos kahawig na kahawig nito ang nabanggit na *Vocabulario* ni Padre Blancas de San Jose bagamat maraming nabago at dagdag sa nasabing kopya.

Ikatlo, ang *Vocabvlar de lengva tagala* (Villa de Pila, Thomas Pinpin, y Domingo Loag, 1613), (8), 707 pahina (na mula ngayo'y SB). Ito ang kauna-unahang diksyunaryong nilimbag sa anumang wika sa Pilipinas at sa wikang Tagalog na sinulat ni Padre Pedro de San Buenaventura (namatay noong 1627), isang Pransiskano. Siya'y unang dumating sa Pilipinas noong 1594 at nadestino bilang kura sa Paete, Laguna. Nagtungo sa Pila noong 1611 bilang "guardian del convento de San Antonio de Pila" at doon sinulat ang kaniyang bokabularyo hanggang 1617 nang gawin siyang kura paroko ng Maykawayan, Bulakan; Paete, Santa Cruz at Liliw sa Laguna, at Tayabas.

Ikapat, ang dalawang edisyong ikalawa't ikatlo (1794 at 1835) ng *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* ni Padre Domingo de los Santos (namatay noong 1695), isa ring Pransiskano, na unang nilimbag sa Tayabas noong 1703 at nang lumao'y sa Sampalok, Maynila. Nagtungo sa Pilipinas noong 1655 at itinuring na pinakamagaling sa wikang Tagalog nang kanyang kapanahunan ("el mas versado de su tiempo en el idioma Tagalog") na itinalaga sa Katagalugan tulad ng Laguna, Bulakan at Maynila.

Ikalima, ang tatlong edisyon (1754, 1832, 1860) ng *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (Maynila at Valladolid, Espanya) nina Padre Juan

Jose Noceda (1681-1747) at Pedro de Sanlucar (1707-), mga Heswita (tatawaging Noceda-Sanlucar mula ngayon). Si Padre Noceda ay dumating sa Pilipinas noong 1700 at unang nadestino sa Silang, Kabite. Ang kanyang katulong na si Padre Sanlucar ay taga-Maynila at nadestino rin sa Kabite, sa Kawit at naging rektor ng mga paring Heswita sa Silang mula 1762 hanggang 1764. Ang ikalawang edisyon ng bokabularyong ito'y napakabihira na ngayong matagpuan sapagkat ang karamihan ng mga kopyang dinala rito mula sa Espanya para sa Pilipinas ay nangawala sa paglubog ng barkong kinalululanan nito.

Ikaanim, ang mga edisyon ng *Diccionario de terminos comunes tagalo-castellano* (Maynila, 1854; 1869 (ikatlong edisyon) at *Nuevo diccionario manual español-tagalog* (Maynila, unang edisyon: 1864; ikalawa, 1872) ni Rosalio Serrano (1802-1867), ama ni Pedro Serrano Laktaw. Sinulat ni Serrano isang Pilipinong taga-Bulakan ang mga nangabanggit na aklat upang makatulong sa kapwa Pilipino sa pag-aaral ng wikang Kastila at para rin sa mga Kastila naman, sa pag-aaral ng Tagalog.

Ikapito, ang dalawang tomo ng *Diccionario hispano-tagalog* at *Diccionario tagalog-hispano* (2 tomo; Maynila, 1889-1914), ni Pedro Serrano Laktaw (1853-1928), leksikograpo ring tulad ng kanyang amang nabanggit sa itaas, si Rosalio (na Serrano-Laktaw mula ngayon). Ayon kay Leonard Bloomfield (1917) ang kanyang mga diksyunaryo'y "The only general work of scientific value." Kasama siya nina Jose Rizal, Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera sa kilusan sa pagbabago ng pagbabaybay sa Tagalog.

Paraan o Metodolohiyang Ginamit sa Pag-aaral at Pagrerekonstruksyon ng Kasaysayang Panlipunan

Limitado lamang sa mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyong Tagalog ang pag-aaral na ito. Bagamat may kahirapan ang pagbubuo ng kasaysayang panlipunan ng Pilipinas sa pamamagitan ng paggamit ng mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyo'y may resulta namang makukuha't masasalamin sa mga iba't-ibang salitang napapaloob sa mga "sources" o batis na nabanggit.

Ang mga salitang magkakaugnay at magkasing-uri ukol halimbawa sa mga kasuutan, pagdadamit at paghahabi, mga palamuti sa katawan, pananampalataya, awit, paglalaro, pagbububo ng ginto't iba pang metal, pangitain, pagkain, mga kasangkapan sa loob ng tahanan, pagsasaka, paggawa ng palayok, mga pinggang ginagamit noon o kaya'y mga uri ng sakit o karamdaman, ay pinagsama-sama at sinuring mabuti. Ang mga salitang orihinal, sa matandang pagbabaybay ng wikang Kastila't Tagalog at mga kakaibhan (variations)

ng mga ito ay hindi ginalaw o pinaltan bagkos ang mga ito'y pinanatili at inilista ang mga pagbabago sa mga iba't-ibang edisyon ng mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyo. Halimbawa, sa mga hiyas o palamuting ginamit ng mga sinaunang Tagalog ay pinagsama-sama ang mga katawagang nauukol sa mga alahas na ginamit mula ulo hanggang paa. Ang mga terminolohiya ukol sa pagmimina, pagtutunaw ng mga metal, iba't-ibang kilatis ng ginto, mga salaping ginamit, timbang at panukat na ginamit, atbp. ay isa-isang masusing sinuri.

Ang mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyo'y karaniwang binubuo ng dalawang bahagi. Ang una ay isang terminolohiya sa wikang Kastila na may kahulugan sa Tagalog o kaya'y ng ibang wika o diyalekto sa Pilipinas at ang ikalawa'y Tagalog at may kahulugan sa Kastila.

Kaya, upang mapadali ang pangangalap ng mga salitang nauukol sa aspekto ng buhay-panlipunan, gaya halimbawa ng pag-aaral ng kung anu-anong ginamit ng mga sinaunang Tagalog bilang palamuti sa katawan, mula ulo hanggang paa, ito'y isa-isang hinanap sa bahaging binubuo ng mga wikang Kastila, tulad ng "joyas", "alhajas," "cadena," "oro," "filigrana," "argolla," "arracadas," "anillo," "aretes," at mga gangganitong uri. Ito'y isa-isang nilisa at hinanap ang mga katumbas sa Tagalog, pinagsama-sama at pinag-ugnay-ugnay upang gamitin sa pagrerekonstruksyon ng kasaysayang panlipunan ng mga Pilipino noong 1600 hanggang 1900. Kung nais talakayin ang ukol sa mga tela, kumot, damit at paghahabi, ito halimbawa'y makikita sa mga salitang "manta," "tejer," "vestido," o "seda." Ang mga kasangkapan o muwebles na matatagpuan sa loob ng tahanan noong mga 1600 ay makikita sa mga salitang "alhajas de la casa," "instrumento," "cesto," "cuchillo," "cañutillo," "caja," at mga kauri. Ang paggawa ng palayok o kaya'y uri ng mga pinggan ay matatagpuan sa "olla," "ollita," "tinaja," "tibor," "cantaro," "iarro" (jarro), "plato," atbp. Ang iba't-ibang awitin ay makikita sa ilalim ng "canto" o "canta." Ang iba't-ibang uri ng pagkain, katawagan sa pagluluto at inumin ay makikita sa ilalim ng "comida," "cocina," "arroz," "vino," "licor," "conserva," "pescado," "almejas," at mga kauri.

Kapansin-pansin na ang karamihan ng mga impormasyong tinataglay ng mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyo'y hindi kailanman o saanman matatagpuan sa karaniwang dokumento maging ito'y di-limbag o limbag kaya. Ang iba pa nga'y nagbibigay ng mga detalyeng di ibinibigay o masusumpungan sa ibang mga pangunang batis o "primary sources" sa pagsusulat ng kasaysayan. Halimbawa'y ang mga paglalarawan ng mga larong pambata, mga uri ng mga mangkukulam at aswang. Pati kasabihan, mga bugtong at halimbawa ng mga naglahong mga awitin tulad ng *diona* o *hilina* ay makikita rin doon.

KAANGKUPAN SA LINGGUWISTIKA AT DIPLOMATIKA

Isa pang larangan ng kasaysayan laluna ng Pilipinas na hindi nabibigyan ng pansin ay ang lingguwistika. Ito'y mahalagang-mahalaga sa pag-aaral ng diplomatika o diplomatics, ang pag-aaral ng pamumunang panloob ng mga dokumento (internal criticism) na importanteng bahagi ng historyograpiyang Pilipino. Sa pamamagitan ng mga diksyunario't bokabularyo ay malilinaw ang mga pagbabago ng mga kahulugan ng wika o paggamit nito, at napakahalaga rin sa pagtunton ng mga pinagbuhatan ng mga institusyong Pilipino.

Halimbawa, ang mga salitang Tagalog noong mga 1600 ay ibang-iba ang kahulugan sa salita natin sa kasalukuyan. Ang salitang *binibini* ay hindi matatagpuan sa mga bokabularyo nina Padre San Buenaventura, San Joseph at iba pang leksikograpo na nangahulugan ng "dalaga o babaing wala pang asawa." Hanggang mga 1860 ang kahulugan ng salitang *binibini* ay "muger grave y principal" (Noceda-Sanlucar, 371). Samakatwid, siya ay isang babaing magulang na, balita sa isang bayan, kagalang-galang, at asawa ng isang maginoo. Sinabi rin dito nina Padre Noceda at Sanlucar na ang binibini ay mas magalang na salita sa pagtawag sa isang babai ("palabra mas cortés que *babayi* para nombrar las mugeres.") Sa diksyunaryo ni Serrano Laktaw (1914) ay malalaman na ang *binibini* ay nangahulugan na ng "jóven; soltera; moza. fi. (recatada y grave.// fam. Señora; señorita. f. De bini." (p. 132) Katulad din ito ng salitang "ginoo" na noong mga 1600 hanggang 1750 ay maaaring gamitin sa kapwa lalaki't babaing may asawa higit sa lahat yaong maginoo o mararangal na tao sa isang bayan. Sinabi ni Padre San Joseph na ito'y ginagamit sa mga puno ng isang bayan dahilan sa kanilang pagkakaroon ng mga alipin at salapi ("auerse como principal como por tener esclavos y dineros"), samaktwid, may pahiwatig ng kapangyarihan at yaman ang salitang "ginoo." Ayon pa rin sa kaniya, ang *maginoo* ay ikinakapit sa mga lalaki, at ang *ginoo* ay sa mga babai. Datapwat, ayon din kay Padre San Jose, tinawag kapwa ang mga babai't lalaki sa Maynila, ng *maginoo,* alalaong baga'y *maginoong lalacqui* o/at *maginoong babayi.* Ngunit ang mga ito'y hindi palasak sa lahat ng dako. Hindi kataka-takang nang unang limbagin ang isa sa mga kauna-unahang aklat sa Pilipinas ang *Doctrina Christiana* sa wikang Tagalog at Kastila noong 1593, isa sa mga dasal, ay ang "Aba, Ginoong Marya" na ngayo'y pagtatakhan marahil ng mga Tagalog sa kasalukuyan kung bakit naging lalaki si Santa Maria. Noong 1613 si Padre San Buenaventura ay nag-ulat ding ang *ginoo* ay maaaring mangahulugan alinman sa "ginang, maginoo o marangal na tao at punong-bayan." Ang salitang *ginoo* ay katulad din sa kahulugang ibinigay nina Noceda-Sanlucar noong 1754. Walang salitang *ginang* na matatagpuan sa mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyo mula 1600 hanggang 1914.

Ang orihinal na kahulugan ng *paraluman* sa mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyong pinag-aralan mula 1600 hanggang 1914 ay *paraloman* na ang ibig sabihin sa Kastila'y "aguja" (karayom) o "aguja de marear" (karayom sa paglalakbay-dagat, alalaong baga'y ang "brújula" o "mariner's compass." Sa panahong ito'y nagbago ang kaniyang kahulugan at ayon sa mga makata'y "musa" o "muse," ang diwang gumigiya sa landas na kanyang tatahakin. Kaugnay rin nito ang mga salitang *diwata* at *lakambini*. Ang ibig sabihin ng *divata* noon 1613 (SB) ay "malayo" (*remoto*) o "ilipat sa malayong lugar" (*alejarse*). Noong 1754 hangang 1860 (Noceda-Sanlucar) ito'y "malayung-malayo" (*muy distante*) ang kahulugan. Ni walang binabanggit si Serrano-Laktaw noong 1914 ukol sa salitang ito na ngayo'y nangangahulugan din ng dalagang pinaparaluman ng mga makata. Kasingkahulugan ngayon ng *lakambini* ang *diwata* o *paraluman* o reyna ng kagandahan. Ngunit alam ba ninyong ang *lacanbini* ay may ibig sabihin na "isang anito" hanggang 1860, at sinasabi ni San Buenaventura na anito o diyus-diyosang sumasakop siya sa mga sakit sa lalamunan at wala sa diksyunaryo ni Serrano-Laktaw noong 1914?

Ang pariralang "wagas at dalisay" ay makikitang una sa manuskritong diksyunaryo ni Padre San Joseph noong unang dekada ng 1600 na ginamit sa mga halimbawang *"pauang cauagasan; cadalisayan, calinisan calinangan ng asal nina Jesus na magyna."* Ang dating kahulugan ng dalisay ay "puro at mataas na uri ng ginto na mas mataas ng mula 26 o 27 kilatis." Dito rin nagmula ang mga halimbawang *"dalisay na alac."* Ang ibig sabihin naman noon ng *wagas,* ay "pinulbos na ginto o gintong pulbos" (oro en polvo).

Marahil ang sukdulan ng pagbabago ng mga kahulugan ng mga salita noong mga 1600 ay ang halimbawa ng salitang *bilango* na may kahulugang "alguacil" o konstable. Paano naging preso ang pulis o konstable ay isang halimbawa ng mga pagbabago ng mga salita. Noong 1860 ang kahulugan na ng *bilango* ay "encarcelar" o ipiit sa karsel o bilangguan.

Ang iba pang mga salitang ginagamit noon ay ibang-iba na ang kahulugan sa kasalukuyan. Ang "handog" noong mga 1600 ayon kina Padre San Joseph at San Buenaventura ay nangangahulugan ng "tributo" o buwis na "hinahandog" bawat taon sa mga puno ng isang barangay. Ito'y maaaring alay ng anumang bagay tulad ng mga kontribusyon para magasta sa nasabing barangay ("era costumbre de los principales quando se les ofrecia alguna cosa en que a usan de gastear echar tributo contribuyendo con vn tanto los de vn barangay y esso es handog." SJ)

Ang "losong" (ngayo'y ang kaugaliang "palusong") ay unang nangahulugan noong 1600 hanggang 1860, ng "araw na inilalagi ng

isang alipin sa kanyang panginoon upang magtrabaho." Ngayon ang kahulugan nito'y tulad ng "pabayani" o "bayanihan," na tulung-tulong na paggawa ng isang bagay laluna ng mga magkakapit-bahay o magkakaibigan. Ang "bayani" naman ay may kahulugan bukod sa "matapang at malakas na malakas na lalaki" noong 1600 hanggang 1750 ng "grupo ng mga tao sa pamayanan upang magtrabaho" (*community labor* o *work*). Ito ang pinagmulan ng "bayanihan" o tulung-tulong na paggawa upang matapos ang isang bagay.

Dalawang salitang ukol sa ideyang pampulitika ang nais kong ibigay pang halimbawa upang malinaw nang husto ang kalagayan ng mga Pilipino noong panahon ng mga Kastila. Ito'y ang "kalayaan" at "himagsikan." Ang kauna-unahang paggamit marahil ng salitang ito'y noong mga 1880 o kapanahon ng Kilusan sa Propaganda o Riporma sa Pilipinas at sa Espanya. Sa mga diksyunario o bokabularyo mula 1600 hanggang 1870 (mula kay San Joseph hanggang kay Rosalio Serrano) ay walang makikitang salitang "laya" o "kalayaan;" ni wala ring matatagpuan sa ilalim ng mga salitang "independencia," "libertad," o "ideal." Si Pedro Serrano-Laktaw (*Diccionario,* 1889, 337) lamang ang tanging nagbigay ng salitang "kalayaan" upang mangahulugan ng "Libertad. f. Kalayaan ng tawo na gumawa o di gumawa ng balang ibigin.//Kalayaang makañgusap o gumawa nang anoman.//Ang (p. 338 lagay nang di alipin.//Kalayaan ng sinomang walang nakasusupil at sumakop.// Katalipandasan.//Kapangahasan: v. gr. aking PINANGAHASANG sinulat ang liham na ito, me tomo la LIBERTAD de escribir esta carta." Sa ikalawang bahagi ng *Diccionario* ring ito (1914) ay matutunghayan sa pahina 433, ang "KALAYAAN. De *laya,*" at sa pahina 558 ang "Laya. Libre; independiente; liberal . . . " Una pa sa rito, ay makikita na sa nilimbag noong 1872 sa Maynila (kapanahon ng pag-aalsa sa Kabite) ni Rosalio Serrano sa kaniyang *Diccionario Manual Español-Tagalo,* ang salitang "Libertad." Sa pahina 225 nito ay matatagpuan ang sumusunod:

> LIBERTAD. f. Capangyarihan nang tawo na gumawa o di gumawa nang balang ibiguin. Ang lagay nang di alipin o di nabibilango. Capangyarihang macagaua o maca pangusap ng lahat na hindi nalalaban sa manga cautusan.—*Desenfreno*. . ."(Pansinin na ang ginamit dito'y "kapangyarihan" at hindi "kalayaan" gaya ng ginamit ng kanyang anak na si Pedro, sa itaas.)

Ang salitang "himagsikan" naman ay unang-una makikita sa pormang "bagsik" na ang ibig sabihin ay "rebelde" noong 1613 (San Buenaventura, 626). Sa pahina 515 ng bokabularyong ito matutunghayan ang "Rebelde) *Bagsic* (pc) con violencia, *nanagsic* el tal rebelde" at "Rebelion) *Pagpapamooc* (pc). Sa bokabularyo nina Padre Noceda at Sanlucar noong 1754 ay makikita na ang pormang "Hi-

magsic" na ang katuturan sa Kastila ay "Rebelarse, governar con rigor," (mag-alsa o mamahala nang mabagsik).

Sa larangan pa rin ng pulitika ay mababanggit ang mga salitang "hocoman," "balangay" at "nayon," para sa probinsya o lalawigan at baryo. Ang mga probinsiya noong panahon ng Kastila ay hindi tinatawag ng "provincia" o "lalawigan" kung hindi ng "hukuman," halimbawa ay Hocoman ng Maynila, ng Kawit, o ng Laguna. Ito'y sa dahilang and isang "Hocoman" o "Alcaldia," ay pinamumunuan ng isang Alcalde Mayor o "hocom" sapagkat bukod sa pagiging alkalde ng isang probinsiya ay huwes o hukom pa rin siya nito. Noong mga 1600, kay San Joseph ay makikitang ang "hocom" ay may kahulugang "juez o sentencia" at ng "hocoman" ng "el tribunal." Kay San Buenaventura noong 1613, ang "hocom" naman ay nangangahulugan ng alinman sa "alcalde mayor, sentencia, iuzga, iusticia, iuez, o uicio." Hanggang sa panahon ng Himagsikan ng Pilipinas (1896-1897), ay ginamit pa rin ang "Hukuman", na sa mga dokumento ukol sa pagsanib sa Katipunan ay dinaglat na Hkan."

Katulad pa rin ng kahulugan ang salitang "hocom" at "hocoman" sa bokabularyo nina Padre Noceda at Sanlucar noong 1754, na nagbigay rin sa unang pagkakataon ng salitang "lalauigan" na ang ibig sabihin ay "puerto, o donde se anclan las Naves," na hindi matatagpuan kapwa kina Padre San Joseph o San Buenaventura. Karaniwan ng mga kabisera sa Pilipinas ay mga daungan, o lugar na kung saan tumitigil o nag-aangkla ang mga sasakyang-dagat. Hanggang 1914, ang "lawigan" o "lalawigan," ay may ibig sabihin pa ring "puerto, golfo; ancladero; muelle."

Ang barangay naman noong mga 1610 (SJ) ay may ibig sabihin na "pangkaraniwang sasakyan" (*navio común*), at noong 1613 (SB), ay dalawang kahulugan na "sasakyang-dagat (*navio*), at sa unang pagkakataon, ay nangahulugan ng "barrio" (p. 627). Noong 1754 ayon kina Noceda-Sanlucar, ang "balangay" ay "navio grande de doze hasta diez y seis hombres" (isang malaking sasakyang-dagat na may (lulang) 12 hanggang 16 katao), at may ibig sabihin naman ngayon, ng "complexo, o junta de varios, (alalaong baga'y barrios) "pinagsama-samang mga baryo," na napanatili ang kahulugan sa ikatlong edisyon ng nasabing bokabularyo noong 1860. Ang "nayon" naman, ay unang nangahulugan ng "mga bukid o bayan na magkakalapit" (sementeras o pueblos q estan cerca), gaya ng pagkakasulat ni Padre San Buenaventura noong 1613 at pagbibigay pa ng mga halimbawang *"canayon nang Lumbang ang Payti"* (estan o son zircunuecinos Paete y Luban) na ang ibig sabihin ay magkakalapit-bayan ang Lumbang at Paete sa lalawigan ng Laguna. Ito'y magpapatuloy ng kahulugan hanggang 1860 ngunit sa pagdating ng 1914, ay may kahulugan na "barrio" gaya ngayon (Serrano-Laktaw, 858).

Ang buhay ng mga Pilipino na mga sinaunang Tagalog ang ibinibigay na halimbawa ay mababanaagan at mabibigyang-muli ng buhay sa pamamagitan ng mga salitang pinagamit noon at sa pamamagitan ng mga pagyao't dito nila sa mga ilog, lawa at maging dagat na ginagamitan ng mga sasakyan sa tubig. Maraming katawagan ang makikita sa mga diksyunario at bokabularyo noong 1600 hanggang 1900 ukol sa mga ito. Ngunit nais kong bigyang-diin ang mga salitang "luwas," "pulilan," "hibaybayan," at "banyaga."

Bakit Maynila lamang ang tinutukoy noon at ngayon kapag sinabing "luwas" o "lumuwas"? Ayon sa pinakaunang bokabularyong sinulat, ang manuskritong bokabularyo ni Padre San Joseph, ang "Louas," ay "ang naninirahan sa itaas ng ilog o yaong pumupunta sa ilog pababang Maynila," (el que vive rio arriba y va por el rio abaxo a Manila), halimbawa'y "Longmouas sa Maynila." Ayon kay Padre San Buenaventura (p. 372), and "Louas" ay "ir a Manila los de lalaguna y tinges, *lungmolouas.* 1. ac. 1. *naglolouas.* 2. ir a Manila, *ylinolouas.* 1. P. lo que lleva agender, *linolouas.* 1. lo aque va alla. imp.) *lumouas ca,* va a Manila, *anong ylolouas co?* que e de lleuar alli, *louasin,* va por tal a Manila." Kaya, ang *luwas* ay nangangahulugan ng "pumunta sa Maynila sa lawa (ng Laguna) at mga kabundukan (tingue)," at ang *pulilan* nama'y "pumunta mula sa Maynila sa lawa ng Bai" (ir los de Manila a lalaguna de Bay). Sa halimbawang ibinigay niya "*Maygi at acoy mamumulilan hani*: bueno tera ir yo a la laguna, quete parece? *Mamulilan ca,* va alalaguna de Bay,"mapapansin ang kaibhang ito. Noong mga 1600, ang Laguna de Bay (SB, 383) ang katawagang pambalana para sa nasabíng lawa, ay "Dagat." Ang "pulilan" naman ang tawag sa "Laguna de Bay" mula sa Maynila (Laguna de Bay en respeto de Manila). Ang "Doongan" ang tawag ng mga taga-Bondoc at Tinguianes sa "Laguna." Ang "hibaybayan" naman ay mga bayang magkakalapit o "cahibaybayan" o isa sa mga bayang magkalapit, kaya kapag sinabing "nagcacahibaybayan ang Nagcalang ang Lilio," ang ibig sabihi'y magkalapit-bayan ang Nagcarlan at Liliw.

Ang kahulugan ng "banyaga" noong mga 1600 (SJ), ay "mga mangangalakal na nagbibili't bumibili sa kanilang mga sasakyang-dagat" (Tratante que en sus embarcaciones venden y compran). Kay SB, ang mga "banyaga" ay "mga mangangalakal na pumupunta sa iba't-ibang bayan" (tratante q anda de un pueblo en otro) o mga "naglalako" (mercachiste). Noong 1754 (Noceda-Sanlucar), ang "banyaga" ay nag-iba na ng katuturan at naging "maglalako bilang taga-ibang bayan (estrangero) sa iba't-ibang bayan" (el que anda de Pueblo en Pueblo como estrangero) o yaong mga nagtitinda ng mga maliliit na bagay sa isang maliit na bangka (o con su banquilla vendiendo cosilla). Dito'y magkakaroon na tayo ng ideya kung paano

nabubuhay ang mga sinaunang Pilipino sa pagtitinda, pagbibili at pag-yao't dito ng mga tao sa iba't-ibang lugar sa Pilipinas, hindi lamang sa Katagalugan. Hanggang mga 1860, ang kahulugan ng *banyaga* ay hindi nagbago katulad noong kalagitnaan ng ika-18 dantaon. Walang itinalang *banyaga* si Serrano-Laktaw sa kanyang *Diccionario* noong 1914.

Hanggang 1860, ang ibig sabihin ng *polot gata* ay "gata ng niyog na may pulot" (leche de coco con miel), ayon kay Noceda-Sanlucar (p. 259), at hindi ng "honeymoon" tulad ngayon. Noong 1914, ito'y may kahulugang "gata ng niyog na may pulot o asukal" (leche coco con miel o azucar) ayon kay Serrano-Laktaw (p. 1988), na nadagdagan pa ng patalinghagang kahulugan na "exquisito, ta; rico & ca. adj." (napakainman, masarap) at pamilyar na kahulugang sabes a gloria" alamin ang luwalhati).

PAGDADAMIT AT PALAMUTI SA KATAWAN

Buuin natin sa pamamagitan ng diksyunaryo't bokabularyo kung paano nagdadamit at nag-aayos ng katawan ang mga sinaunang Tagalog noong mga 1600 o maaaring maaga pa sa rito. *Sagisag* ang ginagawa ng mga puno ng balangay noong araw. Ang mga nasabing punong ito lamang ang tanging nakapagsusuot ng yari sa balahibo ng mga ibon at baboy-damo na tinawag nilang *sagisag,* at ginagawa ring *putong.* Hindi ito maaaring suutin ng mga mababababang uri ng tao. Potong naman ang tawag sa putol na damit na ipinipilipit sa ulo na parang sumbrero ng mga lalaki.

Ang mga babai'y gumagamit ng *tapis* at *baro* naman yaong mga lalaki. Ayon kay Padre Francisco Blancas de San Joseph, *tapi* yaong ginagamit na kumot na bumabalot sa mga lalaki; *tápis* naman ang dinadamit ng mga babai. Ang *baro* ay malapad at malaking saya. Ang *bahag* ang nagsilbing salawal noon. Bukod dito'y gumamit din sila ng *lambong* at *pangitcqit* (pangitkit), na isang uri ng malapad na damit.

Katulad din ngayo'y gumagamit ng mga alahas na karaniwang yari sa ginto, tumbaga o iba pang metal o batong mamahalin bilang adorno sa katawan, maging babai o lalaki. Mula ulo hanggang paa, ay mabubuo ang sumusunod, ayon sa pag-aaral na ginawa. Ang mga ito'y yari sa gintong lahat na nagpapahiwatig din ng kaalaman ng mga Pilipino sa metalurhiya.

Ang *basong basong* o *busong busong* ay koronang ginto na isinusuot lamang ng mga katalonan sa mga okasyong solemna at *sinampaga* naman yaong maliliit na bulaklak na kinakabit sa koronang ginto.

Para sa mga tainga, ay gumamit sila ng hikaw na yari sa ginto, halimbawa'y ng tinga, binobo at souang. Mayroon ding hikaw na yari sa tingga na tinawag na *binantoc* at *bitaybitay*. Para sa leeg, ay may isinasabit silang iba't-ibang uri ng kuwintas na *toloytoloy, galit, binaysoc, bogtongan, tinicbuli, sinooban* at *tinigbi*. (Pansinin na ang katawagan ay batay minsan sa hugis ng mga halaman tulad ng buli (*Corypha elata* Roxb.) o tigbi (*Coix lachryma-jobi* L.) at lumao'y ng "sinampalok" o "kinamatsili" kaya.) Ang katawagan ay ayon sa kulay, hugis o batong nakakabit. Bukod dito'y may sarisari pang kadenang ginto na maninipis o matataba, may marami o kaunting ikit ng pagkakagawa. Sa klase lamang ng mga kadena ay may labing-isang uri ang naitala sa mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyong sinaliksik. Kabilang na rito ang *barbar, calibir, caniag, locaylocayan, pamicti,* at *sinoyot*. Bukod dito'y may mga brotse, piligrana o tamburin pang ipinang-adorno ang mga ninuno natin.

Para sa mga kamay at daliri ay may samutsaring pulseras o singsing silang ginamit na palamuti. Ang *galáng* ay pulseras ng babae na medyo mabigat at maikli. samantalang ang *calombigas* naman ay pulseras ng lalaki at mabigat at pinalamutihan ng mga piraso ng bilog na ginto. Bukod sa pulseras na metal, ay gumamit din sila ng yari sa bubog (*manic o minanic*) na berde o asul o puting bato. Ang mga singsing naman ay niyari sa ginto, pilak o mamahaling bato. May tinawag silang *sangauali, biniyoas, simpac, hinagonoy, linantay* o *pamopot*. Ayon kay Padre San Joseph, ang mga uri ng singsing ay *macayoyao, hinagonoy, cauitcauit, sinancala, pinolo, gipongiponan* at *tinagataga*.

Para sa mga binti, ay nagsuot sila ng *butic* o *bitic* bilang palamuti. Para maging ganap ang pagpapaganda nila sa katawan, ay naglagay rin sila ng ginto sa mga ngipin, na tinawag na pusal.

BUHAY PANG-EKONOMIKO

Para malaman ang samutsaring kalakal na nagmula sa iba't-ibang bansa, ay nakatulong ang mga salitang "manta" (kumot) at "tinaja" (tapayan) sa pagtutunton. Halimbawa'y nakatala na nakipagkalakalan ng Pilipinas noong 1600 o maaga pa sa rito, batay sa mga tela o kumot na dinala rito mula sa Borneo, ang ngayo'y Kalimantan (cayompata, na hinabi sa ginto at maraming kakaibang burda; *talampocan; calicam*, telang pino at walang ginto't hinabi sa bulak at seda), ayon kay Padre San Buenaventura. Ayon naman kay Padre San Jose, ang mga sumusunod ay nagmula sa Borneo: *cayumpata, talampocan, unlayagan, calicam, cayontolis, sapacsatol, calicot* at *sapotangan*. Mula naman sa Tsina, ay inangkat natin ang *ysing* (ising), isang telang itim na makintab at *candacqi* (kandaki) ang tawag kapag

tumagal. Ang *husi* na isang uri ng seda ay galing din sa Tsina. *Sinagitlog* ang kumot na pinintahan at may iba't-ibang uri na galing naman sa Hapon. Nagpapahiwatig din ang mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyo ukol sa masulong na industriya ng paghahabi noong mga panahong yaon sa Kailukuhan at Kabisayaan. Ito'y masasalamin sa mga sarisaring kumot-Ilukanong *balindang* (ordinaryong kumot), *talinga* (may burda sa gilid) at *binangcal* (may kulay). Sa Kabisayaan, hinahabi ang mga *lamput* (lompot) o kumot na samutsari ang katawagan. Halimbawa, kapag kulay kayumanggi at matibay ay *socób* at kapag puti, ay *minalón* (marahil ay galing sa salitang *malong*).

Isa pang industriyang masulong noon, ay ang paggawa ng mga palayok. Mababanaag sa mga katawagang matatagpuan sa mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyong pinag-aralan ang mga iba't-ibang uri ng mga palayok at tapayang ginawa ng mga ninuno natin noon. Ang mga ito'y inuri ayon sa hugis, laki, istilo, kulay, kagamitan at pinanggalingan. Dito makikita ang kalawakan ng imahinasyon ng mga sinaunang Tagalog.

Halimbawa, ang mga palayok, batay sa laki't hugis, ay may iba't-ibang pangalan. *Daba,* kapag napakalaki; *catingan,* kapag may kalakihan, at *anglit* kapag napakaliit. Ang mga gumagawa ng palayok ay *magpapalioc* o *mamimipi.* Lumalabas mula sa mga halimbawa ng mga pangungusap na nakatala, na Pasig (ngayo'y sakop ng Metro Manila sa lalawigan ng Rizal), ang sentro ng gawaan ng mga palayok noong mga 1600 o marahil ay maaga pa sa rito, ayon kay Padre Blancas de San Joseph, at sa nayon ng Buting (sa Pasig din, ayon naman kay Padre Domingo de los Santos noong 1790 o maaga pa). Ngayo'y sa Rosario (Rusadyo) sa Pasig din, inilipat ang pinakamalaking pagawaan ng mga palayok sa kasalukuyang panahon.

May mga ginawa silang palayok at mga kauri nito upang paglagyan ng tubig, alak, suka o langis, bukod sa pagiging lutuan ng mga pagkain. Ang mga tapayang yari sa putik na karaniwang nagmumula sa Tsina ay tinawag na *sinamong, tacal* o *tampayac, gaboc, taryao* at *angang* (ang-ang). Yaong malapad, ay tinawag na *dayopapac;* yaong maliit, *bobocsit;* yaong makitid ang bunganga ay *qimpót* (kimpot); yaong maliit na maliit, ay *sosoán* o *gusigusian.* Yaong maliit o malaking tapayang putik na galing sa Tsina ay tinawag nilang *gusi.* Kapag *gusing maladohat* (o *maladohat* o *balat dohat,* mula sa bungang-kahoy na duhat (*Eugenia cumini* (Linn.) Merr.) ang tawag, ito'y maliit, maitim at matabang gusi na galing naman sa Borneo. *Toytoy* ang tawag doon sa may tapayang may malaking bokilya (spout). Mapapansin sa mga uri ng mga tapayang itinala halimbawa ni Padre San Buenaventura ang lugar na pinanggalingan o pagawaan nito: *tapayang Bunlay* (mula sa Borneo; pansinin din ang Ilukanong

bornay), *tapayan Iapon* (mula sa Hapon) at ang *tapayan Sangley* (mula sa Tsina).

Kaugnay ng mga palayok, tapayan, gusi at mga kauri, ay ang mga pinggan. Ito'y mahalaga sa pagrerekonstruksyon ng buhay-panlipunan ng mga Pilipino, sapagkat batid natin, na ayon sa paniniwala noo'y kabilang sa mga "pabaong" inililibing kasama ng mga bangkay (grave furniture) ay mga pinggan at banga, sa pagtawid sa kabilang-buhay. Ito'y pinatutunayan ng mga libu-libong pinggan at bangang nahukay sa iba't-ibang panig sa Sangkapuluan ng mga arkeologo at ang mga di-sanay na kolektor ng mga antigong bagay. Ito'y inuri rin, ayon sa laki at hugis, kulay, at paggagamitan ng pinggan. Kaya may *pingang malacqi* at *pingang munti*. Yaong malaki'y tinawag na *dinolang, talambo* at *balangolan*. Mayroon silang tinawag na *cacanan, casiyohan* o *panangaban* (pinggang may pangkaraniwang laki at hugis); *binubulacan* o *binolacan* (malaki at puting lahat ang kulay na parang bulak); humangar o *panangahan* (medyo maliit ngunit higit na malaki roon sa isinisilbing pangkaraniwan) at *souic* (platito). Bukod dito'y ginamit din ang mga plato't platito sa pag-aalay sa mga anito at mga namatay. Gumamit din ang mga sinaunang Tagalog ng platong yari sa mga dahon ng niyog na tinawag na *sinamat*; *dámputan* naman yaong *sinamat* na maliit na yari mula sa dahon ng sasa o nipa.

PAGLALARO, PAG-AALIW AT PAGSUSUGAL

Halos walang dokumentong naglalarawan ng mga uri ng laro o pag-aaliw na ginawa ng mga Pilipino laluna ang mga kabataan. Ngunit ang mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyong manuskrito at limbag na sinulat mula noong mga 1600 hanggang 1900 ay nagbigay ng mga klase ng mga laro at pati ng sugal bagaman ang iba nito'y kundi man detalyado ay nagbibigay naman ng mga pahiwatig o "hints" ukol dito. Halimbawa, ibinibigay sa mga sangguniang-aklat na aking ginamit ang mga larong ginagamitan ng mga basag at hinugisang bilog na bibinga o tisa, sigay o kabibi, maliliit na putol ng kahoy (palilyo o palito), tubó, bao ng niyog o bato kaya. Ang mga larong pambata noong mga 1600 halimbawang ginagamitan ng mga piraso ng mabibilog na bibinga o tisa o pamantingin, ay tinawag na *tibaláy* at *bingcáy*. Ang huli'y nilalaro sa pamamagitan ng paa, ngunit hindi tinutukoy ang iba pang detalye ni Padre San Joseph tulad din ng tibalay. Pinatutunayan na ang mga bilog na piraso ng basag na palayok o bibinga o tisa na nahukay sa mga libingan ng mga sinaunang Tagalog sa Laguna't iba pang dako ng Kapuluan, na ito'y may kinalaman sa paglalaro. Ang mga larong *bingcáy, buyóg, siclot, bulalat* at *sintac*, ay gumagamit ng kabibi o sigay. Ang mga larong *rampotan* (damputan) o *patir* (patid) ay parang ahedres ang paglalaro, alalaong baga'y naglalagay ng isang bato at kinukuha ng kalaban ang isa. Ang *baco* ay

paglalaro ng *honosan* na inilalagay sa ibabaw o ulo ang palito at kinukuha ang pinakamahaba. Ito rin ang larong *sagam* o *salam* nina Padre Noceda at Sanlucar. Ang *bogtac* ay biyakan ng tubo o kawayan na inilalagay sa lupa at binibiyak sa gitna, na nilalaro na noong mga unang taon ng 1600 o maaaring maaga pa sa rito. Maalaalang ang "biyakan ng tubo" ay paboritong aliwan pa ng mga dalaga't binata noong mga 1920. Ang *sungka* ay kakatwang hindi binabanggit bago mag-ikalabingsiyam na siglo, tulad din ng mga larong *piko* at *tubigan* (patintero) na itinala lamang sa diksyunaryo ni Pedro Serrano-Laktaw noong 1914. Ang mga larong ginagamitan ng bao ng niyog ay tinawag ding *bao,* ay pukpukan ng magkabiyak na pares nito. Si Serrano-Laktaw (1914, 114) rin, ang naglarawan nang detalyado ng popular na larong tinawag na *bao* noong panahon ng Kastila at unang mga dekada ng Amerikano. Ito'y nilalaro sa pamamagitan ng bao ng niyog at kawayan na nakabalagbag sa lupa. Ito'y binubuo ng labing-isang paraan o "steps" mula sa *manohan* hanggang *lingay*. Ang iba pang "steps" nito'y binubuo ng *kanlahig, kansipit, kanlalim, kanbubong, luksong kabayo, kampasen, tampal-binti, kangbao* o *kubakob, kangurong* at *San Juan,* ayon sa pagkakasunud-sunod.

Hindi matiyak kina Noceda at Sanlucar (1860), kung ang *imbos* at *pasitlay* ay paglalaro rin ng mga biyak na bao ng niyog. Gayunpaman, isa sa detalyadong laro noong panahon ng Kastila't mga unang taon ng pananakop ng mga Amerikano'y ang *bao* nga.

Ang mga larong pambatang lalaki noong mga 1860 ay ang *salibongbong* o *sambobong, salongquit, satol, sicling-sicling, tubigan* (ito kaya ang patintero sa kasalukuyang panahon?) at *quirquir* (kidkid). Ang *coro* o *sintac* ay larong pambabai lamang, ngunit ang *siclot* ay para sa mga batang babai't lalaki. Nakapanghihinayang lamang na hindi naibigay ang mga detalye ng larong ito katulad din ng mga nangabanggit sa itaas.

Ang labanan ng trumpo na tinawag na *pasil,* ang *qisqisan* (kiskisan o laro ng bola sa pamamagitan ng paleta), ang *tayacar* (tayakád) o *sayupang* (bamboo stilts) upang ilakad o itakbo, ay ilan sa mga larong pambata noong ika-19 na siglo na naglalarawan ng mga imahinasyon at katalinuhan sa paggamit ng mga bagay sa kanilang kapaligiran upang maaliw.

Bukod sa mga laro'y may mga sugal ding hinihinuhang maaaring nanggaling sa ibang bansa gaya ng Espanya at Tsina na ginamitan ng baraha at sabihin pa'y ng *sabong, topada* o *sapiac.* Sa katunayan, iba't-ibang kulay ng mga sasabunging manok ang makikita sa mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyo: *malamaya* (matingkad na pulang halos itim ang mga balahibo); *malatuba* (may mapulang balahibo); *mayahin* (kulay ng ibong maya); *bacoñgin* (kulay *bakong* o asusena);

bancás (may iba't-ibang kulay ng balahibo); *lasac* (puti o kulayan); *pangatigan* (iba't-ibang balahibo); *alimboyoguin* (pulang manok na may mga itim na paa't balahibong nababahiran ng itim) at *hilirao* (hiraw, may puting balahibong may mga batik na luntian).

Sinasabi ring mahihiligin ang sinaunang Pilipino sa mga awit at tugtugin. Ito'y pinatutunayan sa napakaraming uri ng awit na kanilang ginagawa sa iba't-ibang aspekto ng ikot ng buhay, mula pagsilang hanggang kamatayan. Mula sa diksyunaryo't bokabularyong aking sinaliksik ay mababuo ang mga sumusunod na awitin at tugtugin noong mga 1600 hanggang unang taon ng ika-19 na siglo.

Para matulog ang bata'y inaawit ang *oyayi, hinli, hilina, hili na,* o *holona.* Ang *dulayinin* (dolayanin) ay awiting panlansangan. Ang *diyona* (*diona* o *doriyona*) ay awiting pantahanan o awit sa pagiisang-dibdib at ng mga manlalasing. Bukod dito'y may awitin pa ring kinakanta sa mga inuman ng alak, ang *hilirao* at *sambotanin.* Habang sila'y namamangka o gumagaod ng bangka ay kumakanta sila ng *dupaynin* (*dopayinin* o *dupayinin*), *balincongcong, horlo* (*holohorlo*), *soliranin* (*mangpasin*), at *hila.* Upang bumilis ang paggagaod ay inaawit nila ang *daguiray.* Ayon sa pagkakataon ay may masaya o malungkot silang mga awitin. Ang *ombay* o *sambitan* ay malungkot na awit na karaniwang kinakanta ng mga ulila. Ang *yndolanin* (*indolanin*) ay awit na seryoso at ibang tono. Ang *omiging* (*umiguing*) ay malambing at malumanay na awitin na pinanginginig pa ang boses ("garganteado la voz"), samantalang ang *caguingquing* (*kagingking*), ay awit para sa mga anito upang gumaling ang maysakit at isang awit na may paggalang. Ang *sambit* (*sambitan* o *panambitan*) ay awit para sa mga patay. Ang *tagompay* ay awit ng mga nanalo; ang *dayao* naman ay awit ng tagumpay na dala-dala ang napanalunan.

MGA TIMBANG AT PANUKAT

May iba't-ibang katawagan ang mga sinaunang Tagalog ukol sa mga timbang at panukat. *Picul* ang pinakamabigat na timbang na bale 100 *kati* o 1600 *tahil.* Hindi ito ginamit sa pagtimbang ng ginto at sa iba pang mahahalagang metal. Sa halip, mga buto ng *kupang* (*Parkia roxburghii* G. Don, 1) at *saga* (*Abrus precatorius* L.), gaya halimbawa ng isang saga (*sangasahe*).

Ayon kay San Joseph, ang walong (8) *sinantan* ay katumbas ng isang *quintal;* at sampung *sinantan* ay katumbas ng *pico.*

Para magkaroon ng kongkretong ideya ukol sa mga timbang noon, ay narito ang sumusunod na mga katawagang kinalap mula sa iba't-ibang diksyunario kasama na ang kina Noceda at Sanlucar ng 1860:

sinantan (chinanta)	= 160 *tahil* o 10 *kati*
cati (catty)	= 16 *tahil* o *tael* (22 onza)
soco	= 8 *tahil* (½ libra; cate y medio)
banal	= 5 *tahil* (5 onza)
tahil (tael)	= 16 *amas* (10 reales)
paroni	= 5/8 *tahil* (10 *amas* o 10 maices de oro)
tinga	= 1/2 *tahil* (8 *amas* o 5 reales de plata)
tingambala (tigambala)	= 3/8 *tahil* (6 *amas* o 6 maices de oro)
sapaha	= 1/4 *tahil* (4 *amas* o 4 maices de oro)
amas (mas, mace)	= 1/16 *tahil* o 10 *conding (kunding,* condrin o decima-sexta de tael)
sima	= 1/28 *tahil* o 5-5/7 *conding*
balabato	= 1/32 *tahil* o 5 *conding*
conding (kunding)	= 1/160 *tahil* o octava parte de un real

Si Padre San Joseph din ang nagwikang ang *tahil* ay katumbas ng dalawang *tostones* at ½ *pilak;* ang ½ *sapaha* ay 2 *amas;* ang isang *tahil* ay *sangtahil na manapat;* ang 20 *amas ay mei caluan sapaha;* ang ½ *amas* ay *balabato;* ang 3 *copang* (*kupang*) ay isang *amas;* ang *sangbahay* ay ½ *balabato;* ang 16 *na saga* ay *isang amas;* ang 16 *amas* ay *isang tahil,* at ang *isang tahil* at 8 *amas* (6½) ay katumbas ng isang tinga.

Mayroon din silang katawagang ginagamit sa pagsusukat ng mga bagay tulad ng bigas o iba pang uri ng mga butil—ang *caban.* Ang isang caban ay binubuo ng 25 *salop* o *ganta;* ang *pitohan* halimbawa'y nangangahulugan ng *pitong salop.* Ang haba ay sinusukat sa pamamagitan ng paggamit ng *dapal* na nangangahulugang apat na daliri at ng *pandipa* na nangangahulugang isang "braza," ay ginagamit sa pagsukat ng kahoy o kawayan. Ang lupa ay sinusukat sa pamamagitan ng *quiñon* o *qiñong* (*kinyong*), na 100 braza ang lapad o *balitang. Bongol* ang gamit sa pagtatakal ng langis ng linga (sesame oil). Ang mga tuyo o basang bagay ay sinusukat sa pamamagitan ng *panocat* (panukat) na yari sa kawayan. Karaniwang gamitin ang salop na yari sa kawayan o bumbong ng kawayan at palasak na ginagamit sa pagsukat ng lahat ng bagay. Ang *gahin* ay isang sukat na kung minsan ay sangkapat o saikanim ng isang salop. Ang *pitis* ay kawayan o kahoy na katumbas ng 4 na *gahinan* o kalahating salop.

Mapapansing ang ginamit na batayan ng pagtimbang ng ginto ay mga buto ng halaman o punong-kahoy na iba't-ibang hugis, tulad ng palay, saga, bulay (isang uri ng mga malalaking habitsuwelas) o kupang. Ang isang *capalay* ay isang butil na ginto o isang *saga,* ang pinakamababang bigat sa pagtimbang ng ginto.

Ang ilang "classifiers" na ginagamit noon ay *calicao* (*sanglicauan*) para sa isang ikit o rolyo ng mitsa, tali, alambre, atbp.;

ayicquir (*sangayicquiran*) para sa balumbon ng buli, sintas, atbp.; *calolon* (*sanglolonan*) para sa banig, kumot, panyo, atbp.

Mababanggit ang ilang ginagamit na pera gaya ng *calatiyo* (kalatyo) na isang pagaril ng salitang *quartillo* (½ real) o 1/16 real ang *cunding* na katumbas ng ½ (1/8 real) o 1/3 real at *alimaymay* na katumbas ng isang cornado, 1/64, 1/16 reales o 1/4 caurtillos.

Ang palengke noong 1600 hanggang kalagitnaan ng 1700 ay tinawag na *parian* (SJ, SB, Noceda-Sanlucar). Ang *talipapa* o *tiyanggi* ngayon ay tinawag na Laguna ng *sugat* (SB) na isang palengke na nagbibili ng kaunting saging, atbp. at sa may takdang araw (ng *sugatan*). Ang tindahan sa may bukid ay tinawag na *butocan.*

PANANAMPALATAYA

Bagamat walang malakas na organisasyong pangrelihiyon batay sa kawalan ng mga templo ang mga sinaunang Tagalog ay may mga *katolonan* (babaing pari) na tinutulungan ng mga *alagar* (alagad) (SJ). *Masirhi* (masidhi) ang tawag sa mga katolonan (perpektong propeta) "q. acentaua en lo q. dezia". (SJ). Sa mga simbahang tinatawag na *baláybálay* pinaghahainan ng kanilang mga anito (SJ). *Tarotaro* ang tawag sa mga katolonan na walang malay at sinasapian ("palabra con que llamaban a las catolonas en sus angustias; y asi en temblando," Noceda-Sanlucar). *Batog* naman ang pagtatanong sa mga katolonan ("preguntase a las catolonas", Noceda-Sanlucar).

Ang anito ay idolo o kaluluwa ng nakaraan. Ito rin ay nangangahulugan ng mga alay at dasal para sa mga kaluluwa at mga namatay na kaibigan o kamag-anak na tinatawag na *nag-aanito.* (SB, SJ, Noceda-Sanlucar). Ang mga hinahaing bagay ay tulad ng mga banig na puno ng bungangkahoy, kakanin, ginto at iba pa. Ang gintong alay ay ibinibigay na katolonan, (SB). Iba't-ibang bagay ang iniaalay o inihahain para sa mga anito. *Boñgoy* ang inihahain sa anito ng mga maysakit upang gumaling. *Padugo* ang ibinibigay na dumalaga o iba pang hayop sa maysakit na binubuo ng dalawang manok (isang tandang at isang dumalaga) na "pinag-iisang dibdib" at pagkatapos ay pinupugutan ng ulo't inihahain sa anito na nagdurugo at sinasambit ang sumpang "padugo ca." *Dahon* ang tawag sa alay sa anito ng ilang dahon (ngunit hindi matiyak kung anong uri ito sa diksyunaryo) "las quales estauan dedicadas para solo este efecto, esto basta sera nunca acabar" (na iniaalay para lamang sa bagay na ito). *Alay* ang inilalagay nang una sa mga anito at noong 1613 ay inilalagay ng mga inanyayahan.

Upang gumaling ang maysakit ay *nagdiriwang* sila o umaawit para sa mga anito. Nag-iingay sila nang husto sa pamamagitan ng

mga paa, pinagagalaw ang mga dibdib, at nagtutugtog sa sahig ng isang maliit na kawayan (SJ).

Ang *sonat* ang pinakamataas na pari sa lahat, ang "maestro sa lahat na manga mantala saona" (SB, USTMS) na nanggaling sa mga taga-Borneo. Ito rin ang tawag sa pagtutuli sa mga babai. Ang mga pari ay tinatawag na catolonan (katolonan) at karaniwang ginagampanan ng mga babai (SB) na kinatatakutan ng lahat sapagkat pinaniwalaang silang maaaring pumatay at magbigay ng buhay dahilan sa kanilang pangkukulam (SB).

HERARKIYANG PANGRELIHIYON

Ang *pandot* ay ang pinakamaringal na sakripisyong ginagawa ng mga puno ng balangay noong unang panahon. Ito'y isinasagawa sa gabi ng mga mabababa't matataas na tao sa bukid sa ilalim ng punong balite (*Ficus sp.*). Lahat sila'y nagdadala ng mga nakakain, mga alay na banig, bulak, at iba pang bagay na isinasabit sa mga puno't doon iniiwan. Sila'y nagkakainan, nag-iinuman hanggang sa bumagsak sa pagkalango. Paniwala nila noon na ito'y magpapatahimik sa anito na sinasabing nasa sa paligid nila ayon sa katolonan (SB). Sinasabing sila'y "nagpapandot" at ang puno'y "ypinagpapandot," (USTMS).

Ang mga sinaunang Tagalog ay naniniwala sa Bathala, ang pinakamataas sa lahat ng mga Diyos (SJ, SB). Ang salitang *campan* ay ginagamit lamang noon para sa Bathala't hindi maaaring ikapit sa tao ("no es palabra que puede caber un hombre solo antiguamente lo aplicaua el Bathala es principal para Dios; 'abarcar, y comprenderlo todo.' Ang P. Dios ang nacacampan sa lahat." NSL).

Licha o *larawan* ang tawag nila sa kanilang mga anito, idolo, o istatwa. Iba't-ibang anito ang sinasamba nila: Si *Amanicable* ang idolo ng mga mangangaso; *Amansinaya* (Sinaya), ang idolo ng mga mangingisda; si *Lacambini,* ang anito o diyos na sumasakop sa mga sakit sa lalamunan (SB); si *Lacapati* (Lakan Pati), ang anito ng kabukiran at si *Lachan Bacor* (Lakan Bacod), isa ring anito. Ang *licha'y* (likha) pinapalamutihan nila ng kadenang ginto at iba pang bagay na pangdekorasyon (SB).

Ang lugar na pinag-aalayan ng anito ay tinatawag na *pinagaanitohan* (USTMS) o *pag anitohan* (Noceda-Sanlucar) at ang gumagawa nito'y ang *palaanito* (Noceda-Sanlucar).

Samba ang paggalang na sinasabi ni Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, *El sanscrito en la lengua tagalog* (Paris, 1887), na pinagdadaop ang dalawang palad sa ibabaw ng dibdib, kung aalagataing sinabi ni Noceda-Sanlucar na "*samba,* adorar puestas las manos" ngunit hindi

naman binabanggit kung sa ibabaw ng dibdib. Ayon kay Padre Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la lengua pampanga* (2. ed.; Manila, 1860), p. 203, *"samba,* adorar puestas las manos debajo del pecho con inclinacion, haciendo reverencia, y de aqui, adorar." Kabaligtaran ito ng *dapa,* na sumusubsob (ang mukha nang paibaba) sa lupa.

MGA PANGITAIN

Maraming mga pangitain at pamahiing, pinaniniwalaan ng mga Tagalog ukol sa mga hayop tulad ng butiki, ahas, at daga. Sila'y bumabalik at hindi nagpapatuloy sa paglalakbay kapag nakakita ng umiiingit o humuhuning hayop na binanggit. Naniniwala rin sila sa mga taong sobrenatural tulad ng *patiyanak,* aswang at iba't-ibang mangkukulam, *magtatanggal* (manananggal), tikbalang at kauri.

Ang *patiyanac* ay nanggaling sa mga babaing namatay sa panganganak na nagiging duwende diumano at tinatawag ang lahat ng mga pangalan at sinumang sumagot ay namamatay (SB). Tinatawag ding *tiyanak, tiana* at *tomanor* (tumanod). Ang *mangcocolam* (mangkukulam) ay tinatawag ding *hocloban* o *manhihicap* at lahat nang maituro ng daliri niya'y namamatay (SJ, SB). Ang *silagan* ay mangkukulam na hindi lumilipad at kumakain ng atay ng tao. Ito'y dalawang magkasiping na natutulog na ang isa'y nakabaro ng puti't ang isa'y itim (SB).

Ang *tigmamanucquin* ay ibong pinagmamasdan kung ito'y lumilipad sa mga daan o bayan mula sa gawing kanan pakaliwa, at kung gaya ng huli'y sinasabing mabuting hudyat, at masamang pangitain naman kung kabaligtaran, alalaong baga'y mula kaliwa pakanan. Kailangang bumalik at huwag magpatuloy. Kung tumungo ito sa bukid o sa kabilang bahagi at umawit sa may bandang kanan, magpatuloy ng paglakad; ngunit kung sa bandang kaliwa'y kinakailangang bumalik, at huwag magpatuloy. Hindi sinasaktan ang ibong ito, sa takot na mamatay. Kung sakali ma't mahuli at pinutol ang tuka niya at pakakawalan at sasabihin ang ganito: "cqita, ay yuauala cun acoy meycacaonan, lalabay ca," ("suelto te ydemite aparto, por lo qual te pido, que quando fuere algun cabo, me cantes a la derecha, que llamauan, *labay."* SB).

Ang *asuwang* (Noceda-Sanlucar; *osuang,* SB) ay mga mangkukulam na lumilipad sa gabi at kumakain ng laman ng tao. Sinasabing kapag humuhuni ang ibong *tictic* ay may aswang. Ang *magtatanggal* (manananggal ay sinasabing lumilipad at kumakain ng laman ng tao at lumilipad lamang ang kalahating katawan at ang kabiyak ay iniiwan sa bahay (SB).

Bukod sa mga kagila-gilalas na taong ito'y may mga taong sinasabing pinagkalooban ng mga sobrenatural at mahikang bagay gaya ng *mangkukulam, mangyisalat, mangagayuma* at *mangagaway*.

Ang *tigbalang* ay sinasabing may pakpak at dinadala ang tao saanman at kapag ito'y dala na'y nanghihina't namamatay (SB). Inilarawang napakataas at may mahabang buhok at may maliliit na paa't nakabahag na may maraming kulay. Sinasabi ring naninirahan sa *talolor* (SB).

KONGKLUSYON:

Makikita sa mga halimbawang tinalakay sa una, na ang mga diksyunaryo't bokabularyo, laluna yaong mga sinulat at nilimbag sa panahon ng Kastila, ay hindi magagamit na "sources" (batis) sa pagsulat ng kasaysayang panlipunan at pangkalinangan ng mga sinaunang Tagalog lalung-lalo na, at ng mga iba't-ibang grupong etnolingguwistika ng Pilipinas, tulad ng mga Bisaya, Ilukano, Kapampangan, Ibanag, Pangasinan, Magindanaw, halimbawa, para makabuo ng isang pambansang kasaysayan ng Pilipinas, sa hinaharap.

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THE *INQUILINOS* OF CAVITE AND FILIPINO CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

SOLEDAD BORROMEO-BÜHLER*
Zurich, Switzerland

This paper attempts to describe and analyze the manner in which a segment of nineteenth century Philippine society was structured, and offers a conceptualization of what constituted a provincial "social class" at the time, by looking at the role of the *inquilino* in Caviteño society. The study is based upon an examination of archival sources and printed material. Most ethnographic information comes from being a native of the province and from personal interviews.

Briefly stated, the three-tiered native class structure of pre-Spanish times, composed of a small chiefly class, a slightly larger class of freemen, and a mass of servile dependents, gave way to a two-tiered class system following the Spanish Conquest.[1] This was consequent to the abolition of slavery,[2] and the removal of the major bases of power of the native political elite: leadership by birth-right, and the possession of unfree dependents. In time status became based upon landownership,[3] financial wealth, education, and skin color, as the Philippine colony made the shift from subsistence-barter economy to a Hispanized plural society lately brought upon the threshold of a money economy. Changes which transpired during the first half of the nineteenth century affecting colonial economy and society, however, appear to have led to a restoration of multiple class differentiation as indicated by the facts on Cavite Province. To wit, from a two-tiered class system composed of the *principalia* (traditional political elite) and the rest of the population, to a three-tiered class structure consisting of a tiny upperclass, an intermediate

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* The author has a Ph.D. in History taken at the University of California in 1973.

1 Alexander Robertson and Emma Blair, *The Philippine Islands* (Cleveland, 1909, XVI, 121, hereinafter referred to as *BR;* John Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses: 1565-1700* (Madison, 1959), 114-15.

2 Technically abolished in 1591, slavery appears to have only gradually petered out in different parts of the colony since references to its continued practice recur in the sources. *BR*, XVI, 124, 157, 163.

3. The concept of land as having monetary value apparently dawned early on the native elite resulting in considerable sales of communal land during the Post Conquest period. Nicholas Cushner, S.J., "Maysapan: The Formation and Social Effects of a Landed Estate in the Philippines," *Journal of Asian History* 7 (1973): 31-53.

"middleclass" of mostly *inquilinos* and a lower class of *kasamás* and *jornaleros*.[4]

I. The *Principalia* in Cavite

Apparently the nucleus of an intermediate social stratum in Cavite Province, the *principalia* in the late nineteenth century may be described as a non-exclusive town elite composed of old *principalia* families, a significant portion of Chinese *mestizos*,[5] and some former *timawas*[6] whose status were based upon their incumbent or past tenures as town officials, their possession of moderate wealth and some education.[7] As *gobernadorcillos* (petty governors) and *cabesas de barangay* (village headmen) these served mainly as tax-collectors at the lowest rung of the Spanish colonial bureaucracy in which capacities they either moderated the severity of Spanish ordinances or exploited their positions to enhance their own interests.[8] The expanded size of the *principalia* was not simply a matter of population growth but was also due to an "open" class structure where a reasonable degree of social mobility was evident.[9] The availability of elective municipal positions after 1786 and active *mestizo* participation in provincial economy as middlemen, *inquilinos*, etc., enabled this ethnic subgroup to infiltrate the *principalia* by mid-eighteenth century, if not

[4] *Inquilinos* are leaseholders of agricultural land; *kasamás* are tenant cultivators; *jornaleros* are dayworkers.

[5] On the Chinese mestizo in general, see Edgar Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History." *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5 (1964); 62-100. The heaviest concentrations of mestizos in Cavite were in the lowland towns of Bacoor, Imus, Kawit, Santa Cruz, Rosario, San Roque, the Cabecera, and Naic. *Guia de forasteros* (Manila, 1854), 194.

[6] The word *timawa* meant freemen or manumitted slaves in pre-Spanish times. Rizal's annotation of Morga translates it to mean in peace, free. *BR*, XVI, 122. Today it has a pejorative connotation in Tagalog meaning impoverished.

[7] For more on the expanded scope of the term *principalia*, see Norman Owen, "The Principalia in Philippine History: Kabikolan, 1790-1898," *Philippine Studies* 22 (1974): 297-324.

[8] These also supervised local public works, maintained peace and order, and were charged with such general "housekeeping" duties as the upkeep of the local jail and the *casa tribunál* (townhall). As bureaucratic intermediaries, *principales* petitioned the government on behalf of their constituencies for the cancellation of landrent during bad harvest, protection from bandits, etc. Yet *principalia* corruption is amply indicated in the sources, especially in the collection of *falla fees* (forced labor exemption fees) and in other impositions on the townspeople. PNA, Cavite, leg. 75, nu. 54; PNA, Terrenos Cavite, lib. I, 1797-1898; Lib. II, 1856-1890; Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines* (Quezon City, 1957), 114.

[9] Barrows testified on the incidence of social mobility in the native population in the early 1900s. He claimed that the "gente baja" (lowerclass) was "not without ambition" and that Filipino parents make every effort towards "social betterment". By admitting that social mobility was a fact of the Philippine social system, Barrows implied that an intermediate stratum did exist between the upperclass and the "gente baja" inspite of his erroneous impression on a two-tiered Filipino class structure at the time. U.S., *Sen. Doc. 331*, 57th Cong., Sess., 685-686.

earlier.[10] Even former *timawas* are known to have become *cabezas* in such important hacienda towns as Imus indicating that manumitted dependents could rise from one social stratum to another, and that elite status had not been confined to old *principalia* families.[11] Another important factor in explaining social mobility in Philippine society very often not considered is the role of Filipino women. In many cases, the improved economic situation of Filipino families is usually traceable to the industry, frugality, and enterprising spirit of its women.[12] The basically independent disposition of the Filipino woman and her will to succeed for the sake of her family is part of what seems to be a strongly matriarchal inclination in some Southeast Asian societies. This was, and continuous to be true particularly of the lower and intermediate strata of Filipino society. Women face up to the challenge of having to "make both ends meet" by running *sari-sari* stores (drygoods store), becoming *tenderas* (vendors) in the local market, or *corredoras*[13] busily buying and selling every imaginable item of merchandise from jewelry to dried fish and firewood. In Naic, thirty per cent of the registered *inquilinos* in 1891 were women.[14]

The dramatic increase in Philippine population[15] in the late nineteenth century, the removal of restrictions on internal travel, and government decision to give up the idea of requiring *cabezas* to stay within their *sacopes* (jurisdiction) seem to have had a generally salutary effect upon *principalia* fortunes.[16] Relieved of the need to monitor their *sacopes* full-time, *cabezas* were able to engage in other activities, presumably economic, to augment their income. Life for many *cabezas* seems to have materially improved as noted by the

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10 Some prominent mestizo families in Cavite were the Aguinaldos, Tironas, and Encarnación of Kawit; the Viratas, Ylanos, Monzons, and Topacios of Imus; the Cuencas, Mirandas, Pagtachans, Cuevas, and Narvaezes of Bacoor; the Pobletes, Bustamantes, Yubiengcos of Naic, etc. PNA, Mestizos Cavite, 1881-83; Cabezas Cavite, 1839-96. Inspite of their business ability, *mestizo* potential for acquiring wealth was severely limited by the presence of the monastic estates in the province which consigned them and many others to the status of mere *inquilinos* of the friars. Recent studies on haciendas (landed estates) in colonial Philippines include Dennis Roth, *The Friar Estates of the Philippines* (Albuquerque, 1977) and Nicholas Cushner, *Landed Estates in Colonial Philippines* (New Haven, 1976).

11 PNA, Erecciones Cavite, leg. 75, 1774-1809.

12 Cavada describes the Filipino women of his time as "... being disinclined towards idleness, and are often in the forefront of many business enterprises...." Agustin de la Cavada, *Historia geografica...* (Manila, 1876), I, 33; *BR*, XVI, 124-125. A more contemporary statement on the Filipino woman is Carmen Guerrero-Nakpil's *Woman Enough and Other Essays* (Quezon City, 1963).

13 From the Spanish *correr* meaning to run since *corredoras* have to go from one place to another in their buying and selling activities.

14 APSR, Inquilinos Naic, 1891.

15 Between 1815-1881 Cavite's population increased by more than two-fold. APSR, "HCF", fols. 1-29; PNA, Cavite, 1881.

16 *Poblacion de filipinas. Censo general...* (Manila, 1883), 4-5.

census report of 1883: "With recent advances in production and trade, the [*cabezas*] have attained a measure of well-being and social uplift which many natives did not enjoy before unless they served as a *cabeza.*"[17] Besides relating the improved economic condition of many *cabezas* to accelerated economic change in the late nineteenth century, this statement is significant for it strongly suggests a direct connection between local political power and the enhanced economic situation of persons who held these offices, i.e., the position of a *cabeza* during this time could have been a means of economic gain. This can also be inferred from the manner in which Caviteños avidly sought election to these municipal positions, seen in hotly contested elections and the resort to various electioneering practices.[18]

The role of the *ilustrados* and how these fitted into Caviteño society needs some elucidation. Ilustrados were the native educated elite, which crossed class lines, although the majority came from the upper and middle social strata.[19] Many were reformers, freemasons, and some were even members of the revolutionary *Katipunan* society, exemplified by several among the Thirteen Martyrs.[20] It is therefore erroneous to conceive of the *ilustrados* as a social class[21] or a monolithic group especially with regards to their attitudes towards the idea of revolution.[22]

II. Concept of a Provincial "Social Class"

If one were to visualize the structure of Caviteño society in the late nineteenth century, one could see that between an almost negli-

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17 Ibid.

18 PNA, Cavite, "Queja sobre la elección..." [n.d.]; *Ilustración filipina*, Dec. 15, 1859: 165.

19 Cesar A. Majul, "Principales, Ilustrados, Intellectuals and The Original Concept of a Filipino National Community," *Asian Studies* 15 (1977), 12-13. Principalia descent of many *ilustrados* is evident. However, conceptually and historically there are important enough differences between the two that keep these from being synonymous.

20 Before the Philippine Revolution, the *ilustrados* were an amorphous group led by Jose Rizal, Marcelo Del Pilar, etc., interested mainly in reforms in the colony. At the Malolos Congress, a segment within the group—the urban rich—showed indications of being a social class by asserting their class interests, i.e., upperclass interests rather than *ilustrado* interests as a whole. See Bonifacio Salamanca, *Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913* (Hamden, 1968), 17-19. On the Thirteen Martyrs, their involvement in the *Katipunan* and the revolution, see Aguinaldo's statement on the matter in his *My Memoirs* (Manila, 1967), 82; also, Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* (Quezon City, 1955), I, 241, 263, 296-97, 356; José Nava, *The Thirteen Martyrs of Cavite* (Manila, 1936?); 1-14.

21 This paper draws essentially from the Weberian concept of social class as a status-income group with a common lifestyle, in contrast to the Marxian idea that takes into consideration the following: (a)its relation to the means of production; (b)its will to compete for political power to protect its economic interests; (c)possession of a class ideology. Z.A. Jordan, *Karl Marx: Economy, Class and Social Revolution* (Exeter, 1972), 25, 30.

22 The case of the Thirteen Martyrs belies the claim that *ilustrados* rejected the idea of revolution to protect their "class" interests. See Jonathan Fast and Jim Richardson, *Roots of Dependency* (Quezon City, 1979), 56-65.

gible number of upperclassmen in possession of an above-average wealth, and the poor landless *kasamás-jornaleros,* there was the growing intermediate class of Caviteños, drawn mainly from the numerous *inquilino* residents of the province, but different from the rest in that they "were doing better", i.e., had improved their lot materially as to have risen from the ranks of the common peasantry. Through dint of industry and sheer resourcefulness, there were some families in many towns of the province that managed to rid themselves of the shackles of wretched poverty, viz., to add some wooden parts to an otherwise plain thatch-bamboo hut, to buy that much longed-for *aparador,*[23] to make the decisive transfer to the *población* (town center), and at least, to send a child or two to the nearest parochial school. If one must designate the term "middleclass" to mean a particular group in the province, it would have to be applied to this category of Caviteños.

In this paper, economic factors (income, property), concomitant lifestyle, and the manifestation of a "consciousness of kind" were used to determine the existence of a "middleclass" in nineteenth century Cavite.[24] Verifiability and relevance to the Philippine situation were the major considerations in the selection of these criteria. To begin with, the use of the term "middleclass" in this paper must be clarified. The concept of social classes has often been associated in the past with Western societies, particularly those of Europe. Originally, the "middleclass" referred to the bourgeoisie of nineteenth century Europe, basically an urban breed, suffused with Smithian liberalism and the idea of free enterprise. Lest the use of the term in this essay result in any misconception, I should state here what the Caviteño middleclassman was not.

He was not a creature of the urban areas, but rather still a ruralite just beginning to sample the congenial albeit more complex aspects of townlife. Occupationally, he was not principally a merchant, a craftsman, or a farmer. He was often a non-cultivating *inquilino*[25] who drew his income partly from his leasehold. As an *inquilino,* he did not directly have to tend his leasehold but sublet it to peasant cultivators called *kasamás.* Therefore he was relieved of the drudgery of tilling the soil and was able to preoccupy himself with subsidiary

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23 At that time, a status-symbol dresser and clothes cabinet is often made of *narra* wood.

24 The ideas of Marx, Sorokin and Schumpeter were also useful in the conceptualization of social classes in Cavite. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe, 1953).

25 Doubtless there must have been poorer *inquilinos* who directly tilled their plots. However descriptions of Caviteño *inquilinos* concern the noncultivating type dealt with in this paper, suggesting that the former could have been a small minority. All Caviteño *inquilinos* interviewed by the Taft Commission were noncultivators. U.S., BIA, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington, 1904), I, 186-98.

activities from which he apparently derived a substantial portion of his income.

Middleclass Caviteño income in the late nineteenth century was considerably less than that which accrued to the handful of rich upperclassmen in the province.[26] While upperclass income per annum on urban properties alone averaged over a thousand pesos, middleclass income was only about two hundred pesos a year.[27] A leasehold of a little over a hectare could have yielded approximately an eighth of an *inquilino's* income.[28] Another fraction could have come from holding a job as a *principal,* a teacher, etc. The rest of that income had to come from any other combination of economic activities which often involved short-term moneylending at high interest.[29] Middleclass resources also included some "hidden assets" in the form of jewelry and paper which were customarily not tax-declared.[30]

One might ask if this type of income met the needs of a middleclass Caviteño family at that time. To answer this question, one should consider some facts about life in Cavite in the 1890s. At two pesos, fifty centavos a *caván* of rice,[31] it cost twenty-five pesos a year to feed a family of five and probably double that amount to cover the rest of the daily food expenses.[32] A fifth of the income could have been budgeted for clothing. In the absence of electricity and motorized transportation fuel costs on firewood and candles were minimal. Trips to Manila or the provincial capital (*Cabecera*) were not frequent and much intertown travel was by *carromata* (horse carriage) and *banca* (dugout canoe). Huge medical bills were unknown because sicknesses of any kind were referred to the local *arbulario* (herbalist). Recreation was mostly limited to cockfighting, *pangguinge,* chewing *buyo,*[33] and the religious feasts. Barring addiction to vices as gambling, such a simple lifestyle could have made the income of a middleclass Caviteño family adequate and saving even likely. Table 1 on salaries in Cavite at the time puts into perspective the income of Cavite's intermediate class.[34]

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[26] PNA, Cavite, 1889.

[27] APSR, Naic, 1895-1896.

[28] Income from leaseholds varied according to size, quality of riceland, etc.

[29] Robert Macmicking, *Recollections of Manila and the Philippines During 1848, 1849, 1850* (London, 1852), 101-02; Ramon R. Lala, *The Philippine Islands* (New York, 1898), 199.

[30] Rafael Guerrero, *Cronica de la guerra de cuba y la rebelión de filipinas, 1895-1897* (Barcelona, 1897), IV, 22.

[31] U.S., BIA, "Report of the Provincial Governor of Cavite, 1902", 3222/6. *Cavan* is a unit of rice measure = 64 liters.

[32] Despite fluctuating rice prices, the price of rice increased only at the rate of 1% in a century. An idea of food prices ca. 1800 is given in Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga, *Status of the Philippines in 1800* (Manila, 1973), 220-21.

[33] *Pangguinge* is a card game; *buyo* is a mixture of betel leaf, nut and lime.

[34] All tables are appended.

The most obvious indicator of class status in the province was the type and location of one's house within the *población* limits, a radium of about half a kilometer from the town *plaza*[35] featuring compact settlements. Manuel Scheidnagel observed that parts of the houses of Caviteño *principales* were often made of fine Philippine wood.[36] Middleclass lifestyle differed enough from that of humbler *kasamás* and *jornaleros* that it was noticeable to visiting foreigners. Bowring noted that "... almost every *pueblo* has some dwellings larger and better than the rest, occupied by the native authorities or mixed races . . . ."[37] Speaking of Chinese *mestizos* in particular, he continues that "... where they retain the native dress, it is gayer in color, richer in ornament . . . . The men commonly wear European hats, shoes, stockings, and the sexes exhibit a small imprint of dandism and coquetry."[38] Compare this with the situation of the *kasamá* and the *jornalero,* who dwelt in makeshift *nipa* huts camouflaged by luxuriant vegetation in the *barrios,* whose *pequeño casangcapan* (simple belongings) consisted of a *baníg* (palm mat), a pair of shirts, a cock.[39] "The peasant", remarked a Spanish writer, "was already happy with a bit of rice, cooked with water only and... a piece of meat or a small fish, quite salty and fried."[40]

The degree to which hispanicized ways were adopted by a given family was also an index to its class status because exposure to Hispanic culture was based upon one's ability to financially afford it. Middleclass and upperclass shared an acquaintance with urban Manila in the manner that lowerclass peasants did not. Middleclass Caviteños were initiated to Manila culture either on account of periodic business trips to Manila markets or because one's family was able to defray the expenses of a Manila education.

The Aguinaldos of Kawit typified a Caviteño middleclass family of the late nineteenth century. Until he acquired many hectares of land under the American government at the turn of this century, Emilio Aguinaldo was a non-cultivating *inquilino principál* from Kawit.[41] His mother was a common cigarette-maker who became a directress of the government tobacco factory in the *Cabecera.*[42] His

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35 The municipal center which usually includes a church, the tribunal house, the homes of the elite, a store or two, and a market. See Donn V. Hart, *The Philippine Plaza Complex: a Focal Point in Culture Change* (Syracuse, 1968).

36 Manuel Scheidnagel, *Las colonias espanoles de asia: islas filipinas* (Madrid, 1880), 54.

37 John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippines* (Manila, 1963), 9.

38 Ibid., 70.

39 Scheidnagel, 54.

40 E. Deverter Delmas, *La insurrección de filipinas en 1896-1897* (Barcelona, 1899), I, 223.

41 Lala, 304-35; U.S., *House Doc. 963,* 61st. Cong., 2nd Sess., 4.

42 Aguinaldo, 3.

father worked for years without salary in the provincial administration until he became an *oficiál de mesa* (desk clerk). Not inclined towards studying, Aguinaldo only briefly attended the Colegio de San Juan de Letran.[43] Curiously enough, it was his mother who secured for him the position of *cabeza* in Binakayan from which he later became a *capitán municipal.* Concurrently, he also engaged in small businesses like running a *panutsá*[44] factory and in the sale of salt and bolos.

Above the middleclass *inquilinos* was an infinitesimal native upperstratum most members of which congregated in the *Cabecera.* Shops, distilleries, contractual projects, shipping, rentals on urban property, etc., provided these Caviteños with what was considered at the time to have been a sizeable fortune.[45] There was Don Luis Yangco, a legendary name in Philippine commercial shipping whose ferry service across Manila Bay provided an important link between Cavite and the capital.[46] Mestizo families like the Osorios, Inocencios, Trias, Basas and San Agustins also belonged to this group. A sprinkling of upperclassmen could also be found in other towns of Cavite whose wealth came from rural landholdings, urban properties, and/or successful business ventures. The Cuencas of Bacoor, the Papa, De Castro, Valentin, and Arenas families of Naic, the Darwins of Indang pertained to this class.[47] Whenever one or two of these families could be found in a municipality these were considered as "first families" and their domicile stood prominently as the only *bahay na bató* (house of brick and masonry) in the area, built in the style of Spanish homes of the period. Upperclass homes were located by the town *plaza,* near to the sources of power, economic and political. Customarily, the rich served as sponsors for the biggest event of the year: the town *fiesta.* The sponsorship of a fiesta carried with it considerable prestige and a tremendous outlay of expense. The *hermano mayor* paid for several brass bands and a sumptuous feast at his home to which everyone was welcome. One's prestige was locally gauged on the basis of how much one spent for the *fiesta* as *hermano mayor,* a conversation topic in town that far outlasted the celebration. Apropos the subject, Ventura Lopez Fernandez's description of the town fiesta of San Roque provides us with local color and an idea of the nature of class relations during these social functions in Cavite:

> According to customs, the *hermano mayor* offered a great dinner-dance at his house . . . [which] was adorned with glazed calicos

[43] A lawsuit filed by the Recollects of Imus against the Aguinaldos involving land held by the latter appears to have been another reason why the young Aguinaldo was forced to terminate his Manila studies. Lala, 304-05.

[44] A conical piece of molten brown cane sugar.

[45] PNA, Cavite, 1889.

[46] Manuel, I, 481-83.

[47] PNA, Cavite, 1889; PNA, Terrenos Cavite, lib. II, 1856-90.

> of various national colours and with banners everywhere. Rich dinnerware graced the table . . . . There was stuffed turkey, ham in syrup, poultry . . . and the most delicious cuisine of Europe. . . . There was no lack of wines of all brand. . . . This was for the Spaniards and the distinguished persons in town, whose dinner table was located upstairs. But below, by the vestibule of the house, there was another one for the poor and the commonfolk, where all kinds of native trifles were served, without lacking the classic *lechón* [roast pig] causing such indigestion to those invited, who ceaselessly came from morning until night.[48]

Middleclass Caviteños of the late nineteenth century were possessed of a "consciousness of kind" because of common economic and occupational bonds, a similarity of status in the stratified pyramid of the provincial population, and a common lifestyle. As an indicator of class Schumpeter describes this phenomenon:

> Class members behave towards each other in a fashion characteristically different from their conduct towards members of other classes. They are in closer association with one another; they understand each other better; they work more readily in concert; they close ranks and erect barriers against the outside; they look out into the same segment of the world, with the same eyes, from the same viewpoint, in the same direction.[49]

Locale of residence, attire, a measure of education, elite *principalia* status, a reasonable amount of income and savings set middleclass Caviteños apart from common peasants and they knew it. Towards members of the lowerclass, middleclass Caviteños appear to have been aloof if kindly.[50] A realization of common agrarian origins must have conduced towards this peculiar situation. Class differences between *kasamás* and town-dwelling middleclassmen found expression in the tendency of both groups to regard each other as different, one referring to the other as the "town-dwellers" (*taga-bayan*) or the "barrio-dwellers" (*taga-barrio*), with the usual undercurrent of mutual indifference.[51] While often romanticized in old Tagalog films, it was generally considered a step backward for the son of a *principál* or a prosperous *inquilino* to marry a girl from any of the distant barrios.

At the same time, middleclass Caviteños were cognizant of the significant differences between them and the provincial upperclassmen towards whom they were emulative in everything material tempered only by the realization of the limitations of their own resources.

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[48] Ventura Lopez Fernandez, *El filibustero* (Manila, 1892), 87-88.

[49] Bendix and Lipset, 77.

[50] Barrows noticed that the relations between different classes in the Philippines were "kindly", generally not antagonistic. *Sen. Doc 331,* 686.

[51] This behavioral-attitudinal complex is so deeply-rooted and commonplace in Cavite that it must have been a part of the Caviteño mentality as long as the *barrio-bayan* dichotomy has been there.

Beyond the boundaries of the San Roque-Cabecera area, a shortage of upperclass families often necessitated the participation of the most prosperous middleclassmen as *hermanos mayores* during fiestas. From November to June a series of religious festivals were and continue to be dominated by upper and middle classes in which barrio people are peripherally involved. Cooperative efforts needed to set up these ritual celebrations must have helped reinforce ties among class members even as these fiestas dramatized the gap between townspeople and barrio people. The participation of some middleclass families in the sponsorship of fiestas could have only abetted middleclass aspiration for more wealth in their efforts to emulate the upperclass. It is noteworthy that in the town of Bacoor the current slate of *hermanos mayores* still includes families bearing nineteenth century *principalia* names.[52] Sustained by religious tradition and materialist values, the cycle of the fiestas in Cavite has persisted for if these drained middleclass savings, these also replenished middleclass resources in the amount of local business they generated.

Besides the religious festivals, Spanish Catholicism enhanced class differences in other ways. The town elite attended weekly church services in their Sunday best: frock coat, top hat, and tasselled cane for the *gobernadorcillo, barong tagalog* or *camisa de chino* for other *principales,* and for women, *barò at saya* and beaded *zapatillas.*[53] The front pews in church were reserved for its richest patrons, while the rest crowded themselves behind. Church fees for baptisms, marriages, and funerals varied in accordance with one's ability to pay for simpler or more elaborate rites. In a very important sense, the Church conveyed to its parishioners the idea that salvation was directly related to one's ability to pay for propitiatory masses, candles, indulgencies, etc.[54]

A set of photographs in Monteverde y Sedano's *La campaña de filipinas, división lachambre* (Madrid, 1898),[55] provides a clear proof of the existence of more than two social classes in nineteenth century Cavite. A close scrutiny of these pictures also unmistakably reveals a "consciousness of kind" among members of Cavite's propertied classes. From these photographs (a) see how an upperclass family went to a photographer's studio, grandly attired to pose stiffly before the camera against a painted garden backdrop typical of the times; (b) look at a well-scrubbed, up-and-coming family of the *clase media,* simply but properly dressed, and just as engrossed about posing before

[52] Interview with Mr. Jose Gazo of Bacoor, 1 June 1983.

[53] *Barong tagalog* and *camisa de chino* are men's shirts made of native fiber; *baro at saya* means blouse and skirt; *zapatillas* are ladies' footwear.

[54] These maybe gleaned from the novels of Rizal.

[55] The same set of photos are reproduced in Soledad M. Borromeo, "El Cadíz Filipino: Colonial Cavite, 1571-1896" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1973), 129-32.

a local photographer; (c) compare these with a snapshot of a group of neighborhood jornaleros, dressed in loose, homespun gauze shirts and blouses, relaxed, squatting or barefeet on the ground.

III. Empirical Evidence

Several documents in the Philippine National Archives and the Dominican archives in Manila provide vital empirical support for this study of native class structure in nineteenth century Cavite. Since records are fairly well preserved for Naic but fragmentary for the rest of the province, the writer took this town as representative for other towns in Cavite.

For the year 1895-1896, the town of Naic had the following persons serving as town officials: Cristobal Bustamante, *capitán municipal;* Blas Cayas, Melencio Valenzuela, Francisco Nazareno, Matías Poblete, Mauricio Vasquez, Nicolas Toco, Rafael Jocson, Potenciano Papa, Blas Cena, Daniel Pilpil, Leoncio Yubiengco, Julio Cayas, and Leoncio Velasco, *principales.*[56] The financial status of these *principales* and the electors who voted them into office are shown on Table 2. These names are repeated in the lists of donors to the local church and tribunal in terms of money or *cavans* of palay (unhusked rice) and indicates that these were all *inquilinos.*[57] When the Philippine Revolution broke out in 1896, practically the same people were active contributors to the cause of the revolution.[58] A fairly comprehensive list of *inquilinos* in Naic in 1891 shows that it had 460 individual *inquilinos* (equivalent to an *inquilino* population of 1840 persons).[59] *Inquilinos* thus constituted some twenty per cent of Naic's population of 8079 in 1896.[60] We could assume that in the major hacienda towns of the province the size of the *inquilino* population was about the same, although it could have been slightly larger in Imus and in San Francisco de Malabon.[61]

The following may be inferred from the above data. In the town of Naic, there were about three persons at the outbreak of the revolution rich enough to have been able to contribute one thousand pesos each to the cause: P. Valentin, Potenciano Papa, and Epifanio Arenas, all of whom may be considered as the town's upperclassmen. Most contributors to the church and/or the revolution were *inquilinos* who formed a significant percentage of its population. Their ability

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56 APSR, Naic, 1895-1896.

57 APSR, Inquilinos Naic, 1891; APSR, Telesforo Canseco, "Historia de la revolución filipina en Cavite, 1896", mss., 46.

58 APSR, Katipunan Contributors, Naic, 1896.

59 APSR, Inquilinos Naic, 1891.

60 U.S., *Sen. Doc.* 280, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 37.

61 Indicated in the proportionately larger numbers of *inquilinos* in these towns who bought/leased more than 16 hectares of land in 1902. *House Doc.* 963, 4-9.

to contribute money and/or goods to these causes implies that *inquilinos* were definitely better off than the impoverished *kasamás* and *jornaleros*. *Inquilinos* may then be properly positioned as an intermediate class between the truly rich and the *kasamá-jornalero* group. Finally, many of these *inquilino* middleclassmen were Chinese *mestizos* like the Yubiengcos, the Pobletes, etc. We may thus conclude that by the late nineteenth century, the town of Naic and presumably most other towns in Cavite had a developing middleclass composed primarily of non-cultivating *inquilinos*, which included the town *principalia* and many *mestizos*.

As a newly emergent intermediate stratum, this group exemplifies social classes in the historical sense: unstable, changing, transitional.[62] It cannot be considered a social class in the Marxian sense of permanent, massive, solidary groups, e.g., the bourgeoisie, the proletariat. Signs of class cohesiveness and militancy are not evident in the enunciated goals of the *inquilino*-led revolution of 1896 which focused upon political independence from Spain.[63] Obviously, Cavite's middleclass was unable to articulate its own class ideology and thereby missed the chance to "evolve," in the words of Z. A. Jordan, from being a "class in itself" to being a "class for itself,"[64] i.e., this group failed to become truly "revolutionary" in Marxist terminology. The absence of a class ideology among Cavite's middleclassmen maybe interpreted in various ways. Common sense dictated that any program aimed at promoting middleclass *inquilino* interests would have doomed the revolution from the start because of the need to rally mass support. With a view to eliciting this type of support, the goal of the revolution was phrased in terms of freedom from Spanish rule, whereas its implications for the future of the different social classes were conveniently left unspecified. In certain isolated instances, during the initial phase of the revolution in Cavite, leaders like Ariston Villanueva and Mariano Alvarez exhorted fellow Caviteños across class lines to support the movement in exchange for certain specific socioeconomic advantages which could accrue to them.[65] Speaking before the townspeople of Naic, Villanueva talked about the abolition of the tribute[66] and miscellaneous license fees (on fisheries, houses, cockfighting, *carromatas*, etc.). In an obvious bid for *kasamá* support, a promise was made that actual cultivators of hacienda land were to acquire ownership of their farm plots if they joined the movement.[67]

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62 Jordan, 30.

63 Cesar A. Majul, *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City, 1960), 71-73.

64 Jordan, 29.

65 Canseco, 29, 64.

66 *Ibid.* He probably meant the *cedula personal* and the *contribución industrial* which replaced the tribute in the 1880s. Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*: 1850-1898 (New Haven, 1965), 140.

67 Canseco, 29.

One wonders whether this *inquilino* appeal was made because of a real perception of overlapping interests between them and their *kasamás,* or it was mere revolutionary rhetoric. Besides these speeches and the *First Manifesto of the Hongkong Junta*[68] there is no proof in the revolutionary literature which indicates that revolutionary leaders did seriously address themselves to the problem of redistributing wealth in Caviteño society on a mass basis.[69] After the Revolutionary Government confiscated friarlands during the interregnum prior to the American advance, that government proposed a scheme of land redistribution which gave priority rights of parcel selection to ranking revolutionaries and the families of rebel casualties.[70] If such a scheme had been implemented, it would have been tantamout to a betrayal of previous promises to *kasamás.* A similar denial of rights to cultivators of their farmplots in the Cagayan Valley would have taken place had Aguinaldo been able to fulfill his promises to some followers during the course of his northward retreat.[71] One should note, at any rate, that when the Americans offered to sell or lease former friarlands in Cavite early this century at nominal prices, those who took advantage of the opportunity were mostly *inquilinos* led by Emilio Aguinaldo. By special concession from the new government, Aguinaldo was allowed to acquire 1055 hectares of land in Imus.[72]

A less harsh view of the failure of this *inquilino*-led movement to formulate a class-based ideology may be sought in the dynamics of class relations in Cavite at the time. The nonexistence of militant class consciousness among Cavite's *inquilinos* might be better understood by elucidating primarily on the nature of *inquilino-kasamá* relationship in the province rather than the relationship of the *inquilinos* with their friar *hacenderos.* Implicit in the *inquilino-kasamá* relationship were latent feelings of interclass antagonism due to its inherent exploitative nature where the major economic interest of the *inquilino* would have been to derive maximum profit from the labor of his *kasamá* after having fulfilled land rent requirements to his friar landlords. However, Table 3 suggests that the possibilities of exploitation by *inquilinos* in this case might have been limited. This table gives the ratio of total palay production to population for the same year and tells us that except for Imus and Dasmariñas which had significant palay surplases, most of lowland Cavite could hardly cope with supplying its population their nutritional needs which is about 365 *chupas* per person per year or nearly two *cavans.*[73] These facts are

[68] Quoted in Majul, *The Political,* 131.

[69] Milagros C. Guerrero, "Luzon at War: Contradictions in Philippine History, 1899-1902" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1977), 100.

[70] Apolinario Mabini, *La revolución filipina* (Manila, 1931), I, 111.

[71] John R. M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States* (Pasay City, 1971), V, 47.

[72] *House Doc.* 963, 4.

[73] 8 *chupas* = 1 ganta; 25 *gantas* = 1 *caván.*

further substantiated by the prevalence of small-sized leaseholds in lowland Cavite which averaged a little over a hectare in 1877 and had a yield of about fifty-six cavans per harvest.[74] Following the Bunzalan sample, landrent was thirty percent of the harvest, expenses incidental to planting and harvest were twenty-eight per cent, and the remainder was equally divided between the *inquilino* and the *kasamá*. With two yearly harvests,[75] the *kasamá*'s share amounted to twenty-four *caváns* from which twelve *caváns* provided a year's food supply. The rest was used to pay off his debts, feed his helpers, buy other necessities of life, etc. From these set of facts the following maybe deduced. In the friar estates of Cavite leaseholds were generally small resulting in significantly high nutritional densities. Fragmentation of Cavite's haciendas into minuscule farmplots meant that the yield was just enough to support a peasant family. If this was the case, the *inquilinos* could not have been able to exact as much as he would have wanted from his *kasamá* without such adverse consequences as a frequent turnover in subtenancy.[76] Since the paltry income from a Cavite farmplot made it difficult for both *inquilino* and *kasamá* to live on this source of livelihood, the *inquilino* might have preferred to spend his time in pursuit of other means of earning a living and to have considered his agricultural income as merely supplementary. It would have been advantageous then for the *inquilino* to keep his

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[74] Computation of the average size of leaseholds in lowland Cavite was based upon data from the *Censo de las islas filipinas*...1877 (Madrid, 1883), and Cavada, I, 172. Cultivated land in lowland Cavite was divided by the total number of lowland cultivators. The number of lowland cultivators was determined by (a) establishing the ratio of lowland family heads to total provincial family heads in all the agricultural towns of the province and then (b) multiplying this ratio (.56) by the total number of cultivators in Cavite: 14566. Thus, 14241 ÷ 25198 = .56 x 14566 = 8157; 8783 ÷ 8157 = 1.08 hectares per cultivator. Cultivated area in the lowland was determined on the basis of the upland-lowland dichotomy in Cavite. Certain assumptions had to be made in view of meagre statistics: that (a) most lowland family heads were cultivators, excluding the population of the San Roque-Cabecera area, and half from Bacoor; (b) except for a negligible percentage, practically all lowland cultivators were tenants of the friars and that nearly all cultivated land in the region was friarland. The generally diminutive size of Cavite's cultivated arms is confirmed by the *Census of the Philippine Islands,* 1903 (Washington, 1905), IV, 180. Yield per hectare was based upon the statements of several inquilinos from Imus in the early 19th century and those given to the Taft Commission. PNA, leg. 75, 1774-1809, v. 1; *Fourth Annual,* I, 186-98. Giving allowances for a possible *inquilino* bias, the Bunzalan interview was used which elucidates on a three-way partition of harvest between landlord, *inquilino* and *kasamá*. The Taft interviews indicate that planting and harvesting expenses were borne either solely by the *inquilino* or shared with the *kasamá*.

[75] Although evidence are conflicting, it seems that two harvests a year were possible in Cavite's irrigated ricelands. *Ibid.; Census* 1903, IV, 93.

[76] Roth's opposite view on *inquilino-kasamá* relationship is based upon facts relating to the Hacienda de Pandi (Bulacan). Roth, 131. It is worth-noting that peasant unrest did not flare up in Cavite during the revolution the way it did elsewhere in Luzon. Tension was observed in some towns in Cavite only during the late revolutionary period because of uncertainties over these farm leases after the Revolutionary Government had confiscated the friarlands. M. Guerrero, 83-84, 124, 135, 216-17.

kasamá on the land to retain his leasehold and derive some income from it while doing something else. It is the belief of this writer that in Cavite the diversified earning capacity of the *inquilino,* partly induced by the tiny size of his leasehold, mitigated rather than exacerbated *inquilino* demands on his *kasamá.* If these observations are correct, the lack of any evidence suggesting the incidence of strife between Caviteño *inquilino* and *kasamá* before and during the early phase of the revolution could have been the result of a fairly benign relationship between them. Furthermore, the *kasamá* worked his field in the isolation of the *náyon,*[77] with little or no direct supervision from either *inquilino* or friar *hacendero* that could have reduced opportunities for friction and inhibited the development of horizontal ties of solidarity among peasant cultivators. *Inquilino-kasamá* relations must also be seen in light of more positive patron-client relations based upon rules of reciprocity or *útang-na-loob* and a pervasive social sanction in lowland Philippines called *hiyâ,*[78] which could have restrained – – or facilitated exploitation of the *kasamá.* Aided by the blurring of ethnic difference between Chinese *mestizos* and *indios* (native Filipinos), latent *kasamá* hostility towards *inquilinos* was redirected to the friar *hacenderos* as both classes saw in the anti-colonial struggle a means to dismantling monastic estates in the province.

IV. Summary

In conclusion, the following maybe said of Cavite's *inquilino* middleclass in the late nineteenth century. Socio-economic change during that century was an important catalyst in the formation of an intermediate social stratum in the province in which the *principalia* merged with a growing number of moderately prosperous *inquilinos* instead of maintaining its previous class position "on top of the heap" at the onset of the Spanish rule (See *Schematic Illustration of Class Stratification in Cavite Province,* in the Appendix). We have noted how its *principalia* element held a pivotal position vis-a-vis the colonial government and the native population, and how it had promoted its own class interests. By every criterion of what constitutes a "social class" in the Weberian-historical sense, Cavite's nineteenth century middleclass was one. The tainted records of its *principalia* segment as a part of the Spanish colonial bureaucracy should not, however, obscure the fact that this class was perhaps the most dynamic force in the province at the time, seen in its ability to absorb groups of diverse ethnic and social backgrounds (the *mestizos* and the earlier

[77] These are very distant barrios close to the rice fields.

[78] Frank Lynch, S.J., comp., *Four Readings on Philippine Values* (Quezon City, 1964), 15-17, 22-49. To undermine the effects of these values upon *inquilino-kasamá* relationships in Cavite is to ignore the realities of Southern Tagalog behavioral patterns.

timawàs). Election to *principalia* status on the basis of property and education, an "open" social structure which made upward mobility possible, if difficult, and the easy-going character of the population suggest a state of flux in the group. Spurred on by its economic gains and its increasing access to education, "things were looking up" for the members of this class whose obvious materialist values[79] and self-interest were indicative of more changes to come. Relegated to the bottom-rung of the government, *inquilino-principales* were not dissuaded from keeping a lively interest in town politics. True to character, Caviteños voiced their grievances, filed complaints, avidly sought municipal positions, if only to satisfy at times, a desire for status and meaningless titles to which the government responded by proliferating petty local offices labelled with such titles as "supervisor" of the grainfields, the coconut groves, the betel nut plantations. "So numerous are these petty officers," remarked Charles Wilkes, "that there is scarcely any family of consequence that has not a member who holds some kind of office under the government."[80] Such an interest in participant politics indicates that town and village communities of nineteenth century Cavite were far from having been "untouched by the storm-clouds of the airy region of politics"[81] and augured well for the possibility of a Caviteño revolution against Spain before the century was over. It was an *inquilino-principál* who led Cavite to rise up in arms in 1896; many other *inquilino-principales* in its various towns rallied their tenant *kasamás* to follow suit, proclaiming an end to friar rule and Spanish domination,[82] and hinting at the start, that a measure of socio-economic relief for the poor could be expected.

Judged by any yardstick, the consequences of the Philippine Revolution fell short of having been truly revolutionary.[83] The vow

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[79] Early Spanish writers commented on this particular Filipino trait. *BR*, XVI, 79; "Anon. Report, dated Manila, 1572" quoted in Taylor, I, 11; Lynch, 18, 74-86.

[80] Charles Wilkes, *Travel Accounts of the Islands* (Manila, 1974), 52.

[81] Karl Marx, *Capital* (Moscow, 1960), I, 352.

[82] The effort to minimize the anti-friar sentiments of Caviteños in connection with the revolution is contradicted by (a) Aguinaldo's proclamation which vehemently denounced the friars and their landed possessions. See APSR, "Aguinaldo's Proclamation, 7 July 1897"; (b) the rapid spread of Aglipayanism in such hacienda towns as Bacoor and Imus because of intense anti-friar attitudes among their inhabitants. U.S., BIA, "Report of the Provincial Governor, Cavite, 1903", 3222/13; John Shumacher, S.J., "The Religious Character of the Revolution in Cavite, 1896-1897," *Philippine Studies* 24 (1976): 410-413.

[83] Besides ousting the Spaniards, the only other significant result of the Philippine Revolution was the formation of the Philippine Independent Church whose membership did not exceed three million at its peak. It has, since then, lost much of its support. The P.I.C., also known as the Aglipayan Church is just one of several minority religious groups in the Philippines today, a country that remains predominantly Roman Catholic. Mary Dorita Clifford, B.V.M., "Iglesia Filipina Independiente" in: Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *Studies in Philippine Church History* (Ithaca, 1969), 247,, 251.

of its leadership to abolish all forms of impositions on the people was immediately nullified by the practical need of raising funds for the movement.[84] A truce with Spain was followed by defeat in a war against the superior power of the United States. The class which presumed to lead its people to freedom had to settle for something less than political emancipation, and the promise to bring social and economic justice to their less fortunate countrymen was soon forgotten, as the elite became the actual beneficiaries of the demise of the monastic estates in the province,[85] and Caviteño *principales* were coopted anew under still another colonial regime.[86]

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

Salaries for Certain Occupational Groups in Cavite Province, 1850-1903

OCCUPATION	*SALARIES (in pesos and centavos)*		
	Daily	*Monthly*	*Yearly*
Teachers			46.–96.
Gobernadorcillos			24.
Choir Members & Church Assistants			20.–22
Jornaleros	.25		
Dressmakers	.20		
Fishermen	1.00		
Carpenters	1.00		
Boatmen	.50	6.	
Barbers	.50	10.	
Bakers		70.	
Boatbuilders		20.	

SOURCES: PNA, Salarios Cavite, 1851, 1858; PNA, Memoria de Cavite, 1881; *Census of the Philippine Islands,* 1903, IV, 434 435.

TABLE 2

Financial Status of Some Principales and Electors Naic, Cavite, 1895–1896

SOURCE: APSR, Naic, 1895-1896.

Names	*Yearly Income (in pesos)*
Don Leoncio Velasco	₱1,750.
" Ciriaco Nazareno	950.
" Potenciano Papa	890.
" Anselmo Antagan	690.
" Nicolas Toco	400.
" Francisco Catigasan	270.

[84] Taylor, IV, 309-316.

[85] Roth, 1; *House Doc.* 963, 4-9.

[86] U.S., BIA, "Report on the Establishment of Civil Government in Cavite, 4 July 1901"; "List of the Present Municipal Officers of ... Cavite Province, 1901."

" Cipriano Benedicto	250.
" Marcial Vazquez	240.
" Damian Anuat	220
" Julio Cayas	195.
" Andres Gonzales	170.
" Pedro Poblete	160.
" Saturnino Cordero	150.
" Maximo Oduña	140.
" Lorenzo Cena	120.
" Vicente Nazareno	110.

SOURCE: APSR, Naic, 1895-1896.

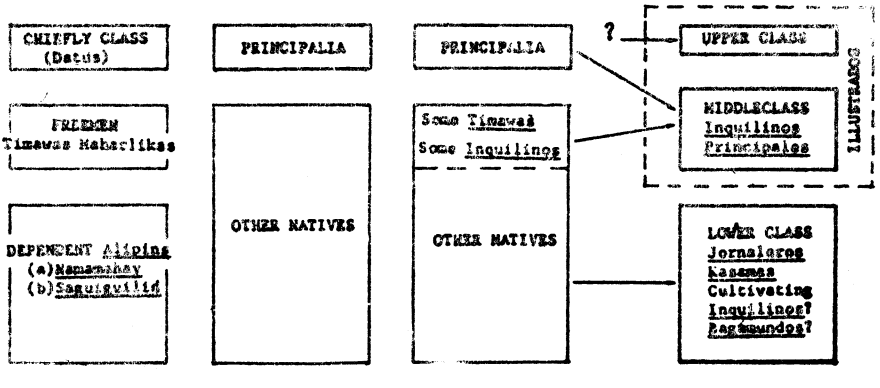
TABLE 3

Nutritional Densities in Cavite, 1884
(Cavans of Palay per Population)

Towns	*Cavans Total*	*Cavans Rent*	*Cavans – Rent*	*Population*	*Nutritional Density*
Noveleta	2993	1197	1796	1760	1.02
Bacoor	18780	7512	11268	13196/2	.85
Kawit	15116	6047	9070	6599/2	1.37
Santa Cruz	31900	9570	22330	12524	1.78
Imus	120000	48000	72000	* 12142	5.9
Naic	21000	8400	12600	8700	1.4
Rosario	10000	4200	63000	5264	1.19
Dasmariñas	10000	4000	6000	2876	2.08
Silang	2500	0	2500	7149	.34
Indang	1000	0	1000	11851	.08
Carmona	2212	0	2212	3242	.68

SOURCES: PNA, Cavite, 1884; * There is something obviously wrong with the enumeration for Imus in the PNA source; this figure is for 1887 from U.S., *Sen. Doc 280,* 57th Cong., 1st. Sess., 50. Computing nutritional densities by subtracting landrent from total palay production and dividing the remainder by the population eliminates the problem of ascertaining yield per hectare since it varies according to the type of riceland used. Although Martinez de Zuniga claims that landrent was usually 5 cavans per cavan of seed sown (corrected by Roth as 6.25 cavans), in most of Cavite landrent averaged 30% of the harvest. Roth, 139; PNA, Cavite, 1881; PNA, Cavite, leg. 75, 1774-1809, v. 1.

SCHEMATIC ILLUSTRATION OF CLASS STRATIFICATION
IN CAVITE PROVINCE OVER TIME



DUTCH RELATIONS WITH THE PHILIPPINES, 1600-1800

by
M.P.H. Roessingh*

Translated by Ruurdje Laarhoven-Casiño
From the original Dutch publication "Nederlanse Betrekkingen met de Philippijnen, 1600-1800" in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde,* Deel 124, 4de aflevering, 1968. 's-Gravenhage; Martinus Nijhoff.

Only few Asian countries possess a source publication which, by its volume and precise annotation, is comparable to *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898,* published by Emma H. Blair, J.A. Robertson and E.G. Bourne.[1] Volume 53, "Bibliography", lists the archives and libraries used for the compilation. Documents and historical sources from Dutch institutions were not utilized, but there is a note on their locations.[3] Under "Other European collections", there is the following statement: "A letter from the Director of the Netherlands archives at the Hague reports that there is no distinctive section of the archives devoted to the Philippine MSS. Most of the papers are written in the Dutch language and many deal with the Dutch expeditions to the Orient and the Dutch oriental possessions. It is quite probable that many MSS of the East Indies contain references to the Philippines."[4]

Indeed, the archives of the United East India Company are very rich in documents relating to the Philippines, but these are for the most part hidden between the other papers. The series: "Uit

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* The author is an archivist at the General State Archives at the Hague, Netherlands.

1 *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Explorations by early navigators, 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.* Translated from the originals. Edited and annotated by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, with historical introduction and additional notes by Edward Gaylord Bourne. With maps, portraits and other illustrations. (Cleveland, 1903-1909. 55 vols.)
Translators Note: Footnote 2 and part of the original text are ommitted with permission from the author. It was a paragraph pertaining to a description of the publication: *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* itself.

3 Some Dutch sources have been used, although via a French translation, e.g., "Early Years of the Dutch in the East Indies, translated and condensed entirely from *Recueil des voyages.....de la Campagnie des Indes* (Amsterdam, 1725)." *Ibid.,* vol. LIII, p. 141.

4 *Ibid.,* vol. LIII, p. 9.

Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren" (Letters and Papers sent over from the Indies) OB for short, contain more than 250 letters, logbooks, resolutions, and instructions with regard to the Dutch blockade of Manila, the relations with the island of Mindanao, the shipping and trade between the Philippines and the rest of Asia, etc. These documents can be found with the help of lists of contents, which are to be found in the front of most of the 2908 large volumes.

The General Dispatches of the Central Government in Batavia to the Directors of the VOC in the home country, and the letters sent to Batavia from such outposts as Formosa, Ternate, Tonkin, etc. also supply a great deal of information not mentioned at all in the lists of contents. The series: Patriase Missiven (Dispatches from Home; from the Gentlemen XVII, Directors of the VOC, to the Governor General and Advisory Council), the resolutions of both bodies and the diaries of Batavia Castle are provided with indices, which are also helpful in tracing relevant data. For the benefit of Philippine historians, I have recently concluded an annotated survey of these source materials.[5]

I would like to take into closer consideration several topics from the history of Dutch-Philippine relations, which, in the course of that survey, came to my attention, such as the purpose of the Dutch expeditions in Philippine waters in 1648, and the development of the Company's trade with Manila until the end of the 18th century. To this end, mainly those materials contained in the VOC archives, whether published or unpublished, will be used. Preceding it, is a short overview of the Philippines in relation to these topics.

The group of islands which, after 1542, were to be called the Philippines—after the Spanish king—was discovered in 1921 by the Portuguese Fernao de Magalhaes, who was in the service of the Spanish. Magalhaes was killed that same year, when he intervened in a battle between native kings. The second commander, Sebastian del Cano, at last completed the first voyage around the world with the ship "Vittoria", after he had taken on a load of spices from Tidore and the Moluccan Islands. This was the start of a fierce dispute between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and later between the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Dutch, about the possession of the Spice Islands. For a while, the dispute was settled in 1529, when Charles V sold the rights to the Moluccas to Portugal. A second line of demarcation[6], 17 degrees east of the Moluccas, would separate the Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence.

[5] M.P.H. Roessingh, "Dutch Relations with the Philippines: A Survey of Sources in the General State Archives, The Hague, Netherlands", in: *Asian Studies*, vol. V, Number 2 (August 1967; recte: March 1968).

[6] With the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, a similar demarcation has already taken place for the western hemisphere.

In 1564, Philip II sent an expedition under Miguel Lopez de Legazpi from Mexico to the Philippines (N.W. of the Moluccas, so within the Portuguese territory) to conquer it for Spain. The Spanish brought an important part of the archipelago under their sphere of influence between 1565 and 1571,[7] although repeatedly harassed by the Portuguese. In 1571, after a bloody fight with Radja Soliman, Legazpi made the small Mohammedan kingdom of Maynila on the largest island of Luzon the capital of the new possession.

A government was set up after the Spanish American model: a governor, and next to him a high court of justice, the *Audiencia,* and, on a lower level, a provincial government with *alcaldes mayores* to exercise executive and judicial powers. Landholding was regulated according to a feudal system, the *encomienda.* The Spanish conquerors obtained plots of land on loan from their king, which were to be cultivated by the local Filipinos, who were just serfs. (Slavery, however, was abolished by a decree issued by Philip II in 1589.) The viceroy of Mexico exercised supreme rule over the Philippines on behalf of the Spanish king until 1821.

The church was powerful, exercising great influence on the government. Its missionary work was done with great zeal, and large land grants were obtained from the Spanish crown. High religious functionaries in Manila organized the *"obras pias",* charitable institutions that became rich through trade. It was also due to the missionary diligence of His Catholic Majesty, that Spain did not leave the Philippines any earlier, despite the fact that not much gold, nor other valuables, were found.

Agriculture languished all throughout the Spanish period, while collecting spices on Mindanao was made difficult by piracy, and opposition by the "Moros", the Moslem natives.[9] However, these drawbacks were minimal compared to the huge profits that were made through trade between East Asia and the American West coast. Manila was ideally situated for this trade, since it is located at approximately equal distance from the Chinese coast, the main origin of silk, and from the spice region in the South. Silk and spices were the main products, shipped yearly by the galleon to Acapulco, Mexico, in exchange for silver from the Peruvian mines, which it brought back to Manila. The Spanish *real-* and later the Mexican dollar- were,

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[7] The large island of Mindanao in the south of the archipelago, but north of Celebes, and the Sulu-archipelago between N.E. Borneo and Mindanao, remained practically independent until late into the 19th century.

[8] B. Harrison, *Southeast Asia. A Short History* (London, 1954) p. 80-84, 143; G. F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History* (2 vols., Manila, 1949) I, p. 137-153, 161-170, 173-174, 249-251.)

[9] W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939, 2nd. impr. 1959) p. 43, 44; Zaide, p. 160.

[10] Schurz, p. 27-29, 63-64.

until far into the 19th century, the legal currency in the whole of East Asia.[10]

Besides the numerous advantages of the Acapulco shipping enterprise, it also brought disadvantages. This trade was dominated by a small group of civil servants, merchants, and the above mentioned "*obras pias*", which invested the money obtained through gifts, inheritances, etc. profitable and valuable cargoes. The Philippine economy hardly profited by it, mainly because the cargo of the yearly galleon consisted of products from outside of the Philippines, principally supplied by the Chinese. Thus Manila remained a "passive intermediate station" on the route from China to Spanish America.[11] According to the computations of P. Chaunu, the Philippines absorbed almost 15% of the revenue between 1591 and 1780 extracted by Spain during its flourishing period -1503 to 1650- from its American possessions.[12] Olivier van Noort, who passed by the Philippines on his voyage around the world, and lay before Manila waiting to ambush Chinese junks and the silver ship, but lost one of his two ships (the "Eendracht") to the Spanish, stated it very clearly: "These islands themselves have no riches, but most prominent is the trade of the Chinese, who visit there everywhere to do business, and are very subtle in their dealings."[13]

The financial position of the colony was repeatedly in great danger because of this narrow economic basis on which it was built; this was the case especially when the Acapulco galleon stayed away one or even more years in succession. In 1653, the VOC office in Formosa reported that the inhabitants there did not want to continue the trade with Manila, because for three years no ship from Mexico had arrived, "...which causes such scarcity, that, instead of silver coins, leather circulates in the community, which has caused the trade to come to nothing."[14]

The Spanish civil servants and armed forces also suffered because their salaries depended on the considerable subsidies from Mexico brought by the galleon. The Dutch had a very clear under-

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[11] Harrison, p. 144-145; Schurz, p. 38-42; Zaide, p. 340-342.

[12] P. Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibérique (XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles). Introduction Méthodologique et Indices d'activité* (Paris, 1960) p. 268. In "Manille et Macao, face à la conjoncture des XVIe et XVIIe siècles", *Annales E. S. C.* (1962) p. 555-580, Chaunu gives a summary of the published materials in his book, with a graphic representation of the imports of Manila from the period 1586-1780, distributed according to the countries of origin. The computation of the value is based on tax revenues. See also P. Chaunu, "Le galion de Manile. Grandeur et décadence d'une route de la soie" in : *Annales E. S. C.* (1951) p. 447-462.

[13] *De reis om de wereld door Olivier van Noort, 1598-1601* (Voyage around the world by Olivier van Noort). Published by J. W. Ijzerman. Publications of the Linschoten Society XXVII ('s Granvenhage, 1926) p. 113.

[14] OB 1654 I, fol. 200r.

standing of the situation, and from the beginning of their settlements in East Asia, they aimed at hitting the Spaniards at their weakest spot. A blockade of Manila, preferably combined with pirating one of the silverships from America served a threefold aim: weakening the Spanish empire, strengthening their own trade position by acquiring silver so indispensable in Asia, and, lastly, diverting the Chinese junks to the Dutch factories. With this in mind, Governor-General Jan Pietersz. Coen wrote to the Directors of the VOC in 1623, that the Company had to stop the junks from trading in Manila and other parts of the Indies, except Batavia, and that they should also harass them as much as possible on the coast of China. Governor-General Pieter de Carpentier and his Council underlined this by saying: "The Chinese ships will not give up their trade with Manila if they lose only their cargo. But if we want them to stay away from there, we have to take all the men prisoners or kill them".[15]

Originally the Dutch did not want to treat the Chinese too harshly, in order not to prejudice the people against them. Francois Wittert e.g. did take 17 junks during his expedition in Philippine waters, during 1609 and 1610, but he also traded with others. In December 1609, Wittert bought from three Chinese junks raw and finished silk, cloth, and various provisions, for 4000 *reals* cash.

In a battle against the Spaniards in April 1610, at which Wittert was killed, the Dutch lost three of their four ships and all their booty. Merchant Pieter Segers, who escaped with the yacht "De Pauw" to Patani, foresaw other troubles. Serious complaints were expected from the Chinese on account of the capture of the junks and the forced sale of silk, because not everything was paid for in cash.[16] He therefore proposed to the Directors of the VOC the adoption of a different policy. The Company should send a fleet of eight ships and three large yachts into Philippine waters, supplied with a sufficient number of carpenters to build there three or four galleys "...because near Manila are excellent islands for shipbuilding. With such an armada and strength... we could easily force them, even if there were 50 junks, to accompany us to Patani, taking half the cargo or so. Once we will have arrived in Patani, we will also buy the rest, but pay only half of it, with the promise that, next year when they bring to us a new cargo of an equal quantity of silk in Patani, we shall pay cash for the other half and for the newly brought wares as well. . . ."[17]

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[15] D.A. Sloos, *De Nederlanders in de Philippijnse wateren voor 1626* (Amsterdam, 1898) p. 5 and footnote 2 on the same page.

[16] OB 1607-1613 II, Pieter Segers to Jacques l'Hermite, June 18, 1610, fol. 3, 6.

[17] *Ibid.* Pieter Segers to VOC Directors, Nov. 3, 1610, fol. 2r. and v.

There are no indications that Segers' advice was followed up. At any rate, during the next big expedition under Jan Dirksz. Lam ...ten Chinese junks were taken with a total cargo value of almost a million guilders (four million pesos). In the battle against Admiral Ronquillo in April, 1617, Lam lost three of his ships; the Spanish navy, on the other hand, was totally destroyed as a result of this encounter, and later by storms. Coen wrote therefore: "If it pleases God and our masters, we have to resume this matter courageously again..."[18] Zaide's comments on the battle of Playa Honda tend to exaggerate Spanish victories over Holland and that the latter's defeat was "...not recounted in Dutch writings."[19] By "Dutch writings" Zaide probably refers to the 17th century (pamphlet) literature. Apparently Zaide did not know about Mac Leod's lively description of the battle complete with situational sketches and who concluded that the Dutch squadron was defeated . . . and its power was temporarily destroyed. According to Mac Leod, had Lam kept his nine ships together, he could have won, and in all likelihood could have captured Manila.[20] Contrary to what Blumentritt, Zaide[21] and other historians believed the capture of Manila was not the aim of the war by the Dutch. Nevertheless, the results of the 1646 campaign were very poor, if we consider that the Company then went to war with a total of fifteen large and small ships, in contrast with the Spaniards who only had two old galleons, the "Encarnacion" and the "Nuestra Señora del Rosario", assisted by a few more war junks and galleys. Still, every year, a procession is held in Manila in remembrance of the victories at Bolinao, Marinduque, Mindoro, Mariveles and Corregidor.[22] From a detailed account that the Governor-General and Council sent to the home country, it is clear, that the scant success was due to the dispersed action of the Company ships. A report about the enterprise of Marten Gerritsz. de Vries states that this fleet commander came upon two large Spanish galleons and two junks "in the Embocadero of Spiritu Sancto in the bay of Tigauw"[23] on June 26, 1646 which were waiting for the galleon from Mexico. De Vries blockaded the bay for a month, then he had to withdraw because

[18] Sloos, p. 37-45 and the archives cited there.

[19] Zaide, I, p. 261, footnote 49.

[20] N. Mac Leod, *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als zeemogendheid in Azie* (2 vol., Rijswijk, 1927) I, p. 168-174.

[21] F. Blumentritt, *Holländische Angriffe auf die Philippinen im XVI., XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhundert. Historische Skizze.* (Leitmeritz, 1880). This treatise has been based exclusively on Spanish sources, and the presentation is therefore one-sided.

[22] Zaide, I, Chapter XVI: "Portuguese and Dutch Wars".

[23] *Embocadero*: Strait Bernardino, between the southeast corner of Luzon and the northern point of Samar. (On the latter island is *Cabo del Espiritu Santo*). The galleons sailed through this Strait to and from Acapulco. The island *Ticao* in the Strait of San Bernardino served as the last place to obtain provisions for ships going across the Pacific Ocean. The convoy ships were waiting for the galleons from Acapulco here too. Schurz, p. 121-122.

of mortality amongst the crew and lack of victuals.[24] When the Dutch fleet retreated, the Spaniards followed them, and on July 30, the parties came to blows. During this battle, which was continued on August 1, the Dutch counted 19 dead and 58 wounded. The yachts "Breskens" and "Visscher" and two fire-ships were lost. The Spanish ships were damaged substantially, but were able to get to the safety of Manila Bay. De Vries sent two ships to Formosa, and sailed with three others along Luzon's eastcoast, burning several villages and churches, and taking more than a hundred captives.

The silvership from Mexico had "sailed to Cagayan[25] out of fear, and was shipwrecked. However, as reported by those taken prisoners, all silver had been salvaged. Thus the enemy suffered great losses, because of the destruction, and also because the return ship was not sent out. This was stated in the intercepted letters, which also complained about the poor conditions in Manila and Ternate..."

The fleet returned to Batavia in October because reinforcements did not turn up. In July, a second squadron had sailed out under Pieter de Goyer, but had failed to make contact with de Vries. One ship, disabled by a storm, had to return, the other three blockaded Manila Bay, which kept the returnship to Mexico from leaving. De Goyer twice gave battle to the above mentioned galleons (including the two galleys), with a loss of 16 dead and many wounded. The Dutch were able to keep the upper hand and captured two more junks. . . . "we intend to send a considerable force of 10 or 12 ships and yachts there again in February *to finally get the silver ship, to harass the enemy, and to prevent the Chinese from trading there, and at the same time drive the Spaniards from Ternate*..."[26]

Four of the five Spanish victories are here, more or less incidentally mentioned; in March 1646, François Caron (then Governor of Formosa) made a remarkable statement about the one at Bolinao (N.W. Luzon). A fleet of three strong yachts and a flyboat were sent out from this island under the command of master merchant Cornelis Caesar, and manned with an experienced crew, "...strong and well disposed to lick the Spanish...," but, because of disagreement bet-

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[24] Mac Leod notes here: "...very different from before Goa, where we were always supplied with fresh provisions from Wingoerla." Mac Leod, II, p. 360.

[25] *Cagian*: Cagayan, north-east corner of Luzon. This route to Manila was apparently much safer than via the rocky *Embocadero*, but the season was too advanced: "...for, after the beginning of July, or earlier, a ship was liable to be thrown upon the Luzon coast by a baguio, or typhoon, while the seas about the Bashees above Luzon were famous for their storms." Schurz, p. 226.

[26] OB 1647 II, fol. 27v-29r. Italics are mine (MPHR). The Spaniards kept their possessions on Ternate and Tidore until 1663, when they had to concentrate their armies on Manila, on account of the impending attack by the Chinese rebel and pirate, Coxinga.

ween the commanding officers, they did not succeed in opposing the "Encarnacion" and the "Rosario." Where are the "Batavians," Caron complains (referring to the battle of Duins), who attacked 67 Spanish galleons in September 1639 with a handful of ships? It is not surprising, that the Spaniards now carry their heads high. The Spanish captain, sent to Formosa as a prisoner of de Vries, does not even want to raise his hat to the Dutch, and "... when somebody told him, and ordered him to do so, he answered that he was His Majesty's captain, suggesting that the honor should be done to him; such dirty drivel is to be ridiculed, and does not need to be reported..."[27]

Caron, as we know from other sources, was always ready to criticize. From the last passage, it seems that his pride was hurt, which may have made his judgment of the battle at Bolinao unreasonably harsh. The Philippine galleons were formidable opponents, even for three "valiant" yachts and a flyboat. The Spaniards used for the construction of those galleons the many excellent kinds of wood found in the Philippines. Even with cannon fire, it was tough to get them to sink. The English fired more than a thousand bullets of eighteen and twenty-four pounds into the "Santisima Trinidad", in 1762, during the capture of Manila, without even penetrating her hull.[28]

The Directors of the VOC were not at all satisfied with the injudicious use of the fleet, which was employed for too many enterprises at once, leading to a disastrous division of energies. "The spirit of the merchant played a trick on the strategic views, because the vision of capturing the richly laden silver ships, as in the case of Piet Hein, was too attractive to keep it out of the war operations."[29] The voyages of de Vries[30] in 1647, and of Tasman in 1648, to the Philippines did little to change the situation. Again, they were unsuccessful in capturing a silver ship. In Batavia, however, it was pointed out that, because of the Manila blockade, the Chinese were diverted to Formosa, and big profits were made there. When, in November 1648, news of the Treaty of Munster reached Batavia, the sending of blockade fleets to Manila ceased.

Plans for a straight conquest of the Philippines never rose above the theoretical stage. Pieter Both, in 1612, still saw it as a real possibility for the Company to occupy the islands without too many difficulties: "...among other things, the inhabitants there are

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27 OB 1647 II, fol. 182-186.

28 Schurz, p. 196-197, 339-340.

29 T. H. Milo, *De invloed van de zeemacht op de gaschiedenis der Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* ('s Gravenhage, 1946) p. 9.

30 According to Spanish sources, de Vries was killed in an attack on Manila, June, 1647; he died, however, a few months later as the victim of the diseases that prevailed on the fleet. See Mac Leod, II, p. 362.

tyrannized, exactly the way the Duke of Alva did in our country, which could benefit us a great deal."[31] Governors-General after him were in favor of blockading and pirating, which would be the downfall of Manila's trade. Coen saw his action towards the Philippines as part of his attempts to gain Chinese trade. During the blockade of Manila by a combined Dutch-English fleet in 1621-1622, not a single attack on the city was attempted; on the other hand, the expedition to Macao under Cornelis Rijersz in 1622 was definitely aimed at capturing that city.[32] Gradually, more information was gathered about the Spanish rule over the islands and the economic situation of the regions beyond the immediate surroundings of Manila, chiefly through reports by the Chinese. It became obvious then that conquest alone would not be all there was to it. In 1642, Antonie van Diemen and his Council wrote to the Gentlemen XVII: "The Spaniards in Manila are already rather afraid of the power of the Company, and we trust that, if this business is attempted seriously, we could take possession of it, but whether the Company would gain as much profit from this conquest as the private Spanish merchants do, is to be doubted, because, according to the information received, the Philippines are [sic] more a burden than a profit to the Castillian king, which is not what the Company is after."[33] About this, we could say: "the grapes are sour," but the VOC Directors must have taken van Diemen's words to heart. They did not want to hear of territorial expansion, not unless this was strictly necessary for trade.

The war against the Portuguese in India, in Ceylon, and at Malacca, demanded a lion's share of the naval forces. In these cases of territorial expansion crucial interests were at stake, as in the case of Ceylon, the cinnamon country.

The Dutch offer of assistance to the Shogun (Military Ruler) of Japan, who "is inclined towards the destruction of Manila," was only made to gain the goodwill of the Japanese. It was a relief when, in 1638, riots broke out on Kiushu, which pushed this plan into the background.[34] The VOC Directors may have felt threatened by the unpleasant prospect of a continuous guerilla warfare against the Spaniards and Christian Filipinos on the numerous islands of the archipelago. Zaide loses sight of this when he writes: "So pro-Dutch writers, in their attempt to whitewash this blot on Holland's colonial annals, alleged that the Dutch attacks were not an "invasion", but

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[31] *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie.* R.G.P. 104, 112 ('s Gravenhage, 1960, 1964) I, p. 17; July 26, 1612.

[32] Zaide, p. 262-263; W.P. Groeneveldt, "De Nederlanders in China," in: *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, 48 (1898) p. 55, 62, 64.

[33] *Gen. Miss.* II, p. 173; Dec. 12, 1642.

[34] *Gen. Miss.*, I, p. 660-661, 703, 739-740; Dec. 26, 1637, Dec. 22 and 30, 1638. *Gen. Miss.* II, p. 80; Dec. 18, 1639.

merely naval sorties intended to inflict injury on the Spaniards; they claimed that the Hollanders did not covet the Philippines. Such allegations, however, do not tally with historical facts... Had not the Filipinos fought gallantly and well under the Spanish banner, the Spaniards in Manila would have lost to their Dutch foe."[35] Zaide refers to Joannes de Laet (*Hispaniae sive de regis hispaniae regnis et opibus,* Leiden 1629), who, among other things, mentions the profitable trade between China and Mexico as proof of the Dutch interest in an occupation of the Philippines. But that is exactly where the shoe pinches: because, in order to get a piece of the pie in this profitable trade, the VOC should at least have access to the harbor of Acapulco. The over-optimistic author of the "Speculations"[36] did not think this impossible, and it has been tried; first in 1657 through negotiations (see below), and once more in 1745-1746, when two ships were sent there to no effect. Naturally this could not have been realized before 1648. For the time being, the Company was satisfied with the capture of the Spanish settlement of Ki-Lung (Quelang, Keelung), on a small island north of Formosa, in 1642. The Spaniards had been there since 1626, mainly with the purpose of preventing the VOC from further expansion.[37] From communication with Filipinos who had gone over to the Dutch in 1632, it was learned that the Chinese trade at Ki-Lung was limited.[38] However, this capture was favorable to the Dutch trade with Japan, since the stronghold was an en route to that country. It also made a good impression on the Japanese who had a grudge against the Spanish and the Portuguese.[39]

At the same time, before the 1648 peace treaty, Batavia was already looking at other possibilities for the trade on Manila, if need be under a foreign flag. The English already sailed to the Philippines from Surat. They traded cloth, cinnamon, and pepper, as the VOC found by reconnoitering in Malayan waters.[40] It is true that access was later denied to them, unless with special permission of the Spanish king,[41] but that did not mean that the English-Manila

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35 Zaide, I, p. 268.

36 General State Archives, Coll. van Hoorn-van Riebeeck, nv. nr. 42. "Speculatien over de Philippinse eylanden;" anonymous memoir about the possibility of conquering the Philippines and the advantages resulting therefrom for the VOC. No date, but apparently written around 1705. See for the 1745-1746 enterprise: A.K.A. Gijsberti Hodenpijl, "De mislukte pigongen van G. G. van Imhoff tot het aanknoopen van handelsbetrekkingen met Spaans-Amerika in 1745 en 1746", in: *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.,* 73 (1917) p. 502-557.

37 Alg. Rijksarchief, Kol. Arch. inv. nr. 4464 T 11; Dutch translation of a Spanish manuscript about the Dutch occupation of Formosa and the necessity for the Spanish to settle there. (c. 1624).

38 OB 1632 I, fol. 552-554.

39 OB 1643 III, fol. 40-45; J. van Elserack, chief of the Dutch factory on Deshima, to A. van Diemen, Dec. 2, 1642.

40 OB 1646 II, fol. 68-74. Generale Missive, Dec. 31, 1645.

41 *Gen. Miss.* II, p. 360; Jan. 18, 1649.

trade was finished. From then on, the English trade goods came on private Armenian ships from Madras, or sometimes on English ships with Asian names and crews.[42] The Dutch also wanted to set about it that way, and in 1645, the Government went ahead with Barend Pessaert, head of the Danish factory at Tranquebar (Coromandel). Originally, he had been a Dutch civil servant (in connection with the trade on Japan, among other places). After his secret repatriation in 1634, he went over to the Danish with bag and baggage, in this case, with information he had gathered. He made his appearance on the Indian coast in 1636, as head of the Danish settlement.[43] It was not unusual for a Company servant to act in such a way, compare e.g., the career of François Caron in Dutch and later in French service. Batavia constantly kept a watchful eye on the unfaithful Pessaert, as a potential saboteur of the Company's monopoly. This also included an interest in his private life, witnessed by the following statements: "The Dane keeps the fire lighted. Pessaert lives a very dissolute life. Time will tell us if this will change with the arrival of his wife."[44] In 1638, Pessaert wrote a letter to the governor of Manila, in which (according to information from Batavia, where the letter was intercepted) "...the Danish ships are offered in service to the Spanish crown against the Dutch enemy (as he likes to call us), to provide the Spanish Moluccas with rice from Macassar, on the condition that payment are to be received in cloves, and besides, to provide the Spanish with copper, iron, and other needs from Japan. Residence in Manila is requested; adding more blasphemous gossip and false accusations against the Dutch government." After some protests about the trespass of their ship and the confiscation of the papers, the Danish yielded, with an explanation that the enterprise was Pessaert's idea, and that they had not wanted to break the friendship between Denmark and the Dutch Republic.[45]

However, Pessaert did not let the matter rest. In 1643-44, he was sailing with a load of 25,000 stingray skins en route to Japan. These were a very popular item among the Japanese. Batavia heard of this voyage and decided to seize the ship under some pretext; this voyage to Japan had to be prevented at all costs, since the position of the Dutch, as the only Europeans admitted there, was

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[42] S.D. Quiason, "The English "Country Trade" with Manila prior to 1708", in: *The Philippine Economic Journal*, II, 2 (1963) p. 184-210.

[43] *Gen. Miss.*, I, p. 625, footnote 1; M. Boyer, *Japanese export laquers from the seventeenth century in the National Museum of Denmark* (Copenhagen, 1959) p. 11, 12, footnote 106 and the literature and archives referred to, among others, the archives of the Dutch factory in Japan (Alg. Rijksarchief).

[44] *Gen. Miss.*, II, p. 64; Dec. 18, 1639. The wife of Pessaert travelled by courtesy of the VOC to the Danish factory. One of the children stayed in Batavia. (*Gen. Miss.*, I, p. 685; Dec. 22, 1638).

[45] *Gen. Miss.*, I, p. 683-685; Dec. 22, 1638. Copies of papers on this matter in OB 1639 II, fol. 547-565.

already precarious enough. So they acted according to plan, but Pessaert's protests caused some embarrassment. At last, the Batavia government and Pessaert came to an agreement that the stingray skins would be sold in Japan on his account, while he would sail to Manila with his yacht, taking a cargo of Fl. 31,707 — consisting of cloths, cinnamon, iron, and pepper, which the Company put at his disposal, ". . . in order to exchange this small cargo for *reals* of eight for the Company, and to report to us at the same time about Manila's opportunities and situation. . . ." If the voyage should turn out satisfactorily, he could make more such trips, for trading in Manila must be good business; Macao had stopped bringing goods since the revolt of the Portuguese against the Spanish, and the Chinese junks were taken or chased away by the Company.[46]

However, the voyage turned out badly. Pessaert was killed by the inhabitants when he landed on one of the Philippine islands to fish. The yacht continued on to Manila, where the Danish were received well, and a profitable trade took place, but when they were just about to leave, they were exposed as spies by an Indian servant of Pessaert. At once, the Spaniards imprisoned the crew, and declared the ship and cargo confiscated. The Company lost Fl. 12,000.—, i.e. the balance of the cargo sent along with Pessaert minus the proceeds from the sale of the stingray skins in Japan.[47] Clergyman Valentijn, always in for a juicy story, gives a somewhat different version. According to him, Pessaert arrived at Manila, traded, and went with a sloop to the beach just before leaving, under the pretense of fishing, but really to sound the channels. The Spaniards, who could not approve of fishing with a sounding-lead, caught him, and beheaded him right there. Valentijn also tells us why the Malabar servant betrayed them; he resented the fact that Pessaert had given him a slap when he broke a glass.[48]

The fifth article of the Treaty of Munster stipulated,"... that the Spaniards should keep their trading routes as they are now in the East Indies, without being allowed to extend them; similarly, the inhabitants of the United Netherlands also shall refrain from frequenting the Castillian places in the East Indies." If the article should be taken literally, the Company's trade on the Philippines would be impossible, but blood is thicker than water, and the VOC,

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[46] *Gen. Miss.*, II, p. 271; July 9, 1645. P.A. Tiele, J.E. Heeres, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel* (3 vols., 's-Gravenhage, 1886-1895) III, p. 194-195, and footnote 1.

[47] *Gen. Miss.*, II, p. 285; Dec. 21, 1646.

[48] F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* (Amsterdam-Leiden, 1724-1726) Vol. I, 1st part, p. 145. As his source, Valentijn refers to Georg Andries; this is Jürgen Andersen from Tundern in Schleswig (Germany), a servant of the VOC around 1645 and author of *Orientalische Reisebeschreibunge* (Schleswig, 1669; Dutch translation, Amsterdam, 1670). Blair & Robertson do not mention Pessaert's voyage.

always hungry for silver to use in Asia, soon made an attempt to participate in the trade on America's west-coast. The Directors proposed in 1657 to the Spanish ambassador, that the trade between Manila and Batavia be opened, indeed they even offered to take the Oriental products (specifically spices) to America themselves in exchange for silver, and further offered to make the Spanish profits resulting from this transaction, payable in the Netherlands. Especially the latter must have been enticing, because Spain needed money. Spain therefore did not reject the proposal immediately. (It was on the agenda for discussion during the mission of Godard van Reede, Lord of Amerongen, in 1660), but the fear for Dutch competition and further expansion, and in addition, the anticipated loss of import and export duties in Seville and Cadiz, stopped everything.[49] The merchants of these latter cities were jealous of the Manila and Acapulco trade. Their trade was in Spanish textiles (silk, among others), which were shipped to Spanish America across the Atlantic Ocean, and it happened repeatedly that the Manila cargo spoiled the Mexican market for the import from Spain.[50]

In the OB papers of 1658, there is a remarkable memoir of a certain Johan d'Erguesa, a merchant from Manila, who visited Batavia a few times.[51] He thought the VOC trade on America very possible, if use would be made of the intermediary of "Don Louis Mendis de Ara, Marquis del Carpio, a great favorite of His Majesty."[52] The cargo should consist of iron, wax, cinnamon, pepper, cloves, ebony, ivory, and goods not included in the monopoly of Seville. The pepper could bring in three *reals* per pound (approx. Fl. 7.50), while it was worth much less in Holland.[53] This big difference in price was caused by the high transportation costs, import duties, etc. First, the goods were shipped from Holland to Cadiz, then to Seville, next with the galleons to Porto Velo (on the east side of the Isthmus of Panama), then 18 miles across land by mule, and finally, via the Pacific Ocean by ship to Acapulco and other ports. By contrast, the transportation costs of shipping from Batavia straight to America would be no more than 5% of the value, according to d'Erguesa's estimate.

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[49] Pieter van Dam, *Beschrijvinge van de Oost-Indische Compagnie,* Published by F. W. Stapel and C. W. Th. Baron Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam, in R.G.P. 63, 68, 74, 76, 83, 87, 96 ('s Gravenhage, 1927-1954) R.G.P. 74, p. 793, and the archives cited there. Requests by the British also were refused. Compare S.D. Quiason, *English Country Trade with the Philippines, 1644-1765* (Quezon City, 1966) p. 17-24.

[50] Schurz, among other places, p. 404-405.

[51] OB 1658 II, fol. 124-125.

[52] Luis Mendez de Haro, duque del Carpio, (1598-1661), appointed to first minister of Spain in 1644 by King Philipps IV. *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo Americana* (Barcelona, 1931) Tomo XXXIV, p. 587.

When direct trade between Batavia and Manila did not get off the ground, even after 1648, the Batavia government changed its tack, mainly in view of the much coveted cloves monopoly. Contact could be made via the Spaniards in the Moluccas, from whom the Company could get the cloves, and in exchange deliver "several goods greatly needed by the Spaniards... because they are excluded from the trade with India." It would also be possible through this trade to obtain a large quantity of Spanish *reals* from Manila. If this failed, then an attempt should be made to conclude a contract with the king of Makassar to buy up all the cloves brought in by the Spaniards, and to exclude the English and the Danish from trading in it.[54] The Spanish governor did not want to enter into the first proposal, and the Batavia government was of the opinion that he would not change his mind, ". . . not because it would not be advantageous to them, but they envied us the profits we could make. It is therefore decided not to resort to them anymore."[55]

In 1663, however, the Spanish settlement in the Moluccas came to an end.[56] Before that happened, the Dutch commander on Ternate had once more spoken with the Spanish governor about the trade on Manila, in order to give the textile trade a new impulse. The governor was not prepared to make a decision, but advised him to try sending a small ship, loaded with ammunition, to see how the new governor at Manila, Don Diego Salcedo, would react.

Although the Batavia government doubted the success of this attempt from the beginning, they were willing to subsidize the trade of Ternatan freeburghers, because such a trade would lie outside the risk of the Company. It turned out that this doubt was not unfounded, in view of the results of the voyage of Crijn Leendertsz. Geel, who returned from Manila in January, 1665. He had been well received, and was allowed to sell his cargo, but the governor would not and could not allow the Dutch to enter; the governor of Spanish Ternate, who had granted the seapass, was taken to prison. However, as stated by the supercargo of Geel's ship, the Dutch were made to understand that they were allowed to come to Manila with a pass from Siam, Cambodia, or Makassar. So they were welcome, as long as they were disguised as non-Dutch. This was understandable to

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[53] The average was Fl. 0.47 for 1649-1659; compare K. Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740* (The Hague, 1958) p. 280.

[54] *Gen. Miss.*, II, p. 411; Dec. 10, 1650, Jan. 20, 1651. About the trade between Manila and Makassar till 1668-1669, when the Dutch controlled the state of Goa or Makassar, see D. K. Bassett, "English Trade in Celebes, 1613-1667", in: *JMBRAS*, XXXI, 1 (1965) p. 1-40.

[55] *Gen. Miss.*, II, p. 489; Dec. 19, 1651. The refusal of the Spaniards, who refer to article 5 of the Treaty of Munster, is later reconfirmed: *Gen. Miss.*, II, p. 590; Dec. 24, 1651?

[56] See p. 490, footnote 26.

the Governor-General and Council,[56a] for otherwise the Manila merchant, Johan d'Erguesa, would never have received permission to trade with the Dutch. This merchant appeared in Batavia, in February 1665, with 6000 *reals* and a letter from de Salcedo, in which the Governor-General was requested to abandon the trade on Manila. There was no mention of the carrier of the letter. D'Erguesa did a thriving business, bought a larger ship, and left not earlier than July with a cargo of 10,000 rixdollars cost price, a Dutch navigator and six sailors who were loaned to him for the time being. The Dutch expected him soon back in Batavia.[57]

For the VOC, the trade with Manila remained subject to several difficulties. For the dry goods, it was possible to make use of Chinese connections in Makassar, as was tried in 1686, and the following years. However, the Makassarese had to be excluded from this trade in view of the damaging consequences for the spice monopoly. This trade in dry goods for the benefit of the VOC became only a moderate success, because of the heavy duty (up to 13½%) and anchorage demanded in Manila. Moreover, it seemed that the fabrics there were cheaper than at Makassar, and lastly, the Chinese objected since they feared that the Spanish "would force them to embrace Christianity or do service for them." For those reasons, the Chinese preferred to make the voyage with Makassarese, whom the Company rather liked to stay away from Manila for the reasons mentioned above.[58]

In 1693, the head merchant of the factory at Siam, Thomas van Son, made a contract with a Portuguese merchant from Manila, Carvalho, to deliver cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, and other goods, at pre-arranged prices. Carvalho also agreed to take a letter from van Son to the governor of the Philippines. It was hoped that, in this way, a large load of cinnamon could be sold to America via Manila as the Gentlemen XVII wrote to Batavia. The round-about way via the Netherlands and Spain made the price of this product expensive. If the product were to be offered at a lower price, this would increase the use of it, and therefore also the demand.[59] The next year, a contrasting opinion was voiced in regard to this topic. On second thought, the directors were of the opinion that this trade

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[56a] Here one cannot help thinking of the Spanish saying in the colonies: "se guardia la orden, pero no se cumple": "one respects the order, but one does not necessarily follow it." Compare among others, Schurz, p. 399.

[57] *Kol. Arch.* inv. nr. 579, Res. GGRR Jan. 4, 1664, fol. 1-4; OB 1666 II, fol. 39, *Gen. Miss.*, Jan. 30, 1666; *Daghregister van het Kasteel Batavia*, 1665, Published by J.A. van der Chijs. ('s Gravenhage-Batavia, 1894) p. 25-27, 198; Feb. 8, and July 29, 1665. Johan d'Erguesa's position towards the Dutch has already been mentioned above; compare footnote 51.

[58] *Kol. Arch.* inv. nr. Res. GGRR Feb. 27, 1686, fol. 89; Ibid. March 8, 1687, fol. 170.

[59] *Kol. Arch.* inv. nr. 461, *patr. Miss*, July 14, 1695.

in spices could be damaging. Since the contract had not been followed up, other proposals of this kind had to be rejected.[60]

Three years later, the Directors in the Netherlands changed their minds again. In order to obtain Spanish money, merchants from Manila had to be attracted to come to Siam, Malacca and elsewhere. The Directors admitted that their order was contrary to that of former years, but lack of money now had forced a change of policy. In 1707, they added that the Manila merchants who came for cinnamon should be sent on to Malacca.[61]

Ceylon was the region known for cinnamon production which was in the hands of the VOC since the 17th century. Although it is true that other countries competed in the cinnamon trade by substituting the so-called wild cinnamon (Cassia Lignea), which was obtained, among other places, from Mindanao;[62] this spice was less popular than the real cinnamon from Ceylon. After the Spanish War of Succession, the sale of cinnamon at Malacca and Batavia had increased, especially to the Manila traders, who sent the product on to America for sale. Since the Malacca office generally was not successful, the VOC searched for means of expanding their trade, by gathering other goods for example, textiles from the Coromandel coast.[63] The director-general of commerce at Batavia made a statement in 1738 about the heavy competition on that coast with the English, French, and native traders. These traders brought textiles directly from India to Manila. Until a few years earlier, a ship sailed yearly from Manila to Bengal to buy textiles, but because the Manileños could not get what they liked, they had, for the last few years, come to Batavia.

However, textile trade in Batavia did not seem to be worthwhile for the Company; the traders from Manila spent all their money purchasing cinnamon, pepper, cloves, and nutmeg. The Manila trade in Batavia had a yearly turnover of Fl. 216,405.—, and a profit of 484% was made (an approximate estimate of the period between 1727-1737). The largest sale was in cinnamon: Fl. 173,625.—, with a yearly profit of 870%. Nutmeg seems to have been the most profitable at a formidable 6695%! In the course of ten years, only 15½ picul was sold of this product.[64] If we calculate the selling prices

[60] Ibid., Sept. 7, 1696, Oct. 9, 1697.

[61] *Kol. Arch.* inv. nr. 462, *Patr. Miss.* June 23, 1700 July 21, 1707.

[62] S.D. Quiason, "Early Contacts of the English East India Company with Mindanao", in: *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, XXVI, 2, (1961) p. 175-186.

[63] Kol. Arch. inv. nr. 466, *Patr. Miss.* Sept. 8, 1733, "Coromandel."

[64] OB 1738 IV, fol. 1947-1960; Report concerning the trade from Manila to Batavia, Bengal, Coromandel and Malacca, by the director-general of commerce, Joan Paul Schagen to the Council of the Indies, Jan. 21, 1738. With additions.

per pound, the Batavia prices seemed to have been equal to those in the Netherlands.[65] The Company at Batavia, however, made larger profits, because it did not have any transportation costs, and there was a smaller risk of spoilage due to long storage. A comparison of the 1738 report with an overview of the total trade with foreign nations at Batavia during the 1734/5 period, shows that the Manila trade comprised half of this total.

In Malacca, the situation was similar to the one in Batavia: cinnamon was the most important trade product, some iron and lead sheets were also sold. The governor hoped that Batavia would send a new stock of that "precious, fragrant bark" in time to satisfy the demand for it.[67] In 1740, Batavia sent 24,000 pounds of it to Malacca. The Gentlemen XVII were happy about that, because the annual fleet from Cadiz to New Spain, which always brought a large quantity of cinnamon, had been held up by the English-Spanish war. Because of this delay, the VOC could not sell more than 400,000 pounds in 1740 and 1741, instead of 600,000 pounds, which probably increased the sales in Malacca.[68]

On the part of the Dutch, there was also trade with Manila, mainly by private merchants in Batavia. In 1750, the Batavia government rented out a small boat to some private shipowners and supplied a cargo of cinnamon on credit, because these merchants had lost the larger part of their cargo in a fire the year before; they had to leave the remainder in Manila unsold. After the occupation of that city by the English in 1762, no merchants from Manila made their appearance in Batavia for some years. In order to set this "important negotiation" going again, and at the same time to collect some outstanding debts, the Company once again offered cargo space and freight to a group of private citizens.[69]

We already noted that there existed a considerable trade between India (Bengal, Coromandel) and Manila, mainly in textiles, in which the Company took no part. This was run by Indian merchants ("Moros", "Gentives",[70] Armenians, Portuguese, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Englishmen) some of whom (namely the Portuguese,

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[65] The above-mentioned report, and Glamann, p. 92, 280, etc.: Average Prices, Kamer Amsterdam, 1649/50-1737/38.

[66] OB 1736, fol. 764: "Summary of buying and selling to Portuguese, Chinese, and other foreign traders, Sept. 1734-Sept. 1735". Sold for 317,375 rixdollars, is equivalent to Fl. 952,125.— (Indies guilders).

[67] OB 1738 V; Governor and Council at Malacca to Batavia government, Dec. 28, 1737.

[68] *Kol. Arch.* inv. nr. 467, *Patr. Miss.* Sept. 28, 1741.

[69] *Kol. Arch.* inv. nrs. 680, 681, 695; Res. GGRR April 30, 1750, March 16, 1751, April 30, 1765.

[70] "Moros" — Mohammedans; "Gentives", from the Portuguese gentio–heathen, here used for the Hindus. Compare the glossary of F. W. Stapel in: Pieter van Dam, R.G.P. 87 ('s Gravenhage, 1943) p. 587.

Spaniards, and Armenians) were residents of Manila. Many ships passed by Malacca on their way up or back; here the Dutch wrote down the place of origin, destination and cargo of each ship. A summary of these harbor records shows that from 1740 to 1775 fifty-five trading ships from Manila had visited, which had brought mainly cowries,[71] and Spanish *reals to* Madras, Pondicherry, Tranquebar, etc. and brought back to Manila from India, various piece goods, iron bars and niter.[72] The Batavia government regretted this, of course, and, in a resolution of July 1, 1755, they decided to protest this trade between Western Asia and Manila to the Governor of the Philippines as being in conflict with article five of the Treaty of Munster, which stated that the Spaniards were not allowed to expand their trade in the Indies beyond the routes that were in existence before 1648. Of course there was no mention of the Manila trade to Batavia, which was profitable to the VOC.[73] Governor Manuel de Arandia answered the letter of protest (sent on August 22, 1755) with a long dispatch in Latin, in which he explained in detail how little merit there was in the Dutch appeal to the Treaty of Munster. The Spaniards were already navigating to China, Cambodja, Siam, and even to Bengal and Surat, before the VOC was established.[74]

In 1732 the fifth article of the Treaty of Munster was used as an argument to set up a Philippine Company in Cadiz. Based on the information supplied by the Dutch ambassador to Spain, the plan was that the Philippine Company would form a direct trade connection between Cadiz and Manila by means of the Cape of Good Hope. The goods would be transferred into Malabar ships in Manila and traded further to other places in Asia. No ships were ever sent out, probably because of the protests from the Dutch and the English, and from the merchants in Manila, who saw their profitable intermediary trading posts threatened.[75]

Nothing was heard about the Company for a long time until Francisco Leandro de Viana in 1765 presented an elaborate plan. He was one of the leaders who looked for new ways in which to develop the Philippines economically. This time the direct trade route from Spain to the Philippines was made part of a design for a general trade expansion in the archipelago, specially in cultivating spices among others. The first ship from Spain arrived in Manila via de Cape in 1766. The frigates, under the command of the French cap-

71 Cowries – a type of small shells which were used as currency.
72 OB 1756 IV, fol. 1268-1278.
73 *Kol. Arch.* inv. nr. 685, Res. GGRR July 1, 1755.
74 OB 1758 iv, fol. 1015-1038.
75 All the papers concerning the Philippine Company (correspondence of the States-General, extract-resolutions, memoirs of the VOC, etc.) are in Kol. Arch. inv. nrs. 4464ij6, 4464ee4. A summary based on Spanish sources in: Schurz, Appendix I, p. 409-418: "The Royal Philippine Company."

tain De Casens, was called "Buen Consejo" (Good Council), but the inhabitants of Manila called it the "Mal Consejo". They considered the enterprise a straight attack on their trade with the Asian countries, and did not want to cooperate with the Company. Luckily for him, De Casens did not visit any of the VOC ports on his voyage, otherwise the Batavia government would have had to take action. The latter sent a letter of protest in July 1766 to the frigate in the Sunda Straits, in which they forbade De Casens to show himself in any of the Dutch ports, based on article five of the Treaty of Munster, and article 34 of the Treaty of Utrecht.[76] The "Buen Consejo" was back in Cadiz in 1767, but sailed out once more in 1768. Thereupon, the ambassadors of England and the Dutch Republic together lodged a protest. They threatened that, if the Spanish navigation around the Cape of Good Hope would not stop, they would no longer feel bound by article 31 of the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, which prohibited foreign trade in the Spanish West Indies. To this, Spain replied that the articles of the peace treaties did not state anything about the routes of navigation, and therefore there was no reason for protests as long as the Spanish ships did not carry on trade in any of the English or Dutch possessions. The navigation of the Philippine Company was thus continued until 1783, without Spain experiencing much opposition. One single ship a year really did not matter much.

When captain De Casens was forced to put into the harbor of Batavia in 1768 for repairs and resupply, he could obtain what he needed.[77] That they were not exactly on good terms, however, is evident from a short, indignant letter written by De Casens to the *sabandhar* (harbor master) Van der Voort. The ship, which the VOC had supplied to shelter passengers and crew during the repair of the "Buen Consejo", had no shutters or hatches, so that the Spanish were completely exposed to rain and wind. Neither were the sick actually admitted to the hospital, because the priests, who had to assist them, were not allowed to go ashore.[78] (There were 49 priests on board.)

In 1785, the Spaniards took up the issue of the Spanish-Philippine trade again, this time on a much larger scale. The Real Compania Guipuzcoana de Caracas joined with the Philippine company to the Real Compania de Filipinas with a charter for 25 years. The new Company wanted to trade with the Philippines via the American harbors. Moreover, the trade with Asian countries (especially with China) had to be stimulated (article 31 of the charter). Only the trade from Manila eastwards to Acapulco remained reserved for

[76] OB 1767 I, fol. 328-330.
[77] Res. GGRR, Dec. 9, 1768; OB 1769 VII, fol. 3046-3051, letter of De Casens to Batavia government, Dec. 9, 1768.
[78] OB 1770 I, fol. 282-284, letter of De Casens to van der Voort, Jan. 17, 1769.

Manila residents. For the Dutch, especially article 31 of the charter was a stumbling block. Again, the States-General, the VOC, and the ambassador of the Republic were up in arms, and the exchange of memorandums and notes of protest, reiterating the old arguments about the injustice of this trade, continued till 1787. The Dutch Republic did not wish to take strong measures, who stood firm only on the point that Spanish ships would not be allowed to enter Company ports in the Indies, except in an emergency. Besides the actual inability of the Republic to act, there was also the consideration that the Spaniards should not be treated too brusquely, because that could endanger the trade between Batavia and Manila. As long as the Spanish did not infringe upon the contracts that the Company had concluded with the indigenous kingdoms, they should be left alone, "...therefore remaining entirely intact, the trade of the Spaniards from Manila to Batavia, because in more than one aspect, it is useful and profitable to the Company."[79] In 1732, an anonymous writer communicated to the Dutch ambassador Van der Meer at Seville: "Other nations have easy access to the goods that the Spaniards bring from China to the Philippines, because Manila, so to speak, is a free port for everyone who buys and sells something there. It has, through actual practice, already become a stabilized custom to pay 4% of the value for the permission. Although the Dutch and the English are not allowed to show up there under their own flags, they have the facility to obtain what they want through other means...[80]

Thus the opening up of the port of Manila for international trade in 1789[81] did not mean much more than the legalization of an already existing situation.

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[79] *Kol. Arch.* inv. nr. 4464ee4, Heren XVII to the States-General, March 30, 1786.

[80] *Kol. Arch.* inv. nr. 4464ij6, F. van der Meer to the States-General, May 23, 1732.

[81] "... with the important restriction, designed to protect the interests of the Royal Philippine Company, that foreign ships might trade only in Asiatic good." Schurz, p. 58.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TAXATION SYSTEMS IN THE PHILIPPINES UNDER SPANISH RULE AND INDONESIA UNDER DUTCH RULE DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

W. WOLTERS*

1. *The sociology of taxation systems*

> 'A total assessment of Spanish impact on the Philippines would thus include comparisons both with other colonies (e.g., Netherlands East Indies, French Indochina, British Burma) and with non-Western countries which retained or regained their political independence (e.g., China, Siam, Mexico)' (N. Owen, 1976, p. 84).

The student of colonial history who attempts to draw a comparison between Java (or rather, in view of the huge regional disparities: parts of Java) and parts of the Philippines (for instance Luzon) is struck by the sharp contrasts in development. While Javanese society during the 19th century, and well into the 20th century has remained a society of small peasants, in Luzon the process of colonial development has led to the increased concentration of land in the hands of a rural elite.

The process of social homogenization in Java had become clear already from 19th century Dutch investigations on the issue of land tenure. Researchers and writers in the 1870s and 1880s found that the heavy burden of labor services and land tax upon the village population had caused the villagers to work out some sort of equal distribution of land among themselves, in order to acquire as large a number of labor conscripts as possible.

The view of social homogenization comes back in Geertz' well-known thesis of 'agricultural involution', based on anthropological fieldwork during the 1950s and on the study of historical sources. Geertz gives the following concise statement of his theory:

> "Under the pressure of increasing numbers and limited resources Javanese village society did not bifurcate, as did that of so many other 'underdeveloped' nations, into a group of large landlords and a group of oppressed near serfs. Rather it maintained a comparatively high degree of social and economic homogeneity by dividing the economic pie into a steadily increasing number of minute pieces a process to which I have referred to elsewhere as 'shared poverty.' Rather than haves and have-nots, there were, in the delicately

* The author works with the Comparative Asian Studies Programme, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, The Netherlands.

> muted vernacular of peasant life, only tjukupans and kekurangans—'just enoughs' and 'not quite enoughs" (Geertz, 1963, p. 97).

Geertz' theory has come under heavy criticism recently, from the side of writers who point out that he has overestimated the social homogeneity and the 'sharing' not only for 20th century but also for 19th century Javanese village society. Recent research has shown that already during the 19th century villages in many parts of Java had a marked social differentiation, with on the one hand a class of relatively well-to-do peasants, and on the other a class of agricultural laborers.

This revision of Geertz' theory is an important step towards a more realistic picture of colonial Java. The observed social differentiation of Javanese rural society, however, proves to be a differentiation within rather narrow margins. Even in those areas where the existence of a group of large peasants employing landless laborers is beyond doubt, there was still no class of big land-owners resembling the Philippines' landed elite. The large peasants in Central Java owned land in the order of 5 to 8 hectares and engaged in foodcrop production; Central Luzon landlords by the 1860s owned at least tens of hectares and in the first decade of the 20th century hundreds of hectares, cultivating cashcrops like sugar and rice, to be sold in wide market networks.

Dutch scholars at the end of the 19th century (Bergmer, Van Vollenhoven) sought the causes of Java's extreme land fragmentation in the heavy burden of taxation. In the same way one might attribute the emergence of a landlord class in Luzon to the benevolence of the Spanish tax system, benevolent at least for the rural elite.

Charting the impact of a certain tax regime upon the social structure is not the only way of studying taxation systems, and certainly not the most fruitful one. Taxation systems are as much adaptations to existing economic conditions as causes of changes in these conditions. The French taxation historian and sociologist Gabriel Ardant advocates a more comprehensive approach in which the interconnections of taxation, economic infrastructure and state institutions are studied. He points out that 'tight links' exist between the institutions of a certain state set-up, and he considers the study of the tax system the key to the analysis of this interconnectedness. Ardant writes:

> 'An understanding of the mechanics of taxation, of its economic implications, and of its influence on the spirit of revolt allows us to chart accurately the correlations that exist between the institutions of different European countries throughout the different periods of their existence.' (Ardant, 1975, p. 169).

The study of taxation systems in colonial states sheds light on the relationships between the colonial administrative apparatus and the indigenous political and social structure. The remarkable characteristic of colonial regimes, like the Spanish regime in the Philippines and the Dutch regime in Indonesia, in the first part of the 19th century, is the small number of European bureaucrats. By themselves this thin layer of administrators, assisted by relatively small armies, would not have been able to impose their policies on the native populations. The extent to which they were able to pursue their policies, depended on the willingness of indigenous elites to cooperate with the colonial regimes, and to carry out (and modify) these policies.

Both Java and Luzon belonged, for the greater part of the 19th century, to what Ardant calls rudimentary economies, and for which he stressed the limited fiscal possibilities. In rudimentary economies subsistence agriculture predominates, rural areas are relatively closed, crafts and industries hardly exist, and trade and markets are virtually absent. The main obstacles to taxation are insufficient production which makes tax returns very low, insufficient markets which makes the collection difficult, and limited information on the side of the fisc which makes assessment of taxes a permanent problem. The fiscal systems in the European rudimentary economies of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries found a number of solutions for problems of taxation. Several types of taxation can be distinguished:

1. Levies on the circulation in the form of tolls and internal customs. These levies exert a heavy pressure on trade, and curb economic activity.

2. Direct levies, independent of the circulation:
   a) the tithe, payment in kind of part of the harvest. The evaluation of this tax and the collection are very difficult.
   b) the poll tax (capitation, headtax). Ardant writes about this tax:

> 'Gone were the delicate problems of evaluating wealth, one merely had to count the human beings in a nation and place the same tax on each head or on each group of men in large, ranked categories according to their titles, their status, or their occupations if there was a graduated head tax.' (Ardant, 1975, p. 185).

   This tax required a minimum of registration of people, and consequently a minimum of organisation (Ardant, 1975; 1965, p. 415). The problem with this tax is that because of its 'forfaitair' character it is too light for certain groups, and too heavy for other groups (Ardant, 1965, p. 415).

c) Levies on the means of production, e.g. land or real estate. This type of taxation is popular among rulers who want to stimulate circulation (trade and markets) (Ardant, 1965, p. 422).

The land is an example of this type of taxation. The problem is the same as with the tithe: evaluation and assessment are difficult. In order to be able to levy a land tax on individual landowners the land fisc needs to have a cadaster. In European states cadasters were developed during the 19th century, under changing economic conditions.

A number of new taxes were developed in Europe during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, in what Ardant calls intermediary systems, when the circulation became stronger, and transport and industry gradually developed. During the 17th and 18th centuries the excise tax (a form of indirect tax) became an important source of income for the state. This tax was thought superior to the direct and often arbitrary levies of the previous period.

In some European countries the main obstacle to the land tax, the problem of evaluation in the absence of a cadaster, was overcome by introducing the principle of repartition, developed in France towards the end of the 18th century. According to this principle the government leaves it upon a given community to apportion a fixed amount of taxation among its members. This is supposed to result in the effective and just distribution of the tax burden among the members of the community, because of the clash of interests (Ardant, 1975, 210-211). In countries like Russia and Spain the land tax with the principle of repartition was maintained up to the end of the 19th century. In other European countries during that period cadasters were built up on which the land tax could be based.

The income tax, a system characteristic of a more developed industrial economy, came into use towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

This brief outline of different taxation systems serves as a background to a more detailed analysis of the tax regimes and government institutions in the Dutch and Spanish colonies in Southeast Asia.

2. *The taxation system in Java during the 19th century*

For reasons of brevity only the main outline of the Dutch bureaucratic and taxation systems in Java will be presented in this section.

Javanese society underwent a process of intense bureaucratization from about 1650 until well into the 19th century. During that time parts of Java were under direct control of the Dutch while the kingdom of Mataram in the interior of the island, (later divided into several principalities), maintained some form of limited autonomy. Sections of the principalities were brought under direct Dutch government in the first decades of the 19th century, while the remaining areas of the princes were gradually incorporated into the Dutch colonial system. During the 17th century the Dutch East Indies Company (V.O.C.) had acquired almost complete control over the surrounding seas and thereby cut off the island from external trade relationships. This eliminated an important source of income for the royal courts, forcing the ruling elite to intensify the exploitation of its own population. Under the princes the country was ruled and taxed according to the appanage system (appurtenances system) whereby the ruler allocated groups of peasant households to *priyayi* or royal officials. The *priyayi* and their lower-level officials had the right to exact tribute and labor-services from the peasants in the villages. Under the rule of Mataram the burden of taxation was not very heavy, but around 1800 the pressure increased due to the necessity of the rulers to provide a living for larger numbers of relatives and aristocrats.

After a period of vicissitude in its government policy towards the Indies, the Netherlands in the late 1820s returned to the policy of monopoly and exclusion which had characterized the East Indies Company. The Dutch king and the government, observing the increasing trade activities of American and English merchants on Java's shores, decided that they wanted to avoid a situation in which the costs of government would come for account of the Dutch, while the economic benefits would go to foreigners. In order to nationalize the trade in the Indies, the Dutch government established in 1825 the Dutch Trading Company (Nederlandse Handel Maatschappij), a private company intended to recapture the trade in Indian products and to promote the export of Dutch products to the East. This trading company was to be linked to a government controlled production system, called the Cultivation System (introduced in 1830). The main reasons behind this mercantilistic policy were the fiscal needs of the mother country.

Under the British interim government (1811-1816) a tax reform had been introduced, by which the old East Indies Company system of forced deliveries had been replaced by a land tax, to be collected by the village head. This system was retained after the Dutch restoration. The land tax proved to be a very deficient tax under the prevailing conditions. Not only was it unjust, it was also inefficient. The village heads levied higher sums than was allowed, and appro-

priated a large part of the revenue. The Dutch soon introduced an administrative change in the method of assessing and collecting the tax: they started to determine the amount of tax by 'admodiate, i.e. haggling with the village government, while the internal distribution of the tax among the villagers was to be done according to the repartition principle, not on the basis of individual assessment.

The Cultivation System introduced in 1830 operated in brief as follows: The natives were to devote a certain proportion of their land and labor-time to the cultivation of cash crops, to be sold to government agencies; with the payment for these products they would be able to pay the land tax. The government would thus receive, not a large amount of rice as payment for the land tax, but export crops, to be disposed of at the European markets (coffee, sugar, indigo). In practice the land cultivated with cash crops took the character of large state plantations, worked by the natives under the supervision of Dutch government officials and Javanese chiefs, acting as managers of the labor force. The Cultivation System remained in operation until the late 1860s. In 1870 a new law on agrarian holdings opened the possibility of private entrepreneurs to operate plantations in Java.

Throughout the 19th century the Javanese population had to carry out heavy labor services, which consumed a very great part of the total working time of each peasant. In addition to the Cultivation services, peasants had to do corvée labor for the building of roads, bridges, factories, irrigation systems and storehouses. Aside from these services for the central government they had to perform *desa* services for the welfare of their own communities, and *pancen*-services for several *priyayi* and for their own village head. All these labor services were imposed village wise, i.e. according to the principle of repartition. During the 1840s reports from Dutch officials made mention of neglect of sawah fields, harvest failures and actual starvation in some part of Java (Ergro, 1880, III).

In term of fiscal revenue the Cultivation System could be considered a success. Throughout the operations of the system a 'net surplus' ('Batig slot') could be transmitted to the Netherlands, alleviating the problems of the treasury. The mobilization of labor services on a large scale provided Java with a relatively efficient road system. The government, however, paid little or no attention to the welfare of the population (Day, 1966).

The heavy burden of corvée labor imposed on the villages brought about a levelling of landownership. Land was transferred from individual ownership to village or communal ownership, either as a result of pressure from the side of Dutch officials, or as a defense mechanism of the pressured villagers. As the land tax (levied on

landowners) had been commuted into corvée labor, and this corvée labor was imposed by repartition, each landowner came under the obligation to perform the services. In order to increase the number of workable men, land had to be parcelled out equally among the villagers, including the landless households. Although the social homogenization was in reality not as complete as some writers (a. o. Geertz) suggest, it remains true that in Javanese village society there was no class of big landowners.

There was, of course, a village elite, comprising of the village head and a number of other officials, who were exempted from performing the labor services. The village head had an important function as manager of the labor force, and thereby occupied a crucial power position in the organization of the Cultivation System. In this position the village head was able to earn from 'cultivation percentages', and to increase his landholdings.

This stratum of village heads and officials, however, was not transformed into a landlord class. One of the reasons why this group was not able to capitalize much more on its bureaucratic position was the Dutch policy of prohibiting and counteracting trade by native officials. Native chiefs were thus prevented from linking their landholding to productive and commercial enterprises. In addition to this, the Dutch monopoly on buying up and trading cash crops, and the absence of foreign merchants trading with an indigenous elite, curtailed the economic prospects of the Javanese rural elite.

3. *Mode and degree of integration into the world market: commercialization of the Philippine economy*

Spain maintained the mercantilist principle that colonial trade should be a monopoly of the mother country, until the first decades of the 19th century. Under these principles foreigners were excluded from the colonial trade, the production of certain local products was forbidden to stimulate the importation of Spanish goods, and finally for a long time (up to 1765) only one Spanish port (first Seville and thereafter Cadiz) was allowed to trade with the colonies. Throughout the first two centuries of Spanish rule in the Philippines, Manila was an important entrepot harbour and the Spanish merchants in the city acted as intermediaries. Chinese junks brought silk and other goods from China, and the annual State galleon, plying the route between Acapulco and Manila, exchanged these goods for Mexican silver, and brought in addition the *'Real Situado'*, a royal subsidy to the Philippine Treasury fixed in 1665 at the sum of 2,500.00 Mexican dollars called pesos. This currency was one of the main sources of money circulating in the Philippines. The subsidy was terminated in 1810 with the independence of Mexico.

During the 1780s the Spanish government drew up a plan to improve the economy of the Philippines and to increase the commerce between Spain and its colony, in order to let the mother country benefit from the productive resources of its colony. In 1785 a commercial company was created under the name 'Real Compania de Filipinas' (Royal Philippine Company), financed by private capital. This company was granted the exclusive privilege of trade between Spain and the Archipelago. For several decades the company conducted regular trade, not only with the Philippines but with its American colonies as well. In 1834, however, the company was terminated, as it operated permanently at a loss. Apparently Spain was not able to do what the Netherlands was doing at that time: to establish a profitable commercial trade link between the mother country and the colony. One can surmise that Spain as a semiperipheral state in the world system lacked the means of control to maintain a monopolistic position in its Asian colony.

Several causes can be mentioned for the failure of the company.

1. One important factor was that the company had not been able to realize a vertical integration of production and trade. It did not control production in the Philippines, it did not have direct relations with the rural cultivators (Schurz, 1939, p. 417). This vertical integration of production and trade was precisely what was done by the Dutch in Java.

2. The company was not in control of its organization of agents.

> 'Undoubtedly this laxness of responsibility among its subordinates—an evil from which all the great companies suffered—was partly due to the semi-public character of the organization and the consequent impersonal nature of its directive authority, as well as the impossibility of a minute supervision of its widely scattered operations.' (Schurz, 1939, p. 417).

   Favouritism to secure appointments was rampant. Capital advances distributed to tillers had not been repaid in agricultural produce. As Foreman puts it: 'Success could only have been achieved by forced labour, and this right was not included in the charter' (Foreman, 1906, p. 254).

3. The company was to have a monopoly of trade between Spain and the Philippines whereby Spanish goods would be exchanged for oriental goods in Manila. This monopoly could not be maintained in the early decades of the 19th century when the English and American ships started to come to Manila (Schurz, 1939, p. 417).

4. Finally, the chaotic conditions in Spain from 1808-1814 and the disruption of the American trade as a result of the wars of independence contributed to the failures (Cushner, 1971, p. 195).

During the last decade of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th century the Philippines was opened to free trade with the whole world. During the 1790s American ships traded at the port of Manila, although the official restriction to foreign merchants was still in operation. During the 1820s American firms started to open permanent agencies in Manila. Several provincial ports were opened to foreigners during the 1830s up to the 1860s. The larger portion of exports was conveyed in foreign vessels.

The number of foreign merchant houses in Manila increased rapidly. During the 1820s seven English and American firms began to operate in Manila and during the 1850s, aside from the English and American houses French, Swiss and German commercial firms were active. Foreign trade (imports and exports) increased from the 1820s to the 1890s (Legarda, 1955, pp. 403-404). The main export crops were sugar, abaca (Manila hemp), coffee and tobacco. Imported goods included among others machinery for the sugar refineries. Several areas in the Philippines, notably Pampanga and Negros, experienced a great expansion of sugar production. Between 1831 and 1854 sugar production more than tripled (Cushner, 1971, p. 201).

The financial stimulus given by the foreign merchant houses accelerated the transformation of Philippine agriculture from a subsistence economy to an export economy. Foreman states:

> 'It was the capital brought originally to the Philippines through foreign channels which developed the modern commerce of the Colony, and much of the present wealth of the inhabitants engaged in trade and agriculture is indirectly due to foreign enterprise.' (Foreman, 1906, p. 258).

A monetized exchange economy gradually emerged during the middle and in the second half of the 19th century. Precise information concerning the degree of commercialization of the rural areas is scarce. Owen's study of Kabikolan in the 19th century provides us with a picture of the development of commerce and of market places in this province.

At the beginning of the century commerce was relatively limited in scale. Trade was predominantly in the hands of the *alcalde mayores* (provincial governors) and their agents (Owen, 1976, p. 299). A similar situation was described by Cruikshank for 18th and early 19th century Samar. In the first part of the 18th century it was the Jesuit priests in Samar who had monopolized trade (Cruikshank, 1975,

p. 32-35). In the period from around 1800 till 1840 it was the *alcalde* and the *gobernadorcillos* who formed a monopolistic trading network, which was increasingly facing competition from the side of Chinese mestizos. Apparently the economy of the early 19th century with its lack of currency and capital facilitated the monopolization of trade in the hands of political powerholders. At that time, however, the mestizo class, engaging in trade and buying up land, was on the rise.

Owen finds it striking that the sources on Kabikolan contain no references to town markets or to local merchants and peddlers before the 1830s. He takes this as an indication that commerce was too paltry an enterprise to warrant mention (or taxation) by the Spanish officials in the region' (Owen, 1976, p. 301). During the 1830s trade started to increase, and there was an influx of merchants from outside the region. This trend continued during the 1840s and 1850s, when both internal and external commerce expanded rapidly in the province. The number of market places increased. For the period after 1850 several travellers' descriptions of markets indicate that peasant marketing and local commerce had become a lively affair (Owen, 1976, p. 324). Revenues from the market tax monopoly from Camarines doubled between 1856 and 1873 (Owen, 1976, p. 325).

4. *The tax system in the Philippines during the 19th century*

The study of the Spanish taxation system encounters great difficulties. Official publications are usually not very reliable, not only because of the strong political controversies that characterized Spanish politics during the 19th century, but also because Spanish administrative law shows many contradictions, and a wide gap existed between law and reality. Moreover in contrast to the Dutch colonial system, relatively little attention was paid to investigations of a socio-economic nature. An important reason for the precarious Spanish colonial policy was the intensive political unrest and rivalries in the mother country. During the period from 1834 till 1898 Spain had no less than 36 parliaments and 79 cabinets alternately of liberal and conservative political color, and during that period 53 governor-generals were sent to the Philippines.

The taxation system in the Philippines was for the greater part meant for the maintenance of the state apparatus, of which the military expenses demanded a large share. The amount of money for development purpose was very small. To give an idea of the structure of the colonial administration the budget for the year 1885/1886 is given in table 1.

TABLE 1 BUDGET 1886/1887

Gastos/Expenditures	*Pesos*
1. Obligaciones generales (general liabilities) (expenses for the ministry of Colonies for the Philippines, Civil and military pensions, dismissed officials, passage money, amortization of treasury notes, etc.)	1,523,335.07
2. Estado (Department of State) (diplomatic and consular corps in E. Asia, etc.)	125,000.00
3. Gracia y Justicia (Department of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Justice) (Supreme Court of Manila, courts of first instance, cathedral clergy, parish clergy, missions, etc.)	1,085,769.62
4. Guerra (Department of War) (personnel, army corps, hospitals, artillery material (including governors of political-military cornandancias), pensions, etc.	3,494,923.31
5. Hacienda (Department of Finance) (personnel, equipment, expenses for the collection of taxes, mint, etc.)	1,356,031.30
6. Marina (Department of the Navy) (personnel, naval stations, arsenal, warship hospitals, etc.)	2,423,518.91
7. Gobernacion (Department of the Interior) (central and provincial government personnel, office of civil administration, post office, Guardia civil, telegraph office, prison, maritime mail, etc.)	1,267,007.43
8. Fomento (Advancement) (Department of Public Works, Agriculture, Commerce and Industry) (public works, roads, railways, rivers, forests, mines, etc.)	349,322.87
	11,624,908.51

(Montero y Vidal, 1886, pp. 169-186; Sancianco y Goson, [1975] pp. 13-21).

The following taxes can be distinguished:

a. *Direct taxes*

One of the earliest of all the levies of the Spanish kings upon their colonial subjects was the tribute (Priestly, 1916, p. 322), originally a vassalage payment. As Plehn pointed out: 'The tribute was a personal tax of the nature of a uniform poll tax and was the only tax universally enforced' (Plehn, 1901/1902, p. 685). The unit assessment was the household. Certain categories were exempted from the tributes: *alcaldes, gobernadores* and *cabezas de barangay* (in short the *principalia*), and their sons, soldiers, members of the civil guard, government officials, and paupers.

Tribute was collected both in specie and in kind. In 1593 the government proposed that tribute be paid in kind, which would lead to greater food production. This was still the case during the 17th century. The goods used for payment were: chickens, rice, coconut oil, wine (Cushner, 1971, p. 103). This reflects the predominance

of a subsistence economy and the absence of any monetary exchange. The Spanish crown, however, preferred payment in specie, in order to increase the gold flow to Spain. The collection of the tribute in kind caused various difficulties to the local officials, who somehow had to convert the goods into money. Apparently at the provincial level traders were operating who could exchange these goods for coins.

During the 18th century up to the 1840s the yield of the tributes was rather low. Several reasons can be mentioned for this phenomenon. The collection in kind entailed great losses due to spoilage; the lack of control from the higher administrative levels down to the lowest echelons, made a large part of the collected tribute disappear into the pockets of the local and provincial officials. It was only during the 1840s with the increasing centralization of the government structure that the control, and consequently the yield, increased impressively.

In 1884 the payment of tribute was repealed, and replaced by a graduated poll tax (or *capitacion,* head tax). This tax was collected by means of a certificate of identification, known as *cédula personal,* which every resident was required to obtain. As Elliott states: 'It was a sort of license to exist and to do business' (Elliott, 1916, I, p. 252). The *cédula* had to be shown in court and carried along while travelling.

While the tribute was imposed on households, the *cédula* was imposed on individuals. There were 16 different classes of *cédulas* according to income category, the highest category paying 37,50 pesos, while peasants were paying 1,50 pesos (Plehn, 1901/1902, pp. 691-693).

Although this tax was progressive, the burden was relatively heavy for those in the lowest category, and light for the richer people. Rajal y Larre in his study of the province of Nueva Ecija around 1887, gives an estimate of the budget of a *kasamá* (share-cropper) household, which harvests 80 cavans of palay (unhusked rice) a year (which indicates a field of more or less 3 hectares). This household has an income of 37,50 pesos, and pays as direct tax 4,69 pesos, and indirect tax 0,50 pesos: a total of 5,19 pesos, being almost 14% (Rajal y Larre, 1889).

During the last decades of the Spanish colonial government the *cédula* was the main source of government income, yielding 5-7 million pesos per year. During the years 1885-1886 the replacement of the tribute by the *cédula* increased the income of the direct taxes rapidly. Under the tribute system the number of people exempted from taxation had grown considerably, and these exemptions were discontinued under the *cédula* system (Corpuz, 1965, 16-17).

In 1878 two direct taxes were added, both imposed on urban incomes:

1) a tax on the annual rental value of urban real estate, known as the 'urbana', and

2) a tax on salaries, dividends and profits, commonly abbreviated as 'industria' (Plehn, 1901/1902, pp. 701-711).

The urbana tax was levied at the rate of 5% upon the net value of rental value of all houses. A number of exemptions were granted. The tax list or 'padron' was compiled by local assessment boards. The tax on industry and commerce was a continuation and extension of an earlier industrial and commercial license tax on Chinese. The assessment of both the old and the new tax were done by classifying commercial houses, factories and shops according to classes, and imposing the fixed levy. Hence the tax was an objective assessment, in the words of Plehn:

> 'In considering the form of the income tax, the most striking characteristic is the skillful way in which it avoids almost entirely the difficulties of a personal declaration, or estimate, of the annual income and the dangers of false statements and misrepresentations.' (Plehn, 1901/1902, p. 710).

The urbana and the industria tax were rather heavy levies on urban property and commercial enterprises. Plehn gives the following judgement on this tax on income:

> 'The tax is universal and affects every kind of economic activity except agriculture, which, as has already been stated it was the expressed policy of the Spanish government to foster and encourage.'

A remarkable feature of the Spanish taxation system was the absence of a land tax on rural property, such as had been developed under the British, the Dutch and the French colonial systems. Several foreigners travelling in the islands have expressed their amazement at the absence of any tax on landed property (Wiselius, 1876, pp. 64-65). The landowner class remained the least burdened by the tax system. A proposal for a more modern tax system, including a tax on land, was presented by Sancianco y Goson, a lawyer in Manila, who wrote a series of studies on the Philippine taxation system which were published as a book in 1881. He proposed the abolition of the capitation tax, and the *polo* (labor services). Sancianco y Goson argued that a tax on rural property would not only be a source of income for the state, but would also stimulate agriculture. He was aware of the existence of a class of wealthy Indios and mestizos in the countryside, whose income amounted to many thousands of pesos and who were undertaxed (Sancianco y Goson, 1881/1975, p. 8).

It was only in the Maura law of 1893 which aimed at reorganization of the municipal administration, that a small municipal tax on land was introduced. The law intended to provide for local self-government, whereby the *principalia* would be the local rulers, but their eligibility was to be based on the payment of land tax. This provision, however, was never executed, while the law itself was superseded by martial law in 1896 (Elliott, 1916, p.).

b. *Indirect taxes*

The customs duties were imposed on imports and exports. The tariff laws as they developed during the second half of the 19th century, was primarily meant for fiscal purposes, and hardly for protectionistic purposes. Spain did not have a well-developed industry which needed an outlet for its products, while the colonial government did not engage in productive enterprise on a large scale, except for the tobacco monopoly. The situation developed by the middle of the century that while Spanish ships brought nearly all the imports, most of the exports were transported by foreign vessels (Plehn, 1901/1902, p. 131). The customs duties consisted of ad valorem duties on goods, were set down in long lists of prices for all kinds of goods (usually in the order of 3-10%), increased by all kinds of surtaxes and special retributions. The custom laws were carried out with strong formalism and endless indolence, which made trading with the islands a difficult enterprise. Nevertheless the commerce of the islands showed an overall increase during the second part of the 19th century and so did the income for custom duties.

An excise tax (that means a tax imposed on the circulation of goods) was absent in the Philippines. The Spanish taxation system in the Americas had the *alcabala* (duty on sales), which was, next to the tobacco monopoly the largest revenue producer by the end of the 18th century (Priestly, 1916, p. 353). This was the revenue which bore heaviest upon the people, and it was consequently the most detested of all the long list of taxes, according to Priestly (Priestly, 1916, p. 353). The *alcabala* was never introduced in the Philippines. As Plehn stated:

> '(...) the early governors were so unanimous in their opinion that this tax was unsuited to the local conditions that it was never introduced, and there was in consequence no growth of indirect internal taxes for insular purposes.' (Plehn, 1901/1902, p. 148).

c. *Monopolies and lotteries*

The Spanish colonial government drew income from a number of monopolies: taxes on the sale of stamped paper, taxes on the

manufacture and sale of liquor, taxes on cockpits and on sale of opium.

The most important of the state monopolies was the tobacco monopoly, introduced in 1781 and abolished in 1882. Under this system certain districts were assigned for the compulsory cultivation of tobacco, while the planting of tobacco outside these areas (with the exception of the Visayas) was prohibited. The government was to purchase the entire crop in the tobacco planting districts at a price determined by the authorities. Contraband sales were to be prevented by a system of inspection and tolls along the roads and rivers. The tobacco bought by the government was processed in factories and made into cigars and cigarettes, to be sold via government agencies.

The monopoly yielded a large income, but also entailed heavy expenses. De Jesus gives the following judgement on the system:

> 'As a fiscal measure the monopoly achieved a genuine breakthrough. It enabled the government, not only to support itself without the Mexican subsidy, but even to contribute to the imperial treasure — which was the original motive for its introduction' (De Jesus, 1973, p. 270).

In the areas where the tobacco monopoly had been introduced it imposed an intolerable burden on the peasants, according to De Jesus. Outside these areas the numerous checkpoints along the roads and waterways, manned by a growing Spanish bureaucracy, hampered all trade, not only that of tobacco growers.

Most of the tobacco produced by the monopoly was sold among the inhabitants of the islands, only a small portion was exported after around 1837. The Spanish at first ignored the export potential of the tobacco, and aimed only at controlling the domestic market (De Jesus, 1973, p. 166). Because of this De Jesus considers the monopoly 'more of a sumptuary tax than a system of compulsory cultivation such as the Dutch introduced on Java' (De Jesus, 1973, p. 165).

d. *Labor services*

Compulsory labor was a feature of Spanish colonial policy in the Philippines. According to the Spanish laws the Indians, as new Christians, were 'free vassals' of the crown, and their property rights and personal liberty had to be respected, but labor services could be required from them. During the first half of the 17th century the Hispano-Dutch wars led to skirmishes and encounters in the Southeast Asian scene, and the Spanish government in Manila had to reinforce its defense, especially its naval defense. A large amount of labor was needed for woodcutting and shipbuilding. This labor was

recruited through the *polo* system, by which male Filipinos had the obligation to provide labor. The polo was organized by the alcalde mayor of the province. The burden of the polo and of other levies on the Philippine population seems to have been so heavy that an increase in the death rate and the flight to the mountains reduced the population during the 17th century.

During the first half of the 19th century the *polo* seems to have been much lighter. At that time the *polos* and *servicios* were organized at the municipal level. They were intended for public works, especially the building of roads and bridges, for service in the municipal office (*tanoria,* one week per year), and for night guard duties (*semaneros,* one week per year). Prior to 1884 the *polo* obligation was 40 days a year. In that year the number of days was reduced to 15. As the higher echelons of the bureaucracy (e.g. at the national and provincial levels) were not interested in making use of these services, the *polistas* were very often employed by municipal officials for private purposes, for instance working their fields or repairing their houses.

The *polo* could be redeemed by paying an annual fee (*fallas*) of 3 pesos per annum. This payment was to be collected by the municipal officials, and to be transmitted to the central government. As the central authorities did not exert close supervision on the labor services and the redemption fee, a great portion of this tax never reached the Treasury. These pilferings by provincial and municipal officials, were known as *caidas,* or droppings (Foreman, 1906, p. 224). The provincial and local authorities cashed the redemption fee from a large number of taxpayers, and then reported to the center a smaller number of redemption and a larger number of *polistas* coming out for actual service.

In the second half of the 19th century the *polo* services by that time called *prestacion personal* (personal services) required by the government were less exacting in terms of time. The intensified military program of the government, however, demanded more manpower for national defense purposes and this demand took labor away from local governments (Robles, 1969, p. 165). The burden, however, was apparently rather light. Cruikshank in his study of Samar during the 19th century, mentions figures of around a hundred men conscripted from a population of 150,000 and more in the latter decades of the century (Cruikshank, 1975, p. 171).

The corvée labor under the Spanish colonial government in the Philippines differed in a number of respects from the liege services under the Dutch in Java. In the Philippines it was only during periods of external military threats that labor was drafted for national works, and then mainly for defense purposes. For most

part of the time, and for most areas in the Philippines, the utilization of the labor services was left to the discretion of provincial and municipal officials. In Java the colonial government used native labor more intensively for purposes at the national level. During the cultivation system (1830-1870) in many areas of Java the population had to use its labor for the forced cultivation of cash crops for the government. In the second part of the 19th century corvée labor was employed under close supervision of Dutch government officials for the building and maintenance of national roads and bridges. Contemporary travellers judged the road system in Java far better than the one in the Philippines. While in the Philippines the local elite benefitted privately from the corvée labor, in Java the national government harnessed it to state building policies.

e. *Comments on the composition of the revenue* (see table II).

1. Budget 1757. In this budget the tributes accounted for a very small percentage of the total government income (1%). The main sources of government revenue were: the venality of offices, the sale of *encomiendas,* taxes farmed out.

   Excise duties (0.9%) and part and anchorage dues (5.8%) gave a low revenue, which indicates the low level of commercial activity and the virtual absence of an exchange economy.

2. Budget 1809. The total collection from tributes amounted to 21.7% of the stated total receipts. Income from custom duties has increased, which indicates growing commercial activity in the port of Manila. The tobacco monopoly is an important source of revenue.

3. Budget of 1848. During the 1840s income from tributes went up considerably, as a result of closer supervision and control by the central government, in other words of centralization (Robles, 1969, p. 125). Around 1850 the income from tribute probably accounted for some 30% of the total revenue. The income from tobacco monopoly has somewhat declined.

4. Budget of 1880-1881. In this year the income from tribute, though higher in absolute terms than 30 years before, accounted for only 21.4% of the total income. The main source for this year was still the tobacco monopoly (30%), which was to be abolished one year later.

   Note: The income from the tobacco monopoly has to be deducted from several data. Sancianco y Goson gives in his 1880-1881 budget the total income from the sale of tobacco i.e. ₱6,571,200. The bureaucratic apparatus managing the monopoly, had a large budget post for expenditure. Plehn (1901-1902, p. 143) gives an

indication of the costs, and provides us with the information that in 1880-1881 the monopoly was 'leaving a net revenue of 3,500,000 pesos'. The large post for expenses (being ₱3,071,200) has to be deducted from the total income.

5. Budget 1885-1886. This budget is interesting because it reflects the situation after the abolition of the tobacco monopoly (1882) and after the replacement of the tribute by the cédula (1885). Income from direct tax amounted to 54.3% of the total, while the absolute amount (6.2 million pesos) was much higher than in 1880-1881 (2.4 million pesos). Income from custom duties is rapidly increasing during the 1880s and 1890s.

6. Budget 1894-1895. Towards the end of the Spanish period two branches of the taxation system had become the most important. The *cédula* accounted for 37% of the total revenue, and custom duties for 33%.

5. *Interrelations between the Economy and Institutions in 19th century Philippines*

The taxation system described in the previous section reflects not only the economic structure but also the interrelations between the various institutions and the class alliance upon which they have been based.

As has often been observed, the Spanish colonial government in the Philippines could not have established and maintained its rule without the active support of a collaborating or mediating elite. The local chiefs, the *datus,* were incorporated into the Spanish bureaucracy as the local headmen, the *cabezas de barangay* of the newly structured parish communities (Phelan, 1959, p. 121). Robles writing about these local officials, states:

> 'Suffice it to say that no single stroke of psychology used by Spain was perhaps as ingenious as that of capitalizing on the native aristocracy and bestowing titles upon them to keep the machinery of local government going' (Robles, 1969, p. 67).

The colonial bureaucracy of which these local chiefs became the lowest level officials, had a peculiar structure. Whereas in the English, Dutch and French colonies a more or less monolithic civil service was placed on the top of the existing indigenous structure, the Spanish Philippines had no less than three bureaucratic hierarchies operating side by side. A civil military hierarchy consisted of royal officials, i.e. the governor-general and the higher magistrates at the center, with *alcalde-mayores* and military in the provinces. The ecclesiastical hierarchy consisted of the archbishop of Manila, a number of bishops and the secular priests (the latter working in a number

of parishes). The third hierarchy was formed by the monastic orders (Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, Recollects, and Jesuits) with friars in the parishes. While the civil hierarchy reached down to the provincial level, the two ecclesiastical hierarchies had their priests at the local (pueblo) level. A small group of parishes was under diocesan or secular clergy, and could thus be supervised by the bishops. The majority of the parishes were under friars or regulars (members of the monastic orders, each with its own rule for internal discipline), who were not under supervision and control of the bishops, but under that of their own vicar-generals and provincials. The orders exerted influence not only at the parish level, but also at the level of the central government in Manila, while they maintained representatives in Madrid through whom they could establish direct contract with the king.

Although the Spanish colonial administration was meant to be paternalistic and highly centralized, in practice political control along vertical hierarchical lines was very weak. The locality, i.e. the municipal or pueblo level, was characterized by a relatively large degree of autonomy viz-a-viz the higher bureaucracy. Robles indicates a number of factors which contributed to this localism: the topographical diversity, linguistic and cultural heterogeneity, the necessity of maintaining traditional loyalties among the population. (Robles, 1969, pp. 24-26).

The local unit consisted of a *pueblo* (small town, surrounded by a number of villages (*barangays*). Society at the local level was a stratified society, with two classes: a landowning elite living in the pueblo, and a peasant class living in the villages. The peasants consisted probably of several sub-classes: small holding peasants and dependent sharecroppers (*kasamá*). The local elite, referred to as the *principalia,* are usually indicated as ex-officials, but aside from their political-administrative position, their economic position as landlords is important. The principal families in the pueblo were linked through kinship and intermarriage.

The local elite, the *principales,* formed a privileged group during the 19th century. They were exempted from tribute paying and *polo* services, and the levying of the capitation tax in the last quarter of the century could be considered a light burden for the big landowners. There was no obstacle to the acquisition of land, either by means of *pacto de retro* arrangements, or by opening up forest and shrub land. Labor could have formed a problem, and indeed it did in some areas and to some extent, as landless people could avoid working as laborers by clearing wasteland themselves. The problem of survival during the first lean years, however, made poor households prefer the relatively protected position of a sharecropper's existence on the land

of bigger landlords. It should be borne in mind that poor households relative to the principales, carried a much heavier burden with respect to tribute and *polo* services (or fallas).

The head of the pueblo, the *gobernadorcillo* had the right to carry the title of *Don* and *Capitan*. With this title went along several privileges, like the exemption of the tribute payment and of the *polo*. His duties consisted of the collection of tributes from the peasants. The heads of the *barangays* were called *cabezas*. They were responsible for the *repartimiento* of personal services and for the deliveries of goods (rice, oil, wine) to meet the tribute demands from the government (Cortes, 1974, 83-84).

The parish priest (usually a Spaniard) was a powerful person in the local community, where he not only exercised his clerical duties, but many administrative ones as well. He spoke the native language and had an extensive knowledge of the local community and its people. He acted as inspector of taxation, supervisor of the schools, president of the health board; he certified to the correctness of the official papers, kept the parish books, he was president of the census taking, he signed all kinds of certificates, he supervised the municipal elections, he was the censor of municipal budgets, the president of the prison board, counselor for the municipal administration, etc. (Testimony of the provincial of Franciscans, as quoted in Stanley, 1974, pp. 11-12).

Towards the end of the Spanish regime the friars became the target of increasing criticism, being considered the 'social cancer' of society. They were accused of abuse of power and moral corruption. The anti-friar arguments focused on the landholdings of the religious orders, and the friars who acted as curates were accused of being local despots. These accusations which came up in a period of changing power relationships (namely the growth of a national public opinion and the centralization of the colonial government) tend to overestimate the personal power of the parish priests. It would be more in accordance with anthropological insights in power-relationships in local communities, to emphasize the interdependence between the parish priest and the local *principalia*. He was as much dependent on their cooperation (for contribution, for assistance, for organizing processions and religious feasts) as they were on him (for advice, for acting as intermediary, for providing a religious legitimacy for their local power position). One might wonder whether the principal loyalty of the friar was not with his community.

The relative autonomy of the local level becomes clear when we look at the position of the *alcalde-mayor,* the provincial governor, a Spaniard. Before the government reforms of 1884 the *alcalde-mayor*

was in charge of a number of tasks: head of provincial government, head of police, military commander, tax supervisor, provincial judge. The concentration of functions made him a very powerful bureaucrat. He had the assistance of a small number of Spanish subaltern officials (according to Comyn not more than 27). Aside from these government duties, the alcalde acted as monopolistic trader in his province. In 1751 the alcaldes were permitted to conduct trade, after payment of a fine (*indulto,* privilege) to the central government. In 1844 a new law prohibited this trade.

The alcalde was able to establish a monopoly and to carry out his trade with the help of a network of agents in the towns, and these agents were usually the *gobernadorcillos* or other influential persons, and the *cabezas de barangay* (Robles, 1969, p. 113). The transactional relationship between the alcalde and the gobernadorcillos becomes clear from statements from the *Memoria* by Sinibaldo de Mas (1842). Mas stated that it was important for the gobernadorcillo to comply with the alcalde, because the latter could use his political power to harrass the local official. But

> '(...) it is important for the *alcalde,* to keep the *gobernadorcillo* satisfied' and 'the *alcalde* needs the *gobernadorcillo* so that he may use him in his business' (B & R, XXXVI, pp. 285-286).

One way to favor the gobernadorcillo was to allow him liberties in the collection of the tribute, the mobilization of the polo and in legal matters (landgrabbing). As the alcalde did not speak the regional language, he was unable to investigate matters himself, and therefore was completely dependent on trusted supporters, like the parish priest and the principalia (B & R, XXXVI, p. 286).

The networks formed by *alcaldes* and *gobernadorcillos* enabled these officials to enrich themselves (Robles, 1969, p. 80). This self-enrichment comprised of: pocketing the tribute and the redemption fees for the *polos y servicios,* making a profit on the tribute paid in kind, making a profit in buying up tobacco for the monopoly, acting as usurers. The trade monopoly enabled them to collect large amounts of money. This monopoly was possible in a predominantly agrarian economy. The abolition of the alcalde trade in 1844, according to Owen: 'was as much a result as a cause of rising private trade in the province' (Owen, 1976, p. 66).

This self-enrichment of the officials put a heavy burden upon the peasant population. The local priest usually knew the ins and outs of the abuses, but he was as a rule reluctant to interfere in these matters, because the simmering conflict between Church and State put him already in a precarious position viz-a-viz the alcalde. With re-

gards to the local officials, the priest probably accepted their abuses, because of the interdependencies between him and the local elite.

The relative autonomy of the local elite was probably increased by the emerging cash crop economy as a result of the integration of the colony in the world market, in the first half of the 19th century. The increasing importance of cashcrops prompted the appearance of a new group of landlords-entrepreneurs, drawn from the stratum of Chinese *mestizos*. The *mestizos* were able to take over part of the land of the traditional principalia, by acting as usurers and thus forcing the traditional landlords to turn over the title deeds to their land.

That the Spanish officials had to consider the power of the local elite, is well pictured in the following description by De Jesus, in his study of the tobacco monopoly:

> 'Such already was the power of the cabeza and the rest of the principales in the towns that Domingo Goyenechea, alcalde of Bataan, did not consider it safe to present the people with a choice between the monopolies and the double tribute. He believed that the fifteen to twenty principales in the town would surely opt for the double tribute and would bring the whole town to vote likewise' (De Jesus, 1973, p. 129).

The fact that around 1800 resistance to the tobacco monopoly had dwindled, can be attributed to alternative commercial possibilities for the local elite. De Jesus stated:

> 'In time, those displaced by the monopoly from the tobacco trade discovered that other crops, like pepper, cotton, sugar and indigo required less labor and returned higher profits than tobacco' (De Jesus, 1973, p. 126).

The growing link between the *new mestizo* landlord class in the countryside of Luzon, and foreign commercial interests, did not escape the attention of the Spanish government. The diplomat Sinibaldo de Mas in his report (1842) mentions the presence of a strong class 'of more than two hundred thousand rich, active, and intelligent mestizos' (B & R, LII, p. 39). And he expresses the fear that the Chinese mestizos might one day take over the government of the archipelago. He considers the rivalry between the natives and the mestizos an important factor militating against this rise to power, and he advises the government to foster this rivalry (B & R, LII, p. 65).

The colonial government in the Philippines underwent a process of centralization during the middle decades of the 19th century. Two factors accounted for this policy. The first was the increase in regional rebellions, which had to be met with military means, and this led to higher expenses for the army and navy, and to a centralization of the command structure. The second factor is the need for higher revenue

to finance the administration. The subsidy from Mexico (the *situado*) had ceased in 1810. The government took a number of fiscal measures, which did not involve a basic change in the tax system, but consisted of stricter control, higher levies, and the addition of surtax (Robles, 1969, pp. 54-55, p. 72).

The taxation system remained heavily biased in favor of the landed elite. The absence of any tax on landed property was a striking aspect of this policy. Plehn gives the following explanation:

> 'The reasons for thus favoring agriculture, which had all the more weight by virtue of the fact the [sic] 'friars' who were large landholders, had a decisive voice in government, are to found [sic]: first in the great natural advantages which the islands posses for the production of such crops as hemp, tobacco, copra, coconut, sugar, indigo and chocolate—crops which promise such magnificent returns for the general wealth and welfare of the country when they are developed; and second in the inertness of the natives and their reluctance to labor after their immediate necessities are supplied, which places a severe handicap on all agriculture [sic] endeavor' (Plehn, 1901-1902, p. 710).

When the friars are being mentioned as a pressure group, it is not only their estate interests which deserve attention, but also the close connection between the religious orders and the local landed elite, via the numerous curates serving in parishes. The friars were well aware of the political importance of the local elite for the maintenance of the state structure. They knew that the imposition of a land tax would alienate this group, and cause them to revolt. The hierarchical organization of the religious orders made it possible to convey this message from the local level upwards to the decision making level in Manila and Madrid.

6. *Conclusions*

A comparison of the two taxation systems leads to the following remarks:

A striking contrast between developments in Java and in the Philippines was the degree of control over commercial networks which both governments exercised. The Dutch administration in Java after 1830 re-established its mercantilistic monopoly on trade, thereby cutting off any emerging landed elite from commercial linkages. Javanese officials were completely dependent on benefits from their bureaucratic position. The Spanish government in the Philippines proved to be unable to maintain its old mercantilistic policy, and opened the ports to foreign traders. The Filipino rural elite engaged in cash crop production for export via these foreign commercial

links. The local elite thus acquired commercial interests and economic possibilities alongside its bureaucratic functions.

During the first part of the 19th century the rudimentary economies of the two colonies put severe limits to the fiscal possibilities of the colonial states. Direct taxation, collected via the indigenous hierarchical structure, turned out to be inherently weak. The land tax under the British and Dutch in Java produced a very low revenue. The tribute under the Spanish in the Philippines was equally inefficient. The higher level of the colonial administration had very little control over the native mediators.

The Spanish colonial regime never introduced a system of land tax. The notion of a land tax was not absent, as is shown from the reform proposals of Sancianco y Goson. Why such a tax was never accepted by the government can only be guessed at. The most plausible hypothesis is the influence of strong pressure groups upon government policy: the friars owning large estates and the native landowning class being the main pillar of the colonial regime. One might also point to the apparent weakness of the colonial administration: the extensive apparatus for the assessment of a land tax was clearly lacking, while the building up of a cadaster was beyond the capabilities of the administration.

Under the Cultivation System the Dutch commuted the land tax into corvée labor employed for the production of cash crops and the building of roads. From a purely fiscal point of view this incorporation of the village into a vertical production organization, was a remarkable achievement.

The Spanish had introduced the tobacco monopoly, a system under which certain areas were assigned for the cultivation of tobacco, which was to be bought by the government. This system was based on compulsory labor and forced deliveries. The profit which the government made, was on the monopolistic sale of tobacco in the island.

The Spanish did not make use of labor services on an extensive scale for national purposes during the 19th century. The *polos y servicios* were either used by local officials, or redeemed by a money payment which was partly pocketed by the local officials. One wonders why the central government did not employ compulsory labor on a larger scale. If not for cultivation purposes, corvée labor could have been used for public works and for the building of defense works.

In this respect a hypothesis can be put forward pertaining to the character of the local community.

Central Java villages consisted of small peasants, with a group of village officials owning larger fields, in the order of a few hectares. The village head was the only one with a rather large landholding, say 10 hectares. The demand for labor of this village elite was not very sizeable and could probably be satisfied from the *pancen*-services (for the village head) and by indoor servants. The labor of the mass of the small peasants could be put into the service of the government. There was no clash of interests between the labor demands of the elite and those of the government. On the contrary, by acting as manager of the labor force, the village head increased his own authority in the village.

Central Luzon municipalities consisted of a group of landowning principales, and a group of share-cropping peasants (*kasamá*). The labor demand of this local elite was sizeable, and a big labor input was required from the *kasamá,* i.e. from a large group of peasants with whom the landlords maintained personal and contractual labor relationships. Especially in areas where the landowning elite had turned to cash crop production, the availability of labor was a crucial factor. One can surmise that the landlords were not inclined to let the government mobilize this labor force. In other words there was a definite clash of interests between the central government and the local elite. What still has to be elucidated in this connection is to what extent and in what particular way the landed elite made its interests respected by the government.

Table II The Composition of Colonial Government Budgets: Income from Different Taxation Sources

Budget	Tributes, capitacion, sángleyes, later cédulas and income taxes	Custom Duties	Monopolies		Total	
1757	₱ 4,477 (1%)	25,938			697,455	
(Foreman, p. 251)		4,195			250,000	(situado)
		30,133 (6.7%)			447,455	(100%)
1809	364,474					
(Comyn)	30,000	257,179 (14%)	tobacco	506,754 (28%)	1,813,318	(100%)
	394,474 (21.7%)					
1848	1,629,117		tobacco	1,307,467 (23.3%)	5,592,540	(cijfer van 1851)
(Robles)	158,715					
	1,787,832 (32%)					
	1,991,578					
1880-1881	139,915	1,605,700 (13.8%)	tobacco	6,571,200	14,638,486	
(Sancianco y Goson)	23,615		sales	3,500,000 (30%)	3,071,200	
	76,000		profit			
	2,483,181 (21.4%)				11,567,286	(100%)
1885-1886	6,262.738 (54.3%)	2,176,500 (18.8%)		1,254,400 (10%)	11,528,178	
(Montéro y Vidal)						
1894-1895	6,659,450 (49%)	4,565,000 (33%)		1,112,850 (8.1%)	13,579,300	
(Elliott)						

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CAVES AND BATHING PLACES IN JAVA AS EVIDENCE OF CULTURAL ACCOMMODATION*

AURORA ROXAS-LIM
Asian Center
University of the Philippines

There are in Java, a number of caves and bathing places which throw light on the nature and extent of cultural interaction between India and Indonesia. It has been accepted that the transmission of Indian civilization was neither a one-way process nor the consequence of Hindu colonization.[1] It involved the active participation of Southeast Asians who went on regular journeys to India for trade and in search of knowledge. Some achieved eminence enough to become transmitters of Indian culture as attested by the rise of Srivijayan and Mon centers of learning in the first hundred years of the A.D. era.[2] What is also clear is that there was continuous mutual reciprocation of Indian and native ideas. More importantly, in Southeast Asia as it was in India, the "great" tradition represented by the nobility, priestly and scholarly classes was enriched and changed by the "folk" or "little" tradition of the common people.[3]

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[1] F.D.K. Bosch, "Uit de Grensgebieden tussen Indische invloedssfeer en oud-inheems volksgeloof op Java," *BIJ*, 110 (1954), 1-19.

F.D.K. Bosch, "'Local Genius' en oud-Javaansch Kunst," *Medeeldelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 1952, 12-19.

[2] George Coedes, *The Hinduized States of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: 1968, introduction to 3-16. Henceforth cited as "Hinduized States."

[3] Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture*, Chicago: 1956.

For the conceptualization of culture as possessing two levels, that of the "Great Tradition" based on literary and philosophical documentation as practised by the more educated classes of society who are generally based in urban centers, and the level of the peasantry, the "Little Tradition" which is more or less a diluted version of the "Great Tradition." Redfield described peasant society as the recipient of "Great Tradition" which is emulated but not equalled. Successive studies by Redfield and his followers, Milton Singer and Mckim Marriott among others have since shown the complex inter-play of Great and Little Traditions in society and that peasant culture is not simply the provincial epigone of the Great Tradition but provide dynamic changes through dispersion, popularization and constant re-interpretation.

Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes; an Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization*, N.Y. Praeger Pub. 1972.

Indigenous, local traditions of Southeast Asia provided the fertile ground for the growth of Hindu-Buddhist classical tradition. A brief description of the configurations of the indigenous traditions of Southeast Asia is necessary for us to appreciate how they served as the foundation for successive cultural accretions from India. The complex cultural phenomena of indigenous Southeast Asian culture has been called "megalithic" culture by 'Heine-Geldern and 'Quaritch-Wales'[5] or Monsoon Asian culture" by P. Mus, based on the studies of the geographer, Sion.[6] They believed that this "megalithic culture" included the Southeastern regions of India and China in prehistoric times. The essential features of megalithic religion is animism and nature worship, the belief in the existence of a "life force" which animates natural and man-made things that could be lodged in any object or being. This life force is especially potent in certain exceptional individuals, creatures and places, but it is also believed that it is concentrated in mountains and in deceased ancestors. Megalithic faith involves too an elaborate and highly-developed ancestor worship who are associated with mountains, which is their abode and from where beneficial or malignant forces may descend. The spirits of ancestors are venerated by erecting memorials often in the form of menhirs, dolmens and stepped pyramids which are activated by appropriate rituals which make them accessible to human supplications. Part of the ancestral rites are animal sacrifices particularly valuable are buffaloes whose flesh are consumed by the entire community. There are no systematically trained and educated priests, instead special spiritual adepts who may be called shaman-magicians

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[4] Robert Heine-Geldern, "Indonesian Cultures," *Encyclopedia of World Art,* New York: 1963, VIII, 84-90 columns, 41-59.

[5] H. G. Quaritch-Wales, *The Mountain of God, Megalithic Culture of Southeast Asia,* London: 1953.

[6] Paul Mus, "Cults idiens et indigenes au Champa," *BEFEO,* 33, 1, 1933, 367-410. Henceforth cited as "Mus."

Mus discussed how the animistic-nature worship and reverence for ancestors practised by the Chams of South Vietnam, came to incorporate notions of royal prerogatives derived from Siva cults. The adoption of Siva cult served to transcend the localized claims of clan headmen and area chiefs over the lands and peoples under their influence. Indigenous megaliths in the form of menhirs (stone uprights) called *kuts* were transformed under Hindu influence as Siva lingas merging autochtonous conceptions of the local, guardian spirit of the soil with the universalizing cult of Siva as god of fertility and source of legitimate political authority over the lands and peoples.

For an excellent summary of the latest archaeological evidence on the two millenia B.C. to A.D. specially clarification of "Dongson Culture" and the applicability of this term to indigenous Southeast Asian cultures prior to intensive Chinese and Indian influences, see:

R.B. Smith and W. Watson, eds. *Early Southeast Asia, History and Historical Geography,* K.L. & London: Oxford University Press, 1979, introduction.

George Coedes, "Le Substrat Autochtone et la Superstructure Indienne au Cambodge et a Java," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale,* I (1953), 368-377.

George Coedes, "L'Osmone Indienne en Indochine et en Indonesie," *Cahiers d' Histoire Mondiale,* I (1954), 827-838.

are the major intercessors between man and the spirits, and between the living and deified ancestors. The techniques employed in contacting the spirits are through dreams, trance and divination.[7] Our study will deal with the ways by which native ideas were transformed by those imported from India, and how received ideas were in turn re-moulded to suit local needs and circumstances. The resulting synthesis is important in order to understand some of the religious practices which contemporary Javanese undergo when they visit these sites.

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[7] R.O., Winstedt, *The Malay Magician, Being Shaman, Shaiva, and Sufi,* London: 1951. 1-26. Henceforth to be cited as Winstedt.

Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism, Archaic Techniques of Ecstacy,* N.Y.: 1964, 266-272. Henceforth to be cited as Shamanism.

A.H. Johns, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian History and Literature," *Journal of Southeast Asian History,* II, 2 (1961).

"From Buddhism to Islam," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* IX, 1, 1966, 40-50.

Scholars have pointed out the similarities between indigenous shamanistic practices and the Tantras (ca. 150-400 A.D. and 500-1100 A.D.), and Sufism (9th c.), the mystical school of Islam. (Windstedt, Eliade and A.H. Johns). In almost all religions, we find such practices as rituals, worship of deity whether anthropomorphic or not, prayers, and *samadhi*—meditation and contemplation. Meditation involves seclusion, silence, abstinence and physical and mental concentration. What is distinctive about shamanism and which makes it similar to the Yogacarin and Tantra schools and Sufism is the almost exclusive emphasis on psychic-mystical techniques and their strongly antinomian position. These schools reject rational, step-by-step book learning and instruction, and consider acquiring merit through good behavior as nothing more than egoistic concerns. In place of negatively-conceived *Nirvana* or salvation as a state of "nothingness," "Non-Being", etc. these schools take a positive view of salvation, in fact they go beyond salvation of the self by stating as among the Yogacarins, that "there is only Mind," not the division of mind and body, subject and object for "the mind conjures the external world." The goal of the Yogacarins is to achieve "purity of the Self," realization of the "indivisibility of the Cosmos" by breaking down all divisions and contradictions. The Tantras brought the line of reasoning to its logical conclusion by stating that the Cosmos is within the self which generates all forces immanent in the Universe and that what the adept must do is seek the Absolute within himself. Moreover, the Tantras went further than the Yogacarins by employing the physical senses actively as the essence of transcendental, cosmic powers, they allowed the consumption of meat, fish, alcohol and indulgence in sex. The Tantras saw in the procreativeness of nature and of women the manifestation of the Absolute Divine which allowed them to admit female goddesses and fertility cults. The mystical conceptions of the unity of all, the interpenetration of the individual being and consciousness with cosmic forces parallel shamanistic-animistic belief that everything in the universe is impelled by the same, mysterious and deathless power. Finally, because the Tantras emphasized the psychic-mysterious aspects of meditation to the point of ecstatic trance which induce visions and hallucinations this allows for the acceptance of such animistic beliefs as ghosts, witches, spirits, magic and witchcraft.

The teachings of the Yogacarins and Tantras reached Indonesia ca. 750 A.D.-1150 A.D. and China and Japan from 700 A.D. when translations of texts such as *Avatamsaka, Vajrayana,* etc. were widely circulated. Inscriptions from Sumatra and Java of the period show influences of these religious-philosophical currents.

Walter O. Kaelber, "Tapas, Birth and Spiritual Re-birth in the *Veda,*" *History of Religion,* 15, 1 (May, 1976), 343-386. Henceforth to be cited as Kaelber.

In studying the caves and bathing places of Java, we shall be dealing with two of the most influential Pan-Indian themes— that of Mahameru, the symbol *par excellence* of Hindu cosmology and cosmogony, and the search of *moksa,* liberation or deliverance. In almost all countries influenced by India, Mt. Meru is considered the axis of the universe and the focal point of creation. Mt. Meru is presided over by the god Siva, Lord of the Mountain and his consort, Parvati, daughter of the mountain, goddess of fertility and of the earth. Mahameru is conceived of as having a range of mountain peaks surrounded by concentric continents of mountain ranges which are themselves ringed by intervening oceans. At the very center of Mahameru is Jambudvipa, the abode of the gods with their corresponding ministers and guardians disposed according to the cardinal and subsidiary points of the compass. Mahameru cosmology and cosmogony provides the spatial orientation horizontally and vertically whose levels correspond to the hierarchical order of the universe whether in terms of levels of divinity, or socio-political-economic power. Jambudvipa is the idealized kingdom where divinity and power is concentrated. The farther away one gets from the center, the greater is the diminution of divinity.[8]

Mahameru cosmology integrates time, place, person, things, events and signification. It served as the organizing principle for the localized, fragmentary and sometimes inchaote religious conceptions of Southeast Asia. The magnitude of Hindu cosmology allowed for the expansion and elaboration of its parts, and tolerated a complex admixture of Indian and native cults while retaining its over-all framework.

Mahameru cosmology proved most congenial to Southeast Asian religious systems based on animistic-ancestral worship wherein the sacredness of mountains forms a key element. These beliefs can be gleaned among the less acculturated peoples of Southeast Asia, such

[8] Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia,* N.Y. Pantheon Books, 1956, 19-24. Henceforth to be cited as Zimmer.

A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India,* N.Y.: Grove Press, Inc., 1959, 488-489. Henceforth to be cited as Basham.

For discussion of the parallelism of macrocosm and microcosm and the application of Meru cosmology to the political and social order see:

Robert Heine-Geldern, *Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia,* Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, Ithaca, N.Y., 1956.

Robert Heine-Geldern, "Weltbild and Bauform in Sudostasien," *Wiener Beitrage zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens,* 4, 1930, 28-78.

For the significance of Meru symbolism in 19th C. Bali see:

Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali, Princeton University Press,* 1980, 114-116, 227-229 and 104-109.

Jan Gonda, "Het Oud-Javaansche *Brahmanda-Purana," Bibliotheca Javanica,* 6, 1933, 81-101.

as the Torajas of Sulawesi[9] and the Ngadju Dayaks of Borneo.[10] They believe that gods and spirits reside on mountain tops, that deceased ancestors ascend the mountains from where they mete out rewards or punishments to their progeny. Only those of their progeny who faithfully revere their ancestors and appease the spirits enjoy health, prosperity and abundant crops and animals. The universality of these beliefs among many other peoples in Southeast Asia makes it easy to understand how Mahameru cosmology which integrates all levels of existence into a systematic hierarchy served as the paradigm for the political ideology of the classical Southeast Asian states.[11]

In Burma nature and ancestral spirits called *nat* are propitiated together with the Buddha whose powers are necessary if human endeavours are to be successful. Among all of the *nats,* who are said to be 32 in number, the foremost of them is the Lord of Mahagiri who resides on Mt. Popa associated with the Hindu God Indra, the god of rain and the clouds. Burmese kings periodically paid obeisance to Lord of Mahagiri to seek protection for his land and people.[12] Similarly, in Thailand, the Sukhodaya inscription ca. 1340 A.D. mention besides the ascendancy of Theravada Buddhism, an animistic cult honoring the spirit on Brah Khbun hill near the capital. The relation of the king to this mountain reminds us of the Burmese king's periodic supplications to the Lord of Mahagiri. It is said that this mountain spirit is "the most powerful of all spirits in the kingdom" and that no king could maintain his rule without performing the rites in honor of the mountain spirit.[23] Likewise, the Khmer rulers from

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[9] A. C. Kruyt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel,* 'sGravenhage: 1906, 467-469.

A. C. Kruyt, *De West-Toradjas op Midden Celebes,* Amsterdam: 1938, 3 vols.

[10] Hans Schärer, *Ngaju Religion: The Conception of God among a South Borneo People,* translated into English by Rodney Needham, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963. Henceforth to be cited as Ngaju.

[11] For detailed discussions on the *Devaraja* cult, the political ideology of the classical Southeast Asian states, particularly at Angkor, see:

Nidhi Aeurrivongse, "*Devaraja* Cult and Khmer Kingship at Angkor," in K. Hall and J. K. Whitmore, *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History: The Origin of Southeast Asian Statecraft,* Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1976, 107-148.

Herman Kulke, *The Devaraja Cult,* Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, Ithaca, N.Y. 1978.

[12] Sir Henry Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855,* London: 1958, see figure 21.

Megalithic shrines and altars seemed to have been absorbed into Theravada Buddhist worship even during the Pagan period. The altars were used up to the 19th C. according to Yule. For the significance of Mt. Popa and the animistic spirit guardians within the established Theravada Buddhist state cult, see:

H. L. Shorto, "The Dewataw Sotapan: A Mon Prototype of the 37 Nats," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* 30, pt. 1, 1967, 127-140. Henceforth to be cited as Shorto.

[13] Alexander Griswold and Prasert na Nagara, "On Kinship and Society at Sukhodaya," in G. W. Skinner and A. T. Kirsch, eds., *Change and Persistence in Thai Society: Essays in Honor of Lauriston Sharp,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975, 38-44,

Jayavarman II (802 A.D.) to Jayavarman VII (d. ca. 1219 A.D.) established their capitals on a natural mountain or hill or on an artificially built promontory in honor of their ancestral spirits whose abode were on mountains.[14] So central is the association of sacred authority and power with the mountain that the names of Khmer capitals invariably carried the title *vnam kantal,* meaning "central mount."[15] No less is true in Java where the awesome power of active volcanoes make native beliefs in mountain spirits and gods even more dramatic. The Sailendras, Buddhist patrons of Borobudur (8th-10th C.) called themselves "Lords of the Mountain." The conception of Kings as "Lords of the Mountain" persisted up to Majapahit times when rulers like King Rajasanagara (14th C.) identified himself with one of Siva's epithets, Girisa, which means "mountain lord" which is also synonymous with the Himalayas.[16]

Most of the religious architecture of Southeast Asia are graphic representations of the Mahameru cosmology, the construction of which was meant to make the kingdom the earthly parallel of the cosmic order.[17] Buddhist stupas in Burma and Thailand, and the Hindu-inspired temples such as Prambanan in Java recalled in their forms the legendary Mount Meru. In Bali, the temples built up in five or seven storeys are in fact called *meru.* Khmer temples are modelled closely after the five peaks of Meru. Most of the temples have a central pyramid with four surrounding towers at the cardinal points, such as Phnom Bakheng, Mebon, Pre Rup, Angkor Wat and the Bayon at Angkor Thom.[18]

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[14] George Coedes, "La Destination Funeraires des Grands Monument Khmers," *BEFEO,* XL, 315-343. Hencefort to be cited as Monument Khmers.

Menhirs were found in pre-Angkorean Cambodia which were transformed into Siva's linga and were dedicated to Siva-Girisa—Siva of the mountain. The Samré tribe who dwelt on Cardamon mountains of Cambodia erected menhirs in honor of their ancestors up till the 19th C.

[15] Lawrence Palmer Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire,* The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia: 1951, 133 and 236-237. Henceforth to be cited as Briggs.

[16] S. Supomo, "The Lord of the Mountains in the Old Javanese Kakawins," *BIJ,* 128, 1972, 281-295. Henceforth to be cited as Supomo.

[17] Weltbild, 28-34.

[18] Briggs, 133-34.

The incorporation of beliefs in sacred mountains and protective ancestral spirits into the political state ideology is found also in China, Japan and Vietnam. The Thai Shan in Shantung was the scene of earth sacrifices carried out by the Emperor at the time of the summer solstice. Similarly the Kun Lun were sacred even before they were made centers of Buddhist worship. The ten mountain ranges of China were also objects of imperial pilgrimages. See:

J.J.M. de Groot, *The Religions of China,* N.Y., 1912, 16, 194, 201-203.

Henri Maspero, *Le Taoisme et les Religione Chinoises,* Paris: Gallimard, 1971, 18, 29-30.

In Vietnam, Mt. Tien was believed to be the dwelling place of the Spirit of the Bronze Drum associated with earthly powers. The spirit of the mountain was held so powerful that it was the scene for oath-taking since each oathtaker "was required to drink blood and beg the spirit to strike him dead if he were disloyal." (175) The legendary hero

The second theme that is related to the understanding of the sites under study is the search for *moksa*—liberation or deliverance. In countries which have been influenced by Hindu-Buddhism such as Java and Bali, the four goals of men was already an accepted model of behavior at least among the educated elites by the 8th C.[19] The four goals of human existence are: *dharma*—righteousness, *artha*—wealth, and *kama*—pleasure, the last and ultimate goal is *moksa*. *Moksa* means release or liberation from *samsara,* the confining and repetitive cycle of human condition to be eventually united with the Ultimate Truth.[20] Not everyone can achieve this goal for only exceptional individuals can overcome illusions, ignorance let alone attachment to physical desires or to one's ego. But regardless of the difficulty of attaining *moksa,* most ordinary people can still seek contact with the Divine or Ultimate Truth through various *sadhanas* (methods or means), by worship, meditation, or pilgrimages to holy sites. Even the recitation of a scarcely understood prayer is considered as a possible means of experiencing a measure of Divine and Absolute Truth. The most rigorous method in achieving *moksa* or release is the practice of *tapas* or *yoga,* undertaking self-imposed austerities,

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Bo Linh who united his people and fought the Chinese was said to have descended from a mountain dweller and a mother who lived in one of its caves. (159) The mountain spirit was also believed instrumental in identifying rightful successors to the throne through dreams. The Loe warriors who successfully repelled Chinese rule and established a native dynasty were believed to have sought haven on Mt. Tien. So sacred was Mt. Tien that Buddhist temples were concentrated on the mountain and became the repository of relics of monks who underwent self-immolation.

Keith Taylor, "The Rise of Dai Viet and the Establishment of Thang-Long," in K. R.. Hall and J. K. Whitmore, eds., *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian Statecraft,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1956, 154-158, 175.

In the legendary history of Vietnam, descent of the Vietnamese people is traced to the union of, and cooperation of the spirits of the mountain and of the waters.

Le Thanh Khoi, *Le Vietnam, Histoire et Civilization,* Paris, 1955, 82-89.

In the Philippines, the protective spirit of the mountain was known as "Hari sa Bukid" (associated with Mt. Kanlaon) or Bathala from sanskrit *Bhatara* associated with Mount Banahaw in Laguna and Quezon. Mt. Makiling in Los Baños, Laguna has a guardian deity called "Diwata ng Makiling" (Sanskrit, *Devata*), a female goddess.

[19] J. G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia,* Vol. I, Bandung: A. C. Nix, 1950, see the 3 Rata Boko inscriptions dated 856 A.D., 288-294.

[20] *Moksa* is sometimes translated as "bliss" but this is somewhat of a distortion since it is not supposed to be pleasureable or in any way anchored on one's state of being. *Moksa* is generally conceived of negatively as "liberation," as "cessation of praña, life-breath, or "empty." (235) It is "release from ego," the recovery of "the natural integrity of the self," it is "freedom from sin and error,' the achievement of "complete mental poise and freedom from discord, uncertainties, sorrows and sufferings of life, . . . it is a repose that is ever the same." (354) But "sin and error" in this text refer to one's clinging to mortal, physical states, and to the illusion that there are dualities such as mind and body, subject and object, etc. *Moksa* is "emancipation from all illusion of dualities and contradictions," dissolution of the world and of the self, it means the "displacement of *avidya,* false outlook by *vidya,* right outlook which is wisdom.(507).

involving intense spiritual, mental concentration, and undergoing purification through contemplative and intuitive methods.[21]

In this quest for final release and contact with the Divine, special places are sought where the divine presence can best be contacted. Shrines and temples offer themselves as the most common places for worship. However, any unusual feature of the landscape—mountains, ravines, forests, rivers, estuaries, springs and caves have special potencies sometimes far exceeding that of the temple itself. It could well be that the temples were originally built precisely on such sacred spots where they could share in their magical and mysterious force. Among all of the natural sites, a cave in a mountain near a source of water is believed to possess most extraordinary powers. The cave, located inside the mountain is compared to a *garbhagraha*—the womb chamber. The same term is applied to the innermost chamber of Hindu temples which is believed to be like the cave as harboring the

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Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Charles A. Moore, *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy,* Princeton, New Jersey, 1957, 235, 354, 507.

Piet Zöetmulder, *Les Grandes Religions d'Indonesie,* Payot, Paris, 1968, pp. 275 and 288-292.

Old Javanese texts which deal with "salvationary mysticism" according to Gonda are: *Bhuvanakosa* ("The Sphere of the Inhabited World"), *Bhuvanasanksepa* ("A Brief Exposition of the Inhabited World"), *Brhaspatitattva, Ganapatitattva,* and *Vratisasana* which show the amalgamation of Shivaite and Buddhist conceptions. Like the Buddhist texts which we shall enumerate later, they are based on Samkhya-Yoga philosophy. Dates of these texts are still problematic but they could be dated to about the 1500 A.D., since they were "written in Javanese idiom which was in general use in Balinese priestly circles from the 1500 A.D. to the present time."

Jan Gonda, "Old Javanese Literature," *Handbuch der Orientalistik: Litteraturen,* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 19 , 187-245; 187-191.

Buddhist works which deal on mysticism and salvation are: *Sanhyang Kamahayanikan* ("The Holy Mahayana Doctrine") and *Sanhyang Kamahayanikan Mantranaya.* ("The Holy Mahayana Doctrine, Esoteric Introduction").

These texts are concerned with instructions on how to attain salvation by means of meditation, breath control, mantras followed by the exposition on cosmology and cosmogony, the parallelism of microcosm with the macrocosm, the correspondences of parts of the body with sacred syllables, with deities and with *mandalas* (magical diagrams). Since these are manuals to guide the faithful to the path of *moksa* (Javanese, *muksa,* which literally means to lose one's physical form, to disappear) they do not present a coherent philosophical treaties although they are clearly based on Samkhya-Yoga philosophy. They contain references to the 24-25 categories of Samkhya and the 8-fold course of yoga as expounded by Patanjali (5th C. A.D.). The stages of yogic exercises and meditation are said to correspond with the stages of Divine manifestation and emanations (*vyuha*) as well as with *mantras* (magic spells) and the stages of *prañayama* (breath control). See:

J. Kats, trans. and ed., *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan,* 's Gravenhage: 1910.

[21] Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy,* Cambridge University Press, Vol. I, 1922; II, 1932; III, 1940; IV, 1949; V, 1955.

Surendranath Dasgupta, *Yoga Philosophy in Relation to Other Systems of Indian Thought,* Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1974.

strength and mystery of the Divine.[22] The rivers, springs and the swirling mists which descend from mountains are believed to provide the curative, fertilizing and purifying waters that can cleanse and finally liberate, the worshipper. In the endeavour to achieve *moksa* and contact with the Divine, caves, mountains and sources of water constitute the most efficacious environment. This would explain why the Javanese and Balinese built sanctuaries on inaccessible mountain tops and excavated caves at the time when they were capable of constructing great temple complexes as those in Central Java, Borobudur, and Prambanan, 8th-10th C., and Panataran in East Java in the 14th C.[23]

The conception of Mahameru as the model for cosmic order, and the mode of searching for *moksa* and contact with the Divine through *tapas* or *yoga,* are the two themes that form the background of ideas that motivated the building of bathing places and the excavation of caves. However, we should bear in mind that practical considerations may have played important roles in their construction. Caves were used in prehistoric and in contemporary times as shelters, as places for storage, as source of animal food and fertilizers, as well as burial places.[24] As for bathing places they may have been part of water control systems. We can perhaps surmise that the numerous traces of ancient waterworks[25] indicate widespread practice of building such structures if not the kings and nobles, by the villagers themselves. It is also likely that Javanese kings like their counterparts in India, considered it their sacred duty to build and maintain water control systems although such efforts were rarely recorded in inscriptions. In the Old Javanese *Ramayana kakawin* (poem)[26] and the *Nagarakertagama,* there are admonitions that kings and nobles must construct and maintain irrigation canals, ditches, dams, roads and bridges for the benefit of the people.[27]

Caves and bathing places generally received cursory remarks from earlier Dutch researchers because of their run-down conditions. However, the sheer numbers of the ruins of bathing places could not es-

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22 Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple,* Calcutta, 1955, 3-6.

23 A. J. Bernett Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art,* Amsterdam, 1959, 43-49 and 90-94.

24 H. R. van Heekeren, *The Stone Age of Indonesia,* 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957, 2-11.

25 R. D. .M. Verbeek, *Oudheden can Java: Lifst der Voornaamste Overblijfselen uit den Hindoetijd of Java met eene oudheidkudige Kaart, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap der Volkenkundig, Kust en Wetenshapen,* XLVI, Batavia, 1891. Contains the best compendium of archaeological sites and their locations.

26 R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *Het Oud-Javaansche Ramayana, TBG,* 72, 1932, 151-214. Henceforth to be cited as *Nagarakertagama.*

27 Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century,* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1962, Vol. IV, 299-301; Canto 88, verse 2-3 the Speech of the Prince of Wengker; and Vol. IV, pp. 299-300. Henceforth *Nagarakertagama.*

cape the notice of researchers. It is from these early, short reports that we get a fairly good idea of numerous sites whose traces were still visible as late as the 19th C. The bathing places are concentrated primarily at the foot of mountains, along rivers and water courses, near natural springs and on slopes of hills which form watersheds. As for the caves, they too were treated perfunctorily in archaeological reports. Like the bathing places caves hardly yielded any inscriptions. It is in literature and in legends that caves and bathing places figure prominently as the setting of extraordinary events. Besides being considered as the natural habitat of the numerous guardian spirits of Java, they are also believed to be connected with legendary and historical figures.[28] Some of the caves which may be dated to the Classical Hindu-Javanese Period (from ca. 5th to 15th C. A.D.) may have been pre-historic sites.[29] In terms of scale, interior plan or in sculptural and architectural ornamentation, cave sites in Java are small. This is particularly true when we compare them with those found in India or China.[30] For the most part, cave sites are modest in scale, at great distance from one another, and often located in isolated and inaccessible places. We can ask why the Javanese who were capable of building large temple complexes after the Indian models as early as the 7th and 8th C. did not undertake extensive and elaborate cave excavations as those in India and China. The same question can be asked regarding bathing places and waterworks which again are for the most part miniature pools and canals when placed beside the huge waterworks constructed in these two countries.[31]

In the Deccan, a combination of factors favoured large-scale and sustained excavations for almost 1,000 years. The western ghats com-

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[28] H. A. van Hien, *De Javaansche Geestenwereld* . . .
L. Adam, "Eenige Historische en Legendarische Plaatsnamen in Yogyakarta," *Djawa,* 1930, 150-161.
Van Hien and Adam give a list of sacred sites in Java and the legends and myths associated with them. For the Muslim sites see:
D. A. Rinkes, "De Heilige van Java," *TBG, 55,* 1913, 223-245.

[29] H. R. van Heekeren, *The Stone Age of Indonesia,* 's Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1957, 2-11.

[30] Muriel Neff, "The Origins of the Indian Cave Temple," *Oriental Art,* Spring 1956, 21-26.
James Burgess and James Fergusson, *The Caves of India,* London: W. H. Allen, 1880, 163-165. Henceforth, Caves of India.
S. Mizumo and T. Nagahiro, *Unko Sekkutsu*: *Yun-Kang* (The Buddhist Cave Temples of the Fifth Century A.D. in North China), 16 vols., Kyoto, 1951-56.
Ichiro Hori, "Mountains and their Importance for the Ideas of the other World in Japanese Folk Religion," *History of Religions,* 6, 1, August 1966, pp. 22-43.

[31] Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China,* Vol. IV, Part 3 on Irrigation, London: Cambridge University Press, 1954-55. For Irrigation Systems in India, see:
Emmanuel Adiceam, "La Geographie de l'Irrigation dans le Tamilnad," *Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient,* 1966.
Sachindra Kuman Maity, *Economic Life in Northern India in the Gupta Period, ca. 300-550* A.D., Delhi: Matilal Banarsidass, 1970.

posed of trap basalt with alternating layers of hard and soft rock rendered them easily workable for excavation. Moreover, while the basalt was impermeable to rain, the area had abundant surface water. The region also yielded semiprecious stones such as agate, carnellian, onyx, etc. which were articles of trade from the Mediterranean to Southeast Asia and China. The major cave sites such as Ellora, Elephanta and Ajanta were also located all along the trade routes connecting the Indian ports into the interior of the subcontinent.[32] All these practical considerations taken together served to reinforce the religious motivations that led prosperous kings and merchants to patronize the large-scale excavations of caves. The patrons found an excellent opportunity to express their piety, acquire merit and engage in trade at the same time.

Such a happy combination of circumstances did not obtain in Java. In this island, the caves which served as settings for religious worship and meditation were not only small, simple affairs if man-made, but many more were natural caves and rock shelters. It was only in Bali that cave excavations were carried out in much larger scale by comparison to those found in Java.[33] But notwithstanding the simplicity of man-made caves in Java, they disclose certain philosophical and religious beliefs which large monuments do not reveal. The question to ask is why at the height of Hindu-Buddhist influence when ruling elites were building large temple complexes were the caves and bathing places built and patronized, and why people continued to go to these sites even up to the time when Islam entered Java?

Unlike temple complexes such as Prambanan and Borobudur, caves and bathing places served the needs of indigenous, animistic religion. Large temples were the focus of state worship associated with the ruling dynasty. Their architectural program required the support of learned priests, monks and scholars steeped in Hindu-Buddhist speculations, and involved the participation of the wider community from construction to congregational rituals. The caves and bathing places on the other hand were retreats for individual worship and meditation. Temple complexes were palladia of state around which religious and political authority were focused, while the caves seemed to have served centrifugal, even unorthodox religious and political currents.

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[32] Vidya Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples*, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972, 30-33.

[33] A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, Amsterdam: C. P. J. van der Peet, 1959. The combination of mountain sanctuaries, caves and bathing places was fully articulated in Bali, see:
A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Monumental Bali*, The Hague, 1977.

This line of interpretation is borne out by literary and historical accounts which showed that these sites served not only as places of spiritual retreats of famous kings and religious leaders, but as refuge for nobles who lost favor at court, and other political and social outcasts whose experiences in the caves became celebrated in oral tradition. The isolation, inaccessibility, diffused iconography of the sculptural and other decorations, and most of all the natural and unspoiled settings of the sites, served the more spontaneous, individual spiritual needs of the worshippers. The experience in the caves seemed to be analogous to what Karl Otto called the "encounter with the nouminuous,"[34] and which can be compared with shamanistic trance of animist religion. It is a spiritual experience which dispenses with all the trappings of institutional religion, the clergy, philosophical texts, doctrines, and the congregation leaving the individual to his own, private, direct experience of the Divine.

The sacred caves in Java are of two types, natural and man-made, and among the latter, many were merely enlarged and reworked natural caverns or rock shelters. The caves are provided with interior cellas, niches and rarely with elaborate sculptural or architectural articulation as in India. In the case of Indian Buddhist caves, liturgical requirements led to the evolution of cave interiors consisting of longitudinal *mandapam,* rectangular interior space like a nave with colonnaded side aisles ending in an ambulatory apse enshrining a *stupa*[35] (mound). This type of architectural cave interior never developed in Java or Bali where some of the caves were believed to have been Buddhist-inspired.[36] Almost all of the caves studied were associated with sources of water. Natural caves such as Gua Langsé (associated with Nyai Loro Kidul, goddess of the Southern Sea), Gua Cermé (in Bantul near Jogjakarta), Sih Pahlawan (in Kalegising, Purworejo), and Ngrong Renggel (in Tuban) have subterranean springs, with interior waterfalls and fountains. Others were either located near a lake as Gua Semar on the Dieng plateau near Wonosobo, or beside waterfalls as Gua Slarong in Bantul, near Jogjakarta. The three cave sites in Kutaarjo, Purworejo were oriented towards the river as were Gua Buta and Gua Sumbercanting in Bondowoso. Some caves were integral parts of a bathing place as Gua Sunan Mas (in Surocolo, near Imogiri). The caves on the Ratu Boko plateau

[34] Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy,* trans. by J. W. Harvey, London: 1946.

[35] Caves of India, 36-49.

[36] W. H. Stutterheim, "Aanteekeningen," *Bij,* 89, 1932, 264-269. Although Stutterheim thinks that most of the sites in Tulung Agung such as Candi Dadi, Cungcub, Sangrahan, Bayolongo, and the cave sites at Selamengleng, Gua Tritis and Pasir were Buddhist, he conceded that there were no strict differentiations between Buddhist and Hindu sects.

were believed to have been part of the kraton complex.[37] At Suniaragi near Cirebon, the caves were simulated in brick and cement and they formed part of the built-up promontories and hills inside the garden with pools.[38]

We can also divide the caves into two groups in terms of sculptural ornamentation and religious associations. In Central Java, the caves were mostly Shivaite. Sih Pahlawan and Gua Slarong for example had linga-yoni in the former it was inside the cella while in the latter it was placed infront of the caves. In East Java, the caves were generally Buddhist as the series of caves on the hills located about 5 kilometers east of Trowulan, near Mojokerto.[39] Similarly believed to be Buddhist caves were: Gua Selamengleng in Kediri, and the cave of the same name in Tulung Agung, and Gua Pasir and Gua Tritis, also in Tulung Agung. As for the caves in Bondowoso, namely Gua Buta and Gua Sumbercanting, they could not easily be categorized either way. These natural caves had simple reliefs, a Banaspati (or Sanskirt *Vanaspati*) above the cave mouth, and animal and human forms were carved on the cliff walls near the cave entrance (at Gua Buta).

Man-made caves had simple plans, most of them were no more than rectangular cellas with niches and alcoves. The more complex interiors were found in the three cave sites in the villages of Kimeri and Pituruh, Kabupaten Purworejo, and Gua Selamengleng in Kediri, but even then, the dimensions were small, the maximum length of the largest interiors were no more than 9 meters square. The Purworejo caves were of special interest since they may be said to represent some of the earliest evidence of linga worship in Java. This conjecture is based on the simplicity of the linga-yoni found inside the cave cellas. These had extremely simple profiles with no other ornamentation suggestive of the dolmens and menhirs which tribal animistic groups put up to honor deified ancestor and geniis of the soil.[40] The linga-yoni found in these caves appear even more rough and crude when compared with the versions found in temple com-

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[37] N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot Hindu-Javaansche Kunst,* 's Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1923, vol. I, 244-246. Henceforth, Inleiding.

[38] Denys Lombard, "Jardins a Java," *A. A.,* 20, 1969, 142-145.
Paramita Abdurachman, editor. *Cirebon,* Yayasan Mitra Budaya, Jakarta, 1982.
I am indebted to Prof. B.O.G. Anderson for calling my attention to this new publication.

[39] O. V. 1926, 148-150.

[40] Sumijati A. S., "Tinjauan tentang beberapa trudisi megalitik di daerah Purbalingga (Java Tengah), *Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi,* Proyek Penelitian dan Penggalian Purbakala, Jakarta, 1980, 98-109.
F. M. Schnitger, "Les Terrasses Megalithiques de Java," *R. A. A.,* XIII, 3-4, 1939-1942, 101-114.

plexes as Prambanan, Panataran or Jago.[41] The rough workmanship and simplicity of the linga-yoni and the caves seem to suggest that the Purworejo caves were earlier than the temples. Perhaps it could also be suggested that the cave sites were provincial epigones of refined and elegant art centered at court. It may also be that the caves were deliberately kept as simple and as roughly-hewn as possible to be consistent with the simple worship that was carried on in the caves. But this last possibility has to be discounted with when we consider some of the East Javanese caves where we find very refined reliefs. Nevertheless, the caves in Central Java tend to be much more simple than those in East Java and Bali. One last example will suffice to illustrate this point.

In Gua di Bang, in Bantul near Jogjakarta,[42] there are caves carved out of limestone hills overlooking the plains. There is a central, shallow niche like an altar where a seated deity (perhaps Indra or Shiva) flanked by standing male guards (Dvarapalas) are carved in relief on the cliff wall. Right below this altar-niche and projecting from its surface wall is a linga-yoni. An alcove to the right once housed a Durga statue whose only remains is the square indentation on the floor for the pedestal. On the back wall of the alcove are traces of some kind of relief which again like the Durga statue is missing. To the opposite side of the niche-altar is a small cave whose walls show reliefs of Durga attended by Dvarapala carved inside rectangular panels. Set back inside the cave is a small linga-yoni similar to the one found infront of the niche-altar. Again, all the relief sculp-

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41 *Ancient Indonesian Arts, plate* 166 linga-yoni from Tandjongtirha.
The Prambanan linga-yoni has clearly articulated parts defined by projecting mouldings; a base, a central but short shaft, and a wide overhanging capital on top of which the linga rests. The shaft of the yoni has rectangular, inset panel reliefs of *kalasa* (vase of plenty) with simplified *prajapati* (mythical wishing tree), and on the moulding projecting above the shaft is carved a horizontal series of beaded pendants alternating with rosettes. The yoni spouts ends in two volutes treated with stylized foliage and topped by kala heads in the same style and workmanship as those that decorate the temple staircase of Prambanan. Below the yoni spout and consistent with the symbolism of the linga-yoni is a naga resting on a lotus base and crowned with a lotus cushion on which the yoni spout rests. The simple linga atop the yoni has a lotus pedestal similar to that which crowns the naga. Central and East Javanese linga-yonis found in temple precincts have similar refined and elegant treatment as the one found in Prambanan. See: Bernet-Kempers, plate 166.

42 Gua di Bang is in Piyungan, Bantul located on a hill near an ancient temple made of bricks and andesite. Nothing but heaps of stone remain of the old structures. A Buddhist inscription was found on the plateau with date of 786 Saka (874 A.D.) which contained a Buddhist mantra. A Durga statue was found inside a shallow cave while reliefs of Durga flanked by Dvarapalas were on the walls of another small cave. Information was provided by Drs. M. M. Sukarto Atmodjo, Professor of Archaeology, University of Gajah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, July, 1979.

tures and linga-yoni are very rudimentary and roughly hewn, without any traces of mouldings and ornamentation. They give the impression that they were left unfinished.

A short diversion is called for regarding the significance of the linga-yoni in ancient and modern Java to show the reworking of indigenous, animistic beliefs into the framework of Hindu Shivaite cult. During my field work conducted in 1979-1980, in search of the less studied temples, the only traces available of ancient structures were usually loose stones and the linga-yoni.[43] Some of them were kept undisturbed in the vicinity or compounds of Muslim gravesites and mosques. Many of these linga-yoni were still venerated by the villagers by offerings of flowers, incense and sometimes food. It also happens that ancient temple stones and even natural ones whose forms suggest the linga-yoni served as objects of village worship. (Sendang Sanjaya near Salatiga, Gua Cerme and the Gua Slarong in Bantul near Jogjakarta, Gua Sih Pahlawan, in Kalegesing, Purworejo, and the three cave sites in Kutaarjo also in Purworejo).

In indigenous, animistic worship, gods of the soil and of fertility were propitiated when new lands were opened up for agriculture, and during periods of planting and harvest. Spirits of ancestors were similarly venerated through rituals and the setting up of stone memorials. The linga-yoni, symbols of the gods Shiva and Uma was absorbed into the indigenous belief system as supreme ancestral and guardian spirits of the land and its people. No doubt, the close affinity between Shivaite and animistic conceptions eased the symbiotic absorption of received and native symbolism. But no less important is the fact that the linga-yoni as form belongs to the category of universal symbols. Like simplified, irreducible forms such as the circle, square, triangle, the egg, the cross and their variants, the linga-yoni allowed for ambiguity of interpretations. The linga depicted generally as an upright cylinder or pillar, is suggestive of male prowess and potency, while the yoni, the horizontal form, represents female regenerative powers

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[43] The proliferation and wide dispersal of linga-yoni in Java may also be explained by the ancient practice of using them as commemorative stones on the occasion of the establishment of a *sima,* a religious foundation. The establishment of a *sima* involved the demarcation of land and villagers exempted from the customary taxes and corvée due to the king or noble in order to transfer the revenue from the land and the labor of its inhabitants in favor of the newly-established religious foundation. The linga-yoni may have been set up to commemorate the occasion and sometimes inscriptions were inscribed on these stones stating the founding of the *sima.* Thus, we may surmise that the linga-yoni of the Shivaite cult was incorporated into indigenous, local practices and beliefs involving cadastral and social arrangements. See: the Mantyasih Inscription issued by King Balitung in 907 A.D.

W. F. Stutterheim, "Oorkonde van Balitung uit 905 A.D. Randasoeri I," *Inscriptie van Nederlandsch-Indie,* Oudheidkundige Dienst N.I., Batavia: 1940, 3-38.

H. M. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java,* Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1922, 2 vols., II, 64-66.

of the earth, and woman as eternal *genetrix*. Man's eternal concern for the fertility and continuity of life, for immortality the shifting tensions and harmony of oppositions found its most appropriate embodiment in the linga-yoni. It is also relevant to stress that the worship of the linga was rooted in Indian tribal beliefs before it became the emblem of the god Shiva whose cult developed towards the historical period under Aryan influence. After the development of the Shiva cult, the linga often by itself, attracted more adherents and became the most widely dispersed and most numerous statuary in India.[44] Similar observations may be applied to Java as well where the installation of memorials to guardian spirits, deified ancestors and culture heroes was the seedbed for the growth of the Shiva cult.

The persistence of the belief and veneration of the linga was reported as late as 1879 when the Teguh inscription (ca. 450 A.D.), one of the oldest inscriptions in Indonesia was found near Tanjung Priok, in Jakarta. The villagers worshipped the inscription stone with flowers and incense.[45] In some Muslim sites, the linga-yoni were also venerated, although I must hasten to add that these practices were not officially sanctioned by Muslim authorities. In the *makam* (grave-site) and *masjid* (mosque) of Sonan Bonang in Tuban,[46] there was a well where a yoni was submerged and where people performed ablutions in the belief that the water was more efficacious. In the *makam* of Sonan Giri in Gresik, and in the *makam* and *masjid* at Sendang Duwur in Lamongan, southeast of Tuban,[47] there were *cungkub* (small structures to house graves or tombs) supported by single pillars decorated with intricate carvings to simulate trunks of trees. These artificially-fashioned tree trunks were themselves carved with miniature landscapes depicting hills, rockeries, streams, and animals of the forest. I believe that a case can be made that these *cungkub* symbolize conceptions structurally related to the linga as ancestral memorial. The *cungkub* is like a bridge between deceased ancestors, spirits of the potency and fertility of the soil, and the beneficient and protective powers of the Divine. That this argument is not too far fetched as far as Muslim sites are concerned can further be supported by one of the most valued *pusaka* (sacred heirlooms)

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44 Wendy D. O'Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Siva*, London: Oxford University Press, 1973, 9-12.

45 H. Th. Varstappen, "Purnavarman's Riverworks," *BKI*, 128, 1972, 298-307.

46 I wish to acknowledge the help of Bapak M. Harisoebagyo and Bapak Suwarjan, D.P.K. Kab. Tuban for the opportunity to study the sites in this Kabupaten in 1979.

47 Aside from the two gentlemen, I wish to thank Bapak Marsoedi, Bapak Camat of Kecanatan Paciran, Kabupaten Lomongan, Tuban for his help in arranging my field trip to Sendang Duwur, Lomongan, Tuban.

of the Sultan of Cirebon.[48] In the museum of the *kraton,* the Kasepuhan in Cirebon, there is a wooden 30 cm. high linga supported by a square pedestal and fitted with movable wings. Here we find the synthesis of animistic with Shivaite conceptions pressed into the service of exalting the Sultan's authority as derived from both ancient, indigenous powers, as well as the universalizing god Shiva.

Having reviewed some of the cave sites in Central Java, it is time to discuss some of the East Javanese cave sites. Most of the East Javanese caves which are man-made were said to be Buddhist. Our main interest is how Buddhist conceptions were lifted into indigenous beliefs. The Gua Selamengleng at Kediri is located on Gunung Klotok about 5 km. west of Kediri.[49] The interior plan is an arrangement of chambers oriented laterally. The cave mouth faces Southeast towards the river which is reduced to a tiny stream during the dry season. On the incline of the hill approaching the cave, there are many spout *makaras,* loose statues of Dvarapalas, a Mahaguru, and other roughly made statues which Krom generally called "Polynesian." Right below the cave entrance are two stone tubs for collecting water. The cave mouth leads into the main chamber where there is a stone altar and behind this altar is a seated figure of the Buddha in *dhyana mudra,* (stance of contemplation, both legs in lotus position, hands clasped together and placed on the lap). (This chamber measures 4 m. wide by 2.5 m. deep and 1.74 m. in ht.) On the back wall of the main chamber is niche with an inscription in old Javanese which has been dated on paleographic grounds to the 11th C.[50] On the side wall of the main chamber is a relief representing a cemetery scene. To the left of the main chamber is a small, dark cella, semi-circular in ground-plan accessible through a short flight of stairs. On the back wall of this dark cella is a relief of the Buddha also in *dhyana mudra.* The cave walls of Selamengleng are treated with cloud-formations as if they were stalactites which I think is intended to make the cave visitor realize that he has entered the realm of the spirits.[51]

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[48] My trip to Cirebon was kindly arranged by Drs. Satyawati Suleiman and Drs. Hasam M. Ambary of the National Research Centre of Archaeology of Indonesia, to whom I wish to express my gratitude.

Inajati Adrisijanti, "Telaah Singkat Tentang Bangunan Bertiang Satu," *Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi,* Proyek Penelitian dan Peninggalian Purbakala, D. P. and K., Jakarta, 1980, 470-476.

[49] "Anteekeningen . . .," *Bij,* 89, 1932, pp. 268-269.

Ny. Sudjiati, Sdr. Moh. Atim Sf. and Sdr. Moh. Sahana of the D.P.K of Kediri were my helpful companions to Gua Selamengleng, Kediri, April, 1980.

[50] W. F. Stutterheim, "Some Remarks on Pre-Hinduistic Burial Customs in Java," *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology,* 1956, 74-76.

[51] Besides cloud forms on the walls of the cave, there is a crowned naga depicted on the side wall of the "foyer" just before entering the main room of the cave. The presence of the naga alludes to the story of Amerta, the elixir of immortality which the nagas guard against Garuda.

It is interesting that the subject of the relief on the side wall[51a] of the main chamber represents according to Stutterheim, a cemetery scene. The relief shows open fields and interspersed among the trees are small, house-life structures which were earlier mistaken for granaries, but later on corrected by Stutterheim as ossuaries meant to receive the exhumed bones of the deceased. Corpses and skeletons are depicted scattered on the grounds.[52] It is noteworthy that instead of depicting the Buddhist hell, or any of the *jataka* stories (the different incarnations of the Buddha), the sculptor chose an indigenous subject, called the *tiwah*, a series of rituals connected with the dead. The Dayaks of Borneo still practice these rites. It involves secondary burial, that is, after the fleshy parts have disintegrated, the bones are exhumed to be buried again or kept elevated on the house-like structures called the *sadang* (urns or ossuaries) as depicted on the reliefs. In explaining the subject of the reliefs, besides drawing from the ethnographic data about the Borneo Dayaks, there is a reference of a similar ceremony in the *Tantu Panggelaran* where *wong attitiwa* (Javanese, participants in a *tiwah,* or funeral rites) were said to meet in cemetery grounds to pay respects to the dead.[53] A similar ceremony is described in the *Nagarakertagama,* cantos 53-59. The ceremony called *çraddha* (Sanskrit) was performed in honor of Queen Rajapatni.[54] The conceptions surrounding the *tiwah* of the Dayaks, and the *çraddha* of Hindu funeral rites center on the belief that the soul of the dead must be provided with the final avenue for release and redemption. In the Dayak conception, the soul or life-force of the deceased must be released from its mortal remains to enable it to join the realm of deified ancestors and spirits. This indigenous conception coincides with the Hindu-Buddhist doctrine of *moksa* or *nirvana* which also meant release, liberation from the contingencies, and illusions of karma. Cremation is the high point of the *çraddha* ceremony which is intended to purify and liberate the soul from the polluting and confining mortal state. We thus see how Buddhist and indigenous conceptions are fused together in the symbolism found inside the cave. The cloud-formations on the cave walls, the Buddha statues in *dhyana mudra* equate the cave with the spiritual realm. The relief which depicts the *tiwah* is consistent with Buddhist tenets regarding the transitoriness of mortal existence and the necessity of redemption from such a state. This Buddhist conception is joined with indigenous beliefs surrounding

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[51a] There is a crowned naga on cave wall of the foyer.

[52] The cave walls today are almost completely covered by soot from candle offerings so that the reliefs are no longer visible.

[53] Th. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran, Een-oud-Javaansche Prozageschrift,* Leiden: 1924, 112, 192-221.

[54] Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the Fourteenth Century,* The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1962, Vol. IV, 169-182.

death as only the beginning of immortality since the deceased, once liberated from his mortal body becomes part of the deified ancestors.

There is reason to believe that the site of Gua Selamengleng was a sacred site long before Buddhism was adopted as a religion in Kediri. Less than one kilometer north of Gua Selamengleng is Gua Sela Bela, a natural cave without any trace of architectural or sculptural features. This cave is believed to be the home of the guardian spirit of Kediri, Buto Locaya. The legend says that Buto Locaya took human form as Kyai Daha and became the chancellor of King Jayabhaya of Kediri, while his younger brother, Kyai Gun Tungul Wulun served as the King's general. When the king and his daughter retired from the world, Buto Locaya also gave up his mortal remains having fulfilled his mission to serve as adviser to the King. Buto Locaya and Kyai Gun Tungul Wulun are believed to be the first inhabitants of Kediri and are the protectors of the territory who see to it that Kediri comes to no harm specially from volcanic eruptions.[55]

The antiquity of the site of Gua Selamengleng as a ritual center can also be corroborated by other archaeological remains in the area. Nearby is a megalithic site called Punden Dewi Sekatarji which is composed of stone terraces following the slope of the hill. It also had traces of a bathing place made of bricks and andesite.[56]

Gua Selamengleng is located South of the Wajak mountains about 10 km. Southeast of Tulung Agung. There are two rectangular caves cut into the rock outcroppings on the mountain slope. The cave facing northwest towards the river is of interest to us. The cave overhang is carved with a huge *kala* head giving the impression that one is entering through the monster's gullet.[57] The cave interior is no more

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[55] Mas Soema-Santiko, *Babad Kediri, de Geschiedenis van het Rijk Kediri,* opgeteekend in het jaar, 1873, trans. P. W. vander Broek, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1902.

R. M. Sutjipto Wirjosuparto, *Apa Sebabnya Kediri dan Daerah Sekitarnya tampil ke Mukha dalam Sejarah,* Jakarta: 1958.

[56] N.J. Krom, *Inleiding* II, 392.

[57] Caves whose entrances are carved like that of an animal monster is the Tiger cave in Udayagiri, in Orissa, India. It is one of the earliest sculptured caves dated by Burgess and Fergusson to late B.C. or early A.D. Another cave with an animal-monster entrance is found in the South among the raths of Mahavallipuram called Saliwan Kuppam. There are two other caves in East Java which have monster heads carved on the cave mouth (called Kala, or or Banapasti) Gua Buto and Gua Sunbercanting in Kabapaten Bondowoso. In Bali, Gua Gajah in Beduhulu is carved with a large Karang Bhoma, as the monster head is called in Bali. This type of monster head recalls Indian Kirttimukha which is used to crown arches, doorways, gates, niches, pendentives and also carved at the back of statues. This practice is also found in Java and Bali. The use of Kala heads at entrances and doorways clearly shows its apotropaic function and as a symbol of time.

Gosta Liebert, *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions: Hinduism-Buddhism-Jainism,* Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976, p. 138.

W.F. Stutterheim, "The Meaning of the Kala-makara ornament," *Indian Art and Letters,* N.S., 3, 1929, 27-52.

than a rectangular chamber. On the central wall immediately facing the viewer is a relief representing the story of Arjuna Metapa, as an ascetic. The story is a short episode from Chapter VII, of the *Mahabharata* but it is the theme of a longer Javanese poem, *Arjunawiwaha.*[58] The *Arjunawiwaha* plot centers on the hero's exploits to get the Pandava clan out of the impasse in their battle against their cousins, the Korawas. Realizing the weak position of his family, Arjuna decides to seek out the magical weapon *pasupati* to enable his brothers to fight the Korawas. He ascends Mt. Indrakila, enters a cave and undergoes severe *tapas.* Arjuna's *tapas* generated so much power that it disturbed both the devils and the gods. The story is depicted on the Selamengleng cave walls as a series of continuous scenes interspersed with landscapes. The first scene, shown on the left panel shows the god, Indra seated on his lotus throne in *svargaloka* (heaven) attended by the priest Narada and the beautiful nymphs. The gods are conferring on how to combat the monster, Niwatakawaça who has sworn to destroy heaven and the gods for frustrating his attempts to obtain the beautiful nymph Suprabha as his wife. The gods are rendered helpless in combatting the monster for the latter acquired supernatural powers after performing *tapas.* Unknown to the gods is that Niwatakawaça has one tiny, vulnerable spot on his body, the tip of his tongue. Since none of the gods could fight the Niwatakawaça, they decided to seek the help of Arjuna who is performing *tapas* inside a cave on Mt. Indrakila. The two nymphs Suprabha and Tillotama are dispatched to arouse Arjuna from his deep meditation. It is also a way by which the gods could test hero's resolve as a *yogin,* and if Arjuna passes this test the gods could take him as their ally. The two nymphs are shown on the next panel enroute to Mt. Indrakila, passing mountains and streams. One of the nymphs is shown relieving herself in a stream. The central, back wall of the cave is occupied by Arjuna performing *tapas* while the two nymphs are depicted trying to seduce him to no avail. The last scene depicts the contest between Arjuna and Shiva, the latter disguised as a hunter. The two argue over whose arrow hit the wild boar Muka, the brother of the monster, Niwatakawaça who is sent to kill Arjuna. The scene where Arjuna discovers the one vulnerable spot of Niwatakawaça and kills him and his brother Muka is not depicted on the cave wall. Neither is the final scene in *svargaloka* (where Arjuna is rewarded seven days and nights of amorous bliss with the nymphs) depicted.

The *Arjunawiwaha* introduces a new twist to the theme of the quest for spiritual knowledge and contact with the divine through *tapas.* The story shows that the primary objective of the ascetic is not necessarily to obtain *moksa* but gain miraculous powers to enable

[58] P.J. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan, A Survey of Old Javanese Literature,* The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1974, 234-237.

him to fight his enemies. *Tapas* or yoga is only a means to achieve worldly gains. Arjuna temporarily withdraws from society and undergoes penance, only to return with a magical weapon and re-invigorated by the rewards of heaven. It is a story well-loved in Java by at least the 11th C. The story must have been widely circulated since it is the subject of the reliefs in many temples. The *Arjunawiwaha* story is depicted on the temple walls of Jago (near Malang), Panataran (near Blitar), Sorowono and Tigawangi, (near Kediri), Kedaton on mount Andongbiru, Kraksaan, ca. 80+ km. Southeast of Probolingo, E. Java) and on the terrace temples on Mt. Penanggungan—25 km. Southeast of Mojo Kerto. In Pejeng, Bali there is a large statue of Arjuna which is kept in the middle of the ricefield facing the office of the provincial branch of the National Research Institute of Archaeology in Beduhulu.[59]

The theme of Arjuna's penance is echoed in Gua Pasir[60] where again we find on the central wall of the cave, an ascetic in deep contemplation unmindful of the female head turned seductively to him. On either side of this central scene are depicted amorous couples representing *panakawans* (clowns) who are wearing the usual attributes of ascetics; simple loincloth (like G-strings), turban and a waist chain. The Panakawans in contrast to the central figure are shown yielding to the seduction of their female companions. In Gua Pasir, the theme of the ascetic is depicted with the least reference to the conventional Hindu or Buddhist iconography. Unlike the Dhyana Buddha in the Selamengleng, Kediri cave, or the Tulung Agung cave, we are not certain whether the relief depicts Arjuna being seduced by the nymphs, or the Buddha being tempted by Mara. The lack of specific iconographic details, and the presence of the *panakawans* show that the theme of the ascetic in search of *moksa* has been fully transformed into an Indonesian conception. In East Javanese art, the heroes although drawn from Indian epics of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* undergo exploits more in keeping with Javanese experiences, notable among them is the presence of the servant-confidante Semar and clowns like him. Semar is associated with the spirit and ancestral gods of Java who plays the contrasting *Kasar* character

[59] The statue of Arjuna at Pejeng, Beduhulu, Bali shows the hero wearing an ascetic's turban holding a shell which functions as a spout. Beside Arjuna are his two Panakawans shown on relief. There are also two nymphs whose navels function as spouts. The hero Arjuna is transformed and given the attributes of Visnu-Indra as provider of life-giving waters.

[60] W.F. Stutterheim, "De Goewa Pasir bij Toelaeng Agoeng," *TBJ*, 73 1933, 453-468. Stutterheim published pictures taken by Claire Holt which showed the reliefs in a better state of preservation than they are today. Besides the conventional accoutrements of yogins (hermit's turban, waist chain and loincloth), there are ghantas depicted on relief which were made to appear as if they hang down the ceiling of the cave. Details such as these give an illusion of depth. The cloud motifs on the cave wall are also rounded and full similar to the Gua Selamengleng cloud forms in Kediri.

(rough, low in status, subject to all human foibles) to *halus* (noble, refined, spiritual) character of *Arjuna*.[61] The presence of Semar-type characters on the walls of the Gua Pasir cave is an excellent manifestation of the Javanese re-interpretation of the Arjuna Metapa theme. At one level, since Semar readily yields to temptation, his behavior shows the resoluteness of Arjuna's ascesis. But on another level, since most everyone knows how the story eventually ends, with Arjuna obtaining the magic weapon pasupati and then enjoying amorous bliss in heaven, Semar's directness and openness is an ironic comment on the fundamental mortality of all human idealism.

One of the most celebrated heroic exploits in Javanese legends and myths is the powerful ascetic. In Javanese stories and legends, regardless of all the extraordinary feats that a hero may be capable of performing, still it is the ability to be in contact with supernatural and magical powers through *tapas* or some form of yogic exertion which is the *sine qua non* for heroism. Indeed, all other heroic deeds are thought to be the direct consequences of performing *tapas*. What fully qualifies Arjuna as a full-pledged hero is his experience as a powerful ascetic. Among all the abilities of the heroes, it is the capacity to obtain magical-supernatural powers through spiritual effort which could command reverence and awe. Arjuna is the prototype of the succeeding heroes in Javanese legends and history whose exemplary life exercises a strong moral force in Javanese society as a whole.

Asceticism which entails withdrawal from the usual social concerns to live a life of seclusion and austerity is an ancient and revered tradition in Java. Inscriptions often mention kings who voluntarily withdrew from active life of the kraton in order to live in an *asrama* (a place of retreat for religious study and meditation) often located on isolated, mountain retreats. Queen Tribhuwana (Rajapatni) in her later life, as it must have been customary among nobles of her time, sought the life of a simple mendicant to devote the rest of her life in prayer and meditation.[62] The life of an ascetic is the crowning conclusion to a full and active existence. However, practicing *tapas*

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[61] This is one of the earliest examples of reliefs depicting the Panakawans. Stylistically the reliefs of Gua Pasir could be dated to early East Javanese art, related to Jalantunda which is dated to the 10th C. A.D.

The depiction of the panakawans is most interesting for they provide the earthly, humorous parody to the sublime resoluteness of the ascetic whether it is Arjuna or the Buddha. This is a thoroughly Javanese conception in Javanese hagiography such creatures as panakawans, dwarfs, geniis are considered sacred, magical creatures. As for Semar he is also considered a god who is often more sympathetic to humans than the higher gods of Hinduism and Buddhism. Semar, in the lakons is the ever loyal, practical and down-to-earth character, while Arjuna for all his nobility and heroism could be headstrong and fool hardy. It often happens that Semar is the one who saves Arjuna from embarrassment and from losing his dignity. J. Kats, "Wie is Semar?," *Djawa*, III, 1923.

[62] Pigeaud, 1962, IV, 169-182.

during the prime of one's life was also an accepted practice among many lay people, particularly so with those directly concerned with the management of social affairs.

The theme of *Arjuna Metapa,* the ascetic who obtains extraordinary powers, explains the function of many of the natural caves in Java which are considered as some of the most sacred sites and are objects of pilgrimages today.[63]

Among the most celebrated natural caves are the ones found within 25 km. length of the Gunung Sewu chain near Parang Tritis facing the Indonesian Ocean. The fame of these caves stem from being the habitat of protective spirits and having been the place of meditation and refuge of legendary figures such as Sunan Kalijaga (active 17th C.), Shaik Maulana Mahgrabi (active 17th C.) and Pangeran Dipanagara (b. Nov. 11, 1785-Jan. 8, 1855).[64] The fact that many of these caves have been used as hiding places by thieves, criminals and rebels have only increased their efficacy in the eyes of the populace as a place potent with magical powers. Hence, *dalangs* (storytellers and manipulators of puppets of the shadow play *wayang*) *dukuns* (healers and doctors) who wish to improve their skills, bureaucrats and politicians desirous of aggrandizing their careers, rejected lovers, students, traders, usurers, bandits, etc. seek from these caves the successful execution of whatever projects they have in mind. These caves are under the protection of the villagers, and yet none of these visitors are barred from entering the caves.

Some of the caves are unprepossessing as Gua Semar on the Dieng plateau and Gua Cebongan, near Salatiga. Others such as Sih Pahlawan, Gua Cerme and Gua Langshe are spectacular structure which have vaulted tunnels that branch out into labyrinthine caverns with forests of stalactites and stalagmites, with subterranean spring and waterfalls. These caves are the most appropriate settings for the

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63 During the time I conducted field work in 1979-1980 while there were many sincere pilgrims, there were many more who were curiosity seekers. Local and tourism officials were thinking up ways of making the caves tourist spots.

64 R. Ng. Djadjalana, *Pasangrahan Parangtritis,* Bale Poestaka, Batavia Centrum, 1933. Djadjalana discussed the sacred caves on the Gunung Sewa chain near Parangtritis. Of special interest are the caves associated with Sunan Kalijaga and Pangeran Dipanagara, such as Gua Slarong, Cerme and Langshe or Nyai Loro Kidul facing the Indonesian ocean.

P.B.R. Carey, *Babad Dipanagara, An Account of the Java War,* K.L.: 1981. English translation with notes and explanations. Carey traced the preregrinations of Dipanagara from the time he was seeking divine revelation to the prosecution of the war. The places where Dipanagara wondered in search for spiritual revelation and as rallying centers for his followers were some of the sacred caves near Parangtritis. One of the most famous caves, Gua Slarong is now a tourist attraction with asphalted road, a statue in plaster of the Pangeran riding on horseback, a copy of the one as the National Park in Jakarta, and a cemented stairway leads up all the way to cave overlooking Bantul fields.

intense, emotional and mystical experience that the yogin undergoes in his search for the divine, supernatural powers and enlightenment. Erlangga (ca. 1006-1049 A.D.),[65] Sunan Kalijaga (active in the 1650's),[66] and Pangeran Dipanagara (ca. 1785-1855) are some of the historical figures who have followed the mythical exploits of Arjuna. Among the three celebrated ascetic-heroes, we get a more intimate understanding of Pangeran Dipanagara's mystical experience from his autobiography *Babad Dipanagara.*[67] Dipanagara's asceticism is not the total abnegation and withdrawal from active, secular life. A man of

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[65] King Erlangga's career exemplified the life of a sage-king. He was barely out of his teens when the kingdom suffered *pralaya* — massive devastation due to continuous dynastic wars. For his safety he fled from his kingdom and sought refuge in an hermitage, afterwards he returned to save and unify the kingdom. His life history was summarized eloquently by C.C. Berg: "...driven away from his *Kraton* (capital), finding a resting place in an hermitage and living for a long time a hermit's life, and then persuaded by the hermits to take upon himself the task of restoring order in the chaos prevailing over Java and struggling to conquer his enemies and finally triumphantly enjoying the fruit of his endurance in a glorious reign."

C.C. Berg, "Arjuna wiwaha, Erlangga's levensloop en bruiloftslied?," *BKI,* 9p, 1938, 94.

[66] J. Meinsma, *Babad Tanah Djawi,* 74-76.

B. Schriecke, *Ruler and Realm in Early Java,* van Hueve: 1957, 7-23.

[67] Pangeran Dipanagara is the most beloved hero of Indonesia. He fought for Java's independence against the Dutch from 1825-1830. Son of the Third Sultan of Solo whom he served as adviser, he was bypassed in the selection for the succession but nevertheless served the new Sultan (Mangkunegaran IV) also as an adviser.

Pangeran Dipanagara belonged to the group of Javanese folk heroes called *kraman,* rebels against central authority some of whom were commoners and even bandits. Dipanagara was a noble *kraman* and like many before, he belonged to the disaffected nobility who sided with the faction that was unsuccessful in seizing power. Rendered effete by having lost official positions, the *kramans* wandered about with their closest followers through mountains and forests, visiting sacred sites including graves, religious leaders, and performed tapas. Dipanagara lived at a time when the Javanese people suffered severely from the consequences of Dutch colonial pressures due to seizure of peasant lands, burdensome taxes and corvée. Frustrated by the impotence of the Sultan to protect the people, and outraged by what he felt to be the moral breakdown of Javanese court nobles who allowed themselves to be drawn into a life of idle pleasures, Dipanagara withdrew from the court. He behaved like a *kraman* wandering through nature, undertaking pilgrimages to sacred sites and graves and sought out *gurus* and *kyais* (religious teachers), activities which attracted increasing numbers of followers. By the year 1824 he found himself at the head of a full-scale uprising. Dipanagara was aware of the superiority of Dutch arms and the complicity of Javanese court officials who acted as spies and mercenaries. He avoided direct confrontation by waging guerilla war. In areas which he controlled or wrested away from the Dutch, he freed the people from taxes and corvee. These areas were called *merdikan* — "places of freedom," an allusion to lands similarly exempted from taxes and corvée for the benefit of religious schools. Dipanagara was eventually defeated through Dutch treachery and the collusion of pro-Dutch courtly nobles. Nevertheless, the Java war of 1825-1830 aroused the Javanese peasantry who saw in Dipanagara a provision of *Ratu Adil,* the Just King who would succor them from their miseries.

P.B. Carey, *Babad Dipanagara, An Account of the Java War,* K.L.: 1981.

M.C. Ricklefs, "Dipanagara's Early Inspirational Experience," *BKI,* Vol. 130, 1974.

affairs, like Arjuna who is a *ksatria* (warrior) Dipanagara's quest was motivated as much for attaining spiritual wisdom as obtaining concentrated, mystical powers in order to bring about an integrated social order. Dipanagara's penance involved the shedding of all vestiges of self-pride and selfish motives by removing all princely trappings, associating with peasants, laborers and humble village teachers, visiting holy sites and mediating in caves. All these efforts was intended to bring himself in harmony with the forces immanent in the cosmos. It is noteworthy that Dipanagara (like Erlangga and Arjuna before him) did not seek revelation in a *kraton* temple or mosque but in isolated, inaccessible mountains and caves. He avoided the company of established religious and political leaders. Moreover, his most intense *tapas* was undertaken in secrecy and seclusion inside the cave said to be the abode of Nyai Loro Kidul, the guardian spirit of all Java, goddess of the southern sea, protectress of Javanese rulers. Thus, in seeking to restore moral and social order in the kingdom, Pangeran Dipanagara received his revelation not from any Hindu-Buddhist or Muslim god, but from the indigenous female deity, Nyai Loro Kidul. It is thus understandable why for Dipanagara's intense soul-searching and yogic exertions, the imagery of the cave was the most suitable setting.

I shall deal with only three examples of bathing places to illustrate how the two pan-Indian themes of Mahameru and the search for *moksa* have been re-interpreted within the Javanese value system and historical experience. Some of these bathing places may have been part of ancient water control systems. However, present archaeological evidence is not sufficient to support the view that large scale irrigation systems were carried out in any sustained basis in large areas of Java as claimed by Maclaine-Pont.[68] As for historical records, the evidence from inscriptions from about the 5th C. A.D. to the 15th C. A.D. only give sporadic, indirect or tangential reference to waterworks.[69] Be that as it may, we can assume that bathing places were part of some form of waterworks however small in scale they might have been. Our discussion will focus on the religious symbolism rather than the technological aspects and the manner by which society was organized to build and maintain these waterworks.

Earlier in this essay, we have already alluded to the fact that Javanese kings considered it part of their duty to build and maintain dams and other irrigation systems.

Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java, A Study of the Late Mataram Period,* 10th to the 19th C., Cornell University, SEAsia Program, Ithaca, N.Y.: 1968, 78-82.

[68] Ir. H. Maclaine-Pont, "Eenige oudheidkundige gegevens omtrent den middeleeuwschen bevloingstoestand van de zoogenaamde 'Woeste gronden van de lieden van Trik' voor zoover zij wellicht van belang zullen Kunnenzign voor eene herziening vander tegen woordigen toestand," *O.V.,* 1926, 100-129.

Although the Tuk Mas inscription only mentions a spring that wells up like the Ganges, it is relevant to our discussion on bathing places for it is one of the earliest evidences of Hindu-Buddhist symbolism which have something to do with water and springs. There are 16 motifs carved over this short inscription most of them became emblems of royal authority and power of which the triçula is by far the most significant.[70] F.D.K. Bosch demonstrated that the triçula or trident is Shiva's symbol of power as provider of water. According to Bosch, a common theme runs through the various legends concerning Hindu deities, Muslim saints and indigenous, local culture heroes in Java. Shiva as Mahaguru and Agastya have attributes such as the trident and a *kundika,* a jar. Similarly, the Muslim saints who propagated Islam into the interior of Java such as Sonan Bonang and Sonan Kalijaga are invariably portrayed as carrying a *chis* (Arabic, for staff). The Javanese culture hero, Ki Ayar Windusuna was said to have used his cigarette (his thumb, or phallus) to cause the appearance of the curative spring at Tuk Pujan on the western slopes of Mt. Merbabu, a mountain visible from Candi Prambanan near Yogyakarta. All of these deities, saints and heroes have the ability to bring forth miraculuosly a source of water. However, in some exceptional cases, the same power may be used as a punitive measure to punish the community. Whenever the community fails to fulfill its obligations, or society becomes rife with dissension and violence, the gods could cause devastating floods.[71]

The ability to bring forth and harness water for the benefit of society has always been an essential technical ability that rulers were expected to possess. The trident or triçula, the *chis,* the *kundika* (of

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[69] There are very few inscriptions which specifically mention the building of waterworks and even then, they are far in-between. Most of the inscriptions deal with the establishment of the *sima.* If ever there is any mention of waterworks or irrigation at all, it is only incidental. For instance, in the usual closing section of the inscription there is a warning to those who might dare disobey the stipulations of the document that they will be "thrashed against the dikes," or "drowned in the ditches," etc. There are also mentioned people connected with some form of waterworks like tax collectors on the use of waterworks, or some of the witnesses on the occasion of the founding of the *sima* were people in-charge of maintenance of dams, or other similar irrigation works.

[70] The 16 emblems are: a wheel, shell, tricula or trident, *kundika* or waterjar, dagger, an axe, 2 knives and 4 lotus rosettes. All of these emblems are sacred to Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism. *IHJK,* I, 165. The sanskrit inscription was written in Pallava script and was translated by H. Sarcar as follows: ". . . Originating from pure or bright lotuses. . . . gushes out this spring which is as purifying as the Ganges, coming out in some places from stone and sand... in others spreading its auspicious and cool water..."
H.B. Sarcar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum,* 2 vols., Calcutta, 1972, vol. I, 13-15. Sarcar dates this inscription to the mid-7th C. while N.J. Krom dated it to mid-5th. following Vogel's dating.

[71] F.D.K. Bosch, "Guru, Trident and Spring," *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology,* The Hague: 1961, 153-170.

Agastya) epitomize the king's technical and magical ability. In Hindu-Buddhist philosophy, specially the Tantric schools, it is considered as a manifestation of potency. Whoever possesses the triçula is also able to reveal the mysteries and energies of the cosmos. These qualities form some of the most important bases for legitimizing royal authority.[72]

It is significant that one of the earliest inscriptions in Java the Taruma inscription (issued by Purnavarman ca. 450 A.D.) attributes to the king the digging of canals in order to divert the river, a deed which he was said to have accomplished in a short period of 21 days.[73] There is however a gap of over 200 years before inscriptions which specifically mention the building of waterworks recur and only in East Java. A series of 3 inscriptions deal with waterworks which refer to the flood-prone areas in the foothills of Mt. Kelud, Kediri, East Java. The Harinjing inscription mentions the building of dams and canals (804 A.D.) followed by the Tulodong inscription (921 A.D.) and the Kamalagyan Inscription of 1037 A.D. which refer to repair and upkeep of the waterworks.[74] The Kandangan inscription (1350 A.D.) mentions that Lord Matahun Wijayarajasa had a dam erected and then a temple dedicated to Shiva was built which was inaugurated at the same time as the completion of the dam.[75] The Kamalagyan inscription of 1037 A.D. attributed to King Erlangga mentioned that the King had dikes built in order to prevent the flooding of the Brantas river, relieve the suffering of the surrounding *desas* (villages) and to benefit the farmers, ship builders, pilots, ship captains and merchants coming from the other islands, and that having done this good deed, he was revered as Bhatara Guru.[76] In the Prasasti Sumengka (dated ca. 1059 A.D.) also issued by King Erlangga we learn that facilities were built to control the Brantas river, part of its water was diverted into a tank, furthermore, the king who was addressed as "paduka mpungku bhatara guru" had a holy bathing place built and then he became an ascetic.[77] His place of retreat was called Pawitra which must have been located on the eastern slope of Mount Penanggungan. The bathing place referred to in this inscription could be Belahan.

We shall not dwell in detail on this very well-known site of Belahan, nor on the controversy surrounding its dating and attribu-

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[72] Bosch, 168.

[73] H. Th. Varstappan, "Purnavarnan's Riverworks," *BKI*, 128, 1972, 298-307.

F.H. van Naerssan and R.C. de Jongh, *The Economic and Administrative History of Early Indonesia*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977, 24-25.

[74] van Naerssan, 25-27, 56-57.

[75] P.V. van Stein Collarfels, "De Inscriptie van Kandangan," *T.B.G.*, LVIII, 1919, 337-347.

[76] van Naerssan, 59-60.

[77] van Naerssan, 60-61.

tions.[78] We shall instead deal with the major themes represented by the statues and the architectural program of the bathing place. The central statues of this bathing place which overlook the main pools consist of Vishnu on Garuda, flanked by goddesses Çri and Lakshmi the latter's 2 front hands hold her breasts whose nipples function as waterspouts. Vishnu on Garuda represents the most benevolent of the Hindu triad, for Vishnu the preserver and protector of humanity is carried by no less than Garuda, the liberator who freed his mother Vinata from slavery by stealing the elixir of immortality, Amerta. Garuda stole Amerta from his enemies, the nagas who were guardians of the magic potion which was kept inside a cavern in the bottom of the ocean. We must also recall that Amerta was originally obtained through the combined efforts of the gods and devas by churning Mt. Mandara (or Meru) which was used as the pivot, while Ananta, the snake served as the churning rope. Vishnu in his incarnation as *kurma* (the tortoise) acted as the base to keep Mt. Mandara stable.[79] Whether Belahan is the memorial monument to King Erlangga or to King Sindok, the symbolism of the bathing place is an excellent illustration of the symbiosis of received and native ideas. Vishnu on Garuda is a most apt portrayal of redemption. But redemption in this sense seems to be closer to the indigenous conceptions of *lukat,* rather than the more abstract and sublime conceptions of *Nirvana "nothingness."* The exorcist rituals which releases one from a curse or ill-fortune.[80] Vishnu on Garuda in this sense is also the ancestral, protective guardian spirit whose beneficient influences work through the ritual re-enactment of Garuda who fought for the liberation of his mother, Vinata. The fact that Vishnu is flanked by Çri and Lakshmi signify that the rewards of redemption are fertility and wealth, the major objectives of *lukat* or *ruwat* rites, and certainly

[78] Th. A. Resink, "Belahan or a Myth Dispelled," *Indonesia,* 6, Oct. 1968, 2-37.

[79] *The Amerthamantana,* myth of the creation of Amerta, the elixir of Immortality is found in the 1st book of the *Mahabharata.* It is known in Indonesia as "Pamutaran Susu Laut," the churning of the Ocean of Milk. However, in the Javanese and Balinese versions, the elixir emerged not from the ocean but from the mountain.

R. Soekmono, "Amerthamantana," *Amerta,* 1, 35-39.

One of the goddesses where breasts function as waterspouts could also be compared to Devantari, the goddess who emerged from the churning of the ocean bearing the shell containing Amerta. The consort of Visnu, Çri Lakshmi is represented in the bathing place as two separate figures.

[80] "lukat" or "ruwat" literally means, "to let loose," "to be free," specifically from a curse or ill-fortune, illness, etc. Javanese word *muksa* literally means "to disappear, lose one's physical body" therefore closer to the meaning of *lukat* than the sanskrit word *moksa* in the context of Hindu-Buddhist philosophy.

J. Gonda, "Old-Javanese literature," *Hundbuch der Orientalistik*: *Litteraturen,* Leiden: E..J Brill, 1976, 199-201.

Soemarsaid Moertono, *State and Statecraft in Old Java, A Study of the Late Mataram Period,* 16th to 19th C., Ithaca: Cornell University, 1968, 160,

the primary goal of animist worship as far as most ordinary lay people are concerned. We must not however discount that on another level, the deity portrayed is not simply a localized, clan deity but the supreme and universal god, Vishnu who bestows life-giving, purifying and healing waters in the form of Amerta.

In Hindu iconography, Vishnu represents the sun and together with *vahana* (vehicle) Garuda, they soar up and cover the expanse of the heavens. Vishnu and Garuda are the embodiment of the uranic forces of the universe eternally struggling against the chthonic forces represented by the nagas.[81] Thus we see, the universalizing process by which intrusive cultural ideas functioned to elevate and expand, isolated, particularized events and deities making them part of a universal, cosmic order.

The next bathing place we shall discuss is located in Simbatan Wetan, near Magetan, east of Maduin on the foothills of Gunung Lawu about 400 meters above sea level. It is a very fertile area with abundant water supply which is planted to rice, soy beans, peanuts, corn and other crops. The area abounds in traces of temple stones consisting of makaras, spout figures and other architectural parts.[82] The bathing place of Simbatan Wetan which is fed by underground springs is a rectangular pool measuring about 13.40 m. by 12 m. and 3 m. deep at the east corner and 4 m. deep at the west end. At the east end of the pool is a stairway which leads down to another but smaller basin 1.40 m. sq. which is lined with worked stone walls. At the back wall of this smaller basin located inside the larger one, is a statue of a two-armed goddess about 58 cm. ht. with both hands supporting her breasts and the nipples function as spouts, similar to the Çri and Lakshmi statues found at Belahan. Right above this female goddess, Çri is a kala head about 1 m. wide.[83] I would identify

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[81] Gosta Liebert, *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions,* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976.
J. Gonda, *Visnuism and Sivaism, A Comparison,* London: 1970, 71-76.

[82] Krom, *Inleiding,* II, 310-312.

[83] The Çri or Lakshmi statue of Simbatan Wetan is flanked by two simple lotus bud spouts with the Kala head above. Unlike the female spout figure at Belahan, the Simbatan Wetan statue stands unadorned without an aureole or parasol. It is also less articulated with simpler ornamentation, and is proportionately more squat than the Belahan statues. As for the Kala head, in contrast to the Central Javanese Kala heads and that of Belahan Kala spout stone, the Simbatan Wetan is without a lower jaw, limbs, horns and fangs. Instead it is treated more as stylized foliage.

Stylistically, Belahan is dated to the 10th C. or even earlier. Similar female spout figures are found in Sadon, Sarangan (in Kabupatan Madiun, east side of Gunung Lawu), in Kediri area and Goa Gajah, Beduhulu, Bali.

The site where Belahan bathing place is located on a narrow, triangular shaped terrain about 800 m. long with the base of the triangle about 400 m. long at the north, and the apex of the triangle at the South. (See sketch based on Resink). The only extant bathing place is at the South end marked F in Resink's map. Nearby is another bathing place (now destroyed) marked E. On a higher ground are remains of a small temple marked G. Due north about 300 m.

this statue as a variant of the goddess of fertility. The statue of Çri and the Kala head on the wall of the smaller basin is submerged in water most of the year except for one day when the villagers celebrate the ritual of *slametan bersih desa,* cleansing rites of the village. This ritual is held on *jum'at pahing* (actually Thursday night is considered Friday) on the last full moon of the year. The ceremony is characterized by feasting, dancing, singing and a great deal of gaiety all around the desa. To prepare for the ritual, the villagers gather rice, goats or sheep, bamboo ornaments, baskets containing food and flowers and pails and other water containers. Female dancers are engaged from outside the village and gamelan orchestra is commissioned. At an appointed time, all the villagers empty the pool of its water using baskets and pails. As much as 70-100 men work continuously in draining the pool. The moment the first fish is caught from the pool, gamelan playing and dancing start. The male dancers drawn from among the villagers drink wine while they dance with the women dancers. They continue to dance with much fanfare until the pool is entirely drained of water to reveal the statue of Çri and the kala head on the wall of the smaller basin. Once the statue is revealed, the festivities and fanfare reach a crescendo then as the music subsides they wait for the pool to slowly fill up again with water which takes almost the whole night. According to the villagers, the pool has never been found dry.

We are not certain whether the smaller basin with the female spout figure was submerged underwater in ancient times, nor of its exact relation to the other structures which were probably built on the site. What is clear however is that Simbatan Wetan shares with Belahan the dominant theme of Amerta, the purifying and rejuvenating water as bestowed by Visnu consort, Çri Lakshmi. The presence of Çri or Lakshmi as the main cult image who is treated as a spout figure at Simbatan Wetan shows strong Tantric tendencies. We shall have more to say about Tantrism at Simbatan Wetan later. But as far as water symbolism is concerned, it is noteworthy that the goddess is flanked to two lotus buds as water spouts. The lotus is the most pervasive symbol of sacred, purifying and revivifying waters in Hindu-Buddhist tradition all over Asia.[84] Moreover, above the Çri or Lakshmi

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away from the extant bathing place are remains of a large basin with a cave nearby. At the extreme end of the very rough triangular terrain are two adjacent walled courtyards with gateways, marked A and B in the map. Adjacent to these two walled courtyards and located on higher ground is another walled courtyard marked C with remains of a small temple, and a *bale* (house or any structure which is not a temple), and 3 tiny altars set in a row infront of the temple. The terrain is very rough and slopes to the west. See:

Th. A. Resink, "Belahan or a Myth Dispelled," *Indonesia,* Oct. 1968, No. 6, Ithaca, N.Y., 2-37.

[84] F.D.K. Bosch, *The Golden Germ: An Introduction to Indian Symbolism,* The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1960. Henceforth to be cited as "Germ."

statue is a kala head which does not seem to function only as the symbol of time and for warding-off evil. The way the kala head is depicted shows that it is more of a foliage or stylized cloud-water form which is one of the dominant ornamental motifs in East Javanese art. Gone are the conventional lion or monster head, its horns, sharp, pointed teeth, its clawed hands in a threatening gesture, and its large, protruding eye.[85] Instead, we see continuous curves and curlicues more like vines and tendrils suggestive of vegetal, watery growth.

Although the archaeological remains at Simbatan Wetan are relatively simpler than at Belahan, its significance is enhanced for us today because of the *slametan bersih desa* (cleansing rituals of the village) carried out by the villagers in modern times. The annual draining of the pool together with animal sacrifies seemed to signify the cleansing of whatever ailed community life at Simbatan Wetan, for each villager contributed and participated in the festivities. But together with the theme of purgation, purification, and the celebration of community solidarity, was the assertion of the impulses to life, and it is these features which show strong affinities to Tantrism. Village rites included: offerings of food, flowers, incense, and other village products, feasting, wine drinking, even some opium was used, and dancing of two male villagers with two professional female dancers hired for the occasion (in a *tayuban*). They danced around with fishes in their hands (which were caught from the pools) accompanied by exuberant playing of the gamelan orchestra.[86]

All of these practices undoubtedly had their bases in animistic-fertility cults, but they also alluded to Tantric erotic imagery. It would not be far-fetched to take this line of interpretation since Tantrism was a dominant religious development in Java from the 10th to the 11th C. at about the time that Belahan and Simbatan Wetan were built.[87] Tantrism proved more congenial to animistic fertility cults

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[85] *Germ,* 145.

[86] Field report from Simbatan Wetan, Dec. 1979. I wish to thank the help of the officials of the D.P.K. at Surabaya, East Java specially Drs. Cokrosoedjono (Head of the Branch Office of the National Research Centre of Archaeology at Mojokerto) for arranging my field trip to the site.

N. J. Krom, *Inleiding* II, 310-312.

[87] Tantrism developed as a schismatic offshoot from orthodox Hinduism and Buddhism as early as the 3rd C. A.D. which had its center in the province of Bengal, India. It spread swiftly to China, Mongolia, Korea and Japan from the 5th C. A.D. and to Southeast Asia by the 7th C. A.D. or earlier.

Among its teachings, the Tantras sought to hasten the attainment of salvation and make it available to everyone even to the layman within his own lifetime. This is a drastic departure from the conventional Hindu-Buddhist teachings which assume that salvation can only be attained by individuals who possess spiritual superiority like learned monks and saints. Moreover, orthodox teachings stress that the best method of achieving salvation is through methodical, rational procedures of learning and tutelage under a guru combined with asceticism and self-abnegation. Still, even if the novice undergoes all the ortho-

for it stressed mystical-magical techniques in the attainment of salvation. Instead of suppressing the senses, Tantrism stressed their full enjoyment. Rather than negate the body as was the tendency in orthodox Hindu-Buddhist religion, the Tantras used the body as a *yantra* (a magical device) to attract and concentrate the forces of the universe within the body. Among the techniques employed towards this purpose were: breathing and physical exercises, intense meditation to the point of trance, including the consumption of the forbidden things such as: wine, fish, meat, beans, grains (and other aphrodisiacs) and indulgence in *maithuna* (sexual intercourse).[88] Kalacakra, Vajrayana and Hevajra sects of Tantrism were known in Central

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dox methods of spiritual and moral training, there is no guarantee that he can achieve salvation, for no one can escape the slow, evolutionary stages of *samsara,* continuous re-births as dictated by previous acts, thoughts and achievements, one's *karma.*

The Tantras believed that there are short-cuts to salvation. They took up the mystical-meditative techniques from Vedanta-Yoga and Bhakti, expanded, even reversed their techniques and meanings and brought them to the extremes. The body and the senses were considered the supreme instruments for salvation by using them to the fullest through physical regimen, magical-mystical rites which could fortify the body as the microcosmic vehicle of mystical, macrocosmic powers. The "sects" if we can make temporary distinctions between them, were divided generally into "Left Hand" or "Black Tantra" and "Right Hand" or "White Tantra" which corresponded to esoteric and exoteric Tantrism respectively. Esoteric sects stressed magical, mysterious cults usually described in the literature in mind-boggling terms as terrible, horrifying even disgusting rituals like Yab-Yum (sexual intercourse with a magical female partner), meditating in graves strewn with decaying, suppurating corpses and drinking human blood, eating human brains from a human skull while dancing over a corpse, etc. See:

Aghenanda Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition,* London: Rider and Co., 1965, 69-71.

P. H. Pott, *Yoga and Yantra,* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966.

Vajrayana Tantra was known as early as the 7th C. as gleaned from Srivijayan Inscriptions and from the inscriptions of the Sailendras. See:

J. G. de Casparis, *Inscripties van den Cailendra Tijd,* Bandung: 1950.

The *Sang-Hyang Kamahayanikan* is an instructional manual for Tantric Buddhism which centered on *Vajrasattva,* See:

J. Katts, *Sang-Hyang Kamahayanikan,* p. 78.

According to Moens, the Kalacakra sect of Tantric Buddhism which developed in Bengal from about the 8th C. A.D. was brought to Indonesia by the monk, Attica (d. 1055 A.D. or Dipankaracrjñana) from the University of Wikramacila in the 10th C. Attica was said to have stayed for 12 years in Srivijaya (Suvarnadvipa) where he taught Kalacakra. It must have been from Sumatra that Java received Kalacakra Tantrism during the East Javanese period when the relations between the two regions were strong in the 13th-14th C.

King Kertanagara of Singhasari (1268-1292 A.D.) exemplified the practitioner of Hevajra-Kalacakra rites. He was portrayed in the *Pararaton* as a vagabond, robber, swindler, murderer, a drunkard and licentious person—qualities which made him a magically-powerful person. Upon his assumption to the throne of Singhasari after murdering the previous king, he married the widowed Queen Dedes and later in life had the statue of Hari-hara or Siva-Buddha installed in his memorial temple. See:

J. L. Moens, "Het Boddhisme op Java en Sumatra in zijn laatste bloeiperiode," *T.B.G.,* 64, 1924.

[88] Aghenanda Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition,* London: Rider and Co., 1965, 69-71.

and East Java, and the texts and art of the period indicated that some of the esoteric rituals (including *maithuna*) were known. Also noteworthy was that the Tantras were not too concerned with conventional morality. Being mystics, they believed that salvation transcended all mundane distinctions of right or wrong, material or spiritual, secular or sacred, ultimately according to Tantras these were all One. *Moksa* could be obtained more quickly through union with a *sakti*, the female cosmic principle.[89] These conceptions were in accordance with the native shamanistic tradition wherein magic, mystical trance techniques which altered everyday reality were paramount. Thus, we could see the *tayuban* (dancing with female professional dancers while drinking wine and holding fishes) as an allusion to the magical union of *sakti* which activated the male principle. It was at the same time an allegory of the indivisible unity of the worshipper with the Divine.

The last bathing place we are going to discuss is Sendang Sanjaya, an ancient temple site which had been transformed into a modern dam. The remains of an ancient bathing place formed the hub of 8 other bathing places located along the river Sanjaya in Salatiga. The bathing places were in a valley surrounded by low-lying hills with lush vegetation. The source of water were underground springs as well as the arteries of the river Sanjaya. Today, there are 3 pools oriented west to east on the south side of the river Cinge, an artery of the river Sanjaya. Although the pools have been cemented, there were traces of ancient temple stones, fakaras, spouts and conduits. A Ganesha statue was kept behind the fence right near the entrance to the power station. On the cemented platform next to the largest pool were architectural ornamental stones which were venerated by the people as if they were linga-yoni.

Previous reports about Sendang Sanjaya go back to 1730 which referred to the place as Kali Taman. Subsequent reports in 1876 mentioned temple ruins found along the river Sanjaya. All of the reports more or less commented on the purity and abundant flow of the water from underground springs. The reports also mentioned remains of lingas, Ganeshas and many ornamental stones.[90]

Stutterheim gave an intriguing report of two copper inscriptions dated 1022 Saka (1100 A.D.) which mentioned that in Pupus (name of *desa*) a *sima* was marked out in 1022 Saka mentioning the series of *desas* concerned and encompassed by the *sima*. The inscription continued that the *sima* belonged to the descendants of rahyangta Sanjaya and that the workers of the grounds will henceforth bring

[89] P. H. Pott, *Yoga and Yantra,* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966.
[90] H.J. de Graaf, "De Verdwenen Tjandi te Salatiga," *B.K.I.*, 113, 1958 117-120.

their harvests and rents to the prince in-charge of the *sima,* and that the usual obligations of taxes and labor will not be applied on the villagers. Furthermore, it mentioned that a *prasada* (a temple tower, or a temple) was newly established in the *sima,* but it did not mention its exact location. This inscription was significant according to Stutterheim because it showed that 200 years after the supposed transfer of hegemony to East Java, we have epigraphic evidence that some form of Central Javanese government continued. Also of interest was that, if this Sanjaya was the same person named as the founder of Mataram Dynasty in the inscription of 907 A.D. issued by Balitung, this would show that there was already a century-long tradition centered on Mataram. It could also mean that a *prasada* was established in honor of King Sanjaya somewhere in the area of Salatiga.[91] Whether the inscription of 1022 Saka refers to Sendang Sanjaya still remains a faint possibility.

Be that as it may, Sendang Sanjaya, like Simbatan Wetan is another example of an ancient temple and bathing place which serve as the focus of village rituals in modern times, rituals which allude to mystical-Tantric rites. Every full moon people led by the lurah of Cibongan, a nearby *desa* together with his "secretary" (whom the people call Bapak lurah's *sakti*) congregate at exactly midnight for prayer and meditation before the altar beside the largest pool where they have arranged the temple stones to make them appear like linga-yoni. They light five candles before the linga-yoni and recite prayers which show syncretism of Hindu-Buddhist and Muslim prayers. Afterwards they descend into the pool in a ritual bath submerged in water up to their necks. They continue reciting prayers until all of the five candles are consumed by the flames. When all the candles are melted down, they ascend from the pools which signals the end of the purification rite.[92]

Bapak Gunadi is an example of a modern-day Javanese whose life seemed to have been patterned after the mythical hero Arjuna, and the historical heroes Erlangga and Pangeran Dipanagara. A respected community leader for over two decades, (he was recipient

[91] W. F. Stutterheim, "Aanteekeningen..." *B.K.I.,* 89, 1832, 264-269.

[92] Field report from Salatiga. April 22-24, 1980 and May 30, 1980.

I am grateful to Drs. Goenadi Nitihaminoto, Head of the Branch Office of the National Research Centre for Archaeology, Yogyakarta for arranging my trip to Salatiga. To Bapak Ki Adi Samidi, Head of the Section on Culture of the D.P.K. at Salatiga and Bapak Joseph Tripornoto of the same office for aiding me in my field research in and around Salatiga.

I am also very grateful to Drs. Wahjono M. of the National Museum, Jakarta for helping me in conducting field research in and around Central Java, and to students of archaeology of the University of Gajah Mada, Yogyakarta for having been such good companions in the field, 1979-1980.

of the provincial award for meritorious public service) he decided to retire in order to devote the rest of his life to contemplation. He would be gone from his home for days, wandering up the mountains of Java and visiting ancient ruins including Sendang Sanjaya. He frequented a nearby cave in Cibongan to perform *semedi* (Javanese for Sanskrit, *Samadhi*) which caused others to meditate in the same place. Sometimes, he went to other towns disguised as a street singer pretending to be a mendicant. Although he was over 65 years old, Bapak Gunadi could outlast younger people in mountain climbing and doing without food and sleep for days. His piety and devotion, his kindness and helpfulness to anyone who sought his advice and help, attracted adherents so that he soon found himself with a sizeable following in Salatiga. His followers organized themselves loosely into the Yayasan Sanjaya. This civic and cultural foundation arranged for the midnight rituals at Sendang Sanjaya, and undertook activities in safeguarding the ancient temples and bathing places in and around their area. One of Bapak Gunadi's faithful followers was a conscientious and beautiful young woman who assisted him in correspondence, arranging transportation and lodgings for the visitors to Sendang Sanjaya, etc. She became so closely associated with Bapak Gunadi that people began calling her *sakti*. Many participants in the full-moon midnight rituals claimed that the water of the pool and the prayers led by Bapak Gunadi had curative powers and that it could even heal animosities and grant wishes.

It would not take much stretching of the imagination to see analogies between contemporary characters and events at Salatiga and the mythical and legendary ascetic heroes of the past. Moreover, it is quite apparent that the people were aware of the allusions to mystical-magical Tantrism in their leader's behaviour and in the rituals.

Conclusion:

What insights about Javanese cultural developments can we learn from a study of caves and bathing places? The most obvious of course is that they give us an indication of the way the Javanese regard their landscape and their relation to the world. The attitudes are undoubtedly animistic—wherein every single object, creature and phenomenon is imbued with a spiritual substance and significance somehow related to human will and psychology. But more than these, the sites give further evidence that the Javanese mode of re-fashioning Indian themes of Mahameru and the quest for *moksa* served to heighten and expand the significance of local landmarks and native experiences.

[93] C. J. Grader, "Brajoet: De Geschiedenis van een Balisch Gezin," *Djawa*, 19, 1939, 260-275.

Heroes and plot structures drawn from Indian epics of the *Mahabharata,* the *Ramayana,* Buddhist texts, etc. provided models upon which native characters and local events were patterned. Each locale whether it be a spring, a river, a cave, and a mountain was viewed as the center, or a part of cosmic Mt. Meru. A particular event and each individual character was given an exalted significance within the context of universal cosmogony and eschatology. While it is commonly known that in Southeast Asia, Meru cosmology was the paradigm for the unified and integrated kingdom, it also served as the model for a perfect and universal order. Meru became the focus for the heightened expectations that things could be better than what they were. It is within these conceptions that dissensions and centripetal currents found the avenue for expression—as the quest for *moksa* and *amerta.*

Caves and bathing places provided the most appropriate setting for the quest for *moksa.* And as we pointed out earlier, the Sanskrit *moksa* ("Bliss" for "Nothingness") was recast into Javanese *muksa,* associated more with exorcist conceptions of *ruwat* or *lukat* ("to let loose" or "to free" from a curse or ill-fortune), meanings consistent with animistic beliefs regarding the process of contacting ancestral spirits and gods, and the unification of the soul of the deceased with the deified ancestors. While *lukat* involved purification, it also meant the removal of the causes of ill-fortune, disease, malevolent forces, rather than the dissolution of ego in the Buddhist sense, or cleansing from error and sin in the Christian context. Javanese *muksa* allowed no cleavage between spiritual and physical rewards of salvation, for alongside inner peace and spiritual knowledge was the promise of fertility, prosperity and well-being. The imagery of *amerta* in the Javanese sense was associated with the elixir of life and potency as much as it was an aid to attune oneself with the immanent forces of the cosmos and thereby obtain *sakti,* power. Hence, we find in the caves and bathing places symbols and imagery associated with water, with mother's milk and semen. The linga, the chis, trident, triçula were instruments of potency and for bringing forth miraculous waters. The lotus, clouds, ripened fruits, jewels, conch shell, the *kundika* or jar, umbrella, the makara, the naga and female breasts all are water symbols.

As for the imagery of the cave, its isolation, inaccessibility, its dark, and quiet interiors made it most suitable to the type of mystical experience undergone by Arjuna and Dipanagara. The cave was more conducive to the intuitive, contemplative and trance-like techniques of shamanistic-animistic beliefs. More importantly, the caves were also associated with the local gods and guardian spirits of Java.

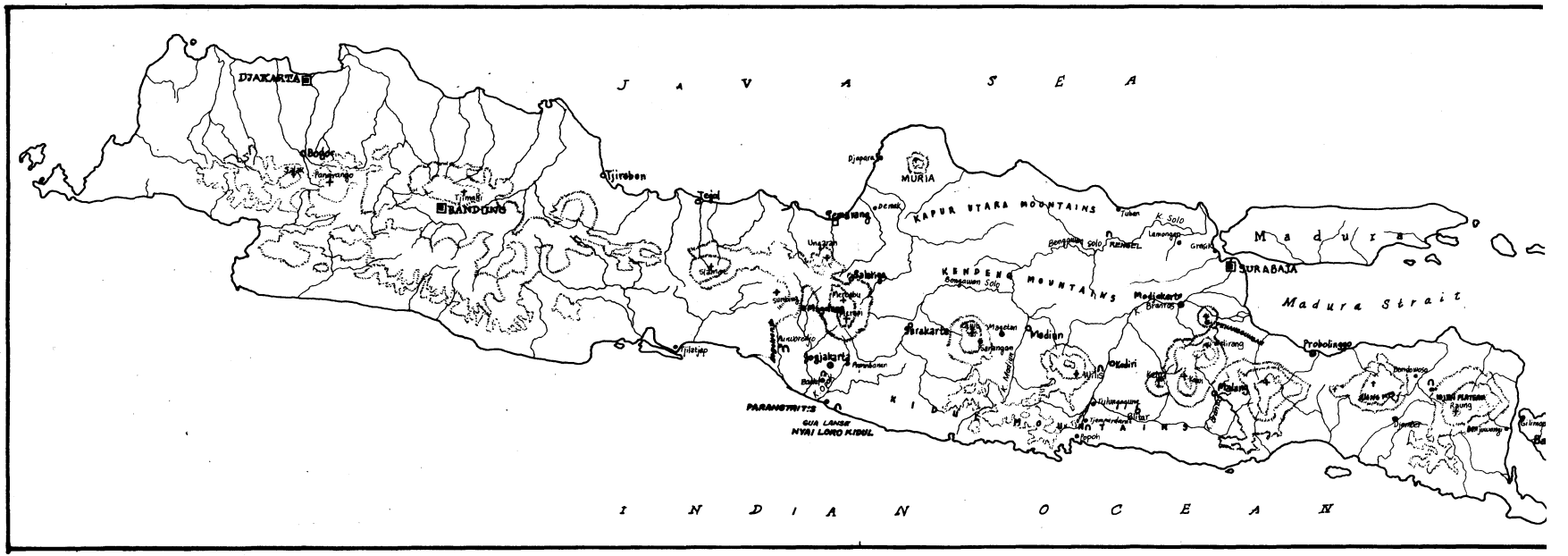
Hence, whoever communed with these spirits had the sanctions of the primordial forces of the land.

Artistically, the caves and bathing places proved important evidence for changes in style. These sites give us more examples of the early East Javanese art from the late 10th to the 12th c. The art of Kediri, a transition to Singhasari art maybe exemplified by Simbatan Wetan and nearby sites, Belahan, and the Selamengleng caves together with Jalatunda (west of Belahan on Mt. Penanggungan). At Gua Selamengleng (Tulung Agung) and the bathing place of Jalatunda the human figures tend to be relatively more attentuated, lithe and supple than Central Javanese forms. The makara and other ornamental motifs tend to be more abstract curves and curlicues reminiscent of stylized foliage. As for the iconography, we find the pervasiveness and persistence of animistic fertility cults since linga-yoni predominate. But we also find the most original innovations in iconography during this period. The amalgamation of Hindu-Buddhist symbols which moved towards Tantrism which stressed the female element, *sakti* as Çri and/or Lakshmi, the consorts of Visnu. The female deities were treated as spout figures, the bestowers of the elixir of immortality but quite literally as nurturer of mankind. As for Visnu, it seemed that by the late 10th C. this god took on the attributes of Indra (as god of the rain and clouds) and of Siva (the supreme ascetic, possessor of *paçupati* and the tricula, both weapons of spiritual power and harbinger of *amerta*). Visnu on Garuda became a dominant deity and sometimes Garuda alone or Visnu's consorts became the major cult image. Nowhere else in Asia is Çri or Lakshmi treated as spout figures, as providers of *amerta* and nurturer of mankind. While the source of this imagery could be traced to Indian examples (Çri, Lakshmi, Bhu, Dewantari, Sita, Gangga, Uma, etc.) there is an indigenous model for the female spout figure. At Goa Gajah in Bali there are spout figures very much like the ones at Simbatan Wetan and Belahan which could be Çri or Lakshmi. But there are spout figures which are not direct offshoots of Hindu-Buddhist iconography and whose attributes are described in indigenous texts called *gaguritan*. One of the heroines in these Balinese folk stories is Man Brayut, the woman who is so prolific that she gives birth to countless children and is depicted constantly breast-feeding surrounded by her numerous progeny.[93] Man Brayut is sometimes also depicted as a spout figure in pottery and in stone. There were at least two examples of Man Brayut spout figures at the provincial Museum in Den Pasar, Bali.[94] It is quite possible that

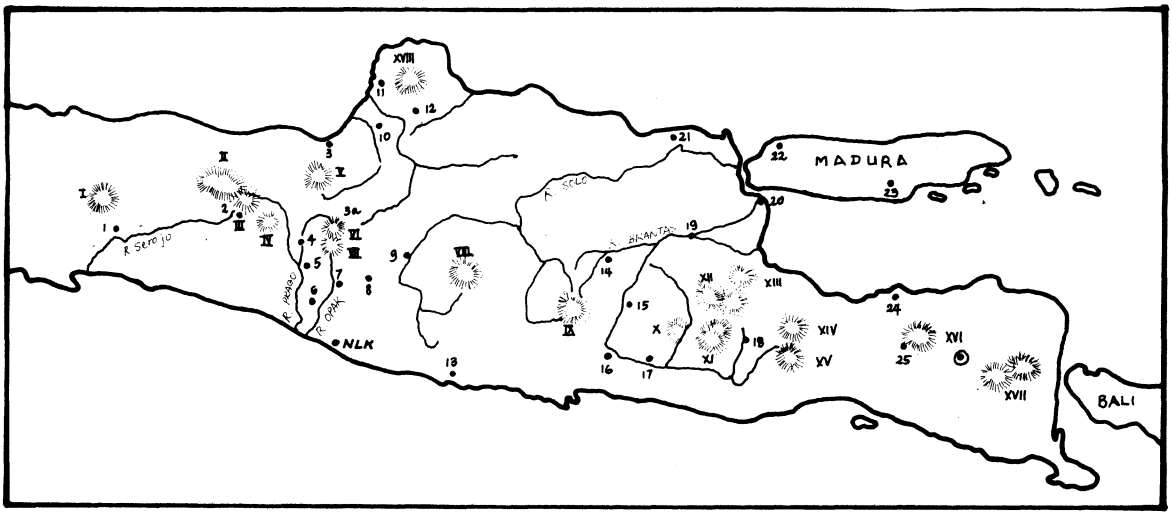
[94] At the Provincial Museum at Den Pasar, Bali, there were two stone statues of Man Brayut nos. 38 and 2196. No. 38 showed Man Brayut surrounded by her children who cling closely to her, one of them was shown suckling at her breast. No. 2196 depicted Man Brayut as a spout figure, the nipples were drilled to serve as spouts. The statues were studied in October, 1979.

considering the close relations between Java and Bali throughout history, it is not unlikely that Man Brayut was similarly known in Java and that the Belahan spout figure was inspired both by Indian and indigenous models.

Finally, it is equally significant that these ascetic heroes were always accompanied by panakawans. Being earthly, seemingly grotesque and comical figures, they provide humorous contrast to the sublime heroes and saints. I believe however that the juxtaposition of the panakawans with gods and heroes have philosophical and religious significance. Their presence suggest that as humans struggle for perfection, they must learn to accept human imperfectibility. And the fact that these scenes were depicted up on mountain and caves seem to be a reminder that there remains the vast and awesome environment that escapes human control and comprehension. Not only must man accept his inherent imperfections he must also understand the capriciousness and unpredictability of human existence itself. The presence of panakawans yielding to sensuality beside the resolute ascetic at Gua Pasir, Selamengleng or Bapak play-acting as a *mbok mbrek* (Javanese mendicant street singer) making his own ironic statement to his pious endeavours, dramatize for us the breath, depth and sense of maturity and humor of Javanese thought.



Map of the island of Java indicating the general location of caves and bathing places discussed in the text



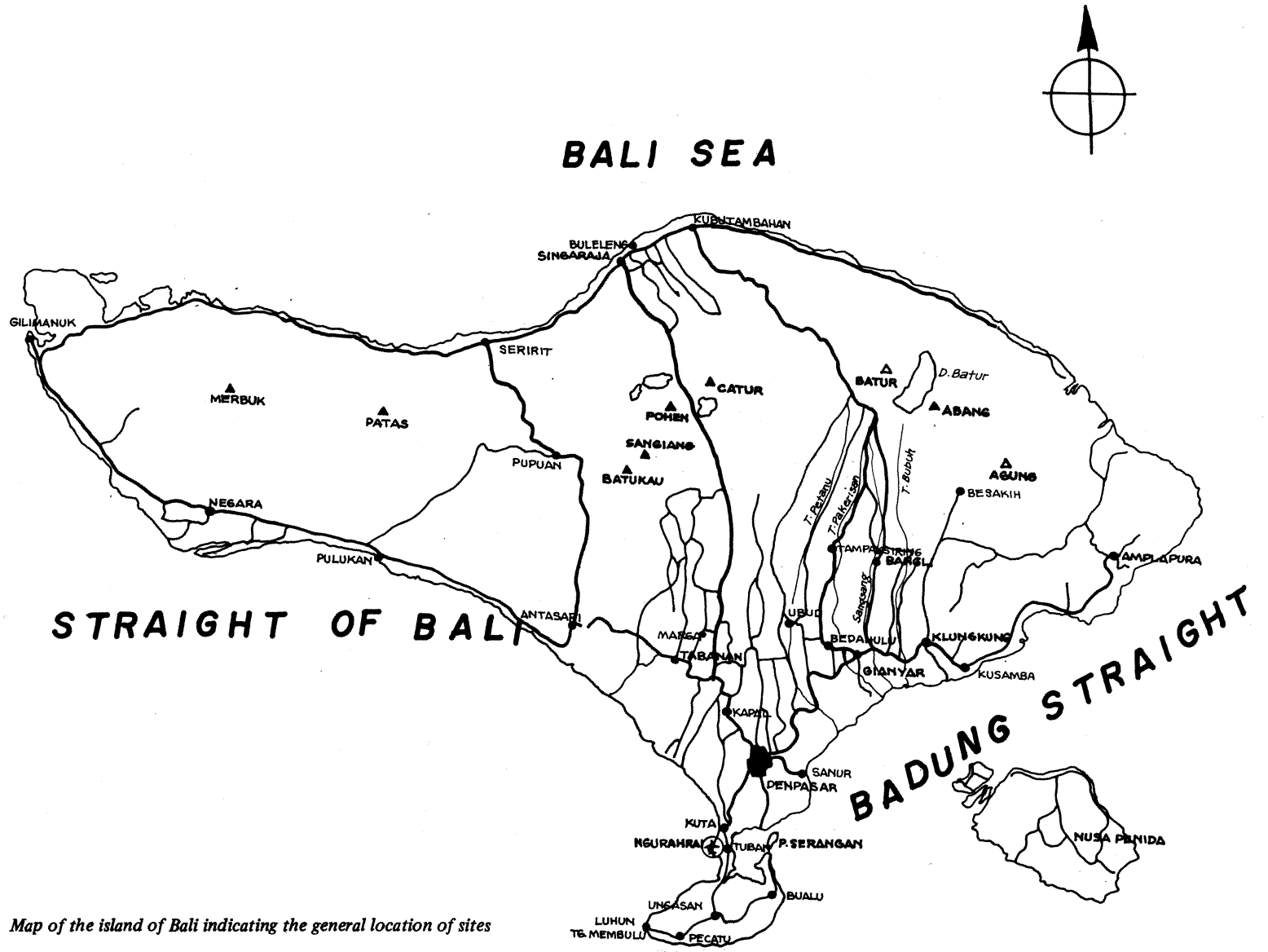
MOUNTAINS AND MONUMENTS

I Slamet
II Prahu. *Dieng*
III Sendara . *Pringapus*
IV Sumbing
V Ungaran. *Gedong Songo*
VI Merbabu
VII Merapi
VIII Lawu. *Sukuh. Tjeta*
IX Wilis
X Kelud. *Panataran*
XI Butak . Kawi
XII Andjasmara. Ardjuna. Welirang. *Djawi*
XIII *Penanggungan. Belahan. Djalatunda*
XIV Tengger. Brama
XV Smeru
XVI Yang
XVII Raung. Merapi
XVIII Muria
● Bondowoso. Gua Buta Gua Sumber-Canting

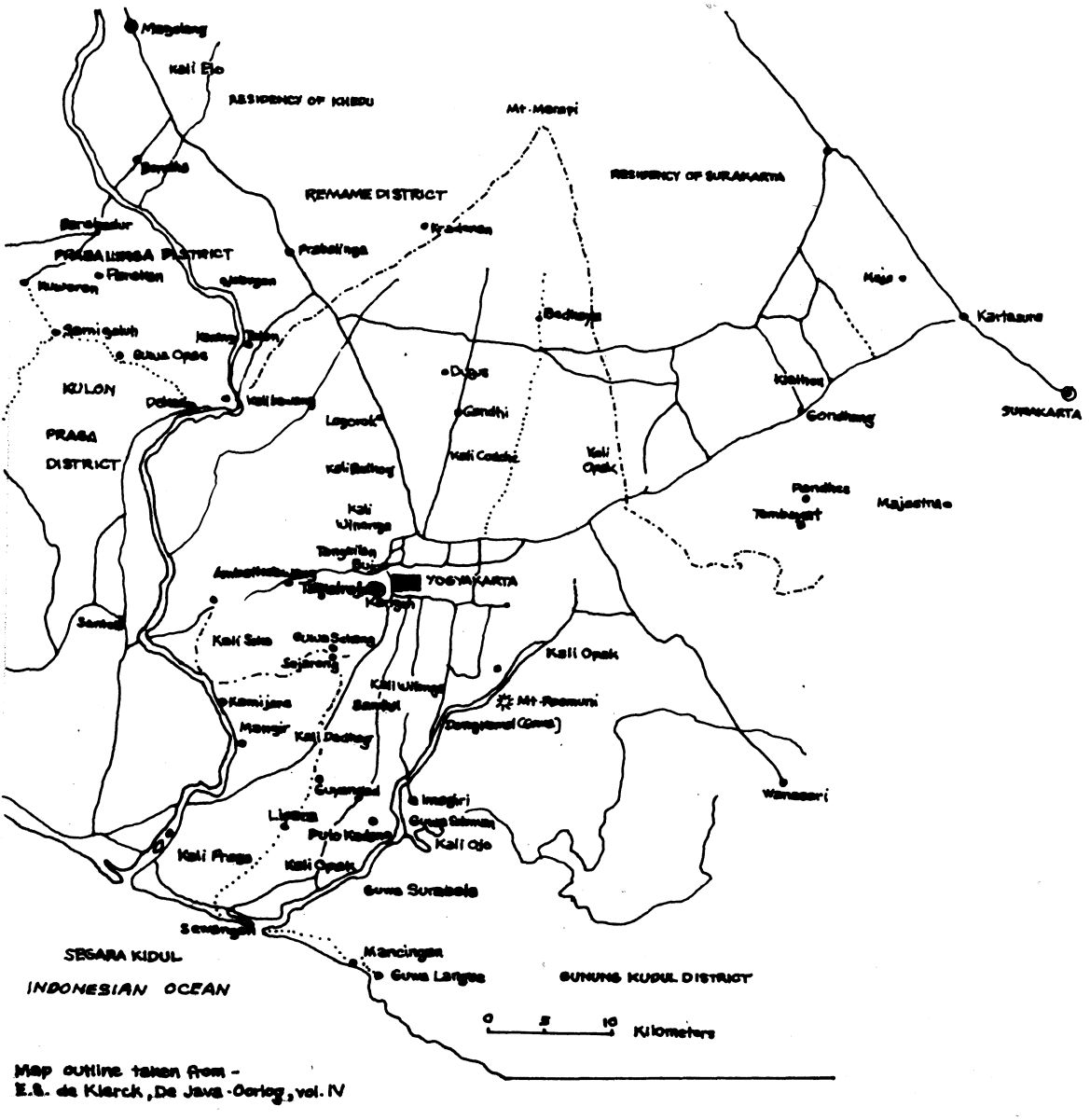
TOWNS AND MONUMENTS

1 Purwakarta
2 Wanasaba
3 Semarang
3a Sendang Sanjaya, Salatiga
4 Magelang. *Barabudur. Mendut. Pawon. Banon*
5 Muntilan. *Ngawen. Gunung Wukir*
6 Jogjakarta Nyai Loro Kidul
7 Prambanan . *Lara-Djonggrang. Kalasan. Sari. Sewu. Plaosan. Sadjiwan*
8 Klaten. *Bajat*
9 Surakarta
10 Demak
11 Djapara . *Mantingan*
12 *Kudas*
13 Patjitan
14 Madiun
Simbatan Wetan
Sadon
15 Kediri . *Selamangleng K. Tigawangi . Surawana*
16 Tulung Agung. *Selamangleng T.A. Guwa Pasir*
17 Blitar . *Sawentar. Bara. Sumberdjati. Panataran*
18 Malang. *Sanggariti. Badut. Djago. Sumberawan . Singasari. Kidal*
19 Madjakerta. *Trawulan. Tikus . Badjang Ratu. Tralaja*
20 Surabaja
21 *Sendangduwur*
22 *Air Mata*
23 Pamekasan
24 *Djabung*
25 *Kedaton*

Map of Central and East Java indicating major mountains and the general location of the sites discussed in the text. (Based on Bernet-Kempers, 1959, p. 25)

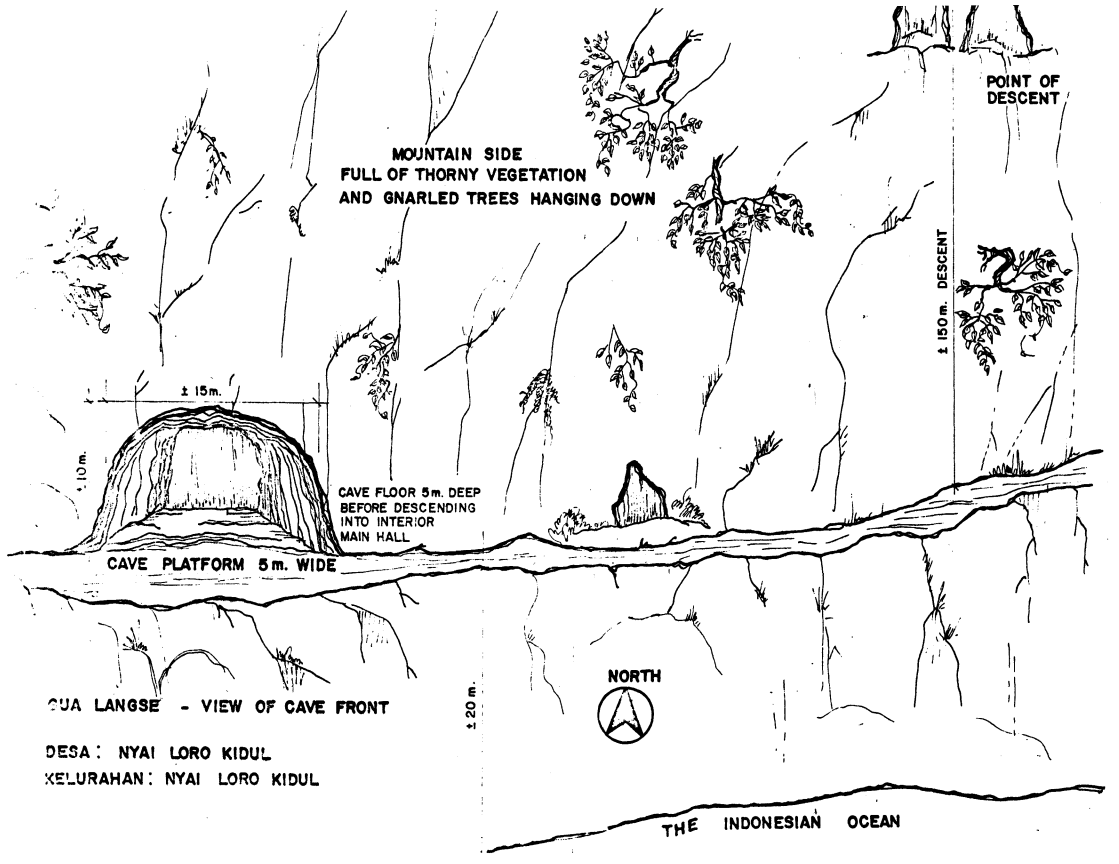


Map of the island of Bali indicating the general location of sites

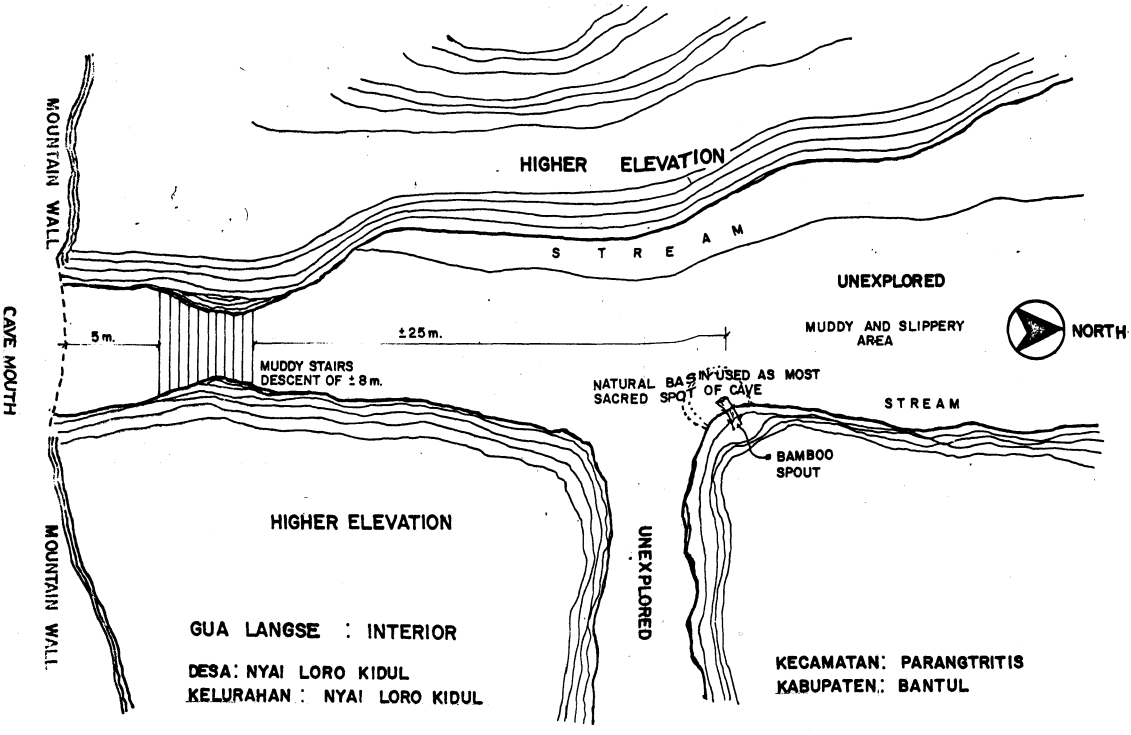


Map outline taken from -
E.S. de Klerck, De Java-Oorlog, vol. IV

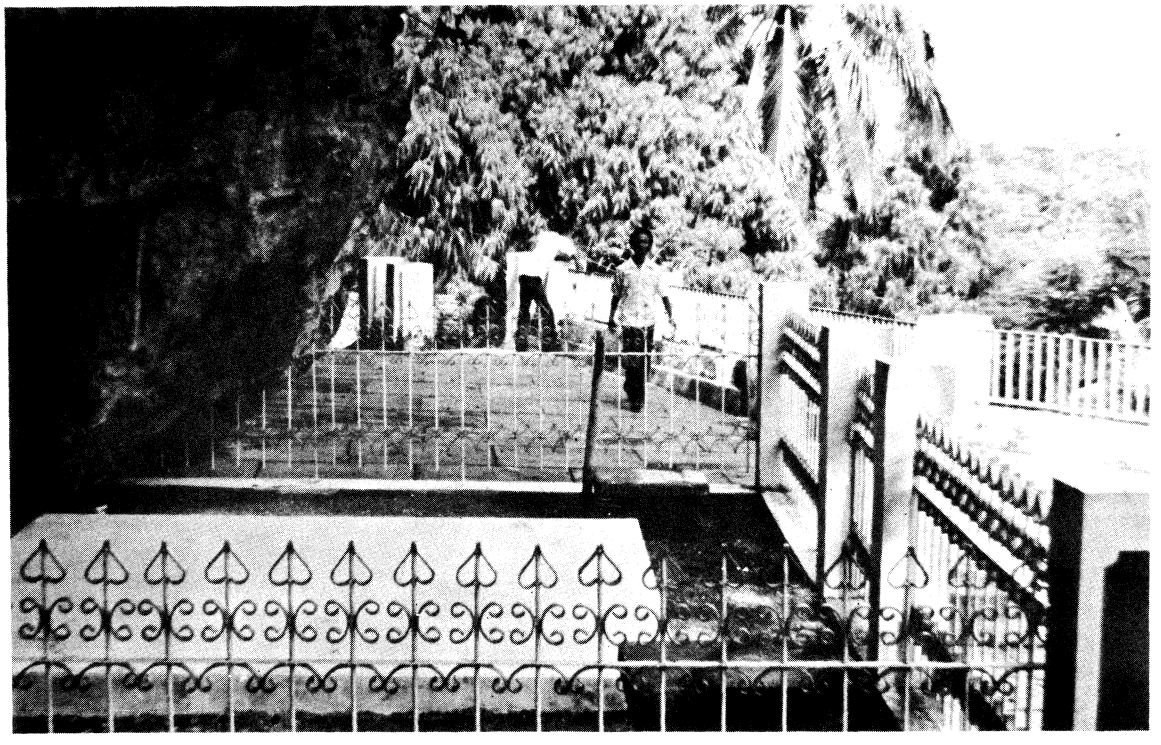
Detail map of Central Java showing the general location of cave and other sacred sites associated with the Pangeran Dipanagara. (Based on E.S. de Klerck, De Java Oorlog *Vol. IV)*



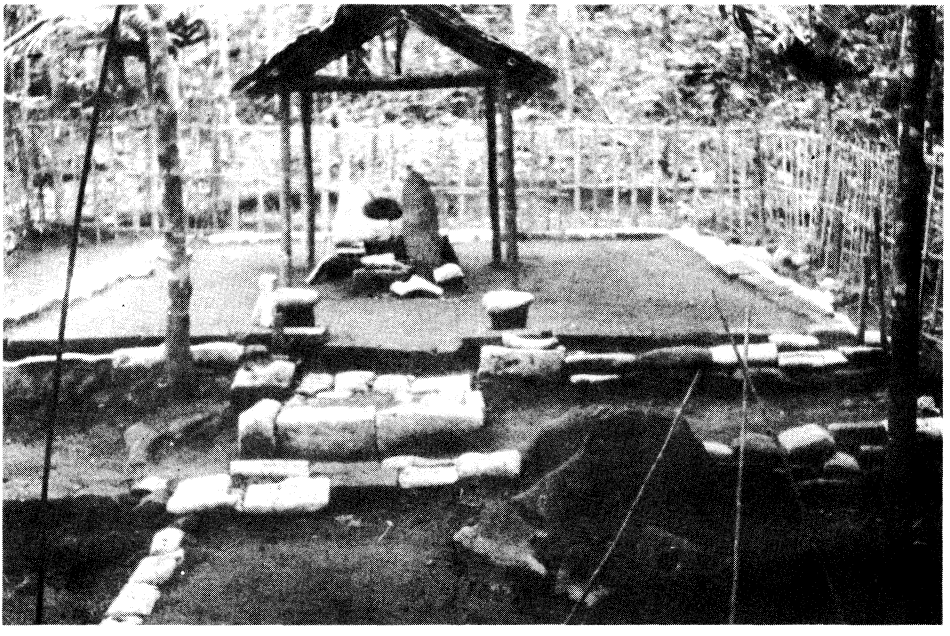
Drawing of Gua Langse or Nyai Loro Kidul, view of the cave front. (Drawn by Linda Lu-Lim)



Drawing of the cave interior, Gua Langse or Nyai Loro Kidul. (Drawn by Linda Lu-Lim)



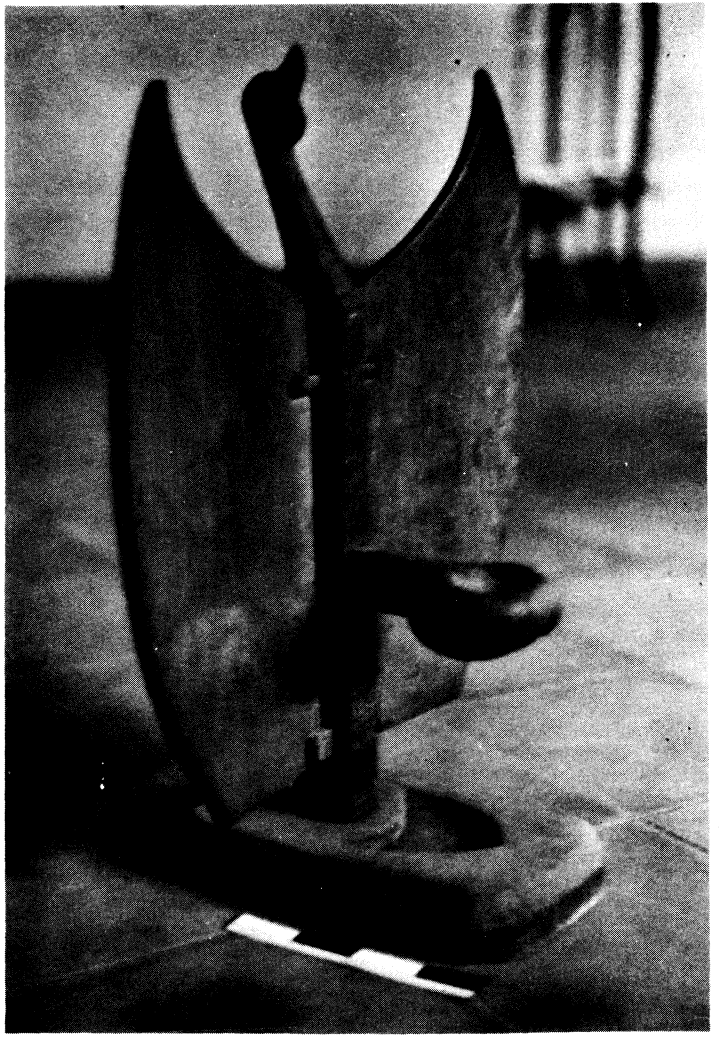
Dipanagara's cave, Gua Slarong in Bantul, south of Jogjakarta, photograph shows part of the cave mouth and the frontage of the hill were the cemented and fenced area has been built for visitors to the cave



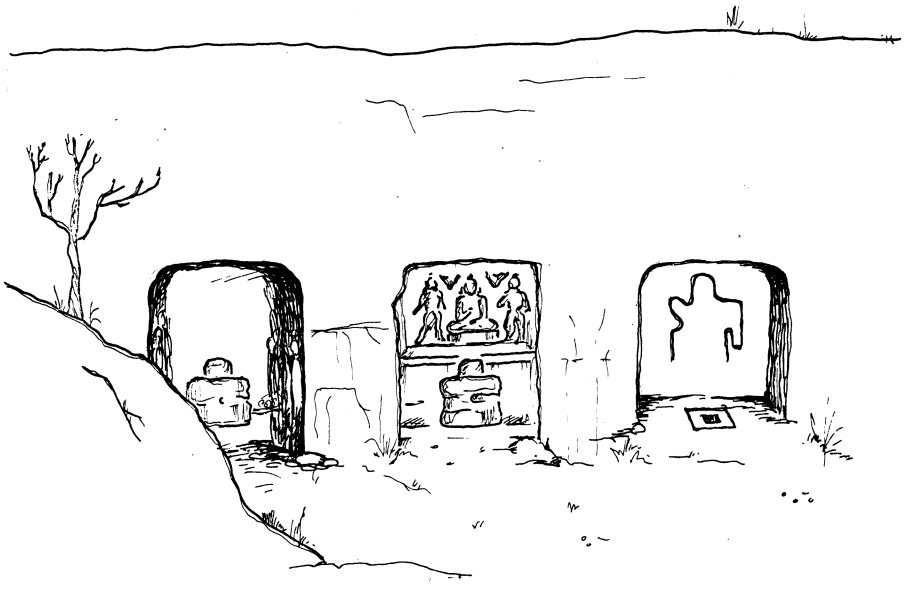
Sacred precinct at the entrance of Gua Sih Pahlawan, Danurejo, Kalegesing, Purworejo. Photo shows the cungkub *(a shed over a sacred site or grave) surrounded by stones arranged in a square which is fenced*

Close-up of the linga-yoni found inside the sacred precinct of Gua Sih Pahlawan, Danurejo, Kalegesing, Purworejo

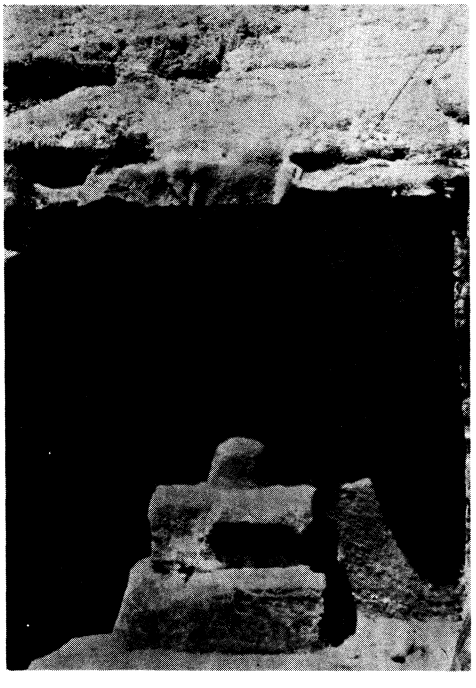
Pillar of a cungkub *(a shed over a grave or sacred site) at Sendang Duwur, the tree trunk is elaborately carved to represent a forested landscape, found inside the grave site of Sendang Duwur, near Lamongan, Kabupaten Tuban.*



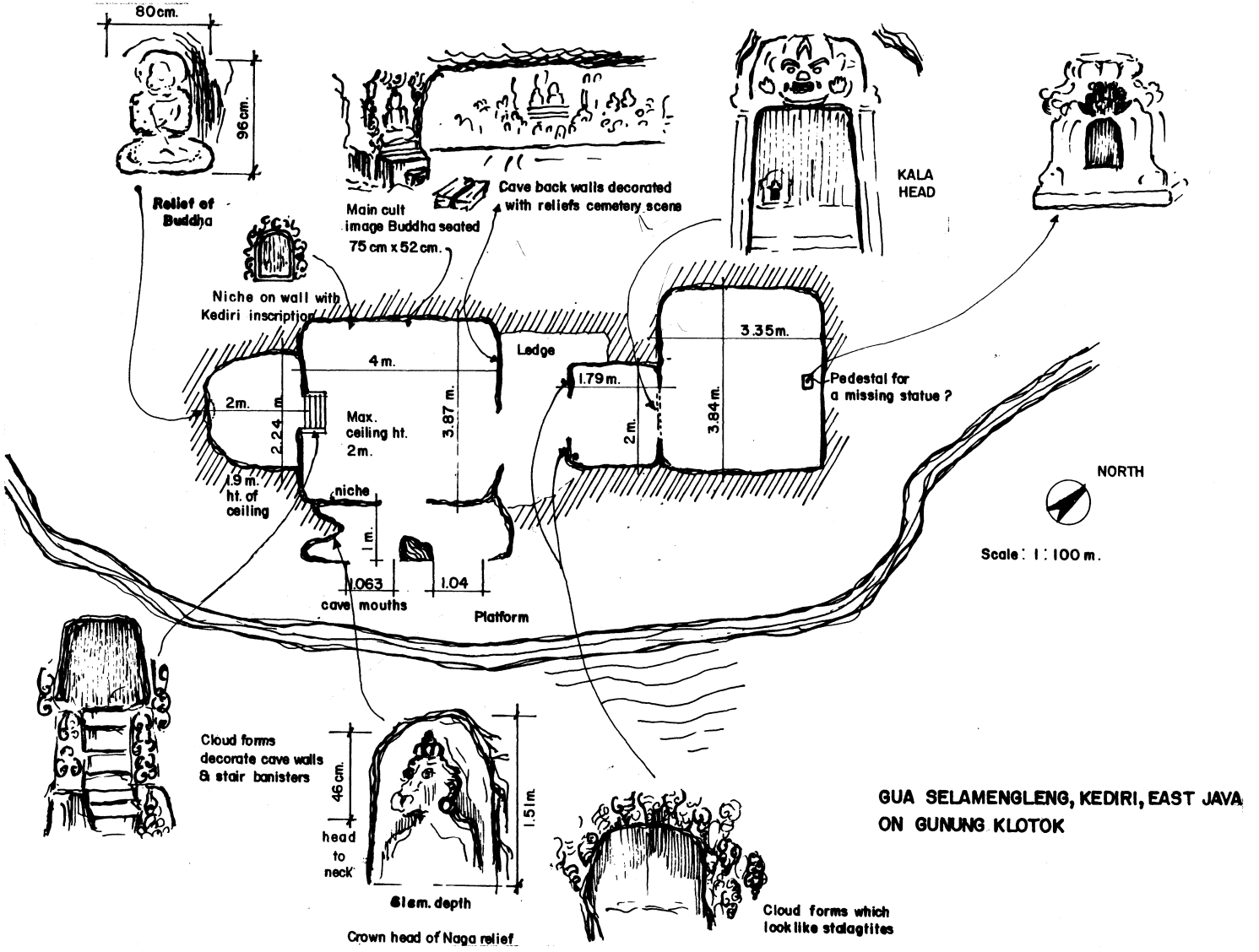
Winged linga-yoni in the collection of the Kasepuhan of the Sultans of Cirebon.



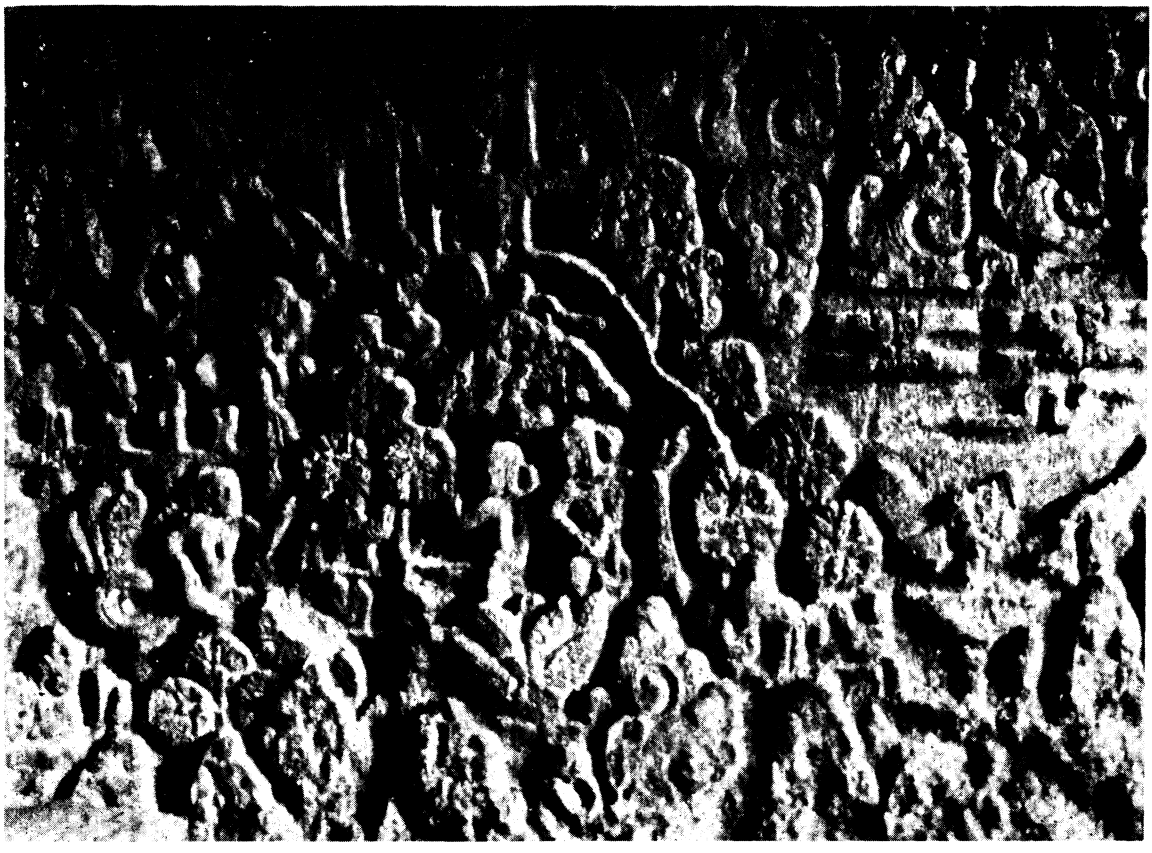
Drawing of the front view of the cave called Gua di Bang in Joyodirdo, Piyungan, Bantul, Central Java. (Drawn by Linda Lu-Lim)



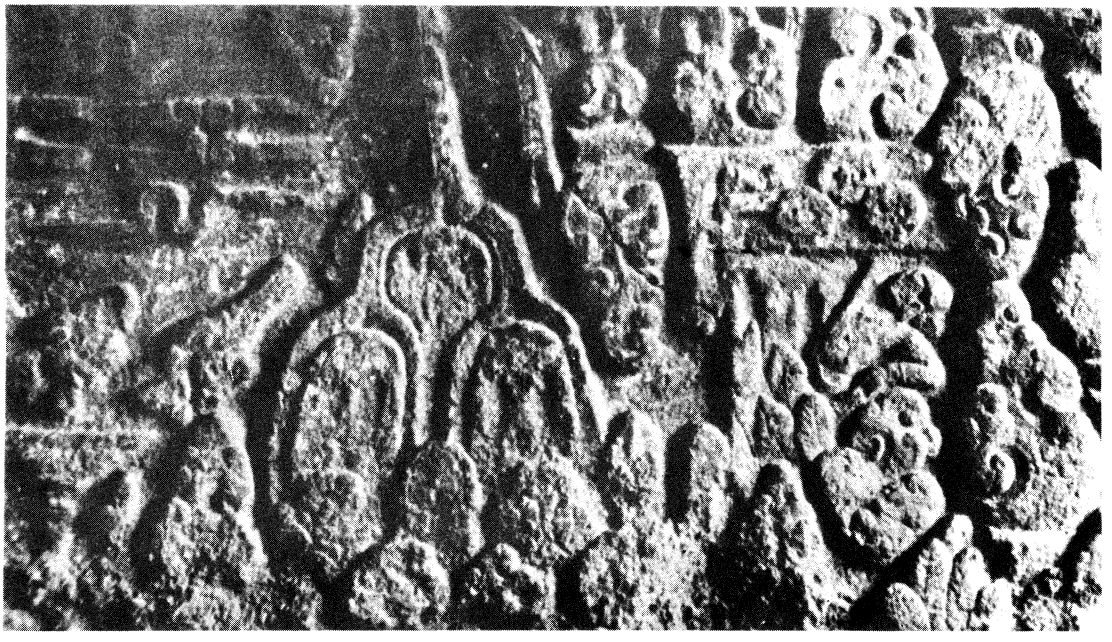
Central niche of Gua di Bang in Joyodirdo, Piyungan, Bantul southeast of Jogjakarta. Reliefs inside the niche shows a seated, male deity flanked by standing, male deities, infront of the relief is a roughly-hewn linga-yoni. This central niche is flanked on its left by a small cave inside of which are reliefs of dvarapalas and a Durga. On the right side of the central niche is a shallow rock shelter. Right photo shows linga-yoni found at Tanjungtirtha now in the collection of the Prambanan Museum. (After Bernet-Kempers, plate 166)



Drawing of the cave plan and details of cave interior of Gua Selamengleng, Kediri. (Drawn by Linda Lu-Lim)



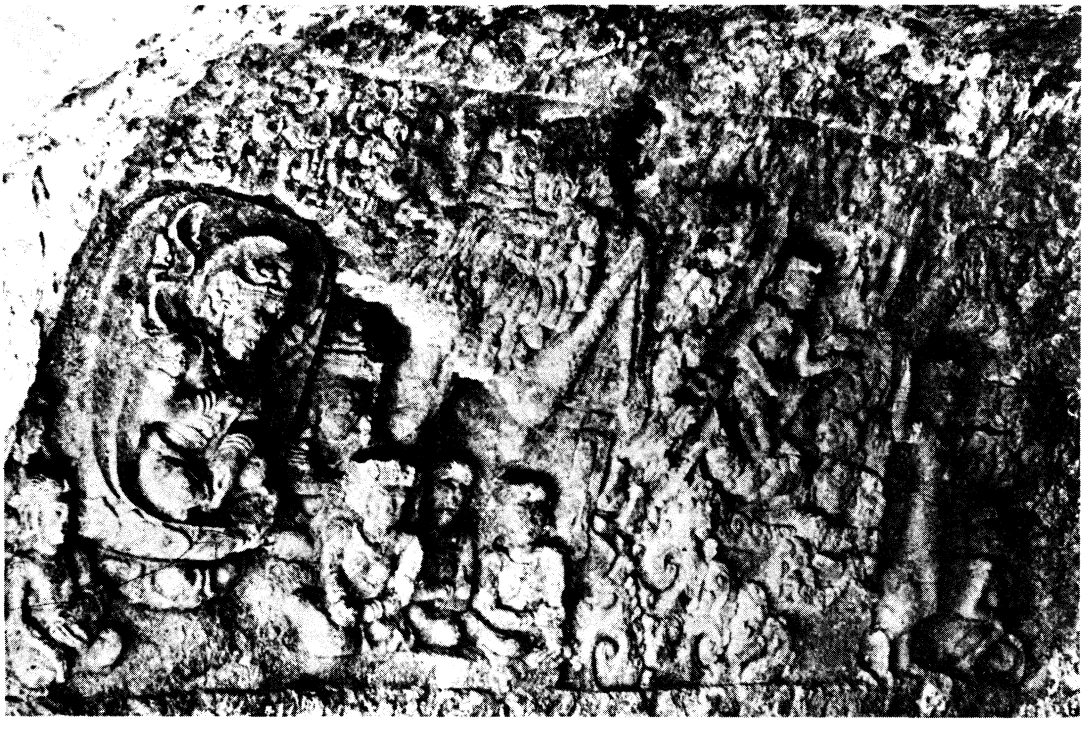
Relief on cave wall of Gua Selamengleng, Kediri. (Based on W. F. Stutterheim, Bijdragen *89, 1932)*



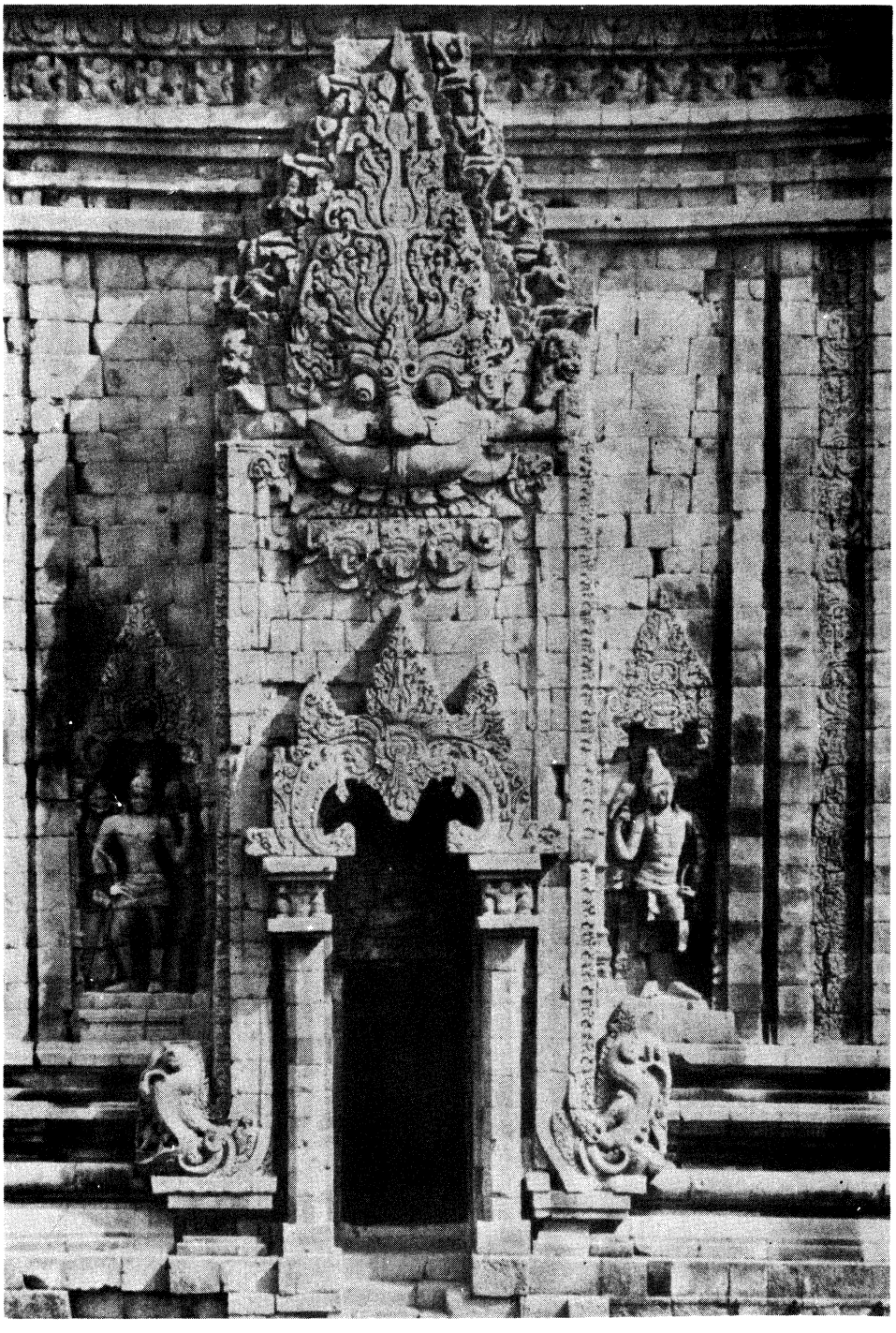
Relief on cave wall of Gua Selamengleng, Kediri. (Based on W. F. Stutterheim, Bijdragen *89, 1932.)*

Stone block with relief of stylized cloud-rock formations found in the collection of the Kabupaten of Kediri. The cloud-rock formations are stylistically similar to those found in the cave of Selamengleng in Kediri and Tulungagung as well as the bathing places of Jolotunda and Belahan on Mt. Penanggungan. It is noteworthy that the stone block is very much like the ones found at the bathing place of Jolotunda .

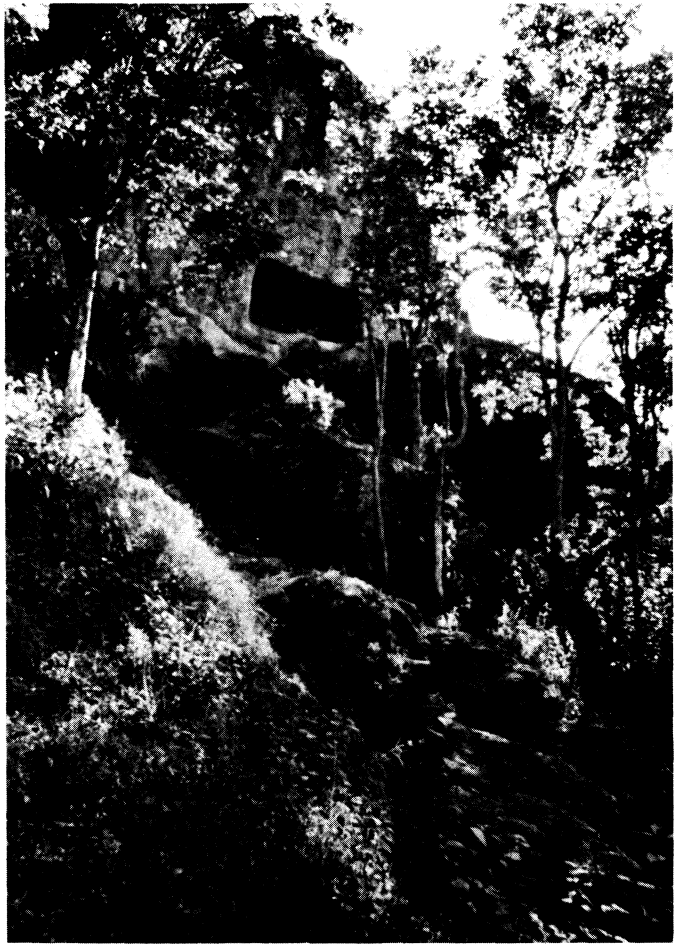
Cave mouth of Gua Selamengleng, Tulungagung showing kala head above the cave entrance. (After Bernet-Kempers, plate 191)



Reliefs on the cave wall, Gua Selamengleng, Tulungagung, Indra seated on an open lotus confers with the deities and widadaris

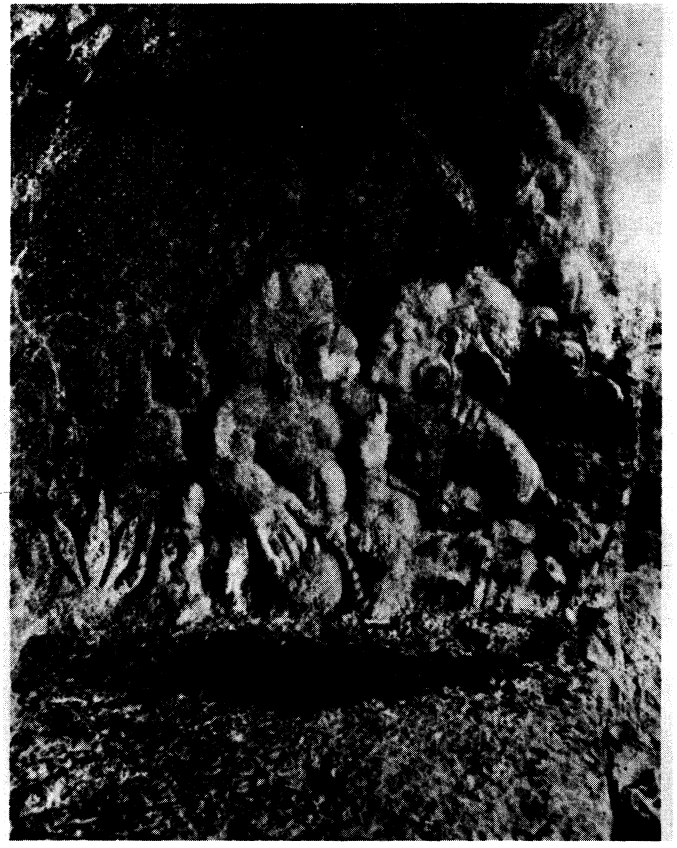


Kala head above the doorway of Candi Kalasan, Prambanan, Central Java, is an example of Central Javanese type of kala head, the crown ends in stylized foliage while the lower jaw is missing and is replaced by pendants



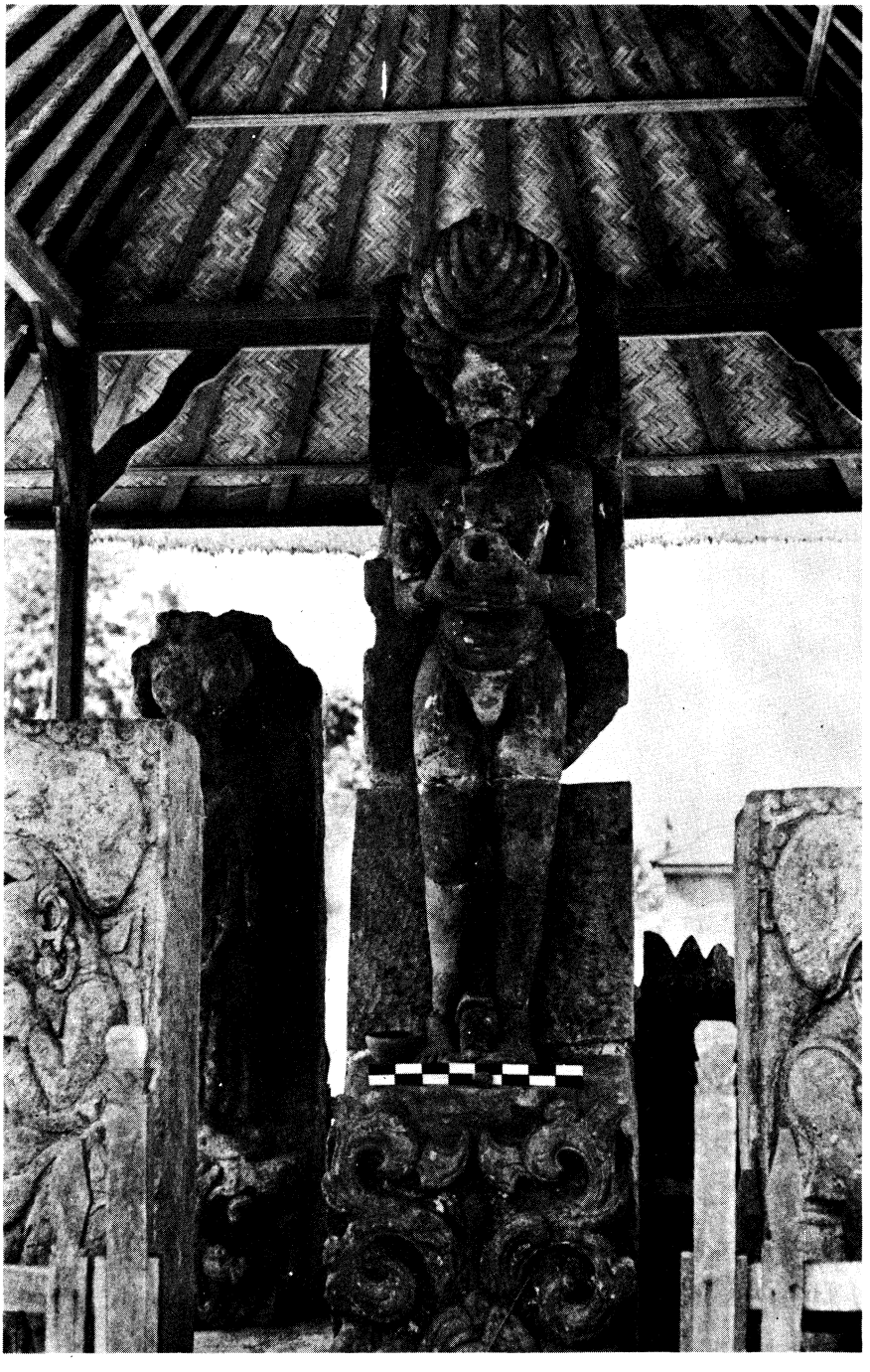
Gua Pasir, Tulungagung, photo shows cave mouth. (Photo by George Carreon)

Gua Pasir, Tulungagung, showing relief of cave wall representing either the Buddha being tempted by Mara, or the seduction of Arjuna by a Widadari. (Based on Claire Holt, Tijdschrift, *73, 1933.)*



Gua Pasir, Tulungagung, relief on cave wall showing the seduction of the panakawan. The panakawan wears the conventional trappings of an ascetic; turban, a loincloth and waistchain. (Based on Claire Holt)

Gua Pasir, Tulungagung, relief on cave wall showing a panakawan yielding to the temptations of a woman. Note the cloud-rock formations which are similar to those in the two caves named Selamengleng and at the bathing place of Jolotunda. (Based on Claire Holt)

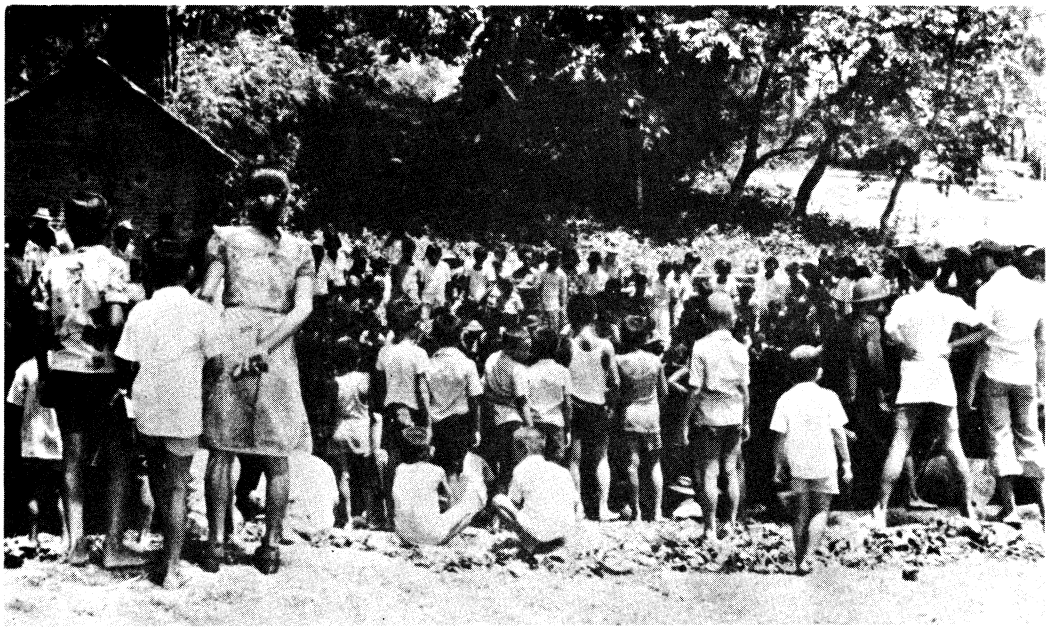


Arjuna as an ascetic holding a conch shell which serves as a spout, Pejeng, Bali. Arjuna must have been the central figure in an ensemble of statues for a bathing place. The original site is no longer known.

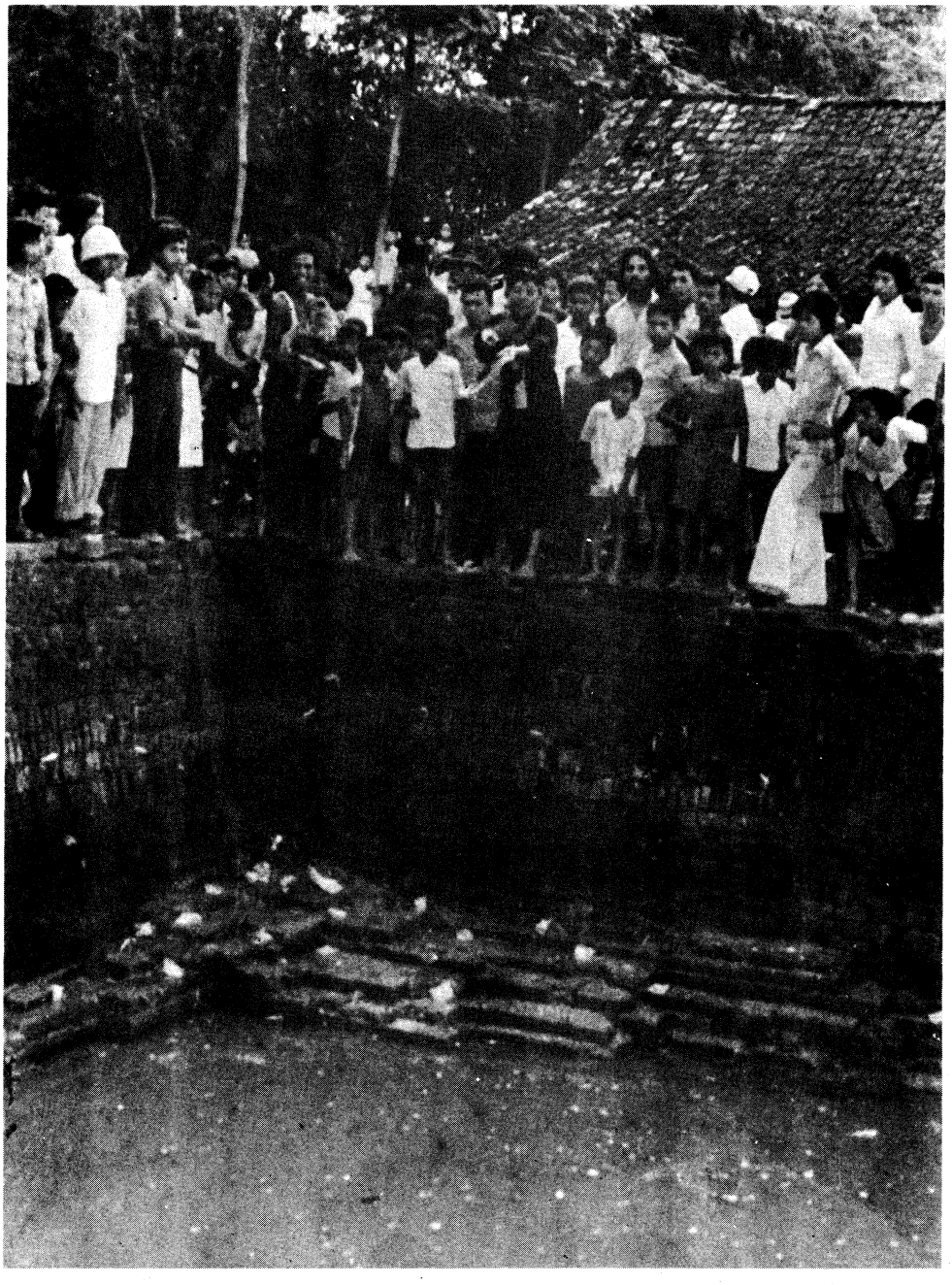
One of a pair of widadaris whose navel shows a drilled hole which serves as a spout. One of the companion figures to the Arjuna statue above.

Pair of Panakawans which flanked the Arjuna statue

Bathing place of Simbatan Wetan, at Gorang-gareng, Magetan, west of Maduin. Photo shows the pool filled with water from underground springs. (Photos of Magetan Wetan courtesy of Drs. Cokrosoedjono, Head of the Mojokerto branch of the National Research Centre for Archaeology of Indonesia)



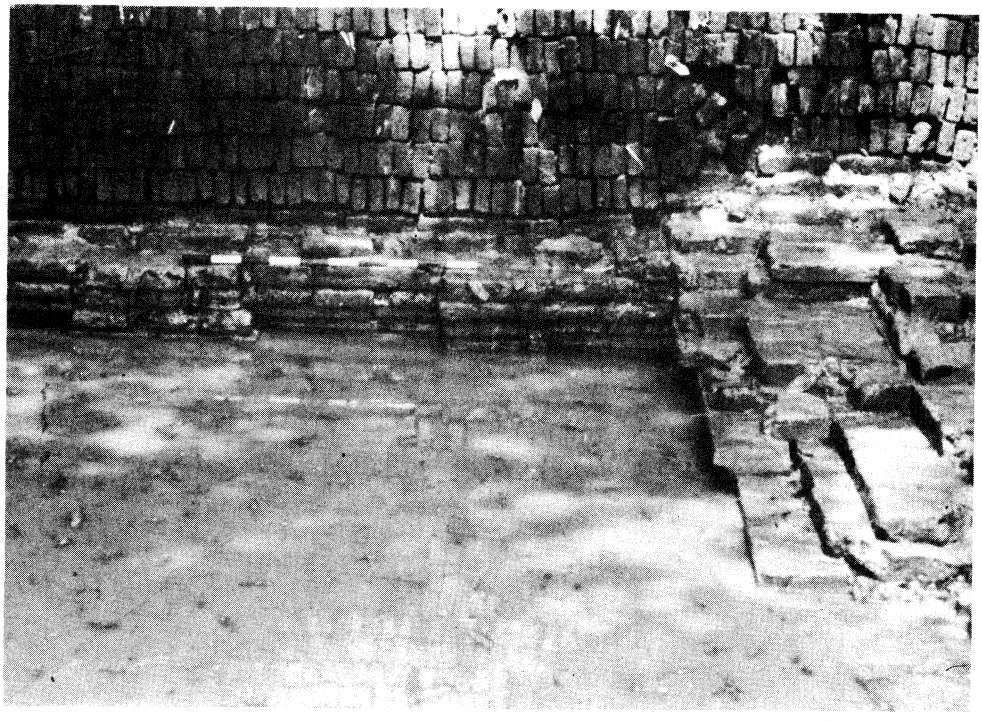
Simbatan Wetan, people of Magetan gather to watch the draining of the pool



Simbatan Wetan, rituals start when the first fish is caught from the pool.

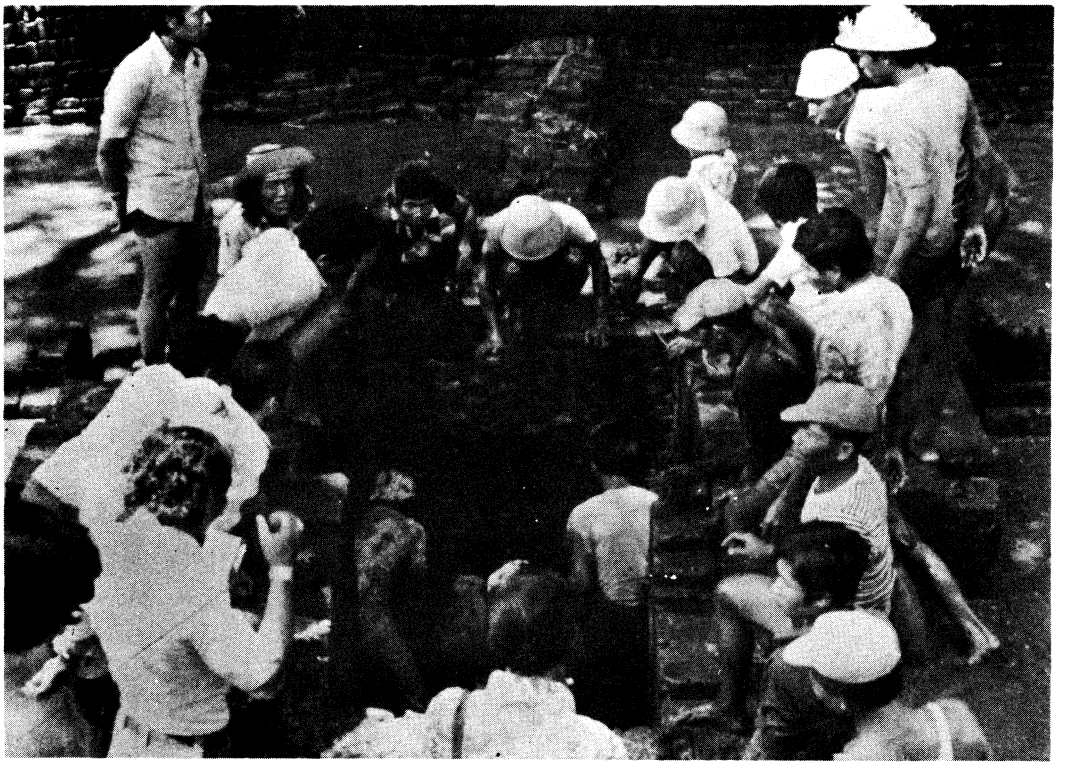
Simbatan Wetan, Magetan ritual dancing near the pool side

Simbatan Wetan, Magetan, ritual dancing near the pool side, the male dancers are shown carrying the fish while dancing

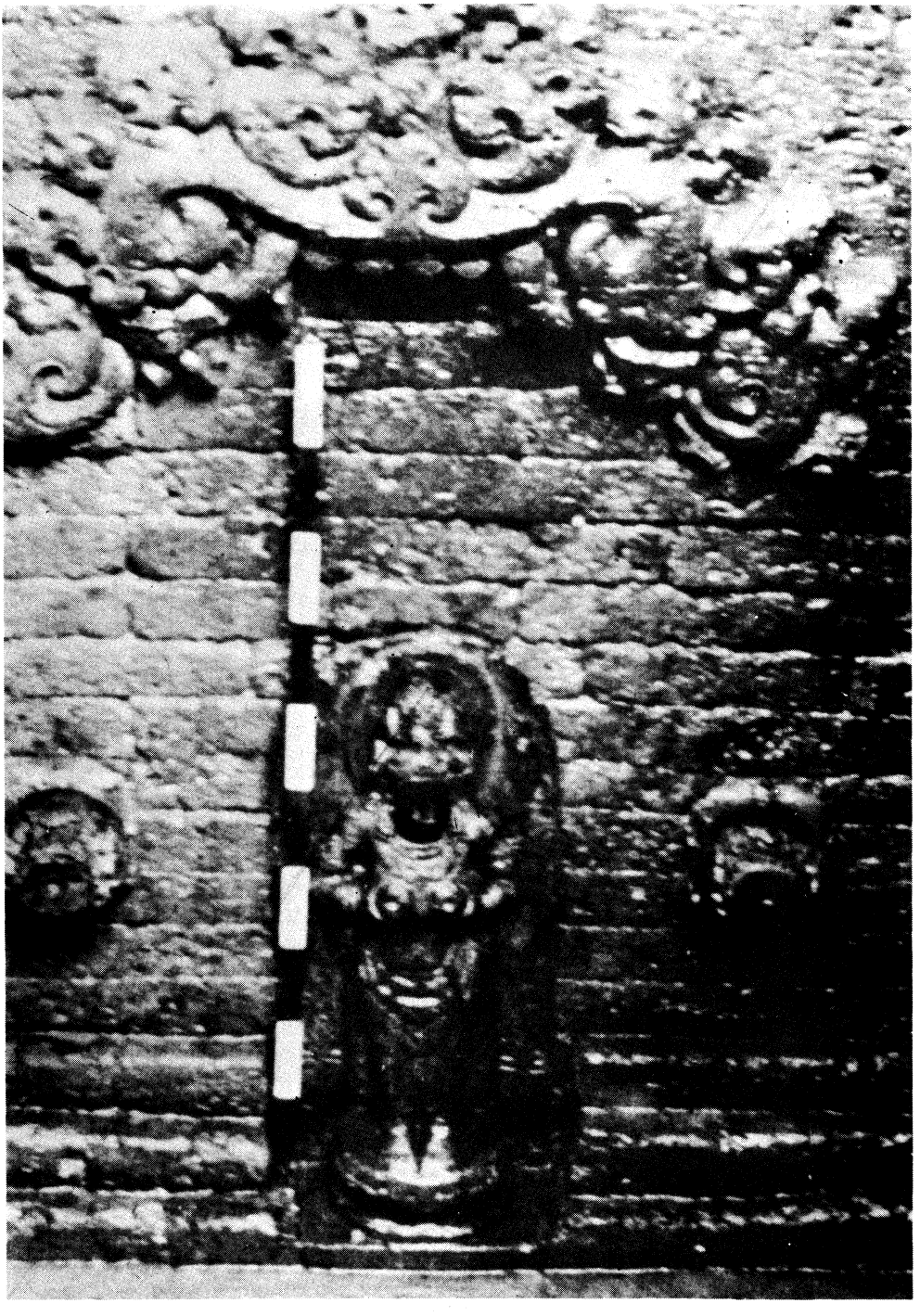


Simbatan, Wetan Magetan, photo shows the pool drained of water

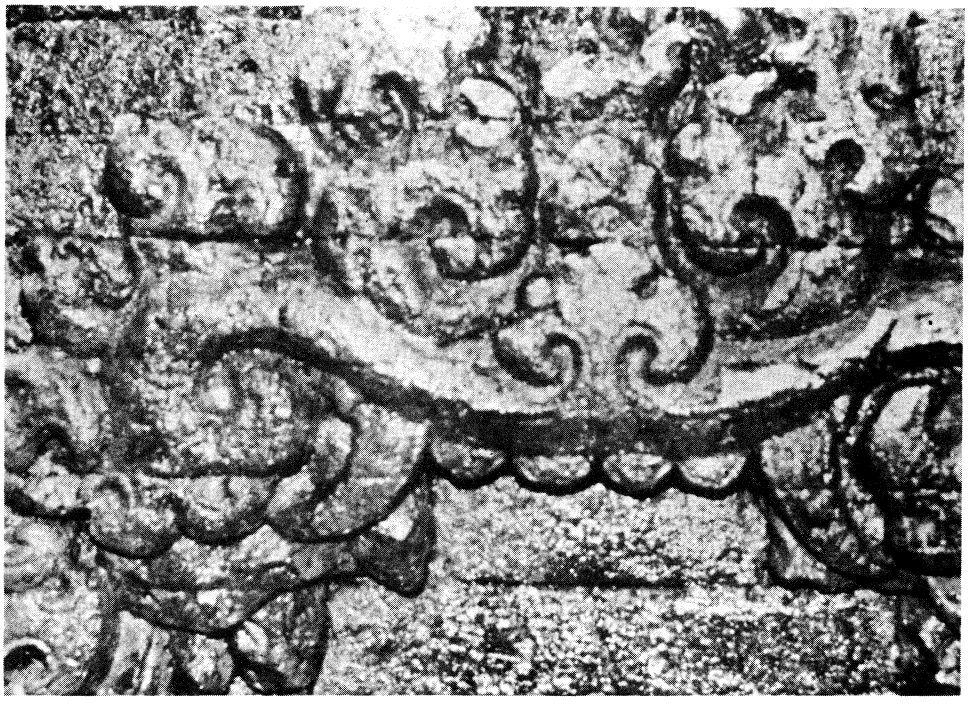
Simbatan Wetan, Magetan, the inner pool inside the larger one before it is drained of water



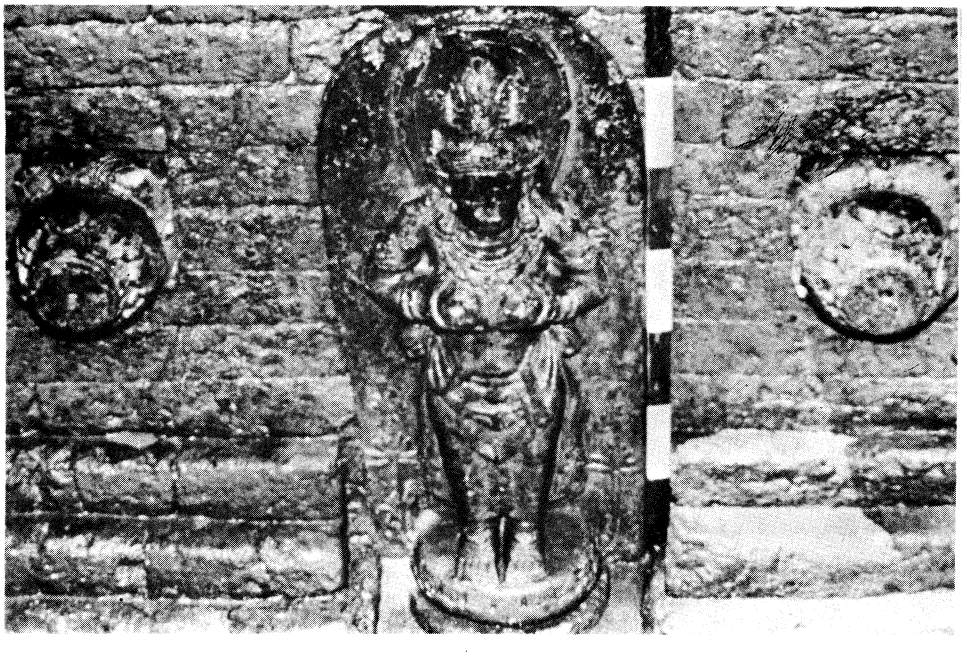
Draining the smaller pool which has reliefs on the wall



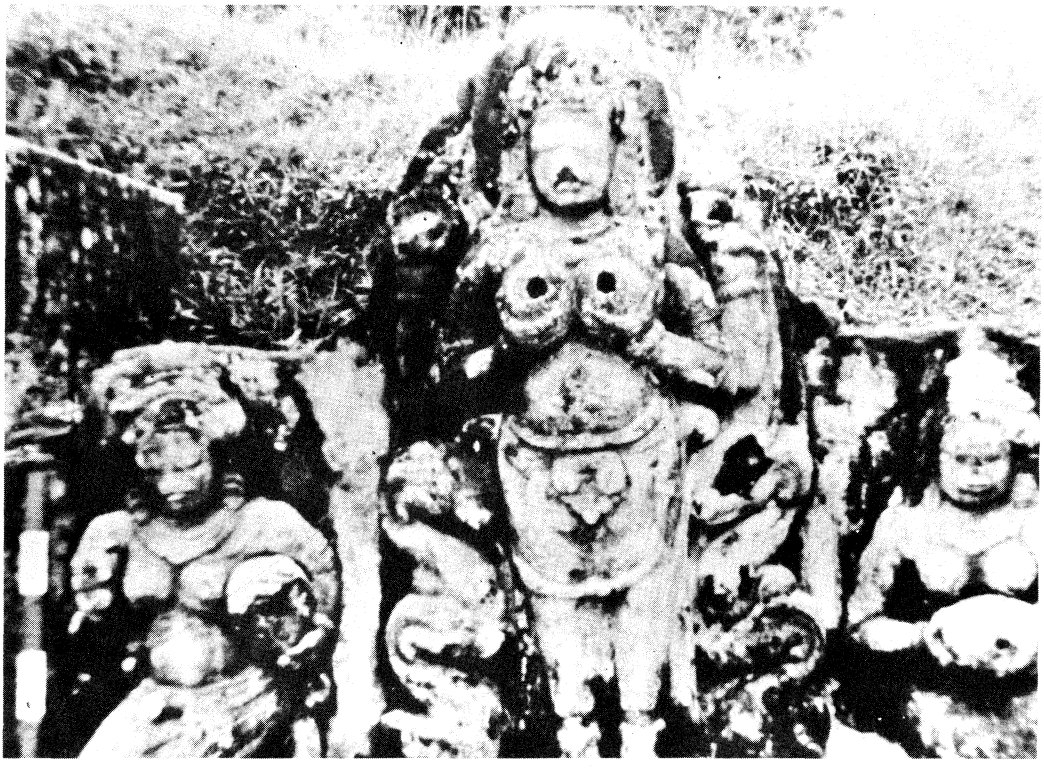
Reliefs on the wall of the small pool showing a large kala head over a female deity whose breasts serve as spouts which could be Cri or Laksmi. The goddess is flanked by lotus bud spouts similar to those found in Candi Tikus near Trowulan, East Java.



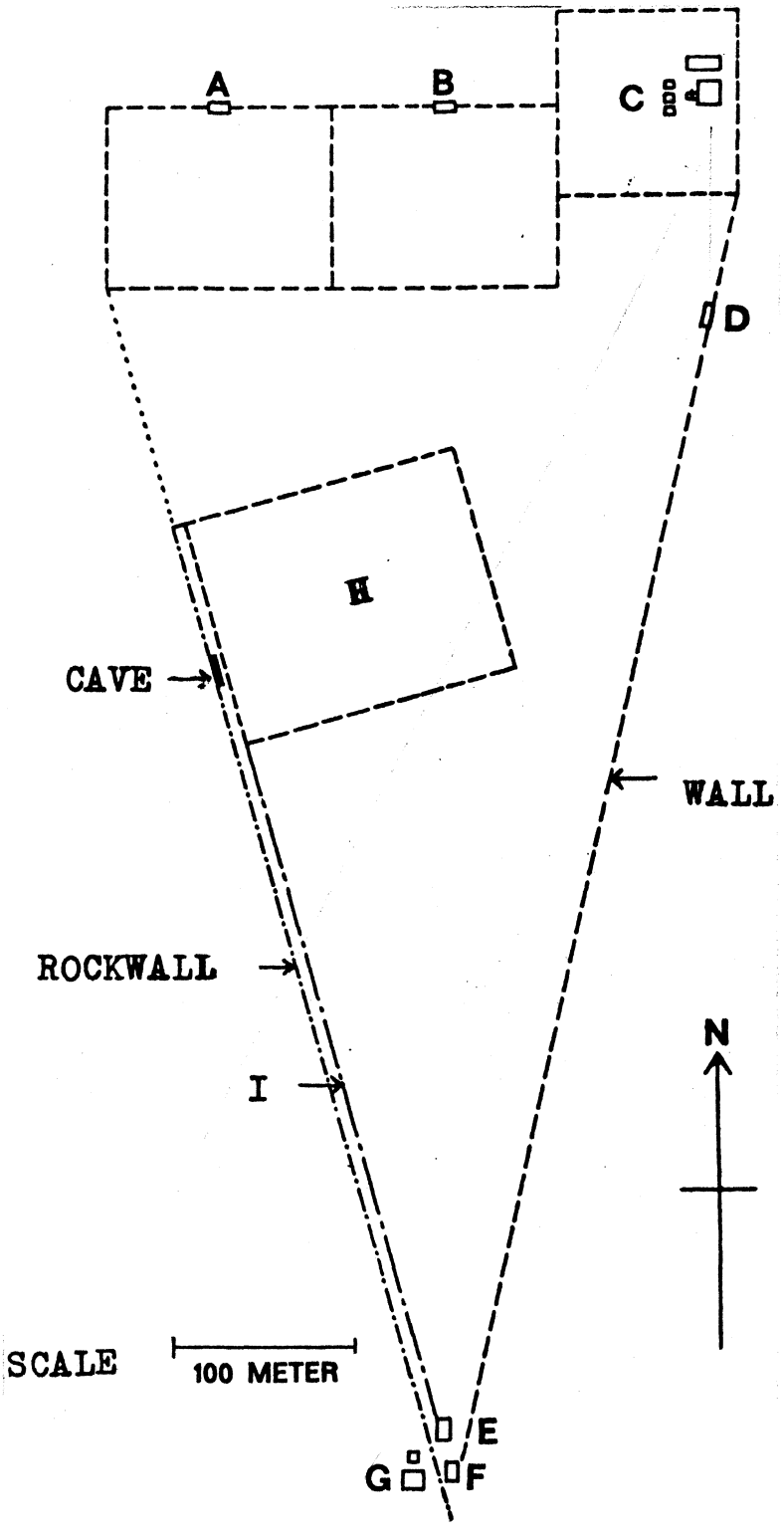
Detail of the kala relief on the wall of the inner pool of Simbatan Wetan, Magetan



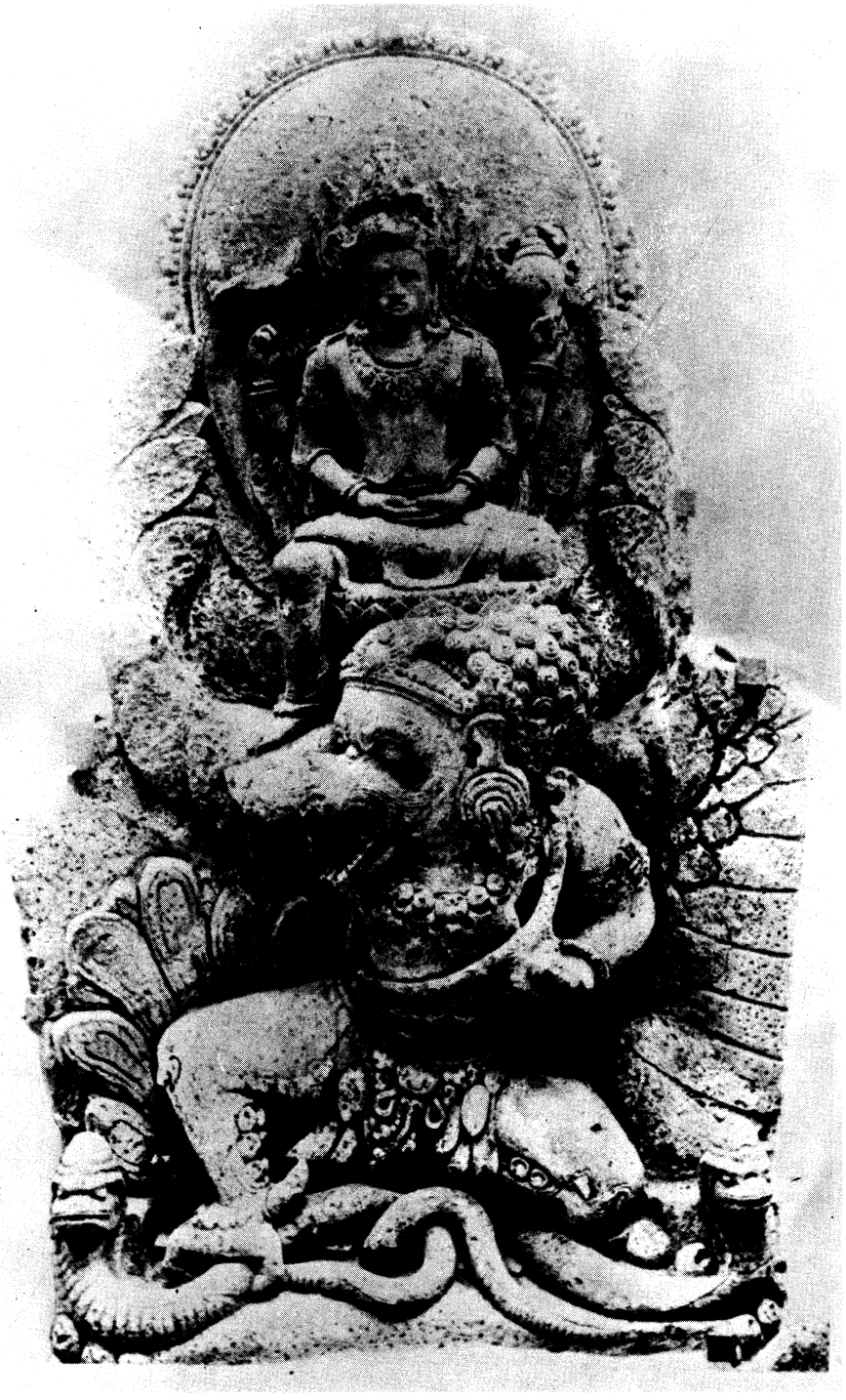
Detail of goddess whose breasts serve as spouts



Spout figures at Sadon, Sarangan (west of Maduin on the slopes of Gunung Lawu.) The central goddess has breasts which serve as spouts while the two female figures on each side of the central figure hold shells which have been drilled to serve as spouts .



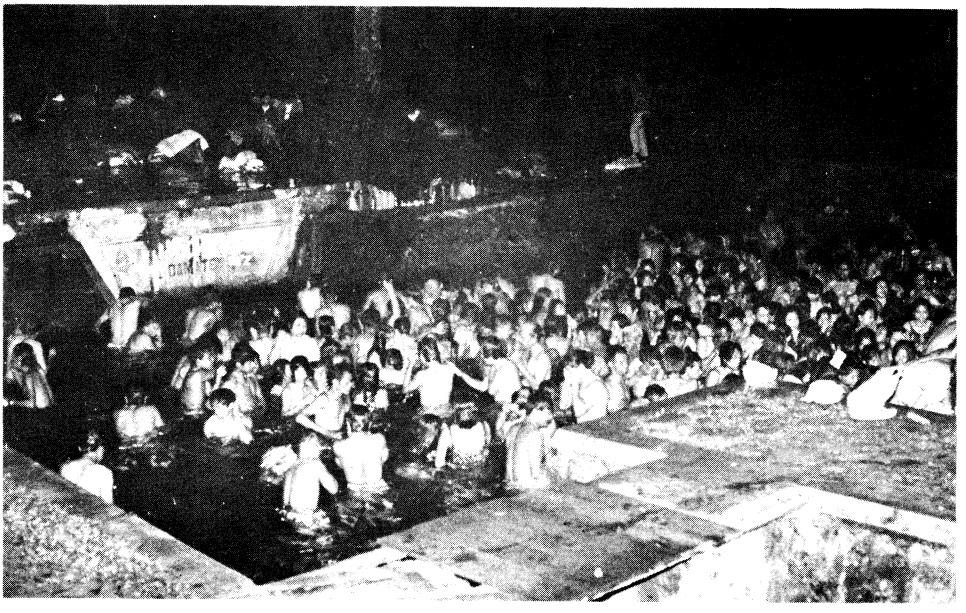
Site plan of Belahan bathing place on Gunung Penanggungan, East Java showing temples, pools, caves and perimeter walls.(After Resink)



Visnu on Garuda from the bathing place of Belahan now in the Mojokerto Museum. (After Bernet Kempers, plate 202)

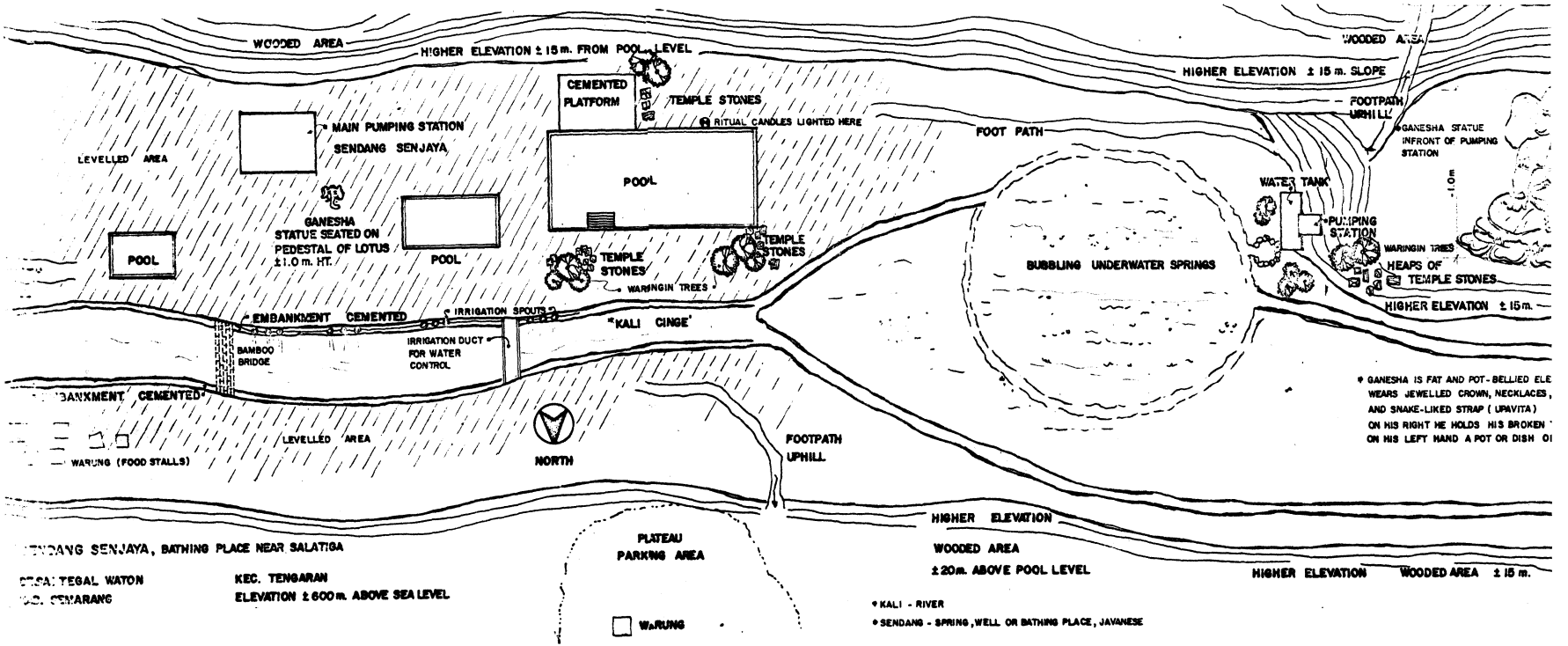
The goddess Laksmi or Cri found in the northern niche of Belahan bathing place, a spout figure (After Bernet-Kempers, plate 204)

Agastya Mahaguru with tricula and holding a kundika in its left hand. The inscription on the back of the statue states: Bhagawan Trinavingdu maharshih *followed by the old Javanese figure for 2. Found north of Candi Singasari, Malang. (after Bernet Kempers, plate 241).*

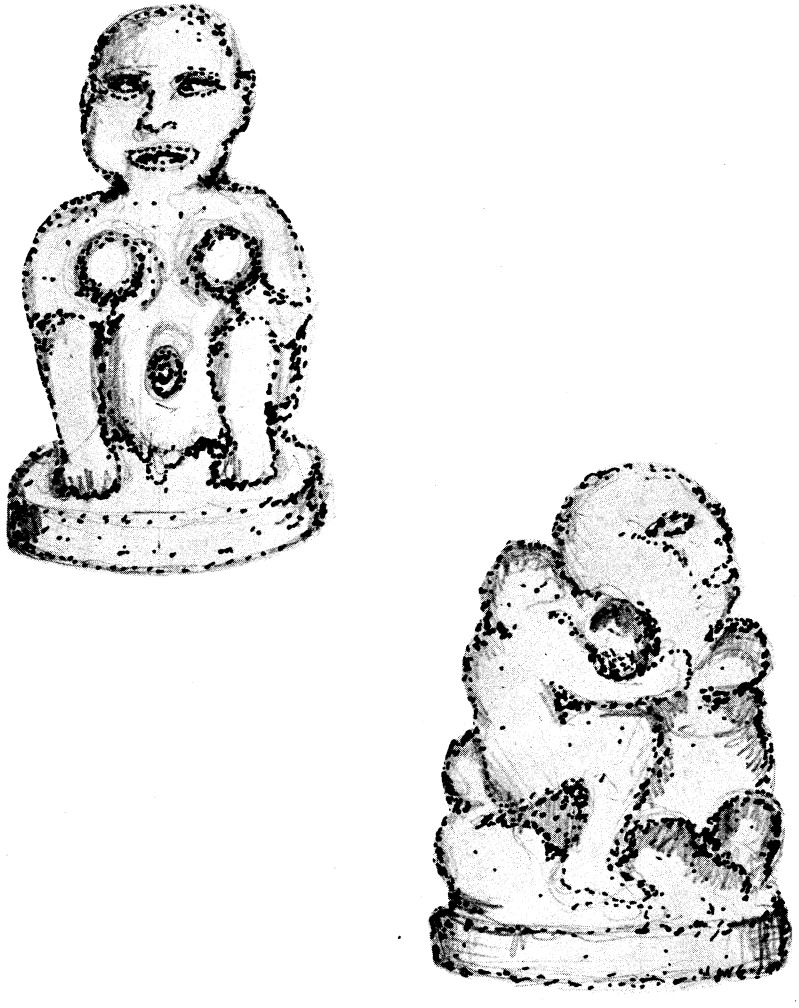


Sendang Sanjaya, near Salatiga, ritual bath of worshippers. (Photo by George Carreon)

Sendang Sanjaya, near Salatiga, worshippers leaving the pool after the rituals. (Photo by George Carreon)



Site plan of Sendang Sanjaya, bathing place near Salatiga desa, Tegalwaton, Kecamatan-Tengaran, Kabupaten - Semarang. (Drawn by Linda Lu-Lim)



Sketch of terracotta statues representing Man Brayut in the collection of the Bali Museum, Den Pasar, Bali. (Drawn by Linda Lu-Lim)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SHĪ'A CONCEPT OF THE IMAMATE

Vivienne S.M. Angeles*

Introduction

The word Shī'a basically means partisans. They started after the death of Muhammad and were composed of people who separated from the following of the first three successors of Muhammad.[1] The early Shī'a were a very political group who believed that 'Alī had the right to the caliphate immediately after the death of Muhammad. They emphasized not only 'Alī's relationship to Muhammad[2] but also the old tribal concept of *ahl al bayt* (people of the household), the family from whom the chiefs of the tribe were chosen. Today, historians and scholars of Islam view the founding of the Shī'a as an important schism in Islam[3] which has survived from the early period of Islamic history in the Seventh C. to contemporary times.

In its process of formation and growth, the Shī'a have developed certain doctrines that were to have repercussions on Islamic society as a whole. Of the Shī'a doctrines, the concept of the *imāmah* stands out as significant for, while it constitutes a fundamental difference between the Shī'a and the majority of the Islamic community, it also gave rise to cleavages and divisions among the Shī'a. It is because of the resulting effects on the Muslims that the concept of the *imāmah* merits study. This paper will therefore focus on the theoretical concept of the *imāmah* as espoused by the different groups of the Shī'a.

This paper relies mainly on the materials written in the English language available at both the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University libraries. Among the major works are Tabātabā'ī *Shi'ite Islam*[4] which not only deals with the historical development of the Shī'a but also discusses their essential doctrines from a Shi'ite point of view. Donaldson's *Shi'ite Religion*[5] also provides a historical view of the Shī'a and their teachings. A part of Donaldson's book is a translation of Majlisi's *Hayātu'l Kulūb.* Well-

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*The author was formerly a faculty member of the Institute of Islamic Studies, UP. She is currently doing her dissertation at Temple University, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

[1] Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Uthmān. For a brief history of the Shī'a, see Allāmah S.M.H. Tabātāba'ī, *Shi'ite Islam* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1975) Chapter I. Also, Bernard Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'īlism* (Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1940).

[2] As a nephew, son-in-law and trusted companion.

[3] Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (New York: Doubleday, 1966), p. 207.

[4] *op. cit.*

[5] D.M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite Religion* (London: Luzac, 1933).

hausen,[6] on the other hand, treats the political dynamics of the Shī'a and the Khāwarij, giving an insight into the motivations of these two schismatic groups. Sachedina's work[7] focusses on the Mahdi as understood among the Imāmis and at the same time discusses the teachings of various Shī'a factions. Jafri, in his historical treatment of the Shī'a emphasizes the role of Ja'far al Sadiq in the development of the Shī'a teachings. He also asserts that explanation of the growth of the Shī'a in terms of their political differences is an oversimplification of a complex situation.[8] Among the articles that proved most beneficial to the study are Madelung's article on the *imāmah* in the *Encyclopedia of Islam,*[9] Friedlander's "Heterodoxies of the Shī'a,"[10] as well as Ivanov's "Isma'ilis and Qarmatians."[11] Madelung's work on the subject elaborates on the doctrine of the *imāmah* among the different Shī'a groups. Friedlander, on the other hand, deals mainly with the work of Ibn Hazm on the Shī'a, pointing out the differences, more than the similarities of Shī'a beliefs. Ivanov deals mainly with the Ismā'ilis but also attempts to correct what he considers as misconceptions on the Shī'a which, he believes, are largely due to the methodological errors of the orientalists. Other articles that are also helpful to the study are mentioned in the bibliography.

II. The Concept of the *Imāmah*

The development of the Shī'a is characterized by the growth of different groupings espousing their own teachings on the *imāmah.* What gave rise to the formation of the Shī'a sect was the question of the legitimacy of succession to Muhammad. Later on it was the very same issue which caused divisions within the sect. Ibn Hazm notes that if the problem is viewed only according to the principal question of the Imamate, the Shī'a are divided into two large sections: the Zaydis and the Imāmis.[12] The Shī'a groups that evolved over time numbered much more than these two, some of which commanded very little following and eventually dispersed. This paper chose to focus mainly on the concept of the *imāmah* among the Imāmis, Zaydis, the Khawārij and the Ismā'ilis.

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[6] J. Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam* (Netherlands: North-Holland, 1965).

[7] Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism: Idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981).

[8] S. Hussain M. Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shī'a Islam* (London and New York: Longman, 1979).

[9] W. Madelung, "Imāmah," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* III (Leiden: Brill, 1971) 1163-1169.

[10] W. Friedlander, "The Heterodoxies of the Shi'ites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* XXVIII (1907) 1-81 and XXIX (1908) 1-183.

[11] W. Ivanov, "Early Shiite Movements," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 17 (1941) 1-23.

[12] Friedlander, *op. cit.,* 21.

The basic meaning of *imam* is one who is imitated يُؤْتَمُّ بِهِ (yuwatimu bihi). The early Shī'a recognized 'Alī as the first *imām* but the development of the doctrine on the *imāmah* took place in the succeeding years. In fact, several writers contend that it was during the time of Ja'far al Sadiq when the theological doctrines of the Shī'a were formulated.[13] Madelung, however, is of the opinion that the teachings of Ja'far al Sadiq are traceable to his father, Muhammad al Bāqir, whose followings Ja'far inherited.[14] Hodgson[15] attributes the notion of *naṣṣ*[16] to the time of Muhammad al Bāqir and added that it was the followers of Ja'far who elaborated on the idea that the *imām* should not only be a descendant of 'Alī, but rather, one who has been designated by the father. The father in turn designates his son to the imamate. It is difficult to point out the stage by stage development of the doctrine or its initial inception because to do so would involve speculation due to the insufficiency of data.[17] Scholars, however, have ventured to trace the origins of certain ideas pertaining to the *imāmah,* like the sinlessness of the *imām.* Donaldson attributes this idea to Fakr al Din Rāzi (d. A.D. 1210) who dealt with the subject in his commentary on the Qur'ān and also wrote a book *Ismatu'l Nabīyyah* (Sinlessness of the Prophets).[18] This, however, appears to be a bit late because infallibility was already applied to Ja'far by his followers. Friedlander, on the other hand, claims that the idea of *ghayba* or occultation must have come to the Shī'a through the medium of Manicheanism[19] which had adopted this belief. These opinions, however, are not conclusive and are therefore subject to further studies. Materials do not point out exactly who formulated specific *imāmah* ideas but they do stress the central role of Ja'far al Sadiq in the formulation of the Shī'a tenet on the *imāmah.* In his lifetime, Ja'far attracted a circle of thinkers[20] and engaged in discussions on matters of religion, particularly the notion of the *imāmah.* His authority was considered final and many *hadiths* are attributed to him by both Sunni and Shī'a. Ya'cūbī notes that it was customary for the scholars who related *hadiths* from Ja'far as saying "the learned one" informed us.[21] Malik ibn Anas referred to him as the "thiqa" (truthful).[22] While he is not the originator of the concept of the *imāmah,* his elaborations on prin-

[13]Ivanov, *op. cit.,* 55.

[14]Madelung, *op cit.* Jafri traces them further to Ja far's grandfather, Zayn al 'Abidin in Jafri, *op cit.,* 282.

[15]M. Hodgson, "How did the Early Shī'a Become Sectarian," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXXV (1955), 10.

[16]Imamate by designation.

[17]H.A.R. Gibb, in "Shī'a," *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 537; and Ivanov, *op cit.,* also concedes to the difficulty in establishing precise periods for the formulation of specific Shi a doctrines.

[18]D. Donaldson, *op. cit.,* 337.

[19]Friedlander, *op. cit.,* 30.

[20]M. Hodgson, "Dja'far al Sadik," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* II, 374.

[21]Ya'cūbī, *Tarikh* II, 381, in Jafri, *op. cit.,* 260.

[22]Qādī Nu'mān *Sharh al Akhbār* MS. in Jafri, *op. cit.,* 260.

ciples embodied in the *imāmah* doctrine are important contributions to Shī'a teachings on the subject.

Among the principles elaborated on by Ja'far, are *naṣṣ* (imamate by designation), and *'ilm* (knowledge).[23] Under the principle of nass, an *imām,* before his death, designates his successor. His right to designate is vested upon him by God and it is also with God's guidance that he exercises such right. The imamate, however, is restricted to the descendants of 'Alī and Fatima. The other principle requires that the *imām* possess extensive knowledge of religious matters which includes both the exoteric and esoteric meanings of the Qur'ān. The two principles are intertwined and emphasize the religious aspect of the imamate, as well as the function of the imām as the spiritual leader of the community.

The discussion of the concept of the imamah among the Shī'a groups included in this paper will deal with: the idea of succession, the necessity of an *imām,* the qualifications of the *imām,* the sinlessness and infallibility of the *imām* and the concept of the *Mahdī.*

The Imāmi Concept of the Imāmah

The Imāmis constitute the majority of the Shī'a and some writers consider them as being representative of the middle school.[24] Their central belief is that it is necessary to recognize the *imām* and his designation.[25] They trace the imamate from 'Alī, and view the line of succession as established both by descent from 'Alī and by *naṣṣ.* This raises the actual mechanisms of appointment but they believe that the assumption of the *imāmah* has been determined by God. In the case of 'Alī, the Imamis claim that he was designated by Muhammad in a written will but the Companions "maliciously made this will disappear."[26] This is in conformity with their idea that the *imām* is designated by God through the Prophet or another *imām* and that God must have sent a revelation to the Companions concerning the *imāms.*[27] In addition, the Imāmis claim that it was God's practise from the time of Adam to the time of Muhammad that the prophets should not leave this world until they have appointed a successor. They consider the first three caliphs before 'Alī as usurpers and therefore cannot be recognized as *imāms.* After 'Alī, the imamate passed on to his son al Hasan and upon the latter's death, to his brother, al Husayn. After al Hasan and al Husayn, the imamate could no longer be vested on two brothers, one after the other.

[23]Jafri, *op. cit.,* 290-294.

[24]Gibb, *op. cit.,* 535.

[25]D. Donaldson, "The Shī'ah Doctrine of the Imamate," *Muslim World,* 21 (1931), 14-23.

[26]Friedlander, *op. cit.,* 21-22.

[27]Majlisi in Donaldson, *op. cit.,* 316.

From al Husayn, the line of succession continued to his descendants by designation from father to son until the Mahdī.[28] The teachings of the Imāmis on the *imāmah* tend to reflect the elevation of the *imāmah* to the prophecy, the only difference is that to them, the *imām* does not transmit revelation.[29]

The Imāmis affirm the necessity of an *imām* and stress the point that the world cannot exist without a *hujja* (a proof, guarantor) of God.[30] The *imām* derives his authority from God because he is the latter's *khalifah* (vice regent) and proof. To them, the *imām* must be divinely guided, he must be an infallible leader and an authoritative teacher of religion.[31] There can only be one *imām* at a time though he may have a silent *imām* who is his successor behind him.

In so far as the qualifications of the *imām* are concerned, the Imāmis put considerable emphasis on the *imām's* spiritual knowledge. The *imām* is heir to the knowledge of Muhammad and has perfect knowledge of the Qur'ān in both its *batin* (esoteric) and *zāhir* (exoteric) meanings.[32]

The concept of sinlessness and infallibility (ʿisma) of the *imām* is fundamental to the Imāmis because this is what differentiates the *imām* from the rest of humanity. He must be the most excellent of all the people in his time[33] and since he is also divinely guided, he is free from sin and error. The *imām* holds the light of God which was passed on to him by the Prophet. And being such, he has attained such distinctions as the "tree of prophethood, house of mercy, keys of wisdom, essence of knowledge, locus of apostleship, frequenting place of angels and repository of the secret of God."[34] The *imām* is constantly admonished by God and this is in addition to the belief that he is imbued with perfect knowledge which would enable him to distinguish evil from good.[35] This doctrine of sinlessness and infallibility is traced by the Imāmis to the Qur'ānic revelation to Abraham. ". . . I have appointed thee a leader (imān) for mankind. (Abraham said: and of my offsprings, will there be leaders?) He said: My covenant includeth not wrongdoers."[36]

Another major point of Imāmi doctrine is the idea of the *Mahdī*. Also known as the Ithnā ʿAshʿarīs, the Imāmis believe that there are twelve *imāms*

[28]Madelung, *op. cit.*, 1167.

[29]Ibid., 1166.

[30]See al Nawbakhti's exposition on the Imāmiyyah in Sachedina, *op. cit.*, 49-51.

[31]Madelung *op. cit.*, 1166.

[32]Jaʿfar al Sadiq emphasized this possession of knowledge (ʿilm).

[33]Madelung, *op. cit.*, 1167.

[34]Kulayni, *Kafi* 1:387 in Sachedina, *op. cit.*, 21.

[35]Majlisi in Donaldson, *op. cit.*

[36]Qurʿān, II:124.

starting with Alī and followed by his descendants through his wife Fatimah, Muhammad's daughter: al Hasan, al Husayn, Zayn al 'Abidīn, Muhammad al Bāqir, Ja'far al Sadiq, Musa ibn Ja'far, 'Alī al Rida, Muhammad Taqī (Jawad), Al Naqī (Hadī), Hasan al 'Askarī and the Mahdī. The Mahdī is the last of the *imāms* and was supposed to have gone into *ghayba* (occulation) when his father, Hasan al 'Askari, died. There are differing views as to the identity of the *Mahdī*, with some claiming that he had not been born and others saying that he went into occultation at an early age. Those who claim that the *Mahdī* was born refer to him as the *Imām Aṣr* (Imām of the Period) and Sāhib al Zamān (Lord of Age). He is supposed to have been born in Samarra in 256/868 and was on earth until 260/872 when his father was killed. He then went into concealment but some Imāmis assert that the *Mahdī* appeared to his deputies as necessitated by the occasion. While in concealment, believers insist that he provides guidance to mankind. Madelung, however, sees the doctrine of *ghayba* in a different light. He views the idea of the *Mahdī* as a result of the crisis brought about by the death of the eleventh *imām* (Hasan al 'Askarī) without an apparent son. This crisis was resolved by the affirmation of the existence of a son and the doctrine of *ghayba* or absence.[37]

Apparently, the doctrine of the twelve *imāms* took form only after 872 when the eleventh *imām* died. Watt offers the opinion that the two members of the Banū Nawbakhti: Abū Sahl and his nephew, Abū Muhammad al Hasan ibn Mūsā al Nawbakhtī (who is named an author of *Firaq al Shī'a*) were presumably the two scholars largely responsible for producing the definitive form of the doctrine of the twelve *imāms*. Al Nawbakhti discusses the positions taken by the different Shī'a groups on the subject of the *imāmah* after the death of al 'Askarī,[38] and his work on the messianic *imām* represents the earliest Imāmi teaching on the *Mahdī*.

The Concept of Imāmah among the Khawārij

The Khawārij are those who originally followed 'Alī but seceded from his ranks after their disappointment over 'Alī's handling of the Siffin arbitration.[39] Since then, they have repudiated 'Alī and recognized the imamate of 'Alī only up to the time of the arbitration.[40]

The Khawārij doctrine on the imamate assert that the establishment of an *imām* is obligatory upon the community. They emphasize the concept of justice and require that the *imām* must be just. The moment he becomes

[37]Madelung, *op. cit.*, 1167.

[38]These central points are discussed in Jafri, *op. cit.*, 42-56.

[39]Martin Hinds, "The Siffin Arbitration," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 17 (1972), 93-129.

[40]The arbitration took place in 38/657.

unjust and commits any infraction or violation of Divine Law, the *imām* loses his legitimacy and has to be removed, even by force.[41] The Muslims must dissociate themselves from an unjust *imām*, otherwise, they will also be considered infidels. For the Khawārij, this is a situation where regicide is justified.

On the question of succession, the Khawārij reject the prerogative of the Quraysh to the imamate. The choice of the *imām* is accomplished by election and any believer who is "morally and religiously irreproachable[42] or the most excellent in the community is eligible to the imamate even if he is of slave origin.[43]

Majority of the Khawārij share the Imāmi belief that there can only be one *imām* at a time. The Ibādis, which is one of the sects of the Khawārij, recognize the different types of *imāms* corresponding to the four states or ways (masāliks) in which the community of believers could face its enemies; the state of manifestation (zuhūr) when the members of the *ummah* (community of believers) could face its enemies; the state of defense (dif'a) when it could merely resist a powerful enemy; the state of self-sacrifice (shirā') when a small group of believers chose to rise against the enemy seeking martyrdom; and the state of concealment (kitmān), when the believers are forced to live under the rule of the enemy and to practise *taqiyya* (dissimulation).[44] The practise of *taqiyya* is also part of Imāmi teachings and scholars trace it to the time of Muhammad al Bāqir.[45] The Ibādis further assert the only one who can exercise the temporal functions of the imamate is the *imām* of the state of manifestation.

It must be noted that the Khawārij are divided into different sects but they tend to find a common ground in most of their teachings on the imamate. They elect their own *imāms* and they recognize the legitimacy of the imamates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Only the first six years of 'Uthmān are acceptable to them, in the same way that they approve of the imamate of 'Alī before the Siffīn arbitration. After Siffin, 'Ali had become an infidel to the cause of Islam, thus necessitating the abandonment of 'Alī by the Khawārij. They justify this situation with the teaching that an *imām* who has strayed from the path loses his legitimacy.

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[41] Madelung, *op. cit.*, 1167.

[42] G. Levi Della Vida, "Khawāridj," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, IV, (1978), 1076.

[43] Madelung, *op. cit.*, 1168.

[44] Madelung, *op. cit.*, 1168.

[45] This was given final form during the time of Ja'far al Sadiq. See Jafri, op. cit., 299 and also I. Goldhizer, "Das Prinzip der Takja im Islam," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesselschaft*, LX (1906), 213-20.

The Zaydi Concept of the Imāmah

The Zaydis are followers of Zayd ibn ʿAlī ibn Husayn who recognize the latter as *imām* instead of Muhammad al Bāqir's son, Jaʿfar al Sadiq. Upon the death of Muhammad al Bāqir, there were disagreements regarding succession and the majority followed Jaʿfar al Sadiq. This majority eventually became the Imāmis or the Ithna ʿAsh ʿāris while the followers of Zayd became known as the Zaydis who, in turn, were later divided into two: the Jarūdis who followed Zayd but were also followers of Muhammad al Bāqir and the Batrīyah who recognized the imamate of Zayd but did not follow al Bāqir.[46] The Jarūdis did not recognize the imamate of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān. The Jarūdis assert that the Prophet Muhammad designated ʿAlī by specifying his qualifications although he did not mention him by name.[47] Madelung asserts that the designation claimed was by *naṣṣ* which is also Imāmi idea.[48] The Zaydis believe that the Companions had erred when they chose a wrong person as Caliph after the death of Muhammad because God had willed ʿAlī to be Muhammad's successor.[49] The beliefs of the Jarūdis came to prevail among the Zaydis from the third/ninth century onwards.[50]

The Zaydis agree with the Imāmis on the idea of the imamate as an exclusive privilege of the descendants of ʿAlī and Fatimah. They trace succession either from the line of al Hasan or al Husayn, who, together with their father ʿAlī have been invested with religious authority by Muhammad.

The teachings of the Zaydis on the imamate appear to be close to that of the Imāmis. Like the latter, they subscribe to the doctrine that the establishment of the *imām* is obligatory upon the community and it is the duty of the believer to have knowledge of the *imām.*

To be qualified for the imamate, the Zaydis require knowledge of religious matters, the ability to render independent judgment in law, piety, moral integrity and courage.[51] They also believed that the position is limited to the most excellent among the members of the community.

The legitimacy of the imamate is attained through a formal call to allegiance and not through an election.Apparently, this claim to the imamate was a topic of discussions between Zayd and his brother Muhammad al Bāqir.

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[46]Madelung, *op. cit.*, 1168.

[47]Friedlander, *op. cit.*, 22.

[48]Madelung, *op. cit.*, 1168.

[49]Friedlander, *op. cit.*, 22.

[50]Madelung, *op. cit.*, 1166.

[51]Madelung, *op. cit.*, 1166.

Zayd held that the *imām* was obligated to justify his cause if necessary by force of arms. Muhammad al Bāqir objected to this on the grounds that if it were so, then their father Zayn al Abīdīn would not have been an *imām* because he never took up arms to assert his right.[52] The early Zaydi doctrine appears to accept usurpation of the *imāmate* by force. There was also a time when they argued for the existence of two *imāms* but the prevailing doctrine upheld the idea of one *imām* at a time.[53]

The Zaydis do not attribute divinity to their *imām* and they limit the manifestation of God in the *imām* as merely possessing divine guidance.[54]

The Ismā'ili Concept of the Imāmah

The question of who would succeed Ja'far al Sadiq brought about another cleavage among the Shī'a. The Ismā'ilis uphold the imamate of Ismā'il and they claim that even if he died earlier than his father Ja'far, he had already been designated by the latter as *imām* through the principle of *nass*.[55] They deviated from the Imāmis in their idea of succession to Ja'far and claim that after Ismā'il, his son Muhammad al Tamm inherited the imamate. The Ismā'ilis believe that Muhammad al Tamm is the first concealed *imām*. After al Tamm, the line of succession continued to his son Ja'far al Musaddiq, then to the latter's son Muhammad al Habib who was the last of the concealed *imāms*. These concealed *imāms* in Ismā'ili teaching are not in *ghayba* or occultation. Rather, they are merely out of public view, in a state of *mastūr* but actually present in that particular time and place. Being in a state of *ghayba* means absence from the physical world.[56] Muhammad al Habib was succeeded by his son Ubayd Allah (the Mahdī of the Fatimids).[57] Even if they separated from the Imāmis, the Ismā'ilis retained a basic Imāmi teaching which calls for a permanent need for an *imām* who is sinless and infallible to lead mankind.[58]

For the Ismā'ilis, the imamate revolves around the number seven which also corresponds to their cyclical view of history.[59] They assert that in each prophetic era, the prophet is represented by his *wasi* or *asas*. During the time of Muhammad, his *asa* was 'Alī. The Ismā'ilis consider Ismā'il as the seventh

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[52]D.M. Donaldson, "The Shī'ah Doctrine of the Imamate," *Muslim World*, 21 (1931), 17.

[53]T. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (London: Luzac, 1965) 181.

[54]Gibb, *op. cit.*, 535.

[55]Ivanov, *op. cit.*, 58.

[56]S. H. Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), 159.

[57]Friedlander, *op. cit.*, Appendix B.

[58]Madelung *op. cit.*, 1167

[59]W. Madelung "Ismā iliyya " *Encyclopedia of Islam*, IV, 203.

imām, and explain his death as mere disappearance. The pre-Fatimid Ismā'ilis expected him to return as the seventh speaker-prophet.[60] In their attempt to provide a continuity of the imamate from the "disappearance" death of Ismā'il to the rise of the Fatimids to power, there were frequent changes in Ismā'ili teachings on the imamate. After the Fatimid caliphate, two branches of Ismā'ilism came about: the Tayyibi Ismā'ilism which recognized al Tayyib, the son of the Fatimid al 'Amir (d.524/1130) as *imām;* and the Nizāri Ismā'ilism which claimed the imamate of Nizār, the son of the Fatimid al Mustansir (d. 487/1094) as *imam.*[61] This branch stayed in Iran until the nineteenth century when they moved to India.[62]

On the whole, the basic qualities of the *imām* as espoused by the Shī'a centers on piety and the spiritual purity of the *imām.* The Shī'a also concur in considering 'Alī as the first *imām.* As noted earlier, the Zaydis deviated from the notion of the *imām* as accepted by the majority at the time of al Bāqir. Instead they asserted that after Husayn, who was the third *imām,* the imamate belongs to any qualified descendant of Hasan or Husayn who calls his allegiance and rises against the illegitimate rulers.[63] For the Imāmis, the line of succession follows the descent of Husayn. Both of them reject the concept of an elected imamate.

Also common among the Shī'a groups is the belief on the *Mahdī* although they have different notions of who the *Mahdī* is. These differences generated the appearance of numerous persons claiming to be the promised *Mahdī.* Al Mukhtar claimed that it was Muhammad ibn Hanafiyya who was the promised *Mahdī.* In contemporary times, there are still people who claim to be the *Mahdī.* The Shī'a faced frequent criticisms on their conception of the *Mahdī* but their response has always been that the critics do not really understand the concept.

III. *The Mu'tazili Influence on the Shī'a Concept of the Imāmah*

Some of the Mu'tazili ideas on the imamate are similar to the views of several Shī'a groups. The Mu'tazilis agree with the Zaydis on the recognition of the imamate as the legitimate leadership of the community. Like the Khawārij, they also emphasize the importance of justice as a qualification for the imamate as well as the idea that it is the duty of the community to remove an unjust *imām.* The Mu'tazili concept of justice, however, implied correct belief in accordance with their doctrine and submission to Divine law in both private life and government.[64]

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[60]Ibid.

[61]Madelung, *op. cit.,* 1168-69.

[62]Nasr, *op. cit.,* 159.

[63]Madelung, *op. cit.,* 1166.

[64]Madelung, *op. cit.,* 1165.

The early Mu'tazili also agreed with the Khawārij that succession to the imamate should not be limited to the Quraysh, but later Mu'tazili doctrine held that no non-Qurayshite could become an *imām* if one from the Quraysh was available. Like the Imāmis, the Mu'tazilis also subscribe to the idea of one *imām* at a time.[65]

Madelung emphasized that on the whole, there appears to be more contradictions in the teachings of the Shī'a and the Mu'tazilis rather than similarities. One of these has to do with the Imāmi conception of the *imām* as one who can intercede on behalf of his followers to spare them from eternal punishment. The Imāmis see salvation as dependent upon a person's loyalty and obedience to the *imām*. The Mu'tazilis, on the other hand, believe in the unconditional punishment of sinners.[66] The attempts of representatives of these two groups to integrate each other's teachings can be traced to the interaction of the Mu'tazili and Shī'a thinkers, especially in the school of Baghdad.[67] Some Mu'tazili scholars joined the Imāmis and adopted the latter's basic doctrine of the imamate while retaining their Mu'tazili theology.[68]

It is difficult to trace exactly the Mu'tazili influence on the Shī'a teachings on the imamate but the frequency of contacts among their scholars and thinkers must have contributed to the formulation of both Shī'a and Mu'tazili doctrines on the imamate. Watt notes that it was not just the contacts and discussions but also the writing of books on the imamate by the Imāmis which were directed against Mu'tazili teachings on the subject.[69] An apparent source of conflict was the Imāmi difficulty of merging Mu'tazili ideas with their existing beliefs. Another is the Imāmi's having elevated the imamate to the level of prophecy.

IV. *The Sunni Concept of the Imamate as Compared to that of the Shī'a*

The question of the nature and degree of authority ascribed to the imamate constitutes a fundamental difference between the Shī'a and the Sunni sects. While both accept the obligatory nature of the *imām* on the part of the community, the Sunni emphasizes that the successor of Muhammad, who is called the *khalifah* is subordinate to religious law. The *imām* according to the Sunnis exercise his authority as a ruler of the community; it is incumbent upon him to implement religious law but he is not himself the religious authority. The Shī'a on the other hand assert that aside from

[65] *Ibid.*, 1166.

[66] Madelung, "Imamism and Mu'tazilite Theology," *Le Shi'isme Imamite* (Paris, 1970), 13–30.

[67] Watt, op. cit., 288-293.

[68] Madelung, "Imamism. . . "

[69] Watt, *op. cit.*

being a ruler, the *imām* must also be the supreme religious authority, whose virtues of sinlessness and infallibility puts him in a position to decide issues that are theological in nature. The Shī'a see the *imām* as the repository of religious knowledge and interpreter of the religious sciences. Contrary to the Sunni, the responsibility of the Caliph resides largely in his safeguarding religion from heterodoxy and destructive innovations.

Mawardī's *Ahkām al Sultaniyya*[70] is one of the treatises which represent the Sunni position on the Caliphate.[71] The rights and duties of the Caliph as embodied in that document emphasize the actual exercise of political power.

There are also differences in the Sunni and Shī'a qualifications for the imamate. The Shī'a, with the exception of the Khawārij, insist on 'Alī and his descendants as having the rightful claim to the imamate. The Sunni on the other hand requires that the *imām* be a descendant of the Quraysh tribe but he need not necessarily come from the immediate family of Muhammad. In addition, the Sunni demands that the *imām* must be knowledgeable on the law and must be just since his primary task is to administer justice.[72] He must also possess *'ilm* (knowledge) which can enable him to perform *ijtihād* (independent reasoning) and pass judgment; he must be physically and morally fit; he must be able to protect Islamic territory and carry on *jihād* (religious war).[73] The Khawārij share Sunni views on the proper qualifications for the *imām.* The majority of the Shī'a, on the other hand, appear to put more emphasis on the moral and religious qualifications of the *imām,* and this has to do with the Shī'a position on the functions of the *imām,* particularly in terms of his being a religious authority and repository of religious knowledge. When 'Alī was the caliph, a number of his critics considered him lacking in political skill than what his predecessors or his opponent Mu'awiyya possessed. Nevertheless, the followers of 'Alī and the succeeding Shi'a groups exhalted his piety and his extensive knowledge of the Qur'ān and Sunnah.

The Sunni believes that the proper procedures of choosing the caliph is either by appointment by his immediate predecessor or elected by the religious community. The Sunni emphasizes *ijmā'* or the consensus of the community in matters of choosing the *imām.* It is only after the caliph has received the *bay'a* (allegiance) of the community that he assumes legitimacy as caliph. The Imāmi and Ismā'ili idea of succession through the descent from 'Ali and through designation does not follow the concept of *ijmā* as

[70] Al Mawardī, *Ahkām al Sultaniyyah* (Cairo: Al Matba'at, n. d.).

[71] Caliphate is normally used to refer to the Sunni institution, whereas, in the case of the Shī'a, it is imamate.

[72] This is based on the *Qur'ān,* IV:105 and IV:58.

[73] Al Mawardī, *op. cit.,* 4.

understood in Sunni jurisprudence. In other words, the Shī'a doctrine of designation by God implies the acceptance of the community and carries further the assumption that the designated *imām* is imposed upon the community.

V. *Conclusion*

After the demise of the prophet Muhammad there were no specific provisions regarding succession to the caliphate. As a result, conflicts immediately shook up the early Islamic community. The fact that Muhammad did not give any specific instructions for an election naturally gave rise to rival claims to the caliphate or imamate by opposing factions. The problem started when the followers of ʿAlī believed that it was ʿAlī and nobody else who had the right to succeed Muhammad. But the question was not settled with the installation of ʿAlī as the fourth caliph, rather, it proved to be only an inital manifestation of the deeper conflicts over the issue of succession. According to Wellhausen ʿAlī's claims to the caliphate showed that he was desirous of power, and that the Khawārij sect viewed the actions of ʿAlī, particularly at Siffin as an indication that he had deviated from the right path.[74] ʿAlī's having been elected to the caliphate, however, appeared to be more the result of the fact that he was among the remaining trusted companions of Muhammad rather than his having been a member of the Prophet's household. It seems that from the beginning, the family and followers of Alī conceived of a dynastic principle of succession but since Muhammad had no male heir, they asserted that belonging to the household of Muhammad was sufficient enough as a legitimate prerequisite for succession.

It is not easy to ascertain the motives behind the conflicts that resulted out of the issue of succession to the leadership of the Islamic community. Gibb noted that the motive of the early Shī'a was primarily political and that they were interested in obtaining temporal rule.[75] One wonders what motivated the movement of al Mukhtar who claimed the right of succession for Muhammad ibn Hanafiyya[76] who, they believed had as much right to the imamate as al Hasan and al Husayn. The followers of this movement came to be known later as Kaysānis. The movement of al Mukhtar raised questions as to who specifically among the descendants of ʿAlī had the right to the imamate. The issue came up again in the time of the fifth *imām.* At that time, the majority of the Shī'a accepted Muhammad al Bāqir while a minority, known as the Zaydis, claimed the right of Zayd. The succession of Jaʿfar al Sadiq raised the same question, with the Shī'a splitting further into the Imāmis and the Ismāʿilis.

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[74]Wellhausen, *op. cit.*

[75]Gibb, *op. cit.*, 534.

[76]Son of Alī by a Hanafi woman. Lewis traces the first use of the word *Madhī* in a messianic context to this movement. See Bernard Lewis, *The Origins of Ismāʿilism* (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1940), 25.

The history of the Shī'a witnessed the formation of various groups with their own claims to the imamate. Aside from the groups discussed in this paper, there were the Ghulats, who held the reputation of being extremists, the Kaysānis, the Jarūdis, the Waqifis who rejected the imamate of Alī al Rida, and several others, each differed from the other in certain aspects of their teachings on the imamate. While the Sunni doctrine on the imamate sought to preserve the unity of the *ummah* under the historical caliphate against the threat posed by the claims of the opposition movement,[77] the development of the doctrine among the Shī'a groups did not reflect the same goal. Instead, there was a continuing divergence of ideas as well as calls to loyalty to specific persons. One can surmise that the goal was more to strengthen the position of one group against that of the other. From the standpoint of the non-Muslim, the struggle for power and its consolidation are absolutely political matters but in a situation where the political and religious powers are so intertwined, there are no clear dividing lines between spiritual and temporal powers. What we could look into is where the emphasis lies – in the political or in the spiritual aspects. The formation of the Shī'a reflects an emphasis on the political side although they sought to combine in the person of the *imām* the spiritual and political roles of Muhammad, except his prophetic function. Starting initially as partisans of 'Alī, the Shī'a have grown into an important schism in Islam which commands following, particularly in Iran and Iraq. Particular Shī'a groups have their respective followings in specific geographic areas like the Imāmis or Ithna 'Ash'arīs predominantly in Iran and Iraq; the Ismā'ilis with a substantial following in India and Pakistan, and the Zaydis in Yemen.

In countries which were formerly Christian, writers note influences of this religion on some aspects of the doctrine on the imamate. The new converts to Islam carried over their earlier beliefs and ideas. It can be said that the development of distinctive Shī'a doctrines on the imamate was a product of cultural contacts and the offshoot of discussions among the various scholars and thinkers Shī'a, Mu'tazili, as well as Sunni. Shī'a concept of the imamate evolved as a matter of practical necessity to wrest leadership of the Islamic community. It found its justification in various teachings of the religion and in the *Qur'an.* While Shī'a concepts of the imamate did not deal with specific mechanics of the institution of the caliphate (or imamate), these concepts nevertheless provided guidelines and principles upon which the relationship among the faithful may be conducted.

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[77]Madelung, *op. cit.*, 1164.

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