

## Research Note

NATHANIEL P. WESTON

# **The Philippine Revolution in the *Proceedings of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory* from 1897 to 1900** **Five Translations**

This research note presents discussions about and by Filipino revolutionaries in the *Proceedings of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory* (*Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*), which were published from 1897 to 1900 in the Imperial German *Journal of Ethnology* (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*), a periodical produced by the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*). It contextualizes and translates five communications: two describing the life and work of José Rizal, and three letters from Mariano Ponce, Felipe Agoncillo, Emiliano Riego de Dios, and Vicente Lukban.

**KEYWORDS: GERMAN ANTHROPOLOGY • TRANSLATION • FILIPINO NATIONALISM • FILIPINO SCHOLARSHIP • PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION**

This research note contextualizes and then offers translations to English of communications about and from Filipino revolutionary leaders that appeared in the *Proceedings of the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory* (*Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*), published in the *Journal of Ethnology* (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*) (*ZfE*) in Imperial Germany from 1897 to 1900. The first item noted the work and execution of the medical doctor, scholar, and novelist, José Rizal (1861–1896) (Virchow 1897a, 26; Quirino 1995, 178). The second described in greater detail the Filipino’s life, labors, and the circumstances surrounding his death, in addition to including a German translation of his poem “My Final Farewell” (*Mi último adiós*) as well as the Spanish original (Virchow 1897b, 480–81, 575–78). Because the poem has already been translated into English (Craig 1913, 256–58), it is not included here, although an image of the title, author, translator, and opening lines of the German-language version appears below (see fig., p. 387).

The next communication came in the form of a letter from Mariano Ponce (1863–1918), medical doctor and journalist, thanking Eduard Seler (1849–1922), a German scholar of Mesoamerica, for his translation of Rizal’s poem (Quirino 1995, 167; Stevenson 1976, 20). Ponce’s letter appeared in the *Proceedings* in both Spanish and German translation (Virchow 1898, 552–53). The final correspondence involved two letters that were sent in response to the death of Fedor Jagor (1817–1900), the German scholar best known for his comprehensive 1873 study of the Spanish colony and its peoples, *Travels in the Philippines* (*Reisen in den Philippinen*) (Jagor 1873; Grünwedel 1914). Both were addressed to Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902), the president and cofounder of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* [DGAEU]) (Ackerknecht 1953). The first letter came from Felipe Agoncillo (1859–1941), who was serving at the time as minister plenipotentiary of the first Philippine Republic (Virchow 1900a, 167–68; De Ocampo and Saulo 1977). The second letter was cowritten by Emiliano Riego de Dios (1864–1926) and Vicente Lukban (1860–1916), two military leaders in the Philippine Revolution (Virchow 1900b, 345–46; Quirino 1995, 132, 177).

## Das letzte Lebewohl

von Don José Rizal.

Uebersetzung von Dr. Eduard Seler.

**Leb wohl, geliebte Heimath, Du Reich der goldnen Sonne,  
Des Ostmeers leuchtende Perle, verlornes Paradies!  
Für Dich das traurige Leben, ich gebe es mit Wonne,  
Und wär es frisch und glanzvoll, ein Blütenquell, voll Wonne,  
Auch dann gäb ich es gerne, für die Heimath gern ich’s liess.**

Opening lines of Eduard Seler’s translation into German of José Rizal’s “My Final Farewell.”

Source: Virchow 1897b, 577.

## Context

A significant number of German scholars first visited the Philippines during the 1850s and published their findings in the 1860s. Jagor (1873) traveled through the Spanish colony in 1859 and 1860 (Jagor 1873, v), but was not the first to do so. Adolf Bastian (1826–1905), cofounder of the *ZfE*, passed through the Philippines during a trip to various Asian countries in the 1850s (Zimmerman 2001, 125; Bastian 1869, 256–99; Fabian 2000, 18). Carl Semper (1832–1893) traveled in the islands from 1858 to 1865 and served as the first General Secretary of the DGAEU (Schuberg 1895, iii–xii; Semper and Frantzius 1874). Other German scholars soon followed.

Adolf Bernhard (A. B.) Meyer (1840–1911) came to the Philippines during the early 1870s (Hertel 1990–91, 118–20) and Alexander Schadenberg (1851–1896) lived, worked, and explored the Spanish colony from 1879 to 1896 (Scheerer 1923, 447–48). Finally, Wilhelm Joest (1852–1897) stopped over in the Philippines on a trip through Asia from 1879 to 1881 (Mießler 1887, 427–28; Baessler 1900, 286) and Hans Meyer (1858–1929) visited during a world tour he conducted from 1881 to 1883 (Meyer 1885, 253–322; Sächsische Biographie 2013). Although Ferdinand Blumentritt (1853–1913) never traveled to the Spanish colony, he nonetheless published more information about the Philippines than any other writer during the nineteenth century (Sichrovsky 1983). Virchow (1894a) did not visit the islands either, but like Blumentritt still published articles and presentations on Filipinos using materials accumulated and studies produced by others.

Spaniards translated several of these Germans' studies in support of Spain's rule over and continued exploitation of the Philippines. Portions of an 1869 work by Semper were translated into Spanish in 1874 (Semper 1869, 34–64; Vidal y Soler 1874, 5–18; Semper 1874) and Jagor's text appeared in Spanish in 1875 (Jagor 1875). Over the next decade, Spanish authors made use of the Germans' studies in their writings about Philippine forest products, gold deposits, agriculture, geography, statistics, ethnography, coal production, zoology, and natural history (*Memoria* 1875; Lillo de Gracia 1877; Caicedo 1880; Cañamaque 1880; Espejo 1881; Sélys-Longchamps 1882; Moya y Jiménez 1883; Abella y Casariego 1884; Calderon y Arana 1884; Jordana y Morera 1885). Several writings by Blumentritt on the early history of colonialism in the Philippines were also translated into Spanish (Blumentritt 1882a, 1882b, 1886b). Yet, the translation of these texts also made them accessible to Filipinos literate in the language of the colonizers.

Filipino nationalists employed the Germans' studies in their writings about colonial reform and Filipino culture beginning in the early 1880s. The lawyer and political economist Gregorio Sancianco (1852–1897) was the first to integrate the translated works of Semper and Jagor into his 1881 treatise seeking colonial reform (Quirino 1995, 186; Sancianco y Goson 1881). In an 1884 speech in tribute to the Filipino artists Juan Luna and Felix Resurrección Hidalgo for winning awards at a Madrid arts exhibition, the journalist Graciano López Jaena (1856–1897) referenced Jagor's study in support of his claim about pre-Spanish Philippine civilization (Quirino 1995, 130; López Jaena 1951, 32; Jagor 1875, 144–45, 147, 156–58, 219). The writer Pedro A. Paterno (1857–1911) also cited the work of Jagor in his 1885 novel *Ninay* in two passages promoting Filipino culture (Quirino 1995, 161; Paterno 1885, 42, 170; Jagor 1875, 25, 147–48).

In his engagements with German scholarship, Rizal exceeded the depth reached by any Filipino yet, taking up the study of German language in 1884 and traveling to Imperial Germany two years later (Quirino 1995, 178; Rizal 1993, 193–94, 202, 209–11, 212–16, 217–20, 225–27, 228–29). Instead of merely citing the Germans' studies of the Philippines, Rizal met several German scholars in person as he studied the history and culture of his countrymen in libraries and museums. He began a correspondence with Blumentritt in 1886 that lasted until the end of his life; he visited A. B. Meyer and toured the Royal Zoological and Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum of Dresden, where Meyer had been director since 1874. Rizal also

met Hans Meyer in Leipzig and received a copy of the German scholar's study of the Igorot, a Filipino people from the northern part of the island of Luzon, and he made contact with Jagor and Virchow while attending a meeting of the Berlin Geography Society (Rizal 1992a, 1: 9, 16, 17, 39; Hertel 1990–1991, 118; Meyer 1885, 507–43). In 1887 Rizal performed a presentation in the German language on Tagalog poetry before the Berlin branch of the DGAEU. This was published in the *ZfE* in the same year. Rizal was a regular member of the DGAEU from 1887 to 1895 (Rizal 1887a; Virchow 1887, 12; 1888, 12; 1884, 12; 1890, 12; 1891, 12; 1892, 13; 1893, 13; 1894b, 13; 1895, 13).

Although the Germans had established themselves as the leading authorities on the Philippines, Filipinos were now beginning to join their ranks, and even displace them, as experts. Journalist Isabelo de los Reyes (1864–1938) published a collection of his writings on the ethnology, history, and customs of the Philippines in 1887 that also engaged German scholarship (Quirino 1995, 72). He dedicated the work to Blumentritt, rejected the craniological studies of Germans and others, and corrected and supplemented Hans Meyer's vocabulary of the Tinguianes' language (De los Reyes 1887a, 3, 9, 31; Meyer 1885, 542–43). In the same year, Paterno published a study of ancient Tagalog civilization that drew on the work of Blumentritt (Paterno 1887; Blumentritt 1886b). In 1890 Rizal issued in Paris an annotated edition of Antonio de Morga's sixteenth-century Spanish chronicle of the Philippines for which Blumentritt composed the prologue. References to the work of De los Reyes, Blumentritt, and Jagor appeared in the text too (Rizal 1890a, vii–xxi, 10 n. 2, 27 n. 3, 280 n. 2). Paterno published a study of the Aetas also in 1890 that used evidence by Jagor, Virchow, A. B. Meyer, and Semper (Paterno 1890, 32, 189, 192, 351–57).

Just as Filipinos had built upon the studies produced by German scholars, Germans likewise cited and translated the writings of Filipinos. In 1885 Blumentritt included Paterno's *Ninay* in a bibliography appended to his vocabulary of Spanish words from the Philippines (Blumentritt 1885a, 53; Paterno 1885). He also drew on the work of De los Reyes and other Filipinos in articles published in the *ZfE*, *Globus* (the German illustrated geography and ethnology journal), and *Das Ausland* (the German geography and ethnology magazine) (Blumentritt 1885b, 1885c, 1885d, 1887). Over the following years, Blumentritt translated studies by De los Reyes in articles that appeared in *Globus* and the journal of the Austrian

geography society (Blumentritt 1890; De los Reyes 1887b, 1888). Citations of De los Reyes's works translated into German and in the original Spanish appeared in a photographic album of Filipinos edited by A. B. Meyer and Schadenberg and the DGAEU's other journal, the *Archive for Anthropology* (*Archiv für Anthropologie*), listed several works by Filipinos in its Directories of Anthropological Literature for the Philippines in both 1891 and 1892 (Meyer and Schadenberg 1891; Lindenschmit and Ranke 1891, 56; 1891–1892, 79).

The relationship between German scholars and Filipino nationalists also surfaced on the pages of the periodical *La Solidaridad* founded in 1889 and published in Spain. Blumentritt played an essential role in the publication, contributing articles that used his knowledge of the Philippines to defend against the attacks of Spanish writers through 1895, its final year of existence (Schumacher 1973, 254–66). Filipinos also exhibited their expertise and cited the work of German scholars in their writings for the paper. In a rebuttal of one Spanish writer's portrait of Filipinos, Rizal referred to Hans Meyer's observation that his countrymen were "hard-working and industrious" (*trabajadores é industriales*) (Rizal 1889a, 98). The final installment of the article appeared in the following issue and Rizal referenced Jagor's work and the vases discussed therein as proof of Philippine civilization before the arrival of the Spanish (Rizal 1889b, 108). He later cited an article by a German scholar of China that described precolonial contact between the Middle Kingdom and the Philippines that helped him reject the Spanish claim of Filipino indolence (Hirth 1889; Rizal 1890b, 168).

Other references to German scholarship surfaced elsewhere in *La Solidaridad*. For example, one notice reprinted an item from a Manila newspaper reporting the publication of a study by De los Reyes in German translation (*La Solidaridad* 1889). In the following year, there appeared an anonymous review of a work by Blumentritt and, in another instance, a quote from Jagor's comprehensive study of the Philippines attested to the Spanish monopoly on colonial government offices (*La Solidaridad* 1890a; *La Solidaridad* 1890b; Jagor 1875, 304). A later notice written by Mariano Ponce (1893), under the pseudonym Tigbalang, described Jagor's 1893 visit to Asia. Although the efforts of Filipino nationalists through 1895 did not result in the colonial reform its participants had sought, they nonetheless made significant cultural advances and laid the foundation for the 1896 Revolution (Schumacher 1973).

Yet, even after the outbreak of armed conflict, Filipinos continued to correspond with and about German scholars. Apolinario Mabini (1864–1903), the prime minister and secretary of foreign affairs for the first Philippine Republic, wrote in a letter to fellow revolutionary, Galicano Apacible (1864–1949), in Hong Kong in 1899 of the need to communicate with Blumentritt, whom he described as "our friend and honest about everything" (Quirino 1995, 135; Alzona 1971; Mabini 1930, 143). José Alejandrino (1870–1951), a former staff member of *La Solidaridad*, traveled to Hong Kong in 1896 to obtain arms and other equipment for the Revolution and wrote to Blumentritt about military and diplomatic affairs in 1897 and 1898 (Quirino 1995, 25; Alejandrino 1951, 41–44, 61–66, 76–79). Mariano Ponce also left for Hong Kong after the uprising against Spain and eventually traveled to Yokohama, where he sought support for the Filipino cause and communicated regularly with and about Blumentritt in the unfolding of events amid the wars against Spain and the United States (Quirino 1995, 167; Ponce 1932). He also wrote to Max Buchner of the Munich Museum of Ethnography in 1897, Eduard Seler in 1898 and 1899, and A. B. Meyer in 1899 (Ponce 1932, 14, 210–11, 265, 429).

Even though the United States eventually defeated advocates of the Philippine Republic, the legacy of German and Filipino scholarship remained prominent in the early American colonial period. In 1903, for example, the US Senate published a bibliography of materials related to the former Spanish colony. The introduction pointed out that "among the writers on the ethnology of the Philippines are to be particularly mentioned Blumentritt, Meyer, Reyes y Florentino, Schadenberg, Semper, and Virchow" (Griffin 1903, xiii). The bibliography also included writings by Rizal, Paterno, and Ponce (Griffin 1903). Following Blumentritt's death in 1913, the Philippine Assembly published a pamphlet describing the Austrian scholar's life and writings about the colony (Secretaría de la Asamblea Filipina 1914). German scholarship, particularly anthropology, continues to exert significant influence in the Philippines today (Aguilar 2005; Casiño 1985).

The following translations and original documents illustrate the ongoing importance of scholarship in the context of Imperial Germany to late-nineteenth-century Filipino nationalism leading up to and even during the Philippine Revolution.

## The Translations

### DOCUMENT 1

[16 January 1897 Meeting]

Don José Rizal of Luzon in the Philippines became a member ten years ago. He spoke at the 23 April 1887 meeting about the art of Tagalog verse.<sup>1</sup> Although then already doctor of medicine, he was still completely filled with patriotic ideas. The unfortunate lot of his country under the rule of the Spanish and the pressure of an overly powerful clergy generally constituted the subject matter of his literary productions styled in the form of aesthetic representation. Therefore, once he returned after prolonged voluntary expatriation from Spain, he became the object of incessant persecution. The increasing discord in the Philippines and the eventual outbreak of the Revolution, which still today has not been defeated, were attributed to him to a great extent. Finally, they arrested him and interned him in Mindanao. When he was brought back from there to Manila and at the same time the replacement of the too-lenient governor by General Polavieja was announced, the darkest rumors about the fate intended for him immediately spread. This apprehension came true all too soon: on 30 December without judiciary review he was shot, as the general consensus says, without his guilt being proven. We lose in him not only a true friend of Germany and German science, but also the only man who possessed the knowledge and enough determination to procure entrance of modern ideas in those distant islands.

### DOCUMENT 2

[20 November 1897 Meeting]

Don José Rizal, our former member, was, as the Society reported earlier, summarily shot on 30 December in Manila on the order of the governor, General Polavieja. On the night before his death, the unfortunate

Tagalog wrote his “Final Farewell” in prison. A copy of the beautiful poem has reached me. This will be communicated, both in the original as well as the excellent metrical translation of Mr. E. Seler, at the conclusion of this meeting.<sup>2</sup> The high poetic value of this poetry, particularly the patriotic and humane enthusiasm of it, will help to preserve the memory of the gifted, noble martyr.

Mr. Ferdinand Blumentritt has published an account based on authentic news reports of Rizal’s development, goals, and character in the tenth volume of the *International Archive of Ethnography* (1897).<sup>3</sup> From this it may be subsequently mentioned that he was born in Calamba, a small town in the Province of Laguna de Bay on the island of Luzon. His parents were Tagalogs (“Indios” to the Spanish). Although originally determined for the religious life, he soon turned to medicine, studied in Manila and Madrid, and in the latter place earned his doctorate in medicine and philosophy. His further studies led him to Paris, Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Berlin. From here he returned to his country and wrote his now-famous novel *Noli me tángere*, whose liberal orientation incurred for him the hatred of the old Spaniards and forced him to emigrate.<sup>4</sup> He then lived in alternating sequence in Japan, North America, England, France, and Belgium, where he wrote his second political novel *El filibusterismo*. He then worked for a time as a general practitioner in Hong Kong, where he married an Englishwoman; he later went to British Borneo, where he intended to establish a Filipino agricultural colony. From there he obtained the permission, even before visiting his country, but was arrested there and interned in Dapitan. When the rebellion broke out in the Philippines, he was accused of instigating it. He was tried three times, and by the third time, was condemned to death.

In the in-depth psychological analysis of the man, which Mr. Blumentritt has delivered, it brings up that Rizal was also a sensitive artist from whom he possesses three clay statues: “The Chained Prometheus,” “The Triumph of Death over Life,” and the “Triumph of Knowledge over Death.”<sup>5</sup> He concludes with the words: “Rizal has never been an enemy of Spain.”

A well-struck figure of Rizal from a photograph adorns the worthy obituary.

### DOCUMENT 3

[19 November 1898 Meeting]

Mr. Eduard Seler presented the following letter addressed to him by Mr. Mariano Ponce, currently in Yokohama, regarding the farewell poem of Don José Rizal written on the night before his execution by firing squad ordered by General Polavieja.

637, Miyōkōji-Yama. Kitagata. Korakigun.  
Yokohama (Japan). 13 October 1898.

Dr. Eduard Seler, Berlin.

Dear sir:

On account of my very dear friend Prof. F. Blumentritt of Leitmeritz (Bohemia, Austria), I am aware of the translation into German of the posthumous poetry of my dear friend and colleague Dr. José Rizal done by you and inserted in the *Journal of the Anthropology Society*, honoring in this manner the memory of my unfortunate countryman and honoring at the same time my country, the Philippines, in the remembrance of its most distinguished son. Such a great service cannot but arouse in our soul a feeling of deep and eternal gratitude, since unfortunately the injustices of our former colonizers were the air that we breathed. For this reason our gratitude is increased a hundredfold for those who treat us without prejudices of any kind. Please receive my most ardent gratitude on behalf of my homeland that today fights for its freedom: my countrymen will one day show gratitude to those who judged us fairly and defended us from slander. I also request you to be the interpreter of these feelings of Filipinos before the Anthropology Society for the immense honor conferred on my country and my aforementioned friend Dr. Rizal, in your session of 20 November 1897, saluting with great admiration and respect its distinguished president Dr. Virchow.

I am honored to put myself at your disposal and offer my veneration, here now and in my country later in Baliwag in the Province of Bulacan (Philippines).

With the highest consideration, I remain your obedient servant

M. Ponce

The letter follows in translation by Mr. Seler.<sup>6</sup>

### DOCUMENT 4

[17 March 1900 Meeting]

The painful loss for us of our friend Jagor has widely aroused the sympathy of ethnological researchers. Particularly comforting for us is the great recognition, which is bestowed to him by the now so embattled Filipinos. Mr. Virchow received the following letter from the Extraordinary Delegation of the Philippine Republic in Paris on March 3:

Sir, science has just suffered a painful loss through the death of the illustrious scholar Jagor: to his memory the Philippine nation that I have the honor of representing, dedicates the expression of its most profound regrets.

We will always maintain an enthusiastic admiration for him who during his life devoted his studies to this country that refuses slavery and fights for its independence, the only source of its progress and well being.

In recent years, the laws of destiny have brought a series of German scholars such as Semper, Schadenberg, and Joest, who have devoted to my unfortunate country works of the kind with which the Philippine nation contracted a debt of eternal gratitude toward German science.

We are confident that you, whose scholarly reputation is universal, will continue to give some thought to the Philippine Islands in your scientific treatises, of the same sort as Masters Bastian, Meyer, and

Blumentritt, and we will be eternally grateful. We have dedicated a special reverence to science and human progress, although the critics have not failed, being in absolute ignorance of our political and social state, to wish to support the false theory that we are incapable of all civilization and of all instruction, thus condemning us to an eternal slavery.

I end this letter kindly requesting you to be the spokesperson of these statements to the Ethnographic and Geographic Societies of Berlin, of which I am an enthusiastic admirer.

Receive, sir, the expression of the highest consideration of your devoted admirer.

Felipe Agoncillo.

The chairman thanked the Delegation for this doubly honorable act due to its spontaneity. At the same time, he called attention to a work under his editorship of the best authority on the Philippines in Europe, Professor Blumentritt of Leitmeritz (*Heft der Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge* [Journal of the Collection of Popular Scientific Lectures], Hamburg, 1900), which likewise contains an objective, documentary account of the political movement in the islands.<sup>7</sup> The sympathies of the Filipinos for us are not the least attributable to the fact that our proceedings carried a copy and a translation of the “Final Farewell” of Don José Rizal. The unfortunate Tagalog was summarily shot by order of General Polavieja on 30 December 1896 in Manila. On the night before his death, Rizal wrote the poignant poem in prison.

## DOCUMENT 5

[23 June 1900 Meeting]

Misters Emiliano R. de Dios and Vicente Lukban in the name of a large number of Filipinos sent from Hong Kong on 31 May the following letter addressed to Mister Rudolf Virchow in memory of the death of our friend Fedor Jagor:

Our highly respected sir: with deep regret we learned the sad news of the death of the distinguished scholar and noted expert on the Philippines Dr. Fedor Jagor, whose love for the Philippines is matched by us Filipinos with equal affection and gratitude. We know how tight are the bonds of friendship and love that join to you the late-lamented elder whose loss for science and for his country we mourned bitterly. This is the reason why we come to you to implore you to accept the grief that we take in your suffering and also to beseech you to be the spokesperson for our condolences to the family and to the Ethnography and Geography Societies of Berlin for the death of one of its most distinguished members.

The Philippines, sir, is experiencing at the moment one of the most laborious crises recorded in history. This does not allow us to express our feelings in a manner more solemn and appropriate to the magnitude of this unfortunate event. In response to this situation, for the Filipinos who we endorse, convinced that we faithfully interpret the feelings of the country, we give voice to their sorrow, assuming today its authority. Therefore, please consider these condolences as an expression of grief from all Filipinos.

And taking this opportunity to express our admiration and respect for you, whose name is one of the most legitimate glories of modern science, we hope that God will grant you many years of life for the good of humanity.

## The Original Documents

### DOCUMENT 1

[Sitzung vom 16. Januar 1897.]

Don José Rizal von Luzon (Philippinen) war vor 10 Jahren unser Mitglied. Er sprach in der Sitzung vom 23. April 1887 (Verh. S. 293) über die tagalische Verskunst. Obwohl damals schon Doctor der Medicin, war er doch ganz erfüllt von patriotischen Gedanken. Das unglückliche Schicksal seines Vaterlandes unter der Herrschaft der Spanier und unter dem Druck

eines übermächtigen Klerus bildete den Inhalt seiner meist in das Gewand schöngestiger Darstellung gekleideten literarischen Productionen. Als er daher nach längerer freiwilliger Expatriirung nach Spanien zurückkehrte, wurde er der Gegenstand unaufhörlicher Verfolgung. Die wachsende Missstimmung auf den Philippinen und der endliche Ausbruch der Revolution, die noch heute nicht niedergeschlagen ist, wurden zu einem grossen Theil ihm zugeschrieben. Schliesslich nahm man ihn gefangen und internirte ihn in Mindanao; als er von da nach Manila zurückgebracht und zugleich die Ersetzung des als zu milde betrachteten Gouverneurs durch den General Polaviejo angekündigt wurde, verbreiteten sich sofort die düstersten Gerüchte über das ihm zugedachte Geschick.<sup>8</sup> Diese Besorgniss ist nur zu bald in Erfüllung übergegangen: am 30. December ist er ohne richterliches Urtheil, wie die allgemeine Meinung besagt ohne nachgewiesene Schuld erschossen worden. Wir verlieren in ihn nicht nur einen treuen Freund von Deutschland und deutscher Wissenschaft, sondern auch den einzigen Mann, der Kenntniss und Entschlossenheit genug besass, um modernem Denken Eingang in jene entfernte Inselwelt zu verschaffen. —

## DOCUMENT 2

[Sitzung vom 20. November 1897.]

Don José Rizal, unser früheres Mitglied, ist, wie der Gesellschaft schon früher (Verhandl., S. 26) mitgetheilt wurde, am 30. December in Manila auf Befehl des Gouverneurs, General Polaviejo, standrechtlich erschossen worden. In der Nacht vor seinem Tode schrieb der unglückliche Tagale im Kerker sein „letztes Lebewohl“ nieder. Eine Abschrift des schönen Gedichtes ist mir zugegangen. Dasselbe wird, sowohl im Originaltext, als in der vortrefflichen metrischen Uebersetzung des Hrn. E. Seler, am Schlusse dieses Sitzungsberichtes mitgetheilt werden. Der hohe poetische Werth dieser Dichtung, insbesondere der patriotische und humane Schwung derselben werden dazu beitragen, die Erinnerung an den hochbegabten, edlen Märtyrer zu erhalten.

Hr. Ferd. Blumentritt hat in dem Internationalen Archiv für Ethnographie 1897, X, eine auf authentischen Nachrichten begründete

Darstellung der Entwicklung, der Ziele und des Wesens Rizal's veröffentlicht. Daraus möge hier nachträglich angeführt werden, dass derselbe zu Calamba, einem kleinen Städtchen der Provinz La Laguna de Bay auf der Insel Luzon geboren war. Seine Eltern waren Tagalen (Indios). Obwohl ursprünglich für den geistlichen Stand bestimmt, wendete er sich bald der Medicin zu, studirte in Manila und Madrid und wurde in letzterem Ort zum Doctor der Medicin und Philosophie promovirt. Seine weiteren Studien führten ihn nach Paris, Heidelberg, Leipzig und Berlin. Von hier kehrte er in sein Vaterland zurück und schrieb seinen berühmt gewordenen Roman „Noli me tangere“, dessen freiheitliche Richtung ihm den Hass der Alt-spanier zuzog und ihn zur Auswanderung zwang. Er lebte dann in wechselnder Folge in Japan, Nordamerika, England, Frankreich und Belgien, wo er seinen zweiten politischen Roman „El Filibusterismo“ schrieb. Eine Zeit lang wirkte er dann als praktischer Arzt in Hongkong, wo er sich mit einer Engländerin verheirathete; später ging er nach Britisch-Borneo, wo er beabsichtigte, eine philippinische Bauerncolonie zu begründen. Von da aus erwirkte er sich die Erlaubniss, vorher noch sein Vaterland zu besuchen, wurde dort aber verhaftet und nach Dapitan internirt. Als der Aufstand auf den Philippinen ausbrach, beschuldigte man ihn der Anstiftung. Dreimal wurde ihm der Process gemacht, bei dem dritten Male wurde er zum Tode verurtheilt.

In der eingehenden psychologischen Analyse des Mannes, welche Hr. Blumentritt geliefert hat, erwähnt derselbe, dass Rizal auch ein feinfühler Künstler war, von dem er selbst 3 Statuen aus gebranntem Thon besitze: den gefesselten Prometheus, den Sieg des Todes über das Leben und den Triumph der Wissenschaft (des Geistes) über den Tod. Er schliesst mit den Worten: „Ein Feind Spaniens ist Rizal nie gewesen.“

Ein wohl getroffenes Bild Rizal's nach einer photographischen Aufnahme zielt den würdigen Nekrolog. —

## DOCUMENT 3

[Sitzung vom 19. November 1898.]

Hr. Ed. Seler überreicht folgendes, an ihn gerichtete Schreiben des Señor M. Ponce, z. Z. in Yokohama, betreffend das in der Nacht vor der

Erschiessung durch den General Polaviejo verfasste

Abschieds-Gedicht von Don José Rizal.  
(Verhandl. vom 20. November 1897, S. 575.)

637, Miyōkōji-Yama. Kitagata. Korakigun.  
Yokohama (Japan). 13 octubre 1898.

Sr. Dr. Eduard Seler, Berlin.

Muy Sr. mio:

Por mi muy querido amigo el Prof. F. Blumentritt de Leitmeritz (Böhmen, Austria) tengo conocimiento de la traducción al alemán de la poesía póstuma de mi querido amigo y compañero Dr. José Rizal, hecha por V., é inserta en el Boletín de la Anthropologische Gesellschaft, honrando de ese modo la memoria de mi desgraciado paisano y honrando al propio tiempo á mi país, Filipinas, en el recuerdo de su mas ilustre hijo. Favor tan señalada no puede menos de despertar en nuestra alma un sentimiento de profunda y eterna gratitud, pues desgraciadamente las injusticias de nuestros antiguos colonizadores eran la atmósfera que respirábamos. Por este motivo se centuplica nuestro agradecimiento para aquellos que nos tratan sin prejuicios de ningún género. Reciba V. en nombre de mi patria que hoy lucha por su libertad mi mas ardiente gratitud: mis paisanos sabrán en su día corresponder dignamente á los que nos juzgaron con justicia y nos defendieron de calumnias. Ruego también sea interprete de estos sentimientos de Filipinas ante la sociedad Anthropologische Gesellschaft por la inmensa honra que ha dispensado á mi país y á mi dicho amigo Dr. Rizal, en su sesión del 20 de Nov. 1897, saludando con gran admiración y respeto á su ilustre presidente Dr. Virchow.

Me honro poniéndome á sus órdenes y o freciéndole mis respetos, aquí ahora y en mi país después, en la Provincia de Bulacan, Baliuag (Islas Filipinas).

Con la consideración mas distinguida queda suyo at. seguro  
servidor

M. Ponce

Das Schreiben lautet in der von Hrn. Seler angefertigten Uebersetzung:

637, Miyōkōji-Yama. Kitagata. Korakigun.  
Yokohama (Japan). 13. October 1898.

Hrn. Dr. Eduard Seler, Berlin.

Sehr geehrter Herr!

Durch meinen sehr lieben Freund, Prof. F. Blumentritt in Leitmeritz (Böhmen), erhielt ich Kenntniss von der von Ihnen gemachten deutschen Uebersetzung des nachgelassenen Gedichts meines lieben Freundes und Kameraden Dr. José Rizal, die in der Zeitschrift der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft veröffentlicht worden ist, die in dieser Weise das Gedächtniss meines unglücklichen Landsmannes ehrte und zu gleicher Zeit mein Vaterland, die Philippinen, in dem Gedächtniss seines erlauchtesten Sohnes ehrte. Ein so grosser Freundschafts-Dienst muss in unserer Seele ein Gefühl tiefer und ewiger Dankbarkeit erwecken, da leider bisher die Ungerechtigkeiten unserer alten Colonisatoren die Lebensluft waren, die wir athmeten. Darum ver Hundertfacht sich unsere Dankbarkeit für diejenigen, die uns ohne Vorurtheile irgend welcher Art behandeln. Empfangen Sie im Namen meines Vaterlandes, das heute für seine Freiheit kämpft, meinen heissesten Dank. Meine Landsleute werden sich eines Tages denen, die uns mit Gerechtigkeit beurtheilten und uns gegen Verleumdungen vertheidigten, dankbar zu erweisen wissen. Ich bitte Sie auch, der Dolmetsch dieser Gefühle der Philippinen vor der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft für die hohe Ehre zu sein, die sie meiner Heimath und meinem Freunde Dr. Rizal in der Sitzung vom 20. November 1897 erwies, indem ich mich ihrem erlauchten Vorsitzenden, Dr. Virchow, mit der grössten Bewunderung und Hochachtung empfehle.

Ich habe die Ehre, mich Ihnen zur Verfügung zu stellen und Ihnen meine Hochachtung zu entbieten, jetzt hier und später in meiner Heimath, in der Provinz Bulacan, Baliuag (Filippinische Inseln).

Mit der ausgezeichnetsten Hochachtung bleibe ich Ihr  
ergebener Diener

M. Ponce.

#### DOCUMENT 4

[Sitzung vom 17. März 1900.]

Der für uns so schmerzliche Verlust unseres Freundes Jagor (S. 89) hat weithin die Theilnahme der ethnologischen Forscher erregt. Ganz besonders trostreich ist für uns die grosse Anerkennung, welche ihm von den jetzt so hart bedrängten Philippinern gespendet wird. Hr. R. Virchow hat von der Délégation extraordinaire de la République Philippine aus Paris, 3. März, folgendes Anschreiben erhalten:

„Monsieur, La Science vient d'éprouver une perte douloureuse par la mort de l'illustre Savant Jagor, à la mémoire duquel la Nation Philippine, que j'ai l'honneur de représenter, dédie l'expression de ses plus profonds regrets.

„Nous conserverons toujours une admiration enthousiaste pour celui qui durant sa vie a consacré ses études à ce pays qui refuse l'esclavage et lutte pour son indépendance, la seule source de son progrès et de son bien-être général.

„En quelques années, les lois de la Destinée ont emporté une série de Savants Allemands tels que Semper, Schadenberg, Joest, qui ont consacré des ouvrages à mon infortuné pays, de sorte que la Nation Philippine a contracté une dette de gratitude éternelle envers la Science Allemande.

„Nous sommes convaincus que vous, dont la réputation de Savant est universelle, vous continuerez à donner quelques pensées aux Iles Philippines dans vos traités scientifiques, de même que Mrs. Bastian, Mayer, Blumentritt, et nous vous serons éternellement reconnaissants. Nous avons voué un culte spécial à la Science et aux progrès de l'humanité, bien que les détracteurs n'aient pas manqué qui, étant dans l'ignorance absolue de notre état politique et social, ont voulu soutenir la fausse théorie que nous étions incapables de toute civilisation et de toute instruction, nous condamnant ainsi à un esclavage éternel.

„Je termine cette lettre en vous priant de vouloir bien être l'interprète de ces déclarations auprès des Sociétés Ethnographique

et Géographique de Berlin, dont je suis l'admirateur enthousiaste.

„Recevez, Monsieur, l'expression de la plus haute considération de votre dévoué admirateur.

Felipe Agoncillo.“

Der Vorsitzende dankt der Delegation für diesen, seiner Spontaneität wegen doppelt ehrenvollen Act. Er macht gleichzeitig aufmerksam auf eine unter seiner Redaction erschienene Arbeit des besten Kenners der Philippinen in Europa, des Professor Blumentritt in Leitmeritz (Heft der Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge, Hamburg 1900), welche zugleich eine objective, urkundliche Darstellung der politischen Bewegung auf der Insel enthält. Die Sympathien der Filipinos für uns sind nicht zum Wenigsten dem Umstande zuzuschreiben, dass unsere Verhandlungen (1897, S. 575) einen Abdruck und eine Uebersetzung des „letzten Lebewohls“ des Don José Rizal gebracht haben. Der unglückliche Tagale wurde auf Befehl des Generals Polaviejo am 30. December 1896 in Manila standrechtlich erschossen. In der Nacht vor seinem Tode schrieb Rizal im Kerker das rührende Gedicht (Verhandl. 1897, S. 26, 480).

#### DOCUMENT 5

[Sitzung vom 23. Juni 1900.]

Die HHrn. Emiliano B. de Dios und Capetano Lukbán übersenden aus Hongkong, 31. Mai, im Namen einer grösseren Zahl von Filipinos folgendes, an Hrn. Rud. Virchow gerichtete Schreiben in Erinnerung an den Tod unseres Freundes Fedor Jagor:<sup>9</sup>

„Nuestro muy respetado Señor: con profundo pesar hemos sabido la triste noticia de la muerte del ilustre sabio é insigne filipinólogo Dr. Fedor Jagor, cuyo amor á Filipinas es correspondido por nosotros los filipinos con igual afecto y gratitud. Sabemos cuán estrechos son los lazos de amistad y cariño que unen á V. al malogrado anciano cuya pérdida para la ciencia y para su pais lloramos amargamente. Este es el motivo porqué acudimos á V. para rogarle acepte la parte de

duelo que tomamos en su afliccion; para suplicarle tambien sea el interprete de nuestro pésame mas sentido ante la familia y ante las Sociedades Etnográfica y Geográfica de Berlin, por la muerte de uno de sus mas ilustres miembros.

„Filipinas, Señor, atraviesa en estos momentos por una de las mas laboriosas crisis que se registra en la historia. Esto no le permite espresar sus sentimientos de un modo mas solemne y adecuado á la magnitud de ese desgraciado acontecimiento. En atencion á esta circunstancia, los filipinos que suscribimos, convencidos de que interpretamos fielmente los sentimientos del pais, nos hacemos eco de su dolor, asumiendo hoy su representacion. Rogamos, pues, considere este pésame como espresion de duelo de todos los filipinos.

„Y aprovechando esta ocasion para significar nuestra admiracion y respeto á V., cuyo nombre constituye una de los mas legítimas glorias de la ciencia moderna, hacemos votos porque Dios le conceda muchos años de vida en bien de la humanidad.” —

## Notes

- 1 Rizal's "Art of Tagalog Versification" has previously appeared in English translation and hence will not be translated among these documents (Rizal 1887a; Rizal 1922b, 107–11).
- 2 As was stated above, the poem has already been translated into English and therefore it is not included here (Craig 1913, 256–58).
- 3 The obituary appears in Blumentritt 1897, 88–92.
- 4 This statement is incorrect. Rizal completed the *Noli* in Germany and published it in Berlin (Thomas 2012: 250, n. 31; Rizal 1887b).
- 5 Images of "The Triumph of Death over Life" and "The Triumph of Knowledge over Death" may be found in Retana 1907, [517, 519].
- 6 Ponce's letter in Spanish and Seler's translation of it into German are included in the original documents, but only one version appears here in English translation.
- 7 This text was published in both German and English and included articles from the constitution of the Philippine Republic (Blumentritt 1900a, 1900b).
- 8 The original German-language documents misspelled the Spanish Gen. Camilo Polavieja's last name ending in an "o," rather than an "a" (Polavieja 1898). These have been corrected in the English translations presented here, but have been left as they appeared in the German publications.

- 9 Whether the result of a typo or misspelling, Emiliano Riego de Dios's name is written incorrectly here with the initial "B," instead of "R" (Quirino 1995, 132).

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**Nathaniel Parker Weston** is lecturer, Department of History, University of Washington, Smith Hall, Box 353560, Seattle, WA 98195, USA. He earned a Doctor of Philosophy in History from the University of Washington with a dissertation entitled, "Scientific Authority, Nationalism, and Colonial Entanglements between Germany, Spain, and the Philippines, 1850 to 1900." He is currently working on various articles dealing with Filipino nationalism, Spanish colonialism in the Philippines, and German colonialism in the Caroline Islands. <npw2@uw.edu>