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Out of the Silence, the Men of Naujan Speak Tagalog Texts from the Seventeenth Century

From Naujan on the island Mindoro in the seventeenth-century Spanish Philippines emerged two petitions written in Tagalog and addressed to the archbishop of Manila, asking for the continued presence of Jesuits replacing the secular priests assigned there. A close examination of the texts points to the resident Jesuit as the force behind these petitions. The article argues that, apart from refracting the conflict between the regular and secular clergy over the control of parishes, these documents recognize the agency of the men who signed it. Also explored are the question of the documents' survival and the rewriting of history using materials in indigenous languages.

KEYWORDS: HISTORIOGRAPHY • INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE • MINDORO • MENDICANT ORDERS • MISSIONS

Two petitions from Naujan, located on the island of Mindoro, challenge mistaken ideas common to the writing of early Spanish Philippine history: the friars were the ruling power in the archipelago and were all powerful, while the local inhabitants, locked in a subaltern captivity of sorts, were powerless and excluded from all political matters and decisions, both civil and ecclesiastical. The only documentation of these ideas from that period was produced either by the friars or other Spanish authorities. Thus this understanding is largely an argument from silence as there has been little recorded evidence to the contrary. For all the information available about the early Spanish Philippines, however scant, there is next to nothing about the local population, the process of colonization, the restructuring of the indigenous societies, and the creation of authority structures on Mindoro.

Yet, from this almost total absence of information, from this silence, two documents come to light, in the indigenous Tagalog language, supposedly written by local authorities and signed by the same. The two petitions, dated 1665 and 1678, were addressed to the archbishop in Manila and signed by more than thirty men of Naujan, who represented its past and present leadership. Their request was simple: the people of Naujan wanted the Jesuit priests to stay and remain in charge in Naujan.

Although in the case of Naujan it is not possible to interpret or reinterpret the period of time between the colonial intrusion and the intruders' establishment of a ruling authority over the local population—in the same way that Gonzalo Lamana (2008) did in *Domination without Dominance* regarding the contact between Spanish and Andean peoples—we must concede, with Lamana (*ibid.*, 1), that “a pervasive colonial imprint still permeates accounts of what happened almost 500 years ago,” 400 in the case of Naujan.

Naujan, Mindoro

Naujan¹ is today a municipality located on the northeast coast of Mindoro facing Batangas. For the Spanish intruders Mindoro was a place that originally was supposed to have significant value, as they changed the island's name from Ma-i or Mainit to Mindoro, said to have been based on a contraction of *mina de oro*, gold mine.² That the island was also known as Bindoro and Vindoro calls this story into question. If one accepts that the name Mindoro is a contraction of *mina de oro*, it is striking how relatively insignificant that

island was in the scheme of things, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. It resembled more a black hole than a gold mine.³

Naujan became a population center and the principal town during the early Spanish period. Miguel Bernad (1968, 57) asserted that Naujan predated the Spanish conquest because, contrary to claims made by “the Catholic Directory of the Philippines that the town . . . was ‘founded in 1697’”—the year “the Augustinian Recollects inherited that parish from the secular priests”—“the parish of Nauhan goes back at least to 1631.” Bernad (1976, 10) added that in 1639 Naujan became a *pueblo* by royal decree.

Naujan's origins are unknown. The legend that its name comes from “*nauhaw si Juan*” (“Juan got thirsty”) (Garcellano 1988, 32) is unlikely if the town and its name preceded contact with the Spaniards. Another variant holds that the name came from *na-uhao* (thirsty). “If so,” Bernad (1968, 57) noted, “it is an odd name for a place so well supplied with water. For Naujan is situated near a river which serves as outlet to a large lake. Both river and lake are called Naujan: and doubtless it was from them that the village took its name.” The lack of sources pointing to Naujan's origins notwithstanding, the two petitions tell us that Naujan was an entity in 1665, with more than a dozen men listed by name, six of them as village heads (*manga caveça sa bala balangay*).

Catholic Missions in Mindoro

In 1572 Legazpi, in allocating encomiendas, assigned to the king of Spain the port and village of Vindoro, while giving the rest of the island to Felipe Salcedo, his grandson (Blair and Robertson 1906, 34:310). Salcedo and others, driven by the lust for gold to make sorties into the Cordilleras, seemed unaffected by Mindoro. “At point of contact with Spain, therefore, Mindoro was an island of relative importance. . . . It is likely that the island even served as a commercial port where not only Chinese but other Southeast Asian nationalities as well loaded and unloaded their ships” (Lopez 1976, 23). By 1594 a report sent to the Crown indicated that the place was lightly populated. A modern writer has noted: “It is quite surprising to learn that with the coming of the Spaniards, the development of the island ground to a halt, as it were” (Garcellano 1988, 37).

Initially, the friars⁴ lacked real interest in Mindoro. John Leddy Phelan (1959, 167–76) conspicuously ignored Mindoro even as he carefully mapped out the places in the archipelago where the various mendicant orders were

assigned.⁵ Nevertheless, Spanish religious activity in Mindoro began in 1573 when two Augustinians, Diego Mojica and Francisco Ortega, were assigned there (Lopez 1976, 26). On 6 August 1578 Mindoro was transferred to the Franciscans, who worked there for ten years before turning it over to the secular clergy (Huerta 1863).⁶

In 1626 Naujan's parish priest, a secular, wrote to the Jesuit Domingo de Peñalver to seek the Jesuit's help in evangelizing the people of the interior, the Mangyans (spelled "Manguians" in the request [Lopez 1976, 27]). Up until then, nothing had been done to win those people over. A successful two-month mission that took place in 1631 led to the Jesuits' request that the work among the Mangyans in Mindoro be given to them. Mindoro and Marinduque were merged into one mission: three priests resided in Naujan and two in Marinduque (ibid.).

Jesuit records detailed the difficulties that various religious figures faced in traveling to Mindoro, most common of which was their being attacked by Moros. The first two Jesuits sent there, according to Bernad (1968, 54),

were aboard a *caracoa* en route to Mindoro. When not far from shore they were attacked by three *joangas* carrying "Borneans and Camucones [Muslim pirates]." The *caracoa*, in order to escape, ran ashore, and the Fathers, leaving everything behind (books, missals, and cloth intended for distribution among the natives) took to the woods. It took them twenty days to get to Naujan. It rained frequently along the trail. They had no change of clothing. They also had no food and no water: they ate the buds of wild palms and drank whatever water they saw in pools along the way. Their feet were covered with wounds. Finally, faint with hunger and fatigue, they reached Naujan.

The Dominican Domingo Fernandez Navarrete (1610–1689) mentioned Naujan in his 1654 account of his travels in the region (Cummins 1962, 79, 81, 87). Traveling from Bataan to Lubang and then on to Mindoro, Navarrete arrived in Mindoro on the Feast of the Epiphany, 6 January 1654 (ibid., 75–76). He reported that the curate at Naujan, Francis Roca, asked for a member of Navarrete's party to go to Naujan. Navarrete went and returned in 1656.⁷ Although relations between the friars and seculars seemed friendly, Navarrete later wrote that the seculars in Mindoro considered the island as "the things they own, and not the things that are Jesus Christ's" (Lopez

1976, 29). In this account Navarrete reflected the seemingly never-ending struggle, even animosity, between the friars and the seculars. Since 1650 there had been a fifteen-year "lull in religious activity in Mindoro, broken only by a revival of Jesuit missionary activity in 1665" (ibid.), the year of the first petition. At some point during this lull, conflict between the seculars and the Jesuits emerged.

In October 1665 the Jesuit Diego Luis de San Vitores (Horacio de la Costa [1961] writes the name as Sanvitores) and others went on a missionary trip to Mindoro.⁸ According to this report, "time and strength were well spent for not only the old Christians (lowlanders) were revived in their faith but . . . the infidel Mangyans, many of whom were converted to (our) religion" (Blair and Robertson 1906, 44:103 cited in Lopez 1976, 29). "The religious revival that the Jesuits started in the island was quite evidently extensive" (Lopez 1976, 31). As a result, three churches were built for the converted Mangyans: Bongabon, Pola, and San Javier on the coast of Naujan. Another was built for "those old Christians 'who were roaming about through the mountains'" (ibid., 32). Apparently the Jesuits, having been given authority to evangelize the Mangyans, set up their headquarters in Naujan and, rather than keep only to the ministry to the Mangyans, worked with the local inhabitants as well.

However, the archbishop returned Mindoro to the seculars. As Garcellano (1988, 37) wrote, "Mindoro became one vast mission, with Naujan as one of the centers for the propagation of the Faith." Violeta Lopez (1976, 29) took the Jesuit view that the seculars turned "against their former agreement with the Jesuits." The first petition reflected the local leaders' desire for the Jesuits to assume control over Naujan and thus over Mindoro. The leadership of the local population wanted the Jesuits, not the seculars, to be responsible for their spiritual well-being.

The involvement of the local populace in controversies and conflicts regarding the assigning and reassigning of priests was not without precedent. In fact, it was common enough in colonial Mexico. As Robert Ricard (1966, 79) observed: "The Christian Indians . . . were deeply attached to their first missionaries, who had initiated them into the new faith, and their influence certainly restricted the exchanges [of missions] that occurred at times between the Orders." Sometimes more effective than anything else were actions taken by the local population, such as the Tarascan natives in Mexico whose "hostility . . . twice forced the Franciscans to abandon

Michoacán at the very beginning of the mission.” Ricard (ibid., 79) further described the natives’ unexpected hostile reaction as follows: “the natives stripped the church of its ornaments, refused to supply the friars with food, and went off to attend services at the Franciscan houses of Tepeca and Tecali. By this action they achieved the return of their former pastors and the construction of a Franciscan convent.” Similar incidents that took place obliged “the Franciscans, in 1538, to consider relinquishing Cuauhtitlán, Xochimilco, and Cholula, although the resistance of the Indians prevented their doing so” (ibid., 80).

Based on the experience in Mexico, the leadership of the church in the Philippines certainly would not have been surprised at receiving the two petitions from Naujan. In all likelihood, these documents were not the first petitions in Tagalog to have been received by the archbishop. Both the Spaniards and the Tagalog were familiar with the practice of constructing petitions in Tagalog. Moreover the Spanish authorities accepted such petitions as legal or legitimate documents. If the Spanish authorities who were addressed in those petitions did not have the linguistic ability to understand what was written, translators were available, both Spaniards and Tagalog. The Spaniards would be friars and the Tagalog bilingual *ladinos*.

Official Documents in Tagalog

The two petitions in question were written in Tagalog, the language of the indigenous population in Naujan. The context of these documents and others written in indigenous languages suggested the existence of a literate population.⁹ At the time of their intrusion, the Spaniards were surprised to find near-universal literacy among the local inhabitants. *Baybayin* was the system of writing used for local languages, a fact supported by Spanish accounts, a printing ministry created in the face of that reality, and surviving examples of that writing (cf. Woods 2011d, ch. 2).

The Spanish intrusion required at least two adjustments with regard to writing for the locals. One was an expanded use of the technology of writing. Previously it had been used almost exclusively for writing letters. Under Spain it took on official purposes: bills of sale, testimony, reports, petitions, and more. The second was a new system of writing. As Tomas Pinpin (1610) explained in his *Librong pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang uicang Castila* (A Book to Teach the Tagalog the Spanish Language), Spanish had both letters and sounds not found in Tagalog as written in *baybayin*.

(Woods 2011c, 21). In addition, Spanish did not allow for interchangeable letters—u and o, e and i, d and r, for example (ibid., 24). Thus, Pinpin hoped his book would help produce *ladinos*, bilingual Tagalog who could speak and write in Spanish, but also write Tagalog in Romanized letters (ibid., 25). What emerged was a genre of documents from the early Spanish Philippines: indigenous-language documents, in this case Tagalog documents written in Tagalog by Tagalog. Such documents can be found in archives in the US, Spain, and of course the Philippines.¹⁰

The production of documents for official purposes required *escribanos* or notaries. As Kathryn Burns (2010) notes in *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru*, which gives a history and overview of the role of the notary, there were at least four types of *escribanos*, who held public offices and prepared legally binding documents of an extrajudicial character for their clients: (1) *escribano de cabildo*, council notary, who held the post for life in a particular town, maintaining the record of the local magistrate and council; (2) *escribano publico y de cabildo*, town council notary, who held the post in a specific town or city and was responsible for keeping records of the council’s actions and decisions and maintaining its archives; (3) *escribano publico y del número*, numerary notary public, who held this office by royal appointment in a specific town or city; and (4) *escribano reales*, royal notary, who by royal appointment might act as a notary in any part of the realm as long as he did not infringe on the privileges of the numerary notaries.¹¹ Unfortunately, little work has been done on *escribanos* in the Philippines. Based on Burns’s definitions, one would expect to find an *escribano de cabildo* in Naujan, although there was no *cabildo*, as far as we know.

The Survival of Tagalog Documents

The question that begs asking is: Why and how did these two documents from the seventeenth century survive? Or, better yet, why have any indigenous-language documents survived? Burns (ibid., 8–10) comments on the situation in Spanish America:

Yet colonial Andean archives hold almost no writing by indigenous notaries, even though sixteenth-century Spaniards complained constantly about “litigious Indians.” What happened to this paper trail? As in Mexico, part of the answer lies in the official neglect Spaniards accorded indigenous communities records. . . . Thus in the

Andes, too, a distinctly colonial archive was produced by deliberate exclusions.

What about indigenous-language documents, specifically, materials in Quechua? James Lockhart (1999, 207 cited in Burns 2010, 195–96), whose research began in the Peruvian archives, believed that “a large mundane Quechua documentation existed in the seventeenth century and perhaps earlier and later. What can have come of it is another matter, and the fact that so little has surfaced after so much searching is not a cause for optimism.”

In considering the survival of these petitions from Naujan, we are ably assisted by Regalado Trota Jose (2015, 442), head archivist of the University of Santo Tomas Archives, who writes: “The documents in our *Libro Litera B* date from 1602 to around 1691. Baybayin inscriptions are found in documents dating from 1602 to 1664. The volume is a compilation of deeds of sale or transfer of land acquired by the university, the income from which was used for the maintenance of the institution.” In particular, the only two documents in baybayin to have survived must be seen in light of their utility, particularly in so far as transcriptions and translations of the original documents were accepted in court in a case concerning a dispute over the ownership of a parcel of land that was sold to the university.¹²

That such documents survived because they served in some way the cause or causes of certain Spanish individuals or institutions does not detract from the agency of the local population involved in the production of these documents. Spanish authorities were familiar enough with petitions in local languages written by and for local inhabitants. For over eighty years such documents had been produced in Tagalog. But these two documents from a location far from the power center of Manila serve to demonstrate (a) the existence and significance of indigenous-language documents (written in the local language by local inhabitants), in this case Tagalog, and (b) the active participation of the indigenous population in the political, social, cultural, and religious life of the archipelago after the Spanish intrusion.

As Lockhart (1992, 7) noted in his history of Central Mexico, “I need not belabor the advantage of using records produced in the mother tongue by the subjects of a given historical study. Wherever native-language materials have been available, they have been used as the primary source for writing a people’s history.” In establishing his New Philology, Lockhart (*ibid.*, 7–8, italics added), whose work dealt with Nahuatl documents, argued that in

light of the limited number of records it was difficult and often impossible to track a single individual, in contrast to the possibilities with Spanish sources:

Largely deprived of seeing the pattern in a succession of actions, we must fall back on the other aspect of the career-pattern approach, a close attention to the categories that the person and his peers used to classify himself and his thoughts and actions, as well as the phenomena surrounding him, thus studying concepts borne in a person’s language rather than patterns manifested in the person’s life. . . . language itself turns out to be an irreplaceable vehicle for determining the nature and rate of general cultural evolution.

Matthew Restall (1997, 9; italics added), a student of Lockhart’s, has noted that this “‘vein of ethnohistory’ is characterized primarily by its foundation upon indigenous sources” and that it represented “a shift of emphasis from ‘establishing patterns through synthesis of the diverse action of individuals and small organizations’ to paying ‘attention to key concepts appearing as words and phrases in the sources relating to those individuals and organizations.’”

This observation is certainly the case with Tagalog documents, in which not only is the number in the hundreds, but also the geographic and temporal distribution is wide—from across the Tagalog region and over three centuries. Thus one should take into account the diversity found among the Tagalog as well as “the nature and rate of general cultural evolution” demonstrated by these sources. My work has traced out this evolution in the matters of barangay, *bayan*, baybayin, counting, and more (Woods 2011b, 2011a, 2012).

Scholars have produced works based on Tagalog documents from the early Spanish period, but generally these documents are found together in bundles in the same archives with other documents from the same area and time.¹³ The two documents from Naujan are unique, in part, in that they both originated from one town not on Luzon but some distance from Manila, and were dated thirteen years apart. What is striking is that these documents were found in two different archives. The first document, dated 1665, was located among the Jesuit papers in the *Academia Real* in Madrid. It is the focus of a monograph by Jean-Paul Potet (1987). The second, dated

1678, was found by Luis Dery in the National Archives of the Philippines. I am grateful for his sharing this find.

The 1665 Petition

We owe a great debt to Potet, who brought the 1665 petition to our attention. His monograph (in French) “La Petition Tagale Caming manga Alipin (1665),” which is an invaluable examination of this first document, has the following abstract in English: “A rare prose document, this petition from Mindoro magistrates to the Archbishop of Manila—dated December 28, 1665—provides insights into the state of Tagalog in the middle of the Seventeenth Century, and into its use as an administrative medium” (ibid., 109).

The second portion of the abstract indicated the emphasis and direction Potet (ibid.) took in his writing: “The text’s main features are important variations of Latin and baybáyin characters, the use of *ay* as a multi-level discourse marker, an aspectual contrast between *-ungm-* and *-um-*, and odd *magpag-* verbal form, *ka-* as a quasi-specifier, and the use of the second person singular to address a lord.” Despite its linguistic focus, Potet’s monograph provides insight into the background, the contents, and various nuances of this document.¹⁴ I have found it extremely helpful.

The 1665 petition reads as follows:

Caming manga alipin nang	We the slaves of our Lord
Panginoon naming dini sa bayan	here in the <i>bayan</i> of Nauhang
nang Nauhang Capitan Basal.	Mayor Don Juan Magquilat
don Juan magquilat at manga	and the heads of the different
caveça sa bala balangay. d	barangays. Don Estevan
Estevan domondon. d. Juan	Domondon, Don Juan Di
dimaquiling, d. Francisco	Maquiling, Don Franzcisco
(franz ^{co}) Habier at ang yba pang	Habier and other <i>maginoo</i>
manga maginoo na manga	who are former mayors. Don
Capitan Passado. Don franz ^{co}	Franzcisco Magcolang, Don
mag colang d. Fernando Lontoc	Fernando Lontoc, Don Juan
d. Juan marocot. Don Ygnazio	Marocot, Don Ignazcio Managa,
managa don Agustin solit at	Don Agustin Solit and other
Ybapang manga maginoo don	maginoo, Don Pedro de Abila,
Pedro de abila d. Cristobal de	Don Cristobal de Arillano,

arillano d Geronimo di mapilit
don Nicolas milo d Andres
manim tim don Phelipe iacobi d.
Pedro monjos d. Juan basingil
sampon nang manga binata na
nag aatag ay silang lahat ay
sonor dito. Ay coming lahat ay
nag mama ca aua aua at dong
marajing sa aming Panginoon,
dahilan sa malalaquing
casaquitan naming sa aming
Pamamayan jajang ang Vuestra
Illustrisima na Panginoon
naming. Ang pastor na nag
aalila sa amin nacahalili nang
Panginoon Dios dito sa ybabao
nang lupa na sucat hingan at
dayingan nang lahat na ming
casala tan sa aming Pamamayin
ay ya yang Ypinatauag na nang
Panginoon Dios ang aming
Benefiz do mro d. Pedro Ruiz
de Balderas na nag-aalila sa
aming manga caloloua caya
ang hinihingi naming ngayon
na ypagcaloob nang Vuestra
Illustrisima Panginoon ay ang
Padre sa de la companya de
Jesus ang mag Padre dini sa
amin, at opan ycaaua nang
Panginoon Dios na mapa sa
oli rin sa date ang caramihan
nang tauo ata sa ona nang di pa
naaalis dini sa amin ang manga
de la compania ay ang buhis
dini sa nauhang at Pola. Colang
lamang na sang libo bocod ang

Don Geronimo Di Mapilit, Don
Nicolas Milo, Don Andres
Manimtim, Don Phelipe Iacobe,
Don Pedro Monyos, Don Juan
Basingil, together with all
the unmarried men who are
involved in the community are
all in conformity with this. We
are all begging and pleading
to our Lord, because of all
the great sufferings of our
community, as you Your Grace
are our Lord. The pastor who
was enslaving us, who is the
substitute of the Lord God here
on the surface of the earth, to
whom we have turned for all
the needs of our community,
has already been summoned
by the Lord God, our Beneficio
Ministro, Don Pedro Ruiz de
Balderas who enslaved our
souls. And so what we are
asking Your Gracious Lordship
is to grant us the priest of the
Society of Jesus to serve as
priest here in our place. And so
that by the mercy of the Lord
God most of the people and the
buhis (tax) will revert back as
in the time before the priests
of the Society were made
to leave Nauhang and Pola.
The buhis that is just short of
1,000, excluding that of the
visita, will now just be over
a hundred. And others here

sa manga besita ay ngayoy
lalabisaraan ang buhis at nag
sialis an yba dito na quilalanin
nang Vuestra Illustrisima na
Panginoon naming ang pagcasira
nang aming bayan yto ang
dahilang ypinag mamacaaua
naming at ypagcaloob mo rin sa
amin &a. At ang ysapang bagay
na ypinagsasalita naming sa Su
Illustrisima ay coming lahat
ay houag mo nang alaalahanin
at ang cauaan mo na lamang
ay yaring manga ca aua auang
tauo, nabagong bininyagan nang
Padre Diego Luis san Vitoris. Ang
bilang ay sang daan, at dalauang
po uo catauo at bocor pa ang
ynaaralan na di pa na bi binyagan
datapoua, ang Vica nilang lahat
ay cahimat silay napabinyag
ay con indi ang manga Padre
sa la companiya ang mag alila
sa canila ay sila indi tatahan at
mag sasaolirin sa bondoc na dati
nilang ti na tahanan at ang ysa
pang ypinahahayag namin sa
Su Illustrisima ay yaong dating
binyagan na sangpouo catauon
mahiguit ay ngayon longmabas
nang domating ang mahal na
padre at nangag compisal. Ang
Pagcato too nitong lahat naming
daying at salita ay coming lahat
ay nagpag firma. Dini sa nauhang
28 nang dize sa taon 1665 (ano
de gracia)

have left also. Your Gracious
Lordship will recognize the
destruction of this our bayan.
This is the reason why we are
pleading that you also grant us
etc. And one more thing that
we are saying to Your Grace
is that you no longer worry
about all of us; instead just pity
these pitiful people, who were
newly baptized by Fr. Diego
Luis san Vitoris. They number
120 persons, excluding those
who are studying [catechism]
and have not yet been baptized.
Nonetheless they all say that
even if they were baptized but
if they would not be enslaved
by the priests of the Society
they would not settle here but
instead return to the mountains
where they used to dwell. And
one more thing that we are
expressing to Your Grace is that
the more than ten who had been
baptized before have now come
out when the beloved priest
arrived and made confessions.
Attesting to the truth of all
these our complaints and words
is that we have all signed. Here
at Nauhang 28 December in the
year 1665 (the year of grace)

Jesuit Authorship

The first petition is an anomaly among indigenous-language documents in the Philippines. Several factors make its origins suspicious and point to the Jesuit San Vitores as the driving force behind the creation of this petition. The first atypical aspect of the document is its structure. Rather than the formulaic opening “Sa bayan ng” followed by the name of the place in which the document was created, it opens with “Caming manga alipin.” What should come after the location of the document’s source is the dating of the petition. Instead, the date is found at the end of the document. A notary would know to follow the pattern used in documents within the Spanish system. But in fact no escribano is named or mentioned, calling into question the legality or legitimacy of the petition.

The second problem is the dating of the document, that is, the way in which the date is written. Found at the end of the petition rather than at the beginning as was generally the practice, it reads: “28 nang dize sa taon 1665 (ano de gracia).” The format used does not fit the pattern of that time.

As discussed in another article in this journal (Woods 2011a), at least three identifiable stages in dating can be traced out using seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Tagalog documents.¹⁵ The first stage (from 1583 to 1650) is marked by the exclusive use of the Tagalog system of counting. An example is seen in the oldest known Tagalog documents dated 1583. The date is written as *ycalimang arao nang buang Mayo nang taong sang libot limang daan at maycasiyam tatlong taon* (the fifth day of the month of May of the year one thousand five hundred and three of the ninth group of tens). The second stage (from 1650 to 1685—the time frame of these two documents), the Spanish method of counting was reflected in the designating of the year a document was written. There is, however, the appearance of the Tagalog word *labi*. Two examples demonstrate this. The first was dated 1665 (the same year as the first petition from Naujan): *labi sa libot anim na raan anim na pouo at limang taon*, more than (one) thousand six hundreds six tens and five years.¹⁶ The second was dated 1681 (three years after the second petition): *nang labi sa libon anim na daan ualong pouo at ysang taon*, more than (one) thousand six hundreds eight tens and one year.¹⁷ The 1678 petition from Naujan does fit into the pattern found in this stage.

The final stage saw an almost total shift to the Spanish system of expressing numbers. An example from Maybonga, a town in Pasig outside Manila, dated 1696, followed the Spanish pattern: “san libot anim na daan

siam na pouo at anim na taon,” one thousand six hundreds nine tens and one year.¹⁸ The dating of the 1665 petition from Naujan followed the Spanish system, including the use of numerals—thus not fitting the evolution of Tagalog counting into the Spanish system.

But perhaps the strongest evidence that a Spaniard was behind the writing of this petition could be found in its language. While the individual who did the physical act of writing this document was probably a Tagalog escribano, different aspects of the use of Tagalog and Spanish reveal the Jesuit’s hand on the shoulder of the escribano. Although he was conversant in Tagalog, the Jesuit’s thinking was in Spanish. It was unlikely that he wrote the petition in Spanish and had it translated to Tagalog; more likely he directed some of the specific wording of the petition. The language reflected not only a Spanish vision of Spanish Catholic society, but also a Spanish vision of Tagalog society.

The Spanish vision of Spanish Catholic society was reflected in the technical terms with which, in all probability, the signatories from Naujan would not be familiar. Among these terms were *benefizio de ministro* (benefice)¹⁹ (found in abbreviated form),²⁰ *besita* (for the Spanish *visita*), *compania* (spelled three different ways), and *Vuestra Illustrisima* (Your Grace).

A Tagalog escribano in Naujan probably would not be familiar with the term “benefizio de ministro” and certainly not with its abbreviated form for legal documents. It would be from the Jesuit that such knowledge was received, even in the matter of how to write the abbreviated form. However, as William Hanks (2000, 14; cited in Burns 2010, 201) notes in regard to Mayan escribanos: “The fact that the scribes who operated in the Indian Republics were trained in large measure by the [Spanish] missionaries is indicated powerfully by the commonalities of discourse style between missionary and notarial genres.” In the case of this petition, we cannot know as the escribano is not mentioned and there exists the outside possibility that a Jesuit wrote the petition for the men of Naujan to sign. He certainly was there for the construction of the document.

The term “visita”—written by the Tagalog escribano as “besita”—was a “seventeenth-century ecclesiastical term for a village serviced by a non-resident priest” (Phelan 1959, 166). “The inhabitants of the sitios attended religious services at the nearest visita chapel. The cabecera–visita system was a compromise, inadequate in many ways, but the only feasible alternative,

given the shortage of ecclesiastical personnel and the scattered distribution of the population” (ibid., 47).

The word for society, as in the Society of Jesus, was used three times, although spelled differently each time: “companya,” “compania,” “companiya.” Such orthographic variation is not unusual in Tagalog documents. One finds that the attempt to put this Spanish term within the Tagalog text results in an odd reading. The first mention is found in the phrase, “ang Padre sa de la companya de Jesus.” The Tagalog preposition “sa” is followed by the Spanish preposition “de,” both of which have the same meaning. Only in this first mention of the company of Jesus (the Society of Jesus, that is, the Jesuits) is the name stated completely. The next two occurrences simply refer to the Jesuits as the company (compania and companiya). In the final reference, the “de” is omitted and “sa” serves as the only preposition.

The title “Vuestra Illustrisima” appears three times in the document. Potet noted in the abstract to his monograph that this title used the second person singular to address a lord. While Potet hinted that it was an unusual occurrence in Tagalog, it would be less so if a Spaniard were informing the escribano writing this document. The phrase was the title used when addressing a bishop, and as this petition was being sent to the archbishop of Manila it was only appropriate that this title be used. The equivalent in English would be Monseigneur. As Potet (2011) pointed out:

To express formal respect, Spanish uses the third person—the third person singular to a single person, the third person plural to a group. Latin always uses the second person singular when addressing a single person. The Spanish expression “Vuestra Ilustrísima” follows the Latin system because it is a Roman Catholic Church title. Similarly, in French, during ceremonies, a priest always addresses a person with “tu” and his/her forename, never the respectful “vous” and the person’s surname, which he will use on other occasions unless he is on familiar terms with the person, in which case he will use “tu”.

As regards the feminine gender, it is that of the noun “Ilustrísima”, not that of the holder of the title. “Vuestra” is also in the feminine (the masculine is “vuestro”) because in Spanish, French, Italian, etc. adjectives agree in gender and number with the nouns they qualify.²¹

Again, it was unlikely for a ladino escribano to know all of these conventions. He was simply writing what the Jesuit told him to put down on the petition. One could assume that the archbishop would appreciate the use of the appropriate title for his position. It might have been included to show deference and seek to influence him to grant the request of the petition, unlikely as that was.

Spanish Vision of Tagalog Society

The Spanish vision of the indigenous society comes through in the vocabulary used. The petition begins with “Caming manga alipin.” This opening is unusual but not a definite giveaway of Jesuit authorship. In fact, the second most used opening in Tagalog documents was “Caming” or “Cami ang.”²² But this opening was found more often in eighteenth-century documents than in those from the seventeenth century.

One of the benefits of using indigenous-language documents is what they reveal about self-designation. Interestingly the document opens with the signers referring to themselves as “alipin” (slave). No Tagalog in a document written in Tagalog (at least in the seventeenth century) used alipin as a self-designation except this one. To do so would be the equivalent of a Tagalog using *indio* to describe himself or herself. In this instance, alipin is almost a Spanish word. Even the qualifying “nang Panginoon namin” (of our Lord) does not strengthen the case for Tagalog describing themselves in this way.

A seeming exception to the use of alipin is found in the first sentence of Pinpin’s *Librong pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang uicang Castilla* (subtitled: *Paralang sulat ni Tomas Pinpin, tauong Tagalog sa manga capoua niya Tagalog na nag aabang magaral nang dilang macagagaling sa canila*). Published more than half a century before the petitions of Naujan, it opened: “Salamat nang salamat, nang ualan hoyang na pagpapasalamat sa P. N. Dios, manga capatid co, at ang tayo nga,y, quina auan niya nitong lubhang daquiang aua niya sa ating masasamang alipin niya sa pagpaguing Cristiano niya sa atin” (Give thanks with unending thanks to the Lord our God, my brethren, that he was merciful to us with this great mercy of his, to us his unrighteous slaves, in making us become his Christians).

In this case, while the use of alipin might be intended to convey humility or submission, its use as a form of identification was unique and not found elsewhere. However, Pinpin’s use of alipin as self-designation was different from that of the 1665 petition of Naujan in that the context

of the former was that of a prayer to God rather than a legal petition to the archbishop in Manila. In addition, Pinpin did not merely use alipin but “masasamang alipin” (unrighteous slaves), a theological statement rather than a legal designation. The Jesuit behind the 1665 petition, the escribano, and the petitioners themselves were probably not familiar with Pinpin’s work. But what we could see was an attempt by the petitioners at ingratiating themselves with the archbishop by referring to themselves as “slaves of our Lord,” a theological, not self, designation. However, such use of “alipin” echoes that of Pinpin, although it is unlikely that the men of Naujan had access to Pinpin’s work.

The strongest part of the case being made for retaining the Jesuits is found in the names of the men listed in the petition and who were its signatories. The Jesuit carefully marshaled his supporters. The third line of this petition read, “manga caveça sa bala balangay.” This phrase alerts us to the Jesuit’s hand in the wording. *Cabeza* (head) is of course a Spanish word, not necessarily unfamiliar to the men who signed this petition. But the manner of writing the word with a cedilla was generally unknown, as seen in the fact that no other Tagalog document carried this style. Rather than use the Spanish *barangay*, the writers of this petition used the Tagalog “balangay” and in the plural, “bala balangay.” This is the only document known at this time that contains this phrase. *Barangay* was not used unless in the title “cabeza de barangay,” technically speaking a Spanish phrase/title. “Caveça sa bala balangay” was a combination of Spanish and Tagalog, but one the archbishop and any Spanish authority would recognize and understand.

That the phrase reveals a Spaniard’s hand must be seen in the light of the background to the use of the word *barangay*. As I have argued elsewhere, the *barangay* was a Spanish creation, both the word itself and the reality it supposedly represented. *Cabeza de barangay* became the designation of the local, indigenous leadership.

The myth of the *barangay* had its genesis in a single source: *Las costumbres de los indios Tagalos de Filipinas*, submitted in 1589 by the Franciscan Juan de Plasencia. Commissioned by Spanish civil authorities, the report was based on Plasencia’s apparent attempts to collect and analyze information regarding the Tagalog. The influence of Plasencia’s report cannot be overstated. This report became the basis for Spanish laws and policies in the Philippines, allowing the

Spaniards to not only govern, but also to reconfigure and reconstruct Philippine society . . . Correct or not, Spanish policies were based on this view of the indigenous society. The *datu*, translated as chief by Plasencia, was transformed into the *cabeza de barangay* and society was reorganized accordingly. The *barangay* came to be accepted as the basic political unit of Tagalog society. (Woods 2011b, 3)

Phelan (1959, 165), in the glossary of Spanish and Philippine terms, defined *cabeza de barangay* as “[h]ereditary native chieftain, who in Spanish times, headed the smallest unit of local administration.” Their duties, under the Spanish overlords, included: filling an annual quota for the *polo* (compulsory draft labor) and *vandala* (confiscatory taxation by a “system of compulsory sale of products to the government” [ibid., 166]), with fines being imposed for failing to meet said quotas²³ (ibid., 166, 109), and collecting tribute and sending it to the *encomendero* (ibid., 117). But there were privileges that went along with the office: the chief and his eldest son were exempt from paying the tribute and rendering compulsory labor; they also enjoyed the honorific title of “don” (ibid., 122). Phelan viewed the position as hereditary, thus the eldest son was exempted along with the father, while Potet (2012, 11) argued that the *capitan basal* appointed men to the position.

One could make the case that *cabeza de barangay* was simply a new title for an old position, that of *datu*, “the preconquest term for native chieftain” (Phelan 1959, 165). While in petitions to the Spanish authorities prior to 1600 the position of *datu* was mentioned prominently, its use disappeared in the seventeenth century.

The vocabulary used has given us clues to the person behind the petition, although certainly it was not the Jesuit’s intent. Rather, he sought to make the strongest case possible by marshaling the forces for his cause. Thus, at the beginning of this petition, he had the *escribano* list the names of local leaders, each with Don before his name. The listing of their names took up much of the first ten lines of the petition—20 percent of the document. These individuals were the ones officially petitioning the archbishop in Manila: Don Juan Magquilat, Don Estevan Domondon, Don Juan Dimaquilang, Don Francisco Habier, Don Francisco Magcolang, Don Fernando Lontoc, Don Juan Marocot, Don Ygnazio Managa, Don Agustin Solit, Don Pedro de Abila, Don Cristobal de Arillano, Don Geronimo Dimapilit, Don Nicolas

Milo, Don Andres Manimtim, Don Phelipe Iacobi, Don Pedro Monjos, and Don Juan Basingil. Each person had a Christian first name, no doubt given at his baptism. Surnames included indigenous names (Dimagcolang, for example) and Spanish surnames with an indigenous orthography (Habier, for example). The origin of one’s surname did not impact whether or not the man would sign in *baybayin* or not.

While their names were of some interest, the petition drew strength not only from their numbers but also from their positions and titles: “*capitan basal*,” “*caveça de bala balangay*,” “*manga maginoo na capitan pasado*,” “*maginoo*.” Potet (2012, 9–10) outlines the following political structure in the Spanish Philippines.

The Philippines were ruled by a *gobernador* “governor”, who was supervised by the *virrey* “vice-roy” of Mexico. A Spanish *alcalde mayor* “prefect” was appointed at the head of a province, a native *gobernadorcillo* “mayor” at the head of a municipality, and a native *cabeza de barangay* “head of borough” at that of the smallest administrative unit. Thus the hierarchical order was: King of Spain > Council of Indies > Vice-Roy of Mexico > Governor of the Philippines > provincial prefect > town mayor > borough head.

In the seventeenth century, the two positions open to the local population were the town mayor and borough head, to use Potet’s categories. They were known as *capitan basal* and *cabeza de barangay*. The *capitan basal* was the current mayor, while previous mayors were called *capitan pasado*. All three of these titles are found in this petition.²⁴ The *capitan basal* in this petition is Don Juan Magquilat. “Basal,” according to Potet (ibid., 14 n. 19), had “the original meaning [of] ringing a bell or the bell itself because the mayor was granted a bell or a gong of authority, and he was the only one allowed to ring it” (ibid., 13–14).²⁵ “One has the impression that at the beginning of the Spanish period, the *capitan basal* was elected by his constituency” (ibid., 14). Five men are listed as *capitan pasado*: Don Francisco Magcolang, Don Fernando Lontoc, Don Juan Marocot, Don Ygnazio Managa, and Don Agustin Solit. While their terms of service were up, they still had standing in the community, and the fact that they were listed among the petitioners indicated (or was intended to indicate) broad support for the petition.

One last term is “maginoo,” gentleman, used along with the title “capitan pasado,” and then again as a title by itself. Eight men are listed with this title: Don Pedro de Abila, Don Cristobal de Arillano, Don Geronimo Dimapilit, Don Nicolas Milo, Don Andres Manimtim, Don Phelipe Iacobi, Don Pedro Monjos, and Don Juan Basingil. In his *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala*, the Franciscan Pedro San Buenaventura (1613/1994, 673) gives the Spanish equivalent “principal” for maginoo. *Principales* have been defined as: “Upper classes among the Filipinos including the hereditary cabezas de barangay, the elected officeholders, and people of means” (Phelan 1959, 166). As the petition had already listed those who were cabeza de barangay and the various capitan, all that were left were the people of means. Certainly, these were not individuals to be ignored.

Several additional aspects of the petition should be noted. Beyond all the listing of names and titles is the phrase that follows: “ay silang lahat ay sonor dito.” The signers of the petition wanted to make it clear: they were the leaders (past and present), and all the people followed their leadership. Note that *sunod* (follow) is spelled “sonor,” which is a question of orthography; “r” and “d” are interchangeable in Tagalog.

Also, we find several times the issue of tribute (*buhis* versus the modern *buwis*) mentioned and the destruction (*pagcasira*) that it was causing. Navarrete (Cummins 1962, 78) had mentioned the issue of tributes as a burden on the people of Mindoro: “Now this would be an excellent method for converting of the thousands of Heathens that live in the Island Mindoro, to forgive them some years Taxes and ease them of their Personal Tributes. For these Burdens withhold them, and delay their Conversion.” Thus there was an economic aspect to this conflict. And it might be this issue that persuaded or at least encouraged the men of Naujan to participate in this petition.

The Jesuit Position

When the archbishop received this petition, what he might not have known (although surely suspected) was that a Spaniard, a Jesuit, was behind the writing of this document. The Jesuit hand becomes apparent when the document is examined and is seen in the content of the petition, the time frame, and the language used—in both Tagalog and Spanish. A part of the strategy to maintain the position of the Society of Jesus, this document carries the voice of the Jesuit in the words of the petitioners.

The struggle between the Jesuits and the archdiocese continued into the 1670s, with 1678 being a significant year. As de la Costa (1961, 514) recounted, the Chinese members of the parish of Santa Cruz, a part of Quiapo, were a matter of contention. Although the Jesuits had been in charge of this parish, the seculars found this arrangement in need of change. One of the problems, de la Costa (*ibid.*) contended, was the fact that “the Chinese were usually among the most solvent and generous of parishioners.” In addition, the seculars believed that the regulars were there to convert the heathen and not for “administering parishes.”

In 1670 the parish priest of Quiapo, Don Juan de Rueda, sent a petition to the queen regent to restore not only Quiapo but also Santa Cruz to the archdiocese. The queen regent referred the matter to local authorities, who decided in favor of the archdiocese in 1673. Although the queen regent confirmed the decision in 1675, the Jesuits appealed the case. In 1678 the Council of the Indies reversed Archbishop Lopez’s decision, confirming the Jesuits’ possession of Santa Cruz. “At the repeated insistence of Governor Vargas [Juan de Vargas y Hurtado, 1678–1684] the Jesuit provincial Pallavicino had accepted the pastoral care of a portion of Mindoro island; this Archbishop Felipe Fernandez de Pardo, O.P. (1678–1689) now took away” (*ibid.*, 515). Thus, Naujan was a part of the power struggle between civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The petition should have made it clear to the archbishop that he stood not only against Spanish civil authorities but the indigenous leadership as well.

The 1678 Petition

The second petition from the men of Naujan was dated 26 December 1678 (figs. 1 and 2).²⁶ It reads as follows:

Sa bayan nang Naohan nang
maycatlon anim na arao nang
bouan nang Desimbre ang
taong sang libot anim naraan
pitong pouo at ualo sa harap
cong escrivano Ber. Dias hong
marap si d. Julio Zertis at si
d. n. de Maalihan d. Ygnacio
Managa d. Fran^{co} Xassid
d. Felipe Haube d. Andres

In the town of Naohan on
the twenty-sixth day of the
month of December, the year
one thousand, six hundred
seventy and eight, presented
before me as Notary, Bernardo
Diaz, were Don Julio Zertis
and Don N. de Maalihan, Don
Ygnacio Managa, Don Francisco
Xassid, Don Felipe Haube, Don

Pagsibegan d. Pedro Moños d. Ju^o Manalo d. locas cabangon d. Maoleo homangin d. Fran^{co} pasalan d. n. de Vellapando d. Badella notipon d. Ygnacio capangpang d. n. banal d. Ant^o Bansay d. Ang^o bahin. Manga mag^o dito sa Bayan nang Naohan sampon sa lahat na manga bisita nanasasacopan nang Ysang Binificio naang manga pangalan nang bayan Pola baliti bunga bong s. tiago bolalacao Yhing silang lahat sampon nang manga benata ay naguigui lala[?] ay ang pahayag nilang lahat ypinag caloob at binibigyan nila nang boong capang yarihan nila tapat sadedecho[?] at ogali samanga Capⁿ D. Ger^o de mapilis d. Luis de malmarida d. Lor^o sacosan ma nga mag^o dito sa bayan nang Naohan sapangalan nilang lahat manga mag^o at binata ay mag sisi harap sila sa s^r gov^{dor} dito sa may Nila at sa s^r alsobespo caya at mag hahayen sila nang manga mensaiahi[?] nana tatapat sa aming hinihingi at ydinadayeng sa aming manga pono dahilan sa manga P. E. nanagaaalila sa aming lahat ay ngayon ypagcaloob saamen ang manga P. E. sa dela compania at sia namiy dating nalalasap

Andres Pagsibegan, Don Pedro Moños, Don Julio Manalo, Don Locas Cabangon, Don Maoheo Homangin, Don Francisco Pasalan, Don N. de Vellapando, Don Badella Notipon, Don Ygnacio Capangpang, Don N. Banal, Don Antonio Bansay, Don Angelo Bahin. They are ginoo here in the town of Naohan, including all the visitas that are under the jurisdiction of One Benefice, the names of which are Pola, Baliti, Bongabong, San Tiago, Bolalacao. All of them agree, together with all the bachelors uniting with everyone, that their declaration is that they willed and bestowed their full authority, faithful to the law[?] and customs, to the Captains Don Gero[nimo] de Mapilis, Don Luis de Malmarida, [and] Don Lorenzo, persons who belong to the maginoo here in the town of Naohan. In the name of them all, maginoo and bachelors, they will be appearing before the Honorable Governor here at Manila and the Honorable Archbishop, and will present [messages?] that are truthful to what we are asking and complaining about to our leaders, because of the priests who are enslaving us

at yniybig at sa paghingi sila nitong lahat nana to to ran namen ay binig yan naming sila nitong poder nayto. Na sila ang bahalang mag hayen nang manga solat sapagpapahayag nay balang catoui ran nasina sabe namin sa canila naparan nang aming cataoan mandin ang hongmaharap at binibigyan na min sila nang boong capangyarihan at cabagsican sapanonong panila nang ba hay[?] ypapanumpa sa canila at sapag sasalinga namin con emporar deto sa aming poder sacanila ysalin saalin mang[?] namaguiguin calooban nila sa aming dada[?] sa can ila dahilan dito sa aming hingi Yniaaco naming ang aming mga cataoan sampon nang aming manga ari at gayon yaring aming pagbibigay nitong poder nayito at ang manga sacing caharap d. Ger^o hayquid, Don Felipe Malmisida, Don N. deherera

all, that now we be granted the Jesuit priests of the Society whom we were enjoying and loving before. And in requesting all these that we have asked, we gave them this authority that they take care of offering these letters, in expressing the reason that we are telling them as if we ourselves are appearing. And we are giving them all the power and force as they take their oath that is most trustworthy. And in vesting upon them power, here we transfer our power to them for whatever[?] will be their desire in regard to our [petition?]. Because of our request, we accept our human responsibility, together with all our properties. And so we are giving them this power with the witnesses here present, Don Geronimo Hayquid, Don Felipe Malmisida, Don N. de Herera.

This petition had a sense of urgency behind it. The year was 1678, and the new governor-general and archbishop had just assumed their respective offices. As mentioned above, there had been conflicting decisions: the political entities—the Council of Indies and the governor-general—had sided with the Jesuits, while the archbishop, a Dominican, had asserted the authority of his office. The petitioners would travel to Manila, if necessary, to make their case. The year 1678 was almost over.

Unlike the 1665 petition, this document fits the general pattern of those of the early Spanish period. It begins as most did: place and date,

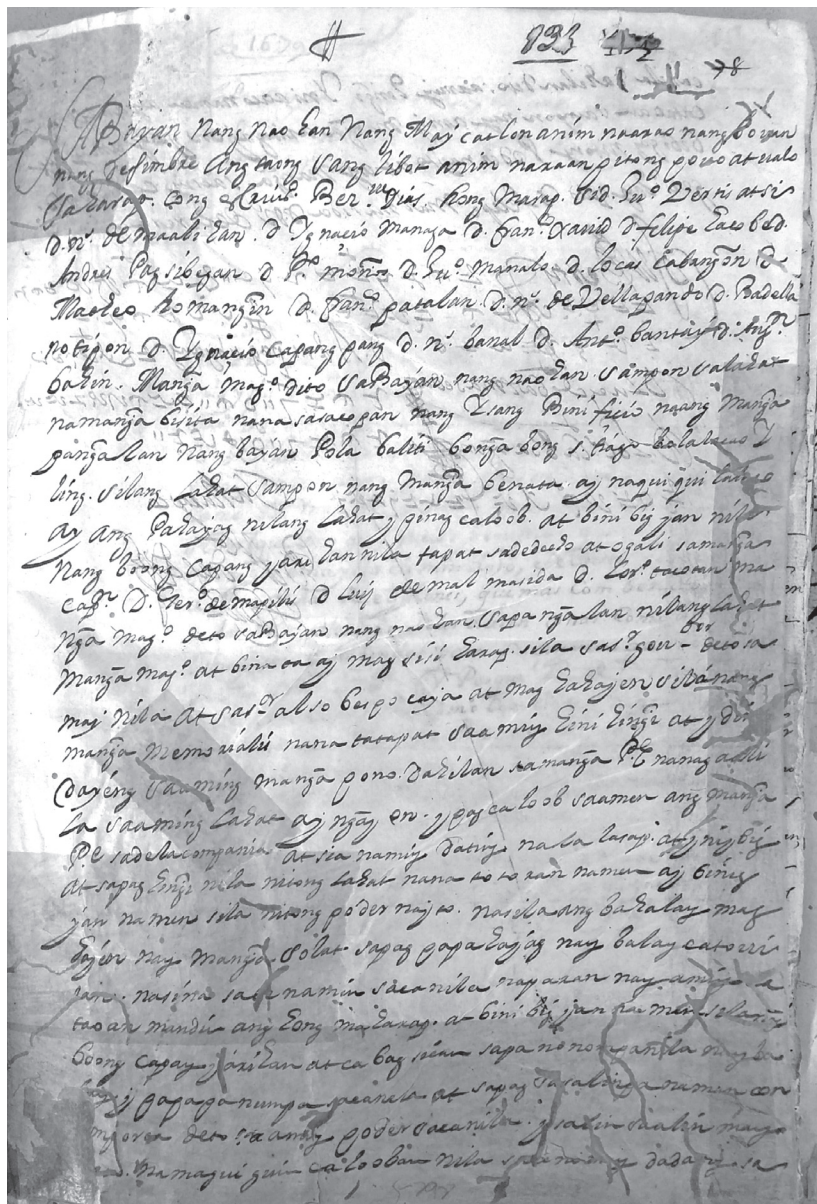
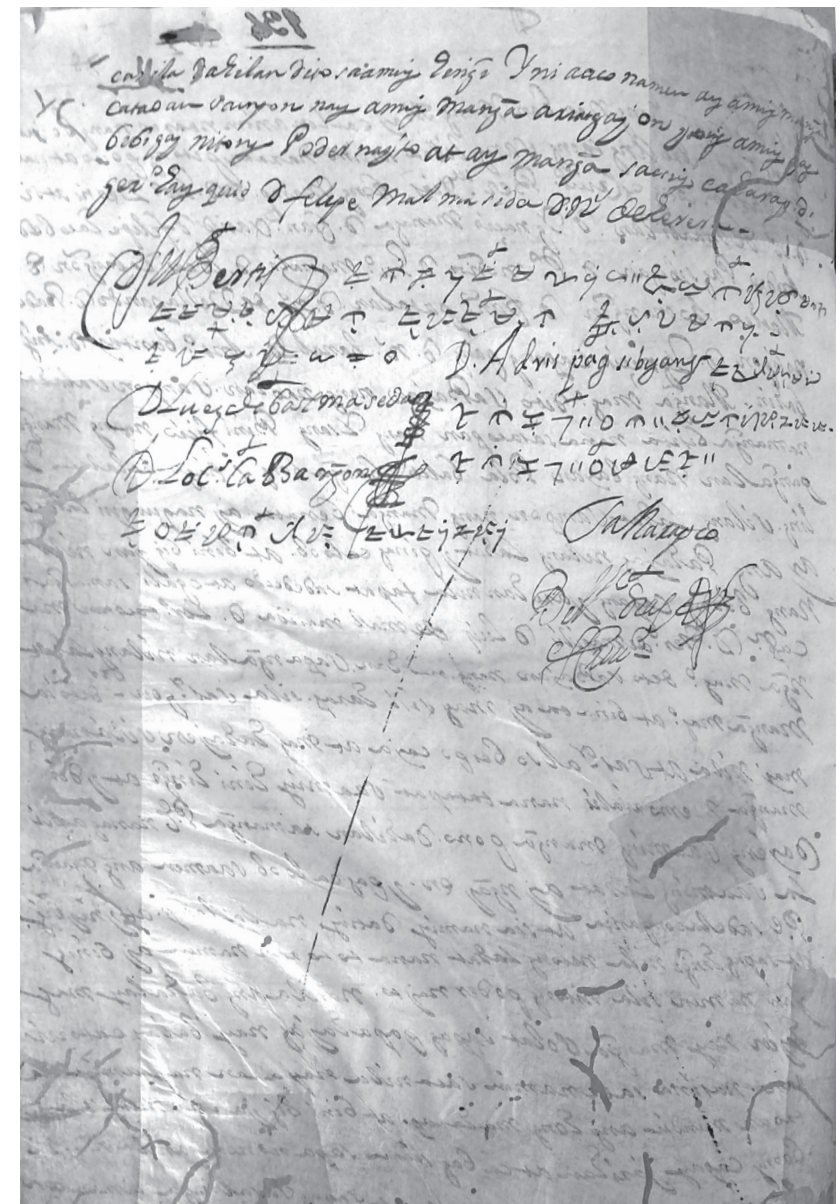


Fig. 1. Scanned copy of the 1678 petition (*front*) courtesy of the National Archives of the Philippines



then the name of the escribano. Thus one finds: “Sa bayan nang Naohan nang maycatlon anim na arao nang bouan nang Desimbre ang taong sang libo anim naraan pitong pouo at ualo sa harap cong escrivano Ber. Dias.”

Immediately the reader knows the origin of the document and when it was written. It might appear to be somewhat brash to begin in this way, if one were to contrast it with the obsequious opening of the first petition: “Caming manga alipin nang Panginoon naming.” In fact, what we find in the second petition was the appropriate way to begin such a document.

The date also followed the pattern of that stage. The numbering of the day of the month followed the Old Tagalog pattern: “maycatlon anim” being twenty six (six of the third group of tens). The numbering of the year, however, followed the Spanish system: “ang taong sang libo anim naraan pitong pouo at ualo” being the year one thousand six hundred seventy and eight (1678).

As in the 1665 petition, the issue is the desire of the men of Naujan to replace their (secular) parish priest with a member of the Society of Jesus. There are additional aspects to this petition: other localities are mentioned—Pola, Baliti, Bongabong, Bago Bolalacao—and the promise that certain leaders from Naujan will travel to Manila to meet with both civil (governor) and ecclesiastical (archbishop) authorities.

This petition was also written with a Jesuit behind it, but his presence was more subtle and nuanced than in the first petition. This document no longer contained much of what was found in the first petition that would indicate a Jesuit’s influence. There was no mention of “manga alipin” or “manga caveça sa bala balangay.” Gone were the Spanish terms like “capitan pasado,” “benefizio,” and “Vuestra Ilustrisima.”

However, one element found in both petitions gives away the Jesuit’s presence and influence: the verb “magaalila,” to enslave. In the first petition, as with the use of alipin, one senses a heavy-handed approach. The accusation that priests were enslaving their parishioners was a serious charge. It is mentioned also in the 1678 petition but not in an overbearing way. The point is made. The men of Naujan want the Jesuits to remain.

A second set of names of the men from Naujan appears in the 1678 petition. A cursory reading reveals that some of the surnames are indigenous, while others are Spanish in origin. However, all given (first) names are Spanish. The orthography does not always match the Spanish. Thus, we

find Habier for Javier, Locas for Lucas. Only one name is found on both lists: Don Ygnazio Managa. What was important to those involved in the creation of this petition was that the names of local leaders were included. Their inclusion suggested legitimacy to the Jesuit claim and signified legal recognition for the men of Naujan by the authorities in Manila, the seat of power. But for us it offers more than that.

Secular versus Regular Clergy

It may seem strange that such an obscure community on another island would attract the attention of both seculars and Jesuits. Why would they bother? Why did each party want Naujan, which was not of great economic or strategic value? As noted by Fray Pedro de San Francisco de Assís in his *General History of the Discalced Augustinian Fathers* published in 1756:

But because there were very few Christians . . . it was not to be supposed that those missions would produce enough income for three ministers. Consequently, they had necessarily to be aided with other incomes, which were solicited from the royal treasury, and with other pious foundations. Neither was that enough, so that at times it was very difficult to find seculars to take charge of those districts. Those ministries were, it is true, scarce desirable, both because of the smallness of their stipends, because they carried with them unendurable hardships, and because of the unhealthfulness of the territory. But finally, moved, either by charity or by obedience, there was never a lack of zealous seculars who hastened with the bread of the instruction to those Indians. (Blair and Robertson 1906, 41:165–66)

There was the matter of the Mangyan. But this did not require taking over the parish of Naujan.

In reality, this was another piece in the ongoing conflict between the seculars and the regulars. Having been neglected for the most part since the Spanish intrusion, Mindoro suddenly became the center of the conflict between these two factions in the Philippines. Mindoro was not necessarily something worth fighting to keep, but simply a pawn in the ecclesiastical struggle between the archbishop in Manila and the Jesuits.

There were two issues that continually set the archbishop and the mendicant orders (the regulars) at odds:

One was tenure of benefices by the regulars [friars]. The other was the claim of the bishops to supervise the conduct of regulars in their role as parish clergy, i.e., the right of ecclesiastical visitation. In most regions of the empire where organized Indian parishes emerged the secular clergy replaced the regulars. The latter often retired after an acrimonious rearguard action. The Philippines is an outstanding exception to this trend. Down to 1898 the regulars continued to hold the majority of benefices, and episcopal visitation was a hollow claim. (Phelan 1959, 32)

The regulars held the upper hand because they were, in Phelan's words, "irreplaceable." In 1655 in the Philippines there were 60 secular priests compared to 254 regulars. In 1697 there were still only 60 seculars in the whole archipelago (ibid., 33, see n. 3). If the archbishop attempted to enforce his rights of visitation, the regulars would threaten to resign their parishes and retire to their convents in Manila. In the case of Naujan, and by extension the rest of Mindoro, the Jesuits sought and got local support in the form of petitions for the right to replace the seculars as parish priests. The Jesuits used the men of Naujan in their struggle against the archbishop in Manila. This strategy was not uncommon in the empire.

As quoted above, Ricard (1966, 79) observed that in early colonial Mexico the "Christian Indians, even those who had been seriously converted, also played their part. In general they were deeply attached to their first missionaries, who had initiated them into the new faith, and their influence certainly restricted the exchanges [of missions] that occurred at times between the Orders." Phelan (1959, 51–52) pointed in the same direction with regard to the early Spanish Philippines.

It is apparent that geoethnic factors had much to do with delimiting the impact of Spanish culture on Filipinos. Isolation and consequent poor communications with Spain prevented the Church from adequately staffing its Philippine missions. Rural decentralization, which the Spaniards could only partially change, gave the Filipinos more freedom in selecting their responses to Hispanization than they

would have had if they had been congregated into large, compact villages under the daily supervision of the religious.

In the end, however, the petitions did not achieve their purposes. The Jesuits lost. Shortly after the second petition, the Augustinian Recollects were given jurisdiction over Naujan and the rest of Mindoro, arriving there in 1679. They took over Mindoro as "compensation" for the missions in Zambales, which the archbishop had forced them to turn over to the Dominicans. As Bernad (1968, 56) noted: "The official history of the Recollect missions (published in Manila in 1879) has a terse comment on this exchange: 'The Recollects resigned themselves to this disproportionate change, since the exertions to avoid it availed nothing.'"

Three things should be noted here. First, the petitions were sent to Archbishop Pardo, whose being in fact a Dominican might have influenced his decision regarding Zambales being given to the Dominicans. Second, the Dominicans had jurisdiction in Pangasinan, which was intersected at different points by Zambales. Third, earlier reports regarding this "change" were more positive than the one quoted by Bernad. Assís wrote:

For, because of the respect to his person, surely worthy of the greatest promotion, we did not dare to condemn his attempt as unjust; and more even, when he obtained it, making amends to our reformed order for the wrong we received by a recompense which was fully justifiable in his eyes. A chance offered him a suitable occasion for his project in the following manner. Don Diego de Villatoro represented to the Council of the Indies that the island of Mindoro was filled with innumerable heathens all sunk in the darkness of their paganism; and that if its conquest were entrusted to any order, it would be very easy to illumine its inhabitants with the light of the faith. Therefore a royal decree was despatched, under date of Madrid, June 18, 1677, ordering the governor of the islands, together with the archbishop, to entrust the reduction of Mindoro to the order which appeared best fitted for it, before all things settling the curas who resided there in prebends or chaplaincies. That decree was presented to the royal Audiencia of Manila by Sargento-mayor Don Sebastian de Villarreal, October 31, [16]78, and since his Majesty's fiscal had nothing to

oppose, it was obeyed without delay, and it was sent for fulfillment to the said archbishop, December 14 of the same year. On that account, his Excellency formed the idea of taking Zambàles from us in order to augment his order and give the island of Mindòro to our discalced order. (Blair and Robertson 1906, 41:168–69)

The dates mentioned appear to predate the second petition. In a sense, the decision to remove the Jesuits had already been made. Assís did note that the locals of Mindoro were not happy about the matter.

Besides that the Indian natives of Mindòro, both Christians and infidels, scarcely knew that there was a question of giving them minister religious and begged Jesuit fathers with great instance, for they preserved yet the affection that they had conceived for them, since the time that the latter had procured for them at the cost of many dangers their greatest welfare, omitting no means that could conduce to their withdrawal from the darkness of their paganism. (ibid., 169–70)

We know from their petition that the men of Naujan, a willing party to the Jesuit hand behind the petition, wanted the Jesuits to stay. And the archbishop sought to appease them, according to the account of the Recollects, the friars who replaced the Jesuits.

But the archbishop found means in the hidden recesses of his prudence by which to conquer such obstacles. For in unison with Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, governor and captain-general of the islands, he softened the provincial, Fray Joseph de San Nicolàs, and obliged him to agree to the exchange. He quieted the natives of Mindòro by means of their Corregidor, so that they might receive the ministers of our discalced order, and availing himself of the services of the alcalde-mayor of Pangasinàn, he silenced the Zambal Indians so that they should take the privation of their Recollects gracefully, and lower the head to the admission of the Dominican fathers. Thereupon, the sea of opposition having been calmed, and after the three seculars who were administering to Mindòro had been assigned fitting competencies, which were provided for them in Manila. (ibid., 170)

Conclusion

From the town of Naujan on the island of Mindoro, these two petitions from the seventeenth century have been handed down to us. Written in the language of the local inhabitants, they provide insight into that world, both on the indigenous side and the side of the Spanish intruders. Several conclusions may be drawn.

First, the local population was not illiterate. This has been the focus of my earlier research as I sought to reconstruct the context in which indigenous language documents came to be (Woods 2011d, ch. 2). I believe that these two documents, although written by an escribano, do indicate a significant level of literacy among the local population.

Second, one may safely assume that if such documents, that is, in Tagalog, were generated in a relatively remote town, remote from the power center of Manila, there must have been many other such documents created in other localities. It is highly unlikely that only Naujan would have been the site of such materials. There are documents from various localities, but none as remote as Naujan. The discovery of these two petitions gives rise to the hope that others will be found as well.

That the Spanish authorities accepted such documents as legal and legitimate is seen in part by their survival. They were not simply discarded but preserved in both civil and ecclesiastical archives.²⁷ While looking for the original of the second petition (as my copy was not clear or legible in certain spots), I asked Rose Mendoza, a researcher thoroughly familiar with the Philippine National Archives, to locate the original document. She found, in the same bundle, another Tagalog document. Not a petition, this document was simply a letter acknowledging receipt of a letter. From nearby Baco, it is dated 11 November 1678.²⁸ The existence of such documents should not surprise us; that they have survived should.

In addition, as with other Tagalog documents of the seventeenth century (and into the nineteenth as well), baybayin was used when individuals affixed their signatures to legal documents. Baybayin did not disappear, as some have claimed, but continued well into the nineteenth century in the form we find in these documents: signatures.

Does the failure of these two petitions to gain a positive response from the archbishop indicate powerlessness on the part of the men of Naujan? Not at all. Suppose a community of Spaniards constructed a similar petition, requesting a religious order be given jurisdiction over their community,

would their request have been granted? Probably not. This was an intramural struggle between the archbishop and the friars. It was an ecclesiastical matter. Would this indicate an incapacity or powerlessness on their part? No.

And neither do these petitions. Setting aside the question as to whether or not the subaltern can speak (cf. Sharp 2009, ch. 6), what one finds in these documents—the “failure” to get what was requested—is almost secondary. These documents confirm and certify the positions and authority of the men listed. Their agency is the basis of these petitions—agency that predates these petitions, as indicated by the title *capitan pasado*. The purpose of this article is not to restore agency but rather to recognize it.²⁹

The Jesuits relied on the leadership of Naujan to help them in the quest to oust the secular priests and to appropriate Mindoro for themselves. They had been working among the Mangyans, the people of the interior. Now they wanted to be in charge of the coastal people as well. To accomplish this goal, they required the power and influence of the men, who willingly cooperated and signed these petitions. This was but one skirmish in an ongoing conflict between the friars and the archbishops of the cathedral in Manila. In the following years the Jesuits would continue to gain ground in the Philippines.

The project of writing, or should I say rewriting, Philippine history of the early Spanish period needs to be revisited, this time using indigenous language documents. With the chronology set by Spanish sources, we can now set about the task of filling in the gaps—the gaps in our knowledge of those who came before us—how they identified themselves, how their lives and their views changed, their participation in the events of their time. Out of the silence, we can hear their voices.

Notes

I am grateful to Prof. Nenita Pambid Domingo at UCLA for her help with the English translation of the texts of the Tagalog petitions in this article. I also want to express my gratitude to the editorial staff at Philippine Studies for their immense assistance in shaping and completing this manuscript, including the final English translations of the Tagalog documents and the final transcription as well as the clear copy of the 1678 petition. Finally, I want to thank Aljun Albao and Maria Bernadette Albao for helping me in obtaining material for this paper and for taking me to the poblacion of Naujan.

- 1 Naujan has been spelled at least seven different ways in Blair and Robertson's *Philippine Islands*: Naujan, Nanhoan, Naohan, Naojan, Naoyan, Nauhan, Nauhang, and as Naowan in reports about the Dutch burning the town to the ground in 1645.

- 2 Blair and Robertson (1906, 39:84 n. 23) state: “The name Mindoro is by some writers derived from *mina de oro*, as it was supposed to be rich in gold.” Blair and Robertson listed at least nine names in the index under Mindoro: Mindoro, Mindora, Bindoro, Ka-May-en, Luzon the lesser, Mainit, Mait, Minolo, Vindoro. This list does not include Min-to-lang, another possible name used by the Chinese.
- 3 Prior to contact with the Spaniards, three outside groups had dealings with the people of this island: the Chinese, Muslims, and pirates (which often were either Muslims or Chinese). From the Chinese (Sangleys) we have the earliest written records regarding the island known then as Ma-i. The name Ma-i first appeared in Chinese records in 977 in the reports of three envoys sent by the king of Brunei. Five years later (982), traders from Ma-i arrived at Canton. Chao Ju-Kua's thirteenth-century work *Chu-Fan-Chi* (Reports on the South Seas Barbarians) mentioned the island of Ma-i (Teh-Ming 1964, 298). William Henry Scott (1968, 72 cited in Lopez 1976, 11) argued: “Mai is evidently Mindoro, for that island used to be called Mait, which is a southern Chinese pronunciation of the name.” Later Spanish accounts “confirm” that Ma-i was indeed Mindoro. Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, OP (1610–1689), noted that the island the natives called Minolo, the Spaniards called Mindoro (Blair and Robertson 1906, 38:47). This island was formerly called Mainit, and the Spaniards gave it the name of Mindoro, on account of a village called Minolo, which lay between Puerto de Galeras and the harbor of Ylog. For the wealth of material regarding Mindoro in this work—products found there and trading between Chinese merchants and the local inhabitants—one fact stands out: there was no mention of either a gold mine or gold mines.
- 4 The term friar generally referred to a member of one of the Mendicant Orders (which includes the Jesuits). Friars were members of the regular clergy, one of the two major groups of clergy in the Catholic Church: the secular (see note 6 below) (or diocesan) and the regular. The regular clergy are those who follow a special rule: “regular” from the Latin *regula* meaning rule. Although originally intended for those in the Rule of St. Benedict as early as 755 when in the Council of Vernuil, the title *ordo regularis* (as opposed to *ordo canonicus*) evolved and came to refer to those who had taken a vow of poverty. Again, this included the members of the Society of Jesus (Vermeersch 1976, 723–24). It should be noted that much of the literature on religious activities in the New World favors the friars. Take for example Robert Ricard (1966). This bias is also seen in the work of the Jesuit Horacio de la Costa (1961) as well as Phelan (1959).
- 5 See map 2 in Phelan 1959, 174–75. Although Latin America was Phelan's area of expertise, he spent the years between 1955 and 1959 as a part of the Philippine Studies Program, which was run jointly by the Newberry Library and the University of Chicago (Department of Anthropology), made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Foundation. A note on the first page of the article, “Pre-Baptismal Instruction,” states that Phelan (1955b, 3) was working on “a book dealing with the ‘spiritual conquest’ of the Philippines 1565–1648.” Phelan apparently intended to follow the example of Robert Ricard's classic *Conquete spirituelle du Mexique*, the full title of which is: *Conquete spirituelle du Mexique. Essai sur l'apostolat et les méthodes missionnaires des ordres mendicants en Nouvelle-Espagne de 1523–24 à 1572*. In 1947 Ángel Maria Garibay K. published a Spanish translation, *Conquista espiritual de México. Ensayo sobre el apostolado y los métodos misioneros de las órdenes mendicantes en la Nueva España de 1523–24 a 1572*. An English translation by Lesley Byrd Sampson came out in 1966: *Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523–1572*. Phelan's three articles published before *Hispanization* reflected the trajectory of his work. His

second article's title matched chapter 4 of Ricard's work: Prebaptismal Instruction and the Administration of Baptism. Four chapters in *Hispanization* reflect the religious emphasis of Phelan's research: Chapter 3: The Spanish Missionaries; Chapter 4: The "Spiritual" Geography; Chapter 5: The Imposition of Christianity; Chapter 6: The Philippinization of Spanish Catholicism. As one of the appendices in the book, Phelan set out a series of maps of the Philippines marking the location of the various religious orders throughout the archipelago.

- 6 Secular comes from the Latin *sæculum*, and refers to those clergy who live in the world at large, as opposed to the cloister, and follow no rule. The secular clergyman may possess his own property and owes his obedience to the bishop, though not renouncing his own will (Boudinhon 1976, 675–76).
- 7 The account is found in *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete*, which is an English translation of Navarrete's *Tratados historicos* (completed in 1675) and his *Controversias* (a book written against the Jesuits and their activities in China and completed in 1677). The chapter containing the information regarding his first trip to Mindoro is "What Observations I Made, and How I Was Employ'd during that Time" (Cummins 1962, 67–88).
- 8 In August 1667 San Vitores left the Philippines for the Marianas, where by February 1669 he had established the first Catholic Church there. In 1672 San Vitores was martyred together with his assistant Pedro Calungsod. See Schumacher 2001a, 2001b.
- 9 For a background on indigenous language documents and deciphering them, see Woods 2011d, ch. 2. Cf. Francisco 1963, 1973.
- 10 Documents in Bisaya, Kapampangan, and Ilocano have also been found.
- 11 For the definitions of the various escribano positions such as *escribano de cabildo*, *escribano publico y de cabildo*, *escribano publico del numero*, and *escribano reales*, see Burns 2010, 205–6.
- 12 I am grateful to Regalado "Ricky" Trota Jose for sharing this material with me.
- 13 In his monograph *Seventeenth-century Events at Lilíw, Laguna, Philippines*, Jean-Paul Potet (2013) deals with the lone Tagalog document (actually a compilation of documents) found in the Newberry Library in Chicago. Ten folios in length, the set contains eight separate documents, along with two statements at their compilation in 1753 and 1809. The documents were dated 1601, 1604, 1607, 1608, 1610, 1646, and 1648. All of these documents were originally written in *baybayin* and then transcribed "in Latin characters" because the original documents were in very bad condition. This transcription was completed by a number of clerks and then signed by Mayor Don Lorenzo Pasco on 6 November 1753. This process, which was described as "*ginawa ang pagsalin sa tutua ng original*," needs to be correctly understood. As Potet points out, while "pagsalin" is usually understood as "to translate," in this case it means to transcribe as the clerks took the original baybayin texts and put them into Latin letters.
- 14 Jean Potet's (1987) article, which includes the original text of the petition, can be accessed online at http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/clao_0153-3320_1987_num_16_1_1220.
- 15 I discuss this point in Woods 2011a. The stages can be tracked by the changes in the Tagalog way of counting. One also finds an evolution in the use of *bayán* (Woods 2011b).

- 16 *Legajo* (box file, henceforth leg.) 408, 21, Archivo de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas.
- 17 Leg. 94, 18, Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental, Madrid.
- 18 "Títulos y recaudos de la Estancia de Mandaloya," mss. 1585–1721, fol. 110, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.
- 19 As Phelan (1959, 32) noted: The issue of the benefice was an ongoing one. In 1522 (after the taking of Mexico), Pope Adrian VI gave regulars the authority to perform the duties of parish priest without being subject to the authority of the local bishop. Some forty-five years later, Philip II obtained from Pope Pius V discretionary power over the matter in the New World. A cedula of 1583 "gave the secular clergy outright preferential treatment for vacant benefices and made the regulars, in the capacity as parish priests, subject to episcopal visitation."
- 20 "Benef" is listed as the abbreviated form in Haggard 1941, 50.
- 21 This is from a private correspondence (Potet 2011). I am grateful to Jean-Paul for his invaluable assistance and input. He has become an indispensable resource on various aspects of early Tagalog documents.
- 22 Among the openings found are: *Cami ang boong bayan*, *Caming boong Comun*, and *Cami ang ma nga ma Guinoo*.
- 23 Potet 2012 refers to the punishments (including crucifixion) given to local officials for their failure to collect the assigned amount of tribute according to Bishop Salazar's 1583 report found in Blair and Robertson 1903, 223. In the matter of how the local population was treated and abused by Spanish officials and encomenderos, Salazar is not to be taken seriously.
- 24 Potet (2012, 13 n. 17) theorizes: "It seems the Spaniards assimilated to their own term *capitán* 'captain' the Tagalog term *kapitan* 'captain, leader' . . . *kapitan* is derived from *kápit* 'to hold in one's hand(s); to carry; to support; to help (a child, an old person) to walk.'"
- 25 Potet based his view on the 1613 Vocabulario by the Franciscan Pedro de San Buenaventura. It is worth noting that, for the Tagalog definition of the Spanish *gobernador*, San Buenaventura gives *capitan basal*.
- 26 Cedula 1660–1680, SDS 194, National Archives of the Philippines (NAP), Manila. Unlike the first petition, this document is not in good condition (see figs. 1 and 2). Damage from insects and the unwise use of tape has made some portions unreadable and question marks have been placed in the transcription to indicate this problem. I am grateful to Rose Mendoza and the *Philippine Studies* editorial staff for their invaluable assistance in helping me through the more troublesome spots. Some, however, are simply indecipherable.
- 27 As I have mentioned elsewhere (Woods 2012, 90) with regard to documents written in Tagalog in *baybayin*, the fact that the Spaniards recognized and acknowledged such signatures and inscriptions is demonstrated in a court document from a case in 1620 involving Don Luis Castilla from Pasig (Espallargas 1974, 84). A request was made: "Furthermore I request your Lordship to order all sureties and sale documents of the above mentioned parcels of land to be written in the Spanish language so that they could be better understood" (ibid.). At issue here is not the legality of such documents but merely the difficulty the court was having in reading such documents. In fact, the notary who took part in the case added this side remark: "Among the

documents exhibited there are two in Tagalog characters which on account of the bad style that they have, cannot be transcribed literally" (ibid.).

28 This letter is preserved at the National Archives of the Philippines, Cedulaario 1660–1680, SDS 194. [There is another letter from Baco of the same era that is found in the same bundle as that of this letter—Ed.]

29 Gonzalo Lamana (2008, 2) notes of most current histories of Peru: "they restore agency to native peoples, undoing one of the biases of the self-centered Spanish sixteenth-century accounts. But they do it at a high price: they render events intelligible by endowing all actors with Western ways of making sense." I do not believe that this article does so.

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