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## **Symposium**

### **Contracting Colonialism and the Long 1970s**

Vicente L. Rafael

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# Symposium

VICENTE L. RAFAEL

## ***Contracting Colonialism and the Long 1970s***

How is it that a book published over twenty-five years ago dealing with a distant historical moment, consisting of a series of close readings of equally obscure texts that few scholars of even the same period bother to read and informed by a style of thinking largely foreign to nationalist ideas, continues to be read and referenced not only in the Philippines but in other parts of the world? This article seeks to answer this question by placing the making of *Contracting Colonialism* within the context of the long 1970s in both the Philippines and the United States.

**KEYWORDS:** *CONTRACTING COLONIALISM* · 1970S · PHILIPPINE STUDIES · CORNELL UNIVERSITY · ATENEO DE MANILA UNIVERSITY · UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

It is strange to think that *Contracting Colonialism* has been continuously in print for the last twenty-five years, and even stranger still to think that it is still being read and cited, as Vernon Totanes (2013) and Ramon Guillermo (2103) have pointed out. The obvious question is why? It is especially perplexing because I never thought that anyone else outside of my dissertation committee at Cornell University would read it. I still recall William Henry Scott telling me, after I sent him a copy of the dissertation, that I got everything wrong about Tagalog, and that he considered the whole thing a waste of time. My other mentor whose views I greatly admired, Fr. John Schumacher SJ (1989), gave the book a negative review in the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, which I took to mean that it would have no future in the field. The historian Jim Richardson similarly dismissed the book as entirely without relevance to the study of the Philippines. Despite the fact that it had won the National Book Award for History in 1988—a fluke, I was convinced—my former teacher and staunchest supporter, Doreen Fernandez, told me at a restaurant in New York in the early 1990s that, frankly, the book was too dense and too difficult for even the most patient and informed readers to get through. By then, I was convinced that *Contracting Colonialism*, like many other scholarly works, was headed for junk heap. In stark contrast to Reynaldo Ileto's *Pasyon and Revolution* (1979) or to the enduring works of Schumacher, Scott, and Teodoro Agoncillo, my book was destined to be at best a curiosity, a small blip in the radar of Philippine historical studies. I am thus surprised that this has not happened. Instead the book, by all indications, continues to have a shelf life far more extended than I, or anyone else, had any right to expect.

Again, why? How is it that a book dealing with a distant historical moment, consisting of a series of close readings of equally obscure texts

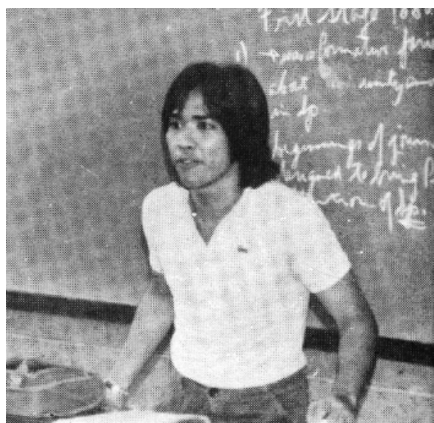


Fig. 1. Rafael teaching History 180 at the Ateneo de Manila University, 1978

that few scholars of even the same period bother to read and informed by a style of thinking largely foreign to nationalist ideas, continues to be read and referenced not only in the Philippines but in other parts of the world? Perhaps one way to answer this question is to demystify the book's seeming idiosyncrasy. We might, for instance, consider the context of its genesis and the preconditions for its conception. I obviously do not have time to delve into the details of what we might think of as the book's conditions of possibility, but let me indicate a few.

## **Dissent and Cultural Florescence**

Let us begin with the dates of its making. The dissertation was finished in 1984, revised while I was a fellow at Stanford University in 1987, and appeared in cloth from Cornell University Press and paper from Ateneo de Manila University Press in 1988.<sup>1</sup> PhD completion and the book's publication took place two years before and after the fall of Marcos, respectively, in 1986. In the US, it was conceived and published during the Reagan years from 1980 to 1988. *Contracting Colonialism* thus emerged during the last years of martial law and the cold war, amid the overlapping regimes of Ferdinand Marcos and Ronald Reagan.

The Marcos years spanned what we might think of as the long 1970s, running roughly from his first term in 1965 to his downfall in 1986. For my generation of middle-class Filipino youth, this was a formative period. Our high school years moved through the "wild" pre-martial law times of the late 1960s that witnessed the beginnings of the student movements, including the founding of the Maoist Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968, and the steady growth of leftist opposition to Marcos and the US empire, especially its war in Vietnam. By the time I entered college in 1973 martial law had been imposed. These were the years of living under the arbitrary and violent yoke of authoritarian rule. It forced many of us to make a number of decisions. For some it meant going underground; for others it entailed taking an aesthetic detour to seek solace in art, film, and literature. A few went abroad for graduate school if they could manage to get a scholarship. I was, of course, one of the latter (fig. 1).

Many of the recent accounts about the years of living under martial law have been focused understandably on the stories of those who went underground, struggling bravely against the regime and at times against certain forces within the Communist Party (e.g., Quimpo and Quimpo

2012; Llanes 2012). These stories have been important for keeping alive the memory of the horrific abuses and widespread injustice spawned by the Marcos regime, willfully obscured by members of his family who today are still very much in power. But what remains to be told are other developments—intellectual and artistic—during the long Marcos years. Some of these were a direct result of the regime’s patronage, but many others took place independent of it. The latter unfolded in ways that tend to elude both pro- and anti-Marcos narratives. These were precisely the developments that helped shaped the thinking that went into *Contracting Colonialism*.

We might lump these disparate developments under the rubric of “Philippines studies.” Although not entirely free from the more conventional Orientalist notion of “Filipiniana,” the new Philippine studies sought to do at least two things. It attempted to de-provincialize and disseminate local knowledges, making these available to wider audiences, and it embarked on a process of decolonizing historical consciousness and cultural practices. There was a sense, then, that learning about the Philippines was joined to the broader project of realigning the formation of national identity with the struggle for social justice, or what came to be known, at least in left wing circles, as “national democracy.” Led by students and academics who were sympathetic to, if not active participants in, the movement, “Philippine studies” as a distinct and necessarily interdisciplinary program was institutionalized during the long 1970s at two of the major universities in Manila: the University of the Philippines (UP) and the Ateneo de Manila University. The Ateneo-based journal *Philippine Studies*, though founded in 1953, became a leading forum for new work, as did *Diliman Review* at UP. In Cebu, the University of San Carlos provided a vibrant supplement to these Manila-centric programs with its journal, *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, and the establishment of the Cebuano Studies Center.<sup>2</sup>

A very partial list of the key works that emerged at that time might include the following: Antonio Manuud, ed., *Brown Heritage: Essays on Philippine Cultural Traditions and Literature* (1967); Bienvenido Lumbera’s *Tagalog Poetry, 1570–1898: Traditions and its Development* (PhD dissertation in 1967, but not published until 1986); Renato Constantino’s classic essay, *The Miseducation of the Filipino*, as well as his other historical critiques of Rizal, his resuscitation of Recto, his edition of Taylor’s five-volume *Philippine Insurgent Records* as part of his directorship at the Lopez Memorial Museum (Constantino 1966, 1972, 1969; Taylor 1971); Cesar Adib Majul’s *Muslim*

in the Philippines (1978), coming after his works on Mabini (Majul 1960, 1964); Resil Mojares's *Origins and Rise of the Filipino Novel* (PhD dissertation, 1979; published 1983); John Schumacher's *The Propaganda Movement* (1973) as well as his works on Burgos and on Philippine church history (Schumacher 1979, 1981); Reynaldo Ileto's *Pasyon and Revolution* (PhD dissertation, 1975; published 1979); Milagros Guerrero's yet to be published PhD dissertation at Michigan, "Luzon at War: Contradictions in Philippine Society, 1898–1902" (1977); Doreen Fernandez's *Iloilo Zarzuela, 1903–1930* (1978); Soledad Reyes's *Nobelang Tagalog, 1905–1975: Tradisyon at Modernismo* (1982); Nicanor Tiongson's *Kasaysayan ng Komedyang sa Pilipinas, 1766–1982* (1982); Rolando Tinio's influential plays and essays on language; William Henry Scott's historical writings, starting with *A Critical Study of the Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History* (1968) and *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain* (1985); Ed. C. de Jesus's *The Tobacco Monopoly* (1980); the seminal collection, *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformation*, edited by Alfred McCoy and Ed. C. de Jesus (1982); and Nick Joaquin's *A Question of Heroes* (1977). The list could go on and might include works by American scholars that became classics in the field: Edgar Wickberg's *The Chinese in Philippine Life* (1965); John Larkin's *The Pampangans* (1972); Benedict Kerkvliet's masterful *The Huk Rebellion* (1977); and Peter Stanley's unintentionally ironic *A Nation in the Making* (1974), among others.

There were works in related arts: in theater, the Philippine Educational Theater Association (PETA) was established by Cecile Guidote and the Repertory Philippines was founded by Zenaida Amador, both in 1967. At UP Behn Cervantes and Anton Juan staged avant-garde and nationalist theatrical productions that included plays by Brecht and Becket. In painting, there was the full blown emergence of artists who might have started in an earlier era but came into national and eventually international prominence in the 1970s: Ben Cabrera, Arturo Luz, H. R. Ocampo, Ang Kiu-Kok, Anita Magsaysay-Ho, Imelda Cajipe Endaya, Edgardo Castrillo, Vicente Manansala, Jose Joya, among others, as well as the modernist architecture of Leandro Locsin. I would also single out Nonoy Marcelo's brilliant cartoon series, "Tisoy" and "Ikabod," that introduced a youthful, cynical tone to popular discourse and elevated the comic strip into an art form. Philippine cinema went through a veritable golden age with works by Lino Brocka, Eddie Romero, Ishmael Bernal, Mike de Leon, Behn Cervantes, Marilou Diaz-Abaya, Peque Gallaga, and others.

The era also marked the beginnings of Pinoy rock and pop, later known as OPM (Original Pilipino Music). There were rock bands like Juan de la Cruz and Maria Cafrá; pop groups like the Hotdog and Apo Hiking Society; and folk singers like Freddie Aguilar, Asin, Heber Bartolome, and Florante. Collectively their innovation consisted of taking Western musical forms and amplified instruments to produce songs in Tagalog or, in some cases, Taglish. Initially marginalized, OPM gradually made headway when it began to be played in radio stations like DZRJ—the future anti-Marcos pirate station, “Radio Bandido” of EDSA I—thanks to DJs like Dante David known as Howlin’ Dave (no doubt, a nod toward the Delta bluesman, Howlin’ Wolf). OPM thus began to challenge the dominance of English-language Western rock and pop music, thereby politicizing the field of musical production.

Finally, there were a series of public spaces that made it possible for intellectuals, artists, and activists to congregate, collaborate, and at times cohabitate. This geography of political expression included streets and plazas—Mendiola, Plaza Miranda, España, the university belt, Roxas Boulevard in front of the US Embassy, the old Legislative Building, not to mention the university campuses—that had been the strategic points of convergence for large political rallies before martial law. Marcos outlawed such rallies after 1972 and so these sites atrophied as political chokepoints. But before and through martial law, there were other quasipublic spaces for gathering. These included bookstores like Solidaridad, Popular Bookstore, Erewhon, and Casa Linda; bars like Los Indios Bravos, the Penguin, even the gay disco Coco Banana; and, for Manila residents, provincial retreats like Baguio and Sagada. Indeed, there is a history of Pinoy bohemianism and the rise of urban hipsters consisting of poets, musicians, activists, artists, academics, wealthy hangers-on, and the occasional European or white American friend that is waiting to be written.

## **Five Characteristics**

What characterized these developments? Let me cite at least five things.

First, they occurred in ways that were conjunctural and contingent. That is to say, they did not happen under state planning or institutional sponsorship. Things developed by accident or happenstance: activists, intellectuals, and artists living or working side by side, attending the same classes or going to the same political rally or drinking in the same Ermita pub, hanging out and discovering common interests while responding to the

same cluster of issues. They might form informal weekly gatherings to paint or photograph, hold political discussions, rehearse a play, read their poems, or organize the screening of art films.

Second, they were “countercultural.” That is, they were skeptical of received wisdom and ambivalent toward authority, deferring to tradition yet eager to challenge it. Hence, they were at once critical of, but also anxious about, collaborating with those in power or those who aspired to be in power, whether this was Marcos or the Communist Party.

Third, they were “modernizing” in the sense of consciously seeking to reinvent traditions. At times, they were prone to discount the substance of conventions even as they appropriated their forms. Thus were they open to experimentation, attempting less the preservation of history as the plotting of new historical possibilities. This often brought with it an irreverent, desacralizing spirit, comfortable with mass culture while less reliant on older conventions of behavior and thought. In historical studies, in particular, one thinks of the break from the assumptions of the colonial and postwar nationalist historiography of Gregorio Zaide, Carlos Quirino, and Teodoro Agoncillo. In the social sciences, there also began to emerge critiques of the ahistorical and overly culturalist constructions of Philippine society pioneered by the scholars of the Institute of Philippine Culture, such as the Jesuit Frank Lynch. The most notable departures from both these historicist and culturalist approaches can be found, for example, in the very distinct works of Reynaldo Ileto (1979) and Benedict Kerkvliet (1977).

Fourth, they were obsessed with the collection and archiving of artifacts of all sorts. The act of collecting itself became a form of critique involving selection, editing, and deciding on what was valuable and less valuable, what was major and minor. It entailed cultivating connoisseurship around forgotten and marginalized objects of colonial art, popular culture, and commercial literature. It also reinforced the impulse to curate as a means to conserve bodies of work as well as hold up a national canon to compare with other national canons around the world. One thinks of anthologies such as Cynthia Nograles-Lumbera and Teresita Gimenez-Maceda’s college textbook, *Rediscovery* (1977, 1983); Eric Torres’s meticulously assembled collection at the Ateneo art gallery; Doreen Fernandez’s and E. Aguilar Cruz’s collections of modern art and the Locsins’ collection of precolonial artifacts; even Alfredo Roces’s multivolume *Filipino Heritage: The Making of a Nation* (1977), which was a kind of omnibus of Filipino art and



letters partly inspired by earlier compilations such as E. Arsenio Manuel's remarkably meticulous *Dictionary of Philippine Biography* (1955) and Zoilo M. Galang's formidable *Encyclopedia of the Philippines* (originally published in 1935; reissued, 1950–1958).

Fifth, they were characterized by a kind of *cosmopolitan nationalism*.<sup>3</sup> While concerned with the fate of the nation, they were attuned to what was going on in the world. In fact, nationalism was experienced as part of the larger planetary currents of dissent and revolution that, beginning in the second half of the 1960s, linked Manila to upheavals in New York, San Francisco, Paris, Prague, Mexico City, Tokyo, Johannesburg, Beijing, and so on. A cursory reading of just about anything written by Renato Constantino or Nick Joaquin at that time will show this sensibility. It was not strange for students, for example, to listen to the music from Woodstock and then read Mao's Little Red Book (1964) alongside Jose Ma. Sison's *Philippine Society and Revolution* (Guerrero 1971). Left-wing internationalism, by virtue of its opposition to imperialism, naturally called for a more expanded view of the world beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. Nationalism was thus understood to be as much about the fate of the Philippines as it was about the fate of the rest of the world. It was inherently a form of internationalism, a networked response that connected and relayed multiple calls coming from different parts of the world, rather than a turning away from the world.

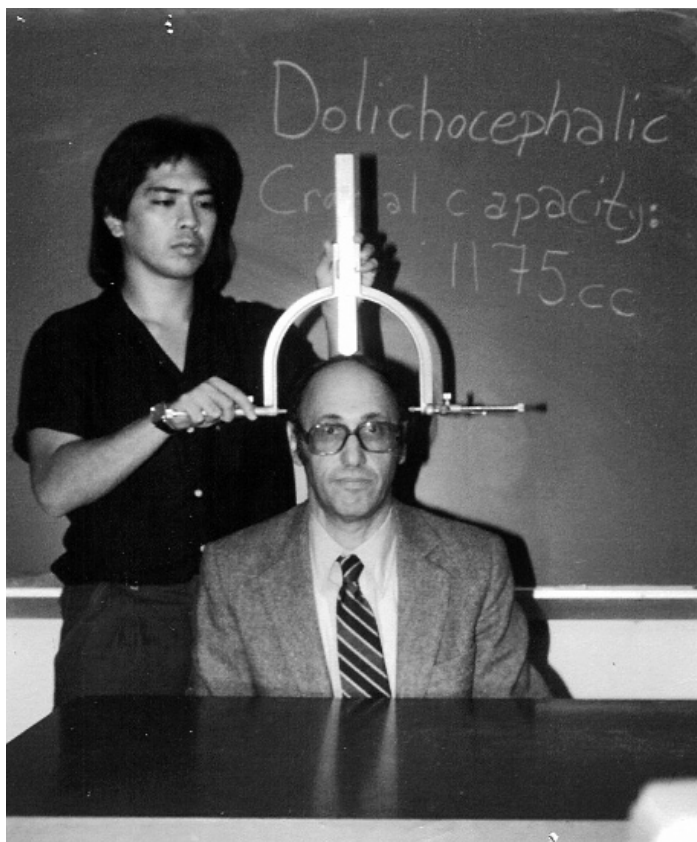
Alongside cosmopolitan nationalism was a *nationalist cosmopolitanism* that was attuned to the demands of translation. This was the great era of translating Western classics from Shakespeare to Brecht into Filipino, especially by Rolando Tinio. At the Ateneo de Manila, one could take courses in existential phenomenology in either English or Tagalog. Fr. Roque Ferriols SJ and his most avid student, Eduardo Calasanz, taught the Greeks, Heidegger, Marcel, and Merleau-Ponty in Filipino. At UP the emergence of indigenizing movements—such as, in historical studies, *Pantayong Pananaw* under Zeus Salazar; in philosophy, *Pilipinolohiya*; and, in psychology, Virgilio Enriquez's *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*—could be seen, at least in their initial stages, as part of this on-going process of translation.<sup>4</sup> There was a sense, then, that just as things Filipino could be rearticulated to reach an ever-widening world, there was nothing in the world that could not be addressed in and translated into Filipino.

These, then, were the conditions that, looking back, formed bits and pieces of the intellectual baggage that I brought with me to graduate school.

## The Cornell Milieu

I arrived in the United States in the fall of 1979, on the eve of the presidential elections that would bring to power the most conservative of American politicians yet in the postwar era. The fear and loathing of Reagan among liberal intellectuals in the US, like that of Marcos in the Philippines, could be felt everywhere. At Cornell, with its turbulent history of antiwar demonstrations, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) sit-ins, and black power revolts, it went largely without saying. It was reflected in such things as the common skepticism about authority and power, a distrust of the state, and a critical stance toward its capitalist underpinnings, as well as a generalized disillusion with the new left politics of the 1960s. At the same time, there was an ineluctable openness to new ideas, especially from Europe. These included continental thought in the form of critical theory, neo-Marxist history, deconstruction, and other variants of poststructuralist philosophy, as well as Lacanian psychoanalysis and cultural studies from the UK that highlighted the works of Althusser and Gramsci. Feminist politics and feminist theory went hand in hand and infused many fields of study, as we read Luce Irigaray, Helene Cixous, and Julia Kristeva, among others. Just then, what were to become known as postcolonial theory and queer theory were beginning to sprout in departments of English, comparative literature, history, and anthropology. African-American students were demanding the creation of Black studies programs, the precursors to the ethnic studies, Asian American studies, and Latino studies departments of later years. Among area studies programs, Southeast Asian studies at Cornell had long been associated with radical politics, given the presence of George Kahin, his student Benedict Anderson, and other faculty and graduate students like Daniel Lev and Ruth McVey who, aside from leading antiwar demonstrations years earlier, were now at the forefront of doing comparative work on Southeast Asian politics and culture.<sup>5</sup>

Academic work was becoming more transdisciplinary—indeed, disciplines increasingly felt like heuristic fictions with no stable boundaries. As a history major, I took as many courses in comparative literature and anthropology as I did in my home department. I was also a teaching assistant for Dominick LaCapra, who taught European intellectual history. In his large undergraduate class, his reading list included not only Nietzsche, Hegel, Derrida, Habermas, and Foucault but also Virginia Woolf, Stendhal, Gustav Flaubert, and Dostoevsky. My first graduate seminar was a class he taught



Lichtenberg therefore rightly says: 'Suppose the physiognomist ever did take the measure of man; it would only require a courageous resolve on the part of man to make himself incomprehensible again for a thousand years.'

--Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, p.191,  
Miller trans.

Fig. 2. Playing a joke on the physical anthropologists: Rafael measuring James Siegel's head, reversing the position of native and Western anthropologist, Cornell University, 1983

on the trial of Madame Bovary, where we read the novels of Flaubert side by side with newspaper accounts and legal transcripts of his obscenity trial, thus alerting me to the porosity of textual borders. I took other seminars—on Freud, on Rousseau and Hume, on Spanish Golden Age literature, on ethnographic description, and on the history and ethnology of Southeast Asia, mostly focusing on Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, and Vietnam, but rarely on the Philippines. Indeed, I ended up having to reconsider many of the foundational categories for thinking about the Philippines precisely by having to learn about other places and topics. The Philippines thus became new by virtue of being other than what I thought it was. At the end of my first year, I asked one of my advisors, James Siegel, an anthropologist of Indonesia, what I should be reading for the summer, and he recommended Proust. In the long 1970s, the air was thick with this sort of intellectual promiscuity and wild curiosity, where one, for example, could spend much of the evening reading up on the Indonesian revolution or Clifford Geertz on the Balinese cockfight, and then, once the library closed, go to a screening of a Godard or Hitchcock film across the quad.

It was by coincidence that I ended up sharing a house with graduate students in English who not only seemed to have read everything in the Anglo-American canon but also had a great familiarity with French and German critical theory (which they read in the original languages). Next to us was a house full of anthropology students who, aside from being avid gardeners and capacious cultural theorists, had an encyclopedic grasp, not to mention an impressive collection, of blues music as well as jazz, reggae, and electronic music. They even formed their own rock and roll band with some students from the music and physics departments. Along with other graduate students, we formed reading groups around Marx's *Capital*. Perhaps, symptomatic of the times, our discussions tended to veer toward unpacking the mystery of the commodity rather than fomenting a revolution. We would go to a gamelan concert one night, then to a Talking Heads concert on a second, then to a packed lecture by Derrida on Kafka and Benjamin. And, of course, New York City some four and a half hours away by car, always beckoned with its unparalleled intellectual and artistic wonders. I learned from my peers and from my frequent forays into the City probably as much as I learned from my professors, and in ways that were often accidental and haphazard. Such conditions were certainly distinct but no less resonant with the contingency and conjunctures of life in Manila.

Here, then, was the scene of the crime: the place and time where I wrote the drafts of my dissertation. It was in the midst of a seminar on language and politics in Java with Jim Siegel that I got the idea for doing a history of colonialism and religious conversion from the perspective of translation. Siegel had been a student of Clifford Geertz at Berkeley in the 1960s. Like Lévi-Strauss, Geertz had written about cultures as texts or stories requiring hermeneutic engagement.<sup>6</sup> But, by the late 1970s, Siegel had moved beyond both Geertz's humanism and Lévi-Strauss's structuralism. As one of the most astute readers of Jacques Derrida and Walter Benjamin, Siegel (1979) had begun to apply poststructuralist approaches in his earlier work on Acehnese historical thought as revealed in the epics about the holy war.<sup>7</sup> By the time I came to study with him (fig. 2), he had just completed doing fieldwork in Solo. Siegel came to grasp the dynamics of everyday life under the New Order in terms of the workings of the Javanese language. To speak Javanese meant to constantly translate between its high and low forms as a way of signaling one's social rank and that of one's addressees while avoiding the distress and humiliation of speaking out of place. Thus did correct speech require deference to the status of the other, sanctioned by fear of making mistakes. In this way, I came to learn about translation as inherently political in that it reproduced social hierarchy as much as it threatened to undermine it. I then began to form analogies between the authoritarian context of Suharto's Indonesia and the colonial context of Christian conversion to see how translation might play an important role.<sup>8</sup>

Insofar as the title of my thesis was concerned, it originally had the more economical sounding "Contracting Christianity: Translation and Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule." The title, like much of what I learned, came to me by accident while reading my housemate's seminar paper on one of Freud's case study in hysteria.<sup>9</sup> It was called "Contracting Disease," and to me this resonated with the idea of Christianity as a kind of viral attack that lodged into the bodies of converts, infecting them with different notions about life and death. But by the time I came to revise the dissertation, more than one reader had suggested I change the title to "Contracting Colonialism," lest the book get pigeonholed as "religious studies," thereby losing out on the burgeoning interest in postcolonial studies by the late 1980s.

When it came time to write my dissertation, I was given a second floor office in a ramshackle building that housed the Cornell Modern



Fig. 3. 102 West Avenue, Cornell University, winter 1984

Indonesian project, or what was better known as 102 West Avenue (fig. 3). It was a former fraternity house that years later would be condemned and leveled into a parking lot. Below my office was Ben Anderson's where, just a year before, he had completed writing what was to be his classic book, *Imagined Communities*. About ten years earlier, Rey Ileto had also written his dissertation in one of its offices.<sup>10</sup>

It was late August of 1983. I had just returned to Ithaca after several months of library research in Manila. I was beginning to set up office, unpacking my boxes of notes and books along with my second-hand Smith Corona typewriter (I had yet to make the digital leap), when, stepping out to have a cup of coffee over at the College of Architecture building, I heard on the radio the news that Benigno (Ninoy) Aquino had just been assassinated as he got off the plane in Manila. It seemed then like a dramatic end to an era, although of course it would take three more years before it actually came to a close. It was an era whose historical contours across several worlds we have yet to map and whose effects we are still coming to terms with.

### **Critical Legacy of the 1970s**

In both the Philippines and the US, then, the long 1970s provided the cultural and social contexts for the emergence of *Contracting Colonialism*, while my highly contingent contacts and de-disciplined education at Cornell

found its way into the conceptual vocabulary and writing style of the book. There was no way, of course, that anyone could have predicted how the dissertation, once it became a book, would be received, much less how long it would stay in print.<sup>11</sup> I could only assume that whatever relevance it may still have is owed in part to the survival of sensibilities and proclivities that had emerged in the 1970s—which no doubt were rooted in an earlier era of turbulence and questioning—into the later decades. It is the survival of this critical legacy, whose outlines I have barely begun to trace, which has allowed, perhaps, for this book to still circulate, to resist obsolescence, along with many of the other works that were written and which are yet to be surpassed from that era. But for how much longer, it is impossible to say.

## Notes

*These remarks were given during the small conference and exhibit commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule held at the Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University, 26 Sept. 2013. For this wonderful honor, I especially want to thank Von Totanes and Dhea Santos of the Rizal Library for organizing this conference and arranging the exhibit in the lobby, Dean Jun Aguilar for sponsoring this event, and Rica Bolipata Santos, director of the Ateneo de Manila University Press. To many friends and family—especially Lila, Joey, Ut, David, and Malou—who braved the traffic to attend this event, my deepest thanks.*

- 1 The Ateneo paperback edition circulated only in the Philippines. A US paperback edition, published subsequently by Duke University Press in 1993, continues to be in print. As Totanes (2013) points out, two electronic editions of the book are also currently available.
- 2 An important project for the future would be to find out if there were other centers for studying the Philippines outside of Manila, such as in Davao, Iloilo, Angeles City, Malolos, and Tarlac in addition to the metamorphosis of Philippine studies abroad in places like the University of Chicago—where it has died—and the University of Hawai'i—where it continues to flourish, and in other far-flung places such as St. Petersburg and, more recently, Beijing. How did these centers outside of Manila view the study of the Philippines? Where did their faculty get their training? What kind of research or teaching did they produce? What sort of legacy have they left behind?
- 3 I have sought to develop this notion of the cosmopolitan origins of nationalism in my *Promise of the Foreign* (2005). It also constitutes a significant thread in the writings of Benedict Anderson (1983, 1998, 2005). James T. Siegel in *Fetish, Recognition, Revolution* (1997) has argued from the perspective of linguistic politics, which goes beyond the dialectics of recognition, for the cosmopolitan origins of Indonesian nationalism. See also the important intervention of Pheng Cheah, *Spectral Nationality* (2003).
- 4 See, e.g., Salazar 2000. It is left to future historians to evaluate the legacy of these indigenizing movements and whether their promise of nationalizing cosmopolitanism has been realized, or whether these movements have resulted instead in the re-provincialization of nationalism.



- 5 For a detailed account of Cornell's Southeast Asian Program from the mid-1960s to the 1970s, see Ileteo 2011.
- 6 See, e.g., Geertz's classic collection of essays, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973).
- 7 Cf. Siegel's first book, *The Rope of God* (1968), which, in focusing on the relationship between self and society in Aceh as mediated by the discourse of modernist Islam from the 1930s to the 1960s, left a deep, if largely unacknowledged, mark on Reynaldo Ileteo's work. Siegel was also on Rey's graduate committee at Cornell.
- 8 Siegel eventually wrote up the materials of that 1982 seminar into a book, *Solo in the New Order* (1988). Siegel's other works have since been crucial in shaping my thinking. Ben Anderson, who co-taught a seminar on the Indonesian Revolution with Siegel in the 1970s to the early 1980s, often referred to him as a "real genius." Siegel in turn admitted to being greatly influenced by Ben Anderson's knowledge of Indonesia as well as by the works of his fellow Cornell faculty such as Neil Hertz in English, Richard Klein in French and comparative literature, and Pierro Pucci in classics. Needless to say, I made every effort to take their classes as well. It was this remarkable collegiality that left a deep impression on me, so different from the usual factionalism and divisiveness that tend to characterize much of academic politics both in the Philippines and the US. For more on Siegel's thinking, see Barker and Rafael 2012.
- 9 My housemate was William Flesch, now professor of English and renaissance studies at Brandeis University, who has authored books on generosity and the gift in British literature. From him and his partner, Laura Quinney, also at Brandeis, who has written on Anglo-American poetry, and other assorted friends, I learned a great deal while sharing a house in Ithaca. The reference to Freud is from Sigmund Freud, *Dora: An Analysis of a Case of Hysteria* (2013).
- 10 The faculty and student offices of the Cornell Southeast Asia Program eventually moved to an elegantly refurbished Tudor mansion on Stewart Avenue around the 1990s. There is, sadly, nothing to commemorate 102 West Avenue, now reduced to an anonymous parking lot on fraternity row, and once the site through which so many scholars passed and so much innovative scholarship on Southeast Asia was written.
- 11 That it remains in print in the United States is again the result of a series of accidents. My former housemate at Cornell, the anthropologist and former student of John Cage, John Pemberton, now teaching at Columbia, had used the book a few times with great success in one of his seminars. But he thought a paperback edition would make it easier to assign it to other classes. He then convinced his friend Ken Wissoker, who had for many years worked at the famous Seminary Co-op Bookstore at Chicago, then at the university press there, to pick up the paperback rights copy of the book from Cornell and issue it as part of a series on postcolonial studies he had just started when he moved to Duke University Press as a young acquisitions editor in the 1990s. The editors at Cornell, who did not think the book would sell as a paperback, were only too happy to oblige. I then wrote a new preface for the Duke paperback that cited some of the scholarship of the Subaltern Studies group, and this gave the book some sort of hook into a South Asian readership. Additionally, the paperback edition was reviewed alongside other recently published works on Latin America and began to gain a readership in that field. I also learned that the book has been regularly assigned in graduate programs in anthropology in many universities in the US and the UK and in a number of seminaries that train missionaries. More recently, the emergent field of translation studies has taken up the book, which apparently has now become a "classic" in a field that did not even exist in 1988, and read in various parts of the world that would otherwise have



no connection to the Philippines. Finally, thanks to the editors of the Ateneo de Manila University Press, such as Esther Pacheco, Maricor Baytion, and Rica Bolipata Santos, it remains in print in the Philippines so that readers from there and those who visit from abroad continue to encounter it, though it is difficult to assess what effect it has had. The book continues to be read, then, but its effects on people's thinking remain obscure and hard to determine.

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