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Rizal's Morga and insights into pre-Hispanic institutions and trade

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This essay demonstrates how Rizal's annotations of Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* can be used even today to derive insights useful for investigating pre-Hispanic economic and political institutions. This is done through a close reading of three broad topics treated by Rizal: first, the notion of a "confederation" of chiefs and the complexity of polities; second, the character of precolonial law and enforcement; and third, the engagement of pre-Hispanic polities in international trade. Finally the role of indigenously produced goods in the dynamics of chiefly rulership and foreign trade is discussed. The essay provides an analysis of the potential of pre-Hispanic research and possible directions for future efforts.

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1. Introduction

Much has been written about Rizal's annotations on Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Rizal's Morga henceforth) in terms of their value for nationalist arguments, but less interest has been shown in seriously assessing pre-Hispanic economic history using the issues raised in the annotations as a starting point. Owing to the contributions of Castro [1982], Corpuz [1997], and Legarda [1999], the immediate impact of the conquest and of

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the effects of colonialism have been better appreciated and understood. By contrast, Philippine prehistory has been less examined and has been characterized by a weaker consensus among scholars.This paper focuses on Rizal's annotations of Morga, particularly those pertaining to institutions and goods exchange in pre-Hispanic Philippines to demonstrate that these can be used to derive useful insights into institutional and economic interactions before Spanish contact.[2] Wherever appropriate, Rizal's observations are supplemented and compared with knowledge gained from more current historical and archaeological research.

Rizal's Morga sets out to evoke civilizational consciousness among Filipinos, bringing to life a past that preceded Spanish contact [Guerrero 2007].The work is the first part in Rizal's nationalist trilogy of major writings. As Craig [2004] writes: "Rizal had now done all that he could for his country; he had shown them by Morga what they were when Spain found them; through *Noli me tangere* he had painted their condition after three hundred years of Spanish influence; and in *El filibusterismo* he had pictured what their future must be if better counsels did not prevail in the colony."

In itself, therefore, Rizal's Morga was a gargantuan effort to provide a larger context for a better understanding of the message of the *Noli* and *Fili*. As the *Noli* neared completion, Rizal realized that it was imperative to understand history and culture as crucial components in advancing "national emancipation" [Quibuyen 1999]. Primary was the "necessity of first making known … the past in order that you may be able to judge better the present and to measure the road traversed during the three centuries." Further, there was the importance of awakening a "consciousness of our past … to rectify what has been falsified and slandered …" [Rizal 1962:vii]. On the other hand, while the political and educational objectives of Rizal's Morga are widely acknowledged, critiques of Rizal's effort have generally tended to portray the work as outdated (Coates [1992]; Ocampo [1998]) in light of contemporary ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence.The pithiest

[2] Archaeological chronologies applied to research on the Philippines use the traditional phases (e.g., protohistoric, metal age), Chinese dynasty chronologies (e.g., Ming, Yuan), alternative phases (e.g., emergent, incipient) as well as local chronologies.There is still an absence of a standard with respect to Philippine history and archaeology, but the traditional chronologies are more in use. Since it is still difficult to strictly define the protohistoric period in the Philippines, which begins with the Sung (960-1279 AD) and is within the Ming (1368-1644 AD), the paper will just employ "pre-Hispanic" for simplicity [Bridges 2005]. See also Henson [1992].

assessment of the situation came from Guerrero [2007:222] who noted that the real loss in Rizal's Morga came from the fact that it was "too scholarly for partisans, too partisan for scholars." For both reasons, it failed to command an audience, which has led to its neglect relative to Rizal's other writings.

Perhaps partly for this reason, the full significance of Rizal's achievements in his Morga has yet to be fully appreciated even today. Through his annotations, Rizal holds the distinction as the first Filipino to dig through primary sources[3] and apply tools of German historiography to analyse history in aid of well-elucidated nationalist objectives. Guerrero [2007:231] noted in 1961 that a full 75 years after Rizal's Morga was published, a complete history of the Filipinos from the perspective of the Filipinos had yet to be written. Rizal used history to challenge three centuries of Spanish colonialism, arguing for the existence of pre-Hispanic institutions, trade, and industry. Even Rizal's use of *Filipinos* to refer to pre-Hispanic indigenous inhabitants was a milestone that few have appreciated fully. Discrediting the colonial view that pre-Spanish Filipinos were savages, Rizal was the first Asian to launch an encompassing undertaking that included not only historical and political objectives but also an Asian perspective, citing linguistic, cultural, and economic linkages (Quibuyen [1999]; Guerrero [2007]).

This paper is organized according to the following themes. Section 2 discusses Rizal's notion of a chiefly confederation and the attendant dynamics among polities. Section 3 looks into Rizal's attention to the existence of pre-Hispanic law and enforcement. Section 4 discusses Rizal's thoughts on pre-Hispanic trade in the larger context of the Asiatic flow of goods. Section 5 analyses Rizal's views on the demise of domestic industries. Section 6 concludes the essay.

2. Structure of chiefly rulership

2.1. "Confederation" of chiefs

One of the important unsettled issues in Philippine prehistory is the level of political development at the time of the conquest. While Morga states the absence of a centralized rulership by a king akin to such found

[3] Rizal's Morga provides an important study cross-referenced on primary and secondary sources (e.g., Pigafetta, Chirino, Colin, De San Agustin, Argensola, Cavendish, Drake, Stanley, Jagor, Blumentritt, Wallace, Joest, Chao Ju-Kua).

in kingdoms elsewhere in the world, he describes the political structure through rulership of chiefs in the islands. Chiefs and their own polities were autonomous in the sense that each had his own henchmen and followers. Chiefly rulership was based on kinship. Chiefs, who were distinguished by importance and achievements, related among each other, and there was friendship as well as wars. Rizal notes these details, agrees with the absence of a centralized ruler, and also deduces that conflict was less prevalent than amicable ties [Rizal 1962:274-275]. Notwithstanding the civilizational context behind this deduction, the idea of friendly relations among chiefs becomes more pointed later.

Morga states that when a principal or chief exceeds other chiefs in battle and in other matters, more privileges accrue to him. The chief extends his authority beyond his own barangay as more henchmen and even other chiefs become subsumed under his leadership [Rizal 1962:276].

> They formed a kind of confederation, like the states of the Middle Ages, with their barons, counts, dukes who elected the bravest to lead them or they accepted the authority of the most important of them.

Rizal concludes that the chiefs forged a "confederation," comparing such to that which existed in the European Middle Ages when nobles elected or accepted the authority of one among them. Elsewhere, Rizal underscores that a confederation of chiefs existed owing to the agreement and general uniformity of laws across the islands, resulting in strong relations in the islands where cooperation was more common than armed conflict.

> This agreement of the laws … and this general uniformity prove that the relations of the islands among themselves were very strong and the bonds of friendship were more common than wars and differences. Perhaps a confederation existed, for we know through the first Spaniards that the ruler of Manila was a generalissimo of the Sultan of Borneo. Moreover there exist other documents of the XII century that attest this.[4] [Rizal 1962:278]

[4] Rizal was most likely describing the blood tie between Rajah Sulayman's wife and the sultan of Brunei. While the use of "generalissimo" is inaccurate, the existence of alliances is likely. But the features of alliances differ among polities. As for the 12th-century documents, we refrain from commenting further owing to the need for more evidence.

Where differences existed among chiefs, however, these were used by the Spaniards to subjugate the early Filipinos at the onset of the conquest.

> They took advantage of the enmities among the natives themselves and especially of the rivalries between two brothers who were chiefs, without which it would have been impossible to subdue them, as Gaspar de San Agustin insinuates. [Rizal 1962:19]

2.2. Power mobilization in stratified relations

Rizal includes Pigafetta's entire account of the Battle of Mactan in his footnote [Rizal 1962:4], an excerpt of which is presented below. The first few lines reveal the dynamics between chiefs, implying the existence of relations that could constrain action, as well as forge alliance in aid of power mobilization.

> Zula, who was one of the chiefs, or rather one of the heads of the Island of Maktan, sent to the Captain General (Magellan) one of his sons with two goats as a present to him; and he ordered that he be told that if he did not do all that he had promised him, it was because of another chief called Si Lapulapu who had prevented him from doing so as he did not want to obey at all the King of Spain. But, if the Captain would only like to send him the following night a boatload of men to help him, he would conquer and subjugate his rival.

Another of Magellan's companions, Fernando Oliveira [2002], corroborates Pigafetta's account of Lapulapu's reaction, sending word to Magellan that "he would do nothing of what he had ordered him to do, and that if he would wage war on him, he would defend himself." Magellan viewed this as a provocation. Lapulapu's reaction contrasted with that of Zula and the other chiefs whom Magellan met previously and who had allied themselves with Magellan in subordination as evidenced by the descriptions of the blood compact formalizing chiefly ties, conversion, and vassalage.

According to Pigafetta's *Primo viaggio intorno al mondo* (*The first voyage around the world*), "negotiations" for the subjugation of the Cebu chief were carried out interestingly. The following summarizes the points underscored in the communication with Rajah Humabon. First, Magellan represented superior power. Magellan did not pay tribute to any chief in the world[5]

[5] Note that Magellan was expected to pay tribute to the chief, as had been practiced for centuries by Philippine polities.

because he served the king of Spain, who was more powerful than the king of Portugal in men and ships. Second, Magellan represented supremacy in geopolitics. Magellan and his men were the same men "who conquered Calicut, Malacca, and all … India Major." The chief of Cebu, head of a major trade center by the time of the Spanish contact, could not have been oblivious to the significance of this, considering that the Philippines had been part of the Asiatic trade network for centuries. Third, this was not just a friendly alliance but was clearly about being subordinated to Magellan's authority. Humabon was told that if the "friendship" could not be forged, destruction would be visited upon them. Conversion was part of the subjugation as the Spanish king was also the "Emperor of the Christians." To these, the chief replied that he would deliberate with his men. Later, Humabon intimated that he was willing to convert to Catholicism, but some of "his chiefs did not want to obey, because they said that they were as good men as he." This resulted in Magellan threatening the chiefs unless they obeyed Humabon. This reduced Humabon's transactions cost in gaining agreement among the chiefs below him in rank. Magellan promised Humabon that he would make him the "greatest king of those regions" when he came back with forces after the trip back to Spain that he intended soon [Pigafetta 1903-1909]. This simplified the process of mobilizing power on the part of Humabon. Humabon's agreeing to subsume himself to Magellan's command was calculated, given his understanding of the political economy of local alliance building to gain supremacy among Philippine polities. The reality he sorely missed, however, was that Magellan did not just represent a strong polity, with whom subjugation meant a tributary relationship that still allowed a measure of autonomy; rather it pointed to complete subjection under a unified state. In this respect, Rizal's service consists in elucidating the rational political calculus behind the decisions and actions of the early chiefs. He recognized that these nobles understood the realpolitik of force and power in their rulership; hence, they acquiesced to foreign power when this was proven to exceed theirs [Rizal 1962:281]. Rizal makes this comment while discussing the dynamics of social stratification with foreign subjugation in the early Spanish contact period. But this is a prescient view that has been neglected and which only relatively recent anthropological and archaeological scholarship has been able to articulate.

Among the polities, alliances—especially those forged through marriage—were stratified, and rank was taken seriously. For instance, Humabon was married to Lapulapu's niece. Their eldest child, Humabon's heir, was married to Tupas, the son of his brother, the Bendahara (prime

minister) of his polity. The chiefs of Butuan, Limasawa, Cebu, and Mactan were related. In terms of rank, Sikatuna of Bohol had subordinate chiefs in Leyte while he was below Si Gala in rank. Titles that the chiefs took reflected rank and influence. Lapulapu's influence and importance can be deduced from Mactan's location, which allowed him to intercept shipping in Cebu harbor. Magellan attempted to coerce Lapulapu into submitting to Humabon's authority, since the latter was now Magellan's vassal. While documentary evidence does not ascribe any title to Lapulapu, the latter's reply to Magellan suggested his rank and influence. Lapulapu sent word that "he was unwilling to come and do reverence to one whom he had been commanding for so long a time" [Scott 1994].[6] Table 1 shows the various titles used by chiefs, which reflect rank and influence. It is worth noting that the Malay-Sanskrit terms were used to distinguish chiefs who controlled ports that facilitated trade.

Table 1. Chiefly titles of rank

Terminology	Titles of chiefs	Meaning	Examples of chiefs
Indigenous	Pangulo	Head or leader	
	Kaponoan	Most sovereign	
	Makaporos nga datu	Unifying chief	
Malay-Sanskrit	Rajah	Ruler	– Awi of Butuan – Kolambu of Limasawa – Humabon of Cebu
	Batara	Noble Lord	
	Sarripada (variants: Salipada, Sipad, Paduka)	His Highness	– Humabon of Cebu – Makaalang of Maguindanao – Dailisan of Panglao – Sultan of Brunei

Source: Scott [1994].

2.3. Complex polities

The elucidation of features in the political structure is imperative to understand better the institutional picture that governed pre-Hispanic

[6] M. De Jong, *Um roteiro inédito de circunnavegação de Fernão de Magalhães* (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras, 1937), 21.

economic life—in particular, trade and industry. While the extreme view that pre-Hispanic Philippine polities were to be regarded in the same light as kingdoms or empires elsewhere in Asia cannot be sustained, the complexity in political organization has been missed in the general appreciation and even among many scholars.

In mapping out a framework of precolonial society and economic life, Corpuz [1997], for instance, points out that indigenous governance was based on the barangay and that each barangay was a separate unit, organized according to kinship, while kinship ties in turn explained the barangay's limited size. Further, a central or regional authority was not observed, thus a supra-barangay authority did not exist. This, in turn, underscores how the existence of "social organization, governance and economics" was largely local in scale. Further, the barangays in Luzon and the Visayas did not experience external factors that could influence the political structure. Corpuz argues that even by the time of the Spanish contact, the absence of intertribal control described by Chao Ju-Kua's *Chu-fan-chih* in his accounts of Ma-yi and San-su still endured, implying that the political organization had only developed marginally at best. These characterize the prevalent attitude toward the study of pre-Hispanic institutions: disinterested and/or fragmented.

Another instance is found in the distinction between Ma-yi and San-su. Using Wu's [1959] translation of Chao Ju-Kua's text, which Corpuz [1997] cites, the following description refers to San-su: "The barbarians who settle around the San-su Islands do not have inter-tribal control." But investigating Chao Ju-Kua's accounts reveals that the absence of intertribal control is not mentioned in Ma-yi. Moreover, in both the Ma-yi and San-su accounts, San-su is described as belonging to Ma-yi, suggesting a relationship among polities or a measure of enforced authority at the very least. These distinctions make a significant difference in the study of the pre-Hispanic workings of institutions, which unfortunately have not received sufficient attention.

Until the present, the reconstruction of pre-Hispanic society is fraught with difficulty, as the lack of consensus demonstrates. One's view of pre-Hispanic sociopolitical organization changes significantly when contextualized from the perspective of a chiefdom. Scott [1994] defines the latter as a "loose federation of chiefs bound by loose ties of personal allegiance to a senior among them. The head of such a chiefdom exercised authority over his supporting chiefs, but not over their subjects or territory, and his primacy stemmed from his control of local or foreign trade, and the ability to redistribute luxury goods desired by others. Philippine chiefdoms

were usually located at river mouths where they could facilitate the sort of highland-lowland exchanges." The contrast between Corpuz's analysis of pre-Hispanic economic history and Scott's contextualization is striking. Beyond Scott, the elaboration of the chiefdom concept to include the complex dynamics among forging allegiance (i.e., alliance building), trade control, and coordination of economics activities with the interior draws from such works as that of Junker [2000], Bacus [2000], Earle [1991], and Frankenstein and Rowlands [1978].

In light of the preceding analyses, Rizal's assertion regarding the existence of a confederation of chiefs is far from dated, after all. It was, in fact, a pioneer concept. But between Rizal's Morga and the scholarly elaboration of the chiefdom concept, there appears to have been a tendency in modern Philippine historical scholarship to render dichotomous the absence of kingdoms and the existence of complexity in precolonial polities in the Philippines. Beyer [1948], for example, assesses early Chinese accounts and points out that trade between the Chinese and early Filipinos was characterized by merchandising, wholesaling, the use of secondary channels, bartering, and Chinese settlement at port while waiting for the consummation of barter, which could last for eight to nine months. The very complexity of these activities implies a system in operation. However, this did not whet the appetite for investigating the underlying system or set of institutions necessary in facilitating these activities. As Hutterer [1973] posits, a system that coordinated the exchange of luxury foreign goods in the ports for local products from the interior implied the existence of a vibrant trade between the coast and the interior.

Jocano [1998] has also challenged the notion that precolonial sociopolitical institutions were small and primitive while economic activities were marginal. He contends that from the first to the fourteenth century, foreign trade became a major driver for internal developments, gaining in importance as trade itself intensified. By the 14th to the 16th century, the latter part being the period of Spanish contact, the barangay reached its last phase of development before it could achieve greater complexity, cut short by Spanish colonization. Jocano renders past studies' focus on small communities as strange since it seemed that larger units were not considered barangay models. Note that even Corpuz [1997] makes a distinction when discussing Islamic polities in pre-Hispanic Philippines. From the standpoint of the study of social stratification in precolonial society, a fact profusely noted by Rizal in his footnotes [Rizal 1962:282-288], Jocano [1998] argues that affluence, material culture, and craft specialization

are indicated to have advanced, showing the barangay to be a complex society that had the emerging forms of market and an intensifying foreign trade that affected domestic interactions. Jocano's [1998] statement on the polities' emerging forms of "market" as well as his application of "state" to precolonial Philippine polities remains contentious, however. This paper's own standpoint is that precolonial Philippine polities did achieve a level of complexity but these are distinguished from the modern state given the latter's features [Fernandez 1976].

3. Law and enforcement

3.1. The existence and character of law

Rizal attempted to find evidence of a uniformity of laws across various islands in the Philippines and to deduce from this a commonality of informal cultural norms or customs, if not of formal governance.

> This agreement of the laws … and this general uniformity prove that the relations of the islands among themselves were very strong and the bonds of friendship were more common than wars and differences. [Rizal 1962:278]

Among the Tagalogs, custom law was observed to be systematic and coherent and applied across a wide expanse of polities, implying that political coordination extended beyond the barangay unit [Plasencia 1903-1909]. Rizal cited the details of laws documented in the early Spanish contact period and posits that this indicated preconquest sophistication in culture and morality among the early Filipinos.

> All these distinctions between legitimate children who inherited, the children of free concubines who did not inherit, but received something, the children of slaves who received nothing, but who freed and saved their mothers, and the children of married women, though they belonged to the principal class, who did not even inherit the status of their fathers but rather degenerated, prove the high degree of culture and morality of the ancient Filipinos. [Rizal 1962:286]

The enforcement and adherence to these laws further demonstrate the degree of complexity in communities. In particular, the custom law that Rizal refers to in the following footnote is significant in studying preconquest sophistication. Fernandez [1976] posits that where custom law was in

operation, its strongly integrative character indicates a substantial political unity, notwithstanding the absence of political coordination from which a measure of governance was exercised widely across territories. In this sense, the loose federation among chiefs reflected the diffuse pattern of political authority that ensued.

> Which in no way affected the peace of the people because many times a custom has more force than a written or printed law, especially when the written laws are a dead letter to those who know how to evade them or who abuse their high position. The force of law is not that it is written on a piece of paper but if it is engraved in the memory of those for whom it is made, if they know it since their tender age, if it is in harmony with their customs and above all if it has stability. The Indio, since childhood learned by heart the traditions of his people, live and was nourished in the atmosphere of his customs and however imperfect those laws might be, he at least knew them, and not as it happens today that wise laws are written, but the people neither know nor understand them, and many times they are changed or become extinct at the whim of persons entirely alien to them. It is the case of the sling of David and the arms of Saul. [Rizal 1962:278]

Rizal's normative distinction between rigorous and tyrannical draws from the Spanish colonial context wherein the law was not just deemed unjust for the Indio (and more so for the Chinese settlers) but the magnitude of injustice was heavy to bear. For the Chinese in the Philippines, the law was even more predatory.To illustrate the aforementioned distinction, Rizal points out the rights of the "free half" of a part slave. What Rizal brings out is the intricacy of justice in precolonial law, which even included the rights of the lowest class in a stratified society.

> Because the free half had the rights of a free man. It proves also that the laws were not tyrannical despite their being rigorous, the custom of asking charge of the rights of the free half, rather than the degradation of the slave half. [Rizal 1962:280]

3.2. The existence of third-party enforcement

In the context of North [1990], while self-enforcement is important in the case of norms, ideology, or culture and second-party enforcement is also important in informal exchange, impersonal exchange with third-party

enforcement has been the major factor in successful modern economies characterized by complex contracting. As complexity in exchange rises, the institutions that mediate exchange likewise become more complex and costly, and the benefits from contract violation also rise. Where enforcement is inadequate, self-interested behavior renders complex exchange untenable because of the uncertainty that a party in a contract will violate the agreement. The risk premium in the transactions cost reflects this uncertainty, while the probability of reneging and the ensuing cost to the injured party increase with the magnitude of that risk premium. Enforcement then critically affects the efficient organization of economic activities, the development of complex exchange, and possibilities of economic growth. Therefore, establishing third-party enforcement through a system that applies law, albeit imperfectly, is challenging; and Rizal's assertion of the existence of a precolonial justice system has a significant implication in pointing toward more study in precolonial institutional evolution. In the following note of Rizal, what is described in effect is an enforcement of law by third parties.

> This is very simple and crude but it was more speedy, and the judges were persons of the locality, forming a jury, elected by both parties who knew the case, the customs and usages better than the gowned judge who comes from outside to make his fortune, to judge a case he does not know and who does not know the usages, customs, and language of the locality. Proofs of the backwardness to which we have fallen are the multitude of laws, contradictory royal orders and decrees; the discontent of both parties who, in order to seek justice, now have many times have to resort to the Supreme Court of Spain (if they can and can afford a 36-day trip) where the judges are more honest and incorruptible, if not better informed about the country; the cases that last an eternity, handed down from fathers to sons and grandsons, the enormous expenses that the aggrieved party has to defray so that he may get justice, etc., etc. [Rizal 1962:277]

The relative speed and competence found in such a system is contrasted with that of the high transactions cost system in operation during Spanish times, which is described as comprising a multitude of laws, contradictory orders and decrees, ineffective resolution of cases requiring escalation to a higher court, and the length of resolution extending across generations. Enforcement during the Spanish period was weak, at best. Realistically, it was predatory—that is, enforcers are rent seekers.

Rizal is not the first to describe the state of justice and law enforcement in the Philippines. Among others, MacMicking [1851], who was neither Spaniard nor Filipino, talks about the "dilatoriness" of the law in the colony and documents his observations on the inefficiency of enforcement. Nevertheless, Rizal was the first Filipino to analyse the state of affairs in this manner, underscoring that what prevailed was not necessarily superior, even in comparison to enforcement that existed in precolonial times.

Beyond asserting the existence of third-party enforcement during pre-Hispanic times, Rizal also characterized the strength of enforcement. In the following description, he mentions a prevalent "strict justice," the latter being contextualized in a shared heritage with other Asians.

> This proves the high spirit of strict justice that prevailed in Filipino-Malayan communities. The principle of the law was mathematically observed and it was applied rigorously and impartially. [Rizal 1962:279]

The previous comment is brief but yields significant implications. Rizal was well aware of other people groups, kingdoms, and civilizations elsewhere in Asia, having cross-referenced primary and secondary documentary sources. His attempt at establishing an Asian perspective of early Filipino institutions not only intended to accentuate precolonial heritage but was also meant to decolonize the Philippines by articulating its civilizational affinity to Asia in general and to Malays in particular. Second, Rizal's concept of strong enforcement does not only draw from deductions based on Morga's account and corroborating accounts from other primary sources but also from his knowledge of Chinese accounts. Specifically Rizal in 1888 had already written his analysis of Chao Ju-Kua's account of Ma-yi and San-su in *Chu-fan-chi.* The two settlements are believed to be part of the Philippines notwithstanding subsequent debates on their specific location (Wu [1959]; Laufer [1908]; Rizal [2007]; Wang [1964]). It is worth noting that Rizal's comments on Ma-yi point to his interest in the strength of enforcement in the territory:

> The Chinese writer speaks of "mandarin's place" perhaps because he saw a certain culture among the Ma-yi not inferior to that of China, a state that knew how to defend itself well. For that reason, "Robbers seldom come to this territory." The heavy penalties that formerly the Tagalogs imposed on thieves and the ingenious and barbarous methods that they employed to discover them were the reason for the writer's observation. [Rizal 2007:44-48]

Fernandez [1976] cites Vergouwen's [1964] work on the "peace of the market," a well-established Malay custom,[7] in explaining how a polity can maximize gains from trade when enforcement at the port is strong. He invokes self-interest as a motivator for law-abiding behavior. Rizal was interested in an example of strong enforcement in Ma-yi because this indicated civilized nature. Nevertheless, based on his meticulous study of Ma-yi and San-su, and the other locations pegged within the Philippines, Rizal was likewise aware of differing enforcement conditions in the islands. San-su, for example, was described as a weak enforcement polity where hostages had to be utilized as bonds that Chinese traders required for trade to commence.The resulting contrast between Ma-yi's barter trade and that of San-su is also striking. Owing to strong enforcement, Chinese traders allowed precolonial Filipinos to take Chinese merchandise away while goods from the interior were to be brought back to the port after eight to nine months. In contrast, San-su, with its weak enforcement against predation, had spot trade for three to four days as opposed to barter-on-credit in Ma-yi, the consummation of which stretched to as long as nine months.[8]

Rizal is silent regarding Pi-sho-ye, which is described in Chao Ju-Kua's work as predatory, where enforcers were themselves the raiders. It must be noted though that the location of Pi-sho-ye was very much debated at the time of Rizal. He nevertheless commented on piracy in the islands.

> If we are to consider that these piracies lasted more than two hundred fifty years during which the unconquerable people of the South captured prisoners, assassinated, and set on fire not only the adjacent islands but also going as far as Manila Bay, Malate, the gates of the city, and not only once a year but repeatedly, five or six times, with the government unable to suppress them and to defend the inhabitants that it disarmed and left unprotected; supposing that they only cost the islands 800 victims every year, the number of persons sold and assassinated will reach 200,000, all sacrificed jointly with very many others to the prestige of that name Spanish Rule. [Rizal 1962:134]
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> We don't know, however, if the Filipinos in their wars among themselves made slaves, which would not be unusual, for histories tell us of captives returned to their country and the practice of

[7] Jacob C. Vergouwen, *The social organisation and customary law of the Toba-Batak of northern Sumatra*, translated from the Dutch by Jeune Scott-Kemball (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964). Translation of *Het Rechtsleve der Toba-Bataks*. DS632 B3V4

[8] See Wu [1959], Wang [1964], and Hirth and Rockhill [1912]

> the pirates of the South proves it, though in these piratical wars, as we already pointed out, the Spaniards were the first ones to provoke them and regulated them. [Rizal 1962:320]

As Rizal did not discount predation, he cites Colin in the following footnote to illustrate how the violation of property rights or "thievery" is dealt with, ironically juxtaposing the previous "barbaric" practice and the "civilized" practice of his time.

> Here are some ways the ancient Filipinos investigated thievery: "If it consists of the offense but not of the offender, if the suspects are more than one … each one was first required to place in a pile a bundle of cloth, leaves or what they liked, which could cover the stolen and if after this formality the article was found in the pile, the case ended." This practice that leaves a door to repentance and saves the honor of the repentant ought to have been imitated by the Europeans. Between this barbaric practice and the civilized practice that we now have of investigating theft by force of electric machines, whipping, stocks, and other inquisitorial tortures, there is quite a distance. However, if the object did not show up after the first attempt, the ancient Filipinos used another method already more perfect and civilized inasmuch as it resembled the judgment of God and the practices of the Middle Ages. They submerged them in water at the same time … each one with a pole in his hand. "The one who came out of the water first was held guilty, and thus many were drowned for fear of punishment" (Colin, p. 70). [Rizal 1962:287]

Nevertheless, Rizal will not have even the last illustration understood as uncivilized; he attempts to clarify what he believes as simply misunderstood. Applying reason, he contends:

> That is, they preferred to die being feared as thieves, for however terrible the penalty might be, it would not be more than drowning oneself, a difficult death which needs a firm and determined will. The ancient Filipinos, according to other historians, were guided in this by the principle that the guilty, being more afraid than the innocent, fear accelerated the palpitations of his heart and physiologically the circulation of the blood and consequently the respiration which was thereby shortened. Based on the same principle that the guilty one swallowed his saliva or his mouth dried up, they also made them chew rice, spit it out afterwards, declaring guilty the one who spit it out dry and badly chewed. All this is ingenious, but it can happen, and it happens, that an

> innocent man with a fine sense of honor may be affected in such a way upon being accused, or may fear an accident, and for this appear as guilty. [Rizal 1962:287]

Note that Rizal does not rule out the imperfection that this system may adjudge an innocent party guilty. What is interesting, however, is his comparing this with the system in place that allows a parish priest to get on as a reputed soothsayer, encouraging instead of correcting those who consult him on the basis of his reputation. Rizal also notes that during his time, Filipinos were given to consulting "old hysterical women, impostors, etc." He argues that despite the imperfections of precolonial justice, it still resulted in a better state of affairs compared to what colonialism brought [Rizal 1962:287]. It was a contrast between the use of reason in an imperfect system and the proliferation of superstition in a system that was supposed to have a civilizing effect on Filipinos.

4. Pre-Hispanic Philippine trade

Philippine precolonial trade linkages are well established in the literature from both historical and archaeological research. However, this has contributed little to the popular concept of affinity with Asia. It is in this sense that the motivations of Rizal in exploring the Philippines' multidimensional links with Asia remain fresh and relevant. In this section we focus on the aspects of Rizal's notes that relate to precolonial trade.

4.1. Trade relations with Asia

In the late 10th century, the Ma-yi polity appears in Chinese texts in relation to the polity's part in the lucrative trade with the Chinese. The first mention was in 971 AD in an edict in the Song dynasty annals. The second mention was 11 years after. Ma Tuan-Lin's *Wen hsien tung kao* (*A general investigation of the Chinese cultural sources*) of 1317-1319 credits Ma-yi for bringing prized merchandise to Guangdong in 982 AD. While these two accounts mark the earliest probable beginning of international recognition of the role of Philippine polities in trade, the works of Chao Ju-Kua and Wang-Ta Yuan in 1225 and 1349, respectively, provide the first two detailed descriptions on Sino-Filipino trade in pre-Hispanic Philippine ports (Wu [1959]; Wang [1964]; Hirth and Rockhill [1912]).

Rizal was conscious of the attention that Philippine polities received in pre-Hispanic times and was immensely interested in related material. He

wrote his analysis of Ma-yi and San-su in 1888; and even after the publication of his Morga, he remained deeply interested. In a letter to Blumentritt on 31 July 1894, he asks for a copy of Chao Ju-Kua's work to be sent to Dapitan, several years after the annotated Morga was published in Paris: "You would certainly oblige me, my dear sir, if you send me a copy of that interesting account of the Chinese about my country. Do you remember that translation by Mr. Hirth?" On 7 January 1889, months before his Morga was published, Rizal corresponded with Dr. A. B. Meyer about his opinion of Ibn Batuta's *Tawalisi.* Also relevant are Rizal's mention of a common justice heritage among Filipino-Malayan communities [1962:243], of ancient traditions traceable to Sumatra [1962:279], as well as his notes referring to trade relations with China, Japan, Cambodia, Moluccas, Borneo, Siam, Malacca, and India [1962:305]. All of these strongly imply that Rizal was aware of the larger sociopolitical and commercial context involving precolonial Philippines. The following footnotes on trade deserve our attention.

> Note that China, Japan, and Cambodia maintained relations with the Philippines. Later, the natives of the last two did not return to this country for a century. The determining causes of this we shall find in the interference of the religious orders in the Philippines of those countries. [Rizal 1962:28]
>
> With the exception of the trade with China, the relation with the other nations had ceased during more than two centuries. [Rizal 1962:305]

In these two comments, Rizal notes how Spanish colonization came to reconfigure precolonial trade patterns. Spanish colonization drastically reduced the Philippines' potential role in Asiatic trade, modifying the economic dynamics of the Philippines both domestically and internationally. The archipelago ceased its participation as an entrepôt on the trade route whose two termini were the Mediterranean and the Middle East on one end and China on the other [Hall and Whitmore 1976].[9] The role of entrepôt

[9] As a link in the maritime trade route in Asia, Southeast Asia's part has been significant over the centuries. Important ports in the route functioned as major entrepôts, through which the movement of merchandise was facilitated and desired goods were sourced locally. The location of Southeast Asia, therefore, was strategically and economically double-edged. Conflict impeded trade, while the viability of entrepôts precipitated better trade. The development trajectory then of Southeast Asia was affected by developments in the trade route [Hall and Whitmore 1976:303].

remained, however, to the extent that the Philippines under Spain now connected three spheres—Europe, Asia, and the New World—through the galleon trade. Rizal was not oblivious to the geopolitics involved in the colonial state of affairs as evidenced by his comments, for instance, on the use of the Philippines as a conduit in the conquest of the Moluccas and control of the spice trade [Rizal 1962:192] and in Spanish attempts to subjugate Cambodia and Japan on the pretext of religion [Rizal 1962:75]. Viewed in the light of then-prevailing international political economy, Rizal's comments on trade underscore his thesis that colonization was a cause of "backwardness." This is also consistent with his concurring observations on the demise of domestic industries as a consequence of the country's marginalization in Asiatic trade.

4.2. The Luzon jars and patterns in ceramics

Rizal makes two interesting notes on jars unearthed in the Philippines. Although the subject of jars and ceramics in general can be discussed in the section regarding domestic industries and craft specialization, we discuss it below in the context of insights on international trade.

> These might be the precious ancient jars which even now are found in the Philippines. Of dark brown color Chinese and Japanese esteemed them very much … [Rizal 1962:181]
>
> Dr. Jagor, in his famous work *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Berlin 1873) in chapter XV deals with these jars, describing some, giving very curious and interesting details about their history, shape, and value, some of which reach enormous prices, like those of the Sultan of Borneo who scorned the price of 100,000 pesos offered for one of them. Dr. Jagor himself, while in the Philippines, was able to get one, found in one of the excavations undertaken in Libmanan (Camarines Sur) with other prehistoric objects belonging to the bronze age, as attended by knives made of this metal and the absence of iron, etc. It is a pity that those objects had not been studied better. Discovering these very precious jars in Cambodia, Siam, Cochin-china, the Philippines, and other adjacent islands, and their manufacture dating to a very remote epoch, the study of their form, structure, seals and inscriptions, would perhaps give us a key to finding a common center of civilization for these peoples. [Rizal 1962:263]

Jagor [1916] painstakingly describes how valuable the jars are, and how these are highly prized in Japan for their role in tea-leaf preservation, which in turn has great significance in the esteemed *chanoyu.* Concurringly, the literature is unanimous that these jars, known as *Luzon* jars or *rusontsubo* in Japan, were indeed highly valued. The jars are mentioned as part of the luxury goods trade in Japan that Shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi attempted to monopolize, which also included silk, gold and mercury, and saltpeter and tin (Schottenhammer [2007:36]; Susser [1993:147]; Naohiro [1991:63]). Second, while the literature recognizes that these jars were acquired from Luzon, its origin of manufacture is strongly conjectured to be elsewhere. The idea that the jars were "transshipped" to Japan from the Philippines has received wide attention. As a first possibility, the origin is said to be from China (Guth [2011:51]; Cort [2003:71]; Addiss [1983:259]; Fujioka [1973:49]).

A second possibility is that the jars were manufactured elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Finlay [2010:194] cites Francesco Carletti's assessment and pins the origin of the jars on Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand, ignoring that Carletti included the Philippines and neighboring islands in his view [Trollope 1932:7, 9]. This latter detail Jagor took note of. Where Rizal is concerned, his attention on the discovery of the jars in Southeast Asia is consistent with his interest in investigating the civilizational affinities of precolonial Philippines. Sinologist Berthold Laufer in an earlier work offers the possibility that pottery was manufactured in China for the particular demand in the Philippines, or jars reached Luzon shores from Siam and Cambodia. As a third possibility, Laufer [1979:507-509] posits that the manufacture of the *Luzon* jars might have originated from domestic production by Chinese and/or Japanese specialists who settled in the Philippines.

In general, precolonial Philippine trade goods or merchandise for barter at Philippine ports are not known to include ceramics. Tables 2 and 3 provide a list of goods exchanged between early Filipinos and Chinese traders at the ports, as recorded in Chao Ju-Kua's and Wang-Ta Yuan's works (Wu [1959]; Wang [1964]; Hirth and Rockhill [1912]).

The excavation of 9th- to 10th-century Asian ceramics in Cebu demonstrates an extensive involvement in foreign trade. Among the trading centers in the Visayas by the time of Spanish contact, Cebu ranked as one of the largest (if not the largest). Port trade was controlled by the Cebu chief,

Table 2. Filipino-Chinese barter goods, Chao Ju-Kua, 1225

	Indigenous goods	Chinese goods
Ma-yi	yellow wax, cotton, pearls, tortoiseshell, medicinal betel nuts, uta (or Yu-ta) cloth	porcelain ware, trade metals, iron tripod vessels, black lead, variegated glass beads, iron needles, etc.
San-su	cotton, yellow wax, native cloth, coconut pith, mats, etc.	porcelain ware, black satin, colored silk fabrics, variegated fiery pearls, leaden weights for nets, white tin
Source: Wu [1959].		

Table 3. Filipino-Chinese barter goods, Wang-Ta Yuan, 1349

	Indigenous goods	Chinese goods
Ma-yi	kapok, yellow beeswax, tortoiseshell, betel nuts, and cloth of various patterns	cauldrons, pieces of iron, red cloth of taffetas of various color stripes, ivory, "ting" or the like
San-su	beeswax, cotton, cloth of various patterns	copper beads, bowls of blue or white flowers' pattern, small figured Chintzes, pieces of iron and the like
Min-to-lang	"wu-li," wood musk, sandal wood, cotton and "niu-jii," leather	lacquered ware, copper cauldron, Djava (Java) cloths, red taffetas, blue cloth, "tou," tin, wine and the like
Ma-li-lu	tortoiseshell, yellow beeswax, la-ka wood, "Jwu-buh, and kapok	"ting" in standard weight, blue cloth, porcelain water jar of Chu-chou, big pot, iron cauldron and the like
Su-lu	la-ka wood of middle quality, yellow beeswax, tortoiseshell, and pearls	pure gold, unpure trade silver, Patu-la cotton cloth, blue beads, Chu earthenware, iron bars and the like
Source: Wu [1959].		

implying a measure of control over trade goods flowing in and out of the port, and foreign goods constituted an important currency in sociopolitical negotiations [Bacus 2000]. However, the precious ancient jars in Rizal's footnotes are exceptions to the record of Philippine exports. Why is this still important given that the local origin of manufacture is contested? We are prodded to look at the larger picture and find patterns.[10] Interest

[10]To illustrate, the research of Aga-Oglu [1946], for instance, investigated two specimens of Ying Ch'ing porcelain excavated in the Philippines; this type of porcelain was not made for export and rarely found outside of China. Similarly, this exception pointed to back up the bigger picture of ceramics as trade goods in Asia and, specifically, the patterns surrounding ceramics exported into the Philippines.

in these jars allows us to inquire into the following points for further research in economic history: (1) the patterns that emerged from domestic specialization in ceramics, (2) the ceramic types (e.g., whether these were status or common goods) and the differing prestige values attached to them, (3) the period and origin of their manufacture, (4) and comparative trade volumes. As for the first point, it is unlikely that Philippine ceramics represented a significant component in foreign trade. There is also the absence of supporting Spanish contact-period documentary evidence on luxury earthenware produced in the polities. Evidence from the Tanjay excavations, however, makes a case for domestic production of earthenware for use as status symbols in Philippine polities in the middle of the second millennium AD [Junker 2000]. As for prestige value, this will be dealt with further in the discussion, while the last two points of inquiry are subjects for further research.

4.3. Importance of the study of excavated objects

Rizal expresses well the importance of the proper investigation of artifacts, jars in particular. We revisit the last sentence of the second note on jars.

> Discovering these very precious jars in Cambodia, Siam, Cochin-china, the Philippines, and other adjacent islands, and their manufacture dating to a very remote epoch, the study of their form, structure, seals and inscriptions, would perhaps give us a key to finding a common center of civilization for these peoples. [Rizal 1962:263]

This suggestion is useful even today. Owing to their durability and the traceability of their period and origin of manufacture, ceramics provide a very good platform to analyse trade movements, international economic integration, and interpolity interactions, as the use of ceramics is associated with significant sociopolitical dynamics within and across polities. Characteristics of artifacts yield myriad a wealth of information on various aspects of social arrangements. The role of artifacts is therefore essential in reconstructing the picture of pre-Hispanic life [Henson 1992]. As an example, Table 4 presents data on (a) the sizes of residential compounds of five chiefs, (b) the ratios of foreign porcelain to plain earthenware, and (c) ratios of locally made decorated earthenware to plain earthenware.

Table 4. Comparisons of percentages of luxury goods with size of chiefly house compound in 18th- and 19th-century Tausug cottas

	Size (total in 'square meters)	Porcelain/plain earthenware	Decorated/plain earthenware
Cotta Labuan	2,112	0.380	0.037
Cotta Daan	3,500	0.531	0.037
Cotta Laum-Sua	1,596	0.182	0.065
Cotta Bunga-Ammas	4,221	0.270	0.041
Cotta Wayngan	1,152	0.114	0.095

Note: Correlation (size versus porcelain ratio) = 0.5900; not significant at .05 level.
Correlation (size versus decorated earthenware ratio) = -0.7486; not significant at .05 level.
Source: Junker [2000].

The data show that larger residential size is associated with higher relative density in porcelains while a negative correlation exists with respect to density in decorated earthenware. Hence, chiefs with higher status, as indicated by size of residential space, tend to have more access to prestigious porcelain while lower-ranked chiefs tend to use less prestigious earthenware as their lower status means less access to prestige porcelain.[11] In her investigation of polities that existed in the Dumaguete-Bacong area of southern Negros Island during the 11th to 16th centuries, Bacus [2000] shows that the chiefly elite's habitation was larger in size than that of commoners and that such residences were associated with higher densities and more types of imported and locally produced luxury goods.

Archaeological investigation during Rizal's time was incipient at best, which means that data collection and recording were less than ideal. Nevertheless, it is interesting that Rizal's annotations mention the work of Alfred Marche. Marche is credited with pioneering the discovery of jar burials in the Philippines. In 1881, his exploration of burial sites yielded wooden coffins, earthenware jars, Chinese stoneware jars, Chinese porcelain, gold, wooden images, shell bracelets, and rings [Henson 1992]. Rizal studied Marche's 1887 work, *Lucon et Palaouan*, and corroborates Pigafetta's and Colin's accounts of burial practices [Rizal 1962:294]. The accounts of burial practices associated with their respective rungs on the

[11] Junker notes that while the correlations are not significant statistically speaking, valuable observations can still be gleaned.

socioeconomic ladder were all meticulously noted by Rizal. His comments on the importance of archaeology in studying the jars are insightful and still applied today to other excavated objects, especially those in burial sites.

Objects found in burial sites yield useful data. In particular, prestige items—wealth objects that signify status and power—are important to study owing to their association with significant aspects of culture, such as (a) degree of social complexity (i.e., technology, goods production capacity, craft specialization, stratification); (2) social interaction across groups; and (3) community and individual identity, and notions of wealth. The economic value of these goods becomes a significant point of inquiry and a challenging one, since the prestige value accorded to an object is contingent on cultural particularities in concepts of wealth and status. The following tables are examples of designating measures of prestige value considering the object's source, raw material, acquisition/manufacture method, and cultural role [Tesoro 2003]. Table 5a assigns a value to each prestige factor criterion. Table 5b computes the prestige value of each artifact's raw material by summing up the value associated to each of its prestige factors. In Table 5c, the prestige values of grave goods in the protohistoric period (1000-1521 AD) are presented.

These tables illustrate how the study of prestige objects and their value allow us to gain a clearer understanding of burial goods and what they represent in social arrangements and interactions—exactly as Rizal suggested.

5. Demise of domestic industries

This paper thus far has been replete with contrasts. We consider another to start off this section. In Skowronek [1998], archaeological perspectives are utilized in investigating economic dynamics in Spanish colonial Philippines. The fringe location of the Philippines with respect to the Spanish empire and its proximity to China led to a unique colonial approach. While this shows the importance given to Asia's role in the global economy, the result for the Philippines was detrimental. It is well established that beginning in the Sung dynasty at least, the goods found in burial and habitation excavations in the Philippines speak of a large volume of trade in earthenware, metalwork, and porcelain. This momentum was not sustained, however. Spanish religious mercantilism allowed the Philippines to stay barely afloat even while the colony was unproductive [Skowronek 1998]. Holding on to the Philippines met Spain's strategic objectives, even

Table 5a. Prestige factors and values

Prestige factors	Criteria	Assigned value
A. Source	Difficult to acquire Easy to acquire	2 1
B. Raw material	Scarce/rare Abundant/not rare	2 1
C. Time and energy needed to manufacture and acquire an object	Traded and reworked Traded Local	3 2 1
D. Cultural function	Non-utilitarian Utilitarian	2 1

Source:Tesoro [2003].

Table 5b. Prestige values assigned to artifacts in selected Philippine burial sites

Artifact	Raw material	A[a]	B[b]	C[c]	D[d]	E[e]
Bolo	Iron	2	2	3	1	8
Spearhead	Iron	2	2	3	1	8
Knife	Iron	2	2	3	1	8
Dagger	Iron	2	2	3	1	8
Adze	Tridacna giga Andesite	2 1	2 1	1 1	1 1	6 4
Porcelain	Clay	2	2	2	1	7
Stoneware	Clay	2	2	2	1	7
Earthenware vessels	Clay	1	1	1	1	4
Scoop	Melo sp. Cassis cornuta Linnaeus	1	1	1	1	4
Spoon	Shell	1	1	1	1	4
Mortar	Stone	1	1	1	1	4
Spindle whorl	Clay	1	1	1	1	4
Handle	Bone	1	1	1	1	4
Anklet	Tin + Copper (bronze)	2	2	3	2	9
Bracelet	Tin + Copper (bronze) Jade Agatef Glass Limpet shell Conus litteratus Linn. Clay Bone	2 2 2 2 1 1 1 1	2 2 2 2 1 1 1 1	3 2 2 2 1 1 1 1	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	9 8 8 8 5 5 5 5

Table 5b. Continued

Artifact	Raw material	A[a]	B[b]	C[c]	D[d]	E[e]
Bead	Tin + Copper (bronze)	2	2	3	2	9
	Jade	2	2	2	2	8
	Glass	2	2	2	2	8
	Carnelian	2	2	2	2	8
	Shell	1	1	1	2	5
	Gold	2	2	1	2	7
Earring	Tin + Copper (bronze)	2	2	3	2	9
	Jasperg	2	2	2	2	8
	Chalcedonyh	2	2	2	2	8
	Gold	2	2	1	2	7
	Cone Shell	1	1	1	2	5
Ring	Tin + Copper (bronze)	2	2	3	2	9
	Copper	2	2	1	2	7
	Shell	1	1	1	2	5
	Alloy of gold-silver-copper	2	2	2	2	8
Pendant	Gold	2	2	1	2	7
	Conus litteratus	1	1	1	2	5
Comb	Gold	2	2	1	2	7
Pair of threadlike strips	Gold	2	2	1	2	7
Wire	Tin + Copper (bronze)	2	2	2	2	8
Strips	Copper	2	2	1	2	7
Lime container	Arca shell	1	1	1	1	4
Perforated ringlike shell objects	Tridacna gigas	1	1	1	2	5
Tubular bone objects	Bone	1	1	1	2	5
Chinese coin		2	2	1	2	7

Notes:
a Source.
b Raw material.
c Time and energy to manufacture and acquire an object.
d Cultural function.
e Prestige value.
f The nearest source to Palawan in the Philippines is Bulacan.
g The nearest source to Palawan in the Philippines is Cuyo Island.
h The nearest sources to Palawan in the Philippines are Catanduanes and Tarlac.

Source: Tesoro [2003].

Table 5c. Summary of prestige values of grave goods in the protohistoric period

Prestige value	Protohistoric period (AD 1000-1521)a
9	Bronze ornaments
8	Traded stone beads Iron implements Glass beads Glass bracelets
7	Stoneware Porcelain Chinese coin Gold ornaments Copper ornaments
5	Bone ornaments
4	Spindle whorl Earthenware vessels Stone implements

Notes:

a The table culls the protohistoric data and excludes other periods in the original comparative table. In this light, prestige value 6 is excluded in the table as it only pertains to items in the neolithic period, which is excluded in this table.

Source: Adapted from Tesoro [2003].

as the state of the islands degenerated dismally. The demise of domestic industries coincided with the marginalization of Philippine goods in Asian trade. Rizal lengthily notes the state of the domestic industries as a result of colonization.

> They worked more and they had more industries when there were no *encomenderos*, that is, when they were heathens, as Morga himself asserts (p. 229, 358, etc.). What happened—and this is what the Spaniards do not understand, in spite of the fact that it shines through the events and some historians have indicated at it—was that the Indios, seeing that they were vexed and exploited by their encomenderos on account of the products of their industry, and not considering themselves beasts of burden or the like, they began to break their looms, abandon the mines, the fields, etc. believing that their rulers would leave them alone on seeing them poor, wretched, and unexploitable. Thus they degenerated and the industries and agriculture so flourishing before the coming of the Spaniards were lost, as is proven by their own accounts relating incessantly the abundance of the supply of foodstuffs, gold placers, textiles, blankets, etc. [Rizal 1962:317]

> The coming of the Spaniards to the Philippines, their rule, and with this the immigration of the Chinese, killed the industry and the agriculture of the country. The terrible competition that the Chinese wage against the members of any other race is well known and for that reason the United States and Australia refuse to receive them.[12] The "indolence," then, of the inhabitants of the Philippines has for its origin the little foresight of the government. Argensola says the same thing, who could not have copied Morga, for their works were published in the same year in the countries far from each other and in them are found notable divergencies. [Rizal 1962:216]

5.1. Domestic manufactures: metallurgy and goldsmithing

Rizal goes further and enumerates specific industries to demonstrate their decline. He argues that the state of these industries during precolonial times was superior to that which the Philippines was experiencing under Spain. The following notes by Rizal are illustrative.

> That is, an Indio who already knew how to found cannons even before the arrival of the Spaniards, hence the epithet "old." In this difficult branch of metallurgy, as in others, the present-day Filipinos or the new Indios are very much behind the old Indios. [Rizal 1962:23]
>
> This weapon has been lost and not even its name remains. A proof of the backwardness of the present-day Filipinos in their industries is the comparison of the weapons made today with those described by the historians. The hilts of the *talibones* are neither of gold or ivory, nor their scabbards of horn, nor are they curiously worked. [Rizal 1962:249]
>
> It seems that it can be deduced from the frequent mention of placers that in those times the Indios devoted themselves with eagerness to gold mining not only to washing the sand for gold but also to doing the real work of the mines, because the Spaniards inspected gold mines of ten estados deep and they found more implements used by the Indios" (Gaspar de San Agustin). [Rizal 1962:267]

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[12] The application of Chinese traits and superior organization resulted in their access to commercial opportunities in colonial Philippines amid exchange difficulties owing to weak property rights enforcement. Indigenous industries were crowded out. Colonization substantially altered the trading context from precolonial times where Chinese trade with polities differed according to enforcement strength. These points have been discussed extensively in Clemente [2010].

> When the Spaniards arrived at this island (Panay), it was said there were on it more than 50,000 families, but they diminished greatly … They had many gold mines and in Panay River they got gold by washing the sand; "but driven by the vexations they received from some provincial governors," the same historian says, "they have abandoned the work, preferring to live in poverty to suffering such hardships." [Rizal 1962:270]

It is worth noting that Rizal mentions ceramics (discussed in section 4), metallurgy (and weapons), and goldsmithing in his lament over important precolonial industries that have declined. In fact, these industries (together with textiles mentioned in Rizal [1962:317]) constitute major points of contemporary discussion in analysing indigenous production of prestige goods.

The production of these goods, access to which was elite-controlled, was material to polities in Southeast Asia during the late first millennium and early second millennium AD. In terms of metallurgy, Junker [2000], citing the work of Dizon on the analysis of iron artifacts, concurs that by the first millennium BC, there existed a domestic capacity for iron smelting and casting among pre-Hispanic specialists; and through time, craftsmen worked from local ores with port-based workshops. The increased complexity in chiefly polities and foreign trade stimulated demand in weapons and luxury goods, which in turn resulted in a rise in indigenously produced iron. Access to iron beyond the trade ports in the 15th and 16th centuries likewise rose, increasing access to it by nonelites. Where gold is concerned, the evidence suggests that goldsmithing was another craft industry oriented for both the local elite clientele and foreign demand in the middle of the second millennium AD. As to the monetary use of gold, evidence is not supportive of this role. Nevertheless, findings support the utilization of gold in valuing trade goods. The absence of gold in 16th-century Chinese lists of purchased goods from the Philippines indicates that patronage of gold from the polities may have come from Southeast Asia [Junker 2000]. For instance, in Tome Pires's *Suma Oriental,* Luzon gold in the Melaka trade center is mentioned [Cortesao 1944].

5.2. Implications of pre-Hispanic boat building

Rizal made special mention of boat making as an important precolonial industry as seen in his notes below. Although boat making is not considered

in the context of craft specialization or goods production, it deserves space owing to its implications. We end the section with this brief:

> Since the beginning, boats were made in the country … Does this not show culture among the natives? Today this industry has been reduced to minor crafts and some vessels for the coasting trade. [Rizal 1962:23]
>
> The Filipinos, like the inhabitants of the Marianas who are no less famous and skilled in the art of navigation, far from progressing, have become backward, for, though now boats are built in the Islands, we can say that they are almost all of European model. The ships that carried on hundred rowers as crew and thirty fighting soldiers disappeared. The country that at one time with primitive methods built ships of about 2,000 tons (Hernando de los Rios, p. 24), now has to resort to foreign ports, like Hong Kong, to give away the gold wrested from the poor in return for unserviceable cruisers. The rivers are obstructed, interior navigation dies, due to the obstacle created by a timid and distrustful system of government. And of all that naval architecture hardly one name or so is remembered, killed without being replaced by modern advancement in proportion to the centuries that have elapsed, as it has happened in the adjacent countries. And those old vessels in their kind and for their time were so perfect and right, above all those of the Marianas, that sailors and pilots said: "While we moved in one shot of arquebus they gave us six turns so graceful that they cannot be more" (Doc. 47. Academia de la Historia). And they sailed also against the wind and the Spaniards called them shuttles for their swiftness. Why did they not think of perfecting this kind of vessels? [Rizal 1962:251]
>
> The men of these islands are great carpenters and shipbuilders "who make many of them and very light ones and they take them to be sold in the territory in a very strange way: They make a large ship without covering nor iron nail nor futtock timbers and they make another that fit in the hollow of it, and inside it they place another so that in a large biroco there go then and twelve boats that they call biroco, virey, barangay, and binitan." They went "painted, and they were such great rowers and sailors that though they sink many times, they never drown." [Rizal 1962:265]

Precolonial capacity in building seaworthy boats has received scholarly attention (Scott [1989]; Clark et al. [1993]; Hontiveros [2004]; Manguin [1993]) and we defer to the literature with respect to the discussion on

technology and actual production. Contemporary research notwithstanding, the mainstream or general appreciation of precolonial boat building is sadly not commensurate to its significance. The importance Rizal attempted to give precolonial boat building shows that he knew what civilizational legacies to look for in at least establishing that indeed there was "culture among the natives."

The implication of the utilization of precolonial boats in tribute missions or merchandise sent beyond the Philippines indicates complexity of polities. For instance, from 970 AD to 1020 AD, Ma-yi and Butuan were documented to have sent tributes to China while Sulu, Pangasinan, Luzon, Maguindanao, Mao-li-lu, and Soli were found to have sent tributes from 1370 AD to 1420 AD (Junker [2000]; Scott [1989]). On this note, future economic comparisons with other Southeast Asian polities or states during the same period would be a good point for additional research. This does not only mean that the Philippines was integrated in the goings-on in the international political economy but also raises the question of what institutions and interactions were necessary in the domestic sphere for this integration to be possible. Clemente [2010] conjectures that despite seagoing capacity, chiefs maximized the gains from trade by developing ports rather than bringing merchandise to foreign ports. From an economic standpoint, it should interest future researchers to rigorously explore the larger context of polities' access to international trade through seafaring efforts: the particular market segments of foreign trade that the polities accessed, the geographical concentration of relative volumes of goods and their types, and the reasons for frequency and decline of polities' seafaring endeavors.

6. Concluding remarks

The essay brings to light three major themes. First, Rizal emphasized certain aspects of precolonial culture that were methodologically important even by current standards. Second, the significance of the aspects he noted has only grown in the light of what is now being elucidated in contemporary scholarship from various fields of study (e.g., institutional economics, anthropology, and archaeology). Third, the knowledge and appreciation by today's public toward Philippine precolonial history is inadequate and often faulty based on Rizal's standards—especially in relation to what he thought it signified for national identity.

Further research is promising. Rizal's Morga is notable not because it offers final answers to questions regarding the reconstruction of precolonial

economic life. Rather its value lies in the pointers it does offer in regard to precolonial polities, trade, and industry. While research points have been elaborated in the previous sections, we conclude by indicating areas that future pre-Hispanic economic research can explore. Given the themes underscored in the essay, we provide the following points of investigation: (a) the role of foreign-trade goods in alliance building among local polities and the causal relationship between foreign-trade access and increased power in polities, (b) the detailed disaggregation of quantified data on trade goods in both foreign and domestic exchange, and (c) the economic analysis of precolonial domestic industries.

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