

2012

## Jose Rizal and the Birth of the Social Sciences in the Philippines

Resil B. Mojares  
*University of San Carlos*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://archium.ateneo.edu/budhi>

---

### Recommended Citation

Mojares, Resil B. (2012) "Jose Rizal and the Birth of the Social Sciences in the Philippines," *Budhi: A Journal of Ideas and Culture*: Vol. 16: No. 2, Article 2.  
Available at: <https://archium.ateneo.edu/budhi/vol16/iss2/2>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Ateneo Journals at Archium Ateneo. It has been accepted for inclusion in Budhi: A Journal of Ideas and Culture by an authorized editor of Archium Ateneo.

# Jose Rizal and the Birth of the Social Sciences in the Philippines\*

RESIL B. MOJARES  
UNIVERSITY OF SAN CARLOS  
PHILIPPINES

## Abstract

The paper narrates Jose Rizal's sojourn in Berlin in 1887 as a defining moment in the emergence of the social sciences as a Filipino discipline. It situates this moment in a much wider history, in which such factors as the expansion of the economy, civil bureaucracy, education, and nationalism gave rise to the first Filipino writings in such fields as history, anthropology, sociology, economics, and political science. In recalling Rizal and his time, the paper argues that there is a longer history of the disciplines in the Philippines than is usually acknowledged.

**Key Terms** *Jose Rizal, Filipino scholarship, disciplinary histories, social sciences*

Picture this: Jose Rizal in Berlin in 1887. Rizal visiting museums and libraries, meeting scholars like the naturalist Fedor Jagor, ethnologist Wilhelm Joest, and Rudolf Virchow, perhaps the most influential scientist in Germany at the time. Rizal joining Berlin's Society of Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory, attending lectures on such topics as Mecca and ancient Japanese tombs. Rizal lecturing before the society, in German, on the Tagalog art of versification. Rizal enjoying the company of scholars in an after-lecture session in a German tavern, drinking beer late into the night.

\* This paper was originally delivered as a lecture on August 12, 2011, as part of the "Rizal and the Disciplines" lecture series, in commemoration of the 150th birth anniversary of national hero Dr. Jose P. Rizal. The lecture series was hosted by the Loyola Schools, Ateneo de Manila University.

---

*Budhi: A Journal of Ideas and Culture* 16.2 (2012): 30-41.

This is not the most popular image of Rizal. But it is a most remarkable picture: a colonial subject, still in his twenties, consorting with European scholars as an equal, in one of the intellectual capitals of the world—lecturing, networking, exchanging notes in a time of great enthusiasm in Europe for Orientalist studies, in such emerging disciplines as anthropology, linguistics, psychology, and geography.

Rizal may have been overenthusiastic when he called Germany “my scientific mother country,” but it is clear that the spirit of fresh, unrestricted inquiry he found in Germany excited him. From Berlin in April 1887, he wrote to the Austrian scholar Ferdinand Blumentritt: “If I could only be a professor in my country, I would stimulate these Philippine studies which are like the *nosce te ipsum* [know thyself] that gives the true concept of one’s self and drives nations to do great things.” Some years later, he would write to Blumentritt that he wished he could devote his life to scholarship and build a school for the youth of his land. Exiled in Dapitan from 1892 to 1896, he yearningly recalled the excitement of Berlin in 1887, “the incessant and indefatigable scientific life of civilized Europe where everything is discussed, where everything is placed in doubt, and nothing is accepted without previous examination, previous analysis—the life of the societies of linguistics, ethnography, geography, medicine, and archaeology.”<sup>1</sup>

A man of huge intellectual appetite, Rizal neither had the time nor the opportunity to do many of the things he wanted to do. He wanted to translate parts of the German ethnologist Theodor Waitz’s *Anthropologie der Naturvolker* (1859-72), considered one of the best introductions to anthropology at the time, but Rizal did not have the opportunity. Rizal conceived in 1889 the plan to promote scholarship on the Philippines by establishing the Association Internationale des Philippinistes, and he began to lay the groundwork for its first international congress to coincide with the 1889 World Exposition in Paris. This would have been a truly bold event: imagine a “colonized native” organizing an international academic conference on his country in the shadow of a European exposition where French-colonized Asians and Africans were exhibited as exotic primitives. But the conference did not take place. Rizal did not have the resources or the time. Rizal promised to write a treatise on Tagalog aesthetics, but did not have the chance to fulfill the promise. Rizal did not have the space or time to establish the school of Philippine studies he dreamed of. Exiled in Dapitan, he planned, among many others, to produce a “universal” dictionary of Philippine languages, but he ran out of time.

---

<sup>1</sup> *The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence* (Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1961), 2:1, 71-72; 2:2, 344, 461.

That Rizal left many unfinished projects is no reflection on his dedication, intelligence, or capacity for hard work. Colonial rule does not create conditions conducive to intellectual work. Rizal was not a scholar with a sinecure who had all the time in his hands. He was driven, almost from the beginning, by his one overarching goal—the social emancipation of his people, a mission he pursued on various fronts, with what tools were at his disposal. He was in too many places at the same time. And then we must not forget the simple fact that when he died he was only thirty-five years old.

Yet, even in a life so brief, he accomplished more (much more) than what most would accomplish in lifetimes twice as long. Though this inventory may not be necessary, consider: novels that are the foundational fictions of the nation; the 1890 annotated edition of Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (1609), that stands as the first attempt by a Filipino to write a "national history" of the Philippines (even if it may be more a rehearsal for such a history than that history itself); periodical articles on diverse issues (from short polemical pieces to more substantial and reflective ones, like *Sobre Indolencia de los Filipinos*); and a life of thought preserved in his correspondence and unpublished articles (including notes on Southeast Asia that give added credence to Blumentritt's assertion that Rizal and Trinidad Pardo de Tavera were the only *malayistas*—or "Southeast Asianists"—Spain produced).<sup>2</sup>

Even then, I do not think that we have appreciated enough Rizal's importance as a scholar, and his contributions and those of his contemporaries to the birth of modern Filipino scholarship.<sup>3</sup> Part of the reason is the myth of the "radical break" in the turn from Spanish to American colonialism, that locates in this break the birth of the "modern" and casts the whole Spanish period as something "medieval." Part of the reason, too, is our privileging of today's formally demarcated, institutionalized disciplines, the work of institution-based professionals and specialists, and the canonical forms of academic writing, the dissertation, scholarly monograph, or scientific treatise. Glossing over the fact that today's disciplines are, by and large, a nineteenth-century Western creation, we write shallow histories of Filipino

<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand Blumentritt, "Apuntes sobre el sentido de la palabra 'Malayo' [June 15, 1890]," in *La Solidaridad*, trans. G.F. Ganzon and L. Maneru (Metro Manila: Fundacion Santiago, 1996), 2:268-71. See Resil B. Mojares, "Claiming 'Malayness': Civilizational Discourse in Colonial Philippines," in *More Hispanic Than We Admit: Insights into Philippine Cultural History*, ed. I. Donoso (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2008), 303-25.

<sup>3</sup> On the Filipino production of modern knowledge, see Resil B. Mojares, "Rizal Reading Pigafetta," *Waiting for Mariang Makiling: Essays in Philippine Cultural History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002), 52-86, and *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006).

scholarship that slight the work of pre-disciplinary “amateurs,” people typically “undisciplined” and promiscuous in their interest in all fields of learning.<sup>4</sup> Rizal—who dabbled in Egyptian hieroglyphics, studied the construction of military parapets, and wrote studies in Malay psychiatry—is a good example of the promiscuous amateur.

Such promiscuity may be the reason why Rizal is not mentioned, for instance, in the history of anthropology in the Philippines, despite his great interest in the subject and the wealth of ethnological knowledge displayed in his writings. Though he was not formally trained in the discipline, we must remember that neither were the founders of German anthropology, Virchow and Adolf Bastian, who were physicians like Rizal.

There is an interesting irony here. In marking the beginnings of Philippine anthropology, Filipino scholars usually look back to H. Otley Beyer and Americans like Fay Cooper Cole and Laura Watson Benedict, students and disciples of Franz Boas. A German, Boas trained under Virchow and Bastian before he relocated to the United States where he came to be acknowledged as one of the founders of American anthropology. He was about the same age as Rizal, and it is not unlikely they would have met in Berlin were it not for the fact that in 1887, Boas was already doing field work on the Kwakiutl Indians in British Columbia. Rizal corresponded with Bastian himself, but missed meeting him in Berlin because (I surmise) the German was on one of his world travels. I mention these facts to illustrate the vagaries of genealogy: where Filipino anthropologists could have traced direct descent from Rizal and German anthropology, they consider themselves heirs of American anthropology instead.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See the disciplinary histories produced by the Philippine Social Science Council: *Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2 vols. (Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council, 1993); Virginia A. Miralao, ed., *The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation* (Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council, 1999). In these histories, pre-1900 developments are dealt with summarily and the beginnings of the disciplines are typically marked by such events as the introduction of courses and establishment of departments in universities (such as the first course in sociology at the University of Santo Tomas in 1896 or the first departments of anthropology, economics, and psychology at the University of the Philippines in 1914, 1915, and 1926, respectively).

Also see the three-volume, state-of-the-arts reports entitled *Philippine Studies*, published by the Northern Illinois University's Center for Southeast Asian Studies (1974, 1978, 1981).

<sup>5</sup> In an article on Philippine anthropology's European connections, Eric Casino briefly mentions Rizal only in relation to Blumentritt. See Eric S. Casino, “Father Rudolf Rahmann, SVD, and the European Connection in Philippine Anthropology,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture & Society* 13, no. 4 (1985): 253-61.

It can be noted that Franz Boas already appears in *La Solidaridad* when his *Human Faculty as Determined by Race* (1894) is taken up by Ferdinand Blumentritt in “Are There Superior or Inferior Races? (A Social-Ethnographic Study) [April 15, 1895],” in *La Solidaridad*, 7:149, 169-75, and four succeeding installments.

Rizal's Berlin experience is an exemplary moment, yet it is just one moment in the narrative of the Filipino's engagement with modern knowledge. While Rizal was the most talented of his generation, he is just one of the Filipinos who were part of this story. While the works of Filipinos in Europe (Rizal in London or Berlin, Paterno and Sancianco in Madrid, or Pardo and Luna in Paris) are pivotal in this story, it is a story that, profoundly, takes place in the Philippines as well. Rizal, after all, discovered Europe even before he left the Philippines. Rizal's home in Calamba, we are told, had a library of "more than one thousand volumes," and his education at the Ateneo Municipal and the University of Santo Tomas included Greek, Latin, French, philosophy, geography, geometry, physics, chemistry, botany, and natural history.<sup>6</sup>

Rizal's story exemplifies the rise of a modern Filipino intelligentsia in the nineteenth century. Several factors contributed to this emergence: economic prosperity in the urban centers, increased communication with the outside world, improvements in the educational system, and the expansion of the civil bureaucracy and the "public sphere" (as indicated in the burst of book and periodical publishing in the late nineteenth century).

From the earliest times, natives were not passive recipients of Western culture. They creatively appropriated and deployed it for their own purposes, as shown in the early examples of Tomas Pinpin, the author of a manual for learning Castilian that is the first book written by a native (*Libro*, 1610), and the Tagalog priest Bartolome Saguinsin, author of a book of Latin epigrams (*Epigrammata*, 1766), which (the historian Luciano Santiago points out) is the first published book of poetry by a Filipino, a fact that is not mentioned in standard Philippine literary histories.

This encounter with Western knowledge intensified in the late nineteenth century because of the factors I mentioned. These factors created and stimulated the need for advanced knowledge in the social sciences and primed the rise of the disciplines as practiced by Filipinos.

Trade and entrepreneurial activities in an expanding cash economy occasioned the appearance of what may be the first scientific book authored by a native, *Aritmetica* (1868), a bilingual (Spanish-Tagalog) primer in arithmetic by the Tagalog accountant (*contador*) Rufino Baltazar. This book so impressed Rizal he carried a copy with him to Europe, and it was with the

---

<sup>6</sup> See *Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence*, 2: 209-11; Esteban A. de Ocampo, *Rizal as Bibliophile* (Manila: Bibliographical Society of the Philippines, 1960), 27-52.

gift of this book that he introduced himself to Blumentritt. (Yet, Baltazar is not mentioned in histories of science in the Philippines.<sup>7</sup>)

The elaboration of the colonial state spurred the growth of the educational system because of the need for new professionals (notaries, doctors, pharmacists, teachers), to meet the needs of an expanding bureaucracy and urbanizing population centers. This occasioned the appearance of nineteenth-century Filipino professionals, like the lawyer Felipe Buencamino and the botanist Leon Ma. Guerrero *the elder*, Santo Tomas graduates who worked in the colonial government (Buencamino as fiscal, judge, and registrar of property; Guerrero as head of military pharmacies in Zamboanga and Cavite, zoologist in the Bureau of Forestry, and professor of botany at Santo Tomas). Albeit slow and belated (for well-known reasons I need not recount), we also find our first women professionals, like Rosa Sevilla and Filomena Francisco, who actively participated in the civic life and pioneered in promoting higher education for women by opening schools at the turn of the century.

The state's expansion heightened interest in politics and government, fueling publications of circulars, primers and guides, as well as books, journals, and articles devoted to legislation, jurisprudence, public finance, and local government. While many of the authors were Spaniards and Creoles, Filipinos like Pedro Paterno, Manuel Artigas, and Isabelo de los Reyes also wrote treatises and manuals on government. (It is here where we should locate the birth of Filipino political science rather than, say, the founding of the Department of Political Science in the University of the Philippines in 1915.<sup>8</sup>)

With the expansion of a "public space" outside government and the church came a new "national" consciousness that primed writings not only in politics but fields like ethnology, sociology, economics, and history. The dynamism of this period can be appreciated, for instance, if we mark the distance between Baltazar's *Aritmetica* (1868), a homely manual in commercial arithmetic meant to teach fellow-natives a skill necessary to survive in an increasingly monetized economy, and, a mere thirteen years later, Gregorio Sancianco's *Progreso de Filipinas* (1881), the first purely

<sup>7</sup> In an otherwise excellent short history of colonial science in the Philippines, Warwick Anderson focuses on Spanish and American institutions and contributions, and makes only a few passing references to Filipinos. He concludes that it was only in the 1930s, under U.S. auspices, that Filipinos "gained control of scientific research in the Philippines." See Warwick Anderson, "Science in the Philippines," *Philippine Studies* 55, no.3 (2007): 287-318.

<sup>8</sup> See Resil B. Mojares, "Notes Towards a History of Political Science in the Philippines" (paper presented at the 2008 Philippine Political Science Association Conference, Dumaguete City, April 11-12, 2008).

economic treatise written by a native of the country, in which a Filipino analyzes colonial economic policies and outlines the needed reforms.

Scholarship was central to the Filipino campaign for reforms. The Propaganda Movement was essentially an intellectual movement, a movement in which Filipinos sought to claim for themselves, against dominant others, priority and the “authority” to speak on matters pertaining to their country. In style, stance, and range of topics covered, *La Solidaridad* was not just a vehicle of propaganda, but the first scholarly journal published by Filipinos.

Much work was done in the “cultural sciences,” like history and anthropology, since much of the battle at the time was waged on questions of culture and race. Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, and Isabelo de los Reyes attempted, like Rizal, their own histories of the Philippines and broke ground in other fields as well. De los Reyes wrote profusely on historical and ethnological topics, including *El Folk-Lore Filipino* (1889), a project to build an archive of popular knowledge, the epistemological base, as it were, for developing a distinctly Filipino scholarship.<sup>9</sup> Though pretentious and wildly speculative, Paterno has a place in Philippine scholarship that cannot be ignored. His *El Barangay* (1892) is the first attempt by a Filipino to theorize at some length an indigenous political system in the Philippines, and his *La Familia Tagalog* (1892) and *El Individuo Tagalog* (1893) are pioneering attempts in Filipino sociology and psychology. More reserved and scientific in temper, Pardo also blazed the way for a Philippine scholarship in such fields as linguistics, sociology, cartography, botany, and medicine.

The colony’s restrictive intellectual conditions were such that the most prominent of these intellectuals studied and worked in Europe. Rizal studied medicine in Spain and pursued advanced ophthalmic studies in Paris and Heidelberg; Paterno earned his doctorate in law in Madrid; Pardo finished medicine at the Sorbonne, at a time when Paris was the center of medical science in the world. In addition, Pardo studied Malay and Sanskrit at the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes (a pioneering institution in Oriental languages), earning a diploma in Malay in 1885. At the Ecole, Rizal himself, on a visit to Paris in 1889, attended lectures given by the famous linguist Aristide Marre.

Yet, the work of “home scholars” (those who stayed in the country) was most consequential as well, as in the example of the theologian Vicente Garcia, priest and travel writer Faustino Villafranca, lawyer Marcelo del Pilar, teacher and notary Apolinario Mabini, and the scientist Anacleto del

---

<sup>9</sup> See Resil B. Mojares, “Isabelo’s Archive: The Formation of Philippine Studies,” *The Cordillera Review* 1, no. 1 (2009): 105-20.



Rosario. Del Rosario is a fine illustration of this generation of intellectuals. Educated in pharmacy at Santo Tomas, he pursued his interest in chemistry through self-study and the experience of working in pharmacies in Manila. He went on to become a chemistry professor at Santo Tomas and the first Filipino to head Manila's Laboratorio Municipal. His career and studies in biochemistry make him, though he was only thirty-four when he died in 1895, perhaps the most outstanding Filipino scientist in the nineteenth century.

More important, wherever they were based, they were well on their way towards becoming a distinct community of scholars, marked not just by race but by the intellectual location out of which they spoke and the views they expressed—a community set against the Spaniards and Europeans who had previously monopolized the authority to speak *about* and *for* the country. Perhaps more than anyone else, Rizal was acutely conscious of the need for Filipinos to become a strategic discursive formation (with what this means in terms of numbers, visibility, and voice). Recognizing the need for Filipinos to establish their presence in the “world of letters,” he repeatedly urged his colleagues to buy books by Filipinos, mention the names of Filipino authors, and cite and quote their works.<sup>10</sup> Rizal knew that power involves a contest over “authority,” and that it is a power Filipinos must claim in matters that pertain to their own country.

Rizal and his generation, the “generation of 1872,” laid the foundations of a modern Filipino scholarship. (By this generation I mean the men and women who entered the public scene and came into their own after 1872, the year of the Cavite Mutiny and the execution of the priests Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomez, and Jacinto Zamora.) It was also this generation that primed the ground for the anti-colonial upheaval of 1896 and 1898.

The moves made by Filipinos to take control of the means of intellectual production (the press, the educational system, and even the church) were a significant aspect of the revolution. The Malolos Republic issued decrees for free and compulsory elementary education and a reformed higher education system that would be secular, scientific, and patriotic, principles that

---

<sup>10</sup> *Epistolario Rizalino*, comp. Teodoro M. Kalaw (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931-1933), 2:273, 302, 308; 3:137; *Rizal's Correspondence with Fellow Reformists* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1963), 273, 302, 308, 514.

reflected Rizal's own ideas about what constituted modern education.<sup>11</sup> A state university, Universidad Literaria de Filipinas, was established in October 1898, with programs in law, medicine, and pharmacy. The physician Joaquin Gonzalez was university rector, the botanist Leon Ma. Guerrero served as dean, and leading intellectuals like Paterno and Pardo were in the faculty. Ambulatory because of the war, the university awarded its first degrees on October 29, 1899, in Tarlac (given to students who had transferred from Santo Tomas). While this university was short-lived, there were numerous local initiatives to take control of education in the inter-Spanish-American interregnum, from discussion groups and sociopolitical clubs to private institutes that mushroomed in the wake of the revolution. Isabelo de los Reyes had these initiatives in mind when, in 1900, he called for a national educational system that federates (in de los Reyes' words) these *academias*, *centros*, *circulos*, *clubs*, *ateneos*, *casinos*, and *katipunans* into an "academy of the country" called Aurora Nueva (New Dawn), that will be guided by the principles of Honor, Science, Liberty, and Progress.

This was a dramatic and complex period, during which a generational shift was also taking place, from the "generation of 1872" to the "generation of 1898," those who joined the public world during the revolution and its aftermath and built on the work done by their elders. The heightened state of intellectual ferment is indicated by the following facts: between 1899 and 1905, Filipinos organized the first Filipino bar association (Colegio de Abogados, 1899), the first law school outside Santo Tomas and the first to admit women (Escuela de Derecho, 1899), the first Filipino women's college (Instituto de Mujeres, 1900), the country's first historical association (Asociacion Historica de Filipinas, 1905), and other initiatives, like the founding of language, literary, and artistic societies, Asociacion Feminista de Filipinas (1905), and *Revista Historica de Filipinas* (1905-1906), a scholarly

---

<sup>11</sup> The transition was not a clear break. Reflecting the *ilustrado* leadership of the Malolos Republic, the educational system remained heavily Western and elitist in orientation and content. Rizal's own "plan for a modern school" has a curriculum that departs from colonial education by introducing political economy, German (in place of Latin and Greek), and "study of religions" (instead of Christian Doctrine and Sacred History), and stressing the sciences, physical education, music and the arts. It envisions a boarding school for "young men of good family and means," and, though Tagalog is a subject, the medium of instruction is still Spanish. See *Miscellaneous Writings of Dr. Jose P. Rizal* (Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1964), 141-44; "Jose Rizal's Plan of a Modern School," in Encarnacion Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565-1930* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1932), 367-71.

journal that published articles in history, government, economics, and sociology.<sup>12</sup>

These efforts, however, were either aborted or incorporated into the American colonial state's own drive to assume control of the country's educational and cultural institutions (an important marker being the establishment of the University of the Philippines in 1908). Yet, even as the initiative passed from private groups to the colonial state, it is clearly incorrect to think of the disciplines as having begun with the Americans. The Filipino formation of the disciplines began with Rizal and the generation he represented.

Conditions of intellectual work under colonial rule may have restricted and warped much of the early scholarship, and many of the texts may be notable today for strictly historical reasons, but the works of Rizal and his generation are extremely important for lessons that remain central to the practice of scholarship today.

The historian Eric Hobsbawm, writing of the world in Rizal's time, writes that for those outside the world of European capitalism, the challenge was "the choice between a doomed resistance in terms of their ancient traditions and ways, and a traumatic process of seizing the weapons of the west and turning them against the conquerors: of understanding and manipulating 'progress' themselves."<sup>13</sup> This traumatic process has not ended. Today, we continue to struggle with how well (or poorly) we have seized these weapons, whether they suffice, how effectively we have reinvented and used them, and for what ends.

Let me close by returning to Berlin in 1887. The historian Austin Coates has said that the weeks Rizal spent in Berlin "may be said to mark a pinnacle in his life."<sup>14</sup> Coates does not quite explain, but he is obviously thinking of the two things that made Rizal's sojourn in Berlin important.

<sup>12</sup> An important figure in the Filipino formation of the disciplines is Felipe Calderon (1868-1908), who initiated or was involved in many of the initiatives cited (from *Colegio de Abogados* and *Escuela de Derecho to Samahan ng mga Mananagalog* and *Asociacion Historica de Filipinas*). He organized public lectures, taught classes, and introduced into the law curriculum subjects like sociology, political economy, and statistics. Arguing that "the foundation of all the sciences is in the country," Calderon stressed research and the integration of local knowledge into the teaching of law and the social sciences, and, with Clemente J. Zulueta, the writing of an "autonomous" Philippine history.

<sup>13</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 4.

<sup>14</sup> Austin Coates, *Rizal: Filipino Nationalist and Patriot* (1968; Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1992), 104. Rizal was in Berlin from November 1886 to May 1887 but Coates is referring to the frenzied weeks during which *Noli Me Tangere* finally appeared and Rizal joined Berlin's circle of scholars.

It was, on one hand, one of the lowest moments in Rizal's life. He was living in a cheap room on Jaegerstrasse, in dire financial straits, ailing and hungry. He was struggling to finish the *Noli Me Tangere* but feeling so despondent he thought of throwing the manuscript into the fire. But this was a time of deep exhilaration as well. With his friend Maximo Viola's help, the *Noli* was finally printed in Berlin and copies were out in March 1887. That it was finally out filled Rizal with a sense of foreboding, yet also a sense of peace in the knowledge that the logic of what he had done would just have to play itself out. It was at this critical moment that he joined the circle of German scholars, warmed by the fellowship, inspired in the spirited intellectual exchanges about the world. His contact with German scholars, Coates says, bolstered Rizal's confidence in his intellectual powers and affirmed the rightness of what he had done (and would do) as he prepared to return to the Philippines. In Berlin, he rose from the pit of despair to the clear heights of purpose. As Coates aptly writes:

He is the marksman, aware of the perfect control demanded  
if his fire is to be accurate.<sup>15</sup>

Today, as we reflect on Rizal, our hope is that, armed with the same passion and purpose, our own fire will be as sure.

## Bibliography

- Alzona, Encarnacion. "Jose Rizal's Plan of a Modern School." In *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565-1930*, 367-71. Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1932.
- Anderson, Warwick. "Science in the Philippines." *Philippines Studies* 55, no. 3 (2007): 287-318.
- Blumentritt, Ferdinand. "Apuntes sobre el sentido de la palabra 'Malayo' [June 15, 1890]." In *La Solidaridad*, translated by G.F. Ganzon and L. Maneru, vol. 2. Manila: Fundacion Santiago, 1996.
- . "Are There Superior or Inferior Races? (A Social-Ethnographic Study) [April 15, 1895]." In *La Solidaridad*, vol. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Coates, *Rizal*, 104.

- Coates, Austin. *Rizal: Filipino Nationalist and Patriot*. 1968; Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1992.
- De Ocampo, Esteban A. *Rizal as Bibliophile*. Manila: Bibliographical Society of the Philippines, 1960.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875*. New York: Vintage Books, 1996.
- Miralao, Virginia A., ed. *The Philippine Social Sciences in the Life of the Nation*. Quezon City: Philippine Social Science Council, 1999.
- Mojares, Resil B. *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 2006.
- . “Claiming ‘Malayness’: Civilizational Discourse in Colonial Philippines.” In *More Hispanic Than We Admit: Insights into Philippine Culture History*, edited by I. Donoso, 303-25. Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 1996.
- . “Isabelo’s Archive: The Formation of Philippine Studies.” *The Cordillera Review* 1, no. 1 (2009): 105-20.
- . “Notes Towards a History of Political Science in the Philippines.” Paper presented at the Philippine Political Science Association Conference, Dumaguete City, April 11-12, 2008.
- . “Rizal Reading Pigafetta.” In *Waiting for Mariang Makiling: Essays in Philippine Cultural History*, 52-86. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000.
- Philippine Social Science Council. *Philippine Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. 2 vols. Quezon City: Philippines Social Science Council, 1993.
- Philippine Studies*. 3 vols. DeKalb: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, 1974, 1978, 1981.
- Rizal, Jose P. *Epistolario Rizalino*. Compiled by Teodoro M. Kalaw. Vols. 2 and 3. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931-1933.
- . *Miscellaneous Writings of Dr. Jose P. Rizal*. Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1964.
- Rizal, Jose P., and Ferdinand Blumentritt. *The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence*. Vol. 2. Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1961.
- Rizal, Jose P., et al. *Rizal’s Correspondence with Fellow Reformists*. Manila: National Historical Commission, 1963.