# 13. The Poetics of Praise and the Demands of Confession in the Early Spanish Philippines

Notes and Documents

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# Abstract

This chapter combines two very different but intimately related texts. On the one hand, it reproduces three *dalits*, devotional poems by Tagalog natives praising the work of Catholic missionaries. On the other, it provides a questionnaire from an eighteenth-century confessional manual used by missionaries to administer the sacrament of Penance. Vicente L. Rafael argues that each text embodies a different attitude toward the written word in the religious life of the colonial Philippines. For the Tagalog authors of the *dalits*, the book becomes a magical talisman of sorts. For the missionaries, it provides the tactics of an intimate disciplinary strategy meant to alter the behavior of Filipino natives.

Keywords: Filipino poetry; colonial religion; culture of the book; biopolitics

The documents below consist of two kinds of writing: a series of *dalit*—a kind of devotional poetry praising the works of missionaries written by Tagalog natives—and an excerpt from a bilingual confessional manual by a Franciscan friar typical of guides used by Spanish priests to aid them in hearing the confessions of native converts. Both sets of documents were published in the Philippines during the early part of Spanish colonial rule between the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> In trying to

1 Lumbera, Tagalog Poetry; Rafael, Contracting Colonialism.

Lee, C.H. and R. Padrón (eds.), *The Spanish Pacific, 1521–1815: A Reader of Primary Sources*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020 DOI 10.5117/9789463720649\_CH13



understand these texts, we might begin by asking: what is relationship between the discourses of devotion and the practice of confession?

In the vernacular devotional poems, praise is directed to the book itself. Referred to by the Spanish word *libro* or by the vernacular term, *sulat* by the Tagalog poets, the book comes across as the object of esteem radiating a kind of magical power.<sup>2</sup> For this reason, it was a source of great fascination and attachment for native converts. This intense fascination may have to do with the novelty of the book as such: the very first book published in the Philippines after all was the *Doctrina Christiana* (1593), a catechism that contained a confessional manual. In the printed books introduced by the Spanish missionaries, Latin letters replaced the native *baybayin* script.<sup>3</sup> Whereas the baybayin was widely understood by native populations prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, the *libro* came across as a series of undecipherable signs during the onset of colonial rule. Laden with mysterious inscriptions, the *libro* was the repository of a new language, a vernacular speech laced with novel terms for God, the Virgin, and the Holy Spirit, which were left untranslated in Castilian and Latin by the Spaniards for fear that natives would conflate them with the terms for local beliefs. Instead, Spanish writing in the vernaculars referenced novel figures with no immediate equivalents in the local spirit world. Small wonder that in the poems, the book seems invested with magical powers. Like amulets-fetish objects that were widely known in native society for their protective effects-the *libro*'s magical potency was in direct relationship to its dense opacity. As with local amulets, the libro's uncanny obscurity suggested the workings of layers of potency that could be activated with the proper performance of rituals. It thus promised a means of protecting one from the penetration of malevolent spirits. Such potency was further underwritten by the libro's provenance from a powerful source because it was distant and foreign.<sup>4</sup>

In the devotional poems, the book is thus treated as a thing, and its thing was to provide the things for keeping its holders safe. Like a sturdy staff or a strong boat, the *libro* was a loadstar and a weapon. It was spoken of as a storehouse of rich resources—jewelry and silk, for example—with which to hone the skills of its holders and guide them on their journeys. Along the same vein, the book had an apotropaic function: it was meant to fend off evil spirits, including the devil, and shield one from catastrophic events

4 Rafael, Contracting Colonialism.



<sup>2</sup> Sulat refers to inscriptions or writings, a word derived from Sanskrit.

<sup>3</sup> *Baybayin* is the Philippine script derived from Sanskrit, like most indigenous Southeast Asian writing systems.

such as illness and death, unknown forces, and so on. In short, the *libro* as a magical object was meant to keep one from being carried away—from being possessed, occupied, perhaps even, colonized by alien spirits.

However, the *libro* as object was one thing, but its content was another matter. The libro usually contained a set of sermons or a catechism that often was appended with a confessional manual. Confessional manuals in Spanish and Tagalog moved in the opposite direction of devotional-laudatory poetry. Such manuals were codified in Europe in the thirteenth century after the Fourth Lateran Council, Confession is the sacrament meant to continue and consolidate baptism. Where the latter initiated one into the Christian faith, the former grew out of an acknowledgement of the inherent sinfulness of human beings, requiring the need for continuous penance. Confession was thus crucial to sustaining conversion, which was not merely a matter of denouncing the devil and affirming the faith. It was also a continuous process of accounting, in the double sense of that word, for one's sinfulness and submitting to the mercy of God via the clergy. Confession thereby linked obligation with obedience by way of regulating conduct down to the most intimate levels of thinking and behavior. We see this in the list of questions and demands indexed to the sixth and seventh commandment in the confessional manual below (pp. 218–220). This regulation of conduct required submitting to the guidance of the priest, who in turn drew his authority from a chain of submissions he performed to higher authorities all the way to God the Father.<sup>5</sup>

With confession, we get an instantiation of what Foucault calls pastoral power characteristic of the Christian Church and other Abrahamic faiths. Just as the shepherd took care of the flock by caring for each and every sheep, so the priest sought to care for the entire population of converts by attending to each individual member. The practice of confession crystalized this mode of pastoral governance with great clarity. By the late Middle Ages, the rules for confessing had become highly codified. It was to be auricular, individual, and regularly practiced through the year. Such rules were meant to produce a power relation between priest and penitent that was as intimate as it was hierarchical. Its tactics, as detailed in the confessional manuals, are well-known. They entailed constant surveillance (via examination of conscience), narrative exposition (via the accounting for one's sins to another who dispenses penance), economic expenditure (the exchange of a narrative of sin for a formula for repentance), and redemptive expectation

<sup>5</sup> Foucault, Introduction, vol. 1 of the History of Sexuality; Michel Foucault, Government of Self and Others; Rafael, Contracting Colonialism.



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(the promise of salvation in the hereafter and with it, the very end of the demand for and of confession).<sup>6</sup>

As a protocol for governing both colonizers and the colonized, confession was also a means for forging a sense of self that was steeped in sin. This sinful state was the condition of possibility from which the converts could gain knowledge of themselves through the examination of conscience necessary for making a good confession. Through the work of sustained self-interrogation, the convert recalled their past into a narrative of offenses against God. Assuming guilt, the well-examined conscience could now turn to the priest and reiterate the penitent's complete dependence on God for redemption. We can thus think of confession as integral to the logic and logistics of colonial rule. Simply put, confessional practice encapsulated the whole range of discursive and ritual elements for enforcing and materializing colonial power as a mode of pastoral governance.

We can then return to the question: what's the relationship between the poetry of praise and the confessional manuals?

Unlike the dalit or devotional poems that praised the libro while invoking its protection, bilingual confessional manuals were meant to have disciplinary effects. They targeted the population as a whole by targeting each and every member of it. Confession was the revelation of one's sins in response to the revelation of the mystery of the Passion. Rather than protect one from the invasion of outside alien forces as in the *dalit*, confession interpolated both convert and priest into a discourse of guilt. Guilt emerges through the assumption of individual responsibility for sins. To become responsible in this case is to respond to the questioning of the confessor. The questions in the confessional manuals were structured by way of the Ten Commandments. God's Law determined the content and style of the priest's questioning and the penitents' response. Each commandment furnished a guide with which to examine the nature and number of transgressions of the penitent. What was important was not just the quality, then, of one's sins, but their quantity as well: not just the variety of acts, but the intensity of desire that accompanied them; not just their occurrence, but the frequency of their recurrence; not just what one did, and not just what one thought while doing it, but how many times one did and thought such things.<sup>7</sup>

In the discourse of confession, guilt produced self-knowledge through the examination of conscience. It entailed the performance of a certain

<sup>7</sup> Barthes, Sade, Fourier, Loyola; Rafael, Contracting Colonialism.



<sup>6</sup> Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*; Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*; Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*.

intimacy: an opening-up, a surrendering to the relentless probing, poking and penetration of the priest, who himself is a product of this same ongoing process of submission. Confession, hence, introduced a new kind of subjectivity in native society. It was the subject whose speech is about him or herself but only to the extent that speech itself had been highly regulated, codified and temporalized. The convert was a subject who participated in their own governing by way of ferreting out and subjugating their sinful self, delivering themselves up for the judgment of the confessor, and submitting themselves as a recipient of God's mercy.

We can see from this brief discussion a central and ongoing tension within the project of colonial conversion. On the one hand, native poets seized upon a poetics of devotion to protect themselves. They treated the book as if it were a storehouse of amulets. On the other hand, confessional manuals were meant to establish a colonial power relationship based on discipline and self-disclosure. It was meant to govern the convert at their most intimate and interior places, encouraging them to expose themselves to the relentless inquisition of the confessor. One sees traces of this tension in various missionary accounts. For example, priests complained about the putative perversions of native confession. For instance, they would complain about the native's tendency to proclaim their innocence and instead blurt out the purported sins of their neighbors and friends. Similarly, priests lamented the evasions and indirectness of native speech so that their confessions were less a straightforward accounting of their sins and seemed more like the telling of riddles (bugtong) that confounded and confused the priest about the nature of their transgressions. In other words, from the perspective of missionaries, there was no shortage of tactics on the part of the natives for escaping confession's demands for forced intimacy.<sup>8</sup>

Seen from a broader perspective, the juxtaposition of these two kinds of colonial documents show the workings of what Foucault elsewhere has referred to as spiritual politics.<sup>9</sup> On the one hand, colonial rule was and is the attempt to convert the conduct of its subjects. On the other hand, we see how every attempt at controlling native conduct gave rise to attempts at counter-conduct on the part of the converts. Such counter-conduct represents arguably nascent forms of resistance. But they can also be understood as tacit forms of capitulation. The practice of native confession had ambivalent effects. It undermined as much as it propped up the demands of colonial authority. Why should this be the case?

8 Rafael, Contracting Colonialism.

9 Anderson and Afary, *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution*; Foucault, *Power*, vol. 3 of *Essential Works*; Harcourt, "Introduction to Foucault on Iran."



Again, we need to return to the question of poetry and how the poetic is, in some ways, continuous with the magical. One of the stakes in the fetishization of the *libro* is the struggle over new forms of magical power. Spiritual politics here are manifest in the attempts to imagine the *libro* as a magical instrument with which to shape both the world and the self. By magic, I mean not superstition but a set of practices with which to come to terms with the accidental, the unexpected, and the uncanny.<sup>10</sup> The most uncanny and accidental event from the perspective of native peoples were the Spanish invasion and occupation of the archipelago. As I have argued elsewhere, Christian conversion on the part of the natives was one of the attempts with which to come to terms with the shock occasioned by the colonial-Christian uncanny.<sup>11</sup> Conversion allowed the convert to tap into the magical potency of the book. As extolled in the *dalit*, the very means for governing native souls were seized upon by native poets to imagine new ways of protecting themselves and their fellow Tagalogs from the trauma of conquest. And since the Spanish friar monopolized access to the *libro*—its mysterious languages and its promise of protection—he was invested with a certain power.

What is this power? It is no less and no more than the power of mediation. The friar's power lied in his ability to serve as a conduit and a translator. He was therefore a medium for the circulation of what was from the native perspective a magical language that could reach other worlds and other beings. Put differently, the friar drew his power from being the medium for mediation itself. For natives, to confess was to submit to the demands of the friar and thereby establish a certain proximity and access to this power of mediation. Confession afforded a kind of tactical intimacy that allowed the native to appropriate, or better yet, expropriate the very native language—now infused with foreign words and foreign notions—with which his or her obedience was being hailed. By confessing, the native gave in, but did not necessarily give up. The obligation to confess arguably deferred rather than merely led to unqualified obedience among native converts.

All of which is to say that an examination of the tensions and seeming contradictions between the devotion to the *libro* on the one hand, and the forced intimacy of confession on the other, indicates some of the ways in which spiritual politics were at work. As with all politics, it is always doubled. It can bring with it the emancipatory promise of another self by presenting possibilities for another, redeemed world. But that other world and the other self also came at a steep price: the absolutism of colonial rule and the ongoing terrors of its violent demands.

10 Siegel, *Naming the Witch*.



#### Devotional Texts: Dalits, or Poems of Praise

What follows are examples of texts written by Tagalog converts. The first is an anonymous poem and is perhaps the earliest published poem by a native writer. Pedro Ossorio's text follows in the same pattern of praising the work of the Spanish friar to which it is appended. The third text, by Francisco Bagongbanta, is written in verses in the *ladino* style. In the *ladino* style, verse lines alternate between Tagalog and Castilian. Aside from their names, little is known about these early Tagalog poets.<sup>12</sup>

#### Untitled Dalit-anonymous<sup>13</sup>

Though it be stormy and dark, The tearful plaints notwithstanding I'll struggle on: I will voyage on And persist in searching For God our Father.

I may not sleep at all This temptation bearing down on me, I will continue to dare: This book I will read, And find here The weapon I need.

Though blind in the past I will give thanks For this, the light For God who spoke For the priest preached For this good book.

Though tossed and dashed By huge waves, I'll try my best

12 Lumbera, *Tagalog Poetry*. I've modified the translations from the original Tagalog/*ladino* into English found in Lumbera's book.

13 "Untitled Dalit," in Blancas de San José, *Memorial de la vida cristiana en la lengua tagala,* first published in Manila, 1605.



And renew my strength In this book I will grasp The buoy that saves.

Though I be lame and broken Nothing can hold me back For this book will take care to guide me Teaching me the way: The staff was prepared Fitted to strengthen [me].

# Unending Thanks ["Salamat nang Ualang Hoyang"]—Pedro Suarez Ossorio<sup>14</sup>

Prayer: Unending Thanks Unending thanks To you, all-knowing God For this your holy mercy For the Tagalog people.

And this holy book Whose contents are your teachings You have quickly allowed To be published and praised.

So that we new converts May have something to read day and night That would enliven us Here in this land of sorrow.

Here to think and realize The right work and deeds We will learn without the slightest trouble How to be holy.

14 Pedro Suarez Ossorio, "Unending Thanks," in Lumbera, *Tagalog Poetry*. This poem praises R. P. Fr. Alonso de Santa Ana, *Explicación de la Doctrina Cristiana en lingua tagala*, first published in Manila, 1627.



So, whoever you might be Set aside your laziness Set yourself to learn This entire story.

If we exert our efforts Follow and learn these lessons Our souls and bodies Can only benefit greatly.

If we follow and keep them, What manner of goodness would not be ours? The soul will come to love Finding comfort as we grow older.

Oh, good and holy book All that you contain Could never be equaled By all the wealth in the world.

Oh, book that fills one with delight A boat so strong To take us all home To the blissful land.

You are our lodestar That which is our guide Until we all reach The peaceful harbor.

You are the great mine Where we can dig For true wealth And life everlasting.



# Endless Gratitude ["Salamat nang Ualang Hanga"]—Francisco Bagongbanta<sup>15</sup>

Endless gratitude Gracias se den sempiternas, To the one who gave birth to the star Al que hizo salir la estrella; To dissipate the darkness Que destierre las tinieblas Everywhere in our land De toda esta nuestra tierra.

Oh, book most holy O libro preciosa pieza You enfold in your pages Tu en ti contienes, y encierras All of the good teachings Cualquiera doctrina buena That penetrate the soul Que dentro al alma penetra.

You are the chest so full Tu eres cual arca llena, Of all kinds of precious silk De todas preciosas sedas Which adorns and beautifies Que engalanan y hermosean The holy soul Al alma que es justa y buena.

You are the precious jewel Joya linda, rica, bella, That enriches the Christian Que al pecho Christiano arreas Pendant to a golden chain Y de oro rica cadena That I will never take off Que no te sufrire suelta.

15 Francisco Bagongbanta, "Undying Gratitude" ["Salamat nang Ualang Hanga"], in Lumbera, *Tagalog Poetry*.



You are the sturdy weapon Tu eres arma fuerte y cierta Which I will use in the battle De que usare yo en la guerra When I am tempted by the devil. Cuando el mal Diablo me tienta.

You are the firm staff Bordon de strana firmeza And you give me great skills Y dara gran ligereza In my journey on this earth Mientras ando en esta tierra Until I behold God himself. Hasta que al mismo Dios vea.

You are the unbreakable rudder Eres timon que no quiebra Even if tempest rages Aunque haya tempestad recia In you I trust completely Mi esperanza en ti está puesta To bring me to a safe place En aquesta mi carrera.

You are the clear evidence Tu haces clara, y manifiesta Of the singular ability De la singular destreza Of the Father who authored you Del Padre Autor de esta empresa And his great diligence Y de su gran diligencia In searching for a printing press En el buscar de la imprenta.

O my fellow Tagalogs O la gente de mi tierra Set aside your laziness Vaya fuera la pereza Whether you be man or woman



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Los varones, y las hembras Or children of tender age Y los niños de edad tierna Study this book Aprended aquesta letra For it costs so little effort Muy poco trabajo cuesta And brings so much profit, Mucho es lo que se interesa And we will become men of learning Seremos hombres de ciencia While we become sanctified Y de ajustada conciencia And there be no more difference Que no haya ya diferencia Between the Spaniards and the Tagalog. Del de España al de esta tierra.

What great fortune and blessing it is O grande ventura, y buena For one who enjoys this reading Del que goza esta legenda His soul would be filled quedará su alma llena With heavenly riches, De celestiales riquezas.

I shall make you my very own Tu seas mi propia hacienda By my side you will always be with me Siempre estes junto á mi cerca And if sadness comes to me Si me llegare tristeza You will give me true consolation Darme has consuelo de veras And if there be weariness and pain Si hubiera cansancio, o pena It is in your heart that I will find rest En tu corazon alienta What good is everything else



Los provechos son sin cuenta Because my soul hopes to receive from you Que de ti mi alma espera Grace and everlasting glory La gracia, y la Gloria eterna.

Amen.

Confessional Manual<sup>16</sup>

# Explication of the Circumstances for a Good Confession — Sebastián de Totanés<sup>17</sup>

97. Every person who wishes to confess must prepare their soul and conscience in the presence of Our Lord God.

98. The first thing they should do is to ask for the help of the Lord God through the blessed Virgin and the angels and saints so that they should learn to follow this first instrument for a good confession. They should then ascertain when they confessed last-what year, month, week, if it was during the fiest a that they last confessed? That way, they can know how far back to remember their new sins, which they will tell when they confess anew [...] 102. And when they determine that their last confession was good (that it was really truthful in the presence of Lord God who knows everything and cannot be fooled by anyone), then, they must remember all the mortal sins that they committed against God since their last good confession and start from that point to confess anew. And they will run through the Ten Commandments of God and the Five Commandments of the Holy Church, Our Mother, and forcefully unearth and examine their deepest soul [loob] and remember all the mortal sins they committed against each of the Commandments whether by way of thoughts, or by deeds, so that these can be told to the priest Confessor [...]

# Confessional Manual Regularly Used for Indios and What the Priests Are Generally Obligated to Ask Them

[...] On the sixth and seventh commandments of the Lord God.

16 Totanés, Manual Tagalog.

17 Note on the translation: I flip back and forth between the Tagalog and Spanish, though tend to follow the former more closely when notable gaps appear between the two.



Thou shalt not have relations with someone who is not your spouse.

Though shalt not covet the spouse of another.

354. Did you sin against the sixth commandment of the Lord God since your last good confession?

355. Did you sin with some other woman?

356. How many did you sin with?

357. Were they married, or not?

358. Go slowly, because with each one, you must tell carefully every single sin you committed against God according to what I will ask you in the order of your sins, etc.

359. The first woman you sinned with since your last confession, is she married? 360. Is she a relative?

361. How are you related? Are you first cousins, etc.? [...]

366. How many times did you sin with her?

367. You say that you always see each other by yourselves, so how would I know how many times those were?

368. If you cannot tell me the exact number, tell me more or less according to your best guess.

369. If you cannot tell me as much, tell me how many years, or months, or weeks or days since you first started sinning with her.

370. And throughout this time, how many times did you sin with her each week? Was it every day, every other day, or what?

371. And other than being together, on other days, and hours, did you not joke around and play around in a wanton manner? [*maralas*]?

372. In your playing, did you not also speak lasciviously, and at other times embrace each other, and kiss each other, and touch each other all over your bodies without reserve?

373. And did something dirty come out [*nilabasan*] of your body?

374. And did you also cause her to emit something dirty?

375. How many times did you play during the day, or every week? And how many times did you cause each other to emit something? Because this is a particularly serious and grave sin.

376. Other than this, I suspect that every time you see each other or when you think of her, you lustfully desire her. Isn't this right?

377. And because of this desire for her, did you play with your body, some lewd thing? And did your body emit something dirty?

378. Well, did you leave that woman? Have you separated from her?

379. How many times did the priests hearing your confession order you to leave her?

380. What did they give you as penance? Tell me, so I can tell if you were faithful to the cure they gave you for your sick soul [...]

385. Among the women you sinned with, which ones did you force against their will, or did they consent to you?

386. How many did you force? And of those you took advantage of, or forced, were there young women whose entire body [*caboong catawan*, i.e. virginity] you took?

387. Well, did your taking of her become public, this forcible destruction of her womanhood? Did she complain at all, or did she ask of you something in return? [...]

399. Other than this, did you also play and fool around with other women? Or did you fool around with other men? Your fellow males, or females?

400. And in your fooling around, did you say lewd things to one another? 401.Was it just with words that you were playing around, or did you also fool around with your hands?

402. And how did you do this? Did you poke and touch each other, and did you show each others' bodies?

403. And did you emit something dirty? And did you cause the other to emit something dirty?

404. How many of you were fooling around in this way? And how many of you had spouses, and how many of you were single? And were there others watching you?

405. And how many times did you fool around in that manner?

406. Those lewd games you think are just for fun (like a fiesta); but in hell, it is only the devils who take delight in that infernal feast. It is indeed they who excite and tempt you into that kind of lewd speech, in that touching, and dirtiness that is so abominable for any good Christian to see, for this is truly the behavior of animals. And seeing you falling for their temptation in offending God, the devils rejoice, and circle around you in victory. That is what your carnal act is about. That is why my advice to you, my child, is to avoid this kind of infernal fiesta. Do not fool around. Do not conduct yourself in that way with others. And dissuade them, and if they do not listen to you, then leave their presence so that you do not commit so many mortal sins against God and against your soul.

407. With another man like you, or another woman, did you commit some particular offense?

408. And what was that? Did you sleep together? Did you lie on top of each other? What did you do? Do not be ashamed to say it, since you had no shame doing it in front of God who saw you and who is here in front of you, and he is watching your confession.

409. And did you do anything lewd to some other animal? And what was that? And how many times? And was this in front of others? How many? 410. Did you refuse your spouse when he wanted to sleep with you?



412. And in your relationship with your spouse, do you think of someone else and delight in the thought of being with another person?

413. And is that other person married, or perhaps your relative or your spouse's relative? And how many times did you think this way with the intention of taking pleasure with all your heart?

414. When you are sleeping with your spouse, do you change the position of your bodies in what you are doing? And what sort of change do you make? And why did you change your usual practice? Did something dirty come out of your body as a result of your new position? Did you intend it that way, or were you just careless, or what? [...]

418. Did you have lewd [mahalay] dreams?

419. And what happened when you woke up? Did you recall the lewd dream and enjoy it? Or did you try to suppress it and fight it?

420. Did you sing lewd songs, or did you listen to them?

421. And did you remember those lewd songs with the intention of taking pleasure in them? [...]

427. Did you bathe with persons of the opposite sex? Is this not a sin and a great danger for sinning against God when you wish and desire men and women upon seeing them naked while they bathe and rise from the water and get dressed? [...]

430. And during those times when you think about those things, did you do something lewd with your body?

431. And what did you do? Did you feel and touch that shameful part of yourself and play with it?

432. And did you dirty yourself? How many times?<sup>18</sup> [...]

436. My child, every time you are aroused by lewd thoughts and desires, you should pray and try with all your might to suppress and fight them. Ask God to care for you [*ampunan*], make the sign of the cross on your body and ask the Virgin to help you. Take care and fear God in His presence; and even if you suffer now, who knows what suffering will await you? So many have God condemned to hell for indulging in lewd games and pleasures; they were judged by God and given the ultimate punishment, thrown to eternal damnation. Oh, woe to you, were you to join them in eternity.



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# About the Editor

**Vicente L. Rafael** is the Giovanni and Amne Costigan Professor of Southeast Asian History at the University of Washington. He has written widely about the Philippines of the Spanish and American colonial periods. His publications include, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Cornell University Press, 1988), *Discrepant Histories: Translocal Essays on Filipino Cultures* (Temple University Press, 1995), *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Duke University Press, 2000), *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines* (Duke University Press, 2005), and *Motherless Tongues: The Insurgency of Language amid Wars of Translation* (Duke University Press, 2016).

