

# Iberian Dreams, Philippine Colonial Realities: Revisiting the Spanish Literary Heritage of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Archipelago

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## Abstract

*The colonization of the Philippines was a complex and lengthy process that led to the emergence of Spanish-language non-fiction and fiction literature in the archipelago. Filipino intellectuals, emerging from the Spanish-imposed education system, became a force against colonialism by producing Spanish fiction and non-fiction. Despite the shift to English during American colonization, Spanish-language literature continued to evolve, reflecting Filipino resilience. The Catholic Church significantly shaped Filipino society through the Spanish education system. This article focuses on themes of identity, colonialism, and aspirations for freedom found in Spanish-language works published in the Philippines or Spain, and the Filipino intellectuals who contributed to this narrative. Theoretical frameworks by Benedict Anderson and Partha Chatterjee provide insights into how Filipino authors used Spanish to articulate a collective identity, fostering a unique national consciousness even within the colonial power's language. The University of California, Berkeley's location on the Pacific Rim has prompted the library to collect these works for scholars and students. The author provides insights into the subject matter of Spanish-language print books from the Philippines and demonstrates how digital humanities tools like Meta AI, ChatGPT, and Voyant can be utilized to offer additional insights from the Spanish-language narratives written by Filipino intellectuals in the 19th century, deepening our understanding of colonial-era literature.*

**Keywords:** Spanish Colonialism, Digital Humanities, Filipino Literature, Transculturation, Collection Development, Post-Colonial Studies

## INTRODUCTION

The colonization of the Philippines can be better understood by examining the Spanish language literature that emerged during Spanish colonial rule (1565-1898) and persisted through American occupation. This article explores the Philippine-Spanish imprints of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century held at the University of California (UC) Berkeley Library's collections, focusing on key authors and works. UC Berkeley's strategic location in the Pacific Rim, coupled with the history of early Filipino immigration to California, makes these collections a vital source for investigating Spanish colonialism in the Philippines. The Spanish language literature of the Philippines

results from a 333-year-long incomplete Spanish colonial enterprise in the Philippines. Thus, the rise of Philippine literature in Spanish can be understood because of the transplantation of "Iberian literary culture" in the archipelago. The transplantation of Iberian culture in the archipelago was incomplete at its best because the Spanish never acquired the status of lingua franca in the Philippines (Mawson, 2016). While the clergy and educated intellectuals were trained in the Spanish education system the Spanish language was not imposed among the locals as this was a form of control. However, Filipino intellectuals used Spanish to express their ideals and ideas in the language of the colonizers. They masked their dissent in their rhetoric, and this also enabled them to reach a wider audience. As such, while

the Spanish language imprints of the Philippines testify to the processes of colonization, these are also a testament to anti-colonial movements in the archipelago. The purchase of Hubert Howe Bancroft's collection in 1905 became part of UC Berkeley Library system with the name the Bancroft Library (Becker, 1973). This collection significantly enriched UC Berkeley's holdings of materials published in the colonial Mexico. Since Mexico's history is tied to the Philippines through Manila Galleon trade, many Spanish language publications from the Philippines ended up in the Bancroft Library's collections. In addition to the Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley began to participate in the PL 480 program that resulted in the further enhancement of the library's Area and International Studies collections (Williamson, 1967).

Despite its colonial nature, the Spanish-imposed education system in the 19th century inadvertently became a platform for transculturation. This system, designed to instill Spanish culture and values, facilitated the rise of Filipino anti-colonial intellectuals like Graciano López Jaena, José Rizal, and Mariano Ponce, who emerged as a force to be reckoned with in the face of colonialism. Their intellectual prowess demonstrated in the works of several Filipino intellectuals, such as José Rizal's *El Filibusterismo* and *Noli Me Tangere*, led to the emergence of Spanish anti-colonial non-fiction literature in the Philippines. The ideas they expressed were the product of the Iberian education system in the Philippines. Thus, the Iberian dreams were constructed in the tropics using the amalgamated Filipino-Spanish hybrid system of literary tropes. Some of the narratives these authors wrote primarily reflected upon the anti-colonial struggle, which could be examined through decolonization theory. As noted by Escondo (2014) and Anderson (2005) despite using the colonial masters' language, the Filipino authors created space for anti-colonial narratives using the literary tropes of those who colonized them.

Even with the shift in the linguistic landscape from Spanish to English during US colonization, Spanish-language fiction and nonfiction literature continued to evolve. Filipino intellectuals' resilience and determination shaped the corpus now recognized as Philippine literature in Spanish, a testament to their unwavering spirit. In this context, the colonizers' languages and language policies presented opportunities for "progress" amidst transformative dynamics. Filipino society in and around Manila underwent fundamental changes, mainly influenced by the Catholic Church and its clergy (Lim, 1989). They were the primary implementers of the Spanish-imposed education system, printing Catholic-related works in Spanish, Tagalog

(Filipino), and local languages. This inquiry examines Spanish language fiction and non-fiction works published in the Philippines or Spain by Filipino authors from anti-colonial perspectives. Besides, using available digital humanities and artificial intelligence tools, the main research goal of this study is to determine the anti-colonial themes present in the Spanish-language literary collections from the Philippines. By focusing on the anti-colonial themes embedded within these texts, the author aims to uncover the ways Filipino intellectuals employed literature to challenge colonial power and promote a sense of national identity and resilience. This analysis will provide deeper insights into the historical and cultural significance of these works, contributing to our understanding of the Filipino struggle for independence. As such, the literature surveyed is from the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century literary fiction works held at UC Berkeley. The author acknowledges the complexity of Filipino identity and the naming of the archipelago, given its colonial origins and attribution to Philip II, the Spanish Emperor.

### Key Bibliographic References

Researching on publishing in the Philippines reveals a complex bibliographic landscape. This study relied on several key sources such as *Tablas cronológica y alfabética de imprentas e impresores de Filipinas* (1593-1898) (Retana, 1908) [Chronological and Alphabetical Tables of Printing Presses and Printers in the Philippines (1593-1898)], *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands* (Robertson, 1908), and *Philippine Retrospective National Bibliography: 1523-1699* (Bernardo & Versoza, 1974) among others. Retana's *Tablas cronológica* is a comprehensive bibliographic reference work and catalogs the printing presses and printers in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period. It provides a chronological and alphabetical listing of printing presses and their corresponding printers. James Alexander Robertson's *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands* (Robertson, 1908) includes additional information about the holdings of the private libraries in the Philippines and the source materials that Wenceslao Emilio Retana y Gamboa authored. Besides these resources for the literature review, the author relied on two other sources. One is Bernardo's (1974) retrospective bibliography provides historical information about publishing related to the Philippines in Spain and the Philippines. The other is the University of the Philippines Press's *Union Catalog of Philippine Materials* (Ferrer, 1970) which is an indispensable source for additional information on 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Philippine materials.

To analyze some anti-colonial tropes, I used Benedict

Anderson's (2016) *Imagined Communities*, Partha Chatterjee's (2015) chapter titled *Whose Imagined Community?* and Albert Memmi's (1967) translated work *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Lastly, discussing colonialism in the Philippines would be incomplete without consulting Vicente L. Rafael's (1993) *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule*. These works provide a theoretical framework for understanding how "native" Filipino authors adopted Spanish to respond to their colonizers in the language they understood or took for granted. By "native" Filipino authors, the author means those intellectuals who were not of Spanish origin but rather those who were born in the Philippines in Filipino families. While many works discuss the anti-colonial struggle in the Philippines, for this work, I focused on analyzing selected texts authored by José Rizal and others. The focus of this introductory work is to provide cursory information about the Spanish language literature of the Philippines and not to provide an in-depth analysis of the agency of the Philippine intellectuals and their relationship with Spanish colonial authorities.

### Scope and Limitations

This study has several limitations. Firstly, its scope is restricted to Spanish literature, omitting works published in indigenous Philippine languages. Moreover, the research relies solely on print editions, disregarding manuscripts. Many works were published in multiple languages, including Filipino and Spanish. Furthermore, the study does not differentiate between authors based on ethnic origin, including those of Spanish descent born and raised in the Philippines who wrote in Spanish as their native language. Also, the author focused on the items held in the general library collections and excluded the items from the Bancroft Library. Given these limitations, the implications of this study highlight the need for a more comprehensive approach that includes works in Indigenous Philippine languages, manuscripts, and a differentiation between authors' ethnic origins, as well as a broader inclusion of library collections, to fully understand the complexities of Philippine literary history and its anti-colonial themes.

While the historiography of early Catholic-dominated education in various parts of the Philippines is outside the scope of this article, it is essential to note that the decree of Queen Isabella II first established modern secular education in the Philippines as indicated in the document *Expediente general de la Instrucción Pública en las islas Filipinas: Plan de Enseñanza primaria de*

*indígenas* [General Record of Public Instruction in the Philippine Islands: Plan for Primary Education of Indigenous People] (Isabel, 2014). The spread of secular education in the Philippines led to the eventual creation of Filipino public intellectuals who contested the Spanish colonial administration (De Dios, 2008). In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, many members of the Filipino elite traveled to Spain and other parts of Europe for specialized education, bringing back ideas of European Enlightenment and freedom to the Philippines (Tran, 2022).

Initially, these revolutionaries tried to pursue Madrid to carry out political reforms in the Philippines through the *Ilustrado* Movement (Teodoro, 1999). The influx of these revolutionary ideas and gradual social transformation in the Philippines culminated in the revolution of 1898 that the *Katipunan* organized (Quibuyen, 1997). The extensive history of the revolution of 1898 has been documented in a two-volume set that was published by Centro Editorial de Alberto Martin, Barcelona in Barcelona in 1899 under the title, *La insurrección de Filipinas en 1896 y 1897*, by Emilio Reverter Delmas (1899), who then termed the revolution as an insurrection.

Manuel Sastrón, a Spanish official in the Philippines, in his introduction to the book, reflects upon Spain's "civilizing mission" (Sastrón, 1899, p. 7) in the Philippines. As Eastman (2021) postulates, the "civilizing mission" led in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by liberal ideology was a function and continuation of centuries of civilizing practices that used the church as a tool to "civilize" the indigenous people of the lands that the Spaniards conquered and colonized. While the Spanish Imperial authorities partially succeeded in suppressing the 1896-97 revolution in the Philippines, we can understand the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Filipino writing as the narrative harboring the seed of early Filipino desire to gain autonomy and freedom from Spain.

### METHODOLOGY

For data collection, I used purposive sampling using *Choreo Insights* - a tool developed by the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) to provide real-time information about the holdings in academic libraries to avoid potential duplication and collaborate to build sustainable collections moving forward, as many academic libraries face budgetary and space constraints. The *Choreo Insights* tool allows for comparing two academic libraries' collections to see the overlap or gap in collections. For this analysis, since the author wanted to establish the collections of the UC Berkeley library, the author deliberately chose the University of

California-San Francisco (UCSF) as a library against which the analysis was run.

UCSF primarily collects items related to medicine and biological sciences; thus, the study showed no overlap in collections. For the format, the author only opted for printed books because these unlike the manuscripts formed the part of the general collections that was easily accessible to me. I used Spanish for the languages of the publications, and Philippines (ph) for place of publication to run the analysis. I purposefully used years of publication as a criterion due to the assumption that the number of books in the UC Berkeley Library's collection published in Spanish in the Philippines could

be relatively small. The author limited the publication date to the period between 1565 and 2024. The Philippines gained independence from the USA in 1946. However, the Spanish colonial period began in 1565 and ended in 1898. I chose 2024 as the date as many Spanish language books by the Filipino authors were reprinted in the independent Philippines.

The analysis returned 255 individual titles on all subjects published in the Philippines. I then filtered these results by LC Call number ranges to limit them to LC Call numbers reserved for literature (PL and PQ) which resulted in 39 individual titles. I then narrowed the years of publication from 1500 to 1898, further

Table 1 *Items related to Filipino literature*

Title	Author	Publication Details	Edition	LC Subclass
<i>El último adiós de Rizal: estudio crítico-expositivo.</i> [Rizal's Last Farewell: A Critical-Expository Study.]	Veyra, Jaime C. de1873-(Jaime Carlos),	Bureau of Printing, 1946		PQ - FRENCH LITERATURE, ITALIAN LITERATURE, SPANISH LITERATURE, PORTUGUESE LITERATURE
Poems of Dr. José Rizal: <i>Poetas del Dr. José Rizal</i> , with Notes in English.	Rizal, Jose, 1861-1896.	Pikespeak Enterprises, 1956	2nd ed	PQ - FRENCH LITERATURE, ITALIAN LITERATURE, SPANISH LITERATURE, PORTUGUESE LITERATURE
Anguish, fulness, nirvana;	Veloso, Alfred S.,	Asvel Pub. Co.,1960	[1st ed.	PQ - FRENCH LITERATURE, ITALIAN LITERATURE, SPANISH LITERATURE, PORTUGUESE LITERATURE
<i>Bajo los cocoteros</i> = Beneath coconut palms.	Recto, Claro M.,1890-1960.	[Asvel Pub. Co.],1963		PQ - FRENCH LITERATURE, ITALIAN LITERATURE, SPANISH LITERATURE, PORTUGUESE LITERATURE
<i>Ave en jaula lírica: Bird in the Lyric Cage. Poetas hispano-filipinas traducidas al inglés.</i> [Bird in the Lyric Cage: Hispano-Filipino Poems Translated into English.]	Espino, Federico Licsi.	<i>Ediciones Fil-Hispanas</i> ,1970	[Ed. bilingu]e].	PQ - FRENCH LITERATURE, ITALIAN LITERATURE, SPANISH LITERATURE, PORTUGUESE LITERATURE
<i>Balagtasán: La poesía de Jesús Balmori y Manuel Bernabe y otras cosas más.</i> [Balagtasán: The Poetry of Jesús Balmori and Manuel Bernabe, and Other Things.]		Historical Conservation Society : 1992		PQ - FRENCH LITERATURE, ITALIAN LITERATURE, SPANISH LITERATURE, PORTUGUESE LITERATURE
<i>Cuento</i> = Kwento [A story]		De La Salle University Press, 1997		PL - LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES OF EASTERN ASIA, AFRICA, OCEANIA

reducing the number to 30 titles. The dataset can be found in this link: <https://tinyurl.com/84k5y8x5>

I utilized a virtual Spanish source, *Literatura Filipina en español* [Philippine literature in Spanish], maintained by Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes [Virtual Library of Miguel de Cervantes], to identify publications by authors of Philippine origin published in Spain during the colonial period. It collates 126 fiction items by Filipino authors. In addition to the virtual source, I consulted *La Literatura Filipina en Castellano* [The Philippine Literature in Castellian] by Luis Marinas Otero (1974). This helped me identify key authors from the Philippines who wrote in Spanish and had their works published in Spain.

One immediate problem with the data is that some titles are indexed as French or Italian literature as seen in Table 1. There seems to be a cataloging oversight, as six items were erroneously indexed as French and Italian literature. Another important thing to note is that all these publications are from the late 20th century. Of these six items, only two were published during the Spanish colonial period, and the rest were published during the US occupation of the Philippines. Of 255 titles, 29 were related to languages and literature. For analytical purposes I attributed subject tags like literature, lexicography, and grammar that would convey the substance of the materials grouped in language and literature subclasses.

Seven items are classified as Filipino fiction literature in Spanish and published in the Philippines in the UC Berkeley library's collections. All seven were published after World War II. However, limiting the analysis to the Spanish-language books that were published ends up excluding works by Filipino authors who wrote in Spanish and whose works were published in Spain. I relied on two resources from Instituto Cervantes to establish what authors from the Philippines wrote in Spanish and published in Spain. One was the website on Philippine literature in Spanish; the other was a chapter entitled "*La Edad de Oro de la Literatura Fil-Hispana*" from *La Literatura Filipina en L. Castellano* [The Philippine Literature in Spanish] by Luis Mariñas Otero (1974). Based on these two resources, I collated a list of prominent Filipino fiction writers who wrote in Spanish, whose books were published in Spain, and whose works are available in the UC Berkeley Library's collections.

## DISCUSSION

For the purpose of this work, I selected several authors from the list to provide a brief highlight on their works. The authors selected are as follows: Pedro Paterno

(1857-1911), José Rizal (1861-1896), Fernando María Guerrero (Fernando Ma. Guerrero (1873-1929), Isabelo de los Reyes (1864-1938), and Graciano Lopez Jaena (1856-1896).

### Pedro Paterno (1857-1911)

Many Filipino fiction authors wrote in Spanish during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, reflecting the influence of Spanish colonial rule. Pedro Paterno (1857-1911) is considered one of the first Filipino writers and poets. His book of poems, *Sampaguitas y otras poesías varias*, [Sampaguitas and other various poems] is regarded as the first book of poetry published in Spain. Paterno authored *Ninay* in 1885, which was recognized as the first Filipino novel. UC Berkeley Library has a first edition of Paterno's novel, *Los Itas* (Paterno, 1890). Paterno served as the second term Prime Minister of the Philippines from May 7, 1899 to November 13, 1899. His first term was from 2 January 1898 until his succession by Apolinario Mabini (Early, 1975, p. 50), and his legacy and later collaboration with the American occupiers often invoke a controversial image of a traitor by some (Reyes, 2006). In her article, Reyes defines his legacy as follows, "Paterno's irresolution under conditions of political crisis made him either a subject of ridicule or an easy target of blame for nationalist historians. He was vilified as a self-gratifying elite who had betrayed his people's cause. Short of portraying him as an enemy from within, renowned historian Renato Constantino referred to Paterno as the 'broker of the betrayal of the Revolution' and as an opportunist and collaborator" (p. 89) However in abstract, she states, "Rather, it focuses on Pedro Paterno as a scholar, as the author of a considerable number of works of history, and it seeks to place him in his intellectual context, an ilustrado who compromised with both colonialism and nationalism, with loyalties split between Spain and the Philippines (Reyes, 2006, p. 87).

There are several works authored by Pedro Paterno at UC Berkeley Library. It is important to note that except for *El Pacto de Biyak-na-bato*, all other titles were published in Spain. Table 2 shows the breakdown of publishing houses where these items were published. Many of the earlier Filipino intellectuals were either educated in Spain or were the product of the Spanish-imposed education system; thus, their works were published in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Spain.

Spanish publishers that appear frequently were *Impr. de los sucesores de Cuesta*, and *Imprenta Moderna* in Madrid. Paterno's legacy is disputed due to his collaboration with the Spanish against the American occupiers and his stance as the Spanish-appointed negotiator who led to

Table 2 *Publications of Pedro Paterno and their publication details*

Title	Place of Publication	Publisher	Year of Publication
<i>La antigua civilización tagalog (apuntes) / por Pedro Alejandro Molo Agustín Paterno y de Vera Ignacio, maguinoo Paterno ...</i>	Madrid	Tipog. de M.G. Hernández	1887
<i>Los itas / por Pedro Alejandro Paterno.</i>	Madrid	Impr. de los sucesores de Cuesta	1890
<i>El barangay con la Relación de Fr. Juan de Plasencia, escrita en 1589 de cómo se gobernaban los tagalos en la antigüedad y una carta de D. Miguel Villalba Hervás</i>	Madrid	Impr. de los sucesores de Cuesta	1892
<i>El cristianismo en la antigua civilización tagalog / contestación al m. r. p. fr. R. Martínez Vigil</i>	Madrid	Imprenta moderna	1892
<i>La familia tagalog en la historia universal / P.A. Paterno; con un apéndice contestación al R. Martínez Vigil</i>	Madrid	Impr. de los sucesores de Cuesta	1892
<i>El régimen municipal en las Islas Filipinas: Real decreto de 19 de mayo de 1893 / con notas y concordancias por don Pedro Alejandro Paterno.</i>	Madrid	Estab. tipog. de los sucesores de Cuesta	1893
<i>El pacto de Biyak-na-bato / por Pedro A. Paterno.</i>	Manila	Imprenta "La Republica"	1910
<i>Los itas / por Pedro Alejandro Paterno.</i>	Manila	Tip. linotype del Colegio de Santo Tomás	1915
<i>Ninay : (ugali nang catagalugan) / Pedro A. Paterno; salin sa Tagalog ni Roman G. Reyes.</i>	Manila	De La Salle University Press	2002

the Pact of Biak-na-Bato (Reyes, 2006).

#### José Rizal (1861-1896)

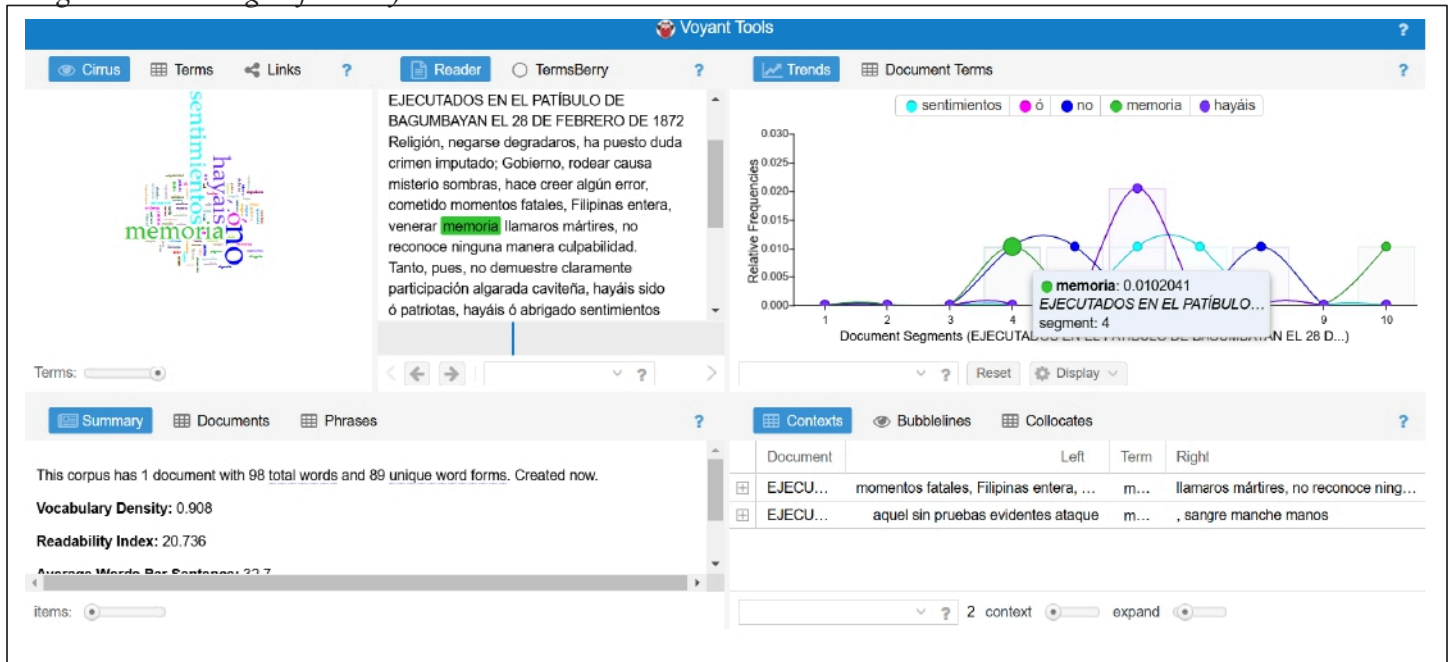
A national hero of the Philippines, Rizal is renowned for his novel "*Noli Me Tangere*" (Touch Me Not, 1887) (Rizal 1900) and "*El Filibusterismo*" (The Reign of Greed, 1891) (Rizal 1887). These works were instrumental in shaping Filipino national identity and consciousness during the Spanish colonial period (Rizal & Retana, 1908). At UC Berkeley Library, we have ten works by José Rizal in Spanish, all of which were published in the Philippines.

In the beginning of his work, *El Filibusterismo*, José Rizal dedicates a paragraph to Gomburza and reflects on the Cavite rebellion which is translated as follows:

To the Memory of the Priests Don Mariano Gómez (85 years), Don José Burgos (30 years), and Don Jacinto Zamora (35 years), executed on the gallows of Bagumbayan on February 28, 1872. Religion, by refusing to degrade you, has cast doubt on the crime attributed to you; the Government, by surrounding your case with mystery and shadows, leads to the belief that some

error was committed in fatal moments, and the entire Philippines, by venerating your memory and calling you martyrs, does not recognize your guilt in any way. Meanwhile, as long as your participation in the Cavite mutiny is not demonstrated, whether you were patriots or not, whether you harbored sentiments for justice or liberty, I have the right to dedicate my work to you as victims of the evil I strive to combat. And while we await the day Spain rehabilitates you and does not become complicit in your death, let these pages serve as a belated crown of dry leaves over your unknown graves, and may anyone who attacks your memory without evident proof stain their hands with your blood! J. Rizal [Ghent, 1891]

Can we postulate that J. Rizal's interpretation of Gomburza's sacrifice was the function of an imagined community that coalesced around the ideas of equity and freedom during the colonial epoch? The passage from Rizal can be examined through the lens of imagined communities. One part of the text reads, "Meanwhile, as long as your participation in the Cavite mutiny is not demonstrated, whether you were patriots or not, whether you harbored sentiments for justice or liberty, I have the right to dedicate my work to you as

Image 1 *Several insights from Voyant*

victims of the evil I strive to combat." Here, the imagined community refers to those involved in the Cavite mutiny, as well as those who shared a sense of justice or liberty. Rizal calls upon these groups and dedicates his work to another imagined community—the victims of the injustices he seeks to address. However, José Rizal's work highlighted the sacrifice of Filipino Catholic priests Mariano Gómez, José Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora, who advocated for equal rights between the Spanish and Filipino clergy, which resulted in the 1872 Cavite mutiny (Schumacher, 1972).

The Glorious Revolution of 1868 in Spain, which introduced democratic reforms and social changes, cannot be overlooked. These reforms and Spain's relative democratization created an environment where Filipino intellectuals like Jaena and Rizal found refuge. It's important to note that Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines was not benevolent. Its primary goal was to maintain the status quo, disregarding Filipino demands for reforms that could have eased the colonial burden and provided mechanisms for autonomy and self-determination. To reveal insights from the Spanish text, I used Voyant tools for analysis that revealed several insights, as shown in Image 1.

I cleaned up the text by identifying stop words and prepositions frequently used in Spanish from the provided text. I listed common functional words that serve grammatical purposes by carry little meaning on their own. Some examples include: *a*, *al*, *de* (of, from), *en* (in, on), *y* (and), *no* (no), *la/le* (feminine/masculine

definite article, *como* (as, like), *un* (indefinite article), *sobre* (on, about), *entre* (between), *ni* (nor), *mientras* (while), *este* (this), *esta* (this), *en tanto* (until), among others.

These words serve as connectors or help establish relationships between other words, phrases, and clauses in the sentence. They are essential for the grammatical structure of the language but are not typically relevant for carrying the core meaning of the text. However, this removal results in a text that is very short and thus the trends that Voyant Tools have offered in Image 1 can reveal only limited information as shown in Image 2.

Thus the cleaned up text is shown as follows:

### *EJECUTADOS EN EL PATÍBULO DE BAGUMBAYAN EL 28 DE FEBRERO DE 1872*

*Religión, negarse degradaros, ha puesto duda crimen imputado; Gobierno, rodear causa misterio sombras, hace creer algún error, cometido momentos fatales, Filipinas entera, venerar memoria llamaros mártires, no reconoce ninguna manera culpabilidad. Tanto, pues, no demuestre claramente participación algarada caviteña, hayáis sido ó patriotas, hayáis ó abrigado sentimientos justicia, sentimientos libertad, tengo derecho dedicaros trabajo víctimas mal trato combatir. Mientras esperamos España rehabilite día no haga solidaria muerte, sirvan páginas tardía corona hojas secas vuestras ignoradas tumbas, ¡todo aquel sin pruebas evidentes ataque memoria, sangre*

*manche manos!*"

Voyant Tools allows to visualize the trends in this short text as shown in Image 2.

Rizal emphasizes that the priests are martyrs and that their memory should be respected, especially in the context of their wrongful execution. Rizal calls for the reclamation of their memory through phrases like:

*"Filipinas entera, al venerar vuestra memoria y llamaros mártires"* (All of the Philippines, in venerating your memory and calling you martyrs) – This implies that the public, particularly the Filipino people, should honor the priests as martyrs.

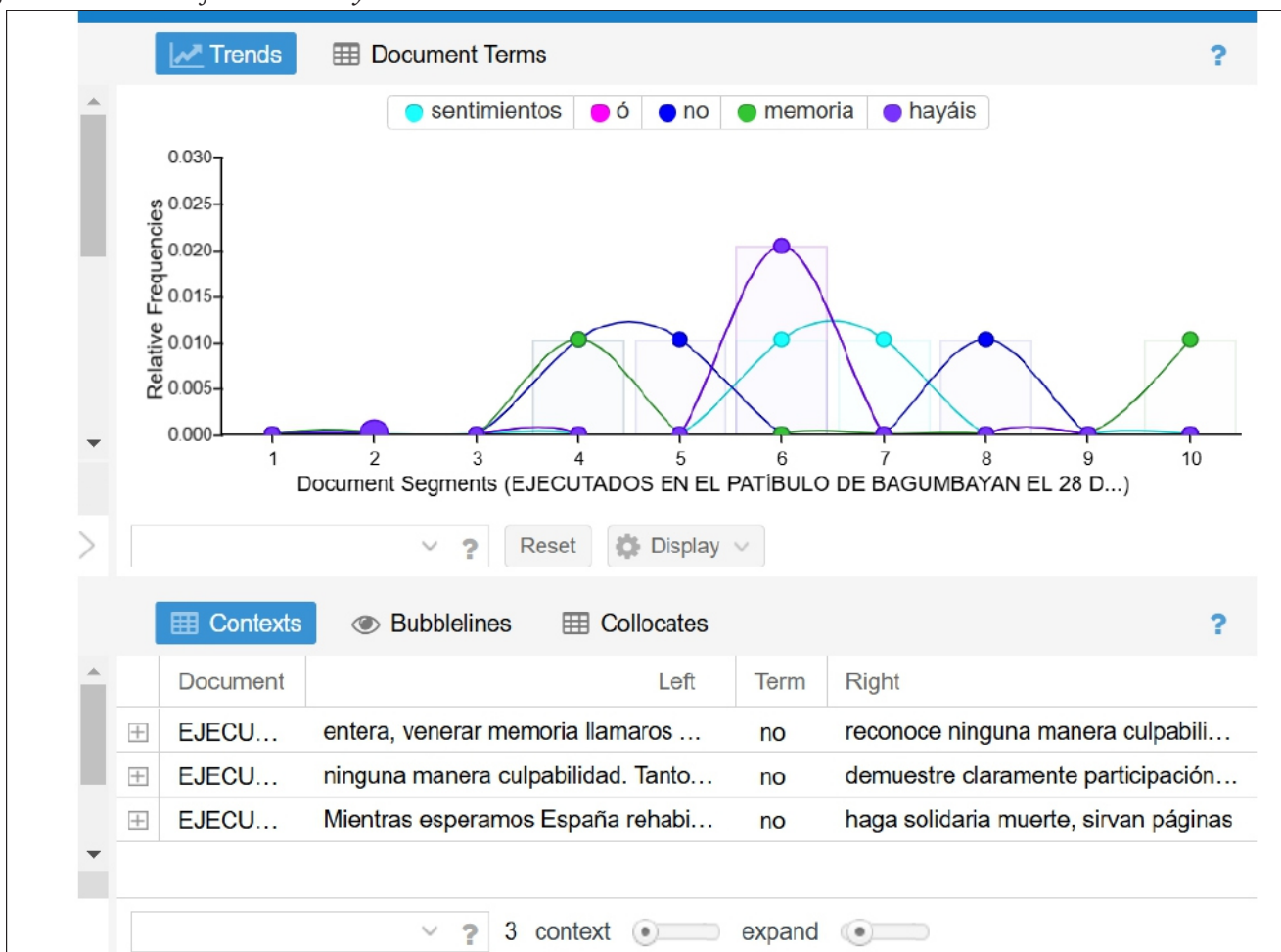
*"sirvan estas páginas como tardía corona de hojas secas sobre vuestras ignoradas tumbas"* (let these pages serve as a late crown of dry leaves on your forgotten graves) – This metaphor suggests that Rizal is offering a symbolic

tribute to the priests' memory, despite the fact that their graves have been ignored. It's a call for honoring their sacrifice, albeit in a delayed manner.

Voyant defines trends as a visualization that shows the frequency of terms across documents in a corpus or within segments of a document, depending on the selected mode. Each series in the graph is color-coded according to the word it represents, and a legend at the top of the graph indicates which words correspond to which colors. Users can click on words in the legend to toggle their visibility. Hovering over any point on the graph reveals a callout box with details about that point, including the word, its frequency (either raw or relative, depending on the mode), and the specific document or document segment.

For example, in Image 2, each dot relates to a word and how it is placed within the text. We can also see the word for *memoria* (memory) highlighted and how it

Image 2 A screenshot of trends in Voyant.



relates to the words *sentimientos* (sentiments). The trends allow us to perform closer reading of the text. So, while Rizal doesn't explicitly say the public must honor them, the text strongly implies that Filipinos should recognize the priests' martyrdom and sacrifice, even if the acknowledgment has been long delayed. Precisely, here we see the imagined community that Benedict Anderson emphasized in his work.

José Rizal's anticolonial stance can be analyzed by examining the visual connections among critical terms such as *sangre* (blood), *memoria* (memory), *víctimas* (victims), and *patriotas* (patriots). While these terms alone might not mean much to anyone individually, as a group with keywords like blood, memory, victims, and patriots, one can see the sentiments that J. Rizal was expressing. To test this hypothesis, I used Meta's Llama AI to analyze the text. The passage was analyzed and identified the overall sentiment as one of respect, admiration, and tribute to priests Don Mariano Gómez, Don José Burgos, and Don Jacinto Zamora, executed in 1872. José Rizal expresses solidarity with these individuals, whom he views as martyrs and victims of injustice.

Llama AI's sentiment analysis highlights specific feelings of indignation and criticism toward the Spanish government for its handling of the case, respect and veneration for the priests, hope for their rehabilitation and acknowledgment of innocence, and condemnation toward those who attack their memory without evidence. The tone is described as emotive, reflective, and critical, with poetic and elegant language, emphasizing key themes like justice, liberty, innocence, and memory, within the historical context of the 1872 executions.

The exact text of Rizal was then run through ChatGPT, another AI platform, to see how the analysis could differ from Meta's Llama 2.0 platform. I pasted Rizal's text just as he did for Meta AI and asked ChatGPT to conduct a sentiment analysis of the text.

ChatGPT's response can be summarized as follows, the passage emphasizes a strong emotional tone, characterized by admiration, defiance, and a call for justice. The sentiment analysis highlights several key elements:

1. **Reverence and Respect:** The speaker honors Mariano Gómez, José Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora with deep respect, challenging the accusations against them. They refer to these individuals as martyrs and victims of injustice, showing sympathy and veneration.
2. **Frustration and Criticism:** The writer criticizes

Spanish colonial authorities and the ambiguity around the men's deaths. They express frustration at the lack of transparency and hint at potential injustice in the trial and execution.

3. **Defiance and Assertion of Innocence:** There's a strong assertion of the priests' innocence, reflecting justice and defiance against wrongful accusations. The burden of proof lies with the accusers until proven otherwise.
4. **Call for Justice and Reparation:** The speaker expresses hope for justice and calls for Spain to take responsibility and reverse the injustice done.
5. **Caution Against Unfounded Attacks:** The final sentence warns against attacking the memory of these individuals without evidence, suggesting that doing so stains their legacy.

The text reverently remembers three priests, Mariano Gómez, José Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora, honoring them as martyrs and victims of injustice. The author criticizes Spanish colonial authorities for the ambiguous and potentially unjust trial and execution of these men. They assert the priests' innocence and call for justice and reparation, emphasizing the need for transparency and cautioning against unfounded accusations. These tools can indeed be useful for analyzing larger corpora of Spanish-language writings by Filipino authors.

Fernando María Guerrero (Fernando Ma. Guerrero (1873-1929))

Guerrero was a prominent writer who authored *El Hijo del Pueblo* (The Son of the People) in 1905. He is also known for his *Crisálidas* (Chrysalis) which is a poetry collection, published in 1914 (Guerrero, 1952). Some of his poems can be accessed at the Defensores de Lengua Española en Filipinas website. Also, from 1903, after the American occupation, he collaborated in a Spanish Tagalog bilingual newspaper, *El Renacimiento* (The Renaissance).

The newspaper's first issue, which came out on December 30, 1901, was dedicated to marking the fifth anniversary of the execution of José Rizal. In this commemorative issue, the editors published José Rizal's last letter that he wrote to his parents before his execution. In his last letter to his parents, as shown in the image above, Rizal expresses his love for his homeland, the Philippines: A man must die for his convictions and duties. Interestingly, Rizal wrote his last letter in Spanish instead of Tagalog.

Isabelo de los Reyes (1864-1938)

Isabelo de los Reyes, also known as Don Belong, was a

prominent Filipino patriot, writer, journalist, and labor activist. He is celebrated as the "Father of Philippine Folklore" and the "Father of the Philippine Labor Movement" for his significant contributions to preserving Filipino culture and promoting workers' rights (Bragado, 2002). He wrote *El Folk-Lore Filipino* (Filipino Folklore) in 1887, a two-volume work exploring the folklore of the Philippines (Reyes, 1994). He also published it in Madrid at *Tip. Lit de J. Corrales, La sensacional memoria de Isabelo de los Reyes sobre la revolución Filipina de 1896-97: por la cual fue deportado el autor al Castillo de Montjuic* [Isabelo de los Reyes' sensational memoir of the Philippine revolution of 1896-97: for which the author was deported to Montjuic Castle]. The views presented in this history of the Philippine Revolution are distinct from those of Emilio Reverter Delmas, whose book was mentioned earlier as one of the sources on the Philippine Revolution.

In Miguel Morayta's prologue to *La sensacional memoria de Isabelo de los Reyes*, he wrote about the role of Isabelo Reyes as follows:

*Su larga estancia en la prisión le puso en contacto con un número considerable de filipinos, tan inocentes como él, así como de algunos partícipes de la insurrección y de tal cual culpable de haberla preparado por medio de la conspiración. Sus relaciones con unos y otros le permitieron conocer los secretos del plebeyo Katipunan y la irresponsabilidad absoluta de la Masonería y de la Liga Filipina en el movimiento revolucionario de agosto de 1896; y como en aquellos momentos, solemnísimos para tantos que horas después morían fusilados en Bagumbayan (Sagrada & López Jaena, 1891)*

The English translation is as follows:

His long stay in prison brought him into contact with a considerable number of Filipinos, as innocent as he was, as well as with some participants in the insurrection and some who were guilty of having prepared it through conspiracy. His interactions with both groups allowed him to learn the secrets of the plebeian Katipunan and the absolute irresponsibility of the Masonry and the Liga Filipina in the revolutionary movement of August 1896; and as in those solemn moments, for so many who hours later died by firing squad in Bagumbayan.

Using Voyant tools can enhance our understanding of the relationships between various terms. I utilized the prologue of Morayta to describe some nuances of the

nationalist revolution in the Philippines. I downloaded a public domain copy of the text file from the Internet Archive to run the analysis (Image 3). Although the OCR copy contained many artifacts within the words, I used Meta's Llama AI 3.1 (build 405b) to clean up the text. Since Meta's Llama 3.1 has a word limit on how many words it can process if one is not to sign up for the Meta account, I divided the text into two parts to clean it up. I carefully verified the correctness of the rendered artifacts by comparing them with the representative letters in the PDF version of the text available on the Internet Archive. I ran the text through Voyant Tools, a web-based platform for digital humanities research and analysis. It's designed to facilitate close and distant readings of texts, enabling users to explore and visualize large amounts of text data.

### Graciano López Jaena (1856-1896)

Lopez Jaena was a Filipino author, journalist, intellectual, and member of *Ilustrados*. He later joined *Katipunan* and was ultimately exiled to Barcelona, Spain, where he died. He is known for his novel *Frailocracia* (Friarocracy), published in 1889. López Jaena was also a key figure in the Propaganda Movement, advocating for reforms in the Philippines (Jamias, Navarro, & Tuazon, 2013).

The German National Library (*Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz*) has digitized his 1891 work, *Discursos y artículos varios*. Lopez Jaena's journalistic endeavors led him to launch *La Solidaridad* in 1888, a 12-page magazine that served as a voice for reform. As its editor, he championed vital causes, such as securing representation for Filipinos in the Spanish Congress, halting the unjust exile of his countrymen, and exposing the malpractices of friars in the Philippines.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, examining Spanish literary heritage in the Philippines during the 19th and early 20th centuries reveals the complex evolution of Filipino literature shaped by 333 years of Spanish rule. This period saw Filipino intellectuals producing Spanish-language fiction and non-fiction, aided by the Spanish-imposed education system and transculturation processes. While American colonization shifted the linguistic landscape to English, Spanish-language literature endured, with figures like José Rizal and Pedro Paterno at the forefront of anti-colonial thought. UC Berkeley's collections offer valuable resources for studying this literary legacy, which reflects themes of identity, colonialism, and aspirations for reform and freedom in works published in both the

Image 3 A word cloud created using Voyant Tools

The screenshot shows the Voyant Tools interface. On the left, a word cloud displays various terms, with 'filipinas', 'españa', 'isabelo', 'reyes', and 'madrid' being prominent. Below the word cloud, a 'Summary' tab is active, showing corpus statistics: 'This corpus has 1 document with 1,424 total words and 675 unique word forms. Created now. Vocabulary Density: 0.474. Readability Index: 12.835. Average Words Per Sentence: 49.1. Most frequent words in the corpus: a (29), no (11), filipinas (10), españa (7), reyes (6)'. On the right, the 'Reader' tab is active, displaying a text snippet with highlighted words. Below the text, a 'Contexts' tab shows a list of document segments with corresponding terms like 'opinión' and 'su o'.

Voyant tools also allow us to highlight the links between the terms as shown in Image 4.

Image 4 The linkages of terms within the D. Eloiilo Aguinaldo's introduction

The screenshot shows the Voyant Tools interface with a 'Links' tab selected. A network graph on the left visualizes the relationships between terms, with nodes of various sizes and colors connected by lines. The central text viewer is the same as in Image 3. On the right, a 'Trends' tab is active, displaying a line graph for the term 'insurrección'. The graph shows three distinct peaks corresponding to the occurrences of the word in the text. The y-axis is labeled 'Relative Frequency' and the x-axis is 'Document Segments'.

Philippines and Spain. The theoretical frameworks of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* and Partha Chatterjee's *Whose Imagined Community?* shed light on how Filipino authors used Spanish to form a distinct collective identity, separate from their colonizers. These theories reveal how 19th-century Filipino writers turned to Spanish literature as a means of fostering a unique national consciousness, even though they wrote in the language of their oppressors. In Partha Chatterjee's case, the question was whose imagined community through which Chatterjee asserted that while the print capitalism created milieu for the spread of nationalist ideas and fostering of a sense of community among those who were colonized, the discourse of the community was a product of interaction between the colonizers and those who were colonized. For instance as noted earlier in the section on Rizal, José Rizal, in his dedication to GomBurZa after the Cavite rebellion, wrote, "meanwhile, as long as your participation in the Cavite mutiny is not demonstrated, whether you were patriots or not, whether you harbored sentiments for justice or liberty, I have the right to dedicate my work to you as victims of the evil I strive to combat." Rizal's words illustrate the Filipinos who defied Spanish tyranny as patriots who sought justice and liberty. He portrayed the injustices under Spanish rule as an evil that needed to be fought against. While his message might have seemed idealistic, Rizal's actions were very real, as his struggle against the colonizers was a fight for independence.

Tools like OCLC's Choro Insights, along with resources like *Literatura Filipina en español*, have helped map the publishing patterns of these authors, demonstrating how digital humanities can deepen our understanding of colonial-era literature. By using AI and digital tools like Voyant, Llama 2.0, and ChatGPT, researchers can further analyze this corpus, revealing Filipino writers' resilience in using Spanish literature to construct a Filipino identity and preserve their legacy.

#### DECLARATION OF CONFLICTING INTEREST

The author declared no potential conflicts of interest concerning the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

#### DECLARATION ON SOURCES OF FUNDING

The author received no financial support for the research, authorship, and publication of this article.

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The PhJLIS is published by the School of Library and Information Studies, University of the Philippines Diliman.