

For the Love of (Local) Wisdom: University, Thomism, and Filipino Thought

Jovito V. Cariño

Abstract: The renewal of Thomism and the birth of Filipino nationalism were pivotal events of the 19th century, yet most accounts of them seem to be indifferent to their synchronicity. Rather than interface, what is often read is a re-enactment of the proverbial chasm separating the two. For the most part, historians depict their simultaneous occurrence as an outright clash of civilizations between the sacred and the secular or the medieval and the modern. The decolonial trend of Philippine scholarship further exacerbates this divide and leads to the exclusion of St. Thomas's thought as a potential resource of an enriched local philosophic discourse. This paper seeks to supply the missing link between Thomism and the birth of Filipino nationalism by identifying the intersecting lines as well as the divergent points of their separate yet closely parallel itineraries. The aim is to render a prospective rendition of the renewal of Thomism in the Philippines without glossing over the social and political traumas underlying our local intellectual history. I argue that an agonistic interaction between Thomism and philosophy in the Philippines is possible as it is necessary, and its pursuit is crucial if a sustained engagement between Aquinas's thought and the Filipino mind must be attained.

Keywords: Filipino philosophy, Thomism, Catholic, nationalism

This paper is part of a larger project on St. Thomas Aquinas and doing philosophy in the Philippines. This undertaking aims to look into the local reception of St. Thomas's philosophy as a preliminary step towards promoting, on one hand, Filipino scholarship on St. Thomas's intellectual legacy and hopefully, in the long run, a more agonistic interaction between Thomistic thought and Filipino philosophic discourse.

I wish to begin by saying that Thomism, in general, evokes theological and metaphysical thinking. Ironically, the campaign to promote the renewal of Thomism in the 19th century coincided with the rise of Filipino nationalism which strongly positioned itself against theological and metaphysical thought. In effect, one might say that the seeds of the post-theological and post-metaphysical in the Philippine philosophic discourse were sown by the emergence of Filipino nationalism which has been in conflict with the Catholic intellectual tradition ever since. This partly explains why, though predominantly Catholic, scholarly interest on theological studies and metaphysics in the Philippines has been on the wane since the tail end of the 19th century, the period when liberal and scientific ideas from Western Europe were introduced and propagated locally through the writings of *ilustrados* like Marcelo del Pilar and Jose Rizal. The anti-Catholic temperament of del Pilar and Rizal has somehow rubbed off on the present generation of Filipino theorists who remain critical of Catholic thought of which St. Thomas Aquinas is a prime representative. In this paper, I shall try to provide a route out of this perennial impasse and demonstrate a perspective by which Thomism and philosophy in the Philippines may be seen in agonistic rather antagonistic terms. The task is not really to fuse the two but merely to open a space for an encounter which, I shall argue, is both possible and necessary.

Thomism in the Philippines: The Initial Contact

I begin my discussion with an abbreviated, retrospective account of the history of the University of Santo Tomas which, to an extent, coincided with the beginnings of doing philosophy in the Philippines.¹ Since its founding, the University of Santo Tomas, or UST, has been the center of philosophic education in the new colony. This was formally inaugurated when the Faculty of Philosophy, alongside the other oldest faculty at the university, the Faculty of Theology, was established on July 29, 1619, or just eight years after the institution's founding on April 28, 1611. The original name of the school was Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Santisimo Rosario. It was originally intended to be a seminary for the young recruits for priesthood. In 1617, it was renamed Colegio de Santo Tomas de Aquino, to honor the great Dominican theologian and saint, St. Thomas Aquinas.² The

¹ See Alfredo Co, ed., *Doing Philosophy in the Philippines: The Thomasian Collection (1924–1949), Volume I* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2020), xxii–xxiv.

² The longer substitute name was “Colegio de Santo Tomás de Nuestra Señora del Rosario” (1616) before it was shortened to “Colegio de Santo Tomas de Aquino” (1623). See Fidel Villaroel, OP, “The University of Santo Tomas of Manila (1611–1987): A Synthesis of its Four-Century History,” in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 23 (January–April 1988); Fidel Villaroel, OP, *A History*

inspiration behind the putting up of such school came from the Dominican friar, Fray Miguel de Benavides. With a seed endowment of a little over 1,000 pesos and the donation of his own library, the history of what would later be the University of Santo Tomas was set into motion.³ His envisioned school was founded six years after he passed on July 26, 1605. He was 55.⁴

While one might consider the offering of philosophic courses at the Faculty of Philosophy the official introduction of academic philosophy in the Philippines, it was not certainly the first encounter between Thomistic thought and the islands' native inhabitants. One might recall that Fray Miguel de Benavides was a product of a Thomist school of thought that was current at the University of Salamanca (formerly Colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid) which made its mark in the annals of history for championing social justice and the human rights of the natives in the Hispanic territories.⁵ At the forefront of these advocacies were Salamanca's illustrious theologians, Fray Francisco de Vitoria and Fray Bartolome de las Casas.⁶ The efforts of these Thomist scholars, de Vitoria and de las Casas, infused new vitality into

of the University of Santo Tomas: Four Centuries of Higher Education in the Philippines, Vol. I (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2012), 41.

³ For the inventory of the Fray Miguel de Benavides' donation of books, see John N. Crossley, "The Books in the Earliest Library of the University of Santo Tomas," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 53 (May–August, 2018).

⁴ This is debatable as there are conflicting accounts of the Fray Miguel's birth year. Piet Van der Loon placed it at 1552, but for Fr. Villaroel it was 1550. Van der Loon, however, did not provide any citation of his sources in contrast to Fr. Villaroel who offered multiple references in determining Fray Miguel's biography. In claiming that Fray Miguel died at 55 years old, I am following the lead of Fr. Villaroel on account of its reliability. It is important to note, however, that Fray Diego Aduarte, OP, the friar historian who wrote *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Filipinas, Japón y China* and one of the sources of Fr. Villaroel, did not specify the year when Fray Miguel was born. Of Fray Miguel's early life, Fray Diego only had this to say: "He was born in Carrion de Los Condes, of noble parents, well known in that region because of their descent and their virtue. When he was not more than fifteen years old he assumed the habit of this religious order, and learned by experience how true is the saying of the Holy Spirit that it is well for a man to carry the easy yoke of the service of God from his youth. He received the habit and professed in the distinguished convent of San Pablo at Valladolid." See chapter LXI of Diego Aduarte, OP, "History of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898, XXXI (1640)*, ed. by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), <<https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/42399/pg42399-images.html>>. See also Fidel Villarreal, OP, "Miguel De Benavides, O.P. (1550–1605), Friar, Bishop and University Founder," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 40 (May–August, 2005), 269; Piet Van der Loon, *The Manila Incunabula and Early Hokkien Studies* (P. Lund, Humphries, 1966).

⁵ The University of Salamanca was associated with the so-called "School of Salamanca," but should not be confused with the latter. The "School of Salamanca" referred to the group of Spanish scholastics who tried to develop and extend a reading of St. Thomas Aquinas's thought far beyond its manualist versions. See Andre Acevedo Alvez and Jose Manuel Moreira, *The Salamanca School* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc, 2010), 1–11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 13–23.

Thomistic thought which in the 16th century was lumbering in steady decline.⁷ Against the backdrop of Scholasticism's hostile skirmishes with Reformation, Renaissance humanism, and the rise of the modern sciences, their innovative reading of St. Thomas Aquinas proved to be a breath of fresh air. Fray Miguel, who came to the Philippines in 1587 along with the first group of Dominican missionaries from Spain, was well steeped in the social justice bent of the School of Salamanca.⁸ Together with his fellow Dominican and Salamanca alumnus, Fray Domingo de Salazar, he fought for the rights of the natives in the Philippine islands and sought their protection from the abuses of the *encomenderos* and the functionaries of the colonial government.⁹ The same missionary zeal led Fray Miguel to learn the Chinese language and eventually wrote a book for the sangley converts at Parian.¹⁰ The book was titled *Doctrina Cristiana en Lengua y Letra China*, which was actually the Chinese version of the original *Doctrina Christiana*.¹¹ These books were two of

⁷ *Ibid.*, 11–12. See also John Haldane, *Faithful Reason: Essays Catholic and Philosophical* (London: Routledge, 2004), 125–127. A contrary view may be found in Jacob Schmutz, “From Theology to Philosophy: The Changing Status of the Summa Theologiae, 1500–2000” in *Aquinas's Summa Theologiae: A Critical Guide*, ed. by Jeffrey Hause (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 221–241.

⁸ See Fidel Villarroel, OP, “Miguel De Benavides, O.P. (1550–1605), Friar, Bishop and University Founder,” in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 40 (May–August, 2005), 267–311.

⁹ See Domingo Mallo Peñaflo, “Miguel de Benavides: Advocate of Human Rights in the Spanish Regime,” in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 20 (May–August 1985); Lucio Gutierrez, OP, “Domingo de Salazar's Struggle for Justice and Humanization in the Conquest of the Philippines (1579–1594),” in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 14 (May–August 1979); Lucio Gutierrez, OP, “Domingo de Salazar, O.P., First Bishop of the Philippines, (1512–1594): Defender of the Rights of the Filipinos at the Spanish Contact,” in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 20 (January–April 1985); chapters XLI to XLIII of Diego Aduarte, OP, “History of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary,” in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898, Volume XXXI, 1640*, ed. by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), <<https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/42399/pg42399-images.html>>.

¹⁰ An extant writing of Fray Miguel de Benavides may be found in *Philippiniana Sacra*. See Jorge Mojarro Romero, “Historia misional y literatura en un raro impreso de fray Miguel de Benavides, obispo de Nueva Segovia: Relación del estado de la fe (1601),” in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 51 (January–April, 2016).

¹¹ The complete title was “Doctrina Cristiana en lengua y letra china, compuesta por los religiosos ministros de los Sangleyes, de la Orden de Santo Domingo. Con licencia, por Keng Yong, china, en el Parian de Manila” (1593). The authorship of this book is often attributed to Fr. Juan Cobo, OP, but Fr. Villarroel, backed by testimonies from Fray Miguel, Fray Domingo de Salazar, and Fr. Pedro Aduarte, OP, was convinced that it was Fray Miguel's. See Fidel Villarroel, OP, “Miguel De Benavides, O.P. (1550–1605), Friar, Bishop and University Founder,” in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 40 (May–August, 2005), 278. Van der Loon also assigned the authorship to Fray Miguel. See Van der Loon, *The Manila Incunabula*, 14. The original *Doctrina Christiana* was authored by the Franciscan friar Juan de Plasencia, OFM. He was one of the first group of Franciscan missionaries who arrived in the Philippines in 1578. The official title of *Doctrina Christiana* was *Doctrina Christiana, en lengua española y tagala, corregida poe los Religiosos de las Ordenes. Impresa con licencia, en S. Gabriel, de la orden de S. Domingo. En Manila, 1593*. See also Jesus

the first three books published by the Dominican missionaries and printed in the Philippines in 1593.¹² The third book was *Shih-luh*, authored by another Dominican friar, Fray Juan Cobo.¹³ The complete title of the said material is *Hsin-k'o seng-shih Kao-mu Hsien chaun Wu-chi t'ien-chu cheng-chiao chen -chuan shih-lu* or "A Printed Edition of the Veritable Record of the Religious Master Kao-Mu Hsien."¹⁴ *Shih-lu* was also called *tratado*, after the Spanish translation of its title, *Tratado de la Doctrina de la Santa Iglesia y de ciencias naturales*. The book was written in classical Chinese and printed in Chinese characters. It was the only one, among the first three printed books, that dealt with specifically scholarly themes such as theology, cosmography, and natural history.¹⁵

Another Dominican friar worthy of mention cosmography, Fray Francisco Blancas de San Jose.¹⁶ Fray Francisco came to the Philippines, together with his close associate and fellow friar, the Dominican historian, Fray Diego Aduarte in 1595. In no time, Fray Francisco brought himself to learn the Tagalog and Chinese languages.¹⁷ Commending Fray Francisco's initiatives, Fray Diego wrote:

... he learned the common language of the Indians, called Tagal, so rapidly that he was able to preach in it within three months, and taught others the language within six... He printed a grammar of the Tagal language, and in that language he printed a memorial of

Gayo, *Doctrina cristiana: primer libro impreso en Filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta la Universidad de Sto. Tomas, 1951); Carlos Quirino, "The First Philippine Imprints," in *Journal of History*, 8 (September 1960); Fr. Jose D. Gutay, OFM, "Life and Works of Fray Juan de Plasencia," <<https://ofmphilarchives.tripod.com/id8.html>>. An online version of *Doctrina Christiana* with an excellent account of *Doctrina's* bibliographic history is also available at <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/16119/16119-h/16119-h.htm>>.

¹² For bibliographic details of the first printed books in the Philippines, see Jorge Mojaró, "Los Primeros Libros Impresos En Filipinas (1593–1607)," in *Hispania Sacra*, 72 (Enero–Junio 2020).

¹³ See Pedro G. Tejero, OP, "400 Years of Dominican Apostolate among the Chinese of Binondo," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 28 (1983).

¹⁴ A slightly shorter version of the title is *Pien Cheng-Chiao Chen Ch'uan Shih-lu* or *Testimony of the True Religion*. See Juan Cobo, OP, *Pien Cheng-Chiao Chen Ch'uan Shih-lu* (*Testimony of the True Religion*), trans. by Fidel Villaroel, OP (Manila: UST Press, 1986).

¹⁵ See Patricia May B. Jurilla, *Tagalog Bestsellers of the Twentieth Century: A History of the Book in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008), 20–21.

¹⁶ See chapter II of Diego Aduarte, OP, "History of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898, Volume XXXII, 1640*, ed. by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), <<https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/42458/pg42458-images.html>>.

¹⁷ For a sampling of Fray Blancas de San Jose's sermons in Tagalog, see Blancas de San Jose, OP, *Sermones*, ed. by Jose Mario C. Francisco, SJ (Quezon City: Pulong, 1994).

the Christian life, a book on the four last things, another of preparation for the communion, a treatise on confession, a book on the mysteries of the rosary of our Lady, and another to teach the Tagal Indians the Spanish language.¹⁸

Damon Woods also hailed Fray Francisco as the sole reason why “the Dominicans dominated Tagalog studies in the early Spanish period.”¹⁹ He was indeed the first friar who wrote in Tagalog for the Tagalogs. Of the first printed books in the Philippines written in Tagalog, five were authored by Fray Francisco. Of the five, at least three were known to have been printed in *baybayin*, the native Tagalog syllabary. These three works were *Libro del Rosario de Nuestra Señora* (1605), *Libro de Quatro Postrimerias* (1608), and *Librong pinagpapalamnan yto nang aasalin nang taong Christiano sa pagcoconfesor, at sa pagcomulgar* (1608). An extant work of Fray Francisco, *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Tagala*, was printed in Bataan in 1610 when the Dominican press was moved from San Gabriel to Abucay. For some time, the text *Librong Pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang uicang Castilla* (or *Libro en que aprendan los Tagalos, la lengua Castellana*) was also credited to Fray Francisco until recent scholarship has determined that its authorship belonged not to the linguist Dominican friar but to a native Christian, Tomas Pinpin.²⁰

There are three important observations that can be derived from the historical sketch narrated above.

First, Thomism came to the Philippines in the 16th and 17th centuries as a tradition in search of itself. While it did get a boost from the Council of Trent (1545–1563) as well as the consequent declaration of St. Thomas Aquinas as Doctor of the Church by Pope Pius V in 1567 (just two decades before the arrival of the first Dominicans in the Philippines), it was not yet the “Thomism” around which the Catholic intellectual tradition would consolidate itself as intended by Pope Leo XIII via *Aeterni Patris* in 1879. The Thomistic legacy bannered by the early friar missionaries like Fray Domingo de Salazar, Fray Miguel de Benavides, and Fray Francisco Blancas de San Jose was a tradition looking for a new vitality as it reeled from the impact of modernity not to mention the bitter intramurals within the ranks of the Thomists themselves. Until Europe’s contact with the “New World” and its

¹⁸ See chapter II (“Father Fray Francisco de San Joseph Blancas”) of Aduarte, “History of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary.”

¹⁹ Tomas Pinpin, *Librong Pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang uicang Castila*, ed. by Damon L. Woods (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2011), xiii.

²⁰ For an elaborate discussion of the legacy of Tomas Pinpin and its impact on Tagalog culture, see Damon L. Woods, *Tomas Pinpin and Tagalog Survival in Early Spanish Philippines* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2011).

eventual foray into the Eastern hemisphere, Thomism, for the most part, was a highly sheltered intellectual tradition rooted and perfected within the university halls or in the pages of hefty commentaries. However, with the new impetus stirred by the push for evangelization of the colonies, the friars had to devise new ways to employ their Thomistic theology and Scholastic pedagogy, no longer in the seclusion and security of lecture rooms but out there, in the countrysides, mountain villages, and river settlements. Instead of the young, eager, and believing minds of university students, their hearers would be the uninitiated, unlettered and untutored in the refinements of European civilization. The decision embraced by the School of Salamanca to set aside the manuals and read St. Thomas differently was a promising step towards Thomism's reinvention of itself in the face of new challenges introduced by modernity of which the West's expansion to Asia was a major feature. The early friars who, one way or another, had been exposed to the Salamancan experiment left no stones unturned upon reaching the local shores. The Gospel had to be preached and the friars themselves, like the Apostle Paul before, had to be all things to all men and women. Thomism itself was no exception. It also needed to engage a different, indigenous culture where the seeds of Christian faith could be sown. Thomism was introduced as an academic philosophy at the University of Santo Tomas but outside it, the thought of St. Thomas was also at work in catechesis, in sermons, in hearing confessions, in translation projects, in the production of dictionaries and grammar books and other forms of pastoral work and evangelization. Given these multiple embodiments, it was rather difficult, let alone, tricky, to determine which form of Thomism was more Thomist than the other. Hence, it was not unusual to find missionaries like Fray Domingo or Fray Miguel who invoked St. Thomas to protect the natives while elsewhere, there were those who would also brandish Thomistic texts to justify their continuous retention as slaves.²¹ Notwithstanding this and other forms of incongruity, the friars did manage to push the cause of evangelization and, along with it, the legacy of St. Thomas, with a remarkable headway. The gains and losses of this initial contact though should be further examined against the backdrop of the larger Philippine Hispanic history.

The second point I wish to make is that the tradition of Thomism introduced to the Philippines had a dual history. This means that, as an intellectual tradition, Thomism had a medieval pedigree, but it reached the Philippines under the auspices of modernity. This is a thought closely related to the earlier claim describing the Thomism brought by the friars in the 16th

²¹ See Tatiana Siejas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 66; William Henry Scott, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines* (Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1991), 4.

and 17th centuries as a tradition in search of itself. The Philippines as a mission frontier presented the friars an opportunity to transport Christian faith to an uncharted territory. Their instrument of choice was their Thomistic theological training which in terms of content, structure, and language was patently medieval. The early friars, however, were aware that their mandate in the Far East was not so much to transplant medieval culture but to spread the Gospel among hearers with hardly the faintest idea of Christian faith. To achieve this, they had to resort to strategies that should neither be rigidly medieval nor Thomistic. The Dominicans' founding of a university was part of such strategies.²² To begin with, the promotion of higher education or establishment of higher education institutions for the natives was neither normative nor encouraged in the colonies. Educative goals were commonly set at the bare minimum and mainly to further colonial aims rather than the betterment of the locals.²³ As a clear deviation from this practice, Fray Miguel de Benavides saw the founding of a school as an extension of his Order's commitment to improve the lot of the newly Christianized natives.²⁴ Education was the instrumental goal of such missionary initiatives like language training, translation ventures, and publication of catechetical and grammar books, all of which were done at the service of the evangelization. Fray Miguel, like his betters, Fray Bartolome (de las Casas) and Fray Domingo (de Salazar), was convinced that cultivation of humanity could not be disassociated from kerygma. Once again, Salamanca's modern experiment might be an influence here. But in the context of both Salamanca and the foundation of UST, modernity was appropriated not as a negation of or departure from what is medieval but a re-fashioning of it to suit the changing

²² It is important to note that the Dominicans were not the only ones who founded a university or UST the only university that was founded in the early years of Spanish colonial campaign. UST may have been the oldest surviving university in the country, but it may not be the oldest in terms of founding history. In addition to UST, the colonial universities and their founders were listed by Alcala as follows: Colegio de San Ildefonso (1595, Cebu, Jesuits), the Colegio de San Ignacio (1595, Manila, Jesuits), the Colegio de San Jose (1601, Manila, Jesuits), the Ateneo de Manila (1859, Manila, Jesuits), and Colegio de San Juan de Letran (1640, Manila, Dominicans). See Angel C. Alcala, "Higher Education in the Philippines," in *Philippine Studies*, 47 (1999). For a contesting view, see Aloysius Lopez Cartagenas, "Which Is the Oldest University? Revisiting the Conflicting Claims of the University of Santo Tomas, Manila and University of San Carlos, Cebu in Light of the History of Seminario (Mayor) de San Carlos of Cebu," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 46 (January–April 2011).

²³ See John N. Schumacher, SJ, "The Philippine Higher Education and the Origins of Nationalism," in *Philippine Studies*, 23 (1975).

²⁴ In his last will, Fray Miguel wished that the school he had in mind "... must teach the sciences and the arts and theology, and that the religious novices and the others who may desire to may do so, as may also the sons of the citizens of this city and islands, and other persons" See Fidel Villaroel, OP, *A History of the University of Santo Tomas: Four Centuries of Higher Education in the Philippines*, Vol. I (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2012), 33.

needs of the times and the exigencies of their preaching mission. The university as a medieval institution was able to square with modernity when it allowed itself to pursue its scholarly and humanistic aims without prejudice to the imperatives of the Gospel. Thomism in the 16th- and 17th-century Philippines shared the same story.

The third and final point pertains to the character of Thomism as a domain of contestation. It was so in the 16th and 17th centuries and remains as such until today. Part of Jacob Schmutz's argument, contrary to the customary view, why he thought Thomism never suffered any decline was because of the steady stream of readings and counter readings which helped Thomism maintain continuity amidst divergent interpretive claims.²⁵ A parallel, local example that can help demonstrate the notion that Thomism is a site of contestation would be Fray Juan de Oliver's *Declaracion de la Doctrina christiana en idioma Tagalog* which was written during his missionary stint in Batangas from 1582 to 1591.²⁶ Like Fray Juan de Plasencia, author of *Doctrina Christiana* cited above, Fray Juan de Oliver was a Franciscan friar involved in the early catechetical campaigns for the natives. He in fact knew Plasencia and at one point collaborated with the latter in the preparation of *Doctrina Christiana*.²⁷ Despite the near similarity of *Declaracion*'s title with Plasencia's *Doctrina*, one should not be confused with the other. In a lot of ways, *Declaracion* may be read as an extended though enriched version of *Doctrina*. As an instructional material, it did resemble St. Thomas's catechesis which served as a model of the Roman Catechism, the chief instructional material mandated by the Council of Trent (1545–1563) for priests and teachers of religion.²⁸ Yes, Thomism may also assume a catechetical form which after all is not completely far-off considering that *Summa Theologiae* and *Summa Contra Gentiles*, notwithstanding their being theological and philosophical texts, were also used as catechetical references. But, as argued by a number of scholars, the natives did not receive such catechetical inputs passively. And rather than see them as neutral means of religious instruction, these materials served as a site of struggle which pit the foreign Catholic theological categories, on one hand, and the local, though subdued, religious and moral intuitions, on the other. The Jesuit historian Fr. Mario Francisco brought this

²⁵ Jacob Schmutz, "From Theology to Philosophy: The Changing Status of the Summa Theologiae, 1500–2000" in Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae: A Critical Guide*, ed. by Jeffrey Hause (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 221–241.

²⁶ Fray Juan de Oliver, OFM, *Declaracion de la Doctrina christiana en idioma Tagalog*, ed. by Jose Cruz, SJ (Quezon City: PULONG: Sources for Philippine Studies, 1995).

²⁷ See Edwin Wolf, "Introduction," in *Doctrina Christiana*, <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/16119/16119-h/16119-h.htm>>.

²⁸ See also Thomas Aquinas, *The Catechetical Instructions of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. by Rev. Joseph B. Collins, S.S., D.D., Ph.D., <https://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1225-1274,_Thomas_Aquinas,_Catechismus,_EN.pdf>.

to the fore in his discussion of de Oliver's hermeneutic of *loob* in *Declaracion*.²⁹ Vicente Rafael and Damon Woods shared the same observations regarding dissonance between the native mind and Catholic theology in their account of Tomas Pinpin's rendition of Catholic faith passed on to him by his mentor, the Dominican Fray Francisco Blancas de San Jose.³⁰ This is not to say that Thomism is ineffectual as an evangelical or catechetical medium; on the contrary, the said dissonance merely shows Thomism's capacity to work both ways, that is, on one hand, as facilitator of the transmission of Catholic faith and, on the other, as catalyst for the articulation of native thought. This paper aims precisely to underscore this point. In the next segment of the paper, I shall further explore this theme by turning to the 19th-century emergence of nationalism via a selective discussion of Jose Rizal's literary outputs. Then and now, Thomistic or scholastic thought has been traditionally portrayed by mainstream literature as the anti-thesis of nationalist discourse. What I shall try to do is to offer a counterclaim and demonstrate that, consistent with their original inspirations and against the views to the contrary, both the philosophic legacy of St. Thomas and the University of Santo Tomas had a constructive role in the formation of the Filipino mind. This means that as an intellectual tradition, Thomism is not self-contained and can in fact foster an interface with a different culture (in this case, our own) as shown by the efforts of the early missionaries, particularly those who were oriented to the theological anthropology of the School of Salamanca. It was a Gospel humanism that they themselves drew from their reading of St. Thomas and one that would resonate with the nationalist aims of the 19th-century Filipino thinkers, particularly, Jose Rizal.

Thomism in 19th-century Philippines

As stated earlier, the 19th century is significant for Thomism and the Philippine intellectual history for two reasons: the promulgation of Pope Leo XIII's *Aeterni Patris* and the birth of Filipino nationalism. At first glance, it seems highly far-fetched to infer any connection between the two other than this historical coincidence. They are in fact traditionally perceived as antithetical given nationalism's anti-friar agenda and Thomism's affinity with the friars, specifically the Dominicans. In this segment, I shall try to articulate an alternative perspective on this polarity and stipulate that while

²⁹ Jose Mario C. Francisco, "The Tagalog 'Loob' in Oliver's 'Doctrina Christiana,'" in *Philippine Studies*, 44 (Fourth Quarter 1996).

³⁰ Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988); Damon L. Woods, *Tomas Pinpin and the Literate Indio: Tagalog Writing in the Early Spanish Philippines*, <<https://escholarship.org/content/qt7kz776js/qt7kz776js.pdf>>.

Thomism and nationalism are indeed opposite domains, a possible intersection between them may be charted. Such intersection is neither arbitrary nor fanciful but is continuous with the early missionaries' engagement of the local culture as well as the Christian humanist worldview which informed the initial catechetical and evangelical appropriations of Thomistic thought. Another factor to consider in this reconfiguration is the purported role of the University of Santo Tomas, the shared locus of the renewal of Thomism and the genesis of nationalism in the Philippines, and its contribution to the unfolding of the two historic events. As will be argued, Thomism and nationalism may not be seen as kindred traditions but the gap between them is not completely insurmountable. Both Thomism and nationalism imparted very subtle inspirations to each other which could then allow either of them to be mutually hospitable.

The first thing that comes to mind when one talks of nationalism and Thomism vis-à-vis University of Santo Tomas would be the infamous Chapter 13 of Jose Rizal's *El Filibusterismo*, "A Class in Physics."³¹ In the said chapter, Rizal took his readers to a usual day in a physics class at the University of Santo Tomas, under the tutelage of the pompous figure of a certain Fr. Millon. By combining both his satirical humor and narrative talent, Rizal provided a sort of literary reportage on the miserable state of science education at the university (which, according to him, paled in comparison with the science classes at the Ateneo) as well as the humiliation suffered by the native students at the hands of their Spanish professors represented by the character of the aforementioned cleric. In general, this particular episode may be read as an amplification of an earlier critique of Rizal against UST and Thomistic philosophy expounded by Pilosopo Tasyò in *Noli Me Tangere* (Chapter 54). In Pilosopo Tasyò's conversation with Don Filipino, the village philosopher decried the decrepit state of education at the Dominican university as he, in the same breath, rebuked and lauded likewise the Jesuits for championing liberal thinking and scientific progress in the country. Pilosopo Tasyò thought of UST as antiquated and their scholasticism, dead.³² Many historians and Rizal biographers, like Austin Craig, Austin Coates, Gregorio Zaide, Leon Ma. Guerrero, and Asuncion Lopez Bantug, did give credence to these vituperations and considered the said literary accounts as biographical and historical. Other scholars, however, like the Jesuit Fr. John Schumacher and the Dominican Fr. Fidel Villaroel, including Prof. Florentino Hornedo, preferred to take Rizal's polemics with caution. Rizal was certainly

³¹ Jose Rizal, *El Filibusterismo*, trans. by Soledad Lacson-Locsin, ed. by Raul L. Locsin (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 98–108.

³² Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, trans. by Soledad Lacson-Locsin, ed. by Raul L. Locsin (Makati: The Bookmark, Inc., 1996), 461–467.

a great patriot but, in the aforementioned scholars' views, that didn't mean what he said or wrote should be taken as gospel truth. To paraphrase Fr. Schumacher, it's one thing to read a historical novel and another to read history.³³ This is not to undermine the literary merit and historical value of Rizal's literary works. Neither is this meant to whitewash the friars' rather colorful colonial past. As suggested by Prof. Hornedo, understanding history, especially topics as complex as 19th-century nationalism and Rizal, requires careful treatment to prevent facts from mixing up with rhetoric and speculations.³⁴ For example, in the case of Rizal's complaints against UST being backward, the reverse was actually closer to the real story. As historical documents showed, it was in fact in the 19th century that significant developments at the University were put in place, showcased no less by the opening in 1871 of two new colleges, the Faculty of Medicine and Surgery and the Faculty of Pharmacy. The reform of UST's philosophy program was also implemented around that time.³⁵ Fr. Schumacher further added that the mere fact that the *ilustrados*, most of whom were students of UST, could conveniently transfer school from Manila to Madrid, was proof enough of the competitive quality of university education at the colony.³⁶ Even Rizal's praises for the Jesuits' leadership in scientific advancement was disputed by Rizal's own real discontent with the Jesuits' reluctance to embrace what he termed as "principles" of progress. In a letter to the Austrian scholar Ferdinand Blumentritt, Rizal recalled a conversation with Fr. Faura where he chided the latter over the Jesuits' ambivalence concerning science.³⁷ A critique of the state of education at UST more comprehensive than Rizal's was actually Jose Ma. Panganiban's study of the state of higher education in the

³³ Schumacher wrote: "One cannot, of course, take a chapter from a novel, or articles in a newspaper whose principal aim was to counteract the influence of the Friars in Philippine life, as impartial and objective analyses of the state of higher education in late 19th century Philippines." John N. Schumacher, SJ, "The Philippine Higher Education and the Origins of Nationalism," in *Philippine Studies*, 23 (1975), 54.

³⁴ See Florentino Hornedo, *Ideas and Ideals: Essays in Filipino Cognitive History* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2001), 233–242.

³⁵ See Fidel Villaroel, OP, "Medicine, Pharmacy and Other New Courses," *A History of the University of Santo Tomas: Four Centuries of Higher Education in the Philippines, Volume II* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2012); Luciano P.R. Santiago, "The Beginnings of Higher Education in the Philippines (1601–1772)," in *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 19 (June 1991); Alcala, "Higher Education in the Philippines"; Macario M. Ofilada, "Minerva Docet: Beginnings of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Santo Tomas, Manila (1896–1897) - Part I," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 38 (January–April, 2003).

³⁶ John N. Schumacher, SJ, "The Philippine Higher Education and the Origins of Nationalism," in *Philippine Studies*, 23 (1975), 55. See also Fidel Villaroel, OP., *Jose Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2020), 83–84; Rafael Palma, *Ang Aking Talambuhay*, trans. by Virginia Palma-Bonifacio (Maynila : Cacho Hermanos, 1952), 27.

³⁷ Jose Rizal, "Rizal's Letter to Blumentritt, 2 February 1890," in *Correspondences with Blumentritt Vol. II* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 2011), 327–328.

Philippines published in *La Solidaridad* in 1889.³⁸ But like Rizal's two novels, Panganiban's serialized commentary was also a propaganda material for colonial reforms hence the need for a more nuanced reading. Fr. Villaroel, in his chronicle of the university's history, provided a corrective rejoinder to Panganiban's charges.³⁹ The Dominican historian's views, however, have been challenged lately by recent scholarship on Panganiban's *La Solidaridad* articles.⁴⁰

Another matter that requires a closer look is Rizal's appreciation of Thomistic or scholastic philosophy, that is, the philosophy he learned from the University of Santo Tomas. As intimated earlier, Rizal thought of scholasticism as lifeless, not to mention, out of step with modernity's forward thrust towards development. This claim was amply illustrated in the account of a class in physics in *Fili* as well as the exchange between Pilosopo Tasyò and Don Filipo in *Noli* referred to earlier. Judging from the narratives alone, one may fairly conclude that Rizal had nothing for scholasticism but antipathy. Rizal's biographer, Leon Ma. Guerrero, seems to affirm this view.⁴¹ The testimony, however, of Rizal's real-life engagement of Thomistic

³⁸ Jose Maria Panganiban was one of the most illustrious students of UST, probably in the league of the likes of Fr. Jose Burgos, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Jose Rizal, Isabelo de los Reyes, Apolinario Mabini, and Emilio Jacinto, among others. From UST in Manila, he moved to Barcelona in 1888. He was elected as auditor of the executive board of Asociación La Solidaridad, together with Galicano Apacible as president, Graciano López Jaena as vice president, Manuel Bustamante Santa María as secretary, and Mariano Ponce. It is important to note that all the elected officers of the association were medical students and that all of them, except Graciano Lopez Jaena, began their medical studies at UST. Panganiban's critique of University of Santo Tomas and its sequels (also referred to as "University of Manila" or "University of the Philippines") were serialized in *La Solidaridad* from 1889 to 1891. The series was briefly interrupted in 1890 due to Panganiban's untimely death but it was later continued by Marcelo H. del Pilar and others to sustain their reformist campaign. See *La Solidaridad, Volume I (1889)* (Pasig: Fundacion Santiago, 1996); *La Solidaridad, Volume II (1890)* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1973); *La Solidaridad, Volume III (1891)* (Pasig: Fundacion Santiago, 1996); Virgilio Almario, ed., "Jose Maria Panganiban," in *Sagisag Kultura, Vol. 1* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 2015), <<https://philippineculturaleducation.com.ph/panganiban-jose-maria/>>. See also Luciano P.R. Santiago, "The First Filipino Doctors of Medicine and Surgery (1878–97)," in *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 22 (June 1994).

³⁹ See Fidel Villaroel, OP, "Medicine, Pharmacy and Other New Courses," *A History of the University of Santo Tomas: Four Centuries of Higher Education in the Philippines, Volume II* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2012), 173–176.

⁴⁰ See Javier Leonardo Rugeria, "Writing 'La Universidad de Manila' Anew: La Solidaridad and the Revival of José María Panganiban's Campaign for Reforms in Higher Education, 1890–1891," in *Bikolnon: Journal of Ateneo de Naga Graduate School*, 9 (2023). See also Javier Leonardo Rugeria, "Jose Maria Panganiban's 'La Universidad de Manila' and the Liberal Campaign for Reforms in Philippine Higher Education," in *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, 69 (2021).

⁴¹ Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1961), 69.

philosophy says otherwise. The “philosophy” being alluded to was actually called “metaphysics” in the academic parlance at UST of Rizal’s time. He did take up some philosophy courses for his pre-university education (Bachiller en Artes) at the Ateneo but took up “metaphysics” when he enrolled at UST.⁴² At that time, “metaphysics” was considered a preparatory course for anyone wishing to enroll in higher degree courses like law or theology.⁴³ Students who wanted to study medicine needed to take a different preparatory course.⁴⁴ Apparently, Rizal was still undecided which degree to pursue on his first year at the university, thus, without a clear choice in mind, he merely followed the advice of his father to take up “metaphysics.” One can only surmise Don Francisco’s leaning to set up his youngest son for a potential legal career.⁴⁵ Rizal had a hard start. By his own admission, he was so academically detached he didn’t even procure the prescribed textbook for the course which was the *Philosophia Elementaria* (in three volumes) of the eminent Fr. Zeferino Gonzalez, erstwhile professor of Fr. Jose Burgos in the 1860s. And yet despite the slow and uneasy first steps and amidst the emotional turmoil he was going through, Rizal would later brag about the mark of *sobresaliente* that he obtained in all his four subjects and also for hurdling his *Acto de Metafisica* (Act of Metaphysics) with flying colors.⁴⁶ The “acto” was a terminal requirement for the preparatory “metaphysics” course where students’ discursive skills and wit were tested in a public debate. Aside from the ordinary “acto,” a public or general “acto” was also organized for an entire day in the month of January with students and professors from

⁴² These pre-university philosophy courses which he took up on his last year of studies at the Ateneo were logic, psychology, and moral philosophy. See Fidel Villaroel, OP., *Jose Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2020), 68.

⁴³ “Metaphysics” was comprised of courses in cosmology, metaphysics, theodicy, and history of philosophy. Upon completion, Rizal got the mark *sobresaliente* or excellent in all these courses. He was one among the eight in a class of sixty students, out of which only forty-nine passed. His grades in his preparatory philosophy classes were obviously better than his grades in his preparatory courses for medicine, specifically advanced physics for which he obtained *aprovechado* or very good. The disparity in his grades led both Fr. Villaroel and Guerrero to affirm that Rizal’s gifts were indeed on the humanities and letters and not really on the sciences. Rizal would also fared in a similar fashion when he studied in Madrid where he also took up humanities and medicine. See Guerrero, *First Filipino*, 104–105; Villaroel, *Jose Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas*, 73, 100.

⁴⁴ This preparatory course, according to Fr. Villaroel, was called *ampliación* or advanced courses in physics, chemistry, and natural history. Fr. Villaroel clarified that it was *ampliación* that Rizal took up at UST and not basic physics that was depicted in *Fili*. See Fidel Villaroel, OP, “Medicine, Pharmacy and Other New Courses,” *A History of the University of Santo Tomas: Four Centuries of Higher Education in the Philippines*, Volume II (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2012), 149.

⁴⁵ Jose Rizal, *Memorias de un estudiante de Manila* (Manila: Imp. y Lit. de Cacho, 1949), 27.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

other faculties in attendance. The “acto” followed a syllogistic structure and was conducted in Latin. Rizal bested his classmates in this exercise.

A rehearsal of Rizal’s philosophic studies at the University of Santo Tomas is important to understand better his view of Thomistic philosophy. If one were to read closely Pilosopo Tasyò’s monologue in Chapter 54 of *Noli*, it could be safely assumed that the author Rizal was truly well-versed in Thomistic philosophy and in philosophy in general. He was drawn to philosophy that much that he decided to take it up again simultaneously with medicine when he enrolled at the Universidad Central de Madrid in 1882.⁴⁷ In Madrid, he got more exposed to the ideas of liberal and Enlightenment thinkers but, as Prof. Hornedo would argue, that didn’t mean he abandoned the core ideas he imbibed from Thomistic philosophy that he learned from the University of Santo Tomas. These ideas, as outlined by Prof. Hornedo, served as anchors of Rizal’s fundamental convictions, namely: 1) *God as the ultimate reason of the universe*; 2) *all men are equal in dignity*; 3) *freedom is an essential component of human dignity*; and, 4) *love is the supreme manifestation of man’s recognition of his divine origin*.⁴⁸

Prof. Hornedo’s perspective does not seem to be an isolated view. A similar reading may be gleaned from Paul Dumol’s review of the last chapter of *Fili* where the author Rizal had Fr. Florentino speak of reason in relation with the struggle for freedom and human dignity. In his review of the same chapter, Dumol underscored Rizal’s creationist view of human dignity and the justification that Rizal provided for its indispensability in the quest for both humane and civic liberties.⁴⁹ Dumol neither quoted Aquinas nor used the label “Thomist” in his piece but he did highlight the theological tone of the last chapter of *Fili* which doubtless echoed the Thomistic orientation that Rizal acquired from the University of Santo Tomas.

The Jesuit Rizal scholar Fr. Raul Bonoan also shared Prof. Hornedo’s Catholic reading of Rizal’s ideas. In his review of Rizal’s letters as well as selected articles published in *La Solidaridad*, Fr. Bonoan likewise detected Rizal’s consistent employment of theological trope in constructing his moral and political ideas. In Fr. Bonoan’s presentation, one finds not Rizal the champion of European liberalism that the friars accused him to be but a crusader of a communitarian political ethic, a stance which brought him

⁴⁷ Hornedo, *Ideas and Ideals*, 83–90.

⁴⁸ Emphasis supplied. Florentino Hornedo, *Ideas and Ideals: Essays in Filipino Cognitive History* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2001), 99–100.

⁴⁹ Paul Dumol, “Political Responsibility in Rizal’s *Filibusterismo*,” in *Budhi: A Journal of Ideas and Culture*, 8 (2004).

closer to the Catholic worldview in direct contrast to his detractors' caricature of him.⁵⁰

Another alternative reading came from Cesar Adib Majul who maintained that Rizal's ethical and political views remained rooted in the Scholastic tradition in which he was reared from the beginning.⁵¹ Majul looked back at Rizal's two novels, including the two major essays, "The Philippines, a Century Hence"⁵² and "On the Indolence of the Filipinos"⁵³ as well his commentary on the *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*⁵⁴ by Antonio de Morga and concluded that the key to understand Rizal's works was to acknowledge the basic postulates that the human person "was endowed by his Creator with innate moral and intellectual faculties or potentialities that were meant to be actualized in individual and social spheres. To develop these faculties, he also had innate right that were God-given through Nature."⁵⁵ Majul did identify certain affinities between Rizal's national sentiment and Rousseau's general will, but in the end, it would be the idea of a community that Rizal inherited from his Catholic background that would color his vision of a national community.

By subscribing to the insights of scholars such as Hornedo, Dumol, Fr. Bonoan, and Majul, one may find in Rizal's selected writings the vestiges of nationalism's and Thomism's intersection. These writings articulate and promote Rizal's nationalist orientation, but they also reinforce Thomist worldviews and Catholic values which play no small part in his personal history and university education. This intersection, however, is tenuous and is definitely open to further critiques and debates. One can always make a case that these perceived Catholic traces are mere iterations of Rizal's masonic and deist leanings which are essentially anti-Catholic despite their theological trappings. Fr. Bonoan has already challenged this interpretation, and after careful consideration of pertinent texts, has concluded that, despite the deist allusions, it could be argued that Rizal did maintain his Catholic moorings in

⁵⁰ Raul Bonoan, "Rizal on Divine Providence and Nationhood," in *Philippine Studies*, 25 (Second Quarter 1977).

⁵¹ Cesar Adib Majul, *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996), 22.

⁵² Jose Rizal, "The Philippines, a Century Hence," in *Political and Historical Writings* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2007).

⁵³ Jose Rizal, "On the Indolence of Filipinos," in *Political and Historical Writings* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2007).

⁵⁴ Jose Rizal, *Events in the Philippine Islands* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 2011).

⁵⁵ Cesar Adib Majul, "Rizal in the 21st Century: The Relevance of His Ideas and Texts," in *Public Policy Journal*, 3 (1999), 4.

his writings.⁵⁶ Instructive of such claim was the piece “Una Esperanza”⁵⁷ cited by Fr. Bonoan and if I may add, Rizal’s essay “El Amor Patrio,”⁵⁸ first published in *Diariong Tagalog* in 1882 and re-printed in *La Solidaridad* in 1890 and about which Fr. Bonoan also wrote a separate journal piece.⁵⁹ Understandably, so much remains to be done in mining and re-reading the strands of Catholic theology and Thomism in Rizal’s thought. Eugene Hessel’s *The Religious Thought of Jose Rizal* would have been a helpful guide in this endeavor, but Fr. Schumacher had certain misgivings concerning this particular text.⁶⁰ Besides the problem of methodology, he found the book’s account of the intellectual and political influences which shaped Rizal’s earlier and latter religious consciousness rather thin. A good starting point would probably be the chapter on “Religious Change, the *Noli* and Family Trials” in Fr. Villaroel’s *Jose Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas*.⁶¹ The said chapter contains a rich amount of historical details surrounding the changes in Rizal’s religious worldview though it leaves much room for the discussion of the underlying tension in Rizal’s intellectual and religious convictions. Definitely, at one point, scholars should re-visit Rizal’s correspondences with his Jesuit spiritual director, Fr. Pablo Pastells, for a more intimate look at the evolution of the national hero’s religious outlook.⁶²

It should be stressed that this exploration of a possible Thomistic reading of Rizal is not an attempt at a posthumous re-baptism of UST’s illustrious alumnus. Neither is it an effort to rehearse the age-old debate about the state of his religious faith during his final moments. The aim is plainly and mainly hermeneutic, that is, to articulate a way of reading which may bring both Rizal and Thomism into an agonistic interface. There have

⁵⁶ Raul J. Bonoan, “The Enlightenment, Deism, and Rizal,” in *Philippine Studies*, 40 (First Quarter 1992).

⁵⁷ Jose Rizal, “The Philippines, a Century Hence,” in *Political and Historical Writings* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2007), 223–226.

⁵⁸ Jose Rizal, “Love of Country,” in *Prose* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 2011).

⁵⁹ Raul J. Bonoan and Laong-laan, “Rizal’s First Published Essay: ‘El Amor Patrio,’” in *Philippine Studies*, 44 (Third Quarter 1996).

⁶⁰ Eugene A. Hessel, *The Religious Thought of Jose Rizal: Its Context and Theological Significance* (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1961). See also John N. Schumacher, “The Religious Thought of Rizal,” in *Philippine Studies*, 13 (July 1965).

⁶¹ Fidel Villaroel, OP., *Jose Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2020), 150–179.

⁶² Raul J. Bonoan, ed., *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence: The Hitherto Unpublished Letters of Jose Rizal and Portions of Fr. Pablo Pastell’s Fourth Letter and Translation of the Correspondence Together with a Historical Background and Theological Critique* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994).

been critical texts on Rizal vis-à-vis Enlightenment,⁶³ modernity,⁶⁴ Marxism,⁶⁵ and lately, Asianism,⁶⁶ but a reading from a specifically Thomist standpoint has become more of a rarity especially in the aftermath of the acrimonious debates of the 1950s. The anti-friar and anti-Catholic climate spawned by the said debates made any reconciliatory publication on Rizal and Thomism highly unlikely. Rather than see it as a potential venue for *intertextuality*[A1], members and critics of the Catholic Church alike would have dismissed it as a counter-propaganda or a revisionist portrayal of the patrimony of either St. Thomas or Rizal. The air of animosity, however, has since tapered off and the quality of tolerance between contending parties has likewise significantly improved. In other words, we are in a much better position today to consider a possible intersection between Rizal's nationalist thought and Thomistic tradition with nary a fear of backlash or censure. The significance of probing the link between Rizal and Thomism, or in the earlier segment, Philippine culture and Thomism, cannot be overstated given the intricate texture of our own local intellectual history which until today, unfortunately, remains largely unexplored. In the title, I invoke "love of (local) wisdom" which in this paper refers basically to the vitality of local thought in its evolution and transformation within the continuum of our own intellectual history. Local wisdom is not, in my view, a fixed system with a rigidly defined dimension and contours; neither is it something confined within the conventional boundaries of geography, chronology, or even ethnicity. Something in this vital thought allows it to move to and from these determinate borders while it tries, at the same time, to reiterate itself via a series of continuous translations and negotiations. The first encounter of the 16th-century natives of the Philippines and the Thomist missionaries was characterized by such translations and negotiations that eventually led to an experience of Catholicism that was both Hispanic and non-Hispanic, Catholic and non-Catholic at the same time.⁶⁷ This was facilitated by the campaign for conversion at different frontiers such as religion, education, and language

⁶³ Hornedo, *Ideas and Ideals*; Jose S. Arcilla, SJ, "The Enlightenment and the Philippine Revolution" in *Philippine Studies*, 39 (Third Quarter 1991).

⁶⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso Books, 2006).

⁶⁵ See Epifanio San Juan, *Rizal in Our Time: Essays in Interpretation* (Pasig: Anvil Publishing, 1997); Floro Quibuyen, *A Nation Aborted: Rizal, American Hegemony, and Philippine Nationalism* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1999); Renato Constantino, "Veneration Without Understanding," in *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 1 (1972).

⁶⁶ See John Nery, *Revolutionary Spirit: Jose Rizal in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011); Caroline S. Hau, *Interpreting Rizal* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2018).

⁶⁷ John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Response, 1565–1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959).

which, somehow, also made an impact on the self-understanding of the missionaries and the Catholic faith that they brought in. The same interface was carried over in Jose Rizal's 19th-century writings whose relevance to a possible intersection between Thomism and nationalist discourse we are now exploring. And as in the 16th-century colonial experience, the effect of this intersection goes both ways. Something in Thomism did help Rizal to configure his brand of nationalism just as nationalism could also be a prompt for Thomist scholars to re-read and re-think Thomistic teachings.⁶⁸ Local wisdom "happens" in the very moment of this interface which is also its own guarantee against the pitfall of becoming self-referential or identitarian. Its articulation borders on the re-constructive and constantly aims at the recovery of nuances which might have been misread or neglected over time. It tries to accomplish this by fostering dialogue between seemingly contrary voices and traditions rather than bank on the stringent, traditional dichotomies such as the native and colonial, the secular and theological or the modern and the medieval. In other words, neither should Rizal's nationalism be read as a xenophobic, patriotic sentiment nor Thomism as an insulated philosophic or theological system. The moral and political views of Rizal, if we follow the readings of the scholars cited earlier (Hornedo, Fr. Bonoan, Majul, and Dumol), are actually laced with insights from the Thomistic/scholastic tradition, from which he obtained the moral grammar and foundation of his sociopolitical theories. At the core of such theories was a brand of humanism which echoed the theological anthropology espoused by St. Thomas Aquinas and propagated by the early missionaries who came to the Philippines. Once again, it is important to re-state that reading Rizal using Aquinas does not aim to exonerate the friars from their tainted past nor mitigate Rizal's hardline critique of the colonial frailocracy. However, just because the medieval St. Thomas Aquinas was himself a friar and that the Filipino Rizal was critical of friars do not mean the chasm between them is unbridgeable. The old, parochial view that tries to widen that chasm should be rethought and overcome for an inter-disciplinary and cross-cultural approach towards the study of religion, philosophy, culture, and Philippine history. On the Thomists' side, this could mean new opportunities for reading

⁶⁸ Gradually, Filipino Thomist scholars are moving to this direction as one may find in Tomas Rosario, *Ang Etika ni Sto. Tomas de Aquino: Mga Piniling Teksto* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2003); Jovino Miroy, "Is Filipino Thought Medieval? Preliminary Work in Writing the History of Philosophy in the Philippines," in *Prajñā Vihāra*, 6 (January–June 2005); Bernardo Caslib, Jr., "Why 'Mahal' is Preferable: A Thomist Reading of the Concepts of Pag-ibig and Pagmamahal," in *Phavisminda Journal*, 20 (2021); Jovino G. Miroy and Ma. Liza Ruth A. Ocampo, ed., *Quaerens, Searchings, Paghahanap* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2008); Jeremiah Reyes, "Loób and Kapwa: Thomas Aquinas and a Filipino Virtue Ethics" (PhD Dissertation: KU Leuven, Leuven, 2015), <https://www.academia.edu/82693301/Lo%C3%B3b_and_Kapwa_Thomas_Aquinas_and_a_Filipino_Virtue_Ethics>.

and writing about St. Thomas outside the proverbial box which, if pursued in earnest, could further enrich Thomism's renewal. The campaign for renewal is customarily retrospective and reiterative but there are instances, as shown by Rizal's recourse to St. Thomas's thought, when it can be inventive and disruptive. I would like to believe that the renewal envisioned by Pope Leo XIII was not mainly aiming at a repetition of the same words said by St. Thomas in the same way that he said them. For renewal to be authentic, there should be an exchange of "vitality" between two traditions (in this case, the local nationalist discourse and Thomism) such that their encounter becomes a mutually enriching and recreative transference. Only in this manner of encounter can the local get near to being Thomist and the Thomist come close to being native. I suppose this was what Rizal unwittingly accomplished in his subtle and subdued appropriation of Thomism. As per Fr. Villaroel's account, Rizal was already a medical student at UST when Pope Leo XIII promulgated *Aeterni Patris* in 1879. Its publication was officially announced and welcomed at UST with a special mass on February 24, 1880, followed by a string of other festivities.⁶⁹ And yet, as Fr. Villaroel recounted, hardly a reference to these events could be found in any of Rizal's literary outputs in the school year of 1879–1880. Not even one of the three poems he wrote in the second semester of that school year was remotely related to *Aeterni Patris* or Thomism.⁷⁰ Fr. Villaroel thought Rizal's rather partial leaning to poetry could be a factor here or perhaps, one could surmise the sway of a nascent anti-friar sentiment. Much later, in *Noli*, Rizal would have Pilosopo Tasyò mention Pope Leo XIII by name but only to ridicule the Dominicans and their scholasticism.⁷¹ Literary reference like this (or its absence) is telling but I do not think it is sufficient to define Rizal's relationship with Thomistic thought. As Fr. Bonoan pointed out, it was clear in Rizal's mind that the target of his critiques was frailocracy and not Catholicism *per se*.⁷² This important distinction is the silver lining underlying my view that the rapprochement between Rizal's brand of nationalism and Thomism is not a futile goal. But for this conversation to proceed, one should be ready to exercise some degree of hermeneutic flexibility to bring the texts near the threshold of the possible rather than detain them merely on the realm of what is permissible. This explains why tracing St. Thomas's presence in

⁶⁹ Fidel Villaroel, OP., *Jose Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2020), 37–50.

⁷⁰ The three poems were "Abd-el- Azis y Mahoma," "A Filipinas," and "A La Juventud Filipina." See Fidel Villaroel, OP., *Jose Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2020), 88.

⁷¹ Jose Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, trans. by Soledad Lacson-Loecin, ed. by Raul L. Loecin (Makati: The Bookmark, Inc., 1996), 466.

⁷² Bonoan, "The Enlightenment, Deism, and Rizal," 63.

Rizal's works with a strictly orthodox Thomist mindset would more likely miss the point. One won't find a Thomist citation in Rizal but a careful look at his philosophical anthropology, his confidence on human rationality, his defense of a created innate human dignity, his political vision, his ethics of suffering, and the primacy of common good will doubtless reveal the link that connects him with St. Thomas. And apparently, among the 19th-century Filipino thinkers, Rizal was not the only one who displayed the same proclivity. Cesar Adib Majul has also detected the same Thomist affinity in the political ideas of Apolinario Mabini⁷³ and a similar finding has also been uncovered by Johaina K. Crisostomo in Emilio Jacinto's *Liwanag at Dilim*.⁷⁴ These are all very positive incentives for a research trajectory rarely undertaken. With these studies setting the tone, there might be in the future a more dynamic convergence between Thomistic thought and our local intellectual culture. By fostering a dialogue open enough for critique and innovation, we can perhaps begin to realize that nationalism and Thomism are not estranged after all.

An Interim Conclusion

What I tried to provide in this modest piece is a sketch of an itinerary towards the articulation of a local wisdom which treats both the native and the foreign as tributaries, the native being our endemic patterns of thought and the foreign, that is, the inherited Catholic ideals passed on to us by our colonial history from the 16th down to the 19th century. In such interface, the legacy of St. Thomas Aquinas, as has been shown, played a crucial role. Right from the outset, I tried to develop an argument that local wisdom is not *sui generis* and that its genuine expression is best articulated by a happy coming together of what we were born with and what we have received. Testaments of this notion of local wisdom can be found even at the earliest episodes of our colonial history as attested by the early catechisms, the publication of the first printed books, dictionaries, and grammar texts, as well as the oral preaching of the missionaries to native communities. These engagements served as locations of tensions, translations, and negotiations which eventually became the breeding ground of our local wisdom's assuming its evolved form. In the 19th century, the artistic and literary outputs of the *ilustrados*, represented in this paper by the works of Jose Rizal, served as a platform of local wisdom articulated with a nationalist tone. In this paper,

⁷³ Cesar Adib Majul, *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996), 37.

⁷⁴ Johaina K. Crisostomo, "The Scholastic Foundations of Emilio Jacinto's *Liwanag at Dilim* (Light and Darkness), c. 1896," in *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, 69 (2021).

Rizal and his writings were featured as a specimen to demonstrate how nationalist discourse and Thomism can engage one another. The focus on Rizal is guided mainly by the aim of highlighting the potential intersection and is not meant to prejudice other embodiments of local wisdom outside Rizaliana or the *ilustrado* oeuvre. In my view, wisdom comes to be only when it appears from its local dwelling. The task is to find it in its utter strangeness and make it look familiar.

*Department of Philosophy
Center for Theology, Religious Studies, and Ethics
University of Santo Tomas, Philippines*

References

- Aduarte, Diego, OP, "History of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898, Volume XXXI, 1640*, ed. by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), <<https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/42399/pg42399-images.html>>.
- _____, "History of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898, Volume XXXII, 1640*, ed. by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), <<https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/42458/pg42458-images.html>>.
- Alcala, Angel C., "Higher Education in the Philippines," in *Philippine Studies*, 47 (1999).
- Almario, Virgilio, ed., "Jose Maria Panganiban," in *Sagisag Kultura, Vol. 1* (Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 2015), <<https://philippineculturaleducation.com.ph/panganiban-jose-maria/>>.
- Alvez, Andre Acevedo and Jose Manuel Moreira, *The Salamanca School* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 2010).
- Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso Books, 2006).
- Aquinas, Thomas, *The Catechetical Instructions of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. by Rev. Joseph B. Collins, S.S., D.D., Ph.D., <https://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/1225-1274,_Thomas_Aquinas,_Catechismus,_EN.pdf>.
- Arcilla, Jose S., SJ, "The Enlightenment and the Philippine Revolution," in *Philippine Studies*, 39 (Third Quarter 1991).
- Bonoan, Raul J. and Laong-laan, "Rizal's First Published Essay: 'El Amor Patrio,'" in *Philippine Studies*, 44 (Third Quarter 1996).

- Bonoan, Raul J., ed., *The Rizal-Pastells Correspondence: The Hitherto Unpublished Letters of Jose Rizal and Portions of Fr. Pablo Pastell's Fourth Letter and Translation of the Correspondence Together with a Historical Background and Theological Critique* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994).
- Bonoan, Raul J., "The Enlightenment, Deism, and Rizal," in *Philippine Studies*, 40 (First Quarter 1992).
- _____, "Rizal on Divine Providence and Nationhood," in *Philippine Studies*, 25 (Second Quarter 1977).
- Cartagenas, Aloysius Lopez, "Which Is the Oldest University? Revisiting the Conflicting Claims of the University of Santo Tomas, Manila and University of San Carlos, Cebu in Light of the History of Seminario (Mayor) de San Carlos of Cebu," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 46 (January–April 2011).
- Caslib, Jr., Bernardo, "Why 'Mahal' is Preferable: A Thomist Reading of the Concepts of Pag-ibig and Pagmamahal," in *Phavisminda Journal*, 20 (2021).
- Co, Alfredo, ed., *Doing Philosophy in the Philippines: The Thomasian Collection (1924–1949), Volume I* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2020).
- Cobo, Juan, OP, *Pien Cheng-Chiao Chen Ch'uan Shih-lu (Testimony of the True Religion)*, trans. by Fidel Villaroel, OP (Manila: UST Press, 1986).
- Constantino, Renato, "Veneration Without Understanding," in *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 1 (1972).
- Crisostomo, Johaina K., "The Scholastic Foundations of Emilio Jacinto's Liwanag at Dilim (Light and Darkness), c. 1896," in *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, 69 (2021).
- Crossley, John N., "The Books in the Earliest Library of the University of Santo Tomas," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 53 (May–August 2018).
- de Oliver, Fray Juan, OFM, *Declaracion de la Doctrina christiana en idioma Tagalog* (Quezon City: PULONG: Sources for Philippine Studies, 1995).
- _____, *Declaracion de la Doctrina christiana en idioma Tagalog*, ed. by Jose Cruz, SJ (Quezon City: PULONG: Sources for Philippine Studies, 1995).
- de Plasencia, Juan, OFM, *Doctrina Christiana*. <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/16119/16119-h/16119-h.htm>>.
- de San Jose, Blancas, OP, *Sermones*, ed. by Jose Mario C. Francisco, SJ (Quezon City: Pulong, 1994).
- Dumol, Paul, "Political Responsibility in Rizal's Filibusterismo," in *Budhi: A Journal of Ideas and Culture*, 8 (2004).
- Francisco, Jose Mario C., "The Tagalog 'Loob' in Oliver's 'Doctrina Christiana,'" in *Philippine Studies*, 44 (Fourth Quarter 1996).

- Gayo, Jesus, *Doctrina cristiana: primer libro impreso en Filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta la Universidad de Sto. Tomas, 1951).
- Guerrero, Leon Ma., *The First Filipino* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1961).
- Gutay, Jose "Long" D., OFM, "Life and Works of Fray Juan de Plasencia," <<https://ofmphilarchives.tripod.com/id8.html>>.
- Gutierrez, Lucio, OP, "Domingo de Salazar, O.P., First Bishop of the Philippines (1512–1594): Defender of the Rights of the Filipinos at the Spanish Contact," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 20 (January–April 1985).
- _____, "Domingo de Salazar's Struggle for Justice and Humanization in the Conquest of the Philippines (1579–1594)," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 14 (May–August 1979).
- Haldane, John, *Faithful Reason: Essays Catholic and Philosophical* (London: Routledge, 2004).
- Hau, Caroline S., *Interpreting Rizal* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2018).
- Hause, Jeffrey, ed., *Aquinas's Summa Theologiae: A Critical Guide* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- Hessel, Eugene A., *The Religious Thought of Jose Rizal: Its Context and Theological Significance* (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1961).
- Hornedo, Florentino, *Ideas and Ideals: Essays in Filipino Cognitive History* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2001).
- John Paul II, *Fides et Ratio*, <https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_14091998_fides-et-ratio.html>.
- Jurilla, Patricia May B., *Tagalog Bestsellers of the Twentieth Century: A History of the Book in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008).
- La Solidaridad, Volume I (1889)* (Pasig: Fundacion Santiago, 1996).
- La Solidaridad, Volume II (1890)* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1973).
- La Solidaridad, Volume III (1891)* (Pasig: Fundacion Santiago, 1996).
- Majul, Cesar Adib, "Rizal in the 21st Century: The Relevance of His Ideas and Texts," in *Public Policy Journal*, 3 (1999).
- _____, *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996).
- Miroy, Jovino, "Is Filipino Thought Medieval? Preliminary Work in Writing the History of Philosophy in the Philippines," in *Prajñā Vihāra*, 6 (January–June 2005).
- Miroy, Jovino G. and Ma. Liza Ruth A. Ocampo, eds., *Quaerens, Searchings, Paghahanap* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2008).

- Mojaro, Jorge, "Los Primeros Libros Impresos En Filipinas (1593–1607)," in *Hispania Sacra*, 72 (Enero–Junio 2020).
- Nery, John, *Revolutionary Spirit: Jose Rizal in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011).
- Ofilada, Macario M., "Minerva Docet: Beginnings of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Santo Tomas, Manila (1896–1897) - Part I," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 38 (January–April 2003).
- Peñaflor, Domingo Mallo, "Miguel de Benavides: Advocate of Human Rights in the Spanish Regime," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 20 (May–August 1985).
- Phelan, John Leddy, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Response, 1565–1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959).
- Pinpin, Tomas, *Librong Pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang uicang Castila*, ed. by Damon L. Woods (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2011).
- Quibuyen, Floro, *A Nation Aborted: Rizal, American Hegemony, and Philippine Nationalism* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1999).
- Quirino, Carlos, "The First Philippine Imprints," in *Journal of History*, 8 (September 1960).
- Rafael, Vicente L., *Contracting Colonialism Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988).
- Reyes, Jeremiah, "Loób and Kapwa: Thomas Aquinas and A Filipino Virtue Ethics" (PhD Dissertation: KU Leuven, Leuven, 2015), <https://www.academia.edu/82693301/Lo%C3%B3b_and_Kapwa_Thomas_Aquinas_and_a_Filipino_Virtue_Ethics>.
- Rizal, Jose, *Memorias de un estudiante de Manila* (Manila: Imp. y Lit. de Cacho, 1949).
- _____, "Love of Country," in *Prose* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 2011).
- _____, "Rizal's Letter to Blumentritt, 2 February 1890," in *Correspondences with Blumentritt, Vol. II* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 2011).
- _____, *El Filibusterismo*, trans. by Soledad Lacson-Locsin, ed. by Raul L. Locsin (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007).
- _____, *Events in the Philippine Islands* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 2011).
- _____, *Noli Me Tangere*, trans. by Soledad Lacson-Locsin, ed. by Raul L. Locsin (Makati: The Bookmark, Inc., 1996).
- _____, *Political and Historical Writings* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2007).
- Romero, Jorge Mojarro, "Historia misional y literatura en un raro impreso de fray Miguel de Benavides, obispo de Nueva Segovia: Relación del

- estado de la fe (1601)," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 51 (January–April 2016).
- Rosario, Tomas, *Ang Etika ni Sto. Tomas de Aquino: Mga Piniling Teksto* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2003).
- Rugeria, Javier Leonardo, "Jose Maria Panganiban's 'La Universidad de Manila' and the Liberal Campaign for Reforms in Philippine Higher Education," in *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, 69 (2021).
- _____, "Writing 'La Universidad de Manila' Anew: La Solidaridad and the Revival of José María Panganiban's Campaign for Reforms in Higher Education, 1890–1891," in *Bikolnon: Journal of Ateneo de Naga Graduate School*, 9 (2023).
- San Juan, Epifanio, *Rizal in Our Time: Essays in Interpretation* (Pasig: Anvil Publishing, 1997).
- Santiago, Luciano P.R., "The Beginnings of Higher Education in the Philippines (1601–1772)," in *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 19 (June 1991).
- _____, "The First Filipino Doctors of Medicine and Surgery (1878–97)," in *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 22 (June 1994).
- Schmutz, Jacob, "From Theology to Philosophy: The Changing Status of the Summa Theologiae, 1500–2000," in *Aquinas's Summa Theologiae: A Critical Guide*, ed. by Jeffrey Hause (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- Schumacher, John N., SJ, "The Philippine Higher Education and the Origins of Nationalism," in *Philippine Studies*, 23 (1975).
- _____, "The Religious Thought of Rizal," in *Philippine Studies*, 13 (July 1965).
- Scott, William Henry, *Slavery in the Spanish Philippines* (Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1991).
- Siejas, Tatiana, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Tejero, Pedro G., OP, "400 Years of Dominican Apostolate among the Chinese of Binondo," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 28 (1983).
- Van der Loon, Piet, *The Manila Incunabula and Early Hokkien Studies* (P. Lund, Humphries, 1966).
- Villaroel, Fidel, OP, "Miguel De Benavides, O.P. (1550–1605), Friar, Bishop and University Founder," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 40 (May–August 2005).
- _____, "The University of Santo Tomas of Manila (1611–1987): A Synthesis of Its Four-Century History," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, 23 (January–April 1988).

_____, *A History of the University of Santo Tomas: Four Centuries of Higher Education in the Philippines, Vol. I* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2012).

_____, *History of the University of Santo Tomas: Four Centuries of Higher Education in the Philippines., Vol. II* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2012).

_____, *Jose Rizal and the University of Santo Tomas* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2020).

Woods, Damon L., *Tomas Pinpin and Tagalog Survival in Early Spanish Philippines* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2011).

_____, *Tomas Pinpin and the Literate Indio: Tagalog Writing in the Early Spanish Philippines*, <<https://escholarship.org/content/qt7kz776js/qt7kz776js.pdf>>.