

De La Salle University

Animo Repository

Southeast Asia Research Center and Hub

Colleges and Units

2022

Arrivals, conflict & transformation in maritime Southeast Asia, 1400s-1800s

Fernando A. Santiago Jr.

Jose Victor Z. Torres

Ian Christopher B. Alfonso

Follow this and additional works at: https://animorepository.dlsu.edu.ph/res_search



Part of the [South and Southeast Asian Languages and Societies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Santiago, F. A., Torres, J. Z., & Alfonso, I. B. (2022). Arrivals, conflict & transformation in maritime Southeast Asia, 1400s-1800s. Retrieved from https://animorepository.dlsu.edu.ph/res_search/1

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the Colleges and Units at Animo Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Southeast Asia Research Center and Hub by an authorized administrator of Animo Repository.

ARRIVALS, CONFLICT
& TRANSFORMATION
IN MARITIME SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1400s-1800s





IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 500TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN PART
IN THE FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE WORLD (1521-2021)

ARRIALS, CONFLICT
& TRANSFORMATION
IN MARITIME SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1400s-1800s

Fernando A. Santiago, Jr., PhD
Jose Victor Z. Torres, PhD
Ian Christopher B. Alfonso
Editors



National Historical Commission of the Philippines
Philippine Historical Association &
De La Salle University - Southeast Asia Research Center and Hub

2022

ARRIVALS, CONFLICT & TRANSFORMATION

IN MARITIME SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1400s-1800s

Fernando A. Santiago, Jr., PhD
Jose Victor Z. Torres, PhD, and
Ian Christopher B. Alfonso, *editors*

Published *electronically* in 2022 by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, Manila, Metro Manila, Philippines; Philippine Historical Association, Quezon City, Metro Manila, Philippines; and De La Salle University - Southeast Asia Research Center and Hub, Manila, Metro Manila, Philippines

No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Credits: The cover and pages ii-iii (overspread) feature Herbert S. Pinpiño's *Blood Compact Reimagined* (2020) courtesy of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines. The image preceding the title page is an early 18th century Southeast Asian map produced in 1752 by Louis Philippe D'Orléans courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España. Elements found on the title logotype are the clove (*Carophyllus aromaticus*) from Elizabeth Blackwell's *A Curious Herbal, Containing Five Hundred Cuts, of the Most Useful Plants, Which Are Now Used in the Practice of Physic*, volume 2 (1739) courtesy of the Princeton University Library; 1901 illustration of a nutmeg by Breitkopf & Härtel, courtesy of Etsy; a Malay *kris* courtesy of ALJ Antiques; Hanuman, from a 19th-century Khom script courtesy of the British Library; Butuan ivory seal courtesy of the National Museum of the Philippines; *anting-anting* courtesy of Reflections of Asia; and the Surya Majapahit (The Sun of Majapahit) courtesy of the National Museum of Indonesia. These elements represent the three founders of the International Council for Historical and Cultural Cooperation-Southeast Asia (ICHCC-SEA), namely the Philippine Historical Association, the Society of Indonesian Historians, and the Malaysian Historical Society.

ISBN 978-971-538-361-5 (PDF read-only)

Printing funded through



Most of the chapters in this book were products of the
7th International Conference of the International Council
for Historical and Cultural Cooperation –
Southeast Asia & 2020 Philippine Historical Association
Annual Conference

28-30 October 2020 • Philippines

through the consortium of the



Philippine Historical Association,
Society of Indonesian Historians, and
Malaysian Historical Society

and sponsorship of the



National Quincentennial Committee

in solidarity with



Quincentennial
Commemorations
in the Philippines
Victory and Humanity • 1521-2021

To Southeast Asian scholars and students of history

Table of Contents

<i>ix</i>	Dedication
<i>xv</i>	Foreword <i>Rene R. Escalante, PhD</i>
<i>xix</i>	Introduction <i>Fernando A. Santiago, Jr., PhD</i> ON BEHALF OF THE EDITORS
<i>1</i>	CHAPTER ONE Dragged Into the Wars of Others: Southeast Asia's Entanglements in the Wars of Europe from the Thirty Years' War to the Napoleonic Wars and Beyond <i>Farish A. Noor, PhD</i>
<i>71</i>	CHAPTER TWO To Feed or Not to Feed? A Story of Philippine Encounters During the First Circumnavigation, 1521 <i>Felice Prudente Sta. Maria</i>
<i>95</i>	CHAPTER THREE The International Maritime Trading Network and Its Islamization Process in Java in the Fifteenth Century <i>Andri Setyo Nugroho and Dita Reista Nurfaizah</i>

- 113 CHAPTER FOUR
The 16th Century Visayan Warrior and his Weapons
Felice Noelle Rodriguez, PhD
- 141 CHAPTER FIVE
Portuguese Clove Trade Monopoly in the
Moluccas during the 16th Century
Daya Negri Wijaya, PhD
- 161 CHAPTER SIX
Malay Letters from the Archipelago, 1771-1794:
Kedah and Southeast Asia as Global History
Dato' Ahmad Murad Merican, PhD
- 175 CHAPTER SEVEN
Diagnosing Nature: Notes from Colonial Physicians in
the Nineteenth-Century Dutch East Indies
Gani A. Jaelani, PhD
- 195 CHAPTER EIGHT
Los Baños, Laguna from the Spanish Contact to
Its Transformation as a Travel Destination and a
Healing Center, 1613-1898
Marcelino M. Macapinlac, Jr., PhD
- 221 CHAPTER NINE
Connection and Contention:
The 2021 Quincentennial Commemorations in
the Philippines
Ian Christopher B. Alfonso

283	CHAPTER TEN The Mojares Panel Investigation Into the 1521 First Easter Sunday Mass Controversy: Accessibility, Technology, and Discoveries <i>Jose Victor Z. Torres, PhD</i>
295	CHAPTER ELEVEN Tungo sa Pagdiriwang ng Bayan: A Memoir of the Preparations for the 2021 Quincentennial Commemorations in the Philippines (2017-2020) <i>Michael Charleston “Xiao” B. Chua, PhD (Cand.)</i>
333	<i>About the Editors</i>
335	<i>About the Authors</i>



SVMATRA.

Celebes.

IAVA
MAIOR

Draco.

INSVLA TERNATE.

FOREWORD

SELDOM DO OUR PUBLICATIONS IN the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) situate the Philippines in the greater space such as Southeast Asia, even more so in the time of aggressive European conquests in the 15th and 16th centuries. Undeniably, the Spanish colonization, which began in 1565, isolated a big part of the Philippines from its Southeast Asian neighbors. The ancient ties and networking of our colonized ancestors were suppressed and supplanted by different “worlds:” the Hispanic and the Christian.

Through their efforts to salvage the world of our ancestors from Eurocentric views (e.g., that our ancestors were savages), our scholars and intellectuals in the 19th century such as Jose Rizal awakened in us our pan-Asiatic consciousness. Our heroes like Apolinario Mabini heralded the “Malayness” of the Filipinos (much like the concept of Austronesianess) and appraised the mission of the Philippine Revolution and our war against the United States from 1896 to 1913, as the redemption of our lost Malay freedom and dignity that Western colonization had effaced.

In so doing, the Philippines from 2018 to 2022 upheld a history that is Filipino in viewpoint and in voice. This was the essence of the Filipinocentrism in the 2021 Quincentennial Commemorations

Left: An early 17th century Ternate map from Levinus Hulsius' *Sechster Theil, kurtze, warhafftige Relation vnd Beschreibung der wunderbarsten vier Schiffarten, so jemals verricht worden* (1618) courtesy of John Carter Brown Library via Internet Archive.

in the Philippines (2021 QCP), which were a series of milestones commemorating the role of the Philippines in the 500th anniversary of the first circumnavigation of the world.

One of the indicative applications of such a viewpoint was the support extended by the Philippine government to the 7th International Conference of the International Council for Historical and Cultural Cooperation – Southeast Asia & 2020 Philippine Historical Association Annual Conference held online from 28-30 October 2020 and hosted by the Philippines. With the theme “Arrivals, Conflict & Transformation in Maritime Southeast Asia (ca. 1400s-1800s),” this gathering of foreign scholars of Southeast Asian history and culture advanced the common sentiments of parity, contact, and influence of our Southeast Asian ancestors, from the 15th to 19th centuries, alongside the Europeans, and vice versa, from the 15th to 19th centuries. The conference was spearheaded by the Philippine Historical Association (PHA), Society of Indonesian Historians, and Malaysian Historical Society, and co-sponsored by the NHCP, the National Quincentennial Committee, De La Salle University - Southeast Asia Research Center and Hub (DLSU SEARCH) and the University of San Carlos – Cebu (the designated host of the international gathering if not for the COVID-19 pandemic).

The NHCP congratulates the PHA and the DLSU SEARCH for this two-years-in-the-making book project entitled *Arrivals, Conflict & Transformation in Maritime Southeast Asia, 1400s-1800s*. Edited by historians Dr. Fernando A. Santiago, Jr., Dr. Jose Victor Z. Torres, and Ian Christopher B. Alfonso, this publication is composed of selected papers tailored to fit as chapters of a book about Southeast Asia.

We, at the NHCP and the National Quincentennial Committee, are humbled to be chosen as the co-publisher of the book, both in digital form (to be rolled out in 2022) and in print (by 2023). This book is classified as open-access material via the digital platforms of the NHCP National Memory Project and the DLSU Libraries—a praiseworthy decision of the authors and the co-publishers of the NHCP to further promote the interest of the public in history. Moreover, the printing of the book is courtesy of the 2023 Philippine-Spanish Friendship Day fund.

This publication is among the legacies of the 2021 QCP. It enshrines the struggle of this generation to view Philippine/Southeast Asian history, always, through the Filipino lens.

Rene R. Escalante, PhD

Chairman, National Historical Commission of the Philippines &
Executive Director, National Quincentennial Committee

INTRODUCTION

WHILE 2020 WILL BE REMEMBERED as the year of the COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns that affected much of the world, it was also the 65th anniversary of the Philippine Historical Association (PHA) that spearheaded the 7th Conference of the International Council for Historical and Cultural Cooperation-Southeast Asia (ICHCC-SEA) with the theme “Arrivals, Conflict and Transformation in Maritime Southeast Asia (ca 1400-1800),” in the same year. The association, in partnership with the National Quincentennial Committee (NQC), National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP), Masyarakat Sejarawan Indonesia (MSI), Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia (PSM), De La Salle University-Southeast Asia Research Center and Hub (SEARCH), and the University of San Carlos-Cebu (USC), held the event online making it both the PHA and ICHCC-SEA’s first virtual conference. This volume brings together the works of historians from Maritime Southeast Asia that were presented at the conference. Each work has been revised for the purpose of the publication of this book. Because the conference theme echoes across the volume, it was adopted as the book title with just a slight change in the timeframe.

The theme was largely conceptualized by Ariel C. Lopez, PhD of the Asian Center of the University of the Philippines Diliman who described it as follows: “Southeast Asia is often conceived as a ‘crossroads’ of cultures and civilizations. Because of its favorable location between India and China and within the monsoon belt, Southeast Asia’s coastal

zone engendered the rise of some important cosmopolitan entrepôts. These commercial centers reached unprecedented peak during the so-called ‘early modern period’ (c. 1400-1830) which coincides roughly with the region’s ‘ages of commerce.’ Alongside the burgeoning of maritime commerce in the broader region was the spread of universal religions and the adoption of centralizing political ideologies by various local rulers. But while Southeast Asia’s geographic centrality was key to its material prosperity and cultural diversity, it also contributed to its political and military vulnerability. Maritime Southeast Asia, in particular, has been referred to as an ‘exposed zone’ in contrast to the ‘protected zone’ which characterized its mainland counterpart. Indeed, most of island Southeast Asia succumbed to European maritime dominance in the early modern period and thus this volume allows the reader to revisit and reassess this episode of the past.” The various chapters “examine Southeast Asia not only as a nexus of culture and peoples but also as a site of negotiations and conflicts that emerged from these multicultural interactions. It seeks new ways of seeing this dynamic period by transcending orthodox, Eurocentric views and by incorporating previously under-recognized indigenous sources and narratives. It also provides a view of how various indigenous polities in the region was shaped by and helped define the contours of early modern colonialism.”

In the first chapter, FARISH A. NOOR, PHD explains how “Southeast Asia has always been exposed to external variable factors and influences, and that throughout its modern history—from the 16th century to the 20th, has found itself entangled in other contestations for power/hegemony between larger states.” He states that “we need to look beyond the ‘presentist’ tendency that is all too common in contemporary media reportage, and to locate Southeast Asia within a broader and longer historical-political setting; and to remind ourselves that whatever challenges that the countries of the region may be facing today, such challenges are neither new nor unique to the present moment.” He calls for the need to relocate Southeast Asian history in “the broader context of global history and its entanglements with Western European history in particular, where we can see that

radical newness- here understood as radical contingency outside the economy of the same and the familiar- almost never happens. Rather, the challenges that Southeast Asian states face today are a continuation of processes that began centuries ago, and due to the fact that these developments have all taken place within the same economy of the known and the familiar, they can also be understood and addressed.”

In the following chapter, FELICE PRUDENTE STA. MARIA argues that food insecurity led to the Battle of Mactan, where the famed explorer Ferdinand Magellan met his end. The arrival in 1521 of Spain’s Armada de Maluco in waters of what is today’s central and southern Philippines posed the recurring dilemma of unexpected encounters: Can we trust each other? Food and feeding are both a test of trust and a means to dominate a confrontation. The book, *Primo viaggio intorno al mondo* by the Armada’s sobresaliente Antonio Pigafetta, records strategies of good will, tolerance, and deception through feeding. Food was received as gifts and as a fair exchange for bartering. But it was also considered entitlement once a political alliance was made and payment for hostages. The historical account warns that even in contemporary times, hunger and sustenance can be determinants in conflict and transformation.

ANDRI SETYO NUGROHO and DITA REISTA NURFAIZAH examine the international maritime trading network and the Islamization process in Java in the fifteenth century in the third chapter. They illustrate how the spread of Islam and trade were inseparable, and how international trade in the 15th century paved the way for the entry of Islam into Java. Traders moved across the island and formed communities that settled in the coastal and central areas. By referencing historical sources, traditional literary works, and archaeological artifacts; the study argues that the rise of commercial ports in northern Java and not the introduction of Islam, led to a disruption of the power balance that ultimately caused the fall of the Majapahit Empire.

FELICE NOELLE RODRIGUEZ, PHD’s chapter on the ancient Visayan warrior and his weapons was not among the papers presented at the conference but it nonetheless seamlessly complements the rest of the book. She looks into contemporaneous depictions and expounds

on the implements and actions used by Visayan warriors in the early colonial period as they are described in published texts and images. Spanish chronicles, Visayan words in early dictionaries, early images and archaeological artifacts come together to draw an image of the warrior and his weapons. By sifting through descriptions and images found in Spanish chronicles, the chapter pieces together the Visayan warrior in action with his weapons. It also provides a glimpse into 16th century native society.

In his study on the Portuguese clove trade monopoly in the Moluccas during the 16th century, DAYA NEGRI WIJAYA, PHD illustrates the Portuguese-Malacca trade network and the clove monopoly in the Maluku (also known as Moluccas) using European and Malukan sources. He describes the Portuguese expedition to the Spice Islands, the clove trade monopoly, and their loss of control of the clove trade through European and Asian perspectives. Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and English archival materials, chronicles, and travel literature provide the European perspective while local sources such as the *Hikayat Ternate*, *Hikayat Bacan*, and *Hikayat Hitu*, show the Malukan point of view. Furthermore, the study shows that European sources focus on the efforts to control the Clove trade while local sources provide more information on local disputes and resistance against the Portuguese.

AHMAD MURAD MERICAN, PHD examines in the following chapter, the Francis Light Letters which is probably the largest single collection of extant 18th century Malay manuscripts. Not much has been studied of the letters apart from Malay linguistics and philology. Scholars see the collection as comprising mostly trade and commercial transactions from Malay rulers, the nobility, and other members of Malays society. What is predominantly significant is the layer of dynamism in diplomacy and international relations, economic systems, and social order in Malay society, as an extension of the earlier Melaka Malay Enlightenment and civilization. The letters render a window to Western intervention and encounters in the Malay Archipelago. Collectively, the Letters lend to the representation of the Malay voice, and the Malay response toward European exceptionalism.

It was Southeast Asian indigeneity and cosmopolitanism. Instead of viewing the Malay peninsula, Sumatera, and Borneo in isolation and apart from Europe, the study explains how Southeast Asia as integral to world history.

The succeeding chapter by GANI JAELANI, PHD looks into European physicians' travel accounts in the Dutch East Indies during the 19th Century. The author observes a shift of interest from the discovery of medicinal plants to the study of diseases and the healthiness of the colony that coincided with the growing stability of colonial control. He argues that the research interests of colonial physicians adjusted to changing colonial objectives. Using European physicians' treatises and scientific journals from the 19th century, he examines medical knowledge formation in the Netherlands Indies and how such knowledge was influenced by colonial policies.

MARCELINO M. MACAPINLAC, JR., PHD describes historical developments in the town of Los Baños in Laguna, one of the provinces located south of Metro Manila, as a travel destination and recuperative center from 1613-1898. He depicts the town's founding and explains how the construction of a hospital by missionaries became the focal point of political development and a key factor in the settlement of the area. The study illustrates how the influx of travelers, who came for healing and the natural beauty of the place, led to the town's development. It also describes significant developments in Los Baños during the nineteenth century, such as population growth, lingering poverty, and a lack of social order. The author then explains how conditions in the town resulted to people's participation in banditry, as well as the Philippine Revolution of 1896.

The 2020 conference was also the PHA's advanced commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the Southeast Asian part in the first circumnavigation of the world (1521-2021). For this reason, the succeeding chapters focus on the experiences of individuals involved in the preparations for the commemoration.

IAN CHRISTOPHER ALFONSO of the NHCP and formerly the NQC Secretariat Head, describes the Filipino viewpoint championed by the NQC and its application to its programs and activities. He

explains the attempt to “codify” concepts, ideas, and methodologies that led to the Filipino-centric 2021 Quincentennial Commemorations in the Philippines (2021 QCP).

JOSE VICTOR Z. TORRES, PHD, shares the findings of the NHCP’s Mojares Panel, of which he was part, regarding the site of the 1521 First Easter Mass in the Philippines. He discusses the work done by the panel from the time of the first Focus Group Discussion in Butuan in 2018 to the adoption of the Final Report in 2020. What made the panel’s historical investigation unique compared to earlier panels was its access to the latest technology that provided immediate access to a number of primary and other sources, locally and abroad. Such method plus old-fashioned legwork uncovered new information that provided a final report that goes beyond documentary analyses.

The final chapter is MICHAEL CHARLESTON “XIAO” B. CHUA’s memoir on the preparations for the 2021 QCP. The chapter documents his personal observations based on his various involvements in the preparations for the Quincentennial.

This volume thus provides a glimpse into the histories of Maritime Southeast Asia from the 1400s to the 1800s. The chapters allow the reader to compare experiences, assess developments, and observe patterns of continuity and change over time. It shows how in many ways, the people of the region share a similar, while at the same time different, past. It thus fosters a nuanced view of history instead of subscribing to overly broad generalizations. While general patterns can be seen, it must also be taken into account that every community responded to the transformations of the 1400s to the 1800s in their respective ways. It must also be considered that the people of the region were not mere passive receivers of change but instead, active agents in the transformation as they, both carefully and recklessly, negotiated with the new realities that they faced. The history of the region must thus be viewed on its own terms but with consideration for the broader and longer historical context.

Fernando A. Santiago, Jr.

ON BEHALF OF THE EDITORS

CHAPTER 1

**DRAGGED INTO THE WARS OF OTHERS:
SOUTHEAST ASIA'S ENTANGLEMENTS IN THE WARS
OF EUROPE FROM THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR TO
THE NAPOLEONIC WARS AND BEYOND**

Farish A. Noor, PhD

**Introduction: When was the First World War, and Why Should
Southeast Asia be Bothered About It?**

To deny the importance of colonialism and imperialism is to ignore the history of the third world, and this is theoretically and politically unacceptable.¹

Kuan-Hsing Chen
Asia as Method (2010)

With the exception of those who may have spent the past few years living in outer space, most of us would, by now, be familiar with the extensive media reportage about the goings-on in the South China Sea and Southeast Asia at large. Much has been written about China's ambitions in this part of the world, and how China has

Left: An early 17th century Southeast Asian map from Levinus Hulsius' *Sechster Theil, kurtze, warhafftige Relation vnd Beschreibung der wunderbarsten vier Schiffarten, so jemals verricht worden* (1618) courtesy of John Carter Brown Library via Internet Archive.

attempted to court—with varying degrees of success—the respective states of the region as part of its One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative, and its related ventures such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB, est. January 2016). Much has also been written about China's growing presence in the South China Sea, and an equal amount of attention has been given to the various ways and means through which the United States and its allies have attempted—also with varying degrees of success—to check what Washington regards as China's growing influence beyond its borders.² The American Navy has been visibly active in the region, and since the time of the Obama administration the US has sent its naval vessels to the region to perform what we call Freedom of Navigation Operations (FONOPs), the first being the USS *Curtis Wilbur's* tour of the Philippines Sea in 2013.³ Hyperbole and posturing aside, none of these moves and counter-moves have brought the region close to conflict, though the impression that one gets when reading some of the more alarmist reports that have been churned out so far may give the impression that Armageddon is around the corner.

A contrary view of present-day developments has been offered by seasoned Southeast Asian scholars, who have—correctly, in my opinion—opined that Southeast Asian states have their own way of dealing with the pressing demands from these larger and stronger external powers. Some have alluded to the Southeast Asian practice of 'hedging', and how in the face of competing demands from stronger external powers Southeast Asian polities have always sought to forge a new equilibrium of their own, by seeking out more dialogue partners, allies and potential supporters to forestall the emergence of a singular dominant power and uneven power differentials that are irreversible.

This paper is less interested in the mechanics of hedging and the logic behind it, or questions related to the efficacy or utility of the hedging process itself. Rather, it seeks to locate the dynamics of Southeast Asia's internal and external political relations in the wider context of world history, in order to demonstrate two simple things: Firstly, that Southeast Asia has never been a stranger to external influences and external variable factors (for Southeast Asian history *is* world history),

and secondly to show how the present-day developments in this part of the world cannot and should not be seen as something that is radically new—here understood as something radically contingent and totally outside/beyond the economy of the known and the familiar. In fact, it will be my argument that ‘radical newness’ hardly ever occurs in human history, for the simple reason that whatever is seen as ‘new’ has to be seen, understood and discursively framed as such through the epistemic-nominal framework of the known and the already-familiar in the first place; and as such one should never be ‘surprised’ by any development in the domain of politics – be it local, regional or global.

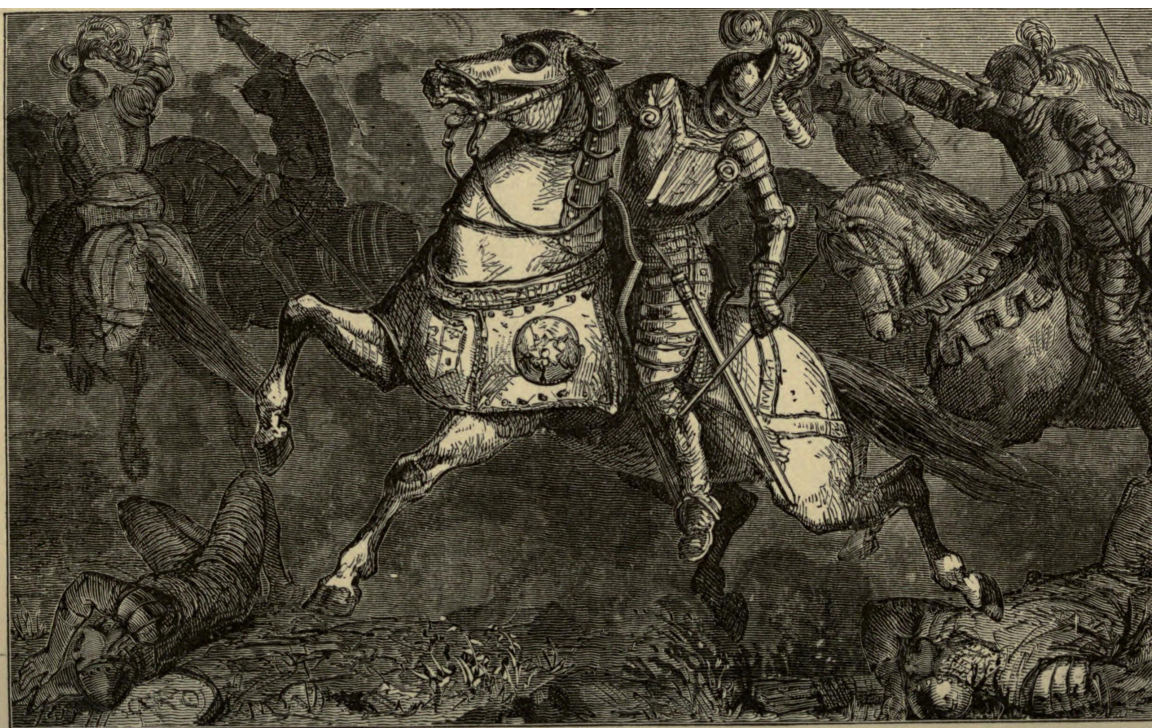
As this conference revisits the period of prolonged contact between Southeast Asia and the Western world, I believe that it would be timely for us to re-ask some of the questions that have consumed the time and energy of so many Southeast Asian scholars for decades: How and why were the conflicts in Europe influential in the manner that they in turn propelled the powers of Europe further East; how did the conflicts in Europe contribute to the rise and fall of the different polities in the Western world, which in turn determined their fate as imperial-colonial powers abroad; how and why did the polities of Southeast Asia react to these instances of arrival, expansion and eventual colonisation the way they did; and was there ever a moment when a sense of collective Southeast Asian identity became tangible enough to serve as a foil against what would later develop to become Western colonialism in South Asia? The last question is of particular interest to me, for in recent times we have seen, heard and read so much about Southeast Asia’s ‘collective identity’ and ‘regional identity;’ and it has been suggested by some that the only way that Southeast Asia can ever insulate itself from the contestation between the world’s superpowers is if it were to somehow ‘reunite’ and ‘return’ to this sense of common identity/purpose. For reasons that I hope will become clearer later, I will argue that there never really was a sense of Southeast Asian common identity-purpose to begin with, and that throughout the region’s history the various states and polities of Southeast Asia have always behaved in a manner that can best be described as realist – long before the term was even coined.



Left: The Brihadisvara Temple at Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu, India filled with Tamil inscriptions about Raja Rajendra Chola I. Image from C. Sivaramamurti's *The Chola Temples* (1960) courtesy of the Public Library of India via Internet Archive.

Right: An artist's rendition of Ferdinand Magellan fighting for Portugal overseas in George M. Towle's *Magellan or, The First Voyage Round the World* (1880) courtesy the California Digital Libraries via Internet Archive. He was among the Portuguese officers to conquer Malacca in 1511.

This self-centred form of political realism was in attendance long before Southeast Asia came under Western colonial rule, and was the result of the region's proximity to the Indian subcontinent and East Asia. For long before the states of Southeast Asia had to contend with the European powers that arrived on their shores, they were already forced to deal with incursions coming from other parts of the greater Asian continent: Between the 11th to 12th centuries some of the kingdoms of Southeast Asia had come under attack by the rulers of the South Indian Tamil Chola Empire—notably during the reigns of Raja Rajendra Chola I (r. 1014-1044), Raja Virarajendra Chola (r. 1063-1070) and Raja Kulothunga Chola I (r. 1070-1122)—and as a consequence of these invasions the maritime kingdom of Srivijaya as well as the kingdom of Kadarán (present-day Kedah) were threatened. From the east an existential threat was posed by Kublai Khan in 1293 when the Mongol ruler sent an expedition against the Javanese



kingdom of Singhasari (though the venture ended in failure). In the decades that followed the thalassocratic kingdom of Mahapahit would emerge as the dominant power in Java and beyond. Internal relations between the kingdoms and aspiring powers of Southeast Asia were not always rosy either, and several of the region's kingdoms would be at war with one another and on the defensive against external interventions by stronger powers from outside the region from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Thus, when the Portuguese and Spanish arrived in an already-divided Southeast Asia they would be among many other powers vying for dominance in the region.

It is crucial to note, however, that during the initial encounters between Southeast Asians and Europeans the power differentials between the two sides were not as wide as they would later become. In the sixteenth century many of the kingdoms of Southeast Asia were more than able to meet the challenge posed by the new European

powers, and were able to match them in terms of weaponry and maritime technology, as the Portuguese learned (the hard way) when they attacked the port-city of Malacca in 1511.⁴ Southeast Asia and Southeast Asians were also not as concerned about the Europeans at the time as they already had to contend with the reality of powerful South Asian and East Asian neighbours, and devise a means through which the competing claims and disputes between themselves could be contained at a manageable level—which contributed in part to the development of the tributary-vassalage system that later developed where larger external powers (notably China) were invited to maintain the peace between the rising powers of the region while allowing trade and the movement of commodities to continue unhindered. Up to the 17th century the local genius of Southeast Asian polities lay in their ability to forestall and postpone conflict via a range of practical means—that included hedging, instrumental alliances, tribute-paying, vassalage and deference. All of this was set to change from the 17th century onwards, as the conflicts of Europe exploded beyond the borders of the European continent, bringing with it a series of conflicts that were global in nature and ushering the age of the great World Wars.

Historians of all shades and ideological persuasions have attempted to identify the first truly global war, and the jury remains undecided as to which conflict should be accorded the honour. Paul Fregosi, in his eminently readable *Dreams of Empire: Napoleon and the First World War 1792-1815* (1989), has argued that the Napoleonic Wars can be seen as the first world-wide war that was fought all the way from Haiti to Java, though other historians have argued that it was the Seven Years' War of 1756-1763 that merits the title. Allow me to throw in my bid at this juncture, and argue that the Thirty Years' War of 1618-1648 also deserves our consideration. What I would like to do next is to offer a summary overview of a string of European conflicts—from the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) to the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the Revolutionary Wars of France (1792-1802) and the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815)—and relate them to the developments that were taking place in Southeast Asia concurrently. I would like

to draw our attention to the fact that during this prolonged period of intra-European conflict other parts of the world—Asia, Africa and the Americas—were also dragged into the fray as a result of two factors: The growing competition for dominance in Europe between the European powers themselves, and the emerging race for Empire as these Western powers sought to outdo their continental rivals. The nett result of this intra-European rivalry was not merely the birth of the modern nation-state as we know it today (following the Peace of Munster of 1648) but also the world order that we have inherited from this long period of messy entanglement.

The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and Its Impact on Southeast Asia

I, for one, believe that more attention should be paid to the impact of the Thirty Years' War in Southeast Asia, for during and after this conflict there emerged new European powers that would extend their influence to this part of the world in their bid to stall the advances of their neighbouring European rivals. Crucially, it was after the conclusion of this intra-European conflict that the Dutch Golden Age really took off, and as a consequence the political landscape of maritime Southeast Asia would be altered for good.

The Thirty Years' War that began in 1618 was initially a war that was fought along religious lines, as Catholic and Protestant states sought to gain hegemony in Germany and across Central Europe. The long religious conflict between Catholics and Protestants was temporarily brought to an end with the Peace of Augsburg (1555) when the German states ceased to fight one another, and Catholics and Protestants were allowed to migrate to the states where their co-religionists were in the majority. This led to the creation of a patchwork of Catholic and Protestant polities that were co-existing side-by-side, though it did not dampen the religious animosity between the two communities. This fragile peace also exposed the weaknesses of the Holy Roman Empire, as the northern (Protestant) states of Sweden and Denmark had ambitions on the northern states of Central Europe;

while Catholic Bourbon France was keen to expand its sphere of influence and resented the fact that it was surrounded by the territories of the Hapsburg Roman Empire, that included Spain.⁵

The Bohemian revolt of 1618 was the catalyst that sparked off the war, as the Bohemian Protestants rejected the representatives sent by the Habsburg ruler of the Holy Roman Empire Ferdinand II (1578-1637). As the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Germany intensified, other European powers intervened to support their co-religionists.⁶ From 1620 to 1625 most of the wars fought were relatively small, but in 1625 the Danish entered the conflict under the leadership of King Christian IV (1577-1648) of Denmark and Norway.⁷ Soon after the cessation of hostilities with Denmark-Norway, Sweden under King Gustavus Adolphus (1594-1632) entered the conflict to support the struggling Protestant-Lutheran states that were still resisting the Holy Roman Empire.⁸ By 1635 the German Protestant states had grown weary of the war and the enormous human cost of the conflict that was borne mostly by the communities of the German states. The Peace of Prague (1635) saw the German Protestant leaders negotiating a peace with the Holy Roman Empire, but this did not stop other foreign powers from interfering in the conflict. From 1635 Bourbon France renewed its efforts against the Holy Roman Empire, and Sweden also remained committed to the war. The death of King Ferdinand II in 1637 led to the ascension of King Ferdinand III (1608-1657), who would continue the war and stick to his predecessor's goal of ensuring Catholic supremacy across Germany. But France's attempts to turn the tide of war in its favour was checked when Spain invaded its territories, thereby opening a second front in France's South. In retaliation France sought to arm and finance Spain's enemies, notably in Portugal and the Catalan region, as well as Holland (that was then at war with Spain). From 1640 to 1648 the Catalans and the Portuguese rose against Spanish rule, and this diverted the attention of Spain's ruler King Philip IV (1605-1665) who then concentrated his efforts on protecting the territorial integrity of Spain. Portugal's resistance began with the Portuguese rebellion of 1640 and would last up to the final Treaty of Lisbon in 1668. On 15 May 1648 the Peace of Munster was ratified

by Holland and Spain, bringing to an end the thirty-year conflict and establishing the borders of Europe as it is known today.⁹ (And this also marked the end of the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648) between the Dutch Republic and Hapsburg Spain.) Spain was sidelined in the peace process and henceforth no longer supported by the Hapsburgs of Austria, while the Dutch Republic (est. 1581) was now free and united, and given the opportunity to expand its influence beyond Europe.

One of the more important consequences of this conflict was the weakening of Spain and Spain's inability to stem the rise of Holland. Holland would later emerge as a new maritime power abroad, and would begin to encroach upon Portugal and Spain's colonies overseas as well. Portugal's colonial presence abroad would wane during the war (1618-1648) and it would lose many of its possessions in South and Southeast Asia during this time: Palicat and Masulipatnam were lost in 1610, Surat/Surate in 1612, Hughli/Hoogli in 1632, Cannanore in 1636, Malacca in 1641. In the decades that followed other Portuguese colonies were also lost: Negapatnam (1657), Tuticorin (1658), Bahia/Bombay (1661), Quilon/Kollam (1661), Cochin (1663), Calicut (1663), Chittagong (1666). With the loss of its colonies in Asia and elsewhere, Portugal's power waned, and the port-city of Lisbon would no longer be one of the major centres for the spice trade in Western Europe, as Holland would later be able to gain direct access to the spice producing centres of Southeast Asia and begin the process of dominating the region that was also being contested by England.

The Dutch Republic would reap the unintended benefits of the Thirty Years' War and during and after the conflict began to expand its influence overseas at the expense of Portugal and Spain (both of which were linked by the dynastic union between their rulers). Portugal's colonies in Sri Lanka/Ceylon would fall to the Dutch East Indies Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, VOC, est. 1602, nationalised 1796, dissolved 1799) between 1638-1641, along with Malacca (in 1641) and the Dutch would attack Portugal's trading centres in Brazil as well (attacked in 1630 by the Geocttrooieerde Westindische Compagnie or Dutch West Indies Company, est. 1621, reformed as the New West India Company, 1674, dissolved, 1792). The



The natives of the port city of Banten, Java, from *Dritter Theil Indiae Orientalis* (1616) courtesy of John Carter Brown Library.

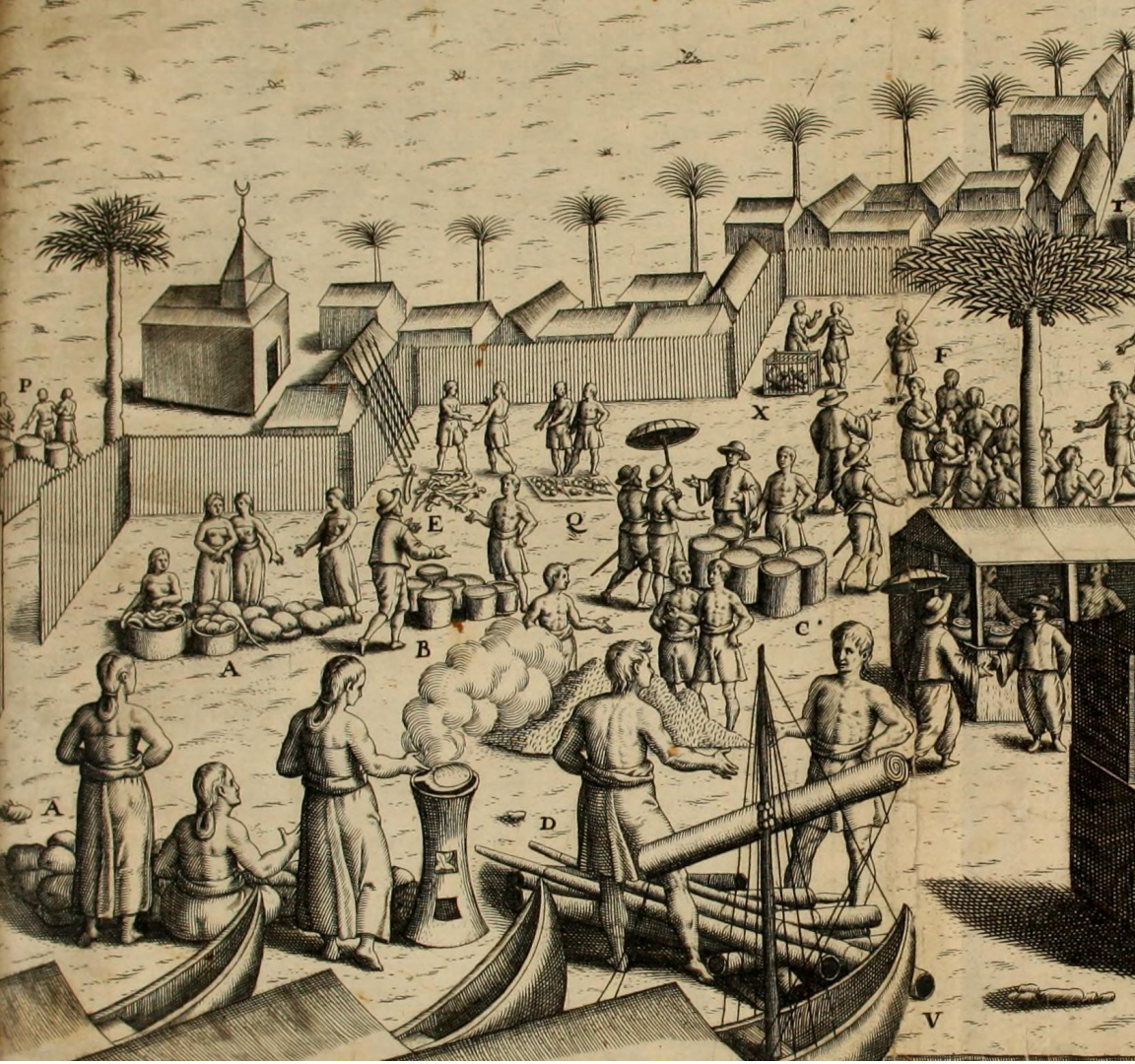
Dutch would also launch several raiding missions against the Spanish in the Philippines, in 1610, 1617, 1624 and 1646. The era of colonial-capitalism had arrived, and by the first half of the 17th century both the Dutch West Indies Company and the Dutch East Indies Company contributed for the rise of the Dutch republic and its overseas empire. While many Southeast Asian scholars have written about the arrival and expansion of Dutch power in Southeast Asia in the 17th century, we sometimes forget that Holland's debut into the race for Empire came during and after a thirty-year conflict against Spain back in Europe, and that Holland's targeted approach to the acquisition of new colonial bases and colonies in Southeast Asia was also driven by the earnest desire to eliminate a European competitor once and for all: As the Dutch began to intensify their efforts in Southeast Asia they attacked the colonial centres of Spain and Portugal in particular. Equally important is the capitalist outlook and ethos of the Dutch East



Trade in the port city of Banten, Java, from *Dritter Theil Indiae Orientalis* (1616) courtesy of John Carter Brown Library.

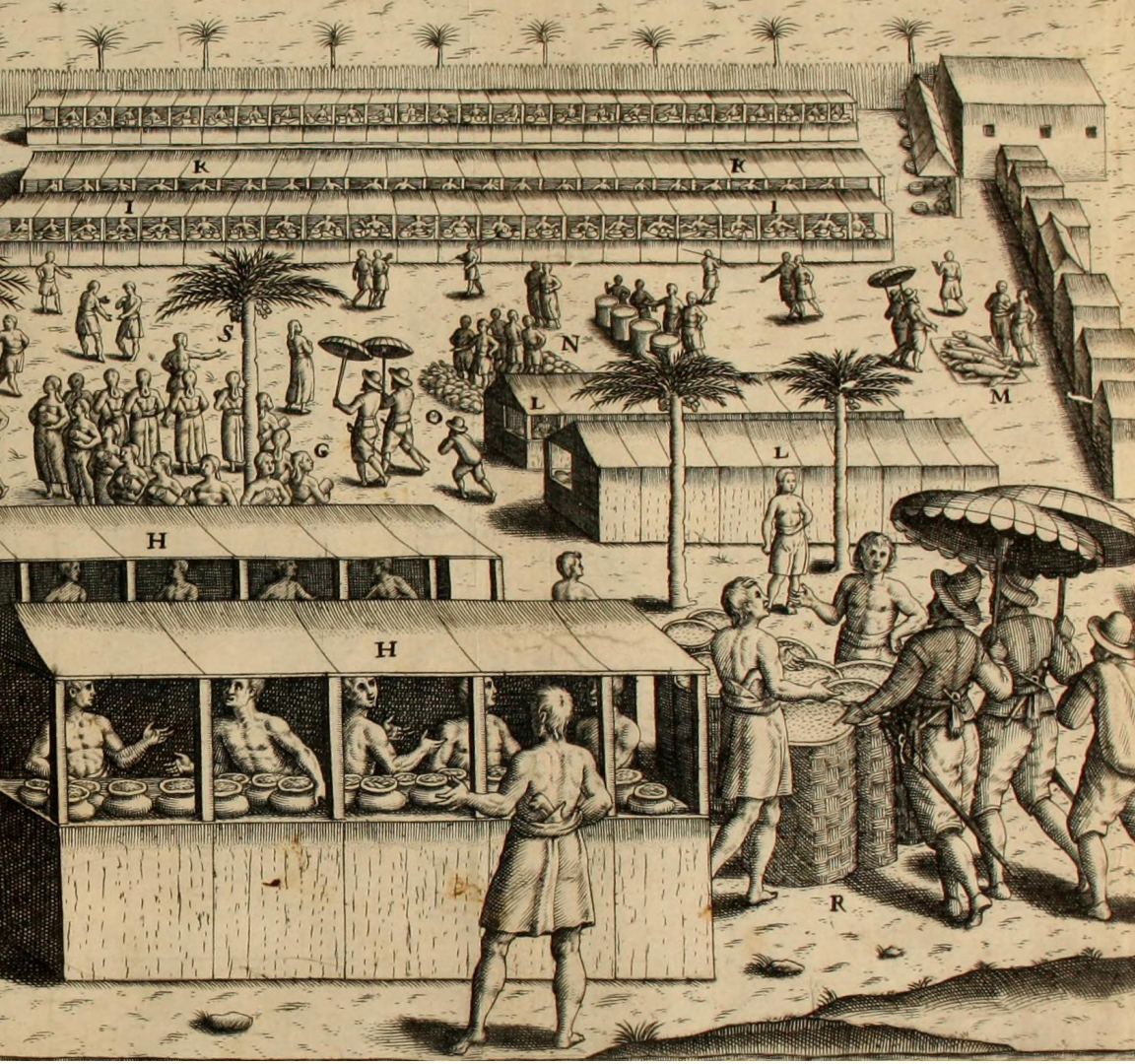
Indies Company (and its counterpart the West Indies Company), and its preference for monopolistic trading practices that would have a devastating impact on intra-Southeast Asian trade later.

In 1605 the Dutch defeated the Portuguese at Amboyna and henceforth controlled the rest of Ambon. Holland and England were allied at the time but relations between Dutch and English merchants in Southeast Asia remained frosty notwithstanding the humid climate due to the growing rivalry between the Dutch East Indies Company and the British East India Company.¹⁰ The main objective for the Dutch were the spice islands that included Ambon, Banda, Ternate and Bantam, where the English were also present. While the English supplied arms to the people of Banda (and offered better prices for the spices they sold) the Dutch prevailed by force of arms and in 1609 Banda and Ternate were taken. The English who were based at Run island were later besieged and ultimately forced off the island by 1620.¹¹



The busy Banten, Java, from *Dritter Theil Indiae Orientalis* (1616) courtesy of John Carter Brown Library via Internet Archive.

Another part of Southeast Asia that would come under Dutch influence was the island of Java, that was of key geo-economic importance in intra- and extra-Southeast Asian trade. Holland's involvement in Javanese affairs coincided with the arrival of the English who would later become their rivals in the region. In 1595 the Dutch commander Cornelis de Houtman (1565-1599) led the Dutch expedition to the East Indies, followed closely by the English. James Lancaster (1554-1618), who had arrived at Aceh in 1602 would later establish the first English trading post in Banten in 1602 while



the Dutch established theirs in 1603.¹² In 1610 Prince Jayawikarta—who answered to the ruler of Banten—allowed the Dutch to open their trading centre in Jayakarta. In a bid to keep both the English and Dutch at bay, Prince Jayawikarta offered some concessions to both sides, though true power lay in the hands of the ruler of Banten, King Abu al-Mafakhir Mahmud Abdulkadir (d. 1651) who was deemed too young to rule at the time.

In this fluid situation—where the ruler of Banten was deemed too young to assume power and where Prince Jayawikarta was obliged to answer to the counsellors of his ruler—the Dutch commander Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1587-1629) sought an opportunity to gain the

upper hand. In 1618 Coen was forced to retreat to the Moluccas (which the Dutch had gained control of) after the Javanese and British turned against them. But at this critical stage of the conflict Jayawikarta was rebuked by the ruling council of Banten, who were equally worried about the involvement of the English in the conflict in Jayakarta. In 1619 Coen returned to attack Jayakarta and raze it to the ground, and in the wake of its fall established the Dutch colonial centre of Batavia.¹³

Batavia was strongly fortified under Coen's direction, and in the years that followed would be the springboard for further Dutch expansion across Java. In 1628 and 1629 Sultan Agung Adi Prabu Hanyakrakusuma (1594-1645) of Mataram attempted to attack the Dutch fortress, but failed. In the decades that followed successive Javanese kings would attempt to trade with the Dutch, and offer concessions for help. Following the Trunajaya Rebellion of 1672 against the rule of Sultan Amangkurat I (1619-1677) his successor Amangkurat II (d. 1703) would offer further concessions to the Dutch for their help in putting him back on the throne (in the new kingdom of Kartasura) and eliminating his rivals, but by then Mataram was already beginning to decline in power and influence.¹⁴ As a result of the development of Batavia and the conquest of the Moluccas the Dutch were able to reinforce their monopolistic commercial practices, ensuring that the spice trade would remain under Dutch control and in the process also weakening intra-Southeast Asian trade between the remaining independent kingdoms of Java and the rest of maritime Southeast Asia.¹⁵ From this strategic position the Dutch were able to expand their sphere of influence and control even further, and would later turn their attention to the Portuguese-held port-city of Malacca.

In 1641 Holland, with the help of the kingdom of Johor, gained control of Malacca from the Portuguese and managed to eject the Portuguese from the Straits of Malacca for good. (After which the Portuguese merchant community moved on to Makassar, Sulawesi, and also to Timor.) The capture of Malacca meant that the influence of Aceh (North Sumatra) would decline further, and this gave the Dutch the opportunity to gain access to other Malay kingdoms such as Perak that were known for their production of tin. Steinberg (1987) adds that

‘the resulting decline of Aceh in the tin trade by the loss of its control over the Minangkabau pepper ports of west coast Sumatra, which found themselves forced to accept Dutch in exchange for Acehnese suzerainty. By the mid-18th century Acehnese power was largely confined to the northern half of Sumatra.’¹⁶ During this time the power of Johor was also revived momentarily thanks to the influx of Bugis settlers whose commercial activities in Sulawesi had been hampered by the Dutch and other European powers. By the first quarter of the 18th century, they would be in command of the Johor-Riau kingdom and able to assert their power beyond its borders, gaining influence in the Malay kingdoms of Perak, Kedah and Selangor. But the rise of Riau was thwarted by the Dutch and following the Dutch occupation of Riau the kingdom would experience a decline in its fortunes due to the monopolistic practices imposed by the Dutch East Indies Company.¹⁷

The overall impact of these events on Southeast Asia was considerable, notably in the manner in which the once open and fluid maritime world of Southeast Asia was being altered for good. By the 1650s more European ships were operating across the Indian Ocean and this in turn disrupted inter-Asian trade and communications between South, East and Southeast Asia.¹⁸ As Holland intensified its attacks on Portuguese colonial outposts in Southeast Asia, the Dutch East Indies Company would also intensify its efforts to gain a total monopoly over spice production in the region, and actively sought to defeat Southeast Asian competitors such as Johor, Aceh and Makassar as well. This coincided with the rise of capitalist-nationalism in Europe, and marked the beginning of the Dutch monopolistic system in Southeast Asia that would culminate with the conquest of the Moluccas, Java, Malacca and Makassar, and the disruption of trade between the Acehnese, Javanese, Madurese, Bugis and other local producers from Ambon and Ternate. Later in 1667 the Dutch took advantage of the rivalry between the Sulawesi kingdoms by supporting the Bugis of Bone against the kingdom of Gowa that was under the leadership of Sultan Hasanuddin (1631-1670). The invasion of Makassar between 1667 to 1669 gave the Dutch the opportunity to gain control of the port-city, after which they installed themselves at Fort Rotterdam. Holland’s victory not only

marked the decline and collapse of the kingdom of Gowa, but also marked the introduction of the Dutch monopoly system in Sulawesi that further limited intra-Southeast Asian trade between the local communities of the region, and would also contribute to the decline of other kingdoms such as Mataram in Java that were no longer able to trade with other Southeast Asian states.

Compounding matters for the polities of Southeast Asia was the absence of unity and a sense of common purpose between them, and the fact that many Southeast Asian kingdoms were inclined to attack their neighbours as well, as was the case of the Acehnese attack on the port of Kuala Kedah (Kota Kuala Bahang) in 1619, that came a few years after the Portuguese attack on the same port in 1611. During the reign of Aceh's ruler Sultan Iskandar Muda (1583-1636) the kingdom adopted an aggressive policy when dealing with all other rivals, both Southeast Asian and European. Several naval expeditions were sent by Aceh in order to defeat or dominate the kingdoms close to it, including the attacks on Deli (1612), Aru/Haru (1613), Johor (1613-1615, 1623), Pahang (1617-1618, 1630, 1634), Kedah (1619), Perak (1620), Nias (1624) and Malacca (1629). Aceh's expansionism in turn compelled the other kingdoms of the area to form alliances against it, such as the alliance between Johor, Pahang, Inderagiri and Siak that was formed after Aceh's attack on Johor earlier. Rivalry between Aceh and Kedah then was due to the desire of both kingdoms to develop their pepper plantations, as pepper was one of the key natural commodities being traded with the rest of the world at the time.¹⁹

In mainland Southeast Asia the Burmese and the Siamese remained locked in territorial conflict as both powers attempted to gain leverage over the other, while dominating the smaller Shan, Lao and Malay states along their peripheries. Since the mid-16th century Burma under the Taungoo dynasty and Siam (Ayutthaya) had been at war almost continuously, and the two kingdoms clashed in 1547-1549, 1563-1564, 1568-1569, 1584-1593 and 1593-1600. At the start of the Thirty Years' War in Europe the Burmese and Siamese were engaged in the Sixth Burmese-Siamese War of 1609-1622, and during this period both Burma and Ayutthaya courted and accepted the help of the

European powers, as the Siamese court during the time of King Phra Narai Maharat (1656-1688) invited Persians and Greeks to serve as advisors and ministers.²⁰ As a result of this prolonged rivalry between Burma and Siam neither kingdom was able or inclined to intervene in the European expansion that was beginning to take place in maritime Southeast Asia.

The Rise of Capitalist Nationalism in Europe and the Impact of the Seven Years' War of 1756-1763 on Southeast Asia

In 1714, the *Act for the Better Securing the Lawful Trade of his Majesty's Subjects to and From the East Indies; and for the more effectual Preventing all his Majesty's Subjects Trading thither under Foreign Commissions* was passed in England. This was one of a series of acts that would, in the years to come, determine the manner in which British merchants in Asia would interact with other traders—both Asian and European—and have important consequences for the development of commercial ties between the various kingdoms of Europe and their counterparts in Southeast Asia. Crucially, the act made it clear that henceforth all British citizens who traveled to the East Indies in order to trade would be compelled to keep to the company of their fellow citizens, and that English merchants in the east would not be allowed to work with other European rivals or sail on other European ships.²¹ The era of capitalist nationalism, which began during the Thirty Years' War with the emergence of national companies such as the British East India Company and the Dutch East Indies Company, would exacerbate the already tense atmosphere between the rival European merchant communities in Southeast Asia, and intensify their longing for dominance over the region as a whole.

For much of the 18th century intra-European rivalry would be acted out not only within the confines of Europe but also across the world, in the colonies that the European powers were hastily building. By the middle of the century England, France, Holland, Spain and Portugal had established their colonial presence in Asia, Africa and the Americas, and their intra-European feuds were being exported

to their colonies abroad as well. It was against this backdrop that the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) came about, as a result of the unresolved issues and disputes that arose after the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). After the death of the Hapsburg ruler Emperor Charles VI (1685-1740) the Hapsburg ruler was succeeded by his daughter Maria Theresa Christina (1717-1780) who assumed leadership of the Hapsburgs. Resistance to the ascendancy of Maria Theresa led to the conflict that ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, but by then the balance of power in Europe had altered and Prussia under Frederick II ('Frederick the Great', 1712-1786) had emerged as a growing power that threatened Maria Theresa's position as ruler of Austria. England (then under the rule of George II (1683-1760) of the house of Hanover) was then allied to Austria while Bourbon France under King Louis XV (1710-1774) was allied to Frederick's Prussia.²² In due course the war in Europe became an international conflict: In 1762 Spain entered the war and attacked Portugal that was then allied to Britain. Britain retaliated by sending support to Portugal, while attacking Spanish colonies abroad including Cuba in the Caribbean and Spanish Philippines (in 1762), capturing Manila.

By 1763 all the major powers involved in the conflict were drained of resources. The human and financial cost of the war was high, while France had lost many of its colonial possessions in North America thanks to Britain's dominance over the North Atlantic. On 10 February 1763 the Treaty of Paris was signed between Britain, France and Spain, and as a result France lost most of its possessions in North America to Spain (retaining only Guadeloupe and Martinique in the Caribbean) and in India (where it held on to five remaining colonial outposts: Chandannagar, Yanaon, Mahe, Karaikal and Pondicherry). Spain in turn regained Manila and gained Louisiana as well. On 15 February 1763 Prussia and Austria signed the Treaty of Hubertusburg, after which Prussia freed Saxony while retaining control of Silesia. The long-term result of the war was the decline of France's overseas power, the weakening of its fleet and the loss of many of its colonies abroad; all of which set the stage for the French Revolution that would occur decades later (1789-1799). Britain, though able to maintain its naval

superiority over its rivals, was also heavily in debt by the end of the war, and the British government shifted the fiscal burden of taxation onto the colonies, which led to the American Revolution (1765-1783) and the American War of Independence (1775-1783).

Beyond the borders of Europe the Seven Years' War was fought in earnest in Asia, notably in the Indian subcontinent and across maritime Southeast Asia. Even before the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) the countries of Europe were engaged in bitter rivalry in the Indian Ocean and East Indies. England was unwilling to allow any other European power to gain influence in the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia. During this period England would continue to make gains in India, slowly edging out its European rivals there²³, and it was France that would lose many of its colonial outposts in India.²⁴ Earlier, France's expansion across India had been directed by Joseph Francois Dupleix (1697-1763) who would later become the Governor-General of French India. From the 1740s to the end of the Seven Years' War, France and England—via their respective militarized colonial companies, the French *Compagnie des Indes* and the British East India Company—would fight successive wars to gain control over much of India. The First Carnatic War (1746-1748), the Second Carnatic War (1749-1754) and the Third Carnatic War (1757-1763) were all fought against the backdrop of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) back in Europe; and in these wars both France and Britain would ally themselves to local Indian rulers who were also fighting against the local rivals for supremacy over the Carnatic region, turning these conflicts into proxy wars. The downturn of France's fortunes in India began with the victory of the British at the Battle of Plassey (Palasi), Bengal, in 1757, where Robert Clive's (1725-1774) forces defeated the army of the Nawab of Bengal Siraj-ud Daulah (1733-1757) after brokering an alliance with the latter's uncle Mir Jafar Ali Khan (1691-1765). France's influence in Bengal waned as a result, and this also affected France's position in neighbouring Burma.

The outcome of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) in Europe and the Third Carnatic War (1757-1763) in India dealt a blow to France's



DOCTRINA CRISTIANA
N.º 100

ambitions in Burma. Governor-General Dupleix had understood the importance of Burma to France's presence in India from the beginning, and had encouraged French involvement in Burmese affairs from the time he arrived in India. In 1729 the port of Thanlyin (Syriam) became the base for French commercial operations there, stockpiling teak wood and building ships to serve the French Indian base of Pondicherry. The French supported the Mons against the Burmese and by 1740 Thanlyin became the base of their operations there as French company troops supported the Mons in their military campaign to re-establish the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy at the mouth of the Irrawaddy delta. Due to the superiority of the British Navy, the French lost control of the Indian Ocean and the trade routes between India and Burma, and French troops were either sent back to Europe or called to defend French possessions in India. The few French troops that remained in Burma were engaged with the Mons in their uprising against the Burmans, but received little support from France or the French company's base in Pondicherry. In 1756 the Burmese defeated the Mons and King Alaungpaya (1714-1760) of the Konbaung dynasty (1752-1885) regained control of Thanlyin, thereby cutting off Pondicherry from whatever support it could get from its Burmese base. King Alaungpaya's successful reunification of Burma—that began in 1752 and ended in 1759—made it virtually impossible for France to gain a foothold in the country again, and the French base at Pondicherry was no longer able to receive or give support to the French who remained in Burma.

With Bengal under its control and while enjoying the advantage of naval superiority,²⁵ Britain was able to strike across the Indian Ocean. After containing the French in India and Burma, Britain turned its attention to Spain's Southeast Asian colonial possessions next. Britain declared war on Spain after it allied itself to France. In 1762 Britain attacked several Spanish trading colonies in the West and East Indies, and the invasion of the Philippines was led by Colonel (finally

Left: The British occupation of Manila in 1762 depicted in Philippine National Artist for Visual Arts Carlos "Botong" Francisco's *The Filipino Struggles through History* (a.k.a., *History of Manila*) (1968), a property of the City of Manila and on display in the National Museum of Fine Arts, Manila.

Lieutenant-General) Sir William Draper (1721-1787) and Vice-Admiral Samuel Cornish (1715-1770) who were in command of East India troops and ships based in Madras, India. The British fleet was first assembled in India, and then proceeded to Malacca, after which it moved on to Manila which was attacked on 24 September 1762. (Manila was finally captured on 5 October 1762.) The occupation of Manila lasted for two years, with Dawsonne Drake (1724-1784) of the East India Company serving as Britain's first and only Governor of Manila. Though the British captured Manila they were not able to extend their power and influence across the rest of the Northern island of Luzon. Britain's occupation of Manila finally ended in April 1764 with the troops and ships of the East India Company and British Navy returning to India and England.²⁶

As far as Southeast Asia was concerned, the outcome of the Seven Years' War in Europe would have lasting consequences for the politics of the region: France was effectively isolated and neutralised in Burma and unable to establish any more colonies in the region (at least not until the 19th century where it turned its attention to Indochina). Holland, Spain and Portugal managed to hold on to their colonies but the power of both Portugal and Spain would later decline as Britain's naval superiority in the Indian Ocean meant that their colonies could not be effectively defended. By the end of the Seven Years' War and the Third Carnatic War in India Britain would be in a position to expand its sphere of influence even further, not only across all of India but also in Burma, the Malay Peninsula and Northern Borneo.

Throughout this period many of the major kingdoms of Southeast Asia were disunited and at war with each other. Burma and Siam, under the Konbaung and Ayutthaya dynasties, were engaged in a series of wars that would lead to the collapse of the latter.²⁷ The Burmese-Siamese War of 1759-1760 led to Burmese forces laying siege to Ayutthaya, though the attack failed. Later during the Burmese-Siamese War of 1765-1767 the Burmese were once again able to attack Ayutthaya and this time the Siamese were decisively beaten for good.²⁸ Ayutthaya was razed to the ground, after which the dynasty collapsed forever. The Burmese were not able to extend their gains in Siam however, due to

a new round of conflicts with China, and between 1766 to 1769 four successive invasion attempts were made by the Chinese from Yunnan, that forced the Burmese to withdraw to protect their northern front.²⁹

With the Burmese forced to return to Burma the Siamese were able to regroup and rebuild. In the wake of Ayutthaya's fall the Siamese leader Taksin (Phra Chao Taksin Maharat, 1734-1782) managed to reunite the Siamese and establish the new Siamese kingdom of Thonburi with the support of weapons that were supplied by the British East India Company through its operatives in Southeast Asia, including Francis Light (1740-1794).

In the decades that followed Burmese-Siamese rivalry would continue during the era of the Konbaung, Thonburi and Rattanakosin dynasties of both countries, and the Rattanakosin kingdom (1782-1932) of Siam would grow ever closer to the British (with whom they would be allied with during the Anglo-Burmese wars in the coming decades). The Burmans, who had initially allied themselves with the English in their war against the Mons and French, would later find themselves seen and cast as enemies by England, and during the First, Second and Third Anglo-Burmese Wars of 1824-26, 1852-53 and 1885, unable to secure alliances with or support from other European countries, that were no longer able to contain the spread of British colonial power.³⁰

In the Malay Peninsula the revitalisation of the kingdom of Johor-Riau had begun in 1722, when the Bugis leader Daing Parani (d. 1726) managed to gain control of the capital at Pulau Penyengat. Bugis power continued to grow and in 1742 the kingdom of Selangor was founded by the Bugis. By the time of the Seven Years' War the Bugis were already in conflict with the Dutch and in 1756 Bugis forces attempted an attack on the Dutch settlement in Malacca, though they were defeated by the combined force of Dutch and Malay defenders. In the decades that followed Dutch-Bugis hostility would continue, until the Dutch finally managed to expel the Bugis from Selangor and Riau, after which the Dutch established a garrison of their own at Pulau Penyengat in 1784.³¹

In Java the kingdom of Mataram would ultimately collapse as a result of the Javanese War of Succession of 1749-1757. By the time

of the passing of Pakubuwono II (1711-1749) Mataram was already reduced to a vassal of the Dutch, and its trade links with the rest of the archipelago had been compromised thanks to the Dutch conquest of the spice islands, Java, Malacca (1641) and Makassar (1667-1669). In the conflict that followed the death of Pakubuwono II the three factions—led by Pakubuwono III (1732-1788) of Surakarta, Hemengkubuwono I (1717-1792) of Jogjakarta and Mangkunegara I (Raden Mas Said) (1725-1796) of Mangkubumi—would engage in a war for supremacy over the realm of Mataram. The Dutch profited from this conflict by brokering the Treaty of Giyanti of 1755 which effectively cut the realm of Mataram into pieces and established the royal houses of Pakubuwono, Hemengkubuwono and Mangkubumi.³²

Further to the West other major Asian powers such as the Moghul Empire and the Ottoman Empire were no longer able to support their Southeast Asian allies due to their own entanglements in European affairs. Following the demise of Indian power in Bengal, the Ottomans were occupied with the conflicts in Europe and the threat emanating from Russia to the north. Howard (2017) notes that by the time of the Seven Years' War Ottoman Turkey was preoccupied with maintaining peaceful trade relations with its European neighbours, and less concerned with European expansionism across Asia.³³

The French Revolutionary Wars of 1792-1802: The Explosion in Europe and the Fallout in Southeast Asia.

In the wake of Seven Years' War in Europe hostilities between France and England continued, and in the decades that followed would spill over to the colonies of North America. The decision to raise taxes in the American colonies to pay for England's earlier war effort in the European continent led to growing dissent, culminating with the American War of Independence (1775-1783) and the birth of the United States of America. France had supported the struggle of the American colonists, but in the course of doing so also allowed the spread of republican sentiments among its own people. After the conflict the French economy fell into crisis, creating the conditions

that contributed to the French revolution of 1789-1799. The arrest and eventual execution of King Louis XVI (1754-1793) sent shock waves across the rest of Europe, and alarmed the other ruling houses of the continent. Knowing that it was surrounded by hostile neighbours the new French Republic took the pre-emptive step of declaring war against Austria and Prussia in 1792. As the War of the First Coalition (1792-1797) began, France found itself at war against Austria, Prussia and Spain (until 1795, after which Spain would be allied to France until 1797), and battles were fought all over the continent from Austrian Netherlands to Italy and right up to Vienna. A temporary peace was only achieved with the signing of the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797.³⁴

One of the consequences of the Revolutionary Wars was the birth of the Dutch Batavian Republic, that was the result of Dutch revolutionaries being inspired by the French revolution. In January 1795 the Dutch revolutionaries declared that their country was a republican state, and the Batavian republic became one of the first 'sister-states' that were allied to France. William of Orange (William I, 1772-1842) fled to England, and once in London 'instructed all Dutch governors and commanders overseas not to oppose the entry of British troops into Dutch possessions, to forestall the French.'³⁵ During the war Spain was also allied to France. This meant that England was confronted with two republics across the English Channel as well as a hostile Spain, and was subsequently at war with all three countries in the continent as well as in the colonies abroad. Due to the intense rivalry between England and France, Spain and Holland then, the war in Europe would impact upon their colonies in Asia as well. Prior to the Revolutionary Wars France had already begun to bolster its ties with the Vietnamese, and in 1787 the Franco-Vietnamese Treaty of Versailles committed France to sending both frigates and troops to support the Vietnamese against the Tay Son rebels, in exchange for trading concessions at the port of Danang.³⁶

Wary of the presence of the French in the Indies, by the 1790s England had already expanded its sphere of influence across Bengal, parts of Northern India, the Coromandel coast and was looking for a

means to gain direct access to both mainland and maritime Southeast Asia. Earlier attempts by the British East India Company to gain control of the spice islands in the Moluccas and a presence in Java had been thwarted by the Dutch East Indies Company, and the English had been forced to relocate to Bencoolen in Southwestern Sumatra where they established their first trading centre in 1685.³⁷ During the First, Second, Third and Fourth Anglo-Dutch Wars of 1652-1654, 1665-1667, 1672-1675 and 1780-1784 the two countries were at war at sea. The Dutch were already installed in the Moluccas, Batavia and Malacca and had gained a head start against the English in Southeast Asia. Spain was well established in the Philippines, and the French were also beginning to send their ships to the region, after the long lull following France's withdrawal from Burma during and after the Seven Years' War decades earlier.

During this period (1792-1802) several naval battles were fought between England and France, Holland and Spain in Southeast Asia, as England attempted to check the advance of the other European powers in the region. The English navy in the East Indies was under the command of Rear-admiral (later Commodore) Peter Rainier (1741-1808), who would later command the first military expedition to Java in 1800. Clashes in Southeast Asia began in early 1794 as French ships began attacking English merchant vessels in the Sunda Strait between Java and Sumatra. Throughout the month of January French and English vessels attacked one another as the French attempted to cripple the commercial activity of the East India Company that was then based at Bencoolen and in February they attacked Bencoolen itself, though this did not halt British commercial activities at the port. Owing to the small size of his fleet the French commander Admiral Pierre Cesar de Sercey (1753-1836) chose to deploy them as a strike force that operated like a group of privateers, hoping to capture as many East India Company merchant vessels as he could in order to sell them as war booty later.³⁸ In September 1796 de Sercey's force of frigates performed a series of attacks around the Kingdom of Aceh as well as Penang.³⁹ In 1797 de Sercey renewed his efforts against the English, hoping to cut off England's economic links with China and

Japan to the East. On 28 January 1797 the French and English forces clashed in the Strait of Bali, but the English force (made up mostly of poorly armed East India Company merchant vessels under the overall command of Commodore Peter Rainier) prevailed and the French subsequently withdrew to Mauritius. Following this setback, the French suffered more losses as several of de Sercey's frigates were recalled back to France, leaving him with a couple of frigates that could no longer pose a threat to British shipping in the region.

Conscious of the fact that they were now the dominant naval power in Southeast Asia, the English began probing the defences of the Spanish and Dutch colonies in the region. With Spain then allied to France the English force performed a probing attack on Manila in January 1798. Captain Edward Cooke (1772-1799), while commanding the captured French 38-gun frigate *Sybille*, entered Manila Bay while flying under false colours and managed to capture a number of Spanish officers. Cooke's plan was to gather information about the strength of the Spanish fleet based in Manila and to ascertain the level of commitment of the local Spanish forces to their alliance with France.⁴⁰

Throughout this period none of the European powers—England, France, Holland and Spain—had actively enlisted the help of any of the Southeast Asian kingdoms, as the clashes at sea were fought between European vessels most of the time. At this stage of the conflict England's objective was to prevent France from establishing a foothold in Southeast Asia while the Spanish and Dutch were more interested in holding on to their colonial possessions in the region.

British involvement in Malay affairs began with the acquisition of the island of Penang by Francis Light (1740-1794), that was accomplished through subterfuge and deceit. Plans for the acquisition of a trading centre in the Malay Peninsula dated back to the 1770s when Warren Hastings (1732-1818), then the Governor of the East India Company's settlement in Bengal, mooted the idea of an English base in the Peninsula to fend off the Dutch and the French. Light had first ventured to Phuket, Siam and Aceh, Sumatra, before moving on to the Malay Kingdom of Kedah that was then under the rule of Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Zainal Adilin II (d. 1778), to whom he offered British

support in the face of Siamese aggression from the north. Taking advantage of the Siamese-Malay rivalry at the time and aware of the fact that Siamese forces were prepared to invade Kedah, Light offered British assistance to the ruler of Kedah despite the fact that he had no authorisation from his superiors to do so. Compounding matters was the fact that Light, as an official of the East India Company, had also been supplying arms to the Thai kingdom of Thonburi under the rule of King Phra Chao Taksin Maharat (1734-1782).⁴¹

In 1786 Light—in the name of the East India Company—took control of Penang that was previously a part of the Kingdom of Kedah, then under the rule of Sultan Abdullah Mukarram Shah (d. 1797). It soon became clear that Light had no intention to honour the promises he made to Sultan Muhammad Jiwa and Sultan Abdullah, as the English offered no help to Kedah to contain the threat of Siamese expansionism (under the Rattanakosin dynasty, 1782-1932) that came later in the wake of Siam's victory in the Burmese-Siamese War of 1785-1786. In 1791 Sultan Abdullah attempted to regain control of Penang, but the Kedah forces were beaten by the troops of the East India Company. The result of Light's manoeuvre was the capture of Penang at the expense of Kedah, while the East India Company maintained its commercial relations with the Siamese (who would later ally themselves with Britain during the Anglo-Burmese Wars of 1824-26 and 1852-1853). The acquisition of Penang gave both the East India Company and the British Royal Navy an important staging post for future military operations in maritime Southeast Asia. Penang would serve as the base of British naval operations against the French and the Dutch in the decades to come, and the force that was used for the invasion and occupation of Java (1811-1816) would later be assembled at Penang as well. As a result of the British colonisation of Penang the Malay port of Kuala Kedah would later be eclipsed as merchant traffic was diverted to Penang by the East India Company, further weakening the economies of the Malay kingdoms of the Peninsula.

During this period when England was at war with France and Holland in Southeast Asia, some of the larger Southeast Asian powers were also locked in conflict. In 1784 King Bodawpaya's (1745-1819)

forces managed to defeat and conquer the kingdom of Arakan.⁴² Following the Burmese-Siamese War of 1785-1786, the Konbaung dynasty of Burma would go to war with the Rattanakosin dynasty of Siam again, during the Burmese-Siamese War of 1791-1793 and the Burmese-Siamese War of 1797. The wars of 1791-1793 and 1797 were inconclusive, though Siam (Rattanakosin) was forced to give up control of the Tenasserim coastline to Burma in 1793. England continued to support the Siamese at this time, as Siam's aggressions against Burma meant that the Burmese kingdom was occupied with a threat to the west of its borders, and thereby posed less of a threat to Britain's presence in Bengal to the west of Burma. But Siam's losses also meant that the animosity between the two Southeast Asian nations remained, and Siam would later choose to ally itself with England during the latter's attack on Burma in 1824-1826.

Following the fall of King Taksin in 1782 his general Phutthayotfa Chulanok (1736-1809) came to power as King Rama I, founder of the Rattanakosin dynasty.⁴³ Though Siam able to rebuild its defences against Burma it was less successful in its attempts to intervene in Vietnamese affairs during the Siamese-Vietnamese War of 1784-1785. Following the rebellion against the Tay Son dynasty in Southern Vietnam, the rebel commander Chau Van Tiep was sent to Siam to request Siamese support. In 1784 a Siamese army consisting of 30,000 troops were sent to Cambodia, while another force of 20,000 troops on 300 ships were sent to Gia Dinh, with the objective of attacking Saigon. The campaign proved to be a failure for the Siamese and the Siamese-Cambodian forces on land and sea were wiped out by Nguyen Hue (1753-1792) at the Battle of Rach Gam-Xoai Mut (20 January 1785). As a result of this defeat, Siam's naval power was also diminished. Nguyen Hue's victory was also short-lived, for after his death in 1792 the Tay Son dynasty would meet its end, to be replaced by the Nguyen dynasty (1802-1945) that was established by his rival Emperor Gia Long (Nguyen Phuc Anh, 1762-1820).

During this period the three major powers of mainland Southeast Asia—Konbaung Burma, Rattanakosin Siam and Tay Son (later Nguyen) Vietnam—were warring. These resulted in the depletion of



their reserves, contestation over smaller and weaker territories (e.g., Cambodia, Laos, Malay states), and dependency on Western support. However, none of them were inclined to intervene in the European expansion across maritime Southeast Asia.

The Napoleonic Wars of 1803-1815 and the Beginning of the Long 19th Century

The 19th century would be the century when Southeast Asia would come under Western dominance in no uncertain terms, and by then the power differentials between East and West were apparent. Even the

Left:
Henry Guillaume
Schlesinger's
portrait of
Mahmud II
(1839) at the
Musée de
Versailles
(accessed via
Wikimedia
Commons).
Right: Alexis
Chataigner's
engraving
of Napoleon
(1799) courtesy
of the Biblioteca
Nacional de
España.



Ottoman Empire, that had once posed a significant existential threat to the kingdoms of Europe, had begun the process of decline, and in due course its rulers would begin the process of internal reform that would usher a prolonged period of assimilation and imitation of the West—which would also occur in Meiji Japan later (1868-1912)—culminating in the disbanding of the once-famous Janissary Corps of the Ottoman army by Sultan Mahmud II (1785-1839, r. 1808-1839) in 1826.⁴⁴

The century began with the continuation of the wars in Europe and the era of the Napoleonic Wars encompassed a series of conflicts between France and its allies against all the other major powers of Europe, spanning the War of the Third Coalition (1805), the War of

the Four Coalition (1806-1807), the War of the Fifth Coalition (1809), the War of the Sixth Coalition (1813-1814) and the War of the Seventh Coalition (1815). After assuming the position of the First Consul of the French Republic, Napoleon organised the army of France and prepared for total war. A string of victories—Austerlitz (1805), Jena (1806), Friedland (1806), Wagram (1809)—paved the way for France to dominate most of the European continent and allowed Napoleon to isolate England through the Continental System that prevented England from trading with any other European state. France's fortunes began to turn for the worse after the invasion of Portugal (1807) and Napoleon's decision to make his brother Joseph Napoleon the new king of Spain (as Jose I, r. 1808-1813). The ill-fated invasion of Russia (1812) led to the destruction of Napoleon's army and paved the way for the formation of the sixth coalition of European powers against France, leading to a series of reversals that culminated with the defeat of French forces at Leipzig (1813) and the eventual occupation of France by coalition forces. After his return from exile Napoleon attempted to regain power while suing for peace with the rest of Europe, but was defeated by the seventh coalition at Waterloo in 1815.

During and after the Napoleonic Wars a number of important developments would occur that would impact upon the colonies of Europe across the world, including Southeast Asia. Among the more important outcomes of this conflict were the rise of England as the world's most powerful maritime power, the emergence of the Batavian Republic (in 1795) that would later evolve to become the Kingdom of Holland (1806-1810) under the rule of Louis Bonaparte (r. 1806-1810) before it was ultimately overrun by the French Empire, and the decline of Spain as an imperial power overseas.

England's victories at sea—such as the victory at Aboukir Bay (1801) and Trafalgar (1805) —meant that it would become the most powerful maritime power in the world at the time. With its victories at sea secured, England sought to ensure that British commercial shipping in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia would be enhanced and protected, and the spirit of economic nationalism back home prompted more measures to ensure that English merchants abroad

would only deal among themselves and not their rivals. In 1803 the *Act for the Further Preventing His Majesty's Subjects from Trading to the East Indies under foreign Commiffions* was passed by the British Parliament, which further reinforced the spirit of economic nationalism that dates back to a similar Act passed in 1714 that we have looked at earlier.⁴⁵

During the French Revolutionary Wars of 1792 to 1802 England had sought to ensure that the French would not be able to open a new theatre of war in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia by holding back the French East India Division under the command of Admiral de Sercey whose forces were outnumbered, while also making sure that neither Holland nor Spain could threaten its growing commercial interests in the region and its trade with China and Japan. By the start of the Napoleonic Wars, Britain's manoeuvres in Southeast Asia became more aggressive, culminating with the attack on the spice islands as well as the invasion and occupation of Java (1811-1816).

Holland was then viewed as an enemy by England, and all its colonies were regarded as valid targets by the Royal Navy and the British East India Company. (Spain and her colonies were likewise regarded as adversaries, until Spain revolted against France in 1808 and subsequently became an ally of England for the rest of the conflict.) With Holland allied to France, Louis Bonaparte promoted Herman Willem Daendels (1762-1818) to the rank of Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies (1808-1811). Cut off from the rest of Europe thanks to England's dominance of the seas, Daendels was given the task of fortifying Dutch positions in Java and the rest of the East Indies in preparation for a conflict with England. England's naval force in the Indian Ocean was previously under the overall command of Commodore Peter Rainier (1741-1808), who had managed to contain the threat of French naval power during the Revolutionary Wars. In 1806 the British force came under the overall command of Rear-Admiral Edward Pellew (1757-1833) who would continue the campaign of his predecessor against the French while also engaging with the Dutch.

France's naval campaign in maritime Southeast Asia was left in the hands of Rear-Admiral Charles-Alexandre Durand Linois⁴⁶ (1761-

1848), whose small force of frigates did manage to capture one English merchant vessel and attack the British trading centre at Bencoolen, but these actions were not enough to turn the tide of war in favour of the French.⁴⁷ The failure of the small French force led by Linois to cripple British merchant shipping in the South China Sea meant that Pellew could focus his attention on the Dutch force that was concentrated in Batavia and the Moluccas under the overall command of Rear-Admiral Andries Hartsinck (1755-1811).⁴⁸ On 27 November 1806 Pellew led a squadron of seven British warships on an attack against the Dutch fleet in Batavia—dubbed by some as the First Java Campaign of 1806-1807. Although the Dutch lost twenty-eight ships during the attack the rest of the Dutch fleet managed to evade the British squadron, and Pellew would renew his efforts soon after. In the years that followed English warships would continue to attack and capture Dutch and French ships in the South China Sea.

Admiral Pellew would be succeeded by Rear-Admiral William O'Bryen Drury (1754-1811), who pursued a similar approach as his predecessor. In 1810 Drury commanded the attack on the spice islands (Moluccas) and later took part in the invasion of Java (in 1811). In 1810 the British sloop *Prometheus* reported that it had attacked the French privateer *Messilina* off the coast of Palau, and in the same year a combined force of British marines and coastal artillery unit of the East India Company managed to storm the fortifications of Victoria (in Ambon) and defeat the Dutch-Madurese garrison that were defending the Dutch trading colony.⁴⁹ Ambon, Ternate and Banda Neira were taken by British forces and this provided the British with another base for their subsequent attack on Java in 1811. Later in 1814 the Moluccas would be returned to the Dutch as one of the conditions of the 1814 Anglo-Dutch Treaty, but by then the precious nutmeg and clove trees of the spice islands had been uprooted and transported to other parts of the British empire (first to Penang and Bencoolen, and then after to Singapore, Ceylon and Zanzibar), thereby ending Holland's monopoly over nutmeg and clove production for good.

By late 1810 the British were in a better position to attempt a direct attack on the Dutch in Java. Herman Daendels had been replaced by

Jan Willem Janssens (1762-1838), who had been chosen for the mission by Napoleon himself following France's annexation of Holland; though Fregosi (1989) notes that the defence of the Dutch-French position was a daunting challenge as Janssens' force consisted of only ten thousand troops, of which only 2,000 were sent from Europe.⁵⁰ Britain's troops were assembled in India and then directed to Java via Penang and Malacca, both of which had also come under British control by then. British forces for the Java campaign were drawn from both the British army as well as the troops of the East India Company.⁵¹ General Samuel Auchmuty (1756-1822) was given overall command of the operation though field command was left in the hands of Major-General Rollo Gillespie (1766-1814) who had earlier distinguished himself in the West Indies during the campaign in Haiti.⁵² The attack began with an amphibious landing that took place outside Batavia, and on 8 August 1811 the English forces arrived at the Dutch city to find it empty, as the Dutch (along with the French allies) had fallen back further inland. While the main force moved on from Batavia in pursuit, another British force captured Sumenep (Madura) at the end of August.⁵³ As the British proceeded to capture one by one the coastal towns of Java, the Janssens was unable to mount an effective resistance and finally surrendered on 18 September 1811.

The seizure of Java by the British gave the directors of the British East India Company an opportunity to extend their commercial activities from the Indian subcontinent to maritime Southeast Asia all the way to China and Japan. Lord Gilbert Eliot, Earl of Minto and Commander in Chief of the East India forces and Governor-General of India (1751-1814), consolidated his forces in Batavia and used it as the base for British operations that were to follow, and soon after appointed fellow East India Company-man Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826) as the first Lieutenant-Governor of Java.⁵⁴

In June 1812 a combined force of English and Sepoy troops led by Raffles moved inland and attacked the royal city of Jogjakarta, that fell on 20 June 1812. Following the one-day siege and attack the ruler Sultan Hamengkubuwono II (1750-1828) was deposed, while the palace was ransacked and looted. The pretext for this invasion was

the belief that Sultan Hamengkubuwono II was reluctant to comply with the demands of the English colonial administration. Earlier on 15 June Raffles had proclaimed that 'that the Sultan Hamangkubwana (Hamengkubuwono) the Second is deposed from his throne and government, because he had violated his treaties, and proved unworthy of the confidence of the British government' and that 'the Pangeran (Pangeran) Adipati, the late deposed prince, is now declared Sultan of the Kingdom of Mataram'.⁵⁵ One of the reasons why the British were able to defeat the forces of Jogjakarta with relative ease was the absence of unity among the rulers of Java themselves. Banten had chosen to cooperate with the English for a price⁵⁶, while the kingdoms of Madura had switched sides and allied themselves to the English. The ruler of Cirebon was likewise indebted to the English after they had managed to capture the pretender to the throne Bagus Rangen.⁵⁷ Thus by the end of 1812 all of Java had effectively been pacified and came under the control of the East India Company, and Britain was now in command of a chain of strategic ports and commercial centres that spanned almost all of maritime Southeast Asia, from Penang to Malacca to Bencoolen to Java and up to the Moluccas. England's invasion and subsequent occupation of Java (from 1811 to 1816) made it the most powerful European power in Southeast Asia, and the British navy (along with the ships of the East India Company) gained pre-eminence in the Malacca Straits, the Java Sea, the Sulu Sea, Sulawesi Sea and the South China Sea as a result.

Another factor that facilitated England's rise as the dominant European power in the region was the absence of unity among the local polities of the region, with many Southeast Asian kingdoms being in a state of near-permanent war with each other during that time: Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Vietnam were already engaged in hostilities of their own. Burma's King Bodawpaya (1745-1819) and Siam's King Phra Phutthayotfa Chulanok (Rama I, 1736-1809) remained in conflict with one another. Following the Burmese-Siamese War of 1802-1805 the Siamese were able to reclaim Chiang Saen to the north, thereby reopening Siam's trade routes to the upper Mekong region. Another clash soon followed during the Burmese-Siamese War

of 1809-1812, where Burma attempted to invade and occupy Phuket, but was repulsed twice (in 1810 and 1812).⁵⁸ In 1811, as the British began their invasion and subsequent occupation of Java, Burma was occupied with the uprising in Arakan (which they had conquered in 1784), as well as the threat from Siam to the east.⁵⁹ Burmese-Siamese hostility would remain up to the mid-19th century, and cease only after the fall of Burma to the British in 1885.⁶⁰

In 1802 Emperor Gia Long (Nguyen Phuc Anh, 1762-1820) had established the Nguyen Dynasty (1802-1945) in Vietnam, after overthrowing the Tay Son dynasty, thereby posing a potential challenge to Siam. But the Nguyen golden age never happened, and between 1802 to 1820 there were more than a hundred uprisings across the kingdom, 'evidence that the Hue bureaucracy, for all its relative efficiency compared to other Southeast Asian governments, had failed to create an adequate standard of living or security for its villagers.'⁶¹ While Siam was engaged in war with Burma the kingdom was also drawn into another conflict with Vietnam over the fate of Cambodia. In 1811 Cambodia's King Ang Chan (1791-1835) was briefly dethroned by his brother Ang Snguon (1794-1822), who was helped by Siam's Rama II (1767-1824). During the Cambodian conflict of 1811-1812, both Siam and Vietnam were attempting to prop up their own proxies in the small kingdom and thereby establish a system of vassal states under their control. Among the major powers of mainland Southeast Asia, Siam was perhaps the most successful in developing trade and diplomatic relations with the European powers, to the extent that by the first half of the 19th century the kingdom, then under the rule of King Rama III (1788-1851) was able to import weapons from the United States of America (which were used in the defence of Siam against Vietnamese aggression).⁶²

In maritime Southeast Asia local internal conflicts provided the pretext for further European intervention as well. In 1803 the Padri War (1803-1837) began in Sumatra, as the conservative Padris rose against the traditional aristocracy of Sumatran Minangkabau society. The Padri War would intensify after the capture of Pagaruyung in 1815, and by 1820 the Minangkabau rulers would appeal to the Dutch

for military support, thereby inviting Dutch colonial intervention into Sumatran politics and society.

In the Malay Peninsula the Malay kingdoms of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu—as well as Satun, Jala and Patani—were threatened by Siamese dominance, thanks in part to the dealings of the East India Company that wished to maintain good ties with Siam in order to gain Siam's support against Burma. On 24 February and 20 June 1826 England (via the East India Company and its representative Henry Burney (1792-1845)) would sign two treaties with Siam which allowed English merchants to trade in the kingdom, while Siam allied itself with England against Burma. As part of this deal between England and Siam the East India Company was given the assurance that Penang would not be threatened by the Siamese. However, this meant that the British would offer no help to the Malays of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu who bore the brunt of Siamese aggression, beginning with the Siamese invasion of Kedah in 1821.⁶³

The incessant rivalry between the British and the Dutch was also a factor that contributed to England's intervention in the affairs of Johor-Riau, where the Dutch had established themselves (in 1784). In 1819 the East India Company (then represented by Thomas Stamford Raffles) supported Tengku Long/ Hussein Muazzam Shah Mahmud Shah Alam (1776-1835) who was vying for the role of Sultan of Johor against his younger brother Tengku Abdul Rahman (Abdul Rahman Muazzam Shah, 1780-1832) who was in turn supported by the Dutch (then based at Riau).⁶⁴ By supporting Tengku Long's claim to the throne the East India Company was able to secure a treaty with him later (on 6 February 1819), that recognised him as the sole ruler of Johor (bearing the title Sultan Hussein Shah of Johor) while also granting the company the right to establish its trading base in Singapore.⁶⁵ In 1824 another Anglo-Johor treaty was signed that officially allowed the British to take possession of Singapore, after which Singapore would become part of the Straits Settlements (in 1826) along with Penang and Malacca. Steinberg (1987) notes that the British acquisition of Singapore was typical of the 'commercial manoeuvres' that were used by the European powers in their race for commercial dominance of

the region, where one local ruler would be used against another, to the advantage of the Europeans in the long-run.⁶⁶ England's acquisition of Singapore angered the Dutch who resented the fact that the English were moving into a part of Southeast Asia that was hitherto under Dutch influence, but by the time of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty (Treaty of London) in 1824 the English and the Dutch had effectively carved up the world of maritime Southeast Asia into two, with the English giving up their colony in Bencoolen in exchange for the Malay Peninsula.

In the decades to come the Malay World would effectively be divided thanks to the policies of the British and Dutch, and cross-Malaccan Straits trade between the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra would suffer as a result. Britain's control of Penang, Malacca and Singapore was further consolidated when Singapore was declared a free port, with the intention of diverting all intra- and extra-Southeast Asian trade to it, at the expense of the Dutch ports as well as Malay ports like Kuala Kedah and Kuala Selangor. Thanks to the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 and the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1826, England (in the form of the East India Company) became the *de facto* paramount power in the Malay Peninsula.⁶⁷ And as the English were allowed to extend their influence across the Malay Peninsula (and later north coast Borneo) so were the Dutch allowed to extend their authority across all of Java and later Sumatra, Borneo and Sulawesi, while the Spanish expanded their power across the Philippines. As Steinberg (1987) notes, by the second half of the 19th century 'the map of Southeast Asia was redrawn to conform with the emerging world political order'⁶⁸, and Britain's colonial economy would grow exponentially from the middle of the 19th century with good ranging from cotton and silk to dyes and rum being produced in the colonies of the East Indies and important back to the United Kingdom.⁶⁹

By the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1815) England had emerged as the most powerful maritime power in the world, and was able to protect its commercial shipping across the Atlantic and Pacific as well as the Indian Ocean. During the conflict Britain was able to defeat many of its European rivals as a result of superior naval technology and discipline.⁷⁰ The introduction of new weapons such as the smooth-

bore carronade (invented in 1759 and used to devastating effect by the HMS *Victory* at the Battle of Trafalgar) meant that English warships had gained a major tactical advantage over not only their European enemies but also all the maritime powers of Southeast Asia. Though most of the ships used by England, Holland, France and Spain in the East Indies were smaller than those used in the Atlantic and Mediterranean theatres of war—consisting mainly of 4th, 5th and 6th-rates (frigates, brigs, corvettes and sloops) and a handful of 3rd-rate ships of the line—they were still far more powerful than the vessels used by the maritime kingdoms of Southeast Asia. New types of guns such as carronades and rifled cannons also meant that they were able to defeat Southeast Asian vessels in open combat.

As the European powers fought against each other for dominance of the maritime trade routes in the region, local Southeast Asian trade also suffered. Steinberg (1987) has noted that by the 1820s Siam operated a merchant fleet of '136 junks, of which 82 operated in the trade with China and 34 sailed to Vietnam, the Malay Peninsula and Java. The ports of Vietnam traded primarily with the South China ports, sending about 100 ships north per year. A great many junks traded to Manila with merchandise for the two annual galleons sent from the Philippines to Mexico.⁷¹ Much of this trade would be disrupted as England, France, Holland and Spain attempted to gain total control of all intra-Southeast Asian trade, and divert local trade to their colonial free ports and trading centres.⁷²

From the period of the Revolutionary Wars and all through the Napoleonic Wars, the navies of England, France, Holland and Spain in Southeast Asia were smaller in number and weaker than their counterparts in the European theatre. As a result of this many of the naval commanders (Admiral Pierre de Sercey and Rear-Admiral Charles Linois for the French, and Rear-admiral Peter Rainier and Rear-Admiral William Drury of the Royal Navy) resorted to less conventional tactics as they fought one another. De Sercey had deployed his small force of frigates as a band of raiders, while British commanders adapted all manner of subterfuge including sailing under false colours. Both sides deployed the use of privateers or

later re-designated their warships as privateers, with the intention of capturing enemy vessels (particularly merchant ships) for booty and prize money. Thus privateering was the norm during this period all across maritime Southeast Asia, as European ships would raid, hijack and rob other European vessels. Despite the fact that the Europeans would all engage in acts of piracy at sea, in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars and the peace that followed after the Anglo-Dutch Treaty, the European nations would cast the local polities of Southeast Asia as ‘dens of piracy’ in the decades to come, which served as a pretext for further colonial intervention. This would culminate in the so-called ‘war on piracy’ waged across the northern coast of Borneo in the 1830s and 1840s, that would lead to the attack on the Kingdom of Brunei and its defeat in July 1846.

The Final Act. From the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848 to the Spanish-American War of 1898: The Emergence of America as a Pacific Power

In his work *Dreams of Empire*, Paul Fregosi concluded that by the end of the Napoleonic Wars it was France that suffered the most. Napoleon’s goal of forging an empire that stretched from Europe across Egypt, India and Russia had come to naught, and it was the British Empire that had grown instead. Another unintended outcome of the Napoleonic Wars was the eventual rise of the United States of America, that would later become both an Atlantic and Pacific power.

Elsewhere I have argued that our present-day understanding of America needs to be tempered by a deeper understanding of the country’s genesis and how the first generation of American leaders saw themselves and their young country as both a Western power and at the same time something entirely different from the states of Western Europe. (Noor, 2018) Though it has become fashionable these days to casually refer to the United States as a global hegemon with imperial/neo-colonial ambitions, it has to be remembered that during the first decades of its emergence the country did not see itself as a rising imperial power at all. This view was held by many of the country’s



Fort Santiago and the busy Manila Bay, ca. 1898 courtesy of the Leiden University Libraries Digital Collection.

overseas envoys including Townsend Harris, who, in his address to King Mongkut of Siam (as late as in 1856), stated that:

The United States does not hold any possessions in the East, nor does it desire any. The form of government forbids the holding of colonies. The United States therefore cannot be the object of jealousy of any Eastern power.⁷³

As far as the kingdoms of Southeast Asia were concerned the 1846-1848 Mexican-American War was a game-changer in many

ways. The Mexican-American War was the result of a series of events and developments that would draw both sides into conflict: Back in 1836, Texas, which was formerly a part of Mexico, had declared its independence from the Mexican republic. America's annexation of Texas in 1845 caused outrage among Mexicans who never recognised the territory's independence. On 29 December 1845 Texas became the 28th state of the United States of America, while the US government offered a sum of 25 million dollars to the Mexican government to procure the provinces of Nuevo Mexico and Alta California as well. The Americans, however, were divided over the question of war and some of its more vocal leaders like John Quincy Adams and Abraham Lincoln were critical of Democrat President James Polk, who they criticised for having expansionist ambitions.⁷⁴ Once the conflict between America and Mexico began, Mexico was attacked from both land and sea, and the Mexican ports in California were blockaded by American warships of the American Navy's Pacific Squadron. The conflict ended on 2 February 1848 with the signing of the Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo, and at the end of it Mexico had lost Texas as well as California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona and Colorado.⁷⁵ By 1848 the territory of the United States stretched from the eastern to western coasts of the continent, effectively making it both an Atlantic and Pacific power, and providing the country with a major strategic advantage as Herring has noted:

Through much of the nineteenth century and beyond, geography conferred upon the United States an advantage that few nations enjoyed: the absence of a major foreign threat.⁷⁶

With direct access to the Pacific Ocean, successive American governments occupied themselves with the task of establishing a presence across the Pacific and in East and Southeast Asia. Diplomatic missions were sent to China, Japan and Southeast Asia. The Wanghia Treaty with China had already been signed in 1844, and in 1850 a new treaty of commerce was negotiated and signed with the kingdom of Siam. From the middle of the 19th century three new powers would arrive in Southeast Asia, trying to secure a permanent footing there:

The United States, France and Japan. By the beginning of the 20th century Southeast Asia would have to contend with the competing ambitions of Britain, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, the United States and Japan. And as these external powers bickered and warred among themselves—as in the case of the Spanish-American War of 1898—it would be the kingdoms and territories of Southeast Asia that would pay the price—as in the case of the Philippine-American War of 1899-1902 that came in its wake. *Southeast Asian history was world history, but it was also world history because the world had arrived in Southeast Asia.* And from the 17th to 20th centuries these encounters with other external states and powers grew increasingly lopsided, as it became clear that the polities of Southeast Asia were less and less able to determine the terms of dialogue or to forestall the eventuality of unequal relations with external actors.

And Where Were Southeast Asia's Neighbours?

At the outset of this paper, I raised the question as to whether there has ever really been a sense of Southeast Asian unity or solidarity between the different polities and states of Southeast Asia. Here we can expand the scope of the question a little further, and ask if there ever was a genuine sense of pan-Asian solidarity in the first place. This is a question that has already been asked many times, by seasoned scholars and students alike: As Southeast Asia was being colonised and divided, did the other major Asian powers—of South and East Asia—come to its aid?

Up to the 17th century China had been a major player in intra-Southeast Asian politics and had played the role of a dominant external power that kept some semblance of order and normality in the relations between the different kingdoms of the region through a system of protection-patronage-vassalage. By the time that the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was breathing its last, China was no longer able to play this role thanks in part to its own internal problems and its own growing dependency on trade with the newly-arrived European powers—whose supply of silver coinage contributed to a state of

growing economic dependency.⁷⁷ The Qing Dynasty (1636/1644-1912) that rose in the wake of the Ming's demise would likewise come under pressure both from within and without, and ironically suffer the baleful effects of its own success⁷⁸: The dynasty reached the peak of its power during the reign of its fourth emperor, Emperor Xuanye, who ruled under the name of the Kangxi Emperor (1654-1722, r. 1661-1722). Emperor Kangxi's 61-year tenure as emperor was the longest of any ruler of China, and during this time the arts and culture of the Qing dynasty flourished. The successes of the Kangxi era however, brought problems of their own: The relative peace of the period contributed to a rapidly growing population and eventually to scarcity of agricultural land. Land scarcity meant that peasants were then working on smaller plots of land, giving smaller yields and smaller earnings, which in turn made taxation more unpopular and difficult.⁷⁹

By the second half of the 18th century China was lagging behind the countries of Europe that had experienced the mercantile revolution and the rise of nationalist companies such as the British East India Company and the Dutch East Indies Company. Since the Ming dynasty era China had ceased to be a major maritime power, and was no longer able to command and control the waters off China including the East China Sea and the South China Sea. European companies that were eager to break into the Chinese market found that the only things that the Chinese needed were silver (through trade) and opium. The East India Company's success in Bengal (after the Battle of Palasi, 1757) gave the British access to India and the production of opium, and secured them a major advantage over China. By the 19th century China was not able to match the military capabilities of the European powers, and the Qing rulers were increasingly worried about the effect of unbalanced trade relations with the Western nations, as well as the devastating impact of opium abuse among the Chinese people.

The First Opium War (1839-1842) culminated with the defeat of Manchu-led China. It resulted in the British intrusion into Chinese political life. One of this was the Treaty of Nanking (1842). It gave British merchants, operating in China, extraterritorial legal protection. The French gained similar advantage through the Treaty of Whampoa

(1844) and the Americans through the Treaty of Wanghia (1844). The evident weakness of the Qing government and its outdated army and navy fuelled further unrest among the population, especially the Han Chinese. The Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) spread across the country, prompting the Han Chinese to rise against the Manchus who were seen as a foreign power and an inefficient dynasty that had failed to protect China from Western intervention. While trying to suppress the rebellion the Qing government was also trying to contain the growing influence of the Western powers in China. The Second Opium War (1856-1860) led to another defeat for the Chinese at the hands of the British and French, and further weakened the standing of the Qing dynasty in the eyes of the Chinese population. By the last decade of the 19th century the Qing dynasty—then under the Empress Dowager (1835-1908)—was no longer able to hold back the Western powers: Britain had gained control of Hong Kong, Germany, Jiaozhou Bay (1898) and Russia, Liaodong (1898). To the South the French had finally united their colonies in Southeast Asia under the administration of French Indochina. China's defeat at the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) led to loss of territory and national pride, weakening the image of the Qing rulers. The death of the Dowager Empress in 1908 led to the boy-prince Pu-Yi (1906-1967) assuming the throne with no experience or support. Han Chinese nationalism had grown to become a formidable force by then, and in 1911 during the Xinhai Revolution (or 1911 Revolution) most of the provinces of China declared that they were free from Manchu rule.

It is easy to see how and why China was less and less able to play any meaningful role in the affairs of the polities of Southeast Asia from the 17th to the 19th centuries, as the country was likewise being drawn into a new global order that was not of its own making. Notwithstanding the size of its population and its domestic market, China would grow increasingly distant and alienated from the rest of Southeast Asia as the Greater Asian continent was systematically carved up according to the logic of colonial geopolitics. The same fate was in store for Southeast Asia's other historical-civilisational neighbour, the Indian subcontinent.

Long before the name 'India' was even coined the Indian Subcontinent had played a major role in the development of Southeast Asia as well. The Indian Ocean had never been a barrier to contact between these two parts of Asia, but, as K.N. Chaudhuri (1990) argued, was in fact the corridor that brought these two dynamic parts of the Asian continent closer together. Trade, migration and settlement had been the norm across this oceanic corridor, but by the 17th century this long process of cross-cultural contact and cross-fertilization would be gradually brought to an end thanks to the arrival of the Western colonial powers. By the 18th century the power of the Moghul Empire was clearly waning, and in the power vacuum that emerged there arose new contenders: the Maratha Empire (1645-1818)⁸⁰, the Mysore Kingdom (1399-1799)⁸¹ and the Kingdom of Hyderabad (1724-1948)⁸² to name a few, that would vie for supremacy while working both with and against the European powers that were bent on gaining a foothold in the country.

From the Carnatic Wars of 1746-1763 to the First Anglo-Mysore War of 1767-1769, the Second Anglo-Mysore War of 1780-1784, the Third Anglo-Mysore War of 1790-1792, the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War of 1798-1799, the First Anglo-Maratha War of 1775-1782, the Second Anglo-Maratha War of 1803-1805 and Third Anglo-Maratha War of 1817-1818, almost every major native power in the Indian subcontinent—the Moghuls, the Marathas, the Mysoreans, the Hyderabadis, the Nawab of Bengal, the Nawab of the Carnatic—had been dragged into conflicts that were both of their own making and also the proxy wars between the British and the French. As these conflicts intensified, intra-Indian rivalries were sometimes exacerbated through the supply of weapons and troops by the external European powers; and in due course new modes of dependency—on commodities, trade and military support—emerged as well. While this was happening Britain and France continued their rivalry at sea, and as we have seen earlier it would ultimately be England that would gain supremacy over the waters of Asia. The nett result of the developments in the Indian subcontinent were two-fold: The eventual containment and demise of the native powers there, and the rupture between South and Southeast

Asia that was the result of loss of control of trade routes and key port-cities. It is no surprise, therefore, that none of the major native powers of the Indian subcontinent were able to come to the aid of the kingdoms of Southeast Asia as the latter came under the dominance of the Western European colonial powers at the time. Simply put, India had problems of its own then.

And So: What is So *New* about Our New World?

Having inflicted upon you this long and painful history of Southeast, South and East Asia's complex and messy entanglements with Western colonial power, I need to offer some justification for doing so. I have tried to recount the long history of Southeast Asia's contact with the Western world in order to draw our attention to a handful of salient facts that I believe should never be forgotten. To sum-up this history, we should pay particular attention to the following:

- Firstly, we need to remember that up to the 17th century the polities of Southeast Asia (as well as South and East Asia) stood on par with their counterparts in Europe, and that the power differentials that would grow in the centuries to come were not as prominent then. Chaudhuri's (1990) description of political-economic life in and across the Asian continent and the Indian Ocean are instructive, as he has alluded to the fact that before the colonisation of Asia there existed not one, but rather many, centres of economic-cultural life across the whole of Asia, that were in constant interaction with one another, and which co-existed on several levels of co-dependency. All of this would eventually come to an end as Asia was carved up into geo-political blocs or units such as 'South', 'East', 'Central' and 'Southeast' Asia later.
- Secondly, among the drivers of Western colonialism and imperialism across Asia from the 17th century onwards was the ideology and praxis of colonial-capitalism, that was developed further with the advent of national colonial companies back in Europe, and sustained by the spirit of economic nationalism that

not only contributed to the intra-European rivalries in the West, but also accelerated the race for Empire across much of Asia and Africa. Countries do not conquer the territories of others simply for the sake of it, or because they desire a nice beach location to vacation in: The driving force behind European expansion across Southeast Asia was colonial-monopolistic trade, and the desire to divert commodities to the respective trading centres of the West so as to bolster the economic-political standing of Western states *vis-à-vis* each other. Capital, and the political instrumentalization of capital as both the means and goal of territorial expansion, cannot therefore be left out of our discussion.

- Thirdly, we need to remember that throughout this prolonged period of contact between the polities of Southeast Asia and their increasingly powerful Western counterparts in the centuries that followed the former operated along time-tested praxes of statecraft that had served them well in the past. As we have seen earlier, the polities of Southeast Asia had managed to fend off the threat of war and conquest through a basket of diverse strategies that ranged from strategic alliances to tribute-paying to vassalage. These tactics worked for as long as the power differentials between the different state actors remained more or less balanced, but by the 18th century became increasingly futile and useless as the scientific-industrial revolution in Europe afforded the latter more and more advantages in the arena of conflict. As much of Asia fell behind in the race for technology, parity between East and West was lost; and in time so was the bargaining power of the polities of Southeast Asia visibly reduced. While Southeast Asian states were once able to play off one Western power against another in the 16th-17th centuries, by the 18th-19th centuries it would be the Western powers that would take full advantage of the intra-regional conflicts and rivalries in Southeast and South Asia. Divide-and-rule would become the operative norms of the day, as recalcitrant rulers would be deposed and replaced with compliant pretenders and compradores instead.
- Fourthly, we need to appreciate and understand the extent to which the capillaries of Empire—the trade routes, mail routes, new roads

and maritime zones, etc.—all contributed to the development of the various European empires and accelerated their advance in no uncertain terms. For as these empires extended the respective imperial powers were also able to tap into new knowledges and new technologies that they learned in one part of their empire, and then applied it to other parts. An example would be the development of the British Army's Congreve rocket, which was an adaptation of the Mysorean rockets that had been used by the army of Tipu Sultan during the Anglo-Mysore Wars in India. With the acquisition of this new technology the British were able to use an Asian invention for their own ends, developing the Congreve rocket that would later be used in Burma, the Malay Peninsula and Borneo. *Imperialism was therefore also a learning process, and as the Western empires grew so were they able to instrumentalise Asian and African knowledges to their own advantage later and elsewhere.*

- And finally, all of this should remind us that *Southeast Asian history is indeed world history, for the world at large has always been present and active in Southeast Asia.* The significant shift that happens during this long period that spans the 17th to 20th centuries, however, is that regional neighbours that were once closer, more important and more visibly active in the region—such as China and the kingdoms of India—would retreat further into the background as Southeast Asia was brought closer into the orbit of Western geoeconomics and geostrategic interests; and how by the 18th to 19th centuries none of the other major polities of Greater Asia would have a significant role to play in Southeast Asian affairs. What was once a complex Asian world made up of many different regional actors would eventually become a monologue where the Western European powers would be the ones dictating the terms of progress, development and modernity. The driver behind this process of foregrounding and backgrounding of external actors were the intra-European wars back in Europe, and what I have tried to argue in this paper is that we in Southeast Asia cannot and should not see those wars as something remote and distant. The fact is that it was the wars in Europe that catapulted the European

powers to Asia, and accelerated their quest for more and more colonial domains. It was not Southeast Asia that was in a state of crisis, but rather the kingdoms of Europe due to the internal struggles on the continent for supremacy and dominance; and because these kingdoms had become empires, their existential anxiety was projected abroad as well as they sought to preserve and expand their empires by extension. *Consequently, their wars became our wars, and these wars were world wars.*

With these thoughts in mind, we may as well ask ourselves the question: What, therefore, is really *new* about the world we see around us? Some scholars have bemoaned the fact that Southeast Asia today is little more than a relic of the colonial era, and that in so many ways the political-economic-diplomatic praxes of the states in the region betray their colonial genesis and patrimony. Even the term ‘Southeast Asia’ itself is a throwback to the colonial encounter, as the term came into circulation in the second half of the 19th century, and was never a term that originated from Southeast Asians themselves. Others have noted that the postcolonial state today—be it in Asia, or Africa, or South America—has been built upon the foundations of the colonial state, and as Basil Davidson (1992) has argued, has become the ‘black (and brown) man’s burden’ today. I, for one, can offer no soothing balm of Gilead that may assuage any of these concerns, for in truth I concur with them as well.

Allow me to buckle up my paper and return to the very beginning. As stated at the outset, Southeast Asia today seems to be in the news again, and yet again we are being told that our region is headed towards an impending crisis as a result of external intervention and the pressing demands of other states much bigger and stronger than ours. The present situation has been described in many different ways, but quite often we see and hear the words ‘new’ and ‘unprecedented’ being bandied about. Yet as I have tried to show in this paper, none of what we are seeing today can be described as new in any way. Southeast Asia has always been at the crossroads of the world, and the world has always been present in Southeast Asia. Seasoned historians will

refer us to events and developments of centuries gone by, where the politics and communities of our region have had to deal with external pressures for decades if not centuries, and may argue that dealing with external demands and rivalries have, in fact, been the operative norm as far as Southeast Asian politics is concerned all along.

For better or worse all of us (some might be inclined to favour the latter)—the politics and nations of this region that we now call Southeast Asia—live in the post-Westphalian, postcolonial, post-Cold War present, and what brought us here was our entanglement with external actors that dragged us into a prolonged period of international contestation and rivalry; where various Southeast Asian politics played their roles as either willing and active agents themselves, or were compelled to do so against their will. The task of decolonising our histories and identities remains, though as in the case of our dealing with ‘newness’ that is never really new, so is the process of decolonisation one that is, and has to be, located in the immediate present, where our own understanding/s of what constitutes our identities and ‘true’ selves is one that is already shaped by the presentism that is inherent in our subject-positions in the here-and-now. As we seek to recover our lost vocabularies, lost epistemologies, lost geographies and lost narratives, we do so from the standpoint of the present; and that present is one that has been marked for good by the history of Empire. And as we struggle—as we should and must—to decolonise our minds, our languages, our maps and our histories, we do so from within the great columbarium of power-knowledge that has become our inheritance. This is our lot, as global citizens. It is also our challenge and at the same time, our tragedy.

Endnotes

¹ Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Asia as Method: Towards Deimperialization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 22.

² Cf. Mark J. Valencia, “The US is testing China’s red lines in the South China Sea. What does it hope to achieve?” *South China Morning Post*, 24 October 2020.

³ During the tenure of President Obama American FONOP operations were conducted in 2013,

2015, and 2016.

⁴ According to the records kept by the son of Alfonso de Albuquerque (1453-1515), Alfonso the Younger (Bras de Albuquerque, 1500-1580), the Malaccans had developed to become a formidable power by the early sixteenth century. He noted that after the bombardment of Malacca the Portuguese had captured 3,000 pieces of artillery, out of an estimated total of 8,000 which the Malaccans had. Cf. Alfonso de Albuquerque the Younger. *Albuquerque: Kaiser Timur* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1995), 127 (check also chapters 22-28).

⁵ With the election of the Hapsburg King Ferdinand II (1578-1637) as the ruler of the Holy Roman Empire—that extended from Germany all the way to Spain—the Catholic ruler attempted to roll back the reforms of the Protestant revolt and impose Catholic hegemony across Europe, particularly in the German states that were majority-Protestant. The German princely states soon grouped together to form two antagonistic alliances: the Protestant Union (initially centred in Bohemia) and the Catholic League (led by Bavaria).

⁶ Spain sent troops to support the Holy Roman Empire in its campaigns in Germany. The Ottoman Turks under Sultan Osman II (1604-1622) intervened in support of Protestant Transylvania. Denmark and then Sweden entered the conflict in support of German Protestants, aided by Catholic France (that was hostile to the Catholic Hapsburgs of the Holy Roman Empire as the Bourbons were also keen to dominate the Catholic parts of Europe then). In 1620 the Protestant Union's army of 15,000 men was decisively defeated by the forces of Ferdinand II at the Battle of White Mountain (near Prague, Bohemia) that consisted of 27,000 troops, and following its defeat Bohemia was made officially Catholic. But this did not end the Protestant uprisings in other parts of Germany and did not stem the support that was being sent to German Protestants by other European Protestant states.

⁷ The Danish intervention was partly supported by England (then under King Charles I (1600-1649) as well as Catholic France, that was keen to weaken the Holy Roman Empire's hold on territories adjacent to its borders. The Danish (and Swedish) intervention did not, however, alter the fortunes of the Holy Roman Empire and after a series of military defeats the Danish were forced to accept the terms of the Treaty of Lubeck (1629) where Denmark-Norway would retain most of its territories in the north if it agreed to cease supporting the Protestant German states to the south.

⁸ From 1630 to 1635 a series of battles were fought where Sweden recruited mercenaries from the German states, with additional support from both France and Russia.

⁹ The human cost of the Thirty Years' War was very high, and it is estimated that by 1648 around twenty percent of the population of the German states was killed, with the total number of killed estimated at around eight million. The war had spread beyond the borders of Germany and

extended all the way to the Iberian Peninsula and Northern Europe, and in the course of the war thousands of mercenaries were recruited by both sides, which contributed to the manifold instances of pillaging and looting that took place during the conflict; while the mass movement of troops and refugees contributed to the spread of diseases including the plague during the war.

¹⁰ England attempted to maintain a presence in the archipelago and British merchants continued to operate on Ambon. But in 1623 hostilities erupted when the Dutch accused the English merchants of conspiring against them, leading to the Ambon massacre of 1623. England and Holland remained in a state of conflict in the decades to come, that witnessed The First and Second Anglo-Dutch Wars of 1652-1654 and 1665-1667; until the Peace of Breda in 1667 where England finally relinquished all claims to the Spice Islands, while gaining possession of New Holland (which later became the British states of New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania).

¹¹ The Dutch employed methods that were excessive and violent during the campaign in the Spice Islands: The civilian population of Banda and the other islands was drastically reduced as a result of the mass killings that took place, and on the island of Run every single nutmeg tree was chopped down to ensure that nutmeg production was only possible on the islands under the monopoly of the Dutch. The result of this meant that the people of the Spice Islands were no longer able to trade with other Southeast Asians and Europeans, and this gave Holland a near-total monopoly over nutmeg production in the world. Intra-Southeast Asian trade between the Moluccas and the rest of the archipelago declined as a result of this, and the Dutch then controlled all spice production in the region.

¹² Giles Milton, *Nathaniel's Nutmeg: How One Man's Courage Changed the Course of History* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1999), 84-85.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 354. As a result of the return of the Dutch, English commercial activities in Java would decline and Banten would no longer serve as the base for the company's activities in the East Indies. Instead Surate (India) would be chosen as the East India Company's main headquarters in Asia.

¹⁴ David Joel Steinberg, ed., *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987), 88.

¹⁵ As the Dutch position in Batavia grew stronger, they were less inclined to tolerate dissent among those who came under their rule: In 1740 the Chinese living in Batavia revolted and a mass killing of Chinese took place within the city, after which they were made to relocate to the area of Glodok outside the city walls. Batavia was organised and governed along racial lines, with only Europeans (mostly Dutch) and Mardikers (freemen) allowed to live within the city.

¹⁶ Steinberg, ed., *In Search*, 81.

¹⁷ Ibid., 81-82.

¹⁸ A century before the outset of the Thirty Years' War Southeast Asians were already heavily involved in trade with East Asia, South Asia and the dominions of the Ottoman Empire further West. But by the mid-16th century Southeast Asian rulers like the Sultan of Aceh were already appealing to the Ottomans for protection, as Sumatran ships that were sailing to India and the Arabian Peninsula were being harassed and attacked by Portuguese pirates and warships. Cf. Douglas A. Howard, *A History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 203.

¹⁹ During the Acehnese attack on Kedah in 1619 the pepper plantations of the area were destroyed, which in turn made Aceh the largest producer of pepper in that part of Southeast Asia.

²⁰ Steinberg, ed., *In Search*, 63, 67.

²¹ The Act for the Better Securing the Lawful Trade of his Majesty's Subjects (1714) was passed during the reign of King George II and stated that the only Englishmen and other subjects of the British King who were allowed to travel to the East Indies were those who had the legal right and permission to do so. This was a condition that had been set since the time of King William III, as stated in the act: "And whereas in and by an act of Parliament of the ninth year of the reign of his late Majesty King William the Third, of Glorious Memory, it is enacted and provided, that the said East Indies, or the lands, havens, ports, cities, towns or places, within the limits aforesaid, should not be visited, frequented or haunted, by any of the subjects of his Majesty, other than such as might lawfully go and trade there; and that if any of the subjects of his said late Majesty, or heirs or successors, of what degree or quality soever, other than such as might lawfully go and trade to the East Indies, or other parts in the same as mentioned, by virtue thereof, should directly or indirectly, visit, haunt, frequent, trade, traffick or adventure into or from the East Indies, or other the parts aforesaid, all and every such Offender and Offenders, would incur such forfeitures and losses, as in the said act is and are for that purpose appointed". The Act states that any English vessel traveling to or returning from the East Indies without the legal permit of the British government would have all its goods confiscated and brought to land; and that this also includes all English vessels that are engaged in trade between the East Indies and Continental Europe. Cf. Act of Parliament, *An Act for the Better Securing the Lawful Trade of his Majesty's Subjects To and From the East Indies; and for the more effectual Preventing all his Majesty's Subjects Trading thither under Foreign Commissions, 1714* (London: John Baskett, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and the Assigns of Thomas Newcomb, and Henry Hills. 1719).

²² Austria's loss of Silesia to Prussia was one of the factors that led to hostilities between Austria and Prussia, while France and Britain remained at war in the colonies abroad. Fearful of the threat of France in the European continent, Britain chose to ally itself with Prussia, and by doing

so angered the Austrians whom they had been allied with previously. Maria Theresa brokered a new alliance with Bourbon France, and by doing so ended centuries of hostility between the Bourbons and Hapsburgs. Hostilities broke out in 1756 when Frederick II performed a pre-emptive strike on Saxony, while France chose to attack Hanover which was under British control. In retaliation Britain attempted to contain the French both in the continent as well as in the colonies abroad—in North America (against Quebec and then Montreal), the Caribbean as well as Africa (where it captured Goree on the West African coast) and in India (against Pondicherry).

²³ Steinberg, ed., *In Search*, 58.

²⁴ France's involvement in Indian affairs dated back to the formation of the Compagnie Francaise des Indes Orientales (French East India Company) in 1664. The Company managed to establish trading centres at Surat, Gujarat (1668), Masulipatam, Orissa (1669), Pondicherry, Coromandel coast (1673) and Chandannagar, Bengal (1692). Though Pondicherry would fall to the Dutch (in 1693) and be regained later, it would eventually become the Company's main base in the Indian subcontinent for decades to come.

²⁵ At the start of the Seven Years' War Britain had 130 ships of the line while France had only 46.

²⁶ Prior to the invasion and during the occupation of Manila, the British press were full of reports about the economic and political advantages of the invasion of the Philippines, the primary aim then being the weakening of Spain and the ruin of its commercial empire. But despite the enthusiasm shown earlier the British occupation ended with the cessation of hostilities back in Europe, and Britain was compelled to return Manila to Spain by the terms of the Treaty of Paris. Some of the leaders of the Manila invasion-occupation would later fall victim to politics and scandal: East India Company-man Dawsonne Drake was later accused of corruption and abuse of power while he served as Governor of Manila, and would be recalled back to London by the Company and finally demoted. By the end of his career William Draper would be accused of misconduct by a military court. Cf. Chapters I ('Invasion of the Philippines Designed'), II ('Description of those islands and Manila'), and III ('Capitulation; General Draper returns') in *The Annual Register or A View of the History, Politicks and Literature for the Year 1763* (London: J. Dodsley, 1763).

²⁷ Steinberg, ed., *In Search*, 61-65.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 102.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 181.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 139-140.

³² *Ibid.*, 89-90.

³³ Howard, *A History*, 190-191. He notes that 'the conflict between British and French trading

companies in India became an aspect of the Seven Years' War and spilled into the eastern Mediterranean also. Enhanced Mediterranean security, enabled by Ottoman control of Crete, allowed the French and British to greatly expand their activities. Besides Istanbul, the port of Izmir played an increasing role because of its access to Ottoman cotton and grain production. Something like 30 percent of French exports to the Ottomans entered at Izmir, and half of Izmir's exports went to Marseilles.³⁴

³⁴ Hostilities resumed in 1798 when Napoleon attempted to conquer Egypt, that was then nominally part of the Ottoman Empire. Napoleon's Egyptian campaign was perceived as a threat by the Ottomans as well as England, as a French advance into Egypt threatened England's gains in the Indian subcontinent. The War of the Second Coalition lasted from 1798 to 1802, with England, Russia and the Ottoman empire entering the conflict in Europe along with Austria and Prussia. Despite Napoleon's failure to hold on to Egypt the French were able to defeat their enemies back in Europe and in 1800 Napoleon routed the Austrians at the Battle of Marengo, regaining parts of Italy that were once again brought under French control.

³⁵ Steinberg, ed., *In Search*, 140.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 132. Though the Treaty of Versailles would become redundant after the fall of the ancient regime in France, many French mercenaries remained active in Vietnam in the decades that followed. After the establishment of the Nguyen dynasty (in 1802) around four hundred French troops would remain active in Vietnam, serving Nguyen Emperor Gia Long.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

³⁸ In 1796 the French naval force in the Indian Ocean came under the command of Admiral Pierre Cesar de Sercey (1753-1836), who had previously suffered during the revolution's reign of terror (due to his aristocratic background and previous loyalty to King Louis XVI) but had been rehabilitated and given command of the French naval force in the East Indies. De Sercey's East India Division comprised of a group of frigates, that included the vessels *Preneuse* (44 guns), *Forte* (42 guns), *Regeneree* (40 guns), *Vertu* (40 guns), *Cybele* (40 guns), *Seine* (38 guns) and *Prudente* (32 guns). Cf. Paul Fregosi, *Dreams of Empire: Napoleon and the First World War 1792-1815* (London: Hutchinson, 1989), 235.

³⁹ *Ibid.* These piecemeal actions did not alter the balance of naval power in Southeast Asia, as both sides would fall back to recover and repair their vessels with ease: The British ships retired to Madras while the French vessels sought shelter in Batavia under the protection of their Dutch allies.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 236-238. Unlike the earlier British capture and occupation of Manila (between 1762-1764) that took place during the Seven Years' War that was led by Dawsonne Drake of the East India Company, no attempt was made to land any troops in Manila or to capture Spanish ships

or territory. After releasing his prisoners Cooke sailed south towards Mindanao, but his attempt to attack the Spanish fort at Zamboanga failed and he was forced to withdraw. In the following year Cooke's *Sybill* clashed with the French frigate *Forte* (formerly under the overall command of Admiral de Sercey) off the mouth of the Hooghly River (in Bengal), and though the stronger French frigate was captured, Cooke was mortally wounded.

⁴¹ Geoff Wade, *Asian Expansions: The Historical Experiences of Polity Expansion in Asia* (London: Routledge Studies in the Early History of Asia, 2014), 175.

⁴² Steinberg, ed., *In Search*, 103.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 112-113. Steinberg notes that Rama I's reign, which lasted until 1809, was critically important. In his policies and actions, Rama I set a new tone, establishing patterns of rule that went beyond a simple restoration of the ancient regime of Ayudhya. Rama I came to the throne without rivals or opposition that had forced his predecessor to adopt a hard line, even though, like Taksin he was himself in some sense an usurper' (p. 103).

⁴⁴ By the end of the 18th century the once-illustrious Janissary corps that was the mainstay of the Ottoman Empire had fallen into disrepute. Founded in the 14th century during the reign of Sultan Murad I (1362-1389), the Janissaries were once the elite of the Ottoman army, and were at the forefront of innovation and military tactics. They were among the first army units to employ the use of muskets and hand canons, the tactic of repeated volley fire, and developed sapper and miner units of their own. Over the next four hundred years however the Janissaries developed to become a power unto themselves, and resisted change and modernisation while also developing a reputation for corruption and abuse of power. By the time that Sultan Selim III (1761-1808) came to power (1789-1807) it was evident that the Ottoman Empire was beginning to decline, and attempts to modernise the army were resisted by the Janissaries in particular. His successors Sultan Mustafa IV (1779-1808, r. 1807-1808) and Sultan Mahmud II (1785-1839, r. 1808-1839) pursued the reforms further, and following the revolt by the Janissaries it was Mahmud II who disbanded the 130,000 Janissaries on 15 June 1826, in what has been described as the *Vaka-i Hayriye* ('Auspicious Event'). The Ottoman army would subsequently be rebuilt along Western European lines, and would adopt weapons and uniforms that were similar to their European counterparts.

⁴⁵ Act of Parliament, *An Act to amend fo much of an Act made in the Seventh year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Firft, intituled, An Act for the Further Preventing His Majesty's Subjects from Trading to the Eaft Indies under foreign Commiffions, and for encouraging and further securing the lawful trade thereto; and for further regulating the Pilots of Dover, Deal and the Ifle of Thanet, and relates to the Jaid Pilots. 11 August 1803* (London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, Printers to the King, 1803).

⁴⁶ Fregosi, *Dreams*, 467. He notes that Admiral Charles-Alexandre Linois would, in fact, be the last French commander to fight (and surrender) at the very last battle of the Napoleonic Wars, that took place in Guadeloupe in the West Indies. After Napoleon's defeat and capture, the small French force in Guadeloupe would resist a little longer, until it became clear that France had fallen. Admiral Linois would surrender on 10 August 1815.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 339.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 338-342.

⁴⁹ The despatch of Admiral Drury, Commander of Forces in the East Indies, noted that British losses in the attack on Ambon were 'trifling'. Cf. "Interesting Intelligence from the London Gazettes." *The Gentleman's Magazine* (October 1810), 361, 366-368.

⁵⁰ Fregosi, *Dreams*, 429.

⁵¹ Although British troops were used in the invasion of the island – soldiers were drawn from the 14th, 59th, 69th, 78th, 89th, and 102nd Foot Regiments – the East India Company also contributed sepoy from its Madras Native Infantry and Bengal Native Infantry regiments.

⁵² Fregosi, *Dreams*, 110.

⁵³ Cf. Reports of Rear-Admiral Robert Stopford (pp. 167-169), Captain Beaver (169), Captain Hillyar (169-170), and Captain Harris (170-171) in "Interesting Intelligence from the London Gazettes." *The Gentleman's Magazine* (February 1812).

⁵⁴ Cf. Gilbert Elliot Minto, *Lord Minto in India* (London: Longmans, Green, 1880).

⁵⁵ Cf. Fifth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, "Historical Chronicle, 1813." *The Gentleman's Magazine* (April 1813), 366.

⁵⁶ Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java*, Vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1817), 267.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 274-275.

⁵⁸ The Burma-Siam War began in 1809, with most of the campaigns being fought along Burma's Tenasserim coast. In December 1811 Burma sent five thousand troops to invade Thalang (Phuket), but were repulsed by the Siamese.

⁵⁹ Steinberg, ed., *In Search*, 103.

⁶⁰ The final Burmese-Siamese War of 1849-1855 would involve Siam supporting the Shan states in open rebellion against the Burmese government, and this effectively supported British interests as well as the Second Anglo-Burmese War would be waged at the same time (1852-1853).

⁶¹ Steinberg, ed., *In Search*, 129.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 114, 116. Steinberg notes that during this period 'the Siamese armies, busy in the south and northeast, gained considerable field experience. Their officer corps, under the leadership of Chaophraya Bodindecha (Sing Singhaseni) became more professional. They began to experiment with new tactics and American weaponry. In the Cambodian crisis of the 1840s they were in a

much better position than they had been in earlier decades to compete against the Vietnamese forces, which had benefitted from French training and arms' (pp. 116-117).

⁶³ England would sign another treaty with Siam on 18 April 1855, that would grant extraterritorial status to British subjects trading and living in Siam, bringing Siam closer to England while England was at war with Burma.

⁶⁴ During the period of the British occupation of Java (1811-1816) the Dutch remained active in Johor-Riau and took steps to ensure that they would remain the dominant European power there. The Dutch had established a garrison in Riau, and had sought to ensure that they would have the final say in the selection of the rulers of the kingdom. On 27 November 1818 the Dutch-Johor Agreement was signed, that gave the Dutch the power to administer economic affairs in the kingdom and which allowed only Dutch merchants to engage in trade in Riau. Even after the British had managed to install Hussein Shah as the Sultan of Johor, the Dutch continued in their efforts to install their own ruler of choice, and in 1822 the Dutch attacked Pulau Penyengat and managed to seize the royal regalia of the Johor-Riau royal family. Despite these moves the Dutch eventually relinquished their claims on Singapore with the signing of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824.

⁶⁵ As part of the British-Johor agreement the Sultan would be paid five thousand dollars a year, while the Temenggong of Johor would receive three thousand dollars a year.

⁶⁶ Steinberg, ed., *In Search*, 141.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁶⁹ By the time of Queen Victoria, the East Indies would grow to become a major exporter of goods and commodities to Britain, and even products like rum and rum shrub would be traded in large quantities, driving calls for lower duties and taxes on colonial goods being sold back in England. See, for instance: Act of Parliament, *An Act to Reduce the Duty of Rum and Rum Shrub, the produce of, and imported from, certain British Possessions in the East Indies into the United Kingdom* (London: George Eyre and Andrew Spottiswoode, 1841).

⁷⁰ Fregosi, *Dreams*, 59-60. He notes that one of the consequences of the revolution in France was the disbandment of many French naval units that were deemed 'elitist'. As a result of the loss of the corps of seamen gunners and around five thousand other specialists, the French ships were manned by crews that were not accustomed to combat at sea, and suffered accordingly in the battles that ensued.

⁷¹ Steinberg, ed., *In Search*, 54.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 55. In the case of Spanish Philippines Steinberg (1987) notes that 'the impact of the galleon trade on the Philippines was stultifying. Since the colony was heavily dependent, and

since the galleon trade siphoned off most available capital, there was little interest in developing the country internally. By the mid-18th century the rigid mercantilist restrictions of this quasi-monopoly inhibited the trade patterns with other Southeast Asian states.⁷³

⁷³ Smithsonian Museum of Natural History, *Treasures from the Harris Treaty of 1856*. Retrieved, 26 February 2022. http://naturalhistory.si.edu/treasures/frame_exhibit_gallery1b_main.htm.

⁷⁴ Cf. Amy S. Greenberg, *Wicked War: Polk, Clay, Lincoln, and the 1846 U.S. Invasion of Mexico* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012); Robert W. Merry, *A Country of Vast Designs: James K. Polk, the Mexican War and the Conquest of the American Continent* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009).

⁷⁵ Another major outcome of the war was the further marginalization of the native tribes of America, notably the Comanches, Apaches and Navajos. Through the process of settler colonialism more white American settlers would relocate to the West, reducing the native Americans to a minority in their own ancestral lands.

⁷⁶ George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6.

⁷⁷ The Ming dynasty was founded by Zhu Yuanzhang (1328-1398, r. 1368-1398). Upon gaining control of the country, he proclaimed the mandate of heaven, assumed the title of Hongwu emperor and declared himself the founder of the new Han Chinese Ming dynasty. During this period the sinification of China began, as the Ming rulers were adept at winning the support of non-Han communities (such as the Uighurs and Hui Muslims, who helped in the suppression of revolts against Ming rule) and also the massive relocation of hundreds of thousands of Han Chinese settler colonists in areas that were brought under Chinese rule. Though he vowed to purify China and rid the country of Mongolian influence, like the Mongol Yuans before him the Hongwu emperor's period of rule witnessed a degree of eclecticism and adoption of Mongol and other foreign cultural influences. The Ming dynasty was revitalised during the reign on Emperor Zhu Di (1360-1424, r. 1402-1424), who assumed the title of the Yongle Emperor. During this time the Ming empire also attempted to expand further south, invading Vietnam but ultimately being forced to leave it by 1427. The management of such a large empire was a complicated process and to that end the examination system was relied upon to create a vast body of bureaucrats who would man the governmental apparatus of the Ming state. However, by the late period of the Ming dynasty a combination of unexpected variable factors (bad harvests, low crop yields) and the growing dependency on Japanese and Spanish silver coinage (as a result of growing trade with Europeans) complicated things further. When the Spanish and other European powers began to restrict the flow and use of silver in their commercial dealings with China, the value of silver skyrocketed while the value of Ming paper currency plummeted. This in turn led to hyperinflation as Ming dynasty paper currency lost its value while silver currency grew scarce,

and it meant that the burden of taxation on the rural peasantry grew increasingly heavy, and tax-collection grew increasingly difficult. By the 1600s the Ming forces were over-extended and forced to defend the Northern and Western borders of the empire from Manchurian incursions, while also being ordered to put down domestic uprisings among the rural peasantry in many of the provinces.

⁷⁸ The Qing dynasty (1636-1912) was founded by Emperor Hong Taiji (1592-1643, r. 1636-1643) before the final collapse of the Ming dynasty, and its capital was initially located at Shengjing (1636-1643) before being relocated at Beijing (1644-1912). From Manchuria the Manchus expanded their power and sphere of influence as the Ming dynasty declined due to internal political weaknesses and the economic crisis that was the result of hyperinflation and the drop in value of the Ming currency. Peasant revolts from the 1600s to the 1640s led to the Ming army being forced to deal with Manchu incursions from the north and internal revolts in the provinces, weakening the Ming government until its defeat in 1644. Following the death of Emperor Taiji the Manchus gained control of Beijing, which would remain as their political capital until 1912. The dynasty was then led by the Shunzhi Emperor (1638-1661, r. 1644-1661) and by 1644 the Manchus ruled over all of Manchuria and mainland China. Like the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) and the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) before it, the Qing dynasty was a multicultural polity where different ethnic and religious groups were ruled from the centre. The Ming dynasty had attempted to sinify all of China and its colonised territories through the elimination of Yuan (Mongol) influences, the promotion of Han Chinese culture, language and identity in its colonised territories and the settlement of colonised areas by Han Chinese – but even the Ming were ultimately forced to work with Uighur and Hui Muslims and recruit Mongols into their standing army. The Ching government likewise blended Chinese, Mongol and Manchurian culture and political-economic praxis in their governance of the country, and adopted the provincial system of administration that had been created and developed by the Ming dynasty earlier.

⁷⁹ Faced with growing internal strife Emperor Kangxi's successor the Yongzheng Emperor (1678-1735, r. 1722-1735) shut down all Christian churches in the kingdom and restricted the movement and activities of the Jesuits to Beijing and Guangzhou, while also revoking the tax exemption privileges that were once given to the gentry classes.

⁸⁰ Originating from the Deccan region, the Maratha Empire (1645-1818) was a Hindu empire, and later confederacy, that rose up against the Moghul dynasty and later opposed British intervention in Indian affairs. Maratha power and influence would grow and expand all the way to Tamil Nadu in the south, Orrisa in the east and eventually challenge the Durrani kingdom of Afghanistan to the north. Founded by Emperor Shivaji Bhosale I (1627-1680), the early Maratha kingdom was based at Raigad, Maharashtra. It was during the time of Emperor Sambhaji Bhosale (1657-

1689) that the Marathas were engaged in intense warfare with the Moghul Empire, that was then under the leadership of Emperor Aurangzeb (1618-1707). The decline of Moghul power began in 1719 when the Marathas managed to capture Delhi and deposed the Mughal emperor. Later at the Battle of Delhi (March 1737) and the Battle of Bhopal (December 1737) the Moghul army and the army of Hyderabad were beaten again, further consolidating Maratha power across the subcontinent. As Maratha power increased, the Maratha empire was drawn into conflict with the Mysore empire in the South. Led by their rulers Hyder Ali (Haider Ali, 1720-1782) and later Tipu Sultan (Fateh Ali Sahab Tipu, 1750-1799), the Mysore kingdom was already in conflict with the British who were encroaching into south India. The Marathas would ally themselves to the British during the Third Anglo-Mysore War of 1790-1792 and the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War of 1798-1799. By the 1790s the Marathas had been at war with the British (during the First Anglo-Maratha War of 1775-1782, which the Marathas won) as well as their allies (during the Third and Fourth Anglo-Mysore Wars of 1790-1792 and 1798-1799). After the defeat of Tipu Sultan and the fall of the Mysore empire in 1799, Maratha-British relations would sour, and this would eventually lead to the Second Anglo-Maratha War of 1803-1805 and Third Anglo-Maratha War 1817-1818. The catalyst for the Second Anglo-Maratha War of 1803-1805 was the signing of the Treaty of Bassein (1802) by the overall ruler of the Marathas, Peshwa Baji Rao II (1775-1851) who sought protection from the British East India Company. The other rulers of the Maratha confederacy rose up in revolt, thus beginning the war against the British. In the battles that followed the Maratha armies were defeated at Delhi, Assaye, Laswar and Argaon by a number of British commanders, including Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington (1769-1852) (cf. Fregosi, *Dream*, 308). The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Rajghat in December 1805, and by then the Maratha confederacy was already weakened from within. In the wake of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe (1815) Britain was prepared to make further incursions into Maratha territory, and thus began the Third Anglo-Maratha War of 1817-1818. In June 1817 the East India Company compelled Baji Rao II to sign the Treaty of Pune, which compelled the Maratha leader to surrender parts of the Deccan to the British while also disbanding several cavalry units in the Maratha army. By this stage the Marathas were no longer fighting as unified force due to the internal disputes between them. In a series of battles the forces of the East India Company managed to defeat and subdue all of the regions under Maratha control, bringing them under British rule by 1818. With the defeat of the Maratha confederacy there were no longer any major Indian powers left to check the advance of British power across the Indian subcontinent.

⁸¹ The Mysore kingdom was established by the Hindu rulers of the Wodeyer/Odeyer dynasty in 1399, and would develop and grow in power during the era of the Muslim rulers Hyder/Haider Ali (1720-1782) and Tipu Sultan (Fateh Ali Sahab Tipu, 1750-1799) though the Wodeyers remained

as the de jure rulers of the kingdom. Hyder Ali would rise in prominence in the 1750s during the Carnatic Wars, when he distinguished himself as a military commander while working with French advisers and technicians from whom he learned European military tactics. By the 1760s the British East India Company had grown in strength, with most of their power concentrated in Bengal, Madras and the Northern Sarkars. Intent on carving out a direct land route that would cross the Indian subcontinent, the East India Company would eventually seek an alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad, Mir Nizam Ali Khan (1734-1803), who was in turn then allied to the Marathas under the rule of Shrimat Peshwa Madhavrao Bhat I (1745-1772). In January 1767 the Marathas launched an attack against the Mysore kingdom, thus beginning the First Anglo-Mysore War of 1767-1769. Owing to the fact that British influence in India was growing at the time Hyder Ali sought further assistance from the French in a bid to contain the spread of British power in the subcontinent. In December 1782 Hyder Ali died while on campaign, and was replaced by his son Tipu Sultan who was recalled from Malabar to lead the Mysore forces. With none of the belligerents making significant gains, and with France and England temporarily at peace back in Europe, the Second Anglo-Mysore War ended with the signing of the Treaty of Mangalore on 11 March 1784. Fregosi notes that at that time Tipu Sultan's army was the largest Indian army in Southern India, consisting of 75,000 troops and cavalry that was supported by a French force of 550 soldiers and engineers (cf. Fregosi, *Dreams*, 101-102.) The Third Anglo-Mysore War of 1790-1792 witnessed a series of advances by both sides in the opening year, but by late 1790 Mysore would find itself under attack by the Marathas and Hyderabad in the North and the British in the East and South. Following Napoleon's (failed) campaign in Egypt (1798) the British in India grew increasingly worried that a victorious France would be able to extend its reach all the way to India and support the forces of Mysore (ibid., 103). In 1799 the British mobilised their forces in Bombay and the east coast of India and began to attack Mysore from two directions, sparking of the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War of 1799-1799. The loss of French ports and trading centres in India, the expulsion of French troops and advisors from the Hyderabad army by the British, and the failure of Napoleon's Egyptian campaign (ibid., 220-224) meant that Tipu Sultan was unable to rely on the French for support and reinforcements, and was forced to fight a series of defensive battles as the Mysore forces retreated inland. In May 1799 the British attacked Seringapatam and in the course of the fighting Tipu Sultan was killed. Mysore's defences capitulated, marking the end of the war. It should be noted that the Mysore kingdom itself was Hindu in origin and that not all of Tipu's enemies were non-Muslim. The four Anglo-Mysore Wars were among the most complex conflicts in Indian history, as they brought together adversaries of different faiths and cultures—Mysore, Maratha, Hyderabad—as well as Europeans (British and French) who were allied to, and supportive of, different powers/factions at different times.

⁸² The Kingdom of Hyderabad was established as a successor state that eventually broke away from the Moghul empire by Mir Qamaruddin Khan, the Nizam-ul Mulk Asaf Jah (1671-1748) in 1724. From the outset the kingdom of Hyderabad was faced with the threat of Maratha power that originated from Maharashtra but was expanding across the Deccan plateau. In 1725 Maratha incursions into Hyderabad territory put the Nizam on the defensive, and Hyderabad was compelled to pay taxes to the Marathas, reducing Hyderabad to the status of a tributary state to the stronger power. Aware of its own limitations and the persistent threat of both the Marathas to the west and the Mysore kingdom to the south, the Nizam of Hyderabad sought aid and support from the British, whose presence in India was growing thanks to the expansionist efforts of the British East India Company. In the clashes between the British and the Marathas and the Mysore kingdom that followed—the First Anglo-Mysore War of 1767-1769, the Second Anglo-Mysore War of 1780-1784, the Third Anglo-Mysore War of 1790-1792, the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War of 1799-1799, the Second Anglo-Maratha War of 1803-1805 and Third Anglo-Maratha War 1817-1818—Hyderabad worked with the British in order to check the growing power of its two powerful neighbours. The Nizam was also concerned about the problem posed by the rivalry between the British and the French who were based in Pondicherry. (Although as Fregosi noted that the Nizam's army was then commanded by a French officer, General Michel Joachim Raymond (1755-1798), who had deserted from the French navy [*ibid.*, 102].) With the support of the British, the French—then under the leadership of the Franco-Irish commander Thomas Arthur Comte de Lally (1702-1766)—were forced out of Hyderabad, and in 1760 France's base at Pondicherry was attacked by the British (*ibid.*, 232). Following Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (1798) the British in India were determined to remove all traces of French influence in the subcontinent, and in October 1798 the French sepoys attached to the Hyderabad army were disarmed and disbanded, thereby ending for good France's presence in Hyderabad (*ibid.*, 104). Though the policy of co-operative engagement with the British helped to secure the borders of Hyderabad and prevent it from being overrun by the Marathas and the Mysore kingdom, Hyderabad was ultimately forced to pay the price for its decision to ally itself with the British. With more aid and troops being given by the East India Company, British influence in Hyderabad grew and in 1778 the court of Hyderabad was compelled to accept the presence of a British Resident who would henceforth guide and advise the ruler of the kingdom. In 1798 Mir Qamaruddin's successor Mir Nizam Ali Khan (1734-1803), the second Nizam of Hyderabad, consented to British demands to make Hyderabad a British Protectorate, thus reducing it to the status of an Indian princely state under British control.

References

PRIMARY SOURCES

Act of Parliament. *An Act for the Better Securing the Lawful Trade of his Majesty's Subjects to and From the East Indies; and for the more effectual Preventing all his Majesty's Subjects Trading thither under Foreign Commissions, 1714*. London: John Baskett, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, and the Assigns of Thomas Newcomb, and Henry Hills, 1719.

_____. *An Act to amend fo much of an Act made in the Seventh year of the Reign of His late Majefty King George the Firft, intituled, An Act for the Further Preventing His Majefty's Subjects from Trading to the Eaft Indies under foreign Commiffions, and for encouraging and further fecuring the lawful trade thereto; and for further regulating the Pilots of Dover, Deal and the Ifle of Thanet, and relates to the faid Pilots, 11 August 1803*. London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1803.

_____. *An Act to Reduce the Duty of Rum and Rum Shrub, the produce of, and imported from, certain British Possessions in the East Indies into the United Kingdom*. London: George Eyre and Andrew Spottiswoode, 1841.

Alfonso de Albuquerque the Younger. *Albuquerque: Kaiser Timur*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1995.

Fifth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. "Historical Chronicle, 1813." *The Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1813: 361-364.

"Interesting Intelligence from the London Gazettes." *The Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1812, 167-173; October 1810, 361-369.

The Annual Register or A View of the History, Politicks and Literature for the Year 1763. London: J. Dodsley, 1763.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Carey, Peter. *The British in Java, 1811-1816. A Javanese Account*.

- Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Chaudhuri, K. N. *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Chen, Kuan-Hsing. *Asia as Method: Towards Deimperialization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Clulow, Adam. *Amboina, 1623: Fear and Conspiracy on the Edge of Empire*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.
- Davidson, Basil. *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation State*. London: James Currey, 1992.
- Fregosi, Paul. *Dreams of Empire: Napoleon and the First World War 1792-1815*. London: Hutchinson, 1989.
- Greenberg, Amy S. *Wicked War: Polk, Clay, Lincoln, and the 1846 U.S. Invasion of Mexico*. New York: Vintage Books, 2012.
- Hannigan, Tim. *Raffles and the British Invasion of Java*. Singapore: Monsoon Books, 2012.
- Herring, George C. *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Howard, Douglas A. *A History of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Kadi, Ismail Hakki and A.C.S. Peacock, eds. *Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations: Sources from the Ottoman Archives*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Merry, Robert W. *A Country of Vast Designs: James K. Polk, the Mexican War and the Conquest of the American Continent*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009.
- Milton, Giles. *Nathaniel's Nutmeg: How One Man's Courage Changed the Course of History*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1999.
- Minto, Gilbert Elliot. *Lord Minto in India*. London: Longmans, Green, 1880.
- Noor, Farish A. *Before the Pivot: America's Encounters With Southeast Asia 1800-1900*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.
- _____. *Data Gathering in 19th Century Colonial Southeast Asia: Framing the Other*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.
- _____. *The Discursive Construction of Southeast Asia in 19th Century Colonial-Capitalist Discourse*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University

- Press, 2016.
- Raffles, Thomas Stamford. *The History of Java*, Two Volumes. London: John Murray, 1817.
- Smithsonian Museum of Natural History. *Treasures from the Harris Treaty of 1856*. Retrieved, 26 February 2022. http://naturalhistory.si.edu/treasures/frame_exhibit_gallery1b_main.htm.
- Steinberg, David Joel, ed. *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987.
- Valencia, Mark J. “The US is testing China’s red lines in the South China Sea. What does it hope to achieve?” *South China Morning Post*, 24 October 2020.
- Wade, Geoff. *Asian Expansions: The Historical Experiences of Polity Expansion in Asia*. London: Routledge Studies in the Early History of Asia, 2014.

T I D O R E



X

C

H

I

K

Atlant

Gallierland

Wienblick

West-Indien

Dordrecht

Amsterdam

AA



CHAPTER 2

TO FEED OR NOT TO FEED?: A STORY OF PHILIPPINE ENCOUNTERS DURING THE FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION, 1521

Felice Prudente Sta. Maria

Introduction

HUNGER IS AN ENEMY FOR all adventurers and voyagers. It was no different during the first circumnavigation carried out by Spain's Armada de Maluco (Navy of Maluku) captained by Ferdinand Magellan (c. 1480-1521) beginning in August 1519 and concluded by Juan Sebastian Elcano (1476-1526) in September 1522. Provisions deteriorated quickly during their era. Refrigeration and canned goods had not been invented yet. Securing fresh food, potable water, and dry firewood were constant challenges.

As the Armada discovered new peoples with unfamiliar customs in their hunt for the Spiceries, food and feeding became a test of trust and a means to dominate an encounter that could deteriorate into a confrontation. The book, *Primo viaggio intorno al mondo* (First

Left: Teody Boyle R. Perez's *The Essence of Goodwill* (2020) Oil on Canvas, 3x4ft, one of the winners of the 2020-2021 Quincentennial Art Competition: Magnanimity Category. Courtesy of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines.



A ca. 1665 engraving of the Casa de Contratación with the Seville Cathedral in the background. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Voyage Around the World) by the Armada's *sobresaliente*¹ Antonio Pigafetta (c. 1491-1531), records strategies of goodwill, tolerance, and deception through feeding. Food can cause conflict. But it is also a force for negotiation and resolution available to all parties.

A Two-Year Supply

Holy Roman Emperor and Spanish King Charles V sponsored the expedition. His officials were surely aware of maritime as well as commercial laws and practices from a quasi-judicial body established by the Crown of Aragon around the 13th century. The rules were compiled to settle business disputes without interference from the crown. Called the *Consulado del Mar* (The Customs of the Sea),² these regulations that started likely in the 13th century, were published in or before 1494 at Valencia, and remained in use for several centuries among southern European countries. Its rations for seamen were recommended based on Christian flesh days, fish days, and church *fiestas*. Food was a serious concern not only from a humanitarian perspective. A hungry crew could become an angry mob.



A ca. 1600 engraving by Pieter de Jode about the coronation of Carlos V by Pope Clement VII. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

The Casa de Contratación (House of Trade for the Indies) founded by the Crown of Castile in 1503 and located in Seville stocked the Armada's five ships with enough provisions to feed 237 persons for two years:³ approximately till the start of September 1521. Seasoned sailors were familiar with the Armada's victuals. They were the usual double-baked and rock-hard sea *vizcocho* (biscuit), cheese, wine, vinegar, dried fish, anchovies, aged bacon, dried beans, chickpeas, lentils, flour, rice, and live pigs to be slaughtered on board. Garlic was strung up into 250 ristras. There was salt, caper, olive oil, honey, sugar, mustard, almond in shell, raisin, prune, dried fig, and drinking water. Each ship was provisioned according to the number of persons on board. Magellan's 110-ton flagship, the *Trinidad*, carried 55 boxes of *carne de membrillo* (quince preserve). It was perhaps the most precious dainty, a sweet quince fruit paste that was well-liked. It was a treatment for patients and for those recovering from seasickness. The *Santiago* carried three boxes, and the other ships four boxes each.⁴

There were neither cabins for the crew, dining rooms, and galleys nor pantries on any of the ships. Positions for cook and butcher did not exist. Multi-tasking was the custom. Probably crewmen with experience as cooks on other voyages were designated to prepare victuals. There was one steward per boat who was in charge of dispensing food and cargo. Men ate from soup bowls or porringers, mess bowls, wooden plates, and wooden trencher boards. Provisions included canvas cloths to cover whatever would be used as dining tables.⁵

The crew needed to secure fresh provisions as frequently as it could. In the New World the Armada found familiar fish, shellfish, chicken, and many game birds such as geese. They discovered exotic fare like *anta* (possibly the pig-like tapir), seal, and penguin. They also ate *batata*, the sweet potato discovered by Columbus in the Caribbean. Pigafetta enjoyed pineapple and found sugarcane, loaves of manioc also known as cassava, and sweet herbs that likely included smallage.⁶

The First Food Controversy

Being a voyage of discovery, they sailed in unmapped waters without any reckoning of how long it would take to reach Maluku following a route they were supposed to locate. As early as December of 1519, not quite three months into their trip, Magellan had decreased rations following stipulations because he anticipated a long journey.⁷ He explained to the men that there was no reason to complain about provisions. They had found food-rich anchorage and if they all abided by the rules regarding rations, they would be fine. It was autumn in the southern hemisphere when at the end of March 1520, the weather challenged them severely and they needed to locate a safe anchorage. They found one where they would winter. It was a natural harbor in Argentina identified as St. Julian Port. There the fleet stayed for about four months.

On 1 April, Palm Sunday, having just situated themselves at St. Julian, some officers seized the 90-ton *Concepcion*, the 120-ton *San Antonio*, and the 85-ton *Victoria*. They ransacked stores of provisions and distributed them to the crew hoping to win their support for an



ESPEDICION DE HERNANDO DE MAGALLANES.

A los dos años y tres meses de penosa navegación, arriban á las islas Malucas las naves Trinidad y la Victoria, únicas que existian de la escuadra con que el malogrado cuerno criollo Magallanes emprendió el primer viage al rededor del Mundo.

Vicente Urrabieta's engraving entitled *Espedicion de Hernando de Magallanes* produced in Madrid in 1854. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

all-out mutiny. Magellan regained control of the ships, executed key delinquents, exiled principal instigators, but pardoned around 40 men needed to work the sails even if they merited the death penalty. It had been seven months since they left Spain. The hostile climate, strange environs, fear of the unknown, and the threat of hunger were taking their toll.

Later that month, the 75-ton *Santiago* while returning on an exploratory mission in the Santa Cruz area for Magellan, got caught in a storm, ran aground, got severely wrecked and capsized. It seems none of the food onboard was saved because the crew had to forage till help arrived. They were all unhurt and reassigned to the remaining four ships requiring the stretching of provisions to accommodate the additional men. The Armada moved to Santa Cruz where they continued wintering for over a month. They left mid-October to resume their hunt for the passage out of South America.

During a storm, the *Concepcion* and the *San Antonio* got separated from the other ships and entered a narrow passage not visible from the sea. When the ships were reunited, Magellan decided to explore it. They entered a long strait with many narrows and bays. On October 28, having reached a small island in the strait, the *Concepcion* and the *San Antonio* were assigned to explore its eastern area. The *Trinidad*, on which Magellan and Pigafetta sailed, and the *Victoria* searched the southwest section. Magellan released a small sturdy boat that after three days returned. Its crew had found the cape and seen the open sea! It was a 570-kilometer-long passage in today's Chile that separates South America from Tierra del Fuego Island at the continent's tip. Emperor Charles V named it Strait of Magellan to honor his brave captain-general.

Having been at sea for over a year, they had passed the mid-way mark for their rations. While the intrepid Magellan would sail on with limited rations, some men on the *San Antonio* thought it more prudent to return to Spain and request that a follow-up expedition be outfitted to reach Maluku. The *San Antonio* deserted the fleet. Its Portuguese pilot who was Magellan's cousin was stabbed and shackled by the Spanish mutineers. After sailing for about six months, the boat reached Spain on May 6, 1521, where its crew faced an official inquiry about issues of mutiny. Magellan's choice of action was criticized officially and his family suffered for it. Meanwhile, Magellan explored the strait for another 28 days. Then on November 28, 1520, the Armada down to three ships sailed into the unknown.

Southeast Asian Food

One gnawing fear of many sailors was that they would be forced to eat peculiar or repugnant food. Maluku was a set of islands in Southeast Asia. No records identify if any of the Armada's men had been to Asia, and therefore, were familiar with its cuisine except two. Magellan had served in the region from 1505 till around 1512. He was with the campaigns of Alfonso de Albuquerque that conquered India and pushed into Malacca on the Malay Peninsula and then continued

on to the sprawl of Indonesian islands from where came luxury spices. The other was Enrique of Malacca, Magellan's Asian slave who was both a servant and an interpreter for the voyage.

Sailing with Albuquerque into Malacca in 1511 was a Portuguese apothecary named Tomé Pires. Pires resided there from 1512 to 1515. His book *Suma Oriental: An Account of the East from the Red Sea to Japan* describes food-rich trading centers in Portugal's new Asian realm. The Armada could load up on fresh provisions upon arrival in the realm of the Spiceries, their ultimate official destination, and then again before leaving on the return leg for Spain. All the while, however, they would have to dodge the rival Portuguese who by virtue of the Treaty of Tordesillas signed in 1494 were rulers of the insular area.

Heading south from Malacca into the Karimata Strait was the big island of Borneo to the east. Sago palm flour in solid loaves resembling wheat bread was eaten there when rice was absent. White rice without husk was the major commodity traded in the insular region. Rice from Cambodia, the islands of Sunda and Sumatra, as well as Tegal on Java Island were the most distinguished. Junks sailing from Palembang on the east coast of Sumatra supplied garlic and onion to Malacca. China was the era's great salt trader with 1,500 vessels circulating around the region. Sumatra was an island to the west of Malacca along the Strait. It was where Pires found *tampoy* (*Eugenia jambos* L.). Called rose apple or Malabar plum in English, it was made into a wine similar to a muscatel.⁸ He described durian as "certainly lovelier and more delicious than all the other fruits."⁹

Java lay just beyond the southern tip of Sumatra. It had a whole island of swine. There were also oxen, cows, sheep, goats, buffaloes, and deer. But how to make butter and cheese was unknown to Javanese. It grew long pepper.¹⁰ Beyond Java was the small island of Sunda where grew "unlimited vegetables" and "countless meats" including pigs, goats, sheep, and cows.¹¹ Marine foods were in abundance and many rich fishing grounds identified. Across the region one could find fish that was dried or salted and dried. India exported sugar and sugar preserves from Kanara. Junks from Bengal traded oranges, cucumbers,

carrots, lemons, quinces, figs, pumpkins, and gourds. Some foods were preserved in sugar, others in vinegar. In Malabar patients of catarrh drank lanha, young coconut water. The diet for anyone sick was restricted to fish; meats were prohibited.¹² Europeans could manage a good meal from native ingredients. Pigafetta's first Asian culinary experiences, surely, were during the circumnavigation.

A Food Raid

Magellan and his men were the first ones to cross the Pacific. Having encountered peaceful, mild winds during the sail, he named it Mar Pacifico. No one was prepared for the undocumented Ocean's vastness and lack of landfalls to provide fresh food. While the Atlantic Ocean off Spain with which the Armada was familiar is 106,460,000 square kilometers, the Pacific Ocean is 165,250,000 square kilometers. The distance on a straight line from Cuba to San Lucar de Barrameda is 6,980 kilometers while from the Strait of Magellan to Hगतna it is 14,569 kilometers.

For three months and 20 days, the men endured extreme hunger. Many suffered from scurvy with 21 dying from it. They barely survived on pulverized sea biscuits swarming with worms and smelling of rat urine. They ate rats selling at a premium. They soaked in seawater for four to five days the tough ox hide covering their main-yard hoping it would soften before being roasted over embers. But it was still tough to chew. Sawdust from the ship's boards likewise became food. Putrid was their drinking water.¹³ Pigafetta wrote that among Magellan's virtues was that he became more constant than ever when confronted by the greatest adversity. The captain-general "endured hunger better than all the others," he observed.¹⁴

Upon seeing land, at last, the emaciated men hoped to barter for food. Instead, the natives stoned them and stole a tender tied to Trinidad's poop. In a rage, the Europeans ransacked the culprits' village. They burned 40 to 50 houses along with boats and killed seven natives. Pigafetta found coconut, sweet potato, sugarcane, banana, and flying fish in the native diet. He wrote that indigenous residents



Above: Derrick Macutay's *First Contact* (2021). Top: Romane Elmira D. Contawi's *Watering Place of Good Signs* (2020), one of the winners in the 2020-2021 Quincentennial Art Competition: Magnanimity Category. Courtesy of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

lived in wooden houses roofed with banana leaves. The interiors were furnished with the “most beautiful mats” and those for sleeping were soft and fine.¹⁵

Pigafetta is silent but he and his comrades must have commandeered their enemy’s food as spoils of battle. The first Austronesians they encountered, their enemy, were the Chamorros respected as ancient mariners. Magellan named the place *Islas de Ladrones*, the Islands of Thieves.¹⁶

Today it is called Guam, one of the Mariana Islands.

Friendliness and Food

Magellan’s reception by our ancestors in Samar¹⁷ was the antithesis of the *Ladrones* tragedy. Sighting the Philippines on 16 March 1521, the Armada set up two tents for their sick on the island of Homonhon the next day. They were on the uninhabited island of Homonhon. A sow was cooked for their meal. Perhaps, it had been hunted because Pigafetta does not mention swine in Guam. The next day, 18 March, a boat with nine native men wearing gold earrings and armlets approached the shore. Their leader was friendly so Magellan invited him and his companions to a meal on the beach. They received red caps, mirrors, combs, bells, ivory, linen bocasine fabric, and other items as gifts. In return, the islanders presented fish, a jar of palm wine, several types of bananas, and two coconuts. They indicated by sign language that they would return in four days with rice, coconuts, and other food.¹⁸ They lived on what is called today Suluan, a small island southeast of the big island of Samar where the Waray tongue is spoken. Food and wine were served as a medium for possible friendship or tolerance between two groups that did not speak a common language.

Giving gifts, hosting meals onboard his ship, bartering fairly for food, and agreeing to blood compacts allowed Magellan to feed his men while in foreign territory. He was building goodwill with local rulers. He did show off Spanish armor as impervious to daggers and swords making guests speechless, and fired mortars that he must have anticipated would frighten them. The Armada carried samples

of clove, cinnamon, pepper, ginger, nutmeg, and mace that natives recognized and communicated that they knew where similar goods were found. Rajah Colambo, ruler of Limasawa Island which was the Armada's second major stopover, was ever the attentive, hospitable host. It is where the crew celebrated Easter complete with a pork meal cooked on board, the pigs having been given by Colambo upon Magellan's request. Limasawa is in southern Leyte where Waray is spoken. Enrique communicated with Colambo in Malay as he would with natives in Cebu through a Malay-speaking Muslim trader. The Rajah using his own boat piloted the fleet to Cebu, a major foreign trading port and source of provisions. It appears an act of friendship. It may have been an attempt to maintain peace with a foreign newcomer to the region who carried superior weapons or even to assert his local leadership having officialized an alliance with the foreigners through a blood compact.

On Limasawa that grew rice, Pigafetta and one companion were allowed by the native ruler to go ashore. The foods eaten that night make up the first Philippine menu recorded in a published document. There was palm wine to start. Then came two large porcelain dishes, one with rice and the other with pork in broth. Shifting to the king's residence, they were joined by the king's son. They feasted together on roast fish, freshly gathered ginger, and wine. Two more platters arrived. One had rice and the other fish with broth. The meals were helping to build trust while both parties assessed each other.

Pigafetta continued writing about the journey's food. Perhaps, it was to record his amazing experiences, but also to inform future voyagers what provisions were available. During his over 24-day stay in Cebu, the fleet's third major anchorage, Pigafetta compiled a list of culinary terms. It provides Philippine food history with the first written evidence for the presence and the uses of many ingredients. Among them are coconut milk, coconut vinegar, palm wine (both coconut and nipa), *tinapay* (at the time a word meaning a kind of rice cake), rice cooked in a clay pot over the fire, cooked rice, and millet wrapped in leaves, garlic, salt, goat, chicken, and other foods that today are still eaten in Cebu. The foods were also present when Spain began

settlement of the archipelago in 1565, and therefore, help define the pre-colonial foundation of Philippine cuisine.

Table Diplomacy

Rajah Colambo and his brother Rajah Siaui suggested three ports where the Armada could load food: Ceylon (Leyte), Zubu (Cebu), and Calaghann (Caraga).¹⁹ Cebu was described as the largest of the three and the one with the most trade. Colambo offered to provide pilots to guide the foreigners and, in fact, sailed in his boat to accompany them. Magellan would leave one of his men as hostage. One can only speculate why the captain-general arrived at Cebu on 7 April with his ships in a fighting mode: sails lowered while firing artillery. Surely, he anticipated that it would cause fear among residents in the many villages they passed, just as the mortars had shocked Colambo.

The Armada's first encounter with the powerful ruler of Cebu, Rajah Humabon, did not go well. Cristobál Rabelo as ambassador and Enrique as translator represented the foreigners. The former is described in an official roster as a servant of Magellan and a native of Oporto, Portugal.²⁰ He was rumored to have been Magellan's illegitimate son.²¹ Enrique explained that the discharge of mortars was a Spanish custom to honor a king. All the fleet wanted was to buy food. He added that Magellan served the greatest king in the world who sent the armada to reach Maluku.²²

Humabon expected all craft stopping at his port to pay tribute. Enrique, perhaps prompted by Rabelo, boasted that Magellan had a great king and should not pay, and that if the Rajah wanted peace, he would be given peace, but war if that was what he wanted. A Malay-speaking Muslim merchant in Cebu served as Humabon's interpreter. He told Humabon that the foreigners were the same people who had conquered Kolkata, Melaka, as well as India Major and were capable of evil response. Enrique understood the Muslim and added that his King of Spain was also Emperor of all Christians and was more powerful than the King of Portugal referred to by the Muslim. Humabon replied he would deliberate with his men on the matter.

Although the preliminary talk was unsettling for both parties, Humabon served the representatives refreshments. The first Cebuano meal was all made from meat and served on porcelain dishes. Many jars of wine accompanied them. Meat was a prestige food throughout the Asian maritime region. Having feasted, Rabelo and Enrique returned to *Trinidad* and explained what had transpired. Rajah Colambu went ashore to speak of Magellan's "great courtesy."²³ The next day Enrique returned to shore but with Leon de Espleta, the expedition's notary. Humabon suggested that he and Magellan exchange blood from their right arm as a sign of sincerest friendship. There would be no tribute. Instead, they would exchange gifts.

That night, Humabon's prince (his nephew, as he had no son) went aboard the flagship with his men to discuss peace. Magellan invited them to become Christians and to pledge perpetual peace with the King of Spain. The accord was concluded. Magellan served refreshments and the prince presented baskets of rice as well as swine, goats, and fowls as gifts. He received in return a cloth of finest linen, a red cap, strings of glass beads, and a gilded glass drinking cup that was known to be much prized in the region. For his uncle, Magellan sent, with Pigafetta and other men, a yellow and violet silk robe made in the Turkish style, a red cap, strings of glass beads on a silver dish, and two drinking cups.²⁴ Pigafetta found the Cebuano king wearing golden earrings set with precious gems and a necklace of great value. He was eating turtle eggs in porcelain dishes and drinking palm wine in jars using narrow reed straws. The European emissaries were invited to stay for supper but they declined and returned to their ships.²⁵

Food as Entitlement

Trade for food and even gold proceeded with the fleet's merchandise apparently pleasing the Cebuanos. Humabon, his wife, and some chiefs of the realm were baptized Christian on 14 April. After the ritual, the chiefs were invited to dine aboard one of the ships.²⁶ Magellan announced he was returning to Spain and would return with a large force to make Humabon the greatest king of the region because he was

the first in the area to elect Christianity as his religion.²⁷ Magellan also helped cure the prince's brother by sending him daily some European supplies of almond milk, rosewater, and sweet preserves.²⁸ The foreigners were invited to eat and drink whenever they went ashore. The crewmen were even loved by Cebuano women.²⁹ A tipping point in the Armada's food procurement occurred, however, when Magellan conducted a ritual of loyalty to Carlos V.

Humabon was asked to come dressed in the clothing Magellan had given him. Top men in his government, like his brothers, were asked to swear allegiance to Humabon and kiss the rajah's hand. Then drawing his sword before an image of Christ's mother, Magellan asked Humabon to swear allegiance to the Spanish king. That accomplished, a red velvet chair from the ship was given to the native sovereign. It may have been the first European seat on the archipelago and it raised its user above common mat level. Wherever Humabon went, the chair was to be brought for him by one of his nearest relatives. He promised to do so and revealed gold jewelry was being made for the Armada to bring to the Spanish monarch.³⁰

By pledging allegiance to Carlos V, Humabon may not have realized that food would no longer be his gift, selected on his terms, to the Armada. Magellan demanded from each of the many villages in and around Humabon's realm three goats, three pigs, three loads of rice, three loads of millet, and other provisions.³¹ It was tribute! It was what Humabon had waived from Magellan by their performing a blood compact. The Armada torched the village of Bulaia (Buaya) on Mactan Island southeast of Cebu because it did not obey.³² It was the hot season and families were living off rice stocked from the last harvest. They were yet to plant anew and one never knew if locusts, large worms, drought or flood might threaten the rice fields. Chickens and hogs were domesticated not only for food but for pagan rituals including those for rites of passage and healing. Magellan was diminishing not only everyday victuals, but also prestige foods. On 26 April 1521, Zula a chief from Mactan sent two goats with his son for presentation to Magellan. He could not meet his promised quota because the Island's other chief, Lapulapu, refused to obey the Spanish

king. Zula requested the captain-general to send him one boatload of men the next night so they might help him fight the recalcitrant chief.³³

Instead, Magellan went himself with three boatloads of 60 men clad in corselets and helmets. The Spanish ships with mortars and the crossbowmen could not reach the shore due to corals and rocks. Forty-nine of the crew including Pigafetta leaped into the water up to their thighs and reached the shore with their captain-general. More than 1,500 natives formed into three divisions attacked. The Spanish muskets were useless against them. It was a massacre. The Battle of Mactan on 27 April 1521 ended in Magellan's death.³⁴ Pigafetta and Enrique had been slightly wounded. Magellan's brother-in-law, Duarte Barbosa was selected as the flagship's new commander. He chastised Enrique for not going ashore to attend to the Armada's affairs such as advising Humabon that they were soon to depart. He reminded Enrique that he was not free. Upon return to Spain, he would be the slave of Magellan's widow. In addition, he threatened the slave with flogging. Enrique acquiesced.³⁵

On 1 May, Humabon sent word that jewelry for the Spanish king was ready and he would turn them over at a meal that morning. Twenty-four men went ashore. Humabon himself may have escorted them from the beach to a shaded area where hornpipes were playing. Food and wine were in abundance. Not with them was Pigafetta who remained on board nursing his facial wound from a poisoned arrow. Suddenly as the crew ate, men hidden behind dense bamboo attacked them. There were loud cries and lamentations. A wounded Juan Serrano, captain of the Santiago that sank in Patagonia, shouted from the beach. Everyone had been killed except him and the interpreter.³⁶ Enrique may have plotted with Humabon. One unsubstantiated claim is that the Cebuanos feared the Spanish would avenge their leader's death so Humabon and Lapulapu allied to kill them with Enrique coming to their aid. The ships set sail at once abandoning Serrano. Food inspired friendship at Homonhon and Limasawa. In Cebu, sadly, it became a cause for conflict and Magellan's demise.

Desperate Situations

Back on their quest for luxury spices, the fleet burned the *Concepción* at Bohol not having enough crew to sail her. Provisions aboard would have been transferred to the remaining two ships. No one knew the route to Maluku and they had no interpreter to help them find pilots or directions. For six more months, they had to secure food before exiting the Philippine waters.

Pigafetta performed a blood compact with Rajah Calanao at Quipit, an active trading port along the northern coast of Mindanao.³⁷ He did again with the king of a place in Palawan the crew named Land of Promise because they arrived there after having suffered great hunger.³⁸ On both occasions, the Armada found food. Pigafetta drank palm wine as he had done when he met his first Filipinos at Homonhon in March. He ate fish, rice, and sugarcane. There were swine, goat, fowl, excellent bananas some as thick as an arm, coconut, and roots resembling turnips. In Cimbonbon at the southern tip of Palawan where they did repairs (approximately Banggi Island in the present-day Malaysian waters), they found wild boar, fish, oysters, and huge shellfish. Extending the edibility of food during the 16th century was by either salting, brining, sun-drying, smoking, pickling in vinegar, preserving in honey or sugar syrup, as well as by packing in thick lard. The sailors did not seem to have had the ingredients to preserve fresh meats, fruits or vegetables. They had to hunt and forage when they were on uninhabited islands.

The rest of the time, they hijacked vessels in search of sustenance. From Borneo where they stayed for about three or four weeks, the *Trinidad* and the *Concepcion* captured four *praus* laden with coconuts bound for Borneo. In September they ambushed a Bornean junk and sacked it. To be freed, the Palauan leader on board was to give his captors 400 measures of rice, 20 swine, 20 goats, and 150 fowls within seven days. Immediately, he presented bananas, coconuts, sugarcane, and jars full of palm wine. In appreciation for his generosity, he received blue fabric and a green robe. They parted amicably with him seeming to have advised them to head south via Sulu.³⁹



An illustration of Magellan in André Thevet's *Les vrais portraits et vies des hommes illustres grecz, latins et payens* (1584). Courtesy of the Boston Public Library via Internet Archive.

From the Zamboanga peninsular where they located cinnamon at Cavite and Subanin, they found a “favorable” sailing wind. Two dominant winds blow from June or July to September and October: Southwest monsoon that brings annual rain; Easterly, trade winds. Moving northeast they seized a large boat similar to a prau killing seven men. They took 18 well-built men prisoners, all of them chiefs. One of them was the brother of the Maguindanao ruler. He became their pilot and set the course southeast.⁴⁰ Familiar with the area, he would know where to provision; otherwise; they would all starve. On November 6, they spotted Maluku at last.

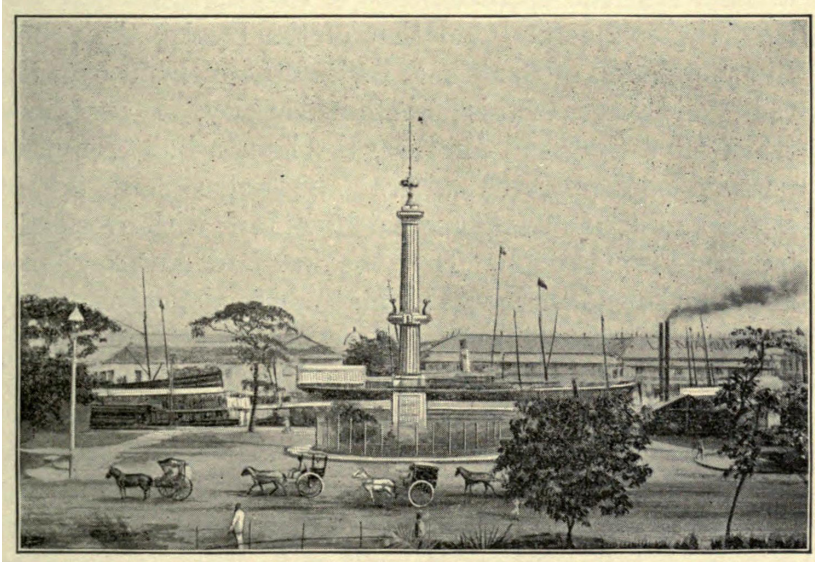
The Taste of Trust

Both the men of the Armada and the native islanders found food useful in establishing good faith when they did not know each other's language. It was given as gifts and became part of a barter exchange.



Escala de una pulgada por ses pies de largo

Monumento á la memoria de Magallanes.



The Magellan Monument in Manila as illustrated in 1847 by Jose Honorato Lozano from the Biblioteca Nacional de España (left) and in 1905 in David Barrow's *A History of the Philippines* (above). The monument was destroyed in 1945 owing to the American bombings in Manila.

Only when pushed to desperation, did the foreigners demand provisions as payment for hostages ransomed, and even seize food outright.

At the settlements where the Armada stopped, wine and food had traditional roles in negotiations, whether while studying the terms of a pact or to celebrate its amicable agreement. Food played a crucial role in maintaining peace during the Armada's stay in Cebu. Local leaders had rivalries. Not all of them were loyal to Rajah Humabon with whom Magellan made a blood compact. Goodwill was broken when the Armada demanded provisions, even specifying quotas, after Humabon became Christian and recognized the Spanish king as sovereign. There was no personal negotiation by the Spanish with the initial belligerent, Lapulapu of Mactan. His refusal to surrender the required food allocation was met with military hostility the next day.

Food insecurity thus caused the Battle of Mactan. One wonders if alternative and culturally sensitive strategies may have prevented

violence and the deaths of Magellan along with those who accompanied him into battle. Just as hunger goads enmity and mistrust, food can nourish tolerance, arbitration, friendship, and peace.

Endnotes

¹ A *sobresaliente* or supernumerary was a passenger beyond the original quota of those to depart on a ship. Pigafetta was a companion of Francesco Chiericato (1479-1539), papal nuncio of Pope Leo X to the Spanish court, when he learned of the Magallanes voyage. Both Pigafetta and Chiericato were natives of Vicenza and thus citizens of the Republic of Venice, a rival of Spain in the spice trade. Perhaps that is why in at least one passenger manifesto Pigafetta is listed as Antonio Lombardo, a citizen of Lombardy. Cf. Antonio Pigafetta, "Primo viaggio intorno al mondo," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 33, ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson (Mandaluyong: Cacho Hermanos, Inc., 1973), 281. This version uses the James Alexander Robertson's translation of Pigafetta's account from the Italian manuscript at Milan's Ambrosiana Library.

² The book was written in Catalan. Its full title is *Les costums marítimes de Barcelona universalment conegudes per Libre del Consolat del mar* (The maritime customs of Barcelona universally known as the Book of the Consulate of the Sea) representing 14th and 15th centuries commercial customs. Since 1258 Barcelona merchants were given the right to settle their disputes without interference from royal courts. In exchange, they contributed to government coffers.

³ Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Collección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del Siglo XV* (Madrid: Imprenta nacional, 1837), 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 171, 182-188.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5-7, 175-175.

⁶ Pigafetta, "Primo viaggio," 76-77.

⁷ Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas I tierra firma del mar oceano* (1726), cited in Danilo Madrid Gerona, *Ferdinand Magellan: The Armada de Maluco and the European Discovery of the Philippines* (Naga City: Spanish Galleon Publisher, 2016), 187.

⁸ Tome Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), 25, 132, 156.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 175, 180.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 62, 92.

¹³ Ibid., 87.

¹⁴ Ibid., 181.

¹⁵ Ibid., 97-99.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Although the term Filipino is used in this presentation, there was neither a Philippine political entity nor an association of the designation Filipino with indigenous peoples of what has become the Philippine Republic.

¹⁸ Pigafetta, "Primo viaggio," 103.

¹⁹ They have been identified as the islands of Leyte, Cebu, and Mindanao (Caraga district) respectively. Ibid., 131.

²⁰ Ibid., 280.

²¹ Gerona, *Ferdinand Magellan*, 266.

²² Pigafetta, "Primo viaggio," 134-135.

²³ Ibid., 139.

²⁴ Ibid., 143-147.

²⁵ Ibid., 149-151.

²⁶ Ibid., 159.

²⁷ Ibid., 157.

²⁸ Ibid., 165-167.

²⁹ Ibid., 173.

³⁰ Ibid., 163.

³¹ Ibid., 339-340; Gerona, *Ferdinand Magellan*, 305.

³³ Gerona, *Ferdinand Magellan*, 167.

³³ Pigafetta, "Primo viaggio," 175.

³⁴ Ibid., 175-181.

³⁵ Ibid., 183-185.

³⁶ Ibid., 187.


³⁷ Ibid., 199.

³⁸ Ibid., 211.

³⁹ Ibid., 233-235.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 239-243.




ANTONIO PIGAFETTA
ISINILANG SA VICENZA (NABAYOY
BAGHO NG TALAW) SUMAMA KAY
FERNANDO MAGALLANES SA EXPEDISYONG
ESPANYOL PATINDONG MALLINO NGYOY
KILALANG PINAGMUMULAN NG MGA
PANGALAGA (IBAHANG NORSO) NG INDONESIA
SA PAMAMAGTAT NG RUTANG ATANTIKO-
PASYPICO (SABING KALAWAN NI
MAGALLANES SA IBAT IBANG PANKIPAG-
KESAP SA MGA DAWA NG NEGOSYO MARCHO-
ABRIL 1521, MAKASAKSI SA LABAMAN SA
MUKTAN 22 ABRIL 1521, KASAMA SA
LABINGWALONG TAURAN NG EXPEDISYONG
MUNG (MAGADALSK SA ESPANYA AT
NAKAKOMPLETO SA UNANG PAB - KOT
SA SANGOL - SEPTEMBER 1522, MAG-IBANG
SA SANGKATAHAN NG MGA GUNITZ
TUNGOD SA EXPEDISYON ORYENTAL NI
MAMAHALAGANG PAKALABAMAN HINGGI
SA MGA PANGAMAT PANGMULA SININ
MUSIKA, KALINANGAN, TEKNOLOHIY
LIPUNAN AT POKLABAN NG NI
TAGA-VISORAS AT MINDANAO NOC
KALABING-ANIM NA DANTON.



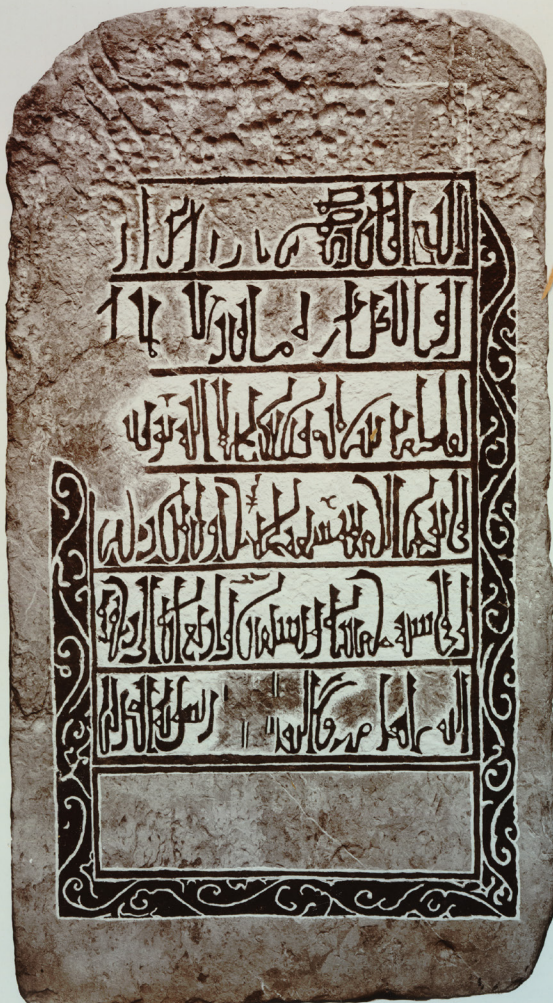
EDGAR

VICE MAYOR MICHAEL L. RAMA



References

- Gerona, Danilo Madrid. 2016. *Ferdinand Magellan: The Armada de Maluco and the European Discovery of the Philippines*. Naga City: Spanish Galleon Publisher.
- Navarrete, Martin Fernandez de. 1837. *Collección de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del Siglo XV*. Madrid: Imprenta nacional.
- Pigafetta, Antonio. 1525/1973. Primo viaggio intorno al mondo. In *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol 33, ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, 26-267. Mandaluyong: Cacho Hermanos, Inc.
- Pires, Tome. 1944. *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*. London: The Hakluyt Society.



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERNATIONAL MARITIME TRADING NETWORK AND THE ISLAMIZATION PROCESS IN JAVA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

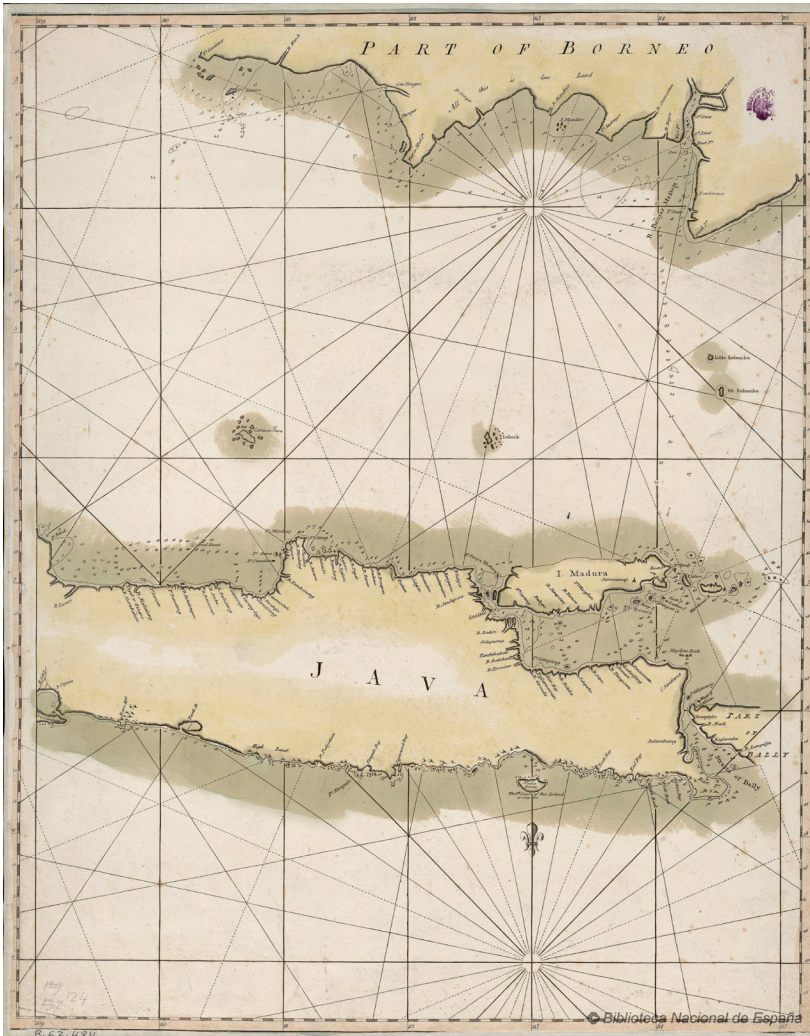
Andri Setyo Nugroho and Dita Reista Nurfaizah

Introduction

JAVA HAS BEEN PART OF the international trading network since the 11th century. During this period, it was known to be a commodity market and as a trading port for commercial agents from the West and East. Travelers came as adventurers, merchants, and political envoys. Gradually, the ports of Java in the northern coastal area became popular markets of spices.

By the 14th century there were the five commercial zones surrounding Java, according to K.R. Hall.¹ The first zone stretched from the Bay of Bengal and the Coromandel coast in South India, to Burma, and the Malay peninsula up to West Sumatra. The second involved Malacca, China, and Europe. The third zone is comprised of East Malacca, Vietnam, and Thailand.² The fourth included Brunei and the Sulu Sea. The last zone was in the Java Sea which consisted of the

Left: The tombstone of Fatimah Bint Maimun in Leran, ca. 1910, from the Leiden University Libraries Digital Collection (under KITLV 99274). Per the catalog, her name is Poetri Dewi Swari, which was her title (*i.e.*, Dewi Ratna Swari) given to her by the king of Brawijaya.



Ca. 1750 map of Java and Borneo.

Sunda Strait, Maluku, Banda, Timor, the western beach of Kalimantan, Java, and the southern coast of Sumatra. The ports northern of Java were thus active as transit points, and as hubs for business and diplomatic transactions.

These activities exposed Java to various cultures, languages, belief systems, and customs especially with the Malays, Chinese, Champs,

Persians, Indians, Gujaratis, Bengalis, Tamils, Siamese, Bugis, Arabs, Kashmiris, Portuguese, and others. The cultural exchange that took place can still be observed in historical sites, culture, language, etc., more than any other trading network, particularly in relation to the coastal cities.

The entry of Islam via the trading networks occurred when the Javanese people still adhered to Hindu-Buddhist customs they practiced for centuries. People lived under the rule of Majapahit kings who controlled almost all of East Java and parts of Central Java. The process of Islamization also coincided with the decline of the Majapahit Empire.

The Javanese today, a majority of whom are Muslims, have their own narrative as to the spread and development of Islam. There are few written sources on the 15th-century collapse of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom and the subsequent development of Islam in Java, which gave rise to the assumption that the cause of the Majapahit collapse was the forceful conversion of the Javanese to Islam. However, this assumption is contrary to the principles of Islamization in which no coercion or violence should be used in conversion³ and as manifested in traditional literary works such as the *Serat Dharmagandhul* and *Serat Kanda*. Nevertheless, there is some contradiction in these texts for the *Serat Darmagandhul* and *Serat Kanda* also mention attacks against those who adhered to a different religion.

This study illustrates how the spread of Islam and trade were inseparable. It explains how international trade developed in the 15th century and paved the way for the entry of Islam into Java. The traders moved from the port then to the interior. They later formed communities that settled in the coastal cities and in the central areas of the kingdom. While the introduction of Islam was followed by the significant decline of the Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms, thus leading to the assumption that Islam was the cause of the decline, this study argues that the rise of commercial ports in northern Java led to a disruption of the power balance that ultimately caused the fall of the Majapahit. Thus, the involvement of Islam was only incidental.

The Oldest Evidence of Islamic Heritage in Java

Written sources do not provide much detail on the early presence of Muslims in Java, but information can be deduced from archaeological artifacts. Islam is believed to have arrived around the 11th century on the basis of the grave of Fatimah bint Maimun in Leran, Gresik. This artifact is considered to be the earliest evidence of the presence of Muslims in Java and throughout Indonesia⁴ by local and foreign historians.⁵ However, despite its significance to historical and archaeological studies, this Kufi-styled tombstone, which is the only one in the region, has also raised some doubts. Aside from the isolated location of its discovery, research by Ludvik Kalus and Claude Guillot showed no evidence of any Fatimah bint Maimun who died in Java. These have led to the conjecture that the tombstone could have been imported. Possibly, even once used as ballast on a foreign merchant ship that ended up in Java.⁶

Kalus and Guillot's research may have diminished the historical value of the headstone, but it also raises the need for a reassessment of the evidence on the early existence of Islamic groups on the island. While the headstone has drawn the attention of many researchers, there are other artifacts that show the early existence of Islam in the region, like the Troloyo funeral complex near the area of Trowulan, considered the center of the capital city of Majapahit.

In contrast to the Leran gravestone which showed workings of foreign influence, the artifacts from the Troloyo burial site were made either by Chinese Muslims who lived and settled in Majapahit or by locals who were new converts or were not yet Muslim.⁷ The first assumption is more popular because the lettering style resembles those on gravestones in Brunei and Quanzhou.

A reading of the years inscribed on the gravestones in the Troloyo cemetery (some people call it Kubur Pitu because of the presence of seven tombs, while others call it Kuburan Srengenge because the gravestone has a *srengenge* or sunlight pattern) show that the artifacts were made from the 13th to 15th centuries. In the Kubur Pitu complex, four of the seven gravestones had carved Saka years and were patterned

after the Surya Majapahit.⁸ The years indicated in headstones are 1397 Saka (1475 AD),⁹ 1349 Saka (1427 AD), and 1389 Saka (1467 AD), 1319 Saka¹⁰ (1397 AD). The third gravestone has a different shape from the other headstones. In general, gravestones in Troloyo are shaped like a buffalo head, and the top is like that of Kala Makara structures.¹¹ Some use *tumpal* (triangular motifs) in the middle, and some have Majapahit solar motifs, but the third headstone has a curly shape which makes the sides taller and look square rather than round like the others.

In addition to having Surya Majapahit motifs and years, the gravestone in Troloyo also has holy verses from the Al Quran. When compared to the tombstone of Fatimah bint Maimun or Maulana Malik Ibrahim however, the shape of the Troloyo gravestone is not as well made. There are also errors in the inscription of some verses on the tombstone that change their meaning.

A possible explanation is that the gravestone was made by a member of the Hanafi sect, which was active in the area. The sect is known for making the conduct of religious activities easier for the *muallaf* or the new adherents to Islam. For instance, while Arabic is the language of Islamic prayer, adherents of the sect were allowed to use everyday language until they mastered Arabic. The errors could have thus resulted from the maker's unfamiliarity with Arabic writing.

Because the trade network brought people from other lands to Java at the time of the making of the Troloyo tombstones. It is thus possible that the tombstone makers in Troloyo were Hanafi sect Chinese Muslims or newly converted local residents.¹²

Not far from the Troloyo cemetery, there is a headstone that is believed to mark the burial place of Putri Champa, the wife of Brawijaya V. The gravestone is inscribed 1370 Saka (1448 AD). Near this artifact is another headstone that looks different from the other headstones in the complex, marked only with the year 1290 Saka (1368 AD).

Traces of Islamic heritage are also found on two headstones from the 15th century in Gresik. The first gravestone belongs to Maulana Malik Ibrahim, who died on 12 Robbiul Awal 822 Hijriyah (1419 AD). The second gravestone is located north of Maulana Malik Ibrahim, with the year 1361 Saka (1439 AD), and a verse of the Koran in the

style of letters from Cambay in Gujarat.

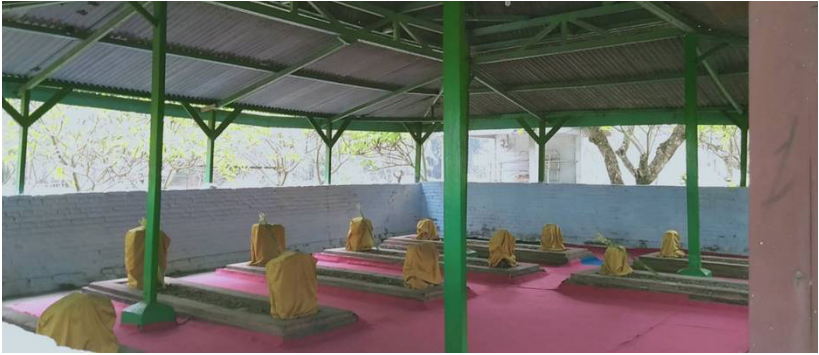
Islam and the Establishment of a Commercial City North of Java

In the bureaucratic structure of the Majapahit kingdom, the Bhaṭṭāra, Bhra, or Bhre was authorized to control the vassal region.¹³ In the 15th century, the Majapahit's vassal areas consisted of Jagaraga, Kahuripan, Kĕling, Tanjungpura, Pajang, Kembang Jenar, Kalinggapura, Wengkĕr, Kabalan, Tumapel, Singhapura, Matahun, and Wirabhumi.¹⁴ Most of these areas were located around large rivers such as Brantas and Bengawan Solo. In connection with political and economic activities, these two rivers were important for the Majapahit as these were the passageways that connected the coastal region with the interior and center of the kingdom.

In addition to the Brantas and Bengawan Solo areas, Majapahit also included the Singhasari area on the northern coast of Java, which was named Tuban.¹⁵ In Pires' account, Tuban is mentioned as the closest port that connected the capital city of Majapahit in Daha with the northern coast of Java by land.¹⁶ The Tuban region then developed into a port enabling trade between Java and Banda, Ternate, Ambon, Banjarmasin, Malacca, and the Philippines.¹⁷ It also had an important meaning for the development of Majapahit, namely as an international port and one of the trade networks in Southeast Asia.

Based on archaeological findings, the northern coast of Java was frequented by traders from China, Persia, Arabia, Gujarat, and India. According to Wolters, to establish trade power in the region, geographical factors that were not possessed by other regions were needed.¹⁸ Tuban and its rival, Gresik, became suitable places for trading posts, the latter, according to Pires, was where the people of Gujarat, Calicut, Bengal, Siam, China, and Liu-Kiu (Ryukyu) used to anchor and depart.¹⁹

The distribution of Islamic sites along the northern coast of Java indicates that Muslims crowded these ports. The discovery of the Fatimah bint Maimun's headstone provides an important clue about traders who came to the north coast from areas where Islamic



From top clockwise: Tombs in Kubur Pitu; a headstone in Kubur Pitu with Arabic Calligraphy; another tombstone in Kubur Pitu with Surya Majapahit Pattern. Photos by the authors.

development was rapid. The existence of the grave of Maulana Malik Ibrahim in Gresik also confirms that Muslims may not have only carried out trade activities but also spread the religion at the onset of the 15th century. With this, Gresik became one of the oldest places for the spread of Islam.²⁰

The rise of the northern Java coast as a trade center led to the development of its ports into cities with multi-ethnic communities. By the end of the 15th century, trading was controlled by Javanese

merchants.²¹ It was a setback to the central rulers of Majapahit for rulers of the coastal areas who were affiliated with the traders, vied for control. Regional rulers moved to free their respective territories from the kingdom's rule and the prosperous conditions in coastal areas favored them. This hastened the fall of the Majapahit. A prolonged civil war rooted in economic changes was thus the main cause of the Majapahit's decline.

Pires noted that there were wars among coastal local authorities and even occasionally with Tuban which was under the control of Guste Pate.²² Wars can be caused by religious factors, but seemingly it was not so in this case. Although most of the coastal areas were dominated by Muslims, it is difficult to say that the attack on Daha was an attempt to destroy the infidel communities as told in the *Serat Dharmagandul* and the *Serat Kanda*.

In the war between the coastal authorities or with Guste Pate, Andreski's opinion can help determine the motives for the conflict:

A war can occur because of efforts to gain power, wealth, and prestige, in which all three are related to one another.²³ Another factor is the motive of interest in a community or nation's solidarity. Other reasons include some people in the community whose desire to control the market is mostly carried out by traders; groups of people who want to occupy certain posts; investors to invest capital; landlords to oversee the plantations; or rulers to gain grandeur and wealth.

Based on Anderski's view, the possibility that Muslims destroyed Majapahit is thus unlikely. In the heyday of the Majapahit, the Muslim community peacefully co-existed with the Hindu-Buddhist majority population. The Muslims were allowed to carry out the *dashārdha* (five-time prayers).²⁴ The gravestone in the Toloyo even shows that officials and close relatives of the king were Muslim converts.

The greater possibility is that a war occurred between the coastal communities and the Majapahit because of the struggle for economic

dominance. The development of the coastal area, dominated by regional authorities and merchants, provoked the Majapahit which controlled only Tuban. When the Majapahit controlled almost the entire archipelago, they began to carry out attacks to conquer the northern coastal areas, as Pires corroborated. With agricultural activity developing in the interior close to the center of power, the coastal areas were neglected except for shipping and port interests.

It is incidental that the arrival of Islamic traders brought changes to the coastal region. They stayed and settled, built cities, appointed leaders, and spread their religion. These areas were considered strategic because they were easy to reach by overseas vessels. Moreover, they were distant from the authorities at the center of the kingdom. Such conditions facilitated the spread Islam by the first Islamic propagators on Java whom the locals called *walisanga*. Their graves remain intact along the north coast of the island.

The Spread of Islam in the 15th Century

There are periodic gaps from the arrival of Islam to its spread and development. Initially, Islamization was facilitated by Muslim merchants, and the Ulema,²⁵ who were either Arab or Indian. The Islamization process that occurred in other trading areas in the region also occurred in Indonesia, but it was in the 15th and 16th centuries that the main aspects of Islamic identity in Southeast Asia—trading, intellectual exchange, patterns of human movement, and forms of literature and art developed.²⁶ Islam in Java resembled that in South Asia (Malabar in the West and Coromandel in the East) which spread through the spice trade. Both had the same *madhab* (genre of Islam).

The spread of Islam in Java in the 15th century is identified with the Ulemas, the first of whom were Maulana Malik Ibrahim and Maulana Malik Ishaq. Both were major figures in the transition from Hindu-Buddhism to Islam at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century.

Maulana Malik Ibrahim spread Islam in Gresik and its surroundings. He was known by other titles, such as Sunan Tandhes,

Sunan Gribigh, Sunan Raja Wali, Wali Quthub, Mursyidul Auliya' Wali Sanga, Sayyidul Auliya' Wali Sanga, Maulana Maghribi, and Syekh Maghribi.²⁷ People preferred to call him Maulana Maghribi or Syekh Maghribi because he was said to have come from Maghrib, Maroko, Africa.²⁸ In Java, people used Gribigh instead of Maghribi to facilitate pronunciation as in "Sunan Gribigh." He also had another name which the people liked to use Kakek Bantal (The Grandfather of Pillow) because they could always share their complaints with him and have their problems resolved. Before he came to East Java, he went to Champa, where as early as the late 10th century, Muslim merchant ships from China already filled the Khmer and Champa ports.²⁹

Maulana Malik Ishaq, on the other hand, married the princess of Blambangan (the earlier name of Banyuwangi) during his stay in Banyuwangi and had a son who also became an Ulema before returning to Pasai. He went to Champa to avoid the Crusades, the war between Islam and Christianity. While living there, he successfully converted the king of Champa, his Majesty Kiyan. Based on oral traditions, he became a son-in-law by marrying the princess, Dewi Candrawulan or Ratna Dyah Siti Asmara. She was the younger sister of Dewi Dwarati, mother of Raden Patah who married the last king of Majapahit, His Majesty Brawijaya. With Ratna Dyah Siti Asmara, Maulana Malik Ishaq had two sons, one of whom also later became a preacher, Raden Santri Ali Raden Rahmat, also known as Sunan Ampel. After a long stay in Champa, Maulana Malik Ibrahim proceeded to Java during the reign of the Majapahit in the early 15th century.

The controversy of when exactly Islam first reached Java is still ongoing. Some believe that Islam arrived in the 11th century based on the tomb of Fatimah bint Maimun in Leran, Gresik dated to 1082 AD. Others say the 14th century, based on the funeral complex in Trowulan dating back to 1327 AD. The third view is that Islam came to Java in the 15th century based on the gravestone of Maulana Malik Ibrahim dated 1419 AD. The arrival of Islam in Java could also possibly be determined by way of the countries where Islamic traders and propagators originated, such as Arabia, India, Cambodia, China, and other parts of West Asia.

Various preaching strategies were employed to spread Islam. Maulana Malik Ibrahim is remembered for appreciating and respecting diversity before preaching. He learned the Javanese language and observed the lifestyle of the people. Then he opened a small shop and began trading basic commodities at the open port. This kind of trading became the means of *da'wah* (preaching). He came to know many people and built good relations with them, regardless of their social status.³⁰ Besides trading, he also had knowledge of systematic agriculture and Islamic medical practices, which he applied in Java. He served free of charge and for *da'wah*, nothing else. Despite being a rich son-in-law of the king of Champa, he positioned himself the same way as the others. Because of his admirable attitude, he attracted people to Islam, many of whom converted. Maulana Malik Ibrahim eventually built a *Pesucinan* (mosque) and a *pesantren* (a dormitory for the people who wanted to learn Islam's deeper meaning). Also with the help of his students, he greatly immensely contributed to the spread of Islam in Java.

Conclusion

Increased port activity on the coast of northern Java led to the development of trading centers where people from various parts of the world went during the end of the 15th century. Interactions between residents and traders from various parts of the world led to cultural assimilation, which included the spread of Islam.

The development of the port into a trading city led to intense competition among rulers of the coastal regions. The Majapahit kingdom which was in a weakened state due to internal conflict tried to restore its former glory by controlling the trade centers which triggered a war on the north coast.

The development of trading centers also led to intense competition among rulers of the coastal regions and the Majapahit Empire. Already in a weakened state, it tried to restore its former glory by trying to take control of the trade centers, which resulted into a civil war that ended the empire. Thus, the spread of Islam which came with the

development of trade centers, was only incidental to the economic reasons that ultimately led to the downfall of the Majapahit Empire.

Endnotes

¹ K.R. Hall, "The Opening of the Malay World to European Trade in the Sixteenth Century." *The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 58, no. 2 (1985): 86-89.

² Charvit Kaetsiri, *The Rise of Ayudhya, A History of Siam in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1976).

³ Adrian Perkasa, *Orang-Orang Tionghoa dan Islam di Majapahit* (Yogyakarta: Ombak Press, 2012), 11-12.

⁴ N. A. Baloch, *The Advent of Islam in Indonesia* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1980), 30.

⁵ Among them is Uka Tjandrasasmita, *Arkeologi Islam Nusantara* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2009); Marwati Djoened Poesponegoro and Nugroho Notosusanto, eds., *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia III* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2008); and Baloch, *Advent of Islam*, ___.

⁶ Ludvik Kalus & Claude Guillot, *Inskripsi Islam Tertua di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2008), 30-31.

⁷ Perkasa, *Orang-Orang Tionghoa*, 95-96.

⁸ One of the oldest Javanese sculptures, the form of "halos." Experts refer to it as "Majapahit Stralengkran." In the 13th to 15th centuries, this motif became the hallmark of Majapahit sculpture. Cf. L. Ch. Damais, "Makam Islam Bertarikh di Tralaya," in *Pusat Arkeologi Nasional, Epigrafi dan Sejarah Nusantara Pilihan Karya by Louise-Charles Damais* (Jakarta: Pusat Arkeologi Nasional, 1995), 243 notes 68.

⁹ Adrian Perkasa's reading of this gravestone is 1392 Saka. Cf. Perkasa, *Orang-Orang Tionghoa*, 81.

¹⁰ Tombstone number 4 has been damaged and can't be read today. This figure is the result of a reading by N. J. Krom. L. Ch. Damais said that this headstone reads 1329 Saka. Cf. Damais, *Makam Islam*, 271.

¹¹ Perkasa, *Orang-Orang Tionghoa*, 78.

¹² *Ibid.*, 112-114.

¹³ Titi Surti Nastiti, *Perempuan Jawa: Kedudukan dan Peranannya dalam Masyarakat Abad VIII-XV* (Bandung: Pustaka Jaya, 2016), 86.

¹⁴ M. Yamin, *Tatanegara Madjapahit Parwa II* (Djakarta: Jajasan Prapantja, 1962), 181-212.

¹⁵ C. C. Berg, *Kidung Harsa-Wijaya: Tekst, Inhoudsopgave en Aanteekeningen* (s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), 62. According to Kidung Ranggalawe, after successfully establishing

the Majapahit kingdom, Raden Wijaya placed Ranggalawe as the ruler of Tuban. See C.C. Berg, *Ranggalawe: Middeljavaansche Historische Roman* (Weltevreden: Albrecht & Co., 1930).

¹⁶ Tome Pires, *Suma Oriental* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2018), 232.

¹⁷ B. J. O. Schrieke, *Het Boek van Bonang. Bijdrage tot de kennis van den Islamiseering van Java* (Utrecht: P. Den Boer, 1916), 26.

¹⁸ O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Sriwijaya* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), 135-155.

¹⁹ Pires, *Suma Oriental*, 235.

²⁰ This assumption is based on the grave artifact of Maulana Malik Ibrahim in 822 Hijriyah or 1419 AD. If Maulana Malik Ibrahim died and was buried in that place, at least the spread of Islam had been carried out before that year or at the beginning of the 15th century.

²¹ Hasan Djafar, *Masa Akhir Majapahit: Girindrawarddhana & Masalahnya* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2012), 83.

²² Guste Pate is a person who controlled power in Majapahit which has a capital town in Daha. Tomo Pires, *Suma Oriental*, 224-242.

²³ Stanislaw Andreski, *Military Organization and Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 10-11.

²⁴ In the Canggal Inscription, it is stated that the ringing of a bell is a sign of worship which was five times from the beginning of the day until the evening for certain groups (acurinja kinansyan ri kälanya müjä dašârddha diwašapurwwapara). See M. Yamin, "Pertulisan Terawulan, 1358," in *Tatanegara Madjapahit Parwa II* (Jakarta: Jajasan Prapantja, 1962), 99. The translation is the same as that done by Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th century: The Nagarakertagama by Rakawi Prapanca of Majapahit 1365 A.D.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), 160.

²⁵ The term for a priest in Islam.

²⁶ Adrian Vickers, *Peradaban Pesisir: Menuju Sejarah Asia Tenggara* (Denpasar: Pustaka Larasan, 2009), 2.

²⁷ Maskyur Arif, *Sejarah Lengkap Walisanga: Dari Masa Kecil, Dewasa, hingga Akhir Hayatnya* (Yogyakarta: Dipta, 2013), 16.

²⁸ There is still any controversy about his origin. He might be from Persia or Arabia. Excerpted from Arifin Suryo Nugroho, *Ziarah Wali: Wisata Spiritual Sepanjang Masa* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Timur, 2007), 3.

²⁹ G. R. Tibbetts, "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia." *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30, no. 1 (1957): 21.

³⁰ Rizem Aizid, *Sejarah Islam Nusantara* (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2016).

References

ARTIFACT

Inscription of Headstone of Fatimah Bint Maimun in the Museum of Majapahit

Inscription of Headstone in the Maulana Malik Ibrahim Tomb Complex, Gresik

Inscription of Headstone in the Putri Champa Tomb Complex, Trowulan

Inscription of Headstone in the Tralaya Tomb Complex, Trowulan

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Aizid, Rizem. 2016. *Sejarah Islam Nusantara*. Yogyakarta: Diva Press.

Andreski, Stanislav. 1968. *Military Organization and Society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Arif, Masykur. 2013. *Sejarah Lengkap Walisanga: Dari Masa Kecil, Dewasa, hingga Akhir Hayatnya*. Yogyakarta: Dipta.

Baloch, N. A. 1980. *The Advent of Islam in Indonesia*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.

Berg, C. C. 1931. *Kidung Harsa-Wijaya: Tekst, Inhoudsopgave en Aanteekeningen*. s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.

_____. 1930. *Ranggalawe: Middeljawaansche Historische Roman*. Weltevreden: Albrecht & Co.

Damais, Louise Charles. 1995. Makam Islam Bertarikh di Tralaya. In *Epigrafi dan Sejarah Nusantara Pilihan Karya Louise-Charles Damais*, edited by Pusat Arkeologi Nasional, 223-334. Jakarta: Pusat Arkeologi Nasional.

Djafar, Hasan. Masa Akhir Majapahit: Girindrawarddhana & Masalahnya. Depok: Komunitas Bambu. 2012.

Guillot, Ludvik Kalus & Claude. 2008. *Inskripsi Islam Tertua di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.

Hall, Kennet R. 1985. "The Opening of the Malay World to European Trade in the Sixteenth Century." *The Malaysian Branch of the Royal*

- Asiatic Society* 58, no. 2: 85-106.
- Kaetsiri, Charvit. 1976. *The Rise of Ayudhya: A History of Siam in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Marwati Djoened & Nugroho Notosusanto, eds. 2008. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia III*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Nastiti, Titi Surti. 2016. *Perempuan Jawa: Kedudukan dan Peranannya dalam Masyarakat Abad VIII-XV*. Bandung: Pustaka Jaya.
- Nugroho, Arifin Suryo. 2007. *Ziarah Wali: Wisata Spiritual Sepanjang Masa*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Timur.
- Perkasa, Adrian. 2012. *Orang-Orang Tionghoa dan Islam di Majapahit*. Yogyakarta: Ombak Press.
- Pigeaud, Th. G. 1960. *Java in the 14th Century: The Nagarakertagama by Rakawi Prapanca of Majapahit 1365 A.D.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Pires, Tomé. 2018. *Suma Oriental*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.
- Qurtuby, Sumanto Al. 2003. *Arus Cina-Islam Jawa: Bongkar Sejarah atas Peranan Tionghoa dalam Penyebaran Agama Islam di Nusantara Abad XV & XVI*. Yogyakarta: Inspeal Ahimsakarya Press.
- Robson, S. O. 1981. "Java at the Crossroads: Aspects of Javanese Cultural History in the 14th and 15th Centuries." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 137, no. 2/3: 259-292.
- Schrieke, B. J. O. 2016. *Het Boek van Bonang, Bijdrage tot de kennis van den Islamiseering van Java*. Utrecht: P. Den Boer.
- Sen, Tan Ta. 2018. *Ceng Ho: Penyebar Islam dari China ke Nusantara*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Sunyoto, Agus. 2004. *Sunan Ampel Raja Surabaya: Membaca Kembali Dinamika Perjuangan Dakwah Islam di Jawa Abad XIV-XV M*. Surabaya: Diantama.
- Tibbetts, G. R. 1957. "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia." *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30, no. 1: 1-45.
- Tjadrasasmita, Uka. 2009. *Arkeologi Islam Nusantara*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.

- Vickers, Adrian. 2009. *Peradaban Pesisir: Menuju Sejarah Asia Tenggara*. Denpasar: Pustaka Larasan.
- Wolters, O. W. 1967. *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Sriwijaya*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Yamin, M. 1962. Pertulisan Terawulan, 1358. In *Tatanegara Madjapahit Parwa II*, by M. Yamin, 97-105. Djakarta: Jajasan Prapantja.
- _____. 1962. "Prasasti Widjaja-Parakrama-Wardana, 1447 M (Prasasti Warinin Pitu)." In *Tatanegara Madjapahit Parwa II*, by M. Yamin, 181-212. Djakarta: Jajasan Prapantja.



Hete; como hazia en los Arboles
para su seguridad.

sus Casas ordinarias

Piza de hobia, o Carrachos

Along, e Carillo, Capas por pag. 97

CHAPTER 4

THE 16TH CENTURY VISAYAN WARRIOR AND HIS WEAPONS

Felice Noelle Rodriguez, PhD

Introduction

IN 1565, OVER FOUR DECADES after local leader Lapulapu successfully mobilized the people of Mactan to defend themselves against Magellan's attack, the Sugbuanons faced another representative of the Spanish king through Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. Let us thus go back five centuries to imagine the Visayan warrior and his weapons during those early encounters with the Spanish military.

This paper shall review weaponry and personal protection in the Visayan context. Gold and iron may have survived as archaeological artifacts, but the majority of weapons made out of wood, bamboo, and rattan have been lost to organic decomposition. We have, however, words and descriptions that offer us a glimpse of this vital legacy, including the care and creativity inspiring the craftsmanship of Visayan weaponry. Variegated sources enable this tentative assessment

Left: An illustration of two Visayan warriors in Fr. Francisco Ignacio Alcina, SJ's *Historia de la Bisaya* (1668). From Alfred Louis Kroeber's *Peoples of the Philippines* (1943) courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History Library via Internet Archive.

of Visayan weaponry and armor. These include chronicles, wordlists and dictionaries, archaeological artifacts, anthropological resources, and early illustrations. The chronicles of Antonio Pigafetta, Miguel de Loarca, Francisco Ignacio Alcina (heretofore referred to as Alcina), and the Boxer Codex shall be sifted through, as well as the Spanish-Visayan dictionary by Fr. Matheo Sanchez, SJ and Pigafetta's glossary. Archeological artifacts and illustrations found in the Boxer Codex and Alcina's work provide us with images of Visayan weaponry as well.

In 1565, Legazpi sought to meet with the native leader, Rajah Tupas. He sent his men to arrange for a blood compact, the accepted peace ritual. But the Sugbuanons refused the offer as they saw themselves as warriors defending their settlement. Threat was therefore issued — if they refuse, the natives should “accept the responsibility and guilt for all the deaths, damages and adversities that might in that event ensue.”¹ Two thousand warriors thus assembled for civil defense along the shores of Sugbu (Cebu):

But at length seeing that all our good intentions were of no avail, and that all the natives had put on their wooden corselets and rope armor and had armed themselves with their lances, shields, small cutlasses, and arrows; and that many plumes and varicolored headdresses were waving; and that help of men had come in prahu from the outside, so that their number must be almost two thousand warriors and seeing that there was no hope for peace, and that they did not wish it although we had offered it -the master of camp said to the natives through an interpreter: ‘Since you do not desire our friendship, but are anxious for war, wait until we have landed and look to it that you act as men, and defend yourselves from us, and guard your houses.’ The Indians answered boldly: ‘Be it so! Come on! We await you here.’ And thereupon they broke into loud cries, covering themselves with their shields and brandishing their lances. Then they returned to the place whence they had set out, hurling their lances by divisions of three at the boat, and

returning again to their station, going and coming as in a game of cañas.

This description serves as a window to the world of Cebuano warfare. We shall look closely at this description and expound on the implements line by line, for it provides more than just a glimpse into native society — based on descriptions of war and war implements, we begin to understand native action in the face of threat, and thus allows us to look into the meanings of native action at the time of the colonial encounter. It offers a way of developing a deeper understanding of native life as we sift through Spanish chronicles.

Mangayao

Early Visayan modes of resistance drew from their experiences with raiding. They would go on raids called *mangayao*, wreaking chaos and havoc on the communities they attacked. Spanish conquistador Miguel de Loarca wrote of them as a “courageous and warlike race.”² Visayan accounts narrate the exploits of a datu of Bohol who raided all the way to Jolo, Mindanao, Brunei, and even the coasts of China is sung.³ On long journeys, the mangangayao of Ibabao would pass by or stop at certain places such as Albay, the shores of Manila to Casiguran, and as far as the islands of Catanduanes. They would take many captives, and at times, princesses. According to Alcina, he knew descendants of captives in some towns in Bobon (Viri) and Boroga.⁴

During the raiding season, careful preparations were made in anticipation of the warriors’ triumphal return. Ships, weapons and people were prepared. Sea vessels – *balangay*, *caracoa*, and *prahu* – were readied. Daggers, swords, spears, bows and arrows were sharpened; armors and shields strengthened. Allied towns were invited to partake in raids, as were relatives and friends. The strategy for attack was planned. Part of the preparations involved summoning the spirits, or anitos. Anitos took many forms. The anito Humalgar was known as the serpent twin of a warrior who joined in the battles. The warrior was believed to draw courage from Humalgar.⁵ Prayers were



National Artist Vicente Manansala's *Planting of the Cross* (1965) featuring the siblings Rajah Colambu and Siaui besides Magellan. Courtesy of the National Museum.

offered to other *anitos* (deity) like Varangao, the rainbow, Ynaguinid and Macanduc.⁶ Preparation for battle was pointless without the *anitos* on their side. In summoning the spirits of the Visayas, the *anitos* were called *pagdaga*, literally translated as “that we may conquer.” To bless a planned attack, a vessel would be launched over the body of a slave. Vessels stained with slave blood were considered to be those of the most courageous and valiant. The sacrificed slave usually hailed from the community about to be attacked. “After the *pagdaga*, with weapons and war vessels in place, and omens favourable, the *mangayao* would commence.”⁷

The sound of many canes being struck together (*bodong*) or the sound of the *tambor* or *tambuli* (big snail-like shell used as a wind instrument) gripped the hearts of men. It was the sound of war. In panic, many would flee their houses, taking refuge in the hills, leaving everything behind.⁸ As the *balangay* and *caracoa* approached, the clanking of large bells and the rhythmic thumping of the *caratong* (cylindrical drum) in the war vessels added to the frenzy.

The Warrior

When Magellan arrived in 1521, Cebu was pointed out as the main port of the region. There were rules that involved the payment of harbor fees, and the leaders spoke Melayu Pasar, the language of commerce, and so understood Enrique de Malacca, Magellan's slave who was the interpreter of the expedition. It was the center of trade with other communities or villages in its sphere of influence. Rajah Humabon possessed the title of Rajah, or king.

Pigafetta gave vivid descriptions of the "kings" of the peoples they encountered. The first "king" they encountered was seated in a large balangay below an awning of mats. The expedition's interpreter slave Enrique de Malacca could converse with him "for in that country, the kings know more languages than the common people do." The "kings" were called Raia Colambu, and the other Raia Siau.⁹ Raia, or rather Rajah, was the title for the leader of the communities. In his word list of the Bisayan language, Pigafetta equates Rajah to a "king, or a great captain-general."¹⁰ Pigafetta described Colambu as:

...the most handsome person who we saw among those peoples. He had very black hair to his shoulders, with a silk cloth on his head, and two large gold rings hanging from his ears. He wore a cotton cloth, embroidered with silk, which covered him from his waist to his knees. At his side he had a dagger, with a long handle, and all of gold, the sheath of which was of carved wood. Withal he wore on his person perfumes of storax and benzoin. He was tawny and painted all over. His island is called Butuan and Calaghan.¹¹

Another description by Pigafetta is that of the king of "Zzubu" or Cebu, Rajah Humabon: "When we had come to the town, we found the king of Cebu at his palace, seated on the ground on a mat of palms, with many people. He was quite naked, except for a linen cloth covering his private parts, and round his head a very loose cloth, embroidered with silk. Round his neck he had a very heavy and rich chain, and in his two

ears two gold rings hung with precious stones. He was a short man, and fat, and had his face painted with fire in diverse patterns.”¹²

Names of the towns and their “lords” were provided by Pigafetta, including lords Zzula (Zula) and Çilapulapu (Lapulapu) of Mattan (Mactan). However, no description of Lapulapu, the hero who triumphed over Magellan, was given except that he “refused to obey the King of Spain.”¹³ But we can surmise that Lapulapu successfully mobilized his own community as well as other nearby communities to defend themselves against Magellan. And in 1565, forty years after Lapulapu’s triumph, the Sugbuanons faced Legazpi.

It is important to remember though that most Visayan warriors were not full-time warriors, and thus military capacity would be comparable to militias or guerrillas mobilized at particular times rather than that of a standing army, as would be the case with conquerors. The Rajah, or another title, the *datu*, was the leader. The *timawa*, known as warriors, were part of the naval force, usually as oarsmen of war vessels. They were often the illegitimate children or other relatives of the datu who served as bodyguards to him at other times. They also tasted the chieftain’s drinks and food, making sure they were not poisoned. During times of war, they were entrusted with the *datu*’s weapons.¹⁴

Slaves called *horo-hanes* were tasked to row the *balangay* for the *datu*. They served their masters in times of war: in sea vessels, they were oarsmen; on land, they were foot soldiers. When they died, their children, in turn, became *horo-hanes* – oarsmen or soldiers in raiding. At certain feasts, they were accepted in residences as guests.¹⁵ An illustration of a possible *horo-hanes* is one done by Alcina labeled as an *esclavo* (slave). He is holding in his left hand an oar, possibly signifying his role as an oarsman during times of raid.¹⁶

The bravest amongst all, though — those who possessed extraordinary courage and strength — were given a special title, *daragangan*. It was the highest accolade that could be bestowed on any warrior.

What did the *daragangan* wear? Let us go back to the description of the several hundred warriors arrayed for battle along the shores



An illustration of a Visayan slave with his wife and child in Fr. Francisco Ignacio Alcina, SJ's *Historia de la Bisaya* (1668). Courtesy of the University of Santo Tomas Press.

of Cebu that faced Legazpi in 1565. Let us look into each line in the description and expound on the implements and insignias by looking at other sources to bring out its richness.

Pudung

On the head, *pudung* or turbans were worn by men. This was an ordinary headdress that came in different colors. Alcina noted that the “common ones are of abaca and are wound twice around the head, leaving the center of the head exposed.” He further added that the *principales* (nobles or the ruling class) “had them made of linen and completely embroidered with silk and twisted about their head many more times.”¹⁷ But for warriors, its length and color had special significance. In terms of length, they provided defense against some weapons as the turbans came down over the forehead and temples. The *pudung* could be lengthened depending on the number of people killed. Alcina said “more and more brazas were added to the length and to the turns of the pudung and the *bahag* (loincloth) as the number of killings

increased.”¹⁸ Ornate fringes were left hanging down onto the warrior’s shoulders, and for the bravest who had killed many, the *pudung* could hang down to one’s feet. To wear an embroidered *pudung*, one had to have killed at least seven people; no marks were allowed unless one had killed more than seven.¹⁹ The *pudung* could be worn in different colors, but it was the color red that had the most significance. This was called the *pinaiusan* or *pinayusan* made of selected white abaca dyed red. “This was the regal dress, the festive attire of the most distinguished and the most valiant,” the Visayan chronicler furthered. “And only they who had performed some proved deed of killing (an enemy) had the privilege and right to wear this red apparel,” he continued.²⁰

It is important to note that the dye used to bring about this bright red was called *palo niño* by Alcina, to wit:

This dye is so suitable for this species of abaca that no other manta, either of cotton or any other material, takes the color so vividly or brilliantly as this particular kind. The result is a scarlet-like look which never loses its brightness. After dyeing them, they untie them, stretch and pull them apart in order to take out the wrinkles; in fact, they even knead them with a piece of wood made for this purpose. Next, they burnish them so that they become very bright and shiny.

The illustration of the Visayan couple in the Boxer Codex shows the man in bright red *pudung* and complete top and bottom in red. This could possibly have been the *pinayusan* festive wear. And in Visayan humor, those who were not brave and yet wore a red *pudung* were called out to be a *palalaka*²¹ or white-bellied woodpecker (*Dryocopus javensis*), most likely because of the bird’s red tuft of feathers on its head.²²

Right: An illustration of a Visayan couple from the Boxer Codex (ca. 1590). Courtesy of the Lilly Library, Indiana University Bloomington via National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

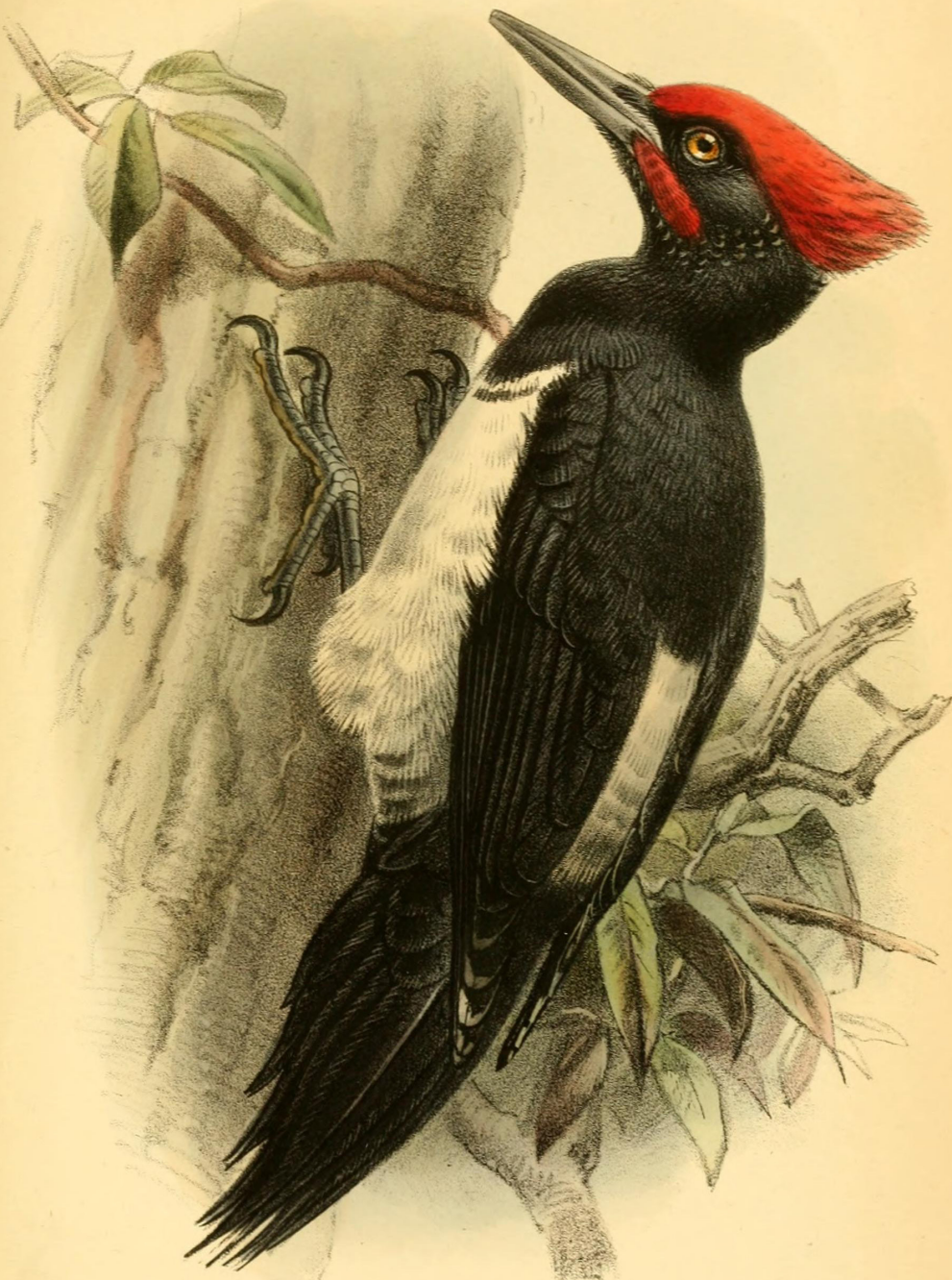


Another ingenious protection for the head was half a coconut, split through the middle to make a good helmet with both the fibrous part, called *bonot*, and the hard shell, called *bagol*. It was light but provided sufficient protection due to its filaceous material.²³ In some places, they wore helmets or morions made of very strong fish skin. The *ponsuan*, a ray fish with very tough hide, was most likely used.²⁴

Baluti

The word used in the original document by Legazpi is *escaupiles*, a type of ancient indigenous Mexican armor.²⁵ This was an apt word to use since the Visayans used a coat of mail akin to it for protection of the chest, called *barote* or *baluti*. It was usually designed with half sleeves down to about the elbows, and draped below the waist to the knees. So as not to impede arm and leg movements, they were tied in front, overlapping over the chest. This way, the torso was doubly protected. The woven cords were made from wood bark called *vago*, or with thick cotton, and hence did not weigh much. Due to the tightness of the weave, the material used, as well as the resin applied inside and outside the *barote*, it was strong and impenetrable. It was almost impossible to separate the fibers or to untie the cords.²⁶ According to the Boxer Codex, this armor was made in the form of a cuirass from cotton fiber. It is described as very strong; even if struck by a lance, although only from a short distance, no harm will result.²⁷ In his dictionary, Fr. Mateo Sanchez described it as a “knitted jerkin, very dense and fashioned in such a way that it will not allow water to pass.” He also noted that there would have been buttons called *pacot* to the *baroti*. The illustration of a Baru Sinali, a Malayan armor of woven cord, fits this description.²⁸ Aside from those made of cotton, they also had other protective armor made of wood for breast and back plates.²⁹ A number of examples of armor found in the south in the 18th-19th centuries show the use of

Right: An 1892 illustration of a white-bellied woodpecker (*Dryocopus javensis*), previously known as *Thriponax kalinowskii*, by John Gerrard Keulemans. From *The Ibis, a Quarterly Journal of Ornithology*, Vol. 4, Series 6 (1892) courtesy of the Smithsonian Libraries via Internet Archive.



J G Keulemans del et lith.

Mintern Bros. imp.

THRIPONAX KALINOWSKII.

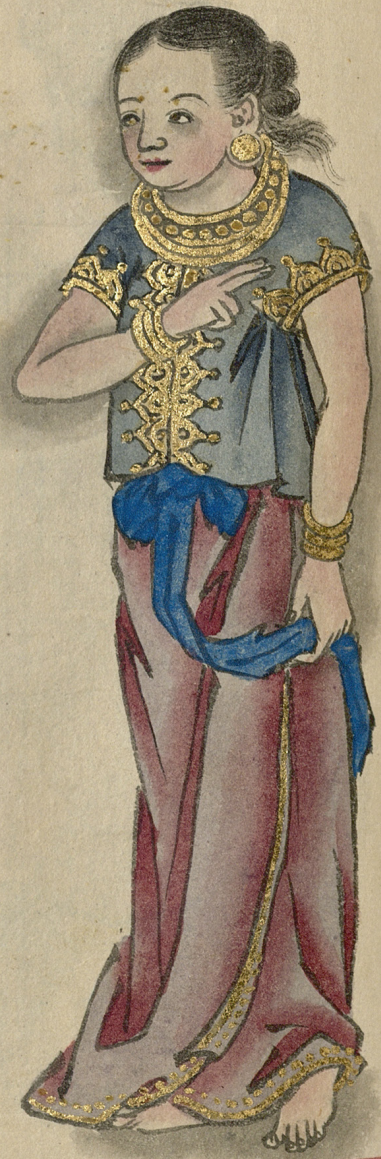
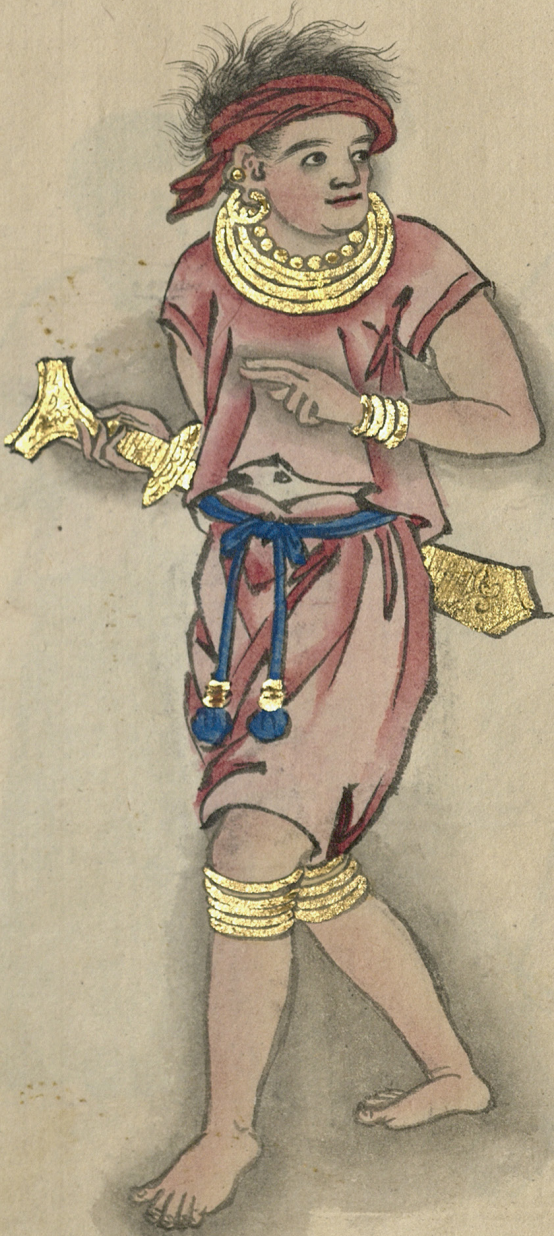
breast and back plates some made of wood, others of brass or bone. An example would be this Moro armor labeled as “hauberk and helmet of plates of karbau horn connected by heavy brass mail”. Instead of being connected by heavy brass mail these plates may have been stitched together as well with *liana* or some vine.”³⁰

They also had corselets of buffalo skin, and some made from the skin of elephants which, according to the Boxer Codex, could still be found on the island of Jolo in the late 16th century.³¹ The Malayan armor, a Moro helmet, and corselet of karbau hide are examples of these.

Nitu

Although not mentioned by Pigafetta, *nitu* was a black cord which men were accustomed to wind from below the knee to the calf of the leg. Alcina said that it was a sign of valor in ancient times but was no longer a vogue during his time in the Visayas.³² The word was derived from a namesake forest fern that grew to about six feet.³³ Moreover, Fr. Antonio Sánchez de la Rosa and Antonio Valeriano Alcazar noted in the dictionary that “the mountain folk use this *nitu* to fashion bracelets and as a remedy against poisonous attacks.” “Its ground or mashed roots are an effective remedy in cases of insect or animal bites, even though it produces a strong, burning effect when applied,” they continued.³⁴ In the illustration by Alcina of a couple performing *quigal*, the man has an ornament entwined in his leg, but it is around his ankles and not just below the knee. It is not indicated what this ornament around the ankles is made of.³⁵ Also, in an illustration in the Boxer Codex of a Visayan couple, the man wears gold bangle ornaments on his leg, just below his knee.³⁶

Right: Another illustration of a Visayan couple from the Boxer Codex (ca. 1590). Courtesy of the Lilly Library, Indiana University Bloomington via National Historical Commission of the Philippines.



Bancau, Bankaw

Lances of various shapes and sizes were generally called *bankaw*. Of all the weapons of the Visayans, Scott identified the *bankaw* as the most important of all, not only in warfare but also as a symbol in rituals and business transactions.³⁷ Some of these *bankaw* had iron tips called *songil*. These were almost a palm and a half long, and three or four fingers wide. Those made in good proportion and shape were called *pinamascan*. In some places, these were made of silver or gold so as to both ornament and strengthen the iron, such that the shaft was difficult to splinter even when a blow was struck with great might. Some of these *songil* were called *budiac*, referring to those that were longer, wider, and slimmer than other *songil*. There were also smaller ones, almost of the same shape, that were used for hunting. On other lances, they used *bejuco* (vine) instead of casing.³⁸ Depending on their shape and size, the other names of *bankaw* with iron tips are: *ipambok*, a small spear or lance; *tumbok*, a medium sized one; *lunab*, one that is very narrow and slim; *pinuso*, one that resembles the cluster of the banana shoot when it is just beginning to appear; *binusluran*, that of a very thick body mid-way; *piniris*, one that has a short nipple; *tinikol*, one that resembles the eye of a *tikol* (rattan, probably alluding to its fruit) and *binalo*, similar somewhat to the *songil*.³⁹

Lances and spears without iron tips were also used. Pigafetta himself writes that in defiance of Magellan's 'peace' (surrender) terms to accept the King of Spain as their king, the Christian God as their god, and to pay tribute to the Spaniards, the natives of Mactan had replied: "...if you have lances, we have lances hardened by fire."⁴⁰ These lances were made of *bagakay*, which Fr. Cantius Kobak and Fr. Lucio Gutierrez's annotations to Alcina⁴¹ identify as *buho* or *bukawi* (*Schizostachyum lumampao*), an evergreen bamboo with long segments that are used to make blowguns. Alcina commented on how the bamboos were "much stronger, firmer, longer and with bamboo sections three or four times bigger around and straighter, so that in some plants one bamboo section is more than a braza in length."⁴² *Bagakay* that was shaped to give it a sharp point and scorched a bit to make it strong and

firm, is called *agus*. Alcina narrated how the skilled would even fill the end section with sand, making it heavier and therefore capable of a more savage blow. Other names given to the *bankaw* were the *sugob*, a *bagakay* sharpened as a spear “to tear up the flesh of the enemy;” *pasbak*, another type of *sugob* which is an internode and half which is made into a lance; and *subak*, meaning ‘that which impedes.’

Calasag

The shields were called *calasag*. They were six palms, more or less, in length, and about two palms wide, and therefore looked long and narrow. They were made by interlacing fibers of a species of very light wood. The wood could also be quilted or interwoven with *bejucos*. Some were painted red. They were colorful, shiny, and strong.⁴³ Others were made of rattan, which is very strong and could not be cut or pierced by a single strike of a blade.⁴⁴

Another tough material used for protective gear, be they for the head as helmets or for the body as breastplates, or to cover their shields, was the ray fish hide. When cured in smoke, it becomes very dry and tough, and thus becomes a good defensive weapon.⁴⁵

To appear more threatening, wild boar bristles were stuck on top of their shields. And before the arrival of the Spaniards, the long hair of those killed in wars and fights were also used to frighten those who saw them.⁴⁶ Alcina provided an illustration of a *datu* (chief) holding a spear in his left hand and a shield in his right. His shield is long and rectangular with dotted decoration, a hole in the middle, and a protruding handle in the upper part which his right hand is grasping.⁴⁷ This long rectangular shield can again be seen in the illustration by Alcina of the dance between two men called *escarcacheo*. Here, the handle is in the middle of the shield and he is holding it with his left hand, with the spear in his right hand.⁴⁸ In this same illustration, to the right is another man holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left hand. This other shield is round and made of wood with closely woven *bejuco*. This kind of shield was called *tamin*.

Baladao

The Visayan dagger was called *baladaw* (also *balaraw*). It was similar in shape to a *songil*, especially the iron tip of the lance but thinner and without the angle or square shape with which other tips ended. The hilt was shaped like a cross, allowing it to be grasped between the index and first middle finger. In this way, the bearer was not easily wounded from above or below. These daggers were always fastened to the wrist and tied with cords called *colili*, which carried fringes of hair from concubines or the skins or tails of animals. *Colili* were sometimes dyed, and thus also served as decoration for young men.⁴⁹

Aside from the *baladaw*, the *bolo* was another cutting instrument. It was the most ordinary tool and used for carpentry, farming, and many other uses, but could also be used as a weapon. According to Alcina, the old folks during his time spoke about the *bolo* in ancient times that was for the most part made of wood. Only the edge, which was used for cutting, and for only about a finger's width, was made of iron.⁵⁰

Kris

Other daggers or poniards were called *kris* (with wavy blades) or *kalis*. They were of two forms or shapes. Some were straight while others had decorations in the middle where they are drawn out in a curious angle with engravings and designs near the handle.⁵¹ Others involved careful workmanship, often made wavy. All were made of a mixture of steel and iron made like an inlay; this was very striking, for the appearance of iron and steel differ, one being darker than the other.⁵²

The hilts were made from various materials. While most could have been made of hard wood, the most important were of solid gold. They were not only strong and well-tempered, but often valuable for their fine gold work.⁵³ In 1521, Colambu was described as having at his side “a dagger, with a long handle and all of gold, the sheath of which

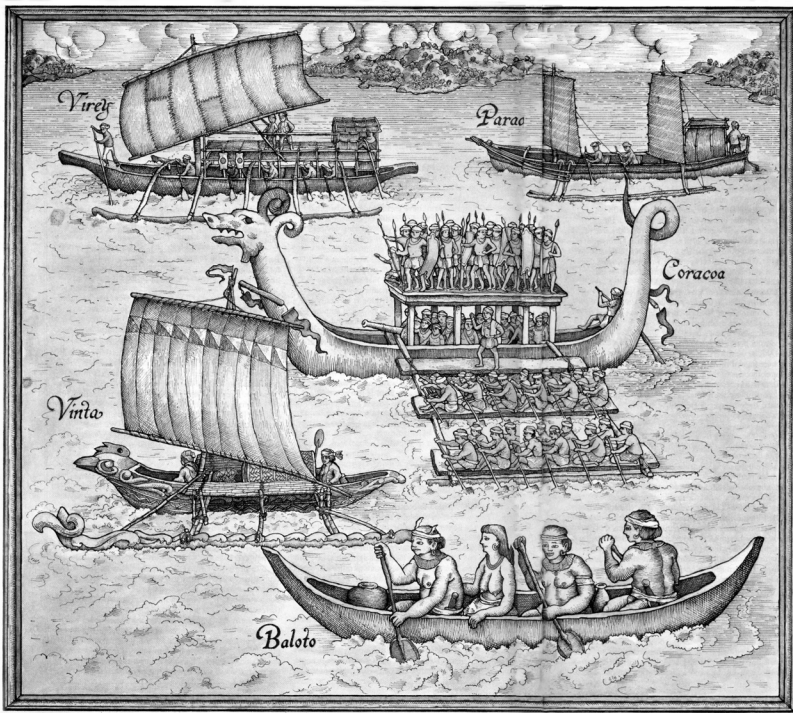


An 18th century illustration of *caracoas* in Mindanao-Maluku waters from François Valentijn's *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, volume 1 (1724), courtesy of Getty Research Institute via Internet Archive.

was of carved wood.⁵⁴ Alcina praised the workmanship of the blades and the tempering of the iron. Illustrations from the Boxer Codex and gold hilt from Butuan archaeological finds are examples of this.

Aside from gold, ivory,⁵⁵ and pearls as big as dove eggs from the island of Jolo were also used for the handles or hilts of the daggers called *kris*.⁵⁶ And interestingly, even the teeth of a large fish that were big and hard enough were also used to make hilts. Alcina narrated how such a fish ran aground in about the year 1633 in the town of Borongan. He saw how the teeth were “extremely hard and like marble, although the color was not as white....and some of them were large enough to make hilts for their kris.”⁵⁷

Some of the iron used in daggers was prepared by mixing them with certain herbs so poisonous that only a small scratch could kill almost without remedy. Thus, those who carried weapons with



Various boats of our ancestors, courtesy of the Juan D. Nepomuceno Center for Kapampangan Studies, Holy Angel University.

camandag (poison) were provided with *tambal* (antidote) made from the root of the *dita* (*Alstonia scholaris*). Others used various kinds of *machetes* and *kampilan*es (Moro swords). Alcina wrote that these came from Mindanao and the Caraga.⁵⁸

Pana, Bosug

Those who knew how to use arrows (*pana*) carried them with bows called *bosug* in quivers, *tulangan*. The quiver was usually made from a section of slender painted bamboo. On the bottom, they placed grass, and for this reason, they were called *bulitan*.⁵⁹

There were also “large crossbows, *balatic*, which they placed in narrow passages and thickets, and were first seen after they passed

through the body.”⁶⁰ Some carried two thick, pointed sticks about a palm and a half in length called *balituc*. These were darts made of mangrove or other kinds of hardwood, with fire-tempered points.

Their projectile weapons were the most feared because they had more power than the *hagus* and could be thrown greater distances. They also made use of slings called *abiog* and *dabiog*, both at sea and on land.⁶¹

Prahu

The smaller ships used for war were called *balangay*, or *viray*, if larger.⁶² Fifty to a hundred people could travel on the vireyes. The Boxer Codex provides a detailed description of the ship: “The oars are a yard or more long with their handles well made. The oars were not tied to the boat for rowing, with the oarsmen inside seated comfortably, rowing with both hands.” The vessels were light, with two or three levels of seated oarsmen per row; counterweights in these vessels were made with very large bamboos. These counterweights were placed outside the vessel on both sides, with oarsmen seated on them. With these counterweights, the vessels were more stable, with the waves breaking on the counterweights, rather than on the vessel itself.⁶³

According to Alcina, battleships such as *caracoa* and *balangay* were light; straw mats called *burolanes* protected the ship all around against weapons hurled against it.

When Legazpi anchored at Cebu, the Spaniards wondered about the behavior of people on shore. The *prahu* in front of Legazpi’s ship grew in number, waiting for a possible encounter between Legazpi’s and Tupas’ ships. This description speaks of the warrior in defense. However, they were also aggressive. They would go on raids called *mangayao* if by sea and *pagahat* if by land. Sea vessels – *balangay*, *caracoa*, and *prahu* – were readied. A hundred *balangay* were seen in the attack on Bingi by Dumaraug.⁶⁴ They must have looked impressive with their prows two or more brazas long, decorated with feathers called *sonbol*. If they did not have feathers, they used bristles of boars, *jdior* or *jonete*. The ship with the largest *sonbol* would then stand out.

They also carried banners called *tongol* or *casicasi*. Some were square in shape, but most came to a point like a pennon. Although they came to a point, they were not uniform or cut in the same way.⁶⁵ The crews were called *barigas*, or ordinarily slaves. The fighters were called *mabalor* because they were stationed in the *buralones* – platforms or gangways. The platforms typically ran along the sides or in the middle. The largest ships had three, and when they had only one, it was in the middle, surrounded by split reeds, almost square, called *batasbatas*, impenetrable to *hagus*, darts, etc. They served as good defense⁶⁶.

There was much rejoicing for the return of the victor bringing many captives with him, with songs of victory sung.⁶⁷ Shamans were summoned to chant *pagdaig*, paeans of praise to the victorious raiders. The *tagumpay*, a song of triumph, was also sung,⁶⁸ while more solemn drinking feasts were also held. Other ceremonies were required for those who died. The ancient Tagalogs believed that a living slave must accompany a dead warrior in his tomb, and there meet his own death.⁶⁹ This practice was shared by Visayans. There are stories of a Boholano chief who was buried in a tomb, or *balangay*, surrounded by seventy slaves, weapons, and food, ready to engage in raiding in the afterlife.⁷⁰

Conclusion

On April 27, 1521, in Mactan, the Visayas, Magellan was struck a blow for freedom. In 1565, about four decades later the people of Cebu faced the return of the colonizer now represented by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. Arrayed for battle, fully armed and dressed, the description of the warriors of Cebu ready for combat represents an organized group with all the emblems rich with symbolisms – the colored headdresses with many plumes, the shields, corselets and rope armor, as well as the lances and cutlasses. All these are further enriched by their articulation in the Bisayan language as written and described by Alcina and Sanchez. To further give body to descriptions and articulations of our knowledge of our ancestors who first faced the colonizer we have illustrations from the Boxer Codex and Alcina. By

putting words, descriptions, and illustrations together we are given a view of the warrior with the shift of focus on him though the person narrating is the colonizer.

In re-reading Antonio Pigafetta and looking at the first encounter in 1521 we are reminded of trade, especially in Cebu which was mentioned as the biggest port at that time. Rajah Humabon asked for ritual gifts and settled for exchange as he is placed in a higher rank than others by Magellan. Foreign trade in gold and slaves were also witnessed. But the accumulation of wealth and prestige goods were obtained not only through trade. Pangangayao, raiding, was also practiced for various reasons: to get more slaves for manpower, for offering, to avenge a death, or to establish power by destroying rival trade centers. There was a time and season for raiding. When Magellan offered his services to fight Colambu's enemies he was told, yes, Colambu had enemies but that it was not the time for raiding. It is important to remember then that most Visayan warriors were part-time and most military capacities were comparable to militias or guerrillas mobilized at particular times rather than those of a standing army as would be the case with conquerors.

Most communities in island Southeast Asia were subject to raids, typically by militarily superior raiding parties. But in order to defend their communities Visayans developed a culture and technology to defend themselves with some even going on the offensive by raiding themselves.

Attempting to revisit the encounter between the Magellan, Legazpi, the early colonizers and the local peoples of what is now the Philippine waters reminds us of the recent more contemporary debate on the clash of cultures, many uncivil. The voyages of exploration had become voyages of conquest, of extending imperial reach which involved raiding and trading previously unimagined perhaps even by both sides. There were many cultural assumptions, norms, and values on both sides which were mutually unfamiliar. These early encounters were therefore very easily susceptible to misinterpretation and the offering of peace implied a threat of war, even if unstated. For the Visayan subjected to raiding and some also participating in raiding,

rich cultures and technologies had emerged with mistrust of others as self-seeking whether booty or loot or tribute or other forms of subjection or subordination. But their coping mechanisms were largely limited to various types of engagement with the war among options of varying forms of engagement. So, the culture and technology of the warrior were incredibly varied by history, geography, and various other conditions. Magellan died in Mactan for a cause he did not fully comprehend himself, vanquished by adversaries seeking to defend themselves against threats they were struggling to comprehend.

Endnotes

¹ Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, "Relation of the voyage to the Philippine islands," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, vol. 2 (Cleveland, Ohio: The A.H. Clark Co., 1903-1909), 212-213.

² Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Islas Filipinas," in *The Philippines at the Spanish contact*, ed F. Landa Jocano (Manila: MCS Enterprises, 1582/1975), 81.

³ Francisco Ignacio Alzina and Victoria Yepes, *Una Etnografía de los Indios Bisayas del Padre Alzina*, Numero 15. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 1668/1995), 228.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 227.

⁶ Loarca, "Relación," 87.

⁷ Alcina and Yepes, *Una Etnografía*, *ibid.*

⁸ Ibid., 163.

⁹ Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's voyage: a narrative account of the first circumnavigation*, ed. and trans. R.A. Skelton (New York: Dover Publications, 1525/1994), 67-70.

¹⁰ Ibid., 94.

¹¹ Ibid., 69-70

¹² Ibid., 78.

¹³ Ibid., 84-87.

¹⁴ William Henry Scott, *Barangay: sixteenth-century Philippine culture and society* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 131.

¹⁵ Boxer Codex, "The manners, customs, and beliefs of the Philippine inhabitants of long ago, being chapters of 'A late 16th Century Manila manuscript,'" In *The Philippines at the Spanish contact*, ed F. Landa Jocano (Manila: MCS Enterprises, ca. 1590/1975), 231.

¹⁶ Francisco Ignacio Alcina, *History of the Bisayan People in the Philippine Islands*, ed. and trans. Cantius J. Kobak, OFM and Lucio Gutierrez, OP, vol 1 (Manila: UST Publishing House, 1668/2002), 643.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 132.

¹⁹ Alcina, *History*, vol. 1, 134; Francisco Colin, “Native races and their customs: The origin of the nations and peoples who inhabit these islands,” in *The Philippines at the Spanish contact*, ed F. Landa Jocano (Manila: MCS Enterprises, 1660/1975), 161.

²⁰ Alcina, *History*, vol. 2, 132.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 495.

²² Alcina described the bird as follows, “. . . it bores with its beak holes into the trunks of very large trees, opening in them, as it were with a very sharp chisel, holes sufficiently large for them to live in and make their nests. It is done with such great noise that it can be heard at a long distance. . . . It almost has no feathers on the neck, but the head is red with its tuft of feathers which resemble a well-formed crest or the comb of the roosters.” Robert Kennedy et al. noted in their book *A Guide to the Birds of the Philippines* that *palalaka* is *Dryocopus javensis*. However, Rolando Borrinaga identified the bird as a Hoopoe bird. Cf. Alcina, *History*, vol. 2, 493-495; Robert Kennedy et al, *A Guide to the Birds of the Philippines* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 214; Rolando O. Borrinaga, *Surát Binisayâ: Deciphering Ancient Bisayan Writing and Language* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2017), 110.

²³ Alcina and Yepes, *Una Etnografía*, 222.

²⁴ Boxer Codex, 226.

²⁵ Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, “Relation of the voyage to the Philippine islands,” in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, vol. 2 (Cleveland, Ohio: The A.H. Clark Co., 1903-1909), 213.

²⁶ Alcina and Yepes, *Una Etnografía*, *ibid.*

²⁷ Boxer Codex, 226.

²⁸ George Cameron Stone, *A glossary of the construction, decoration and use of arms and armor in all countries and in all times* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1999), 102 (cf. Figure 130).

²⁹ Boxer Codex, 226.

³⁰ Stone, *A glossary*, 63 (cf. Figure 83).

³¹ Boxer Codex, 226.

³² Alcina, *History*, vol. 1, 115.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.* 411 (cf. “Nombres de Algunos arboles y plantas”).

³⁵ Ibid., 662.

³⁶ Boxer Codex, 332 (cf. Illustration 13).

³⁷ Scott, *Barangay*, 149.

³⁸ Alcina and Yepes, *Una Etnografía*, 219.

³⁹ Ibid.; cf. Matheo Sanchez, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya* (Manila: Colegio de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesus, 1711).

⁴⁰ Pigafetta, *Magellan's voyage*, 71.

⁴¹ Alcina, *History*, vol. 1, 613.

⁴² Ibid., 605.

⁴³ Ibid.; Alcina and Yepes, *Una Etnografía*, 221; Boxer Codex, 226.

⁴⁴ Boxer Codex, 226.

⁴⁵ Alcina, *History*, vol. 2, 331.

⁴⁶ Alcina and Yepes, *Una Etnografía*, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Alcina, *History*, vol. 1, 643.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 661.

⁴⁹ Alcina and Yepes, *Una Etnografía*, *ibid.*

⁵⁰ Alcina, *History*, vol. 3, 127-129.

⁵¹ Alcina and Yepes, *Una Etnografía*, 220.

⁵² Ibid., 152.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Pigafetta, *Magellan's voyage*, 69.

⁵⁵ Alcina, *History*, vol. 2, 55.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 403.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 297.

⁵⁸ Alcina and Yepes, *Una Etnografía*, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ Ibid., 171.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 159.

⁶¹ Ibid., 169.

⁶² Boxer Codex, 227.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Alcina and Yepes, *Una Etnografía*, 228.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 227.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Boxer Codex, 214.

⁶⁸ Alcina and Yepes, *Una Etnografía*, 220.

⁶⁹ Juan de Plasencia, "Customs of the Tagalogs," in *The Philippines at the Spanish contact*, ed. F. Landa Jocano (Manila: MCS Enterprises, 1589/1975), 122.

⁷⁰ Francisco Colin, "Native races and their customs: the origin of the nations and peoples who inhabit these islands," in *The Philippines at the Spanish contact*, ed F. Landa Jocano (Manila: MCS Enterprises, 1660/1975), 174.

References

Alcina, Francisco Ignacio. 1668/2002. *History of the Bisayan People in the Philippine Islands, Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas... 1668*, tr., ed., and ann. by Cantius J. Kobak, O.F.M. and Lucio Gutiérrez, O.P. Part 1, Book 1, Vol.1. Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House.

_____. 1668/2004. *History of the Bisayan People in the Philippine Islands, Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas... 1668*. Tr., ed., and ann. by Cantius J. Kobak, O.F.M. and Lucio Gutiérrez, O.P. Part 1, Book 2, Vol. 2. Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House.

_____ and Victoria Yepes. 1668/1996. *Una Etnografía de los Indios Bisayas del Padre Alzina*. Numero 15. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Borinaga, Rolando O. 2017. *Surát Binisayâ: Deciphering Ancient Bisayan Writing and Language*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.

Boxer Codex. ca. 1590/1975. The manners, customs, and beliefs of the Philippine inhabitants of long ago, being chapters of 'A late 16th Century Manila manuscript.' In *The Philippines at the Spanish Contact*, ed F. Landa Jocano, 188-235. Manila: MCS Enterprises.

Colin, Francisco. 1660/1975. Native races and their customs: The origin of the nations and peoples who inhabit these islands. In *The Philippines at the Spanish contact*, ed F. Landa Jocano, 147-187. Manila: MCS Enterprises.

Costa, Horacio de la. 1961. *The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581-1768*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Junker, Laura Lee. 1994. "Trade Competition, Conflict and Political Transformations in 6th to 16th Century Chiefdoms." *Asian*

- Perspectives* 33, no. 2: 229-260.
- Kennedy, Robert et al. 2000. *A Guide to the Birds of the Philippines*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Legazpi, Miguel Lopez de. 1565/ 1903-1909. Relation of the voyage to the Philippine islands. In *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 2, ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, 196-216. Cleveland, Ohio: The A.H. Clark Co., 1903-1909.
- Loarca, Miguel de. 1582/1975. Relación de las islas Filipinas. In *The Philippines at the Spanish contact*, ed F. Landa Jocano, 108-124. Manila: MCS Enterprises.
- Pigafetta, Antonio. 1525/1994. *Magellan's voyage: a narrative account of the first circumnavigation*, ed. and trans. R.A. Skelton. New York: Dover Publications.
- Plasencia, Juan de. 1589/1975. Customs of the Tagalogs. In *The Philippines at the Spanish contact*, ed. F. Landa Jocano, 108-124. Manila: MCS Enterprises.
- Sánchez, Matheo S.J. 1711. *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya*. Manila: Colegio de la Sagrada Compañía de Iesus.
- Scott, William Henry. 1994. *Barangay, Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Stone, George Cameron. 1999. *A glossary of the construction, decoration and use of arms and armor in all countries and in all times*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.



MALACCA

CHAPTER 5

PORTUGUESE CLOVE TRADE MONOPOLY IN THE MOLUCCAS DURING THE 16TH CENTURY

Daya Negri Wijaya, PhD

Introduction

AFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE AND HIS armada successfully captured Malacca in 1511. The Kingdom of Portugal profited from the city's lucrative trade which helped finance the colonial and military operations in the Estado da India or "Portuguese India." In the 16th century, the kingdom made its wealth through its customs policies and by taking advantage of Malacca's vast trade network.¹ Customs duties were imposed on ships passing, anchoring, loading and unloading cargo, and buying and selling commodities in Malacca. They also engaged in expanding their commercial ties to the east towards Pegu, Pasemah, Java, Banda, and China. Portugal's involvement in Southeast Asian trade eventually extended to the Moluccas.² Situated between Celebes and New Guinea, these islands are comprised of Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, Moti, Makian, Kayoa, Labuha, and Jailolo

Left: Malacca from the manuscript entitled "Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas" (1635) courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.



ca. 1725 engraving of Malacca courtesy of the Leiden University Libraries Digital Collection.

(Halmahera). The four islands of Ternate, Tidore, Moti, and Makian were the primary producers of cloves.³

The Malacca and Moluccas trade network has not been studied fully.⁴ Earlier inquiries have examined its economic and political aspects in the 16th century using Portuguese chronicles and archives, but Malukan historical sources have not been sufficiently utilized.⁵ This study attempts to describe the Portuguese-Malacca trade network and the clove monopoly in the Moluccas during the 16th century using European and Malukan sources. It is divided into three sub-themes—the expedition to the Spice Islands, the clove trade monopoly, and the loss of control of the clove trade by the Portuguese.

Catz in *The Travels of Mendes Pinto* proposes a Eurasian (European and Asian) perspective to describe the Portuguese presence in the East

after examining Pinto's *Peregrinacao*. European and Asian points of view are revealed in historical sources. Portuguese archival materials and chronicles,⁶ Spanish chronicles,⁷ Italian travel literature,⁸ Dutch travel literature,⁹ and English travel literature¹⁰ provide the European perspective while local sources such as the *Hikayat Ternate* or *Chronicle of Ternate* (1859), *Hikayat Bacan* or *Chronicle of Bacan* (1923), and *Hikayat Hitu* or *Chronicle of Hitu* (1650), give the Malukan point of view. While the European sources focus on the efforts to control trade, local sources provide information on disputes and local resistance against the Portuguese.

Expedition to the Spice Islands

After the Fall of Malacca, the Portuguese realized that spices were cultivated further east in the Indonesian archipelago where cloves, nutmegs, and maces grew in abundance. Some islands in the Moluccas produced cloves, while maces and nutmegs were found in the Banda Islands. The high market demand for these spices encouraged the Portuguese to take control and monopolize the Asian spice trade. Thus, not long after they occupied Malacca, a Portuguese expedition to the Moluccas was organized.¹¹

Afonso de Albuquerque organized an expedition to the Moluccas with three vessels. He appointed Antonio de Abreu as the First Captain accompanied by Francisco Serrão and Simao Afonso as second and third in command. Three European pilots were sent with them, Luis Botim, Goncalo de Oliveira, and Francisco Rodrigues;¹² two native pilots, one was Nahkoda Ismael; the factor Joao Freire; the scribe Diogo Borges; 20 captive slaves; and 120 Portuguese men. Abreu was ordered to establish friendly relations and to observe local customs. He was also instructed to give gifts to local kings and thus the vessels were laden with various commodities.

The fleet embarked from Malacca in November 1511.¹³ A native junk, piloted by Nahkoda Ismael, departed first. His task was to spread the news about Malacca's fall to the Portuguese. Albuquerque wished to intimidate the local kings so that they would allow Abreu's vessels to



Map of the Malacca environs, from François Valentijn's *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, volume 5 (1724). Courtesy of the Getty Research Institute.

anchor at their seaports. Abreu's sailing vessels then followed Ismael's route to the Moluccas. Passing the northeast coast of Sumatra and landing in Gresik,¹⁴ they continued sailing to Buru, Ambon, and Seram before arriving in Banda where they bartered their merchandise for maces and nutmegs. Abreu and Afonso decided to return to Malacca in late 1512. However, Serrão was shipwrecked in Banda. Nonetheless, he and his men were saved and welcomed by the people of Asilulu in Nusatelo. In return, the Portuguese helped the Asilulu against their enemy in Hoamoal. The Asilulu later introduced the Portuguese to Perdana Jamilu, one of four prime ministers of the Hitu Sultanate.

The “myth of iron men” and Portuguese power soon spread across the region. The sultans of Ternate and Tidore, who were in conflict, vied for their friendship.¹⁵ Representatives of the Sultan of Ternate befriended the Portuguese first and brought them to Ternate. Serrão became a friend of Sultan Bayan Sirullah of Ternate and was granted the monopoly of the clove trade, with terms and conditions.¹⁶

While Serrão was in Ternate, Ruy de Brito Patalim the Captain of Malacca instructed Antonio Miranda de Azevedo to send letters to the kings of Java, secure the trade network to Banda, search for Francisco Serrão, and load nutmegs and maces for the Peguans and the Gujarati in Malacca. Antonio de Miranda was accompanied by Francisco de Melo in the *Sao Christavao*, Martim Guedes in the *Santo Andre*, and Diogo Borges as factor. Miranda’s vessels embarked from Malacca to Banda via the northern coast of Java on 28 December 1513.¹⁷

After learning that Miranda was in Banda and sailing to Ambon, Serrão departed Ternate to give his letter to Fernao de Magalhães¹⁸, the sultan’s letter to the King of Portugal, and his cargo of cloves. Upon Miranda’s return, the new captain of Malacca, Jorge de Albuquerque, dispatched Jorge Mesurado with royal letters and presents to the Sultan of Ternate in 1515. The Portuguese were welcomed in Ternate and returned to Malacca with a friendly letter inviting the captain of Malacca to send ships regularly to Ternate and to establish a factory and a fortress there.¹⁹

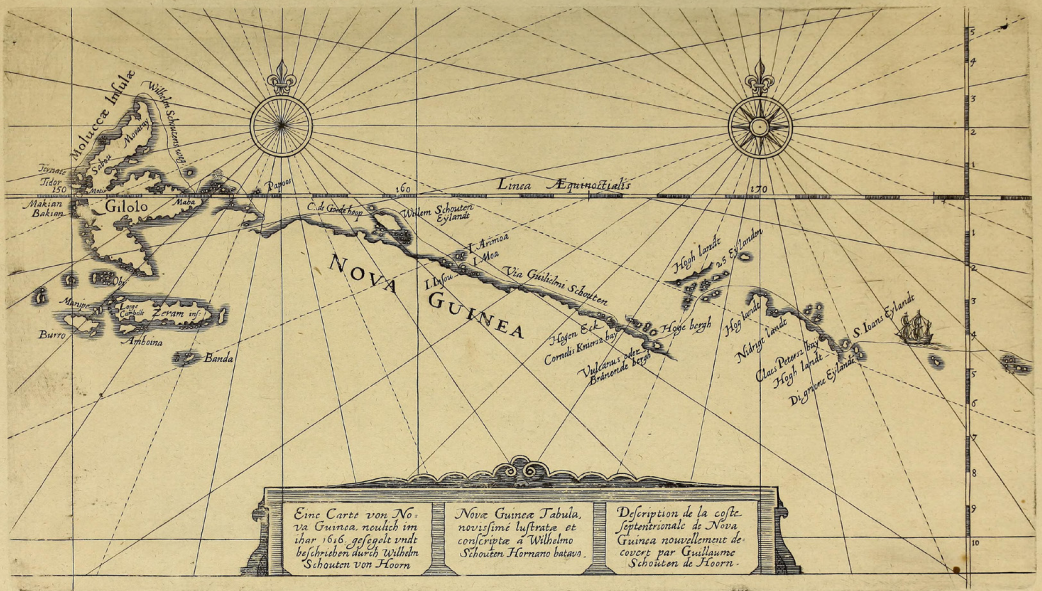
After arriving in Malacca from Banda, Alvaro do Cocho was appointed ambassador to the Moluccas by Jorge de Brito in 1516. He was designated Captain and factor, and accompanied by Alvaro Pessoa, a scribe; and Luis Leity a pilot. Do Cocho and his men were well received by the king. Aside from fixing the price of cloves and loading them on his ships, do Choco also carried messages from the Sultan of Ternate and Serrão to affirm the friendly commercial relations between Portuguese-Malacca and the Ternate Sultanate.²⁰

In 1517, the ships of Gonsalo Alvares, and Bastyam Barbudo were wrecked on the journey to the Moluccas. Meanwhile, in 1518, Dom Tristao de Meneses sailed to Malacca with merchandise and a royal letter to the Malukan king. He sailed through Java and Banda before

going north to Ternate. In the Moluccas, he received petitions from the kings of Ternate, Tidore, and Bacan to construct Portuguese fortresses in their lands. Dom Tristao did not build one but left a Portuguese factory in Ternate. Sultan Bayan offered provisions and merchandise, and Dom Tristao accepted the conditions. The Sultan also asked Dom Tristao to relinquish his artillery, but he did not accede, saying that if he wanted to have Portuguese artillery, he should ask the King of Portugal. The Sultan of Ternate then arranged to send his son with some letters to the Captain of Malacca, Governor of Goa, and Dom Manuel I, King of Portugal. Dom Tristao left the Moluccas with five vessels to Banda. During the passage, two ships were wrecked in a storm. The rest continued sailing and arrived in Banda in April 1520. In Banda, Dom Tristao dispatched the prince of Ternate in junk to Malacca. Along the way, he met with Serrão and Simao Correa. He then sailed to Malacca in 1521.²¹

In October 1521, Antonio de Brito was sent from Malacca to Banda and the Moluccas. He captained five vessels with 300 men. Before entering the Java Sea, he attacked Johor in Bintan on 28 October 1521. His ships then anchored in Tuban and Gresik to load provisions while waiting for the changing monsoon. In January 1522, De Brito met Garcia Henriquez who had three junks and was accompanied by Javanese merchants in Gresik, where they eventually received a naval trade license from the King of Portugal. De Brito and Henriquez departed Gresik together but were separated by a storm during their passage. De Brito arrived earlier in Ambon and continued sailing to Banda in February 1522.

He had a two-fold mission: first, to establish friendly relations with the chiefs of villages in the Banda Islands; second, to erect a fort in Ternate. After signing a pact with the Banda chief, he sailed to the north and made a call to Bacan. In Bacan, De Brito and his men massacred the local population to avenge the death of the Portuguese crew of Simao Correia in 1521.²² Arriving in Ternate, De Brito learned of Sultan Bayan's and Serrão's death. Their deaths made the Portuguese renegotiate their friendly treaty with the Nyai Cili Boki Raja Nukila, the Queen of Ternate, and Taruwese, the Prime Minister of Ternate.²³



Map of the Moluccas and the New Guinea, from *America pars vndecima* (1619). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library via Internet Archive.

De Brito and Taruwese agreed to construct a Portuguese fortress in Ternate. It would play a crucial part in Portuguese political administration, military operations, and commerce. Through the efforts of 300 local workers and 200 Portuguese soldiers, the fortress was finished in eight months. It was called the Sao Joao Baptista de Ternate but was later renamed Nostra Senhora del Rosario when the fortress was completed on 25 February 1523. Later, the locals renamed the fortress Benteng Gamlamo after ousting the Portuguese in 1575.²⁴ Antonio de Brito was appointed the first governor of Ternate and captain of the fortress by the King of Portugal.²⁵

Monopolizing the Asian Clove Trade

The construction of the fortress and establishment of political administration in Ternate allowed the Portuguese to send ships to the Moluccas regularly.²⁶ From Abreu's to De Brito's time, the Portuguese sailed from Malacca to the Moluccas via the southern route passing the east coast of Sumatra, the northern coast of Java, the Lesser Sunda Islands, and the Banda Islands or Ambon-Lease. While governor of

Ternate, Antonio de Brito found another sailing route from Malacca to the Moluccas after the Spanish arrived in Tidore in 1521. The Spanish reached Tidore by way of Borneo and the Sulu Sea. De Brito attempted to do a survey mission and sent Dom Garcia Henriques to Borneo and Malacca in 1522. However, Henriquez failed to reach the South China Sea and returned to Ternate. In 1524, Antonio de Pina found the sailing route from Malacca to Brunei. In 1526, Dom Jorge de Menezes took a northern route from Malacca to the Moluccas, reaching Ternate with the help of local pilots. From Malacca, he sailed to the northeastern part of Borneo and passed the island of San Miguel (also called Cagayan de Sulu, now Mapun), Mindanao, and Basilan. To ensure the safety of the northern route, Dom Menezes sent a *kora-kora* (ancient Southeast Asian colossal warship) by way of Brunei. Upon his return to Malacca, the voyage route to the Sulu Zone was established.²⁷

Compared to the southern route via the Java Sea, the Portuguese shortened the voyage from Malacca to the Moluccas by way of Brunei. They would embark from Malacca in August and reach Ternate in October. On the return, they would pass Ambon and the Java Sea before reaching Malacca in June. The sailing routes enabled the Portuguese to monopolize the Asian clove trade for several reasons. Firstly, armed Chinese vessels could not enter the South China Sea due to Portuguese naval power near the Sulu Zone. Secondly, the Portuguese controlled the local chiefs in the ports of call and prevented the local clove farmers from selling their products to other merchants, especially the Javanese and Gujarati merchants. Thirdly, the costs of maintaining stability in the Malacca-Moluccas trade was lower in the northern route because there was less competition than the southern route. The Portuguese also managed to set up a trading post in Brunei, which functioned not only to facilitate the Malacca-Brunei trade but also to monitor movements in the area.²⁸

The Portuguese Crown tried to entice their citizens in India to live and trade in the Moluccas.²⁹ The Crown permitted citizens to load cloves with the obligation to sell a third of their cargo to the Crown. From Goa, they loaded Indian commodities from Cambay, Chaul, Coromandel, and Bengal before sailing to the Moluccas. They paid an

8% duty on products on departure from a Portuguese transit port, each time they unloaded their cargo, and on arrival in the Moluccas. The officials in Ternate taxed at a rate of 1,500 reis per bahar for a third of the cloves. The other two-thirds were charged at 30% as a *cukai* (duty). In return, the merchants paid another 8% if they unloaded their cargo in the transit port of Malacca towards their destination, such as Goa or Cochin.³⁰

Half of the Malukan cloves shipped by Portuguese vessels were sold in Malacca since it was primarily consumed in Asia. From Malacca, cloves were exported to China, Japan, and Pegu. The cloves were also brought to Bengal and Coromandel in India, onward to Portugal.³¹

While there was profit from the clove trade monopoly, it also came with risks. For instance, the Spanish arrived and were welcomed by Sultan Almansur of Tidore, Ternate's rival, in November 1521, after sailing from the Philippines. The Spanish and the Tidore Sultanate signed a friendly treaty wherein the former promised to defend Tidore from a Portuguese-Ternate invasion. In return, the Sultan permitted the Spanish to load cloves on their return to Sevilla in December 1521. The successful expedition to the Moluccas prompted the Spanish to send two unsuccessful trade missions commanded by Garcia Jofre de Loaisa in 1525 and Alvaro de Saavedra in 1527.³²

The Portuguese protested the Spanish presence in the Malukan seas insisting that the latter encroached on their territory. Conversely, the Spanish argued that the Portuguese violated the Treaty of Tordesillas, which set the demarcation line between Spain and Portugal. Representatives of the two Iberian countries met to discuss the dispute in 1522 and 1524. A deadlock required the intervention of the Pope who encouraged the political marriage of King Carlos V of Spain and Princess Isabella of Portugal. The issue was finally resolved through the Treaty of Zaragoza in 1529. This treaty stipulated that the Spanish must sell the Moluccas to Portugal for 350,000 gold ducats (500,000 cruzados) and abandon the Moluccas clove trade. This settlement favored both parties for aside from the money, it allowed the Spanish to establish a new trading base in Manila. The Portuguese on the other hand regained full control of the lucrative trade in the Moluccas.³³

The Portuguese clove trade monopoly also affected the locals. The Portuguese monopoly coincided with Ternate's crown succession and the dispute between the rulers of Ternate and Tidore.³⁴ After Sultan Bayan died, Queen Nyai Cili Boki Raja Nukila and Prince Taruwese (Dom Darwis) representing the child king of Deyalo, ruled Ternate. Prince Taruwese, the younger brother of Sultan Bayan, however, claimed to be the rightful successor. He convinced De Brito to support him for De Brito believed that Nyai Cili and his father (Sultan Almansur of Tidore) were planning to expel the Portuguese from Ternate. After invading Tidore, he imprisoned Sultan Deyalo and Prince Boheyat (Abu Hayat).³⁵

Ternate's political upheavals continued until Jorge de Menezes' time. The Portuguese during the period of the two governors, Garcia Henriques and Jorge de Menezes, were mainly concerned about the Luso-Hispanic dispute but after the Treaty of Zaragoza, Governor Goncalo Pereira began to pay more attention to local politics.

While Prince Taruwese's troops took part in De Brito's invasion of Tidore, he also led a rebellion against the Portuguese in 1530. In 1531, Pereira demoted Taruwese from the Ternate bureaucracy.³⁶ The locals asked Pereira to free Sultan Deyalo from the Portuguese prison, but he refused, which led to his murder by locals in 1531.³⁷ The new governor, Vicente de Fonseca, succeeded him and released the sultan.

The governor made himself an ally of the Prime Minister, Patisaranga. The prime minister who wanted to govern Ternate urged the governor to imprison Deyalo and replace him with his stepson, Tabariji. Deyalo escaped to Tidore and went to Jailolo. Patisaranga then married Nyai Cili Boki Raja and summoned Tabariji to Ternate. The Portuguese were concerned about the increasing power of Tabariji and Patisaranga. When Admiral Samarau accused Tabariji and Patisaranga of treason, they were imprisoned and transported to Goa in 1535.³⁸ The Portuguese then promoted Hairun Jamil, son of Sultan Bayan and his Javanese wife, as the new sultan while Samarau was believed to have shared power with him in the Ternate court.

While living in exile, Sultan Deyalo kept resisting the Portuguese. He established Islamic-political networks in Bacan, Tidore, and Jailolo

(Halmahera). However, the Ternatense did not want Deyalo or Hairun as their sultan and preferred the return of Tabariji to power.³⁹ In Goa, Tabariji had embraced Catholicism and was baptized Dom Manuel. All titles and powers of Dom Manuel Tabariji were later restored while the Portuguese imprisoned and transported Hairun and Samarau to Goa via Malacca in 1545. Dom Manuel Tabariji died during his voyage to Ternate⁴⁰ and Sultan Hairun was brought back in 1546, accompanied by Bernadim de Sousa.⁴¹ De Sousa declared that he was the official governor of Ternate and replaced Jordao de Freitas in 1547.⁴² Bernadim De Sousa and Francisco Lopes de Sousa maintained good relations with Sultan Hairun. Francisco Lopes de Sousa also engaged in the clove trade in Ternate.

Problems arose later when Governor Duarte de Eca raised trade duties.⁴³ Believing it unfair, Sultan Hairun protested the policy. De Eca commanded his troops to imprison Sultan Hairun and his family. Both the locals and the Portuguese Fidalgos denounced De Eca's actions for they believed that he was corrupt. From a Portuguese prison, Hairun ordered his men to take hostage the Catholic priest, Frater Alfonso de Castro. De Eca refused to negotiate and abandoned De Castro to his death. For this, De Eca was imprisoned in 1558 and died as he was being transported to Goa. Manuel de Vasconcellos replaced him until Henrique de Sa arrived and assumed the role of governor. Henrique de Sa kept good relations with Hairun.

Trouble began when Diego Lopez de Mesquita replaced Henrique de Sa in 1564.⁴⁴ Aside from blaming the Sultan for his unsuccessful work, de Mesquita suspected Sultan Hairun of being behind Muslim attacks on Christian villages in Moro. De Mesquita also claimed that Hairun sent his fleet to monitor Portuguese vessels led by Gonsalo Perreira Marramaque. Hairun was anxious that Marramaque came to invade Ternate. De Mesquita on the other hand believed that the Christians in Moro would be endangered if the Portuguese armada was not in the Moluccas. De Mesquita thus considered Hairun a threat and is believed to have plotted to murder the Sultan. In 1570, Sultan Hairun was stabbed to death by Antonio Pimental at de Mesquita's house during the discussion of a peace treaty.⁴⁵

Losing the Control of Clove Trade

Sultan Hairun's death was a turning point for Portuguese-Ternate relations. Baabullah, son of Hairun accused de Mesquita of his father's death and brought the case to the court of justice in Goa. The Portuguese however practiced the evaluation and punishment of their governors only after their tour of duty, which meant that de Mesquita could not be prosecuted immediately. When Baabullah became sultan, he mounted a siege on the Portuguese fortress which led to the Portuguese surrender.⁴⁶

In 1575, Sultan Baabullah declared the free trade of cloves in Ternate. In 1578, he welcomed the English merchant Francis Drake, and allowed him to load cloves for shipment to England. Drake also brought the sultan's letter to the Queen of England informing her that Ternate welcomed English merchants.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the sultan also permitted the Portuguese to load cloves in Ternate, who came regularly between 1575 and 1578, except for 1579 and 1581.⁴⁸

The Portuguese moved their trading base to Ambon in the 1570s. In 1572, they opened a factory at Ambon Bay. An Islamic network between Ternate and Ambon-Hitu conspired to drive them out of the Moluccas. Joint Muslim forces eventually besieged them in Ambon Bay which resulted in the erection of the fortress Nossa Senhora de Anunciada in 1576.⁴⁹

The first Portuguese captain in Ambon, Sancho de Vasconcelos, had friendly relations with the Sultan of Tidore. To deter an invasion from Ternate, the Sultan granted land to the Portuguese where they established a fort located on the east coast and named Fortaleza de Tidore or Fort of the Magi in 1578.⁵⁰

The Iberian union in 1580 enabled Spanish assistance from Manila however, their combined forces failed to retake Ternate in 1582. They succeeded in occupying Ternate in 1603 before the Dutch took control in 1605. In the same year, the Dutch also captured two other Portuguese forts in Ambon and Tidore.⁵¹

Empat Perdana of Hitu welcomed the arrival of the Dutch in Ambon-Hitu in the late 16th century. Hitu asked the Dutch to expel

the Portuguese from Ambon. The combined forces of Hitu and the Dutch besieged the Portuguese who eventually surrendered their fortress after locals stopped supplying food. The Dutch later renamed the fortress the Victoria Fortress.⁵² In May 1605, the Dutch destroyed the fortress, burned the settlement, and forced the Portuguese captain, Pedro Alvares de Abreu to surrender in Tidore.

The Portuguese monopoly of the clove trade in the Moluccas was not gained by force but through native grants. However, maintaining control was not simple for preserving the natives' trust depended on political and logistical considerations. The Spanish presence, local disputes, and internal conflict among the Portuguese, also hindered their control of the clove trade, which ultimately led to their ouster in 1605.

Endnotes

¹ Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto, *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka 1575-1619: Power, Trade, and Diplomacy* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2012), 4.

² Artur Teodoro Matos, *On the Seaway to Spices from Malacca to Australia* (Lisboa: INCM, 1995), 91.

³ Laurence Noonan, ed., *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque* (Lisboa: Ministerio da Educacao Instituto de Investagacao Cientifica Tropical, 1989), 210.

⁴ Pinto, *The Portuguese*, 37; Luis Felipe Reis Thomaz, "Os Portuguese em Malaca" (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa, 1963); Willard A. Hanna and Des Alwi, *Ternate dan Tidore Masa Lalu Penuh Gejolak* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1996); M. Adnan Amal, *Portugis dan Spanyol di Maluku* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2010), 17-122; Elke Timme, *A Presenca Portuguesa nas Ilhas das Molucas 1511-1605* (Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag GmbH, 1998); Ian Burnet, *East Indies: The 200 Year Struggle Between the Portuguese Crown, The Dutch East India Company and the English East India Company for Supremacy in the Eastern Seas* (New South Wales: Rosenberg Publishing, 2013), 12-15; La Raman and Suharlin Ode Bau, *Monopoli Rempah di Maluku (Utara) dalam Kurun Niaga 1511-1799: Runtuhnya Dominasi Asia dan Munculnya Supremasi VOC dalam Perdagangan Cengkih* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2020), 87-127; Stenli R. Loupatty, et al., *Kajian Historiografi: Jaringan Niaga Masa Lalu di Maluku Utara* (Ambon: BPNB Maluku, 2020), 84-201.

⁵ Luis Filipe F.R. Thomaz, "Maluco e Malaca," in *A Viagem de Fernao de Magalhaes e a Questao*

das Moluccas: Actas do II Coloquio Luso-Espanyol de Historia Ultramarina, edited by A. Teixeira da Mota (Lisboa: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1975), 27-48; Artur Teodoro Matos, *On the Seaway to Spices From Malacca to Australia* (Lisboa: INCM, 1995), 31-98; Ronald Bishop Smith, *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia 1509-1521* (Decatur: Decatur Press, 1968), 7-93.

⁶ Cf. Jacobs' *Documenta Malucensia* and Bras Afonso de Albuquerque's *Comentarios do Grande Afonso de Albuquerque Capitão Geral Que Foi das Indias Orientais em Tempo do Muito Poderoso Rey D. Manuel, o Primeiro Deste Nome*, ed. Antonio Baiao (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1557/1922-1923), four volumes; also Tome Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), vol. 2, 278-289; Galvao, *Historia das Moluccas*, 30-327.

⁷ Bartholomew Leonardo de Argensola, *The Discovery and Conquest of the Molucco and the Philippine Islands*, ed. John Stevens (London: J. Knapton, 1708), 208-260; Antonio de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, the Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China at the Close of the 16th Century*, ed. Henry E.J. Stanley (London: Taylor and Francis, 1609/2017), 199-264; Cf. Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage Around the World*, tr., ed. James Alexander Robertson, two volumes (Cleveland, Ohio: Clark Company, 1525/1906).

⁸ John Jones, ed., *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1863), 87- 97; Francesco Carletti, *My Voyage Around the World*, ed. Herbert Weinstock (London: Methuen, 1964), 186-200; Laurence Noonan, ed., *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque* (Lisboa: Ministerio da Educaçao Instituto de Investigaçao Cientifica Tropical, 1989), 67-232.

⁹ Jan Huygen Linschoten, *Itinerario: The Voyage of Jan Huygen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, ed. Coke Burnel, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1596/1885), 104-118.

¹⁰ John Barrow, ed., *The Life, Voyages, and Exploits of Admiral Sir Francis Drake* (London: John Murray, 1843), 132-160; Bolton Corney, ed., *The Voyage of Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands 1604-6* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1856), 30-32.

¹¹ Smith, *The First Age*, 39-40.

¹² Timme, *A Presenca Portuguesa*, 4.

¹³ Albuquerque, ed., *Comentarios*, 162-163; Smith, *The First Age*, 39; Matos, *On the Seaway*, 69.

¹⁴ "Letter from Captain of Malacca to Dom Manuel, 20 August 1518," in *Tratado das Ilhas Molucas* by Luis de Albuquerque (Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1989), 127.

¹⁵ Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah*, 23; Smith, *The First Age*, 42.

¹⁶ Timme, *A Presenca Portuguesa*, 4; Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah*, 21-23, 25.

¹⁷ Smith, *The First Age*, 44-45.

- ¹⁸ Matos, *On the Seaway*, 72.
- ¹⁹ Pires, *The Suma Oriental*, 215; Smith, *The First Age*, 46-48.
- ²⁰ Smith, *The First Age*, 49-50.
- ²¹ Ibid.; Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah*, 38.
- ²² Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah*, 37.
- ²³ Ibid., 38-40.
- ²⁴ Ibid., 44.
- ²⁵ Ibid., 41-43.
- ²⁶ Matos, *On the Seaway*, 67.
- ²⁷ Roderich Ptak, "The Northern Trade Route to the Spice Islands: South China Sea - Sulu Zone - North Moluccas (14th to Early 16th Century)." *Archipel* 43 (1992): 45.
- ²⁸ Ibid., 46.
- ²⁹ Matos, *On the Seaway*, 90.
- ³⁰ Ibid., 88.
- ³¹ Ibid., 92-93.
- ³² M. Adnan Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah: Perjalanan Sejarah Maluku Utara 1250-1950* (Jakarta: KPG, 2007), 155.
- ³³ Ibid.; Timme, *A Presenca Portuguesa*, 6.
- ³⁴ Raman and Bau, *Monopoli Rempah*, 111; Hanna and Alwi, *Ternate dan Tidore*, 13.
- ³⁵ Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah*, 50-53.
- ³⁶ Raman and Bau, *Monopoli Rempah*, 111; Amal, *Portugis*, 64.
- ³⁷ Amal, *Portugis*, 66.
- ³⁸ Ibid., 182.
- ³⁹ Raman and Bau, *Monopoli Rempah*, 112-113.
- ⁴⁰ Amal, *Portugis*, 184.
- ⁴¹ Raman and Bau, *Monopoli Rempah*, 113.
- ⁴² Amal, *Portugis*, ibid.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 97.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., 187-189.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., 189-193.
- ⁴⁶ Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah*, 151; Amal, *Portugis*, 196-197.
- ⁴⁷ Timme, *A Presenca Portuguesa*, 8.
- ⁴⁸ Amal, *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah*, 151.
- ⁴⁹ Richard Leirissa, et al., *Ambonku Dulu, Kini, dan Esok* (Ambon: Pemerintah Kota Ambon, 2004), 19-20.

⁵⁰ Manuel Lobato, *Fort of the Magi in Tidore*. Retrieved on 22 August 2022. <https://hpip.org/en/Heritage/Details/1660>.

⁵¹ Timme, *A Presenca Portuguesa*, 8.

⁵² Z.J. Manusama, "Hikayat Tanah Hitu: Historie en sociale structuur van de Ambonse eilanden in het algemeen en van Uli Hitu in het bijzonder tot het midden der zeventiende eeuw" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation: Leiden University, 1977), 179,182; Mu'jizah. "Pertemuan Antar Bangsa dalam Hikayat Tanah Hitu," in *Dari Hitu ke Barus*, ed. Dendy Sugono (Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa, 2008), 23, 25.

⁵⁶ Lobato, *Fortificacoes Portugueses*, 67-72.

References

- Albuquerque, Bras Afonso de, ed. 1557/1922-1923. *Comentarios do Grande Afonso de Albuquerque Capitão Geral Que Foi das Indias Orientais em Tempo do Muito Poderoso Rey D. Manuel, o Primeiro Deste Nome*, republished and edited by Antonio Baiao. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.
- Albuquerque, Luis de. 1989. *Tratado das Ilhas Molucas*. Lisboa: Publicacoes Alfa.
- Amal, M. Adnan. 2007. *Kepulauan Rempah-Rempah: Perjalanan Sejarah Maluku Utara 1250-1950*. Jakarta: KPG.
- _____. 2010. *Portugis dan Spanyol di Maluku*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu.
- Argensola, Bartholomew Leonardo de. 1708. *The Discovery and Conquest of the Molucco and the Philippine Islands*, edited by John Stevens. London: J. Knapton.
- Barbosa, Duarte. 1518/1918. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, translated and edited by Mansel Dames. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Barrow, John, ed. 1843. *The Life, Voyages, and Exploits of Admiral Sir Francis Drake*. London: John Murray.
- Burnet, Ian. 2013. *East Indies The 200 Year Struggle Between the Portuguese Crown, The Dutch East India Company and the English East India Company for Supremacy in the Eastern Seas*. New South Wales: Rosenberg Publishing.

- Carletti, Francesco. 1964. *My Voyage Around the World*, edited by Herbert Weinstock. London: Methuen.
- Catz, Rebecca, ed. 1989. *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*. Chicago dan London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Coolhaas, W. Ph. 1923. Kroniek van het Rijk Batjan. *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap* 63: 474-512
- Corney, Bolton, ed. 1856. *The Voyage of Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands 1604-6*. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Crab, P. van der, ed. 1878. Geschiedenis van Ternate, in Ternataanschen en Maleischen tekst beschreven door den Ternataan Naidah met vertaling en aantekeningen. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 4: 381-493.
- Clercq, F.S.A. 1890/1999. *Ternate: The Residency and Its Sultanate*, edited and republished by Paul Michael Taylor and Marie Richards. Washington: Smithsonian Institute.
- De Sa, Artur Basilio, ed. 1954-1958. *Documentacao Para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente: Insulindia*, 6 Vols. Lisboa: Agencia Geral do Ultramar.
- Galvao, Antonio. 1544/1971. *Historia das Moluccas*, edited and republished by Hubert Jacobs. Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute.
- Hanna, Willard A. and Des Alwi. 1996. *Ternate dan Tidore Masa Lalu Penuh Gejolak*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Jacobs, Hubert, ed. 1979-1984. *Documenta Malucensia*, 3 vols. Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.
- Jones, John, ed. 1863. *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Leirissa, Richard, et al. 2004. *Ambonku Dulu, Kini, dan Esok*. Ambon: Pemerintah Kota Ambon.
- Linschoten, Jan Huygen. 1596/1885. *Itinerario: The Voyage of Jan Huygen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, edited by Artur Coke Burnel. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Lobato, Manuel. N.D. *Fort of the Magi in Tidore*. Retrieved on 22 August 2022. <https://hpip.org/en/Heritage/Details/1660>.
- _____. 2010. *Fortificações portuguesas e espanholas na Indonésia Oriental*. Lisboa: Prefácio, D.L.

- Loupatty, Stenli R., et al. 2020. *Kajian Historiografi: Jaringan Niaga Masa Lalu di Maluku Utara*. Ambon: BPNB Maluku.
- Manusama, Z.J. 1977. *Hikayat Tanah Hitu: Historie en sociale structuur van de Ambonse eilanden in het algemeen en van Uli Hitu in het bijzonder tot het midden der zeventiende eeuw*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Leiden: Leiden University.
- Matos, Artur Teodoro. 1995. *On the Seaway to Spices from Malacca to Australia*. Lisboa: INCM.
- Morga, Antonio de. 1609/2017. *The Philippine Islands, the Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China at the Close of the 16th Century*, edited by Henry E.J. Stanley. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Mu'jizah. 2008. *Pertemuan Antar Bangsa dalam Hikayat Tanah Hitu*. In *Dari Hitu ke Barus*, edited by Dendy Sugono. Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa.
- Noonan, Laurence, ed. 1989. *John of Empoli and His Relations with Afonso de Albuquerque*. Lisboa: Ministerio da Educacao Instituto de Investagacao Cientifica Tropical.
- Pigafetta, Antonio. 1525/1906. *Magellan's Voyage Around the World*, translated edited by James Alexander Robertson, 3 vols. Cleveland, Ohio: Clark Company.
- Pinto, Paulo Jorge de Sousa. 2012. *The Portuguese and the Straits of Melaka 1575-1619: Power, Trade, and Diplomacy*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Pires, Tome. 1944. *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, 2 Vols. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Ptak, Roderich. 1992. The Northern Trade Route to the Spice Islands: South China Sea - Sulu Zone - North Moluccas (14th to Early 16th century). *Archipel* 43: 27-56.
- Raman, La and Suharlin Ode Bau. 2020. *Monopoli Rempah di Maluku (Utara) dalam Kurun Niaga 1511-1799: Runtuhnya Dominasi Asia dan Munculnya Supremasi VOC dalam Perdagangan Cengkih*. Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Rego, Antonio de Silva, ed. 1947-58. *Documentacao Para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, 12 Vols. Lisboa: Agencia Geral do Ultramar.

- Rumphius, Georg. 1910. De Ambonsche Historie. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 64, no. 1: 1-159.
- Smith, Ronald Bishop. 1968. *The First Age of the Portuguese Embassies, Navigations and Peregrinations to the Kingdoms and Islands of Southeast Asia 1509-1521*. Decatur: Decatur Press.
- Thomaz, Luis Filipe F. R. 1975. Maluco e Malaca. In *A Viagem de Fernao de Magalhaes e a Questao das Moluccas: Actas do II Coloquio Luso-Espanyol de Historia Ultramarina*, edited by A. Teixeira da Mota. Lisboa: Junta de Investigacoes Cientificas do Ultramar.
- _____. 1963. Os Portugueses em Malaca. Unpublished BA Dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa.
- _____. 1995. The Image of the Archipelago in Portuguese Cartography of the 16th and early 17th centuries. *Archipel* 49: 79-124.
- _____. 1997. The Portuguese in the Seas of the Archipelago during the 16th Century." In *European Commercial Expansion in Early Modern Asia*, edited by Om Prakash, Vol. 10. Ashgate: Variorum.
- Timme, Elke. 1998. *A Presenca Portuguesa nas Ilhas das Molucas 1511-1605*. Norderstedt: GRIN Verlag GmbH.

سورة كاسد سابقه درود بيت سميع قد صحبت كور تا دور فولو نيت خ احوال
 اين سورة صحبت بيت ويا وامن شود اكنو مايج زين من هلم و مولو مكنن قد هب قدليم
 باسن هاري يونن صغف مكر تريت دالمن لام سره مكر كارخ اين اكنو بريل ابر سره صحبت
 بيت سفلن تاريخ مكر يس ساغلم فتولو صحبت بيت فوكنف فر كون مكر بيدالم ساغلم
 هندق بوي فر كي ترعم بريل ابر مكر نيت نيت صحبت بيت بوي ماري لغيتن اسكت
 هندق بر جهان ابر صحبت بيت سه بوي بريل ابر دران بولم ويا دان اقا صحبت بيت
 موة فزهار ۲ يا و امازي بر موكردع دهولو بيت ادر وكن فز صحبت بيت خمال
 كس كرين ن عيت الياي نكن و اين دغن كالغارن اين بيت نيت تولو بريل الفتن بريل
 بولم تولو بر عيت اين مكر صحبت بيت بالي سورة ماري بيتاكي فز كندر ابر صحبت بيت
 فون فز تاد هاجن بريل سكارخ اين جردا كاسم مري هندق تولو فلهن اسي نكر
 اين بريل ايتفون بيت نيت صحبت بيت بوي ماري سام بريل ايتولم و الم ابر
 سميع موم كا فل اين بار عنة ادر نهد دان اسن بيت و اهلكن اقا صحبت بيت
 فكله اميلد الم بريل فتولو صحبت بيت ايتفون يا ايد مكر ساغلم همارق بيت اكن
 فتولو صحبت بيت اقبيل سفي بريل ابر بولم بيت بوي ماري تندا بريل ابر
 اكن لغرين اسكت ايتولم بيت نيت صحبت بيت بوي ماري بايق ساغلم مكر
 بيت هندق بيتاكن مكر ادرخ جهمت لاوه دان دارة اين احوال ايتولم بيت
 بيت بيتاكن يوه سورة لم باسن هاري يونن صغف هاري ابر بع عت



Part of the letter between Sultan Abdullah Mukarram Shah and Francis Light, located in the Francis Light Letters (MS40320/7) at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies.

CHAPTER 6

MALAY LETTERS FROM THE ARCHIPELAGO, 1771-1794: KEDAH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA AS GLOBAL HISTORY

Dato' Ahmad Murad Merican, PhD

Introduction

MUCH OF WHAT HAS BEEN narrated on Southeast Asia, and especially on states and societies is seen from Eurocentric eyes. The dynamism of the region has so far been viewed in insular and isolated terms. This paper examines what is probably the largest single collection of Malay manuscripts extant today, known as the Francis Light Letters. Francis Light was a country trader who, through deceit, occupied an island off the coast of the Malay peninsula, thereby violating the sovereignty of a Malay state. Many scholars see the collection as comprising mostly trade and commercial transactions from Malay rulers, the *saudagar raja* (King's merchant), the *bangsawan* (aristocracy), and other members of Malay society. What is predominantly significant is the layer of dynamism in diplomacy and international relations, economic systems, and the social order in Malay society, as an extension of the earlier Melaka Malay enlightenment and civilization running through a period of more than a century from 1400 to 1511. The letters open a window on Western intervention and encounters in the Malay Archipelago. Collectively,

the letters lend the representation of the Malay voice and the Malay response toward European exceptionalism. This representation focuses on Southeast Asian indigeneity and cosmopolitanism. It locates the Malay Archipelago as integral to global history.

Taking a linguistic turn to the history of the region, one can trace the initial study of the letters to European 19th-century nationalism, and to Romance and Germanic studies.¹ Herein lies the globalization of the letters where social and political crises in Europe as well as the dynamics of nationalism and colonial expansionism influence and shape the development of philology as an academic discipline.

The letters display the use and interface of the Malay language with other cultures and European civilization. Malay was (and is) the lingua franca in the region used in ports and markets. But because orality dominated Malay society when writings were verbalized and heard in the court, the Malay letters appeared awesome and became a powerful instrument at that time. Seen in the context of commerce and diplomacy, the letters expose the dynamics of globalization or the connection between the Malay Archipelago and the rest of the world. They reveal the geopolitical psyche, especially of rulers and the aristocracy of the Malay polities. Significantly, they lend a Malay voice before the region was colonized and show some of the early contacts with Europe. The letters manifest the integration of the region into Europe, hence an extension of European history.

The Malay Letters

The Malay Letters known as the Francis Light Letters could probably be the largest collection of Malay letters in the world with some 1,200 letters arranged and bound in 11 volumes. They were written in Bahasa Melayu using the Jawi script. Parts of these letters contain Arabic, Farsi, and a smattering of Thai words. The collection is found at the School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS), University of London. In September 2018, SOAS gave the rights to the Universiti Sains Malaysia in Pulau Pinang, Malaysia to manage the public access to the digital images. This initiative began sometime in 2011.

The label “Francis Light Letters” (henceforth Light Letters) has been used by SOAS since 1916 when it was established. Earlier, the collection was kept at King’s College London. Originally, the letters were categorized under the Marsden Collection, attributed to the Irish scholar of Malay studies William Marsden (1754-1836). The letters were bought by Marsden from an auction in London in early 1800.²

When Marsden died, his widow bequeathed the letters to King’s College London. Marsden’s sojourn in the Malay Archipelago as an administrator under the English East India Company (EIC) in Sumatra between 1771 until 1779 enabled him to study the society and history of Sumatra as well as its ethnography and linguistics.

The catalogue *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain* states:

Malay correspondence, consisting chiefly of letters from the Rajahs and principal native merchants of the Peninsula and neighboring islands, addressed to Capt. Francis Light and Capt. James Scott of Pulo Pinang. In several Portfolios (Marsden, 1827: 304)

(Bibliotheca Marsdeniana Philologica et orientalis. A catalogue of books and manuscripts, collected with a view to the general comparison of languages, and of the study of oriental literature (London). Printed by J.L. Cox.

The 2014 publication entitled *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain* by M.C. Ricklefs, P. Voorhoeve, and Annabel Teh Gallop, described the letters as:

A collection of several hundred Malay letters in 11 bundles. Consisting primarily of correspondences received (with some copies of letters sent) by Capt. Francis Light and Capt. James Scott of Penang from (and to) rulers and dignitaries of Malay sultanates in the A.D. 1780s and 1790s. But there are also items from Aceh, Jambi, Indragiri, Minangkabau, Palembang, Pedir, Siak, and other places in Sumatera, from Brunei and Sambas, and from Tidore.

Various papers in various sizes appear in the Marsden collection (See Marsden, 1827, p. 304). Some of these letters were published with English translations in Marsden, 1812, pp. 137-57.

The size and condition of the letters vary from 20.1 cm to 22.2 cm in width and 27.1 cm to 57.1 cm in length. The edges of many of the letters are jiggered. However, it can be observed that the collection has been well preserved by the library and archives at SOAS.

Some of the earliest writings on the Light Letters come from Russell Jones and E. Ulrich Kratz. The latter was a professor at SOAS. In 1981, Jones published “Two Malay Letters Written by Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Muazzam Shah of Kedah to Captain Francis Light,” in the *Journal Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

Kratz published three articles. The first was “Some Malay Letters on Trade,” *Indonesia Circle* 44: 3-16; 1987; and “Surat-Surat Light, 1786 – 1794,” in Annabel The Gallop (1994), *Warkah-Warkah Melayu*. The other (2012) was titled “Francis Light’s Place in the Trading System of Both Coasts of the Malay Peninsula,” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 40: 83-99. Barbara Watson Andaya’s (1978) “The Indian Saudagar Raja (The King’s Merchant) in Traditional Malay Courts appeared in *JMBRAS* 51, no 1: 12-35. Later writings include Abdul Razak Abdul Karim (1996), “Manuskrip Surat-surat Francis Light: Suatu Analisis Aspek Kota Kata,” *Jurnal Filologi Melayu* 5, Noor Suraya Adnan (2008), Abdur-Rahman Mohamed Amin (2014), Muhammad Pisol Mat Isa dan Muhaimin Sulam (2014), Nik Haslinda Nik Hussein (2014), Ahmad Jelani Halimi (2006, 2014), Ahmad Jelani Harun (2008), Wan Shamsuddin (2014), and Ahmad Murad Merican (2015, 2018).

Classifications and Categories

The 1,200 letters can be classified into:

- Letters sent to Light
- Letter sent to Scott, Light’s business partner
- Notes, drafts, and copies of letters sent by Light

- Letters from the rajas and dignitaries
- Letters between the Malay states and with the Siamese-Burmese region
 - Malay letters with European figures
 - Other documents – bills, receipts, petitions, and contracts

Specifically, these groupings are comprised of correspondences from Kedah, Selangor, Perak, Terengganu, Kelantan, Aceh, Asahan, Batu Bahara, Siak, Palembang, and Pontianak. There are also letters from the *saudagar raja* (king’s merchant). The letters open up a variety of areas and themes to be studied. Among the possible research topics are:

- The geopolitics of the Malay archipelago before imperialism
- Economic system of the Malay states and polities before 1800
- Diplomacy and foreign relations
- Philology and writing systems
- Trade and commerce
- Cosmology and the Malay worldview
- Social and daily life in the Malay Archipelago
- The formation of *negeris* (states) and polities in the Malay Peninsula and the rest of the Archipelago
 - Life of the rajas and Malay dignitaries
 - Activities of Malay women
 - Malay discourse with the West
 - Kedah and the Malay polities as global history

Francis Light in the Malay World

A resident of the Malay Archipelago since 1771, Light collected communications that are valuable in the history of the region. Case in point are his exchanges and negotiations with the two sovereigns of Kedah, namely Sultan Muhammad Jiwa Zainal Adilin Shah II (1710-1778) and his son, Sultan Abdullah Mukarram Shah (1778-1798). He reached the region because of his work as a manager of the trading vessel, the *Speedwell*, owned by the Madras-based firm, Jourdain, Sullivan & Desouza. This made him a ‘country trader’—the owner/

captain of trading vessels in the region, similar to what is called a *nakhoda* by the Malays. He initially placed himself at Ujung Salang (Phuket), searching for suitable ports to trade. In the years after, he located himself at Phuket, and traversing much of the islands on the Western part of the Archipelago, Light learned the ways of the Malays. He was fluent in Malay, had the ability to read the Jawi script, and was familiar with Malay customs and culture. For some 23 years of staying in the region, Light engaged with Malay society, their rulers, and dignitaries. He rendered himself as a Malay, putting on the *baju Melayu* (Malay shirt), the *sarong* (pulicat), and the *songkok*.

From Kedah and Other Malay States

Among the early documents in the collection was the one sent by the Laksamana of Kedah who recorded the commercial transaction dated 12 March 1768. The letter was about several items sent to Salang (Phuket) which were gold and opium. The letters from Kedah Darul Aman (Kedah, Abode of Peace) form a significant part of the collection. Sultan Muhammad Jiwa, who had corresponded with Light, ascended the throne in 1710. He died in 1778.

Also among the letters sent to Light was that of July 1771. At that time, the relationship between Light and the Sultan was apparently more on commerce and involved the ports in Kedah, Salang, and Madras. Light who was based in Salang, frequently traveled back and forth to Madras, as well as to the port of Kota Kuala Kedah to acquire local products. About ten of the correspondences involved agreements on trade and the division of profits between the Sultan and Light. Two other names were mentioned in the letters from Sultan Muhammad Jiwa: a certain “Nyonya” (a term generally used for unmarried ladies) and Saudagar (merchant) Muhammad Mir Hussain. Among the traded commodities from Kedah were tin, pepper, opium, areca, and rice. Elephants were also a commodity there. Light once asked permission from the Sultan to buy two elephants to be brought to Madras.

Apart from Sultan Muhammad Jiwa, his son, Son Sultan Abdullah Mukarram Shah also corresponded with Light. The latter

became sultan, replacing his father in 1778. Sultan Abdullah passed away in 1797, three years after Light's death in 1794. The number of correspondences between Sultan Abdullah and Francis Light was more than 140. Among the earliest was a letter sent by Light to the Sultan dated 13 March 1785.

Different from the letters with Sultan Muhammad Jiwa which were more on trade and commerce, those with his son tackled issues on the agreement in occupying Pulau Pinang, the selling of commodities and debts, a request for assistance in dealing with the Siamese, the purchase of weapons and local concerns in Kedah. In the letter written in December 1787, Sultan Abdullah complained that the Siamese had asked for 150 *perahus* (small boats), and 5,000 men in its confrontation with the Burmese. The Sultan also objected to Light's request to acquire land at Teluk Air Tawar. In the same letter, the Sultan denied accusations that he was involved in a plot to assassinate Light.

Based on the correspondence, geopolitical relations are paramount. Siam-English relations finally saw Kedah losing an island, The earlier discussion was on leasing a strip of land for repairs of ships, as contained in Sultan Abdullah's letter "...hendak bubuh loji kecil, tempat singgah baiki kapal perang, tiada dipinta hendak buat negeri..." (to establish a small pier, for berthing and repairing military vessels. There was no request for the whole island...")

Other letters include one which was a request for Light's assistance for those going on a pilgrimage. The letter began with Sultan Abdullah informing Light of the problem of the poor who wanted to perform their religious duties in the land of the Arabs in a vessel to sail along the Malabar coast. The awaited boat did not arrive. Therefore, the Sultan asked the saudagar Mirakangkandu to captain another vessel carrying the group together with some money for expenses. Sultan Abdullah also sent tin to be sold in Kochi to defray other expenses of the trip to Makkah. Owing to the low level of trade with Kedah at that time, Light was asked to give the commodities to be sold in Kochi together with an anchor and two anchor ropes to saudagar Mirangkandu

Another is a letter acknowledging receipt of a letter about preparing for war against Siam Salang. This is the letter from Sultan

Abdullah informing Francis Light on the dispatch of the letter from two Burmese, Raja Tawi, and Raja Marit to the Laksamana saying that they (the Burmese) were ready to declare war on Siam Salang. Sultan Abdullah therefore, sent Syahbandar Seri Lela Pahlawan to convey that it would be better for Light himself to be present and discuss the matter with Sultan Abdullah.

Letters on the demands of Siam on Kedah are quite predominant. One letter folio contains the demands of Siam in terms of funding and commodities. The letter tells of Sultan Abdullah informing Light that he had received the demands through his son, Cik Awi. Sultan Abdullah requested to fortify Kedah due to the Siamese threat. Siam was making various demands on Kedah. The Sultan was still waiting for Light to return from Bengal. He faced financial problems in meeting the Siamese demands. The ship from India which planned to buy elephants from Kedah had not yet arrived. Moreover, the number of commercial vessels calling on the Kedah port was few and far between. Hence, the Sultan dispatched a letter asking Light for an audience with the governor-general. Light said he could not be present due to his work. Nevertheless, the Sultan was hopeful of meeting Light himself to resolve the problem with Siam.

Another letter is significant to understanding the position of Pulau Pinang. It is a draft letter from Sultan Abdullah to the governor-general at Bengal informing him that Light had told the Sultan about the governor-general's request to acquire Pulau Pinang. The letter was to be given to Light, as representative of the governor-general in Bengal, which was a trading base for the English East India Company and for ships' repair and replenishment of supplies. Sultan Abdullah also set the conditions he was imposing for the occupation of the island by the Company. If the governor-general would agree to the condition, then the Sultan would allow the Company to come and stay in Pulau Pinang.

The French had also berthed at the port in Kota Kuala Kedah. This was evident from the letter sent by Sultan Abdullah to Francis Light about a three-mast French ship. Some of its crew walked up the Kuala (referring to the Kota Kuala Kedah port) and were queried

by the *matamata* (police). The crew said that they had sailed from Aceh and had a shortage of food supplies. They asked for rice, cattle, chicken, ducks, and water. Unfortunately, the Sultan was also facing a shortage of rice. The Sultan requested that Light send an assault vessel immediately to arrest them.

Another letter about French encounters was sent by saudagar Nasrudin to Light. The letter asked Light to buy cannon balls and gunpowder made in Holland or France, in the event enemy ships sailed into Kedah waters.

There were also concerns about intelligence relating to the Dutch and French in the region. In a letter dated 31 August 1787 to Francis Light, Sultan Mansur Ri'ayat Shah ibni al-Sultan Zainal Abidin from Terengganu expressed weariness toward the Dutch (Wolanda), and asked Light to conduct surveillance. It also requested Light to determine the presence of the French at Kochi (present-day Kerala). The sultan casts suspicion on the English East India Company's contacts with the French and raised concerns about the collaboration between the Dutch and the Siamese.

There were also fears of the Dutch attacking Riau. In a letter dated 10 November 1787, Sultan Mahmud Riayat Shah of Johore and Pahang asked Francis Light to inform Bengal that the Dutch (kompeni Wilanda) had invaded (*melanggar*) Riau in their attempt to defeat the Bugis. After the Bugis fled, they were forced to sign a treaty, which brought in the Dutch from Betawi (Batavia) to administer Riau.

Another letter by the Laksamana Kedah (Admiral) to Light pertained to a three-mast French vessel Salang. Written on 11th December 1788, it described the ship's crew behaving suspiciously.

Concluding Remarks

The letters from the Malay Archipelago from 1771 to 1794 prompt a review of world history from the perspective of Southeast Asia. Although induced by the encroachment of the West due to European politics, the letters provide a venue of expression for the non-European world.

The Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 and the protracted Thirty Years' War in Europe which ended with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 are landmark events setting the tone and tenor for colonialism and imperialism. These developments stretch European problems and conflicts to other parts of the world. The geopolitical ramifications can be seen through the Malay Letters. One of the legacies of the Thirty Years' War is the formation of the modern nation-state. This can be gleaned from the illegal acquisition of Pulau Pinang and other attempts by Francis Light to occupy parts of the peninsula which subject certain local polities to laws, the image, and institutions of Europe.

It is also necessary to consider the antecedents leading to the presence of the English East India Company and of Francis Light in the Malay Archipelago. It has been suggested that Light be regarded not as a member of the English East India Company and the early agent of British imperialism, but as the European representative of an international community of traders "who operated entirely within local rules and conventions and had been absorbed into local political, administrative, social and economic."³

From the Letters, it is evident that Light did not face problems in terms of trading and personal relations with his Malay counterparts, except in two instances. The first was with Sultan Abdullah Mukarram Shah of Kedah regarding the terms and conditions of the lease of a strip of land on the island. The second was when Sultan Abdullah imposed a tight economic blockade by stopping all Kedah perahus (boats) from trading with Pulau Pinang. The blockade aimed to create a shortage of supplies which would affect the island's entrepot trade.⁴

Light had been culturally a 'native' in the Malay Archipelago since he arrived and became a resident for 23 years. A large part of his life was spent away from mainstream European and English society. Nevertheless, Light could also be seen as representing the English East India Company, and the larger outcome of the dynamics of European geopolitical expansion. This implies a position of "superiority and a form of imperial hauteur," and at the same time, that of a servant of the Sultan "who metaphorically prostrated himself in the dust underneath the soles of the sultan's royal feet."

Kratz rhetorically asked “Was Light dreaming of the Empire?” As it is thus far known, Light was the first European in the Malay-speaking world who mobilized himself within indigenous Malay society. Figures like Captain Scott and Captain Glass were Light’s “brothers in his Malay affairs.” Light himself and the EIC apparatus that he introduced to the picture, was reminiscent of European expansion in the region. The Letters are critical too if one wants to comprehend and describe Malay interactions with the Europeans. The Kedah ports mentioned are indigenous to the polity. One scholar notes that it was not unusual for the Kedah ruler to give to the English the responsibilities of monitoring shipping and providing security. The entitlement and grant by the Kedah ruler “may indeed herald a common Malay view to consider the British, and other European powers, as merely another wandering sea lord.”⁵

Endnotes

¹ Personal communication with E. Ulrich Kratz, 30 October 2011. Kratz was a professor at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

² Personal communication with Francis Noel Purdon Light, a sixth-generation descendant of Francis Light, 7 July 2015, Adelaide.

³ See personal communication with Kratz.

⁴ See Light to G.G., 6 Jan. 1791, SSR, 4 (FWCP, 9 Feb. 1791) in R. Bonney, *Kedah 1771-1821: The Search for Security and Independence* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1971), 92. By early January when Light was writing on the blockade, he was considering the blockade as a “Declaration of War.”

⁵ Maziar Mozaffari Falarti, *Malay Kingship in Kedah: Religion, Trade and Society* (Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre, 2014), 102.

References

- Abdul Razak Abdul Karim. 1996. Manuskrip surat-surat Francis Light: suatu analisis aspek kosa kata. *Jurnal Filologi Melayu* 5, no. 1: 1-24.
- Andaya, Barbara Watson. 1978. The Indian Saudagar Raja (The King’s Merchant) in Traditional Malay Courts. *Journal of the Malaysian*

- Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 51, no. 1: 12-35.
- Bonney, R. 1971. *Kedah 1771-1821: The Search for Security and Independence*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Falarti, Maziar Mozaffari. 2014. *Malay Kingship in Kedah: Religion, Trade and Society*. Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.
- _____. 2013. *Malay Kingship in Kedah: Religion, Trade and Society*. Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre.
- Jones, Russell. 1981. "Two Malay letters written by Sutan Muhammad Jiwa Muazzam Syah of Kedah to Captain Francis Light." *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 54, no. 3: 24-34.
- Kratz, E. Ulrich. 2006. Like a Fish Gasping for Water: The Letters of a Temporary Spouse from Bengkulu. *Indonesia and the Malay World* 34, no. 100: 247-280.
- Light, Francis. The Light Letters. MS40320, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
- Ricklefs, M.C., P. Voorhoeve, P. and A.T. Gallop. 2014. *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia.

WEBSITE

www.suratlight.blogspot.com



COLLECTION

DES

ORCHIDÉES

les plus remarquables

DE L'ARCHIPEL INDIEN ET DU JAPON.

PAR

Ch. L. de Blume.



Aux Indes les femmes se servent beaucoup
des fleurs naturelles pour leur parure.

Ouvrage faisant suite à la

FLORA JAVÆ.

DU MÊME AUTEUR.

LIBRARY
NEW YORK
BOTANICAL
GARDEN

CHAPTER 7

DIAGNOSING NATURE: NOTES FROM COLONIAL PHYSICIANS IN THE 19TH CENTURY DUTCH EAST INDIES

Gani A. Jaelani, PhD

Introduction

THIS STUDY INVESTIGATES EUROPEAN PHYSICIANS' travel accounts in the Dutch East Indies during the 19th Century. During the early years, their main concern was the discovery of medicinal plants. Later their attention shifted to diseases and the healthiness of the colony. Such change coincided with the growing stability of colonial control, and I argue that the research interests of colonial physicians adjusted to the changing colonial objectives.

Physicians have investigated nature since ancient times, but it was in the early modern era that they came to believe that “pursuing ‘matters of fact’ rather than correct reasoning would provide the most certain basis for both their art and science.”¹ In the Netherlands Indies, the observation of nature and people was an attempt to discover what

Left: Title page of Carl Ludwig Blume's *Collection des orchidées les plus remarquables de l'Archipel indien et du Japon* (1858) courtesy of the New York Botanical Garden's LuEsther T. Mertz Library via Internet Archive.

the tropical world could offer for the progress of science, economics, and medicine.

Using European physicians' treatises and scientific journals from the nineteenth century, this study examines medical knowledge formation in the Netherlands Indies and how this knowledge was influenced by colonial policies. It focuses on three issues that reflect the interests of physicians in the colony: the natural world (including botany, *materia medica*), people and their culture; and geographical conditions in relation to health.

An Unexpected Journey: Two French Naturalists in the Late 18th Century

Two events in Europe changed the course of natural history research in the Dutch East Indies: first, the disappearance of the Lapérouse expedition which prompted the National Assembly to launch a search expedition, and second, the French Revolution, which invalidated the expedition's letter of passage. These two events marked a turning point in the history of science in present-day Indonesia. Allow me to elaborate.

The Lapérouse expedition set sail to carry out research in the southern hemisphere in 1785. While they were expected to return to France by the end of 1788, in 1790 there was still no information about them. For this reason, the National Assembly sent *L'expédition de d'Entrecasteux*, which set sail on 29 September 1791, to find Lapérouse. The mission failed, but fate still brought them to Indonesia where the expedition ended.² The expedition arrived in Surabaya on 27 October 1793 where it ended for two reasons.³ First, their movement was restricted by the French Revolution which invalidated their letter of passage made in the name of the deposed French king. Second, the ship's crew were held hostage by the Dutch because of the war between Holland and France. Nonetheless, despite being hostages some crew members were treated well, such as La Billardière and Deschamps, who were permitted to visit the city and its surroundings and to carry out research on natural history.

Jacques-Julian Houtou La Billardière was a naturalist. He was born in Alençon, Normandy in 1755, studied botany and medicine in Montpellier under Antoine Gouan, a prominent botanist, and earned his doctoral degree in the same subject in Paris in 1780. He then made several voyages to carry out research on natural history. First, he went to England to study Banks' collection, then to the Alps and Mount Dauphiné, and then onwards to Syria where he spent many years.⁴

The other physician was Louis Auguste Deschamps who was born in St. Omer on 22 August 1765. He completed his studies on ancient medicine at the Faculté de Douai on 22 July 1788. Unlike La Billardière, he didn't have much experience as a naturalist when the expedition set sail in 1791.⁵

From the account of La Billardière's travels, we find that while in Surabaya, he took the opportunity to add to his collection on natural history by asking permission from the municipal authorities to conduct research in the surrounding mountains. On 11 December 1793, he went to Mount Prau located not too far from the city. On the way to Mount Prau, he visited several villages where he was welcomed by the locals. During this journey, he was accompanied by Dutch soldiers and some locals, and speaking about his companions, he narrated that the Javanese were always on horseback, but one day, one dismounted and raced to pick a plant called *kadiar ankri* because the plant contained an aphrodisiac that local people used as medicine.⁶ During his journey, he relied on information provided by his companions and used it to construct his knowledge of nature in the Dutch Indies. Through his encounters with locals, he learned about the variety of flora and fauna of the region. He also enriched his knowledge of local customs and beliefs.⁷

Deschamps managed to carry out research in the interior of Java while La Billardière was waiting for his transfer to Batavia en route to France. After being transferred to Semarang, Deschamps was offered by the Dutch Governor, Van Overstraten to conduct research on natural history. The Dutch authorities even provided facilities to carry out research into the interior of the island. Deschamps accepted the offer and took leave with his traveling companions.⁸



Payen ad-nat. del.

Imp. de Simonau

Lauters lith.

ARBOR TOXICARIA. IPO. RUMPH.

ANTIARIS TOXICARIA. LESCH.



An *upas* tree (extreme left) and its parts (left), from Blume's *Rumphia*, volume 1 (1835), courtesy of the Missouri Botanical Garden via Internet Archive.

His voyage started from Semarang on 8 May 1795 and ended in 1798 when he arrived in Batavia. Historian Peter Boomgaard states that he was “the first naturalist to have covered the entire island from west to east and from north to south, and also the first one to collect specimens in many of the mountainous areas.”⁹ From his voyage, he published two articles: one about the poisonous tree called *upas* and the other about his voyage in Java. These articles need to be commented upon. Unlike La Billardière, Deschamps wrote his articles to be read by the public. He also chose specific themes, the customs of the locals and the mysterious *upas*. The articles were published in the *Annales des Voyages, de la Géographie et de l’Histoire*, a book that compiled the accounts of voyages and the description of places in various parts of the globe.

In his studies, Deschamps narrated the Javanese custom of punishing criminals by sending them off to the forest where the *upas*, a poisonous plant was found. Europeans were introduced to the custom and the tree through the article “Description of the Poison-Tree in the Island of Java” written by N. P. Foerch, a surgeon of the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, Dutch East India Company). The article, however, contained more myths than facts and thus Deschamps tried to separate the facts from fiction through science. His writing focused more on the poisonous component of the *upas*. His interaction with locals also allowed him to acquire more knowledge about the customs in which it was involved. His study on the *upas* tree was later continued by Leschenault de La Tour.

La Billardière and Deschamps were both French physician-naturalists who paved the way for research into the interior of Java in the late eighteenth century. Although they did not intend to do so when they arrived, their works nonetheless provided a picture of the natural world in Java. A bigger picture would be given by the physicians-naturalists of the early of nineteenth century.

Exploring the Interiors of Java: Physicians-Naturalists in the Early 19th Century

Research and travel writing changed at the turn of the nineteenth century. First, travel was planned. Second, research continued to focus on the interior of Java. It is also interesting that the naturalists went to the Dutch East Indies primarily as physicians.

Thomas Horsfield was an American physician and naturalist who came to the Netherlands Indies in 1801 and stayed there until 1819. In 1804, he made a research trip through Java which lasted until 1812. During his trip, he sent specimens to the Bataviaasch Genootschap der Kunsten en Wetenschappen. In 1811, he met Sir Stamford Raffles who then employed him. His general interest included plants and minerals, as well as the customs of the people in the region.

He published his work in the *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap der Kunsten en Wetenschappen* in the years 1814

and 1816. An important article of this period is the “Essay on the Geography, Mineralogy and Botany of the Western portion of the Territory of the Native Princes of Java,” in which he included an extract from the journal he kept during his voyage “for the purpose of elucidating the geographical descriptions.”¹⁰ Another important study is the “Short Account of the Medicinal Plants of Java” where he wrote about medicinal plants that were already “introduced into the European systems of *Materia Medica*” and medicinal plants which were employed in the daily practice of the Javanese or natives¹¹.

It is worth noting that Doctor Horsfield included the local names of the medicinal plants in Java. He explained their uses for medical purposes. He also explained that not all the plants in Java were classified in the *Materia Medica*. He then made experiments on the unclassified plants that were being used by the locals as medicine. He stated that “the series of experimental enquiry, which is necessary to elucidate fully the virtues and qualities of our native medicinal plants, depends on the joint labour of many physicians. From the practice of the natives but little is to be learned; they employ the substances empirically, without any regard to quantity; their ignorance in the science of medicine renders them incapable of observing the action of any substance on the human system.”¹² He wanted to highlight the importance of experimentation to examine the value of plants for medical use.

The work of Doctor Horsfield is mentioned in John Crawford’s *History of the Indian Archipelago: Containing an Account of the Manners, Arts, Languages, Religions, Institutions, and Commerce of Its Inhabitants* (1920). Crawford was a British resident at the Court of the Sultan Java. He worked initially as a physician and wrote about medical practices and medicine. He described the way the natives treated the sick as, “if such practice be productive of little benefit, it must be admitted, that it has the negative advantage of doing little harm, and this is no small matter. A practitioner, rasher than the rest, will, unfortunately, however, now and the be found whose practice is bold enough to be mischievous.”¹³ Aside from his direct observation, he used information from Doctor Horsfield’s experiments on the uses of medicinal plants

by the natives. He also devoted several pages to the value of plants for medical purposes based on his personal observations and the work of Doctor Horsfield.¹⁴

Speaking of medicinal plants and their relation to the establishment of a botanical garden in Buitenzorg, Carl Ludwig Blume is a very important figure. He was a physician working in the Netherlands Indies as an inspector of vaccination who made several journeys to different parts of Java. During his trips, he collected materials on the natural world. He collected “a large number of living and dried plants and seeds which eventually formed the basis for a series of botanical studies such as the *Tabellen en platen voor de Javaansche orchideeën* (Tables and plates of Javanese orchids, 1825) and the *Bijdragen tot de Flora van Nederlandsch Indië* (Contributions to the flora of the Netherlands Indies, 1825-27).¹⁵

The purpose of writing *Bijdragen tot de Flora van Nedeerlandsch Indië* was to describe the variety of plants in the Dutch Indies and to argue their usefulness in daily life and medicine.¹⁶ This made clear why he investigated the plants in the region. In addition, as a director of the botanical garden, he was expected to collect various kinds of plants to be cultivated in Buitenzorg. This activity facilitated the establishment of a laboratory for his research. As a physician-botanist, apart from classifying new species and giving them names, Blume also highlighted the medicinal use of the plants he found based on native practices.

In his article “Beschrijving van eenige gewassne, waargenomen op eenen togt naar den Salak in den jare 1822,” published in the *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap der Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (1925), he described several plants found in the area with medicinal properties. He described *Magnoliaceen* as “one of the most beautiful families of the plants, and we find there several species on the lower bushes in Salak, which could be confirmed that some of which have remained quite unknown even to the herbalist” [*een der schoonste familien onder de gewassen aangemerkt, en wij vinden er onderscheidene soorten van de lagere bosschen aan den Salak, die dit kunnen bevestigen welke eenige zelfs aan de kruidkundigen geheel onbekend gebleven zijn*]. He also noticed that the medical use of the

flower was not found yet but acknowledged that the species had “an aromatic, peculiarly bitter extractive, which makes it a potent agent in cases where tonic-stimulating drugs are indicated, without the circumstances permitting, also to use astringent substance, of which slight traces are found in this bark” [*namelijke eene aromatieke, eigenaardig bittere extractieve stof, waardoor dezelve een krachtig middel wordt in gevallen, waar toniek-prikkelende geneesmiddelen aangewezen zijn, zonder dat de omstandigheden gedoogen, zich tevens te bedienen van zamentrekkende zelfstandigheden, waarvan in dezen bast geringe sporen worden aangetroffen*].¹⁷ It seems clear that Blume tried to identify the species, its medical purposes, and how the natives used them in daily life. The description of the *Magnoliaceen* is an example of his writing. The information gathered in the article was based on his journey to Mount Salak in Buitenzorg in 1822. This shows that Blume played the role of both physician and botanist at the same time. He was also appointed as the director of the botanical garden in Buitenzorg after the return of Reindwardt to Holland.¹⁸

The works of the physician-naturalists consisted of observing, naming, describing, and classifying plants, animals, minerals, and geographical characteristics. While their objective was to understand nature, they also wanted to know the value of what they found. Summarizing this work, Caspar Reinwardt, the founder and the first director of the botanical garden at Buitenzorg, said that “Natural history aims at collecting, knowing and describing available animals, plants and minerals from around the globe... and the spreading the use which might arise from that.”¹⁹

The works of the physician-naturalists focused on different things. In the earliest travel narratives by Deschamps and Horsfield one finds observations about the locals, their customs, morals, and culture. The investigation of plants in the Netherlands Indies was conducted systematically by Carl Blume. His *Bijdragen tot de Flora in Nederlands Indië* is considered a great contribution to bioprospecting. In this period, observations occurred mostly in Java and Sumatra. In Java, the research was conducted in Batavia, Priangan, and central Java. The investigation of these regions revealed the richness of nature. The more

specific observations on the people are found in the work of Andries de Wilde.

The Ethnographic Observation of Andries de Wilde

The interest of the physicians was not only in the natural world but also in the local inhabitants of the Netherlands Indies, especially their everyday life and customs. The work of Deschamps is an example of this work, although the material he published is very short. While Horsfield wrote on the same topic, the more important work is that of Andries de Wilde, *De Preanger Regentschappen op Java Gelegen* in 1830, a product of his direct observations, as he lived among the Sundanese, the inhabitants of the Priangan in West Java.

Andries de Wilde was a physician working in the Netherlands Indies as an inspector of vaccination and medical officer to combat venereal diseases in the Priangan region from 1814-1815. F. de Haan, in his brief biography of De Wilde wrote that he arrived in Java as a surgeon on 19 May 1803 and moved to Bandung in 1809.²⁰ He was known for his success as a medical officer in the campaign for vaccination in the region, which he accomplished with the help of the local religious leaders who made the program more acceptable to the locals.

De Wilde began his work by evaluating geography. He attributed Priangan's cool temperature to the high altitude. After the geographical conditions, he noted the size of the population. His attention to the population size was important, for, at that time the region had vast and fertile soil with very few inhabitants.²¹ About the natural world, he also described various plants that grew in Priangan. Nevertheless, he was more interested in commercial matters such as local products and coffee plantations in the region. Apparently, natural history was only incidental to De Wilde's commercial concerns.

De Wilde focused on the habits of the natives. He analyzed local customs and health conditions. He recorded, for example, the diseases among the Sundanese in Priangan such as "rieut hoeloe, salesma, gondongeung, salatrie, nyeri ki'I, etc."²² Besides the local names of

diseases, he also described the way locals safeguarded their health and their practice of going to a *dukun*, a local traditional healer.²³

Surveying a Potential New Colony

There were two changes in the mid-19th century Dutch Indies that explain the inclinations of the physicians of that period. The first was the implementation of *cultuurstelsel* (*sistem tanam paksa*), where peasants were required to allot one-fifth of their land for the cultivation of plants of commercial value to the international market. The system shows the extent to which the colonial government systematized the economic exploitation of the colony. The second was the colonial authorities' plan to extend their colony beyond the island of Java. Because of these, the physicians' work during that period came to involve not just the assurance of the native workers' health, but also the study of health conditions in support of the colonial objectives.

Military expeditions to survey potential areas for establishing new colonies involved physicians tasked with monitoring and treating sick crew members. They listed and described the diseases in the area. Simple hospitals were built for the treatment of the sick.²⁴ In addition to their duties as physicians, they also wrote descriptions of the locals. C. F. W. Hunnius for example took part in an expedition and wrote about the health conditions of the Dayak people including the way they lived, what they ate, what they wore, etc.²⁵ Van Andringa related that when he arrived in a kampong, the inhabitants fled because they were afraid of foreigners. The only people that remained were the sick.

The military expedition to Aceh is the most concrete example of the extent to which physicians would go to ensure the health of crew members. The Aceh War which began in 1874 was the longest and the most difficult for the Dutch. The military expedition against the Acehnese involved physicians who ensured the health of the soldiers. The course of the war, however, was ultimately determined by the outbreak of beriberi which led to the defeat of the Dutch.²⁶

Julius Karel Jacobs also studied health conditions in his travelogue in Bali. His writing is elaborately anthropological because it includes

descriptions of Balinese culture. Dr. Jacobs also showed a special interest in ethnography. After the publication of his travel writings, he wrote two more books about the Baduy, the inhabitants of West Java, and the Acehnese. Both were written as ethnographic works rather than as travel accounts.²⁷

In the mid-19th century, a new trend could be observed among colonial physicians. They began to focus their attention on the health conditions of the region, the spread of diseases, and mortality rates. They used their findings to determine if the region would be habitable to Europeans. There was also an increase in the number of physicians involved in this kind of research and research outputs were published in scientific journals on medical science.²⁸

Pieter Bleeker is an important figure worth mentioning. He wrote the medical topography of Batavia which was published in *Natuur-en Geneeskundig Archief voor Neêrland's-Indie* between 1844-1846.²⁹ After Batavia, he engaged in the study of medical topography in other places.³⁰ He also surveyed population size. His findings were first published in the scientific journal *Netherlands Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indies* between 1840-1850 and then compiled into a book entitled *Nieuwe bijdragen tot de kennis der bevolkingstatistiek van Java* (1870).³¹ While the method used in the survey was not impressive, the study proved the importance of population size in the mid-19th century for it was the period when the Dutch intensified the exploitation of its colonies through the *culturstelsel*. Though involved in medical research, Bleeker was better known as a naturalist. His grand work on the *Atlas Ichthyologique des Indes Orientales Néerlandaises* was published between 1862-1878.

Willem Bosch was another physician who played an important role in medical research. He was appointed chief of military medical service in 1845 and conducted research on the famine caused by the *culturstelsel*. His findings and views were considered a critique of the implementation of the *culturstelsel*, which became a source of dispute between Bosch as chief of the Department of Health for the Army and Governor General J. J. Rochussen. One of the results of this dispute was the creation of the Dokter Djawa school.³² Bosch had a special

interest in population increase, in relation to community wealth. His views on the issue are contained in the book *De vermeerdering van Java's bevolking: beschouwd als de grootste bron van rijkdom voor Nederland*, published in 1851.³³ Bosh espoused the importance of medical statistics and criticized colonial policies.

The methods used during this period were medical geography, medical topography, and medical statistics during medical-military expeditions. These analytical research tools enabled them to learn more about population size, the factors related to the natives' state of health, and their ethnic and racial classification.

Knowledge generated by these investigations resulted in the categorization of places based on healthiness, with places categorized in relation to climate. High temperatures in the coastal region were considered unhealthy while the mountainous areas were recommended as ideal places for Europeans to live due to the cooler climate. This categorization also considered the spread of diseases in different parts of the Netherlands Indies. Medical topography research included the nature of disease transmission and its frequency. Statistics on mortality rates and health were thus crucial in ensuring the well-being of the local population.

Conclusion

Research in the Netherlands Indies in the mid-19th century was conducted to address several concerns. The first was the need to survey the region—its geography, climate, flora and fauna, inhabitants, local language, and culture. This knowledge was used as bases for colonial expansion. The second was to study the regional flora relative to their medicinal value and importance in commerce, industry, and agriculture. The third was the use of medical topography and statistics to determine the healthiness of the tropics as habitats for Europeans.

Physicians played a significant role in the production of knowledge because they conducted fieldwork and engaged in empirical observation. The writings of the colonial physicians enable us to see the complexity of the Europeans' and locals' interactions. In the early

years, locals were viewed as the source of knowledge but by the mid-19th century, they became the object of study. Physician's interests changed along with the broader colonial objectives. While the earlier period was characterized by the sense of discovery, the later manifested the agenda of colonial expansion and preservation of power. For this reason, colonial physicians contributed to the knowledge base for colonialism.

Endnotes

¹ Harold J. Cook, "Physicians and Natural History," in *Cultures of Natural History*, edited by N. Jardine, J. A. Secord, and E. C. Spary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 91.

² Elisabeth-Paul-Edouard de Rossel, *Voyage de Dentrecaesteux Envoyé à La Recherche de La Pérouse*, vol. 1 (Paris: De l'imprimerie impériale, 1808), v.

³ Hélène Richard, "L'expédition de d'Entrecasteaux (1791-1794) et les origines de l'implantation anglaise en Tasmanie." *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 69, no. 257 (1982): 290–91; Elisabeth-Paul-Edouard de Rossel, *Voyage de Dentrecaesteux Envoyé à La Recherche de La Pérouse* (Paris: De l'imprimerie Imperiale, 1808), vol. 1, 518–19. The exploration of the south-eastern coast of Tasmania had a great importance and gave the opportunity for the charting of a good place for a call on the trade route from France to the Far East. Because of the political events, the return to France of the expedition grew very difficult. Documents were finally sequestered by England who did not give them again to France before making them copy and sending Flinders twice to Tasmania (1799 and 1801).

⁴ Marie Jean Pierre Flourens, "Eloge Historique de J. Julien de Labillardière." *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de l'Institut de France* 16 (1838): xxij.

⁵ C.G.C.J. van Steenis, M. J. van Steenis-Kruseman, and C. A. Backer, "Louis Auguste Deschamps." *Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History)* 1, no. 2 (1954): 49.

⁶ Jacques-Julian Houtou de La Billardière, *Relation du voyage à la recherche de Lapérouse*, vol. 2 (Paris: H. J. Jansen, 1799), 315–16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 325-329.

⁸ Steenis, Steenis-Kruseman, and Backer, "Louis," 49–50.

⁹ Peter Boomgaard, *Empire and Science in the Making: Dutch Colonial Scholarship in Comparative Global Perspective, 1760-1830* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 151.

¹⁰ Thomas Horsfield, "Essay on the Geography, Mineralogy and Botany of the Western Portion of the Territory of the Native Princes of Java." *Verhandelingen van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Der*

Kunsten En Wetenschappen 8 (1816): 2.

¹¹ Thomas Horsfield, "Short Account of the Medicinal Plants of Java." *Verhandelingen van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Der Kunsten En Wetenschappen* 8 (1816): 3–4.

¹² Horsfield, "Essay," 52.

¹³ John Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago: Containing an Account of the Manners, Arts, Languages, Religions, Institutions, and Commerce of Its Inhabitants*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Archibald Constalder et Cie, 1820), 329.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 461–71.

¹⁵ Andreas Weber, "Hybrid Ambitions: Science, Governance, and Empire in the Career of Caspar G. C. Reinwardt (1773-1854)" (Dissertation: Universiteit Leiden, 2012), 133-134.

¹⁶ C. L. Blume, *Bijdragen Tot de Flora van Nederlandsch Indie* (Batavia: Ter Landsdrukkerij, 1825), iv.

¹⁷ C. L. Blume, "Beschrijving van Eenige Gewassen, Waargenomen Op Eenen Tocht Naar Den Salak, in Den Jare 1822." *Verhandelingen van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Der Kunsten En Wetenschappen* 9 (1825): 38.

¹⁸ J. Mac Lean, "Carl Ludwig Blume and The Netherlands East Indies." *Janus: Revue Internationale de l'Histoire Des Sciences, de La Médecine, de La Pharmacie et de La Technique* 66 (1979): 17; C. G. C. J. van Steenis, "Dedication." *Flora Malesiana* 10 (1989): 10.

¹⁹ Quoted in Andreas Weber, *Hybrid Ambitions: Science, Governance, and Empire in the Career of Caspar G. C. Reinwardt (1773-1854)* (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, 2012), 48.

²⁰ F. de Haan, *Priangan: De Preanger-Regentschappen Onder Het Nederlandsch Bestuur Tot 1811*, vol. 1 (Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1910), 285–86.

²¹ W. Bosch, *De vermeerdering van Java's bevolking: beschouwd als de grootste bron van rijkdom voor Nederland* (Rotterdam: M. Wilt & Zonen, 1851), 21–22.

²² It is the Sundanese words for headache, influenza, goiter, gastric problem, and (possibly) gonorrhoea.

²³ Andries de Wilde, *De Preanger regentschappen op Java gelegen* (Amsterdam: M. Westerman, 1830), 167–68.

²⁴ M. van Andringa, "Geneeskundig Verslag van de Expeditie Tegen Latoentoer (Zuider-En Ooster-Afdeeling van Borneo)." *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift Voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 9 (1862): 840.

²⁵ C. F. W. Hunnius, "Beschrijving Eener Reis Naar de Boven-Kapoeas, van Den 24sten April Tot Den 4 Meil 1862." *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift Voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 10 (1863): 174–82.

²⁶ B.E.J.H. Becking, "Verslag Der Verrichtingen van Den Geneeskundigen Dienst Bij de Eerste Expeditie Tegen Het Rijk van Atjeh." *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift Voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 16 (1874): 433–571; N.P. van Der Stok, "Wetenschappelijk Verslag over de Voorgekomen Verwondingen Bij

de 1e Expeditie Tegen Het Rijk van Atjeh.” *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift Voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 16 (1874): 577–720.

²⁷ Julius Karel Jacobs, *Eenigen Tijd Onder de Baliërs; Eene Reisbeschrijving, Met Aan Teekeningen Betreffende Hygiëne, Land- En Volkenkunde van de Eilanden Bali En Lombok, Door Julius Jacobs* (Batavia: G. Kolff, 1883); Julius Jacobs and J. J. Meijer, *De Badoejs* (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1891); Julius Jacobs, *Het Familie- En Kampongleven Op Groot-Atjeh*, Deel I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1894).

²⁸ C. L. van der Burg, *Overzicht van de geschiedenis en de werkzaamheden der Vereeniging tot bevordering van geneeskundige wetenschappen in Nederlandsch Indië gedurende de eerste vijf-entwintig jaren van haar bestaan: redevoering uitgesproken in de Algemeene Vergadering van den 2den Maart 1877* (Batavia: Bruining, 1877).

²⁹ P. Bleeker, “Bijdragen Tot de Geneeskundige Topographie van Batavia.” *Natuur- En Geneeskundig Archief Voor Neêerland’s-Indie* 1, no. 1 (1844): 1–80, 169–220, 523–62; P. Bleeker, “Bijdragen Tot de Geneeskundige Topographie van Batavia.” *Natuur- En Geneeskundig Archief Voor Neêerland’s-Indie* 2, no. 2 (1845): 497–534; P. Bleeker, “Bijdragen Tot de Geneeskundige Topographie van Batavia.” *Natuur- En Geneeskundig Archief Voor Neêerland’s-Indie* 3, no. 3 (1846): 195–256.

³⁰ Pieter Bleeker, “Bijdrage tot de Geneeskundige Topographie van Willem I.” *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 1, no. 1 (1852): 165–97.

³¹ Pieter Bleeker, *Nieuwe bijdragen tot de kennis der bevolkingstatistiek van Java* (’s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1870).

³² Liesbeth Hesselink, *Healers on the Colonial Market Native Doctors and Midwives in the Dutch East Indies* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011).

³³ Willem Bosch, *De vermeerdering van Java’s bevolking De vermeerdering van Java’s bevolking: beschouwd als de grootste bron van rijkdom voor Nederland* (Rotterdam: M. Wijt & Zonen, 1851).

References

Andringa, M. van. 1862. Geneeskundig Verslag van de Expeditie Tegen Latoentoer (Zuider-En Ooster-Afdeeling van Borneo. *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift Voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 9: 838–49.

Becking, B.E.J.H. 1874. Verslag Der Verrichtingen van Den Geneeskundigen Dienst Bij de Eerste Expeditie Tegen Het Rijk van Atjeh. *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift Voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 16: 433–571.

Bleeker, P. 1852. Bijdrage tot de Geneeskundige Topographie van

- Willem I. *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 1, no. 1: 165–97.
- _____. 1844. “Bijdragen Tot de Geneeskundige Topographie van Batavia.” *Natuur- En Geneeskundig Archief Voor Neëerland’s-Indie* 1, no. 1: 1–80, 169–220, 523–62
- _____. 1845. Bijdragen Tot de Geneeskundige Topographie van Batavia. *Natuur- En Geneeskundig Archief Voor Neëerland’s-Indie* 2, no. 2: 497–534.
- _____. 1846. Bijdragen Tot de Geneeskundige Topographie van Batavia. *Natuur- En Geneeskundig Archief Voor Neëerland’s-Indie* 3, no. 3: 195–256.
- Bleeker, Pieter. 1870. *Nieuwe bijdragen tot de kennis der bevolkingstatistiek van Java*. ‘s Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- Blume, C. L. 1825. Beschrijving van Eenige Gewassen, Waargenomen Op Eenen Togt Naar Den Salak, in Den Jare 1822. *Verhandelingen van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Der Kunsten En Wetenschappen* 9: 129–202.
- _____. 1825. *Bijdragen Tot de Flora van Nederlandsch Indie*. Batavia: Ter Landsdrukkerij.
- Boomgaard, Peter. 2013. *Empire and Science in the Making: Dutch Colonial Scholarship in Comparative Global Perspective, 1760-1830*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bosch, W. 1851. *De vermeerdering van Java’s bevolking: beschouwd als de grootste bron van rijkdom voor Nederland*. Rotterdam: M. Wijt & Zonen.
- Burg, C. L. van der. 1877. *Overzicht van de geschiedenis en de werkzaamheden der Vereeniging tot bevordering van geneeskundige wetenschappen in Nederlandsch Indië gedurende de eerste vijfen-twintig jaren van haar bestaan: redevoering uitgesproken in de Algemeene Vergadering van den 2den Maart 1877*. Batavia: Bruining.
- Cook, Harold J. 1996. Physicians and Natural History. In *Cultures of Natural History*, edited by N. Jardine, J. A. Secord, and E. C. Spary, 91–105. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crawfurd, John. 1820. *History of the Indian Archipelago: Containing*

- an Account of the Manners, Arts, Languages, Religions, Institutions, and Commerce of Its Inhabitants*, vol. 1. Edinburgh: Archibald Constalder et Cie.
- Flourens, Marie Jean Pierre. 1838. Eloge Historique de J. Julien de Labillardière. *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de l'Institut de France* 16: xxj–xxxj.
- Haan, F. de. 1910. *Priangan: De Preanger-Regentschappen Onder Het Nederlandsch Bestuur Tot 1811*, vol. 1. Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
- Hesslink, Liesbeth. 2011. *Healers on the Colonial Market: Native Doctors and Midwives in the Dutch East Indies*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Horsfield, Thomas. 1816. Essay on the Geography, Mineralogy and Botany of the Western Portion of the Territory of the Native Princes of Java. *Verhandelingen van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Der Kunsten En Wetenschappen* 8: 1–183.
- _____. 1816. Short Account of the Medicinal Plants of Java. *Verhandelingen van Het Bataviaasch Genootschap Der Kunsten En Wetenschappen* 8: 3–53.
- Hunnus, C. F. W. 1863. Beschrijving Eener Reis Naar de Boven-Kapoeas, van Den 24sten April Tot Den 4 Meil 1862. *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift Voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 10: 174–82.
- Jacobs, Julius. 1894. *Het Familie- En Kampongleven Op Groot-Atjeh, Deel I*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Jacobs, Julius Karel. 1883. *Eenigen Tijd Onder de Baliërs; Eene Reisbeschrijving, Met Aan Teekeningen Betreffende Hygiëne, Land- En Volkenkunde van de Eilanden Bali En Lombok, Door Julius Jacobs*. Batavia: G. Kolff.
- Jacobs, Julius, and J. J. Meijer. 1891. De Badoeij's. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Jordaan, Roy E. 1982. Tombuwan in the “Dermatology” of Madurese Folk-Medicine. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-En Volkenkunde* 138, no. 1: 9–28.
- La Billardière, Jacques-Julian Houtou de. 1799. *Relation du voyage à la recherche de Lapérouse*, vol. 2. Paris: H. J. Jansen.

- Lean, J. Mac. 1979. Carl Ludwig Blume and The Netherlands East Indies. *Janus: Revue Internationale de l'Histoire Des Sciences, de La Médecine, de La Pharmacie et de La Technique* 66: 15–31.
- Richard, Hélène. 1982. L'expédition de d'Entrecasteaux (1791-1794) et les origines de l'implantation anglaise en Tasmanie. *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 69, no. 257: 289–306.
- Rossel, Elisabeth-Paul-Edouard de. 1808. *Voyage de Dentrecaesteux Envoyé à La Recherche de La Pérouse*, vol. 1. Paris: De l'imprimerie impériale.
- Steenis, C. G. C. J. van. "Dedication." *Flora Malesiana* 10 (1989): 7–39.
- _____. 1954. M. J. van Steenis-Kruseman, and C. A. Backer. "Louis Auguste Deschamps. *Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History)* 1, no. 2: 49–68.
- Stok, N. P. van Der. 1874. Wetenschappelijk Verslag over de Voorgekomen Verwondingen Bij de 1e Expeditie Tegen Het Rijk van Atjeh. *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift Voor Nederlandsch-Indie* 16: 577–720.
- Weber, Andreas. 2012. Hybrid Ambitions: Science, Governance, and Empire in the Career of Caspar G. C. Reinwardt (1773-1854). Dissertation: Universiteit Leiden.
- Wilde, Andries de. 1830. *De Preanger regentschappen op Java gelegen*. Amsterdam: M. Westerman.



A ca. 1913 photograph of Los Baños, Laguna courtesy of John Tewell (originally owned by Juvy Pastores).

CHAPTER 8

LOS BAÑOS, LAGUNA FROM THE SPANISH CONTACT TO ITS TRANSFORMATION AS A TRAVEL DESTINATION AND A HEALING CENTER, 1613-1898

Marcelino M. Macapinlac, Jr., PhD

Introduction

LOS BAÑOS WAS A WELL-KNOWN travel destination and healing center even before the Spanish colonial period. Spanish missionaries who first reached the place observed that people flocked to the area not only for bathing and recreation, but also for the healing properties of its hot springs of which Franciscan missionaries confirmed its therapeutic abilities. When Los Baños was placed under the jurisdiction of the Franciscans, they immediately constructed public baths. This prompted more people to settle in the area.

This paper highlights the significant developments in Los Baños as a choice travel destination and a recuperative center. It is divided into three parts. First, it describes how the town was founded, elaborating on how the hospital constructed by the Franciscan missionaries became the focal point in the political development of the town and a key factor in the settlement of more people in the area. Second, it illustrates the growth of the place brought about by the influx of travelers, both local and foreign, who went to Los Baños for two

things: the natural beauty of Laguna Lake and Mount Makiling and the cures for various illnesses in the therapeutic baths and the Franciscan hospital. Third, it also expounds on the significant developments in Los Baños during the nineteenth century, such as population growth, lingering poverty, and a lack of social order. Along with migration and progress in transportation, these resulted in various responses from the people including banditry and participation in the Philippine Revolution of 1896.

The Land of Hot Springs

Los Baños literally means “the baths.” The name was first used by the Franciscan friar, Fr. Pedro Bautista to refer to the town’s public baths after the therapeutic properties of its natural springs were proven. Supported by the civil government, the Franciscans built a hospital named Hospital de Nuestra Señora de las Aguas Santas de Mainit. Later, it was called Hospital Real de Los Baños, until finally it was called Los Baños. In 1613, it was created as a separate parish and formally established as a municipality in 1615.

In pre-colonial times, the natives enjoyed going to rivers and springs to bathe. From newly-born babies to women after childbirth, they took pleasure in bathing themselves not only for hygienic purposes but also for recreation. Fr. Pedro Chirino, S.J. elaborates:

From the time they are born, these islanders are brought up in the water. Consequently, both men and women swim like fishes, even from childhood, and have no need of bridges to pass over rivers. They bathe themselves at all hours, for cleanliness and recreation; and even the women after childbirth do not refrain from the bath, and children just born are bathed in the rivers and springs of cold water. When leaving the bath, they anoint the head with *ajonjoli* [i.e., oil of sesame] mixed with civet – of which, as we shall later show, there is great abundance in those regions. Even when not bathing, they are accustomed to anoint their

heads for comfort and adornment, especially the women and children. Through modesty, they bathe with their bodies drawn up and almost in a sitting posture, with the water to the neck, taking the greatest care not to be seen, although no one may be near to see them. The most general hour for bathing is at the setting of the sun, because at that time they have finished their labors, and bathe in the river to rest and refresh themselves; on the way, they usually carry some vessel for bearing water to use in their domestic duties. ¹

Fr. Chirino further maintains that the natives also went to hot springs trusting that these would cure them from various ailments. He states in his account that when he visited the area, the natives flocked to the hot springs of Bay. Aside from the natives, some Spaniards, including priests, went here to bathe themselves and be healed from various illnesses.²

Even those stricken with serious illnesses were brought to the place to bathe in the hot springs. Fr. Diego de Bobadilla, one of the early Spanish missionaries sent to the Philippines, also observed how the natives enjoyed bathing. According to him, “(T)hey bathe also during their sicknesses, and have for that purpose springs of hot water, especially at the shore of Laguna de Bay.”³

The place described by Fr. Chirino and Fr. Bobadilla was Los Baños, which was then part of the town of Bay. Los Baños was still known then as “Mainit” (Tagalog for “hot”). This ascertained how the natives valued the characteristics of the place. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga explains that the place was called such “on account of the hot springs occurring there.”⁴

When John Foreman arrived in Los Baños around the middle of the nineteenth century, he noticed that the natives and the Spaniards used different names to refer to the same place. According to him, the Spaniards called the place Los Baños (the baths), which was derived from the hot springs which flowed from the volcanic Mount Makiling. On the other hand, the natives called the place “Maynit.” ⁵

The Spaniards established Bay as a municipality and a parish on April 30, 1578, naming it after San Nicolas de Tolentino. It was administered by the Augustinians led by Fr. Juan Gallegos.⁶ In 1590, Franciscan missionaries learned about the healing powers of the hot springs when Fr. Pedro Bautista, O.F.M., later known as the Martyr-Saint of Japan, passed by the area, examined the waters of the hot springs, and confirmed its therapeutic qualities.⁷ The Franciscans soon built public baths made from light materials such as cogon and bamboo that drew large numbers of people to the area.⁸

Fr. Bautista's dream for a hospital was realized through the efforts of Fr. Diego de Santa Maria, O.F.M. who petitioned the authorities to allow the Franciscans to build one in Mainit. Their petition was approved on July 29, 1602, by the Cabildo of the Holy Church of Manila. Governor-General Pedro de Acuña confirmed the approval and named the establishment as the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de las Aguas Santas de Mainit, placing it under the supervision of the Franciscans. Fr. Santa Maria was tasked to manage the hospital.

The hospital was later known as Hospital Real de Los Baños, then shortened to Hospital de Los Baños, and finally Los Baños, which became its popular name. The same name was later applied to the entire town where the hospital was located.⁹ On April 22, 1603, to avoid conflict over religious jurisdiction, the Augustinians and Franciscans agreed for the latter to have authority over the area where the hospital was located. The agreement also authorized the Franciscans to erect a church and a monastery for the spiritual needs of the hospital's patients and the residents in the vicinity of the hospital.¹⁰ It was not difficult for the two orders to come to an agreement since, according to Fr. Buzeta, "both of them were only after the good of the said area."¹¹

Los Baños became a pueblo (town) when a parish was built here in 1613. On September 17 of that year, Governor-General Luis Villa formally turned over the jurisdiction of the town to the Franciscans. Los Baños was established as a separate parish with the Inmaculada Concepcion de Agua Santas as its patroness.

In the absence of a church structure, the chapel of the hospital served as the parish church from 1613 until 1727, when it was destroyed by

a fire. It was replaced by a structure made of light materials – bamboo and nipa. The church of stone found on its present site was built in 1790, under the supervision of Fr. Domingo Mateo. The bell, sacristy, and tile roofing were constructed in 1852 under the leadership of Fr. Manuel Amat. It was destroyed by the strong earthquake of 1863. It was again rebuilt in 1880, under the supervision of Fr. Manuel Rodriguez and Fr. Gilberto Martin.¹²

Meanwhile, the Los Baños municipal government was established in 1615 with Juan Castañeda as its first gobernadorcillo. During that time, the principal mode of transportation to and from other towns was through the Laguna Lake. Water-based vehicles docked in the port located in the northern part of the town. The municipal building was erected near the port area.¹³

Travel Destination and Healing Center

With the assistance of the Spanish colonial government, Los Baños became a favorite travel destination and healing center. Due to its scenic spots, such as the Laguna Lake and Mount Makiling, and its proximity to Manila, a large number of travelers came to the place to relax and enjoy its pristine beauty. The hot springs also enticed people with illnesses to come to the place.

The impressions of some of the foreign travelers about Los Baños were recorded in a number of accounts. One of those who were mesmerized by its unspoiled beauty was J. de Man, a traveler from Belgium. According to him:

Lighted by a brilliant moon, the evening is superb and the panorama spread out before us, ravishing. All is silence; to the right of us, the still waters of the lake mirroring the light of the moon; facing us from far away are huge rocks with bizarre forms that give evidence of volcanic upheavals; the dark greenery of the tall palms, coconut trees, banana plants, etc. contrasts sharply with the brilliant light of the moon... what poetry is in this admirable land!¹⁴

He was also captivated by the hospitality extended to him by the residents of Los Baños who held a cockfight to welcome him. He continues:

In honor of our sojourn, the Indians of the village hold a cockfight, there we see the population of the whole village. An Indian and his daughter, a really pretty brunette, leave the crowd to come to us, very proud of their ability to speak a few words of Spanish and chat with the Castilas in the presence of the entire village.¹⁵

Mount Makiling was a favorite destination, especially for those who hunt, due to its abundance in wild animals, including birds. During his long stay in the Philippines, Paul P. de la Gironiere served as a guide for his fellow foreigners in doing tours around Los Baños, especially in the mountains. He recounts:

There also, on the hill, we were sure to meet with good and plentiful sport. Wild pigeons and beautiful doves, perched upon majestic trees, “mistrustful of their doom,” allowed our sportsmen to approach very near, and they never returned from “the baths” without having “bagged” plenty of them.

Upon our appointed days of relaxation from labour, we would go into the neighboring woods, and wage war on the monkeys, our harvest's greatest enemies. As soon as a little dog, purposely brought up to this mode of warfare, warned us by his barkings, that marauders were in sight, we repaired to the spot, and then the firing was opened. Fright seized hold on the mischievous tribe, every member of which hid itself in its tree, and became as invisible as it possibly could. But the little dog would not leave his post, while we would turn round the tree, and never failed discovering the hidden inmate. We then commenced the attack, not ceasing until pug was laid prostrate. After having made several victims, I sent them to be hung up on forks around the

sugarcane fields, as scarecrows to those that had escaped; I, however, always sent the largest one to Fr. Miguel, our excellent curate, who was very fond of a monkey ragout.¹⁶

Meanwhile, the Los Baños hospital was well patronized both by the locals as well as foreigners who were convinced of the therapeutic properties of the hot springs. In August 1621, then Manila Archbishop Father Miguel Garcia Serrano reported to the King of Spain that bathing in the hot springs was beneficial for those suffering from colds and swelling of some parts of the body. He also reported that natives, Spaniards, and other foreigners, both male and female, went to the hospital in Los Baños to recuperate from various illnesses.¹⁷

Aside from these common illnesses, it was also believed that the hot springs could cure serious diseases as mentioned in a report by Fr. Maldonado de Puga who said that sick soldiers were brought to Los Baños due to the properties of the waters in the area to cure various ailments, including venereal diseases.¹⁸

Martinez de Zuñiga described the source of the hot springs and how hot the waters were. He recounts:

Wells of boiling water are found all over this mountain, but what makes or forms the hot baths is a small creek that flows through a man-made stone canal which crosses the convent premises. As the water flows down, it loses some of its heat due to exposure to the wind – but not so much; it reaches the lagoon hot enough to scald the hand. At the place where the creek starts, the water is sufficiently hot enough to cook an egg in four or five minutes. A dog which accidentally fell into it came out divested out of every hair.¹⁹

The hospital grew since its establishment in 1602. This was brought about by the following factors: 1.) land donations by the natives to the hospital; 2.) government aid; and 3.) fund-raising initiatives by the missionaries.²⁰

There were two occasions of land donation in 1608. On July 4 of that year, Bernardino Alizon and Andres Duarte, who were both

principales (elite) of Tabuco (now Cabuyao, Laguna) donated their lands in sitio Danpalit, where the hospital was located, in gratitude for the remarkable services given by the hospital. On November 8, *principales* of Bay, led by *gobernadorcillo* (town mayor) Phelipe Panilagan, donated a parcel of land for the hospital received by Laguna's Alcalde Mayor (governor) Juan Arias Giron on February 3, 1610.

The hospital also received considerable support from the colonial government. For instance, on June 3, 1607, a royal decree was issued approving the recommendation of the Governor-General for the annual provision of 300 to 400 *fanegas* (1 *fanega* = 35 kilos) of rice to the hospital to feed its patients. On August 19, 1626, Fr. Juan de San Bernardino got the approval of the Governor-General for the allocation to the hospital of fifty hens, which were supposed to be given by the native families as payment to the encomendero of Bay. The Governor-General also instructed the same encomendero to earmark $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total tributes collected from the fifty aforementioned families to the hospital annually. The following year, the colonial government commissioned the services of forty men as part of their *polos y servicios* (colonial community service) for the benefit of the hospital.²¹

On August 11, 1736, Fr. Blas de San Diego, procurator-general of the Franciscans, complained to the Governor-General that the Alcalde-Mayor of Laguna did not comply with an earlier decree issued on September 16, 1691, providing a 10-peso monthly aid for the hospital. The Governor-General then ordered the Alcalde-Mayor to immediately provide financial support to the Franciscans.

The donations by the natives and the government support were supplemented by fund-raising activities of the Franciscan administrators. To increase the finances of the hospital, they engaged in agriculture. In 1860, the Franciscans requested the residents of Pila, Laguna to let them use idle lands in the said town as pasture lands for the cattle owned by the hospital. The Pila residents offered sitio Jalajala on the condition that these idle lands remain under their ownership.²²

With the influx of more patients, the buildings in the hospital compound had to be strengthened. Renovations began in 1614 with

more durable materials like stone and wood and these continued until the final constructions were finished in 1671. Fr. Martinez de Zuñiga described the hospital facilities:

Above this creek are three furnaces of different distances from each other so the bather can choose the degree of heat he wishes in conformity with his needs. A small dressing room is built near the furnace for the convenience of the patients, but it is so badly arranged as to cause no little discomfort to whoever wishes to inhale the steam... Although the furnace has a chimney, the steam does not spread right away and causes so much discomfort to the patient because of its heat.²³

Travelers continued to arrive at the hospital in the middle of the 19th century. But by this time, the hospital conditions began to deteriorate. Charles Wilkes, an American traveler who arrived here in 1842, noticed a huge volume of chicken feathers next to one of the main hot springs. This was because the spring was already being used to dress chickens for cooking.²⁴ Austrian traveler Karl von Scherzer mentioned in his account that despite its dilapidated condition, the structure was still used for bathing but also noted that the springs were being used more often for cooking. He recounts:

Although at present in a very forlorn and dilapidated condition, there is still in existence, quite near to the edge of the Lake, an apartment enclosed within a wall, within which there boils up a considerable depth a spring of hot water of a temperature of 186 °Fahr.; which is occasionally used, both by natives and foreigners, as a vapour bath, although these Thermae are more used to scald poultry than for their original purpose of curing disease.²⁵

The deterioration of the hospital was criticized by our foremost national hero Jose Rizal, a native of neighboring Calamba, Laguna.

In one of the articles, he wrote for the newspaper *La Solidaridad*, he described how the hospital facilities “already in a state of decay.”²⁶

Martinez de Zuñiga believed that the damaged portions of the hospital were not repaired “due to lack of funds.”²⁷ On the other hand, Fr. Buzeta claimed that the deterioration of the hospital was due to government neglect:

Then, the Franciscans turned over the administration of the hospital to a director appointed by the Real Patronato. Since then, the hospital fell into miserable neglect.²⁸

The deterioration of the hospital was further aggravated by a fire in 1727. The ruins remained in neglect until in 1877, Governor-General Domingo Moriones y Murillo expressed interest in the construction of a new building for the hospital. The Franciscans were able to raise P33,000 after a widespread campaign for funds.

The construction materials came from various places. Lime was brought in from Binangonan, Morong (now Rizal) and the rocks came from Meycauayan, Bulacan and Guadalupe, Makati. Ninety-one large pieces of timber were extracted from Mount Makiling. More than P28,000 were spent for the construction of the building, which took 31 months to finish.²⁹

The Growth and Liberation of the Town

During the 19th century, the transportation system in Laguna, particularly in Los Baños, improved significantly. This development contributed to the growth in the population of the town as it attracted more settlers. But this population growth did not lead to an increase in the economic wealth of the town, for many of the settlers remained underprivileged.

Residents of Los Baños actively participated in the liberation of the country from the Spaniards. Beginning September 1896, men from this town were recruited into the Katipunan. In their struggle against the colonizers, Mount Makiling played a vital role. The revolutionaries

established their headquarters in this mountain, where attacks against Spanish forces were launched.

When Wilkes toured Los Baños, he saw that the church and two or three houses were the only structures made of concrete.³⁰ Foreman, on the other hand, observed that besides a church and a convent, “the town simply consisted of a row of dingy bungalows on either side of the highroad, with a group of the same on the mountainside.”³¹

The population of Los Baños grew rapidly in the 19th century. In 1818, there were only 921 residents.³² In 1846, it considerably increased to 1,600.³³ The figure dramatically swelled to 2,578 in 1891.³⁴ (See Tables 1-3 and Figure 1.)

Table 1. The Population of Laguna in 1818³⁵

Towns	Native Taxpaying Individuals	Exempted from Tribute	Single	Number of Residents According to the Census
Pagsanjan	1,785	484	900	3663
Lumban	1983	514	1107	4536
Paete	1088	301	608	2418
Longos con su anexo San Antonio del Monte	944	305	563	2219
Paquil	628	160	212	1243
Pangil	1030	143	500	2215
Siniloan	1911	429	934	4508
Mavitac	525	115	290	1108
Sta. Maria Caboan	237	61	132	498
Cavinti	834	196	537	2090
Majayjay	4948	791	1743	9284
Lilio	2168	338	590	4354
Nagcarlan	2557	398	1035	5570
Santa Cruz	2328	432	1478	5390
Bay	668	91	273	1234
Pueblo y Hacienda de Calauang	610	67	212	1002

Pila	1117	157	404	2028
LOS BAÑOS	460	76	180	921
Calamba	959	85	390	1675
Cabuyao	1755	1099	849	4722
Santa Rosa	1760	272	921	3497
Biñan	2598	647	1462	5632
San Pedro de Tunasan	1112	138	439	2303
Pililla	1096	249	730	2549
Tanay	1352	219	856	2853
Binangonan de Bay	1284	256	953	2936
Morong	1747	885	1176	4238
Baras	486	109	371	1139
Pueblo y Hacienda de Angono	319	73	312	879
TOTAL	40,289	9,090	20,157	86,704

Table 2. The Population of Laguna in 1846³⁶

Town	Tributes	Population
Pagsanjan	933	4665
Lumbang	1121	5605
Longos	337	1685
San Antonio	295	1475
Paete	661	3305
Paquil	367	1835
Pangil	578	2890
Siniloan	1157	5785
Mabitac	342	1710
Santa Maria	223	1115
Santa Cruz	1691	8455
Pila	1000	5000
Calauan	399½	1998
Bay	445	2225

LOS BAÑOS	320	1600
Calamba	905	4525
Cabuyao	1152	5760
Santa Rosa	1058	5290
Biñan	1707½	8537
San Pedro Tunasan	597½	2988
Jalajala	254½	1272
San Diego	178½	893
Pililla	478½	2392
Tanay	953	4765
Baras	293	1465
Morong	1327	6635
Binangonan	1174	5870
Angono	235½	1178
Cavinti	676	3380
Majayjay	2545	12725
Lilio	1356	6780
Nagcarlang	1822	9110
Magdalena	948	4740
TOTAL		167,653

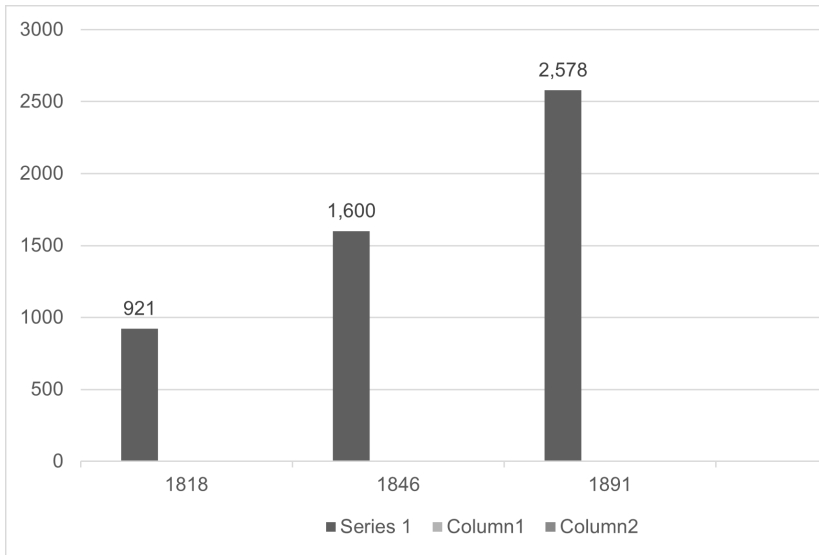
Table 3. The Population of Laguna in 1891³⁷

Towns	Population			
	Natives	Peninsular Spaniards	Chinese Mestizos	Spanish Mestizos
Alaminos	4,263	1	79	3
Bay	1,633	1	0	0
Biñan	19,862	9	187	15
Cabuyao	8,305	3	140	12
Calamba	14,019	16	0	13
Calauan	3,264	1	6	2
Cavinti	3,995	1	0	4
Longos	1,211	1	2	0
LOS BAÑOS	2,568	1	9	0
Lilio	5,395	1	0	0

Luisiana	3,660	1	10	1
Lumban	4,271	1	12	0
Magdalena	2,338	1	13	0
Majayjay	6,502	3	13	3
Mavitac	1,176	1	0	0
Nagcarlan	12,088	3	23	3
Paete	2,799	1	0	12
Pagsanjan	2,846	1	2,547	71
Pangil	2,416	1	7	0
Paquil	1,555	1	0	0
Pila	5,173	1	41	17
San Antonio	1,411	1	0	1
Santa Cruz	12,363	21	279	53
Santa Maria	737	1	0	0
Santa Rosa	9,692	2	339	63
San Pedro Tunasan	3,858	4	233	33
San Pablo	17,843	1	1555	7
Siniloan	4,733	7	7	9
TOTAL	160,026	87	5,502	322

At the beginning of the 19th century, a road network was built in Laguna, encompassing the towns from Los Baños to Santa Cruz. It was constructed near the coastal portion of Laguna Lake. In 1849, a road passing through the sides of the hills of Mount Makiling from Los Baños and Calamba. Boncocan and Diestro pointed out that “the development of the road system increased contact between these towns” and that “communication between towns also increasingly relied on the road network, especially after floods displaced many communities from their original lakeshore sites to areas further inland.”³⁸

Despite the progress brought about by enhanced infrastructure and population growth, most of the people of Los Baños remained in their impoverished state. Martinez de Zuñiga noted that the farmers could not plant rice and other agricultural products because the soil was hilly, making it unsuitable for these crops. Aside from weaving,

Figure 1. Population Growth in Los Baños, 1818-1891

the only livelihood of the people here, he added, was the gathering of lumber, honey, wax, palms, and root crops such as sweet potatoes, taro and yam from Mount Makiling.³⁹

The lack of improvement in the economic conditions of the people was illustrated in the account of Fr. Buzeta. He said that during this period, Los Baños was one of the poorest towns in Laguna. It had to rely on other towns for the basic needs of its residents. According to him:

In the town, practically everything which the people need for their subsistence is lacking. The parish priest and the Spanish had to go to Biñan, Bay and Sta. Cruz just to get what they necessarily need. They had to limit their consumption of rice which is harvested in limited amount in the town. We can say without committing any mistakes that indeed, Los Baños is one of the poorest towns of the province. It will even take so much time before it is improved and progress reaches it.⁴⁰

Rizal held the Spanish colonial government responsible for the miserable conditions of the people. He stressed that agriculture and the people's well-being were left out when the hospital in Los Baños and a palace for the Governor-General were erected. In his essay "La Verdad Para Todos," he criticized the colonial government for subjecting the people to forced labor, without compensation, even though taxes were collected from them. Rizal also complained against the use of these taxes to reward the oppressors and neglect the welfare of the people.⁴¹

Towards the end of the 19th century, banditry became widespread in the Tagalog provinces, including Laguna. Medina argued that this was a result of extreme poverty.⁴² During this period, Mount Makiling was notorious as a base of operations for *tulisanes* (bandits). To secure the patients of the hospital in Los Baños, Alcalde-Mayor Leopoldo Molano recommended the deployment of guardia civiles in the area.⁴³

From September to October 1896, a Katipunero named Antonino Guevara went San Pedro Tunasan, Biñang, Cabuyao, Santa Cruz, Bay, and Los Baños to recruit people to the Katipunan. He then headed the Katipunan unit named Matatag.

On December 6, 1897, Guevara was tasked by President Emilio Aguinaldo to form an armed group. They were expected to number some 10,000 men from the towns of Santa Cruz, Bay, Calauan, Luisiana, Majayjay, Nagcarlan, Pila, Magdalena and Los Baños.⁴⁴ Guevarra was also instrumental in the involvement of Apolinario Mabini to the Philippine Revolution when he facilitated the latter's transfer from Manila to Los Baños on January 5, 1898. He recounted in his memoirs the following:

Although I had no wish to know Sr. Mabini, I went to Malate and called on him. I gave him to understand that it was not best for him to remain there and if he wished he could take the La Laguna boat and move to Los Baños, on the ground that he had to take the cure of the waters there. I said that we should see Sr. Deogracias Reyes, whom I had appointed as head of Los Baños, so that he would see to what was needed.

We parted without any definite agreement. The next day I took the La Laguna boat and went to the pueblo of Bay where Sr. Reyes, whom I summoned, appeared before me and I gave instructions for him to tell the brothers of the Katipunan that Sr. Mabini, who was ill, and whose address I gave, would be coming to Los Baños and that they should all see to it that the Spaniards would not learn of his coming.⁴⁵

That same year, the Filipino revolutionary forces in Laguna established bases of operations in Mount Makiling. From there, they initiated attacks against the Spanish soldiers. Headed by Paciano Rizal and Miguel Malvar, offensives were carried out in the towns of Bay, Calauan, San Pablo, Alaminos and Los Baños. Paciano Rizal also led in building an arsenal in the Tuntungin mountain in Los Baños. From there, they distributed arms to the revolutionary troops.⁴⁶

The Spanish forces were overwhelmed by the revolutionaries and were forced to withdraw from the bigger towns of Majayjay, Pila and Pagsanjan. Those who were in Majayjay moved to Lucban, Tayabas (now Quezon), while those in Pagsanjan left for Baybay, Morong Province and Infanta, Tayabas. Those in Pila transferred to Bay, Calamba and Los Baños.

By June 1898, the vicinity of Santa Cruz, Laguna was the only remaining Spanish stronghold. The telegraph line connecting Santa Cruz and Manila had already been cut by the Filipino forces.⁴⁷

Spanish sovereignty over Los Baños and the rest of Laguna ended on August 30, 1898, with the surrender of Spanish troops to the Filipino forces led by Paciano Rizal. The following day, the Spaniards, including the friars, left the province. News of the surrender of the Spaniards reached Aguinaldo through a letter from Paciano Rizal:

Ipinagbibigay-alam ko po sa inyong kapangyarihan na ngayong fecha at oras na las 5 ng hapon ay nawawagay-way na sa Casa Gobierno nitong lawigan ang ating bandila, ayon sa pagsusulit nitong Plaza ng ating mga kaaway na Castila na sumuko dine, alinsunod sa Capitulacion ng ika-30 ng buan ng Agostong nakalipas.

(I am respectfully informing you that on this day at 5 in the afternoon our flag has been hoisted in the Provincial Government, after our Spanish adversaries surrendered, in accordance with the terms of surrender last 30 August.)⁴⁸

The Los Baños residents actively took part in the movement for national liberation. They successfully defeated the colonizers, who turned their backs on the well-being of the people. A dark chapter in the history of the town finally ended. They were given the opportunity to chart their future with a fervent hope that their lives would finally improve, which was not acted upon by the colonial government.

Summing Up

Apparently people were flocking already to Los Baños prior to the Spanish colonization. Then called Mainit, the town hosted people for recreation purposes and for the claimed healing properties of its hot springs. The Spaniards validated these and henceforth built a hospital which served the natives, the Spaniards, and the foreigners. They initially called it Hospital de Nuestra Señora de las Aguas Santas de Mainit and eventually shortened to Hospital Real de Los Baños where the present-day name Los Baños was derived. The Spaniards also developed the area as a travel destination. Complementing the hot springs are the scenic spots of the Laguna de Bay and Mt. Makiling.

The construction of the hospital attracted more people to come and settle in Los Baños. The population growth paved the way for the creation of separate a parish from its matrix, San Nicolas de Tolentino Parish in Bay in 1613. Two years later, Los Baños became as a separate *pueblo*. In the 19th century, the colonial government made some improvements to the transportation system in the town. Roads passing through Los Baños were constructed. This further contributed to the increase in its population.

This paper also examined the responses of the people of Los Baños to the challenges of the environment and colonialism. Some residents accommodated the Spanish colonizers, but the majority

resisted colonialism. The larger segment of the population remained impoverished during the Spanish colonial rule. Although Los Baños became a travel destination and a recuperative center, agriculture and industry in the town did not improve during this period. A large number of residents were recruited to join the revolutionary movement which liberated the country from foreign rule.

Mount Makiling played a crucial role in the operations of the Filipino revolutionaries. In spite of the difficulties they had to endure during their stay in the mountains, they established their bases of operations in the area to initiate attacks against the colonizers. Their sacrifices paid off when the town and the entire country was finally liberated from the Spanish colonial government.

Endnotes

¹ Pedro Chirino, "Relation of the Filipinas Islands and of What Has there Been Accomplished by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, 1604," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, vol. 12 (Cleveland, Ohio: The A.H. Clark Company, 1903-1909), 212-217.

² Ibid.

³ Diego de Bobadilla, "Relation of the Filipinas Islands by a Religious Who Lived There for Eighteen Years, 1640," in *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 29, 280.

⁴ Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, *Status of the Philippines in 1800* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1893/1973), 154.

⁵ John Foreman, *The Philippines* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1906/1980), 360-1.

⁶ Gaspar de San Agustin, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, 1565-1615* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1698/1975), 713-714.

⁷ San Pedro Bautista Blazquez y Blazquez was born on June 29, 1542. He was ordained as a Franciscan priest in 1567. From 1586 to 1591, he was the custodian of the Franciscans in the Tagalog areas. This was followed by his appointment as guardian of the Manila convent. In 1593, he was appointed as ambassador to Japan by Governor-General Gomez Perez Dasmariñas. Later, he headed the Franciscan missions in Japan, where he founded a hospital for lepers and a convent in the city of Miaco. On February 5, 1597, Fr. Bautista with five of his brethren, and several Japanese converts, were martyred at Nagasaki. He was beatified in 1627, and canonized by Pope Pius IX in 1862. Pedro Baptista, "Opinion of the Franciscans," in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, vol. 8, ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson (Cleveland, Ohio: The A.H. Clark, 1903-1909),

229-233; cf. footnote no. 33 in page 233.

⁸ Pamahalaang Bayan ng Los Baños, “Los Baños: Its Life and Times” (unpublished manuscript, 2001), 5-6.

⁹ Luis C. Dery, *A History of the Inarticulate* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2001), 48-49.

¹⁰ Ibid. Cf. Pablo Fernandez, *History of the Church in the Philippines* (Manila: National Bookstore, 1979), 66-67.

¹¹ Manuel Buzeta, *Diccionario Geografico, Estadistico, Historico de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Imp. de D. José C. de la Peña, 1850), 168-170. Excerpts translated by Cornelio R. Bascara.

¹² “Los Baños,” 5-6. Cf. “Church of Los Baños,” in National Historical Institute (NHI), *Historical Markers, Regions I-IV and C.A.R.* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1993), 63.

¹³ “Los Baños,” 5-6. Cf. Sangguniang Barangay ng Batong Malake, Los Baños, Laguna, “*Maikling Kasaysayan ng Batong Malake*” (unpublished manuscript, 1994), 2-3. The old municipal building, located close to the docking area, was converted into a museum. The municipal government now holds office at a new building along the national highway.

¹⁴ J. de Man, *Recollections of a Voyage to the Philippines*, trans. by E. Aguilar Cruz (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1875/1984), 78-79.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Paul P. de la Gironiere, *Twenty Years in the Philippines* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1854/1962), 126.

¹⁷ Miguel Garcia Serrano, “Letter of Fr. Miguel Garcia Serrano, Archbishop of Manila, to the King of Spain, August 1621,” in *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 20, 239-240.

¹⁸ Juan Manuel Maldonado de Puga, “The Order of the St. John of God, 1742,” in *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 47, 227.

¹⁹ Zuñiga, *Status*, 155-156.

²⁰ Fernandez, *History*, 66-67.

²¹ Buzeta, *Diccionario*, 168-170.

²² National Archives of the Philippines (NAP), “Espedientes sobre la Capellania que su Magestad Mantiene en el pueblo de Los Baños acausa de Real Hospital que se fundo en dicho parage para el retiro de los soldados enfermos. Laguna, 1753.” *Ereccion de Pueblos – Laguna, 1736-1858*, vol. 1. Cf. Dery, *A History*, 49-53.

²³ Zuñiga, *Status*, 155-156.

²⁴ Charles Wilkes, “Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition,” in *Travel Accounts of the Islands, 1832-1858* by Lafond de Lurcy, et al. (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1974), 61-63.

²⁵ Karl Von Scherzer, “Narrative of the Circumnavigation of the Globe by the Austrian ‘Frigate Novara,’” in Lurcy, et al., *Travel Accounts*, 251.

- ²⁶ Jose Rizal, “La Verdad para Todos,” *La Solidaridad*, 31 Mayo de 1889, in *La Solidaridad*, trans. Guadalupe Fores-Ganzon, vol. 1 (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1967), 275.
- ²⁷ Martinez de Zuñiga, *Status*, 155-156.
- ²⁸ Buzeta, *Diccionario*, 168-170; Fernandez, *History*, 66-67.
- ²⁹ “Los Baños,” 9-10; NHI *Historical Markers*, 125-126.
- ³⁰ Wilkes, “Narrative,” 61.
- ³¹ Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, 361.
- ³² Yldefonso de Aragon, *Estado de la Poblacion de Filipinas correspondiente a el año de 1818* (Manila: Imprenta de D.M.M. por Don Anastacio Gonzaga, 1820), N^o VI^o.
- ³³ Jean Mallat, *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce of the Spanish Colonies in Oceania*, trans. by Pura Santillan-Castrenc in collaboration with Lina S. Castrenc (Manila: National Historical Institute. 1846/1983), 158.
- ³⁴ NAP, *Estadística: Laguna*, 1891, Num. 3.
- ³⁵ Aragon, *Estado*, *ibid*.
- ³⁶ Mallat, *The Philippines*, 157-158. The total population (167,653) listed in this table was based on the account of Mallat. When one computes for the total based on the population of each town, the figure is only 137,653. Mallat also did not list down the total amount of tributes collected. The present author computed for the total, which is 27,530½.
- ³⁷ NAP, “Estadística: Laguna, 1891,” *ibid*. The total population of natives or naturales listed here (160,026) is based on the list in the said document found in the NAP. When one computes for the total based on the population of each town, the figure is only 159,976.
- ³⁸ Rhina Alvero Boncocan and Dwight David A. Diestro, *19th Century Conditions and the Revolution in the Province of Laguna* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines-Center for Integrative and Development Studies, 2002), 36.
- ³⁹ Zuñiga, *Status*, 155.
- ⁴⁰ Buzeta, *Diccionario*, 168-170.
- ⁴¹ Rizal, “La Verdad,” 275.
- ⁴² Isagani R. Medina, *Cavite Before the Revolution, 1571-1896* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1994), 60-63; Boncocan and Diestro, *19th Century Conditions*, 42-45.
- ⁴³ “Los Baños,” 10.
- ⁴⁴ Antonino Guevara, *History of One of the Initiators of the Filipino Revolution*, trans. Onofre D. Corpuz (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1899/1995), 4-5, 14.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 22. Mabini was brought to Los Baños and then to Bay, “where I drafted a scheme for the organization of a general uprising.” Cf. Apolinario Mabini, *The Philippine Revolution*, trans. by Leon Ma. Guerrero (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1931/1969), 51.

⁴⁶ Boncocan and Diestro, *19th Century Conditions*, 79.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁴⁸ National Library of the Philippines. "Letter of Paciano Rizal to Emilio Aguinaldo, Sta. Cruz, Laguna, Sept. 1, 1898." *Philippine Insurgent Records*, Reel 35, Encl. 631/A-10. Translation mine.

References

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE PHILIPPINES

Espedientes sobre la Capellania que Su Magestad Mantiene en el pueblo de Los Baños acausa del Real Hospital que se fundo en dicho parage para el retiro de los soldados enfermos. Laguna, 1753. *Ereccion de Pueblos – Laguna, 1736-1858*, Tomo I, *Estadistica – Laguna*, 1891, Num. 3.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Letter of Paciano Rizal to Emilio Aguinaldo, Santa Cruz, Laguna, September 1, 1898. *Philippine Insurgent Records*, Reel 35, Encl. 631/A-10.

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

Aragon, Yldefonso de. 1820. *Estado de la poblacion de Filipinas correspondiente a el año de 1818*. Manila: Imprenta de D.M.M. por Don Anastacio Gonzaga.

Bobadilla, Diego de. 1640/1903-1909. Relation of the Filipinas Islands by a Religious Who Lived There for Eighteen Years, 1640. In *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 29, ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, 277-312. Cleveland, Ohio: The A.H. Clark Company.

Chirino, Pedro. 1604/1903-1909. Relation of the Filipinas Islands and of What Has there Been Accomplished by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, 1604. In *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 12, ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, 169-322. Cleveland, Ohio: The A.H. Clark Company.

- De Lurcy, Lafond, et al. 1974. *Travel Accounts of the Islands (1832-1858)*. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild.
- De Man, J. 1875/1984. *Recollections of a Voyage to the Philippines*, translated by E. Aguilar Cruz. Manila: National Historical Institute.
- Gironiere, Paul de la. 1854/1962. *Twenty Years in the Philippines*. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild.
- Guevara, Antonino. 1899/1995. *History of One of the Initiators of the Filipino Revolution*. Manila: National Historical Institute.
- Mabini, Apolinario. 1931/1969. *The Philippine Revolution*, trans. Leon Ma. Guerrero. Manila: National Historical Institute.
- Mallat, Jean. 1846/1983. *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Commerce of the Spanish Colonies in Oceania*, trans. Pura Santillan-Castrence in collaboration with Lina S. Castrence. Manila: National Historical Institute.
- Martinez de Zuñiga, Joaquin. 1893/1973. *Status of the Philippines in 1800*. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild.
- Puga, Juan Manuel Maldonado de. 1742/1903-1909. The Order of the St. John of God, 1742. In *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 47, ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, 161-229. Cleveland, Ohio: The A.H. Clark Company.
- Rizal, Jose. 1889/1967. La Verdad para Todos, *La Solidaridad*, 31 Mayo de 1889. In *La Solidaridad*, vol. 1, trans. Guadalupe Fores-Ganzon, 266-279. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- San Agustin, Gaspar de. 1698/1975. *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, 1565-1615*. Madrid: C.S.I.C.
- Serrano, Miguel Garcia. 1621/1903-1909. Letter of Fr. Miguel Garcia Serrano, Archbishop of Manila, to the King of Spain, August 1621. In *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, vol. 20, ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson, 77-106. Cleveland, Ohio: The A.H. Clark Company.

SECONDARY

- Boncocan, Rhina Alvero and Dwight David A. Diestro. 2002. *19th Century Conditions and the Revolution in the Province of Laguna*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines-Center for Integrative

and Development Studies.

Buzeta, Manuel. 1850. *Diccionario Geografico, Estadistico, Historico de las Islas Filipinas*. Madrid: Imp. de D. José C. de la Peña..

Dery, Luis C. 2001. *A History of the Inarticulate*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.

Fernandez, Pablo. 1979. *History of the Church in the Philippines*. Manila: National Book Store.

Foreman, John. 1906/1980. *The Philippines*. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild.

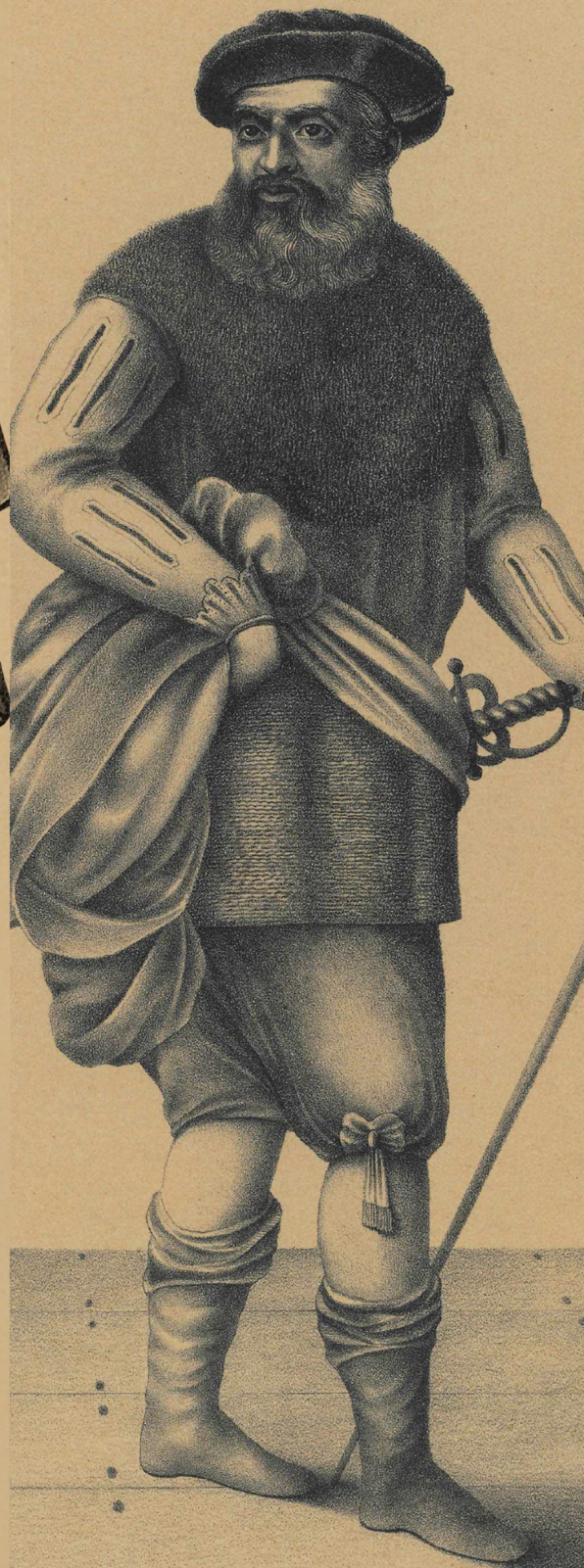
Medina, Isagani R. 1994. *Cavite Before the Revolution, 1571-1896*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.

National Historical Institute. 1993. *Historical Markers: Regions I-IV and C.A.R.* Manila: National Historical Institute.

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS

“Los Baños: Its Life and Times.” Pamahalaang Bayan ng Los Baños, 2001.

Maikling Kasaysayan ng Batong Malake.” Sangguniang Barangay ng Batong Malake, Los Baños. 1994.



CHAPTER 9

CONNECTION AND CONTENTION: THE 2021 QUINCENTENNIAL COMMEMORATIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES

Ian Christopher B. Alfonso

Introduction

Textually, visually, and auditorily, we, Filipinos, need to establish our connection with our traceable ancestors within our geographic spaces, *i.e.*, the Philippines. Thus, commemoration makes us aware of that connection. But how do we situate ourselves as Filipinos in a space and time (*i.e.*, 16th century) where neither the idea of *Filipino* nor the space for its commemoration or geopolitical boundary (*i.e.*, Philippines) had yet to exist? Are we committing an anachronism or are we just claiming that our ancestors *prior* to the birth of the idea of the Filipino nation were already Filipinos, by historical acclamation and heritage? What does the “Filipino-centric point of view” mean in Executive Order No. (EO) 103 signed on 27 January 2020 in commemorating the 500th anniversary of the Philippine part in the first circumnavigation of the world, 500th anniversary of the Victory

Left: Ferdinand Magellan, from the Biblioteca Nacional de España; **far left:** a 16th century Visayan noble from the Boxer Codex of the Lily Library, Indiana University.

at Mactan, 500th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity in the Philippines, and other related events of 1521 in Philippine History, collectively known as the 2021 Quincentennial Commemorations in the Philippines (2021 QCP)?

Commemorating the Contentious

The period beginning in 1946, when the United States recognized Philippine independence, up to the present, has witnessed the steady rise of the nationalist view of Philippine history. In 1962, the Philippine Historical Association convinced President Diosdado Macapagal and Congress to acknowledge 12 June 1898 as the reckoning date of Philippine Independence instead of 4 July 1946.¹ In 1958, Teodoro Agoncillo introduced the idea that Filipino nationalism began in 1872 (the year of the Gomburza martyrdom) when, according to him, we started to think as Filipinos and that the preceding events were “not related to the development of the Filipino nation.”² Other nationalist efforts followed: the renaming of the Philippine Insurgent Records (a collection of documents from the Philippine Revolution and Philippine-American War) as the Philippine Revolutionary Records in the 1980s; the passage of Republic Act No. (RA) 11014 on 5 April 2018 recognizing the importance of 23 January 1899 or the birth of the First Philippine Republic, thus to be commemorated annually as the First Philippine Republic Day; and the return of the Balangiga Bells—three church bells looted from Samar during the Philippine-American War—by the U.S. Congress to the Filipino people on 11 December 2018.

These postwar developments did not end there. On 21 December 2018, the Philippine government launched the National Quincentennial Commemorations (later renamed the 2021 QCP) or the collective name for several quincentennials, or the 500th anniversaries of events Filipinos often consider as the *beginning* of Spanish colonization. The launching took place at the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP), Ermita, Manila with no less than Executive Secretary Salvador Medialdea as the guest of honor (representing



From left: Executive Secretary Salvador C. Medialdea, NHCP Chairperson and concurrent NQC OIC-Chair Rene Escalante, and the late NHCP Executive Director Ludovico D. Badoy, during the launching of the 2021 QCP on 21 December 2018.

President Rodrigo Roa Duterte). The commemorations were slated until 21 December 2022.³ During the launch, the branding, logo, and programs were presented to the public. These trappings were intended not to speak about Spanish colonialism but to emphasize the Filipino-centric perspective on the 500th anniversary of the first circumnavigation of the world (the preferred term for the initial event, to dismantle the Eurocentric phrase, “discovery of the Philippines by Ferdinand Magellan”).

While all national observances earlier had been centralized in the NHCP through Administrative Order No. 23 dated 10 November 2011,⁴ the responsibility of commemorating the contentious and divisive milestones related to the arrival of Magellan in the Philippines was given to the National Quincentennial Committee (NQC), an ad-hoc committee formed to spearhead the 2021 QCP, per EO 55, s. 2018 and EO 103, s. 2020, respectively.⁵ Created by President Duterte through EO 55, the ad-hoc committee consisted of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP), the Department of Tourism

(DOT), the Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG), the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), and the Department of Budget and Management (DBM). On 8 January 2019, President Duterte appointed Medialdea as chairperson and Office of the Presidential Assistant for the Visayas (OPAV) Secretary Michael Lloyd Dino as the assistant vice-chairperson. The latter's appointment acknowledged the importance of the Visayas in the 2021 QCP.⁶

It should be noted that the creation of the NQC can be traced to the initiative of the late Senator Edgardo Angara and NHCP chairperson Rene R. Escalante, whom both saw the need for the milestone commemorations. In 2018, Angara and Escalante met several times to discuss the matter and initiate preparations. One of the results of the meetings was the proposal for the creation of a commemorative committee of which Angara was eyed as the chairperson.⁷ On 8 May 2018, the EO creating the ad-hoc committee was signed. Sadly, five days into the signing, Angara died. According to Escalante, he agreed to the configuration of the structure out of respect for Angara, who was a well-known champion of Philippine-Spanish relations. On 27 January 2020, President Duterte signed EO 103 formalizing Medialdea's chairpersonship and OPAV became an official committee member, along with the Department of Education (DepEd), Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH), Department of National Defense (DND), Presidential Communication Operations Office (PCOO), and National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA). The new issuance named the NHCP chairperson as vice-chairperson and executive director at the same time. The NHCP constituted the Secretariat, per the two EOs.

Except for the Victory at Mactan, the rest of the events during and immediately after the Magellan-Elcano expedition are often seen as the beginning of Spanish colonization. This is an error as the colonization proper began only in 1565. Nonetheless, Spanish interest in the Philippines sprang from the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan, the Portuguese-born-turned-Spanish-citizen who captained the historic expedition that first circumnavigated the world, and who introduced Christianity in the country. The remedy introduced by the NQC was

to apply the Filipino viewpoint in the quincentennial enshrined in the EO 103.

The Need for a Perspective

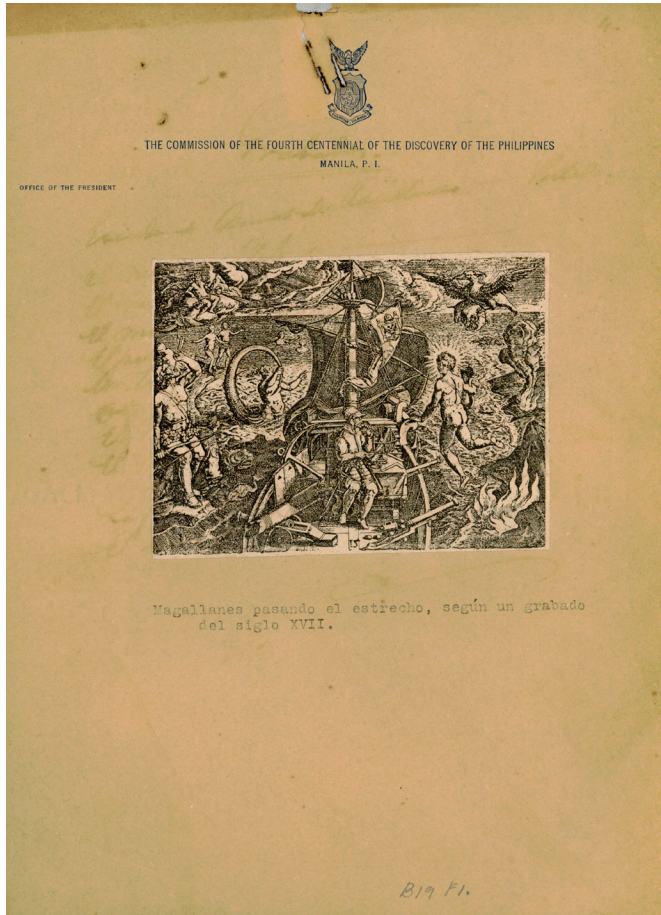
In his remarks at the International Conference for the Contacts and Continuities: 500 Years of Asian-Iberian Encounters, Escalante explained why perspective is needed in the 2021 QCP: “Focusing just on Magellan will complicate things, as the Filipinos have been battered with centuries of cultural timidity due to Eurocentric narratives.”⁸ He was referring to the common notion that our ancestors before the Spaniards came were uncivilized, barbarians, and savages and that Philippine history began only when Magellan arrived in the Philippines in 1521. Such a viewpoint differed from the incipient nationalistic perspectives in 1921 when the country commemorated the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of the Philippines by Ferdinand Magellan (FCDDPFM). Take for example the statement of Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, chairman of the Commission for the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of the Philippines by Ferdinand Magellan: “*El Pueblo Filipino reconoce que su historia nacional arranca del descubrimiento de Magallanes*” (The Filipino people recognize that their national history begins with the discovery of Magellan).⁹ Supreme Court of the Philippines Justice George Malcolm, in his lecture for the Fourth Centenary, acknowledged Philippine history prior to the “discovery of Magellan,” but it was still within the framework of “discovery” (“They were first made known to the inhabitants of Asia and Oceánica during centuries shrouded in antiquity; such Oriental contact necessarily influenced greatly local conditions.”).¹⁰

It is incumbent upon the NHCP to guide the Filipino nation in these highly contentious and divisive quincentennial milestones. The NHCP is mandated by RA 10086 to “strengthen people’s nationalism, love of country, respect for its heroes and pride for the people’s accomplishments by reinforcing the importance of Philippine national and local history in daily life with the end in view of raising social consciousness.”¹¹

A common contention of the “positivists” who do not see the relevance of commemorating the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Mactan is that there were neither Philippines nor Filipinos at that time. This argument is a given. Nonetheless, allowing it to burgeon *without* perspective would *ignore* the fact that the battle is part of the memory we, Filipinos, have inherited and therefore, ours to *own* and to *value*. That positivist approach to history (*i.e.*, confining one’s understanding of the past to mere facts and rejecting interpretation) snatches one’s opportunity to view the past with a fresh mindset. But what does *Filipino* mean in the Filipino-centric viewpoint EO 103 mandates the NQC to advance as a perspective for the 2021 QCP?

The term *Filipino* this paper problematizes is not just about a mere group of people living in the Philippines like how Charles Pierce’s 1901 definition as “one born in the Philippine Islands, regardless of parentage” and “not definitive of race or nationality” but “merely marks the place of birth.”¹² Establishing when the idea of *Filipino* as a *nation* came into fruition is essential in demarcating *what* is Filipino from the colonial “Filipino” said to have originally referred to the Spaniards born in the Philippines (also called the *Insulares*). It can be either the first gesture toward its attainment through the Cry of the Philippine Revolution in Balintawak on 23 August 1896¹³ or the action that made into a reality (*i.e.*, the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution in August 1896). Another alternative is the date of the proclamation of Philippine independence on 12 June 1898 in Kawit, Cavite and the defining of Filipino citizenship through the Philippine Constitution ratified on 21 January 1899 in Malolos, Bulacan. Whatever way, *Filipino* as a nation was a product of the Philippine Revolution from 1896 up to the birth of the Philippine Republic in 1899, like in the remarks of Milagros Guerrero that the Philippine Revolution “proclaimed the birth of the Filipino nation.”¹⁴ Nonetheless, this reckoning does not discriminate the fact that the idea of a nation among the Filipinos had been blossoming prior to the Revolution.

The idea of the *Filipino nation* survived even after the fall of the First Philippine Republic with the capture of President Emilio Aguinaldo on 23 March 1901, thanks to its champions under the U.S.



Letterhead of the government office that 'celebrated' the "Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of the Philippines by Ferdinand Magellan" in 1921. From the Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera Collection of the Ateneo de Manila University Rizal Library.

Insular Government of the Philippine Islands who labored for the birth of the Philippine Commonwealth, which came to pass in 1935, and the restoration of the Philippine Republic in 1943 (under Japan) and 1946. This continuum gives us, Filipinos of today, a sense of space and belongingness, as well as the power to claim what is Filipino prior to the birth of the nation.

The name Filipino, according to Apolinario Mabini, the designer of the Philippine Revolutionary Government, had been transformed into

an identity that was no longer Spanish but a “title of honor ennobling whomsoever possesses it:”

*Sin duda alguna hemos de ser grandes, muy grandes; el nombre filipino será un título de honor que ennoblecerá al que lo posea; sepamos conquistarlo.*¹⁵

(Without a doubt we have to be the best that we can be, the very best; the name Filipino will be a title of honor ennobling whomsoever possesses it; may we find out how to win it.)

Mabini’s appraisal of the name *Filipino* was motivated by his belief that the Philippine Revolution and the war against the U.S. had given the Filipinos “honor” (“*honra a los filipinos*”)¹⁶ by bringing the light of freedom to the “Malayan race,” “the Oceania” (the Pacific), and the “troubled sea of the Far East.” For him, it was the “true mission of the Philippine revolution.”¹⁷

Agoncillo was among the champions of the Filipino viewpoint. To reiterate, he reckoned the indios/Filipinos’ claiming of Filipino as their own in 1872, when the three martyred priests, Mariano Gomes, Jose Burgos, and Jacinto Zamora, were executed by the Spanish authorities in Bagumbayan, Manila for trumped-up charges of rebellion in Cavite. However, this periodization has been questioned for decades,¹⁸ ergo, his interpretation does not monopolize the definition of “Filipino viewpoint.” Anyone has the ability to think, write, speak, and see in Filipino. A case in point was William Henry Scott, who merited this description from the nationalist historian Renato Constantino, “Despite his nationality, [he] belongs more to the Filipino” with the “abiding mission in helping Filipinos think as Filipinos.”¹⁹

Leandro Fernandez would have disagreed with his fellow faculty Agoncillo for the latter’s disregard of the process of “composite personality.” He described this in his Fourth Centenary lecture as the sense of “consciousness of belonging to one another,” the “feeling of nationalism... that dispelled localism” and “disunion,” and “an era of common interest and political aspiration.”²⁰ That personality was born over centuries of Spanish colonization beginning in 1565. Out of the

many strands of diversity our ancestors came to “[owe] allegiance to one government, recognized one flag and respected the same body of laws.” Fernandez added that, “This composite personality became the foundation stone of Filipino nationalism” in 1896.²¹

Precedence

Pope Francis canonized the Italian religious figure Margaret of Città di Castello on 24 April 2021 through a special circumstance the Roman Catholics call “equipollent canonization.” It is the Pope’s acknowledgment of a personality whose holiness has been recognized by a cult and has attained veneration uninterruptedly, corroborated by historical accounts, and thus, bypassing the canonization rules and process (especially the evidence of an attributed miracle). Such identification *beyond* the established conventions is like the way the NQC establishes a spiritual bond with the personalities, attributes, events, objects, and places belonging to the time and space *predating* the idea of the Filipino nation. Even though these were not Filipino by circumstance, they become Filipino because they contribute to the collective sense of origin, being, and becoming of the Filipino prior to 1896. Owning them as part of our being Filipino is an exercise of our acumen in discerning what belongs to the Filipino. A case in point is the Battle of Mactan. Obviously, our ancestors in Mactan did not fight for the “Philippines” (or the positivists may argue that it was a mere battle between a certain part of Mactan and the Spaniards). But the fact that it happened within the defined Filipino space, gives us, Filipinos, the right to claim it as ours. We likewise inherited from the founders of the Filipino nation the acknowledgment of Lapulapu as a political symbol. Technically, it was the Katipunan who evoked his name the earliest during the conception of the Filipino nation. In his poem “¡Gising na, m̃ga Tagalog!!” (Wake Up Filipinos²²) dated 23 October 1895, Emilio Jacinto (under the pen name J. Aging) included Lapulapu as among the ancient leaders whom he used as motivation for the Katipunan members to think great. His rhetoric was that in their veins run the blood of the defiant leader of Mactan, to wit: *¿saan*

napatungu ang dugu ni Kalipulako (sic, Lapulapu), *ang masiglang hari sa Maktan, niyaong pinatay niya ang lilong si Magallanes?* (Where has the blood of Lapulapu, the jubilant king of Mactan, flowed, after he killed the liar Magellan?).²³ Jacinto also remembered Soliman, the acclaimed martyr of the Battle of Bangkusay (the first resistance against the Spanish invasion of Luzon in June 1571²⁴), to wit: “*¿at saan nandoon ang matibay na puso ni Soliman?* (Where has the brave heart of Soliman gone?).

Lapulapu and Mactan once again reverberated through the *Acta de la Proclamacion de Independencia del pueblo Filipino* written and read on 12 June 1898 in Kawit by Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista.²⁵ Through this document, the whole world knew that the Filipino people on that day, claiming freedom and independence from Spain, identified themselves with Lapulapu and his victory in the Battle of Mactan.

Therefore, our acknowledgment of Lapulapu as a national figure is not new *but* an affirmation of what had been proclaimed in 1898. One can say that part of the legacy of the Philippine Revolution is to preserve the memory of Lapulapu as part of the national sentiment. Another manifestation of this legacy of acknowledgment was when the U.S. recognized Philippine independence and the establishment of the Philippine Republic in 1946. The Public Relations Office (forerunner of the PCOO) associated these events with that of the 1521 Victory at Mactan (“This was the final note of that many-centuries melody of yearning and entreaty that arose one dark morning on the beaches at Mactan...”).²⁶ Also, future National Artist Carlos “Botong” Francisco drew a magazine cover in celebration of that 1946 event depicting neither Quezon nor Rizal nor the World War II veterans and martyrs but the ‘martyrdom’ of Lapulapu’s fellow 16th century hero, Soliman, in the Battle of Bangkusay of 1571:

Bahagyang nakalubog sa alat at banlik ng dalampasigang natina sa dugo ng mga bayaning Pilipino, taglay pa ni Rajah Soliman ang kanyang sandata at kalasag sa pakikidigma. Nakalambong sa buong larawan ang kawakasan ng kamatayan ngunit ang ilang naghuhumindig na talim ng damong-dagat na nasa tabi ng kalasag ay

*tila sumisigaw na mamamatay ang katawan subalit hindi kailanman ang kaluluwa ng kalayaang likas sa mga Kayumanggi.*²⁷

(Quite submerged under the salt and mud of the shore colored with the blood of the Filipino martyrs, Rajah Soliman is seen still holding his sword and battle shield. The end brought by death dominates the entire scene, but some wayward blades of the seagrasses beside the shield seem to exclaim that the mortal body expires but never the spirit of freedom innate in the Brown people.)

In 1970, the *Dambana ng Kagitingan*, a memorial to World War II heroes, martyrs, and the unsung, was inaugurated. Prominently displayed on the base is the relief of Lapulapu, the burning of Buaya (also in Mactan) by Magellan, and the Battle of Mactan.²⁸ It was the artwork of future National Artist Napoleon Abueva. It is entitled “*Nabiag na Bato*” (‘Living Stone’ in Ilocano). Positivists will argue inappropriateness because Lapulapu was not a World War II hero; but they again miss the point that he is presented as proof of Filipinos’ heritage of valor. To discriminate Lapulapu as non-Filipino only because he was not a Filipino by citizenship is trivial. It is as if we deprive all other personalities prior to 1896 of the acclamation and acknowledgment they deserve from their grateful descendants who are now called Filipinos. The proud, great, and remarkable figures produced by the people of the country, as well as their achievements, struggles, and experiences as cultural communities, enrich Filipino heritage, and our being and becoming. They are part of our inherited memory, thus, constitute our collective inheritance.

Addressing Heterogeneity

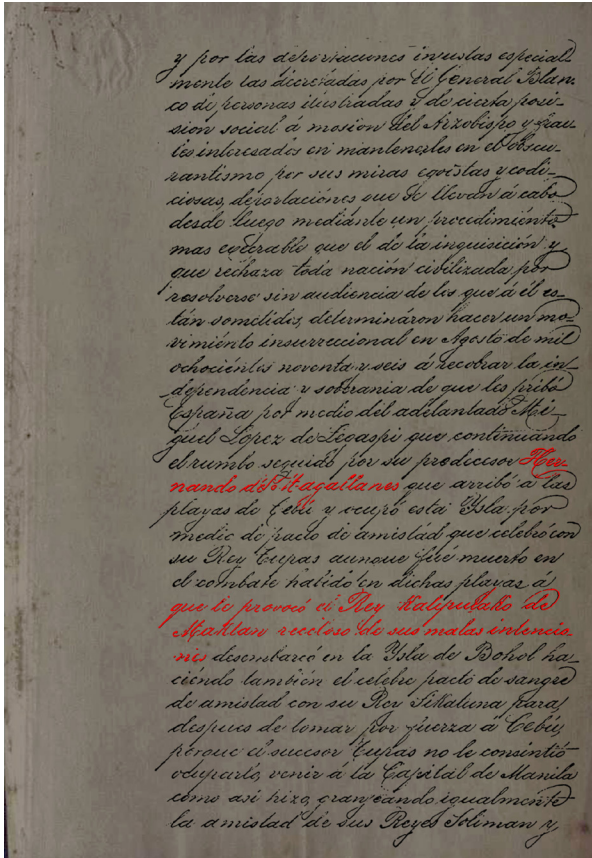
The NQC confronts ambivalence in 2021 QCP. This is because our ancestors in the Visayas, Palawan, and Mindanao in 1521 created heterogeneous narratives during the first circumnavigation of the world—Warays of Samar welcomed Magellan; Cebuanos of mainland Cebu accepted Christianity and befriended Magellan, whilst those in Mactan defied him, even killed him in a battle; Subanens of Kipit

mukuti at kusang napapapaw ang ta
 pat na dibalib:- 6 Diyata, mga kapatid? 6
 yata? kayo? ~~mananiti~~ mananiti mananiti
 na sa gamitong kabalagan at ~~katuturan~~?
 6 sam napatungo ang dabis at tapang ng
 inyong mga magulang, miyong ita'y naki
 paglaban sa mga tagaibanglabang, ~~magpa~~
~~na mananiti~~ itong bayanglagatong,
 di pagharian ng nino mang puring? *in*
an napatungo ang dugin ni Kalipulakang
 Mactan? hari sa ellaktang miyong pina
 tay niga ang bilang ni ellagallanes? 6 it
 naan nandoon ang matibay na pisin ni So
 lionan? 6 Diyata mga kapatid? 6 diyata? ka
 yo? ~~lagang~~ mang nakagapus dugin sa dis
 tang katigi miyang labhang maka. ~~pagpoot~~
 na kapurungam? 6 diyata? sa inyong
 buhay wala nang makikitang, kung di
 hirap, dalita, sakit, lumbay, dusa't ka
 amiran?.....
 i Hays na, hayo na bayan ko't ikaw
 ay puring! i ikaw nyo mag bayun, duk
 ran ang mata mo't ikaw ay magna
 nid, bayang kongrawi!

The second page of Jacinto's "¡¡Gising na, mga Tagalog!!" Courtesy of the Archivo General Militar de Madrid.

(in Labason, Zamboanga del Norte) and the Muslim Jama Mapuns of Cagayan (now Mapun, Tawi-Tawi) and those in Palawan welcomed the expedition as friends, unaffected by (or unaware) of what had transpired in the Battle of Mactan on 27 April 1521 and the Massacre in Cebu on 1 May 1521. The NQC produced an interactive map of these events that can be accessed at www.nqc.gov.ph/en/map.

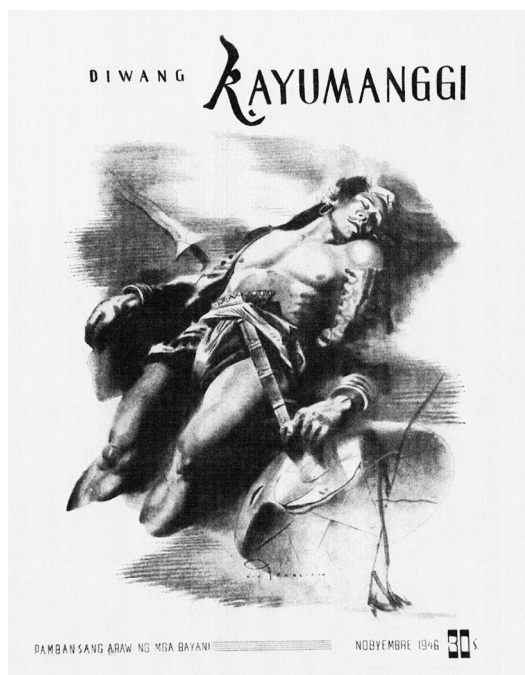
Such heterogeneity suggests that our ancestors had varying influences on the outcome, destiny, and destination of the first circumnavigation of the world. All these are part of our inherited past worthy of recognition. The NQC treats with parity each of the thirty-four (34) events in the Philippine part of the first circumnavigation of the world, from 16 March 2021 to 28 October 2021 (the latter, an



The second page of the Philippine independence document on 12 June 1898 with reference to the Battle of Mactan, Lapulapu (as *Kalipulako*, one of the several names attributed to the defiant ruler of Mactan), and Magellan's death owing to his "evil designs." Courtesy of the National Library of the Philippines.

approximate date of exit of the Magellan-Elcano expedition in the Philippine waters via Sarangani Island, Davao Occidental) [see table in the pages 237-241].

Heterogeneity was the reason why the NQC renamed the quinentennial milestones from "National Quinentennial Commemorations"/"Philippine Quinentennial Commemorations" (as featured on the logo used by the committee in 2019) to "2021 Quinentennial Commemorations in the Philippines." At first glance there appears to be no difference between the two titles, but "National



Above: Cover of the maiden issue of *Diwang Kayumanggi*, November 1946, courtesy of Vibal Group; **right:** Lapulapu relief on the Dambana ng Kagitingan, courtesy of deskgram.net.

Quincentennial Commemorations”/“Philippine Quincentennial Commemorations” implies that the Philippines turns 500 years. In fact, there are people who really think that the Philippines emerged in 1521! They confuse the idea of a “Filipino nation” with the creation of the Philippines as a territory (which only began in 1565—not 1521). A special technical working group (TWG) was organized by the NQC to review the 2021 QCP branding. It was headed by former DOT Usec. Arturo Boncato, Jr., with the following as member agencies: the DOT Office of the Assistant Secretary for Branding and Marketing Communications, NHCP, Philippine Information Agency, NCCA, Tourism Promotions Board, and PCOO Assistant Secretary for Brand Reintegration. Despite its being kilometric, the NQC adopted the TWG’s recommended nomenclature, “2021 Quincentennial Commemorations in the Philippines” during the former’s 8th Regular



Meeting on 14 August 2019.²⁹ The new name implies that *there are* quincennial milestones happening in the Philippines.

Another rephrasing was the “500th anniversary of the Philippine part in the first circumnavigation of the world.” The NQC wants the country and the whole world to know that what the Philippine government is commemorating is the “Philippine Part” of that historical event. It simply means that the Magellan-Elcano expedition had *significant* activities in the Philippine waters between 16 March 1521 and the time of its exit via Sarangani Island on 28 October 1521, respectively. But more than the *inclusivity* and *diversification* of institutions, cultural communities, and local government units involved, the main agenda of the NQC in introducing such a lengthy name is to *replace* the Eurocentric phrases “500th anniversary of the discovery of the Philippines by Ferdinand Magellan” and the “500th anniversary of the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in the Philippines.” Aside from liberating the narrative from Eurocentrism, the NQC wants to emancipate the Filipinos from the traditional belief that their archipelago was discovered by Magellan. Also, the NQC appreciates the fact that the history of the first circumnavigation of the world contains more valuable lessons, insights, and reflections if commemorated as *a series of events* rather than focusing on one personality that was Magellan. This is the win-win approach of the NQC in protecting national interest and at the same time integrating the nation in this global achievement of science and humanity of encircling the planet for the first time *vis-à-vis* empirically proving the long-held theory that the Earth is indeed spherical.

Theme

Although lauded by various members of the academe, the Filipino viewpoint espoused by the NQC still received criticism. Some accused the NQC of being Hispanophobic and ungrateful of the “legacies” of the Spaniards to the Philippines. (The Philippine-Spanish Friendship Day every June 30 celebrates these “legacies.”) But does NQC become anti-Spanish for advancing the Filipino viewpoint?

**Thirty-four (34) quinquennial milestones under the
2021 Quinquennial Commemorations in the Philippines**

Event	Date	Site
1. Beginning of the 500 th Anniversary of the Philippine Part in the First Circumnavigation of the World a. 500 th Anniversary of the Samar Episode of the First Circumnavigation of the World	16 March 2021 (Rescheduled to 18 March 2021 per request of the Province of Eastern Samar to accommodate President Duterte)	Calicoan, Guiuan, Eastern, Samar
2. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Suluan	16 March 2021	Suluan Island, Guiuan, Eastern, Samar
3. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Homonhon a. 500 th Anniversary of the Philippine-Spanish Contact b. 500 th Anniversary of the Humanity at Homonhon	17-25 March 2021 18 March 2021 18 March 2021	Homonhon Landing Site, Guiuan, Eastern, Samar
4. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Gibusong Waters	25 March 2021	Magsaysay, Gibusong Is., Loreto, Dinagat Island
5. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Hinunangan Waters	25 March 2021	Hinunangan, Southern Leyte

Event	Date	Site
6. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Limasawa	28 March – 4 April 2021	Government Compound, Limasawa, Southern Leyte
a. 500 th Anniversary of the Blood Compact Between Rajah Colambu and Magellan	29 March 2021	
b. 500 th Anniversary of the Easter Mass at Limasawa	31 March 2021	
7. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Leyte	4 April 2021	Combado, Maasin City
8. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Canigao Waters	5 April 2021	Canigao Islet, Matalom Leyte
9. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Gatligan	5 April 2021	Himoklian Islet, Hindang, Leyte
10. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Baybay Waters	5 April 2021	Baybay City, Leyte
11. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Ponson Waters	6 April 2021	Pilar, Cebu
12. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Poro Water	6 April 2021	Poro, Cebu
13. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Ticobon Waters	6 April 2021	San Francisco, Cebu

Event	Date	Site
14. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Cebu	7 April – May 1 2021	Plaza Sugbu, Cebu City
a. 500 th Anniversary of the Baptism at Cebu	14 April 2021	Basilica Minore del Santo Niño de Cebu, Cebu City
b. 500 th Anniversary of the Santo Niño in Cebu	14 April 2021	Basilica Minore del Santo Niño de Cebu, Cebu City
15. 500 th Anniversary of the Victory at Mactan	27 April 2021	Liberty Shrine, Mactan, Lapu-Lapu City
16. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Bohol Waters	2 May 2021 Commemoration held on 17 June 2021 due to the increasing number of COVID-19 cases in Bohol	Punta Cruz, Maribojoc, Bohol
17. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Panilongon	4 May 2021	Dumaguete City
18. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Kipit	7 May 2021	Kipit, Labason, Zamboanga del Norte
19. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Mapun	13 May 2021 Commemoration held on 6 September 2021 due to quarantine restrictions and inclement weather	Mapun, Tawi-Tawi

Event	Date	Site
20. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Palawan	27 May – June 2021 Commemoration held on 22 September 2021 due to the increasing number of COVID-19 cases in Palawan	Sitio Marikit, San Juan, Aborian, Palawan
21. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Tagusao	18-21 June 2021	Sitio Tagusao, Barong-Barong, Brooke's Point, Palawan
22. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Balabac Waters	21 June 2021	Balabac, Palawan
23. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Palawan Cape	30 September – 7 October 2021	Bullilyan, Bataraza, Palawan
24. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Sulu Waters	11 October 2021 The local government rejected the commemoration	Jolo, Sulu
25. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Basilian Waters	11 October 2021	Fuego-Fuego Beach, Brgy. Tabi-awan, Isabela City, Basilian
26. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Cawit Waters	12 October 2021	Cawit, Zamboanga City
27. 500 th anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Subanen Waters	12 October 2021	Zamboanga City

Event	Date	Site
28. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Manalipa Waters	14 October 2021	Manalipa Island, Zamboanga City
29. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Moro Gulf	15 October 2021	Pagadian City
30. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Maguindanao Waters	19 October 2021	Old Cotabato City Hall, Cotabato City
31. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Benaian Waters	25 October 2021	Kamanga, Maasim, Sarangani
32. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Batulaki Waters	26-27 October 2021	Batulaki, Glan, Sarangani Province
33. 500 th Anniversary of the First Circumnavigation of the World in Candighar Waters	27 October 2021	Municipal Grounds, Balut Island, Sarangani Municipality, Davao Occidental
34. 500 th Anniversary of the Exit from the Philippines of the First Circumnavigation of the World a. 500 th Anniversary of the Sarangani of the First Circumnavigation of the World	27-28 October 2021 28 October 2021	Camalig, Sarangani Island, Sarangani Municipality, Davao Occidental

Spain and Portugal, two of the champions of the 500th anniversary of the first circumnavigation of the world, emphasize the achievement of science and humanity in the quincentennial milestones. This is embedded in the rationale of the Permanent Delegation of Portugal to UNESCO of inscribing the “route of Magellan” as a World Heritage Site (the Philippine government *prefers* “route of the Magellan-Elcano expedition”):

Such an extraordinary journey cannot be understood without having in mind a historical moment shared by Portugal and Spain. Both were acutely dedicated to research and achieved knowledge about nautical technology, cartography and astronomy, as well as other fields related to the exploration of the oceans. Since the beginning of the 16th century, the navigation route designed by Magellan and his sailors during the First Circumnavigation around the World has geographical and symbolically linked different cultures and civilizations, providing exchanges and achievements in commerce, scientific knowledge and cultural, artistic and religious practices... In sum, Magellan Route represents the confirmation of the Earth’s roundness, is at the origins of the concept of globalism and the universality of knowledge.³⁰

Whereas, the Philippines uses the global platform to position *our narrative*, that is, that our ancestors were *active* characters in the historic event and not mere recipients (or passive) of history. This is enshrined in the 2021 QCP theme, “Victory and Humanity.”

In *Victory*, our ancestors killed the pioneer captain-general of those who first circumnavigated the world—Magellan—thus, affecting the destiny of the expedition (e.g., they were massacred by our ancestors because of the hubris of their leader and the greed of Duarte de Barbosa, Magellan’s successor in the captaincy, for taking possession of Enrique de Malacca (supposedly freed already under the last will of Magellan). This was never given emphasis during the Fourth Centenary in 1921. The earliest known gesture of the Philippine government in elevating the Victory at Mactan, and particularly Lapulapu, to a national glory



Topmost: The logo launched on 21 December 2018. **Center:** revised logo implemented on social media publicity materials on 17 April 2019; **above:** latest logo adopted on 14 August 2019.

after the proclamation of Philippine independence in 1898, to national glory was in 1951 when a State historical marker on Lapulapu courtesy of the Philippines Historical Committee (forerunner of the NHCP) was installed side by side with the 1941 historical marker issued in memory of Magellan titled “Ferdinand Magellan’s Death” in Barangay Mactan, Opon, Cebu. (The 1941 marker consecrated the site as “Spot of Magellan’s Death,” as read in the marker text.) It was followed by the renaming Opon as Lapu-Lapu City by virtue of Republic Act No. 3134 on 17 June 1961³¹ and the declaration of the “Spot of Magellan’s Death” at Barangay Mactan as Liberty Shrine in honor of the Victory at Mactan through Republic Act No. 5695 on 21 June 1969.³² The nationalized space, currently shared by Lapulapu and Magellan, was identified by the Spanish colonial government in 1866, or the year of the erection of the Magellan’s obelisk with the inscription “Glorias Españolas” (Spanish Glories).

Humanity, on the other hand, pertains to the earliest recorded encounter between our ancestors and the expedition—not on 16 March 1521 but two days after. It was a cordial meeting: our ancestors did not attack Magellan but instead pitied the latter’s condition—starving, undernourished, dehydrated, sickly, and dying. One must understand that the expedition endured almost four months of hunger and thirst in the Pacific. They underestimated the vastness of the ocean, yet they continued until they reached Guam where they had an encounter with the local inhabitants and reached Samar next. This angle of the Samar episode was never been considered in the annual local commemoration in Homonhon Island, Guiuan, Eastern Samar, the site of the first contact between our ancestors and the members of the Magellan-Elcano expedition. What they were commemorating in the past was the *arrival of Magellan* until the NQC introduced the new narrative, *i.e.*, *Humanity*. This was supported by the Municipality of Guiuan.

Transcendentalism

Aside from its retroactive or retrospective tone, the Filipino “we” inspires transcendence. It means the claimants (we) assert that they embody the values, character, and identity of those whom they are claiming (*i.e.*, their ancestors).³³ It further justifies the adoption of the theme “Victory and Humanity,” and that the formulation of the Filipino viewpoint did not come from a vacuum.

The NQC asserts that the humanity exhibited by our ancestors to the expedition in Samar transcended time as part of the Filipino character of *pakikipagkapwa* (seeing one’s self in others). Escalante mentioned this aspect in his message during the unveiling of the quincentennial historical marker in Homonhon on 17 March 2021:

Right: Map of the Philippine itinerary of the first circumnavigation of the world produced by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines. The research team behind this was composed of Ian Christopher Alfonso (head), Josef Alec Geradila, and Juvelyn Nierves. map designed by Relly Coquia and Alfonso.



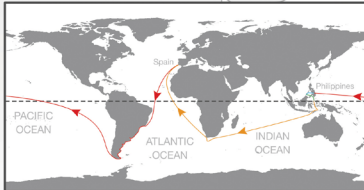
Quincentennial
Commemorations
in the Philippines
Values and Heritage 2011-2021

THE PHILIPPINE PART OF THE FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE WORLD

- 19 MAPUN
17 May 1521*
- 20 PALAWAN
May - June 1521*
- 21 TAGUSAO
June* - 21 June 1521
- 22 BALABAC
21 June 1521*
- 23 BULILUYAN
30 September -
7 October 1521

- 14 CEBU
7 April - 1 May 1521
- 15 MACTAN
27 April 1521
- 16 BOHOL
1-2 May 1521
- 17 PANILONGON
2 May 1521*
- 18 KIPIT
May 1521*

TO THE PHILIPPINES
TO BRUNEL



Scan the QR codes for the
interactive map online and
audio-visual timeline via
www.nqc.gov.ph

LEGEND

- Anchorage
- Passed By
- Drifting
- ★ Approximate date

- Magellan
- Carvalho
- Espinosa
- Elcano

- 01 SAMAR
16 March 1521
- 02 SULUAN
16 March 1521
- 03 HOMONHON
17-25 March 1521
- 04 GIBUSONG
25 March 1521*
- 05 HINUNGAN
25 March 1521*
- 06 LIMASAWA
28 March - 4 April 1521
- 07 LEYTE
4 April 1521*
- 08 CANIGAO
5 April 1521*
- 09 BAYBAY
5 April 1521*
- 10 GATIGHAN
5 April 1521*
- 11 PONSON
6 April 1521*
- 12 PORO
6 April 1521*
- 13 TICOBON
6 April 1521*

- 24 SULLU
October 1521*
- 25 TAGIMA (BASILAN)
October 1521*
- 26 CAWIT
October 1521*
- 27 SUBANIN
October 1521*
- 28 MANALIPA
October 1521*

- 29 MAGUINDANAO (COTABATO)
October 1521*
- 30 BENAIAN (KAMANGA)
October 1521*
- 31 BATULAKI
26-27 October 1521*
- 32 CANDIGHAR (BALUT)
27 October 1521*
- 33 SARANGANI
27-28 October 1521*

THE MALUKU
ARCHIPELAGO

TIDORE
BIVANIS ISLAND

16 March 1521. From Guam, the expedition proceeds to Samar (in today's Suluan Peninsula) ① but anchors off Suluan Island ② (now under Eastern Samar).

17 March 1521. Lands in Homonhon Island (now under Guilan) ③, and the sick are brought ashore. The crewmen suffer from water from the natural springs and consume a wild boar—this, after four months of starvation and dehydration at sea.

18 March 1521. Our ancestors from Suluan discover in Homonhon the helpless crew. Magellan embraces the local chief and requests food and drinks. The local chief provides him with what they have at that moment.

22 March 1521. Our ancestors return to Homonhon with more food and drink.

25 March 1521. The expedition leaves Homonhon and sails across the waters of Hinunangan (Southern Leyte) ④ and of Gibusong Island (Loreto, Dinagat Islands) ⑤.

27 March 1521. Notices a fire in an island identified as Mazaua (now Limasawa, Southern Leyte) ⑥.

28 March 1521. Colambu, the rajah of Mazaua, welcomes the expedition. He happens to know Malay, the mother tongue of Enrique, servant of Magellan.

29 March 1521. Sikai, the rajah of Butuan, meets Magellan. Colambu and Magellan enter into a blood compact.

31 March 1521. Colambu permits a Christian mass to celebrate Christ's resurrection.

4 April 1521. Accompanied by Colambu, the expedition leaves for Cebu and heads to Leyte Island ⑦, reaches the waters of Canigao (now in Malabon, Leyte) ⑧.

5 April 1521. Sights the terrain of Baybay (Leyte) ⑨, spends a night in Gatighan (approximately Hinokilan, Hindang, Leyte) ⑩, feasts on a kabog (a megabait), and marvels at the fauna of the place.

6 April 1521. Colambu joins Magellan in the *Trinidad* in the waters of Pozon (Ponson, now

under Pilar, Cebu) ⑪, Poron (a Cebu town) ⑫, and Ticonon (now San Francisco, Cebu) ⑬.

7 April 1521. The expedition reaches Cebu ⑭. Colambu introduces Magellan to Humabon, the rajah of Cebu. Humabon does not permit Magellan to trade pending Magellan's payment of tribute.

8 April 1521. Humabon and his council meet with Magellan's emissaries. The latter agree to comply with the rajah's conditions.

9 April 1521. Humabon's heir confers with Magellan and is convinced of the merits of the Christian virtues. Later on, Magellan promises military protection and proclaims Humabon sovereign in the region.

10 April 1521. Humabon allows Magellan to bury two of his men who recently died; Fr. Pedro de Valderama, the expedition's chaplain, consecrates and erects a wooden cross on the gravesite.

12 April 1521. A makeshift platform is readied at the consecrated site for the rite of baptism.

14 April 1521. Fr. Valderama baptizes many inhabitants; Juana, wife of Humabon, is charmed by the image of the Santo Niño, which Magellan later presents to her as a gift.

26 April 1521. Humabon receives a report that Lapulapu, a ruler of Mactan, refuses to recognize the King of Spain.

27 April 1521. Magellan proceeds to Mactan ⑮. A battle ensues, with Lapulapu emerging victorious. Magellan is killed.

29 April 1521. Lapulapu convinces Humabon to kill Magellan's remaining members. Enrique hoodwinks Humabon into letting him escape from the expedition.

1 May 1521. Humabon's men kill a number of the expedition's members at a banquet.

2 May 1521. Off Bohol, Juan Carvalho becomes the new captain-general of the expedition aboard the *Trinidad* and orders the burning of the *Concepcion*. Gonzalo Gomez

de Espinosa is promoted captain of the *Victoria*.

May 1521. The remaining ships pass by Panilongon (approximately Negros) ⑯. Days later, they reach Kipit (Lubusan, Zamboanga del Norte) ⑰. Calarao, the rajah of Kipit, receives the expedition and enters into a blood pact with Carvalho. The crewmen hear about Luzon here. From Kipit, they proceed to Cagayan (now Mapun Island, Tawi-Tawi) ⑱. The battle-ready inhabitants welcome them.

May-June 1521. The expedition further heads northward and reaches Palawan (approximately Aborlan town) ⑲, but the locals drive them away.

June 1521. Transfers to Dyguasam (Saocao or Topogazzo, now Sitio Tagusao, Barong-Barong, Brooke's Point, Palawan) ⑳. The crewmen enjoy the warm welcome of the people and meet Bastiam, a Christian trader and a native of the Maluku who knows Portuguese. An unnamed ruler of Palawan enters into a pact of brotherhood with Carvalho.

21 June 1521. The ships are left with no translator and astronomer guiding them as they leave the shores of Palawan and Botwa (Balabac, Palawan) ㉑ and sail for Brunei.

29 July 1521. Off the shores of Brunei, the expedition encounters a large armada of the prince of Luzon, who happens to be the Brunei sultan's admiral. Captured, the prince of Luzon bribes Carvalho for his freedom; the expedition deposes Carvalho and places him behind bars. Espinosa is then named the new captain-general of the expedition, while Juan Sebastian Elcano assumes his former position as the captain of the *Victoria*. Later accounts identify the prince of Luzon as Rajah Matanda of Manila.

30 September 1521. While searching desperately for food along the cape of Palawan (now Bulilyan, Bataraza, Palawan) ㉒, the expedition encounters and abducts Tuan Mahamud, Muslim ruler of Palawan.

1 October 1521. Tuan Mahamud seals a bond of friendship with Espinosa.

7 October 1521. Tuan Mahamud furnishes the expedition with four hundred measures of rice, twenty goats, twenty pigs, and one hundred and fifty chickens. Tuan Mahamud retrieves his daggers and guns, and receives items from Espinosa.

October 1521. The expedition passes by Sulu ㉓ and Taghima (Basilan) ㉔. Its crewmen marvel at the 47 lb. pearl in Sulu; head toward the waters of Cawit (now Cawit, Zamboanga City) ㉕, Subanin (approximately in Zamboanga City, a noted Subanen territory) ㉖, and Monoria (now Manalipa Island, Zamboanga City, where they found boathouses) ㉗. Off these waters, they trade two large knives from Palawan for 17 lbs of cinnamon; decide not to anchor so as to take advantage of the favorable wind going southeast. They sight the Maguindanao Sultanate whose capital is described as "a large city" (now Cotabato City) ㉘ and plan to look for a pilot to help them reach the Maluku. They engage in a sea encounter off Maguindanao and capture a large Malay ship with relatives of the sultan of Maguindanao aboard. A brother of the Maguindanao sultan offers his services to the expedition as pilot. The expedition then reaches Benania, a cape in Mindanao (approximately Kamanga, Maasin, Sarangani) ㉙, whose inhabitants are described by Pigafetta as "shaggy men" and "exceedingly great fighters and archers."

26 October 1521. The expedition experiences a "most furious storm" off Biraah Batolach Island (actually Sarangani Cape in Batulaki, Glan, Sarangani) ㉚.

27 October 1521. Heads toward Candighar (Balut Island, Sarangani Municipality, Davao Occidental) ㉛ and lands in Sarangani Island (now under Sarangani Municipality) ㉜; takes two pilots who help them reach the Maluku, their ultimate objective.

28 October 1521. Leaves the Philippine territory for the Maluku.

Surprisingly, the ancient Warays of Suluan, a nearby island from here, also part of Guiuan, discovered on this island of Homonhon the skinny, deprived of nourishment, dehydrated, and almost dying crew of Ferdinand Magellan. On March 16, 1521, our ancestors from Suluan already saw their ships. The following day, March 17, 1521, these unfortunate foreigners landed in Homonhon, unconscious of how sacred the land was, and enjoyed the fresh water there, a wild boar, and, most likely, fruits. The next day, March 18, 1521, our ancestors including a grandly decked chieftain, landed in Homonhon and signaled friendship. Magellan thought these people from Suluan would attack them. They could not understand each other at first yet our ancestors understood the language of humanity. Pigafetta may not have captured the nuance of this gesture and the symbolism of Homonhon to our ancestors, but what our ancestors exhibited is typically Filipino. We call it *pakikipagkapwa* in Filipino psychology or the sense of seeing someone as an extension of yourself. It's a uniquely Filipino value worthy of celebration this 2021 Quincentennial Commemorations in the Philippines—and it all happened here in Homonhon.³⁴

The NQC also cited other episodes in Philippine History showcasing that the Filipinos' *pakikipagkapwa* is consistent:

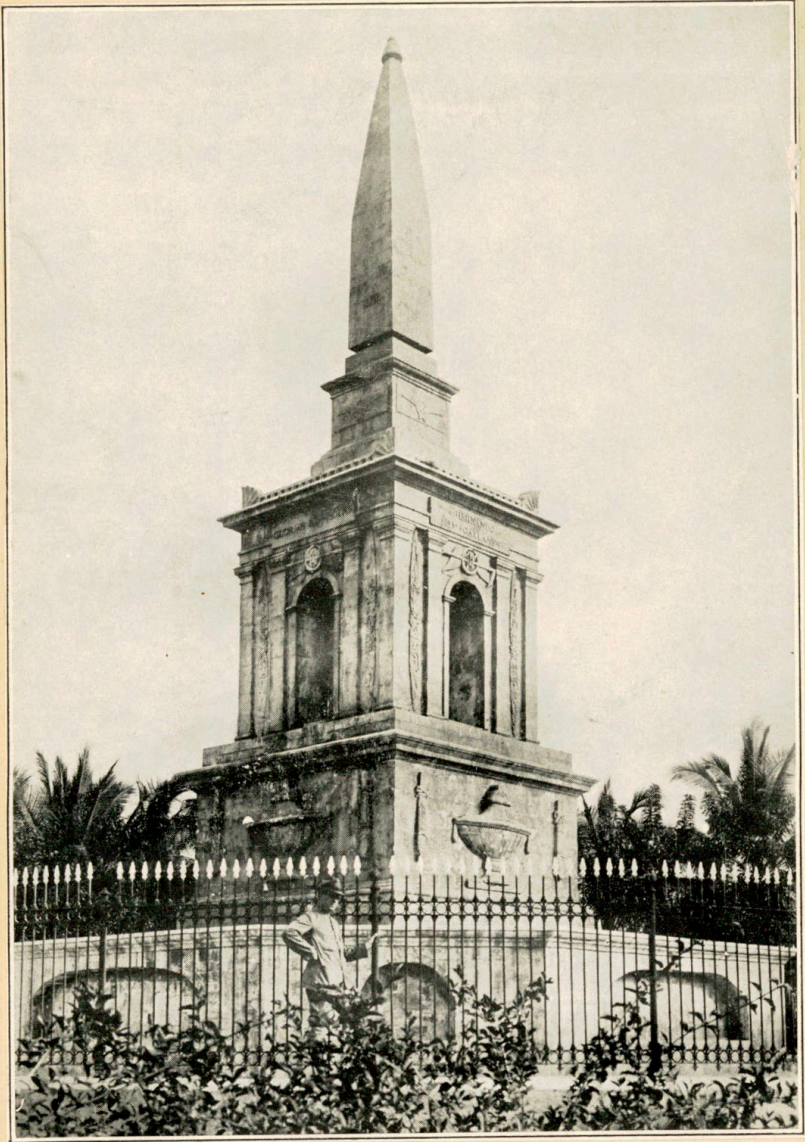
Beyond hospitality, we Filipinos inherited from our ancestors and forebears the gift of magnanimity. History attests to this: when we received the Japanese Christians banished from Japan in the late 16th century following the outlawing of Christianity by Emperor Hideyoshi; when our young Republican army extended humanity to the last Spanish soldiers (who were entrenched in Baler Church, Baler in 1899) by furnishing them with provisions for a year; when President Quezon adopted the Open-Door policy that saved a thousand Jewish refugees fleeing Nazi extermination, while the world was hesitant to do so; when the White Russians expelled from the USSR and communist China in 1949 were received in Guiuan, the same town that sheltered Magellan, and other instances.³⁵



The 1941 “Spot of Magellan’s Death” marker (left) and the 1941 Lapulapu marker (right) at the Liberty Shrine, Mactan, Lapu-Lapu City. Photographed by Ian Alfonso.

Below is another from the NQC that evokes transcendence, as embodied by the word “Victory” in the 2021 QCP theme as a triumphant heritage:

The Covid-19 pandemic currently afflicting humankind, has, unfortunately, affected the preparations for the quincentennial commemorations. Yet this will not deter our plans to celebrate this once-in-a-lifetime historical event. The values gained from the experiences of our ancestors and the lessons learned from the events that transpired 500 years ago remain an integral part of our heritage—as a triumphant and heroic people—more so in this time of crisis. This ethos was embodied when Jose Rizal began to rewrite our nation’s history from our own point of view. He inspired Juan Luna to create an artistic tribute to this victory of our ancestors. Emilio Jacinto, likewise, invoked the memory of Lapulapu in reminding the Katipuneros that they were noble and great. And the very document proclaiming Philippine independence, read in Cavite on 12 June 1898, memorialized Lapulapu and the Victory at Mactan.



Monumento levantado en
el lugar donde por tradicion se
dice murió Magallanes, Isla
de Maítan.



Above: Lapulapu Monument with the Magellan Obelisk behind. Photographed by Ian Christopher Alfonso; **left:** Magellan Obelisk in 1921, from the Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera Collection of the Ateneo de Manila University Rizal Library.

The founders of our nation, the first democracy and republic in Asia, elevated Lapulapu to a national hero, so to speak.³⁶

In his speech he personally delivered during the 100-day countdown to the 2021 QCP at the Sentinel of Freedom (Lapulapu Monument), Rizal Park on 17 January 2021, Escalante challenged those who criticized the NQC for committing anachronism in 2021 QCP because of its transcendentalist and Filipino viewpoint:

Kung bakit buong Pilipinas ang nagdiriwang kay Lapulapu at sa Labanan sa Mactan? Ito'y dahil mismong mga bayani natin at mga nagtatag ng bansang Pilipinas noong ikalabinsiyam na siglo ang nagtaas kay Lapulapu at sa Labanan sa Mactan bilang pamana at pinagsasaluhanang alaala ng mga Pilipino. Tanglaw si Lapulapu at ang Mactan na may mapagtagumpay tayong dugo at katangian.³⁷



MACTAN

RUTA NG EKSPEDISYONG
MAGALLANES - ELCANO
SA FILIPINAS

MATAPOS ANG BINYANGANG
KRISTYANO SA CEBU, 14
ABRIL 1521, IPINASUNOG NI
FERNANDO MAGALLANES, PINUNO
NG EKSPEDISYON ANG BULAJA
(BUAYA, LUNGSOD NG LAPU-LAPU)
DAHIL SA DI PAGKILALA SA KANIYA
AT SA MAPANSARIRAN NI RARA
HUMABON, IPINADALA NI ZULA, ISA
SA MGA PINUNO NG MACTAN, ANG
ANAK NITO SA CEBU NA SIYANG NAG-
ULAT KAY MAGALLANES NA AYAW
KILALANIN NI LAPU-LAPU, PINUNO NG
MACTAN, ANG HARI NG ESPANYA AT
ANG PAGKAKATAGISA KAY HUMABON
BILANG PINAKAMATAAS NA PINUNO
NG CEBU AT MACTAN. DITO
NAGANAP ANG LABANAN KUNG
SAAN NAPATAY NG MGA
MANDIRIGMA NG MACTAN SI
MAGALLANES, 27 ABRIL 1521.

ANG PANANDANG PANG-
KASAYSAYANG ITO AY PINASINAYAAN
BILANG AMBAG SA PAGGUNITA
SA IKA-500 ANIBERSARYO NG
UNANG PAG-IKOT SA DAIGDIG.



Above: A detail of Vicente Manansala's *Planting of the First Cross* (1965), courtesy of the National Museum of Fine Arts (photographed by Ryan Tan). **Left:** Mactan quinquennial historical marker at the Liberty Shrine, photographed by Ian Alfonso.

(On why does the entire Philippines celebrate Lapulapu and the Battle of Mactan? This is mainly because it was our very own heroes and founders of the Filipino nation in the 19th century who made Lapulapu and the Battle of Mactan part of the heritage and shared memory of the Filipinos. Lapulapu and the Battle of Mactan are reminders that we are of triumphant blood and character.)

Still drawing some sense from Escalante's Manila message, we learn that the words "Victory" and "Humanity" are interrelated: "*hindi ba't ang pagiging bayani ay kaakibat ng tapang, husay at pagtatanggol sa kapwa, bayan, at mahahalaga sa'yo?*" (Does not heroism presuppose courage, acumen, and compassion for your fellow human being, country, and those dear to you?). He wanted to emphasize that to be a modern-day Filipino is to be a hero for everyone in need, inspired by the examples of and the noble character they inherited from their

ancestors . This is embodied by the theme song of the 2021 QCP, “Bagani” (Hero), written and composed by Roel Rostata and arranged by Jungee Marcelo. The NQC Secretariat explains:

The song celebrates the heritage of nobleness and compassion in a Filipino, driving him or her to do great things for his or her people and the world as always. The 2021 milestones constitute 500 years of the Philippine part in humanity’s achievement of circumnavigating the world for the first time, the victory of our ancestors led by Lapulapu in the Battle of Mactan, and other related events in 1521.³⁸

Below are the lyrics of the song:

Hubarin ang takot sa iyong damdamin,
Ipamalas ang angking galing.
Tumayong buong tapang harapin ang buhay,
Yakapin ang tagumpay.

Tulongan ang kapwa’t bigyang halaga,
Huwag hatakin nang pababa.
Isipin huwag sana ang sarili lang:
Pakisama’t bayanihan.

Pre Chorus:

Subukan nating isulong at ligawan
Ang magandang bukas
Ikaw at ako magkasama tayo,
Salubungin ang kinabukasan!

Chorus:

Bagani! Ating lahi!
Mandirigmang Filipino!
Dakila ang lahi ko!
Bayaning Filipino
Sa makabagong panahon!

Halina't hawakan ang aking kamay,
 Sabay abutin natin ang tagumpay,
 Patuloy lang tayo sa pagpapanday,
 Tiwala sa Diyos ang sandata't gabay.

Repeat Pre-Chorus

Chorus:

Bagani! Ating lahi!
 Mandirigmang Filipino!
 Dakila ang lahi ko!
 Bayaning Filipino sa makabagong...
 Bagani! Ating lahi!
 Mandirigmang Filipino!
 Dakila ang lahi ko!
 Bayaning Filipino
 Sa makabagong Panahon!

The 2021 QCP Brand Manual produced by PCOO and NHCP uses the word “transcend,” to wit, “Our ancestors’ heroism and humanity transcend time and inspire the future generations to be leaders of change.” The transcendence of the 2021 QCP lies in its theme, “Victory and Humanity,” and the four original thrusts of the NQC. These thrusts were further revised two times: during the Quincentennial Art Competition (QArt) as it became event-based (*i.e.*, identity was replaced by legacy) and the Philippine International Quincentennial Conference, which entailed a change of nuance (*i.e.*, sovereignty was replaced with freedom) (see table in the succeeding pages).

During the 500-day countdown to the 2021 QCP on 14 December 2019 (the reckoning date, or D-Day, was 27 April 2021), the festivities in Lapu-Lapu City, Davao, and Manila opened with a countdown featuring the illumination (in blue) of 21 historic sites and landmarks in the country (three of them were automatically the Liberty Shrine in Lapu-Lapu City, the Mindanao Monument of Peace and Unity in Davao City, and the Rizal Park in Manila—the host of the three major

simultaneous countdowns). These represented Philippine pre-colonial history and our struggles for freedom and nationhood throughout Philippine History—mostly unknown to Filipino people:

1. Agusan Gold Image Monument, Butuan City. Cradle of pre-colonial civilization (as early as 700 AD)
2. Sheik Karimol Makhdum Mosque, Tubig Indangan, Simunul, Tawi-Tawi. Representing pre-colonial heritage (1380)
3. Martyr of Bangkusay Monument, Macabebe, Pampanga. Martyr of freedom (1571)
4. Sultan Kudarat Monument, Cotabato City. Freedom fighter (1636)
5. Kenan Aman Dangat Monument, Basco, Batanes. Martyr of freedom (1791)
6. Francisco Dagohoy Monument, Danao, Bohol. Martyr of freedom (1744-1828)
7. Vigan UNESCO World Heritage Site Vigan City, Ilocos Sur. In memory of martyrs Gabriela Silang (executed in Vigan, 1763) and Fr. Jose Burgos (born in Vigan, 1837)
8. Bonifacio National Monument, Caloocan City. Representing the martyrs and heroes that gave birth to our nation (1896-1897)
9. Quince Martires, Naga City. Martyrs of freedom (1897)
10. Emilio Aguinaldo Shrine, Kawit, Cavite. Birthplace of Philippine independence (1898)
11. Santa Barbara Church, Santa Barbara, Iloilo. Site of the proclamation of Visayan independence (1898)
12. Gregorio del Pilar Shrine, Tirad Pass, G. del Pilar, Ilocos Sur. Martyr of freedom (1899)
13. Balangiga Memorial, Balangiga, Eastern Samar. Symbol of assertion of freedom and sovereignty (1901)
14. Ayuntamiento de Manila, Intramuros, Manila. Landmark of Filipino self-determination during the US period (1908, 1916)³⁹
15. Dambana ng Kagitingan, Pilar, Bataan. Landmark of gallantry (1942)
16. Jose Abad Santos Monument, City of San Fernando, Pampanga. Martyr of freedom (1942)

17. Higinio Mendoza Monument, Puerto Princesa City. Martyr of freedom (1944)
18. Leyte Landing Site, Palo, Leyte. Landmark of freedom (1944)
19. People Power Monument, Quezon City. In memory of the unsung, unknown, and nameless heroes and martyrs of democracy.

Radio-Television Malacañang, PCOO, and NHCP joined forces in documenting the illumination of these sites.

Moreover, the meaning of the said historic sites and landmarks were further contextualized in the spoken word performance of Albert L. Dioso, a Grade 12 student from Ramon Torres Sagasa High School, Bago City. Titled “Ang Kasaysayan” (The History), it served as the prelude to *Mangayaw: Ang Mundo ng Ating mga Ninuno* (Mangayaw: The World of Our Ancestors, *mangayaw* or sea raiding in ancient Visayas), the cultural show in Lapu-Lapu City:

Sa paghagis ng alikabok ng katapangan, sabay-sabay tayong
babalik sa nakaraan.

Mga alaala ng kabayanihan ay patuloy na pinanghahawakan
ng aking mga kamay, puso’t isipan.

Hayaan sa salitaan kong ito ngayon mangyaring

Mamanipula ko ang espada ng orasan

Pabalik sa araw ng ating mga ninuno.

Kayo, tama, kayong mga nasa malayong nakaraan na
tinatawag na ninuno

Bagaman salat na salat ako sa nalalaman kung sino kayo

Hayaang ang gabing ito’y maging pagkakataon

Hindi lang sa akin kundi sa daang milyong mga inapo
ninyo ngayon

At maging sa harap ng buong mundo

Na kayo’y makilala at mahandugan ng tatlong salita:

“Salamat, maraming salamat.”

Lagi-lagi kong naririnig sa aking mga magulang

At mula pa noong elementarya ang mga katagang

“Ang ‘di marunong lumingon sa pinanggalingan
ay ‘di makakarating sa paroroonan.”

Para lamang itong mga salitang nakatimo basta sa isip
Ngunit ‘di lubusang batid ang saysay.

Ano nga ba ang saysay ng nakaraan, ng kasaysayan.
Tama nga namang unahin ang sikmura
Kaysa sa mga bagay tulad ng kasaysayan.
Ngunit tama rin naman na maaaring pagsabayin
ang sikmura at kasaysayan.

Ngunit kung may bagay akong natutunan
Sa labindalawang taon ko bilang estudyante ng bansang ito,
Iyon ay ang ginhawa.

Ginhawa, na nilalapas na noon pa man pala ng ating mga
ninuno.

Ginhawa, na sila mismo ang may takda, nakakaunawa, at
nakakadama.

Ginhawa, na unti-unting nawala dahil sa pananakop ng
mga dayo.

Ginhawa, na siya pa lang ikinalagot ng hininga ng
maraming nanindigan.

Ginhawa, na mabuhay, mag-isip, maging malaya’t marangal.

Malasin ang ginintuang panahon sa Butuan ng ating mga
ninuno.

Pansinin paaanong napagtagumpayan ng mga kapatid
nating Muslim

Ang daang taon na nilang kultura at pananampalataya na
nag-ugat sa Simunul.

At kahit napagkaitan na makilala sa sariling pangalan,

Ang una pala nating martir ng Kalayaan

Ay isang Muslim ng Luzon, tubong Macabebe.

Pakinggan ang kaniyang mga sinabi:

“Lintikan sana ako ng Araw at mawalan ng dangal sa harap

ng mga babae

Sa oras na makipagkaibigan ako sa inyong mga Kastila.”

Ilan pa sa atin kaya ang kayang sambitin ang mga katagang
ito.

Di ba ang sarap *i-tweet* o *i-share*?

Mayroon tayong Sultan Kudarat ng Maguindanao na
nagpapaalala sa atin

Na walang ginhawa kung walang Kalayaan.

Hanggang norte, mayroon tayong Kenan Aman Dangat

Martir ng Kalayaan ng mga Ivatan, doon sa magagandang
kapuluan ng Batanes.

Batid kong lahat tayo’y namamangha sa *instagramable* na
Vigan

Ngunit sa pagtuntong sana natin sa mayuming siyudad na
ito

Maaalala nawa na dito binigti ng mga mananakop si
Gabriela Silang

Na ang tanging kasalanan lamang ay palayain ang Ilocos.

Magkalayo man ng panahon at pook

Di rin biro ang walumpung taong singkad

Na pakikibaka nina Francisco Dagohoy at ng mga Bol-anon

Na mabuhay ng malaya at nagsasarili.

Mula sa pulo-pulong pagkilos

Isang malaking proyekto ang pinasimulan:

Ang palayain ang sangkapuluan.

Doon sa Balintawak, isinigaw ang kalayaan

Kumalat, lumawig, lumaki, dumami ang naghandog

Tulad ng Quince Martires ng Kabikulan.

Ngunit ‘di rin naglaon sa Kawit, taas-noong iwinagayway

Ang maningning nating bandila,

Tinugtog ang matimyas nating pambansang awit

2021 QCP Brand Manual		QAAT		PIQC	
Unity	Highlight the involvement of our country in maintaining comity	Unity	This underscores the contributions of various nationalities in circumnavigating the world for the first time. The contribution of our ancestors is depicted through the blood compact between Rajah of Mazaua and Magellan.	Unity	Highlighting the involvement of our country in maintaining international comity. The inspiration behind this is the international nature of the Magellan-Elicano expedition, which first circumnavigated the world, and its achievement of connecting various cultures, as well as its message of pushing human boundaries forward. This theme encompasses science, natural heritage, maritime concepts, diplomacy, military, peace, and commerce.
Magnanimity	Highlight our people's innate character of helping societies from other nations	Magnanimity	This commemorates the compassion of our ancestors to the first circumnavigators of the world (i.e., Magellan-Elicano expedition) who came to Homonhon, Guian, Eastern Samar after traversing the deadly Pacific for almost three months: starving, undernourished, sick.	Magnanimity	Highlighting our people's innate character of being compassionate to other nations, citing as prime example the episode when our ancestors saved the hungry and sickly crew of the Magellan-Elicano expedition when the latter landed on the shores of Homonhon, Guian, Eastern Samar on 17 March 1521. This theme celebrates Filipinos' contribution to the world, e.g., food security, cultural heritage protection, overseas Filipino workers helping in the world's development.

2021 QCP Brand Manual		QArt	PIQC
Sovereignty	Highlight the significance of freedom and independence to control our own destiny and history	Sovereignty This celebrates the 500th anniversary of the Victory at Mactan. To be depicted here is the gallantry of Lapulapu and his warriors in repelling the forces of Magellan in the Battle of Mactan.	Freedom Highlighting the significance of freedom and independence to control our own destiny and history. Inspiration behind this is the defiance of Lapulapu against foreign influence, which led to the Battle of Mactan on 27 April 1521. The said event was also among the driving forces that animated the Philippine Revolution, which gave birth to Asia's first democracy in 1899. This theme encompasses nation-building activities.
Identity	Highlight our cognizance and pride for the civilization of our ancestors prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1521	Legacy This embodies the legacy of the first circumnavigation of the world to our country: the introduction of Christianity. To be depicted here is the presentation of the image of the Santo Niño to Queen Juana of Cebu in April 1521.	Identity Highlighting our cognizance and pride for the civilization of our ancestors prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1521. This theme aims to counteract prejudiced perspectives and unfair portrayals of our ancestors as exotics, and wild savages, through the use of pre-Hispanic sources as well as the principal vestiges of our ancestors' lifestyle and world view, which we have inherited and embedded in our religious beliefs, customs, folklore, expressions, languages, values, art forms, and other cultural outlooks. This theme encompasses the efforts, initiatives, and activities celebrating our intangible heritage, tourism, and dealings with historical and archival research, folkloric/anthropological/ethnographic documentation and archeological studies.

At tuluyang ipinabatid sa buong mundo
Na isang bagong bansa ang sumilang sa silangan:
Ang kauna-unahang demokrasya sa Asya.

Sa Simbahan ng Santa Barbara sa Iloilo
Kumalat ang liwanag ng kalayaan at doon
Ipinahayag ang kasarinlan ng Kabisayaan.

Sa Pasong Tirad naman, naghandog ng buhay
Ang batang heneral, Gregorio del Pilar
Mapalawig lang ang buhay ng batang Republika ng Asya
Mula sa bagong mananakop na Estados Unidos.

Kampana ng Balanghiga ay nagsilbing mga simbolo
Ng pag-usad nating lahat sa kasaysayan;
Ngunit di nito ibig sabihin ay makakalimot tayo.

Naunsiyami man ang ganap na pagsasarili
Doon sa Ayuntamiento de Manila
Pinatunayan natin sa harap ng mundo
Na kaya nating mamalakad dito sa sariling bayan.

Tila sadyang mapaglaro ang tadhana
Wala ngang ginhawa kung walang pasakit.
Hindi naihandog sa atin ang ganap na pagsasarili
Nang 'di naalpasan ang Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig.
Ngunit di naman natin binigo ang sangkatauhan:
Ang katapusan sa Bataan ay simula ng malawakang
Pagbangon ng mga nayon, bayan, at probinsya
Na kamtin ang kalayaan at pagsasarili.

Mataas nang tao sina Jose Abad Santos at
Higinio Mendoza, Gobernador ng Palawan,
Piniling magpadampot at bitayin ng mga Hapones
Maipakita lamang na marangal ang mamatay kung para sa bayan.

Sa Leyte nasaksihan ng mundo ang pinakamalaking
digmaan sa dagat

Sakripisyo para lang maisalba ang bayang ito
Mula sa pagkakadawit sa digmaang pilit nating iniwasan.

Ang ating nakaraa’y sagana sa tagumpay at pakikipagkapwa
Kakambal ng kasaysayan ang panatiliin ang pamanang
kalayaan

Kaya’t sa EDSA, landas nati’y muling nasubok
Baon ang mensaheng “hindi natapos sa EDSA ang lahat.”
Pagkat ang pagbabago ay nasa sa atin.

Nawa’y sa pagdaan natin Bantayog ni Rizal,
Maalala natin ang kaniyang mga salitang
“Tutungo tayo sa hinaharap ng may alaala ng nakaraan.”
Ang bantayog ng Kapayaan at Pagkakaisa sa Davao
Ay paalaala sa lahat na panatiliin nating buo, masagana,
Maginhawa, malaya, masaya ang bayang pinaghandugan
Ng pangarap, pagsisikap, kabataan, at buhay ng mga nauna
sa atin.

Sa pagbukas natin sa aklat ng kasaysayan ng Pilipinas,
Isa sa unang mababasa ay isang kuwento na tayo-tayo
Ang makakaunawa at yayakap,
Nagpapaala na tayo’y bayang mapagtagumpay noon pa
man:

Ito si Lapulapu at ang Tagumpay sa Mactan
Munting pangyayari sa Mactan, limandaang taon na ang
nakalilipas,

Ngunit ginawang malaki ng ating mga bayani bilang
hugutan ng dangal;

Sabi nga ni Emilio Jacinto, ang utak ng Katipunan,
“Saan napatungo ang dugo ni Lapulapu, yaong pumatay sa
lilong si Magallanes.”

Kakarampot lamang ang mga ito sa aking nalalaman.

Hayaang ang mga mumunting bituin na ito

Ang maging gabay ng bawat isa sa atin

Na nais makilala ang ating mga ninuno.

Ang mga bituin ding ito ang gagabay sa atin

Patungo sa bukas na maaliwalas at maginhawa.

Huwag kayong mag-aalala, aming mga ninuno,

Mangyayaring lipas na kayo ngunit ang respeto ko sa inyo'y
'di magmamaliw.

Marahil magwawakas na ang tulang ito ngunit hindi ang
pagmamahal ko.

In Manila, the aforesaid historic sites and landmarks served as the theme of the cultural performance held there. The Philippine Educational Theater Association (PETA) utilized the steps of the National Museum of Natural History as a stage. Titled *Sino'ng Bayani* (Who's the Hero), although an original work, the performance reprised three iconic PETA songs, namely "Artista ng Bayan" (Nation's Artist) from its PETA Broadcast & Film TV Anthology, "Sulo ng Kapatiran" (Light of Fraternity) from the musical *1896* (in celebration of the Centenary of the Philippine Revolution in 1996), and "Pag-asa ng Bayan" (Hope of the Nation) from the musical *Batang Rizal*. The first two songs, originally performed during PETA's 50th anniversary in 2017 as the "Makabayan Suites," were turned into a medley. It reconnected the 2021 QCP with Jacinto, the main protagonist in *1896*, and echoed the transcendental message of the 2021 QCP that we, the Filipinos of today, are the stewards of freedom fought for in the last 500 years. This reverberates in the lines:

“Artista ng Bayan”	“Sulo ng Kapatiran”
Sa panahong hanap ay kasagutan Ng bayang sakmal ng kagutuman Umindak sa padyak ng mga katutubo Pakinggan ang himig ng ating panahon Mga awit ng pag-asa Ang himig ng ating panahon! Lumilikha tayo ng bagong kasaysayan Tungo sa pagbabago ng ating lipunan At sa pagtahak sa landas ng kalayaan Sining ang lakas ng artista ng Bayan!	At tayo’y lilikha Ng isang bayang dakila May pag-ibig sa kapwa At paggalang sa dukha. May tahanang puspos Ng tunay na kalinga At sa bawat mukha Ay may sinag ng tuwa. Ang sulo ng kapatiran Ang tanglaw ng Bayan. Ang sulo ng kapatiran Ang tanglaw ng Bayan!

Whereas, “Pag-asa ng Bayan,” written and composed by playwright Vincent de Jesus, also conveyed the transcendence:

May pagbabago bang nangyari
 Sa paglipas ng panahon
 Mayroon bang pinagkaiba
 Ang noon sa ngayon
 Mayroon ba? Mayroon ba?
 Tingnan mo ang iyong paligid
 Mayroon ba?
 Sa dami ng nagbuwis ng buhay
 Alang-alang sa Bayan
 Ang kalayaan ba’y ating nabantayan
 Tingnan mo ang paligid mo
 Ang lahat ba ay malaya
 Tingnan mo!

Malaya bang mabuhay ng payapa
 Malaya bang magsabi ng gusto
 Ang lahat ba ay
 Pantay-pantay ang turing
 Walang nasa ibabaw
 Walang nasa ilalim.

Bayani sa bantayog
Ikaw ay napakatayog
Bumaba ka sa pedestal
Diwa ay gawing bantog.
Ano ba ang iyong silbi
Isa kang malamig na bato
Nasaan ang ipinaglaban
Ng bayaning kawangis mo?

Ang daming bantayog
Na nagkalat sa daan
Mga bayaning nakalimutan na natin
Ang ipinaglaban!
Bayani sa bantayog
Bumaba ka sa pedestal!
Iyong ipaaala sa aming lahat
Ang iyong kabayanihan.
Marami sa ating paligid
Ay buhay na bayani
Marami ring walang konsensiya
At walang dangal
Sino ka sa kanila?
Sino ka?
Kahit bata ka pa
Dapat alam mo na!

Piliin ang landas
Hanggat maaga
Tayong kabataan
Ang pag-asa ng Bayan
Ika'y Pilipino
Huwag kalilimutan
Talino at lakas
Ialay mo sa Bayan.

The Davao event, on the other hand, boasted the theme *Mindanao: Unconquered*. Through traditional dances, attires, and music, the countdown exuded the fact that the island is the home of unconquered peoples, who, for centuries, consistently resisted and repelled threats to their ways of life and self-determination, thus, traditions, beliefs, folklores, and expressions are preserved as they are passed on from our ancestors to succeeding generations.

Application

The NQC acknowledged that the nuance of extending the term *Filipino* to modern-day Filipinos' ancestors like Lapulapu, is generally lost on them. Thus, the NQC mainstreamed the use of “*aming/ating mga ninuno*” (our ancestors) as an alternative. This is to keep Filipinos' claim to that distant world this quincentennial. Take a look at the message of Escalante during the 500th anniversary of Philippine-Spanish contact on 18 March 2021 in Guiuan:

The last four days made me realize how we love using the word ‘ancestors.’ I pointed this out because it reflects how effective the communication plan of the National Quincentennial Committee is. When we refer to the people of Suluan who exhibited kindness to the dying Magellan-Elcano expedition on this very same day, 500 years ago, we acknowledge that they are part of our being. For obvious reasons, they were not Filipino, and there was no Philippines yet. But the National Quincentennial Committee opts to remember them because we descended from them. We include them in the global commemoration of the first circumnavigation of the world. We desire to enter their world least explored. We are ever curious about who were they. Nobody will understand them better than us. No one in this world will ever appreciate them more than us, modern-day Filipinos. They are not just part of our being—they determined who are we today. Through our ancestors, we will have a better appreciation of who we are and be conscious of the things we often take for granted.⁴⁰

The NQC Secretariat has been keeping an eye on the phrase “*aming/ating mga ninuno*” in the speeches of the NQC officials, publicity materials, and public pronouncements for consistency. To further emphasize our claim to our ancestors, President Duterte signed Proclamation No. 1128 on 8 April 2021 declaring the year 2021 as the Year of Filipino Pre-Colonial Ancestors (YFPCA).⁴¹

Surprisingly, “*aming/ating mga ninuno*” was already used by Fernandez in his lecture during the Fourth Centenary. He applied it in explaining—with gentleness and respect—the heterogeneity of our ancestors prior to Spanish colonization *vis-à-vis* absence of the concept of the nation, to wit:

In other words, *our ancestors* did not have a common government, a common religion, or a common language; neither did they have a “consciousness of belonging to one another.” They did not constitute a nation.⁴²

The 16th-century Visayan tattoo pattern documented in the Boxer Codex served as the motif of the 2021 QCP, notwithstanding the fact that this ancient fashion is missing in almost all Western depictions. However, the NQC was not the first to introduce such visualization of our ancestors from the time of Lapulapu. Among those who helped popularized the ancient Visayan tattooing in recent times were GMA Network’s show, *Amaya* (2011), and 2018 Miss Universe Catriona Gray whose national costume at the beauty pageant in Bangkok featured the ancient tattoo. Gray’s team was generous enough to loan the entire ensemble of the national costume to the NQC for exhibition in relation to the promotion of the 2021 QCP. It has to be clear that the NQC had nothing to do with Gray’s preference for the ancient Visayan tattoos. Her costume was designed that way and simply coincided with the launching of the 2021 QCP on 21 December 2018 (the national costume competition held on 10 December 2018 at Chon Buri, Thailand). The NHCP and Philippine Airlines, with the assistance of the Philippine Embassy in Bangkok, collaborated in the repatriation of the national costume immediately after the Miss Universe on 17 December 2018.



Logos of the 2021 Year of Filipino Pre-Colonial Ancestors, designed by Billy Joe Marciano and Alvin Lorena (left), and the 2021 Philippine International Quincentennial Conference, designed by PixelHub.

Moreover, the NHCP entered into a memorandum of agreement (MOA) with GMA Network in exhibiting the 16th-century Visayan attires and body ornaments used in the latter's historical drama, *Amaya*. These items were featured during the ASEAN Traditional Costume Exhibit on 23 October 2020 at the National Museum of Vietnamese History in Hanoi. The display was facilitated by the DFA and the Philippine Embassy in Hanoi in time for the Vietnam hosting of the 2020 ASEAN Summit. For the entire month of April 2021, the National Museum of Anthropology in Manila also hung large banners on its façade featuring our Visayan ancestors depicted in the Boxer Codex. On the opposite side, the National Museum of Natural History façade featured stylized tattoo patterns also derived from the Boxer Codex. In between these two structures is the Sentinel of Freedom or the statue of Lapulapu donated by the Korean people in honor of the Filipino soldiers who fought during the Korean War.

The NQC has also retooled the typical commemorative events of the NHCP (e.g., wreath-laying, flag-raising) by generating activities and programs redefining the milestones commemorated: pop, youthful, engaging, and forward-looking. Wreath-laying and flag-raising ceremonies were strategically used in creating public awareness of the



Aside from the 2021 QCP logo, the NQC popularized the use of the *patik* (tattoo) motif. It was inspired by a water ripple stylized as *patik* layers based on the Visayan tattoo designs in the 16th century—the period of Lapulapu—courtesy of the Boxer Codex, Lilly Library, Indiana University. Water represents our maritime ancestors, whilst, the *patik* symbolizes our Visayan ancestors documented as tattooed people before the arrival of the Spaniards, 500 years ago. The motif was designed by Mary Lyn Dioso, also the designer of the 2021 QCP logo (with Relly Coquia). Ripple image photographed by Cindi King-Chan, First Lady of Lapu-Lapu City.

2021 QCP’s Filipino viewpoint: The Office of the Executive Secretary, Department of the Interior and Local Government, Department of Foreign Affairs, Department of Education, Commission on Higher Education, and Civil Service Commission were tapped to join the simultaneous flag-raising throughout the country and at the foreign service posts on the D-Day (*i.e.*, 500th anniversary of the Victory at Mactan on 27 April 2021). Also, these offices enjoined local government units, public schools, and higher education institutions to spruce up the monuments of Filipino heroes and offer a wreath thereat (“Offering flowers and wreaths at the pedestals of local and national heroes and other illustrious figures in your localities”). The context of these activities was that the gallantry and heroism in Mactan transcend time—in the same manner, that Jacinto, Bautista, Botong,



One of the attires donned by actress Gina Alajar *Amaya* (2011-2012) as Dian Lamitan. It forms part of the 16th-century Visayan noble dress featured at the ASEAN Traditional Costume Exhibit on 23 October 2020 at the National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi. Photo courtesy of the Rommel Recuerdo Aquino, NHCP Materials Research Conservation Division.

and Abueva taught us to imagine, through their nationalist writings and artworks. Lapulapu and the warriors at Mactan—being the earliest recorded instance of heroism in Philippine History—are reminders of the triumphant heritage present in each and every Filipino anywhere, especially during this time of the pandemic.

Social media was a game changer in the 2021 QCP, especially during this pandemic. The NQC Secretariat tapped what it understands as public history. Project Saysay (an affiliate member of the NHCP Local Historical Committees Network), for instance, helped the NQC Secretariat develop the committee’s social media aesthetics. It is a youth-led organization whose vision, since its founding in 2013, has been to “actively champion popularization and visualization of Philippine history.” Its mission is to “propagate relevant, useful, and inspiring information—in print and online—sourced from Philippine history.” In his message during the opening of the exhibit titled “The Philippines and the First Circumnavigation of the World” at the Ayala



NHCP Chairperson and NQC Executive Director Rene Escalante explains the inspiration behind Catriona Gray's miss Universe 2018 national costume: the Pintado warriors in the Boxer Codex. Taken during the launching of the 2021 QCP on 21 December 2018.

Center Cebu on 13 April 2021, Escalante acknowledged the fact that “Filipinos are culturally audio-visual.” He continued:

We love the things that are pleasing to our eyes and ears. That is why History is better appreciated by a Filipino if it is presented in this manner. The National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) and the National Quincentennial Committee (NQC) value this side of Filipinos to generate interest in the 2021 Quincentennial Commemorations in the Philippines.

He also recognized Project Saysay's “[sponsorship] of the [design] and curation of the exhibit text and materials from the NHCP” and for “designing the visuals of the Facebook contents of the NQC since we launched the social media page in November 2018, pro bono.”

Historian Michael Charleston “Xiao” Chua was tapped by the NQC as a consultant in disseminating the 2021 QCP. He was later joined by



Illustrations of the ancient Visayans found in the Boxer Codex, displayed at the National Museum of Anthropology. Photographed by Nelson Aquino.

historians Ambeth Ocampo, former Chairperson of the NHCP, as well as Visayan historians Jose Eleazar Bersales and Rolando Borrinaga. The NQC also used as its baseline the works of Scott in championing pre-colonial history. Escalante noted that Scott’s *Barangay* is “the baseline of the National Quincentennial Committee in elevating Filipinos’ awareness of their pre-colonial history, textually and visually.”⁴³

Local yet National

Regional sensitivity was addressed by the NQC in a myriad of ways. EO 55 was amended in January 2020 (thus, EO 103) to include OPAV as a regular member of the NQC; “Bagani” was translated into various vernacular languages: in Waray which was the version frequently used in the Guiuan commemorations, two Cebuano versions (the Lapu-Lapu City-sponsored and the Cebu City-sponsored), and a Hiligaynon (used during the Paraw Regata Festival of Iloilo City on 31 May 2021).



Locally produced 2021 QCP banners in Guiuan, Eastern Samar. On the top bears the text "Humanity in Homonhon" supplanting the 2021 QCP theme found in the Red Cross Post in front of Calicoan Villa, Brgy. Sulangan, Guiuan. Above is the emblem-only banner planted in the beach of Suluan Island, Guiuan. Photographed by Ian Christopher B. Alfonso.

(It is also translated in Bikol and Ilokano. The latest version by PhilPop involving 50 OPM artists, introduced distinct Cebuano lyrics sung by young Cebuano singers.) The Visayas, Palawan, and Mindanao remain the highlight of the 2021 QCP; each site has its unique role played in the first circumnavigation of the world. From the previously approved theme “500 Years of Valor and Victory” which was too Mactan-leaning, the NQC adopted the theme, “Victory and Humanity.”

Meanwhile, each concerned LGU is given the liberty to come up with its programs and projects, and the NQC has been accommodating to compromises: when Cebu City used a white motif because the 2021 QCP’s blue motif was strongly associated with Lapu-Lapu City; or when Guiuan opted to modify the 2021 QCP logo by adding “Humanity in Homonhon.” All national and local government institutions use the same logo as much as possible. But owing to the presence of the stylized cross on the design, the seal of the NQC (featuring the coat-of-arms of the Philippine Republic) shall be used in all collaterals in Bangsamoro and in the predominantly Muslim municipality of Bataraza, Palawan.

Conclusion

Everything became *Filipino* the moment the idea of a *Filipino nation* became a reality when the Cry of the Philippine Revolution happened in 1896. It was cemented by the proclamation of Philippine independence in 1898 and the nation-building events hence. The space these events defined helps one imagine what to claim and empathize with as a Filipino through internalization of the *past* and *heritage*. Wasn’t it the Katipunan that taught us to imagine Lapulapu and Soliman as ours? They were non-Filipinos, yet the very founders of our nation claimed them as theirs: because they were part of their heritage. From this line of thought, the 2021 QCP claimed our pre-colonial ancestors as *Filipino*.

Filipinos’ claim of their ancestors’ memory is a spiritual exercise. The attributes and recorded achievements of our ancestors become part of us and eventually we become responsible for preserving our *ancestors* as part of our *heritage*. This applies as well to our forebears

from the colonial era, whose legacy, necessarily, is colonial. We can ignore neither them nor the reality of being Hispanized—simply because we originated from them and that our being and becoming were caused by their decisions and actions (or even by their indifference and neglect). Who else in this world will appreciate and take them as part of their life if not the Filipinos?

One does not commit anachronism in locating and connecting oneself with his or her ancestors. Doing so actually equips one to combat misconceptions and myths surrounding his or her origin. It also deepens a generation's outlook on itself and the realization that their ancestors had a significant role in the contacts and confluences of cultures. Such a thinking process is a gift to a people with an unending source of pride, worth, and purpose—unending, because of the hundreds of cultural communities composing the Filipino.

To keep people informed and reminded of their said heritage, the agencies of the State responsible for history lead the commemoration (e.g., through a ceremony, naming, erection of statues and memorials, and incorporating the same as national symbols), the marking and identification, and the protection, restoration, and conservation. The Filipino viewpoint does not promote hatred towards Spain or favor the colonizers. The NQC contributed to the shaping of the *Filipino* without having become anti-Spanish. But it would have been more contentious *if* the NQC naively perpetuated the use of the phrase “discovery of the Philippines.”

The NQC was like a kite-flier: the Filipino viewpoint was the kite, and the milestones were the wind that made it soar. In hindsight, it is something to appreciate about the committee, that it consciously and seriously took part in shaping the Filipinos' concept of the *Filipino*—and what being Filipino means to them.

Endnotes

¹ Cf. Celedonio Ancheta, “The Man Who Fathered June 12 for Our Independence Celebration,” *Historical Bulletin* 6, no. 2 (June, 1962), 193-196.

² Cf. Teodoro Agoncillo, “A Reinterpretation of Our History Under Spain,” in *The Historicism of*

Teodoro Agoncillo, edited by Antonio C. Hila (Manila: UST Publishing House, University of Santo Tomas, 2001), 121.

³ In January 2022, the National Quincentennial Committee agreed to end the commemoration by 27 April 2022 or the 501st anniversary of the Victory at Mactan.

⁴ Official Gazette, *Administrative Order No. 23: Creating a Steering Committee on National Observances, 10 November 2011*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2011/11/10/administrative-order-no-23-s-2011/>.

⁵ Official Gazette, *Executive Order No. 55: Constituting a Steering Committee for the Commemoration of the Quincentennial of the Arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in the Philippines, the Victory of Lapu-Lapu in the Battle of Mactan, and Other Historic Events that Happened from 1519 to 1522, 8 May 2018*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2018/05/08/executive-order-no-55-s-2018/>; Official Gazette, *Executive Order No. 103: Reconstituting and Strengthening the National Quincentennial Committee, and Amending Executive Order No. 55 (s. 2018) for the Purpose, 28 January 2020*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2020/01/28/executive-order-no-103-s-2020/>.

⁶ Rene R. Escalante, ed., *National Quincentennial Committee Comprehensive Plan* (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2019), 101.

⁷ Personal communication 28 May 2018, NHCP Building, Kalaw St., Ermita, Manila.

⁸ Rene R. Escalante, *A History Before 1521, 23 June 2021*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://nhcp.gov.ph/en/resources/a-history-before-1521/>.

⁹ Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, “La Celebración del Centenario,” Manila, 16 de Febrero de 1921, in *Celebración del Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de Filipinas por Fernando de Magallanes 1521-1921* by the Comisión para la Celebración del Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de Filipinas por Fernando de Magallanes (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1921), 9.

¹⁰ George A. Malcolm, “Democracy in the Philippines: Magellan to Dewey,” 4 February 1921, in *Celebración*, 75.

¹¹ Congress of the Philippines, *Republic Act No. 10086: An Act Strengthening Peoples’ Nationalism through Philippine History by Changing the Nomenclature of the National Historical Institute into the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, Strengthening Its Powers and Functions, and for Other Purposes, 12 May 2010*. Retrieved from https://lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra2010/ra_10086_2010.html.

¹² Charles C. Pierce, “The Races of the Philippines-The Tagals.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 18 (July 1901): 21.

¹³ Based on the historical marker installed at Bahay Toro, Quezon City by the National Historical Institute (forerunner of the NHCP).

¹⁴ Milagros Guerrero, *Luzon at War: Contradictions in Philippine Society, 1898-1902* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2015), 1.

¹⁵ Apolinario Mabini, “¿Cuál es la Verdadera Misión de la Revolución Filipina?, Rosales, Pangasinan, 6 de septiembre de 1899,” in *La Revolución Filipina* by Biblioteca Nacional de Filipinas, Vol. 2 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931), 59.

¹⁶ Paralítico (Apolinario Mabini), “Protesta Americana Contra la Guerra en Filipinas, Rosales, Pangasinan, 5 de julio, 1899,” in *La Revolución Filipina*, Vol. 2, 25.

¹⁷ Mabini, “¿Cuál es la Verdadera,” 56.

¹⁸ Among the earliest to question this was historian Nicolas Zafra. Cf. Nicolas Zafra, “On the Writing of Philippine History.” *Philippine Studies* 6, No. 4 (November 1958): 454-460; Reynaldo Ileta, “Reflections on Agoncillo’s The Revolt of the Masses and the Politics of History.” *Southeast Asian Studies* 49, No. 3 (December 2011): 497-498/496-520.

¹⁹ William Henry Scott, *Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1982), iii.

²⁰ Leandro H. Fernandez, “The Formation of Filipino Nationality,” 1 February 1921, in *Comisión, Celebración*, 38, 40.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

²² Tagalog here, according to the definition by Jacinto and the Katipunan, refers to the Filipino people; for the Katipunan members used to call themselves in this name and had wanted every citizen of the archipelago referred to oneself once the independence had been realized. For the Katipunan, Philippine cultural communities are water people, and this was the identity they wanted to highlight: Sugbuanon (Cebuano), from the word *sugbu* or ‘to wade into the water;’ Kapampangan, ‘people bordering the river banks (pampang);’ Ilokano, ‘people by the bay (*look*);’ Tagalog means ‘river (*ilog*) people’ or ‘wading (*alog*) people;’ Maranao, ‘people of the lake (*danaw*);’ and Tausug, ‘people of the current (*sug*),’ to name a few. Cf. Emilio

²³ Archivo General Militar de Madrid (AGMM), “¡¡Gising na, mġa Tagalog!!” *Filipinas Caja* 5677, leg. 1.83. Also see Jim Richardson, *The Light of Liberty: Documents and Studies on the Katipunan, 1892-1897* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2013), 50.

²⁴ In 2016, the NHCP rectified the error that Soliman was the martyr of Bangkusay by way of a historical marker in Macabebe, Pampanga—the origin of the unnamed martyr of the battle. In 2021, the commission unveiled another historical marker in Tondo, Manila, the site of the battle off the shore.

²⁵ Cf. Sulpicio Guevara, ed., *The Laws of the First Philippine Republic (The Laws of Malolos) 1898-1899* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1972), 203.

²⁶ Jose M. Hernandez, Pedro Padilla, and Manuel C. Garcia, “The Filipino Flag Rises.... Alone,” in

Blue Book of the First Year of the Republic (Manila: Public Relations Office, 1947), 4.

²⁷ Cf. *Diwang Kayumanggi*, November 1946, in Ian Christopher B. Alfonso, *The Nameless Hero* (Angeles City: Holy Angel University, 2016), 110.

²⁸ Xiao Chua, “500 Years of Valor and Victory.” *The Manila Times*, 3 April 2021.

²⁹ National Quincentennial Committee Archives, “Minutes of the 8th National Quincentennial Committee General Meeting,” 14 August 2019, 2F Serafin Quiason Resource Center, NHCP Building, T.M. Kalaw Street, Ermita, Manila, in the *Board Kit for the 9th National Quincentennial Committee Regular Meeting*, 13 September 2019, The Bellavista Hotel, Lapu-Lapu City, 12.

³⁰ UNESCO World Heritage Convention, *Route of Magellan. First Around the World*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6212/>.

³¹ Official Gazette, *Republic Act No. 3134: An Act Creating the City of Lapu-Lapu*, 17 June 1961. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://elibrary.judiciary.gov.ph/thebookshelf/showdocs/2/20623>.

³² Official Gazette, *Republic Act No. 5695: An Act Providing for the Establishment of a National Shrine in the City of Lapu-Lapu, Province of Cebu, to Be Known as the Liberty Shrine, and Authorizing the Appropriation of Funds Therefore*, 21 June 1969. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://elibrary.judiciary.gov.ph/thebookshelf/showdocs/2/7658>.

³³ This is partly influenced by the Pantayong Pananaw but immensely by historian Vicente Villan, the precolonial and early colonial history professor of the author. The author also acknowledged the influence of the idea of *kasaysayang bayan* espoused by ADHIKA. In fact, the Filipino translation of the NQC’s planned museum in Butuan, the Museum of Philippine Early History, is Museo ng Sinaunang Kasaysayang Bayan. Nonetheless, the author reiterates that anyone has the ability to think as a Filipino. No one should monopolize the viewpoint.

³⁴ Rene R. Escalante, *Our Contribution to the First Circumnavigation of the World*, 17 March 2021. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/homonhon/>.

³⁵ Ian Christopher Alfonso, *Ennobling Filipino, Enabling Humanity*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/ennobling-filipino-enabling-humanity/>.

³⁶ Rene R. Escalante, *100-Day Countdown to the Victory at Mactan Quincentennial*, 17 January 2021. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/100-day-countdown-to-the-victory-at-mactan-quincentennial/>.

³⁷ Rene R. Escalante, “Talumpati para sa 100-Day Countdown tungo sa D-Day, Maynila, 17 Enero 2021.” Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://fb.watch/a-JJkPv00Z/>.

³⁸ NQC Secretariat, *Bagani: The Sound of Modern Filipino Nationalistic Song*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/bagani-the-sound-of-modern-filipino-nationalistic-song/>.

³⁹ Manila Cathedral also joined the landmark lighting and rang their bells.

⁴⁰ Rene R. Escalante, *What Are We Commemorating This Quincentennial*, 18 March 2021. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/solidarity/>.

⁴¹ Official Gazette, *Proclamation No. 1128 Declaring 2021 as the “Year of Filipino Pre-Colonial Ancestors” and 27 April 2021 as a Special (Working) Day in the Country*, 8 April 2021. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2021/04/08/proclamation-no-1128-s-2021/>.

⁴² Fernandez, “The Formation,” 38.

⁴³ Escalante, “A History Before 1521,” *ibid.*

References

ARCHIVO GENERAL MILITAR DE MADRID

;;Gising na, m̃ga Tagalog!! *Filipinas* Caja 5677, leg. 1.83.

NATIONAL QUINCENTENNIAL COMMITTEE ARCHIVES

Minutes of the 8th National Quincentennial Committee General Meeting, 14 August 2019, 2F Serafin Quiason Resource Center, NHCP Building, T.M. Kalaw Street, Ermita, Manila, in the *Board Kit for the 9th National Quincentennial Committee Regular Meeting*, 13 September 2019, The Bellavista Hotel, Lapu-Lapu City.

PUBLISHED

Agoncillo, Teodoro. 2001. A Reinterpretation of Our History Under Spain. In *The Historicism of Teodoro Agoncillo*, edited by Antonio C. Hila. Manila: UST Publishing House, University of Santo Tomas.

Alfonso, Ian Christopher. 2021. *Ennobling Filipino, Enabling Humanity*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/ennobling-filipino-enabling-humanity/>.

_____. 2016. *The Nameless Hero*. Angeles City: Holy Angel University.

Ancheta, Celedonio. 1962. The Man Who Fathered June 12 for Our Independence Celebration. *Historical Bulletin* 6, no. 2 (June): 193-196.

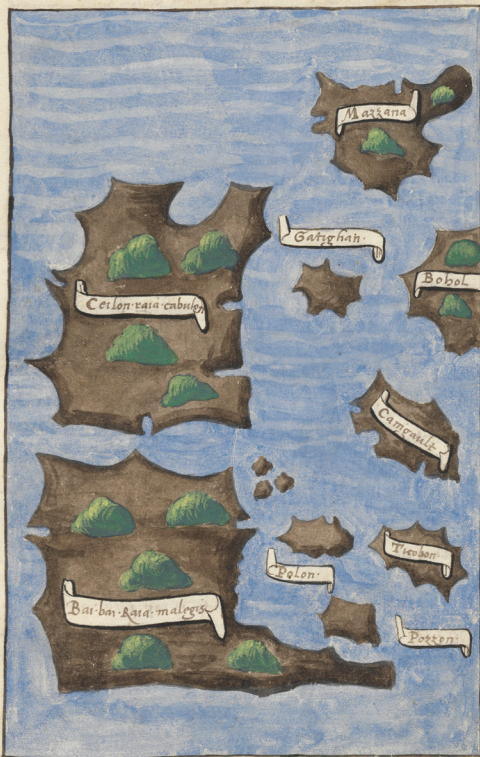
Chua, Xiao. 2021. 500 Years of Valor and Victory. *The Manila Times*, 3 April.

Congress of the Philippines. 2010. *Republic Act No. 10086: An Act*

- Strengthening Peoples' Nationalism through Philippine History by Changing the Nomenclature of the National Historical Institute into the National Historical Commission of the Philippines, Strengthening Its Powers and Functions, and for Other Purposes*, 12 May. Accessed on 18 July. https://lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra2010/ra_10086_2010.html.
- Escalante, Rene R. 2021. *100-Day Countdown to the Victory at Mactan Quincentennial, 17 January*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/100-day-countdown-to-the-victory-at-mactan-quincentennial/>.
- _____. 2021. *A History Before 1521, 23 June*. Accessed on 18 July. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/a-history-before-1521/>.
- _____, ed. 2019. *National Quincentennial Committee Comprehensive Plan*. Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines.
- _____. 2021. *Our Contribution to the First Circumnavigation of the World, 17 March*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/homonhon/>.
- _____. 2021. *Talumpati para sa 100-Day Countdown tungo sa D-Day, Maynila, 17 Enero*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://fb.watch/a-JJkPv00Z/>.
- _____. 2021. *What Are We Commemorating This Quincentennial, 18 March*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/solidarity/>.
- Fernandez, Leandro H. 1921. The Formation of Filipino Nationality, 1 February 1921. In *Celebración del Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de Filipinas por Fernando de Magallanes 1521-1921* by the Comisión para la Celebración del Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de Filipinas por Fernando de Magallanes. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- Guerrero, Milagros. 2015. *Luzon at War: Contradictions in Philippine Society, 1898-1902*. Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- Guevara, Sulpicio, ed. 1972. *The Laws of the First Philippine Republic 1898-1899*. Manila: National Historical Commission.
- Hernandez, Jose M., Pedro Padilla, and Manuel C. Garcia. 1947. "The Filipino Flag Rises.... Alone." In *Blue Book of the First Year of the Republic*. Manila: Public Relations Office.

- Ileto, Reynaldo, 2011. Reflections on Agoncillo's The Revolt of the Masses and the Politics of History. *Southeast Asian Studies* 49, No. 3 (December): 496-520.
- Jacinto, Emilio. 1997. Katipunan nang manga A.N.B.–Sa may Nasang Makisanib sa Katipunang Ito. In *The Tragedy of the Revolution* by Adrian E. Cristobal. Makati City: Studio 5 Publishing, Inc.
- Mabini, Apolinario. 1899/1931. ¿Cuál es la Verdadera Misión de la Revolución Filipina?, Rosales, Pangasinan, 6 de septiembre de 1899. In *La Revolución Filipina* by Biblioteca Nacional de Filipinas, Vol. 2. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- Malcolm, George A. 1921. Democracy in the Philippines: Magellan to Dewey, 4 February 1921. In *Celebración del Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de Filipinas por Fernando de Magallanes 1521-1921* by the Comisión para la Celebración del Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de Filipinas por Fernando de Magallanes. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- NQC Secretariat. 2021. *Bagani: The Sound of Modern Filipino Nationalistic Song*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/bagani-the-sound-of-modern-filipino-nationalistic-song/>.
- Official Gazette. 2011. *Administrative Order No. 23: Creating a Steering Committee on National Observances*, 10 November 2011. Accessed on 18 July. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2011/11/10/administrative-order-no-23-s-2011/>.
- _____. 2018. *Executive Order No. 55: Constituting a Steering Committee for the Commemoration of the Quincentennial of the Arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in the Philippines, the Victory of Lapu-Lapu in the Battle of Mactan, and Other Historic Events that Happened from 1519 to 1522*, 8 May. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2018/05/08/executive-order-no-55-s-2018/>.
- _____. 2020. *Executive Order No. 103: Reconstituting and Strengthening the National Quincentennial Committee, and Amending Executive Order No. 55 (s. 2018) for the Purpose*, 28 January. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2020/01/28/executive-order-no-103-s-2020/>.
- _____. 2021. *Proclamation No. 1128 Declaring 2021 as the “Year of*

- Filipino Pre-Colonial Ancestors” and 27 April 2021 as a Special (Working) Day in the Country*, 8 April. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2021/04/08/proclamation-no-1128-s-2021/>.
- _____. 1961. *Republic Act No. 3134: An Act Creating the City of Lapu-Lapu*, 17 June. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://elibrary.judiciary.gov.ph/thebookshelf/showdocs/2/20623>.
- _____. 1969. *Republic Act No. 5695: An Act Providing for the Establishment of a National Shrine in the City of Lapu-Lapu, Province of Cebu, to Be Known as the Liberty Shrine, and Authorizing the Appropriation of Funds Therefore*, 21 June 1969. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://elibrary.judiciary.gov.ph/thebookshelf/showdocs/2/7658>.
- Paralítico (Apolinario Mabini). 1899/1931. “Protesta Americana Contra la Guerra en Filipinas, Rosales, Pangasinan, 5 de julio, 1899.” In *La Revolución Filipina* by Biblioteca Nacional de Filipinas, Vol. 2. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- Pardo de Tavera, Trinidad H. 1921. La Celebración del Centenario, Manila, 16 de Febrero de 1921. In *Celebración del Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de Filipinas por Fernando de Magallanes 1521-1921* by the Comisión para la Celebración del Cuarto Centenario del Descubrimiento de Filipinas por Fernando de Magallanes. Manila: Bureau of Printing.
- Pierce, Charles C. The Races of the Philippines-The Tagals. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 18 (July 1901): 21-39.
- Richardson, Jim. 2013. *The Light of Liberty: Documents and Studies on the Katipunan, 1892-1897*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Scott, William Henry. 1982. *Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.
- UNESCO World Heritage Convention. N.D. *Route of Magellan. First Around the World*. Accessed on 18 July 2021. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6212/>.
- Zafra, Nicolas. 1958. On the Writing of Philippine History. *Philippine Studies* 6, No. 4 (November): 454-460.



CHAPTER 10

**THE MOJARES PANEL INVESTIGATION
INTO THE 1521 FIRST EASTER SUNDAY MASS
CONTROVERSY: ACCESSIBILITY, TECHNOLOGY,
AND DISCOVERIES**

Jose Victor Z. Torres, Ph.D.

This lecture will not focus on the Butuan-Limasawa Controversy on the Location of the 1521 First Easter Sunday in the Philippines. That issue had already been addressed and resolved in the Mojares Panel's Final Report that was submitted to the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) in January 2020 and adopted by its Board of Commissioners on July 15, 2020.

The topic in this paper will focus on how the investigation was made with the new trends of technology and the facts that were discovered in the course of the study. In other words, the background of how a decision – which can be described as a historic one – was done.

* * *

Left: A page from the Ambrosiana Codex, one of the four known extant manuscripts of Antonio Pigafetta's chronicle of the first circumnavigation of the world. The National Historical Commission of the Philippines obtained a digitized copy of the manuscript from the Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana viewable (home room use only) at the NHCP Serafin D. Quiason Resource Center in Ermita, Manila.

Introduction

In 2018, the National Quincentennial Commission (NQC) convened a panel to reinvestigate the site of the 1521 First Easter Sunday Mass in the Philippines. I use the word “reinvestigate” because the group which became known as the Mojares Panel was the fourth of four committees that were formed through the years beginning in 1980 to determine the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass.

For a brief background, the First Easter Sunday Mass in the Philippines celebrated on 31 March 1521 was considered the event that marked the arrival of Christianity in the Philippines. The mass was conducted by Fr. Pedro Valderrama, the chaplain of the Magellan Expedition to the Moluccas which arrived in the Philippines in March 1521. The point of contention among historians is where the Mass was held. Studies of the late 16th to early 19th century sources, including the logbook of the expedition’s chronicler Antonio Pigafetta initially led to a conclusion that the place of the First Mass was in Butuan, in the province of Agusan del Norte on the island of Mindanao.

The controversy began in 1894 when a new transcription and reexamination of the Pigafetta logbook and other related primary sources showed that the actual place of the Mass was on Limasawa Island, Leyte Province in the Visayas. The transfer of the site was formally recognized by the government in 1921 during the celebration in the country of the Fourth Centenary of the Magellan Expedition. Unfortunately, the transfer led to angry reactions by the people of Butuan and a slew of protests to various government agencies that is still going on until today – two centuries later.

This long-standing issue of the exact location of the Easter Sunday Mass has been discussed and resolved by the National Historical Institute (forerunner of the NHCP) through various fora before a panel of experts in 1980, 1995, and 2008. All of these panels concluded that the site of the Mass was on Limasawa Island.

However, groups from the Butuan side claimed that they were not given ample time to present their position papers before the three panels. New documents and interpretations have allegedly surfaced

and need to be included in the narrative of the controversy. What made a reinvestigation of the contested site more important was that the Philippines was going to celebrate the Quincentennial or 500th Year Commemoration of the Arrival of Christianity in the Philippines in 1521.

So, “in the interest of fairness and to further enrich the historical literature about this controversial event” NHCP Chairman Dr Rene Escalante decided to reopen the case and give everyone the opportunity to present their previous and latest findings. A panel of scholars was again convened to reinvestigate the First Easter Mass controversy and evaluate the new evidence.

The Mojares Panel was composed of the following members: National Artist for Literature Dr. Resil B. Mojares as chairman with members, Dr. Danilo M. Gerona (Partido State University, Camarines Sur); Dr. Francis M. Navarro (Ateneo de Manila University); Dr. Carlos Madrid Álvarez-Piñer (Director of Research of the Micronesian Area Research Center); Fr. Antonio Francisco B. De Castro, S.J. (Ateneo de Manila University); and Dr. Jose Victor Z. Torres (De La Salle University-Manila) as secretary-general.

The Mojares Panel first convened in December 2018 and ended its work with the submission of its final report on January 9, 2020. The conclusion of the panel did not deviate from the findings of the previous committees – the site of the First Easter Sunday Mass was still on Limasawa island.

The Library on Your Desk

The work done by the Mojares Panel was no different from the work done by the previous groups created to study the Butuan-Limasawa location controversy. In fact, some of their conclusions merely reiterated the ones already made by the earlier committees but bolstered by additional spadework.

What made the Mojares Panel’s work unique was the use of technology and the accessibility this technology provided to archives and libraries abroad.

With the Internet and the digitization of a huge number of books and documents, any author or professional researcher can simply write a well-researched book without leaving one's room. I termed it "The Library on Your Desk".

Researching Before

Before the arrival of the Internet, a researcher must have or do the following things for research:

- a. **Accessibility.** The researcher identifies the places where the sources he needs can be found; get permission to use the facility for the materials that are to be used especially if it is a rare book; and, wait for the permission to be given. And if permission was given, the use of the material is only for a limited time.
- b. **Availability of Resources.** Sometimes research requires going to institutions like archives and libraries abroad to use rare books, manuscripts, and documents as some primary sources are only found in a single foreign institution. Thus, the need for financial resources
- c. **Time.** A researcher either goes on leave from his or her work or studies to do research since researching requires both travel and time.

The old way to research – though resulting in excellent outputs and results – meant Limited Accessibility thus Limited Research Outputs. And Limited Research Outputs meant Limited Dissemination of New Knowledge

The Internet and Digitization

The Internet and the digitization of sources has played a large role in today's research. It placed thousands of books, manuscripts, and documents (both modern and archival) into the hands of researchers at the click of a mouse. Not only can researchers access these sources

for free or for a fee, but they can also download it and own a copy to return to and consult from time to time. Email and online meetings made communication between researchers and institutions easier, especially if these libraries and archives are abroad. Institutions not only can quickly facilitate requests locally and internationally, but they can also provide the needed sources by sending it online. Digitization made duplication of sources easier and safer especially in the handling and security of archival material. It also meant more copies to be used for research.

Modern technology meant more research and more outputs. But it also meant raising the bar in the quality of research work.

The Work of the Mojares Panel

Internet Work. “The Library on Your Desk” was advantageous for the Mojares Panel for it primarily provided access to needed sources here and abroad. The limitation the previous committees had before was that the original archival sources were not available to them. Reliance was placed on the two translations of the Pigafetta logbook entitled *The First Voyage Around the World* by James Alexander Robertson and, a later one by R.A. Skelton. Archival documents and other sources were only consulted if they are available in local libraries or private collections which are used by hired researchers.

E-mailing made communication possible between foreign institutions and the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) and our embassies. The result was that the panel was able to obtain high-resolution digital copies of the original Pigafetta codices from the institutions where they are kept. These codices were the Ambrosiana Codex in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, Italy; the Yale-Beinecke Codex in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; and Manuscripts 5650 and 24224 in the Bibliotheque nationale de France in Paris.

In addition, the NHCP obtained a digitized copy of the original Robertson transcription of the Ambrosiana manuscript listed as Ayer Collection MS 1391 v. 23 of the James A. Robertson Papers at the

Edward E. Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. A digitized copy of the 1894 published transcription by Italian archivist Andrea da Mosto (who was the first to transcribe a complete version of the Ambrosiana manuscript) was also downloaded from the Internet site archive.org.

It was from these manuscripts that new translations of the section pertaining to the First Mass were commissioned from the Department of Languages of the Ateneo de Manila and the University of the Philippines. These were then compared with the translations of the Robertson (Ambrosiana) and Skelton (Yale-Beinecke) editions.

Aside from the abovementioned sources, at least 28 books in digital format and in different languages were obtained online.

Searching through the Internet also revealed that several studies had already been made by universities and institutions abroad pertaining to the Magellan-Elcano Expedition. It was a great help that communication and access to sources meant only a few hours rather than days or weeks of waiting for consultations with experts abroad.

For the navigational issues, the panel, through Dr. Madrid, requested the help of naval engineer and historian, Ignacio Fernandez Vial, founder of the Fundacion Nao Victoria in Spain. It was Vial who designed and built a replica of the Victoria, the expedition ship that made it back to Spain, and from 2004 to 2006 retraced Magellan's voyage. The expedition provided extensive data on the route of the expedition. The panel also consulted present-day articles on the expedition, one of which used computerized navigational technology that proved to be important to the investigation. These were:

1. Scott M. Fitzpatrick and Richard Callaghan. "Magellan's Crossing of the Pacific: Using Computer Simulations to Examine Oceanographic Effects on One of the World's Greatest Voyages." *The Journal of Pacific History* 43, no. 2 (Sep., 2008): 145-165
2. Ana-Cornelia Badea, Gheorghe Badea, Doina Vasilca, and Camelia Georgiana Semen. "The First Voyage Around the World - An Old Story Told Using A New Application."



The members of the Mojares Panel listening to the members of the Church Historians Association of the Philippines, an institution designated by the CBCP to work with the NHCP in resolving the issue on the site of the first Easter Sunday mass in the Philippines. Photographed by Ian Alfonso.

Papers of the 16th International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConference SGEM, 2016, 503-510.

Site Inspections

Another task that the Mojares Panel accomplished during its investigation was actual site inspections of the contested areas where the First Easter Mass allegedly took place. Rather than relying on photographs and other materials provided by both the Butuan and Limasawa proponents, members of the panel went to the actual proposed sites. These were:

1. Baug, Magallanes in Agusan del Norte, the site of the 1872 First Mass Monument in Butuan. The site was visited by the NHCP following a Focus Group Discussion with the Butuan proponents in Butuan City on November 10, 2019.



Mojares analyzing one of the interpretations to the route of the Magellan-Elcano expedition in the Philippines. Photographed by Ian Christopher Alfonso.

2. Limasawa Island, Southern Leyte where the First Mass of 1521 was celebrated, according to the decision of official government panels formed by the National Historical Institute. Two locations were inspected by the Mojares panel members on April 26, 2019, namely:
 - a. Barangay Magallanes on the eastern side of the island where the present First Easter Mass Shrine is located.
 - b. Barangay Triana on the western side, which was proposed by Limasawa proponent, Dr. Rolando Borrinaga, as the site of the First Easter Mass and the planting of the cross after the mass.
3. Mount Mina-asog in Tubay, Agusan del Norte where Magellan and his men allegedly erected a cross, according to Butuan proponent Dr. Potenciano Malvar. The site was visited on July 12, 2019, by panel member, Dr. Madrid, accompanied by an NHCP staff member as well as Malvar and some of his assistants.



Atega presenting his studies during the focus group discussion on the Butuan's claim as the site of the first Easter Sunday mass.

Discoveries

As I mentioned earlier, the accessibility to institutions and modern technology in research meant more outputs. In the case of the panel investigations, it meant more discoveries to add to the literature on the 1521 First Easter Sunday Mass investigation work. Here are some of these findings:

1. It was Dr. Trinidad Pardo de Tavera and Fr. Pablo Pastells, SJ not James Alexander Robertson (as alleged by the Butuan proponents) who in 1894 first introduced the fact that Limasawa and not Butuan was the site of the First Mass.

The change started with the publication of the Da Mosta transcription of the Pigafetta Manuscript that year. Pardo de Tavera apparently obtained and read a copy of the Da Mosta book then published the findings in an article in the Spanish newspaper, *El Comercio* in 1895. In 1921, in celebration of the

Quadricentennial of the arrival of the Magellan Expedition in the Philippines, Pardo de Tavera wrote the program for the Limasawa Exhibit in 1921 establishing the site of the First Mass in Limasawa which was later followed by 20th century historians.

2. An analysis of the coordinates in the Da Mosta transcription showed that the First Mass happened in Limasawa. Surprisingly, these same coordinates had already appeared in the transcription made by Carlo Amoretti in 1800 which was the first time the Pigafetta log first appeared in print. But the reputation of the Amoretti as a “badly-mutilated” transcription made scholars dismiss the entire work as inaccurate in spite of the fact that the text of the coordinates that appears in both works are identical.
3. There may have been more copies of the Pigafetta manuscripts than the four we have today. What we are sure is that the Yale-Beinecke copy is a presentation work by Pigafetta probably for the Duke of Lorraine (who originally owned it) in order to get funds to have it printed. It is, so far, the most perfect of the Pigafetta copies in terms of illustrations and writing.
4. Another interesting fact is that James Robertson was meticulous about his translation of the Pigafetta manuscript. His reliance on accuracy led him to copy the entire Ambrosiana manuscript in spite of the fact that the Da Mosta was already published. This reduced the number of errors in transcription and left the responsibility of any mistakes to Robertson alone.
5. Even though the case for Limasawa had been determined by the Mojares Panel, the investigation brought about a new contention, this time in the case of Limasawa where historian Dr. Rolando Borrinaga presented a well-researched paper pointing to a new place where the First Mass may have occurred. This was in Barangay Triana on the western side of Limasawa and not in the present site in Barangay Magallanes on the eastern side.

Conclusion

Research using the modern technologies of today has greatly changed the way we conducted historical investigations. The Internet and digitization of source materials made communication and the sharing of data easier leading to a growth in the results of research.

Such was the case of the work of the Mojares Panel with regards to the investigation of the site of the 1521 First Easter Sunday Mass in the Philippines. Although its panel of experts still relied much on the discipline and rigors of historiography, the accessibility and technology has brought about new data and a reexamination of the evidence presented for the investigation.



Quincentennial
Commemorations
in the Philippines
Victory and Humanity • 1521-2021



Quincentennial
Commemorations
in the Philippines
Victory and Humanity • 1521-2021



CHAPTER 11

TUNGO SA PAGDIRIWANG NG BAYAN: A MEMOIR OF THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE 2021 QUINCENTENNIAL COMMEMORATIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES (2017-2020)

Michael Charleston “Xiao” B. Chua, PhD (Cand.)

Introduction¹

MILESTONE NATIONAL COMMEMORATIONS SPONSORED BY the state have been effective agents of public history. In years past, the Rizal and Bonifacio National Centennials in the 1960s, the Jose Rizal Martyrdom Centennial in 1996, the Philippine Centennial of 1998, and the sesquicentennials of Rizal, Bonifacio, and Mabini sparked public interest about our heroes.

In 2018, the government of the Republic of the Philippines began preparing for the 2021 Quincentennial Commemorations in the Philippines (2021 QCP). On 8 May 2018, President Rodrigo Roa Duterte signed Executive Order No. 55, s. 2018, creating the National Quincentennial Committee (NQC) to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the Victory at Mactan, the Philippine part in the

Left: The Balut (Candighar) Quincentennial Historical Marker in Sarangani Municipality, Davao Occidental. Photographed by the National Quincentennial Committee Secretariat.

first circumnavigation of the world, the celebration of the arrival of Christianity in the Philippines, and other related events.²

Eventually, the NQC was constituted with representations from the different government agencies: Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), Department of Tourism (DOT), Department of Budget and Management (DBM), Department of National Defense (DND), Department of Education (DepEd), Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH), Presidential Communications Operations Office (PCOO), and the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) among others. The National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP) served as member and secretariat. Executive Secretary Salvador Medialdea was appointed as chairman of the NQC while NHCP Chair Dr. Rene R. Escalante was designated as vice chairperson.

Since the idea of the commemoration was a take-off from the international celebration of the 500th years of the human achievement—the first circumnavigation of the world—some sectors feared that it would celebrate colonialism. On 28 January 2020, President Duterte signed E.O. 103 reconstituting and strengthening the NQC. It also reiterated that it “espouses a Filipino-centric point of view of the first circumnavigation of the world“ by “underscoring the magnanimity, compassion and humanity of our ancestors in helping the impoverished crew of the expedition that traversed the Pacific Ocean, and the courage and bravery of the warriors in Mactan which continue to serve as inspiration to our heroes and martyrs up to this day.”³ Possibly because of the friction between the government and the Catholic Church at that time, the E.O. removed the commemoration of the third Quincentennial celebration: the arrival of Christianity in the Philippines. This was, however, clarified in the NQC official website as follows:

The National Quincentennial Committee is spearheading the 500th anniversary of the Victory at Mactan (27 April 2021) and the 500th anniversary of the Philippine part in the first circumnavigation of the world (16 March – 28

October 2021). Whereas the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines is leading the celebration of the 500th anniversary of Christianity in the Philippines.⁴

In my opinion, it would have been the most significant historical national celebration since the Philippine Centennial, because it is 500 years, and it does not only have national but also international implications. But just six weeks after EO no. 103 was signed, the lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic happened, more than a year before D-Day which was on 27 April 2021.

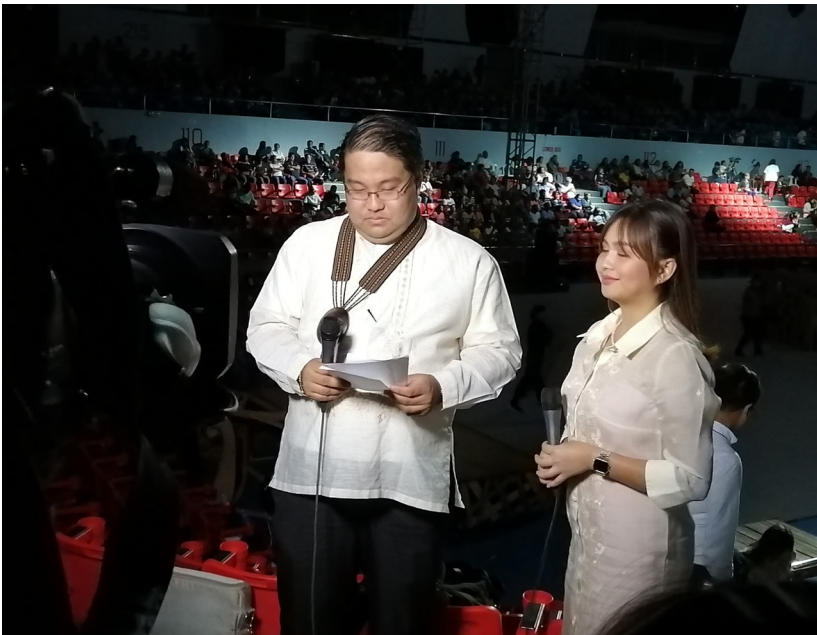
Despite most of its budget being returned to the national treasury to be realigned with the COVID-19 response, the NQC still tried its best to push through with its plans of commemorations that would still be fitting and appropriate.

This paper is not a complete account of the preparations for the Quincentennial but rather a personal observation based on my own involvement. Parts that have previously appeared in my columns in the Manila Times, my public reportage of the preparations, have been expanded and revised.

Public History: How and Why We Commemorate⁵

Why should we commemorate events and victories? Why should we celebrate heroes who are long dead? Is building monuments, placing wreaths, and conducting parades and pageanties just frivolities and follies learned from the West? Then we should also ask ourselves? Why do we celebrate birthdays? Why do we give flowers and gifts to the people we love? Why do we visit the graves of our loved ones and burn candles for them?

There is just an inherent need for people to celebrate milestones, get inspiration from victories, and show gratitude to those who have gone before us for paving the way for whatever we had become. Humans do not live by bread and practicality alone, but also get by with things that give them self-respect, honor, and dignity. And this is not something we only learned from our colonizers.⁶



Above: Roderick Macutay's *Humanity in Homonhon* (2020), one of the entries of the Quincentennial Art Competition under the Magnanimity theme. Courtesy of the NHCP. **Top:** Xiao Chua and Mikaella Guerra prepare to go live for the broadcast of the 500-day countdown from the Hoopsdome, Lapu-Lapu City.

We remember how heroism was memorialized by our ancestors through the chanting of the epics by the *babaylanes* or the *dung-aw* song for the dead in Ilocos. These rituals gave a sense of unity to all who were listening, a feeling that they were all in the same boat.⁷ We remember how those that went before us were commemorated through the faces depicted in the lids of the burial jars in Maitum, the soul-boat of the Manunggul Jar and the *sunduk* grave markers of Sulu, or the *anito* or *likha* carvings and the boat-shaped coffins in many parts of the country.⁸ We remember how victories were celebrated in the weaving of textiles, tattooing of the warriors, or the community ritual dancing.

Colonialism did not destroy our culture; rather, we became creative in appropriating their influences and making them our own. We chanted the Pasyon to commemorate Jesus Christ the way we did for our heroes in our epics. We respected the santos like we used to respect the anitos and likha. We held processions, Santacruzans, and even created modern festivals in the spirit of our ritual dances.

Although it was the Spaniards who started building monuments to their monarchs here, the people of Daet built a simple obelisk to memorialize José Rizal as soon as we were freed from Spanish rule. Although it was the Americans who mandated the erection of Rizal's national monument, it was the Filipino people who paid for it through public subscription. Since then, we have erected other reminders of our national story, particularly the Bonifacio Monument in Caloocan by Guillermo Tolentino to celebrate our revolution, and the Manuel Quezon Memorial Monument at the Elliptical Circle to celebrate the modern nation-state, aside from other monuments and works of arts around the country.

In the recent past, we staged grand parades that told our story as a people, like in the tradition of the Lenten processions that told the story of Christ. In 1974, during the opening of the Folk Arts Theater that coincided with the Miss Universe Pageant, the “Kasaysayan ng Lahi” parade was staged.⁹ Then, in 1998, the Philippine Centennial Parade was held, capped by a glorious fireworks display fit for the nation's 100th birthday.¹⁰ We also commemorated our victories and celebrations with theme songs.¹¹

Commemorations heightened public history interest, as the Rizal Centennial did to Rizal in 1961, or the Philippine Centennial for the Philippine Revolution and Republica Filipina in 1996-1998, or the sesquicentennial commemorations (150th birth) of Rizal, Bonifacio, and Mabini in the beginning of this decade.

Some argued that Lapulapu's gallantry was local, but the inspiration he gave to Rizal, Ponce, Jacinto, and Aguinaldo—the imaginers of the nation—made him worthy of having a national commemoration!¹²

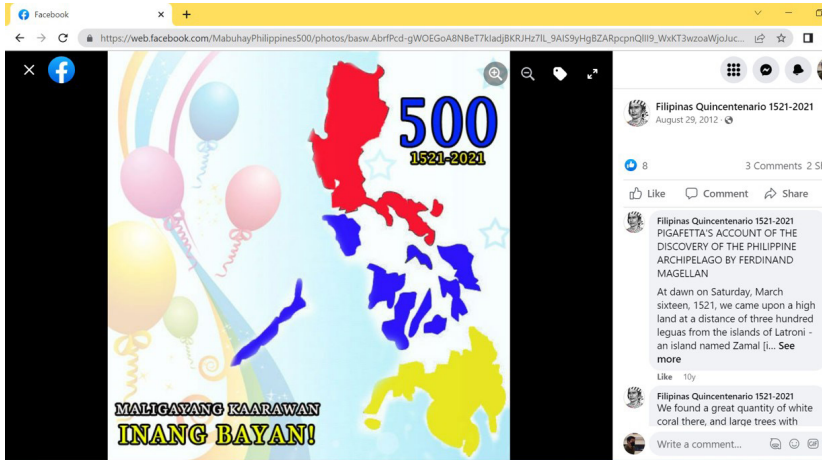
How I Got Involved with the Quincentennial

For several years, the governments of Spain and Portugal prepared to celebrate the 500 years of the completion of the first circumnavigation of the world in 2022 as an achievement of science (comparable to the moon landing). Spain focused more on Juan Sebastian Elcano having completed the voyage but the Armada de Molucas would not have made the achievement without Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese, who despite not having completed the voyage because he was killed in our shores, planned and made the expedition possible.

I heard a joke of how the Spaniards were reluctant to celebrate Magellan even if he made the voyage in the name of Spain because he was not a native of Spain but of Portugal. The Portuguese, however, felt similarly because Magellan shifted allegiance from his native land to the Spaniards and was regarded as a traitor.

In the Philippines, there were early private initiatives to commemorate the Quincentennial. Vibal Foundation, Inc. produced books under the Seryeng Kinsentenaryo which included the Boxer Codex (a transcription and English translation), *The World of the Manila-Acapulco Galleons*, and a new edition of Wenceslao Emilio Retana's *El Periodismo Filipino*. There was also the private group Filipinas Quincentenario that was launched sometime in 2012.

When my DLSU History Department colleague, Dr. Rene Escalante assumed the chairmanship of the NHCP and heard of the various European celebrations, he confided that he had been toying with ideas for the celebration the 500 years of the arrival of Christianity



Clockwise: Screenshot from a public post of the official Facebook page of the Filipinas Quincentenario, one of the early advocates of the quincentennial in the Philippines; the emblem of the Vibal Group's quincentennial commemoration through publications and production of online learning materials; the Archdiocese of Manila's 500 Years of Christianity (500 YOC) logo; and the apparent 500 YOC logo of the Catholic church but mostly used in the Archdiocese of Cebu.

in the Philippines. I suspected that Escalante had this foremost in his mind being a former seminarian and a deeply devout Catholic. It was also an opportunity for another papal visit since it was an important milestone for the only predominantly Catholic country in Southeast Asia.

Since his issuance of EO 55, President Duterte sent mixed signals to the media. Duterte quarreled with the Church on the human rights issue and made pronouncements against celebrating colonialism and the religion that was used to implement it. Eventually, Escalante's

office realized that for the Quincentennial to be celebrated, the focus should shift to Lapulapu, who was not just a great warrior who defended his land's sovereignty but a Visayan, a hero from the south. Escalante delivered some remarks on the Victory at Mactan and the Quincentennial before the president on 27 August 2018 during the National Heroes Day commemoration at the Libingan ng mga Bayani to make a case for the celebration. The theme of the Quincentennial which was publicized was "500 Years of Valor and Victory."¹³

I was fortunate enough to be friends with the senior history researcher of the NHCP, who happened to be the supervisor of the National Quincentennial Committee secretariat, Ian Christopher Alfonso. When Ian talked to me about the Quincentennial, I recounted previous commemorations focusing on personalities and events—Rizal, Bonifacio, the Philippine Revolution, but never anything about our ancestors, now represented by Lapulapu.

Our ancestors, once thought off as uncivilized in our history books, were described in detail by Pigafetta. I told Ian that this account was the oldest existing European account of our culture, especially the descriptions of the kings and peoples of Mazzawa, Butuan and Cebu, and Lapulapu, who was actually a "pintado," or in local terms, "mangungubat," "hangaway" or "mangangayaw." Thus, we could highlight our ancient civilization. This explains why a lot of the later NQC imagery were inspired by the visual record on our ancestors from ca. 1590 called the "Boxer Codex." I said that the Quincentennial was the chance to celebrate the culture and valor of our ancestors and drive home the point that our Austronesian ancestors were great. I do not assume that I was the first to suggest that idea but I was glad to communicate my point, nonetheless.

Around that time, the NQC was already meeting regularly with the Office of the Executive Secretary. Since one of the highlights of the celebration was the arrival of Christianity, the members realized that a final resolution to the controversy on the first mass in the Philippines would be important for the celebration. EO no. 55 mentioned it. And so, citing the so-called new evidence from the Butuan proponents, then committee acting chair Escalante (this was before Executive Secretary

Medialdea was finally appointed chair), asked a panel headed by National Artist Resil Mojares¹⁴ to review the so-called new evidence and to see if it can change the status quo stand of the commission, based on three previous panels, that the first mass was in Limasawa. Also, so as to not complicate the matter further, Escalante changed the issue from “First Mass” to “1521 Easter Sunday Mass.”

The chronicler of the Magellan expedition, Antonio Pigafetta, wrote in his account that on Easter Sunday, 31 March 1521, Ferdinand Magellan and his crew celebrated a mass, believed by many as the first recorded Catholic mass in the country. And even if the first baptism happened in Cebu later, this specific celebration of the Eucharist, being the most important of Catholic sacraments and because we are a dominantly Catholic country, became such a big issue for it was the supposed starting point of Christianity in the Philippines! More so because the place name of the island that Pigafetta mentioned, Mazzawa, had two candidate places in the nearby area—Limasawa, Leyte and Masao, Butuan.

Early historians, taking off from Father Francisco Colin, S.J.’s chronicle from 1659, wrote unanimously that the traditional place of that mass was Butuan, an island seen in old maps, where Masao is located. In nearby Baug Island, Magallanes, Agusan del Norte, an old obelisk commemorating the event can be found with an inscription in Spanish “To the immortal Magallanes, the village of Butuan with its parish priest and the Spaniards residing here to commemorate the arrival and the celebration of the first mass on this spot on 8 April 1521. Erected in 1872 when the governor of the district was Jose Maria Carvallo.” (Note that the date was converted to Gregorian already). Eventually, in an annotated edition of Colin, Jesuit scholar Pablo Patells, S.J. said that there was an error by Colin and that the place was really Limasawa Island in Leyte. Since then, all major historians agreed with him and so did three previous National Historical Institute panels: the live-in workshop in 1980, the Emilio Gancayco Panel in 1996, and the Benito Legarda Panel in 2009.

I used to be amused at people who made such a big fuss of where the “first mass” in the Philippines was held. What important change

would it bring if we ever determine where that mass was held? I never really read much about it. What for? Of course, the joke was on me.

When the NQC called for a re-evaluation of the evidence on the issue, a new proponent of the Butuan tradition, Potenciano Malvar, M.D. asked to meet me on 29 September 2018 to solicit my help in arranging his paper for submission. I was not an expert on the period but I came to check how the paper was written and presented.

Finally, a call for papers was released in October stating that, “notwithstanding the possibilities that reopening this controversy may open old wounds or even create new ones, the NHCP and the NQC want everyone to be somber, respectful, and professional.” The NQC added, “everyone should be guided by the fact that no one has a monopoly on truth, and all must be given equal opportunity to articulate his position on this issue. Lastly, we should be prepared to accept the possibility that the NQC may not be able to settle this issue conclusively because of the unavailability and ambiguity of the sources.”

I spent the whole night of 2 November 2018 at Malvar’s hotel Cloud 9 in Antipolo City reading many of the books on the Armada de Malucco to arrange Malvar’s paper. Although I arranged Malvar’s paper not as a Butuan proponent but as a skeptical critic, what was interesting among the many arguments was Malvar’s assumed site of the planting of the cross which, according to the Butuan proponents was a different site from the first mass. Based on the primary account of Francisco Albo, from the place where they erected the cross, they saw three islands in the direction of west southwest.¹⁵ From the area of Magallanes and Mina-asog, indeed one does not see the three islands but only one island, that of Camiguin. But from that vantage point, only the three peaks of Camiguin are visible, Albo could have mistaken these mountains as three islands. On the hill in the present Limasawa site, an ocular inspection yielded that one cannot see the three islands west southwest from there.¹⁶

The first step of the process happened on 9 November 2018 at the Balanghai Hotel and Convention Center in Butuan—the focus group discussion of the Butuan proponents. This was even before the Mojares

Panel was formed. I was flown there for a mission: to try to integrate their points in a private capacity. I was not acting in any official capacity from the NQC. Also, there were some members of the NQC including Atty. Agnes Joyce G. Bailen, Undersecretary for Supervision of Internal Audit Service Department of Budget and Management, and although the Mojares Panel itself was not there, the secretary-general and historian of the panel, Prof. José Victor Torres, Ph.D. was present.

The usual circus that accompanied the presentations for the previous boards was absent because in that meeting, only two Butuan proponents came, namely Malvar and Gabriel B. Atega, who gave sober presentations which clarified more their issues.

Atega's main point was that if you take the coordinates of the French manuscript of Pigafetta at the Yale-Beinecke Collection, translated by Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, most of his locations could be determined accurately based on modern geography (Pigafetta's 9°2/3 should be 9°40'N) and would fall in Malimono, Surigao in Mindanao and not anywhere in Leyte. This led Atega to claim that "Mazzawa" is actually Pigafetta's name for the island of Mindanao in general where all the three events described were located. Malvar thought that this might be inaccurate because in Pigafetta's description, Siagu's Mazzawa was a smaller community than Rajah Colambu's Butuan-Calaghan, so Mazzawa couldn't be Mindanao. Despite these disagreements, both Atega and Malvar insisted that Mazzawa by Pigafetta's description was a trade center, land of gold and had a lot of balanghais. There is no archaeological proof that says Limasawa was any of these, while the different artifacts and balanghais found in Butuan shouldn't be dismissed when considering the location.¹⁷

Unfortunately, while trying to reconcile their differences, Malvar and Atega could not agree on the major points and so I just made a paper underscoring their similarities and differences which I submitted to the NQC Secretariat.

For a related mission, on 16 November 2018, NQC OIC Escalante went to the Beinecke Library of Yale University to request assistance for clearer scans of the French manuscript of Pigafetta's account of the Magellan expedition for use by the Mojares Panel. Requests were

also made for other manuscripts and sources from the Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, and the Newberry Library.

On 12-13 December 2018, the Mojares Panel was convened for the first time in Cebu by the NQC and the NHCP.¹⁸ Atega and Malvar, the only two Butuan proponents who responded, were given time to present their data and to answer questions from the panel members. The panel also read other studies done in the past (including those that were done by Greg Hontiveros) thus Mojares expressed his respect for all of them for their decades-long campaign for Butuan, which he described as a “civic duty.” Furthermore, he told them “you have done your work as citizens and nobody commissioned you.”

Eventually, the claims were answered by a lone Limasawa proponent, Rolando Borrinaga, who transferred the traditional Limasawa site to another spot in the island, and wherein the members of the Mojares Panel saw from a hill, three islands west southwest. This and other evidence were considered, including a specially translated version of the manuscripts based on the oldest ones. Eventually, on 21 August 2020, the National Historical Commission of the Philippines released the Mojares Panel Report upholding the status quo that the first mass happened in Limasawa.¹⁹ The NHCP then asked the major historical organizations and several history departments to look at the report which, in turn, supported the panel’s conclusion.

In December 2018, Adrow Creatives through Mayii Pangilinan and eventually Denil Samonte approached me to coordinate a public history project of writing 20 short articles on various aspects of the Quincentennial for the official NQC website (powered by Bentacos Information Technology Services), along with a few short videos like what I did for Xiao Time. Since I had read the sources on the Magellan expedition, I confidently accepted the job. I also asked historian Van Ybiernas, Magellan historian Danilo Gerona, historian Vic Torres, and anthropologist Carlos P. Tatel, Jr. to write a few articles. Although the project seemed easy and I was left to write just a few articles, it took time to write the short articles due to my teaching job and the due diligence that was done in checking the sources. It took me half a

year to finish the project with Van along with the scripts I wrote. The production of the videos and the uploading of the videos, for various reasons were delayed but when finished served a purpose. These materials were uploaded in 2021 when most of the NQC funds were already relegated to other purposes due to the pandemic.

I spent the rest of the months on the lead up to the Quincentennial helping the NQC, in my private capacity, to explain things about the Quincentennial through my columns in the Manila Times and Abante, various radio and television interviews, in my Facebook live show with Prof. Van Ybiernas, Dulowtard History Live, and eventually during the pandemic, through webinars. One of the first webinars I did for Vibal Group FB Live Learning Sessions was entitled “1 + 1 Magellan, 2 + 2 Lapu Lapu: Ang Tala ni Pigafetta at Kung Paano ba Dapat Tingnan ang Quincentennial” on 27 March 2020, on the first few weeks of the pandemic.²⁰ And then, I had my own show in Vibal Group entitled “Kasaysayan, Kaysaya” in which I devoted an episode on the Quincentennial with Ayesha Sayseng and Josef Alec Geradilla of the NQC Secretariat as my guests.²¹

The Queen in the Quincentennial²²

A few days before, on 10 December, Alfonso, who was always picking ideas for the Quincentennial, was watching the coverage of the Miss Universe national costume segment and immediately told Chairman Escalante about Miss Philippines Catriona Gray’s costume which he felt said everything about the Quincentennial theme, “500 Years of Valor and Victory.” Having lectured on Philippine history for three hours for Catriona on 26 September, Ian contacted, through me, her trainor, Carlos Buendia, Jr. The plan was to borrow the costume so that it could be exhibited in various NHCP museums around the country.

Buendia credited me as one of the historical consultants of the costume. I never saw its design but in my talk with Catriona, instead simply enumerating chronological rundown of events, I gave her a cultural perspective: that we are multi-lingual and multi-cultural,

yet we have commonalities coming from our Austronesian maritime culture and belief in the kaluluwa as reflected in the Manunggul jar. I showed her the gold ornaments of our ancestors which served as their anting-anting to preserve their mabuting kaluluwa that eventually transformed into tattoos for the Visayan “pintados” warriors, as shown in the Boxer Codex of 1521. I stressed that despite the division wrought by colonialism among ourselves, we were able to integrate our ancient culture to the new colonial religion and eventually our heroes, and through their ideas in the Noli Me Tangere or even in the Katipunan, went back to our ancient past and highlighted our common problems and aspirations to prove that we could be one.

I was struck by her intellectual curiosity, which reminded me of the first international Filipina beauty queen, Miss International 1964, Gemma Cruz-Araneta. She was probing and asking me interesting questions. I wondered why she wanted a session on all these even if it would not serve any specific purpose in the Miss Universe pageant. She intimated that she wanted to feel prouder when she comes onstage in Thailand wearing that sash, bringing with her the weight of the triumphs, tragedies, and most of all, the greatness of the Filipino people. And when pictures of her national costume came out, I realized that she did it.

Instead of wearing the usual Filipiniana, to which some objected because it was basically just Tagalog, her costume reflected various elements from diverse cultures within the nation. They entitled that costume “Luzviminda: Magdiwang, Lumaban, Pagyamanin.” Her vision was guided by Carlos Buendia, Jr, an architect who has a passion for history, and was made possible by Jearson Demavivas, Jojo Bragais, Ardel Presentacion, and Justine Aliman among others.

In the costume she was against the backdrop of a Pampanga parol from Luzon (with baroque borders representing the Spanish-era churches which became UNESCO world heritage sites), wearing a T’nalak head gear and footwear from the dreamweaving T’bolis of Mindanao, and her top and shorts reflected the tattoo designs of the Pintados of the Visayas from the Boxer Codex, representing their “tibay ng loob” in the face of the world’s strongest thypoona Yolanda.

Inspired by Carlos “Botong” Francisco, UST artists Kim Fababair, Marina Ceriola, and Renee Avila created at the back of her parol, a “mural” of various elements of the different cultures in our country: Katutubo, Muslim, Kristiyano. Depicted were various Philippine customs and festivals such as the devotion to the Black Nazarene and Muslim worship at Masjid Dimaukom, Austronesian cultural markers like the Manunggul jar and the rice terraces of Banawe, heroism during Yolanda, and the Marawi siege and some of our natural wonders.

Also depicted therein was 500 years of valor and victory which was the very spirit of the Quincentennial from Lapulapu in Mactan, Gabriela Silang in Ilocos, Tandang Sora in Balintawak, José Rizal in Bagumbayan (and his Noli Me Tangere), which culminated in our victory against the 300 years of Spanish colonialism when we declared our independence in Kawit, Cavite.

Around the painting were words in ancient Filipino script baybayin with words from the National Anthem which appropriately sums up the message of the costume, “Lupang hinirang, duyan ka ng magiting, sa manlulupig di ka pasisiil. Sa dagat at bundok, sa simoy at sa langit mong bughaw.”

Catriona’s costume may not have won best national costume, but she ended up bringing home the crown for the fourth time for our country. In her victory as with her costume, Miss Universe Catriona Gray, a true nation-builder, united the nation.

With the help of Philippine Airlines, Escalante and Alfonso rushed to Thailand to personally pick up the costume from the hotel to avoid delay so that it could arrive on time in the evening before the launch of the National Quincentennial.

And on 21 December 2018, the National Quincentennial Commemorations was formally launched at the National Historical Commission of the Philippines Multi-Purpose Hall, attended by Executive Secretary Salvador Medialdea. The highlight of the launch was the display of the national costume. After the formal program, I was surprised to be invited to a press conference hosted by the Philippine Information Agency and to join Escalante and Buendia. It was an unexpected honor.²³

On the same day, a video I wrote, where I narrated the historical meanings of the national costume, edited by Adrow, was released on the NQC Facebook page and went viral. However, a misunderstanding by one of the members of Team Catriona about the footages used made us withdraw the video online until such a time a new video was made. Catriona Gray was slated to be one of the hosts of the evening show on Quincentennial D-Day, 27 April 2021.²⁴

Theme Change in the Middle of the Ball Game²⁵

During the launch, and even in the months before, the theme that was announced was “500 Years of Valor and Victory,” to underscore a Filipino perspective on the commemoration as Spain and Portugal celebrated the Quincentennial of the achievement of science and mankind, the first circumnavigation of the world. But as months passed NQC decided to change the theme to “Victory and Humanity.”

For the longest time, when Filipinos talk about the events of 1521, the focus was on the fact that we vanquished our potential invaders, the strong Spanish fleet, when they came to Mactan. Of course, we are not saying that this is not important since the leadership of Mactan chieftain Lapulapu became the inspiration of those who created our nation, from Rizal, Ponce, Jacinto, and Aguinaldo. Mactan is synonymous with other places in history which important in our struggle for freedom: Pinaglabanan, Tirad Pass, Bataan, and EDSA. The victory in Mactan tells us that however formidable the challenge, we can be victorious. But this only happened when the foreigners assumed their superiority and started to meddle in our internal affairs. Magellan, thus was a victim of an internal struggle between Cebu chieftains.

But as Alfonso delved deeper into the Pigafetta narrative, he began emphasizing the story regarding Filipinos which was not always retold. What was implied before that we killed our first tourists was not true. When the Spaniards arrived in the Philippines, they were already sailing for a year-and-a-half, spending 90 days in open ocean lacking food and with no clean water. What made it worse was being robbed

by the Chamorros of Guam. They were very weak, not so much the conquistadors in our textbooks, but refugees.

When the natives of Samar saw them, even though they did not understand a word from each other, the natives gave them food. Then, when they were brought to Mazzawa, the rajah, Siaui, and his brother, the ruler of Butuan-Calaghan, Colambu, became so friendly with them, and showed them gold that were as big as walnuts, their houses, their balangays. There, they had the best seven days of the expedition. José Rizal, upon reading this, wrote, “The first thing noticed by Pigafetta... on arriving on the first island of the Philippines, Samar, was the courtesy and kindness of the inhabitants and their commerce.”

In an interview with Bing Kimpo, I said that this is the single most important role of our ancestors in the Magellan expedition. We gave them provisions to enable them to reach the Moluccas, to get their spices and return to Spain. Without the humanity of Filipinos, the expedition would have died in Samar, and we would not be talking about that achievement of the first circumnavigation of the world.²⁶

Escalante and eventually the NQC liked this idea that the Quincentennial, that celebrates our ancient culture, also produced such humanity, which demonstrates the beauty of bridging and understanding different cultures respectfully. Finally, the Quincentennial theme became “Victory and Humanity.”

NQC then connected the events in Guiuan, Eastern Samar in 1521 to the Filipino humanity we showed the Jews in 1938, the White Russians in 1949 (who, in a twist of fate, also resided in Guiuan), and the Vietnamese in 1976. It was the humanity of the Filipino nurses and caregivers around the world, and of all our frontliners in the COVID-19 pandemic.

Many times, I was personally confronted by the question, how can we celebrate a contradictory narrative in the Filipino perspective of both the Battle of Mactan where we killed Magellan, and our ancestor’s humanity?

I always answered that history is never neat and is not always black-and-white. There are always contexts which we can celebrate together. It also conveys the world a succinct message, “If you approach

us Filipinos nicely, we show our humanity, our pakikipagkapwa-tao. You meddle with us and cross us, you are dead.”

What the Quincentennial is Not... and Should Not Be²⁷

The theme “Victory and Humanity” elicited various reactions expressed to me as I embarked on a personal task to inform our people, especially our teachers.

One concern about the theme was that it might be contrived or “pilit,” especially if it was divorced from the history of the Filipinos from 1560s to 1650s. This idea referred to the violence of the *conquista* or the beginnings of the Spanish colonization of the islands. What was so victorious and humane in this horrific truth of the colonial experience?

During the open forum of my lecture at the National Museum on 18 January 2020, Deputy Director-General of the National Museum of the Philippines Ana Labrador stressed the importance of not just celebrating but also critiquing those events and their representations. She mentioned how historians relied on the Boxer Codex for representations of our ancestors where, in fact, it might be a romanticized version of them by their colonial masters in 1593.

Even the Spanish expat Dr. Jorge Mojarro, expressed in a Manila Times column that the NQC in its Facebook page, although “generally speaking, doing a good job of spreading historical information about the first circumnavigation of the world, and much more,” should “present its audience the different hypotheses ...instead of choosing a particular narrative.”²⁸

Chairman Escalante, in a phone call, clarified to me what the Quincentennial was not. Its focus would be the events of 1521, not the whole Spanish period. For many people, 1521 would be synonymous with the start of the Spanish colonization thinking that Magellan started it which is false. Magellan was killed by Lapulapu and his men and colonization only started in 1565 after 44 years. Again, before one thinks that we had to celebrate our colonization in the Quincentennial, one must remember that we were only colonized by the Spaniards

successfully with the arrival of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. In addition, the impact of Catholicism is discussed because a related event in 1521 is the introduction of Christianity and the handing over of the Santo Niño.

Basically, it is about the three related events in 1521—the victory over Magellan in the Battle of Mactan by Lapulapu and his people; the arrival of Christianity in the Philippines; and in solidarity with the Magellan 500 celebrations in the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal): the achievement of science and humanity—the first circumnavigation of the world.

These events in 1521, as historian Dr. Ferdinand Llanes once put it, much be viewed not from the perspective of someone riding in the Spanish caravel but from the lens of those on the shore, therefore a Filipino perspective. The Quincentennial was also a celebration of the culture of our ancestors, the one that Magellan experienced when they were welcomed in Homonhon, Mazawa, and Cebu, which their chronicler Pigafetta recorded in his account. This made some historians like Zeus Salazar think of the Quincentennial as an opportunity to highlight our ancestors, which never happened in any previous commemorations.

Replacing the first theme by dropping the “500 years of” and adding the word “Humanity” instead of “Valor,” we underscored how we treated the hungry and weary explorers with kindness when they first arrived, because we were so adept at trading. And when they were given provisions even with the death of Magellan, the armada was able to reach the Moluccas, and complete the circumnavigation of the globe. Escalante reminded me that the state commemorates events not only thinking of the past but of our present agenda, that the National Quincentennial was an animating theme of our diplomatic and tourism endeavors.

I should tell you what the Quincentennial should not be. The previous celebrations of the Philippine-Spanish Day became an unintended avenue for some to wash the dirty linen of Spanish colonialism by highlighting the cultural contributions of Spain. Again, they did not intend it that way, but some people would consider it as

such. We recognized nuanced narratives about the colonial experience but the Quincentennial was not a venue to deny the abuses Filipinos experienced in 333 years under Spain.

With our experience of public history, themes of commemorations conducted by the government were always straightforwardly clean. This was the case for almost all the major, if not all commemorations the country ever had. That is expected because they are... well... government! Really, I never expect complicated and tumultuous narratives from the state.

Whatever contentious discussions that happened in past commemorations due to the participation of non-government entities such as the academia and the interested public in general, were alright. A successful commemoration, like the Philippine Centennial of 1998, elicited debates and discussions among the people. A celebration that does not have any reaction from the people is rather dull and unsuccessful. Thus, all the discussions that challenge the government's theme for the national quincentennial are welcome. Like all commemorations sponsored by the government, it is a time to celebrate. However, complicated the events are, the state always prefers a cleaner narrative.

The 500-Day Countdown to the Quincentennial Extravaganza²⁹

On 14 December 2019, I was flown to Lapu-Lapu City to be a part of the television commentators for the official coverage of the 500-day countdown to the 2021 QCP and the landmark lighting. It was touted as the 500 days simply because it was the lead-up to the 500th year anniversary of the Victory at Mactan.

In the early afternoon, the Balangay boats of the Mt. Everest Team headed by Art Valdez arrived from Butuan to the shores of Mactan. Their arrival was followed by a short program headed by Lapu-Lapu City Mayor Junard "Ahong" Chan and the city's First Lady Ma. Cynthia "Cindi" King-Chan. While waiting for the arrival, I talked to Undersecretary Mon Cualoping who, despite being on the other side of the political divide (myself being a Duterte critic), made available

the resources of the Radio-Television Malacañang for the purpose of promoting the national celebration.

For the evening program, there were three main locations. Each one had a lead institution as guest of honor. The Office of the President represented by Tourism Secretary Bernadette Romulo-Puyat led the celebrations at the Lapu-Lapu City Freedom Shrine. At the Davao City Hall Grounds, the program was headed by the Davao City Government. The observation in Manila was held at the National Museum of Natural History spearheaded by City Mayor Isko Moreno and the National Museum Director Jeremy Barns.

Before the program started, I gave a historical context to the National Quincentennial for the official coverage with an interview with Mikaela Guerra.³⁰

At 6:00 PM, there was a simultaneous lighting of various landmarks nationwide. Pre-selected were 21 locations representing thousands of years of Philippine history and struggle for freedom and independence. The Quincentennial song “Bagani” composed by Jungee Marcelo was also introduced and sung by various performers and groups in the three separate locations. The song was chosen from the Philpop Bootcamps 2019 that was facilitated by National Artist Ryan Cayabyab.

Then three simultaneous musical extravaganzas happened that highlighted different aspects of the theme of the Quincentennial. Those behind the shows were guided by historians Drs. Vic Villan, Earl Jude Cleope, Rolando Borrinaga, and Jobers Bersales. Indigenous concepts like Pangayaw (warrior culture), Dungan (willpower), Sandugo were reintroduced to heighten our appreciation of history not just as politics but also as culture.

The Hoops Dome Lapu-Lapu City show was entitled “Mangayaw: Libutin ang Mundo ng Ating mga Ninuno.” Davao featured the unconquered ethnic groups of Mindanao and the convergence of the indigenous, Moro and Christian cultures in a “kanduri” feast. Meanwhile, Manila highlighted the enduring greatness of our heroes in the struggle for freedom and nationhood in “Sinong Bayani.”

All these presentations were shown via Facebook Live through the “Radio Television Malacañang—RTVM” and the National



From top: A tableau of pre-colonial Philippine society in *Mangayaw*, a spectacle during the 500-day countdown to the 2021 QCP; and the closing segment of the Quincentennial Night on the D-Day of the 2021 QCP. Both events were held in Lapu-Lapu City. Photos courtesy of the National Quincentennial Committee Secretariat.

Quincentennial Committee website. For me, it seemed to be one of the biggest shows that focused on Philippine history after the Kasaysayan ng Lahi parade in 1974 and the Philippine Centennial Parade in 1998.

Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao, Katutubo, Muslim, Kristiyano—how much more inclusive a show can you get than that? And despite the pandemic, it remained the biggest of all the Quincentennial programs ever staged.

Various Promotional and Educational Projects

On 7 August 2019, I delivered “Tattooing in the Life of Our Ancestors,” the very first lecture of the Quincentennial Lecture Series at the Serafin Quiason Resource Center at the NHCP. I was joined in the forum by Chairman Rene Escalante, Deputy Executive Director Carminda Arevalo, and Jearson Demavivas, designer of the Catriona Gray’s national costume. It was hosted by Ayesha Sayseng of the NQC secretariat.³¹ It was beamed live by the Presidential Communications Website and continued even during the pandemic. In fact, I was the last speaker on the same topic for the year 2020 on 9 December 2020, actually the 14th, for the renamed “Countdown to 500 Online Lectures Live.”³² Another program launched on 30 June 2020 was the monthly online show “Road to 500: A Philippine Quincentennial Special” hosted by Deputy Speaker Loren Legarda and yours truly.

With the introduction of the NQC website, several initiatives of the NQC became available to the public: the Quincentennial Paper Dolls featuring the historical characters from 1521 and a bonus Catriona Gray figure, the Quincentennial Paper Boats,³³ the 2020 Quincentennial Calendar featuring the drawings of Filipinos in the Boxer Codex,³⁴ and several important articles.

During the pandemic, the NQC portal was launched whereby various organizations could organize webinars using the NHCP Zoom and assisted by Alfonso, Gerwill Cruz, and Josef Alec Geradilla. The portal could also produce certificates. During the pandemic, the NQC became a factory of webinars that created an explosion of knowledge useful for teachers.³⁵

Another central part of the commemoration, appropriate to the digital age, was the NQC Facebook page (National Quincentennial Committee, Republic of the Philippines) administered by Alfonso.³⁶ It produced daily information and lengthy posts and photos not only about the 1521 events, but anything related to Filipino “Victory and Humanity” throughout history to make the Quincentennial more relevant to Filipinos. Ayesha Sayseng initiated Quincentennial activities for kids including the Batang Bagani: Kiddie Art Project which featured children’s interpeertative drawings. She also came up with the daily countdown that showed government offices and individuals here and abroad making “the number of days to go” sign. I was assigned the 128 days to go and was photographed in front of the Tarlac capitol. Also, the Bagani song cover videos were featured in the page.

Likewise conducted were contests including the Quincentennial Art Competition on 6 March 2020³⁷, and the Lapulapu National Monument Design Competition on 21 July 2020. Deadline were set in January 2021. The winning design would be placed in the proposed Lapulapu Memorial Shrine and Museum, which was made in consultation with local experts in Cebu. Earlier, a heavily criticized indoor Jefferson memorial peg was mistaken in social media as the actual design. The design actually looked like an Austronesian datu’s house complete with naga (symbolic snake) beams, inspired by a boat’s outrigger depicted as outstretched wings, symbolizing freedom.³⁸

The Philippine Historical Association and the Quincentennial

April 27, 2020 was supposedly an important day for the one-year countdown before the Quincentennial. Aside from the lavish production re-enacting the 1521 Battle of Mactan (Kadaugan sa Mactan) and an evening program at the Hoops Dome, it was set as the opening of the 2020 Philippine Historical Association International Conference on the regional context of 1521 entitled “Arrivals, Conflict & Transformation in Maritime Southeast Asia (c. 1400s-1800s)” that would have brought together historians from Southeast Asia. It was

part of the Malacca—Mactan—Moluccas series of conferences from 2019 to 2021 of the consortium International Council for Historical and Cultural Cooperation—Southeast Asia in partnership with the University of San Carlos in Cebu and the DLSU Southeast Asia Research Center and Hub (SEARCH).

But the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown happened. Despite the lockdown, Alfonso informed me that this would not stop the holding of an important online event, entitled “Countdown to 500” with five special webinars, all beamed on Facebook Live by Radio Television Malacañang and on many other government Facebook pages. Representing PHA, I participated as a speaker in a historical forum moderated by former Presidential Spokesperson and Foreign Affairs Undersecretary Ernesto Abella and Vice Consul Stacy Danika Garcia of the Philippine Embassy in London. I also served as co-moderator in another session about theme songs of past commemorations and big celebrations in the Philippines and the music of the 500 years celebration with no less than National Artist Ryan Cayabyab and others as guests.

The conference, convened by PHA Vice President Fernando A. Santiago, Jr. still pushed through online via Zoom and Facebook Live on 29 to 31 October 2020 hosted by the NQC secretariat. I was moderator for the opening program. Also, in lieu of my traditional annual field trips on the third day, I facilitated a two-hour session on the second day and gave a virtual tour of the National Quincentennial Commemorations. The session was called “Sailing through the Quincentennial: A Primer and Guide on Teaching Materials” where I also interviewed Alfonso and Jose Eleazar R. Bersales, PhD, head curator of University of San Carlos Museum. I also presented the various videos I made with Adrow Creatives to help teachers teach the Quincentennial with a Filipino perspective.³⁹

The Philippine Historical Association also issued a letter of concurrence to the findings of the Mojares Panel on the 1521 Easter Sunday Mass upholding the status quo of Limasawa as the site of the first mass along with the endorsement of other national historical organizations and history departments of top Philippine universities.

The President of the Philippine Historical Association, Ma. Luisa Camagay ended her year-end report with these words: “PHA faced trying times this year but was unbowed. It looks forward to the celebration of the Quincentennial of the Circumnavigation of the World come 2021 and be one with world in this great event. PHA is ready to unfurl its sails as it navigates a new tomorrow.”⁴⁰

Renaming Projects

On the last day of 2020, a few minutes before the New Year, the NQC released a calendar of activities for the Quincentennial Year 2021.⁴¹ In Deputy Speaker Loren Legarda’s program, Escalante revealed that in places in the Philippine archipelago that were visited by the Magellan expedition in 1521, obelisks with bas-relief designed by sculptor Derrick Macutay and executed by sculptor Jonas Roces would be installed, to highlight the events of each locality.⁴²

A big public extravaganza was supposed to happen on D-Day, 27 April 2021, the 500th anniversary of the Victory at Mactan at Hoops Dome, Lapu-Lapu City to be directed by Floy Quintos. The planned celebration was canceled and held instead were a morning program at Lapu-Lapu City and an evening show that was televised or shown online. Alfonso showed me some of the pegs for the show which included the online show for Singapore’s National Day. The NCCA and the NHCP aimed to finish the restoration of the Metropolitan Theater (MET) in Manila in time for the staging of the MET’s maiden production after 25 years since it closed in 1996. Aside from Manila, there would also be co-hosting of the evening show at the Liberty Shrine in Lapu-Lapu City.⁴³

Another big program was the Philippine International Quincentennial Conference (PIQC) with the theme “Situating the Filipino and the Philippines in 1521” slated for October 2021.⁴⁴ On 28 August 2020, a second technical working group committee met and planned the event chaired by Escalante. I attended the meeting representing the De La Salle University History Department and chairperson, Ma. Florina Orillos-Juan. It brought together all the



From top: A segment in the musical *Lapulapu, Ang Datu ng Mactan*; and a tableau of pre-colonial trade in the online spectacle entitled *Lessons for a Changed World: The Legacy of the Indigenous Peoples of the Philippines*. Both celebrated the world of our ancestors prior and during the arrival of Magellan in 1521. Photos courtesy of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

presidents of three historical associations: Ma. Luisa Camagay of the Philippine Historical Association, Bernardita Reyes Churchill of the Philippine National Historical Society, and Randy Madrid of the Asosasyon ng mga Dalubhasa, May Hilig at Interes sa Kasaysayan. Also present were the chairs of the history departments of major universities around the country and representatives from the Bangsamoro Bureau on Cultural Heritage.⁴⁵

Assessment

Despite its many priorities, the national government, commendably supported the NQC projects. Perhaps it realized that it would provide good messaging for the country. Noticeably, the NQC projects did not appear as overt propaganda tool for the Duterte administration. The activities and events become a natural avenue to really talk about Philippine culture and identity. Hence, people of all political persuasions were able to contribute to the celebrations.

Many projects would not have been accomplished if not for the proactive leadership of NQC Vice Chair Escalante who listened to the ideas of his peers, historians, and most especially the NQC secretariat supervisor Alfonso who was tireless in searching for new concepts to make the Quincentennial relevant. Even with a very small staff, the NQC secretariat was able to accomplish numerous initiatives and collaborations to ensure the success of the Quincentennial celebrations.

Though it was the most significant historical celebration since the Philippine Centennial of 1998, it seemed that the Quincentennial's reach was limited among the populace. Notwithstanding the efforts of its hardworking secretariat and the initiatives of private concerned individuals the NQC's not so simplistic theme was confused by some nationalists as a celebration of colonialism, and by regionalists and Hispanists who does not want to celebrate Lapulapu as a Filipino hero, hence their resistance to take part in it. By trying to be more inclusive, the NQC ended up losing some support.

In reality, the Philippine Centennial's messaging was simple: the struggle for freedom—which was easily relevant to everybody.

Furthermore, the Centennial had ten years of preparations, championed by an administration which was mindful of history, and supported by private entities including big businesses. The NQC's preparations started only in 2018, the reason why San Miguel ads did not depict today as it did in 1998.

Although the NQC was composed of various government agencies, there were only a few government units that were enthusiastic about it aside from the NHCP and the NQC itself. Much should have been done beyond the screening of Quincentennial programs in government agencies' Facebook pages. Commendable was the active participation of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Department of Tourism, RTVM, and the local government units such as the City of Lapu-Lapu. There should have been more general directives from the Department of Interior and Local Government on how local celebrations of the Quincentennial could be done. Similarly, the little public program came from the Department of Education which should have been the primary promotor of the Quincentennial in its most important battleground: the schools.⁴⁶

The Quincentennial could have been the biggest historical national celebration since the Philippine Centennial, but it was marred by the onslaught of the pandemic. Yet, it did not lose its significance because it is about our ancestors and their more than a thousand-year civilization. Assisted by concerned private individuals and entities, the NQC along with its secretariat, the NHCP, is commendable and remarkable for doing its arduous job. Despite its limitations, the NQC singlehandedly coordinated and pushed for the 2021 QCP, to make it a *pagdiriwang ng bayan*, a celebration that is truly inspiring and relevant.

Endnotes

¹ This part is based on Xiao Chua, "HOCUS in the Quincentennial," *Walking History*, The Manila Times, 01 February 2020, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/02/01/opinion/columnists/hocus-in-the-quincentennial/678788/>.

² Rodrigo Roa Duterte, "Executive Order 55 of 8 May 2018: Constituting a Steering Committee for the Commemoration of the Arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in the Philippines, the Victory of

Lapu-Lapu in the Battle of Mactan, and Other Historic Events that Happened from 1519 to 1522.” <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2018/05/08/executive-order-no-55-s-2018/>.

³ Rodrigo Roa Duterte, “Executive Order 103 of 28 January 2020: Reconstituting and Strengthening the National Quincentennial Committee, and Amending Executive Order no. 55 (s, 2018) for the Purpose,” <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2020/01/28/executive-order-no-103-s-2020/>.

⁴ NQC, “About the Quincentennial,” NQC website, accessed 9 January 2021, <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/about/>.

⁵ This part is based on Xiao Chua, “Walking History: How and why we commemorate.” *The Manila Times*, 01 August 2020, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/08/01/opinion/columnists/how-and-why-we-commemorate/748448/>.

⁶ I had a discussion on these thoughts with historian Ian Alfonso prior to my appearance with NQC Vice Chair Rene Escalante and Deputy Speaker Loren Legarda in her special program on Facebook “Road to 500 with Loren,” one of the offshoot projects of the Quincentennial that happened because of the pandemic. Loren Legarda and Xiao Chua, hosts, “Road to 500: A Philippine Quincentennial Program, Episode 2: Flagship Projects,” Xiao Chua YouTube channel, 21 July 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=quv3yMZd2Y8>.

⁷ Lars Raymund C. Ubaldo, “Dung-aw, Pasyon at Panagbiag Tatlong hibla ng Pakasaritaan ti Biag sa Kasaysayang pangkalinangang Ilokano” (MA History Thesis, UP Diliman, 2003).

⁸ Xiao Chua, “Banga, Bangka, Bangkay!!! Isang Panukalang Gamit ng Arkeolohiya sa Pagtuturo ng Araling Panlipunan at Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas,” paper presented at the 5th Arts Congress at the De La Salle University Manila with the theme “Laad-Linang: Sining Tungo sa Malikhaing Edukasyon,” 20 February 2013, https://www.academia.edu/7968871/BANGA_BANGKA_BANGKAY_Isang_Panukalang_Gamit_ng_Arkeolohiya_sa_Pagtuturo_ng_Araling_Panlipunan_at_Kasaysayan_ng_Pilipinas.

⁹ Dik Trofeo, director, “Kasaysayan ng Lahi,” Metro Manila: National Media Production Center, 1974. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zo3wkRu3POw>

¹⁰ Videos of these I uploaded in my YouTube Channel, Xiao Chua.

¹¹ Bing Kimpo and Xiao Chua, hosts, “Countdown to 500. The 2021 Quincentennial in the Philippines Special: Music of the 500 Years,” NQC Facebook, 27 April 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/nqc2021/videos/222187599210352/>.

¹² Xiao Chua, “Lapulapu sa mata ng mga Bayani.” *NQC YouTube Channel*, 29 February 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=repz9TCBqWk&t=3s>.

¹³ RTVM, “National Heroes’ Day celebration,” *GMA News Youtube*, 27 August 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pkr4fAHLjml>.

¹⁴ Mojares, the panel's chairman, was joined by historians Dr. Danilo Gerona (Partido State University, author of a study on Magellan) and Dr. Carlos Madrid Álvarez-Piñer (Director, Micronesia Area Research Center), church historian Fr. Antonio Francisco B. De Castro, S.J. (Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines), and historian-paleographer Dr. Francis M. "Chas" M. Navarro (Ateneo de Manila University). Historian Dr. Jose Victor Torres (De La Salle University) is the panel's secretary-general. To assist the panel was a Philippine Navy navigator, the UP National Institute of Geological Sciences Director Dr. Mario Aurelio, and cartographer Engr. Sheila Eugenio of NAMRIA. Some Church historians also served as observers: Manila Archdiocesan Archives Head Fr. Albert Flores, Jesuit Archives Representative Fr. Amado Tumbali, SJ, CBCP representative Fr. Milan Ted Torralba, and Fr. Antolin Uy, SVD.

¹⁵ Albo in Henry Edward John Stanley, ed., *The first voyage round the world by Magellan translated from the accounts of Pigafetta and other contemporary writers* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1874), 224; and Francis Guillemard, *Antonio Pigafetta, Francisco Albo, and Gaspar Correa, Magellan* (England: Viartis, 2008), 344.

¹⁶ Xiao Chua, "Walking History: Mazzawa and the Easter Mass of 1521." *The Manila Times*, 08 December 2018, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2018/12/08/opinion/columnists/mazzawa-and-the-easter-mass-of-1521/479590/>; Potenciano Malvar, "Pigafetta's 9°2/3 N.: 'Hidden Facts': Position Paper for the Philippine Quincentennial Committee," 2018.

¹⁷ Xiao Chua, "Walking History: New Butuan Proponents for the Easter Mass of 1521." *The Manila Times*, 15 December 2018, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2018/12/15/opinion/columnists/new-butuan-proponents-for-the-easter-mass-of-1521/482847/>.

¹⁸ Xiao Chua, "Walking History: The Mojares Panel." *The Manila Times*, 19 January 2019, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2019/01/20/opinion/columnists/the-mojares-panel/499056/>.

¹⁹ Jose Victor Torres, "The Final Report of the Mojares Panel on the Butuan-Limasawa Controversy on the Location of the 1521 First Easter Sunday Mass in the Philippines," NHCP website, 20 August 2020, <https://nhcp.gov.ph/official-position-of-the-national-historical-commission-of-the-philippines-on-the-site-of-the-1521-easter-sunday-mass-2/>.

²⁰ Xiao Chua, "1 + 1 Magellan, 2 + 2 Lapu Lapu: Ang Tala ni Pigafetta at Kung Paano ba Dapat Tingnan ang Quincentennial." FB Live Learning Session, Vibal Group, 27 March 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/vibalgroup/videos/261584344841340>.

²¹ Xiao Chua, "Ang Pinakamalaking Pagdiriwang ng Kasaysayan sa 2021." Kasaysayan, Kaysaya, Vibal Group, 10 November 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/vibalgroup/videos/367625680983291>.

²² This part is based on Xiao Chua, "Walking History: Catriona Magnayon Gray: Nation-builder." *The Manila Times*, 22 December 2018, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2018/12/22/opinion/>

columnists/catriona-magnayon-gray-nation-builder/486034/.

²³ Philippine Information Agency, host, "Press conference on the Philippine Quincentennial Commemorations." NQC Facebook page, 21 December 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/nqc2021/videos/2216909398558491/>.

²⁴ She did host the big night at the Liberty Shrine.

²⁵ This part is based on Xiao Chua, "Walking History: Victory and Humanity." *The Manila Times*, 2 May 2020, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/05/02/opinion/columnists/victory-and-humanity/721450/>.

²⁶ Bing Kimpo, host, "CovidRadio on RadyoPilipinas." Radyo Pilipinas Facebook page, 26 April 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/radyopilipinas1/videos/558793295057388>.

²⁷ This part is based on Xiao Chua, "Walking History: What the Quincentennial Is Not ... And Should Not Be." *The Manila Times*, 9 May 2020, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/05/09/opinion/columnists/what-the-quincentennial-is-not-and-should-not-be/723634/>.

²⁸ Jorge Mojarró, "Filipiniana Corner: Reflections on the massacre of Cebu." *The Manila Times*, 5 May 2020, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/05/05/opinion/columnists/reflections-on-the-massacre-of-cebu/722634/>.

²⁹ This part is based on Xiao Chua, "Walking History: Guide to Today's Quincentennial Countdown." *The Manila Times*, 14 December 2019, <https://www.manilatimes.net/2019/12/14/opinion/columnists/guide-to-todays-quincentennial-countdown/664057/>.

³⁰ RTVM, "500-day countdown to 2021 Quincentennial Commemorations in the Philippines." Xiao Chua YouTube channel, 14 December 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HCjdAJTU90E>.

³¹ RTVM, "Tattooing in the Life of Our Ancestors." Lecture by Xiao Chua, Xiao Chua Youtube channel, 7 August 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T-ITe5LgWTw>.

³² NQC, "Countdown to 500 Online Lecture Series Episode 14: Tattooing in Early Philippine History." Lecture by Xiao Chua, Xiao Chua YouTube channel, 9 December 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=35q-9W8yXA0>.

³³ NQC, "Quincentennial Paper Crafts," NQC website, accessed 9 January 2021, <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/quincentennial-paper-crafts/>

³⁴ NHCP, "NHCP Calendar 2020," accessed 9 January 2021. bit.ly/2020NQC

³⁵ NQC, "Quincentennial Online Lecture Portal," NQC website, accessed 9 January 2021, <https://portal.nqc.gov.ph/>.

³⁶ NQC, NQC Facebook page, accessed 9 January 2021, <https://www.facebook.com/nqc2021>.

³⁷ I became one of the preliminary judges of the QArt Competition.

³⁸ Legarda and Chua 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=quv3yMZd2Y8>.

³⁹ The 2021 PHA Annual Conference's theme, as suggested to the board by yours truly, was

also aligned with the Quincentennial theme, “Bayanihan at Pakikipagkapwa-Tao: Empathy, Resilience, and Humanity in Philippine History” held via Zoom and Facebook Live on 28 to 30 October 2021.

⁴⁰ Ma. Luisa T. Camagay, “PHA in 2020,” report read during the PHA 2020 General Assembly via Zoom, PHA Facebook page, 30 December 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/pha1955/posts/2010484089094790>.

⁴¹ NQC, “2021 Quincentennial Activities as of 1 January 2021,” NQC Facebook page, 31 December 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/nqc2021/posts/2823712254615253>.

⁴² Legarda and Chua 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=quv3yMZd2Y8>.

⁴³ The rise of COVID-19 cases by March 2021 prevented the holding of two simultaneous events on D-Day. The musical “Lapulapu: Ang Datu ng Mactan,” directed by Dexter Santos and written by Nicolas Pichay which became the opening show of Metropolitan Theater was shown in digital platforms on 24 October 2021. With Catriona Gray as host and yours truly as the historian who introduced the musical. I was consulted and gave comments to the script.

⁴⁴ To date (2021), the PIQC became the largest historical academic conference in the country where about a hundred Filipino and foreign scholars, diplomats, officials, artists and scientists delivered lectures in 38 panels and 102.8 hours on 20 October to 17 December 2021. I was one the speakers at the inaugural session convened by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

⁴⁵ This part is taken from Xiao Chua, “When historical writers write ‘30,’” *Walking History*, The Manila Times, 29 August 2020. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/08/29/opinion/columnists/when-historical-writers-write-30/760501/>.

⁴⁶ Fortunately, this was corrected by the Department of Education on 15 March 2021 with a memorandum from Undersecretaries Annalyn M. Sevilla and Tonisito Umali enjoining all schools to have simultaneous flag-raising ceremonies and activities for D-Day. Apparently, Secretary Leonor Magtolis Briones was interested about Lapulapu. The DepEd central office showed their flag-raising during D-Day via Facebook Live a few minutes before the start of the Mactan Commemorations on 27 April 2021 and I was invited to be the main speaker of their National Quincentennial Webinar via Zoom on Facebook Live on 7 May 2021. I delivered my lecture from my hospital room at Jecson’s Medical Center, Tarlac City as I was recuperating from COVID-19. It was the most difficult, yet most fulfilling lecture I have done so far.

References

- Amalla, Fr. Joesilo C. *An Island They Called Mazaua*. Quezon City: Joesilo C. Amalla, 2020.
- Camagay, Ma. Luisa T. “PHA in 2020,” report read during the PHA 2020 General Assembly via Zoom. PHA Facebook page, 30 December 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/pha1955/posts/2010484089094790>.
- Chua, Xiao (Michael Charleston B. Chua). “Banga, Bangka, Bangkay!!! Isang Panukalang Gamit ng Arkeolohiya sa Pagtuturo ng Araling Panlipunan at Kasaysayan ng Pilipinas.” Paper presented at the 5th Arts Congress at the De La Salle University Manila with the theme “Laad-Linang: Sining Tungo sa Malikhaing Edukasyon,” 20 February 2013. https://www.academia.edu/7968871/BANGA_BANGKA_BANGKAY_Isang_Panukalang_Gamit_ng_Arkeolohiya_sa_Pagtuturo_ng_Araling_Panlipunan_at_Kasaysayan_ng_Pilipinas.
- _____. “1 + 1 Magellan, 2 + 2 Lapu Lapu: Ang Tala ni Pigafetta at Kung Paano ba Dapat Tingnan ang Quincentennial.” FB Live Learning Session. Vibal Group Facebook Live, 27 March 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/vibalgroup/videos/261584344841340>.
- _____. “Ang Pinakamalaking Pagdiriwang ng Kasaysayan sa 2021.” Kasaysayan, Kaysaya, Vibal Group Facebook Live, 10 November 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/vibalgroup/videos/367625680983291>.
- _____. “Catriona Magnayon Gray: Nation-builder.” *Walking History*. The Manila Times, 22 December 2018. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2018/12/22/opinion/columnists/catriona-magnayon-gray-nation-builder/486034/>.
- _____. “Guide to Today’s Quincentennial Countdown.” *Walking History*. The Manila Times, 14 December 2019. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2019/12/14/opinion/columnists/guide-to-todays-quincentennial-countdown/664057/>.
- _____. “HOCUS in the Quincentennial.” *Walking History*. The Manila Times, 01 February 2020. <https://www.manilatimes.net>.

- net/2020/02/01/opinion/columnists/hocus-in-the-quincentennial/678788/.
- _____. “How and why we commemorate.” *Walking History*. *The Manila Times*, 01 August 2020. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/08/01/opinion/columnists/how-and-why-we-commemorate/748448/>.
- _____. “Lapulapu sa mata ng mga Bayani.” NQC YouTube Channel, 29 February 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=repz9TCBqWk&t=3s>.
- _____. “Mazzawa and the Easter Mass of 1521.” *Walking History*. *The Manila Times*, 08 December 2018. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2018/12/08/opinion/columnists/mazzawa-and-the-easter-mass-of-1521/479590/>; Potenciano Malvar, “Pigafetta’s 9^o/3 N.: ‘Hidden Facts’: Position Paper for the Philippine Quincentennial Committee,” 2018.
- _____. “New Butuan Proponents for the Easter Mass of 1521.” *Walking History*. *The Manila Times*, 15 December 2018. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2018/12/15/opinion/columnists/new-butuan-proponents-for-the-easter-mass-of-1521/482847/>.
- _____. “The Mojares Panel.” *Walking History*. *The Manila Times*, 19 January 2019. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2019/01/20/opinion/columnists/the-mojares-panel/499056/>.
- _____. “Victory and Humanity.” *Walking History*. *The Manila Times*, 02 May 2020. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/05/02/opinion/columnists/victory-and-humanity/721450/>.
- _____. “What the Quincentennial Is Not ...And Should Not Be.” *Walking History*. *The Manila Times*, 09 May 2020. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/05/09/opinion/columnists/what-the-quincentennial-is-not-and-should-not-be/723634/>.
- _____. “When historical writers write ‘30.’” *Walking History*. *The Manila Times*, 29 August 2020. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/08/29/opinion/columnists/when-historical-writers-write-30/760501/>.
- Duterte, Rodrigo Roa. “Executive Order 55 of 8 May 2018: Constituting a Steering Committee for the Commemoration of the Arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in the Philippines, the Victory of Lapu-

- Lapu in the Battle of Mactan, and Other Historic Events that Happened from 1519 to 1522.” <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2018/05/08/executive-order-no-55-s-2018/>.
- _____. “Executive Order 103 of 28 January 2020: Reconstituting and Strengthening the National Quincentennial Committee, and Amending Executive Order no. 55 (s, 2018) for the Purpose.” <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2020/01/28/executive-order-no-103-s-2020/>.
- Guillemard, Francis, *Antonio Pigafetta, Francisco Albo, and Gaspar Correa*. Magellan. England: Viartis, 2008.
- Kimpo, Bing, host. “CovidRadio on RadyoPilipinas.” Radyo Pilipinas Facebook page. 26 April 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/radyopilipinas1/videos/558793295057388>.
- Kimpo, Bing and Xiao Chua, hosts. “Countdown to 500. The 2021 Quincentennial in the Philippines Special: Music of the 500 Years.” NQC Facebook, 27 April 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/nqc2021/videos/222187599210352/>.
- Legarda, Loren and Xiao Chua, hosts. “Road to 500: A Philippine Quincentennial Program, Episode 2: Flagship Projects.” Xiao Chua YouTube channel, 21 July 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=quv3yMZd2Y8>.
- Mojarro, Jorge. “Filipiniana Corner: Reflections on the massacre of Cebu.” *The Manila Times*, 5 May 2020. <https://www.manilatimes.net/2020/05/05/opinion/columnists/reflections-on-the-massacre-of-cebu/722634/>.
- National Historical Commission of the Philippines. “NHCP Calendar 2020,” accessed 9 January 2021. bit.ly/2020NQC
- National Quincentennial Committee. “2021 Quincentennial Activities as of 1 January 2021.” NQC Facebook page, 31 December 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/nqc2021/posts/2823712254615253>
- _____. “About the Quincentennial.” NQC website, accessed 9 January 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/about/>.
- _____. “Countdown to 500 Online Lecture Series Episode 14: Tattooing in Early Philippine History.” Lecture by Xiao Chua. Xiao Chua YouTube channel, 9 December 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/>

- watch?v=35q-9W8yXA0.
- _____. NQC Facebook page, accessed 9 January 2021. <https://www.facebook.com/nqc2021>.
- _____. “Quincentennial Online Lecture Portal.” NQC website, accessed 9 January 2021. <https://portal.nqc.gov.ph/>.
- _____. “Quincentennial Paper Crafts.” NQC website, accessed 9 January 2021. <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/quincentennial-paper-crafts/>
- Philippine Information Agency, host. “Press conference on the Philippine Quincentennial Commemorations.” NQC Facebook page, 21 December 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/nqc2021/videos/2216909398558491/>.
- Radio-Television Malacañang. “500-day countdown to 2021 Quincentennial Commemorations in the Philippines.” Xiao Chua YouTube channel, 14 December 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HCjdAJTU90E>.
- _____. “National Heroes’ Day celebration.” GMA News Youtube, 27 August 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PkR4fAHLjml>.
- _____. “Tattooing in the Life of Our Ancestors.” Lecture by Xiao Chua. Xiao Chua Youtube channel, 7 August 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T-lTe5LgWTw>.
- Stanley, Henry Edward John, ed. *The first voyage round the world by Magellan translated from the accounts of Pigafetta and other contemporary writers*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1874.
- Torres, Jose Victor, ponente. “The Final Report of the Mojares Panel on the Butuan-Limasawa Controversy on the Location of the 1521 First Easter Sunday Mass in the Philippines.” NHCP website, 20 August 2020. <https://nhcp.gov.ph/official-position-of-the-national-historical-commission-of-the-philippines-on-the-site-of-the-1521-easter-sunday-mass-2/>.
- Trofeo, Dik, director. “Kasaysayan ng Lahi.” Metro Manila: National Media Production Center, 1974. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zo3wkRu3POw>.
- Ubaldo, Lars Raymund C. “Dung-aw, Pasyon at Panagbiag Tatlong hibla ng Pakasaritaan ti Biag sa Kasaysayang pangkalinangang Ilokano.” MA History Thesis, UP Diliman, 2003.

About the Editors

FERNANDO A. SANTIAGO, JR., PHD is Associate Professor of History at De La Salle University, Manila, where he serves as Director of the Southeast Asia Research Center and Hub. He has acted previously in the capacity of Assistant Dean for Research and Advanced Studies of the College of Liberal Arts. He is a Board Member and former Vice-President of the Philippine Historical Association and a member of the Social Science Ethics Review Board of the Philippine Social Science Council. He received his Doctorate in History from the University of the Philippines Diliman.

JOSE VICTOR Z. TORRES, PHD is a Full Professor at the History Department of the De La Salle University-Manila and an Associate Director for Drama and History at the Bienvenido N. Santos Creative Writing Center in the same university. He is a multi-awarded writer, winning the prestigious Carlos Palanca Memorial Award for Literature five times, the National Book Award for Travel Writing in 2006 for his book: *Ciudad Murada: A Walk Through Historic Intramuros* and another National Book Award for the Essays in English category for his book, *To the Person Sitting in Darkness and Other Footnotes of Our Past* in 2017. He has also lectured in both local and international conferences on history and culture.

IAN CHRISTOPHER B. ALFONSO is the Supervising History Researcher and Officer-in-Charge of the Research, Publication, and Heraldry Division of the National Historical Commission of the

Philippines. He sits as a Board Member of the Philippine Historical Association. He graduated with a Master of Arts in History (2018) and is currently finishing a Doctor of Philosophy in History at the University of the Philippines Diliman. He obtained his Bachelor of Secondary Education (Social Studies) at Bulacan State University (2010). He founded Project Saysay Inc. in 2013 and co-founded the National Youth Forum on Heritage in 2015.

About the Authors

FARISH A. NOOR, PHD is Professor at the Department of History, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Universiti Malaya. He is a Senior Fellow at the Southeast Asia Research Center and Hub (SEARCH), De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines. His latest works include *Racial Difference and the Colonial Wars of Southeast Asia 1800-1900* (edited with Peter Carey, Amsterdam University Press, 2021), *Data-Collecting in Colonial Southeast Asia: Framing the Other* (Amsterdam University Press, 2020), *Before the Pivot: America's Encounters with Southeast Asia 1800-1900* (Amsterdam University Press, 2018), and *The Discursive Construction of Southeast Asia in 19th Century Colonial-Capitalist Discourse* (Amsterdam University Press, 2016).

FELICE PRUDENTE STA. MARIA has been a cultural worker for over five decades and is an internationally awarded non-fiction author. She pioneers the history of Philippine culinary culture as a significant transdisciplinary research area and maintains brief food accounts about the Spanish and American colonial eras on Instagram @felicepstamaria and the Philippine Food History website <https://felicepstamaria.net>. She was a National Museum trustee as well as a Commissioner on the National Commission for Culture and the Arts and the UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines. She serves Ayala Museum on its Board of Advisers.

ANDRI SETYO NUGROHO is a graduate of Airlangga University with a degree in history. His research interests include the study of social and economic history, the Hindu-Buddhist Kingdom in Indonesia, Maritime history, and Javanese Culture in the Pre-Colonial Period. He is actively conducting studies on ancient inscriptions and manuscripts from East Java.

DITA REISTA NURFAIZAH is majoring in History at Airlangga University. Her research interest is Urban History. She has conducted a study on the development of Surabaya city during the leadership of Mayor Soekotjo (1964-1974). Currently, she is writing historical novels that tell the life of the natives and Europeans during the colonial period in Indonesia.

FELICE NOELLE RODRIGUEZ is Visiting Professor at the Ateneo de Zamboanga University and is a Board member of the Philippine Map Collectors Society. She holds masters and doctoral degrees in History from the University of the Philippines Diliman. She has published historical works on raiding, warfare, Christian discourses, nationalism and Zamboanga, and a translation of Felix Laureano's 1895 *Recuerdos de Filipinas*. She has curated exhibits tracing diverse historical concerns: Malaysian History, La Solidaridad, Philippine postcards and the history of Zamboanga. She continues her research on the Malay world, global trade systems, warfare and interconnections.

DAYA NEGRI WIJAYA, PHD is a lecturer in colonial history at the History Department, Universitas Negeri Malang, Indonesia. He completed his Bachelor of Arts in History Education from Universitas Negeri Malang (2011), his second Bachelor of Arts in English Literature at Universitas Brawijaya (2016), his Master of Arts in History at the University of Sunderland, United Kingdom (2013) and his Doctoral Degree in History from University of Porto Portugal (2022). His research interest is in early modern Southeast Asian history, especially Portuguese expansion to Southeast Asia (16th-17th centuries).

DATO' AHMAD MURAD MERICAN, PHD is a Professor of Social and Intellectual History, International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, International Islamic University Malaysia. He is a Senior Fellow at the Southeast Asia Research Center and Hub (SEARCH), De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines. He has written some 19 books on media and journalism studies, and social and intellectual history. Some of these are *In Other Words: Ideas on Journalism, Social Science and Society* (2017) and *Revisiting Atas Angin: A Review of the Malay Imagination of Rum, the Ferringhi and the Penjajah* (2019). His latest book is titled *The Avatar of 1786: Decolonizing the Penang Story* (2022). He is a columnist for the national daily the *New Straits Times*, the weekly *Melaka Hari Ini*, and the national opinion journal, *Dewan Masyarakat*.

GANI A. JAELANI, PHD earned his doctoral degree in history from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Paris, with the dissertation entitled “La Question de L’hygiène aux Indes-Néerlandaise: Les Enjeux Médicaux, Culturels et Sociaux” [The Question of Hygiene in the Dutch East Indies: Issues on Medicine, Culture and Social] in 2017. He has published a book entitled *Penyakit Kelamin di Jawa, 1814-1942* [Venereal Disease in Java, 1814-1942] (2013) and articles in journals and media about the history of medicine. He teaches history at the Department of History and Philology, Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia, while conducting research on the history of science and medicine. He is also the main editor in the Bandung-based independent publication, *Pustaka Pias*.

MARCELINO M. MACAPINLAC, JR., PHD is an Associate Professor and Graduate Program Coordinator at the Department of History of De La Salle University Manila. He obtained his BA and MA in History from the University of the Philippines Diliman and his Ph.D. in History from the University of Santo Tomas. He has also taught at the University of the Philippines Los Baños, St. Scholastica’s College Manila, Miriam College, University of the Philippines Open University, and Ateneo de Manila University. His research interests

include local history, oral history, historical geography, World War II, and the Japanese occupation of the Philippines.

MICHAEL CHARLESTON “XIAO” B. CHUA, PHD (CAND.) is an Assistant Professorial Lecturer at the De La Salle University-Manila Department of History and senior lecturer at the University of the Philippines Diliman Department of Broadcast Communication. He holds a BA and MA History and is a Ph.D. Anthropology candidate at UP Diliman. He created the *Xiao Time* television segment, used by teachers and students on YouTube to help them learn their country’s history. He writes a Tuesday column named “Walking History” for the *Manila Times*. He was recently named by *Esquire* magazine as one of the 100 most powerful Filipinos wielding soft power.

