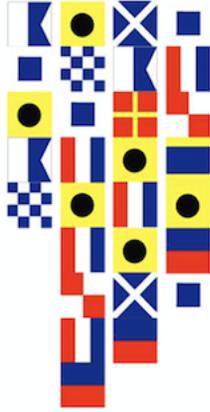




MUSEO MARITIMO
ASIAN INSTITUTE OF MARITIME STUDIES



TIMON

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE PHILIPPINE MARITIME HERITAGE FORUM

Volume 1

SELECTED ARTICLES FROM THE PHILIPPINE MARITIME HERITAGE FORUM

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About the Proceedings

In accordance with the vision of the Asian Institute of Maritime Studies (AIMS) to become the “Home of Maritime, Engineering, and Heritage Knowledge Exchange”, the AIMS Museo Maritimo annually organizes the Philippine Maritime Heritage Forum since 2015. This initiative aims to build up the overall knowledge and facilitate the continuous dialogue on Philippine maritime heritage and industry.

Since 2015 the forum gathered respectable historians and academicians, industry leaders, and maritime professionals to share their knowledge regarding the maritime heritage and industry of the Philippines.

In celebration of this achievement, AIMS Museo Maritimo established *Timon: The Proceedings of the Philippine Maritime Heritage Forum* which publishes annually.

A proceedings that summarizes the content of the forums into a research material is necessary to facilitate further research relating to maritime heritage and industry. This endeavor supports researches for academic and policy-making purposes.

The term Timon means rudder in Filipino. Similarly, the proceedings hopes to become an instrument to spread awareness which serves as a foundation for the succeeding forums. It will guide various stakeholders in the maritime industry such as policymakers, seafarers, shipping companies, maritime institutions, and maritime historians.

Foreword

Dear Reader,

It is with great pride and honor that we present the selected articles of the Philippine Maritime Heritage Forum Conference Proceedings. The proceedings is a material for further research relating to maritime heritage and industry. Its purpose is to spread awareness and serves as a foundation for the succeeding forums.

The whole editorial team of Museo Maritimo would like to express our deepest gratitude and regards for sharing with us your time in appreciating the rich maritime legacy of the Philippines. We will treasure your interest and commitment in reading the first volume of the proceedings.

We would also like to send our gratitude to our authors who supported this undertaking and shared their knowledge and expertise. Their efforts and support enabled us to complete the first volume and fill it with rich and different themes.

Above all, we will forever be indebted to them for joining us in our endeavor of creating a reference material for the continuous exchange and dissemination of maritime heritage and industry thereby spreading the wonders of the Philippine maritime past. Without their cooperation and commitment the entire first volume of the proceedings will not be possible.

Lastly, none of this will be possible without the support of our President Dr. Arlene Abuid-Paderanga and Executive Director Mr. Ronel M.

Gillesania. The direction and diligence they provided were crucial in the accomplishment of the proceedings.

In summary, we would like to express our gratitude for the support of our authors, the Office of the President, the AIMS community, and most especially to our readers. On behalf of the entire editorial team, we would like to thank you for joining us in our endeavor of spreading and experiencing the vast wonders and richness of the Philippine maritime heritage and industry. We hope that you will enjoy the proceedings.

Sincerely,

Daryl Lorence P. Abarca
Editor

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Preface

The Asian Institute of Maritime Studies (AIMS) Museo Maritimo annually organizes the Philippine Maritime Heritage Forum in accordance to its objective to become the “Home of Maritime, Engineering, and Heritage Knowledge Exchange” in the country. Since the first maritime forum, Museo Maritimo organized the framework and themes based on the historical progression of Philippine maritime history. The following are the themes of the previous forums:

1st Philippine Maritime Heritage Forum

Balik-Tanaw: Retracing Our Connections with the Sea

2nd Philippine Maritime Heritage Forum

Akulturasyon, Tradisyon at Bagong Nasyon: Forming the Filipino Nation through Time and Tide

3rd Philippine Maritime Heritage Forum

Mastering the High Seas: The Development of the Philippine Maritime Industry

4th Philippine Maritime Heritage Forum

Voyages beyond the Shores: Maritime Movements in the Age of Globalization

5th Philippine Maritime Heritage Forum

The Philippines as a Maritime Nation: Early Maritime Accounts and Contemporary Opportunities.

The first to third forum surveyed the progression of the Philippine maritime history from its early history to the formation of the Philippines as maritime nation. On the other hand, the fourth and fifth forum covered the maritime status of the Philippines in the contemporary period. It focus not only on the maritime history of the Philippines, it also encompass the opportunities and the future of the Philippines as a maritime nation with its maritime past in the backdrop.

Since the historical progression followed by Museo Maritimo in organizing its theme reached the contemporary period, this proceedings aims to consolidate the wisdom and contents of all the previous forums and support a nation-state narrative for the country anchored in its maritime heritage and industry.

An Ethnographic Study of Maritime Navigation among Fisherfolks of Nagbalaye, Negros Oriental

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Abstract

Using ethnographic research approach, this study was conducted to find out indigenous knowledge systems and practices, or IKSP, pertinent to maritime activities. Interviews with fisherfolks of Nagbalaye, Sta. Catalina in Negros Oriental revealed the people's extensive knowledge of the different types of waves, winds, tides and sea currents and the recommended sailing activities corresponding to each type; knowledge of maritime techniques such as wayfinding using landmarks and celestial bodies; and knowledge and practice of rituals in support of these maritime information and activities. Unfortunately, these valuable techniques and pieces of information are often ignored because they are misperceived to be unscientific, despite their apparent usefulness in creating a "bottom-up approach" to government policy-making mechanisms leading to a better understanding of maritime environments.

Introduction

An effective tool to achieve a deep understanding of seascapes is by listening to fisherfolks and learning about their indigenous knowledge systems and practices, or IKSP. This refers to the methods and practices developed by a group of men, who have formed an advanced understanding of the local sea environment after generations of habitation in the area. One such group of men is found in Sta. Catalina, Negros Oriental.

Sta. Catalina, Negros Oriental is politically subdivided into 22 barangays, one of which is Nagbalaye. Geographically coastal and subsisting on farming, Nagbalaye is classified

as rural.¹ For their subsistence, the traditional fisherfolks of Nagbalaye rely on fish and sea products. Most of the fisherfolks in this community travel from one island to another, not only for leisure and trade but also for health emergencies. Their sailing boats or *baroto* are sometimes used to ferry patients to the nearest hospital.

Knowledge of traditional maritime navigation is very important for the fisherfolks of Nagbalaye. Even without the use and availability of modern maritime technology, fisherfolks find their way in the sea, night or day. What enables them to do this is their familiarity with landmarks, winds, wave movements, and sea currents. Without these aids, traditional

¹www.philatlas.com/visayas/r07/negros-oriental/santa-catalina/nagbalaye.html

fisherfolks will be lost and flounder at sea.

Using ethnographic research approach, this study aims to: 1) describe indigenous maritime navigation; 2) differentiate the kinds of waves, winds, tides and sea currents; 3) describe types of sailing using celestial bodies; and 3) recognize the different kinds of rituals and practices in connection with maritime navigation. Further, it seeks to discover the constructs and understandings of maritime phenomenon, the range of experience of the fisherfolks using their traditional maritime techniques such as sea coordinate techniques, wayfinding, and determining wind direction and behavior.

Results and Discussion

Sailing using celestial bodies

Usually the fisherfolks go fishing at night. Celestial navigation or “*panagat basi diha sa bituon*” is used at night. Fisherfolks depend on the stars and planets as their guide for night navigation with the morning star serving as guide in the sky. One of the biggest and brightest among these celestial bodies is the *kabugasan* or the planet Venus which is only seen at early dawn. It serves as a reminder for the fisherfolks that their night fishing is about to end and that they need to go back to their community to sell their fish and other sea products. Similarly, the biggest and brightest celestial body seen at dusk is *kapunasan*. Unknown to the fisherfolks, *kapunasan* is also the planet Venus. This celestial body serves as a signal that night fishing is about to start. *Kapunasan* is important to the fisherfolks because it reminds them of the work at hand. They cannot afford to sail late because

the sea is their unpredictable sustenance.

The *krus sa timog* or the southern cross consists of four stars in the shape of a cross located in the southern sky. These four stars serve as a clock for fisherfolks. If the stars are positioned forming an erect cross, it signifies midnight; if the cross is tilted back on an angle, it signifies that dawn is fast approaching.

Another celestial aid is the *amopolo*, a cluster of 15 stars. The cluster of stars moves in the sky at clockwork precision like the movement of the moon. These stars also help fisherfolks tell the time. As with the *amopolo*, the *balatik*, a four-star arrangement in the shape of an inverted big letter L, is used by traditional navigators to remind them of the time. The *balatik*

moves from south to west of the horizon.

Reading the Waves, Winds, Tides and Sea Currents

The traditional fisherfolk can decipher different types of waves that are always associated with the wind, like the: a) *balud habagat*, when the waves are caused by wind that comes from the north; b) *balud amihan*, is when the wind that causes waves comes from the South; c) *balud salatan*, when the wind coming from the East causes the waves; and lastly, d) *balud timog*, when the wind from the South causes waves. The big waves or *dagko nga balod*, are caused by natural disasters such as typhoons, heavy rains, and earth movements like earthquakes that cause tsunamis. These waves are considered devastating by fisherfolks because they signal a

shortage of food or *ting-gutom*.

The fisherfolks described *ilhanan* or *tilimad-on* as different landmarks in the sea. These are the promontories, towers, lighthouses and mountains also serve as guides to reach a designated spot or direction for fishing. *Tilimad-on* is also defined *uhanan sa panahon* or *the sign of the times*. It is a clue, a sign, an omen, or it can be many things like an event (death of child together with the death of an old man, the death of a neighbor, the failure of light during evening meal); an action or gesture (dropping a spoon, singing- by the stove) or an object (a mole under the eye, a large ear which is a sign of longevity, the smell of candle burning). The whole ominal world is therefore comprised in the concept of *tilimad-on* and

the omens may be either favorable or unfavorable.²

The sea current or *sulog (agos)* is dictated by *taob and hunas* (high and low tides). High tide or *taob* is dictated by the size and position of the moon.³ The full moon or *bulanon* means high tide and the moon that is disappearing or *dulum* is considered as low tide. The new moon or *dulum* for the fisherfolk is a good sign for fishing, while the full moon or *bulanon* is described as poor fishing or no catch. Overall, the fisherfolks rely on the position of the moon to determine the flow and behavior of sea current. Attendant to this is the approximate time of fishing, as seen in Table 1 and Table 2 below.

² Demeterio, Francisco 1969. Towards a Classification of Bisayan Folk Beliefs and Customs (pp. 27-50). Asian Folklore Studies. Vol. 28, No. 1, 1969

³www.tideschart.com/Philippines/Central-Visayas/Bayawan/

Table 1: Nagbalaye Major Fishing Times

Major fishing times	Position of the moon
4:39 AM to 6:39 AM	Opposing lunar transit (moon down)
5:05 PM to 7:05 PM	Lunar Transit (moon up)

Table 2: Nagbalaye Minor Fishing Times

Minor fishing times	Position of the moon
11:09 AM to 12:09 PM	Moonrise
11:01 PM to 12:01 AM	Moonset

A thumb rule or *sintido kumon* for the fisherfolks is not to lose sight of the landmarks. For them, all the celestial bodies being used to tell time and to indicate other information (e.g. to sail or not to sail) can guide them. According to the fisherfolks, these celestial bodies provide information as regards position while at sea during fishing, or while they are still at the seashore, they observe first the

movements and the positions of these celestial bodies before they decide whether or not to go fishing.

A switch in wind direction is the primary indicator for the change from one monsoon to another. The *habagat* is known as the Southwest monsoon. The fisherfolks, or the *mananagat*, describe *habagat* as a strong wind that carries heavy rains but



short in terms of duration. The *habagat* season warns the fisherfolks to be cautious in their fishing activities because this season is considered as dangerous due to strong winds. During Southwest monsoon or *hanging habagat*, the high-pressure area is in the Australian continent, and the low-pressure area is in North China, Mongolia, and Siberia. The gusty winds from the west and excessive rainfall often turn to dangerous typhoons. While the rain may ease rice field irrigation, heavy rainfall may trigger floods, landslides, and potentially endanger residents living near riverbanks. The typhoons that *habagat* brings, unfortunately, cause millions, sometimes billions, worth of reconstruction damage and kill hundreds of Filipinos. The southwest monsoon affects the country from late June to October (occurrence may vary each year).

The low fishing season in the Philippines occurs during the *habagat* season because of frequent rainfall and high humidity. Flash floods and landslides are regular incidents during this season. On the other hand, the *amihan* is the Filipino term for Northeast monsoon, which is a cool and dry northeast wind coming from Siberia and China and blowing down to Southeast Asia. This season is characterized by slight to moderate rainfall and a prevailing cold wind that affects the east of the Philippines. The Northeast monsoon commonly occurs from October to late March, although occurrence may vary every year. The peak season in fishing in the Philippines is during the *amihan* season since it brings the best weather conditions: the air is cool, there is less rain, and humidity is low, plus sunshine is moderate. The Northeast

monsoon contributes to colder Christmas nights which gives a better ambience fit for the festive season.⁴ Nonetheless, fisherfolks warn seafarers to be cautious because the sea can be unpredictable at times.

The other type of unpredictable wind is known as *canaway*. This particular wind which has no fixed direction blows two to three times in a year. This *canaway* causes huge waves, deadly winds, and heavy rains that inundate rivers. At the same time, it can produce a huge volume of water that goes to the sea and changes the movement of the ocean waves. The period from June to December is considered as the wet season or *tag-ulan*. On the other hand, the dry season called *tag-init* covers the months from January to May.

There is no particular season that ensures a good catch. According to the fisherfolks, it can happen either during the rainy or dry season as long as the day and night sky is clear, the water is calm, and the wind is not strong. Still another type of wind is that which has a south westerly direction; called *salatan*, it blows rarely (maybe two or three times a year) and slowly. There is no specific month or days when the wind will come and blow, but it seldom blows, just like the *canaway*. For the fisherfolks, the *salatan* is considered unpredictable that is why it makes sailing dangerous.

For the fisherfolks, there are two kinds of tides: the *taob* and *hunas*. These are the low tides and high tides that are influenced by the position of the moon, causing the sea to produce a large volume of water, which is very helpful for the

⁴www.divescotty.com/underwater-blog/amihan-habagat-monsoon.php

fisherfolks to navigate safely in both shallow and deep waters. The *hunás* or low tide is considered not safe for fishing in shallow water but it is good for harvesting *kinhason* or seashells and catching crustaceans. On the other hand, the high tide, or *taob*, for the fisherfolks is a good sign especially during night spearfishing. But high tide is not good for harvesting seashells due to strong current. The sea current of *sulog or huwaso* (the deceptive calm in the eye of the storm) is dictated by the wind and wave movement. The stronger the wind and waves, the stronger the sea current becomes. The sea current is heightened by the changing of sea tides and movement of the winds. The *sulog or huwaso* is dictated by the position and shape of the moon. The position of the moon also indicates the flow of sea current. The *sulog or huwaso* as experienced by the

fisherfolks is a dual sea current where the surface water flows in one direction but when the fisherfolks move to the deeper part of the sea, the water moves in an opposite direction. The *sulog or huwaso* serves as a basis for the use of sail or *layag* in order to control the direction and speed of the *baroto* or boat. Over all, for fisherfolks,

kung mag blue ra ang dagat, daghan ko ug kwarta [if the sea water is blue, it's a sign for a good catch and lots of income].

Conducting the Rituals of the Traditional Navigators

Most of the fisherfolks practice rituals like lashing the boat with prepared and smoked seashore grasses or tree branches. This is usually done by the boat owner together with his family to get rid of bad spirits so that they do not

go along or ride home with them to bring bad luck. The other form of ritual is by using *kamangyan*, which serves as incense. Simultaneous with the burning of incense is the chanting of the boat owners; the *pamulong-pulong* is believed to keep the bad spirits away from their fishing boat and their family. The belief in purification by fire or smoke is, common among the fisherfolk. *Palina* is the cure of diseases, especially those caused by supernatural beings (*engkantos mga kalag, barangans* and others). For the fisherfolks it is used, to ensure the good luck of a store or of fishing gears (boats and nets are “smoked”) but for others, it is used for gambling (the *tari* or *sabong*, or the spurs fastened to the ankles of fighting cocks are also “smoked”). The custom of smoking, however, seems to have been borrowed by the

lowland peoples from the uplanders.⁵

One of the most important rituals that is performed during the launching of a newly built boat is called *paduguan* or bloodletting. This is carried out when an animal -- like duck, chicken, goat, or pig – is killed and its blood is smeared all over the boat and offered to the spirits. For the fisherfolks, the blood can make a significant contribution to the boat or its owner, depending on the kind of sacrificial animal killed. For example, a) the blood of a duck can make the boat move in the water like a duck, fast and unsinkable; b) the blood of a

⁵ Demeterio, Francisco 1969. Towards a Classification of Bisayan Folk Beliefs and Customs (pp. 27-50). Asian Folklore Studies. Vol. 28, No. 1, 1969

chicken can make the boat owner an early riser, hence the first to catch the fish for the day. Usually fisherfolks sacrifice three (3) black-feathered chickens, or the *buyugon*, for the spirits of the sea to avoid *dimalas* or bad luck; c) the blood of a goat can make the boat tough and resilient at daytime; and lastly, d) the blood of a pig can make the boat's enterprise productive and the boat owner fat, like a pig. The animal's blood is offered while the members of the family, taught by the traditional practitioner, chant something in Latin. The kind of animal offered for sacrifice is determined by the *albularyo*, *mananambal* or *may naantigohan* (person with knowledge in communicating with the spirits). Not any traditional practitioner is consulted; who is consulted depends on the case and spirits that are believed to exist in the area. As with the other rituals,

the intention is to get rid of the bad spirits and make the boat safe and sturdy, and to make fishing activities productive. For the traditional practitioner:

Ang ritwal depende sa sitwasyon sa sakit sa tawo. Mau pod ni ang basehan kung unsa ang angay nga ihawon o ihalad nga mga hayop ug gamit. Hal. mama magdagkot ug kandila ug ang angay nga ihalad sa mga espiritu.] [Ritual depends on the severity of one's illness. It is also the basis that the type of the animal body to be sacrificed and the equipment to be used [ex. Bettlenut and candles] that will be offered to the spirits].

Before its maiden voyage or *ipalawod/ipalitam*, a *maglahad* or ritual for the spirits of the sea is again conducted.

To this day, the traditional fishing skills are gradually disappearing because traditional fisherfolks now opt to work outside their community as construction workers, farmers and as seafarers (this is somewhat related to their traditional fishing work). This is due to limited fishing produce, limited funds to maintain their fishing equipment, inability to compete with advanced fishing techniques using machines and modern fishing equipment (such as sonar, fish finders) and big motorized fishing boats like *basnig*, *pumpboats*, and little support from the government.⁶ As one of the interviewees, Mang Beny, said:

Bisan siya usa ka, mananagat, ang iyahang pamilya dili kayo nalipay sa iyang kuha, pobre kayo sila kinahanglan nila ibaligya ang gamay kuha naa isda para masuntentohan ang ilang pagkaon [although he is a fisherman, his family seldom enjoys his catch, as they are so poor that they have to sell even small fishes in order to have money to buy other food staples.]

Apart from this, the techniques and knowledge of the traditional fisherfolks are often ignored and marginalized because they are not considered scientific. Thus, even if the young generation is interested in learning the traditional ways of fishing, this interest is nipped in the bud.

The relevance of traditional maritime beliefs, practices and techniques in understanding the

⁶www.manilatimes.net/2018/01/13/business/maritime-business/sustainability-efforts-ph-maritime-industry/373988/

local seascape is obvious. This should be the starting point of any effort to improve sustainability in the Philippine maritime industry. Such a “bottom-up approach” to policymaking improves the chances of progress in the Philippine maritime industry. With the commitment and

concerted efforts of all its stakeholders from the public and private sectors, led by a government that promotes and implements traditional fishing programs, lasting and proactive relationships among all involved sectors will be forged.

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Manila: Spain's Premier Fort and Port in Asia in the Age of Empire

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Abstract

On June 24, 1571 Spanish *conquistador* Miguel Lopez de Legazpi founded a Spanish city on the site of Rajah Soliman's Maynilad, for years a thriving trading settlement located near the mouth of the Pasig River. Legazpi's founding of Manila changed the contour of the land to fit the needs and objectives of the Spaniards. From the late 16th up to the 19th centuries, Manila served two principal functions of Spanish colonial policy. The first was as "recinto" or fortified city and the second was as "entrepot" or center of trade. From 1571 to 1898, Manila was Spain's premier fort and port in Asia in the Age of Empire.

Key Words: Manila, fort, defense, port, trade

Introduction

Founding of Manila as a Spanish City

In 1570 Manila was a flourishing settlement located near the mouth of the Pasig River as it deposits its waters to Manila Bay. It was ruled by native chieftains called rajahs who traced their ancestry to the rajahs of Borneo. It was called Maynilad named after the nilad plant which grew in abundance on the marshes at the mouth of the Pasig River. Chieftain of Manila was Rajah Soliman.

Soliman's Manila was not only a trading settlement. It had one other outstanding feature. It was a strategically located fort:

“facing the mouth of the river and the sea, a palisade of logs, actually trunks of coconut trees which was meant more to deflect gunfire than to enclose since it was easy to pass between the logs, planted in the ground about a foot from each other. The fortification proper consisted of narrow mud walls mounted with a dozen pieces of artillery, mostly small calibre cannon. The town itself was a mass of nipa huts huddled around Soliman's palace which was a big house with a lot of porcelain and blankets, a number of wooden tanks filled with water and stores of copper, iron, wax and cotton. Beside the palace was an arsenal. Nearby was a forge where cannons were made under the

*direction of a
Portuguese armorer.”⁷*

Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, captain of a Spanish expedition with orders to found settlements in the Philippines, had already made Cebu as his initial capital in 1565.⁸ However, reports reached him of a more suitable capital, Manila in the island of Luzon north of Cebu. Arriving there in 1570 Legazpi prepared to take possession of Manila. However, Manila’s native chieftains, Rajah Matanda and Rajah Soliman, had no plans to relinquish the settlement to the newcomers without a battle. They refused to surrender what was once their village to the Spaniards

without a fight. In Bankusay along the bay fronting Manila, the two chieftains gathered their followers. Soliman’s men boarded their boats and met the Spaniards off the shore. Soliman’s men began shooting arrows at the Spaniards who retaliated by firing their guns which killed many of Soliman’s men. Despite their bravery, Soliman’s men were unable to defeat the Spaniards. They then retreated and moved back to the shore.⁹

On June 24, 1571 Legazpi formally founded Manila as a Spanish city. On this day he created Manila’s first *cabildo* or

⁷ Nick Joaquin, *Manila, My Manila: A History for the Young*. Manila: Vera-Reyes, 1990, p. 13

⁸ T. Valentino Sitoy, Jr., *The Initial Encounter*, Volume 1. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1985, p. 112

⁹ “Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon,” 1572, vol. 3, p. 157, Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*, Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903-1907. This 55-volume compilation of primary sources will hereinafter be referred simply as “Blair and Robertson.”

city council made up of two *alcaldes ordinarios* (mayors with judicial powers), one *alguacil mayor* (bailiff or constable), and twelve *regidores* (counselors) and appointed more officials, namely, one notary for the *cabildo* and two notaries for the court, on the following day.¹⁰

Legazpi wanted to create a Spanish imprint on the land. His aim in doing this was to erase from the memory of the people the once prosperous and commanding native settlement on the banks of the Pasig River.¹¹ First, he burned Rajah Soliman's palisaded settlement. Next, he proceeded to build his

new city on the actual site of Rajah Soliman's Manila. For the design of the Spanish city that he wanted to build, Legazpi turned to the guidelines issued by King Philip II in 1573 known as "Ordinances Concerning Discoveries, Settlements and Pacification of the Indies." These ordinances laid down the basic principles of town planning of cities to be founded in Spain's overseas colonies. The ordinances called for a basic design which was a compact layout arranged in a typical checkerboard pattern. Streets crisscrossed across the lay of the land from north to south and from east to west creating, in the process, square or rectangle building lots. At the center was an open space in the shape of a square called *plaza mayor* from where the four principal streets of the city began. Lots around the *plaza mayor* were reserved for royal

¹⁰ Fernando Riquel, "Foundation of the City of Manila," 1572, vol. 3, pp. 173-174, Blair and Robertson

¹¹ Martin J. Noone, The Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines (1521-1581) in General History of the Philippines, Part 1, Vol. 1. Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1986, p. 410

buildings, the principal church, buildings for the use of the city and the shops and houses of merchants. The *aduana* or customs house, the arsenal, and the hospital for non-contagious diseases occupied lots near the principal church, the royal buildings and the city council so that they could easily assist one another. The first cities founded along this design-pattern were in islands in the Caribbean Sea such as Santo Domingo in Hispaniola, founded in 1502, San Juan in Puerto Rico, founded in 1509, Santiago in Cuba in 1514, and Havana also in Cuba, founded in 1515. In later years, this design-pattern was followed in other Spanish cities founded in Central and South America such as Vera Cruz in Mexico, founded in 1519, Cartagena in Colombia, founded in 1533, Lima in Peru, founded in 1536, Santiago in Chile, founded in 1541, Bogota

in Colombia, founded in 1553, Caracas in Venezuela, founded in 1567, Buenos Aires in Argentina, founded in 1580.¹² In effect, the checkerboard pattern defined the exact form of the settlement, the alignment of the roads, the arrangement of the blocks, and the pattern for the division of the parcels among the founding members.¹³

In Manila, Legazpi followed the grid iron pattern of Spanish colonial cities built in America.¹⁴

¹² Patricia Sendin. "The Spanish Colonial Town: Planning Flexibility in Spite of the Grid." www.patriciasendin.com/2014/06/the-spanish-colonial-town-planning.html

¹³ Roberto Rodriguez. "The Foundational Process of Cities in Spanish America: The Law of the Indies as a Planning Tool for Urbanization in Early Towns in Venezuela," in *Focus*: Vol. 2: Iss. 1, Article 13, digitalcommons.calpoly.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1038&context=focus

¹⁴ The use of the grid iron plan is considered in traditional historiography one of the most important

Antonio de Morga, Lieutenant Governor of Manila in 1603, described in the following words the lay-out of Manilamanner in which Legazpi parcelled out building lots in Manila:

Manila was laid out with well-arranged streets and squares, straight and level. Legazpi apportioned the new settlement to the Spaniards in equal building-lots. A sufficiently large main square (plaza mayor) was left, fronting which were erected the cathedral church and municipal buildings. He

left another square, plaza de armas, fronting which was built the fort, as well as the royal buildings. The houses of the Cabildo, located on the square, are built of stone. They are very sightly and have handsome halls. On the ground floor is the prison, and the court of the alcaldes-in-ordinary. On the same square is situated the cathedral church.¹⁵

From the late 16th up to the 19th century, Manila served two principal functions for Spanish policy in Asia. The first was as Spain's "recinto" or fortified city

contributions of town planning in New Spain and a direct result of the application of the schemes for ideal cities. History of Cities and City Planning by Cliff Ellis
www.art.net/~hopkins/Don/simcity/manual/history.html

¹⁵ Antonio de Morga, 1559-1636. History of the Philippine Islands. The Project Gutenberg EBook, 2003 (E-Book Number: 7001).
www.bohol.ph/books/PhilippineIslands/PhilippineIslands.html

and the second was as “entrepot” or center of trade. Integral to the realization of these aims was the making of Manila as Spain’s premier fort and port in Asia in the Age of Empire.

Manila as Fort

Manila was designed to be an enclave for Spaniards. As such, foremost in the minds of the Spaniards was their safety, on one hand, from unpacified and rebellious natives and on the other hand, from rival European powers like the Portuguese and the Dutch. Central to this concept was the construction of an impregnable defense system founded first on a formidable stone fort and, second, an encircling stone wall reinforced with ramparts, bastions and ravelins.

Legazpi began building a fort for the defense of his newly established Spanish city. The fort was located at the area nearest the point where the waters of the Pasig River met the waters of Manila Bay. The fort was named “Santiago’ after the patron saint of Spain, St. James the Greater. Fort Santiago was initially built of coconut tree trunks held together by mounds of earth. The usefulness of the fort as a defense of Manila was put to a test in 1574. On November 30 of this year, a thousand Chinese mercenaries aboard 70 ships reinforced with artillery arrived. They constituted the advance troops of Li-Ma-Hong under the command of his trusted general, Sioco. The Chinese initially landed in the area of Parañaque thinking this was Manila, the newly founded Spanish city that they had heard about. Realizing their mistake they proceeded to



march to Manila which they assaulted in no time upon reaching it. On this day, November 30 which is the feast day of St. Andrew the Apostle, the Spaniards bravely defended Manila against the Chinese attackers. Two days later at dawn of December 2, Li-Ma-Hong himself arrived in Manila with more men. Under the command of General Sioco I, 500 Chinese again attacked Manila. But the attack was in vain. General Sioco was killed and the Chinese became demoralized. They returned to their boats and sailed north towards the Ilocos where they built a fort. A retaliatory force made up of 350 Spanish soldiers and 2,000 Filipinos under the command of Juan de Salcedo laid siege to the Chinese in their fort for six months. Sensing no success in

their endeavor, the Chinese left their fort and sailed away.¹⁶

For the loyalty to Spain demonstrated by the city, King Philip II gave Manila the title of “Muy noble y siempre leal” (Distinguished and Ever Loyal).¹⁷ In 1596 King Philip II again honored Manila. In this year, he bestowed upon Manila its own coat-of-arms which consisted of “an escutcheon divided across; in the upper part is a castle on a red field, and in the lower a lion of gold, crowned and rampant, holding a naked sword in its right paw; one-half of the body is in the form of a dolphin upon

¹⁶ Maria Lourdes Diaz-Trechuelo Spinola. *Arquitectura Española en Filipinas (1565-1800)*. Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1959, pp. 7-9

¹⁷ Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio, *The Philippine Chronicles of Fray San Antonio* (translated from the Spanish by D. Pedro Picornell. Manila: Casalinda and Historical Conservation Society, 1977, p. 255

the waters of the sea, to signify that the Spaniards crossed the sea with their arms to conquer this kingdom for the crown of Castilla.”¹⁸

Convinced of the imperative need for a much stronger fort for the city, the Spaniards began building a new fort made of stone. Construction of the new stone fort was begun in 1590 by Governor General Gomez Perez Dasmariñas. Construction work to place Fort Santiago in constant readiness for the defense of Manila continued until the end of the 19th century. The task of maintaining Fort Santiago was placed upon the shoulders of succeeding governors-general. For example, Sabiniano Manrique de Lara repaired the retaining curtain wall by raising the parapets. He also built a platform at the point

nearest the sea which he named Plataforma de San Miguel to guard the mouth of the river. The platform had a circumference of 200 feet which made it capable of being installed with twelve large cannons.¹⁹

Fort Santiago alone was not expected to defend Manila. Governor-General Guido de Lavezares (1572-1575) began the building of a wall initially made of palisade which was continued by his successor, Francisco de Sande (1575-1580). By 1585 during the time of Governor-General Santiago de Vera (1585-1589), the palisade wall started to be replaced by a stone wall. The initial stone wall was further improved during the time of Governor General Gomez Perez Dasmariñas (1590-1593).

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 255

¹⁹ Diaz-Trechuelo, pp. 151-152

Improvements made at the time included making the stone wall rise to as much as 30 feet high and extend 4 feet wide. Because it was now surrounded by a stone wall, Manila came to be popularly called “Intramuros” or city within the walls.

The *cortina* or the line of Manila’s stone wall was interrupted at various points by various kinds of defense works. These included a *fortin* or small fort, a *bastion* also called *baluarte* or structure protruding from the main wall, and a *baluartillo* or small bastion. The stone wall between the bastions was broken by outer defense works such as a *reducto* which defended a *bastion* or a *baluarte* and a *revellin* or ravelin which defended a gate. As if these fortifications were not enough, the Spaniards added another layer of defense. Soldiers guarded these forts,

bastions and redoubts. At no time of the day or night were these defenseworks not guarded by alert sentries. Defending the northern, eastern and southern flanks of the stone wall were high-caliber cannons. Beyond the *cortina* were two rings of *foso* or moat surrounding Intramuros filled with water drained from the Pasig River.²⁰

The construction of Fort Santiago and the encircling stone wall reinforced by bastions, ravelins and postern gates, the conscription of military details in strategic parts of the city, the defensive alignment of the suburbs all

²⁰ Leon Wolff. Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippines Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 20-21; Celestina Boncan, “Maynila at Kapitaligiran noong 1896: Pagmamapa ng Himagsikan,” Historical Bulletin, vol. XLVII (2014): 88-90

made Manila a “recinto” or fortified city.

The defense of Manila extended well beyond Fort Santiago and the city’s stone wall. To the south of Manila lay the Cavite Peninsula. As early as 1591, Governor-General Gomez Perez Dasmariñas already noted its strategic importance to the defense of Manila. He said that the Cavite Peninsula was not only the port of Manila but also the only place in Manila Bay from where an enemy assault against Manila could be staged. This finding of the governor-general was continuously asserted in later years. In a letter to King Philip IV in 1650, the city’s aldermen called the Cavite Peninsula as the key of these islands. Governor-General Domingo de Zabalbaru (1701-1709) affirmed the earlier finding of his predecessor (Gomez Perez Dasmariñas) to

which the Fiscal of the Council of the Indies agreed. Nearly a hundred and fifty years later in 1747 Acting Governor-General Fray Juan de Arechederra (1745-1750) described the Cavite Peninsula as the key and defense of the City of Manila.²¹

Due to the great military importance of the Cavite Peninsula, it demanded the best security measures. King Philip III ordered the construction of a fort which was started in 1609. Fort San Felipe was strategically located. Built near the tip of the Cavite Peninsula, Fort San Felipe overlooked the southern waters of Manila Bay. Unfortunately however, due to the lack of funds and the scarcity of men to serve as guardsmen, only a small fort was constructed. In 1628 news reached the country that a squadron of 40 Dutch and

²¹ Ibid., p. 289

English ships was on its way to the Philippines. Governor-General Juan Niño de Tabora (1626-1632) quickly convened the Council of War. Among the military preparations agreed upon was the reenforcement of Fort San Felipe. The fort was enlarged and totally made of stone. Constructed therein facing the beach were four half cavaliers capable of bringing in 200 soldiers and solid embankments for the mounting of the artillery. At the opposite or landside a redoubt was constructed facing the fort which was connected to it by means of a palisade and a covered walkway. He also built an earthen esplanade in front of the port where he installed forty cannons.²²

The only time that the walls of Manila were breached was in

²² Ibid., p. 290

1762. On September 23 of this year a British fleet made up of fourteen vessels anchored in Manila Bay. Aboard were 274 marines who were joined the following day by 632 seamen. The fleet came from the British colony of Madras in India. This unfolding event was occasioned by the start of the Seven Years War in Europe.²³ Spain and Britain were on opposite sides of the war. Thinking of making a first strike on the Spaniards in Manila, the British in India organized the fleet with orders to occupy the city. Rear Admiral Samuel Cornish and Brigadier General William Draper to whom command of the fleet had been given ordered the

²³ France and Britain were at war in 1761. The Spanish king being related to the French king, these monarchs signed a Family Compact that year. Britain declared war on Spain on January 2, 1762. Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Roots of the Filipino Nation*, vol. 1. Quezon City: Aklahi Foundation, Inc., 1989, p. 313

landing force to set up camp preparatory to attacking Manila. The British were able to bring to shore their supplies one week later. On the following October 4, the Spaniards sent a force of Pampango militia to counterattack the British; however, the British were able to fend them off killing nearly a third of them. The British then fired their cannons on the curtain wall along Bastion de San Andres. Continuous cannon fire weakened this part of the curtain wall. Two days later, they entered Intramuros and began ransacking and assaulting the royal buildings, churches and homes of the Spaniards. To prevent his capture by the British, Governor-General Simon de Anda had earlier escaped from the city through a tunnel that led to the Pasig River and from there proceeded north to Pampanga where he set up the provisional capital. In his

absence Anda left the city to Archbishop of Manila Manuel Rojo del Rio y Vieyra who became the Acting Governor-General. Not too long after, the good Archbishop surrendered Manila to the British to avoid further bloodshed and disorder in the city. In 1762 Manila lost its fame as the fabled invincible Spanish *recinto* in Asia.²⁴

The British occupied Manila for two years. By 1764 the Seven Years War had already ended. The British restored the city back to the Spaniards. The harrowing experience of foreign occupation taught the Spaniards a lesson. They needed to increase the defense of Manila to avert a repeat of the disastrous capture of the city. In the succeeding years, the task of strengthening the defense of

²⁴ Manuel Rojo, "Rojo's Journal," 1762, Vol. 49, pp. 104-131, Blair and Robertson

Manila was no longer placed upon the shoulders of the colony's top official, the governor-general. Spain began to send military engineers to the Philippines who were members of the Corps of Engineers. Military engineers such as Juan de Ciscara y Ramirez, Tomas de Castro y Andrade, Miguel Antonio Gomez, Feliciano Marquez y Trujillo, Dionisio O'Kelly y Burke, and the collaborators of the latter namely Jose Belestá y Pared, Tomas Sanz, and Gregorio Clavero were professional engineers. They brought to Manila their knowledge of the latest techniques in military engineering. They made plans, sectional views and elevations of the gates, bastions, ravelins and redoubts of Manila's curtain wall to show the

improvements that needed to be done.²⁵

Manila as Port

The location of Manila was conducive to the Spaniards and for their future policy in the Philippines. Manila was more safely located unlike Cebu. Located in the island of Luzon, Manila was farther away than Cebu from the Moluccas where the Portuguese were based. At the time Legazpi arrived in the Visayas, a number of Portuguese ships were in the vicinity suspicious of the presence of the Spaniards.²⁶

Manila was not only safely far removed from Portuguese assault. It was also conveniently located on the path of trade routes. For centuries Chinese merchants sailed along the

²⁵ Díaz Trechuelo, pp. 67-93

²⁶ Sitoy, p. 167

western side of the island of Luzon. These merchants came from the southern province of Fujian. They crossed the South China Sea and traded mostly with the islands of Palawan and Mindoro. Their trading ships were light boats which relied on wind power. A moderate wind blew over these waters most times of the year. Whether blowing southwest from June to November or northeast from November to March, either which way the winds blew sea travel between the Philippines and China had become an often occurrence.²⁷

The location of Manila proved to be fortuitous for the Spaniards. With the *tornaviaje* (eastern route across the Pacific Ocean from Manila to Mexico) already discovered, it was but

²⁷ Fedor Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines*. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, p. 24

natural for the Spaniards in Manila to establish a trade with Mexico.²⁸

The trade products sent by Manila merchants to Mexico were Asian, mostly Chinese, merchandise. It was but inevitable for Manila to send Chinese products to Mexico. Manila had long been visited by Chinese traders even before the Spaniards arrived. Chinese vessels regularly went to the Philippines to trade. During the Chou Dynasty (1026 BCE-256 BCE), Chinese merchants brought pottery, jars, porcelain dishes and opaque glass beads.²⁹ The exchange was by

²⁸ Celestina Boncan, ““The Tornaviaje: Setting the Course of the Manila-Acapulco Galleon Trade” in *Kabarkadahan: La Ruta del Galeon Manila-Acapulco: Ang Galeong Nag-uugnay sa Manila at Acapulco*. Pasay City: UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, 2016, pp. 18-31

means of barter. Hence, the Filipinos exchanged the Chinese products with birds' nests, pearls and tortoise shells. By the time of the Sung Dynasty (960 CE-1279 CE), there was more trade between the Chinese and the Filipinos. On their part, the Chinese brought silk products, cotton cloths, gold thread, musk, gilded porcelain bowls, earthen jars and crockery, large porcelain vases, gilded water jugs, plates, bowls and some fine porcelain jars. The Filipinos, on the other hand, bartered their yellow wax, cotton, pearls, tortoise shells, medicinal betel nuts, and abaca cloth. While he was in Panay, Legazpi heard news that the people of the island of Luzon engaged in

much trade. One settlement stood out among the rest. This was Manila which was located on the banks of an important river. It was well settled and had much commerce with China.

The products that Manila sent to Acapulco for the purpose of trade became far more extravagant and numerous. There were textiles of various make and use --- "raw silk in various forms such as raw silk in bundles, of the fineness of two strands, and other silk of coarser quality, fine untwisted silk, white and of all colors, wound in small skeins; quantities of velvets, some plain and some embroidered in all sorts of figures, colors and fashions, others with body of gold and embroidered with gold; woven stuffs and brocades, of gold and silver upon silk of various colors and patterns; quantities of gold and

²⁹ S.V. Epistola, "The Day the Chinese Came to Trade," *Filipino Heritage* (Manila: Lahing Pilipino, Inc., 1977), Vol. 3, p. 583; Austin Craig, "A Thousand Years of History before the Coming of the Spaniards"

silver thread in skeins; damasks, satins, taffetas and other cloths of all colors and white cotton cloth of different kinds and qualities.” There were luxurious goods for everyday use --- “many bed ornaments, hangings, coverlets and tapestries of embroidered velvet and damask; tablecloths, cushions and carpets; house trappings of the same stuff and embroidered with glass beads and seed pearls.” There were precious stones such as “pearls and rubies, sapphires and crystal stones.” There were goods with utilitarian use --- “metal basins, copper kettles and other copper and cast iron pots; quantities of all sorts of nails, sheet iron, tin and lead, saltpeter and gunpowder.”³⁰

³⁰ Antonio de Morga, “Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas,” in Blair and Robertson, vol. 16, pp. 178-180

The trade with Acapulco made Manila an entrepot or center of trade. The volume of the carrying trade to the Philippines from China, Macao, Siam, Cambodia and India steadily increased.³¹ Various products arrived in the country earmarked for transport to Acapulco such as carpets from Persia, jewels from India, rich hangings and bed coverings from Bengal, cinnamon from Ceylon, pepper from Java and Sumatra, spices from the Moluccas, balsam and ivory from Cambodia, camphor from Borneo, civet from Ryukyus, silverware and lacquer from Japan, and silks of all kinds from China.³²

³¹ Nicholas Cushner, S.J., *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1971, p. 128

³² Benito J. Legarda, Jr., *After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change & Entrepreneurship in the*

Serving as transporters of Asian merchandise to Acapulco were sturdy wooden Spanish ships called galleons. The galleon was indeed a sturdy ship capable of long distance travel. It traces its development as a sailing ship in the 15th century. The initial design of the galleon was the caravel. The caravel is said to have been developed by the Portuguese for exploratory travel of the coast of Africa. It weighed from about 50 to 60 tons and about 75 feet long. It had two or three poles for lateen or triangular-shaped masts since it relied on wind power. When winds were strong, the caravel could sail at great speed.³³

The Spaniards redesigned the galleon to fit different purposes. First, the Spaniards used the galleon for expeditions of exploration, discovery and conquest beyond the familiar waters of the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean up to the Azores and Canary Islands. Two of the three ships of Christopher Columbus, the *Niña* and the *Pinta*, were caravels. Christopher Columbus believed that the sailing distance to Asia was only five weeks. The *Victoria* was one of five ships of the expedition of Ferdinand Magellan which left Spain in 1519 for the Moluccas. It was not a caravel but a *nao* or carrack which weighed heavier at 85 tons.³⁴ The flagship of the expedition of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, the *San Pedro*, which left the port of Barra de Navidad in Mexico in 1564 weighed 500

Nineteenth-Century Philippines.
Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila
University Press, 1999, p. 34

³³www.britannica.com/technology/caravel

³⁴ Noone, p. 34

tons.³⁵ Secondly, the Spaniards used the galleon to bring trade merchandise across the Pacific Ocean. The galleon thus had to be made bigger in size --- the hulls were longer and wider --- and heavier in tonnage. The *Nuestra Senora del Rosario* weighed 1,710 tons while the *Santisima Trinidad* weighed more than 2,000 tons. The heavy weight at times posed a tactical disadvantage. Usually, provisions for the defense of the ship such as batteries were abandoned in favour of more cargo space. Or else lighter weapons were installed to prevent the galleon from being top-heavy. In 1743 the *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga* was captured by Commodore George Anson. It was easily beaten by the British since it had no lower tier of guns. On

the contrary, while it was smaller than the *Covadonga*, Anson's ship *Centurion* had more guns. The heavy weight also made the galleon sail more slowly, as in the case of the *Nuestra Senora del Pilar*. Because of the slow passage, it took the galleon more time to reach Acapulco preventing it "to sail to windward and to keep clear of the land or run away from storms." Such was the case of one of the voyages of the *Santisima Trinidad*. The galleon left Manila on July 22, 1751 and reached Acapulco on February 27, 1752. Many of the passengers became sick and a number even died as the voyage entailed an additional one and a half month.³⁶

³⁵www.guampedia.com/galleon-san-pablo

³⁶ David F. Marley, "The Great Galleon: The *Santisima Trinidad* (1750-1765). *Philippine Studies* 41, no. 2 (1993): 167-173

The Manila-Acapulco Galleon Trade ended in the first quarter of the 19th century. Mexico became independent and made the continuation of an exclusive trade with a Spanish colony such as the Philippines no longer germane. On the part of the Spanish colonial government in Manila, it began to open the country to liberal foreign trade. For the first time after nearly two hundred fifty years, the Philippines began to trade with ships from Great Britain, France and Germany. Through this liberal foreign commerce the products of Europe reached the Philippines.³⁷

³⁷ Jonathan Fast and Jim Richardson, *Roots of Dependency: Political and Economic Revolution in 19th Century Philippines*. Quezon City: Foundation for Nationalist Studies, 1979, pp. 13-18

Conclusion

The twin developments of Manila as Fort and Manila as Port were the creations of colonialism. The characteristic features of Manila as Fort and Manila as Port were in consonance with Spain's policy in the 16th century, the so-called age of empire. Spaniards conducted voyages of exploration, discovery and conquest with the singular aim of bringing gold and glory to Spain.

The Spaniards turned Manila into a bastioned city to serve as an exclusive enclave far from the reach of natives whom they relegated to the other side of the Pasig River. Even as Intramuros, their walled city, was already set apart from where Filipinos lived by a natural boundary, the Pasig River, they still set up a

perimeter of exclusivity by building a wall of stone to separate themselves from the native populace. Manila became a *recinto*, a city fortified by defensive works such as bastions, ravelins and redoubts. Manila was a city no different from the medieval castle cities of Spain like Avila, Salamanca and Segovia.³⁸

The Spaniards made Manila the entrepot of trade in Asia but for which no great advantage accrued to native Filipinos. The trade that Manila engendered as Port was a trade that did not develop the local economy nor bring the products of the country to America. But instead, it was the goods of Asian nations like China, Japan and India that the Spanish galleons

brought to the doorsteps of Mexico.

In 1896, Manila was still Spain's impregnable *recinto*. The revolution against Spain had begun. The Katipunan forces of Andres Bonifacio began to besiege Manila. Central to their plan of defeating the Spaniards was to strike them at the heart of their power --- Manila. However, Manila with its stone wall and defensive works prevented the Katipunan forces from bringing their battles to Manila. Andres Bonifacio had to wage the Revolution's initial battles in far-off San Juan del Monte, Santa Mesa, Caloocan, Pasig and Taguig.³⁹

In the 19th century the distinction of Manila as an

³⁸ Pedro Otriz Armengol, Lecture on Intramuros. Manila: Intramuros Administration, 1982, p. 5

³⁹ Teodoro Agoncillo and Milagros Guerrero, History of the Filipino People. Quezon City; R.P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1987, pp. 170-172

entrepot of the trade between Asia and America waned with the end of the Manila-Acapulco Galleon Trade. However, the country's new liberal foreign commerce gave Manila a new distinction as an entrepot of trade. This time Manila became the center of trade between Asia and Europe. British, French and German trading ships visited the port of Manila bringing the products of a revolution in technology happening in Europe at this time, the Industrial Revolution. Nonetheless, the exclusivity of Manila as an entrepot of trade was challenged by the rise of

new entrepots in Asia which heretofore were merely small fishing villages. Singapore on the tip of the Malay Peninsula and Hong Kong on the southern coast of China were raised to the status of entrepots of trade by another European colonizing power, Great Britain. Today, Spain's former entrepot of Asian trade cannot rely on her famed sunset by the bay to bring in trade. Manila has to compete with these entrepots that have in this age of global trade risen to the challenge to bring to Asia not only Asian but also North American, European and even Middle Eastern trade.

Examining pre-colonial Philippine boatbuilding: An archaeological study of the Butuan Boats and the use of edge-joined planking in local and regional construction techniques

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Introduction

In 1976, looters unearthed the incomplete remains of what is now referred to as Butuan Boat 1 buried under approximately 1.5 m of flood deposits in Barangay Libertad, Butuan City, Philippines. According to various reports, looters have since that time come across between nine and 11 Butuan Boat remains in an area less than 1 km in radius.

Archaeologists from the National Museum of the

Philippines examined six of these boats and recovered three. Excavations revealed that construction features of the Butuan Boats were characteristically Southeast Asian lashed-lug boats and as described in historical documents. Unfortunately, much of the early reporting of the Butuan Boat sites and related archaeological activities was unclear and details such as locations, dimensions, and wood identification, were

presented inconsistently. Construction features were only discussed in general terms and early attempts to radiocarbon date the first three recovered boats in the 1970s and 1980s resulted in widely disparate results of fourth, thirteenth, and tenth centuries, respectively.

This paper presents a summary of the results from the re-examination of the Butuan Boats, the oldest planked watercraft found in the Philippines. The boats were re-recorded, their timbers were identified, and reliable radiocarbon dates were obtained. This data, along with other archaeological, historic, and ethnographic evidence from throughout Southeast Asia, broadens our understanding of lashed-lug boat construction, a practice that survived at least 1,500 years.

Southeast Asian boatbuilding and lashed-lug boats

The available evidence for plank-built Southeast Asian vessels demonstrates the use of a shell-based construction technique (Manguin 1993:258–260). Shipbuilders erected and aligned hull planking to create the shell of the vessel by edge-joining strakes using dowels and lacing ligatures through pre-drilled holes in the planks, or solely by dowels, that were sometimes locked in place by wooden pegs inserted through the thickness of the planks (Manguin 1993:258–260). In so-called lashed-lug boats, the hull was then strengthened transversely with frames secured by lashing to a series of protruding, perforated lugs carved on the interior surfaces of the hull planking. Thus, metal fastenings were eschewed in place of materials such as

wooden dowels, treenails, wooden pegs, rattan strands and rope. But one can imagine how labor-intensive and it would have been to carve out the lugs and bore out dowel and lashing holes. The construction would have also involved considerable wood wastage as planks would have had to be at least twice as thick as needed in order to accommodate the lugs.

The skill used to construct lashed-lug boats was highly commended by European observers who, centuries apart, gave almost identical praise to boatbuilders. Portuguese chronicler Gabriel Rebello wrote an account of the Moluccas in the 1569 text *Informação das Cousas das Molucas*, (Description of the Moluccas). He said that the joins of lashed-lug boats planks “are made so tight that the seams are barely visible” (Manguin 2012).

The Spanish priest Francisco Alcina provided the most detailed telling of Visayan lashed-lug boat construction in his 1668 manuscript *Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas...* (Alcina 2005 [1668]) wherein he asserted that in lashed-lug boats “the seams between one board and the next so joined that they seem to be of a single piece”. Finally, in 1869, the British naturalist and explorer Alfred Russel Wallace said that the boats in the Kei islands of eastern Indonesia were so well made that “without aid other than rude practical skill ... it is often difficult to find a place where a knife blade can be inserted between the joints” (Wallace 2014 [1869]).

Archaeological evidence of lashed lug boats predates the European arrival in Southeast Asia by at least 1,000 years. The oldest such vessel is the Pontian

Boat from peninsular Malaysia, dated to between the third and fifth centuries AD by radiocarbon analysis as well as associated ceramics that date to roughly the same period (Gibson-Hill 1952). The Pontian boat planks were fastened to one another using both dowels and stitching. The lugs are in the shape of half-oblong cylinders with large cut-out lashing holes rather than the rectangular lugs of later examples such as the we see in the Butuan Boats.

Boat planks from the so called Kuan Luk Pad boats with similarly shaped rounded lugs were found in Thailand along the Thai-Malay peninsula. They were found in a bead production site dated to between the fifth and sixth centuries AD (Manguin 2012). Though the planks are highly fragmented, there is no evidence of dowelling holes in

the plank edges, only lacing holes, making the Kuan Luk Pad construction rare if not unique in lashed-lug boats.

More than twenty examples of lashed lug vessels have been found in the archaeological record from throughout the region. Aside from the sites already mentioned, evidences of these boats have been found in Indonesia, Vietnam, and even Hong Kong (Manguin 2012; Nishino et al 2014).

The latest archaeological evidence of lashed lug boats in Southeast Asia are the Philippines' shipwrecks Gujangan shipwreck, containing ceramics dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and San Isidro shipwreck, containing ceramics from the sixteenth century (Cuevas et al. 2004). While absent in the archaeological record during the

European colonial period, the continuation of lashed-lug boat production and use is confirmed by the previously discussed historical accounts by Rebello, Alcina and Wallace.

In the early twentieth century, James Hornell (1920) reported on the construction of a lashed-lug vessel on Halmahera island in Indonesia. The last known use and construction of lashed-lug boats is in the remote eastern Indonesian whaling village of Lamalera where anthropologist Robert Barnes (1996) recorded the practice in the 1970s and 1980s. As there have been no reports since that lashed-lug boat construction has ceased on this remote island, it is possible this still takes place. Twentieth century lashed-lug boat construction are not limited to Southeast Asia. They have also been reported in Taiwan, the Solomon Islands and the

Maldives (Hornell 1936; Kano and Segawa 1956; Millar 1993).

Contemporary Philippine boatbuilding

In terms of construction, the most prevalent form of traditional boats in the Philippines today are far removed from the plank-built boats of the pre-colonial and colonial times. Double outrigger vessels as small as 4 m, and as large as 50 m in length are broadly referred to as *baroto* or *banca*, but can have specific names such as *basnigan*, *paraw*, *balandra*, *subiran* and *tango* depending on function, form and size (Aguilar 2006; Funtecha 2000). Banca hulls are assembled frame-first with a plywood skin constructed on a dugout base, with stem and stern posts. A recent development in *banca* construction is the use of

fibreglass and moulds, making production cheaper and faster (Dedace and Yan 2014). Wooden plank-built watercraft in the Philippines have become less common, but when they are made, their builders still follow shell-based construction and dowel edge-joining (Abrera 2009; Green et al. 1995). The use of lugs has been abandoned, and frames are fastened directly to planks with wood or iron fastenings.

The Butuan Boats

In 1976, remains of plank-built boats, referred to as the Butuan Boats, were excavated from underneath about two metres of waterlogged alluvial sediment within about a one-kilometre radius in Barangay Libertad, Butuan City, Philippines. The first Butuan Boat was partially unearthed in 1976 by looters searching for buried coffins that

contained valuable grave goods such as Chinese ceramics and gold ornaments. Using long metal rods to probe through the earth for the wooden coffins, they came upon the timbers of what is now referred to as Butuan Boat 1. The find was reported to local government officials, who in turn alerted the leadership of the National Museum of the Philippines (NMP). Personnel from the NMP's Archaeology Section investigated the boat's remains (Peralta 1980). After several months, looters found the remains of Boats 2 and 3, about one kilometre south of Boat 1. Excavations were undertaken on all three sites, though work on Boat 3, described as a smaller vessel, was abandoned (Peralta 1980). The remains of Boats 1 and 2 were recovered and displayed in exhibits managed and operated by the National Museum, though Boat

2 is currently in storage pending the opening of a new exhibit. Boat 5 was excavated and recovered in 1986 as part of a course on archaeological excavation and conservation organised by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and hosted by the NMP (ASEAN 1986). It was located approximately one kilometer southwest of Boat 1 and less than 400 meters northwest of Boats 2 and 3. The remains of Boat 5 are now stored or exhibited in the NMP in Butuan. In 1989, an NMP team carried out a series of excavations in the area to determine the distribution and extent of archaeological sites. During this project, the remains of Boat 7 were unearthed and found to be in a poor state of preservation; its planks could not be recovered, but smaller wooden pieces such as dowels were collected (Bautista 1989).

The excavation of Boats 4 and 9, which are adjoining one another, commenced in 2012 and is yet to be completed. The remains of these two boats were located just several meters east of the Boat 2 excavation trench, which remains unfilled. All excavated Butuan Boats were in an area with less than a one-kilometer radius.

Various authors set the total number of excavated and unexcavated boats at eight (Ronquillo 1997; Salcedo 1998), nine (Clark et al. 1993; Green et al. 1995:182) or 11 (Cembrano 1998; Galpo 2002), though these have not been archaeologically confirmed.

As the remains of Boats 1, 2 and 5 were recovered, they have been the most documented and closely studied. The excavation of Boat 3 was suspended soon after it was unearthed in the

1970s, and little information on it exists, except that it is similar to the others and composed of only three surviving planks (Peralta 1980). The excavations of Boats 4 and 9 are yet to be completed, and any observations about them should be considered preliminary.

Boats 1, 2, 4, 5 and possibly 3 are all dowelled and lashed-lugged boats. Boat 7 was dowelled but far too deteriorated to judge if it was also lashed-lugged. Similarly, initial research indicates that Boat 9 is edge-joined with dowels but does not appear to be a lashed-lug boat. It also appears that Boat 9 measures at least twice the size of the other Butuan Boats. Any other technical information is absent from the official reports of the earliest Butuan Boat studies. Unfortunately, the information from the reports from the

1970s to mid-1980s at times seems incomplete, unclear or even conflicting. At the same time, it seemed that because these lashed-lug boats seemed to match and confirm historical accounts, they were often spoken about interchangeably or collectively as if all were identical; there appeared to be little effort at making detailed comparisons between the Butuan Boats.

While the official archaeological reports provide little information, bits of data eventually emerged in subsequent papers published by several authors, though few of the earlier inconsistencies were addressed (Cembrano 1998; Peralta 1980; Ronquillo 1997; Salcedo 1998).

Almost a decade after the first Butuan Boat was found, researchers realised the

necessity of detailed recording of the Butuan Boat remains (Clark et al. 1993; Green et al. 1995). The first attempts at thoroughly recording the boats came years later, in 1988 for Boat 2 in Manila, and in 1992 for Boats 1 and 5 in Butuan City. This came about through a collaboration between researchers from Australia's Northern Territory Museum of Arts and Sciences, the Western Australian Maritime Museum and the Philippines' National Museum. They confirmed that up to that point, no accurate construction drawings of any of the Butuan Boats had been produced. The team carried out comprehensive documentation through proper artefact photography and drawing (Clark et al. 1993; Green et al. 1995). The teams considered this work as preliminary and hoped to return to do more in-depth studies but were unable to do

so, however. Their documentation, however, is easily the most comprehensive to date, making use of photo mosaics and full-scale timber tracings. These teams were the first to see each boat, and indeed each component individually.

As for the kinds of wood used, *Heritiera littoralis* has been generally cited as used for Boat 2 planks, while Boat 5 was constructed using *Pistacia chinensis*. Some sources, however, have alternately stated that *Heritiera* was utilized in the planks of Boats 1, 2, and 5, or just Boats 1 and 2, while another reported that Boat 1 planks consisted of a *Diospyrus* sp.

Perhaps the largest uncertainty that arose from early Butuan Boat research was from the large disparity in the

radiocarbon dating of Boats 1, 2, and 5. Unspecified sample from each Boats 1 and 2 were dated at the radiocarbon laboratory of Gakushuin University in Japan and resulted in a 1630 ± 110 BP (or 320 AD uncalibrated) for the former and 700 ± 90 BP (or 1250 AD uncalibrated)—more than 900 years difference for two lashed lug-boats deposited in similar environments and found less than 1 km away from each other (Peralta 1980).

Latest findings on the Butuan Boats

Because of uncertainties from previous research, the Butuan Boats were re-studied in order to clarify matters. All of the recovered Butuan Boats, 1, 2, and 5 were remeasured. Boats 4 and 9 that were still being excavated, were also documented. The results are

consistent with Clark et al.'s and Green et al.'s work.

The results further concentrated on differences and variations on the lashed-lug Butuan Boats. In examining the construction of each Butuan Boat more closely, the details of which will be discussed in a subsequent paper, atypical features that were previously unreported or downplayed began to emerge such as the various designs among of the lashed-lug Boats 1, 2, 4 and 5 keel pieces, lug shapes, lashing patterns, plank fastening, and even wood used. These findings are especially notable because of long-standing views that see a tradition as static and unchanging.

To summarize, the lashed-lug vessels' remains suggest an original length of more than 10 m, and less than 15 m. None

were fitted with a true keel—they were instead designed with a keel plank that was left slightly thicker than the hull planking. This suggests that their use may have been limited to inland and coastal waters, as round or flat hulls would be difficult to use in open seas.

There are also similarities in the ends of the boats. Rather than having a stem and stern post, Boats 1, 2, 5 and even the much larger and non-lashed-lug Boat 9, were each found with a wing end.

Direct radiocarbon dating of samples collected from each of the boats' major timber components strongly suggest that they were constructed and used during the same period, with each of the calibrated ages consistently ranging between the late seventh to tenth centuries A.D. (Table).

At least ten different trees were used for the planks and frames of Butuan Boats 1, 2, 4, 5, and 9 as seen in the figure below.

Conclusion

The date from the re-examination of the Butuan Boats, along with other archaeological, historic, and ethnographic evidence from throughout Southeast Asia, broadens our understanding of lashed-lug boat construction, a practice that survived at least 1,500 years. This study can then be broadened to study possible reasons for the loss, persistence, or development of certain aspects of boat construction and adds significantly to the knowledge of Philippine and Southeast Asian boatbuilding technology and practices.

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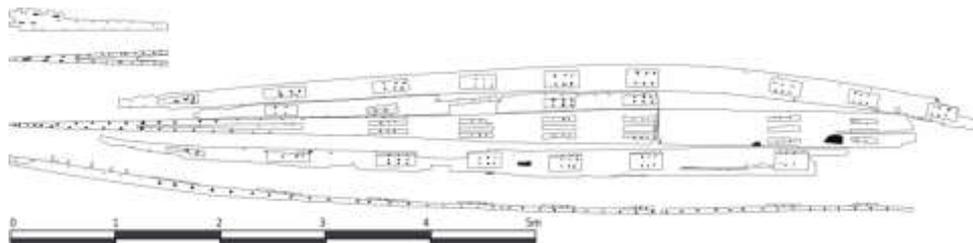
Figures and tables



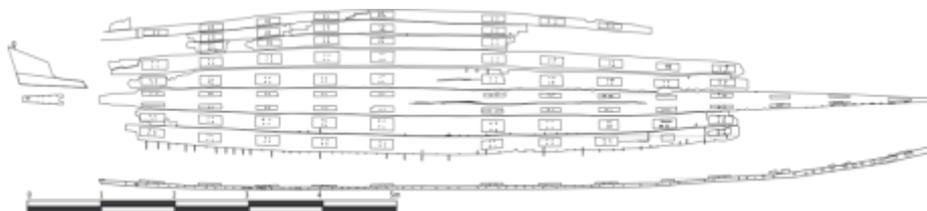
Butuan Boat sites in the southern Philippines.



The reconstructed Butuan Boat 2 as exhibited in the National Museum, Manila in 2013. The dark-coloured planks are original timbers while frames and light-coloured timbers were fabricated for the exhibit. The frames obscure some lug holes.



Drawing of Boat 1 planks as it is exhibited at the Butuan Archaeological Park.



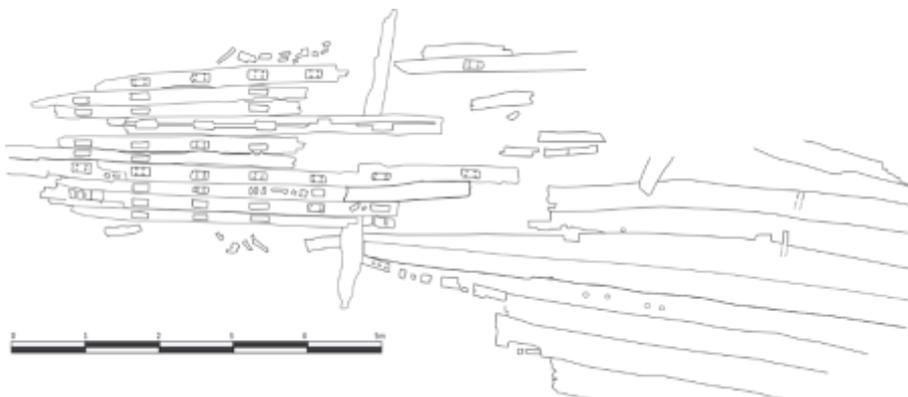
Boat 2 timbers as displayed at the Museum of the Anthropology in 2013.



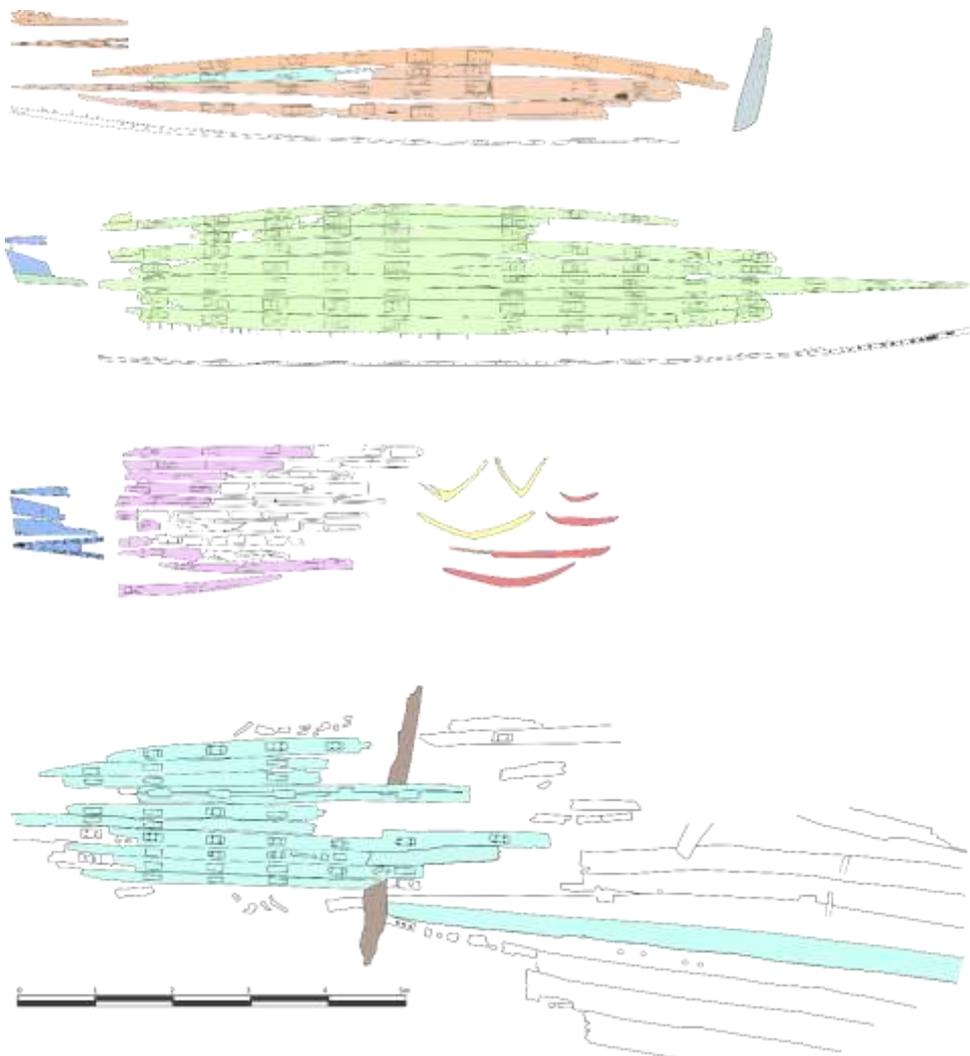
Keel plank of Boats 4. Courtesy National Museum of the Philippines.

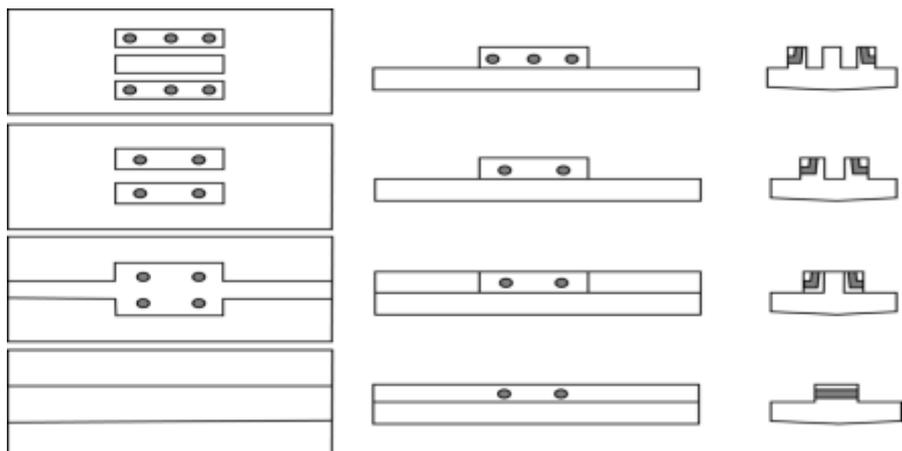
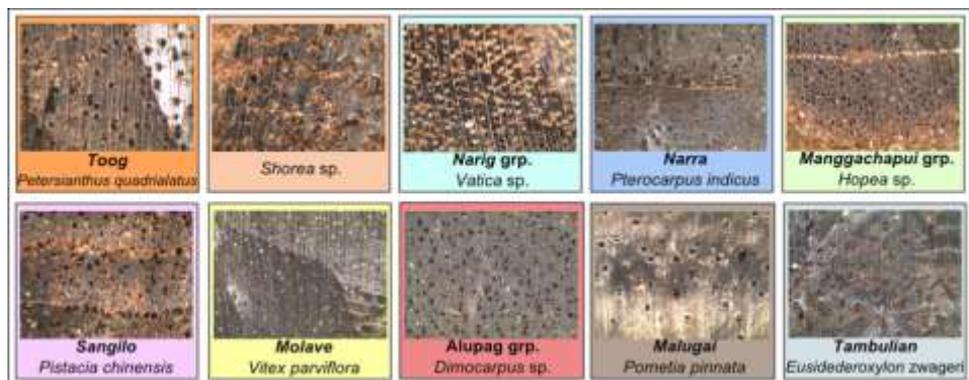


Wing end of Butuan Boat 9.



Preliminary excavation drawing of Boats 4 (upper left) and 9 (lower right). Courtesy National





Keel plank lug arrangements in Butuan Boats 1, 2, 4, and 5 (top to bottom).

TABLE

ANSTO code	Sample Type	Submitter ID	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$	percent Modern Carbon		Conventional Radiocarbon age		Calibrated Age (IntCal13 dataset using OxCal 4.2)
			(‰)	pMC	1 σ error	yrs BP	1 σ error	cal AD 2 σ range
OZQ841	Wood	Boat 1 - Keel	-24.9 \pm 0.4	86.69 \pm 0.27		1,145 \pm 25		777 to 974
OZQ842	Wood	Boat 1 - Wing end	-25.0 \pm 0.1	86.87 \pm 0.29		1,130 \pm 30		777 to 988
OZQ844	Wood	Boat 2 - Keel	-25.5 \pm 0.1	86.14 \pm 0.30		1,200 \pm 30		715 to 940
OZQ845	Wood	Boat 2 - Wing end	-25.3 \pm 0.1	85.83 \pm 0.29		1,230 \pm 30		689 to 882
OZQ846	Wood	Boat 4 - Keel	-25.4 \pm 0.2	86.67 \pm 0.36		1,150 \pm 35		775 to 973
OZQ848	Wood	Boat 5 - Keel	-25.5 \pm 0.3	86.65 \pm 0.28		1,150 \pm 30		776 to 971
OZQ851	Wood	Boat 9 - Wing end	-26.8 \pm 0.1	86.56 \pm 0.27		1160 \pm 30		773 to 968

Table 1. Results of 2014 AMS C-14 analysis of Butuan Boat samples.



Mamamayan, Kalupaan at Karagatan: Ang Pagbubuo ng Imperyong Español sa Pilipinas at Pasipiko (1565-1815)

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Introduksyon

Ang panayam na ito’y isang paglalayag sa panahong kolonyal ng Pilipinas mula sa taong 1565 hanggang sa taong 1815. Taong 1565 ang pagdating ng Conquistador na si Miguel Lopez de Legazpi na siyang nagpatuloy sa naudlot na pananakop ng sangkapuluan noong 1521. Taong 1815 naman nang opisyal na tumigil na ang Kalakalang Galyon bunga ng pagsisimula ng Rebolusyon laban sa Espanya ng bansang Mexico. Isang mahalagang konsiderasyon sa

panayam na ito ang Kalakalang Galyon sa pagitan ng Maynila at Acapulco na naganap sa pagitan ng 1565 hanggang 1815. Subalit di tulad sa mga nauna nang pag-aaral, hindi pagtutuunan ng pansin ang ekonomiya at mga produktong iniluwas sa magkabilang dulo ng “Lawang Espanyol.” Sa halip, pagtutuunan ng pansin ang mahalagang papel nito sa pagbubuo ng Imperyong Español sa Pilipinas at sa Pasipiko. Pag-uugnayin din ang tatlong salik pangkasaysayan ng Mamamayan, Kalupaan at

Karagatan upang higit na makita ang kabuluhan at kahalagahan ng mga galyon sa pagpapanatili, pagpapalawak at pagbubuo ng Imperyo.

Nahahati sa apat na panahon ang kasaysayang ito ng pagbubuo. Ang unang panahon ay magsisimula sa taong 1565 hanggang sa taong 1599. Bilang mga hugpungang pangyayari, 1565 ang pagdating ni Legazpi na siya ring taon ng pagkakabuo ng daang natuklasan ng kanyang fraileng navegador na si Andres de Urdaneta. Sa taon ding ito magsisimula ang Kalakalang Galyon. Matatapos ang panahong ito sa taong 1599 kung kailang ginanap ang isang matatawag na referendum na nagpapatibay sa pananakop ng sangkapuluan.

Magsisimula ang ikalawang panahon sa taong 1599 o ang taon ng referendum hanggang

sa taong 1613 na siyang pagsisimula ng mga pag-uusap para sa pagtuklas ng bagong daang gagamitin sa paglalayag ng mga galyon patungong Acapulco. Mula sa taong ito ay magpapatuloy ang pagtuklas at paggamit sa mga daang ito hanggang 1791 na siyang taong nagpasiya ang pamahalaang sibil ng Pilipinas noon na gamitin na lamang muli ang mga daang natuklasan pa ni Urdaneta noong ika-15 na dantaon. Ang huling panahon ay ang patuloy na paggamit ng mga daan ni Urdaneta hanggang sa pagtigil ng kalakalan pagsapit ng 1815 bunga ng pagsisimula ng Rebolusyon sa Mexico.

Ang Pagtatatag ng Kolonya (1565-1599)

Magiging preokupasyon sa pagtatatag ng pamahalaang kolonyal sa Pilipinas ang lehitimasyon ng pananakop

nito. Sa batas na sinusunod ng Espanya mula pa sa panahon ni Alfonso El Sabio (1252-1284), itinatakdang magiging legal lamang ang pananakop ng isang teritoryo kung makukuha ito sa isa sa tatlong kadahilanan. Una, magiging pag-aari ng isang kaharian ang isang teritoryo kung nagkaroon ng pag-iisang dibdib sa pagitan ng mga dugong bughaw na nagmamay-ari ng mga teritoryo. Ikalawa, maaari ring makamit ang teritoryo sa pamamagitan ng isang makatarungang digmaan. Ikatlo, magiging pag-aari ng isang kaharian ang isang teritoryo kung buong pusong tinanggap ito ng mga taong naninirahan sa sinasakop na lugar.

Bagamat hindi pumasok ang Pilipinas sa alinmang kategoryang ito, minabuti naman ng España na manatili pa rin sa sangkapulan bunga ng

paniniwalang nararapat na ibigay sa mga mamamayan nito ang Kristiyanismo. Naging lehitimasyon samakatuwid, ang Kristiyanisasyon na itinutulak na ng mga Santo Papa mula pa noong 1493 bunga ng deklarasyon ni Alejandro VI na naghati ng daigdig sa pagitan ng España at Portugal. Ito ang panghahawakang katuwiran ng mga kolonisador hanggang sa pagdating ng itinalagang Obispo ng Maynila na si Domingo de Salazar, O.P. sa taong 1582.

Kaagad na ipinatawag ni Salazar ang isang sinodo o pagpupulong ng mga pari at pinunong sibil na nasa Pilipinas. Naging pangunahing paksa ang mga pang-aabuso ng mga Encomendero sa kanilang mga tauhan sa loob ng mga Encomienda. Ang encomienda ang malalaking lupang ipinagkatiwala ng Hari sa mga nakatulong sa pananakop. May

kaukulang tungkulin ang mga Encomendero na turuan ng pananampalatayang Kristiyano ang mga mamamayang nasa ilalim nila kapalit ng mga trabaho at buwis para sa kabutihan ng kolonya. Gayunpaman, ayon sa sumbong ng mga misyonero, ginagawa nang mangolekta ng buwis ng mga encomendero sa mga mamamayan kahit di pa man ito nagiging Kristiyano. Nagpasiya naman ang mga misyonerong huwag pakumpisalin ang mga encomendero na siya namang ikinagalit ng mga ito at siya ring isinumbong sa bagong obispo.

Kaugnay nito ang muling pagkabuhay ng isyu ng lehitimasyon ng pananakop. Lumabas sa mga deliberasyon ng sinodo ang kawalan ng legal na basehan ng pananakop yamang wala namang naging makatarungang labanan ang mga naganap at kung kaya ilegal

ang lahat ng pagpasok ng mga Español sa mga teritoryo ng “Indio.” Naging mahalaga, sa huli, ang pangangailangan na magkaroon ng isang referendum na hihiling sa kasagutan ng mga mamamayan kung pumapayag ba silang maging sakop ng Hari. Subalit sa pagtatapos ng Sinodo ay hindi naman naganap ang referendum at patuloy pa ring pinanghawakan ang Kristiyanisasyon bilang dahilan ng pananakop.

Ganito ang pinanghahawakang katuwiran ng mga Español hanggang sa gulatin sila ng isang malakihang pag-aalsa ng mga Datu sa Kaharian ng Tondo. Sabay-sabay sanang sasalakayin ng isang malaking hukbo sa ilalim ng mga Datu ang sentro ng mga Español sa Maynila sampu ng hukbong dagat ng Sultan ng Brunei nang mabunyag ito. Hinuli ang mga

pinuno, nilitis at hinatulan ng kamatayan ang mga pinunong katulad nina Agustin de Legazpi at Magat Salamat, samantalang ipinatapon naman ang higit nanakararami. Bagamat hindi naging matagumpay, naging malaking banta naman ito sa mga Espanol kung kaya't minabuti nitong gamitin ang mga naiwang pinuno bilang mga kasangkapan ng kolonisasyon.

Kasabay ng malaking Sabwatang ito ang pagdating naman ng isang pangkat ng mga misyonerong Dominiko kung saan kabilang si Miguel de Benavides, O.P. Bunga ng nasabing pag-aalsa at sa pagdating ng mga bagong kapanalig ng Obispo Salazar, muling nabuhay ang isyu ng lehitimasyon ng pananakop. Minabuti ng dalawang Dominiko na magtungo sa España upang kausapin ang matanda na noong si Felipe II at humingi ng

pahintulot para sa isang referendum. Hindi na nakabalik si Salazar sa Pilipinas. Subalit sa pagbabalik ni Benavides, naging pangunahin niyang mithiin hanggang sa maging Obispo ng Nueva Segovia, ang pagkakaroon ng isang referendum na naganap noong 1599 sa ilang lugar sa Pilipinas tulad ng Pangasinan at sa gawing Timog Katagalugan.

Naging preokupasyon samakatuwid, sa panahong ito ang lehitimasyon ng pananakop. Sa loob ng humigit kumulang na tatlumpung taon ng pananakop ang pangangatwiran nito bilang isang lehitimong gawain ng kolonya. Malinaw na ito'y nagmumula sa konsensya ng mga fraile na hindi makapayag sa di-makatarungang pananakop. Subalit ang malaking tulak para sa referendum ay ang Sabwatan ng Tondo noong 1587-88.

Pagbalikwas ito sa inaakalang mapayapang pananakop at balikwas naman ang referendum sa pag-aalsang ito. Sa huli, naging kampante ang konsensya ng mga Español na ang mga mamamayan kanilang kaharap ay magiging matatapat na sakop ng kaharian ng España.

Mamamayan (1599-1613)

Matapos ang referendum ng 1599, nabigyan ng bagong sigla ang Kristiyanisasyon ng Pilipinas. Yamang wala nang anumang katanungan tungkol sa pagiging legal nito, naging masigasig kapwa ang mga pinunong sibil at relihiyoso sa higit pang pagkilala ng kanilang mga nasasakupang Indio. Napakahalaga para sa gawaing ito ang pagtatala at pag-aaral sa mismong kultura ng mga bagong sakop ng Imperyo. Katunayan, ayon pa nga sa Sinodo, maaaring manatili ang

kalinangan ng mga Indio kung hindi ito lumalabag sa pananampalataya. Sa mga imbentaryo ng kaugalian, mabibigyan ng pag-iiba ng mga misyonero ang nakikita nilang labag sa Kristiyanismo at sa maaari pang linisin nito.

Ito ang magiging panahon kung kailan napakaraming pag-aaral at pagtatala ng mga misyonero tungkol sa kultura at kaugaliang natagpuan nila sa Sangkapuluan. Magandang halimbawa ang mga akda nina Juan de Plasencia tungkol sa mga kaugaliang Tagalog noong 1589. Taong 1609 nang ilimbag ni Morga ang kanyang Sucesos na hindi matatawaran ang kahalagahan kung kaya't mismong si Jose Rizal ay nagpasiyang bigyang paliwanag ito pagsapit ng huling bahagi ng ika-19 na dantaon. Sunud-sunod din ang mga kronika at pag-aaral tulad ng kina Pedro

Chirino (1604), Francisco Alcina tungkol sa mga Bisaya (1668), Gaspar de San Agustin tungkol sa mga pananakop na ginawa ng mga Español (1698).

Sa pamamagitan ng mga naisulat na ito, nadagdagan ng marami pang datos ang marami nang kaalaman ng mga mananakop tungkol sa mga Indio. Naging mahalaga ang mga ito sa kanilang pagbubuo ng imahe at konsepto kung ano ang Indio na kanilang panghahawakan hanggang sa pagsapit ng ika-19 na dantaon. Matatagpuan dito ang mga “stereotypes” na maririnig pa rin hanggang ngayon tungkol sa mga Pilipino, e.g. tamad, etc.

Naging mahalaga rin ang mga akdang ito upang maunawaan ng mga misyonero ang mga kumplikadong ugnayan sa pagitan ng mga mamamayang Indio. Pati na ang mga dinamiko

ng kanilang pananampalataya at kaayusang pulitikal.

Sa pagtatapos ng panahong ito, magiging abala naman ang pamahalaang kolonyal, bunsod ng kahilingan, mula sa mga encomenderong nakikilahok sa Kalakalang Galyon, sa mga paghahanda tungo sa pagtuklas ng isang bagong daan papalabas ng Pilipinas patungong Acapulco.

Kalupaan (1613-1791)

Taong 1613 pa lamang ay mayroon nang petisyon mula sa mga Encomendero at mga negosyante ng Galyon na tumuklas ng bagong daang gagamitin ng kalakalan palabas ng Pilipinas bukod sa Tuwid ng San Bernardino. 1740 naman nang naisagawa ang pagtuklas ng bagong daan sa gawing hilaga o paakyat sa gawing Ilocos.

Samantala, sinisikap naman ng Pamahalaang Kolonyal na pasimulan ang mga kinakailangang reporma sa mga administrasyon ng Encomienda. Bunga ng pagnanais na makilahok sa kalakalan, sumentro ang mga encomendero sa Maynila, sa halip na pangalagaan ang pagsaka sa mga kalupaan sa lalawigan. Dahan-dahang nalipat sa kamay ng mga korporasyong relihiyoso ang mga lupain bunga ng mga donasyon at pambayad utang ng mga encomendero. Kapansin-pansin ang mga pag-aalsang agraryo matapos ang pagpaslang sa Gobernador Heneral Fernando Bustamante noong 1719. Taong 1745 ang pinakamalaking pag-aalsang agraryo na muli pang nabuhay noong 1820.

Magsusunod-sunod din ang mga Obispo sa paghawak ng kapangyarihan bilang mga

Gobernador Heneral kung kaya't higit na lalakas ang kapangyarihan ng mga fraile at sa dahan-dahang malilipat na sa kanila ang pag-aari ng mga Encomienda. Mababago lamang ang takbo ng pamamahala sa pagsapit ng 1770 kung kailan umupo bilang Gobernador Heneral si Simon de Anda y Salazar. Malalaking reporma ang tatangkain ni Anda y Salazar na magpapatuloy sa pagdating ni Jose Basco y Vargas. Bagamat hindi magtatagal ang mga institusyong itinatag ng mga Heneral na ito, maisasaayos naman nito ang mga pundasyong kailangan para sa mga pagbabagong magaganap pagsapit ng ika-19 na dantaon lulu na sa mga Encomienda na unti-unti nang lumilipat sa sistemang Hacienda.

Karagatan (1791-1815)

Nagsimula ang mga paglalayag para sa bagong daan ng Galyon noong 1773 gamit ang galyong Nuestra Señora de la Consolacion. Sumunod dito ang naging paglalayag ng La Marinera noong 1780. Itong huli'y nakarating sa Bismarck Archipelago, pataas sa Guam hanggang sa San Blas. Mahahalaga ang mga naging ekspedisyong ito yamang humahanap ito ng alternatibong daan sa San Bernardino sa dulong timog ng Luzon. Bukod dito, mahalaga rin ito sa España yamang nakapagtatag sila ng kanilang mga posteng nagmarka sa Pasipiko bilang kanilang teritoryo.

Patuloy na ginamit pa rin ang San Bernardino subalit ang pagkakaroon ng kaalaman sa iba't-ibang kapuluan sa Pasipiko ang siyang nagtangi dito bilang isang malaking teritoryo ng Imperyong Español. Mananatili

itong gayon sa kabila ng pagtigil ng kalakalang Galyon pagsapit ng 1815. Gayunpaman, ang mga pagsisikap na bumuo ng mga daan sa Karagatang Pasipiko ay magbubunga ng mga mapang nagawa para dito. Nabuo ang imahe ng isang karagatang binansagang “Laguna Española” o Lawang Español. Sa kanilang pamamahala nabuo ang pagkakakilala nito at sila rin ang nagtala ng mahahalagang islang nagkalat sa paligid nito.

Naging malinaw rin ang pag-iral ng maraming tao na naging pangunahing obheto ng mga pagpupunyaging misyonero na nagbukas naman sa maraming pagkakataon para sa pag-aaral at pag-unawa sa wika at kalinangang bumabalot sa mga ito.

Konklusyon

Kung may kahalagahan man ang panahong ito, marahil ito na ang mga pagtatala at mga masasabing sinaunang pag-aaral sa mga Pilipino. Nagsimula ang mga mananakop sa kanilang pagbubuo ng imaheng “Indio” sa gayo’y maunawaan at higit na epektibong maipasok ang pananampalataya sa kanilang kalinangan. Sa kanilang pagbubuo ng imaheng Pilipino, isinabay rin dito ang pagtatala at pagsakop sa kalupaan. Tinangka nilang gawing mayabong ang lupain subalit umabot ito sa punto ng pang-aabuso. Sa huli’y

isinadokumento rin ang karagatan. At, bunga nito, higit na naging malawak ang kasakupang tinatanaw ng mga mamamayan. Naging mga pundasyon ito sa mga darating na pag-aaral pagsapit ng huling bahagi ng ika-19 na dantaon at maging sa kasalukuyan. Ang pagkakaunawa sa mga kapaligiran ng Pasipiko, sa mga taong naririto ang naging pundasyon ng kakanyahang ipinaglaban pagsapit ng Himagsikang 1896 at kakanyahang pinanghahawakan hanggang sa kasalukuyan bilang mga Pilipino.

Gender Dimensions of Migration and Maritime Work

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Introduction

The Philippines is one of the leading providers of overseas contract workers worldwide. There are some 8.23 million Filipinos presently living and working in 193 countries. Of this number, some 3.8 million are regular or documented workers, while 847, 792 are undocumented ones.⁴⁰

Around 12 percent of the annual GNP (about US\$ 7 to 8 Billion) comes from the remittances of OFWs although unofficial estimates are as high as 25 percent.⁴¹ In recent years, these remittances have helped keep the Philippine economy afloat and maintain a healthy level of foreign reserves. As the former Foreign Affairs Secretary Blas Ople once said,

⁴⁰ Commission on Human Rights Philippines and Center for Migrant Advocacy. n.d. *Preparing for the Treat Reporting Process of the Convention on the protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of their Families.* Quezon City: CHRP and CMA, page 197,

⁴¹ ACHIEVE. 2002. "Labor Migration and HIV/AIDS: Understanding the Intersections." Quezon City, Philippines. page 4.

“OFWs have built more low-cost houses than all the housing projects of the government put together, they send more children to college than all out scholarship programs combined, and they provide the mass purchasing power that delivers a large market to the products of our industries.”⁴²

Despite the contributions of overseas Filipino workers to the national and household economies, many have suffered from various forms of labor and personal abuses. Both official and anecdotal reports from government agencies and NGOs attest to the many economic and socio-cultural risks and vulnerabilities of Filipino migrant workers.

This paper describes the various experiences of female and male migrant workers. It focuses of the many forms of risks and vulnerabilities they have gone through over the years due to various causes like the lack of enabling policies and support services for them by both host and receiving countries.

Gender Dimensions of Overseas Work

The results of the 2018 Survey of Overseas Contract Workers conducted by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) show that there were more females (58.8%) than males (41.2%) who worked abroad during the period April to September, 2018. Female OFWs were generally younger than the males, with about half (47.5%) of them belonging to the age

⁴² ACHIEVE, 2004 “Report on the Seminar-Workshop on Migration and HIV/AIDS for Foreign Service Personnel.” Quezon City: Philippines ACHIEVE. page 1.

⁴ “ Results from the 2018 Survey on Overseas Filipinos.” psa.gov.ph. data accessed November 3, 2019.

group 25-34 years. The male OFWs of this age group made up 38.9 percent. Those in the 45 years and older category consisted of 21.2 percent males and 14.5 percent females. More than half of the female OFWs (58.8 %) were in elementary occupations while the males were mostly plant and machine operators and assemblers workers. Elementary occupations include housekeeping, cleaning, washing, delivering messages or goods, simple farming and simple tasks connected with manufacturing. The differences in occupations of female and male OFWs explain the variations in the problems they have encountered.

Issues Faced by Overseas Male and Female Migrant Filipinos

The Joint Civil Society Declaration on Migration submitted to the 2nd Global Forum on Migration and Development in October, 2008 identifies the serious problems faced by over 250 million migrants worldwide. It says that as many rich countries profit tremendously from migrant labor, some of these countries have “adopted xenophobic, discriminatory policies that scapegoat migrants for social ills and alleged threats to national security.”⁴³ It adds that:

The adoption of policies that simultaneously “open” low-wage, poorly protected jobs but “close” possibilities for regularized

⁴³ “Joint Civil Society Declaration on Migration, Development and Human Rights Submitted to GFMD-Manila, October 2008.” <http://www.focusweb.org/Philippines/content/view/219/52/> (accessed January 5, 2009).

migration or basic human rights protections have increased migrants' vulnerability to abuse and exploitation by employers, recruiters, organized crimes, and corrupt officials. Women migrants, including migrant domestic workers and laborers, are particularly at risk.

States have tightened border controls and implemented harsh anti-immigrant policies in the name of state-centered national security, including in the context of 'war on terror.' Some states have implemented regimes to detect and intercept "undesirable" migrants even before they reach the borders. In this way "developed" countries have sharpened territorial divisions, especially between the "North" and the "South", and further secured their economic privilege. Concerning South-South migration, the human rights situation of migrants is of equal concern. Many governments, in countries which are simultaneously countries of departure and destination, maintain an ambiguous and schizophrenic discourse, calling for protection of their own nationals migrating abroad, while increasing control and repression of migrants in their own territory, as well as failing to provide sufficient protections for asylum seekers and refugees."⁴⁴

The problems particular to Filipino migrant workers include among others, exploitation by illegal recruiters, violation of labor contracts by recruiting agencies and employers, physical and sexual abuse, illegal detention and incarceration due to use of fraudulent travel documents and violation of other laws of the host country. In Singapore, an average of 65 Filipino women get arrested every month for the charge of illegal entry or lack of proper work documents. These women are able to

⁴⁴ Ibid, page 1.

circumvent the policies on foreign travel and leave the country with the help of unscrupulous recruiters.⁴⁵

Some migrant workers have, over the years, also figured in kidnapping for ransom and experienced work dislocation due to armed conflicts and calamities. The Department of Foreign Affairs, in its 2008 accomplishment report, provided assistance to 997 Filipinos who were stranded and caught in the middle of the civil unrest in Thailand. It coordinated the release and return to the country of 117 Filipino seafarers held hostage in Somalia. Since 2006, the DFA has negotiated the release or imposition of lighter penalty of 68 Filipinos in the death row. Twenty five death penalty cases have since been commuted.⁴⁶

A study conducted by the Action for Health Initiative (ACHIEVE) identified the various problems faced by Filipino female overseas domestic workers. They include the violation of the labor contracts (e.g. delayed or non-payment of salary, poor working condition), sexual and physical abuse, emotional and mental health issues and reproductive health risks including HIV infection.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Department of Foreign Affairs, "Highlights of 2008 Accomplishment," <http://dfa.gov.ph/?-2619> (accessed January 16, 2016)

⁴⁶ Department of Foreign Affairs. "Highlights of 2008 Accomplishment." <http://dfa.gov.ph/?p=2619> (accessed January 16, 2009).

⁴⁷ Action for Health Initiative (2006), *Life on the Move: The Sexual and Reproductive Health Status and Needs of Filipino Migrant Domestic Workers*. Quezon City: ACHIEVE and UNFPA, Philippines.

Manalo, Aden Raphael G.; Noriel R.; Paragas, Donmer F.; TEnorio, Justin Chris C.; and Jonna C. Dotimas. "The Challenges of Filipino Seafarers Onboard: Basis for Work Life

On the other hand, the reports coming from the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) have shown the problems faced by female OFWs who were employed as domestic workers and caregivers. The DFA noted that many of them have suffered from physical abuse and emotional stress due to lack of direct communication lines with family and friends. Some of the serious cases of abuse noted by the Philippine embassies abroad involved Filipina domestic workers being raped, hit with a hot iron, scalded with hot water or beaten to the point of fainting and losing consciousness. The male migrant workers, on the other hand, have also suffered from employer abuse and violation of work contract.

Risks and Vulnerabilities of Overseas Workers in the Maritime Industry

In a study conducted in 2015 on Challenges of Filipino seafarers, the authors described the Filipino seafarers as reliable and hardworking. They maintain professional and industrious attitude, making them one of the most sought-after maritime workers in the world. However, seafaring has been described as well as a very stressful occupation with long hours of work and months of separation from the family and other loved ones. The researchers said that the lack of facilities for exercise on board, poor nutrition, isolation and drinking are among the causes of their poor health. Other than the aforementioned risks of being infected with sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDs infection, in view of their exposure to paid and unprotected sexual relations, maritime workers are at risks of contracting communicable diseases like malaria.

Balance," LPU-Laguna Journal of International Tourism and Hospitality Management, Volume 3, No. 1, September 2015, pages 157-184)

Sexual harassment against female workers are rampant especially if there are very few of them on board.

Conclusion

The global demand for Filipino contract workers, especially those in the maritime industry, has continued to rise in recent years. While the Philippine government, with the assistance of some host countries, has tried its best to address many of their problems, many issues remain unresolved. There is no doubt that the income they have been remitting into the country has greatly contributed to national economic growth. There is a need, therefore, to strengthen the support services given to them by Philippine embassies abroad and the forging of bilateral as well as multilateral agreements with host countries to ensure the effective implementation of all policies and programs that respect and protect the human rights of overseas migrant workers.

Ang Pagmamapa ng Pilipinas at Karagatang Pasipiko Bilang Pagbubuo ng Imperyong Español

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Introduksyon

Kung susuriin ang ilan sa mga mapang ginawa ng mga Español na naglalarawan ng Karagatang Pasipiko mula sa taong 1540 hanggang sa taong 1789, masasabing tila ang pagkakakilala nila sa nasabing Karagatan ay nagsimula sa maliit hanggang sa lumaki ito tulad sa mga kasalukuyang ilustrasyon.

Maaaring maipaliwanag ito ng kakulangan sa modernong pamamaraan at kagamitan, subalit maaari din namang

sabihing ito ay naaayon sa pagkakakilala o impresyon ng mga tumatahak dito sa mahabang panahon. Kasabay rin ng paglaking ito ng pagkilala sa Pasipiko ang pagkakabuo ng Imperyong Español sa bahaging Pasipiko.

Sa panayam na ito'y ibig na magsimula ng isang pag-aaral na tatahak sa proseso ng pagmamapa at pag-uugnay ng Pilipinas at Karagatang Pilipinas kaalinsabay ang pananakop sa panahong kolonyal. Pangunahing pagtutuunan ng pansin ang naging epekto ng

paghahanap ng bagong daan para sa Kalakalang Galyon (1565-1815) mula pa noong 1613 hanggang 1781.

Ang Ruta ng Galyon Mula 1565

Ang pagdating ni Miguel Lopez de Legazpi noong 1565 ay isa ring matagumpay na paglalayag ng kanyang Navegador na si Andres de Urdaneta na isang fraileng Agustino. Nailatag ni Urdaneta ang magiging daanan ng mga Galyon na magiging mahalaga mula sa taong iyon hanggang 1815.

Sa paglabas ng Pilipinas ay karaniwang dinadaan ang dulo ng katimugang Luzon na San Bernardino. Mula doon ay umaakyat hanggang makarating sa Japan at saka sasakay sa along tinatawag na Kuroshio (Kuro-siwo) na magdadala sa barko hanggang California. Pabalik naman’y babagtasin ng

halos tuwid ang Pasipiko yamang ang hangin at alon ay patungong kanluran hanggang sa Pilipinas.

Sa rutang ito dadaan ang mga tao’y kalakal sa pagitan ng Pilipinas at Nueva España sa mga dantaong 17 at malaking bahagi ng ika-18. Gayunman, nagkaroon ng tila paghina ang kalakalan pagsapit ng huling bahagi nitong ika-18. Mula sa katapusan ng unang kalahati ng ika-18 dantaon, ang kalakalan pati na mga awtoridad ay nagsikap na makatuklas ng bagong daan upang maging alternatibo at mapaikli ang mahabaang panahon ng karaniwang paglalakbay. Inaabot noon ng halos isang taon ang paroo’t parito ng mga Galyon pabagtas ng Pasipiko.

Ang Pagtuklas ng Bagong Daan

Mula 1613, ipinanukala na ng “Procurador General” ng

Maynila na si Hernando de los Rios Coronel ang unang pagbabago. Isa itong daang babagtas sa kanlurang baybayin ng Luzon paitaas ng hilaga hanggang sa Lungos ng Bojador at Engaño at saka tutulak patungong Pasipiko. Gayunpaman, walang pumansin sa ganitong mungkahi yamang walang naganap na pagbabago hanggang sa pagsapit ng 1730. Sa taong ito ipinagpilitan ng mga negosyanteng kalahok sa Galyon na siyasatin ang daang pahilaga. Pinagsikapan sa pagkakataong ito ng batikang pilotong Aleman na si Enrique Hermann na makapagsagawa ng walong ulit na paglalayag sa tradisyunal na daan. Sa kanyang mga karanasan niya hinugot ang mga pangangatwiran upang mabigyan ng pansin ang ipinapanukalang bagong daan.

Nagpahayag lamang ng pag-aalinlangan ng mga awtoridad

subalit makalipas ang sampung taon, noong 1740, naging kapasiyahan ang pagsasagawa ng isang paglalakbay ng pagsisiyasat na iikot sa kapuluan ng Luzon upang alamin kung aling daan ang higit na mabuti papalabas ng karagatan. Ginawa ang ekspedisyon sakay ng barkong “Nuestra Señora del Rosario.” Sina Manuel Correa at José Macías ang mga piloto ng paglalayag. Hindi nila nagawang ikutin ang Luzon. Bunga ng panahon, nanatili na lamang sila sa kanlurang baybayin nito at ilang bahagi ng kahilagaan. Naging mahalaga ang mga resulta nito mula sa panig ng heyograpiya ng rehiyon, gayunpaman, nakatitiyak na nagdulot lamang ito ng higit na maraming pagtangga sa posibleng pagpapalit ng daan.

Muling binuhay ang usapin tungkol sa pagpapalit ng daang pahilaga sa daang tradisyonal

mula sa “cedula real” ng ika-1 ng Enero 1771 kung saan ipinag-utos ito sa gobernador ng Pilipinas na si Simon Anda y Salazar na nauna nang gumamit ng daan sa Hilaga. Hindi nasiyahan ang mga mangangalakal sa pahayag na ito at bilang pampalubag-loob, sinabihan silang paghandaang mabuti ang pag-iipon ng kanilang mga kalakal at maging handa rin para sa kaagad na paglalayag.

Muling pinagtibay ng kinahinatnan ng paglalayag na ito ang kapasiyahan ng hari noong 1771 sa pamamagitan ng isang bagong “Cedula” na ipinahayag sa San Lorenzo de Escorial noong ika-25 ng Oktubre 1777. Ipinag-utos nito sa gobernador na sundan ang bagong daanan, at hindi binigyang pansin ang maaaring mawalang kayamanan mula sa kalakalang lokal sa gayo’y di

maisakatuparan ang kautusan. Mga bagong petsa ang pinagtibay sa dokumento, dapat maisagawa na ang paglisan mula sa Mexico sa kalagitnaan ng Enero upang maiwan ang “situado” sa Marianas at magpatuloy sa Maynila sa pamamagitan ng Lungos ng Bojador.

Sa harap ng katotohanan ng paglalayag noong 1779, dumating sa gitna ng patuloy na problematikong kalagayan ang mapagpasiya, matalino at pulitikal na pag-aasal ni Jose Basco y Vargas nang itatag niya ang “Consulado del Comercio.” Bumuo siya ng mga takdang talaarawan na pumayag din naman siyang ipagpaliban sa harap ng mga naantalang paglalayag ng mga barko mula sa Tsina at mga karatig na pulo.

Sa huli, itinakda ang paglalayag ng “San Jose,” na isinailalim sa

pamumuno ng Tenyente José Emparán, sa ika-29 ng Mayo. Dalawang linggo lamang itong nahuhuli sa petsang itinakda ng “real cedula” na kalagitnaan ng Mayo. Naging mabilis ang paglalayag dito hanggang makarating sa Lungos ng Engaño sa loob ng labinlimang araw, matapos na hindi tumulong ang hangin at ulap sa pagpapanatili ng ganitong bilis at hanggang sa Marianas pabalik na halos isang buwan. Ang iba naman, ang pagbagtas sa hilagang Pasipiko hanggang sa California ay mabilis kung ihahambing sa iba, dalawang buwan at kalahati.

Ang Daan sa Timog

Sa kaunting taon na magpapatuloy pa ang mga paglalayag ng Galyon, hanggang 1815 sa opisyal na larangan at ekstra-opisyal hanggang 1821, bumalik lamang ang paglalakbay

nito sa dating daanan, ang nasa timog na kilala bilang “Embocadero.”

Bunga ng pagkabigo ng daang pahilaga ay napilitan si Gobernador Anda y Salazar na paglayagin ang Galyon “San Carlos” noong 1773 gamit ang nakagawiang daan upang matiyak na maayos ang paglalakbay nito. Gayunpaman, hindi siya nagpasiyang nag-iisa. Kinausap din niya ang mga naglalakbay na paham, ang mga opisyal ng barkong “Venus” alyas “Santa Brigida” na nasa daungan mula sa siyentipikong paglalakbay nito.

Nasa kamay ni Juan de Langara y Huarte ang pamamahala ng barko at kasama sa kanyang mga tauhan ang Tenyente Jose de Mazarredo. Siya ang nagpakilala sa kanyang mga kasama habang naglalayag sa “pamamaraan ng mga

distansyang lunar upang malaman ang kahabaan sa dagat..." at ito ang isa sa mahahalagang katangian ng paglalakbay ng "La Venus."

Sunod-sunod na nagkaroon ng mga paglalakbay na nagmapa sa iba't-ibang lugar na hindi pa nadaanan ng tradisyunal na daan ng mga Galyon. Ang Paglalayag ng "Nuestra Señora de la Consolacion" Alyas "Buen Fin." Nagsimula noong Enero 1773 mula sa Maynila at nakarating sa San Blas noong ika-26 ng Hulyo ng taon ding iyon. Ang Paglalakbay ng "Nuestra Señora del Rosario, La Marinera," Alyas "La Princesa," 1780-1781. Nagsimula 21 Agosto 1780 hanggang 21 Nobyembre 1780. Mula Maynila hanggang Sisiran. Mula 21 Nobyembre 1780 hanggang 27 Pebrero 1781. Sisiran patungong Tonga. Sa Kapuluan ng Tonga at Hanggang sa

Dulong Katimugan (mula ika-27 ng Pebrero hanggang ika-4 ng Abril, 1781) Mula sa Islas de la Consolacion Hanggang sa Isla de Guajan (Mula ika-4 ng Abril hanggang ika-20 ng Hunyo 1781.) Mula sa Isla ng Guam (Guajan) hanggang sa San Blas. (Mula 20 ng Hunyo hanggang 27 Septyembre 1781).

Konklusyon

Ang proseso ng pagtatatag ng malayong kolonya ng Pilipinas ay kasabay rin ng pagkilala ng Espanya sa Karagatang Pasipiko bilang kanilang teritoryo. Hindi lamang nagsilbing daanan ng iba't-ibang produkto ang Kalakalang Galyon (1565-1815) kundi nagsilbi rin itong kasangkapan sa pagpapalawak ng kasakupang Espanol. Kakabit nito, ang Kalakalang Galyon din ang nagtulak upang tumuklas pa ng mga madadaanang higit na mabilis subalit higit ring

maraming pulo. Mga pulo na maaaring mapagkunan ng mga probisyon at posibleng produktong panluwas.

Sa pagnanais na tumuklas ng mga daan, lumawak din ang pagkilala dito sa pakahulugang

heyograpikal bukod pa sa mga potensyal na maidudulot nito sa imperyo. Sa huli, natigil na ang lahat ng ito. Anumang nais pa ng Espanya sa Pilipinas o sa Pasipiko ay hindi na natuloy bunga ng Himagsikang 1896.

The Saga of a Maritime Nation sans Maritime Doctrine

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Abstract

The Philippines is undeniably a maritime nation. Being an archipelago with 7,641 islands, the country is facing all sorts of ocean related opportunities and challenges for decades. This maritime nature, however, was and is not apparently complemented most of the time by the collective actions, actuations, and activities of the Philippine government and its apparatuses. This condition is further exacerbated by the absence of a doctrine that will focus all concerns that are *'at and from the sea'*. A document that will provide conceptual framework for devising such a plan or strategy seeking to develop and employ maritime capacity/power in pursuit of national objectives and interests.

Hence, this paper investigates if the Philippines has a clear concept of a maritime nation since its establishment as a republic. Moreover, this paper also documents if the said concept has been succinctly translated into actual operationalization by state apparatuses.

Keywords: Maritime, Nation, Archipelago, Philippines

Introduction

The Philippines is undeniably a maritime nation. Being an archipelago with 7,641 islands, the country is facing all sorts of ocean related opportunities and challenges for decades. This maritime nature, however, was and is not apparently complemented most of the time by the collective actions, actuations, and activities of the Philippine government and its apparatuses. This condition is further exacerbated by the absence of a doctrine that will focus all concerns that are *'at and from the sea'*.

A document that will provide conceptual framework for devising such a plan or strategy seeking to develop and employ maritime capacity/power in pursuit of national objectives and interests. These include the

protection of its sovereignty, shipping and commerce, navigation, and naval affairs, including the contribution of the maritime industry to the international economy.

This paper, as a preliminary study, will look at the concept of a maritime nation and how this fact sinks in into the Philippines' consciousness as manifested perhaps in the mechanisms and pronouncements of the country's leaders.

Concept of Maritime Nation

It is observable that people began to increasingly use the term "maritime nation' in their discussion but it is also noted that there is a dearth of clear definition about it especially from academic sources. The only available definition is

provided by a stub in Wikipedia which defines maritime nation as any nation which borders the sea and is dependent on its use for majority of the following state activities: commerce and transport, war, to define a territorial boundary, or for any maritime activity (activities using the sea to convey or produce an end result). The stub also mentioned about the use of the term in the history with reference to thalassocracy such as Carthage and Phoenicia but its usage is greatly associated during the medieval period with the existence of maritime republics of Venice, Pisa, Genoa and Amalfi (Wikipedia). In the work of G. Benvenuti's *Le Repubbliche Marinare* (1989), he identified the 9 elements for a polity to be considered as maritime republic. It should be noted that the term maritime republic was coined from the 19th century

historiography. The elements include independence (*de iure* or *de facto*); autonomy, economy, politics and culture based essentially on navigation and maritime exchanges; the possession of a fleet of navy ships; being born and constituting itself as city-state, only to eventually expand further; the presence of Mediterranean ports of own *fondachi* (warehouse) and consulate; the presence in its own port of warehouses and consulates in cities and foreign countries; the use of a proper currency accepted throughout the Mediterranean and its own maritime laws; presence of a government with republican character; and participation in the Crusades and/or repression of piracy.

The said elements are undoubtedly of 19th century description of a maritime nation

but many of these elements are observably applicable to contemporary times. The case of the Philippines reflects on these elements but the concept may even cover the most obvious marker - the geographical nature of the country. Looking at the documents written during pre-colonial times, the Philippines appeared to be maritime polity. Such geographic condition is notably observed by early sailors and traders and is reflected in various Chinese annals and Indian documents. In particular, early Indians particularly traders and geographers made reference to these islands as *Panyupayana*. In the *Survey of Indian History* by K.M. Panikkar, an interesting map of Greater India is included which covered the whole Southeast Asia and tagged with ancient names occurring in Indian literature. Remarkably,

the early Indian geographers referred to the Philippines as *Panyupayana* or *lands surrounded by water* (Santarita, 2018). Given this reference from Indians, the mere use of this term significantly reinforces contemporary understanding of the geographic nature of the Philippines as a maritime nation.

Aside from Indian reference, Chinese also had made reference to the archipelagic or island nature of the Philippines or parts of it in the 1000. Sung Shih has documented the trading connections with Mai/Mait or present day Mindoro. In fact, an edict of 972 indicates that Mindoro was part of the Sung Dynasty trade (Scott).

Aside from the historical documents, this paper also made a survey of the constitutions and proclamations done through the years since

the Philippines establishment as a republic. The constitutions of 1899, 1935 and 1943 did not mention about the territory specifically the Philippines as a maritime entity. It was only in 1973 Constitution under Section 1 that a clear description of the national territory has been made. It states that the national territory comprises the Philippine archipelago, with all the islands and waters embraced therein, and all the other territories belonging to the Philippines by historic or legal title, including the territorial sea, the air space, the subsoil, the sea-bed, the insular shelves, and the submarine areas over which the Philippines has sovereignty or jurisdiction. The waters around, between, and connecting the islands of the archipelago, irrespective of their breadth and dimensions, form part of the internal waters of the Philippines. A more

updated and comprehensive description about the national territory is made in the 1987 constitution. In article 1, it states that the national territory comprises the Philippine archipelago, with all the islands and waters embraced therein, and all other territories over which the Philippines has sovereignty or jurisdiction, consisting of its terrestrial, fluvial and aerial domains, including its territorial sea, the seabed, the subsoil, the insular shelves, and other submarine areas. The waters around, between, and connecting the islands of the archipelago, regardless of their breadth and dimensions, form part of the internal waters of the Philippines (1987 Constitution). Furthermore, in article XII, Section 2 of the Constitution further states that the State shall protect the nation's marine wealth in its archipelagic

waters, territorial sea, and exclusive economic zone, and reserve its use and enjoyment exclusively to Filipino citizens (PN 316).

There is no doubt that the Philippines is a maritime nation because of its geographical nature. However, as Marites Vitug has observed, this fact has yet to sink in into our country's consciousness. There is a need of retooling the conventional mindsets that focused on land and internal threats (Danguilan-Vitug). She further lamented that "we don't hear our leaders talk much about the Philippines as a maritime nation" (Danguilan-Vitug). This 'not sinking in' should not be misconstrued, however, as the total absence of mechanisms to forward the interest of the Philippines as maritime nation. There are agencies that were created and several policies that were drafted to advance the

interests of the state but their actions and consequences may not necessarily be motivated by the quest of a maritime nation.

Operationalization

As a republic, the Philippines in pursuit of its national interests has established several agencies that are mandated to protect its territory including maritime concerns as well as maintain its suzerainty. These offices include the Department of National Defense, Department of Foreign Affairs, the Armed Forces of the Philippines particularly its Navy, Department of Interior and Local Government particularly its police, Philippine Coast Guard, Maritime Authority (MARINA) among others. Past and present administrations have issued various proclamations to protect the maritime and marine interest of the country.



These proclamations, however, are done on piecemeal basis and do not constitute acts that are directed to contribute collectively to the grand vision, if there is one, of a maritime nation. Nonetheless, these proclamations are better to nothing since they to some extent served their purpose for a certain period of time and of a particular interest. Foremost is the Proclamation 176 (s. 1963). It declared the third week of October of every year as “Fish Conservation Week” to promote the importance of fish and other aquatic products to the people’s well-being and the country’s economy (PN 316).

Recognizing the archipelagic and maritime nature of the country, then President Fidel V Ramos issued in 1994 the National Marine Policy (NMP) to guide various stakeholders in the maritime community,

especially those in government, in managing the “blue economy.” The policy contains four key areas: Politics and Jurisdiction, Area Regulation and Enforcement, Area Development and Conservation, and Maritime Security. Although bereft of a legal mandate NMP is in consonance with the national interests.

Proclamation 866 (s. 1996) as amended, declared the last Friday of September of every year as “National Maritime Day” for the purpose of focusing the public’s attention on the vital role of the maritime industry in development in global shipping (PN 316).

Proclamation No. 316 (s. 2017) declared the month of September of every year as the Maritime and Archipelagic Nation Awareness Month (Mana Mo). This instrument also harmonizes, integrates and

synchronizes programs and activities that will raise national consciousness on maritime and archipelagic issues and policies (PN 316).

Despite the Philippines' maritime nature, the total naval assets are pale in comparison to other countries (global fire power). This is observable in the table below, wherein the Philippines appears to have limited assets in terms of total naval capabilities among the 5 founding members of ASEAN. It is understandable that Singapore, on the one hand, may have small number of assets considering of its territory size. The maritime or (Danguilan-Vitug).

archipelagic nature of the Philippines did not translate to a need of acquiring an aircraft carrier like Thailand, and of having a single submarine just like Indonesia and Malaysia.

The Army has more combat tanks and armored fighting vehicles than the Navy's frigates and patrol ships (Danguilan-Vitug). In an interview with Rappler, former defense secretary Orlando Mercado has urged the military to address evolving threats, including beefing up maritime security to stave off threats such as terrorism, human trafficking, smuggling, piracy, and external aggression

Comparative Data on Naval Capability of 5 Southeast Asian Countries					
	Philippines	Singapore	Indonesia	Thailand	Malaysia
Total Naval Assets	119	40	221	81	61
Aircraft Carriers	0	0	0	1	0
Frigates	4	6	8	7	3
Destroyers	0	0	0	0	0
Corvettes	10	6	24	7	6
Submarines	0	6	3	0	2
Patrol Vessels	35	11	74	32	41
Mine Warfare	0	2	12	7	4

Source: Global Fire Power, 2018.

Attempts Towards a Maritime Doctrine

Is a maritime doctrine necessary? So far, few countries in contemporary times have crafted and adopted such instrument. South Africa has adopted this instrument in 1994, India in 2009, Australia in

2010, Indonesia in 2014, Pakistan in 2016, and Russia in 2017 among others. One may ask why these countries decide

to adopt such document? In the survey of these doctrines, the

instrument appears to serve as guide to understand the distinct nature of the respective country's navy's contribution to the national security and how the Navy goes about its business.

The Philippines has attempted in 1994 with its National Marine

Policy (NMP) to be put in place. Recognizing the archipelagic and maritime nature of the country, then President Fidel V Ramos issued in 1994 the NMP to guide various stakeholders in the maritime community, especially those in government, in managing the "blue economy." The policy contains four key areas: Politics and Jurisdiction, Area Regulation and Enforcement, Area Development and Conservation, and Maritime Security.

On politics and jurisdiction, the new Baselines Law of 2009 (RA9522) incorporating the areas defined by PD1596 (Kalayaan Island Group) and PD1599 (EEZ) established our national identity as an archipelagic state and defined our maritime boundaries in accordance with UN Convention of the Law of the Sea. Three years later the UN recognized

the country's extended continental shelf in the Philippine/Benham Rise area thereby expanding the archipelago's maritime zone by some 30,000 square kilometers. In 2016, the government formed a National Task Force West Philippine Sea to coordinate policy on South China Sea. These gains in defining the extent of territory are threatened by the brewing WPS/SCS conflict, the continuing Sulu Sultanate claim, the absence of ASEAN Code of Conduct in WPS/SCS, and the impractical local maritime zone limits that consider only physical boundaries rather than economic resource management. These are some of the challenges that need more attention, and are worthy to deal with.

In terms of maritime area regulation and enforcement,

the focus is on the protection of marine ecology. The inter-agency and convergence actions in Palawan and the community-based initiatives in other localities to protect selected marine areas contribute a lot in regulating the utilization of marine resources. In Cebu, the local government organized a system to monitor water quality and set measurement parameters for chemicals to prevent pollution. The modest gains in this area may increase once the stakeholders address the issues of fragmented implementation, enhance legal and administrative procedures and hasten the transfer of knowledge, skills and resources. Integration and coordination are central in regulating and enforcing the various issuances as regards to the use of maritime zones and resources.

On area development and conservation, the main priority is the management of the marine economy and technology to balance demands for utilization and conservation. This involves fisheries, seabed resources and ports and shipping. The concept of Integrated Coastal Zone Management has taken roots. DENR, PPA, PCG and MARINA are jointly working on abatement and control of marine pollution while other agencies continue to conduct research and assessment on marine resources to help in poverty alleviation and livelihood development. Authorities have established marine protected areas (MPAs), mandated seasonal fishing and crafted policies and strategies to mitigate the impact of climate change. BFAR and marine scientists have started to explore the fishery, aquatic

and seabed resources in Philippine/Benham Rise for food, energy and income. The nautical highway initiated by PPA and MARINA some years back now links the island provinces with the major centers of the economy. MARINA's development plans led to the country's elevation to top 5 among world's shipbuilding nations in terms of tonnage and in many ways improve coastal and maritime tourism. The several challenges faced by this priority area to truly harness the potential of the country's marine economy are: weak development planning that is predominantly landward looking, poverty in coastal communities, inadequate port facilities and shipyards, mismanaged MPAs and improper valuation of damaged marine resources like reefs and corals.

On maritime security, the recent acquisition of naval, air force and coast guard platforms strengthened the country's ability to confront low-intensity conflicts in the maritime domain. BFAR also enhanced its capability to enforce fishery laws. But these government agencies and transiting merchant ships are constrained by ill-defined sea-lanes, weak mapping of the EEZ and existence of lawless groups that prey on commercial vessels. The vastness of the sea areas enables illegal, unregulated and unreported fishing to proliferate. The number of patrol ships for maritime zone is short of the required to prevent, deter and suppress maritime violations. The protection of future marine-based energy sources will need a stronger navy, air force and coast guard (Marayag).

The NMP's provisions are ideal and are essential to the the development of a maritime doctrine. It is unfortunate that it did not push through into a full blown instrument to complement the current needs of a maritime nation. Contemporary times expects initiatives beyond navy's concerns to include matters related to trade, blue growth development, etc. To be a maritime nation, the Philippines must exhibit that level of confidence on its people's ability to achieve national objectives by harvesting the rich marine resources and optimizing the benefits that the seas provide. Moreover, the realization of a maritime nation requires inclusivity to cover all stakeholders such as the fisher folks, seamen, and boat builders among others.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the Philippines is an archipelago and is indeed a maritime nation. There is a recognition in more recent years by the government that the Philippines is a maritime entity. Despite such recognition, the government's apparatuses are not working in unison to behave at least like a maritime nation. Some agencies have embraced some mechanisms leading to such thinking but it did not reach to the point where all stakeholders are synchronously rowing together as a maritime state. In the discussion, there were attempts from the past leaders of developing policies towards the realization of a maritime nation but they fall short from such initiatives leading to the development of a maritime doctrine. A framework that will bring the country with a clear

trajectory not definitely as a maritime power but also in the development of a holistic protection of the marine and maritime resources.

Hence, one may ask if it is still imperative to develop and embrace a maritime doctrine? The answer is yes. It is very important that the Philippines as an archipelago should have a concrete platform where all its agencies are interlinked and guided in order to move forward in coherence with the national interest. The Maritime doctrine is necessary in order to guide various agencies of the government to work in the protection of the sovereignty of the country and also the preservation of natural resources.

Stakeholders must be engaged and their inputs must be seriously considered in the

review of maritime institutions, legislation and regulations and policies. The government must actively lead by adopting a comprehensive national maritime policy that defines the long-term strategic direction for Maritime Philippines (Pimentel). The absence of such document in the long run is already a clear lapse of the government if it remains to have fall short from expectation given the vivid

recognition of its geographical configuration yet continue to exist without a well thought doctrine that will guide its trajectory as a maritime nation. Hence, the formulation of this document albeit late will indeed spare the Philippines from further embarrassment to be included among maritime nations sans its own maritime doctrine.

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Professor Boncan holds a PhD in History from the University of the Philippines Diliman. She is co-author of the book *The Filipino Saga: History as Social Change*. She received two international research scholarships --- the first from the Fulbright Program of the U.S. State Department in 2002 and the second from the Rockefeller Foundation in 2003 which enabled her to do research at the Library of

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Dr. Lacsina began her career at the National Museum of the Philippines as a Museum Researcher at the Archaeology Division in 2004. This year, she was appointed as Museum Curator I of the Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Division. She earned her MA in Archaeology from the University of the Philippines in 2009, and PhD in Archaeology from Flinders University in 2016. Her main research interests lie in ancient Philippine boat construction, particularly of the lashed-lug boats.

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She served as director of the UP Center for Women's Studies (2000 to 2007) and as its deputy director for Training and Extension Service (1991

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