



FLAVORS THAT SAIL ACROSS THE SEAS



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FLAVORS
THAT SAIL ACROSS THE SEAS

SABORES
QUE CRUZARON LOS OCÉANOS







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National Museum of the Philippines, Manila

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Curator

Antonio Sánchez de Mora



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Europe's desire to acquire spices from the East is undoubtedly one of the reasons that prompted the first expedition of Christopher Columbus. Decades later, the search of a route that would facilitate gaining direct access from the Americas to the Western Islands or Spice Islands culminated in the discovery of the Philippines, Moluccas and other archipelagos.

After their arrival in the Philippines and their encounter with the local inhabitants, the Spaniards thought that they had finally found the gateway to Asia that would enable them to obtain access to the spice route and the valuable Asian markets from the newly-discovered archipelago. However, they soon came to terms with the reality that their Asian venture was but a pipe dream. This evolved into the transformation of the Philippine Islands as a strategic point, the bulwark of the Spanish Empire and the hinge between the Americas and Asia.

It was not until in 1565 when Miguel López de Legazpi arranged for the expedition of Andrés de Urdaneta, along with Alonso de Arellano, in search of a return route to New Spain that regular interchange between the two continents would commence. Over the years, the Manila Galleon or Nao de China, which signified the steady exchange between Spain and Asia, secured a transoceanic route between Acapulco and Manila that would link both Spanish territories and would transport an endless number of products across the continents until the end of the Galleon Trade in 1815 with the independence of Mexico from the Spanish Crown.

That is the story that the exhibit *Flavors that Sail across the Seas* seeks to tell. A story in which, on the back of the rapid growth in all kinds of exchanges between Asia, the Americas and Europe, a real revolution occurred in the field of gastronomy, both in ingredients and techniques, uses and customs, having a big impact on





the worldwide change in the use of food and eating habits. The intangible legacy of this venture of more than three centuries in the global gastronomical culture constitutes a paradigm of the transcendence of the meeting of two worlds.

Flavors that Sail across the Seas is based on a profound examination of the documentary heritage treasures kept at the Archivo General de Indias in an effort to offer, in a didactic and sensory manner, a journey through the history of culinary exchanges. The current high point of cuisine and the renewed interest of professionals and ordinary citizens in continuing exploring new gastronomical routes come about nowadays through the resolute determination to get to know as accurately as possible traditions that sustain our current eating habits. It is precisely that bridge between the old and the modern in which the soul of this research and exhibit resides.

We wish to thank the National Museum of the Philippines, the National Archives of the Philippines, the Embassy of Spain in the Philippines, the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (MECD), the National Library of Spain, the Royal Botanical Garden (Spanish National Research Council – CSIC), the Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental, the National Museum of Decorative Arts in Madrid and the Instituto Cervantes de Manila as well as all private sponsors for all their generous collaboration in this project.

*Directorate for Cultural and Scientific Relations
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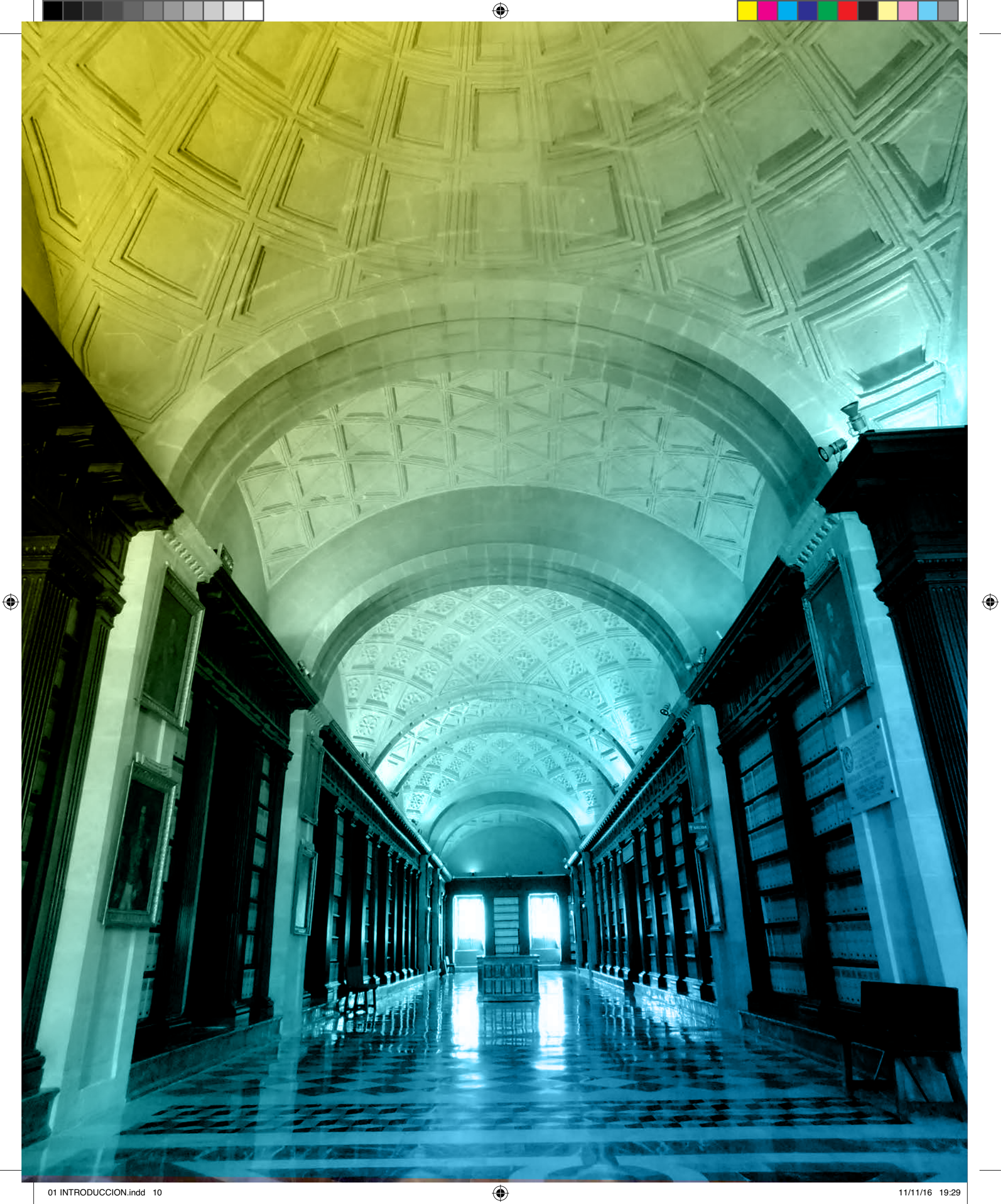


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ENJOY DOCUMENTS WITH THE FIVE SENSES

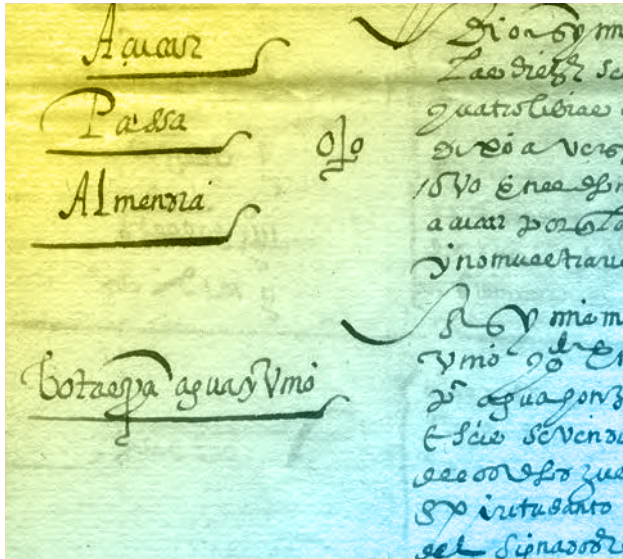
INTRODUCTION

Culture is not just a set of material items resulting from human creativity. It is rather to be understood as a set of actions that produces both material and immaterial results that take place in a given social context. It is easy to identify objects and artistic works as the only parts of a cultural system and, thus, to analyze the later through their features or their conditions. Nonetheless, we frequently forget that human creation is the result of previous and conscious will by their authors, in which their skills and training, the social behaviour and the desire of transmitting a message or to arouse the spectator, are involved.

What do they have in common, a historical document and a chef's recipe? They are both outcomes of the will and the skill some author to create a work aimed to reach up an addressee. They are both immersed in a context that influences in their production, whether it consists in legal rules, administrative practices, aesthetic tastes or alimentary customs. Finally, they both have the aim of transmitting a message, either informative or sensorial. Moreover, beyond their primary purpose, they may be studied in order to analyze their context of production.

In that sense, current archivistics insist on the assessment of acknowledging the document's capacity of transmitting information. Each document is created with a specific aim, chosen by its creator, but, as time goes by, it gains other values, as it becomes the witness of a bygone social context in which it took part.

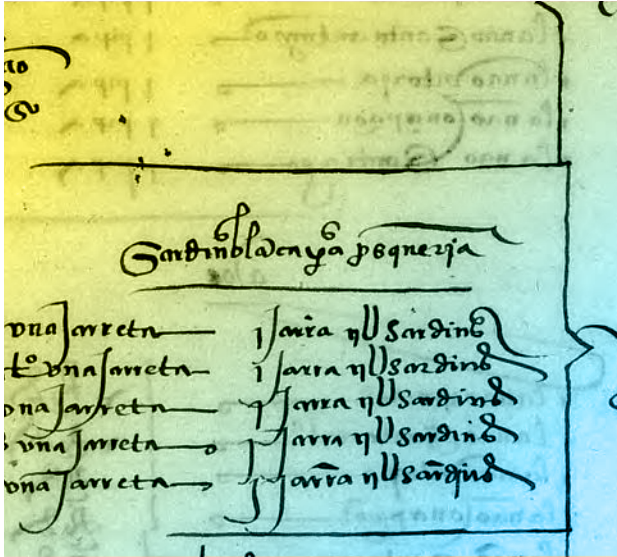
Documents have always been analyzed from different perspectives, beyond the primary information of its contents, as their own material features are likely to bring additional information. Thus, this is another link to our main topic, the Hispanic gastronomic legacy in the Philippines and the development of a brand new Filipino culinary tradition as the result of cultural interaction. Words and graphic signs have a conventional meaning, although it adapts to of each individual in its perception of reality. Recalling the nominalist controversies, does the rose exist as an univocal concept, or is it only that each single rose has its own meaning? Some words, beyond their proper meaning, are unconsciously transformed and linked to other perceptions. Synaesthesia teaches us, for instance, that we



are able to associate apparently independent perceptions transmitted by different senses. Thus, it may complete our general perception of a given object or concept by adding the meaning produced by different cognitive or sensorial perceptions. The fragrance of a rose is able to evoke the ideal rose in our minds, just as the reading of a poem or the contemplation of a painting may remind us of its smell.

Can a historical and textual document, with no illustration, be able to convey such information? Gastronomy helps us to understand why indeed it is so. When Christopher Columbus set foot on the Caribbean islands he tasted a elongated red fruit, getting a sudden burning sensation in his mouth, his mind reacted associating it with a similar itching, that of pepper. His reaction is easy to understand, especially if, after having bitten a very hot pepper, our experience encourages us to salivate at the mere sight of a chilli in order to prevent its effects. We all have in mind an ideal dish, a unique flavor, so that the perception of a similar smell can evoke that taste or even scenes from our childhood associated with it. Similarly, there are words whose meaning is understood from some senses before we are able to explain it with words. What tastes like an almond? An almond; What smells like a rose? A rose.

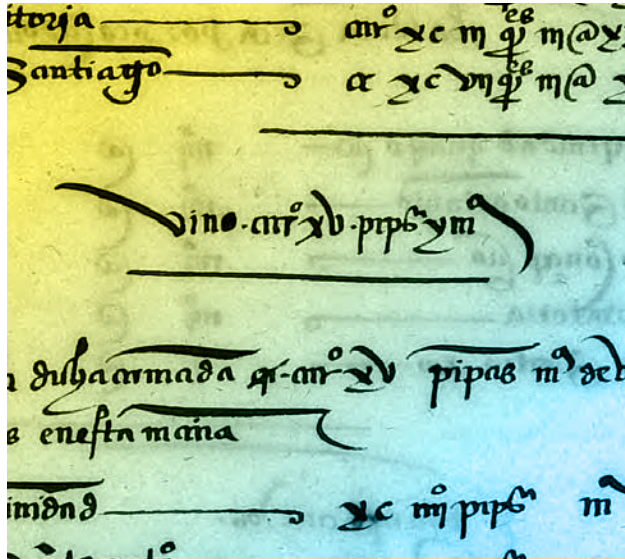
The challenge of this exhibition is to change our perception of certain historical documents and assume that they are able to evoke flavors and smells. Enjoy the documents with the five senses implies to be carried away by the sensations that its reading evokes, to the point of the simple perception of a smell is capable to remind us that story that it was transmitted by the document. What did the food tried by the crew of the expedition of Ferdinand Magellan taste like? What feelings provoked the American or Asian fruit on the palate of a Spaniard of the 16th century?



If historical records are evidences of human actions of past centuries, an integral part of the cultural heritage of our societies, gastronomy has to be added to this legacy, especially as it consists in a very different way of transmission. Its mostly sensorial scope is able to be completed with more cognitive and descriptive historical sources, which in many points of views is essential. Moreover, this exhibition provides further experiences. If Synaesthesia causes different reactions in our senses, the use of facsimile brings us the possibility of enjoying the touch, and even the smell, of documents in the same way than the study of ancient recipes is to introduce us into cognitive learning through smell and taste.

The topic of this exhibition absolutely matches the above said aims, so it is such an opportunity to put them into practice. The gastronomy from so distant areas such as Spain and the Philippine Islands went through a radical change from the 16th century on, as the so-called Alimentary Revolution spread through Europe, America and Asia. Spain was a main agent in the discovery of American flora and fauna, and did spread its outcome through all the territories under its rule. When Spanish seafarers reached the Philippines they did not only carry with them their European cuisine and food, but also some elements they had recently adopted in the New World. Moreover, the accepting of new products, even if it was due to necessity, did shift their attitude towards potential novelties. Historical sources show us that, rather than rejection, there was acceptance, analytical and pragmatic points of view. Thus, Spanish gastronomy was enriched at the same time that it spread through America and Philippines, allowing the development of a multicultural cuisine in which elements were mixed without caring where they came from (Chinese and Malaysian influences are also to be acknowledged).

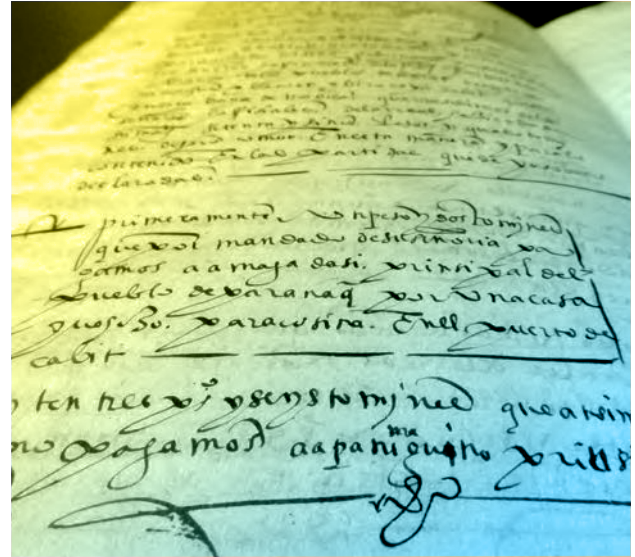
The archives, libraries and museums of the world are full of goods that are witnesses of the past. The Archivo General de Indias in Seville keeps a legacy, unique



in the world, with thousands of documents attesting to our history. This exhibition was born in its midst, thanks to the collaboration between the International Cooperation Spanish Agency and the Ministry of Education Culture and Sport. It was the Spanish Embassy in Manila that proposed me this challenge and that, since then, has supported its development, adding items from other Spanish and Filipino institutions to the documents kept in this Archive. Moreover, this exhibition had to be a reflection of the encounter between peoples and, thus, the involvement of several Filipino institutions, led by the National Museum was sought. The National Museum of the Philippines is not only the first siege of this exhibition, but also but also a main contributor to its content, as a large number of pieces belonging to its collections are on display together with the facsimile brought from Spain.

The encounter between Spain and Philippines, whose networks did reach Europe, America and Asia, allowed the development of a mixed gastronomy, that was common to every Spanish territory and, at the same time, had multiple regional peculiarities. It did not mean the simple acceptance of a model, somehow changed by its transoceanic transplant, but rather that the Hispanic cultural system found in America and Asia a space both for innovation and for the consolidation of techniques and tastes. In the same way that Mexico preserved its Pre-Columbian heritage in its cuisine, both Spain and Philippines received external influences, which were strengthened by the estrangement of the new states of the 19th century. What remains of the Spanish Baroque cuisine? Does current Filipino cuisine keeps echoes of flavors yet forgotten in the Iberian Peninsula? Does a common heritage survives in so distant gastronomy and culture?

This exhibition aims to solve these and other questions or at least to arouse interest in a past that binds our people. It was Jose Rizal, in his foreword to the



Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas de Antonio de Morga –published in Paris in 1890– who recognized the need to first raise awareness of the past in order to better judge the present and measure the road traveled for three centuries. Today, over a century later, his statement is still in force. *If the book* –if this exhibition, may I add– *succeeds to awaken your consciousness of our past, already effaced from your memory, and to rectify what has been falsified and slandered, then i have not worked in vain, and with this as a basis, however small it may be, we shall be able to study the future.*

Let´s approach our history and cuisine with the five senses. Let´s know our past through a material and immaterial culture that unites Spanish and Filipino peoples in the recognition of a common history and legacy. Let´s know a heritage that bears witness to a history of encounters and disagreements, but do not stop there. Let´s also enjoy the flavours that, besides delighting us, take us to a legacy that is in the roots of our current nations.

Antonio Sánchez de Mora
Curator of the Exhibition



Babae
 rlanao quindas una botn
 rlanao Santo ant^o
 rlanao Conap^o
 rlanao victoria
 rlanao Santiago

quindas

rlanao quindas
 rlanao Santo ant^o
 rlanao Conap^o
 rlanao victoria
 rlanao Santiago





TRAVELLING
FOOD



Map of India Orientalis. Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, by Abraham Ortelius. Antwerp, printed by Christoval Plantino, 1588.

Paper book, printed. 206 pages, 45 x 30.1 cm.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Biblioteca, L.A. s. XVI - 1

TRAVELLING FOOD

Antonio Sánchez de Mora

THE COVETED ORIENTAL SPICES

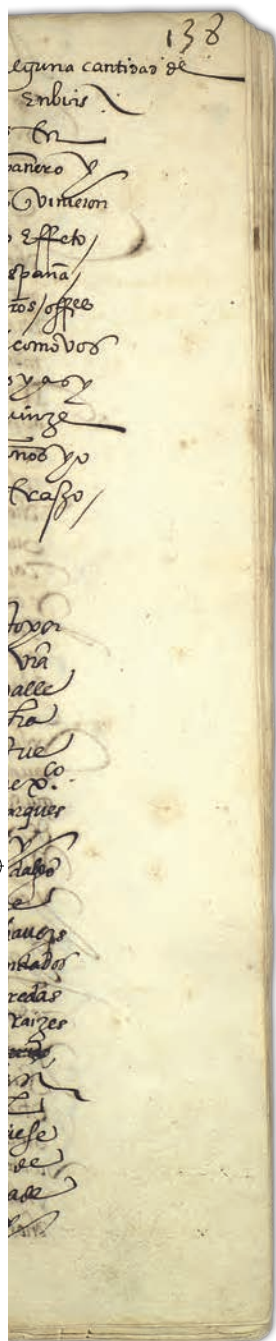
The coveted oriental spices, well-known and appreciated from the Ancient Age for their alimentary and medicinal virtues, were wrapped in a mysterious halo until the 15th century, due to their geographic remoteness and the existing difficulties for reaching their areas of production. Their trade had been monopolised by Muslim merchants who were in control of the route that linked Malacca to Ormuz and, from that point, through the deserts by camel, up to Alexandria and other Mediterranean ports where they were relieved by Italian traders¹.

News reported by Marco Polo strengthened European traders' interest who, from that point, tried by all means to establish a direct trade route to the so-far mythical Spice Islands. The exploration of the African coast, as promoted by the Portuguese Crown, allowed direct contact with the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile, there was a more hazardous adventure proposed by Christopher Columbus, chosen by Castilians. In just a few decades the Iberian sailors, who inherited both Atlantic and Mediterranean nautical traditions, achieved a new route towards India and the Far East, and the Discovery of the New World. Those results led the Spanish and Portuguese to agree a distribution of the new lands to be colonised and converted to Christianity, as stated in the Treaty of Tordesillas, 1493.

The exploration of the American Continent had the aim of, among other purposes, finding a path to reach Asia sailing westwards, although this was made difficult by the great extension of such a new continent. There were many attempts to sail around the American mainland, prior to when Fernando de Magallanes (Ferdinand Magellan) discovered the strait which is now named after him. He aimed to fill the hold of his vessels with spices, and in order to face such a hazardous trip he stocked up with as many things as he considered necessary. The goal was reached in 1521 and, although Magellan and many of his men died, his expedition achieved the first circumnavigation of the Earth. Furthermore, as proof and reward of their deed, they gathered cinnamon, cloves, pepper, nutmeg and ginger during their time in the Philippines, the Moluccas and other Indonesian islands.

¹ Royal officer Juan Bautista Román made a summary of those routes in order to argue for the convenience of Spanish presence in the Philippines. Archivo General de Indias (hence AGI), FILIPINAS, 39, N.38. Manila, June 12th, 1582.





Interest in these precious resources did not die over the years, and several expeditions were sent from Spain and its new colonies, fuelled by the desire to improve the availability of spices. The lucrative spice business demanded the insurance of access to the Islands where they were produced and, for that reason, the establishment of a link between them and New Spain was attempted time after time (this was mandatory in order to reach Spain without crossing Portuguese-influenced areas). Furthermore, Spain's relationship with Portugal, who had reached the Moluccans via their presence in the Indian Ocean, was not as peaceful as expected, despite the Treaty of Zaragoza, agreed in 1529.

It was a uneasy start, with few men and the uncertainty of a long and dangerous crossing. Álvaro de Saavedra was the first to reach the Philippine Islands from New Spain, followed by Ruy López de Villalobos and Miguel López de Legazpi. But the way back remained impossible until Andrés de Urdaneta found the route called *Tornaviaje*, although Alonso de Arellano (disobeying the orders he had previously received) overtook him and thus was convicted. Arellano's audacity does not diminish the merit of Urdaneta, who had calculated the route and had been committed by Legazpi to sail eastwards to Acapulco. Thus, regular communication between both extremes of the Pacific Ocean was inaugurated. Although its initial doubts and its hazardousness, it consolidated, little by little, the coming together of Asia, America and Europe, under the protection of the Spanish Empire.

The expense of this crossing and the aim of making this vast continent profitable were in the background of the attempts to cultivate some of those plants on American lands. The decrees of Philip II, shown in this exhibition focusing the acceleration of the cinnamon shipments from Asia and America, are to be considered as an example of such. The King was concerned about the health of his heir, Prince Don Carlos, whose illness and bad character had distinguished him from others since childhood. Thus, the King took to him every medicine that would relieve his pains, including oriental spices. For the same reason he urged his officers in Mexico to send all the cinnamon they could gather, *in tortilla or in roll*. He already knew about the success of the quest for a route taking ships back from the Philippines to Acapulco and was, probably, beginning to imagine how much of a great feat the discovery of this new trade route would be.

Spices were not only medicinal goods. Spanish and European cuisine needed spice, salt, vinegar and other preservatives for perishable foodstuffs and this fact deeply influenced its alimentary tastes. The cookbooks from the 15th and the 16th centuries frequently include cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmeg or ginger, which are almost omnipresent in meat or fish stews. Such a large demand justified both the high costs that the importation of the spices involved and the establishment of a safe and regular trade route between Asia and Europe, either through the Indian Ocean and the Southern Atlantic Ocean —the Portuguese route— or through the



Relación de las Mercaderías que Nueva Lánia nombra ma. S. de la cinta
 que desu. M. J. Viene de las yslas fecipinas y Naalos Reyos
 del pino. capitán della don ponzalo Ronquillo del Salcedorob, M.
 fco de s. ana y Pileto pero Rs, surgió al pto de guar. ca 8 de
 de 1581 a 2

- v quatrocientos de hierro _____
- v quatro y siete fardos de canela _____
- v nueve cajas de clauo de speçia _____
- v treinta y siete fardos de pimienta _____
- v una picca de brinca de 85 quintales _____
- v un pedrero de 3898 _____
- v todo esto copia quenta de su M. J.
- v Poquenta de Particulares y gento de enauo los pto _____
- v una quenta de seis lios de loca gruesa _____
- v treinta y quatro lios de hierro _____
- v veinte q. de hierro _____
- v quatro piccas de loca gruesa _____
- v una caja de xinos de loca _____
- v dos cajas de mercaderías de china _____
- v una tina de loca dorada _____
- v nueve cajas de loca _____
- v una caja de loca dorada _____
- v seis fardos de ropa de china _____
- v dos cajas de loca _____
- v un fardo de sedas _____
- v seis a diez q. de hierro _____
- v aents y treinta y nueve lios de cera _____
- v treinta y quatro fardos de mantas _____
- v veinte fardos de pimienta _____
- v tres fardos de speçia _____
- v nueve petacas de mercaderías de china _____
- v diez cajas de loca dorada _____
- v dos cajas de sedas _____
- v una y diez tinajas de acucar _____
- v treinta y quatro lios de cera _____
- v veinte y ocho fardos de pimienta _____

PATRONATO, 24, R. 55

List of the products transported by the nao Nuestra Señora de la Cinta from the Philippines to Peru, by order of Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo. 1581. Manuscript paper. 2 pages, 29.8 x 20.5 cm. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, PATRONATO, 24, R. 55.

Pacific Ocean, the Mexican mainland and the Atlantic Ocean —the Spanish route. Manila and Acapulco monopolized the first part of that Spanish route, which was named, after the vessels which had sailed it: The *Galeón de Manila*, the *Galeón de Acapulco* or the *Nao de la China*. They were different names for a trade system based on the intermediating activity of the inhabitants of both cities who, in the long-term, achieved to link the Asian market —especially the Chinese market— with the port of Seville and, from this city, with the rest of Europe.

From a commercial point of view it soon became evident that the economic cost of the Spanish presence in the Philippines was considerable and that the colony suffered from some shortcomings, as it happened with some aliments. While the American silver with the effigy of the Spanish Kings was the most valued commodity in Asia, the Spanish community in the Philippines demanded wine, vinegar, wheat flour, olive oil, cheese, clothes, tools, weapons, paper, books... more or less everything needed to feel closer to home.

Meanwhile, on the journey back, porcelain and silk held place with Asiatic spices, highly demanded in America and Spain. Soon the communications were regulated and Manila and Acapulco became the only ports authorized to conduct this trade. However limitations in the number of vessels and the loads they could carry were established to avoid the lowering of prices and to protect the Crown's interests.

This system, which produced benefits for merchants and the Monarchy through taxes which were created specifically, lessened the possibilities of a wider redistribution of goods. Indeed, there were always disparagers or even people who attempted to evade it, such as one of the first Governors of the Philippines, Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa. He arrived in 1580 with three vessels which he paid out of his personal fortune, determined to improve the colony. He took with him new soldiers, settlers, clergymen and, once he had taken possession of his post, he promoted commercial activity and the creation of a Royal Audience for the district of Manila. Moreover, as he was conscious of the economical potential of the city, he founded the *Alcaicería* (market) of San Fernando, where Chinese, Malaysian, and other South-Eastern Asia merchants established. He started a military expansion over the Philippines, the Mainland, Borneo and the Moluccas. He also wanted to make some personal gain and, as he knew very well about the limitations imposed on the trade with Acapulco, decided to ignore the ban and to freight three galleons to Peru with the pretext of sending artillery. He should have had the convenience of some Spanish settlers and Chinese merchants that expected, for their part, to improve their business as this new route would allow to increase the exports from Manila.

The *Nao Nuestra Señora de la Cinta* departed from Cavite in early June 1581 and reached the Peruvian shore in December, loaded with porcelain, silk, metals and spices, specifically pepper, cinnamon and clove. The governor had previously furnished the Royal Warehouses with this aim. We know that in 1580 cinnamon

Account of Maluku matters, with a description of the clove producers and the quantity obtained. 1607.

Manuscript paper.
1 page, 29.8 x 20.5 cm.
Archivo General de Indias, Seville,
PATRONATO, 47, R. 24 (4)

Relacion de cosas de Maluco

Las Islas que tienen Clavo son cinco Terrenate
Cabica de todas. Tidore. Maquien. Motel y Bachan
Se cogera en ellas en una moncion que es de tres
en tres años (por que se coge en los años de
intermedios es poco) Tres mil y seyscientos Varas de
Clavo que hazen Veinte y un mil y seyscientos
quintales aráson de seys quintales de acaen libras cas
tellanas cada Var en esta manera

<u>Varas</u>		<u>quintales</u>
840	en Terrenate	500 40 gdr
950	en Tidore	500 00 gdr
10500	en Maquien	900 00 gdr
250	en Motel	105 00 gdr
60	en Bachan	03 60 gdr
<u>30600</u>		<u>210600 gdr</u>
600	Lo que se cogiere entre moncion y moncion seran hasta seyscientos Varas hazen 30600 gdr	30600 gdr
<u>40200</u>		<u>250200 gdr</u>

PATRONATO, 47, R. 24 (4)

from Mindanao was acquired and that several Chinese traders, *Çoquian* and *Se-qui* among them, provided pepper and cloves². 4,800 pounds of cinnamon, 3,500 of pepper and 5 of clove were loaded. This initiative did not develop further. The complaints of the traders from Acapulco and the reports of the Viceroy of New Spain arrived at the Spanish Court in 1582 and the King did not only reprimanded his Governor but he emphatically banned any direct communication between the Philippines and Peru, which lasted until the 18th Century.

Nonetheless, he could not silence the opinion of those who claimed that the stronghold of Acapulco was detracting benefits, not only from the inhabitants of Manila but from the Monarchy itself, which could have obtained larger incomes through the commercialization of goods and tax collection. In that sense, royal officer in the Philippines Juan Bautista Román argued in the 1580s for the necessity of strengthening the Spanish routes in order to avoid intermediaries and the competition of other nations.

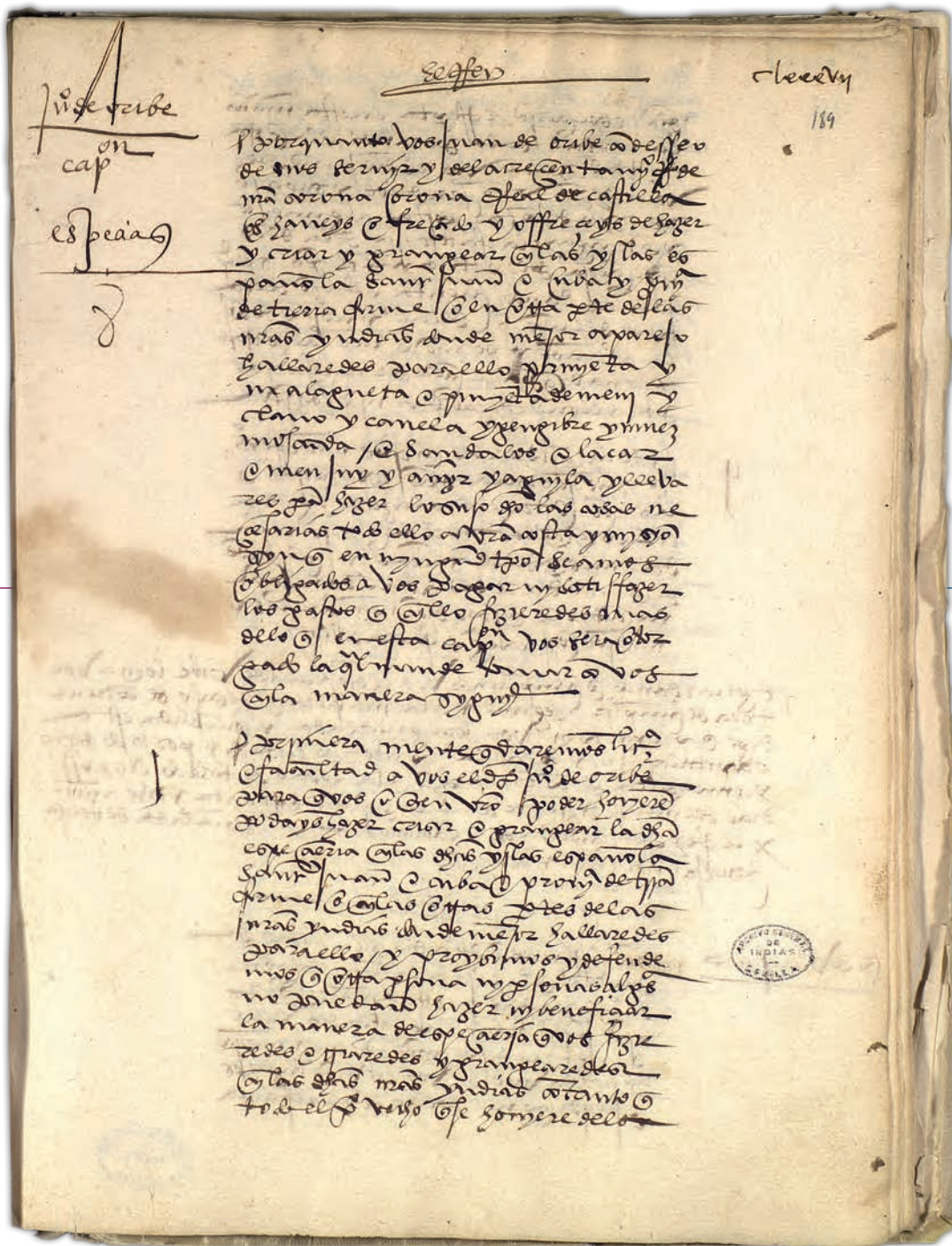
The interest of Spanish authorities in preserving and making profitable the Philippine Islands led to report to the Motherland about what could be obtained from them. This was recognized by Fernando de los Ríos Coronel, Court Agent in the Philippines in early 17th Century: in his *Relación de las Cosas del Maluco* he detailed the amount of cloves obtained from each gathering. A total of 2,160,000 pounds between the islands of *Terrenate*, *Tidore*, *Maquien*, *Motiel* and *Bachan*, each three years besides 360,000 pounds more in the period between harvest and harvest. In his report he reiterated the recommendations formerly stated by Juan Bautista Román³, who a few years earlier proposed possible sea routes: a Western route, Through the Indian Ocean and surrounding Africa, and two Eastern routes to New Spain and Panama, linking with the fleet that sailed the Atlantic Ocean.

Commercial opportunities brought by the Philippine Islands and the convenience of spreading the Christian message, where recurrent arguments, as it is shown by the memorial printed in 1618 which recalled the necessity of preserving the Philippines to spread the Catholic faith, to strengthen the prestige of the crown and to obtain benefits from its strategic and commercial importance, insisting on the abundance of clove, the opportunities offered by Chinese market or the gold production of the Islands themselves⁴. That last appreciation has proved quite wrong, rather on the contrary, cloves were a very valuable resource.

² Several letter bring details about the ships that were sent to New Spain and Peru. Two of them were those who were used by Gonzalo Ronquillo in his arrival to the Philippines and some others were built in the Philippines shipyards. The accounts of the *Caja Real de Manila* bring detail into some of the consignments acquired and their shipment to Peru on board of the *Nuestra Señora de Cinta*. AGI, FILIPINAS, 29, N.32 (June 10th, 1579) N.33 (1580) and N.36 (July 20th, 1581); CONTADURÍA, 1200, FOLS 758V - 759R and 793R.

³ Partial copy of a letter to the King. Manila, April 10th, 1584. AGI, FILIPINAS, 29, N.46.

⁴ Memorial by Marten Castrato, attorney General of the Philippines. [1618]. AGI FILIPINAS, 27, N.107 (formerly FILIPINAS, 34).



Royal Decree by virtue of which the agreements with Juan de Oribe are established so he can grow ginger, pepper, allspice, pimienta de meni, clove, cinnamon, nutmeg, sandalwood, lacquer, benjui tree laurel, indigo and eagle plant on the islands of the Carribean Sea. December 6th, 1538.

Part of the *Book of Royal Decrees of the Council of the Indies*.

Manuscript paper. 1 page, 28.2 x 21 cm.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, INDIFERENTE, 423, L.18, fols. 189r. – 189v.



Meanwhile, the colonization of America was progressing. The Spanish were spreading throughout the New World, carrying with them plants and animals. Some foreign species succeeded in adapting to new environments, transforming native ecosystems while allowing the sustenance of the ever growing creole society. Wheat, olive-trees and grapevines, as well as cattle, goats and horses adapted to those new lands, though some with more difficulty than others.

America was a fertile ground for entrepreneurs and, indeed, there were those who introduced the cultivation for commercial purposes, as was the case for Juan de Oribe. He was supported by the crown, and planted all kinds of species, although only ginger was successful. This rhizome was well known and had been widely used for a long time, though its importation from the Eastern Indies limited its use to seasoning, the more dry the more spicy. When the Portuguese reached the areas of production, the benefits and taste of fresh ginger, more juicy and less spicy, became known. Following Cristóbal de Acosta, who arrived in India with the Portuguese, the ginger grown in wetlands was sweeter and, thus, freshly consumed, both grated or whole. It was confirmed by Antonio Pigafetta when he narrated his visit to the Philippines and the Moluccas. Ginger became cultivated in La Española and Puerto Rico, though shipments to Spain had to compete with those brought by the Portuguese from their colonies in the Indian Ocean. A production reduction was attempted with no success, and so the excess of production and the limited demand resulted in a low profit margin.

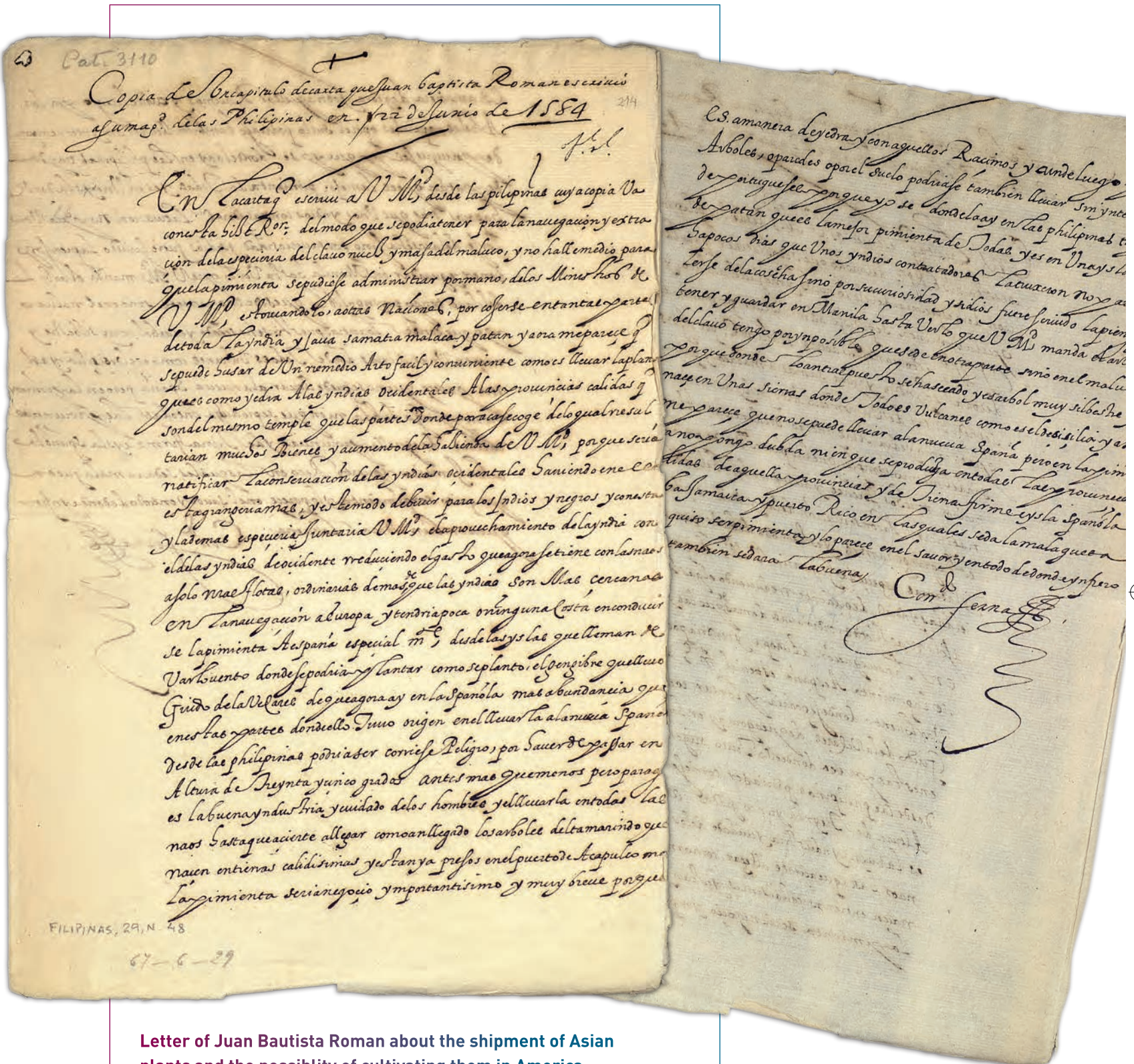
Several years later, Juan Bautista Román still believed in the benefits of introducing in the Americas the cultivation of species such as pepper. He was conscious of the similar climatic conditions and the subsequent benefits this would bring⁵. Indeed, in 1584, he had prepared seeds, obtained in Patan, and was awaiting a Royal Order for sending them to New Spain. This passage is related to his writing *Discurso en lo tocante a la extracción de la especiería de los Malucos*, which Juan Bautista Román sent to the King from Manila on June 12th, 1582, although two years later he insisted on this topic in a letter which, to make doubly sure, he copied and sent separately.

Though quite risky for such delicate species, those considerations were not without foundation, as Román knew about the ginger having been transplanted to the Caribbean and the tamarind tree to Acapulco. Some years before, in 1567, the first specimens of this tree were sent from Manila and after a few years they already bore fruits⁶. Again, we can refer to Cristóbal de Acosta to

⁵ AGI, FILIPINAS, 29, N.38. This text is related to another partial copy from April 10th, 1584. AGI, FILIPINAS, 29, N.46. Anyway, on June 25th and 27th, when he was in Macao with Mateo Ricci, he addressed two letters to Philip II in which he reports his experience in China. AGI, PATRONATO, 25, N.22.

⁶ Letter from Guido de Lavezaris, Governor of the Philippines, to King Philip II. June 5th, 1569. AGI, FILIPINAS, 29, N.9. Letter from Martín Enríquez, Viceroy of New Spain. March 16th, 1573. AGI, MEXICO, 19, N.102.





Pat. 3110
Copia del Breve de la Real Caxa que Juan Baptista Roman escribió
a Sumas de las Philipinas en 22 de Junio de 1584

En la Real Caxa de Indias de V. M. desde las Philipinas una copia de
con la Real R. de Indias del modo que se podia tener para la navegacion y extra-
cion de la especeria del clauo nuebo y mas del maluco, y no halla medio para
que la pimienta se pudiese administrar por mar, de los Miosios de
V. M. de quando lo avia Nacional, por lo qual se entento por
de toda la India y Java samatra malaca y patan y aora me parece q
se puede buscar de un remedio Arto facil y conueniente como es llevar la plan-
ta que es como yedra Mas yndias occidentales Mas gouernias calidas q
son del mesmo temple que las partes donde por aca se cogie de lo qual resul-
tarian muchos bienes y auentura de la Real R. de V. M. por que seria
nativar la conseruacion de las yndias occidentales Saviendo ene el
es de la gran conueniencia, y de modo de bueu para los Indios y negros y conser-
uacion de la especeria de la India de V. M. de aprouechamiento de la India con
el de las yndias de occidente reduciendo el gaño que agora se tiene con las ma-
as de las nrae flotas, ordinarias de mas q las yndias son Mas cercanas
en la navegacion a Europa y tendria poca o ninguna costa en conuenir
de la pimienta de España especial m. de las yslas que lleman de
Van buento donde se podria plantar como se planto el gengibre que lleuó
Guido de la Beldes de que agora ay en la Española mas abundancia que
en otras partes donde ello tubo origen en el lleuar la abarueca de España
desde las Philipinas podria ser conueniente Peligro por suer de passar en
Alcua de Reyna y unico gaño de aora mas que menos pero para q
es la buena yndia y uisado de los hombres y lleuarla en todas las
naos de aca que acierte allegar como an llegado los arboles de la canaria que
nacen en tierras calidissimas y de tan ya presos en el puerto de la capulca me
la pimienta seria negocio y importantissimo y muy breue por que

es amaneira de yedra y con aquellos Racimos y a un de luego
Arboles, y paudes opor el suelo podria se tambien lleuar sin yndia
de que se lleue con que se lleue de aca en las Philipinas
de patan que es la mejor pimienta de todas, yes en un año
de pocos dias que unos yndios contratadores de la uacion no
terse de la acacha sino por su uisado y ridios fure serido la pira
tener y guardar en Manila Sa la Ver lo que V. M. manda de
del clauo tengo por ymposible que se de en otra parte sino en el maluco
por que donde se contrae que se ha secado y es arbol muy silba de
nace en unas siomas donde todos ducaee como es el de silba y a
me parece que no se puede lleuar a la nueua España pero en la pira
no ponga dubda ni in que se produya en todas las gouernias
de aquella gouernia y de Sierra firme y de la Española
de Jamaica y Puerto Rico en las quales se da la mala que
quiso ser pimienta y lo parece en el saor y entodo de donde y npero
tambien se da a Tabuena

Consejo de Indias

FILIPINAS, 29, N. 48

67-6-29

Letter of Juan Bautista Roman about the shipment of Asian plants and the possibility of cultivating them in America. Contemporary copy. June 22nd, 1584. Manuscript paper. 1 page, 31 x 21.3 cm. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, FILIPINAS, 29, N.48.

verify the benefits attributed to tamarind and its consumption. Besides its several therapeutic uses, in the Eastern Indies it was mixed with salt for a better preservation, and it was also used to make a spicy vinegar and a jam with sugar and its freshly collected fruits⁷.

Nonetheless, Román was also conscious of the difficulties of such a long crossing, in which seeds and seedlings were exposed to the elements. He also understood that some species had a strong dependence on specific climatic conditions and complex ecosystems. He was referring to the clove tree, naturally grown in volcanic soils and of which he assumed, could not be possible to transplant or make it germinate outside the Moluccas. It was not the only failure: Francisco de Mendoza, son of the Viceroy of New Spain, was appointed by the Crown to cultivate cinnamon in Mexico⁸, without achieving it.

FOOD FROM THE OLD WORLD

The quest for an alternative route to reach the Far East brought to the Spanish the chance of colonizing new lands. In their expansion through America and Asia they spread a millenarian cuisine. Spanish ingredients and culinary customs went beyond the Old World and confronted the Alimentary Revolution, in which they met other techniques and ingredients, in a context so evolutionary that it pointed towards a more complex gastronomy.

The everyday life of sailors, conqueror and settlers was quite different from courtly refinement and more akin to popular cuisine, with the added difficulty of the need to preserve perishable food during long oceanic crossings. In each expedition, in each ship, alongside with foodstuff, both tastes and customs also travelled, being put into practice at every offered opportunity.

It was not easy, as much of the victuals deteriorated despite the preservation techniques employed: fish and meat were dried, salted, smoked, marinated, preserved in vinegar, oil or fat; bread was baked, fruits were dried... only with time, the security offered by regular routes and the development of colonial society propitiated the circulation of more elaborated products. Expert hands, able to satisfy the refinement of high society members, such as the cooks of viceroys, governors, archbishops, also crossed the Ocean. Meanwhile, simplicity and adaptation to local resources prevailed, seeking everything that was found akin to European customs more appetizing.

⁷C. de Acosta, *Tratado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias Orientales*. Zaragoza, Martín de Victoria imp., 1578, p. 68.

⁸AGI, INDIFERENTE, 738, N.47. March 21st, 1559.

Accounts of the food acquired for the expedition of Ferdinand Magellan. 1519. Manuscript paper. 4 pages, 31.2 x 21.5 cm Archivo General de Indias, Seville, PATRONATO, 34, R. 10, fols. 47 rº - 49 rº.

47

Los mantimentos que van catada la armada son y de esta manera quanto que
 pes arrobas de trigo los quales ban en esta manera

slanao yminda	libra. 22 1/2	
slanao Santo antonyo		
slanao Conception		
slanao victoria		
slanao Santiago		

vino. ar. xv. pipas y m

van en la duha armada q. ar. xv pipas m. de vino bº
 de yti das en esta manera

slanao yminda		
slanao Santo antº		
slanao Conception		
slanao victoria		
slanao Santiago		

a scyte ar. h. xv. a

slanao yminda		
slanao Santo antº		
slanao Conception		
slanao victoria		
slanao Santiago		

vina gre. a. a.

slanao yminda		
slanao Santo antº		
slanao Conception		
slanao victoria		
slanao Santiago		

PATRONATO, 34, R. 10



At the departure of Magellan's expedition, the holds were filled with victuals, as is shown in the accounts of the exhibited document and other complementary ones⁹. The *bizcochos* —a doubly baked bread—, oil, and wine conformed most of the essential diet of the sailors. Other records help us to be more specific, by stating that the wine was mostly produced in Jerez. Water was also loaded on board, but it was not the main drink, as it was neither on land, though wine was frequently watered and sometimes cooked. Wine was also to be seasoned with honey or mustard, ingredients that were also loaded on the vessels of that expedition.

The cereals were the base of the diet and, in this expedition, featured ones were flour, *bizcochos* and rice. Some legumes, dried or made into flour, such as beans, chickpeas or lentils, were aimed to reinforce the taste and consistency of stews or porridges. Almonds produced in Huelva were also sometimes incorporated as a sauce thickener. Crushed or fried garlic, with or without onion, were used to stew meat and fish; sugar and honey were used as sweeteners for more elaborate sauces. Vinegar, from Moguer, Huelva, was the main seasoning for much dishes, and also the main ingredient in many fish and meat preservation techniques.

Ships used to have a specific place where fire was to be lit for cooking purposes, usually located in the prow. Pots, kettles, and pans were used to prepare meals. Although it was common to use trivets, Magellan's expedition was provided with wood or coal fuelled copper stoves, which provided more evenly distributed heat and avoided its dispersal by the wind. Ladles were used to stir and serve, knives for cutting meat and fish and mortars to prepare the seasoning. They even had a copper mortar, although it was acquired for the apothecary.

Fish was an important part of the diet on board, not only because of the alimentary customs of the crew and the availability of preservation techniques for it, but also due to the possibility of capturing it during the crossing. Magellan's ships were loaded with barrels of anchovies brought from Malaga, *bastina*, or low quality dried fish, consisting of *albarinos*, *cornudillas* and *dentudos*, that is to say, dogfish, hammer fish and bream. They also carried sardines though they were to be used as bait, which suggests they were fishing large species such as tuna. They were also equipped with fishing gear (floats, harpoons, lines, and hooks of every size).

Dried meat was equally present on oceanic travels. Magellan ordered the acquisition of seven cows from Sanlúcar that were butchered just as the three porks, *to be salted*, he had previously gathered and fattened with bran in order to obtain more bacon. The meat from the pigs was meant for the officers, while the crew had to be satisfied with pieces of veal and pork fat, acquired in neighbouring mountain ranges.

⁹ AGI, CONTRATACIÓN, 3255, L.1, fols 16r., 31r., 44r., 84r. - 68r., 90r. and 103r.; PATRONATO, 34, R.10, fols 5r. and 6r.-15r.





Accounts of the food acquired for the expedition of Ferdinand Magellan. 1519.



Pesado en ybarina		
la nao q̄imada	Sanquentadze	l 3038
la nao Santo antonyo		l 3038
la nao Conaxao		l 3038
la nao victoria		l 3038
la nao Santiago		xl 3038
} a xl 3038		
ybarina con por pesados		
la nao q̄imada	quaxo	m̄ @
la nao Santo antonyo		m̄ @
la nao Conaxao		m̄ @
la nao victoria		m̄ @
la nao Santiago		η @
} a viij @		
toangancos.		
la nao q̄imada		li @
la nao Santo antonyo		li @ xij s
la nao victoria		xl 1 @ xij s
la nao Conaxao		xl 1 @ η s
la nao Santiago		xx 1 @ xij s
} a xx viij @ xij s		
habas.		
la nao q̄imada	una botn	viij h̄s m̄
la nao Santo antonyo		viij h̄s m̄
la nao Conaxao		viij h̄s m̄
la nao victoria		viij h̄s m̄
la nao Santiago		viij h̄s m̄
} a l η h̄s m̄		
ybarinas		
la nao q̄imada		η botn xviij h̄s
la nao Santo antonyo		η botn xviij h̄s
la nao Conaxao		η botn xviij h̄s
la nao victoria		η botn xviij h̄s
la nao Santiago		1 botn x h̄s m̄
} a lxx η h̄s m̄		

Lentijas

r lanao thimada	→	1 lb
r lanao Santo ant ^o	→	1 lb
r lanao victoria	→	1 lb
r lanao Conq ^o ao	→	1 lb
r lanao Santiago	→	1 lb

7 lb

batina

r lanao thimada	→	1 pipa
r lanao Santo ant ^o	→	1 pipa
r lanao victoria	→	1 pipa
r lanao Conq ^o ao	→	1 pipa
r lanao Santiago	→	1 pipa

5 pipas

ajos

r lanao thimada	→	1 lb
r lanao Santo ant ^o	→	1 lb
r lanao victoria	→	1 lb
r lanao Conq ^o ao	→	1 lb
r lanao Santiago	→	1 lb

5 lb

ques

r thimada. a xxxij quecos	→	xxij @	xx m ^o s
r Santo ant ^o . a xl m quecos	→	xxij @	xx s
r victoria c xl m quecos	→	xx @	xx s
r Conq ^o ao c xxxij quecos	→	xx @	xx s
r Santiago	→	xx @	xx s

xxij @

Aliel

r thimada y boti ^o as	→	xxij @	m
r Santo ant ^o y boti ^o as	→	xxij @	xx s
r victoria y boti ^o as	→	xx @	m
r Conq ^o ao y boti ^o as	→	xx @	m
r Santiago y boti ^o as	→	xx @	m

xxij @





Accounts of the food acquired for the expedition of Ferdinand Magellan. 1519.



almendra con cascara		
14 Jimeno	17 lb 10 m	} 27 lb
14 Santo ant ^o	17 lb 10 m	
14 Victoria	17 lb 10 m	
14 Congrao	17 lb 10 m	
14 Santiago	17 lb 10 m	
anchoas		
14 Jimeno		} 1 carril
14 Santo ant ^o		
14 Victoria		
14 Congrao		
14 Santiago		
Sardinella de la pesca		
14 Jimeno	1 jarra y 1/2 sardina	} 1 jarra
14 Santo ant ^o	1 jarra y 1/2 sardina	
14 Victoria	1 jarra y 1/2 sardina	
14 Congrao	1 jarra y 1/2 sardina	
14 Santiago	1 jarra y 1/2 sardina	
pasas de sal y leña		
14 Jimeno	27 lb 10 m	} 1 lb 10 m
14 Santo ant ^o	27 lb 10 m	
14 Victoria	27 lb 10 m	
14 Congrao	27 lb 10 m	
14 Santiago	27 lb 10 m	
aruelas pasas		
14 Jimeno	27 lb 10 m	} 1 lb 10 m
14 Santo ant ^o	27 lb 10 m	
14 Congrao	27 lb 10 m	
14 Victoria	27 lb 10 m	
14 Santiago	27 lb 10 m	

PATRONATO, 34, 8.10

Bigos.

r thim dnd	m ^o	90
r Santo ant ^o m ^o Seras	m ^o	90
r Ditozia m ^o Seras	m ^o	90
r Conap ^o ad m ^o Seras	m ^o	90
r Santiago dos Seras	7	90

90

caicaz

r thim dnd	cxxi s
r Santo ant ^o	xcv s
r Ditozia	x p s m
r Conap ^o ad	xx s
r Santia go	x vij s m

alxys

carne de membrillo

r thim dnd	lv	Caras
r Santo ant ^o	m ^o	Caras
r Conap ^o ad	m ^o	Caras
r Ditozia	m ^o	Caras
r Santiago	m ^o	Caras

lv Caras

alcaparras

r thim dnd	1 Jarra
------------	---------

Mofisa

r thim dnd	v	cu
r Santo ant ^o	m ^o	cu
r Conap ^o ad	m ^o	cu
r Ditozia	m	cu
r Santiago	7	cu

botica

stodns las los ae dela botica ban (la nao thim dnd botica



Accounts of the food acquired for the expedition of Ferdinand Magellan. 1519.

+

hoznamenos

los dos hoznamenos bael uno en la nao thimada
 el otro en la nao Santo antonjo (onto do sn adria)

vacas

la thimada	o	7	vacas	} 77 vacas
Santo ant ^o	o	1	vacas m	
Vitoria	o	1	vacas 1 ^o	
Concepcion	o	1	vacas 1 ^o	
Santiago	o	1	vacas	

cazas

thimada	o	c	8	} 222 8
Santo ant ^o	o		8	
Vitoria	o		8	
Concepcion	o		8	
Santiago	o		8	

+ bebiendo y comiendo de lo que se halla en las naos
 y en las aldeas que se hallan en las costas de
 en ella y los mantenimientos que se hallan que se sale por
 persona de y de por 222 8 y personas que se hallan a
 la armada. de los que se hallan de 222 8 y por ombre
 + de vino de los que se hallan de 222 8 y por ombre
 por ombre que se dan de media aginbra de las que se
 dan de las que se hallan de 222 8 y por ombre
 + de 222 8 y por ombre



Cheese was indispensable and, at least a part of it, was preserved in oil barrels. Regarding fruits, raisins *del sol y lexía* (roasted and sun dried) from Almuñécar, plums, dried figs and *carne de membrillo*, or quince jelly, were loaded on board, while others were only featured in the victuals of the flagship.

Other foodstuff was purposely loaded to supply the Royal Warehouses of the new colonies, to which soon seeds, seedlings and domestic animals arrived. Indeed, the Monarchy showed great interest in having fields planted with grapevines, granting permissions for that purpose¹⁰, though this was not always successful.

José de Acosta, in his *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, published in Seville in 1590, accounts for the more or less satisfactory implantation of wheat, rice, beans, chickpeas and lentils, among other vegetables, in New Spain¹¹, to which the successful growing of sugar cane in the Caribbean has to be added. For that reason, it is possible that the flour and *bizcochos* acquired by Miguel de Legazpi in 1564 came from, Mexican-grown wheat, even 31,600 pounds of *white bizcochos*, that is, made of the finest flour. The same could have happened with rice, chickpeas and beans.

Wine, vinegar and oil, despite some positive results in the 16th century, were still imported from Spain in the most part¹². Uninterrupted shipments of victuals supplied Spanish warehouses and the holds of ships such as those of Legazpi's expedition, which carried 349 amphoras of oil, 309 of vinegar and 688 of wine, 1977 cheese, 200 pounds of almonds, 250 pounds of white sugar and 44,400 pounds of cecina (dried and smoked cow meat). 6 pounds of pepper, and the same quantity of clove and saffron, supposedly for the officers meals, were also gathered, and due to the local lack of victuals, some of the product loaded on board came from the Royal Warehouses of Mexico and further afield. On November 1564, five ships with 350 men, provided with everything necessary, departed eastwards.

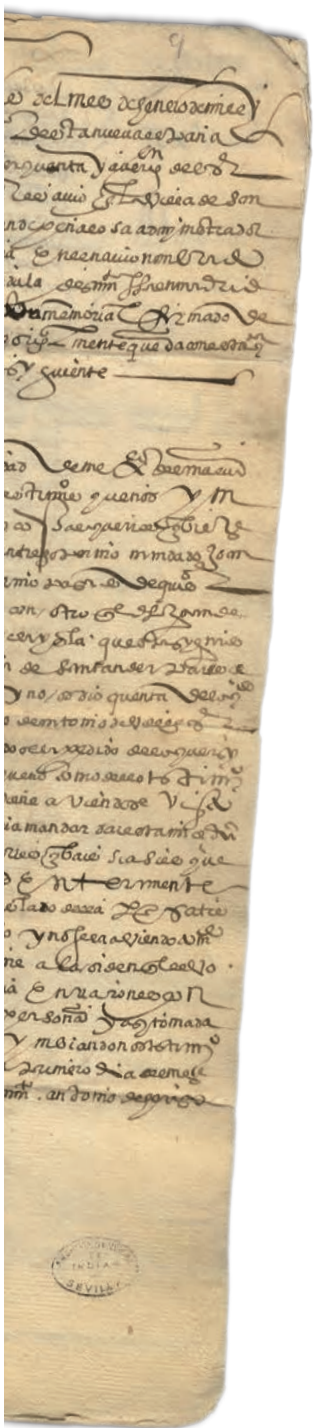
To the above said aliments, other locally produced items were added, such as honey (cooked or raw), salt, fresh fish or salted fish. European pigs, whether they were brought from Spain or reared in America, were used to produce lard and ham. It is noticeable that 84 live pigs feature among the acquisitions for the expedition. Were they loaded on board or were they acquired in order to process their meat?

¹⁰As an example, two references to grants for planting and farming that included the concession of lands can be quoted: Valladolid, April 8th and August 9th 1538. AGI, MÉXICO, 1088, L.3, fol.42v.

¹¹José de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias, libro IV, cap. XXXI*; Sevilla: Juan de León, 1590. Digital edition from Biblioteca Virtual de Miguel de Cervantes, Alicante, 1999, based upon the edition by P. Francisco Mateos, Madrid: Atlas, 1954.

¹²In 1590 olive trees were already cultivated in Mexico and Peru, though the local oil production was still less profitable than its import from Spain. Regarding the grapevine, Mexican climate made its culture difficult, contrary to what happened in South America. José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, Book III, Chapter XXII and Book IV, Chapter XXXII.





That provides an explanation for the fact that, in 1572, the expedition of Juan de la Isla, that was going to sail from Acapulco towards the Philippines, awaited for victuals to come from Spain. The Captain, following the orders given by Legazpi and with the approval of the Crown, had to raise funds and gather victuals and settlers to reinforce the Spanish presence in the Philippines, just as it had been done two years earlier. This time, all kinds of utensils and aliments were brought from Spain, sailing from Santander to Veracruz. Of course, not every ordered item reached its destination, but the list made by the Royal Officers of Mexico City gives a good account of the goods brought from the other side of the Atlantic: *biscochos*, salted pork and cow meat, dried dogfish, sardines, wine, vinegar, cider, cheese, rice, chickpeas, lentils, beans, salt, garlic, onions, sugar, raisins, almonds, and even live rams.

After having crossed the Atlantic Ocean and the Mexican lands, victuals and utensils were embarked in Acapulco towards the Philippines, where they arrived by the end of May¹³. In a show of audacity, the shipment was intended to reach China, although the death of Legazpi prevented the success of this attempt.

As the quoted examples show, the length of the crossing determined the choice of the aliments to be shipped. Repeated mentions of vinegar, oil, lard, and salt suggest the widespread use of preservation techniques of which they were the main ingredients. This explains the acquisition of live animals and fresh meat just before departure, so they could be processed just at this moment or kept alive for some time. The cows and pigs bought by Magellan, the rams of the expedition lead by Juan de la Isla and the pigs of Legazpi's one, are to be interpreted in that sense.

Regardless, the acquisition of lard, bacon, ham, dried meat, all butchered, as the accounts of Legazpi show, was a constant. Some years later, the difficulties which the Spanish colony experience, caused the sending of a fleet from Seville which accompanied the new Governor and brought supplies in order to mitigate the shortages. This fleet was named *La Armada de Socorro de Las Islas Filipinas*, and it was furnished with all kinds of products, acquired in 1616, which included ham and lard from Aracena and Zalamea, mountain towns from Western Andalusia, and dried cow meat produced in Ireland that was brought by a merchant established in Seville¹⁴. Moreover, dried fish and deep sea fishing species -and the fishing gear required- were featured in each single quoted case.

There was an obvious lack of fruit and fresh vegetables in those long trips, which caused many inconvenience as the lack of vitamin intake was wreaking frightful

¹³ Letter from Miguel López de Legazpi to the Viceroy of New Spain. Manila, August 11th, 1572. Contemporary copy. AGI, PATRONATO, 34, R.23.

¹⁴ Accounts of the acquisition of lard from Zalamea, hams and dried meat from Ireland. Several documents from 1616. AGI, CONTRATACIÓN, 3013 and 3285. There is a large file about this expedition in FILIPINAS, 200.



havoc among the crew. Consequently, to provide a solution, dried fruit and nuts, syrup preserves, compotes and sweets, were frequently acquired.

Sometimes new solutions were developed, as in the case of the above said fleet of 1617, in which context 600 *azumbres* of lemon juice (some 1200 litres) were acquired. It was stated that it had to be freshly squeezed and strained, and mixed with oil to ensure a better preservation. Unfortunately, the fleet sank soon after its departure, though this initiative acknowledges the efforts made in order to palliate the lack of vitamins.

As a result of this, Spain attempted to send seedlings and seeds to America. José de Acosta acknowledges that orange trees, lemon trees and peach trees were easily cultivated in the New Spain, just as fig trees in Peru. Nonetheless, fruit trees did not always prosper, as was the case with almond trees and walnut trees, whose fruits were a luxury product in American cuisines, at least in late 16th century¹⁵.

AMERICA, THE PROMISED LAND

The arrival of the Spaniards to America brought them an endless number of new products which, together with the European contribution, favoured the birth of creole cuisine. Philip II wished to know about the therapeutic and nutritional properties of American flora, requesting reports to his officers and organizing an expedition that, under the command of Francisco Hernández, reached those lands in 1572. The interests of the king intensified by the results of previous expeditions from the precedent decades, matched those of the main chroniclers of those deeds, that gave exhaustive descriptions. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Bartolomé de las Casas, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, José de Acosta, Bernardino de Sahagún... they all were conscious of the species diversity and they described their features, common uses, and even the way to prepare them for consumption. Meanwhile, the efforts made by European botanists to analyse and classify them, enlarged the scientific knowledge of the 16th century. Regarding the fauna, although they found fish akin to those found in Europe, terrestrial fauna quite puzzled them, though they soon started to establish equivalences with European fauna, sometimes with very little accuracy.

Manioc, also known as yuca, was assimilated very quickly by the first settlers, as they soon learned to make bread from it so to overcome the lack of European *batata* or cereals during the first years of the conquest. Something similar happened with sweet potato which was largely used in long crossings. For that reason, the vessels of Magellan gathered it in the Brazilian coast¹⁶. It was soon cultivated in the Iberian Peninsula, so the author of *Guzmán de Aznalfarache* could

¹⁵ J. de Acosta, *Historia natural...*, book IV, chapter XXXI.

¹⁶ A. Pigafetta, *Primer viaje en torno del globo*, lib. I, ed. F. Ruiz Morcuende, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1922, p. 45





Map of Americae, sive Novi Orbis. Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, by Abraham Ortelius. Antwerp, printed by Christoval Plantino, 1588.
 Paper book, printed. 206 pages, 45 x 30.1 cm.
 Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Biblioteca, L.A. s. XVI - 1.

glorify the sweet potatoes cultivated in Málaga, among other meals¹⁷. On the contrary, the acceptance of Peruvian potato was quite belated. Although chroniclers noticed the large use than indigenous people made of it, it was generally exported as an ornamental plant to be grown in European gardens, until its alimentary use became widespread in the 18th century.

Corn was the nutrient of excellence in American lands. Because it was easy to cultivate, it adapted successfully to different environmental conditions and it could be used in different stages of maturity, it was a very attractive to the Europeans. Moreover, some varieties were used to feed livestock, which allowed Spanish to fatten the pigs they brought from the Iberian Peninsula. Besides corn, the base of indigenous diet also consisted of beans and pumpkins which were related to European species, thus easy to assimilate by the Spanish who started to export them to Europe very soon. In the end, all those species converged to enhance the opportunities offered to a starving population by a quite rudimentary agriculture.

Little by little, the products of the New World became a part of Spanish diet, first as a replacement for unavailable European products, and then as a gastronomical innovation that resulted in a diversification of tastes. For that reason, when Miguel de Legazpi was gathering victuals for his expedition in 1564, he loaded 321 Spanish bushels of corn and 52 Spanish bushels of beans, which besides being tasty were also more affordable.

This attitude towards New World food reached the Philippines in mid-16th, which started with the arrival of European and American products. If beans were similar to local *mongos*, corn was not welcome at first. At least so was said by Francisco Alzina, resulting in the low interest paid to this *advenedizo* food by native people. It was not that way in Asia, since the arrival of corn there was a major transformation of the diet in many rural communities. Li Shizhen, in his *Bencao Gangmu* or *Compendium of Materia Medica*, published in 1587, included it among plant species grown on Chinese soil. However he did not confound its origin as he presented it as a plant that came from *el Oeste*, referring to his introduction by Europeans¹⁸.

Mexican tomatoes, red, green or yellow, attracted newcomers to the new continent. Spanish chroniclers were soon able to establish that the Aztecs elaborated on tomato sauce, often combining it with chilli – they served it as an accompaniment to dishes of meat and fish, or used it for filling cornbread. Shipments to the

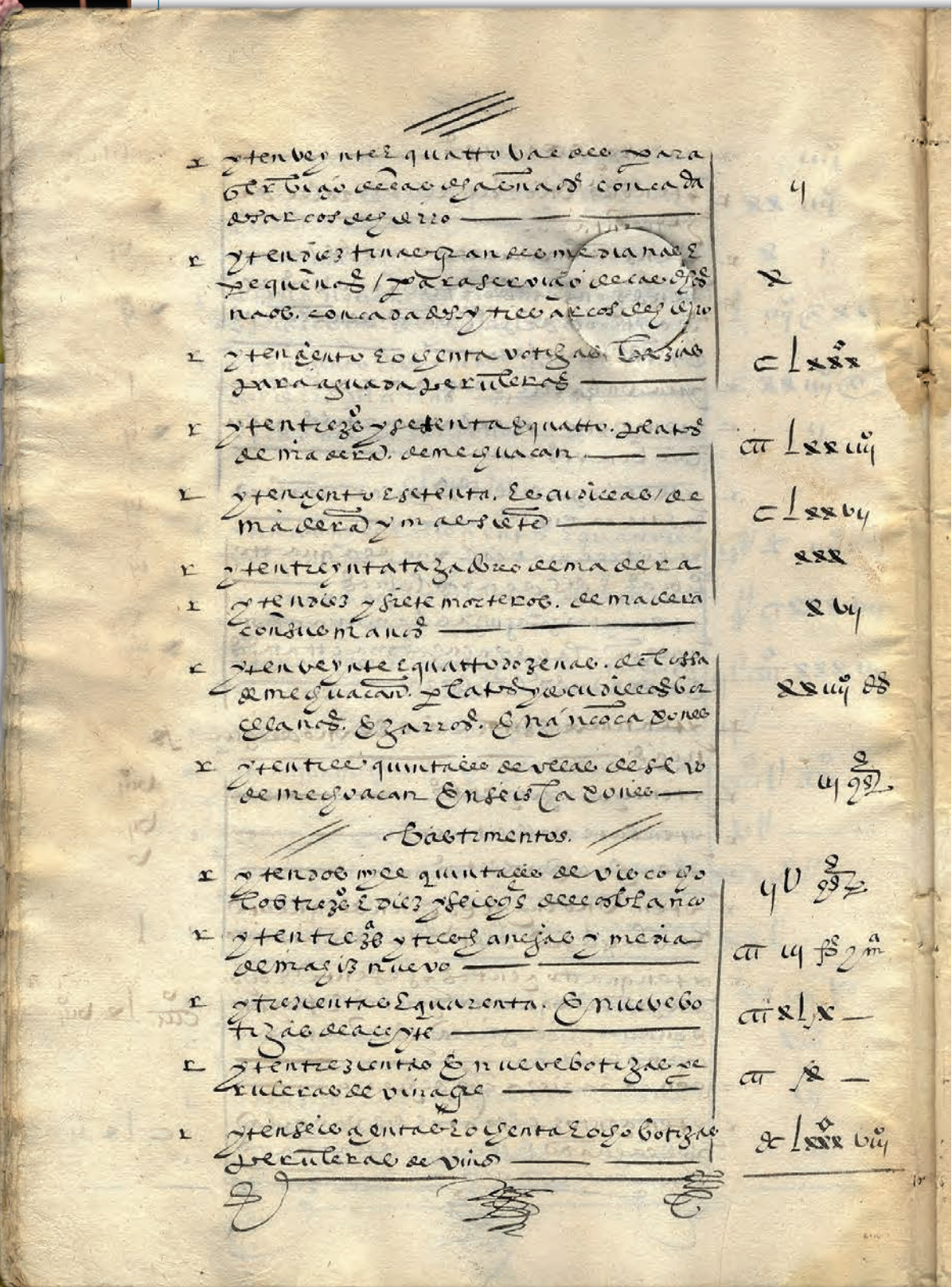
¹⁷ Mateo Alemán, *Primera parte de Guzmán de Alfarache*, part I, lib. III, cap. VII; 1^a ed. Madrid: Várez de Castro, 1599; ed. Moreno, Madrid, 1829, p.190.

¹⁸ Li Shizhen, *Bencao Gangmu* or *Compendium of Materia Medica*, 1578; imp. Jinling: Hu Chenglong, 1596; reed. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1998. Cit. YANGWENZheng, *China on the Sea How the World maritime shaped modern China*, Ledien.Koninklijke Brill NV, 2012, pp. 121-122; Han Qi, "The influence of Manila galleon on the Ming Dynasty" in *The Origins of Globalization: The Manila galleon*, Shanghai. Instituto Cervantes, 2013, pp.67-104.



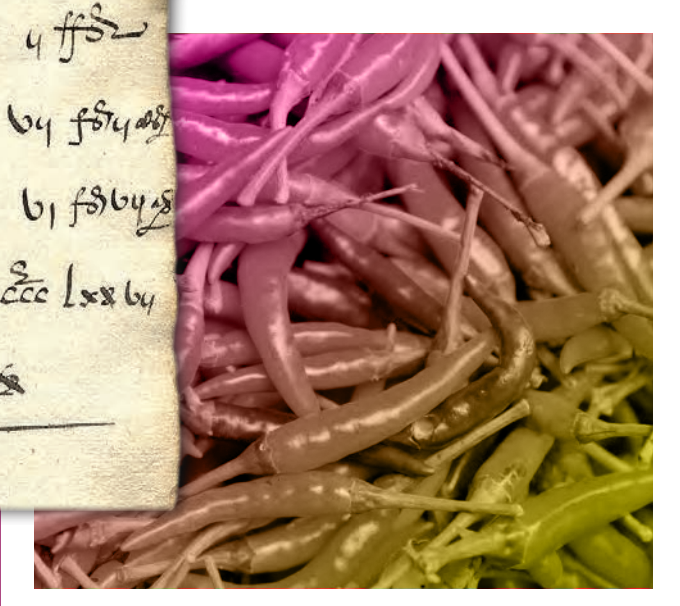
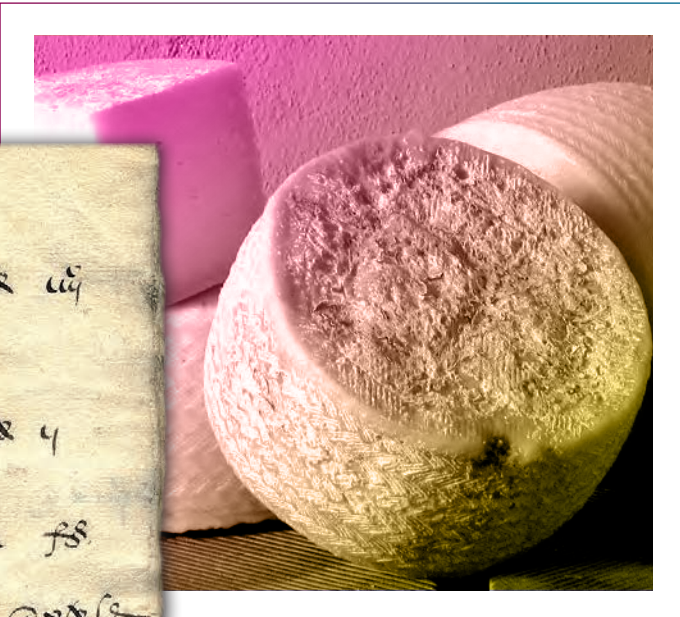
Accounts of the food acquired for the expedition of Mighel Lopez de Legazpi. 1564.

It is included in the *Accounts of the Royal Treasury* provided by Guido de Lavezaris (1565 - 1576) 751 fols. Page of 31.5 x 21.7 cm. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, CONTADURÍA, 1197, fols. 80 vº. - 81 rº.



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Iberian Peninsula make it known throughout Europe, although more as a botanical oddity with therapeutic potential than food. Perhaps the colonists tried and appreciated tomato sauces, although its consumption in the metropolis did not occur until the 17th century and it did not become widespread until a century later¹⁹.

Quite the opposite of what happened to chilli, named *pimientos* by analogy with the spicy oriental spice. Consumed by Native Americans in different ways, depending on the characteristics of different varieties, it was accepted by Spanish and Portuguese from the outset. Its early dissemination was related to its relative abundance and ease of cultivation, and it was soon introduced into the Iberian Peninsula. Although the courtiers cooks resisted incorporating it into their recipes, it did not take long to be accepted by the common people, who found in this fruit a substitute for the exclusive attachments from the East. Its intense and peculiar taste transformed stir-fries and stews and combined well with some salad dressings, as evidenced in the *alcaparrones ahogados en pimientos* that Miguel de Cervantes mentions in his *Rinconete y Cortadillo*²⁰.

The Aztec chilli or Caribbean *aji* accompanied European sailors on their return trips and soon it became a commercial product. In fact, the Iberian merchants came together in the distribution of pepper in the Far East: the Portuguese in their trading factories in Africa and India, the Spaniards in the Philippines and both on the coast of China. Such was its expansion there that the involvement of Islamic, Hindu or Chinese merchants in their dissemination through the middle East, Indonesia and mainland China, must be suggested. These are regions where its powerful flavour came to outshine other indigenous ingredients like ginger or Sichuan pepper. Some European botanists even confused its origin, taking for granted that they came from India and punishing its successful cultivation and distribution to West following the maritime and traditional land routes.

Hence they were included as supply in Legazpi's expedition, probably thinking about its consumption and possible commercialization in the Philippines, carrying 39 bushels and 9 *chiquibites muy grandes de axí* which were stored in the *pañoles de los bizcochos*. That is to say, in the best stores of the boat. He also carried 6 pounds of pepper and as many cloves and saffron, too much for sole consumption. Proof of commercial interest were the 23 pounds of *grana cochinilla*, a red dye that the Aztecs created from an insect, which were also carried.

Another American fruit which deserves a special mention is cocoa, made from *almendras* or seeds of a particular tree, easily crushed and cooked they became a very famous drink in Central America. Originating from tropical regions, it was

¹⁹ There is news of its cultivation and consumption in Andalusia from 1679 on. Antonio Garrido Aranda, "Food revolution of the Sixteenth Century in America and Europe" in A. Garrido Aranda (ed.), *The flavours of Spain and America*, Huesca: Ediciones La Val de Onsera, 1999, pp. 197-212

²⁰ Miguel de Cervantes, *Novelas Ejemplares*. Barcelona: Red Ediciones S. L., 2016; p. 142.

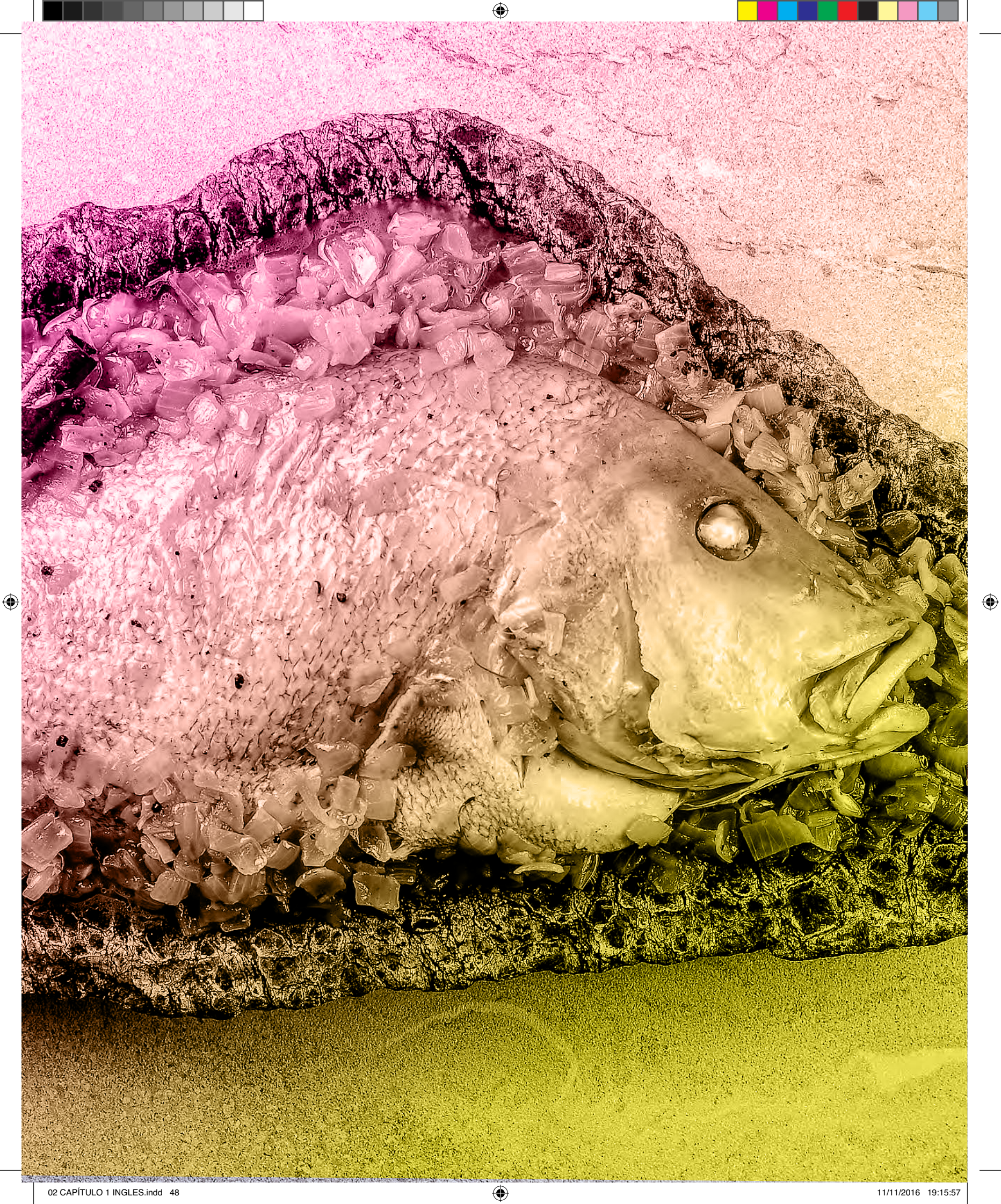




cultivated by Mayans and Aztecs, who disseminated to Spaniards. It was Hernán Cortés who notified Charles V about the uses of this particular seed which, once crushed, made fine powder and whisked with water, served as a currency and for making a bitter-tasting revitalizing, the *cacahuatl*.

At the beginning it was associated with the Aztec ruling class, and is assumed as having been received from the Gods. This was a tradition that European botanists came to call *Theobroma*. Its introduction to the Old World needed an adaptation to European tastes, one to scent and sweeten its initial bitterness. This was done with cane sugar, cinnamon and cloves, an invention that took place in Oaxaca in the mid-17th century. Its high price made it an exclusive drink, worthy of kings and aristocrats, although it was ecclesiastics who perpetuated its preparation and consumption in Spain and, a short time later, in other European courts.





OLD FLAVOURS

Antonio Sánchez de Mora

Spanish 16th century cuisine was complex and rich, but was not born from nothing. The introduction of wheat, olives and vines in past times was thanks to the arrival of the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans; the development of fishing and salted fish in antiquity; the emergence of Islam during the Middle Ages, which brought along rice, lots fruit and culinary techniques born in Middle East, or the circulation of spices from India and South-east Asia are important milestones in the evolution of the Iberian gastronomy.

After the discovery of America, Spanish cuisine boarded in the ships that sailed across the seas. Their holds were filled with food for long trips and fishing tools, not forgetting the background of techniques and flavours that the crews were used to. The popular Spanish 16th century cuisine, the one encouraged by the humble people in coastal villages, had to be very present in ocean expeditions. They were always adapting to the circumstances and ingredients available. We know about the goods that were purchased for Ferdinand Magellan's fleet and we are sure they had some times to enjoy a tasty dish, despite hardships.

Moreover, with the beginning of the Spanish settlement in the Philippine archipelago a new transformation took place because they were already assimilating new foods found in America. The adoption of corn, beans, pumpkin, tomato, pepper, cocoa, yams or potatoes was revolutionizing the Spanish and European cuisine. It recalls, for example, that as soon as they conquer the Aztec empire, the Spaniards charged maize, beans and dried chillies in Legazpi boats.

Tradition went hand in hand with innovation, but not always in time. The interest shown by some settlers contrasts with the immobility that follows Hispanic recipes, designed for court life and reluctant to introduce new foods. It is worth, however, the merit to convey the cookery of those times.

Though previous works are preserved, the *Libre de Coch* by Rupert Nola is considered the paradigm of Mediterranean cuisine from late 15th century, previous, therefore, the food revolution that the discovery of America brought in. It can not be considered a true reflection of the Spanish cuisine of the moment, but rather a work intended for the most discerning palates, perhaps with some innovative spirit, closely linked to the Catalan, Italian, Aragonese and French culinary traditions. Nevertheless, this work reached wide dissemination along the Hispanic territories,



Salting tuna to produce *mojama*. Audiovisual of the exhibition. FTP Broadcast.



Salted cod. Photo A. S. de M.



especially when translated into Castillian in the early 16th century and welcomed by monarchs. Its elitist orientation kept it from most popular uses and customs, as it did not welcome practices that were common in Spanish cuisine, such as the use of olive oil. Its influence on chefs of the five hundred was reflected in the *Libro del arte de cocina* by Diego Granado Maldonado, a work of little originality but of high compilation value because of previous recipes, published in 1599 and reprinted several times.

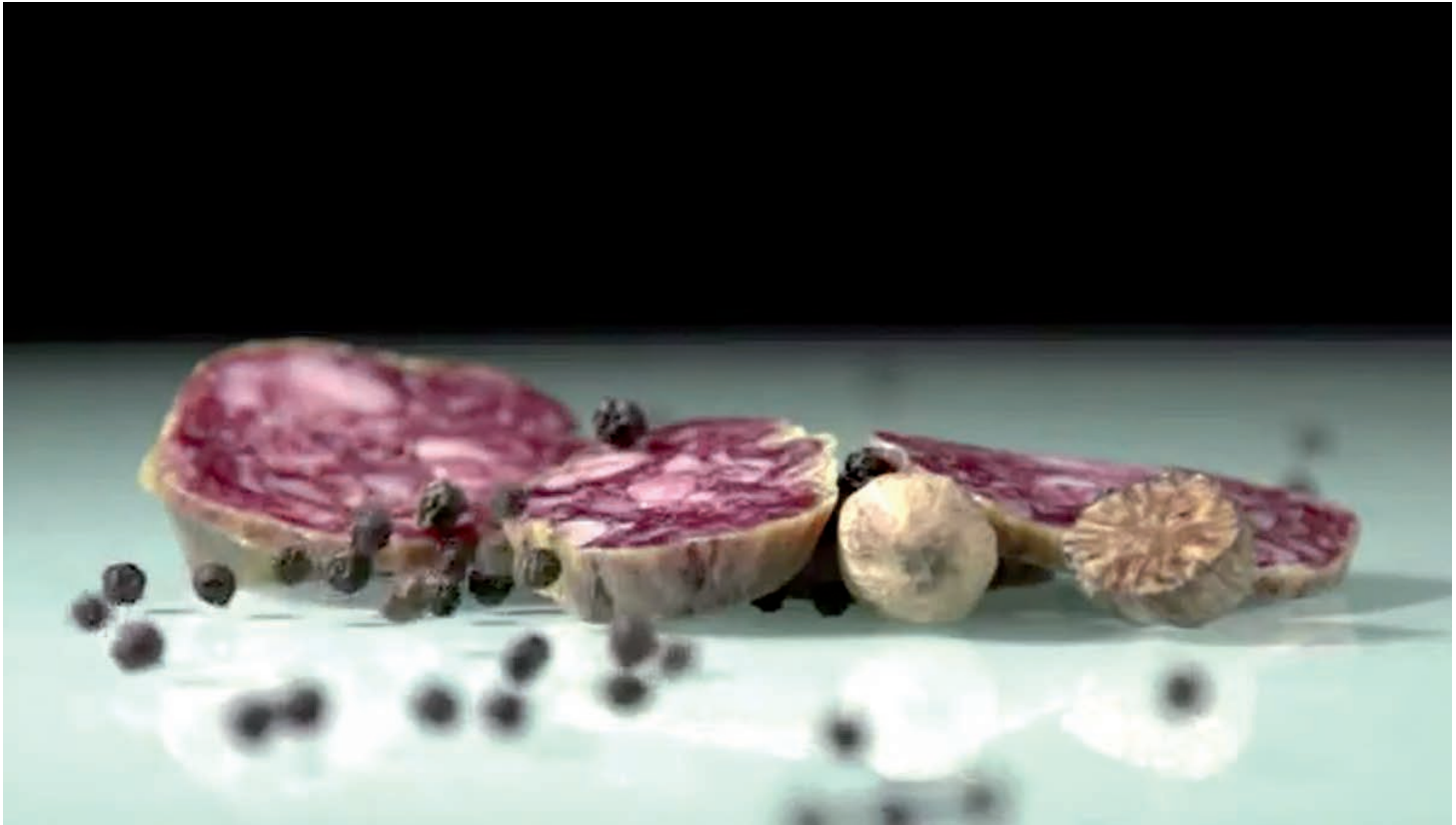
This fine cuisine revelled in the opulence and consumption of poultry, beef, pork, lamb or goat, fresh fish, always expensive, and the abuse of so prohibited ingredients such as spices. That is why it found in the literature of Golden Age a contrast with another reality, that of the popular cuisine, which in many cases stood on the threshold of misery and malnutrition. In such circumstances, it made the most of the available ingredients and used the best methods of food preservation, adapting to economic circumstances. This conditioned the cuisine of most of the population, increasing its distance from the ruling class.

Porridge, flavoured with spices or vegetable stews accompanied with vegetables of each region, cured meats and sausages - when affordable - was the staple food. Seasonal fruits and vegetables, especially from own gardens, cheese, some eggs, seafood and some cheap shellfish completed the majority of the diet in which bread was a main accompaniment. Also, it has been already commented that the wine was important for calorific intake, often a young wine or grape must, watery, sweetened with honey and spicy.

If it was economically affordable, chickens and lambs were the most common meat supplement, accompanied with pork and its derivatives wherever possible. Stews had previously refried onions and some garlic, usually in lard or bacon, but the oil was present in regions where production made it a more affordable product. Meats were previously boiled and accompanied by spicy sauces thickened with crumbled stale bread, beaten egg or crushed almonds. Nothing was wasted and, therefore, viscera or extremities had their corresponding recipes and, if not, were crushed, garnished and incorporated into fillings and sauces.

Fresh fish was just consumed in places of coast where they made the most of shellfish, crustaceans and even whales. In those places where it could not be delivered fresh, they either fished in rivers, where small catches facilitated the work, or got hold of previously salted or preserved fish. Regarding this, Diego Granado clarifies that, while always using salt, there were three different techniques depending on whether it was dried fish, pickled or cured with salt fish.¹ The first, *cecial*, completed its initial salting with air drying, comparable to the technique used with beef or pork. The second, in brine, avoided oxidation by

¹ Diego GRANADO MALDONADO, *Libro del arte de cocina...*, Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1599, fols. 174 v. - 175 r.



Salchichón, spiced sausage with nutmeg and black pepper. Audiovisual of the exhibition. FTP Broadcast.



Cinnamon and cloves over a facsimile. Audiovisual of the exhibition. FTP Broadcast.





immersion in saturated salt water. The third received some salt, although less than in the previous case and by means of pressure, corruptible fluids were removed. Not forgetting other options such as marinading, pickling or preserving in oil, sometimes after being salted or precooked.

Generally spices was abused and overused. Their use to preserve food, mainly meat, had seen a very trendy taste for well seasoned dishes develop. If economically affordable, cinnamon, cloves, pepper, nutmeg, cumin and ginger were abundant on the table, although the range of aromatic plants was much wider, adapted to the most abundant in each region, which were more affordable: oregano, mint, bay leaves, sage, thyme, rosemary, marjoram, basil, parsley, cilantro,... Inspired by this story, we turn to Hispanic cookbooks of the 16th century, looking for dishes that illustrated those adventures compatible with life on board or in the new colonies.





INGREDIENTS

- 500 grams Alosas (Substitute: sardines)
- 10 grams Salt
- 100 grams All Purpose Flour
- 800 grams Olive Oil

ESCABECHE: Broth for pickling

- 300 ml White Wine Vinegar
- 100 grams Sugar
- 5 grams Black Peppercorn
- 3 grams Salt
- 100 grams Bay Leaves
- 50 ml Water

PICKLED FRIED ALOSAS (or Sardines)

ELABORATION

1. **Prepare the pickling solution:** white wine vinegar, sugar, black peppercorn, salt and water. Boil for a few seconds and set aside.
2. **Dredge the fish** in flour and fry in olive oil at medium heat.
3. **While the sardines** are still warm, in a terracota tray, lay bay leaves at the bottom, place sardines on top. Then cover again with the bay leaves on top.
4. **Pour the boiling** pickling solution twice over the sardines.
5. **Remove the sardines** from the tray and leave them to dry out over a bed of bay leaves.

COMMENT

Rupert de Nola included this recipe in his *Libre de Coch* in 1477, a work that was widely distributed in the consequent decades. *The alosa* (Twaite shad) or *lacha* in the family *cupleidae*, which also includes sardines and herring as members, the importance of *escabeche* (pickling) in Spanish cuisine and the use of spices that were present in Magellan's expedition, make this recipe in an interesting example. The pickling skill was introduced by the Arabs in the Iberian



Peninsula during the Middle Ages, although its origin is in Persian culture, which also radiated to India. Its a marinade able to preserve food cooked that way based on the use of vinegar as main ingredient.

The above recipe was copied by Diego Granado Maldonado in 1599. Although Martinez Montiño does not mention it in his work of 1611, he finally does include a similar recipe for pickled filled sardines' bitter-sweet taste. Pickling was widely spread in the Hispanic territories because it helped to preserve meat and fish. There is a similar recipe in the work

of Fray Jeronimo de San Pelayo, for example which should have spread in the Mexican environment mid-18th century. It also reached the Philippines, as tested in some documentary references incorporated into this exhibition and in the *Libro de la cocina filipina* in 1913. In the 19th century the use of spicy pickling was abandoned, but maintaining vinegar, pepper and bay leaf. Regarding to the Philippines, the book cited above includes information about its adaptation to the tastes and vegetables of the archipelago.



SPICED EMPEROR FISH WITH RASISINS AND ALMONDS MASH



INGREDIENTS

- 1,2 kilo Emperor Fish whole
- 800 grams Onion
- 80 ml Olive Oil
- 200 ml White Wine
- 100 ml Lemon Juice
- 4 grams Cinnamon
- 4 grams Black Peppercorn ground
- 0,5 gram Saffron
- 120 grams Raisins
- 120 grams Almonds

ELABORATION

1. **Clean the fish.** Remove the gills, guts and scales.
2. **Chop onion into** small cubes like for «mirepoix».
3. **In a large pot,** add the oil, heat it up. Add the onions and cook until it becomes soft and translucent.
4. **Add the spices**
5. **Add the white wine** and half of the lemon juice then add the fish and cover with water.
6. **Boil until it is almost cooked** then add the cinnamon, black pepper, saffron, raisins, almonds (crushed) then finally add the lemon juice.
7. **Serve.**

COMMENT

This recipe is born of a cross between several recipes already existing in the *Libro del arte de cocina* by Diego Granado Maldonado, published in 1599. According to the author himself, by collecting recipes for cooking the grouper, recipes used for cooking the *zollo* (Guadalquivir river sturgeon which is extinct today), could be used for this fish. This versatility was, in fact, very common in past times, with





the necessary adaptation to the fresh products available. This occurred on American shores or in the Philippines, where the Spaniards had accepted local species and applied their culinary knowledge. Not surprisingly, the author of the *Libro de la cocina filipina* of 1913 recognized that the Filipino bacoco was similar to the red sea bream, for example.

Thus, a recipe for zollos, red sea bream or grouper has been taken as a reference for the preparation of

this one. In turn, the author himself and referring to the grouper, provides a mash of almonds and raisins. These condiments, such as the use of saffron and cinnamon, are reminiscent of Islamic influence on the Spanish gastronomy.

The result has been a new recipe which incorporates both variants. New in its development, but a direct heir of the above and perfectly viable for a cookery of that time.





AMAZING PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

MALINAMNAM AND MANILA GALLEONS

Multiplying the Possibilities of
Deliciousness From Around the World

Felice Prudente Sta. Maria

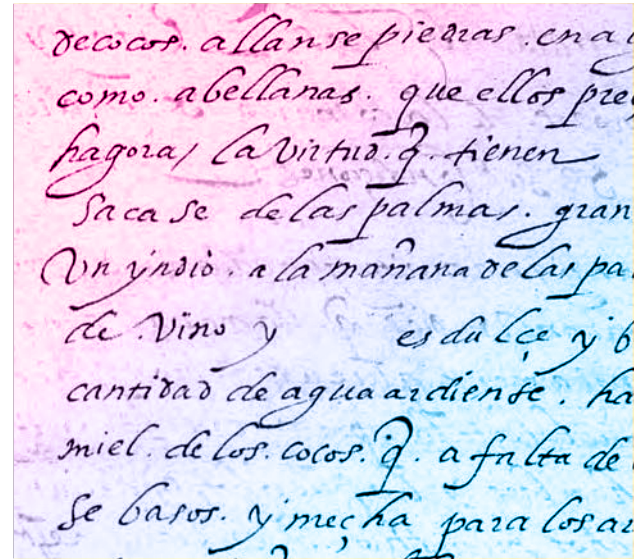
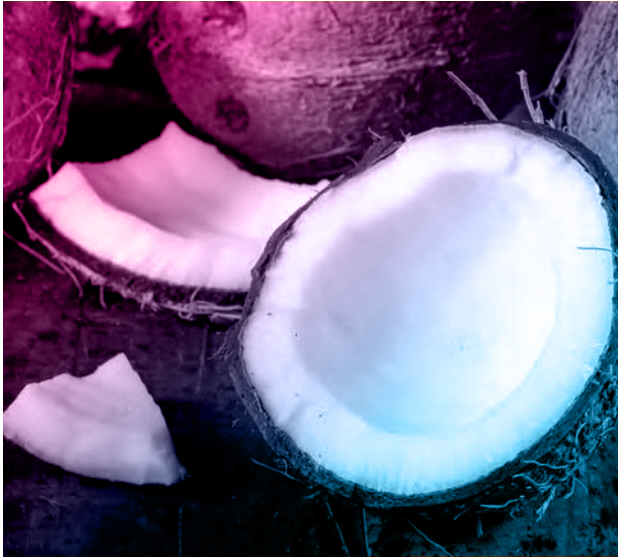
Salty. Sweet. Sour. Bitter. And *malinamnam*. They are the four tastes and the most exquisite, exalted and refined flavor of Philippine cuisine. *Malinamnam* means *having the quality of deliciousness*; it also has been likened to umami, the fifth universal taste of comparatively recent recognition.

With Manila as a transshipment hub, galleons from the late 16th century till 1815 brought ingredients and foods back and forth from the Old World, the New World and Asia. Intangible culinary customs and cooking skills also sailed with the winds; they strengthened global culinary blendings that have outlived economic, political and social power shifts. The quest for deliciousness is boundless.

FLAVORFUL PURSUITS

Antonio Pigafetta, Italian chronicler of the pioneering circumnavigation championed by Fernando Magallanes for Spain, had his first taste of Philippine food on March 18, 1521. He ate banana, coconut, fish and palm wine on Homonhon Island in the middle of the archipelago. Four days later, men from Sulu returned with sweet oranges and a cock. Turtle eggs and sea snails were also consumed. He found the victuals *half cooked and very salty*. At nearby Cebu Island, Pigafetta recorded native words for cinnamon, clove, garlic, ginger, honey, pepper, salt, sugarcane and vinegar in addition to chicken, crab, egg, fish, hog, millet, panicum, rice and sorghum.

Not till 44 years later did Spanish settlement begin. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi headed it reaching Cebu on April 27, 1565. He predicted a rich colony: *The land is thickly populated and so fertile that four days after we took the village, the Castilian seeds had already sprouted*. Hardy foreign botanicals indigenized over time adding new flavors to existing Asian savors that continue to dominate.

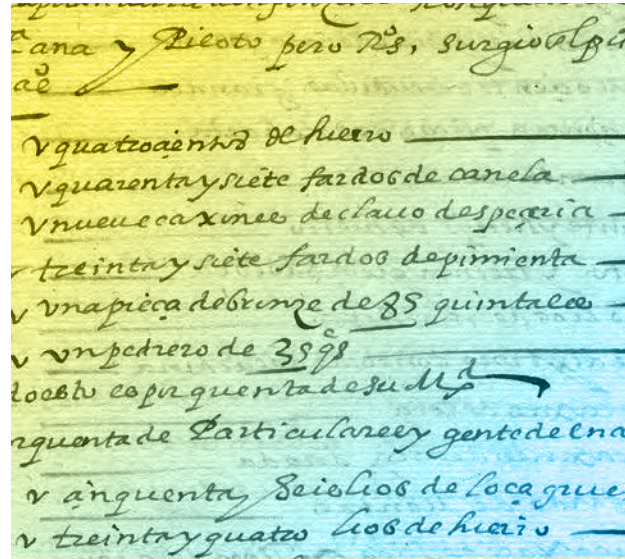


Another 44 years later, in 1609, Francisco Blancas de San Jose, OP compiled words of the Tagalog language spoken in the new colony's capital of Manila and its surrounding areas that were a few days sail north of Cebu. The unpublished work offers an early baseline from which to reckon changes in Tagalog culinary developments. He lists *alat* for salty recording that salt was used to preserve pork and fish; *tamis* for sweet like honey; *asim* for sour exemplified by vinegar; and *pait* for bitter. He found native words for flavor -- *lasa*, *lasap* – and for flavorful – *lasap*, *maynam*, *malasa*.

The first Spanish-Tagalog dictionary published in the Philippines, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*, appeared in 1613. It was compiled by Pedro de San Buenaventura, OFM. He writes that sugar is sweeter than honey and adds that wine can be bitter. He documents Filipino recognition of flavor and its nuances. He found *sarap* used in reference to likeable taste when eating and drinking. Like San Jose, he records *lasa* for flavor and *malasa* as having delightful flavor; to them he adds *inam* and *lator*. As is the popular case today, taste and flavor then were used interchangeably. Not till the mid-1800s were taste buds discovered by German scientists Georg Meissner and Rudolf Wagner. And only in 2000 did experiments at University of Miami register taste buds detecting solely umami that is described as the rich glutamate taste typical of protein.

SPICE EXCHANGE

Age of Discovery voyages such as those by Magallanes and Legaspi were primed by European desire for rare spices such as nutmeg and mace. Pepper, clove, ginger and cinnamon are often cited as the major of them. The commodities were characterized by fluctuating prices, mostly ascending. *Pamitpit* is the Tagalog term San Buenaventura found for spices that included generally pepper, clove, ginger, etc. *Nagpapamitpit* is to be making [something] with spices. Its root, *pipit* means



to flatten by pounding. *Pamitpit* in modern times was redefined as half-crushed garlic for use in cooking.

Legazpi's companion and successor, Guido de Lavezaris of the Royal Exchequer wrote the King alerting that tamarind trees (*Tamarindus indica* L.) and ginger roots (*Zingiber officinale*) for planting would arrive in New Spain from Cebu aboard the *San Juan* by July 26, 1567. He included *some roots of pepper (Piper nigrum) already sprouted for the same purpose*, having entrusted them to the chief pilot Rodrigo Despinosa. By 1573 the tamarind trees were fruiting in Mexico. That year Lavezaris sent cinnamon shoots (*Cinnamomum zeylandicum*) and pepper plants also for propagation. In 1584, Juan Bautista Roman notes difficulties that clove and peppercorn plants have in acclimatizing to the Americas. But King Felipe II had encouraged efforts to grow Asian spices in Mexico and other parts of the New World. The endeavor would endure.

In Cebuano pepper was called *manissa* during Legazpi's time. San Buenaventura identifies it in Tagalog as *paminta*, similar to its Spanish name, *pimienta*; it was described as a drug not available till Spaniards settled. San Jose concludes there are no Tagalog words for pepper or clove. Not surprisingly, San Buenaventura cites *calabo* as the Tagalog synonym for the Spanish noun *clavo*. Pigafetta lists *chianche* for clove and *mana* for cinnamon in Cebuano of 1521. San Jose declares there is no Tagalog word for cinnamon although there is *cayomanis* (*Clausena anisum-olens*) for a tree like cinnamon. There is yet no evidence that pre-Hispanic Philippine cuisine used the three spices. Legazpi reported that although there was abundant cinnamon, natives made little use of it. In some Philippine areas, cinnamon bark was an aromatic added to betel nut chew for important guests.

But well used was ginger, what Pigafetta identifies as *luia*. In Filipino, the Philippine national language, *luya* remains the word for white ginger. Turmeric (*Curcu-*



ma longa) is *luyang dilaw*, ginger that is yellow. Both pungent roots are used fresh in native cooking and healing.

Leandro de Viana, a royal fiscal in Manila, sent the King bark of *calinga* (*Cinamomum paniciflorum*), a tree from Mindoro mountains with a delicious odor, which smells like cinnamon, clove and pepper all combined. In his report of 1765 he recalls suggesting that the samples be used in chocolate beverage and stew. Unfortunately, his gift was aboard *Santissima Trinidad* that the British captured.

Other Asian botanicals made their way into the New World during the spice trade. In 1578, Cristobal de Acosta recorded mango trees growing in Filipinas; they were transported to New Spain where they indigenized, developed local varieties and have become a commercial success. Coconuts were provisions on the Manila-Acapulco leg and may have added to the palm's spread along the western American coastline. Viana reported that *catbalonga seeds* (St. Ignatius kernels, *Strychnos Ignatii*) were highly esteemed in Europe. They were a Philippine home remedy promoted by the Jesuits and have proven to be a source for the strychnine drug.

TRANSOCEANIC RESOURCES

Galleons sailing transpacific added to a thriving, centuries-old culinary exchange among empires and settlements around the Indian and the China Seas. Some botanicals relocated by wind, water, migratory animals, human settlers and traders adapted to environments outside their Center of Origin identified by Russian botanist Nicolai I. Vavilov (1887-1943). He placed the Philippines in one of two sub-areas of the Indian Center of Origin. Banana, black pepper, breadfruit, clove, coconut palm, nutmeg, mangosteen, pomelo and sugarcane developed their distinct properties within the Indo-Malayan Sub Center consisting of the Philippines, the Malayan Peninsula, Java, Thailand and southern parts of the Indo-China Peninsula. He believes chickpea, coconut, cucumber, eggplant, mango, radish, rice, sugarcane, tamarind, taro and yam began in the Indo-Burma Sub Center.

Commerce along the overland Silk Route and sea passages stretching from Portugal to Africa, Goa, Calicut, Gale, Malacca, the Moluccas, Macao and Japan brought Old World, Near East and New World ingredients into Asia. Vasco de Gama initiated the direct route from Portugal to India in 1498 via Cape of Good Hope. Throughout the next century, Portugal was the first European empire with Asian ports. Brazil figured on the route beginning in 1500, thereby serving as a source of New World cultivars like cashew, chili, cocoa, guava, peanut, tomato and potato.

In 1516, Portuguese merchants established direct European-Chinese trade. They were entrenched in Macao by the 1540s opening a culinary and botanical gateway. Buckwheat, Chinese cabbage and yam, cucumber, millet, onion, soybean, sugar-



cane and walnut originated in China according to Vavilov. Ancient migrations from the Asian continent via Formosa to northern Philippines may have introduced Chinese yam and other edible plants in prehistoric times. By 1550 foreign maize, peanut and sweet potato were Ming Dynasty foods.¹

Manila experienced regular visits by foreign vessels synchronized to the north-east monsoon generally blowing from November to February and the southwest monsoon prevalent from July through September. Easterly trade winds arrived when monsoons were weak. During the new moon of March, Chinese junks from Canton and Chinchow began to arrive; they returned home beginning the end of May through early June. Bishop Domingo Salazar related in 1588 that every November, twenty Chinese trading vessels anchored in Manila till May and entrusted their cargo to local traders who returned with payment in barter goods. The junk was designed for long-distance voyages and did not venture into inter-island passages for which the Malay *jong* and other Southeast Asian boats were better suited. Biscuits, butter, chestnuts, figs, flour, oranges, pears, pineapples, plums, pomegranates and other fruit, sugar, walnuts, salt pork, hams and other food supplies totaled a twentieth of their merchandise for sale.

The new international entrepot that Spain made of Manila attracted Chinese immigrants with skills unavailable among islanders. When Chinese settlers became Christian, they were allowed to marry native women and move out of the walled enclave –called Parian– to where they were otherwise restricted. The offspring of Chinese and Filipino parents was classified as *mestizo*. *Mestizos* grew into a significant economic, artisanal, agricultural and culinary segment of the archipelago. The Parian, for example, had noodle makers, bakers, butchers, makers of preserves and kitchen gardeners. Many Spanish settlers employed Chinese cooks at home. Steamed breads, stir-fries and cooked noodle dishes called *pansit* only in the Philippines are some of the Chinese legacies indigenized into island cuisine.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN FOOD EXCHANGE

Galleons departing from Mexico sailed westward to Filipinas in November. Arriving in time for rains that fell from May through September, they likely carried vegetable pear, cherry tomato, chili, corn, squash, papaya and sweet potato for planting. Among their provisions were an assortment of dried beans, corn, olive oil, brined olive and caper, ham, almond, cheese and grape wine. The latter were both comfort foods and fundamental requirements in Spanish cuisine, not only customary naval staples.

¹ Kwang-Chih Chang, *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977, pp. 195, 198.



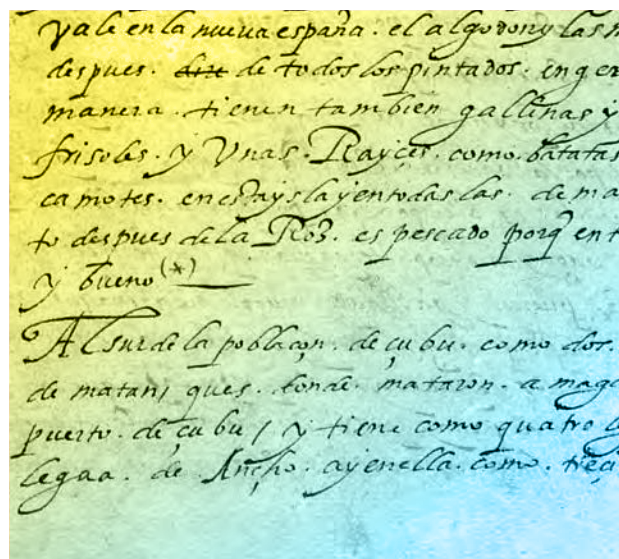
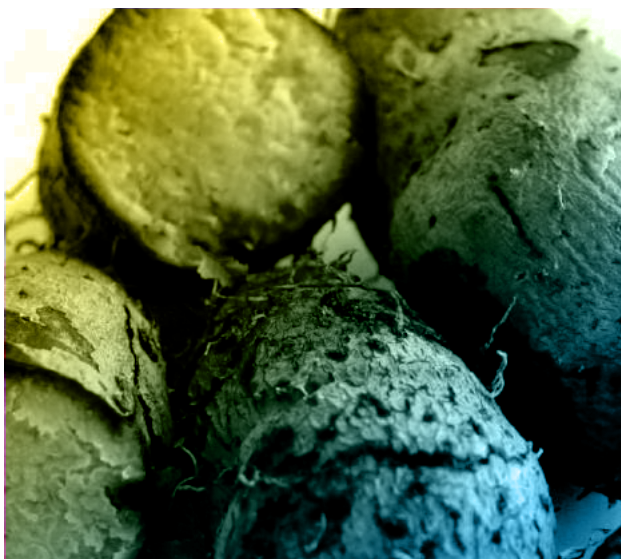
In April through June, boats from Cambodia and Siam moored. Japanese and Portuguese ships arrived in October or the coming March and rode northerlies home. Traders from Borneo as well as Portuguese vessels from India, Malacca and the Moluccas came when winds favored them. The trade in Southeast Asia circulated regional and international foods even in pre-Hispanic times. In the mid-1600s a boat passing Java and Malaysia brought to Manila wines that included Bordeaux, Cognac, Carlton and Jerez; Castillian [olive] oil; cheese from Flanders; salmon; soy; cauliflower; and brined capers, cabbage and olive.

Around the same time, a document describes trade goods of a Chinese owned boat sailing to Manila from Burney. It carried betel nut (*Areca catechu*), sea cucumber, shark's meat and fins as well as edible bird's nest. The latter was also sourced from Palawan –the western most island of the Philippine archipelago– for the Chinese market. Solid cakes made from the flour of sago palm (*Metroxylon sagus*) were a staple for peoples living on the southern Philippine island of Mindanao. Survivors of the Magallanes circumnavigation intercepted a boatload of them off Basilan. Often called *landan*, the cakes were a commercial product made in Macassar, packed in leaves and traded in the Philippines where they were softened by boiling before eating.

Snails were also on the boat. Gastropods were readily available along coastal mudflats, mangroves and coral reefs at low tide. They are acknowledged as a desired protein source, and one wonders if they were the types of snail carried and if they were to be eaten by the crew or bartered. Marine snails can be kept alive for a while in vats of salt water or preserved in salt, brine or vinegar.

Turtle shell was another item on board. For the Spanish market it was carved into decorative hair combs, fans and bric-a-brac. Large clam shell (called *taclobo*) were desired as Christian baptismal fonts in the Philippines and other Spanish territories. Additional goods that arrived in ports like Cebu from southern sources





were pearl and coral, finely woven Bornean mats, Indian chintzes, Javanese batiks and red stones such as carnelians, rubies and garnets. A curious entry on the boat from Burney is *Sera cakes* and one wonders if they were wax (*cera* is wax in Spanish) that was not only imported into the Philippines but exported out of Visayan islands. Other Visayan goods traded overseas were ambergris, a red resin known as “Dragon’s blood,” red ants to make red ink in China, and cloths of abaca and cotton. For the Japanese market, deer antlers and skin as well as caged civet cats were available from Mindanao.

Communities in the Visayas were known to produce surplus rice for bartering. But in times of famine and severe food shortages, families sold their children for sustenance that came from abroad like Borneo. The commercial trade allowed some of the children to become foster children or slaves who would be fed and cared for. Meanwhile the food received in exchange would allow parents and their remaining offspring a chance to survive. It was not unknown for sold children to return to or visit their birthplaces as adults.

INDIGENIZING IMPORTS

La Guerra de Indios (The Indian War) was a metaphor for hunger that threatened life in Filipinas classified as a hardship post. The first 100 years of settlement strained the local food chain and caused terror. Natives paid tribute in rice and textile; men were kept away from their fields by public work like felling trees for galleon building and assisting the military. Residents near the capital had to provide 2,000 eggs, 300 laying hens and the number of swine considered proper every week for a considerable time.

In 1582 Miguel de Loarca reports on island alimentation, noting much that Pigafetta had observed. There were buffalo (*carabao*), chicken, deer, duck, goat, pig,

coconut, palm wine and vinegar, oranges, lemons, *nacas* (likely *nangkas* meaning jackfruits), rose apple (*Syzygium malaccense*) resembling apple, santol (*Sandoricum koetjape* Merr.) with a quince-like taste, and tubers called *camotes* that were like the *batatas of Santo Domingo*. Recent DNA research indicates prehistoric Polynesian voyagers may have brought a sweet potato variety from the west coast of South America to their homeland; the tuber spread throughout Oceania and islands like Guam and the Philippines. The galleon trade added Mesoamerican sweet potatoes to what was already present in the Philippines.

The lawyer Antonio de Morga who worked in the Philippines from 1594 to 1604 as Lieutenant Governor-General, Captain General and Justice of the *Audencia* notes that natives ate rice accompanied by boiled fish and rotting saltfish (likely fish paste). He also found boiled sweet potatoes resembling *ordinary potato* and kidney bean. *Qulitis* (spiny amaranth, *Amaranthus spinosus* L.) was introduced so successfully that it grows wild. When boiled its leaves have been godsend during floods, locust attacks, droughts, volcanic eruptions, pirate attacks, slave raids and wars.

Ripened New World *bayabas* –as guava (*Psidium guyavas* L.) is called in Filipino– was made into jellies and preserves.² Other imported fruits already growing during Morga’s term are creamy *atis* (custard apple, *Anona squamosa* L.) and tartly sweet pineapple, the latter eaten with salt to reduce its acidity. Northern Luzon’s province of Cagayan had chestnut trees that produced nuts and pine trees with large kernels. Explorers discovered nuts of the Philippine endemic pili tree (*Canarium ovatum*); it would substitute for almond in locally prepared *turrón*.

In 1611, 46 years into Spanish settlement, Blas de la Madre de Dios published a list of medicinal plants in the Philippines. New World edibles he includes are *achote* or *atsute* (annatto, *Bixa orellana* L.), *kamote* (sweet potato, *Dioscorea triphylla* L.), *papaya* (*Carica papaya* L.), and *calabaza de castilla* squash (*Curcubita pepo* L.). By 1738, another Franciscan missionary, Juan Francisco de San Antonio finds American fruits plentiful, growing well in Filipinas and selling “cheaper than in New Spain.” He notes that star fruit preserved dry or in syrup in Manila had become popular in Mexico.

Filipinized Nahuatl names for plants introduced during the galleon era are still in use today. Among them are *abukado* (*abocado* and *aguacate* in Nahuatl; avocado in English); *balimbing* (*balimbin*; star fruit); *kakawate* and *mani* (*cacahuate*; peanut); *kamatsili* (*camachile* and *guamuchtl*; scientific name *Pithecolobium dulce* Roxb.); *kaimito* (*caimito*; star apple); *sayote* (*chayote*; vegetable pear); *sili* (*chile*, chili).

² Philippine National Museum archaeologist Avelino M. Legaspi excavated a dried guava at a 14th or 15th century burial site south of Bolinao, Pangasinan. Whether guava arrived before or during Spanish colonial times is being debated.

AGRICULTURAL GAINS

In 1780 there were strong government efforts to develop agriculture toward recovering from the plunder committed by British during their military occupation from 1762 to 1764. Earlier in the 1750s there had already been local initiatives to cultivate for commerce betelnut, cacao, coconut and peppercorn. By then missionaries succeeded in stabilizing parishes that had become civil pueblos. Population in a typical parish had risen from the earlier 30 families to 500 or more. The new neighborhoods were laid out in a gridiron pattern with a central plaza around which was architecture of stone and wood rather than earlier palm and bamboo: the Roman Catholic church, the local government headquarters, a marketplace, and homes of those who had become affluent through agriculture and trade.

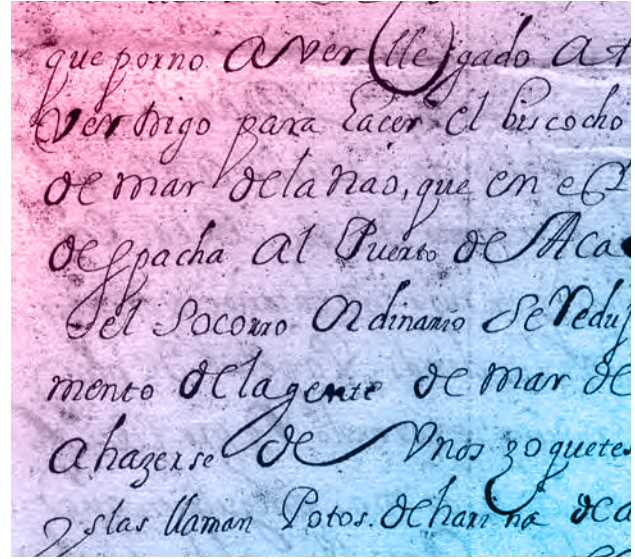
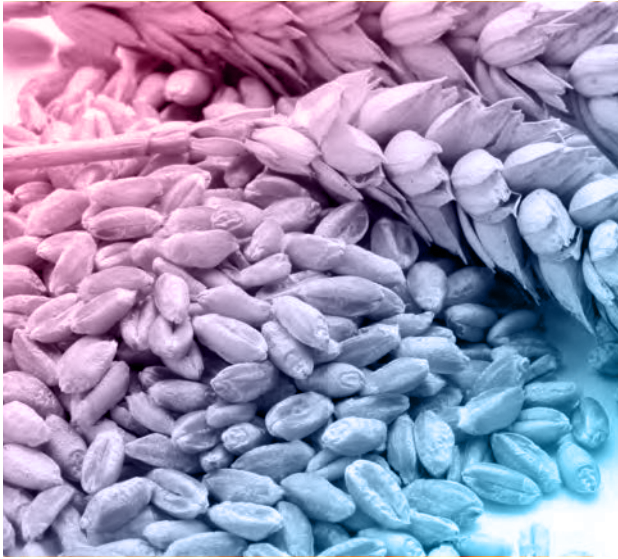
Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga toured the islands starting on December 30, 1799. Families were proud of their "orchards of indigenous fruit trees and important ones from New Spain" notes the Augustinian friar. He observed New World tomatoes, black and white beans, edible succulents like white and colored squash growing in native farms. Annatto, cacao and sweet potato were grown for sale in Manila, as well as beans and coffee for an interprovincial trade. He also saw *apasotis* (Mexican tea and American wormseed, *alpasotis* in Spanish, *Chenopodium ambrosioides* L.) being cultivated. When its seeds are taken with wine, the drinker's sensations will be dulled substantially. In Vigan, Ilocos Norte, *apasotis* is cooked into a localized interpretation of the Mexican stew *pipian*. *Olasiman* or *kolasiman* (purslane, *verdolagas*, *Portulaca oleracea*) took root in Philippine terrain. The entire plant is edible and used as a salad to accompany fish or meat.

Filipinas had become the home of foreign cooking ingredients. Tondo Province just outside Manila grew *all kinds of fruits and garden products not only from the place but from other parts, with seeds originating in New Spain and the Atlantic coast*, Zuñiga adds. "There is also a kind of mustard which has broad leaves and a substitute for beets which do not give seeds in this land," he explains. Similarly, onion was cut into wedges that were planted for regeneration because it did not seed in the archipelago.

The Mahé de Villabague is credited with successfully planting the first seeds of European vegetables in Filipinas. That was in 1744 after which Chinese with kitchen gardens continued their cultivation to economic advantage. Cauliflower grew from seeds imported from Java because in the Philippines it never seeded.

INNOVATION TRANSFERS

Galleons conveyed cooking implements and know-how to prepare the introduced botanicals. Caution when assessing the speed and the spread of acculturation is

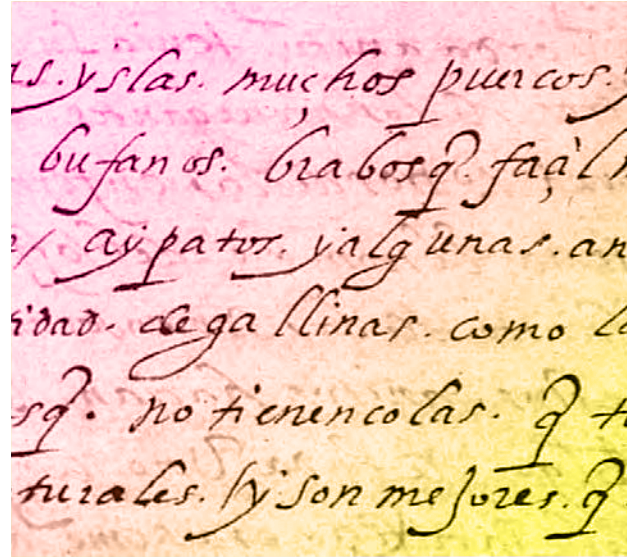


necessary. Culinary sharing likely occurred in parallel to Spanish presence and depended on the suitability of microenvironments to raise imported plants and animals for food. In 1586 there were only 800 Spaniards in the entire archipelago with the average increasing but slowly. Tomas De Comyn's report published in 1810, five years before the transpacific galleon service ended, calculates that the Spanish population in Filipinas did not exceed 4,000 persons (peninsula-born, American-born or island-born) of both sexes and all ages.³ There is no known census of native Mexicans in Filipinas.

Roman Catholic missionaries were the first culture bearers of Hispanization from 1565. Often they were the only foreign presence and sought to make their parishes and estates self-reliant and lucrative as they had in Europe and Mexico. Not till 1751 could secular Spaniards lawfully opt to live in any native village. They had been restricted to Arevalo (near Iloilo), Cebu, Manila, Naga (Camarines), Lal-lo (Cagayan), and Vigan.

The religious who relocated to the tropics were compelled to make host. In selecting a native word for it, they chose *tinapay* that on Pigafetta's 1521 Cebuano vocabulary meant a *particular rice cake*. It appears to have been white, circular and the size of a demitasse cup saucer with perhaps a sweet filing according to Juan Felix de la Encarnacion. *Tinapay* was also used when referring to wheat bread and Christ as the Bread of Life in catechisms and sermons such as those by Franciscan friar Juan de Olivar (who died in 1599) and San Jose who made the 1609 word list. Before long the original meaning of *tinapay*, traced to *tapay* meaning rice flour dough, was forgotten. Today the Filipino word for altar bread is *hostia* and for wheat bread, *tinapay*.

³ He calculated the Christian *indio* population of the Philippines at 2,395,687, Chinese mestizos at 119,719 and pure Chinese residents as 7,000.



Temperate climate Christian rituals and taboos were superimposed on tropical society. Preachers warned that drunkenness exemplified the sin of gluttony. Indeed Filipinos enjoyed coconut liquor called *tuba*. In 1619, Sebastian Pineda reported that Filipino crewmen who jumped ship in Mexico made *tuba* along the coast of Navidad. Donkeys transported the bootleg to Colima where native Mexicans loved its brandy-like potency.

Eating pork was fostered as pro-Christian. The Spanish word *lechón* is used for a whole pig roasted, usually for fiestas, even if there are native words for pig and boar that were eaten in pre-colonial times. Fish became suggestive of poverty rather than commonness. Roman Catholic feasting, fasting and abstinence became strongly entrenched along with the religion's other food customs. In 1767 the Bishop of Cebu issued a letter explaining that natives in Manila preferred frying with pork lard, there being a lack of olive oil. They needed to be taught it could not be used on days of abstinence.

Once the Spanish stone baking oven called *horno* was introduced, baked wheat goods made their way slowly into the native diet. Earlier native baking was done for both sweet and savory rice cakes and foods contained in bamboo culms or leaf wrappers by burying them in embers and hot ash. More often they were boiled, steamed or roasted to a finish that retained their molded form. Governor-General Fernando da Silva who served from 1625 to 1626 established a royal bakeshop. In the next century, sea biscuit was made locally from locally grown wheat. In 1678 for instance, Sargent Major Luis de Pineda Matienza Cordero de Nevare cites wheat growing in Bae, a town in Laguna province near Manila. Today, *pan se sal* is the everyday bread although rice remains the preferred carbohydrate source and wheat is no longer grown. Over time, *panaderias*, *dulcerias* and *pastelerias* provided delectable pleasures.



Compites is Tagalog for *confites*, Spanish for confections. Their similarity insinuates that the process of preserving fruit in sugar may have been introduced or popularized in Spanish times. Philippine kitchens make *compites* in the *tacho*, a sugar evaporation pan from the West Indies. Fruit preserves were used at the end of a meal and as a treat for the sick. Chirino records women slaves in Manila from India, Malacca and the Moluccas who were excellent cooks and preparers of conserves.

Cacao (*Theobroma cacao*) for planting arrived in 1670 as a response by Governor-General Diego Salcedo to the request of Jesuit priest Juan de Avila. Within twenty years it became widespread and cheap. Cebuano cacao was considered as superior as that imported from Guayaquil, Ecuador by De Comyn. The heavy stone *metate* on which to grind bitter cacao beans into a paste, and the wooden *molinillo* with which to beat down the paste as it melted in water and then froth it into a sweetened beverage were introduced from Mexico. Cacao was also cooked into *tsamporado*, a rice porridge eaten with salted fish, and into a sauce for chicken similar to the kind made in Mexico.

To native earthenware were added Spanish *caldero*, *puchero* and *olla* pots. Food cooked in them took on the names *caldereta*, *puchero* and *laoya* respectively. Metal frying pans came from Mexico and mostly China, although they were later made in the Parian. San Buenaventura records that in the 1600s *pritos* – clearly derived from *fritos* that is a conjugation of *freyr*, “to fry” in Spanish – overtook the native synonyms *tomis*, *linil*, *sanglal* and *sanglay*. Mullet, egg, leaves, *ubi* tuber and camotes were fried using lard or coconut oil in a *sarten*, a Spanish metal pan. *Prito* remains currently in use.

Natives and *mestizos* wanting to follow in the ways of the colonizers adapted foods and customs from Mexico and Spain. European dining tables and chairs with their accompanying etiquette were introduced during galleon times. Native girls in Spanish dresses executing folk dances greeted Rear Admiral Ignacio Maria de Alava, who sailed from Spain via the Cape of Good Hope, when his party toured the islands as the year 1800 began. Prominent natives wore hats with gold lace and rode horses harnessed in silver. Lemonade, Jerez wine, chocolate beverage, ladyfingers, cookies, crackers and palm sugar candies were served after ceremonies. Alava’s group enjoyed Hispanic convent cooking although one must imagine what may have been served.

INDULGENT MULTIFORMITY

Increased opportunities to savor *malinamnam* arrived with the singular Spanish technique called *guisar*, kin to but different from French sauté and Chinese stir-fry. The result is a *guisado*, a stew. San Buenaventura records, “Because there



are no *guisados* here, there is no [Tagalog] word for making them.” The three-step process starts with braising, meaning to lightly fry a *sofrito* that in the Philippines is usually ripe tomato, onion, garlic and sometimes, small shrimp or bits of pork. Main ingredients are then combined and allowed to fry; finally they simmer in their own juices or an added liquid as the last step. While *sofrito* did not join native vocabularies, *guisado* did. Today, Philippine cookbooks include an extensive range of cordial *guisados*. An example of culinary fusion typical to both city and countryside is *bagoong guisado*, fish or shrimp paste enriched by *guisar* that when made well is an example of *malinamnam*.

Although *adobo* means pickling sauce or marinade in España, in Filipinas it became a cooked preparation of fish, meat, poultry, seafood or vegetable cooked with vinegar. In its Filipino-Asianized fashion *adobo* can have coconut milk, soy sauce or turmeric. Adobo is so popular that legislation was considered to honor it as the Philippine National Dish. The Tagalog synonym for *adobo* selected in 1613 by San Buenaventura is *cquilao* (*kilaw* today): *salt, vinegar, chili pepper into which is put meat, fish or the gut of deer and set out till tender or eaten raw immediately, outright*. Carabao can be made into *cquilao*, he explains. Plump, freshly harvested, raw oysters bathed in fine vinegar are another example of delectable *kilaw* and native *malinamnam*. Central American chili added welcome piquancy – *anhang* in Filipino – to the acknowledged subtle gustatory pricking by ginger, onion and radish. Chili was specified as a provision for Legazpi’s expedition and has become a favorite flavorer for Filipino dipping sauces.

It was recommended by the Manila Council that cattle and horses be imported from China and Japan, while water buffaloes (carabao) be domesticated as beasts of burden and for food. Spain had introduced beef and dairying to Mexico and it sought to do the same across the Pacific Ocean. Philippine raised beef was eaten as early as the 1600s. Slowly, beef was added to the Filipino diet thereby increasing exposure to the taste of meatiness linked to umami. Tame carabaos from China were used *only for milking* because their milk was *thicker and more palatable than that of cows*, Morga adds. Milk became so popular in Manila that natives and foreigners alike could have it delivered daily to one’s home. Banana leaf swaddled cheese, nougats called *pastillas* and a wide range of ice creams made from carabao or cow milk are much desired.

The culinary globalization characterizing Filipinas in 1812, three years before the galleon trade stopped, is exemplified in lists of provisions for the Filipino crew of *Golendrina*, a chartered ship of Alonso Morgado that went from Manila to Polo Pinang an island off the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, and two brigantines –*Purísima Concepción* owned by Vicente Verzosa and *Jesus, María y José* of Domingo de Navea– heading for Jolo. Carried on board were foods prepared in the Spanish way such as *adobo*, *chorizo* sausage, *escabeche*, *estofado* and ham (which could also have been prepared in the salty Chinese fashion). There were



broa (bread bun of low quality made likely from corn or rice flour), *caramelo* (sugar cake for eating) and fried meat. *Calamay*, a native, pudding-like sweet was a welcome staple. There were duck eggs that may have been preserved in salt to extend the length of their edibility following a Chinese process. Other supplies were *afrecho* (bran often of wheat and cooked into a mushy cereal), chocolate, coconut oil, coffee already ground, *gibes* (likely *hibi*, dried shrimp), *lawlaw* (salted fish), *munggo* (Chinese mung bean) and *patani* (New World lima bean).

The galleon era emphasized a New World-Philippines network. When the galleon trade ceased in 1815 the substituted linkage was increasingly characterized by an urbanized European nature. Galleons significantly expanded opportunities for deliciousness. Among raw island sources of *malinamnam* are ripe durian and mango flesh, sea urchin, coconut cream as well as young, exceptionally tender, sweetish, quivering coconut flesh (*buko*). Native *malinamnam* preparations include among many others fermented and salted shrimp fry, crablet or fish (*buro*); *kilaw*; chicken in tamarind broth (*sinampalukang manok*); food cooked with coconut milk or cream (*guinataan*); boiled beef bone marrow; roasted wild boar; boiled or fried milkfish belly.

Hispanic Empire cooking, as it developed through different stages, mixed with Philippine cuisine. The result is gastronomic complexities that expand opportunities to savor basic tastes and the exalted *malinamnam*.⁴ *La Cocina Filipina* and *Condimentos Indígenas* of 1913 and 1918, respectively, may be the first Philippine published cookbooks. They include recipes for *asados*, *buñuelos*, *calderetas*, *chorizos*, *escabeches*, *empanadas*, *ensaladas*, *estofados*, *flan de leche*, *guisados*, *mechados*, *morcillas*, *paellas*, *pasteles*, *rellenas*, *salchichas*, *tamales*, *turrones* and more, a number of them localized adaptations. Philippine *paella*, for example, is blanketed with banana leaves and steamed to a finish. *Tamales* are made with rice flour, coconut milk and even Chinese ham. Corn kernels substitute for chickpea in *pochero* that is served with both a relish combining eggplant, garlic and ripe cooking banana called *saba* as well as an option for adding a dash of the most luxurious, amber colored, silken shrimp sauce. The favorite preparations acknowledge Hispanic heritage side by side with Asian legacies as pillars of the Philippine brand.

Today's global renaissance in cuisine awakens new generations to traditions stretching back to before and after the Age of Exploration. Galleons unquestionably gave the world an unequalled feast of flavors.

⁴ *Malinamnam* as "deliciousness" antedates its use by Ajinomoto Philippines Corporation starting in 2008 as the principal synonym for umami. (*Malasa* is the company's secondary choice.) Umami is often described as the "complicated taste" common to asparagus, ripe tomato, cheese and meat. Tests still need to determine if foods such as coconut cream and ripest sweet mango -- that traditionally are considered *malinamnam* -- trigger the umami taste receptors.





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A primera mente. *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
que vos mandado de *[illegible]*
oamos a a maya dadi. *[illegible]*
que de baranaq *[illegible]*
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cabit

ten tres *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]*
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AMAZING PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Antonio Sánchez de Mora

EXOTIC AND SIMPLE

What did the Spaniards expect to find in the East apart from spices? The findings of penguins and sea lions in the South American end changed the European perception of the world, heralding the discovery of all kinds, each one more incredible, plants and animals. In the minds of Ferdinand Magellan and his crew, fantastic creatures were drawn. They should remember the ones narrated by Marco Polo, and sightings made during the first stage of his journey did nothing but spark their imagination, stoked by ancient myths: Would they finally come to China? Would they find their way into the islands of the Magi or the Land of Ophir?

Their arrival to the Philippines, preceded by some brief calls at port, was a great relief for battered sailors. In the Moluccas they not only found the coveted spices, but fish, coconuts and bananas, which gave good returns. The supplies were a constant in their passing by the Philippine archipelago route where they found products that were familiar: pigeons, chickens and geese, pigs, goats, rice, bananas, oranges and lemons, millet, pumpkin, garlic, honey, ginger... Were they disappointed? The variety of foods should silence any concern, although spices, rice, chickens and pigs had nothing surprising.

They succeeded, as we know, in several expeditions: the encounter with the Portuguese in the East, the founding of the city of Manila and the definitive consolidation of the colony. Almost two centuries later and in a very different context, Pedro Murillo Velarde printed his *Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica de las Islas Filipinas* in his *Historia de la provincia de Filipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*, which was released in 1747. It becomes the first detailed map of the archipelago, but part of the merit is due largely to painstaking work of Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, Tagalog origin recorder who made it in 1734.

But in late-16th century the meagre Spanish colony, populated mostly by soldiers and churchmen, was still struggling to meet those new domains, their people, their resources and their commercial possibilities. In this context the prolix description of the Philippine Islands by Miguel de Loarca, a Spanish military soldier

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Tratado de las yslas Philipinas enq se contiene todas las yslas
y poblaciones q estan Requeridas. Al seruiio de la mag. Real del
Rey don Philippe. mo. Señor y las poblaciones q estan fundadas
de españoles y la manera del gouerno de Españoles y naturales
con algunas condiaones de los yndios y moros de estas yslas

Y Aunq. Lapinapal poblacion de españoles. En estas yslas es la ciudad
de manila y la ysla de lucon donde ella esta es la mejor y mas Rica de todo
lo descubierto y por esta causa Obieramos de tratar y comenzar a enuir
della pero por auer sido la descubierta Lapinapal q se poble y que de Alli
sea salido a conquistar todo lo de mas y tambien por auer me. V. S.
dado tan breue tiempo para hacer esta Relaçion y tener la yslas de
Laysla de cubu y de las demas sus comarcas que llaman de
los pintados. comenzar de ella q. que se prosiga despues mas largamente
en lo que toca a esta ysla de lucon y sus comarcas que por ser moros de
difícilun. algo en las condiaones y vivienda y lengua.

Y No se puede negar a ver. faltado curiosidad. en lo que a esta tierra an
pasado pias eclesiastico. ni secular. an tomado la mano para contar lo que
a acaecido. en la conquista desta tierra. y Anzi aunque en Mexico el
padre fray Alonso de Bayca. tiene hecho un gran volumen
sobre ello. tengo lo por dudoso porq yo. E. Visto. cartas suyas y Viniere
el Año pasado en este nauio. sanct. martin. por la qual le embia a pedir
certi dumbre. de cosas; acaecidas; de diez y seys Años. de esta yslas. por q
de do. de las Relaçiones que de. Aca. a an en biado y si hubiera
uicito alguno de los estantes en este Reyno. de era. de todo. Verdadera
noticia para los tiempos. Venideros. y agora con mucha dificultad se
podia poner en. orden. y sera menester mucho tiempo y por y esto y la bre
uedad. no tratare. de este particular. sino cumpliendo lo que sumag. m.
a. V. S. por su Real. cedula. asi diendo. Algunas costumbres. de los na
turales. q. que Pues. son basallor. de su mag. sepa de la barbaridad
de que los. a sacado y Lapinapal enq. agora. Viuen. con su buen gouerno

Cap. Prim. de la ysla de cubu y de las q estan en su jurisdiccion



PATRONATO 23, R. 9.

Tratado de las Yslas Philipinas, report made by Miguel de Loarca by order of the Governor, in which the territories under Spain are listed in details and their population and resources are described.

[June, 1582].

Manuscript paper.

28 pages,

28.7 x 21.6 cm.

Archivo General de Indias, PATRONATO, 23, R.9. PATRONATO, 47, R. 24 (4).

who had participated in several expeditions, including the trip to China of Fray Martin de Rada, is included. On this occasion the governor back then, Gonzalo Ronquillo, wanted to send to the Court a detailed description of the Philippines islands, just in a time in which the Spanish presence in those lands¹ was taking hold.

This interesting manuscript, intended to extol the virtues of the Philippine Islands, describes their land, crops, flora, fauna and the attitude of its inhabitants before the Spanish domination. To a large extent it was complemented by the work of another Spanish official, Antonio de Morga, who arrived to the archipelago in 1595 and compiled a lot of detailed information about its resources and the eating habits of its inhabitants, sometimes so close to the Loarca's document that it seems to be based on it.

With regard to the issue that most concerns us, Miguel de Loarca confirmed the consumption of deer, buffalo, wild boar and, above all, domestic pigs. Antonio de Morga ratified by stating that they bred many sucking pigs, whose meat was *muy gustosa y sana*. Loarca did not say anything about cows or horses, although in times of Morga they were brought from continental Asia, Spanish America or the distant Spain. There were not, however, turkeys, rabbits or geese and although both authors mention the existence of goats, they recognized that *no son de buen sabor*. Among the birds, they identified several types of pigeons, ducks and geese, some imported from China, and chickens existed in abundance, some like Spanish, other native and others brought from continental Asia, *muy sabrosas, de que se hazen hermosos capones*, as Morga apoints.

The Philippine Islands were and are rich in fish and, according Loarca, were, *after rice, the most abundant food*. Antonio de Morga stressed the existence of all kinds of fishes *de agua dulce y salada*, including sardines, sea bass, sea bream, *que llaman bacocos*, bleaks, mullet, barracudas, *tanguigues* or mackerel, sole, *plantanos*, *taraquitos*, garfish or swordfish, carp, shad, eels and many tunas, *not as big as in Spain, but of the same shape, meat and flavor*. In addition, it cites several types of seafood and shellfish and offshore, whales, sharks, dusky smooth-hound, short-fin mako shark *and others not known, of extraordinary shapes and sizes*. However, the most consumed fish, according Morga, was the *lau-lau*,[...] as little as *pejerreyes*. They were dried in the sun and air, and cooked *de muchas maneras*². *Some of the data are very illustrative because, as check other documents exposed, the lao-lao included in the supplies of vessels plying the waters of the archipelago.*

¹ The governor himself sent a report on the general state of the Philippine Islands. AGI, PHILIPPINES, 6, R.5, N.57 [1584]. The date of the manuscript of Loarca follows the content of this document and its historical context.

² A. MORGA, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, Mexico: House of Geronymo Balli, 1609, ch. VIII; critical edition of W. RETANA, Madrid: General Library Victoriano Suárez, 1909, pp. 179-180.



Tratado de las
Yslas Philipinas,
report made by Miguel de
Loarca

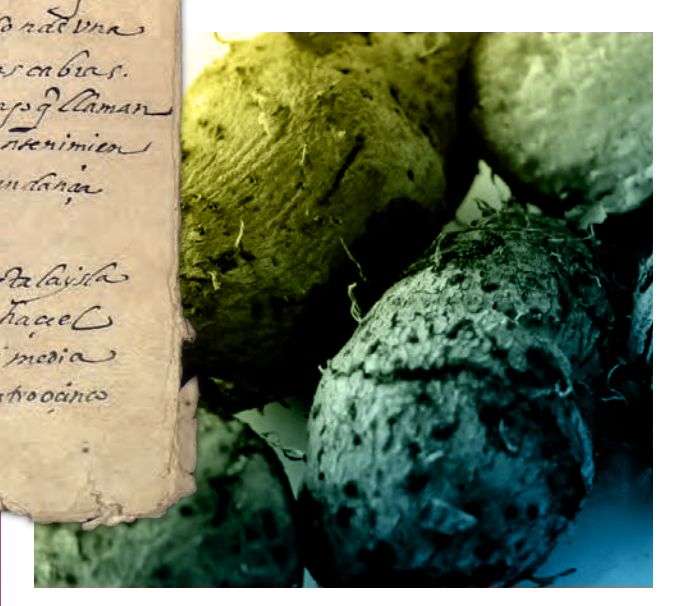


Isla Decuba. que es Capinera. donde Miguel Lopez de Legaspi. pobló
 tiene de box y circuyto. casi cien leguas. y de longitud casi cinquenta
 porques. muy angosta por las dos puntas. tenida por lo marañón y en
 se leguas la uncauca della que se llama burula. que esta a la uanda del
 norte la sotrapunta que llamamos las sobasas; que los naturales llaman. Sanbu
 an. esta a la uanda del sur. porque esta y la corre. casi norte sur. esto se
 entienda. mar en fuera. porq. esta a costa. ay enseñadas. q. corren en di feren
 tes. Run bor. esto es por. la banda donde esta la población. de cuba por la
 otra uanda. que es la uanda del norte. corre casi. los nor deste. sur su diente
 tiene toda esta isla. como tres mil y quinientos ^{yn dios} en di ferentes poblaciones
 por la mayor parte. pequeñas que por eso. no ponge sino algunas q. son las prin
 cipales. q. las de mas son. pequeñas. de ocho. o a diez casar.
 y jaw. es de un encomendero q. tiene en comienda en otra parte tiene quinientos
 y Daraguete. son de maria. de encomienda. tiene doscientos yndios
 y el penol. es de masias. de encomienda. tiene doscientos yndios
 y jaw. es de maria. de encomienda. tiene doscientos yndios
 temanduc. es de maria. de encomienda. tiene quinientos yndios
 temanduc. y en la misma prouincia de temanduc. tiene otro encomendero. setenta yndios. es de
 maria de encomienda.
 barile y el pueblo de barile. es otra encomienda. tiene quatrocientos yndios. es de maria
 de encomienda.
 burungan y el pueblo de burungan. tiene setenta yndios. es de maria de encomienda.
 candaya y la prouincia de candaya. tiene trescientos y cinquenta yndios. son de abenco
 menderos. es de maria de encomienda.
 No tiene ninguna encomienda principal. en toda ella ningun. español. aunque
 son ca torce los que tienen parte en ella. q. por ser vecinos. de la villa. de
 cuba se les dio. acada. uno. o dos. o tres. pueblecuelos. para. seruias y gallinas.
 y otras cosas. de sus dentos por tener. las encomiendas. principales. de los
 abrynta y aquarenta leguas. mas y menos. tiene al iende de los dchos. na
 turales. como. dos. tros. de Arca bu ^{de la uilla} de los españoles. que se llama la vi
 lla del. ssantissimo. nombre. de Jesus. porq. alli sea tto. un niño. Jesus.
 del tiempo de magallanes. q. los yndios. tenían. en veneracion. un
 pueblo. de los naturales. que es. de la R. Corona. q. tiene como och
 o yntos yndios. los quales. por el. adelantado. Miguel Lopez. de Legaspi

2

fueson Reservados. de tributo. por avar sido siempre. en favor de los españoles.
 y avar. ayudado. a ganar. de las otras yslas. avar. en la poblacion de los españoles.
 En esta ysla de cuba. auñgenidos. españoles. con los vecinos y solitarios. q. Acañenalli / Ay Unalcalde mayor
 las yslas. que se ^{en esta ysla de cuba.} prometido. por los gobernadores de las yslas. con cien pesos. de salario pa
 gados. de penas. de samaras y no Alcançando. en la Real hacienda
 e l Alcañde mayor. asta agora no a prometido. ningun t. heriente Ay seis
 Regidores. los quales asta agora a sido cada ñero. y Unalguacil mayor
 prometido. por los gobernadores que an sido. y esta a brenplazo. de lo que
 quitar. e y poner. lo es ofiço q. no tiene provechos. ninguno. y asi se da
 aun. encomendero. hom. bro. principal. ay dor. Alcañde no ordinario. y
 Un escriuano. de ca. bildo. y publico. que si. no fueren. encomenderos. de los
 derechos / no podian sustentarse por no auer. en aquella Villa. ningun
 comuicio. por estar. a trasmano. tiene El mejor puerto. q. sea a la d. en estas
 yslas. y por esso. pueblo. allí miguel lópez. de lozapi. el qual fundo la d. de
 Villa. año de Sesenta y quatro. con el trato. de l maluco. fuese
 amar. porq. no siendo. de aqui. no tiene rotap. de donde le venga ^{ninguna} ~~comuicio~~
 tratacion. porque su comarca. es pobre. porq. entudo. se a destruido. auñpes.
 mucho. no ay minas de oro. ni lauaderos. sino es. en la ysla. de mir dano
 como. se dize. A delante. y eso es poco en esta ysla. de cuba. se cose. poca de
 cose se yonay millo. y tiene poco Algodon. / o casi ninguno. porque la de
 paguayan. para su vestir. es sacada. de Unos platanos. y dello hacen
 ynas mantas. como bocaci de colores. q. llaman los naturales. medicina
 y en esta ysla. la que tiene a No. y Algodon. es tierra. Rica. por lo que
 vale en la nueva espanya. el algodony las mantas. la condiacion de la ysla.
 despues. de de todos los pintados. en general. porq. no ay. de na. una
 manera. tienen tambien gallinas y pueras. y algunas cabras.
 frisulas. y Unas. Rayes. como batatas. de san d. domingo q. llaman
 camotes. en esta ysla. y en otras. de mas. el principal mantenimiento
 de despues. de la No. es pescado porq. en todas. lo ay en abundancia
 y bueno (*)

ysla de
 matan.
 Al sur de la poblacion. de cuba. como dor. fies. de arcabuz. esta la ysla
 de matan. que. tiene. matan. a maga l. que. que la que hace el
 puerto. de cuba / y tiene como quatro leguas. de circuyto. y media
 legua. de ancho. ay en ella. como. trescientos. y ndos. en quatro o cinco





meses.

Yla Len
vāgancakui
vāgancanbulan
v elquilin.
vānā buyan
vcauy
v yirapun
manulubul

45
q. le llaman Yla Len. / el otro mes. le llaman. dagan cahui
ques quando desmontan. los arboles para sembrar. el otro lla
man daganen an bulan / ques quando juntan. esta madera
en las Sementeras / El otro llaman / elquilin. ques quando que
man la sementera / El otro llaman y nabuyan. que es en tiempo de
bonanzas. el otro llaman. cauy ques quando desyeruan las se
menteras. el otro llaman ~~cauy~~ yirapun. ques quando. comien
can a cojer. a Rob. a lo otro llaman. manulubul ques quando
an acabado. de cojer con los demás meses / no tienen cuenta
por que no tienen q ha ce en el campo.

Bientor. V tienen por opinion q los Bientor. se llamo llamar y juntan
se en esta Racon. q Ven yncada a la mar. primero q comien
ca a bentar

Tortugas. V Ay en esta tierra muy gran cantidad de tortugas. muy gran
des. mayores. q no a dāgar. es cosa maravillosa / que quando
se juntan. El macho con la hembra se estan veynete
y veynete yā no dia / pegados. y estan tan en bueca de
en aquel lado. q se secan los yndios. anado. en medio de la
mar. y los atan los pies. y las manos. sin q los sientan
y las sacan a tierra / y es un mi proprio me a a cecido sacre
lo

Culebras. V Ay en esta tierra. culebras grandisimas. q son ^{tan} grandes. como
palmas aunq. son bouas.

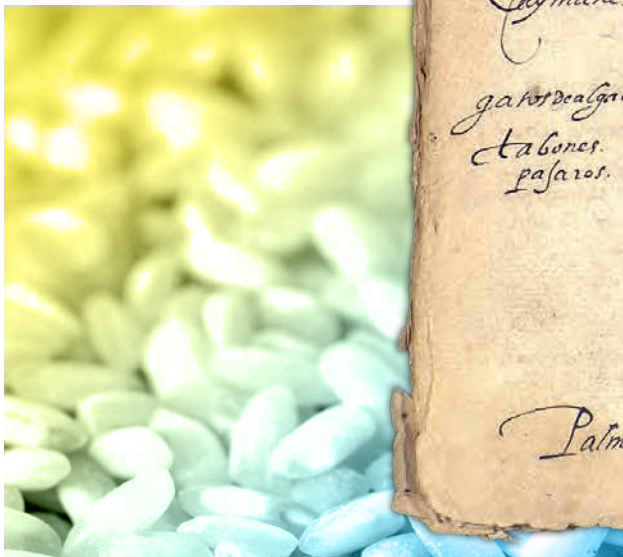
Caymanes. V Ay grandissima cantidad de caymanes. q son lagartos de
agua. en todos los Rios. y por la mar. q hace mucho de
ho

gator de algalia V En muchas yslas de esta ay gator de algalia.

Tabones. V Ay en esta tierra. Un genero de pajaro. ques menor q. Unaga lina
de castilla. y ponen unguibo. mayor q de anas. que casi el
pajaro. y el pajaro en tierra. los quebos. Una braca
de baxo de la arena / a la vera de la agua. y allí salen los
pollor. y con los pie qitros. saca a nua / vien de blanco
la arena / y en stando. a Di baluso. a l momento bu
lan.

Palmas. V En todas estas yslas ay Gran cantidad. de Palmas

Tratado de las
Yslas Philipinas,
report made by Miguel de
Loarca



decosor. allan se piedras en algunos. eses. tan grandes
como abellanas. que ellos precian. pero no se sabe hasta
hoyora la virtud q. tienen

Saca se de las palmas. gran cantidad de Vino. q. Saca
Un yndio. a la mañana de las palmas. q. beneficia. dos. a robas.
de Vino y es dulce y bueno. y de él se hace gran
cantidad de agua ardiente. hace se Vinagre bueno y buena
miel de los cocos. q. a falta de a. Rob. es buen sustento. hacen
se basos. y mucha para los arcabuces y cestos de las ojas
de suerte q. es arbol muy provechoso

Y Ay. en estas yslas. muchos puercos y buenos cabras. y gran
cantidad de bufanos. Criados q. fácilmente tomados se criados
se amansan. ay patos. y algunas ansares. traydas. de china
ay gran cantidad. de gallinas. como las de castilla. muy bue
nas. y algunas q. no tienen calor. q. tienen a busion. de no comer
las. los naturales. y son mejores. q. las otras

Y Frutas. de las q. ay. en castilla. no ay ninguna antigua. en esta
tierra. con estas tan. Vecina. de la china. no ay tantas de la
tierra propia. ay algunas y Razonables. como son muy bue
nos. platanos. nancas. q. es fruta muy olorosa. y mayor que el
mayor melon. de españa. macupar. q. son como manzanas.
San nes. q. saben. a men bülle. ay muy buenas naranjas y li
mones.

Y Ay. En la provincia. de yloros. Un arbol grande. q. Saca la
flor casi como acucana. q. tiene sabor de pescado y los yndios
la comen por la mañana. y la auen. y comen. en lugar de
pescado. y es cosa maravillosa. q. otro dia por la mañana
esta otra vez. llena de flor. y así cada dia

Y Ay. Por los montes. donde ay falta de agua. Vnos bexucos
grandes. de aseris. y ocho bracas. mas gruesos q. yndios que
gar. gruesos q. costando los. hechan de si gran cantidad de
agua. que muy buenas con q. se remedia la falta del agua.
sa le de Un bexucos. y tres. cuartillos





Food containers, cooking pots and cooking utensils of different Filipino cultures.

National Museum of the Philippines, Manila

E-Mar-0626 / E-Mar-0031 / E-Mar-0033 / E-Bis-0114 / E-Ilo-0037 / E-Gad-0030 /

E-Bon-0173 / E-Ira-0124 / E-lfu-0057



In describing the fruits and fruit trees, Loarca included coconuts, bananas, nancas, which is very fragrant and larger than the melon of Spain, macupas, which are like apples, santols, which tastes like quinces, and very good oranges and lemons. Morga, meanwhile, cites santols, mobolos, tamarinds, nancas, citrons, lemons and many oranges everywhere, of many types, big and small, sweet or bitter³. Bananas, he identified at least ten or twelve types, very healthy and tasty. On regard to foreign fruit, he noted the introduction and cultivation of pineapples, guavas and American anonas and even figs, grapes, pomegranates and European quinces, though not without difficulties.

About coconut or *palmas de cocos*, Loarca reports that the natives not only collected the fruit, which also had *honey*, but palm extracted *wine*, that is *sweet and good*, and they elaborated vinegar and *aguardiente* or liquor, that other sources called *tuba*. More detailed, Cristobal de Acosta explained the process of extraction and the processing of palm wine, obtaining *black sugar* by cooking and sun-dried freshly extracted juice, the fermentation of the juice in the sun to turn into vinegar or its distillation to obtain brandy. He exposed the different qualities of coconuts, extraction of water inside, making coconut milk from its *medulla* or as dry, obtaining oil⁴. Francisco Alzina, friar who lived in the Visayas islands in mid-17th century, learned that coconut water was obtained from the fruit when it was green and, how once has ripened, its pulp grew. Of this, conveniently shredded, coconut milk was obtained, which the Spaniards used as *almond's milk*, combined with rice and eggs and consumed by natives and foreigners. He also knew coconut oil, although not considered suitable for consumption. Instead, he recommended the coconut milk, cooked and reduced, remained oily, could be used for frying⁵.

Let's return to Loarca's document to verify that the millet was cultivated in the Philippines, especially, rice. He also identified beans, although probably meant to native species and not imported from Mexico. Alzina, more thorough, detailed the existence of white ones, similar to the Castilian beans, other introduced from China, black beans, *which are much tastier*, and *mongos*, mung beans *that are green and a little brown, like lentils*⁶.

³ Nanca, Nangka or langka, term of Malaysian origin, is also known as jaca o yaca. C. ACOSTA includes in his *Tractado de drogas* (pp. 263-266). The santol and macopa, or apple of the mountains and the Mabolo are other common fruits in the Philippines. Citron is a lemon-like citrus, apparently the first of these arrived to Europe from East, as they were already known by the Romans. Lemons and oranges, on the contrary, were introduced by the Arabs, although more as ornamental and aromatic plants as edible fruits. Food use was expanding from the fifteenth century, but did not become widespread until somewhat later, when sweeter varieties were achieved.

⁴ C. de ACOSTA, *Tratado de drogas*, ob. cit., pp. 98 – 106.

⁵ F. ALZINA, *Historia de las islas e indios Bisayas*, first part, book. I, cap. XIV; ed. Victoria Yepes, *Historia natural de las Islas Bisayas del padre Alcina*, Madrid: CSIC, 1996, pp. 90 – 96.

⁶ ALZINA, *Historia de las islas e indios Bisayas*, first part, book I, cap VII; ed. cit., p. 50.

Mangas.



De


Delas Mangas. Capitulo. XLIX.

Este arbol grande, y de mucha rama: y su fruto (al qual llaman Māgas) es comunmete poco mayor que vn huevo de anzar, puesto que en algunas partes de la India se halla fruto destes que pesa dos libras, y mas. Hallanse en muchas partes, como en el Malabar, en Guoa, en el Guzarate, en Balagate, en Bengala, en Pegun, en Malaca, y en Ormuz, en dōde son muy buenas, y en otras muchas partes de las Indias. De estas vnas son de color verde claro, otras amarillas, y otras entrecoloradas, y verdeclaras: y el arbol todo es vno. Es este fruto muy sabroso, y oloroso: y el que es bueno, excede a los buenos Melocotones. Come se hecho tajadas, cō buen cuchillo, que lo corte sin romper, remojanlo en vino, y sin el, y de toda manera se be bien. Hazen este fruto en conserua de Açucar, para lo guardar, y tambien lo abren por el medio, y lo hinchén de Cēgibre verde, de ajos, y de mostaza, y con sal, azeyte, y vinagre lo conseruan

Mango tree and comments about the same. *Tratado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias Orientales*, by Cristobal de Acosta. Zaragoza, Martin de Victoria imp., 1578, pp. 316-319.

Printed book. 255 pages, 18 x 13 cm.

Real Jardín Botánico, Madrid, Biblioteca, Sign. A ACO.



Loarca barely mentions the vegetables and he does not even quote ginger, although we know from Morga they were abounded and eaten green, pickled and preserved in brine. However, what drew their attention were some roots like *bata-tas* from *Santo Domingo*, that they called *camotes*. Maybe they were the roots similar to turnips that Pigafetta cites in his account, though of course, Loarca was much more successful. This was confirmed by Alzina, who acknowledged that yams, white or orange and something sweet, were brought from New Spain. The latter author analysed the different existing tubers in the central islands of the Philippine archipelago⁷ and gave them the generic name *gabi*. There were, according to him, more than seventy terms and as many varieties and white, yellow, light green or purple colours, probable allusion to ube. Moreover, it reminds us that the Spaniards became addicted to consumption, cooking them, kneading his flesh with egg and then frying them, as if they were *buñuelos*.

Contemporary to Miguel de Loarca was Cristobal de Acosta, who is known by the publication of his *Tratado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias Orientales*. He was a doctor and naturalist of uncertain origin, because although born in one of the Portuguese possessions in North Africa, seems that he was of Jewish and Spanish origin. Regardless, he travelled twice to the Portuguese colonies in India, in the second accompanying his viceroy, that commissioned him to direct the Cochin hospital. In 1572 he returned to the Iberian Peninsula treasuring botanical and pharmacological knowledge, which enabled him to practice medicine until 1587. It was then when he published his book, in which he turned his experiences.

Although it does not seem that he reached the Philippines, Acosta brings news that suggests knowledge of remote regions. Not surprisingly, when he was in India the Spaniards had already begun the colonization of the Philippines and the Portuguese had expanded to the Moluccas islands and China. Highlights include the pages dedicated to cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmeg and other spices, or the information provided coconuts or tamarind, although for this exhibition texts and drawings of the mango have been selected and pineapple.

Thus, about the *mangas* he says pleased that they *taste good in every way*, but seems to prefer fresh and sliced, alone or soaked in wine. He also cites that they are canned in brine and sugar or some Indians ate stuffed green ginger, garlic, mustard, salt, oil and vinegar. In this connection, it is symptomatic that neither Loarca nor Morga cited the existence of mangoes in the Philippines. Only the second mentioned the *Pahos*, a native variety that has nothing to do with the Indian mangoes. Blas de la Madre de Dios, in his *Libro de medicinas caseras* published in Manila in 1611, did not include this fruit, so it's likely that his introduction and spread by the Philippine archipelago should occur throughout the seventeenth

⁷ ALZINA, *Historia de las islas e indios Bisayas*, first part, book I, cap VIII; ed. cit., pp. 53-55.



Pineapple plant and comments about the same. *Tratado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias Orientales*, by Cristobal de Acosta. Zaragoza, Martin de Victoria imp., 1578, pp. 349-350

Printed book. 255 pages, 18 x 13 cm.

Real Jardín Botánico, Madrid, Biblioteca, Sign. A ACO.

centuries⁸. In fact, a few decades later, *mangas* were grown in the Visayas Islands, as Alzina⁹ refers to us.

Regarding pineapples, Acosta assumed their origin to be Brazil, but realized their proliferation in the new lands of adoption, highlighting their smell, juicy consistency and mild flavour. Hispanic chroniclers noted shipment to the Iberian Peninsula at early date, so they could reach India led by the Portuguese, like other American products. Already in 1519 Magellan's expedition was provisioned in the Brazilian coast of a *kind of fruit similar to the fruit of the pine, but that is sweet in extreme and exquisite taste*¹⁰. The example could imitate later expeditions, such as Garci Jofre de Loaisa, so it is possible that the Spaniards introduced the pineapple in the Philippines while the Portuguese spread it for their colonies. Of course, Alzina identifies and describes them, noting that there was a local variety called *pandan*, different to edible fruit and a colour between yellow and red, fragrant, sweet and tasty¹¹. The exoticism observed in the East did not annul the European perception of a simple cookery, of which rice was the bread of the land, as recognized Juan Bautista Roman¹² or Miguel de Loarca himself, who reminds us in his manuscript that in these islands the main food was the rice. Its similarity with cooked rice which Spaniards were accustomed led them to denominate *morisqueta*, allusive Hispanic Muslims, the *moriscos*. Such success had this lexical assimilation that centuries later Jose Rizal still identified in his *Noli Me Tangere* with the usual food of the Filipino natives, but in the 20th century this term fell into disuse.

A MEETING SPACE

The warehouses of the major Philippine ports had to be well supplied, as should ensure the provisioning of ships. To do this, the royal officers not only received, counted and guarded the food sent from Spain or Mexico, but they completed it with food obtained in the colony, although the Philippine weather made difficult the introduction of crops such as wheat, olives, grapes and other commodities for Spanish cuisine. The consequent reliance on shipments from Acapulco and the high cost of those imported from Asia promoted their approach to local food, which were gradually tasted.

In September 1574 the situation was difficult. The 250 Spaniards settled in the city struggled to secure control of Manila and its surrounding area, for which was

⁸ I owe this reference and reflection to the invaluable assistance and advice of Felice Prudente Santamaria.

⁹ ALZINA, *Historia de las islas e indios Bisayas*, first part, book. I, cap. XII; ed. cit., p. 79.

¹⁰ PIGAFETTA, *Primer viaje en torno del globo*, book. I, ed. cit., p.45.

¹¹ ALZINA, *Historia de las islas e indios Bisayas*, first part, book. I, cap. X; ed. cit., p. 70.

¹² Letter of Juan Bautista Roman, factor of the Philippine Islands, to King Philip II, by reporting the current situation of the colony and the income of the exchequer. Manila, June 22, 1582. AGI, FILIPINAS, 27, N.14.



Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica de las Yslas Filipinas, map of the Philippine Islands carried out by Pedro Murillo Velarde and drawn up by Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay. 1734.
 Manuscript paper; ink drawing. 1 page, 55.6 x 37.8 cm.
 Archivo General de Indias, Seville, MP-FILIPINAS, 299.

supported by some native and a tiny Chinese population. Neither was there safety for the situation of the enclaves of Cebu, Camarines and Ilocos, which barely amounted to two hundred Spaniards, with the aggravating circumstance that the *Encomienda* system imposed to the natives, begun three years earlier by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, had led many abuses, aroused the criticism from clergy and provoked indigenous uprisings.

In this context, the governor Guido de Lavezaris ordered his officers to supply the city of Manila and vessels set sail toward the distant New Spain, turning to Filipino leaders to purchase supplies and hire hand working. So it was reflected in the accounts of the Treasury's Office of Manila: *Amaja Desi*, leader of the village of *Parañaque*, received a lot of gold by the work of a house for kitchen in the port of Cavite, *Apani Magino*, leader of the village of *Bacoot*, was paid for doing the *aguada*, that is, by supplying water for ships; *Asima Talap*, leader of the village of *Binacaya*, received six gold pesos for six *bufanos*, or carabaoes, that were shipped on Spanish vessels, and *Sinimadat Lamageteta y Amanica Pinpín*, leaders of the village of *Cavit*, earned sixteen gold pesos for other many carabaoes as well as other sixteen pesos for ten ropes of *bexucos*, plant that would serve to prepare the ships and *birococ*s of the Spaniards. As fate would have it, these sales were dealt just two months before the attack of pirate Limahon -Lim Hong- who attacked these native populations to be able to reach Manila.

Regardless of these events, this is just an example of business undertaken to supply the royal holds, where the salted meat and native rice shared stays with flour brought from the Asian continent and wine, oil or vinegar from Acapulco.

At first the Spaniards must have shown reluctance to some of the native foods. Loarca, for example, rejected the consumption of native goats, however, several decades later Alzina still recognized their abundance and consumption. However, the need should force to overcome their prejudices. We have already cited the case of carabaoes acquired in 1574. In the same year the crew of three *barangays* – local ships – stocked with rice, pigs, chickens and *panes de sal*, and the ship San Juan loaded with two pipes of brandy and 40,000 sardines, which would serve them as food in their return voyage to New Spain¹³. In 1576, the galleon San Felipe was supplied with 77 carabaoes and 20,000 chelons *bought to the indians* of Cavite, plus beans, salt, 20 jars of *liquor of the land* and a pipe of *vinegar of the land*, although they did not forget how appreciated was the *wine of Castile*¹⁴. Unfortunately, it never reached its destination, as it sank when it skirted the coast of Baja California.

¹³ *Cuentas de la Real Hacienda de Manila*. AGI, CONTADURIA, 1199B, N.1, fols. 105, 173 – 174. Probably this reference *panes de sal* does not refer pieces of bread, but salt clods or slabs similar size to those used to transport the wax, also called *panes de cera*. Regarding the galleon San Juan, he arrived safely to Acapulco and resumed the journey to Manila. In 1575 he returned to Acapulco, but this time he disappeared during the trip.

¹⁴ *Cuentas de la Real Hacienda de Manila*. AGI, CONTADURIA, 1200, fols. 127, 137 v., 138 r., 169 v. – 173 v.



Purchase of carabaos from various native Filipino leaders of Parañaque, Bacoor, Binakayan and Cavite, to supply the the royal warehouses in Manila, 24th September, 1574. Manuscript paper. 1 page, 31.5 x 22.3 cm. Archivo General de Indias, CONTADURÍA, 1199B, N.1, fol. 75v - 76r.



Demij hombre en Manila Abeyate. y quatro de
 setiembre. de muel y que yntento. y quatro años
 festigos. Anton. granado. Juan. bueno y
 bastian. garsia, fu de alvarado anemj. diez
 laenul e caribano Pu

de Jimos. nos pido de hincal. y quatro de
 ciudad de Manila. del caloe mago del pueblo
 de cabit. Baltasar bus tamante. y persona que
 por mandado del seño gobernador y comision de
 los señores oficiales. desumay. fuimos ala
 cabriana. de los pueblos de marit. de angulo ya
 ranague. Bacoor y bira caya. cabit. que son
 onesta. baya de Manila. que recibimos del
 señores oficiales. de la real. fabrica de
 su may. de muel. y hincal. pesos. y quatro tomj
 nes. de por comur. En esta manera y palato
 contenido En las partidas que se yntaban
 declarada.

primera mente. y por los señores
 que por mandado de hincal. ya
 como a maya dahi. y hincal del
 pueblo de paranaq. y unacasa
 quos. de paracura. En el pueblo de
 cabit

y ten nes. y yntento. que a hincal
 como a maya dahi. y hincal del
 pueblo de paranaq. y unacasa
 quos. de paracura. En el pueblo de
 cabit

y unsi val. del pueblo de abao ot por
 quin de ndios. que dio para saber la
 aguada. Oltia para los nabios que
 este presente año fue ala nueva ce
 vana.

76

vijs vi + 2

y ten diez. Pesos. que a si mismo xaga
 mos. A simatalap. y unsi pal. del pu
 de biracaya por seis buffanos que
 dio. para mata lo tte pe) de la gente
 que fue En los diez nabios. que
 fueron la nueva. Es para

vi ps

y ten diez. Pesos. que a si mismo
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 samanica Linpin y unsi valeo
 del pueblo de cabit por diez y seis
 buffanos que dio. para los diez
 nabios

x vi ps

y ten diez. Pesos. y quatro f
 que a si mismo pagamos. Los diez
 y unsi valeo de cabit por diez y
 cable. de los queos que se dio para
 a los nabios. y biraos de suma

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y ten mas de to mone que a si mismo
 pagamos a maliguas y ndio de cabit por diez
 tablas. que dio. Al nabio. eoxiritulani

ps 4 + 2



D. S. futor de
su cargo de

N^o 17

A. N. D. Limpio

36

Cargo



Este de cargo
de tres mil y novecientos
y sesenta y cinco fanegas
cuarenta y cinco de la Real Limpio quando se tiempo
después de lo comprado de diversas personas para proveer
mi. de la Real Caxa de la Real Caxa de
las tres de Paradas de la Real Caxa de
genes y Recaudos como seitan

uy Uccce lx y 28 g^o

Datta



Rescien se leen data quatro mil y ciento
y dos fanegas de veinte y cinco libras que
paxera a ser consumida y saltado por menudo
en las Naciones Ordinarias de gente de mar de los
cuatro y tres personas desde el primer de Julio de la
Real Caxa de noventa y cuatro que como nueva se han
sus offi. saltado nueve de mayo de quinientos
y veinte y seis que fue el temido de los como se
de la Real Caxa de los libros de genes y de los de
caudales como seitan

uy Uc lx y 28 g^o

y en manera q. a la Real Caxa
de S. futor en tanto no ventan
y de fanegas y doce ganias de
de la Real Caxa de

a. g. ee futor

C XC y 12 g^o



CONTADURIA, 1203

Accounts of the purchase and distribution of milled rice by the royal warehouses in Manila. 1595.

Manuscript paper. 1 page, 30.3 x 21.1 cm. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, CONTADURIA, 1203.



Five years later another galleon, the *Nuestra Señora de la Cinta*, made the first trip between the Philippines and Peru, carrying in its holds pepper, cinnamon and cloves plus Chinese porcelains and silks, metals and other commodities. Also 18 pipes of liquor, 50.000 chelons, 9 sardines pipes, 10 pounds of salted fish and 90 pounds of *carne de çeçina de búfano*, that is, carabao's meat, salted and dried by native people of Cavite¹⁵, were loaded. This trend continued, given that late-17th century mongos, tuba vinegar, dried fish, shrimp and *tollos*, destined for the most part to the galleon's wineries, were stocked into the Royal Warehouse in Manila. However, as mentioned was the most demanded product, the staple food was rice. Spanish authorities settled in Manila, stocked the necessary products for the maintenance of the colony and, more importantly, to fill the ships departing to Mexico. The accounts of the Treasury's Office of Manila note the purchase of rice from the early days of the colony, and in the 1580s came to gather up 20,000 bushels annually - more than 3,000 tonnes¹⁶.

Although rice was not the only existing cereal, given that millet was cultivated and wheat was imported from the continental shores, it became the flagship product. If necessary, it was bought, although it was common for natives pay their taxes with rice, chickens and other groceries. The account of the Treasury's Office of Manila give us a true reflection of this reality, as their official wrote down the bushels of rice acquired and its redistribution between the Spanish community and dependent natives people, as well as items of beans, chickens or *puercos en pie*, that is live pigs. The wine or flour received from New Spain¹⁷ was also rationed. In 1595 the officers of the Royal Warehouse recorded the acquisition of chickens, hemp seeds, hams, wheat flour and, course, rice. This cereal was such high demand that *arroz limpio*, as shown the document above, was distinguished from *arroz con cáscara*, expressions referring to rice in shell or peeled and clean that found their native counterpart in the terms *pinagua* and *palay*, allusive of these same characteristics.

The oil was and is an essential element in Spanish gastronomy and as witnessed, for example, the accounts of Magellan's expedition, which after enumerating all the load remembered that bread, oil and wine was *lo principal que ha menester*. The problem was that neither in the Philippines nor South-east Asia was there any olive oil was produced. There were other oils, such as palm or coconut, soy bean or sesame - Spanish *ajonjoli*-, but it should not be to the liking of the Europeans. We know Spanish acquired native coconut oil or sesame, although not used for cooking, but for the manufacture of pitch and caulking of vessels, so that also destined fish oil¹⁸.

¹⁵ *Cuentas de la Real Hacienda de Manila*. AGI, CONTADURIA, 1200, fols. 752 v., 759 v. - 761 r.

¹⁶ Letter of Juan Bautista Roman, factor of the Philippine Islands, to King Philip II, by reporting the current situation of the colony and the incomes of the Royal Exchequer of Manila, June 22, 1582. AGI, FILIPINAS, 27, N.14.

¹⁷ AGI, CONTADURIA, 1200, fols. 384 r., 1007 v., 1008 r. y 1033 r.

¹⁸ *Cuentas de la Real Hacienda de Manila*. AGI, CONTADURIA, 1200, fols. 126 y 168.



Al Obispo de Zebu.

Señor.

Informa à Nuestra Magestad, sobre la costumbre, que hà hãvido en estas Islas Philipinas de vsar de la manteca de el puexco, y comer lactisninos en los dias de ayuno, así en los Ecclesiasticos como Seculares.

En estas Islas Philipinas por àver escasas, y carestia de aseyte de Olivos que llamamos acà aseyte de Castilla, para el guiso de las Viandas, siempre se hà practicado vsar de la manteca de el puexco, como tambien hà sido costumbre legitimamente introducida y racional comer lactisninos en los dias en que hà obligado todos el ayuno, así por la debilidad de los habitadores de ellas, como por los alimentos poco substanciosos de que se mantienen, no solo los Indios, sino tambien los Ecclesiasticos y Seculares. Esto es quanto puedo responder à la pregunta que Nuestra Magestad me haze.

Dios guarde la importante vida de Nuestra Magestad por dilatados años, con aumento de nuestros Dominios para mayor exaltacion de nuestra Santa fce Catholica en ellos.

Zebu y Febrero 25 de 1767.

Señor

Mi Obispo de Zebu



FILIPINAS, 616, N. 22

Letter from the Bishop of Cebu, in which the practice of using lard in the Philippines instead of oil is described. February 25th, 1767, Manila.

Manuscript paper.

1 page,

32.2 x 20.5 cm.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville,

FILIPINAS, 616, N.22.



By contrast, the colonists were more than accustomed to lard, common among the natives. The cookbooks of the 16th and 17th centuries show use in stir fries, stews and roasts or as method of preservation, a custom that justified the abundance of bacon and butter in the supplies of the galleons. The problem was that the ecclesiastical rules restricted egg consumption, animal fats and dairy in dates of abstinence from meat, which sharpened dependency on *oil from Castile*. This made the acculturation of Philippine native communities difficult, especially those not accustomed to vegetable oils and with limited resources. This is attested in the document above, in which Miguel de Ezpeleta, Bishop of Cebu, who was lenient with Christians of his jurisdiction *for the little substantial foods they feed on*. Therefore the prelate brokered on behalf of his parishioners and justified before the king, probably citing the bull of January 21st, 1762, by which Pope Clement XIII relieved the abstinence of eggs, butter and dairy for justified reasons.

The lacking of wheat was another concern for the Spanish authorities. Not only for affecting food uses and customs, but the normal development of Christian practices as the *harina de flor de trigo*, that is, very fine flour was necessary for the service. The Royal Warehouse in Manila was supplied with the flour brought by the galleons and it was carefully administered. Already in 1573, a *barrel of flour from New Spain that came in the nao San Phelipe* was shared among religious based in Manila, whose fate was to *make hosts for the Mass*, but it had a more conventional use, as the same galleon carried clean rice, pigs, chickens and salt, obtained from native populations of Ibalon.¹⁹

Since the beginning it was supplied with imports from China, Cambodia and Siam, although this increased prices, sometimes so exorbitantly that it becomes an unavailable food. This was acknowledged by Luis Pineda, sergeant and mayor of the province of Bay, which detailed all these circumstances in 1678. Not only concerned about the celebration of Mass, but the supply of the ships that were leaving for Acapulco, as with flour wheat biscuits were concocted. In fact, this official tells how sometimes had stock on *zoquetes that are called potos in these islands, made of rice flour*. This reference, negative from the Hispanic perspective enriches the information available on the Philippine food and, in fact, brings us closer to development of a mixed cuisine.

The document exhibited not only attests these circumstances, but the cultivation of wheat around lagoon Bay, success of Luis Pineda. This was the initial response to the insistence of the Spanish authorities to achieve and cultivate such an essential cereal. It never outdid the production and consumption of rice, essential for the Spanish-Filipino cookery or eliminated import wheat, as Pineda want us believe, but reduced the dependence of the continental production. Of course, it changed the face of the landscape of the region of Batangas, now that for more

¹⁹ AGI, CONTADURIA, 1199B, fols. 89 r. y 173 v.



Así como de todos los Señores de
esta Republica, lo que mas es el no haver
la Necesidad que Muchas Veces Vbo de saltar
Carina para hazer las Siyas para el Vanto
Sacafios de la Arina, llegando a tal Care-
tia que se vendia el pico de trigo, (que es
de cinco amobas) a Treinta, quarenta, y Cin-
quenta pesos de ocho Reales, y aun de can-
vbo, en que acienta, y muchas en que no se
hallaba esperándose con singular ansia, a
que llega sen Los champanes del Reyno de
China de donde se conducia, subiendo a
que porno aver llegado a tiempo, ni a
ver trigo para hacer el biscocho para la gente
de mar de la nao, que en esta Orlas del
de spacha al Puerto de Macapulco, por
del socorro ordinario se vedu el ba-
mento de la gente de mar de dha Carina
a hazer de unos zoquetes y en esta
Orlas llaman Potos de charna de cany y en
muy pocas veces se pararon obligando a aribar
el Galeon con gran desconfuelo de toda la
Republica, como subiedo en el Govierno
del Sr. Don Fabianiano Manrique de Lara
y despues se por el Sr. Don Diego

La Acedo Rendo Governador, Cap.
general de esta Orlas, se me con-
comendo la diligencia de que en la
Provincia de Bay, donde a la sazón
estauyo exerciendo el officio de
Alcalde mayor y Capitan aguento de la
Politicane dha Siembra de trigo, puse
en su execucion tanto cuidado y di-
ligencia que tubo tal efecto que embre
Vbo abundancia de trigo, y al
exemplo de mi suidado, a buida
y celo que puse en el Real Servicio
de las demas Provincias Comarcas fueron
poniendo por obra hazer asi mismo
Siembra de trigo, y leay depe en
toncei en la Orlas con tanta abun-
dancia, que a siete y ocho Reales
se compra el pico de trigo, y quando
mas caro a dos pesos, y en mi tiempo
se uso en toda esta Orlas de
macenas, con que en esta parte de
necesidad la Republica de aguardar
Bafetes de fuera para tener trigo.

Account given by Sergeant Major Luis de Pineda Matienzo Cordero de Nevarés, Ordinary Mayor of Manila, about how he became the first to update the planting and harvesting of wheat in the Philippines when he was Mayor of the province of Bay. June 12th, 1678.

Official copy. Manuscript paper. 26 pages, 31 x 22 cm.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, FILIPINAS, 193, N.20

than a century later still their crops of wheat could be seen. In fact, it was the only exception noted by Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga in his journey through the Philippine archipelago.²⁰

The city of Manila extended its influence into the surrounding areas, although most of the Hispanic community was concentrated in the capital. Outside were the villages, where some settlers, missionaries and soldiers coexisted with the natives. This population pattern was repeated in enclaves like Cavite, which soon acquired great prominence in trade and transoceanic navigation. The plane exposed above illustrates the spatial arrangement, enhanced by the realism of its drawings. It was drawn by Juan Somodevilla, architect at the service of the Spanish Crown in America and the Philippines, who sent him to the court by letter dated February 12th, 1663.

The fort, the walls and the village of Cavite, which stand out for their Spanish style, are opposed by the rural populations of its surroundings, such as San Roque, Cavite Viejo or Estanjuela, where predominate traditional Filipino houses and some crops around. The ever present danger of enemy attacks haunted the Spanish and advised an improvement of the defences of Cavite, a project that gave rise to this draw²¹.

The increase in population, the booming trade with South-east Asia and the need to improve the self-sufficiency of the colony tipped the balance in favour of oriented regional consumption and export agriculture. In this sense, the interest of the Spanish authorities to increase revenues from the marketing of some products led them to promote certain crops. This is the case of the coconut trees. European chroniclers and scientists noted their nutritional use by natives, as exemplified the texts cited Loarca, Alzina, Morga or Acosta. They include consumption of coconuts, used by its liquid and pulp, the manufacture of liquor from its sap or textile use of its fibre, useful for making twine and thread.

However, the Spaniards settled in the Philippines focused intensely on liquor palm and *copra*, the oil obtained from its pulp, suitably dried, boiled and squeezed. As already mentioned, they used to manufacture tar to caulk boats, although initially they simply bought it to the natives. The regularization of ocean travel demanded a greater amount of oil, which would increase the interest of the colony for its cultivation.

²⁰ Joaquín MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas, o mis viajes por este país...* 1804. Ed. W. E. RETANA, Madrid: Imp. de la viuda de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1893. Several are the news that he brings about wheat production, but mainly highlights developed in the province of Batangas and neighboring areas. See lib. I, chap. III, pp. 59, 68-69. Hispanic Digital Library.

²¹ This map, along with other later that reproduce the same design and illustrations, are part of a dossier on proposed improvements in Cavite defenses. AGI, FILIPINAS, 9, R.2, N.34.

... de la ...
A primera mente ...
que vos mandado de
... a a maya dahi.
... de baranaq
... para ...
cabit
... ten ...



Juan Somodevilla. Plano de la ensenada y plaza de Cavite con sus fortificaciones y las cercanías de la misma, donde se localizan los pueblos de San Roque, Cavite el Viejo y la Estanjuela y las bocas de los ríos Binacayán, Bacoor y Cavite el Viejo. 1662.

Manuscript paper; ink drawing, colours.

1 page, 59.3 x 168 cm.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville,
MP-FILIPINAS, 8.



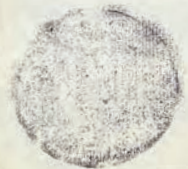
X * X

DON PEDRO MANVEL DE ARANDIA , Y SANTESTEVAN, CAVALLERO PROFESSO DEL Orden de Calatrava, Gentil-Hombre de Camara de Entrada del Rey de las dos Sicilias, Mariscal de Campo de los Exercitos de su Magestad, y de su Consejo, Capitan del Regimiento de sus Reales Guardias de Infanteria Española , Governador, y Capitan General de estas Islas Philipinas, y Pelicente de su Real Audiencia, &c.



SIENDO VNO DE LOS MAS PRINCIPALES ENCARGOS DEL GOBIERNO, SOLISITAR POR quantos medios se consideren proporcionados à conseguir el fin de que abunden todos los frutos necessarios, y utiles para la subsistencia, y comodidad de los Naturales, y residentes en todo el distrito de esta Governacion. Hè reconocido con todo el sentimiento natural, à quien desea el mayor alivio, y beneficio del publico, que siendo como es la tierra de estas Islas, tan pingue, y fertil no solo para abastecer con mucha abundancia à los que la havitan, sino para comunicar à los Estrangeros, en cambio de Ropas, y otras cosas de comodidad, muchos de sus frutos, son estos tan pocos, que para lo muy preciso se logran à excedivos precios, sin que de tan grave daño se reconozca otra causa, que la natural desidia, y petteza de los Naturales. Por tanto ordeno, y mando, à todos los hombres tributantes de los Pueblos, y Provincias de estas Islas, que cada vno haya de sembrar, ò plantar en cada vn año à lo menos diez plantas de arboles de Cacao, en los lugares, y sitios, que sean apropiato para este fruto, ò de Coco, ò de Bonga, ò diez pies de Plimias; desuerte, que al fin de cada año haya de manifestar al juez, à cuyo cargo estè la villa, y hacer cumplir esta Orden, diez pies de dichas plantas, que hayan echado sayzes, so pena, que al hombre tributante, que se hallasse haver faltado à esta Orden por culpa, ò omision al tiempo que el Alcalde mayor haga la visita annual en el Pueblo, le hará dar por la primera vez 25 azotes, si fuere timagua, y por la segunda 50. y si principal por la primera vez 15 dias de Carcel, y por la segunda 30. sin embargo, que haya de ser tambien cargo del Governadorcillo si hallasse el Alcalde mayor, que no hà compelido à los tributantes: al cumplimiento de la referida Orden, que como tan vil à ellos mismos, y à la causa publica se hà de guardar, desuerte, que se hará cargo en la Residencia para los dichos Alcaldes mayores, y Governadorcillos, qualquiera omision, que se justifique, y serán castigados por ella. Y porque segun la calidad del terreno de cada Pueblo, y comodidad de tierra, que cada tributante tenga se hà de entender la referida Orden, se comete à dichos Corregidores, y Alcaldes mayores, que cada vno en su distrito con comunicacion del Ministro Doctrinero, y principales de cada Pueblo arregle la calidad de plantas, y numero, que en cada vn año se han de verificar arraygadas, conforme à la distribucion, que se haga à cada Tributante. Y si alguno no tubiesse tierra propria, y los hubiesse valdia, y realenga en los terminos del Pueblo, se asignará la competente para el referido fin, con dicha comunicacion de Doctrinero, y principales, y en la misma conformidad arreglarán dichos Alcaldes mayores la forma en que se han de entender dichas plantas en las tierras, y haciendas de particulares, ò Comunidades; de forma que, ò el dueño de la hacienda hà de cumplir con dar presas dichas plantas cada año, al respecto de nombres tributantes, que residan en ella, ò se hà de componer con los Inquilinos para que ellos lo cumplan. Y para que vengas à noticia de todos, y nadie alegue ignorancia, los referidos Corregidores, y Alcaldes mayores harán publicar esta Ordenanza en cada Pueblo de su jurisdiction en la lengua del País, y concluyda la visita annual, que cada año han de hacer de los Pueblos de su Provincia avisarán à este Gobierno, si se hà cumplido con esta Orden, y en que forma, ò la causa porque no se hà executado. Y al tiempo de sus residencias han de presentar justificacion certificada de los Doctrineros del numero, y especie de plantas, que en cada Pueblo de su Provincia hayan dejado aumentadas en el tiempo que esfuvo à su cargo. Y para su inteligencia se remitirán à las Provincias Testimonios de esta providencia. Dado en el Real Palacio de Manila à doce de Septiembre de mil setecientos cinquenta y cinco años.

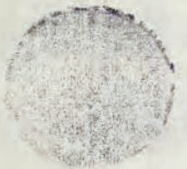
SELO QUINTO
ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS
CONVENTO DE S. DOMINGO



F.

Jup
J. Ledro Manuel
de Arandia

SELO QUINTO
ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS
CONVENTO DE S. DOMINGO



FILIPINAS, 160, N. 23

Edict of the Captain General of the Philippine Islands to promote the growing of cocoa, coconuts, beetle nut and pepper. September 12th 1755, Manila. Leaflet.

Printed paper. 1 page, 41.7 x 30.7 cm.
Archivo General de Indias, Seville, FILIPINAS, 160, N.23

Regarding the liquor palm, the source defined as the *liquor of the land* or *tuba*, was a very popular alcoholic beverage among Filipino natives and, in general, in all regions where it grew. Its commercialization grew at pace with demand and, in fact, the Manila galleons stocked *tuba* wine and vinegar regularly. During the 17th and 18th centuries the cultivation of coconut trees with such purposes expanded, not only in the Philippines but in New Spain, where some Spanish and Chinese settled in the region of Colima catered to produce wine and vinegar.

For all this, it is understandable that Pedro Manuel de Arandia, governor of the Philippines in 1755, enacted this side, by forcing all farmers to plant annually ten coconut trees, bonga trees or cocoa trees, or ten feet pepper. The aim was not to seize its production but increase it, without giving up the benefits derived from taxes levied marketing.

The *bonga* or areca was cultivated not only for their food benefits, but because of its economic performance. Its fruit, with stimulant properties, was combined with betel leaf to make the *buyo*, which was chewed by Filipino natives and generally consumed throughout South-east Asia. Not surprisingly, the Spanish authorities sought profit through increased production and collection of special incomes from its commercialization, as with the tobacco.

There is more interest in another two crops. If pepper failed met the expectations, cocoa was more successful. The consumption of chocolate, initially limited to the ruling elite, expanded in the 18th century to other countries and social sectors, becoming analysed by scientific expeditions organized during this century. This is evidenced by the exhibited example, from the collection of drawings carried under the supervision of José Celestino Mutis, Spanish scientist who undertook the study of flora, fauna other and natural resources of the New Kingdom of Granada. Cocoa had attracted the attention of Europe since it was discovered. Linnaeus gave the scientific name *Theobroma*, or *food of the gods*, assuming the ancient Aztec traditions, but what was in the best interest to them was its potential medicinal qualities and its commercial exploitation.

The work of Celestino Mutis began shortly after arriving at the territory which is now Colombia today, although they did not have royal approval until 1783. It was by then that he received authorizations and relevant funding, enjoying the recognition of the scientific community of the moment, national and international. He always emphasized profitable botanical and mineral resources of the New Kingdom of Granada, both from a medical point of view as well as a business one. Being imbued the Enlightenment; it was not intended exclusively for economic benefits, but the scientific and intellectual development of society. Convinced of the reformist ideas of the time, he identified with the liberal movements that were rising in the colony, to the point of preferring that the result of his studies remained in the new scientific institutions that had helped to found. At his death, in 1808, he had barely sent their research results, although subsequent circumstances dis-

**Drawing of the
mango tree
and its fruit.
Juan de Cuellar
expedition.
[ca.1789].**

Manuscript
paper; ink
drawing, colours.
Real Jardín
Botánico, Madrid,
Fondo "Juan de
Cuellar", Div. X
Lam. 3 [Nº 3]



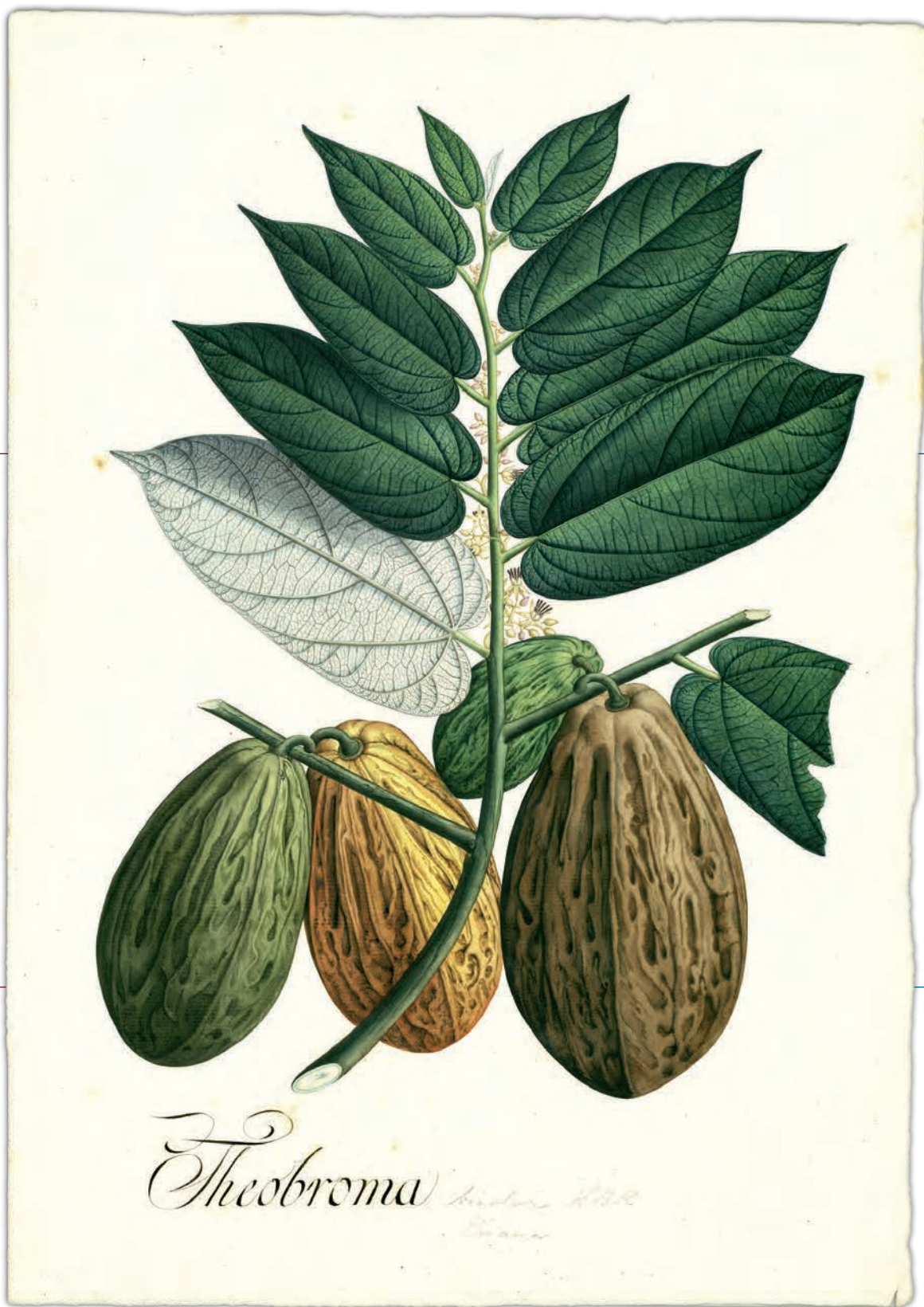
obeyed his will. Early independence of the New Kingdom of Granada was rejected by Spain, who sent an army of occupation in 1817. The general Pablo Morillo came to occupy Santa Fe de Bogota and, when confronted with the collection formed by Celestino Mutis, he commandeered much of the material and sent it to the Royal Botanic Gardens, where it is kept.

The scientific awakening arrived in the Philippines in 1786 with Juan de Cuellar. He reached the archipelago serving the Royal Botanic Gardens to collect *plants and precious objects* destined to the Cabinet of Natural History, although its mission responded to the interest of the Royal Company of the Philippines for knowing and exploit the resources of the colony. He devoted himself at first to visit the surrounding region of Manila and analyze the results of crops of indigo, black pepper, cotton, mulberries and cocoa, until in 1789 he was able to expand its scope to the province of Bataan. As result, he organized several shipments of minerals, timber, seeds, drawings and even some live plants, useful from a scientific point of view, but uneconomical from a commercial perspective. Therefore, he reoriented his work towards promoting the cultivation of cinnamon and nutmeg, initially rooted in some farms. His efforts were in vain, for the expected results were not obtained, partly because the limited holdings, partly because of the poor quality of the product. In addition, the decline of The Royal Company of the Philippines forced the dismissal of employees within Manila in 1795, including Juan de Cuellar. After failing in his attempt to create a botanical garden in Malate and losing his job, he could stay in the Philippines thanks to the completion of several works, until his death in 1801.

Returning to cocoa, the most famous was the *cacao de Maracaibo* originating the north of Colombia and Venezuela today, the same who carried the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Begoña* in 1714, although its production spread across many other regions. So this vessel's record distinguished between it and *cacao de costa*, typical of New Spain and most affordable price.

Cocoa was marketed raw or already developed. The process required roasting almonds or seeds, then grinding them into a powder that was thickened with some flour, sweetened with sugar and seasoned with cinnamon, cloves and vanilla. The mixture thus obtained was introduced into moulds and allowed to cool. This is exemplified by the case of Admiral Gabriel Curucelagui, who kept in the pantry of his home in Manila several jars or Chinese vases, some with the cap and closure, which kept *cocoa de la costa*, vanilla and *ladrillos* and *cajetas* of chocolate²². Tablets or small boxes of chocolate facilitated its distribution and consumption, as it only needed to be shredded and introduced into boiling water, needing a first beaten, some rest and a final shake, a process that was made in *chocolateras* of metal

²² Inventory of goods Admiral Gabriel Curucelagui, "*almirante de galeones*". Manila, May 22nd and June 12th, 1696. AGI, FILIPINAS, 26, R.5, N.19.



**Drawing of
the cocoa tree
and its fruits,
or *Theobroma
sterculiaceae***

Manuscript
paper; ink
drawing, colours.
Real Jardín
Botánico, Madrid,
Fondo "Real
Expedición
Botánica del
Nuevo Reino de
Granada", DIV. III,
A-2177



that came equipped with a stick or grinder. Milk was a later addition that came to replace the water, a French custom that spread in the 19th century.

But long before the middle of the 17th century, the social elite of the colony made this drink into a symbol of social status and consequently, the trend of drinking chocolate was hosted in wealthy houses Manila. The table dressed with fine tablecloths, napkins or *pañitos de chocolate*, such as those owned by the Archbishop of Manila²³. The sweet delicacy was tasted in earthenware bowls or chocolate cup with a thicker base to withstand the heat, such as 120 *pozuelos for chocolate, made of Japanese earthenware, with their lids and plates*, available by the Bishop of Nueva Caceres. There were even some made of coconut peel, sometimes adorned with silver edges, foot and even with a handle, but soon proliferated more sophisticated dishes, made of silver or porcelain. The culmination of *savoir faire* were the *mancerinas*, porcelain dishes with a protrusion in the centre as a support, sometimes with pieces of silver, which received the vessel containing the chocolate. The Marquis of Mancera, who was viceroy of Peru, invented this contraption and named. In the early-18th century the Bishop of Nueva Caceres already had a dozen²⁴. Chocolate was tasted at breakfast or snack time, usually accompanied by sweet snack, which used to be a social event. To that end it should answer the silver confectioner with his cover of six *flamenquillas*, small containers for serving the finest sweets available by Gabriel Curucelagui.

The marketing of cocoa weighed on the establishment of the Guipuzcoan Company of Caracas, which operated in regime monopoly and producing, connected regions with the Spanish and Philippine market during the second half of the 18th century. However, trade liberalization led its decline and subsequent absorption by the Royal Company of Philippines, born in 1785 to boost trade between the metropolis and its Asian colony.

Meanwhile, Chinese merchants not only appreciated its flavour, but also assessed its profitability. The authorities also took the challenge and chose to promote the cultivation of cocoa, which had been introduced by some clergymen between 1660 and 1670. The first seedlings or seeds of *criollo* came to mid-17th century and soon acclimatize. Then came the tree *forastero* and, somewhat later, the *trinitario*, hybrid of the above. Cocoa quickly found accommodation in the southern islands, where climate was more favourable, and started a production and an industry that has continued until today. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Philippines exported cocoa and chocolate to South-east Asia, but also people enjoyed this drink. If the upper classes disposed of tableware and *chocolateras*, the common habit

²³ Inventory of goods Archbishop Felipe Pardo. Manila, January 6th, 1690. AGI, FILIPINAS,26, R.1,N.1

²⁴ Goods inventory Dr. Felipe de Molina, Bishop of Nueva Caceres. Manila, July 20th, 1740. AGI, FILIPINAS, 180, N.23.

Cups. 20th century.

Ceramic, decorated by glazing with cobalt oxide.

National Museum of the Philippines, Manila.

Inventory No. IX-1987-G2-7347

/ IX-1987-G2-6630 / IX-

1986-G2-643 / IX-1986-G2-751



Maid serving chocolate. Valencian tiles [ca. 1780].

Tiles for the wall of a kitchen (fragment).

Ceramic, enamelled and painted. Tiles, 20 x 20 cm.

Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas, Madrid, CE05135



was content to pay the *chocolatier*, the peddler who offered the drink and made a small fee. All of that was developed for tasting an elixir that, aboard the galleon from Acapulco, gained the palate of the Filipinos. It is note worthy that, in a way of adaptation to local customs, chocolate combined with rice, supplying wheat flour that used to give greater consistency to the drink diluted in water. Thus was born the *champorado*, a Philippine evolved from its namesake brought from New Spain. Another plant that experienced considerable expansion were bananas. Originating in South-east Asia, at an early date, it expanded into India and toured the African coast, reaching the Canary Islands the middle of the 15th century. Cristobal de Acosta, who was in the Portuguese colonies, knew the plant he called *higuera de las Indias*, the same as the Portuguese sailors had introduced in the Canary Islands. These were the *figs* that Antonio Pigafetta looked at in the Philippines in 1521, first documented news of its existence in the archipelago.

Some authors claim that Portuguese and Spaniards took the cultivation of bananas to American continent. However José de Acosta acknowledged, that during sometime he doubt if the *plátano que los antiguos celebraron*, and the one from the West Indies were from the same specie; *mas visto lo que es éste, y lo que del otro escriben*, he was sure that they were different²⁵. Perhaps there were some wild varieties which arrived in prehistoric times, but the truth is that the Old World banana experienced a rapid spread by the Americas.

It must have come to the Philippines in past times, which led to the native varieties documented by Loarca. Alzina tells us that in the Visayas islands they were of different sizes, colours, textures and flavours, although the Spaniards favoured a particular type, called *bulig*. This also explains consumption, because the natives picked those greens and baked them, and Spaniards prefer them roasted, accompanied by wine and sprinkled with cinnamon and sugar.²⁶

The exhibited drawing reproduces one of the evolved varieties from the most common Filipino and South-east Asia, which reached the island of Tahiti in ancient times. It belongs to a botanical expedition that visited the Vice royalty of Peru in the second half of the 18th century, organized by the French crown, so it should get the necessary permits from the Spanish authorities. Joseph Dombey in 1777, French physician and botanist, left for El Callao accompanied by Hipólito Ruiz and Jose Pavón, botanists appointed by the Spanish Royal Botanic Gardens. Upon arrival they began the work by the Peruvian plains and mountains and over the following years scoured different regions and ecosystems, reaching the Chilean territory. Dombey returned to Spain in 1784, although botanists and draughtsmen established in the vice royalty extended their work until 1801. The exhibited

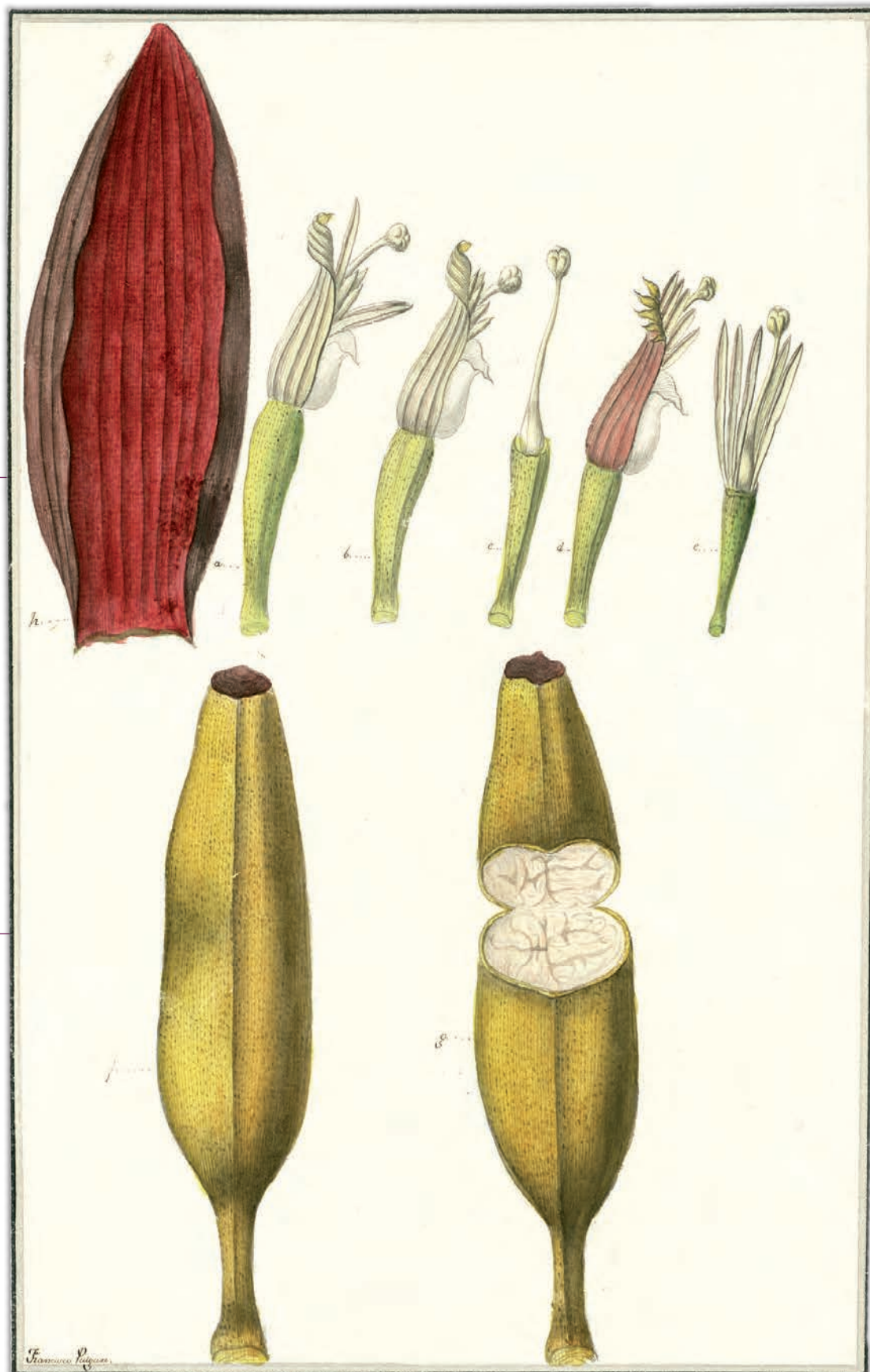
²⁵ J. ACOSTA, *Natural History...*, lib. IV, cap. XXI.

²⁶ ALZINA, *Historia de las islas e indios Bisayas*, first part, b. I, cap. IX, ed. cit., pp. 59 - 65.



Musa, the banana
from the Otahiti
Islands.

Manuscript
paper; ink
drawing, colours.
Real Jardín
Botánico, Madrid,
Fondo "Real
Expedición
Botánica al
Virreinato del
Perú", DIV. IV,
D-1555-1



drawing is part of the *acquis* gathered by this expedition, although the origin of this picture is uncertain. No evidence that botanists set sail for the Exploration of the Pacific, although it so happens that between 1773 and 1775 several Spanish attempts were made to occupy and take possession of Tahiti. Given the scientific spirit that prevailed in activities led by Dombey and his dedication to everything that involved the territory under the Vice royalty of Peru, including its waters, it is likely that she tried to lay his hands on any samples that he could, to join his collection.

A CROSSROADS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

When the Spaniards settled in Manila met with some foreign communities, mainly Chinese and Malayan, although their number was anecdotal in the mid-16th century. Southwards, the cultural influence of the Indonesian people became more evident, as the sea routes connected the Moluccas with large western islands of Borneo, Java or Sumatra, involved in the international spice market. Northwards, the Chinese were noted for their involvement in trade with the mainland, initially of limited range and limited to the elites of the region. This is demonstrated by the first chronicles, which left evidence of silks and porcelains, shipments of wheat, spices and oranges brought in their junks and sampans. They sailed the sea between March and May and returned with the next monsoon, taking advantage of favourable winds and currents.

They were called *sangleys* as Hispanic derivation of an allusive their main economic activity, business --from Chinese *seng-li* – At first there were barely any, but their number increased at the same pace as their businesses did, especially when the winds and favourable current brought ships from the continent. Manila found in them the link with the rich Chinese cities and soon outnumbered the Spanish or Filipino neighbors. Juan Bautista Roman, for example, found in 1582 the wealth and business opportunities of the city of Canton, *a sea port more important and with more traffic than Antwerp and Venice.*²⁷

The attractive Chinese empire moved diplomatic meetings and even aroused the greed of some adventurers who came to pose a military invasion. Meanwhile, the missionaries took the plunge to preach on the continent, learning their language and admiring their culture, while businesses were oriented to transoceanic trade. China not only imported luxury goods, but their fields and farms provided food to Philippines, which was scarce there. Fray Domingo de Salazar informed the king in 1588 that *twenty ships of merchandise come from China annually up, which brings at least a hundred men, who treat from November to May. During these seven months they arrive, stay and depart to their land. They bring two hundred thousand pesos of*

²⁷ ALZINA, *Historia de las islas e indios Bisayas*, primera parte, b. I, cap. IX, ed.cit., pp. 59 - 65.

Año de 1771

Testimonio de la Diligencia de la
Descarga de los efectos que se
en el Campo sembrado de
Suñta, acaxo, cese Cap. Sim
Shapque Sang Infid. of fe

ATA
LOS
1771

Register of the cargo of the sampan
Quim Gintay, captained by Lim Chiap
Qua, a Chinese Sangley, that sailed
from Borneo to China. 1769. Official
copy of 1771.

Manuscript paper.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville,
FILIPINAS, 942, N.4

que se executo en la forma sig.
Primeramente Cinco quarenta
y dos Panes de Seta. —
It. Dos bayones de bongar
Néjar. —
It. Cinco Canastos de Balau. —
It. Quarenta y un panes de Seta.
It. Diez y ocho canastos de Seta.
de prieto. —
It. Treinta y nueve Canastos de Ba
lau. —
It. Quatro Bayones de Bon
gar Néjar. —
It. Cinco libras de Algas de Tiboron.
It. Veinte y dos Panes de Seta.
It. Catorce Canastos de Balau.
It. Cinquenta Canastos de Bal.
It. Ciento treinta y siete Pa
nes de Seta. —
It. Cinquenta y un Canastos

de Balau. —
It. Dos Canastos de Canacolo. —
It. Dos libras de Algas de Tiboron. —
It. Dos Cajas, y dos Caxon. de Seta bl.
It. Quarenta y tres Canastos de Bal.
It. Treinta y tres Canastos y bay. de Ba.
It. Cinco libras de Algas de Tiboron. —
It. Dos Canastos de Concha de Sacar.
It. Un Bayon de Bongar Néjar. —
It. Treinta y nueve Canastos y Ba
yones de Balau. —
It. Dos Canastos de Taclobo. —
It. Quarenta y nueve Canastos y Ba
yones de Balau. —
It. Uno dicho de Taclobo. —
It. Quarenta y nueve Canastos y
Bayones de Balau. —
It. Dos dichos de Taclobo. —
It. Un libro de Alga de Tiboron. —
It. Quarenta y nueve Canastos y ba

merchandise upwards, and more than ten thousand in provisions: Flour, sugar, biscuits, butter, oranges, nuts, chestnuts, pine nuts, figs, plums, pomegranates, pears and other fruits. Also bacon, and hams, in so abundance that during the whole year assure the sustenance of the city, its surroundings and the fleets, and bring many horses and cows, of which the earth is supplied²⁸.

This was, obviously, the origin of many citrus and the absence of references to calamondin or calamansi in such significant works as Morga or Alzina, suggests its late introduction from Asia. In fact, Alzina collected references from many varieties of citrus, from the sweeter fruit to the sweet-sour and bitter, including imported varieties: *ocban*, small oranges and lots juice, already growing in the Philippines; other large ones that the natives called *aslum sa sanglei*, or *orange from China*, and some other which arrived from Japan. Blanco, in his *Flora de Filipinas* of 1837, already mentions the existence of calamondín or *al-donis*, identifying with the *citrus mitis* classification of Linnaeus and specifying that it was a new species, although it is unclear whether that corresponds to the current calamansi²⁹.

The sangley community, so active in the city of Manila, not only imported ingredients of the continent but many of its uses and culinary customs. Thus arose the *panciterías* and, with them, the development of a rich Chinese cuisine influences. Settled in the *Parian* of Manila from 1581, a neighbourhood outside the walls near the Pasig river, the sangley population would grow at pace which meant that the business activity of the capital expanded. Fray Domingo de Salazar, in his letter of June 1590, tells us that at the beginning these sangleyes were mixed with the Spaniards, without a defined place to live in, until the governor Gonzalo Ronquillo established a place for them, *a manera de alcaicería, que acá llamamos Parián*³⁰. Chinese settlements soon outgrew and proliferated across the Pasig river, some dedicate trade, other artisan production, others work iron, bread making, cultivation of land...

Misgivings often arose about this foreign community, especially when other threats hovered over the city, as happened with Limahon pirate attack. In addition, the commercial rivalry with Spanish or abuses by neighbours or settlers provoked some tensions. Recall complaints from Chinese merchants in 1598, when handed a letter of his own handwriting to bishop of Nueva Segovia, Fray Miguel de Benavides, which denounced the malpractices of some royal officials.³¹

²⁸ Letter of Fray Domingo de Salazar. Manila, June 27th, 1588. AGI, FILIPINAS, 74, N. 34.

²⁹ P. Felice Santamaría provides an interesting reflection on this in a recent paper about the work of Manuel Blanco, I have had the opportunity to read it. ALZINA, *Historia de las islas e indios Bisayas*, first part, b. I, cap. XIII, pp.83 – 89; *Flora de Filipinas*, 1837, p. 426.

³⁰ Letter written in Manila on June 24th, 1590. AGI, FILIPINAS, 74, N. 38.

³¹ Original letter May 1598, translated by Fray Diego de Aduarte and sent to the king by the bishop of Nueva Segovia with letter of July 5th, 1598. AGI, ESCRITURA Y CIFRA, 28 and FILIPINAS,76, N. 41.

Ottavo de mil ocho cientos ~
oro = Vicente Versosa ~
- Pase por Atbaluo = Subricado ~

Rancho.

- UN Cafon de lora para el servicio ~
- un Cafonero de lora de trigo con peso de veinte cates a seis granos cated ~
- una tinaja de huevos de gallina ~
- una id. de huevos separada ~
- Cuatro tinajas de puerco salado ~
- una id. de Longanisa ~
- Seis libritos de Broas y va-cochos ~
- Dos picanas de jamones
- Diez y nueve Balinas de azúcar de piedra ~

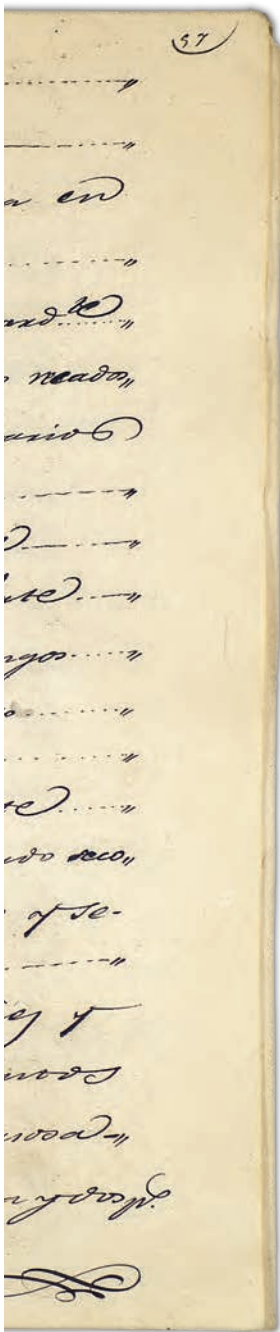
- y naranjita ~
- una tinaja de adobo ~
- tres tinajas de mostaza Salmnexa ~
- Dos franqueras de aguacate ~
- un Cafonero de varios ~
- Nueve libritos de van dulces salados ~
- Dos tinajas de geyte ~
- Dos tinajas de Chocolate ~
- Cinco Bayones de monga ~
- Seis id. de Suslas secas ~
- uno id. de gite ~
- Cinco id. de Cacavate ~
- un amarrado de puerco ~
- tres tuncales de apo y bolas ~
- Binondo y Oturo diez seis de mil ocho cientos oro = Vicente Versosa ~
- Atbaluo en setenta y ~

List of the food supply of the brigantine *Purísima Concepción*, property of Vicente Versosa, that sailed from the port of Manila, bound for the Kingdom of Jolo. Binondo, March 16th, 1812.

Copies attached to the accounts of the Royal Rights of Subsidy pertaining to the year 1812. Notebook no. 3

Manuscript paper. Pages, 29 x 20 cm.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, CONSULADOS, 1478.



Sometimes things got worse. The revolt of the sangleys in 1603 is much known, which caused severe repression by the Spanish authorities and the massacre of much of the Chinese community by then, or false accusations against the Chinese bakers that they were poisoning the bread, which resulted in riots and the expulsion of the sangleys in 1686. They soon returned, because the constant Chinese immigration and the importance of trade with the mainland, Manilan basis of silk or porcelain exports to America and Europe, were necessary.

Christianized and imbued with some Hispanic tastes, sangleys were an influential community in Manilan society. There were always families with relatives and associates in major business capitals of the continent, although the generational succession and liaison with Spanish or *naturales* Filipinos led the rise of the mestizo population, which grew in numbers and wealth. In fact, if the business with the Manila galleon was reserved for Spanish neighbours, in many cases their participation was reduced to that of mere intermediaries in the sangleys and mestizos entrepreneurs. Moreover, the ban on trade with other European nations - except the Portuguese - until into the 17th century, combined with new periods when the Manilan port was closed to rival powers, led the mediation of Chinese merchants, Borneo, Malays and Indians or even Armenians, often masking the interests of European investors.

It is thus explained why Asian products have their place in such a cosmopolitan capital and, in particular, that some Chinese traders supplied the city of the food demanded by sangleys. This was the case of the ship *Quim Gingtay*, led by Lim Chiap Qua. In 1769 it arrived at the port of Manila and his captain claimed to have come from Borneo, although it is likely that this was only a stage of its commercial journey through the South China Sea, started perhaps in their homeland and after solving a first sale product, continued in the Philippines. His burden, as food is concerned, was geared to Chinese tastes, for carrying shark fins, snails and *balate* --dehydrated sea cucumber-- highly appreciated products by the cuisine of South-east Asia. Contrary to what might seem, shark fins were not strange to the Spaniards, they were used to dry and consume sharks, common in the supplies of the Manila galleon.

They also had baskets of nests, *nido prieto* and *nido blanco*, fragments of *salangana*, a kind of bird similar to swift. They made it with their saliva, a delicacy for Chinese cuisine, which uses in its black and white varieties for making a very popular soup. The *taclobo*, also loaded in their cellars, is a bivalve mollusc that abounds in the waters of Indonesia and although its main benefit was their huge shells, meat was also appreciated. Completed the load baskets full of shells of nacre, *panes de cera* from bees y *bongas viejas*, fruits or nuts used to make the buyo.

Years later, the documentation of other vessels circulating in the Philippines testifies that the variety of foods that were carried in its holds, were evidence of the



List of the food supply of the brigantine *Jesus, Maria y Jose*, property of Domingo Navea, that sailed from the port of Manila, bound for the Kingdom of Jolo. Manila, April 8th, 1812

Copies attached to the accounts of the Royal Rights of Subsidy pertaining to the year 1812.

Notebook no. 3

Manuscript paper.

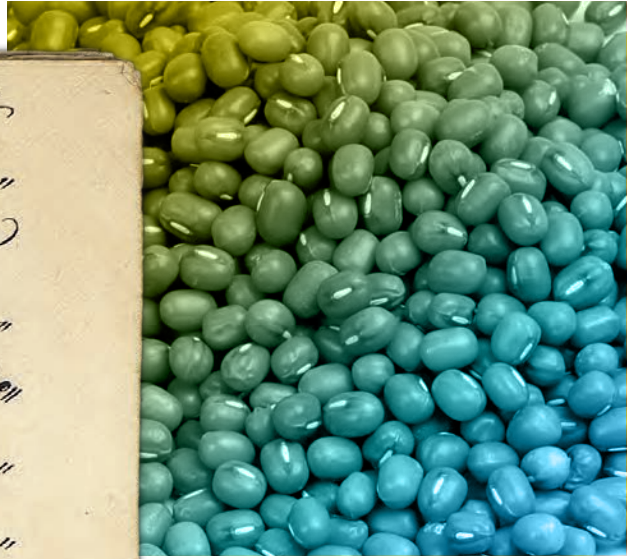
Pages, 29 x 20 cm.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, CONSULADOS, 1478



Atorgado con destino a' Jolopi-
nang....."
- ocho tinajas de Galletas de Agua....."
- Vno id. de mantea....."
- Dos id. de ajuro de Coco....."
- Vno id. de Sinagro....."
- Vno id. de Sal....."
- Vno id. de Galleta dulce....."
- Vno id. de azucar....."
- Dos tinajas de Chocolate....."
- Tres titoras de dulce....."
- tres dichos de achara....."
- Dos dichos de Cafe molido....."
- un Caponero con dos cientos huevos....."
- Vno dicho con Mucaga y varios
especies....."
- Dos Embolcarios con dos puros de
tapa....."
- Vno id. con cincuenta tollos....."
- Dos Bayones con un Cavanpa-
panes....."
- Dos dichos con un Cavan de

Mongos
 - Dos dichos con dos Cavanese
 afrecho
 - UN Canaro con seis mil Sacla
 - uno dicho de Sebotas
 - uno dicho de Apos
 - Dose Cavanese de arroz
 - Quatro dhas panala mesa
 - Sesenta Botellas de vino
 - Una franquica de Aguard.^{to}
 Atomila caroxe de febrero de
 mil ochocientos y once = Alongo
 Alongado
 - Albaluado todo en cien peso
 = Aguirre
 - Señor Administrador de la
 Real Armada = Don Alongo
 Alongado, Capitan y dueño
 de la Goleta Española, la
 S D S



tastes and habits of a cosmopolitan society. There are three selected documents, lists of *rancho* or food on board that were copied in the records of the Royal Customs of Manila: Two brigs that left the port of Manila bound for Jolo and a brig that set sail to the port of Polo Pinang, in the peninsula of Malaysia.

A whole compendium of Filipino cuisine that now, and then, showed signs of synchronism and multicultural character. More generic foods like garlic, onions, ham, chicken eggs, vinegar, butter, rice, sugar or wine bottles, shared cellars and tables with *mongos*, regional representation of the ubiquitous vegetables in the supplies of ships. The *broas* were small bread buns made with rice flour and came to replace traditional wheat biscuits. Jars of salted duck or pork and pickled mustard could be considered indigenous foods, given its traditional presence in the Philippines, although they were not strangers to Hispanic tastes. Moreover, mustard greens soaked in brine remind other European vegetables that were preserved by the same technique, such as cabbage.

This adaptation to the resources of the region was not against the introduction of other foreign varieties such as *patanes*, some imported vegetables of America that are also known as *judías de Lima*. Dried fish, another common food in the sea voyages, was represented by the *lao-lao* and *tollos*. If the first term is eminently Tagalog and alluded to what other Spanish sources define as *dry littler fishes*, the second was, as we said, of Castilian origin, although it found easy assimilation to *tuyo*, the regional word that also alluded to dry fish, although different species. Other foods also evoke the Philippines, such as *aguardiente de caña*, coconut oil, duck eggs or *gibes*. Although might refer to a common fruit in Southeast Asia, known as hibe or Indian jobo, most likely the document alludes to shrimp or dried prawns, called *hibe* in the Philippines.

The cultural and food encounter between Spaniards and Filipinos led to the production of sausages, *chorizos*, *adobo*, fried meat, *tapa* – local corned beef or carabao-- marinades and stews. All these preparations responded to the need to preserve food, although its introduction in the Philippine archipelago led to the importation of techniques and flavours of undoubted Hispanic heritage. However, we must not neglect other influences. So happen with *achara* or *atchara*, voice of Persian origin likely applied to a way of preserving fruits and vegetables in vinegar and salt, which could have reached the Philippines in boats or Indian Muslim traders. In fact, Antonio de Morga, mentions the practice of preserving vegetables and legumes, which *aderezan charas en adobo de salmuera*³². At least they found their Spanish equivalent at the vegetables *encurtidas* in vinegar.

³² A. de MORGA, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, ed. cit., p. 180.



The American contribution was represented by chocolate and peanuts. The first has already been exposed its expansion and commercial interest from the 18th century and, for the second, it could have reached South-east Asia at an early date, and pepper, brought by the Portuguese although it was the Spanish who developed its cultivation in the Philippines. They also had coffee, perhaps to trade with it, but not cultivation or consumption had achieved the fame of later centuries.

As a finale, the sweet was represented by *caramel* and *calamay*, the latter made with rice flour, coconut milk and sugar or *miel de palma*. Plus, jars or vases of various sweets, some salty and made without greater precision, are also mentioned.





A HUMBLE COOKERY

Antonio Sánchez de Mora

The former Filipino gastronomy to colonial period was, as we have seen, simple techniques and rich ingredients, though it had not yet received the American and European contributions and even some Asian products were in an expansion process.

Archaeology is helping to complete the absence of written references, which in many cases matches with those news reported by the Spanish chroniclers: the importance of rice and fish, the consumption of various meats, roasted rudimentary methods, cooked in pots made of clay or in bamboo. Drying fish, grilled or, in all likelihood, seasoned with palm vinegar or citrus, consumption of fruits and seeds, with special use of coconut palm; and cultivation or harvesting of plants, tubers, and native vegetables completed a diet, most of the time, changed according the customs and existing resources on each island and each community.

The variety of local flora and fauna allowed the native Filipinos to have lot of food, though assuming that some of them had come from other regions in past times, they were already part of the Philippine ecosystem in the sixteenth century. Their food was simple and as Alzina clarify, it was just *stew or roast, without spices or other dressings than ours*. Perhaps he rushed into his conclusions, but the fact is that rice was the staple food, the variety of shapes and colourings caught the attention of the Spaniards¹. Let us remember stories from Magellan's expedition, as Pigafetta once observed how they lined the inside of a clay pot with a large leaf, filled with rice and water, and let it cook until it was done, forming a compact paste. He also witnessed the use of thick bamboo for cooking, as well as for making sweets or rice cakes, eggs and honey². Sometimes they seasoned the rice and coloured it yellow with *saffron of the land*. Alzina also observed how they sometimes mixed it with *coconut's pulp* before cooking or boiling it with coconut milk, *that is like almond's milk*. Likewise, there also is evidence that it was combined with honey, sugar or other ingredients, *some of them old and from their own, other learned from Spaniards*.

As detailed by Antonio de Morga, they used to grind the rice in *pilones* made of wood and then cook it, *that is called morisqueta, the ordinary bread of all this land*.

¹ F. ALZINA, *Historia de las islas e indios Bisayas*, first part, lib. I, cap. VII; ed. cit., pp. 46-50. V. YEPES, *Una etnografía de los indios de las islas Visayas del padre Alzina*, Madrid: CSIC, 1996, pp. 212 y 267.

² A. PIGAFETTA, *Primer viaje en torno del globo*, lib. II, ed. cit., pp. 120-122.



Cooking in bamboo. Photo Norman Lleses.



Cooking in banana leaves. Photo Norman Lleses.





So it was beheld by Alzina, who cited the use of those pylons or *nigos* to get a very fine flour, amassing it to make *tortitas very sweet and flavorful*, or *tinapai*, buns, milk or coconut water or even cowmilk, all before cooking. They accompanied it with cooked fish, pork and sometimes venison or *búfalo, que llaman carabao*. Morga points out that they preferred to leave meat marinating for a few days, *to be eaten when starts to smell and to be damaged*.³ Regarding fruits and vegetables, various fruits and some seeds, either fresh, dried or roasted, were still what they consumed.

The gradual arrival of foreigners, including especially the Malays and Chinese, was leaving its mark by species introduction or dissemination of foreign culinary techniques. It was understandable, for example, that communities of Islamic influence appreciated spices produced in the southern islands and refused pork consumption, while in the north, Chinese merchants landed continent food. The Spaniards failed to recognize this diversity and the amazement at the novelty was compensated by the pleasure of having found foods which were familiar to them, such as rice, chickens, pigs, bananas, oranges and lemons.

The years of experience of Chele González, at the head of Gallery Vask, have allowed him to acquire gastronomic wisdom from an ethnographic perspective that is still put into practice by some native communities. It's always surprising to see how such techniques and consumption patterns are similar to the information transmitted by Spanish sources in the 16th or 17th centuries. The recipes showed below are the result of all the work done which have the peculiarity of using bamboo in imitation of native cooking way.

³ A. De MORGA, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, cap. VIII; ed. RETANA, p. 174.





PORK COOKED IN BAMBOO



ELABORATION

- 1. Chop the meat into chunks**, according to the size of the bamboo and season.
- 2. Add the ingredients to the bamboo** in layers to ensure proper cooking and distribution of flavors in the entire bamboo.
- 3. Seal the bamboo with crumpled banana leaf lid**, tightly and roast over the fire for 40 minutes. Be careful not to burn the bamboo, it must be turned every 2-3 minutes.

INGREDIENTS

- 1 kilo Pork Belly Meat
- 30 pieces Alibangbang Leaves
- 440 ml Water
- 2 tsp Salt

OTHERS

- Bamboo
- Banana Leaves
- Fire (Charcoal)

Notes

You may substitute the sour Alibangbang leaves with 6-8 pieces of tamarind fruit. Always use the part of the pork that is close to the ribs because it easily gets tender.





COMMENT

Spanish authors of the 16th and 17th centuries left evidence of the abundance of domestic and wild pigs. Pigafetta, on narrating the trip of Magallanes and El Cano, has on several occasions said that the natives offered pork, sometimes cooked but always very simply, although it cites that in some islands looked as if it was rice cooked in bamboo. Father

Alzina explained that there were many pigs of different types, one better than others, even better than the Spanish ones, the main food in these lands... There are many differences between this pigs and the Spanish pigs and the most common is the Ilocos type, but also cites a variety of Visayas islands softer, more tender meat and butter.



GRILLED BANGUS (MILK FISH) WRAPPED IN BANANA LEAVES



ELABORATION

1. **Clean the bangus** but do not remove the scales.
2. **Using a sharp knife**, slit the back to make an opening up to the stomach.
3. **Wash the fish and dry out** with paper. Sprinkle with salt and stuff the ginger in.
4. **Wrap the bangus using banana** leaves and tie using strips of banana leaves.
5. **Grill on hot charcoal** for 30 minutes, turning the fish to the other side, to avoid from burning the skin.

INGREDIENTS

- 350 grams Whole Bangus with scales
- 50 grams Ginger, peeled, chopped julienne
- Salt
- Banana Leaf





COMMENT

The abundance of freshwater fish and salt-water was another constant in the Spanish descriptions of the native foods of Philippines. Recall Antonio de Morga, when citing among others the existence and consumption of sardines, sea bass, bacocos, mullet, mackerel, common sole, milk fish, tuna... and even lao-lao. Although nothing is said about the way it was cooked, Magellan's expedition was

feted once with a *backed fish, cut in pieces, with fresh ginger and wine*. Neither did Alzina, although he devotes many pages to the variety of fish in the various islands and offshore, nothing says about its preparation. He does mention how the natives roasted some fruits *near or in the middle of the ember* and noting that way of cooking.

ROUTES BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE PHILIPPINES. 16TH-19TH CENTURIES



- ● ● Routes of the “Manila Galleon” and the “Carrera de Indias”
- ● ● Direct routes Manila - Lima - Buenos Aires - Cádiz
- ● ● Portuguese route through the Indian Ocean
- ● ● Regional trade routes
- ● ● Direct route Manila - Cádiz through the Indian Ocean







GLOBALIZATION OF FLAVORS

THE ALIMENTARY REVOLUTION

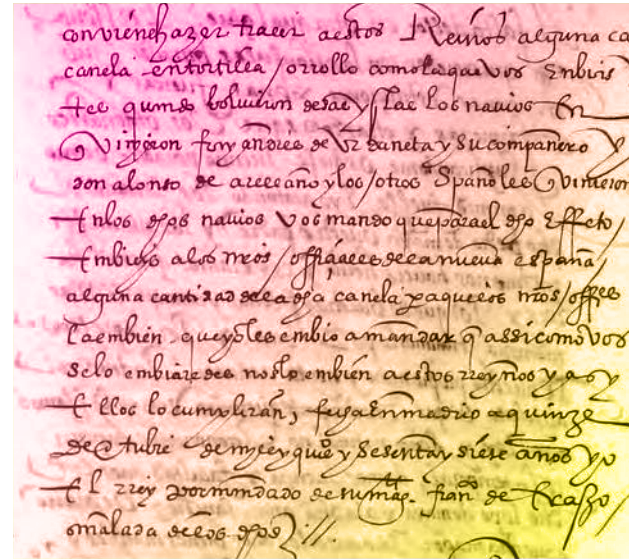
The Manila Galleon and the diffusion of
Asian culinary products in America.

José Luis Gasch Tomás
Bethany Aram¹

The alimentary revolution, catalysed by a European demand for Asian spices, transformed a great part of the planet during the Modern Era. The ensuing historical processes, with their collisions, rejections and fusions, extended through the Atlantic and the Indic, and inevitably to and across the Pacific Ocean. The Spanish Monarchy attempted to manage the extension of such alimentary and sumptuous products to America and Europe using the Manila Galleon. For more than two and a half centuries, this trade route between Acapulco and Manila promoted encounters and evasions, including rejections, reluctances and alimentary adaptations that put the Americas in the crucible of cultural and ecological processes that transformed the world from the 16th through the 18th centuries.

Over recent decades, Atlantic and Global histories have considered the exchanges of the first globalization, having focused on the planetary circulation of goods and people. This historiography, some of whose most relevant conclusions are summarized below, offers a framework for interpreting the dietary transfers the Manila Galleon facilitated, as well as those that preceded or eluded it. Asian products that had been known and coveted in Europe for centuries, such as silk or spices, reached America on the Galleon. Other Asian products that had migrated to southern Europe in the Middle Ages, including the rice and citrus fruits that flourished in Al-Andalus, or sugar, were transplanted to Sicily and the Canary Islands as if to foresee the processes of transcultural movements, with the support of the Hispanic monarchy, after 1492. In this sense, previous contacts between Africa, Asia and Europe opened paths for the alimentary revolution that arose from their encounters with America. This process involved the introduc-

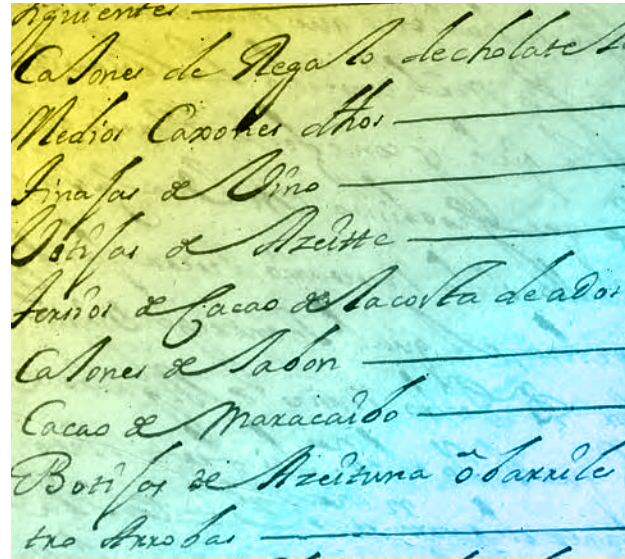
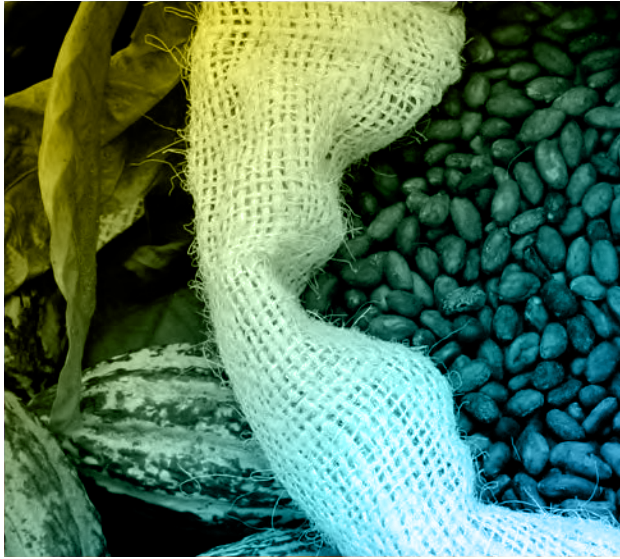
¹The present collaboration, initiated in the research project P09-HUM 5330, *New Atlantic Products. Science, war, economy and consumption in the Ancient Regime and continued in the framework of projects HAR2014-52260-P, An Artery of Empire. Conquest, Commerce, Crisis, Culture and the Panamanian Junction (1513-1671) and HAR2014-53797-P, Iberian Globalization. Networks between Asia and Europe and the transformation of consumption patterns in Latin America*. As a post-doctoral researcher hired by the research project "For Sea Discovery" (PITN-GA- 2013-607545), José Luis Gasch also acknowledges its support.



tion and the expansion, sometimes gradual, of biota, previously unknown in each continent.

Alfred Crosby, followed by A. J. R. Russell Wood and others, was among the first historians to draw attention to the exchanges of fauna and flora that intensified on a global scale at the end of the 15th century. In *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, Crosby underlined the spectacular multiplication of European livestock, especially bovine and porcine, in American lands, with the consequent increase of available animal power, as well as meat and other secondary products, such as leather or fat. Although European animals were usually well accepted by American indigenous communities, Crosby noted that many of the same communities rejected wheat and other European products. The demographic collapse that frequently accompanied the introduction of livestock in American territories, also noted by Crosby, allowed him to stress the relevance of the introduction of diseases in America in another volume, *Ecological Imperialism*. From that point, the role of Afro-Euro-Asiatic animals has been recognized as a main factor in the dissemination of microbes (*crowd disease pathogens*) that produced diseases including typhus, mumps or chickenpox, which devastated populations that had not developed immunities to them. In this way, Crosby's influential works articulated the main lines of a fruitful and continuing debate on the nature of the impact, both productive and destructive, of early globalisation's most important exchanges.

Within the framework popularized by Crosby, Felipe Fernández Armesto emphasized the prevalence of cultural resistance to dietary changes. According to Fernández Armesto, *there is no doubt that the great transoceanic exchange of biota in the last five hundred years has constituted the greatest human intervention in environmental history since the domestication of species*. Furthermore, Fernández Armesto considers that, over time, and in an almost universal way, *the multiplication of alimentary resources would provoke the great demographic growth that char-*



acterizes modern history². Fernández Armesto noted, nevertheless, the deferred impact of products that were not accepted until centuries after their arrival or introduction in certain regions. For instance, peanuts originally from Brazil, which were considered a luxury in China, did not become popular in South-Eastern Asia until the 18th century. In a similar way, American products such as potatoes or maize were not widely accepted in Europe for centuries after their introduction.

The global framework outlined by Crosby and Fernández Armesto has been enriched with a regional perspective in Alfredo Castellero Calvo's volume *Cultura alimentaria y globalización*. From the Isthmus of Panama in the 16th and 17th centuries, Castellero depicts the expansion of livestock, with periodic crises, that resulted in a *spectacular increase in the available volume of animal protein*, and facilitated the growth (or recovery) of indigenous populations in other areas following the conquest. According to Castellero, *while the conquest almost extinguished the native, he was saved by the ecological and alimentary revolution that colonization brought to that the American countryside*. Nevertheless, in other territories, *agricultural specialization (the devotion of large areas to solely sugar cane, corn, or livestock) limited the possibilities of subsistence for the natives and inhabitants of rural areas*³. In the case of Panama, Castellero argues that the urban population's dependence on external supplies was exacerbated by the elites' addiction to foods cultivated in other climates, exposing the urban population to frequent shortages.

An inherent conservatism characterized alimentary practices among foreign as well as autonomous populations. Historian Rebecca Earle has explained how conquistadors remained attached to European food as a first line of defence in new

² Felipe Fernández Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables: A History of Food*, New York: Free Press, 2004, pp. 252-253.

³ Alfredo Castellero Calvo, *Cultura Alimentaria y Globalización. Panamá, Siglos XVI a XXI*, Panamá: Editora Novo Art, 2010, p. 19.

and frequently hostile environments. They clearly perceived alimentary change as harming their health. Moreover, Castilians attributed pathologies suffered by Native Americans or Africans to changes in their traditional diets. Different groups defined, identified and maintained themselves through dietary practices. Much like the conquerors analysed by Earle, the natives of lower Columbia studied by Gregorio Saldarriaga avoided changing their basic food consumption practices. The native populations of the kingdom of New Granada cultivated wheat from 1555, mainly for trading purposes, and normally without consuming it themselves.

The survival of ancient dietary practices and resistance towards new products for reasons of health or identity make alimentary adoptions and adaptations as a result of the Columbian exchange even more significant. Historian María Ángeles Pérez Samper has noted the transfer of a significant number of American species to the Iberian Peninsula with very different rhythms and results during the early modern period. Some products were incorporated into the European diet with surprising ease: Paprika (made from red peppers) spread quickly among the popular classes, similar to the way that courtesan elites readily consumed American turkeys. Other products, such as chocolate, spread initially among aristocratic and clerical classes, obtaining broader diffusion only in the 18th century. Although late and gradual, the acceptance of American species as nutritious as the potato or corn did not always render benefits to their consumers. Following Giovanni Levi, the late adoption of the cultivation of maize in Northern Italy resulted in an increment of pellagra among the peasants of the region, whose almost exclusive dependence on corn porridge led to niacin deficiencies. In that sense, case studies focusing on products, processes and regions are still developing the ideas Crosby posed.

The study of the first culinary globalization, in summary, increasingly emphasizes its diverse rhythms and consequences. Many historiographical advances related to Ibero-America have emerged in an Atlantic framework progressively open toward the Pacific. In this context, it is worth remembering that the European demand for Asian spices (sugar, cinnamon, cloves, pepper and ginger, among others), and competition to control their trade did not intend to change traditional alimentary and social behaviours, but, rather, to increase the economic benefits derived from them.

THE MANILA GALLEON AND ITS CARGOES: CLOVES AND PEPPER AMONG SILK AND FURNITURE

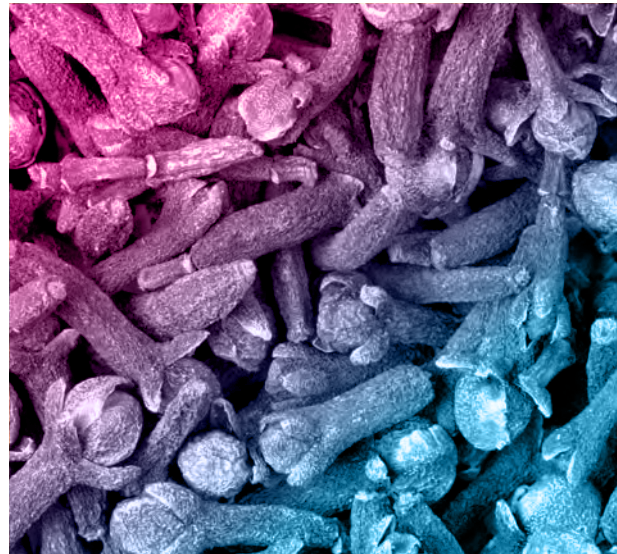
For the first time in human history, a permanent trade route linking Asia and America through the Pacific Ocean was established in the last third of the 16th century. The Spanish had sailed the Pacific toward South-Eastern Asia and had reached the Philippine Islands several times during the 16th century: two of the

most important expeditions were those of Ferdinand Magellan in 1521, and the one led by Ruy López Villalobos, who in 1549 named the islands previously known as the Western Islands (*Islas de Poniente*) the Philippines in honour of Prince Philip, later Philip II). However, it was not until 1565-1571 when the trade route known from that point on as the route of the Manila Galleon or of the China Ship, was established. In 1565 another expedition, led by Miguel López de Legazpi and Andrés Urdaneta, not only went back to the Philippines, but also discovered the currents that enabled vessels to return to America across the Pacific. The possibility of colonizing Luzon and the surrounding islands, eventually incorporated in a Captaincy General dependent on the Vice-royalty of New Spain, became a reality. The foundation of the city of Manila on the location of an ancient Islamic settlement in the western coast of Luzon at the mouth of the river Pasig in 1571 favoured the establishment of the trade route that connected Manila and Acapulco for 250 years. The trade opportunities provided by the affluence of American silver to Manila, the monetization of part of Manila's economy and the arrival of Chinese merchants attracted by silver, facilitated the transport of an increasing number of goods to America in the galleons that departed annually, in December or January, toward Acapulco. From that point on the exchange of American silver for Asian goods comprised the basis of Manila's economy. In 1593 the monarchy started to regulate the traffic of the Manila galleons, which it limited to two vessels of 300 tons each, that would sail annually with a load of 500.000 pesos, each with a value of 8 Reales (which became the first global currency) in the trip from Acapulco to Manila, where the galleons were loaded with silver, and 250.000 pesos in the so called *tornaviaje* (return trip), when the galleons were loaded with Asian goods. It was not until the end of the 18th century when the monarchy increased the legal maximum load to be carried in the galleons, which had been, in any case, always exceeded by means of fraud and smuggling.

Most of the Asian goods carried in the Manila Galleons were Chinese textiles, especially silks, whose variety reached extraordinary levels by the 18th century. Linen and cotton also came from other Asian countries, such as India or the Philippines, along with chinaware and decorative furniture produced in China and Japan, although in lesser quantities than Chinese silk. Once in America, these goods were redistributed from Acapulco, where trade operations were usually arranged beforehand between warehouse holders of big cities such as Mexico and their business agents in Acapulco. This distribution reached many areas of America beyond Acapulco, mostly Mexico and Lima, and from there other areas (the Southern regions of America from Lima as well as Havana) and Castile, across the Atlantic Ocean from Mexico and Veracruz.

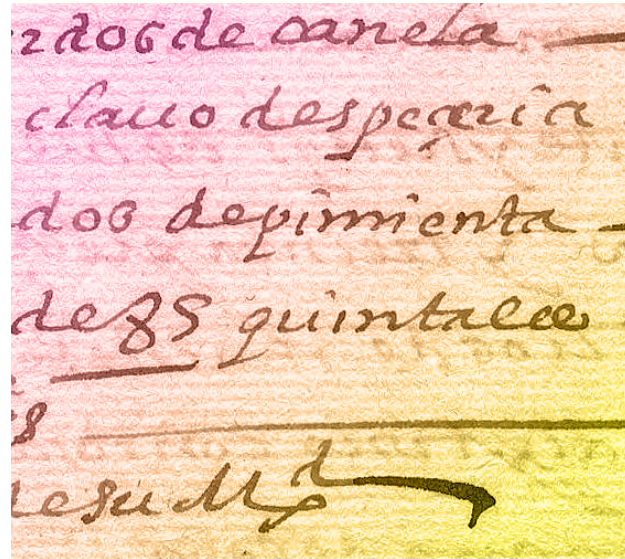
While most of the merchandise transported in the Manila Galleons consisted of textiles and other manufactures, additional products such as spices were also carried across the Pacific. Indeed, conquerors such as Ferdinand Magellan, Ruy López Villalobos, Miguel López de Legazpi and Andrés de Urdaneta, among oth-

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ers, had reached the Philippines with the hope of finding a source of production of spices, just as Portuguese had encountered decades earlier in Eastern and South-eastern Asia. At first, they were greatly disappointed, as the possibilities of producing spices on those islands were much more limited than expected. Pepper and cloves, for instance, were scarcely produced on the archipelago. Only in Zamboanga (the island of Mindanao) was there a large area with cinnamon trees when the Spanish conquered Luzon and other surrounding islands. But that initial disappointment and the difficulties of cultivating spices in Philippines did not mean that Manila Galleons did not carry spices. On the contrary, the spices were shipped in the galleons continually over the two and one-half centuries that they sailed. These cargoes came mainly from other areas in Asian. Among the most important spices that were traded, cinnamon, whose most expensive varieties came from Ceylon, stood out with tea from India (especially from the 18th century), nutmeg and cloves from Borneo and Sumatra, and pepper from India.

Cloves and pepper were among the most successful spices in European and Latin-American elites' culinary traditions, born in medieval times and developed through sea trade routes connecting Asia, Europe and America. Cloves (*Syzygium aromaticum*) grew in very specific places in South-Eastern Asia, especially on the Moluccas and, within these, on Tidore and Ternate. Tidore and Ternate were colonized by the Portuguese from their possessions in Malacca in the decade of the 1520's. Both islands were privileged places for the production of cloves, whose main destination was at first Lisbon (via the *Carreira da Índia*) and, following the establishment of the Manila galleons route, the Vice-royalty of New Spain in America. Pepper (*Piper*), meanwhile, grew in several places in Asia (and Africa too). Although the most common kind of pepper was -as it still is nowadays- black pepper (*Piper nigrum*), that was mainly produced in India and used in European cuisine since the Middle Ages, many other less common species were produced in South-Eastern Asia and Java.



Pepper and cloves regularly reached Manila's principal port, Cavite. Antonio de Morga, who was appointed to several important posts in the colonial government of the Philippines (lieutenant governor and judge of the Royal Tribunal being the most relevant) from 1594 to 1604, when he was transferred to New Spain, where he published in 1609 *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, which described the main political, military, social and economic events in Philippines from the late 15th through the early 17th century. He devoted numerous pages to the rich variety of goods from other places in Asia traded by the merchants of Manila:

A considerable number of somas and junks (which are large vessels) generally come from Great China to Manila, laden with merchandise. Every year thirty or even forty ships are wont to come [...] Fine untwisted silk, white and of all colours, wound in small skeins; quantities of velvets, some plain, and some embroidered in all sorts of figures, colours, and fashions [...] quantities of fine thread of all kinds, needles, and knick-knacks; little boxes and writing-cases; beds, tables, chairs, and gilded benches, painted in many figures and patterns [...] pepper and other spices; and rarities—which, did I refer to them all, I would never finish, nor have sufficient paper for it.⁴

Morga considers pepper and cloves especially worth a mention among the goods that reached Manila:

Some Portuguese vessels sail to Manila annually during the monsoon of the vendavals, from Molucca, Malacca, and India. They take merchandise consisting of spices—cloves, cinnamon, and pepper; slaves, both blacks and Cafres; cotton cloth of all sorts, fine muslins [caniquies], linens, gauzes, rambuties,

⁴ Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1909 [1609], pp. 216-217.

[...]Very seldom a few vessels sail to Manila from Sian and Cambodia. They carry some benzoin, pepper, ivory, and cotton cloth; rubies and sapphires, badly cut and set.⁵

According to the judge who lived in Manila for ten years, pepper was imported by the merchants of Manila from the Moluccas (very probably Ternate and Tidore), Malacca (Malaysia) and India and, to a lesser extent, from Siam and Cambodia; cloves came mainly from the Moluccas.

Once the Chinese or Portuguese vessels had reached Manila, they obtained cloves and pepper from the merchants of Manila, who were frequently agents of Mexican commercial establishments, in exchange for American silver. These agents re-exported spices to America in the Manila Galleons. Numerous sources give profuse information about this process. For instance, the officer Pedro de Zúñiga, a householder in Manila, sent Antonio Rodríguez, a householder in Mexico, 90 *cates* (123.75 pounds) of pepper in 1602; and Manila merchant Ascanio Guazoni, who belonged to one of the most powerful Hispanic commercial houses, which had warehouses in Mexico and Seville, sent 41 barrels and 20 *picos* (2750 pounds) of pepper to Acapulco in the Galleons⁶.

During the 18th century Mexican merchants continued to import Asiatic spices from Manila, as demonstrated in the records of one of the Mexico's greatest merchants of the time, Ignacio de Yraeta⁷.

PORTUGUESE RIVALRY AND DUTCH INTERFERENCE

The supply of spices and other products loaded in the Manila Galleons largely depended on developments in Asian geopolitics, and more precisely, in South-Eastern Asia.

The fact that most of the cargoes of the Manila Galleons consisted of Chinese manufactured products, especially silk, was due to the high degree of reliance of Manila on the Chinese markets, both via the colony of Chinese merchants settled in Manila (known by the Spanish as *sangleyes*) and by way of the Portuguese connexion with Macao. Indeed, in the late 16th and early 17th century, the Portuguese were key players in not only transporting Chinese goods, mostly silk and china ware, towards Manila, but also Japanese *namban* furniture from their commercial

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-220.

⁶ Archivo General de la Nación de México (hence AGNM), Indiferente Virreinal. Filipinas, caja-exp.: 4976-006; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal. Filipinas, caja-exp.: 5098-010.

⁷ Carmen Yuste López, *La Compañía de comercio de Francisco Ignacio de Yraeta (1767-1797)*, México, D. F.: Instituto Mexicano de Comercio Exterior, 1985.

colony in Nagasaki, as well as spices including cloves and pepper that, according to Antonio de Morga, came essentially from Malaysia, the Moluccas and India.

Although the Portuguese and Spanish shared the same king from 1580 to 1640, their kingdoms and colonies remained independent both politically and administratively. The death of the King of Portugal without descendants in 1580 sparked a dynastic conflict whose final resolution favoured the House of Habsburg. Philip II, King of Castile and Aragon, was also recognized as King of Portugal in 1581 at the Cortes of Tomar. In this way, both Portugal and the *Estado da Índia* became integrated into the Spanish Monarchy until 1640, when Juan II, Duke of Braganza, was crowned King of Portugal and the Crown of Portugal reclaimed its independence from the House of Habsburg. During the 60 years in which the Spanish and Portuguese shared the same King (Philip II, Philip III and Philip IV), relationships in the Pacific between the Portuguese and the Spanish ranged from conflict to cooperation. In 1586 the Spanish were expelled from the Portuguese settlement at Malacca, just as they were from the coasts of China in 1596. Those events were the consequence of Spanish actions in that area, including their attempt to occupy Ternate in 1593, which the Portuguese considered a provocation. Nonetheless, not only conflict characterized relationships between the Spanish and the Portuguese in South-Eastern Asia. Political and even military cooperation became a reality when required to face the attack of common enemies, such as Chinese pirates, subjects of Muslim kingdoms and sultanates and the Dutch. Cooperation also existed in the development of trade between the Philippines and Portuguese settlements (the Moluccas, Malacca, Nagasaki, Macao, etc.) mostly due to the high rates of profit it provided all parties, and thus despite the theoretical -only theoretical- prohibition of trading between Manila, on one side, and Malacca and Macao, on the other⁸. These oscillations between conflict and political and commercial cooperation were decisive for the supply of pepper and cloves towards Manila.

Nonetheless, the furnishing of spices to Manila, and thus to the Galleons did not depend only on relationships between Spaniards and Portuguese in the region, but also involved other Europeans, particularly the Dutch, and different Asiatic kingdoms and cities. In the late 16th and early 17th century, the Dutch penetrated Asiatic markets and diverted part of the Asian trade that had been channelled to Europe from the early 16th century and to American markets from 1565-1571, to their own commercial networks. In 1602 the States General of the Netherlands founded the Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, VOC), which enjoyed a monopoly on Dutch trade in Asia. Several factors led to the constitution of the VOC in 1602, especially Dutch difficulties in acquiring spices in Lisbon as a consequence of an embargo decreed by the King of Spain in 1598 (the war

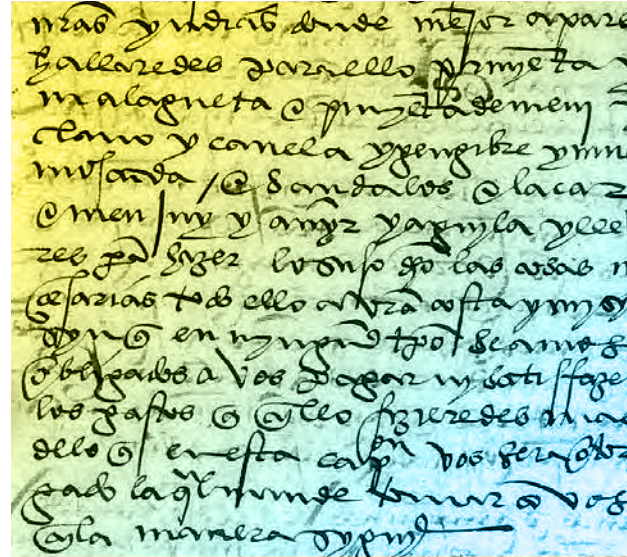
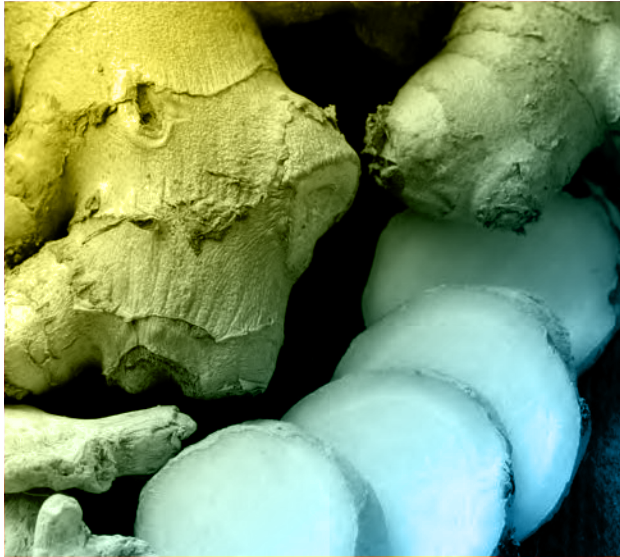
⁸ Domingo Centenero de Arce y Antonio Terrasa Lozano, "El Sudeste Asiático en las políticas de la Monarquía Católica. Conflictos Luso-Castellanos entre 1580-1621", *Anais de história de além-mar*, IX (2008), pp. 223-266.



between the United Provinces and the Habsburgs had barely ceased since 1568) and fierce competition among different Dutch companies previously operating in Asia, which caused an important rise in prices in Indonesia. The VOC was established as a unique political and commercial organization at the time, involving the participation of private merchants although created by the state and protected by a military and naval force, also newly created.

The establishment of the VOC was the main event that definitively promoted and eased Dutch expansion in Asia to the detriment of the Iberians in the 17th century. Between 1611 and 1619, the Dutch conquered the city of Jakarta, which they named Batavia; in 1624 they partially occupied Formosa; in 1641 they expelled the Portuguese from Malacca and Nagasaki; and in 1658 they definitively ejected the Portuguese from Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Dutch attempts to take Macao and Manila during the 17th century were unsuccessful, although, at the same time, their predominance in the South-Eastern Asia was almost absolute. Yet Dutch power did not interrupt the supply of spices to Manila or their re-export from the Philippines to America. The Dutch, at war with the Spanish Monarchy, sent spices to the Philippines in the vessels of other nations, or by concealing their flags in the masts of their ships until the Peace of Westphalia (1648) permitted them to trade more openly. According to official data, the number of Dutch vessels that unloaded goods in Cavite from Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the Indochinese Peninsula, in comparison with imports from China, continued growing from 1648 onwards. In any case, and despite ups and downs due to geopolitical and military dynamics in the area, the supply of spices to Manila went uninterrupted for significant periods of time.⁹

⁹Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Iberiques (XVIe. XVIIe. XVIIIe siècles). Introduction Méthodologique et Indices d'activité*, Paris: SEVPEN, 1960, 6th edition, pp. 164-175.



Transformations in Asian geopolitics and European intervention in the area took place in the 18th century. The English, who had founded the East India Company (EIC) in 1600, surpassed the Dutch in Asia in terms of trade volume. Their business, nonetheless, was more focused on cotton from India, Chinese tea, opium from the Indic and manufactured Chinese products, especially silk and china ware, than on spices. French expansion through the Pacific was also considerable but, unlike that of the Dutch, was confined to precise areas far from South-Eastern Asia, such as Mauritius. The Spanish, for their part, tried new commercial formulas in Asiatic trade. Among these innovations, in 1785, the Spanish founded the Real Compañía de Filipinas, history's first privileged company that directly and commercially connected Spain and Manila. During the years of existence of the Real Compañía de Filipinas, spices such as cloves or pepper reached Spain not only through American re-exports in provenance from the Galleons of Manila or the Portuguese, Dutch or English trade in Europe, but also directly via the vessels of that company. The route of the Galleons stayed open until 1815, when Mexico's wars of independence definitively closed the trade route that had supplied American markets with Chinese manufactures and Asiatic spices for two centuries and a half.

THE PATHS OF GINGER, RICE, SWEET POTATOES AND CHOCOLATE

Portuguese and Dutch claims in the Pacific were advanced in the context of wars among different European powers. European competition to reach the sources of Asian products and to control the benefits of their commerce ensured that these goods were distributed through different trade routes, as well as the displacement and the spread of the production of some of them. Much to the displeasure of the Spanish Monarchy, the Manila Galleon was far from being an exclusive route for commerce and communications between Asia, America and Europe. Even prior



to the regulation attempts undertaken in 1593, a growing European awareness of the distance that separated Asia from America was accompanied by efforts to transplant Asian species to territories under the rule of the King of Castile. The successful spread of sugar cane in the Canary Islands and, later, in the Caribbean and Brazil, and its importance in the propagation of slave plantations and the transformation of consumption habits related with the worldwide circulation of drinks such as chocolate, tea and coffee¹⁰, is well known.

The sovereigns of Castile encouraged efforts not only to reach coveted oriental spices, but also to cultivate them in the realms of the monarchy. As early as 1518, the future Charles V offered rewards consisting in *juros* -public debt - worth 20.000 *maravedis* to anyone who could cultivate 10 pounds of cloves, ginger or cinnamon in his territories¹¹. Such incentives, however, did not guarantee results, as corroborated by the Royal Decree of 1538, included in this exhibition that established an agreement with Juan de Orive to cultivate pepper, cloves, cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg and other spices in the Antilles in exchange for fifty percent of the benefits belonging to the crown. Again, despite the incentives offered in the document, there is no evidence that Orive had any success. Twenty years later, the Crown granted new capitulations to Francisco Mendoza, son of Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico and Peru, to cultivate pepper, cloves, cinnamon, ginger, *china* and sandalwood in New Spain¹². Entrepreneurs were more successful in their attempts to grow ginger in the Americas: explorer Guido de Lavezaris managed to transplant ginger root to New Spain before his appointment as Governor of the Philippines in 1572¹³. After several years of efforts to cultivate ginger on the island of Hispaniola, a rancher and secretary of the Royal Tribunal, Rodrigo Peláez, assembled witnesses who remembered the arrival of three ounces of the rhizome in a slave ship from the Portuguese island of São Tomé¹⁴. Did ginger reach the Americas due to Lavezaris or thanks to an African slave? Probably both.

Ginger took different paths, Pacific as well as Atlantic, to the Americas. Faced with the reality of multiple routes between Asia and America, official concessions to promote the cultivation of ginger and other oriental spices since the early 16th century prove the limitations of royal intervention and any monopolistic claims. In the same way, an official trade route such as the Manila Galleon, allows only partial approaches to the trade underway, despite the abundance of records it generated.

¹⁰ Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and power: the place of sugar in modern history*, New York: Penguin, 1986.

¹¹ Justina Sarabia Viejo, *Posibilidades de La Especiería Mexicana En La Economía Mundial Del Siglo XVI*, Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1983, pp. 396-439.

¹² AGI, INDIFERENTE, 738, Nos. 47 y 52.

¹³ AGI, FILIPINAS, 29, N.48.

¹⁴ AGI, SANTO DOMINGO, 79, R. 3, N. 107.





In the sea of available data, decrees for rice acquisition for Manila warehouses, also included in this exhibition, deserve special attention. This most important crop, on which subsistence depended in South-Eastern Asia, was indispensable to feed the local population, the crew of the Galleon and even the slaves it transported. On the other hand, its massive exportation from Philippines was avoided by its cultivation in Panama, both for local supply and exportation to Peru¹⁵.

The information gathered in Mexico by Augustinian Juan González de Mendoza, published in Rome in 1585, celebrated the abundance of all kinds of food *in the great Kingdom of China*. European and American readers already knew about most of the products mentioned, such as rice, which the Chinese cultivated in waterlogged lands irrigated by several rivers. As Philip II indicated, in 1573, rice, just as cotton, had been successfully planted in Hispaniola¹⁶. Finally, when travelling to New Spain in 1625, Englishman Thomas Gage, remembered the acquisition of large sacks of rice, among other victuals, for consumption on board during the crossing. Did the perfect complement for beans reach America from the Iberian Peninsula and the Philippines at the same time? Once again, the possibility appears of following multiple paths for rice distribution from Asia, but also from Europe and Western Africa, where its cultivation already had a long tradition, studied by Judith A. Carney.

Finally, we cannot end this chapter without mentioning some of the products that crossed the Pacific Ocean in the opposite direction, travelling from America to the Philippines. We will highlight two of these due to their importance and impact on the consumption habits of the inhabitants of the Philippines during the Modern Age: sweet potatoes and chocolate. The sweet potato is a tubercle whose origin remains unclear: some researchers have traced it to Hindustan, while others have suggested that it originated in Central America. In any case, the sweet potato reached Spain on the first Columbian voyages and rapidly spread through Europe and also to the Philippines (and the Moluccas), via the Manila Galleon, and from there to China and Japan¹⁷.

Regarding chocolate, its consumption had an extraordinary impact within Spain during the 18th century¹⁸. Widely consumed by pre-Hispanic societies in the territories that later constituted New Spain, the beverage became widespread in early Bour-

¹⁵ Juan Requejo Salcedo, "Relación Histórica y geográfica de la provincia de Panamá (1640)", *Relaciones Históricas y Geográficas de América Central*, Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1908 [1640], pp. 142,170.

¹⁶ AGI, SANTO DOMINGO, 868, L. 3, 5v-6.

¹⁷ Darío Orlando Sager, "Las Palmas, trabajo y convivencia", en *IV Congreso de Historia de los pueblos de la provincia de Santa Fe*, Santa Fe: 2005, p. 12.

¹⁸ Irene Fattacciu, "The Resilience and Boomerang Effect of Chocolate: A Product's Globalization and Commodification", en Bethany Aram & Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, eds., *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492-1824*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, pp. 225-276; María de los Ángeles Pérez Samper, "Chocolate, té, café: sociedad, cultura y alimentación en la España del siglo XVIII", en Eliseo Serrano Martín et al., eds., *El Conde de Aranda y su tiempo*, Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2000, pp. 157-222.





bon Spain, much like tea in England at the same time. Cargoes containing cocoa and chocolate had been reaching Seville since the sixteenth century. Both products, chocolate and cocoa, also made their way to Manila on board the Galleons. Although cocoa was not taken to Manila with the aim of cultivating the product locally until the 17th century, evidence of shipments of chocolate from Mexico to Manila appear from the century's first years. This evidence includes the case of Juan de Cruz Godines, a Manila trader, who repeatedly thanked the mighty Mexican merchant Cristóbal de Plaza sending him boxes of chocolate as a gift between 1612 and 1614¹⁹.

In summary, products travelled along different routes and not necessarily according to royal regulations or incentives. The competition among Iberian powers in the Pacific, followed by the Dutch and English irruptions, opened different paths for trade stretching around the planet. Consumers also travelled and reached New Spain from other continents. It is for this reason that the role of the Manila Galleon went beyond the impact of its cargoes, as it linked America and Asia, facilitating the fusions and hybridizations of early globalization.

Asian products new in America, had been known in Europe and, in some cases, had been cultivated for centuries. For this reason, the truest novelties and innovations arose in the exchanges between Africa, Asia and Europe on one side and America on the other. The planetary spread of new products had diverse paces, often depending on the products and societies themselves, as well as multiple paths. These collided and converged in one of the most complex and far-reaching processes of early modern period: the alimentary revolution. Spices of Asiatic origin such as cloves and pepper, just as ginger and rice, along with many other products from diverse continents, became the essential ingredients that catalysed such transformations.

¹⁹ AGNM, Indiferente Virreinal. Consulado, caja-exp.: 1776-001, p. 55-60, y 68-69.





GLOBALIZATION OF FLAVORS

Antonio Sánchez de Mora

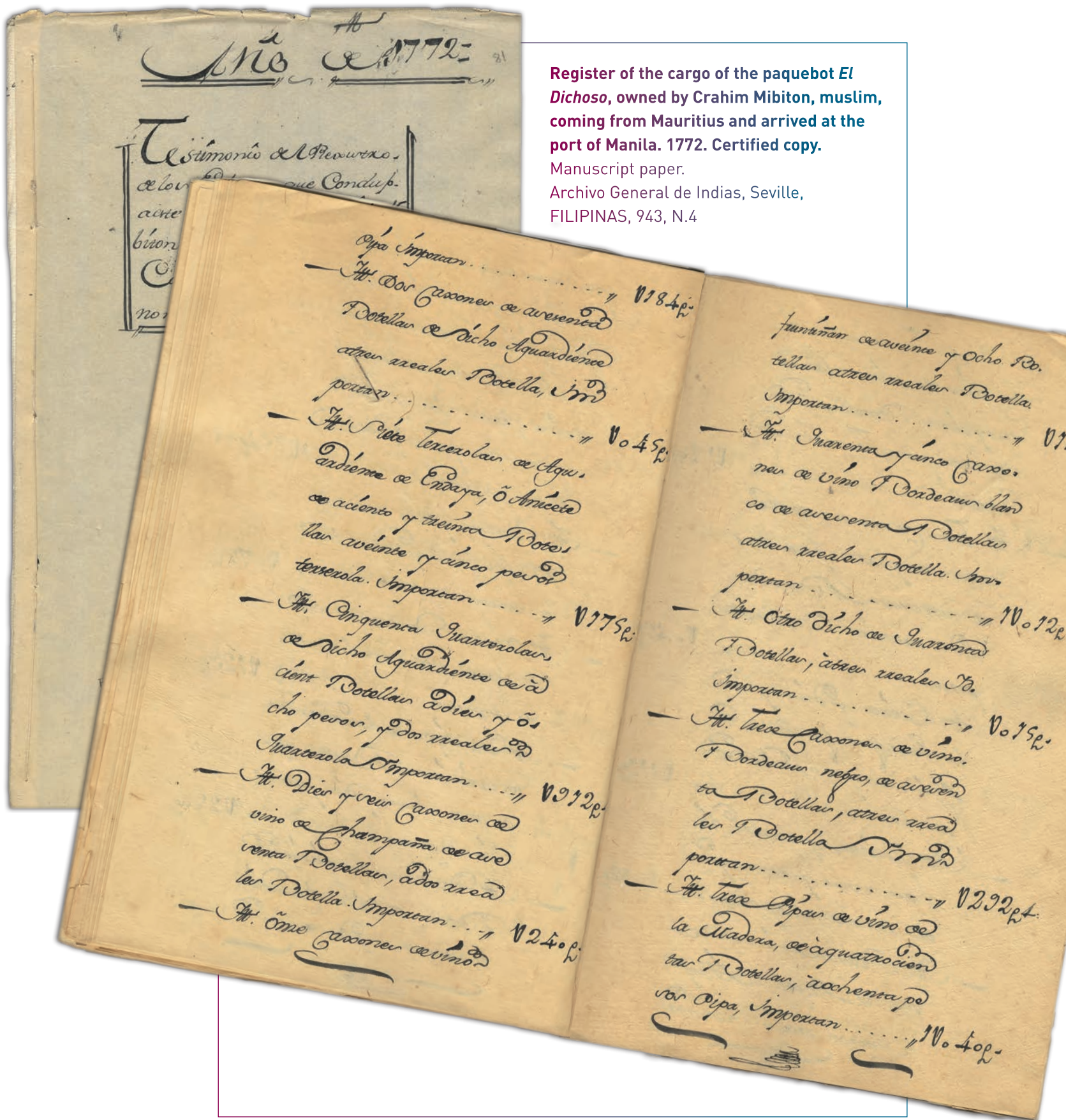
MANILA: MEETING POINT AND EXCHANGES

Manila City was known as *La Perla de Oriente*. A cosmopolitan capital where people of all origins and conditions had a place. Native Filipinos, Chinese sangleys and, to a lesser extent, other European and Asian nations were added to Spanish neighbours or passers-through who had come from the metropolis or New Spain. An ethnic and cultural melting pot born of the transformation of this area on the island of Luzon, once a small commercial port range. The foundation of the Spanish colony in 1571 and its integration into a communications network that linked Asia, America and Europe turned this city into a hub of trade and commerce.

Capital of the Philippines since 1595, it was growing at the same pace as was its business. Within its walls or in their shadow, Spanish landowners and merchants lived together with sangleys, Native Filipinos pursued the most varied trades, missionaries strove to spread the Christian message, military, royal officials... There were around 30,000 souls in the early 17th century, of which Spaniards were the minority. Theirs offices and interests were varied, although most came together on ships that crossed the ocean and laced Manila and Acapulco, the two ends of a trade route, the rationale behind the city.

The map of Manila displayed on these pages, by Ignacio Munoz, a Dominican friar who lived in Manila, is the oldest one. It is shown to illustrate a dossier for the construction of a new hospital for the natives of the city and demolition of the old one, which was located outside the walls. It provides detailed information on the status and distribution of its defences, schools, hospitals, courthouses and other buildings, along with a corresponding comment or explanation as well as the towns and suburbs that surrounded it.

Sheltered at the bottom of the bay and protected on its flanks by the Pasig river, the Bay of Laguna and, above all, by its wall, Manila hoarded in its urban fabric churches, convents, palaces and notable houses. Its wall was built in the 1590s from an old fort dedicated to *Nuestra Señora de Guía*, later integrated into the city's defences. At its end, the fort of Santiago and, next to it, the royal warehouses, the governor palace, and the cathedral... It was the nerve centre of the Spanish colony



Register of the cargo of the paquebot *El Dichoso*, owned by Crahim Mibiton, muslim, coming from Mauritius and arrived at the port of Manila. 1772. Certified copy.

Manuscript paper.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville,

FILIPINAS, 943, N.4

No 1772

Testimonio de Aprehension
de los efectos que condujo
ante
bion
no

Opa Importan. 11 1184p
— 11. Dos Caxones de avienta
Potellar de dicho Aguadiente
atras reales Potella, 1111
portan.
— 11. Diez Terceros de Agua
Andiente de Endaya, 6 Arreca
de aciento y treinta Potel
lar aviente y cinco pesos
tercerola. Importan. 11 1175p
— 11. Cinqenta Quaterolas
de dicho Aguadiente de d
dent Potellar adier y 6
cho pesos, y dos reales
Quaterola Importan. 11 1172p
— 11. Diez y seis Caxones de
vino de Champaña de av
venta Potellar, ados rea
lar Potella. Importan. 11 1240p
— 11. Ome Caxones de vino

Junta de aviente y ocho Po.
tellar atras reales Potella
Importan. 11 117
— 11. Inventa y cinco Caxo
nar de vino Potellau blan
co de avienta Potellau
atras reales Potella. 1111
portan. 11 1172p
— 11. Ocho dicho de Inventa
Potellar, atras reales Po.
Importan. 11 1175p
— 11. Trece Caxones de vino
Potellau negro, de avien
ta Potellar, atras rea
lar Potella 1111
portan. 11 1232p
— 11. Trece Pipas de vino de
la Madera, de aquatrocien
tar Potellar, cochenra pe
sar Pipa, Importan. 11 1140p

in the Philippines, which looked out as populations emerged around: the Parián, first borough of the sangleys; Dilao, for the Japanese, and the nearby native villages. In 1629 the first stone bridge over the Pasig River was built, facilitating access to populations, the majority being the Christian Chinese of Binondo and Tondo.

In the early 17th century the city of Manila weaved its commercial networks towards four points: From the north it received silks and Chinese porcelains, from the south spices from the Molucca Islands, and from the West cotton, ivory or spices from South-East Asia. The city funnelled all these products to New Spain in exchange for silver and some manufactured goods.

It was not the only European place in South-East Asia. The Portuguese had established traded on the coasts of India, China and some islands of Indonesia, the rivalry between them not being remedied by the Treaty of Zaragoza in 1529, nor the Iberian Union in 1580. Dutch merchants and privateers joined the circuit and reached the eastern coast from Indian routes. Furthermore, there was no lack of adventurers who defied Spanish surveillance and crossed the Pacific ocean. Next, the *Dutch East India Company* (VOC) ratified the North-European presence in Indonesia and, after conquering Batavia in 1619, clinched a network of exchanges that competed with Spanish ones. Gradually, the Dutch and English grew at the expense of the old Portuguese route, the Indian Ocean, a situation which was consolidated in the 18th century.

In this context, aside from the Manila galleon, there are two records registered which show the dimension of a transatlantic trade supplying luxury goods and consumer goods to European enclaves scattered along the Asian coasts. The Spanish authorities, defenders of the interests of the metropolis and lucrative business that supported the Pacific route, tried to avoid these other routes, limiting the activity of other rival powers. This reason explains why European traders attempted to avoid such restrictions by hiring Asian merchants who concluded surreptitiously business otherwise barred to them.

This is the case of the paquebot *El Dichoso*. Its owner, a moor named Crahim Mibitón, claimed to be from the islands of Mauritius, an enclave lost in the waters of the Indian ocean which became a must stopover for French, English and Dutch ships. He was most likely commissioned to sell their precious cargo in Manila, but we can not rule out that he was actually the mere puppet of a European trader, as sometimes happened. Whatever the case, he told the royal officers he was carrying brandy from Hendaya, wines from Champaña and Madeira, *Frontignan*—a muscat type wine, produced in Prontignan, France— and white wines and red Bordeaux. A whole range of select wines intended for the best tables.

More varied was the cargo of the schooner *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, from Malaysia and Java. This was declared by its captain Francisco Casten, although its cargo complied with the same profile as above: Beer in barrels, salmon (smoked



Año de 1771

Testimonio del Rextio.

Delos Gen. y Jector q. Conduxo la
Goleta nombrada N. V. el Ro.
... en Cap. D. Juan

Doscientas quaxenta por Bo-
tellas que al mismo respecto
que la antecedente parcion
importan ————— No. 983:

It, Otro Caron de Leves
va conduciendo Botellas un
numero importan al mismo
precio que las quatrocientas an-
tecedentes ————— No. 758

It, Seis Barriles quintales
de Azeite de Castilla regulados
cada uno a veinte y cinco Bo-
tellas que juntas hazen qua-
trocientas, y cinquenta im-
portan a razon de tres Rea-
les limeta en que abaluamos // No. 686:

It, Nueve cunetas de Val-
mor a razon de seis pesos
en que abaluamos importan // No. 548

It, Nueve Cafones de Vino

Caron de numero seis a
Ocho que contienen Dos mill
Doscientos quaxenta y siete
Botellas al mismo respecto de
tres reales Botella importan // No. 425:

It, Lo dicho de numero quor
de que contiene ciento treinta
por Botellas las treinta de
Vino Perez que abalua-
mos a dos reales ————— // No. 744

It, Treinta Botellas de Caron
que dicho respecto de tres
reales importan ————— // No. 482:

It, Treinta y seis aguardien-
te que a dos reales cada uno
en que abaluamos importan // No. 98

It, Treinta y cinco Botellas de
Voj que a razon de un
Real en que abaluamos im-
portan ————— // No. 483:

Register of the cargo of the schooner
Nuestra Señora del Rosario, captained by
Francisco Castén, coming from Malaysia
and Java and arrived at the port of
Manila. 1769. Certified copy of 1771.

Manuscript paper.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville,
FILIPINAS, 942, N.2

or marinated and probably canned), *Carlón wine* –wine which, in order to be elaborated, must be cooked to facilitate its conservation—, sherry, brandy, *bottles of Soy from Japan* –Soy sauce—, cheeses from Flanders, *Castilla oil* and bottled lemon juice.

Some inventories of goods show the sophistication of the ruling elite and the synchronism of the colonial era's Hispanic-Filipino cuisine. Thus, late seventeenth century fine *lompote* tablecloths were available for the Archbishop of Manila, cotton fabric manufactured on the islands of Cebu and Bohol which, where appropriate, were embroidered and finely finished *con sus puntas de algodón*¹. The Bishop of Nueva Cáceres had available copper and silver cutlery and even a case with 12 table knives with handles made of ivory². He also had several sets of crockery, some made of current earthenware and others made of porcelain, and some *vidrios cristalinos*. The Admiral of Galleons Gabriel Curucelagui kept silverware in his house in Manila including dishes, plates of different sizes, *azafates* – serving trays –, marygolds, salt shakers, one food preserver, peak jugs, beakers, water jugs and washbasin even a spitter, while his cutlery had ladles, spoons, forks and some loose handles apart from 11 chandeliers which illuminate each evening party³.

Their pantries and cupboards had jars of different sizes and qualities, some with lids and locks. This is the case of Bro Miguel Bayot, Bishop of Cebu, who left more than fifty jars, medium and small vases, including so called *Pasi* and several medium martabans when he passed away. He also had more refined pieces, such as 2 yellow and engraved vases with lids and a carved water-pot with a lock and 2 salt shakers *de loza blanca*⁴. His kitchen also had various utensils, including a pot and two copper stoves, *tacho* pans (a type of boiler) and a *carajay* (frying pan with curved base and high edges, originating in China). Tableware for daily use included a *pichel* (jar), pewter and dishes, water jugs and earthenware dishes.

The church was an influential community in the archipelago and, at the same time, kept in contact with rural communities, where its members were dedicated to Christian evangelism. Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans or Jesuits led the religious and cultural life of the colony, with the support of the monarchy and local authorities.

In this context we should mention the founding of the College of San José de Manila. Sponsored by Bishop Domingo de Salazar with the royal authorization from

¹ Archbishop Felipe Pardo goods inventory. Manila, January 6, 1690. AGI, FILIPINAS, 26, R.1, N.1.

² Doctor Felipe de Molina goods inventory, Archbishop of Nueva Cáceres. Manila, July 20, 1740. AGI, FILIPINAS, 180, N.23

³ Admiral Gabriel Curucelagui goods inventory, "*almirante de galeones*". Manila, May 22 and June 12, 1696. AGI, FILIPINAS, 26, R.5, N.19.

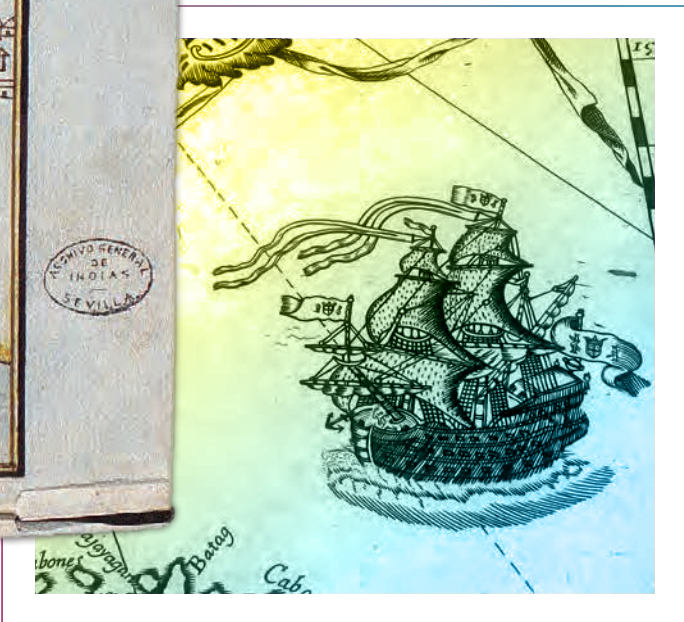
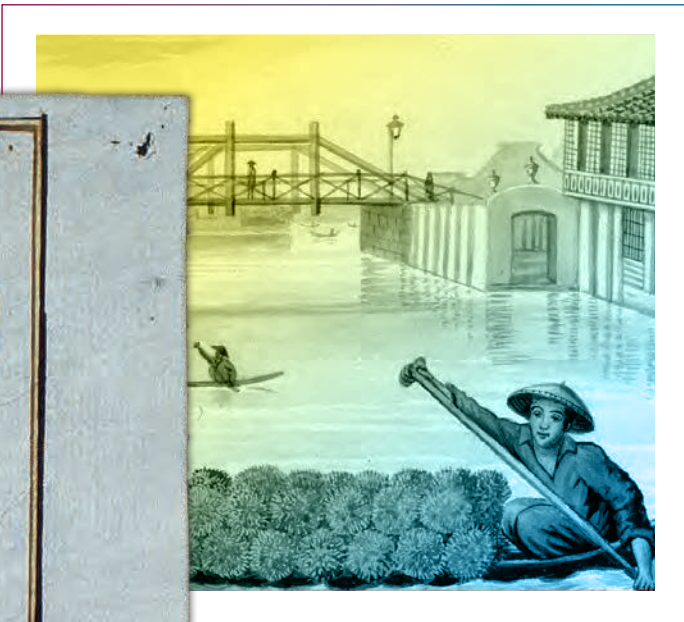
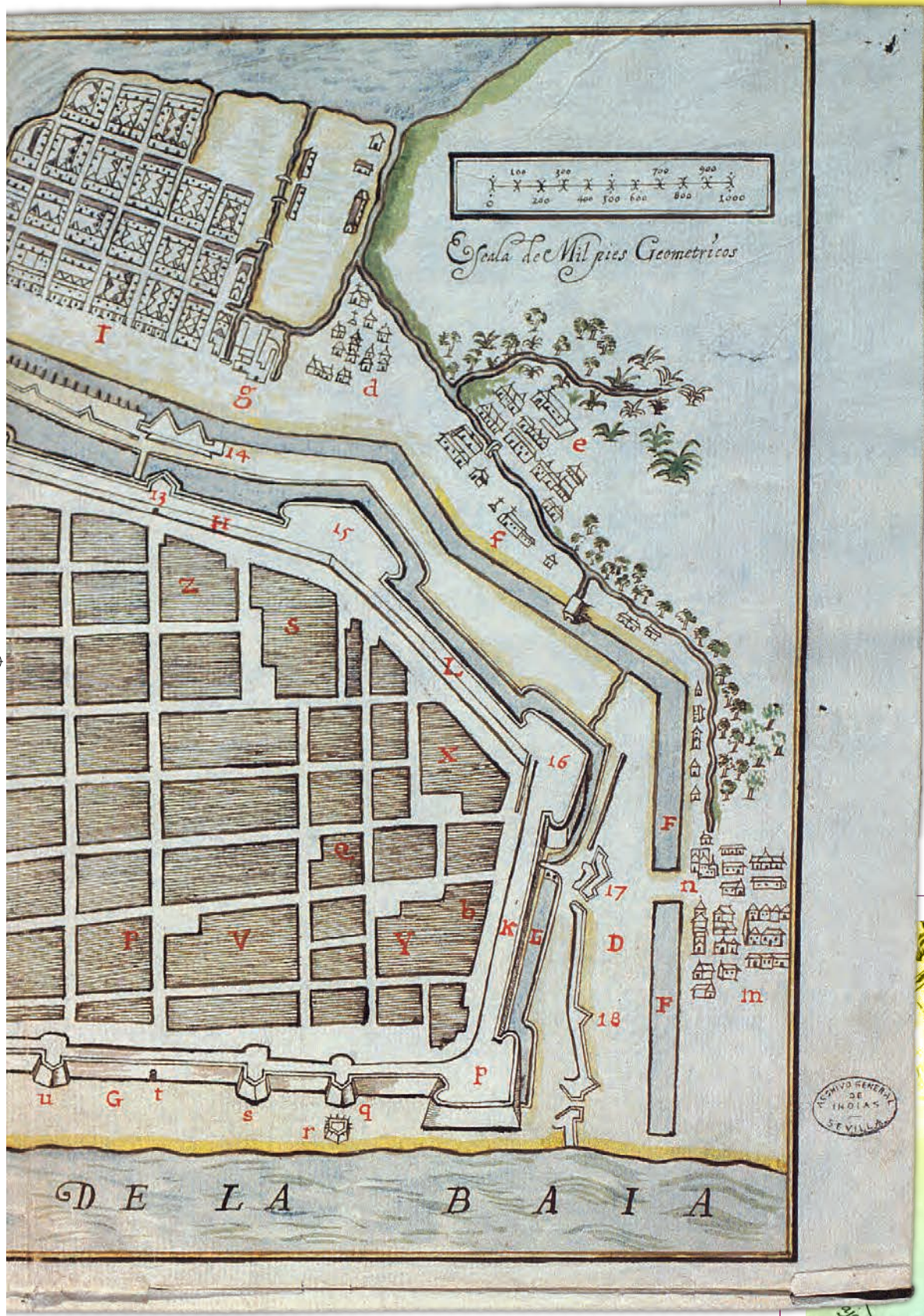
⁴ Friar Miguel Bayot goods inventory, Archbishop of Cebú. Manila, July 1, 1701. AGI, FILIPINAS, 163, N.67.



Map of the City of Manila and its extramural districts. 1671.

Manuscript paper; pen drawing, coloured. 1 page, 28.8 x 40.8 cm.
 Archivo General de Indias, Seville, MP-FILIPINAS, 10





Torped, en tres de octubre de mill setecientos
y sesenta y ocho años. El Sr. D. Juan José de
Castaño, con Intervención del Sr. D. Francisco de
Real, por Antequiera de Francisco de
Antequiera de Antequiera, y abaluo de bienes que
existen en este Colegio, pertenecientes a dicho Sr.
D. Juan José de Castaño de las Pías, y Antequiera
de, que tiene ocupado, y ha sido de las halladas en
la conformidad que las veje, las abito, y encañ
no venen, mando a Capitan Pablo, abaluo de
nombrado que los apacense, y con efecto lo exp
cuso en la forma, y manera siguiente

- 299: # - Una caja de Madena del Caxian
con venaduna, y sin llave, de venad
lana y tercius de largo, tres quarters
de ancho, así mismo de alto, a baluo
en tres pesos

- 300: # - Una dicha del Caxian con venaduna
y sin llave de una bara y medio
de largo, tres quarters de ancho, lo mismo
de alto, a baluo en tres pesos

- 301: # + Una mantaboma grande areycañ
con su tapadera de Palo, a baluo
en seis pesos

- 302: # + Dos dichas medianas con su tapade
ra, así mismo areycañ, a baluo
a quatro pesos cada uno, Importan
ocho pesos

- 303: # + Una dicha mas mediana, sin tap
adera, a baluo en seis reales

- 304: # + Quince tinajas de venado
casi, con sus fucadas, abaluanos de
reales y medio cada uno. Importan

1003p.
1003p.
1006p.
1008p.
1006p.
1004p 3p6
1025p 3p6

305: # + Quince tinajas de venado
de Macati de Caluanon de
reales cada una, Importan diez
pesos, y dos reales

- 306: # + Doce dichas de venado
y dos tinajas de China rapada, y
baludan cada uno a tres quarters,
Importan siete reales

- 307: # + Doce tinajas de China, se abalua
non cada uno dos reales, Import
tan tres pesos

- 308: # + Quince tinajas grandes de venado
de Macati, a quatro reales cada
uno, Importan dos pesos

- 309: # + Quince tinajas de China, a real
cada uno, Importan quatro reales

- 310: # + Trece tinajas de Areycañ de venado
de Macati, a quatro reales cada uno
con su fucado, a se
inde y dos reales, Importan tres
reales y cinco pesos, y seis tomines

- 311: # + Dos tinajas de Manteca la una
de una, y la otra como cinco quarters
abaluanon con el casco encinto por
Importan

- 312: # + Doce tinajas de Arucas de la Pan
panza adie y reales cada uno, Im
portan diez y siete pesos, y quatro
reales

- 313: # + Cinco tinajas de Arucas de la Pan
panza adie y reales cada uno con
el casco Importan seis y medio
reales

+ 314: # + Quince tinajas de venado
de Macati, a quatro reales cada
uno, Importan, siete y medio
reales

Inventory of the goods in the kitchen of Colegio San Jose.
Manila, 3 - 5 October, 1768.
Manuscript paper.
National Archives of the Philippines, Manila, Record Management and Archives
Office, Temporalidades, legajo I-1, fols. 56-65.

1585, protected by the Society of Jesus for the education of Spanish, natural and mixed youth who contributed to the evangelicalism of the islands. It was inaugurated in 1601.

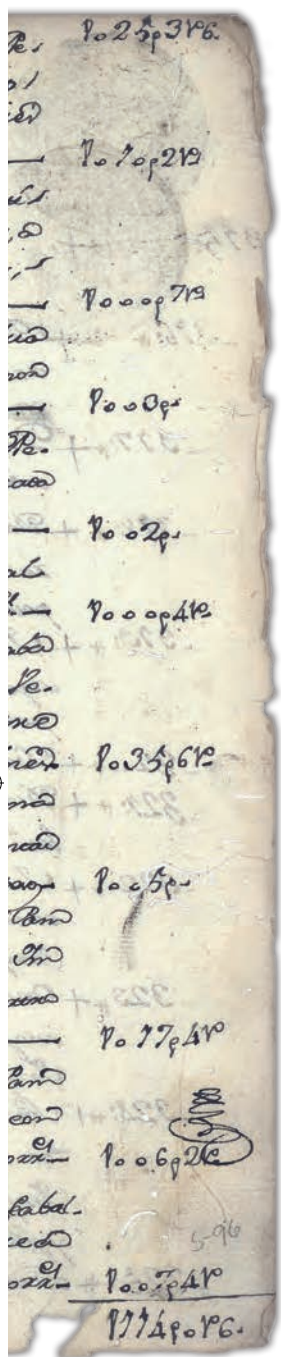
The expulsion of the Jesuits, issued in 1767 and received in Philippines in May 1768, involved the seizure of all their properties and, in such circumstances, the College of San Jose had to face closure. Months later, royal officials conducted a thorough inventory of all its assets, including kitchen utensils and some remaining stored foods. Apart from the stoves, the kitchen included a cauldron, 5 copper pans, 4 Japanese small boilers, 9 *carajays*, 4 *torteras* and copper furnace with its cover. It is unclear the purpose of 4 other copper cauldrons with beaters and pot holders, although they must have served for preparing chocolate, a drink that had become very popular, as we have already noticed.

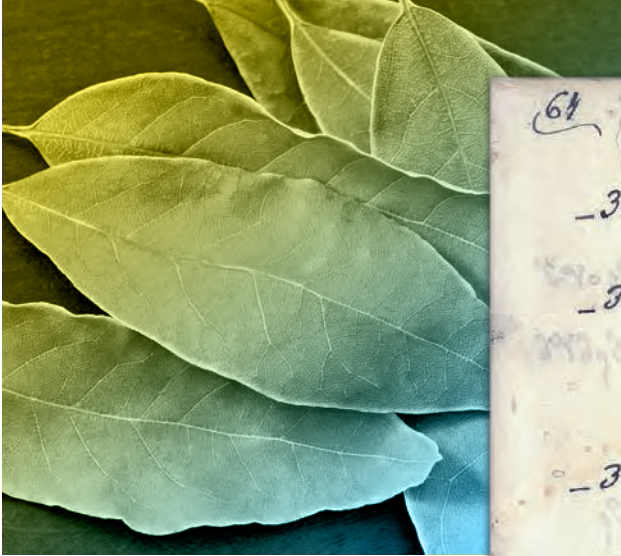
For measuring and calculating the ingredients, cooks possessed a *romana* and another 6 scales of various sizes. The kitchen also had ceramic containers of various types and sizes: a large Martaban and 3 other smaller, containers with lids, to keep the oil, dozens of jars of *San Pedro Macati*, 4 little jars of China, 2 large earthen-ware jars, one blue and one red, 2 China large earthen-ware jars *con sus serraduras y sus llaves*, a mortar and 2 *timbás* or copper cubes.

They had 3 red trays, 5 various sizes white copper serving dish, *picheles* with their platters, more than 60 bowls, one of them made of copper, another 15 fine and deep, 13 flat, 3 of the them smaller and 24 medium sized coarse bowls to serve the food. There were dishes of various qualities, standing out more than a hundred *platos finos*, some bowls, other white copper plates and 10 soup plates of *chamberí*, that is, ostentatious. Less showy were about 250 *entrefinos* plates, 48 of them blue and for the daily service of schoolboys, more than 800 coarse plates and 240 *tazas calderas bastas*, 48 soup plates, two serving dishes and 2 large soup bowls. There was no lack of more specialized pieces such as 114 *pozuelos* or small cups to enjoy the chocolate or 4 small dishes with their small cups made of earthenware and one *torno de porcelana conserveras* made of fine earthenware with its 5 canneries, presumably matching pieces all of probable Chinese origin. Not surprisingly, the sangley community left its mark on the city of Manila and there were always some Chinese or mestizo among the schoolboys.

For cutlery, 28 *Flemish knives*, 10 dinning knives *con cabos de cangelón*, 42 spoons made of copper, 30 forks and 84 mother-of-pearl spoons were accounted. In addition, towels, napkins and place mats of various tissues and qualities: *Ilocos*, *sarampuli*, *cambayas*, *elephant*, *European canvas*...for decorating tables and the easy cleaning of the diners.

Seventeen earthen-ware cruets, 6 cruets made of glass and 12 earthenware salt shakers, 6 dozen cups and other 6 glasses of various sizes, flasks, various bottles,





Inventory of the goods in the kitchen of Colegio San Jose. Manila, 3 - 5 October, 1768.

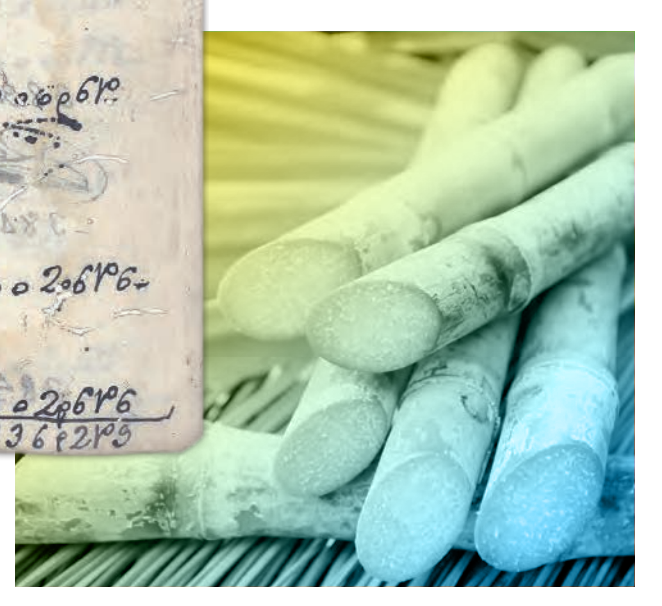
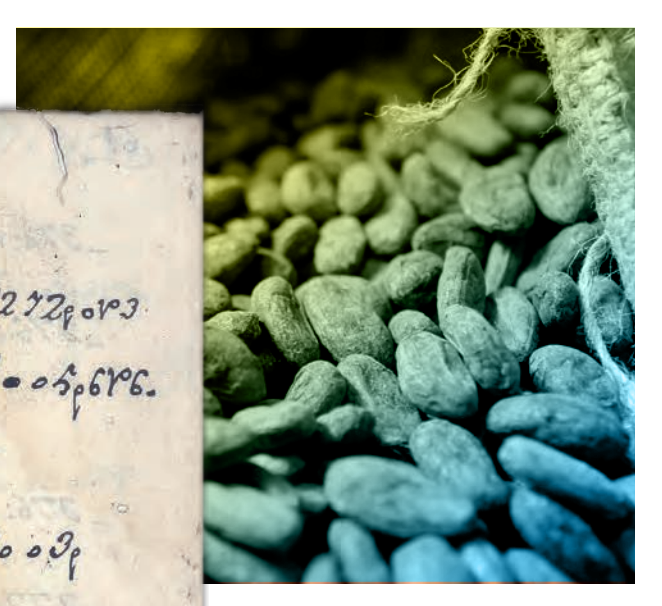


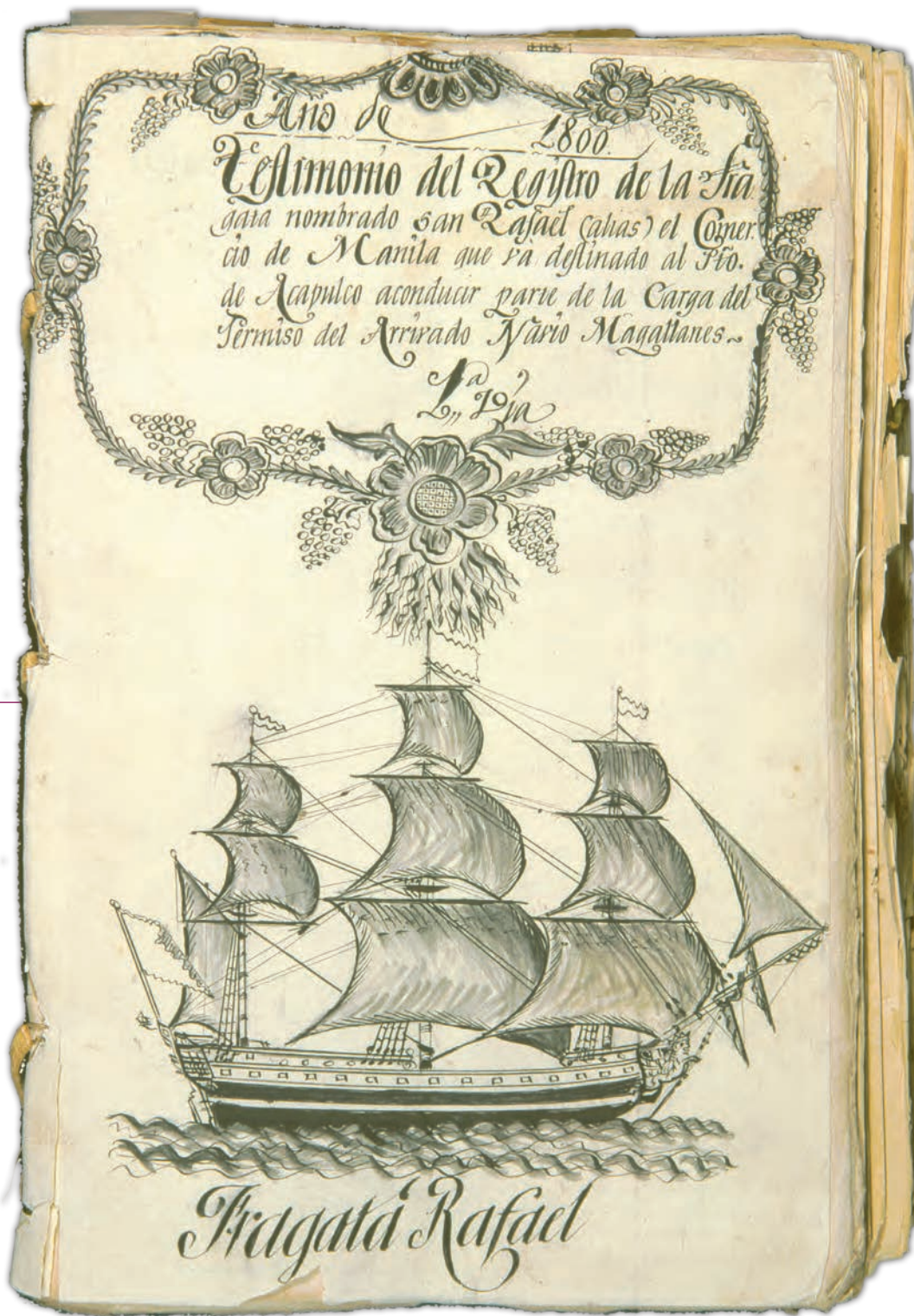
61
 abaluanon una una a veis granos / 9787p5p3.
 Importan Catorce reales — — — — — 900p6p
 -374: # + Diez Cuchillos e mesa con Cava de
 Angelon se abaluanon en diez reales — — — — — 900p2p
 -375: # + Diez Docenas y media de Cuchara
 e Cobre amarillo, y Doce Docenas y me
 dia de Tendedores se abaluanon cada
 en cinco pesos — — — — — 9005p
 -376: # + Una prensa para Caxas abaluo
 en veis reales — — — — — 9000p6p
 -377: # + Doce ampollitas pequeñas abaluo en
 tres reales cada una son veis reales — — — — — 9000p6p
 -378: # + Unos Cates de panela de Sambaon
 ga, abaluanon en veis reales — — — — — 9000p6p
 -379: # + Diez Docenas de Cuchara e con
 cha, y veintena Peines de China, a
 baluanon Doce en veis reales — — — — — 9000p6p
 -380: # + Doce Molinos para agua, abalua
 non en quatro reales — — — — — 9000p4p
 -381: # + Diez Pinjeras de Duro abaluo a
 veis granos cada una, Importan
 tres reales — — — — — 9000p3p
 -382: # + Pintada y ocho botas e tra, abal
 uanon cada una a veis granos
 portan catorce reales — — — — — 900p6p
 383: # + Diez y nueve Botas de Masilla, y
 Doce, abaluanon Doce reales cada una
 Importan veis p. y Doce reales — — — — — 900p2p
 -384: # + Diez Jarros de Cendra de maion
 amonon, maltratados, abaluo cada
 uno a quatro reales, Importan tra
 y quatro reales — — — — — 9003p4p
 -385 # + Paris, p. de Sienca, 1/2 p. p. — — — — — 9272p0p3

LIBRO DE LAS
 MEDICINAS RECIENTES
 SESENTA Y OCHO.

1787

- sonon ocho arrobas, abaluanon
 agua de puy el pico, Imponen-
- 386: # + Ocho Candelas de caxatons ya garba
 da en las puntas, abaluanon en
 tres reales cada una, Imponen
 tres pesos ————— 12 72 0 10 3
 1 0 0 5 6 1 6
- 387: # + Dos Tibones de losa azul, embesa
 cada con su Casidunav, y vin lla
 ve, a baluanon, do reales y medio
 cada uno, Imponen cinco r^l ————— 10 0 0 3 9
- 388: # + Uno dicho de losa pintado de Colorado
 con su Tapadena de lo mismo, a
 baluo en quatro reales ————— 10 0 0 9 3 1 0
- 389: # - Media tinaja de Chada abaluo
 con la tinaja en vnpeso ————— 10 0 0 9 4 1 2
- 390: # - Dos ganitas de Anis, abaluo con
 la tinaja en tres pesos ————— 10 0 0 9 9
- 391: # + Una Romero pequeña, con
 peso abaluo en quatro pesos ————— 10 0 0 3 9
- 392: # + Dos Tibones de china con sus rano
 duras, y sus llave, abaluo cada uno
 en tres reales, Imponen veis r^l ————— 10 0 0 4 9
- 393: # - Quatro tinajas y media llenas
 de frijoles abaluo cada uno en cinco
 reales Imponen veinte y dos
 reales y medio ————— 10 0 0 6 1 6
- 394: # - Quatro y media de fongio, a
 baluo en la tinaja a cinco r^l.
 Imponen dos pesos, y 1/2 r^l, y medio ————— 10 0 2 6 1 6
 12 3 6 1 2 1 9





Registry of the frigate called *San Rafael*, alias «El Comercio de Manila», bound to the port of Acapulco with a part of the cargo of the Galeon Magallanes. 17 February, 1800. Certified copy.

Manuscript paper; pen drawing.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, FILIPINAS, 961. MP-INGENIOS, 284.

some lamps and chandeliers, two spittoons, several pieces of leather, wooden boxes, 9 bales of tobacco, 2 *molinós para agua*, a scissors... completed the dishes and cookware.

Philippine colonial kitchens were a reflection of their society and therefore it was common to find foods from diverse backgrounds. The Bishop of Cebu had available in his pantry Mindanao cinnamon, pepper, Iloilo sugar, saffron, rosemary *de Castilla*, biscuits, butter and rice. Little remained of the food that once filled the larders of the College of San Jose when real officers proceeded to inventory their assets, although 13 large earthen-ware jars of coconut oil - to give light to lamps rather than cooking, 2 large earthenware jars of butter, 5 large earthenware jars and 14 loaves of Pampanga sugar, half large earthenware jar of barley, 6 *gantas* of anise, 4 *cates* of Zamboanga cinnamon, 28 cans of tea, 4 large earthen-ware jars and a half of beans, another 4 and a half of mongos and 2 bottles of Castilian oil, were found.

TRAVEL BACK AND FORTH

The Manila galleon was seen by all. From the point when Urdaneta discovered a return route to Acapulco, regularizing communications, it was the main goal for the Spaniards. It was not a fleet or *army* but just one or two boats at most, characteristically derived from the conditions imposed by the Pacific Ocean itself. Its currents, winds and storms were not consistent with navigation guidelines established for the Atlantic, hence conditions that imposed trade restrictions were added.

In their place, grand ships that navigated the immensity of the ocean alone were developed. At first there were two ships, the captain and the admiral, although throughout the 17th century they came to sending a single galleon, although according to the rules it needed to be two. The first barely exceeded 500 tonnes, the people of Manila and the traders took advantage and maximised this. However, their interest in increasing its turnover flew in the face of the reticence of the metropolis and Sevillian merchants in particular, fearful that the quality of Asian silks might ruin the Spanish textile industry. Moreover, incomes from the monopoly established in Acapulco demanded a tight control that annulled, as we saw, a breakthrough on this issue. They could not help, however, the pressures of the merchants involved in such lucrative trade, hence an allowable load was gradually increased.

Although widespread, not all were galleons. This type of boat was an evolution of the *nao*, the first to know the Philippine coast. It became a regular within shipyards because of the capacity of its people and the quality of the archipelago's woods. Increased in size and improved in their ability, these galleons became the largest



Jars from the nao *San Diego* wreck. China, late 16th century.

Earthenware.

National Museum of the Philippines, Manila

Inventory No. IV-91-02-No ACC (1 & 2) / IV-91-02-No 16 / IV-91-02-No 1695



ships of the time. However, in 1721 new naval models were chosen: Frigates and flat-bottomed boats were more nimble and quick. Technical innovations of the 18th century and their greater manoeuvrability allowed other routes to be addressed, such as connecting with El Callao and crossing Cape Horn. Or, crossing the Indian ocean to head to the Atlantic after passing the Cape of Good Hope, both bound for Cadiz. Meanwhile, the route of the Manila galleon remained unsurpassed until its decline and the independence of Mexico ended 250 years of history.

It could be thought, as was suggested by Legazpi in his time, that the *tornaviaje* was, precisely, the return from the Philippines to New Spain. Although, from a practical standpoint, regular journeys required departure from Manila and a sojourn in Acapulco for unloading and loading goods. Henceforth, the return to Cavite in March. Therefore, the return journey was just the opposite for many, the return to the Philippines. It did not in fact matter, because in the end the Manila galleon went beyond the singular trips to assume a continuous two-way communication.

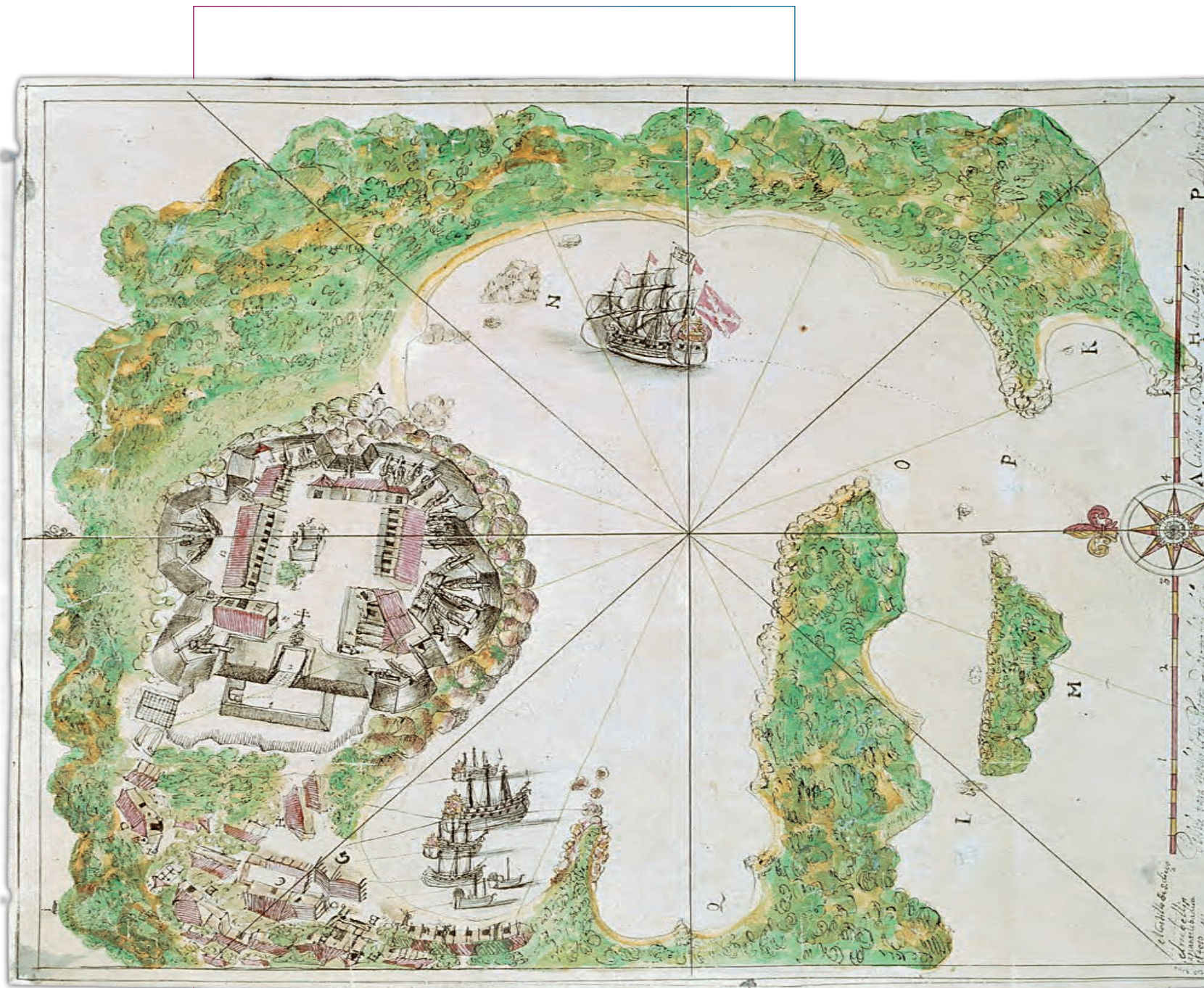
Trade was regulated from 1593, when businesses were centralized in Manila and the only destination permitted for local Spanish people was the port of Acapulco. At first it was controlled by the governor, but he soon shared responsibility with other local authorities. This governing board allocated among local people lots, or *boletas*, spaces available with a theoretical pre-set value where goods intended to be sent to New Spain were stored. The total of about 300 tons of tonnage per vessel in the late 16th century, increased at same pace as ships did to over 1500 tonnes in late 18th century.

An important share was set aside for the governor and clergy who also benefited, although the profitability of low prices in origin and high in destination guaranteed good results for everyone. Over time the number of holders of *boletas* was reduced and the foundation of the Consulate of Manila in 1769 limited access to them. It mattered little, because behind it Spanish and foreign merchants shared investments and profits.

Once spaces were assigned, bales, boxes and crates were prepared. Many of the goods were acquired through the sangleys, for that reason packing was normally done in the Parian. They then proceeded to load the galleon under the close surveillance of royal officials.

The galleon would depart in July, always depending on the weather and taking advantage on the summer monsoon, though it did not hurry to go out to sea. Its crew preferred touring the Philippine archipelago to renew the supplies and with this excuse, introduced contraband goods. After passing the Strait of San Bernardino, it headed towards the southern Marianas, a slight deviation to the east that provided them with a new provisions a well as distancing them from the islands that lay between the Philippine archipelagos and Japan where pirates lay.





Map of the bay, port and castle of San Diego, Acapulco.

April 7th, 1712, Mexico

Manuscript paper; pen drawing, coloured. 1 page, 49 x 38 cm.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, MP-MEXICO, 106

From the Marianas it veered northward, almost parallel to 40 latitude at which the ship changed course to the east and faced the difficult challenge of crossing the great ocean. A long journey of several months in which no scales were made until the north American coast was in sight, close to Cape Mendocino. Then began the last leg of their journey, with a party on board offered by the *Tribunal de las Señas*, in which among joy, sweets and wine the happiness for the arrival at destination was clear. The galleon veered to the south and, after passing Cape San Lucas, would arrive in Acapulco in December, aided by the winds and currents.

It was not a trip free from hazards, as storms and typhoons damaged the ships, deflecting them from their course or even seeing them swallowed by the sea, as happened to the great galleon *Nuestra Señora del Pilar* which disappeared in the immensity of waters in 1750. *Nuestra Señora de Guía* also sank when it was about to head into the San Bernardino Strait. In addition there were pirates lurking, eager to capture valuable booty. The galleon *Santa Ana* was captured by Cavendish when it sailed for the California coast in 1587; the galleon *San Diego* sank in 1600 during the battle against the corsair Olivier van Noort, and the *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga* was taken by Anson while returning from Acapulco in 1743. *Santísima Trinidad* was later also captured near Manila in 1762... Sad examples which do not, though, throw a shadow over the navigation which, on most occasions, ended successfully. In fact, in its 250 year of history, only 4 galleons were lost to the enemy and about thirty lost a result of the weather.

Acapulco awaited the arrival of the galleon, an occasion that was celebrated with a big party and trading fair. Its size was much more modest because it was just a village of houses and warehouses around a few churches and main buildings, dominated by the fort of San Diego from a nearby hill and located at the bottom of a bay. Although it received the rank of city in 1579, it never reached the importance of Manila. However, this did not prevent it from becoming one of the top Hispanic Pacific ports.

The arrival of the galleon or rather, its proximity to Acapulco and its being seen in the distant horizon, unleashed a flurry of activity in the city, perpetuated by the tolling of bells. If a call at the port of San Blas or Monterrey was made, as prevailed throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, the messengers went ahead so that, upon reaching their destination, all traders from the region were held back. For a couple of months this coastal enclave became a hotbed of traders and transporters, attending to business from Manila or Mexico, unloading the galleon, organising shipments of bales to the novo-hispana capital and other destinations or dealing with supplies and preparing the return to the Philippines. Although the official fair lasted about twenty days, between January and February, in practice it lasted for as long as the ship remained anchored. In adherence to ordinances and tax collecting, everything was supervised by royal officials although smuggling was never fully eradicated.



Derechos que se Cauzaren a los generos
y frutos y Regalos q. se Remiten a las
Islas de las Indias en el tornaviaje de man-
dado de su M^{ta} Mando se haga Inf^{ra}
masion de los Precios que se tienen de ger.
siguientes.

Cajones de Regalo de chocolate de Indias

Medios Capotes d^{tos}

Linajas de Orino

Polvos de Azulite

Perros de Cacao de Sacosta de ados. cargas

Cajones de Sabor

Cacao de Maracaiubo

Botijos de Azulite o barullo de agua
tres arrobas

Perros de Mezema de ocho arrobas

Perros de Romero

Linajas de Orino

Linajas de achiate

Cajones de Sabor

Perros de Cacao

Perros de oregano

Masos de Baniilla

Perros de Sarga

Perros de Sarga

Pesas de Sarga

Perros de Chile en Orino

Cajones de Sabor

Perros de Chile

Perros de Petate

Perros de Orino

Perros de Monteca

Dozenas de Sabor

Perros de queso

Perros de Orino

Para furo e feto se llamen las Perros

mas Praticas, y experimentadas en

los d^{tos} de los Precios, y los generos de

Perros que se hallaren en este Puen-
to, Para que con su aumento de Sabor

en orden a los d^{tos} de los Precios, Para

Proveer y furo = Don Alejo Lopez de

Orino = Ante mi Antonio Jimenez de

Orino = En la ciudad de

Los Reyes Puerto de Maricao a diez

ocho dias de mes de febrero de mil

seiscientos y noventa y cinco años

de Ante el Presidente de la Audiencia

de su M^{ta} Mando. El P^o de S^{ra}

Ante el Alcaide D. Diego de Orino

Summary of the cargo of the Galleon *Nuestra Señora de Begoña* on its
return trip to the Philippine Islands. Acapulco, February 28th, 1714.

Manuscript paper.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, FILIPINAS, 206, N.1

The exposition's map provides a good example of what has been narrated, because several vessels appear moored on the bay and, approaching the port, a galleon sails in the wind. This illustration, born of some previous drawings, was made in the early 18th century and sent to Secretary of State for the Navy and Indies along with a letter dated 7 April 1712. The buildings of the port, the population, its fortifications and the main topography of its environment can clearly be appreciated on it.

If Chinese silks and porcelains, Asian spices and some articles of ivory or hardwood dominated the outward journey, on the return then the numbers of silver coins far exceeded tobacco, cocoa, vanilla, and any regional products... An average of 200,000 *pesos* or *reales de a ocho*, as they were also known, minted in the mint of Mexico or possibly in the remotest part of Lima or Potosí. In fact, despite the reluctance of the metropolis, galleon products did not only travel to Spain. Many remained in Puebla, Mexico or other novo-hispanic populations, while others were shipped to Panama, Guayaquil, and Lima...

The galleon *Nuestra Señora de Begoña* gave us a record of its load when it was about to leave port for Manila on March 31, 1714, a journey that would become important because of its quality food goods. In its holds it carried *cocoa from Maracaibo*, in response to the growing demand from the social elite of Manila. Although *cocoa from the coast*, or Mexican, was also recognised. It also carried *chocolate en cajetas*, a way of previously packaging blocks of the goods which were then used for other types of sweets.

Moreover, the record also includes spices and European herbs that have medicinal and food uses. These consisted of spices and herbs such as lavender, rosemary, anise, oregano and rose essence. Some were scarce in the Philippines, although some were known from commercialization from Asia. The ship also carried vanilla, a Central America spice which grew in importance as the consumption of chocolate spread. Regarding chilli, if at first it was transported dry, sometimes raw and in pods or crushed, it soon joined the rest of pickled vegetables in vinegar, as it is found in our example. Less publicized was the *achiote*, unknown in the metropolis but rooted in the American continent, where it was originally from. Its use as food a colouring made it a substitute for saffron, although much more expensive and so hence it was exported to the Philippines where it was accepted. There was also wine, oil, ham, butter, cheese and wheat flour, constants in transoceanic voyages which, in the case of the Philippines, had an added value because of their scarcity in the archipelago.

While the ship was unloaded, businesses were closed, passengers and crew relaxed and waited for the departure date. It was time to recruit sailors, prepare luggage and some food for themselves, resolve any doubts or potential problems surrounding departure, and even to pray.

U
 y baltim de los de galles
 Santiago para el viaje.

r 399 q. de bigaya bas a 7 l. 4 l.	2 U 992 7 l.
r 36 q. de bigaya blancos a 7 l.	U 363 7 l.
r 16 q. de garbanos a 6 l.	U 096 6 l.
r 118 q. de faba a 8 l.	U 900 8 l.
r 30 botijas de vinagre a 5 p.	U 150 5 l.
r 5 q. de sal a 3 l.	U 015 3 l.
r 5 q. de lamiya a 8 p.	U 040 8 l.
r 900 queso a 5 l.	U 562 5 l.
r 50 docinas de toluca a 7 l.	U 350 7 l.
r 13 @ de docinas a 3 l.	U 042 3 l.
r 78 botijas de aceite a 7 l.	U 546 7 l.
r 30 Distas de cebolla a 7 l.	U 015 7 l.
r 140 Distas de queso a 7 l.	U 070 7 l.
r 176 @ de 13 libras de carne a 2 l.	U 352 2 l.
r 250 @ de 6 libras de carne salada a 2 l.	U 500 2 l.
r 44 @ de vino a 7 l.	U 53 7 l.
r 4 @ de pan de los de feus a 7 l.	U 01 7 l.
r 52 @ de 9 libras de carne salada a 2 l.	U 0 2 l.
r 1 q. de pasaca a 13 l.	U 0 13 l.
r 350 pizas de aguada a 12 l.	4 U 2 12 l.
= 11 U 5	

U
 y baltim que se gabo el
 puerto de calay con la gente
 de mar de ambos navios.

r 200 q. 3 @ de bigaya a 7 l.	U 1400 7 l.
r 70 q. de bigaya blancos a 7 l.	U 490 7 l.
r 11 q. de bigaya a 5 l.	U 55 5 l.
r 25 @ de bigaya a 5 l.	U 125 5 l.
r 1 q. de bigaya a 5 l.	U 5 5 l.
r 121 @ de pescado a 2 l.	U 242 2 l.
r 464 queso a 5 l.	U 2320 5 l.
r 4 docinas a 7 l.	U 28 7 l.

U
 y baltim que se dio a
 la gente que era en el
 que subieron el puerto

r 24 q. de bigaya a 7 l.	U 168 7 l.
r 315 queso a 5 l.	U 1575 5 l.
r 3 @ de 14 libras de carne a 2 l.	U 6 2 l.
r 4 @ de vinagre en 20 l.	U 80 20 l.
r 3 botijas de aceite en 12 l.	U 36 12 l.
r 1 q. de garbanos en 6 p.	U 6 6 p.
y baltim que se dio a 23 fuyes de sant augustin	
r 1 q. de bigaya en 7 l.	U 7 7 l.
r 2 botijas de aceite en 12 l.	U 24 12 l.
r 43 queso a 5 l.	U 215 5 l.
r 10 @ de 12 libras de carne a 2 l.	U 20 2 l.
r 1 q. de vinagre en 20 l.	U 20 20 l.
r 23 q. de garbanos en 2 l.	U 46 2 l.
r de pan fresco que se dio en el puerto de buron a 2 l.	U 30 2 l.
= U 102 6 l.	

List of provisions assigned to the crew of the vessels Santiago and San Ildefonso during their stay in Acapulco and account of their supplies for their back journey to Manila. 1591. Manuscript paper. 2 pages, 30.7 x 20.7 cm Archivo General de Indias, Seville, FILIPINAS, 34, n.90

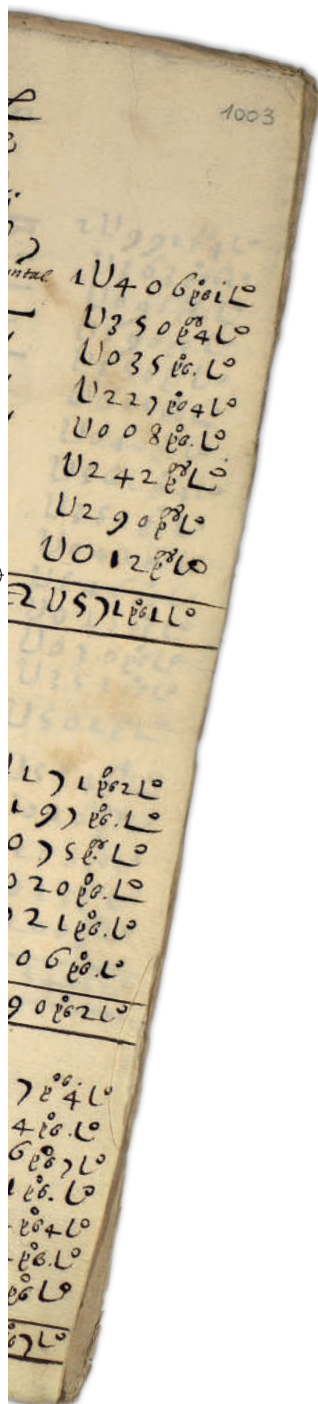
The galleons *Santiago* and *San Ildefonso* were anchored in Acapulco awaiting their return journey. While preparations were rushed and businesses were closed, *the sailors, the soldiers and 23 followers from Sant Agustin*, who were preparing to leave for the Philippines, had to eat the food *that they were provided with while they were waiting for departure in that port*: Hams, biscuits and bread, chickpeas, beans, cheeses, fresh fish and salted, salt, oil and vinegar.

The stay in the port of Acapulco lasted for several weeks, until March in fact, when galleons began to return. So did the galleons *San Ildefonso* and *Santiago* and, to that end, were stocked with everything they needed for the trip: 450 quintals of *bizcocho bajo* plus 46 *bizcocho blanco*, lower quality and higher according the proportion of wheat flour. It included just over 27,000 kg as it was the main food during the journey. Speaking of vegetables, they loaded chickpeas, lentils and beans. They were probably cooked with oil, onions, garlic and a piece of salted meat, fish or bacon. In fact, we know that almost 100 pounds of bacon were loaded, 50 of them from Toluca, Mexico, a valley known since the mid-16th century for its production of hams, bacon and sausages. This was unlike the oil, wine and vinegar, which came from distant Spain. The 65 gallons of wine would help to quench crew's thirst, which also relied on 425 *pipas de aguada* to be consumed and then refilled with rainwater.

An easier voyage was expected, latitude was barely altered after leaving and, upon reaching the Marianas they used to call into the port of Guam in order to re-stock and resolve the problems that had arisen during the journey. The ships reached Manila Bay in May and June, after a shorter and less tortuous voyage, although the *peaceful* waters sometimes caused setbacks. So happened to the galleon *Santiago*. If both ships departed from Acapulco on March 25, only the *San Ildefonso* arrived to reached Cavite, on June 21th, 1591. Its companion ship had been lost during the journey and never heard of or seen again.

In 1747 Manuel Fermoselle, a Franciscan friar, arrived at port of Acapulco leading a group of missionaries who were to embark for Manila. His recommendations, forwarded to their co-religionists the following year, are a good example of what it took to prepare and undertake this journey. According to his account, they had to appear before the Castilian of the city, who would allocate them a suitable place to stay and manage their passage, ratified by the Royal Decrees they had. The friars were installed in the convent of his Order and prepared to organize the trip, acquiring everything they needed for the journey. It was not an easy task, and so after the experience, Fermoselle wanted to help future missions with the records that he kept and are being exhibited.

During their stay in Acapulco, the 50 monks acquired the food they thought was going to be consumed during the journey. A load of flour, 48 boxes of *bizcocho blanco*, 2 thirds of lentils, 14 of beans, 17 of corn, 2 of beans, 8 of chickpeas, 37



751. 69/24
P

hauemos hallado (el que esto escribe) el año de mil setecientos y quatro y siete, en el Puerto de Acapulco, haciendo el Rancho para la Misión que dho año se embarcó para esta Nra S.^{ta} Prouincia de S. Gregorio Exp.^o á muchos tiempos por lo grande de ella, y falta de Directorio, ni Instrucciones, á causa de hauerse embarcado el año antecedente N. H. Comisario Fr. Pedro de Jesus, lo embie lo que experimente, para que si aconteciere semejante caso aya alguna Razon de Persona experimentada, para que atentas las circunstancias, proceda con alguna luz, aya sea con ta, pues assi me lo han suplicado.

Digo pues, que el Religioso para esto diputado, deve prime.^o llevar la Cedula Real, y presentarla al Castellano, y Oficiales R.^{os} para que le den Casa, y procura su Amistad, porq. es necesario muchas veces valerse de ellos.

Llegado ala Casa: lo primero buscar vn Mayordomo de satisfacion, que esto es el todo para el Rancho, advirtiendole que no por muchos viages, q. aya hecho, es entendido; pues muchos son como el fogon: el nro con viages de toda su vida, no entendia cosa. Al vierto tambien, que es muy raro el que se encuentre fiel; pues el año antecedente n. en Misión del Barco de S.^{to} Domingo, despido el suio es el mismo. y este año, assi en el nro, con el de los P.P. Se los lapegaron, porque deben de juzgar, que lo da quando pueden interezar, es gage suio. Si dicho Mayordomo es Indio, cuidado con lo que se toma a sus Paisanos, y Compatriotas, y el salario de los demas del Rancho, pues mas miran por lo suio que por la obligacion que tienen de ser fieles.

Vease pues de esto la gente q. necessita para hazer su Rancho segun fuere la Misión, y conseruarlos primexo, pues por no hauelos yo hecho, assi tubimos nuestros daxes, y tomases, y con hauelos da do acada Muchacho por la temporada a 26q. algunos se salieron del Rancho descontentos, y es mejor que los q. asisten (si son fieles) en tierra, asistan tambien en Mar, aunque sean Fuxumetes los da el General para nuestra asistencia, y a lo que vi aya de general les paga. Para esta lo que les hade dar, q. quantos se necesitan consulten á otro Mayordomo, si puede ser Español; en S.^{to} Domingo los con seraron por dias (dizen) a 2.22. cada muchacho, y si assi se puede es mejor.

Si es muy grande la Misión, es necesario vn Miso, de forma para las quantas (sin say Religioso) que quiere tomar este trabajo, assi de tierra, como de Mar, apuntando despues el galto Coridiano, para q. sepa, quanto ay en ser, y no se encuentren ame

Instructions
on what to do
in Mexico and
Acapulco to
provide for the
things needed
by members of
religious orders
who go to the
Philippines,
by Fr. Manuel
fermoselle, OFM.
Manila, April
20th, 1748.

Copy. Manuscript
paper. 4 pages,
28.5 x 20 cm
Archivo
Franciscano
Ibero-Oriental,
Madrid, 69 / 24.



tancales of pumpkins and a jar of *fideo chino*. Interestingly the origin of all these foods shows the development of an integrated creole society that, in the food field, accepted products from all sources. Fermoselle himself was born in Zamora and spent some time in New Spain before crossing the Pacific Ocean, dedicating the rest of his life to evangelize the Philippines. Like so many other Spaniards, he had adapted to his new life, or at least had assumed naturally some terms and products that he seemed to know when he wrote this document.

Such was the case with legumes, because he knew how to distinguish parraleños beans, *chicmecos* - perhaps the red bean, a common bean among the *chichimecas* - from whites. Fermoselle also reported the Acapulco market's shortages by writing that *the viscocho, potages, guleis (...)* came from Mexico. In fact, the ship's arrival attracted traders from across the region and, in the case of cereals, legumes and vegetables, mostly coming from inside, mainly from the valleys of Puebla, Mexico or from Chilpancingo as was by recommended Fermoselle when talking about the maize. Interestingly, moreover, he identifies legumes the main way of cooking them -El Potaje- and, above all, the fact of referring to vegetables with his voice corresponding to the Tagalog language, *gulay*, among which cabbage in vinegar boarded by the Franciscans is included.

Olives brought from Spain, a box of cheese and seasonings and ingredients to prepare food: five barrels of butter, 1 of white wine, 1 drawer of spice, 1 jar of 30 pounds of *polbos*, 3 jars of coconut wine, 6 of sugar, 3 of salt, 1 of salted mustard, 7 pots with vinegar, 1 third of dried chillis, 2 thirds and 5 *goacales* of onions and one third of garlic were also supplied.

Regarding meat and, although in his recommendations he just cites cured meat and the buying of some animals, 1 drawer of hooves and tongues, 3 of loins, 7 of stockinet's, 9 of hams, 12 thirds of *tasajos*, 2 drawers of *chorizo* and 2 of sausages which he advised were to be bought in Mexico, were included on the list of food that embarked in 1747. In fact, some consumer goods could fetch an exorbitant price, especially when the departure date approached, hence it was advisable to purchase them in advance. This was case with sugar, of which 2 drawers, and vinegar, coming *de la costa* were boarded. Although Fermoselle does not cite his source or give more information, this reference seems to refer to the production of wine and coconut vinegar in the region of Colima, linked to maritime traffic and the settlement of immigrants from the Philippines culture. In fact, the friars also bought a drawer and a third of *tollos* or dry fish, according Fermoselle, marketed by the *sangleys*.

Ten calves and 19 live pigs, the latter animal easier to feed and fatten, were also carried. In fact, we know that 2 feeders for pigs were shipped and, with them, 2 small jars, perhaps with water, 2 thirds of bran and 8 thirds of grass, probably to feed the mentioned animals. They also purchased 5 large hen-houses, whose



plata por alto; de esto se siguen tantos inconvenientes q' sino quisieren tener, no lo hagan, pues aun ellos mismos lo descubren.

Lo 2.º es para la paz: suelen muchos venir descontentos de los Pasajeros del General, y otros se hazen descontentos, sólo por llevar quantos, y al Religioso le tiene mucha quenta estar bien con todos, y así mirar con quien se habla, q' es un mundo pequeño Philipinas.

También advierto que viniere de Mexico algunos Barziles en Choniso, o cosa semejante, que pueda corraz peligro de véngase en Acapulco, y gastar los primeros, q' suelen estar con el Sol, como nos sucedió aromatos, y en todo caso los primeros días, véngase todo lo que ay en este genero.

Si quisieren tener seguridad en las cosas señalax persona q' tenga la llave del agua que se de con cuenta el Chocolate. Et. Procurando tener en el Camarote dos o tres tizas con llave; uno para el azucar: otro para el Chocolate, y que tenga buena llave, la Finaja de la Cocina, que a qui por lo comun, es donde mas se gasta, esta la tendrá el Mayordomo, pero al principio, bueno es, q' se experimente el gasto; y es bueno, desde el principio advertir al Mayordomo, que mire la persona q' mete en el Rancho.

Memoria del Rancho que se embaxco en esta Capta. de los Padres Misioneros de N. P. S. Fran. Capones. 43. de Necocho blanco

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 3. De dulces para el Chocolate | 5. de Mantecas. |
| 4. Cajas para el Chocolate. | 1. de Arzetas. |
| 2. Cajas de Capetas. | 1. de Vino blanco. |
| 2. Cajas de Quesos. | 1. Bote de 3. lib. de polvos |
| 2. Cajas de azucar. | |
| 1. Patas, y lenguas. | |
| 3. De lomo. | |
| 7. De tocinetas. | |
| 7. De Jamones. | |
| 1. de Especies. | |
| 1. de Quesos. | |
| 1. de Tollo. | |
| 2. Parriles de coles en Vinag. | |
| 2. de Chorizos. | |
| 2. de Longanizas. | |

Jercios.

- | |
|------------------------|
| 2. de Lentejas. |
| 8. de Frijol paratiño |
| 4. de Frijol Chicomco. |
| 2. de Frijol blanco. |
| 2. de Libras. |
| 8. de Garbanzos. |
| 1. de Chile secos. |
| 12. de Frijoles. |
| 17. de Maiz. |

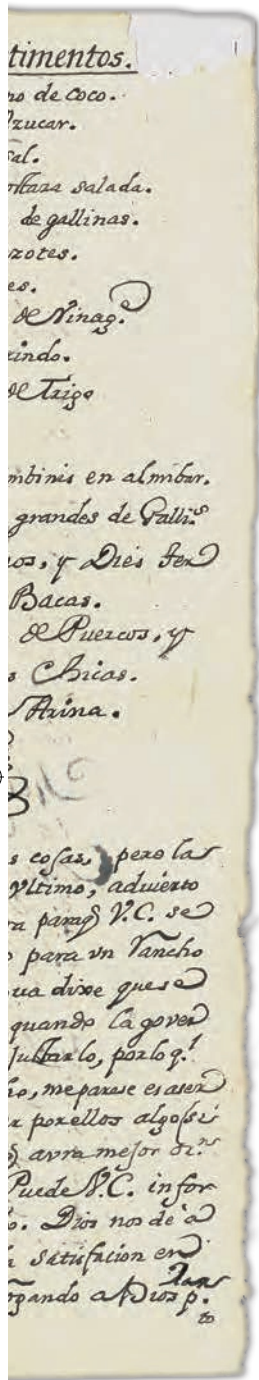
12. de Salado.
6. de Carbon.
3. de Sacate.
1. de Tollo, o peicado seco.
2. de Cenollas.
3. Doacales, de Cenollas
1. de Hojas.
2. Francales de Platos.
37. Francales de Calabazas.
1. Cama gran. de cocina con los q' se sigue.
1. Hornos gran. con su tapa.
3. Sachos de m. a menor, son Peroles.
1. Caldero para agua de Chocolate.
3. Batidores de m. a menor.
1. Almices con su mano.
24. Cabileres.
2. Espumaderas.
2. Cucharones
1. Pala de fierro.
1. Finasa.
1. Ralador.
6. Sarcenes.
3. Bolos, Cuchillo gran.
1. Roca
5. Entrevedes, de m. a menor.
1. Azadon, y picaderos.
1. Bruquea con exopelas.
12. Cuchillos y Vinagre.

Bastim

3. Finajas de vino d.
6. Finajas de Aruca
3. Finajas de sal.
1. Finaja de mostaza
2. de Huevos de y
2. de Marquezoco
1. de Limones.
7. Finajuelas de
1. de Tamazinda
1. de Fideos de T
1. de Shira
1. de Pirimbir
5. Gallineros gra
19. de Marraños,
- neras, o Ba
2. Comedores de
- do Finas C
1. Carga de Fla

Esta Lista que se hizo no dudo faltarian algunas cosas he trasladado, para q' se vea, y se guarde, y por vltimo que he dicho, los puntos principales con toda liura p' enteu atentas las circunstancias en los q' es necesario para por si se ofrece otro caso, como el nuestro. Del agua gasta los apuntes en la adjunta, pero esto era qu' naba q' Juan de Divila, q' despues no es facil a justificar y la poca ventura que señalo en Sobras de Rancho, n' tado qua guarde N. C. estos papeles para sacar po se puede para la Mision q' viene, y entonses q' an se viene na' Pe. Jotanes, como esperamos. Pues marse mejor q' aora de los Reclutas del suyo. o todo el acuerdo en servirle con un Rancho a toda su la gloria. Quedo con deseo de saber de V. M. yogan

Instructions on what to do in Mexico and Acapulco to provide for the things needed by members of religious orders who go to the Philippines, by Fr. Manuel fermoselle, OFM. Manila, April 20th, 1748.



birds would provide them eggs and meat. The friar recommended no eggs were supplied as they were fragile and the possibility that careless members of the crew might break them on board, speaking perhaps from experience.

Sweets, easy to conserve, balanced a diet with excess salt, and so 4 boxes of chocolate, 3 of *dulce de chocolate*, 2 of *cajetas* –probably another kind of sweet, perhaps fudge— and 2 jars of *marquesotes* –a sweet cake popular in New Spain were bought. Fruit was more difficult to preserve, and so various techniques were devised such as it being dried or preserved in syrup. This time 2 drawers of dried apricots, dried apricots or peaches, a jar of tamarind, another of lemon and another of *biribinis* in syrup, a Filipino fruit, were loaded.

Finally, beverages. According to Fermoselle, the galleon’s seniors were always protecting their own interest and with this in mind, wanted to trick people into 2,200 jars, of water, more than is actually required. They therefore sought a second opinion and, following the advice of another passenger, boarded only 750 jars of water, that in the end were sufficient. In addition, they had *cha para las tardes*, in other words tea, and *chía*, a Central America legume that once submerged in water, released a substance which was prepared with herbs and spices, a refreshing drink which helped to conserve water.

MULTINATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

Speaking about this route from an exclusively economic perspective detracts from the set of exchanges that followed. The movement of people, goods and ideas flowed for over two hundred years and encouraged the advancement of the communities established on both sides of the Pacific Ocean, integrating the Hispanic cultural field. These floating cities, where several hundred people lived, were an ethnic and linguistic compendium in which the Spanish or Creole officers cohabited with seamanship of various nationalities.

According to arrangements made in Acapulco, the documentation of the galleons *Santiago* and *San Ildefonso* hints at the origin of some of its crew: there were Spaniards, mostly born in the metropolis, but also Asians, the presumed origin of the sailors surnamed *Ugui*, *Ongol*, *Golo*, *Sucaya*, *Manay*, *Pancán*, *Tacu* o *Parañaque*, to name but a few. It is difficult to make categorical assertions, but it appears that there were even Native American crew, as suggested by the presence of cabin boy *Agustín Salacoatl*.

One hundred and fifty years later, the flat-bottomed boat *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga* was a boat of a new design and its crew included Filipinos, *sangleyes*, Spanish, Mexican, Creoles... although the adoption of Hispanic surnames and names made their identification difficult. Only some attest to their origins, such as sailors

TRASLADO

Autentico de los Autos fijos Sobre
la presa del Patache *Nra Señora de Co-
vadonga* en su tornabuelta alas Islas Phil.
a cargo del General

**D. GERONIMO MON-
tero** executada por el Almir.^{te}
Ingles.

JORGE ANZON
serca del Embocadero de S. Bernar.^{no}



Sup.^{or} Gov.^{no} de las Islas Phi.^s

1.^a Via.

FILIPINAS, 256, N.1

Report of the capture of the patache *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga*, that sailed from Cavite bound for Acapulco in 1742.

Manuscript paper. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, FILIPINAS, 256, N.1

and cabin boys called *Camachile*, *Pangasinán*, *Ilisán*, *Macapinlac*, *Malinao*, *Tangán*, *Madlangbayán*, *Apalit*, *Dangarán*, *Manalo* and *Cavilín* or the presence of several *pan-day*, blacksmiths in Tagalog language.

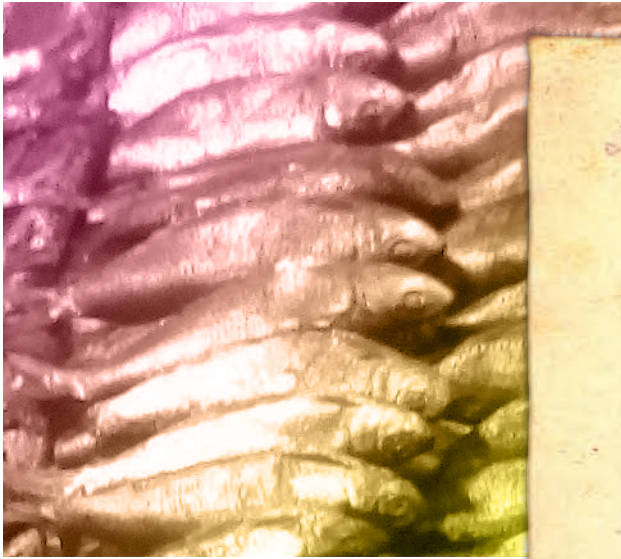
There were no notable incidents during the voyage to Acapulco, arriving at port on February 13, 1742. Shortly thereafter, time elapsed and hence with the holds full of American silver, the galleon set sail for The Philippines. However, close to the Cape of Holy Spirit the enemy awaited. On June 16th the galleon was attacked by the British ship *Centurion*, commanded by George Anson. As result of the battle 60 men were killed, many wounded and the ship was wrecked. Spaniards had no alternative but to surrender. The journey continued to the ports of Macao and Canton, where Anson sold the battered ship and everything he did not want to use.

Meanwhile, the news reached the city of Manila and in a desperate attempt to regain the galleon and its cargo before touching the ports of the continent, they equipped an army in order to go after them. They also wanted to protect the Flat-bottomed boat *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, which finally arrived safely. They could not help, however, Anson's evasion, who managed to escape across The Chinese Seas, The Indian and Atlantic Oceans and reached England in June 1744.

But let us transcend the story to note how the ethnic melting pot that was on board *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga* was reflected in its cellars, and in information provided by several documents that made note of when it departed from Cavite to Acapulco, long before the above-mentioned outcome. If the crew was made up of different races, so also were their different tastes and likewise circumstances that were conditioned by the products available in the Philippines.

The flour *flor de trigo*, *para hostias*, biscuits and the *vino de Castilla* responded to European tastes, though some of these foods, such as wheat, could have come from China. In fact, live chickens, the meat *Cecial*, perhaps Carabao, pork in brine, salt and tollos should have been acquired in the Philippines. One might think that the reference to tollos marked the *tuyó* as Philipino although the document makes clear that it was dried shark meat, which coincides with its Spanish meaning. This does not recognize the presence of terms and local products such as rice *pinagua*, in other words, clean, or sugar *Pasay*.

The gastronomy of New Spain was also present in the cellars of *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga*, as it is known that marquesotes were loaded . However, the supplies of this galleon were highlighted for their inevitable links to Philippine and Chinese cuisine. The mungo beans were the logical response to supplies of vegetables and the *vino blanco de la tierra*, or *vino de coco*, and the *vinagre de tuba*, were the local equivalent of its Iberian twins. Regarding the so-common dried fish, the schooner



List of provisions of the patache **Nuestra Señora de Covadonga**, that sailed from Cavite bound for Acapulco in 1742.



hastados demadera. —
 - Noventa Gammelas de Seandao de la Tierra.
 - Dooientas granadas de fierro cargadas con
 quatro caxones demadera. —
 - Cinco libras de Salure = cinco libras de
 Alcanfor = cinco libras de Acufre = yuer
 boquillas demadera para dhas granadas
 en un caxon dicho. —
 - Quatro arrovas de fierro de Castilla en
 un ho de los potates dhas de sandaua. —
 Bastimentos.
 - En mil setecientas ocho arrovas, y ocho
 libras de viscocho de ugo nero en un mil set.
 y quatro caxales de un feuto de Candaua ordin.
 - Quinientas trece arrovas tres libras, y quatro
 onzas de carne de Baca salpresa enciento tre
 uenta y una tinajas de Nasi tapadas broadas,
 y embucadas. —
 - Ciento setenta y una arrovas una libra
 y quatro onzas de fante de Nexo en almudena

en sesenta y dos tinajas de China tapadas bre-
das, y embefucadas

64

— Doscientas sesenta y tres arrovas, y trece libras
de tollos, y pedascos de tiborones secos correspon-
dientes a diez y nueve mil quinientos tollos heba-
jandosele diez y siete arrovas que producen
las Cauezas, Kabos, y guesco de tiborones que ex-
cluyeron a pedimento del Capn. y Mre. que
dan líquidos doscientas cinquenta y seis arro-
vas, y trece libras, en quarenta y dos libras de a-
dos petates de Candua dthco.

— Setenta y un cauanes cinco gantas, y media
de Monico de veinte y quatro gantas cauar
enciento quarenta y dos costales de un petate dho.

— Once Cauanes de sal engrano dthca medida
en once tinajas de Sasi tapadas breadas, y em-
befucadas.

— Doscientas y setenta gantas de binagre.
De tuba en veinte y tres tinajas de China dthca



te y cinco costales —

— Tien doscientos y trece cauanes de carnos pinda
gua de aveinte y quatro gantas cauan en
quatrocientos veinte y seis costales de pe
tate dichos —

— Ciento y ocho arrovas de carne de Bacia
salpua en diez y nueve tinajas de Pasi
tapadas Breadas, y embesucadas —

— Treinta y seis arrovas de carne de puerco
en diez tinajas de China assi mismo ta
padas, y embreadas —

— Quince cauanes de Mongos de dha medi
da en treinta costales dhos —

— Siete mil quatrocientos setenta y un
pescados secos, los quatro mil dos cien
tos cinquenta, y seis deellos de algodones
Un mil quatrocientos noventa y dos chicos
y los dos mil setecientos setenta y nueve
de Dalaquez, quatrocientos cinquenta
y quatro chicos, quimientos quarenta
y siete medianos, y los quarenta y nueve
grandes, ciento y uno de Boca dices

Setenta y seis chicos, y los veinte y cinco m
nos, cinquenta y ocho taraguitos media
Un mil doscientas, y catorse libras, cien
quenta y uno dorados, los ochenta y qu
Chicos, quarenta y quatro medianos, y
veinte y tres grandes, quimientos y o
hijos chicos veinte y dos de Bacocos
navios, y los quarenta restantes de
llas chicas correspondientes: dos mil
cientos, y ochenta tollos entrece libras de
petates dhos. —

— Tien quatro cauanes de sal engrano e
tro tinajas de Pasi tapadas embrea
y embesucadas —

— Cien gantas de Pinagze de tuba en oc
najas de China assi mismo tapadas,
breadas —

— Dos tinajas de Pasi con vino de ca
ssi mismo embreadas —

Peltrechos de Guerra

— Cinquenta fusiles armados, y bien
cionados —

— Cinquenta arrovas de Poluora net

List of the provisions of the schooner San Antonio de Padua, that left Manila in 1743.

Manuscript paper.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, FILIPINAS, 257

San Antonio de Papua, one of those that was chartered to pursue the English, was loaded shark fins and dried fish such as *algodones*, *dalages*, *bocaduces*, *taraquitos*, *dorados*, *lizas*, *bacocos* and *caballas chicas*. A compendium of Spanish, American and Philippine ichthyology.

After these testimonies it is not surprising that some groups, accustomed to the comings and goings, led the process of cultural and lexical exchange. Recall the father Fermoselle and the Franciscan friars, members of an order that trained their missionaries and taught them the customs and language of the natives they were going to evangelize; especially in their homes in New Spain, as a prelude to departure for the Philippines. Perhaps this is the reason why Fermoselle learned to distinguish the types of beans and production areas, to recognize the benefits of chia and tea, and enjoy the chocolate and sweets such as *marquesotes*.

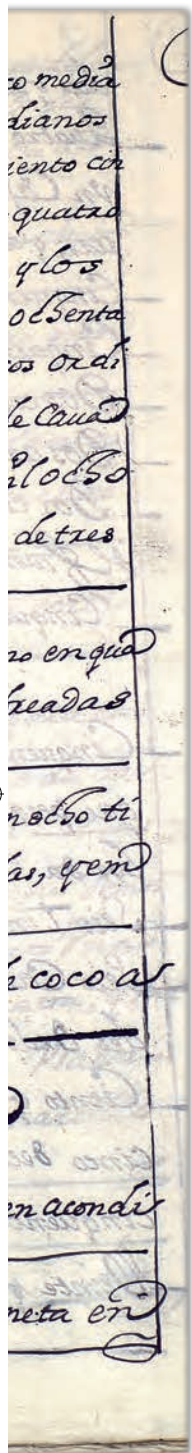
Filipino food was also brought to the port of Acapulco, which little by little became known, such as *tollos* sold by the Chinese. Even Asian plants were cultivated, as happened with tamarind and, in the 18th century, with the mango. More surprising was the consumption of bilimbines in syrup, carried by the above mentioned Franciscans, perhaps for having left overs from a previous journey. They were already familiar to Alzina, who also was able to establish their preparation in syrup and difference from starfruit, a newcomer to the island⁵. Just one year after arriving in the Philippines, Fermoselle not only knew, but used the term *guleis* to refer to vegetables, evidence of his Tagalog language proficiency or at least the use of some words in his daily life.

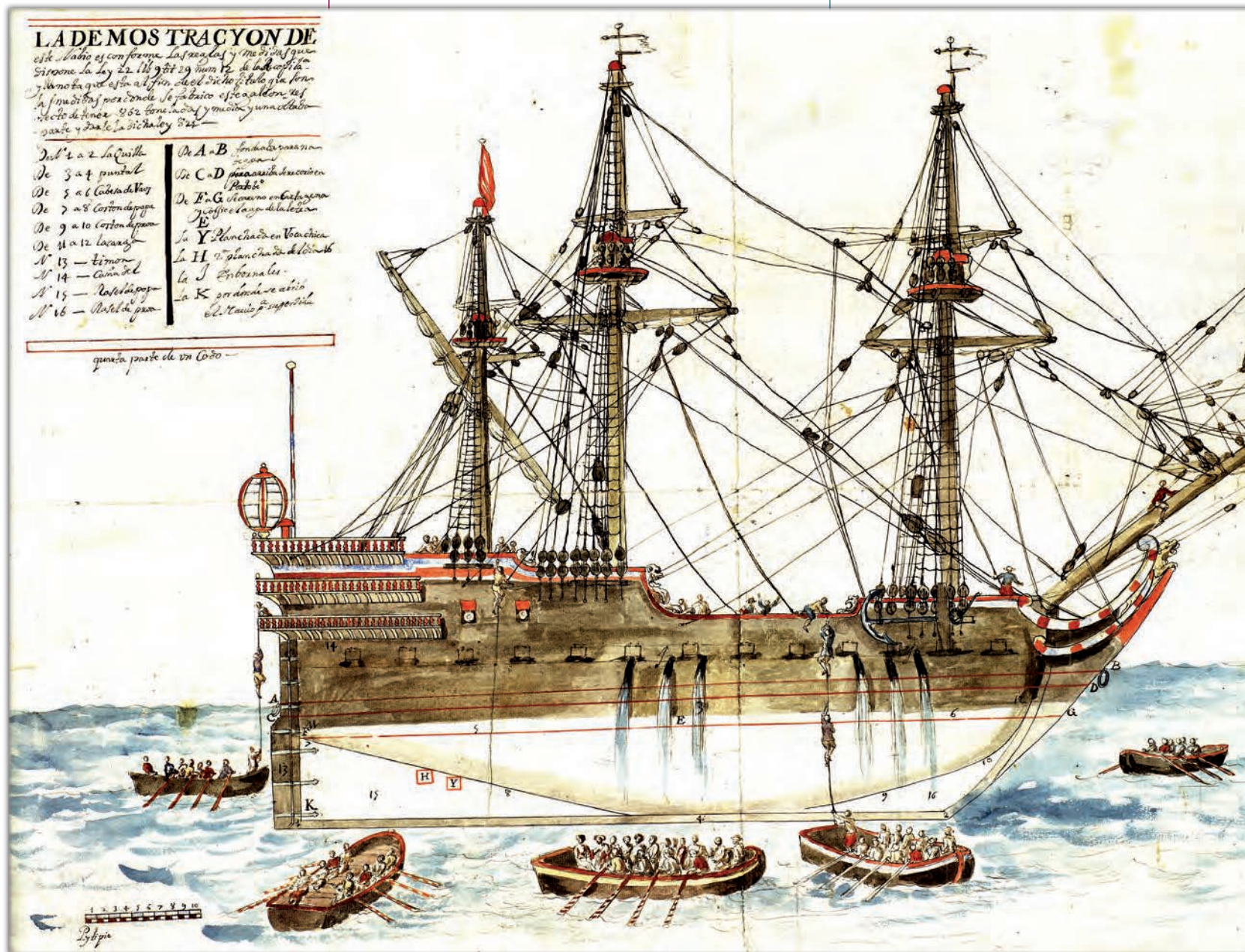
LIVING AND FEEDING DURING THE JOURNEY

Life on board these big ships was, however, very difficult; adapting to the circumstances, the crew and passengers tried to accommodate and organize their lives. It was not, of course, a comfortable journey, not even for officers or important passengers. It was always about danger. There were several deaths on all routes, although the long journey from Manila to Acapulco caused a higher mortality rate. Cold and bad weather, poor food and lack of vitamins, lack of hygiene and overcrowding simply facilitated the emergence of diseases. As journeys ordinarily took five or six months, any incident could prolong the trip and wreak havoc, as happened to the galleon *San Jose*, which lost a hundred people to scurvy in 1662.

Despite their size, the galleons did not have a lot of room, and the situation got worse when the weather was bad. Several hundred people had to live in a small space and, although there were some cabins and living spaces were built on deck, there were not enough for everyone. Most improvised on small stays along the

⁵ F. ALZINA, *Historia de las islas e indios Bisayas*, ed. cit., p. 75.





Drawing of the galleon *Nuestra Sra. del Mar*. 1691.

Manuscript paper; pen drawing, coloured.

1 page, 55.6 x 37.8 cm.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville,

MP-INGENIOS, 318

gaps they found, adapting them to their needs during the course of the day. Meal times, packages, luggage, various parcels and even some animals were moved in order to make room for the boards and boxes that served as tables and benches. In the same way that overnight, everything was re-adapted to sleep with some privacy. If, to make things even more complicated, the crew had to move to cope with navigation or combat, real disorder resulted.

In this context, the meals were very poor. Some were easy food intake, as rationed beverages, cakes, the *tasajos* of meat or fish,... but others required pre cooking and tasting on a surface that was, at least, similar to a table. The supplies of the ships, however, reflect the existence of a certain variety of products that complement the basic diet of a sailor. The cake, soaked in water or wine, and vegetable stews with some meat or fish, were the staple foods, always sparing amounts. On special occasions they had bacon, ham, cheese, some nuts or whatever could be fished, and the existence of oil, vinegar, garlic and onions suggests the preparation of stir-fries. Yes, of course the captain and his guests enjoyed more elaborate and seasoned cooking, larger portions and some extras, such as roast –of animals that had been embarked alive—, sausages, quince jelly or other various sweets –let´s remember the Filipino *kalamay* or the Mexican *marquesotes*—. Of course, all the crew could supplement their meagre diet with what they brought with them among their belongings, something quite common. It was not just for consumption but to profit from their sale offshore.

The ranch on board was not included for the passengers, except when they negotiated with the captain or master of the ship. Water, salt and coal, was included although passengers often increased their servings with extra amounts. In any case, they shipped everything they were going to need on board, including their food and even live animals. We have to remember that some were travelling in families and in the case of the authorities, accompanied by a more or less large entourage, which facilitated the organization of their room and board and demanded some attention and space availability. Yes, of course, if the journey was taken for more time and food came to be in short supply, the captain could authorize the rationing of all existing provisions.

Two stoves, or ranges made of bricks under the forecastle were available in the galleons, so the crew and passengers had to take turns to use them. For this reason sources cite the existence of copper furnaces, trivets and other kitchen utensils.

Already in the times of Magellan, his army had two stoves, five large copper pots and five heaters, although some were intended to heat the heating tar. They also embarked around 50 qt and 2 mid-qt of timber *for the portions to be given of wine*





and water, which were served in the 100 *galletas*, or individual jars⁶. The food was cooked in those pots and heaters, properly seasoned with spices and other condiments that could be crushed in 12 mortars or in a mortar of copper, although the latter was destined for the apothecary on board. In addition, the company possessed about 70 *gamellas* or troughs in which they could mix or prepare the ingredients. They were equally useful for washing up the rudimentary dishes.

A few years later, the expedition of Garci Jofre de Loaísa loaded three grills and an iron grid (in which the grill captured fish), 3 copper pots, a tin pot and 3 iron pans to cook various dishes, plus 4 trivets to sustain over the fire, according to a will drawn up by Juan Sebastian Elcano⁷.

Five iron spoons served Magellan's expedition's cooks to stir and serve stews and, for eating them, they had 230 bowls. If meat or fish was to be carved, they had more than 100 *tajadores* and about 80 wooden plates, which were distributed on planks used as a table, at least where possible. Other utensils linked to food were the earthenware jars, barrels, jugs, large earthenware jars, glazed earthenware jars and other containers for storage or transport, such as baskets designed for taking the biscuits out of the *pañoles*.

Although it might appear that a certain urbanity prevailed, multiple references show that, most of the time, the crew was forced to share cups, bowls and plates and use luggage as single seat or table.

Only the senior officers and their guests enjoyed comforts, like having a proper seat or eating with dishes and cutlery for each diner. In fact, Magellan took with him table cloths made of *cañamazo* 8 rods long and Juan Sebastian Elcano made a list of his own property shortly before he died, in which 2 bowls, 3 spoons and a jug, all made of silver, are included, surely personal items. He also lists among his possessions several salt shakers, scissors, tin plates, skewers and large and small basins. Some of these goods had to be, in part, acquired for the expedition and, therefore for the general use of the crew. If this was not the case then they were expected to be traded on arrival in the Moluccas, as might be the case with the 39 dishes or 8 dozen knives. In any case, lists of such items suggest what could be used in meals.

If we look at the accounts of the expedition of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, similar tools can be found, with the added interest of their places of origin. Buckets *para servicio*, the earthenware jars and large, medium and small tubs remind us of the need to store and consume water. Sixty wooden plates used for eating had been

⁶ AGI, PATRONATO, 34, R. 10, fols. 6 v. – 7v., 15 v.

⁷ AGI, PATRONATO, 38, R.1 [5].





Food selection. Valencian tiles [ca. 1780].

Tiles for the wall of a kitchen (fragment).

Ceramic, enamelled and painted. Tiles, 20 x 20 cm.

Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas, Madrid, CE05135

carved in Michoacan⁸, for eating, the probable source of some of the 177 bowls, sharpeners and mortars *con sus manos*, as well as dozens of pieces of pottery, including plates, bowls, *borçelanas* and jugs. On the other hand, the *balanza de cobre para pesar* that most likely came from the metropolis.

A couple of years later the same utensils appeared in the expedition of Juan de la Isla, who brought from Spain 10 earthenware jars made of clay, 6 *barriles de barro de Toledo*, 16 small jugs and other 17 medium size, 12 bowls and 6 pots, all made of clay. They also brought 32 wooden plates and bowls, 4 crackers and 8 *vasos de beber*, of one or half the capacity. Likewise barrels, large barrels, small recipients, wooden casks and even “*pellejos*”, that is, bottles, served to store food on-board.

The galleons of the 17th and 18th centuries were larger and therefore the discomforts could be alleviated, although it was never a pleasurable trip. Let us return here to Fermoselle’s recommendations, which included a cabin available for him, rather for certain security and the encouragement of organization rather than accommodation. His ranch, that is, feeding and rest during the journey, was entrusted to a butler who used to be chosen from the crew of the galleon that had experience in these roles, all in exchange for a bonus. If it was a large travelling party, several assistants could be chosen, for the acquisition of all the food and its subsequent control, preparation and rationing.

Among the tools of those missionaries was a *horno grande* —possibly made of copper— 3 pots, 1 pot *para agua de chocolate*, 3 *batidores*, 1 mortar with handle, 24 basins, 2 skimmers, 2 tablespoons, 1 grater, 6 pans, 3 large knives and 12 other knives, one ax, 5 trivets *de mayor a menor*, 1 *azador y picaderos* and a flask with spices. The water was carried in wooden barrels or pipes, because the clay pots used to leak and needed to be repaired with pitch to waterproof them. Yes of course, at least one large earthenware jar would be borne in the cabin, always with its cover and jars or ceramic jars with lids and locks, both for water and for sugar or chocolate.

⁸ Michoacán region native people, today Morelia Mexican State, excelled for their skill curving the wood and clay, adding to their ancestral heritage some influences taken from the Spaniards. Cfr. Mathías de ESCOBAR, *América the baida. Vitas patrum de los religiosos hermitanos [sic] de nuestro padre San Agustín de la provincia de San Nicolás Tolentino de Michoacán, 1729*; Edición de 1924, México: Imp. Manuel de los Ángeles Castro, pp.147-148.



COOKING FLAVOURED THREE CONTINENTS

Antonio Sánchez de Mora

A multicultural cuisine was born in the Philippines, a result of people meeting one another and the exchange of techniques, customs and food. A clear example of globalization that had been occurring since the 16th century, but rooted in the heritage received by each of the people who came together on that archipelago.

In this context, the Spanish community based in the colony tried to keep their lifestyle. Governors and archbishops would have cooks in their entourage, who had to know the finest recipes of Spanish cuisine and, why not, of Creole. Meanwhile, royal officials, merchants, clergymen, marine men and other immigrants tried to adapt as well as possible.

The fact that many were born or lived for a long time in New Spain explains the existence of similarities between Hispanic cuisine from both sides of the Pacific Ocean. In the Philippines, as there, the acquisition of foreign products remained the same: from the Asian continent wheat, hams, fruits and vegetables... and from distant Spain wine, vinegar, cereals and pulses, spices... Processing techniques were also encouraged, such as pickling, preserving, the use of wine and vinegar or the processing of carabao meat and fish from the coast in order to supply the ship's store of the galleons. Likewise, the general tendency to take advantage of everything available facilitated the acceptance of local products. An attitude already present in the Old World, it was applied in the Americas. Let us remember, for example, the interest of the chroniclers in describing all of the food they encountered.

El Arte de cocina, pastelería, bizcochería y conservería by Francisco Martinez Montino, chef of Felipe III, marked a new milestone in the Iberian cuisine. The first edition of 1611 had successive editions and his recipes were copied in books throughout Europe, so he would inevitably enjoy great prestige in all the kitchens of the Old and the New World throughout the century. He joined the Spanish cookbook with previous works, and what he had learned in the Portuguese court where he served as chef to Infanta Juana, sister of Philip II. That training allowed him to bring new life into the royal kitchens.

The 18th century was marked by the growing influence of French cuisine, as a result of dynastic change since Philip V of Borbon opened his court to the new trends



Mexican kitchen based in a 18th century kitchen of New Spain.
Museo Amparo, Puebla, México. Photo A. S. de M.

coming from Versailles. La Varenne had laid the foundation of a great conceptual change of haute cuisine, increasing interest in fruits and vegetables, leaving the overuse of spices or sweet-sour sauces and claiming a balance that allowed one to recognize the natural flavour of the ingredients. His influence reached the Spanish court, where French chefs were hired by monarchs, nobles and senior royal officials, who contributed to the success of this new trend. However, these changes did not influence all social sectors equally, as the inhabitants of the immense empire kept alive an inherited gastronomy of Hispanic traditions.

The collection of recipes of this period reflects simplicity in their preparations, a gradual French influence and a simultaneous acceptance of ingredients which, although they had found early acceptance in the popular sectors, had been discarded by the chefs of palaces. It is symptomatic, for example, when tomatoes or peppers took their places. The friar nicknamed Juan Altamiras and his *Nuevo arte de cocina sacado de la escuela de la experiencia económica*, published in 1758, is perhaps the most significant representative of the Hispanic 18th century, although his cooking is less sophisticated and closer to everyday life. In 1791 Juan de la Mata published his *Arte de Repostería*, a work that reflects French, Italian and Portuguese influences, in addition to paying attention to the innovative role of such ingredients as coffee, tea and chocolate. He was also interested in tomatoes, and is credited with being the first to incorporate them into his recipes.

The gradual acceptance of the species discovered in America, which particularly benefited the most popular groups, brought about a better way of eating throughout Europe. Chili peppers, fresh or dried, the tomato and the potato triumphed in Spain, transforming many recipes: The powered chili or paprika ended up displacing ingredients and modifying the dressing of many sausages and sauces; peppers and tomatoes transformed stir-fries and trimmings of meat and fish and potatoes supplanted vegetables and tubers.

Everyday life, including special celebrations that marked the year, was very present in the kitchen of the house, whether honest or moneyed. In this regard, Valencian tile of the eighteenth century depicts very important examples of popular gastronomy, adapting their ceramic pieces to a space of fumes and smells of decorations: the kitchen. The use of tiles, hand painted ceramics and glazed before cooking guaranteed their conservation and water resistance, why were integrated into the kitchens. These decorative motifs reached great relevance in the Valencia region in the late 18th century and, imbued with the traditionalists aesthetic tastes, influenced the design of rooms that imitated the kitchens, although they were actually intended for tasting prepared foods, and the elite who enjoyed moments surrounded by scenes of colourful entertainment. The tiles exhibited belong to one of these kitchens, made around 1780 for a palace in the city of Valencia and transferred in the mid-20th century to the National Museum of Decorative Arts, based in Madrid. In them you can see common foods and utensils used in Spanish kitchens.



Molcajete and pots on a Mexican kitchen.
Museo Amparo, Puebla, México. Photo A. S. de M.



Earthenware pot on metal oven. 18th century.
Kitchen of the Convent of St. Monica.
Museo de Arte del Ex-convento de Santa Mónica, Puebla,
México. Photo A. S. de M.





The remoteness of the colonies slowed French influence of them, and economic strength facilitated their evolution from the premises of the 16th and 17th centuries, enriched by indigenous contributions. The seven hundred New Spanish cookbooks, among which stands the *Libro de cocina* by Fray Jeronimo de San Pelayo, copied and interpreted Martinez Montiño's recipes and even some legacy of Nola. Roasts, marinades, stews, pickles, casseroles or pies shared pages with moles, clemoles, antes or tamals, because if the Creole cuisines maintained the use of meat, vegetables and spices to the liking of European people, in New Spain began the experimentation not only with corn, beans, *tomates* and *jitomates* or chilli peppers and *tornachiles*, but also with pineapples, coconuts, bananas, herb tea, edible tuber, chayotes, geese, mammee apples, sapodilla plums, avocados, pitahayas ... culinary syncretism at its purest.

Agricultural advancements also contributed to the transformation of Spanish cuisine. Not only through the expansion of certain crops, but in the genetic modification of many species. The introduction in Europe or Asia of American plants gave way to development of regional hybrids, now better adapted to their host's climates, as well as according to the tastes of those who consumed them: peppers, tomatoes, potatoes, beans, pumpkin, corn... they populated the fields around the world, mimicking their new environments.

The globalization of the flavours had increased exchanges and expansion of certain species, a dynamic that was not exclusive for the Hispanic world. It had nothing to do, for example, with the arrival of the Spanish in the Philippines with mango's rooting, or the expansion of citrus from the Asian continent, but the fact is that these processes were simultaneous. Something similar happened in Spain, where the wines were improved, oranges sweeter and lemons juicer and more flavoured. The use of sugar grew at the expense of honey, a result of increased production of sugar cane in America, Spain and Philippines. In addition, the popularization of cocoa was another remarkable innovation in confectionery, which augured its meteoric expansion in later centuries.

At some point the ingredients left the holds of ships to take root on Philippine soil, although we are not aware of the exact date. We know about the early arrival of yams, beans and chilli peppers and, in the seventeenth century, the introduction of maize, cocoa and wheat, but little else. Onions, mint and cilantro grew easily in Philippine soil, as attested by Blas de la Madre de Dios, and the late eighteenth century saw the cultivation of papayas, mammee apples and American sapodilla¹ plum is found. Somewhat later it would see the turn of peppers, tomatoes, pumpkins, achiotes, melons, apples, watermelons, figs, chestnuts, potatoes and peanuts.

¹ Joaquín MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA, *Estadismo de las islas Filipinas*, t.I, cap.II; ed. por W. Retana, Madrid, 1894, pp.38-69





Reconstruction of the pantry. Kitchen of the Convent of Santa Mónica.

Kitchen of the Convent of St. Monica. Museo de Arte del Ex-convento de Santa Mónica, Puebla, México. Photo A. S. de M.



We do not keep direct news of the Hispanic-Filipino cuisine colonial times. It is presumed not to differ too much from trends in New Spain, although with the peculiarities arising from its Asian character and the utilization of the species in the region. In fact, some foods and customs sailed to America, as we know happened with meats and salted fish, tamarind and even bilimbinés in syrup. The introduction of coconut trees on the Pacific coasts of New Spain was closely linked to the supply of the Manila galleon with wine and tuba vinegar and, although there is no conclusive evidence, the mango and the lime must have followed the same path.





INGREDIENTS

- 1,2 kilos Chicken
- 3 piece Tomatoes
- 4 pieces Garlic Cloves
- 2 pieces Chilies
- 1 gram Cumin Seeds
- 1 gram Fresh Oregano
- 2 pieces Cloves
- 4 grams Salt
- 1 gram Black Peppercorn
- 1 gram Cinnamon
- 15 ml White Vinegar
- 50 grams Pork Fat
- 1 piece Large Onion

HISPANIC – MEXICAN ADOBO

ELABORATION

1. **Cut the chicken into cubes** then boil in a large pot with salt and water for 25 minutes.
2. **Combine the** tomatoes, garlic, cumin seeds, chilies, clove, peppercorn and cinnamon and then blend into a paste.
3. **Melt pork fat in a pot** and then add the mixture of the paste and cook for a few minutes at high heat to make all the flavors come out.
4. **Add the chicken** that is already cooked and combine while still cooking.
5. **Add some of the broth** that was used to cook the chicken under low-medium heat.
6. **Finally add the oregano**, sliced onion and vinegar and cook for another 5 minutes.
7. **Drizzle some olive oil** before serving.





COMMENT

The *adobo* was born of the need to preserve food and was very common in Spanish cuisine of past times. It is a term not used extensively in older cookbooks and, when it appears, often relates to the seasoning or spicing of meat or fish. However, many recipes by Nola, Granado or Martínez Montañó incorporated vinegar, salt and various spices, though they did not use that term. It was also common to add saffron and look for sweet-sour flavours adding honey, sugar, cinnamon and cloves, reminiscent of Islamic cuisine.

The Hispanic community settled in America and the Philippines kept these culinary customs and mari-

nated meats and fish with spices available, offering itself to innovate with more original dressings. Good examples of these are the New Hispanic collections of recipes of the 18th century included in *Dos manuscritos mexicanos de cocina*, edited in 2002. Heirs of the kitchen of the Golden Age, lent themselves to incorporating Mexican ingredients, as with the *adobo* presented here. The anonymous author offers a versatile recipe, capable for use with poultry, pork or mutton dressing, and its preparation does not require a pre marinated meat. Rather, the precooking is in the dressing, in which the meat is incorporated to combine everything together.



OX TONGUE COOKED WITH CHOCOLATE



INGREDIENTS

- 1 kilo Ox Tongue
- 100 grams Pork Fat
- 150 grams Onion.Diced
- 1 piece Bay Leaf
- 75 grams Chocolate
- 100 ml Red Wine
- 25 ml White Vinegar

ELABORATION

1. **Sear then tongue** in a large pot with melted pork fat.
2. **Add onions, garlic, bay leaf** and keep cooking until onion is slightly caramelized.
3. **Add red wine** and white vinegar then reduce a bit.
4. **Add water to cover and boil** until the tongue is tender. Add more water if needed.
5. **Once the tongue is ready**, remove then clean and portion. Add back to the pot with the broth.
6. **Finally add the chocolate** and boil a little then it will be ready to serve.





COMMENT

The beef tongue was a very common food in past times in which making the most of the meat of all slaughtered animals was sought. It could be cooked fresh, though salting made easier its preservation, allowing inclusion among the food purchased for ocean expeditions, was the usual way. If the Spaniards in America had to import cows, they found the carabao in Philippines. An animal that natives used to cook on special occasions, they soon brought

them from the mainland or from distant Spain. This allowed the settlers to continue tasting beef.

This recipe, included in the Libro de cocina filipina in 1913, maintains roughly the characteristics of Spanish cuisine, although incorporated it highlighted the chocolate ingredient, constituting a novelty in the cookbooks of the time. However, this exception exemplifies the acceptance of cacao in Spanish and Philippine society from the eighteenth century on.



INGREDIENTS

- 40 grams Rice
- 125 grams Almonds
- 125 grams Grated Coconut
- 200 ml Syrup (25% Sugar)
- 4 pieces Eggs
- 30 grams Raisins
- 1 piece Cinnamon Stick
- 500 ml Milk

LAYERED CAKE WITH ALMOND FILLING

ELABORATION RICE PUDDING

1. Place milk and cinnamon in a pot and bring to a boil.
2. Add the rice then cook at low heat for 30 minutes, stirring constantly.
3. Reserve for the next day.

IN THE NEXT DAY:

1. Place
 1. Make a paste with the almonds and half of the syrup then boil for 2 minutes and blend.
 2. Do the same with the grated coconut.
 3. Place rice pudding in a cake ring mold simultaneously with almond paste and coconut paste with beaten eggs in between each layer.
 4. Finall, add the raisin then bake at 165°C for 40 minutes.





COMMENT

The above are a type of Creole sweet from New Spain, heir to the pastries and desserts of the Golden Age. The combination of egg and sugar lent to the creation of a more or less complicated dish, as they were incorporating crushed almonds, canned or dried fruit, as can be seen in the sweets included in *Libro de cocina*, by Martínez Montañó. Some preparations became more sophisticated recipe bases, such as marzipan with sugar and crushed almonds or *huevos mejidos* -beaten eggs and sugar. Rice also used in baking, as evidenced in recipes such as rice pudding, sugar, cinnamon and egg. All these dishes

were widely distributed in the Spanish colonial area, where they added ingredients such as jicama, mamey, coconut or pineapple. In particular, the *Libro de antes y guisados caseros*, of an anonymous author and influenced by Martínez Montañó, includes this *ante* that combines ingredients to make rice pudding, marzipan and its equivalent with grated coconut. The introduction of coconut trees in the region of Colima throughout the 17th century, intended for the production of palm wine and vinegar, led the availability of coconut and grated pulp which resembled the almond paste.



An aerial photograph of a palm tree plantation, showing rows of trees and a central road. The image is overlaid with a white rectangular text box containing the title. The overall color palette is a monochromatic teal and blue.

A HERITAGE WITH FUTURE PERSPECTIVE



THE EXPANSION OF LANGUAGE AND TASTES IN CONTACT

Spanish in Spain, America and the Philippines: the
lexicon of food and the art of gastronomy

Yolanda Congosto

The discovery, conquest and colonization of new territories means not only the expansion of Spanish as language, but the meeting of languages, people and cultures of different natures and conditions. First was the discovery of America (1492) and shortly afterwards the islands of the West (1521).

The result of this cultural and linguistic symbiosis is present in the current Spanish language: that of Spain, that of America and that of Asia, as varieties of the same language, which without surrendering, navigates freely.

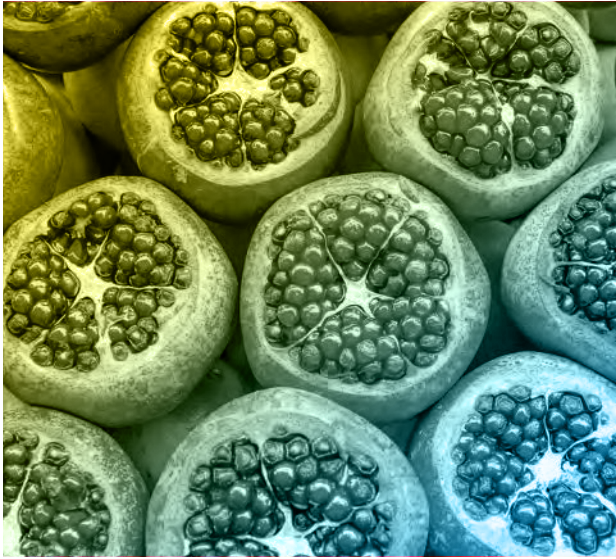
A common language, the result of a common history, which has faithfully been contained in texts as a living testimony of that *of yesterday* which lives on today. The Archivo General de Indias in Seville is a direct witness to this happening, hence the importance of its documentary background: not only for the history of mankind, but also for the history of the Spanish language in the world. The wealth contained on its shelves and its historical legacy is truly immeasurable.

The central theme of this work takes us into the lexicon of food and gastronomy, probably one of the areas that best reflects and shows traces of the Spanish language in America and South-east Asia, and especially in the Philippines. But before get fully into it, as an introduction, let's briefly and swiftly analyse the state of the Spanish language in the Age of Discovery.

THE SPANISH LANGUAGE IN THE MODERN AGE AND ITS EXPANSION INTO THE NEW WORLD

The discovery of America marks a new stage in the history of Spain and the Spanish language. Its spreading in the New World created *not only a new geographical*





*social-space but also a new mental space within which slow, difficult and sometimes contradictory signs of a new linguistic identity were being drawn*¹.

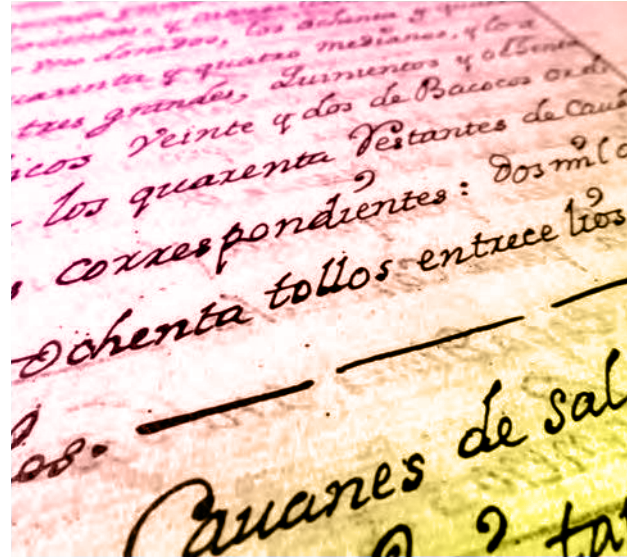
Just in the same way as the Catholic Monarchs and later the Spanish Habsburgs pursued territorial and religious unity of Spain and the expansion of the Crown by overseas lands, Castilian began its path overseas in 1492, becoming Spanish language and *lingua franca*.

It is really a language which is still in evolution, and changes that have been forged throughout the Middle ages are still consolidating within it. Changes in the Spanish language that are affecting directly to a phonetic-phonological level, and determine, from this perspective, a bifurcation into two sub-systems. One of these is more conservative and tense in its articulation —the northern Spanish— and the other is more evolved and relaxed —the meridional Spanish— but which also involves the morpho-syntactic level and specially lexical-semantic one, as we shall see below. A varied and diverse language, as well as it was in Spain from a historical, geographical, social and cultural point of view. Similarly, as a direct consequence of the events, a language in continuous expansion (from the outset), now in its first instance throughout the Atlantic Ocean, then across the Pacific.

The encounter with the new realities made it grow to further levels, enhancing its development because it had to adapt to the New World set before its eyes. A different world until then in terms of depth and form, and was permanently there to stay.

The expansion was swift. First through the islands (The Spanish or Isla de Santo Domingo, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Jamaica and minor Antilles) and then through all

¹ RIVAROLA 2004: 799.



the Continent. The conquest of the great empires of Meso-America (a whole mosaic of languages and ethnic groups which occupied part of Central America and Mexico) and the Andean region of the subcontinent (Inca civilization) will be followed by countless expeditions meant for exploring carefully different territories.

Spaniards took many terms, especially those related to flora and fauna as well as those relating to everyday life, traditions and customs from their contact with the natives of the West Indies. Voices from the Arawak languages (Tainos and Caribs), Nahuatl and Quechua, mainly, but also from other language families like the Aymara, Mayan-Quiche, Chibcha, Mapuche or Araucaria and Tupi-Guarani, which will be adjusted phonetically and morphologically into Spanish to be completely assimilated and felt as their own. On the other hand, they also adapted their patrimonial lexicon, using the language resources that the Spanish could offer as a language, creating new voices.

However, despite all the achievements, there was still world to discover and conquer. The process of geographic expansion, and consequently language, had not yet come to an end.

THE SPANISH IN THE PACIFIC

The adventure of the Spaniards, and Spanish Language, does not end, in fact, with the conquest of America. The above mentioned lucrative business of the spices and the ability to interconnect America, Asia and Oceania, as are today three continents, with the port of Seville, hub of such great historical (and linguistic) task, and Europe, was considered quite some challenge, which was completed in just ten years (1519-1529): The first circumnavigation of the Earth by Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastian Elcano, the arrival in the Moluccas, the discovery of the

Marianas, the Philippines, the Admiralty islands and the Caroline islands; great deeds all carried out by expert sailors and restless explorers of great value.

It will therefore be, according to this new historical event, in which the Spanish language takes a step further in his pilgrimage to reach new horizons and tries to merge into the new reality after putting his banner on the ground for the second time.

The largest Hispanic heritage in this territory was deposited in the Philippine Islands and the Mariana Islands, where the Spanish, colonizing language, coexisted with natives languages (and varieties), though not on an equal basis². Circumstances such as remoteness, scarcity of settlers of peninsular origin, the absence of a truly fruitful and lasting miscegenation (perhaps more fruitful in the Marianas than in the Philippines), linguistic and geographical islands fragmentation, difficult terrain, amalgam of cultures and races, or even the lacking of concern by the agents involving into the process, made it impossible. Over time, the Spanish would result in being displaced and relegated to status of *'lengua vestigial'* or residual language, as called by John M. Lipski. Then United States dominance over the region would do the rest by imposing English as official language.

All of the above was decisive for the Spanish, even only being the official language until early 20th century in the Philippines and used in almost all fields —political, cultural, religious, educational and economic— in both archipelagos, never got to reach the status of national language, nor the *lingua franca*. It was prevented by its position as a high-quality variety and the *diglosia* held with indigenous languages, limited to orally expression and to family.

However, despite this, almost four centuries of shared history were not in vain and it was time enough for the Spanish cultural and social mark to be reflected in native languages with the important presence of Hispanisms as well as in the formation of contacting vernacular languages —pidgin, Creole or mixed languages— including the Chavacano in the Philippines and Chamorro language in the Marianas³.

SPANISH IN A MULTICULTURAL AND MULTILINGUAL SPACE: THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

We could say that the cultural and linguistic landscape of the Philippine Islands is composed of three main elements: the native languages, languages from the colonizing people, and the Creole languages. As regards indigenous languages, although we do not have exact information about how many or what their linguistic

² For further information about Spanish language in the Philippines, see QUILIS (1992, 1996) and LIPSKI (1987a and b); for location in The Marianas, RODRÍGUEZ-PONGA (1996).

³ MOLINA MARTOS, 2006, pp. 2-3.

conditions were, it is known that they belonged to the Malay-Polynesian family. Of all these, the most important or principal were those of the most representative ethnic groups: Cebuano, Tagalog, Ilocano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Varai-Varai, Pampango and Pangasian. Meanwhile, the languages used by the settlers peoples were Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Portuguese, Spanish and finally, English. Concerning creoles languages, it is noted the different ways taken by the language as result of the Hispanic Filipino contact, that is, the different varieties of Chavacano: Caviteño, Ermitaño, Ternateño, Zamboangan, Davawenyo and Cotabato; the first three spoken in Manila Bay in the west of the island of Luzon, and the last three on the island of Mindanao and Basilan.

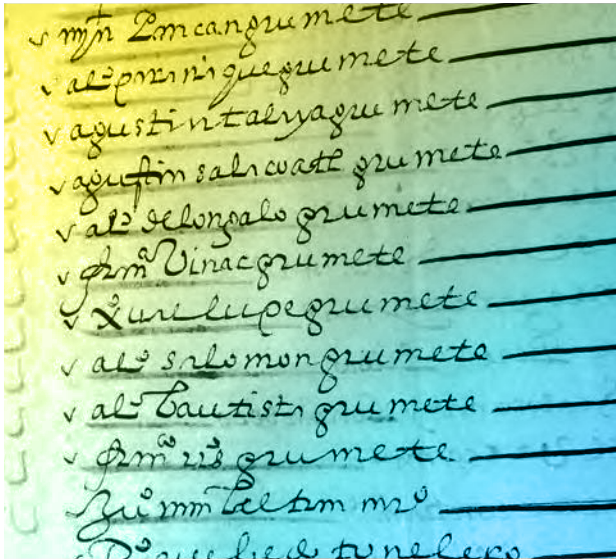
And so to analyse the role played by the Spanish language in this ethnic melting pot, a cultural and linguistic one called the Philippines, involves addressing the issue from three different perspectives and evaluations: 1) the presence of Spanish as first language in the archipelago; 2) the incorporation of Spanish voices to indigenous languages; and 3) the formation of hispano creoles dialects.

The status that the Spanish has as a mother tongue in the islands has always been associated with the local elite of Hispanic origin or Hispanized, both the colonial era and today. From a linguistic and dialectal point of view, this is not entirely uniform, because its configuration responds to two different historical moments, which correspond to the two great Spanish language standards: southern and northern. The fact that Seville was the starting point in first instance, the main protagonist of the American and Asian task, meant its linguistic features were projected on the new territories. Demographic data on Spanish emigration to America between 1493 and 1600 confirms⁴ and highlights that the features of the Spanish language in America and Asia were setting during ocean crossings in contact with migrants, and especially on American soil, moving from there to the Eastern islands⁵. The contact between two places was always performed through Mexico and the Manila galleon from Acapulco, with an already marked language by the indigenous stamp and the majority presence of Mexican / Spanish. The second stage begins in the early nineteenth century by the hand of the upper class, bearer of Spanish a with more conservative features specific to the Northern-Castilian Spanish. According to Quilis, in the late 20th century only 3% of the Filipino population had Spanish as a mother tongue, ie, about two million people.

However, despite the precarious situation of the Spanish language on these islands, the number of Hispanic lexicons in the main indigenous languages far exceeds the figures recorded among the indigenous languages of Latin America. According to Quilis, the influence of Spanish on indigenous languages of Philippines has been

⁴BOYD-BOWMAN, 1972 y 1983.

⁵CONGOSTO MARTÍN, 2002a y b.



important: Hispanisms in Tagalog represent 20.4% and 20.5% in Cebuano. Most of it entered through the Spanish missionaries while using native languages, not the Spanish learned by Filipinos. These include Nahuatlisms like, *petate*, *tamal*, *camote*, *cacao*, *copal*, *tiza*, *mecate*, *petaca*; Taïnosims *batata*, *bejuco*, *sabana*, *nagua*, *huracán*, *cabuya*, *maguey*, or Antilleansims *iguana*, *barbacoa*, *manglar*.

As for the Spanish-Creole language varieties known collectively as Chavacano, they are widely recognized as languages other than Spanish, equipped according Lipski with their own grammatical structures and, especially in the case of Zamboangan, are of a very limited understanding for hispano-speaking people. It is spoken in Ternate and Cavite, in Manila bay, in the west of the island of Luzon; in the south, on the island of Mindanao, in Zamboanga and Cotabato and Basilan island, opposite Zamboanga. El Chavacano spoken in the Manila Bay has influence of Tagalog and Southern Cebuano. According to Quilis in the Chavacano of Cavite the Spanish lexicon accounts for 94% of the total; the rest is Tagalog. In the Zamboangan, the Spanish lexical base is also very wide: 86.3%; the rest are indigenous elements. In Cotabato Chavacano there is an 82.49% of Spanish lexicon; the rest comes from the indigenous languages. In short, the Spanish lexicon in all varieties of Chavacano represents a 91.77% and 2.22% native lexicon; the remaining 6% corresponds to particles and native morphemes.

THE LEXICON OF FOOD AND THE ART OF GASTRONOMY IN THE HISPANIC-FILIPINO CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

The 16th to 18th centuries are especially fruitful in what refers to lexicon. The contact between the American and Asian reality, both geographically, socially and human, awakens in the Spanish people the irrefutable impulse to assimilate everything



around them, that is, the urgent need to integrate into their universe a whole new world, material and immaterial, for which they have no words and must name.

Indeed, as noted by Isaza Calderon: language carrying the conquistadors had extraordinary vocabulary limitations to face the greatly surprising spectacle offered to his eyes. Thus, the language, displaced from their world, needed to acclimate and adapt to its adopted land. On some occasions the creative act affected only the level of meaning, in others however also the signifier. That is why in this way, the speaker uses different linguistic procedures that their language offers and starts the process of lexical creation and the acquisition of new voices.

Under these circumstances, the first step leads them to the comparison, to seek a known benchmark, like the new one, with which to establish lexical-semantic relations. It is what makes Fernandez de Oviedo(1526) when he wants to present and describe avocados, which he called *perales*, even knowing that they are not such:

In mainland there are trees that are called perales, but not pear trees such as Spain, although they are other no less esteem; They bear such fruit, which have many of the advantages of pears here. These are some large trees and broad leaf and quite similar to bay, but is larger and greener. It gives this tree's pear a weight of one pound, and very old, and some less; but commonly they are of a pound, more or less; and the colour and shape is true pears, and somewhat thicker crust, but softer, and in the middle has a nugget as a grafted chestnut, peeled; but it is bitter, as before was called mamey, unless it is one piece, and mamey three, but it is like that, bitter and in the same shape, and the top of this nugget there is very fine layer, and between her and the first crust it is what is eaten, that is fully, and a liquor or paste that is very similar to butter [...]



These such detailed and accurate descriptions set clearly and accurately the nature of the designated object and shape their lexicographical definition, in an attempt to integrate both worlds by linking the term heritage with the new reality. In this regard, various formulas are used when identifying or establishing equivalences: *que es, que llaman, que parece ser, como, a la manera de, con hechura de, etc.* The testimonies of missionaries, writers, military or sailors who explored and settled in the Philippines give good accounts of this procedure. Antonio de Morga himself in his work *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (1609) uses them when refers to the red sea bream and states *que llaman bacocos, or lau-lau* of those who say they are *tan menudo como pejerreyes*. Also, Father Alzina, in his work *Historia natural de las islas e indios Bisayas* (1668) presents the nanca (also called lanca) *each fruit as big as the biggest melons of Castile,*⁶ *the macupa which is a fruit of apple shape, although these are very redder and longer, and seem a mixed of apple and pear of Castile, the santole that imitate much quinces of Spain, or mongos, greenish and something grey-brown like lentils; they serve them instead and are even tastier.* Sometimes only a mere disjunctive separates one term from another, as in the case of *tanguigues* or *mackerels* which also mentions Antonio de Morga in his work.

However, they do not always have the possibility of knowing the indigenous term, so they just have the patrimonial. This forces them to resort to other linguistic mechanisms that allow them to avoid ambiguity and clearly distinguish the new reality of the familiar. We refer to the use of certain syntactical procedures such as, for example, progressive and hierarchical adjectives, with which some characteristics, properties, utilities, shapes, or simply information about the new product were disclosed: *lots of tuna, not as large as those of Spain, but of the same make, meat and flavour.* This is what Juan Bautista Román also makes (already mentioned in this work) when speaking of rice, when he says that this cereal was *el pan de la tierra*. Indeed, preposition complements origin, such as *wine of Castile, saffron of the land, cheese of Flanders, oil of Castile, wine of Jerez, cocoa of Maracaibo, cocoa of the coast, brandy of Hendaya, or tocinos of Toluca* allowed to know the geographical origin, or the plant from which they came, as in *palm of sagú* (palm of Malay origin) or *coconut wine* (tuba or extracted from coconut liqueur), or complements matter such as we find in *wax bread* (meaning *panes* 'sheets or thin sheet' of the material that mention), etc. In other cases just the presence of the adjective delimited with a particular reference to the designation that carried out the noun, as with *pinagua rice, carlon wine* (the wine from Valencia and whose production was incorporated, as we know, cooked must to facilitate preservation), *Chinese noodle* or *black beans* which were tastier. The rest of the time the accumulation and hierarchy of elements had to come to, as in *vino blanco de la tierra* (where the common noun is accompanied by two allusive restrictions on their colour and origin) open pipes *de vino de Madeira* (noun + complement + complement source material). There was also one more

⁶First part, Book I, cap 11; ed. cit., p. 71-75.

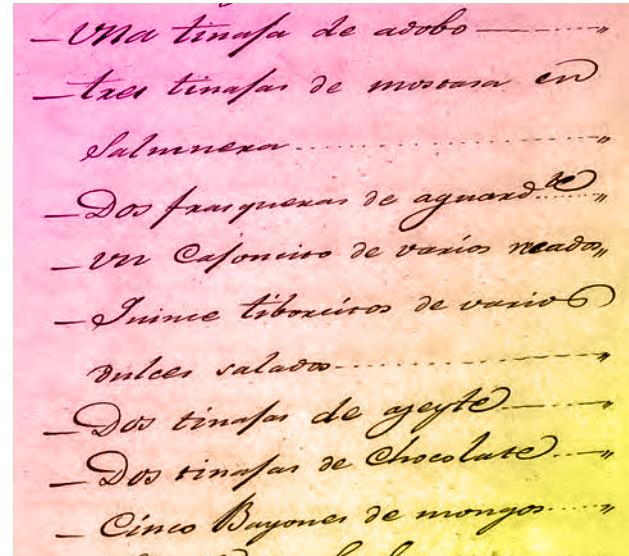


option, to let one's imagination and intuition run riot in order to get unique supplements as found in the record of the schooner *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, led by Francisco Casten, who arrived in Manila from Malaysia and Java in 1769 carrying bottles of *Soy of Japan*, the name that received as it happens, soy sauce.

Comments as evocative as made by Antonio de Morga, the Spanish officer who arrived at the archipelago in 1595, referring to the chickens by expressing that there was a great abundance, *some are similar to Spanish ones, some indigenous and others very tasty brought from Asian continent [...]* demonstrate the existence of a non-stop transfer of goods between the different sea ports. The system established by the Spanish Crown treasure Fleet and Galleons had a lot to do with it. Firstly with America and then Asia via the Manila Galleon, which not only guaranteed the exchange of products between three continents through a regular and secure route, but also the exchange of voices, encouraging the integration of many lexicons of different languages in contact in the patrimonial lexicon, often accompanied by semantic changes as result of the adaptation process.

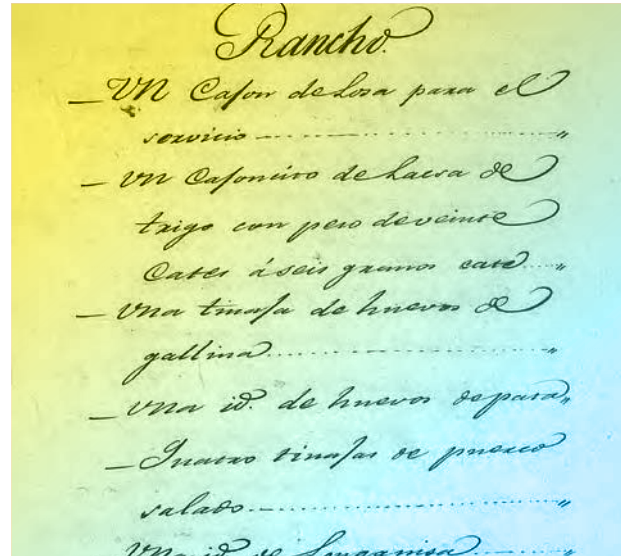
From its inception, the Spanish language always knew how to make room in their system for new voices from different cultures to which it related, words such as *aceite*, *alcaparra*, *azúcar*, *arroz* assimilated as arabism, which had to add now, at this time, those that together with new realities were newly added to the language such as *tamarindo* (Ar. *vg. támra híndi* Indian date), with which *very funny* vinegar was made or *menjuí* (benjuí. Ar. *lubān gāwī* or 'incense of Sumatra' an island where the purest one was produced, and the Arabs named Java').

A special relevance has been acquired now by the American indigences, perfectly integrated already in the lexicon heritage of Spanish people, as the products designated, regardless the short time elapsed, were in the gastronomy. So much so that as such were felt in the Philippines: Taino voices as *maíz* (from *mahís*), *yuca*, (also called *mandioca*, in Guarani *mandióg*), *batata* (best known for *camote*, in Nahuatl *camotli*) or *ají* (also called *chile*, from Nahuatl *chilli*, or *pimiento*, as Columbus named it for its flavour, similar to black pepper used in Europe); more Nahuatl voices, added to those already mentioned, such as *cacahuete* (from *cacáhuatl*), *jicama* (from *xicamatl*), tomato (from *tomatl*), *jitomatoes* (from Nahuatl *xictli* 'navel' and *tomatl* 'tomato') or as defendant *cacao* (of *cacáhua*). And others that posed at those, such as *frijol*, generic name given to the bean, beans or Spanish bean (lat. *Faseólus*, through the Galician-Portuguese *Freixó*, and perhaps partly Mozarabic), being often used from Mexico and the West Indies to Peru. Also some Arawak voices, like *guayaba*, or Guarani, as *ananás* (which came through the Portuguese) also called *piñas americanas*, as it is, according to descriptions by Cristobal de Acosta, *a kind of fruit, like fruit-pine, but that is extremely sweet and exquisite taste*.



All these fruits, vegetables, cereals, condiments and other products became mixed with those of the area: cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg or ginger, essential ingredients in stews of meat and fish, led to a whole gastronomy Creole (and language). The collection of recipes of the 15th and 16th century and the current cookery are a strong evidence of this. An example is found in the emblematic *morisqueta*, rice cooked with water and salt, typical of the Philippines, whose name comes from the term *morisco* plus the suffix *-eta*, in correspondence with the *marquesotes*, which is the name given to a cake made with rice flour or corn, among other ingredients, and baked, typically in Honduras and Nicaragua, created from the voice *marqués* over augmentative *-ote*. As the *guisado* (also *guisa*, *gisado* o *ginisa*), which the Filipino cuisine named the fact of sauté stews with garlic, onion and tomato; *chorizos de Bilbao*, a kind of dry sausage used for their stews; or *picadillo*, which is the name given a dish of minced meat with garlicks, tomatoes and sautéed onions, which aims to honour the *picadillo*, typical Andalusian, likewise made of tomatoes, onions, peppers and other ingredients, indeed, chopped very fine, hence its name, but unlike the previous without being sautéed.

Similarly, many other dishes, ingredients and customs of Spanish and Mexican cuisine have been integrated into the Filipino cuisine, but perhaps apparently hidden under the spelling sieve, phonetic and linguistic of the native language, as is the case Tagalog *adobo* / *inadobo*, name given the stew meat marinated in vinegar, oil, garlic and soy sauce; *busa* / *pabusa*, toast with garlic and a small amount of cooking oil; *Daing* / *dinaing* / *dadaing*, spiced with garlic, vinegar and black pepper; *guinataan* / *sa gata*, cooked with coconut milk; *kinilaw*, seasoning with vinegar or calamansi juice with garlic, onion, ginger, tomato, chilli and pepper; *lechón* / *litson* / *nilechon*, roasted on a spit (unlike Spanish); *pinakbet*, cooked with vegetables such as green beans, pumpkin, aubergine and bitter melon *relleno* / *relyeno* stuffing, *tosta* / *tinosta* / *tostado*, toast, *torta* / *tinorta* / *patorta*, eggs cooked in the same way that cooking an omelette *totso* / *totcho*, cooked with black fermented beans.



COLOPHON

Our past, closely linked to sea and sailing, has left a fascinating legacy of knowledges and legendary stories. But the historical routes that crossed the Atlantic [Pacific] to the conquest of the New World were also the source of a large vocabulary that, in many cases, still survives in our everyday conversations [...] In the microcosm created by the ships not only travelled people and goods, but a whole immaterial heritage: of culture, ideas and words⁷.

If the *registros de navíos*⁸ witnessed a story of encounters and emphasised the importance of a legacy in which current nations are rooted, the *crónicas* and the *historias naturales* written by the missionaries are living testimonies of nature and culture of the Filipino people of that time and of cultural and linguistic symbiosis which took place there. Within their works a myriad of terms related to all walks of life are collected, including the food and the art of gastronomy. The work by Father Francisco Ignacio Alzina (1668) attests to this. In it the author tells us, for example, about *the many differences of oranges that there are out here, big and abundance, the palms called cocos and very useful, age and other properties of this palm, and its differences, especially with those of nipa and lumbia, and also they*

⁷ This quote is taken from the film *Tesis* (Canal Sur TV, Documentales CEDECOM), about the research project *Los fondos documentales del Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla y su interés para la lexicografía histórica española. I. Nuevas aportaciones al léxico de la navegación y la gente de mar (ss. XVI-XVIII)*, Ref.: P12-HUM-1195, Granted as a project of excellence by Junta de Andalucía with a period of execution of four years (2014-2018). This Project Is Directed by who subscribes these pages and it has the support of researchers of Universidad de Sevilla, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED) and Universidad Carlos III of Madrid, and among them, Mr. José Antonio Pascual, Assistant Director of the Real Academia Española de la Lengua. <https://youtu.be/wSVU22i7JYg>

⁸ For an exhaustive explanation of what records of ships represent as documentary testimony of the society of the moment. cfr. Congosto Martín (2002a y b).



call buri and bonga, about bejucos (voice of Caribbean origin) which he said here is named like that by the Spaniards, which are kind of palms, and others like wicker, trees and aromatic plants on these islands, and their properties, big fish like labinduyon, swordfish and others, and way to catch them over here, etc.

Today, when the world is undergoing a process of global scale cultural globalization *contacts and varieties of language are not momentary events but dynamic processes that continue emerging as a natural consequence of the restlessness of the human being*⁹. Bilingual communities in which the Spanish coexists with other languages are present on five continents. Philippines is one of them. Do not let Spanish, a historical language as rich and cultivated, finally disappear in this territory.

⁹LIPSKI, 2007.





VISTA DE MANILA DESDE LA BAHIA.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>Fuerza de Santiago.</i> | 2. <i>Telegrafo de la Audiencia.</i> | 3. <i>Palacio del Gobernador.</i> | 4. <i>Catedral.</i> |
| 5. <i>S.^a Agustin.</i> | 6. <i>La Compania.</i> | 7. <i>Palacio Arzobispal.</i> | |

View of Manila from the Bay. Álbum: *Vistas de las Yslas Filipinas*, by José H. Lozano, 1847.

Manuscript paper; pen drawing, coloured. 1 page, 21.7 x 30 cm.
 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, DIB/15/84.

THE TRANSITION TO A NEW ERA

Antonio Sánchez de Mora

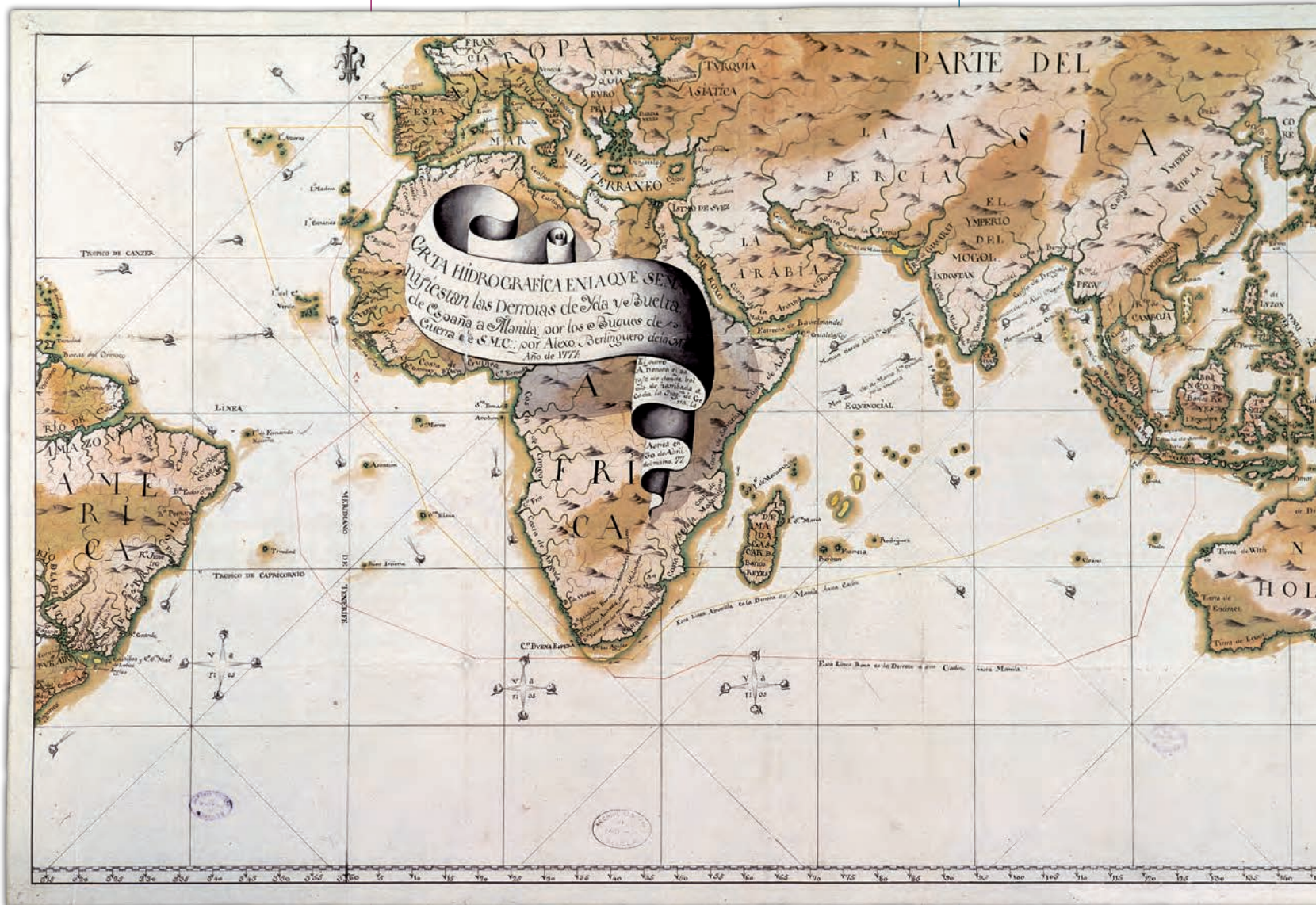
A renewed atmosphere was noticed in the Spanish court in the middle of the 18th century and during the second half of the century various measures designed to improve communications and economic performance of the colonies were implemented. Here the scientific expeditions, enroll promoting profitable crops or technical improvements that made faster and safer journeys possible. The reformist spirit went even further, as more and more voices against the old system of monopolies and supporting trade liberalization and the opening of new shipping routes arose.

The Manila galleon, although benefiting from technical innovations and maintaining its performance throughout the century, was seen as an obstacle to that reformist spirit, which echoed the claims that other ports had made to participate in the lucrative trade with the East. During the second half of the 18th century two new routes were postulated. They facilitate direct access from the merchants and Spanish investors to the Philippines, as a balance to monopoly of Manila and Acapulco and novo-hispanos intermediaries.

The first one, facilitated by technical innovations and new naval models, ran along the South American coast and bordering Cape Horn, proposing port calls at Buenos Aires or Montevideo and, in the Pacific Ocean, at El Callao. This route made the direct shipment of Peruvian silver to the metropolis on its return journey possible, in addition to pleasing the Lima merchants who were able to receive the prized Asian goods.

The second one was not a complete novelty. It was based on the traditional Portuguese route that skirted the Cape of Good Hope, although it involved crossing the southern Indian ocean instead of calling at the coast of India. This route required overcoming the obstacles under the Treaty of Tordesillas and was based on islands of supplies such as Madagascar, Mauritius or Ascension.

Simultaneously, alternatives of private investment based on the Dutch model of the Company of the East Indies, were applied initiatives which were also develop-



Carta hidrográfica en la que se manifiestan las derrotas de yda y vuelta de España a Manila, por los buques de guerra de Su Magestad Católica, or nautical chart of the routes between Spanish ports and Manila, by Alejo Berlinguero de la Marca. 1777.

Manuscript paper; pen drawing, coloured. 1 page,
41.25 x 66.7 cm.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, MP-FILIPINAS, 171



ing in the United Kingdom and France. These proposals sought higher returns in business, though were supported by the government. The temporary English occupation of Manila consolidated the interest of the crown to improve defences, supply, autonomy and, ultimately, the vitality of the colony. From a commercial point of view, it sought to circumvent the traditional route of trade between Manila and Acapulco, but also direct access to inland enclaves which until then had been controlled by the sangleys. This initiative, moreover, was integrated into a broader context, protected by the Decree of Free Trade which, since 1765, had allowed nine Spanish ports to operate directly with several enclaves of the Caribbean, leaving behind the fleet system which had worked since the 16th century.

If the above initiatives were carried out in agriculture, in communications it was essential to demonstrate the feasibility of the proposed routes. For this purpose several expeditions were conducted, sponsored by the crown and on Navy ships, incorporating goods loaded in Cadiz. The first came from the Iberian Peninsula in March 1765 and, after a port call at Rio de Janeiro, skirting the Cape of Good Hope in October. It was refreshed by an extended call at Mauritius between January and May 1766 and, thereafter, full of provisions again following Réunion Island, went on towards the island of Java. From there it went to Cavite, where its crew were received in late August. There were fewer setbacks on the return, as they departed in early February 1767 and reached Cadiz in mid-July.

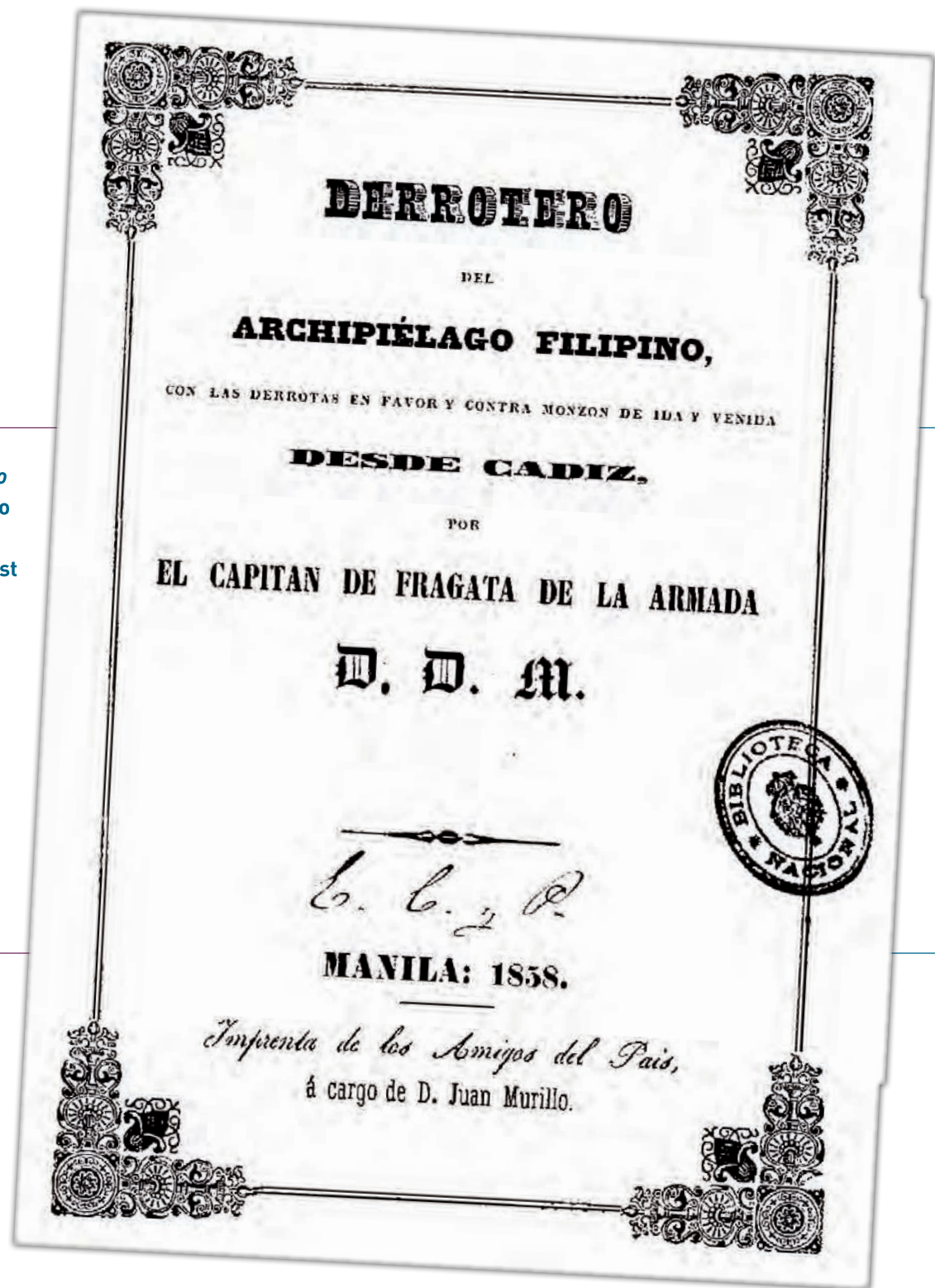
The success of this venture encouraged new projects that ratified the viability of this route, the context of which is included in the exhibited map, drawn by Alejo Berlinguero, Navy officer, to guide future expeditions.

Regarding the Pacific route, the first attempts were unsuccessful, although they expanded the knowledge about winds and ocean currents. However, the reluctance of traders linked to the Manila galleon and economic effort involved for the crown hindered the consolidation of this maritime alternative. It had to wait for the initiative of several private companies, covered by the new regulation of free trade and the opening of the ports of Peru and the Rio de la Plata to transoceanic trade.

The foundation of the *Royal Company of the Philippines* came to complete all previous initiatives. Born by a Royal Order of March 10th, 1785, it assumed the powers of the *Guipuzcoan Company of Caracas* and other business initiatives added at the time, which supported private equity exclusivity in trade between Manila and Cadiz. Its purpose was the marketing in Spain of products purchased in the Philippines, South East Asia and India, using, in the outbound journey, the routes of Cape Horn with calls at Montevideo and El Callao, and Cape of Good Hope with calls at Mauritius, Calcutta and the Canton islands. The return journey should always follow the route of the Indian Ocean, reserving for Navy ships communication between Manila and El Callao. Agreements with the Dutch and English

Derrotero del Archipiélago Filipino. Routes of Filipino Archipelago with the routes in favor and against monsoon, from and to Cadiz, by the frigate's captain D. D. M. Manila, Imp. de los Amigos del País, 1858.

Printed in Manila, Imp. De los Amigos del País. 344 páginas, 22 cm. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, HA/19038.





companies and the establishment of commissioners in Canton, plus the opening of offices in Manila guaranteed the availability of goods.

However, its operations generated tensions with merchants of the traditional route and had to wait until the nineties to achieve a temporary authorization to trade with the American ports, ratified in 1803. The Royal Company of the Philippines went into decline, immersed in a difficult and turbulent period during the French invasion of Spain and the insurgency of the American colonies that staggered the Hispanic Empire. Its activity was even suspended, favouring a policy of openness and the involvement of European, Asian and American ships. The Liberal government of 1820 continued this trend¹, which encouraged the Philippine agricultural production that once encouraged the Company. When it seemed like the end, the return of absolutism renewed their privileges and monopoly, which allowed it to remain operational until its abolition in 1834². By then the Manila galleon was gone. If it survived the free-mercantilist late 18th century policies, insurgents appearing in Acapulco ended 250 years of regular trade between this port and Cavite. The last ship that undertook this route was the *San Fernando de Magallanes*, which arrived in Manila in 1815.

It was by then when the route Cape of Good Hope, which was undertaken by the ship *Santa Ana*, aka *Rey Fernando*, owned by the Company of Philippines, imposed. It left the port of Cadiz on its way to Cavite on October 5th, 1831, escorted by a navy vessel. It was not its first journey³ nor was it the last⁴, always following the same direction and with a similar duration. In fact, until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 it was the only route taken by Spanish ships, as evidenced, for example, in the course published in Manila in 1858.

It was a journey that took almost five months and crossed the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, making port calls at the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Sunda. After some months loading goods, it returned to Spain, following the same route in reverse, adapting to the winds and currents. Once anchored in the bay of Cadiz and once formalities were sorted, the ship unloaded the imported goods and prepared itself a new journey. Marshal Gabriel Torres, 60 passengers, some army officers, staff of the Royal Treasury, relatives of some of this people and 350 soldiers⁵ were travelling on the journey in October 1831.

¹ Decree of January 10th, 1820. AGI, ULTRAMAR, 640.

² *Gaceta de Madrid*, N.208, September 10th, 1834

³ AGI, INDIFERENTE, 2148, N.50; *Gaceta de Madrid*, N.116, August 20, 1829, N. 115, September 23th, 1830; AGI, INDIFERENTE, 2299.

⁴ The ship return from Cavite on December 29th, 1832 and set sail in spring the following year. AGI, INDIFERENTE, 2299. *Gaceta de Madrid* N.20, February 14th, 1833.

⁵ Decree of the Judge at Arribadas, Cádiz, October 6th, 1831. AGI, INDIFERENTE, 2299.



Num.º 2.

Nota del rancho preparado para la manutencion de los pasajeros, tropa y tripulacion del navio de la R.ª Compania de Filipinas nombrado Santa Ana, alias, El Rei Fernando, en el viage que va a componer para Manila. A Saber.

Camara

Ganado vivo	10..	Torneiras
	30..	Machos jabrio
	30..	Carneros
	35..	Cerdos
	30..	Pabos
	500..	Gallinas
	120..	Patos
210..	Anzanos	
Su manutencion	60..	Traygas cebada
	20..	Idias...Salvao
	60..	Idias...Mala
	100..	Arrobas. Papa
Carnes	120..	Docenas. Chorizos
	20..	Idias...Morillus
	100..	Jamones
	3048..	Libras...tornera preparada
	1050..	Idias...Lomo de Cerdo
	252..	Idias...Pabos
	170..	Idias...Conejos
	500..	Idias...Memudo
	1200..	Idias...Cocino de la Sierra
	60..	Idias...Salchichon
	350..	Idias...Manteca de puerco
Pescados	176..	Idias...Corvina preparada
	100..	Idias...Alun en salmuera
	100..	Idias...idem en aceite
	200..	Idias...Salmon
	200..	Idias...Anchoas
	100..	Idias...Sardinias
75..	Idias...Dentones y Lengüados en escabeche	

List of provisions embarked on the ship *Santa Ana*, alias *Rey Fernando*, when its trip to Cavite was prepared. Cadiz, September 27th 1831.

Manuscript paper. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, FILIPINAS, 996



To victual the boat was an important issue, whose loading was much more varied and select than the monotonous rations of previous centuries. As it reflects the exhibited document, the foods were classified into several headings: live cattle, their maintenance, meats, fish, vegetables, pickles, beans, wine and vinegar, cheese and desserts, sweets and various items, as well as water and firewood.

The available room on the boat allowed the shipment of 10 calves, 30 goats, 30 sheep, 34 pigs, 30 turkeys, 500 chickens, 120 ducks and 40 geese, so they could afford fresh meat and eggs during the voyage. In addition, more than 4,000 pounds of beef, 1,056 pork loins, 352 turkeys, 156 rabbits, 500 pounds of animal guts, 100 hams and 1,200 pounds of butter were shipped. It highlights the list of sausages, because the mid-19th century had standardized the difference between the *salchichones*, *chorizos* and *morcillas*, of which 120 dozen, 60 and 20 units were shipped. The former had abandoned ancient spices in order to incorporate paprika, the next maintained and keep the dressing of chopped pork with pepper, nutmeg and some other spices or herbs. The *morcilla* were manufactured and still are manufactured with pig blood and cereals, potato or rice, depending on the region, spicy ingredients and sometimes accompanied onion, butter, bacon or other lower quality meats, finishing its cooking by boiling and drying.

They kept the traditional conservation techniques for the fish purchased for this journey: tuna in brine or oil, anchovies and sardines, usually wreck-fish, and groupers and pickled soles. More unusual was the introduction of sea bass *already prepared* and salmon. The amount of shipped fish was significantly lower than meat and live animals, differences that would not be reduced by eventual sea fishing, because the speed of the boats and the directions and pre-set schedules made such things very difficult.

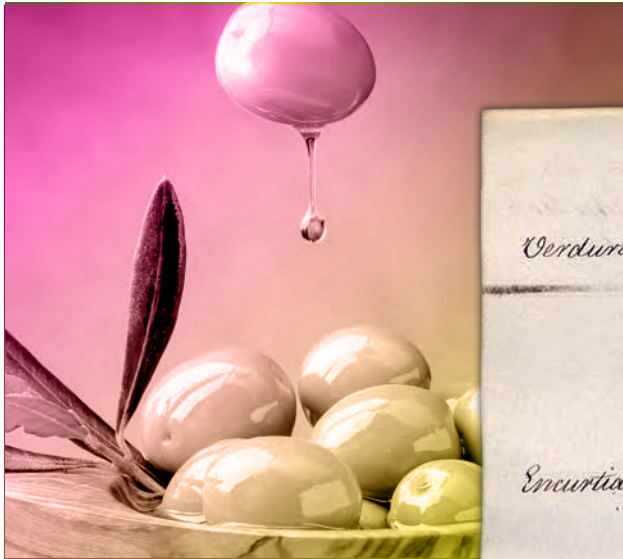
In the group of vegetables were included 20 barrels of cabbages and 6 of cauliflowers, probably in brine or other ways of conservation, green beans, artichokes and beetroot, also canned. Capers, caper berries, some mushrooms, peppers and olives were included in the batch of pickles.

The list of *menestras* included dry pulses: 10 bushels of beans, 12 quintals of lentils, 23 of peas, 23 and 50 of dried beans, plus 36 quintals of biscuit *de dieta*, 40 barrels of wheat flour, and 35 boxes of *fideos surtidos*.

The kitchen needed oil and vinegar, and as such 650 jars of oil and 45 barrels of *vinagre de yema*, the best quality one, were purchased.

No lacking of wine, but this time they had it from different origin and quality: 100 pipes of Catalan wine, 16 barrels of sherry, 2 of Paxarette wine and 2 of muscat. In addition, 100 bottles of rum, 100 of gin, 100 of assorted liquor, 250 jugs of beer and 40 barrels of brandy were loaded.





List of provisions embarked on the ship Santa Ana, alias Rey Fernando.



Verduras	20.	Barriles	Coles preparadas
	6.	Dños	Coliflores
	4.	Dños	Judias tiernas
	10.	Sacas	Alechofas
Encurtidos	3.	Anclotes	Remolachas
	2.	Dños	Mcaparras
	2.	Dños	Mcaparrones
	2.	Sacas	Mezclas
	8.	Anclotes	Peñientes
Menestras	500.	Botiquelas	Alcaparras
	30.	Quintales	Biscocho de Dieta
	30.	Barriles	Manna de la tierra
	35.	Cajas	Fideos surtidos
	10.	Farrucas	Garbanzos
	12.	Quintales	Lentijas
Caldos	23.	Dños	Guisantes
	50.	Dños	Judias secas
	100.	Pipas	Vino Catalán
	10.	Barriles	Vino de Jerez
	2.	Dños	D. Pajarito
	2.	Dños	D. Moscatel
	10.	Dños	Aguardiente
	15.	Dños	Vinagre de yema
	100.	Botellas	Rom
	100.	Dños	Licores surtidos
Pastres	250.	Tarros	Corbena
	100.	Dños	Jimbrá
	650.	Botijas	Acite
	300.	Quesos de Flandes	
	10.	Cajas	Pasas
	20.	Farrucas	Almendras
	15.	Barriles	Higos
	3.	Sacos	Nueces
	4.	Dños	Avellanas
	100.	Libras	Orejones
4.	Cajas	Cinuelas pasas	

Dulces

200. Libras Bizcochos Marquesotes
 60. Dhas Dulces en almibar de Varias clases
 100. Dhas id para masa
 300. Dhas Chocolate
 10. Dhas Bizcochos de Varias clases para la salida
 12. Dhas Dulce reposteria para id

4. Quintales Cafe' en grano
 25. Libras Cafe' molido
 94. Dhas Ce'

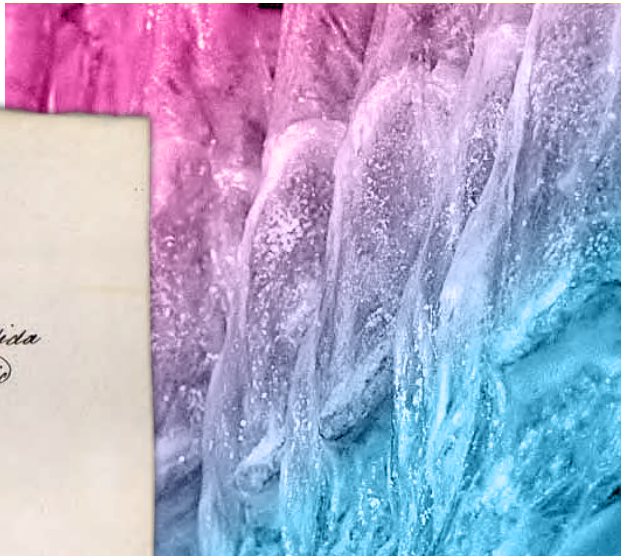
14. Arrobas Azucar blanca
 62. Dhas id de Filipinas
 20. Dhas Manteca de Flandes

Varios articulos

20. Dhas Mostaza y un Coyon especias finas
 100. Dhas Salsa de tomates
 3. Dhas Pastillas de sustancia
 5000. Hyebo
 300. Libras Velas de sebo
 100. Dhas id de Esperma

Propana y Tripulacion

1.128. Quintales Bizcocho ordinario
 135. Barriles Tocino
 10. Dhas Carne salada
 70. Quintales Bacalao
 140. Dhas Arroz
 142. Dhas Judias secas
 70. Fanegas Garbanos
 52. Cajas Fideos surtidos
 10. Quintales Patatas
 260. Calabazas
 10. Millares Cebollas
 500. Dhas Ajos
 26. Arrobas Pimiento molido dulce y picante
 1.000. Pimientas secas
 30. Fanegas sal
 1. Caja especias surtidas



Distribucion, o arreglo de manjares para las mesas de Camaras segun el Reglamento propuesto.

1.^a Comida.

*Potaje de arroz con frijoles.
Lomo frito guisado.
Carne en salpicon.
Pastres de higos y nueces.*

Domingo.

*Sopa de pasta.
El Cocido
Cabo, o amade asado o relleno.
Salmon, o atun.
pastel, u otra clase de masa.
Pastres de almendras y queso.*

Lunes.

*Arroz ala salmiana con Chorizos.
un plato de menudo de Cerdo.
Fornera frita o guisada.
Pastres, higos y arbellanas.*

*Sopa de pasta.
El Cocido.
Carne asada y patatas.
Acachofas.
pastres de nueces y pasas.*

Martes.

*Arroz con garbanzos
Lomo con guisantes secos
Bacalao frito, o en salsa
Pastres de almendras y pasas*

*Sopa de masa
El Cocido
Carne guisada o asada.
Jamon con patatas.
un plato de masa
pastres de pasas y queso.*

Miercoles.

*Migas con Jamon o Chorizos
Fornera frita o guisada.
Carne en salpicon.*

*Sopa de arroz.
El Cocido
Carne con patatas.*

Menu on board and the provisions of the navio Santa Ana, alias Rey Fernando, property of Compañia de Filipinas. Cadiz, April 12th, 1833.

Manuscript paper.

Archivo General de Indias, Seville, FILIPINAS, 996

2.^a Comida.

sigue el Miercoles.

Coliflores.

Pastres de almendras y pasas.

Jueves.

Sopa de fideos.

El Cocido.

Pastel con carne

Jamon con guisantes

Arroz con leche.

Pastres de almendras y queso.

Viernes.

Sopa de pasta

El Cocido

Carne con patatas

Salmon

pastres de pasas y avellanas

Sabado.

Sopa de fideos - El Cocido.

Carne asada o estofada.

Jamon con patatas.

Pastres de queso y pasas.

La buena administracion de un rancho en la mar, consiste, ademas de la prudente economia que es indispensable, en consumir primero el ganado y los articulos que la experiencia tiene acordado ser de menor aguante. Esta circunstancia hace que no sea posible que un mismo arreglo pueda servir todo el viaje; y esta



For desserts they consumed cheese and nuts: 300 cheeses from Flanders, 40 boxes of raisins, 20 bushels of almonds 15 barrels of figs, 5 bags of nuts, 4 of hazelnuts, 100 pounds of dried apricots and 4 boxes of prunes. Various sweets were also enjoyed, as 200 pounds of *marquesotes*, 60 of fruit in syrup, 300 pounds of chocolate were loaded and, to celebrate the departure of the ship, 22 pounds of biscuits and sweet pastries.

Completing the supplies, coffee in beans or ground coffee, a drink that had become popular in the 19th century, tea, 17 pounds of white sugar – refined - and 62 of *sugar of the Philippines*, Flanders butter, eggs, mustard and various spices.

The cooking and preserve of tomato sauce was symptom of dietary changes, of which 100 pounds were loaded. As an innovation highlighted *pastillas de sustancia*, a French invention of the 18th century which consisted of dehydrated soup, sometimes enriched with dried herbs or flour.

Not all of them tasted the same foods because the men and the boat crew had less varied portions and a less select menu: biscuit, bacon, corned beef, cod, rice, dried beans, chickpeas, noodles, potatoes, squash, onions, garlic, chilli, ground paprika, sweet and hot, salt and various spices.

On April 12th, 1833, when the ship *Santa Ana* was still operating, the *Royal Company of the Philippines* stipulated the weekly menu for the *mesas de cámara* or main, usual and customary in other vessels and that, surely, served as a model⁶. The officers and passengers should have had two meals per day, which consisted of several dishes.

At noon as a first course, dishes of rice with beans, rice with chickpeas and lentils, Valencia-style rice with *chorizo*, *de galleta sopa* – perhaps a dehydrated broth in cubes - breadcrumbs with ham and chorizo. The main course included fried or stewed meats, such as beef, pork or guts. More specific dishes are also mentioned in this menu, such as meat salad, pork tenderloin with peas, fried cod or in sauce or sheep scratchings. Vegetables were abundant, as was the pumpkin stew, and for desserts, fruits and nuts.

Dinner, somewhat lighter, included a first course of soup and stew, perhaps to offer soup as starter and other ingredients cooked as accompaniment. The second course was divided between grilled meats, fish and more specific dishes, artichokes, cauliflowers, meatloaf or peas with ham. For dessert, a rice pudding and cheese broke the monotony of fruits and nuts omnipresent on the menu.

⁶ See, for example, *The Regulación de la mesa o diario de manutención de los oficiales* of ships related on the Postal Service of Spain, de 1790. AGI, CORREOS, 435B.



8




CASA DE LA YNTENDENCIA.

Casa de la Yntendencia, or Intendant's House. View of Manila from the Bay. Álbum: Vistas de las Yslas Filipinas, by José H. Lozano, 1847.

Manuscript paper; pen drawing, coloured. 1 page, 21.7 x 30 cm.

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, DIB/15/84.



The difficult circumstances of the 19th century, marked by the war of Spanish Independence, the American revolutions and successive political crises, eclipsed any innovative trend, so the evolution of Spanish gastronomy unfolded between conservatism and continued under the influence of French cuisine. Yes of course, improvements in ocean navigation facilitated communications between Spain and its possessions in the Canary Islands, America and Philippines.

The Spanish community in the archipelago did not remain unaware of this process, neither to the publications which followed one another, that marked the guidelines to follow in social events and, moreover, in the dishes tasted there. Felice Santamaría has bequeathed to us a thorough study which presents the life of the colonial elite throughout the 19th century, where receptions and dances were accompanied by succulent banquets⁷. It is clear that it was an honourable window in the daily evolution of the military, civil officials, businessmen and churchmen who peopled Manila and to a lesser extent, other colonial cities. These in turn were very distant from the day to day native communities.

The French influence was evident in works such as *La Nueva cocinera curiosa y económica*, in 1822, or *El Manual del cocinero, cocinera, repostero...* in 1828, a trend entrenched over a century in which authors as prominent as Antoine Careme excelled. With this in mind, Guillermo Moyano released in 1867 *El cocinero español y la perfecta cocinera*. His work, published in Malaga, shows a recipe's collection in which the Andalusian gastronomy is very present, although it incorporates some foreign influences. Two years later *La gran economía de las familias: Arte de arreglar y componer lo sobrante de las comidas de un día para otro* was published in Madrid, a work with a curious title that its anonymous author, a *retired gastronome*, wanted to dedicate to the popular classes.

The *Libro de cocina* by Jules Gouffé, published in 1885 and later translated into Spanish, kept the French influence, while the distance between *haute cuisine* and domestic gastronomy strengthened. *La mesa moderna* by Dr. Thebussem –pseudonym of Mariano Pardo de Figueroa- had some impact from the point of its publication in 1888, although it was *El Practicón* by Angel Muro which received huge attention between the late 19th century and early next century. Its subtitle, *Tratado completo de cocina al alcance de todos y aprovechamiento de sobras*, explains the success achieved: 35 editions between 1884 and 1928.

The work of Melquiades Brizuela, head chef of the Transatlantic Company, shines in the 20th century. His services to steamship, hotels and top restaurant's diners

⁷F. Prudente Sta. Maria, *The Governor-General's Kitchen. Philippine culinary vignettes and period recipes*, Manila: ANVIL Publishing Inc., 2006.

Donativo de D. Eduardo Sanchez-
Jona, Oficial interno de este Archivo.
Sello 29 Nov. 18

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LA COCINA FILIPINA

Coleccion de Formulas practicas

y posibles en Filipinas

para comer bien.



MANILA

Imp. PINPIN, Soler 1042, Sta. Cruz.

1913.

La cocina Filipina. Colección de fórmulas prácticas y posibles en Filipinas para comer bien. Manila : Imprenta Pinpin, 1913.

Printed book. 136 pages, 20.5 x 13.5 cm

Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Biblioteca, D-788.

brought him the experience that reflected in his works, among which *Sartén y Pluma*, 1903, and *La obra culinaria nacional*, 1917 excel. This monograph is added to *El cocinero práctico*, published by Saturnino Calleja in 1903, *La cocina española antigua* by Emilia Pardo Bazan, printed in 1913, and *La cocina práctica* by Manuel María Puga y Parga, compilation of his journalistic contributions published in La Coruna in 1905.

In this context *La cocina filipina. Colección de formulas practicas y posibles en Filipinas para comer bien* shows up, released in Manila in 1913. By then it had overcome the trance of the independence of the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico, occurring in 1898, without affecting the Spanish community in the Asian archipelago (a living exponent of the historical links between both countries). The port of Cadiz maintained regular communication with Cavite and businessmen were the main people in their comings and goings.

Its anonymous author, perhaps the wife of a merchant who lived in Manila, presents the daily life of a wealthy family who had Filipino cooks to their service and to please their guests with varied menus. The work is divided into three parts. The first focused on stocks, soups, rice dishes and stews; the second to meat, fish and other main dishes, and the third to the pastries. However, far from ordering their contents after meticulous work, it shows an apparent meeting of several previous works, sometimes restating recipes. It stresses the attention devoted to the Andalusian cuisine, emphasized by the use of terms, as *chícharos* – peas—, *habichuelas* – beans—, *alcauciles*, *Spanish stew en blanco y de color...* Some recipes denote a direct relationship with the Bay of Cadiz: *sobreusa*, sea bass with peas, Moron cake, Chiclana ring-shaped roll, *mostachones*, tipsy cakes, *pestiños*, *alfajores* from Medina –regarding Medinasidonia, *empanadillas* from the nuns of Medina... Spanish dishes abound, such as stews, casseroles, vegetable stews, *chorizo*, spanish sausages, *escabeches*, *ropavieja*, *arroz a la valenciana* and peppers filled with it, cod Bizkaia stile, the *moles eggs* of eastern Andalusia, the shortcakes of Astorga, the Catalanian *fricandó*, the tipsy cakes of Guadalajara, milk flan...

However, far from adapting to a traditional and daily collection of recipes, it expands its selection with examples of a more sophisticated cuisine. The use of certain culinary terms and the inclusion of recipes such as croquettes, *gallinetas en salmi* o several recipes *a la francesa*, *a la inglesa* o *a la holandesa*, including *Roast beef* and *Beefsteak*, suggests handling some published works to throughout the 19th century, such as *La gran economía de las familias* o *El Practicón*. The use of Flanders butter –high quality butter— and some very spicy, refer us to recipes from past centuries, finding in Martínez Montiño a direct or indirect source. However, the addition of tomato, pepper and paprika or its undoubted approach to Filipino ingredients and recipes, demonstrate a greater open mind, perhaps with the help of local chefs.



LA COCINA FILIPINA.

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hícamas á pedacitos, se les agrega agua, sal y achuete y esto cocido con poco de caldo y casi en la manteca se coloca en una fuente.

En una apa para lumpia se ponen unas hojas de lechugas, un poco de negro untándolo sobre el apa, un poco de ajos machacados y de los dos guisos que se han hecho antes un poco de cada uno y se envuelven en el apa sirviendo más ajos y negro en el plato si es necesario: el negro lo venden los chinos y lo fabrican especialmente para el lumpia

Pansit

N.o 240.

Se remoja *bijon* seco hasta que quede blando; se tiene preparado *miki* en cantidad suficiente para mezclarlo con el *bijon*, y en un *carajay* se pone manteca; cuando esté caliente se frie puerco que esté cortado á pedacitos sin que llegue á hacerse chicharron y se saca del *carajay*; se frien cebollas y cuando están doradas se agrega el puerco y también camarones pelados y pedacitos de *tokua* que se vende en los chinos, quin-chay á pedazos y también, "tongué", cebollas mudas, y se pone el "bijon" y el "miki" y se revuelve todo esto poniéndole el jugo de las cabezas de los camarones que se tiene preparado habiéndolos pelado y pasado por el colador, todo esto se revuelve y se tapa calculando el caldo que ha de tener después de cocido. Para servirlo se pone en una fuente y por encima ajos machacados y fritos, huevos duros á ruedas y calamansis partidos por medio.

Pacsiu de Pescado

N.o 241.

Se limpia el pescado sin quitar la escama; en una cacerola se pone el pescado, ajos pelados, vinagre, sal, y un poco de agua para templar, sino se quiere

agrio, y se deja cocer hasta que el ojo del pescado esté fuera de su sitio, que es el punto.

Pacsiu de Puerco

N.o 242.

La cabeza y patas del puerco, ó bien una sola de estas cosas, se parten á pedazos y, crudo, se pone en un caldero. se le agrega agua, sal, vinagre, ajos, orégano, clavo, pimienta y laurel y si se quiere flor de bonga de China, todo esto calculado que no sobralga el gusto de ninguna cosa, se pone al fuego y al estar tierno está listo para comer.

Diniguan

N.o 243.

Menudillos de puerco, es decir, toda clase de menudencias, como hígado, bofes, tripas, corazón etc., se zancochan y se parten á pedacitos menudos; se tienen cebollas y ajos friendo en un carajay y cuando están doraditas las cebollas se ponen los menudillos y se le dan dos ó tres vueltas sin que lleguen á freir, y en este estado se agrega sangre de puerco, y un poco de agua, calculando el caldo que se quiera y se temple con vinagre, sal, pimienta y clavo al gusto, dejándolo cocer hasta que esté tierno.

Soranju

N.o 244.

Sotanjú proporcionado se remoja, antes de guisar, en agua, y cuando está blando se corta á pedazos para que no esté largo; en un carajay se pone manteca y se frien ajos y cebollas picados y cuando están dorados, se les agrega camarones y puerco, primero el puerco que debe estar zancochado y partido á pedacitos,



28.



Chino Pansitero.

Chinese pansit vendor. Álbum: Vistas de las Yslas Filipinas, by José H. Lozano, 1847.

Manuscript paper; pen drawing, coloured. 1 page, 21.7 x 30 cm.
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, DIB/15/84.



Plates, bottle and pitcher. 19th-20th century.

Porcelain decorated by glazing with cobalt oxide.

National Museum of the Philippines, Manila.

Inventory No. IX-1987-G2-6350 / IX-1982-G2-7777 / IX-1987-G2-7077



From all this follows an eclectic formation which do not hesitate when combining traditional Hispanic recipes with experience, or by reading specialized works. If its origin was Spanish, probably from Cadiz, it took advantage on the opportunity provided by the Philippines, despite the criticisms. Their recipes of *Tinola* stile chicken, *carí*, *escabeche de Filipinas*, *encurtidos o acharas de Filipinas*, *gulay*, *lumpia*, *pansit*, *pacsiu* fish or pork, *dinuguan*, *sinigang* of meat or fish... are a sign of an appreciation of the local cuisine, completed with product knowledge, technical and native utensils⁸. Thus says, the tuba vinegar was the best for pickles or acharas, a *carajay* must be used for cooking the *gulay* or that a *bacoco* was the best fish for sea stew cooking. Although this author does not includes popular Filipino *adobos*, some of his marinades and stews seasoned with spices, vinegar and bay leaves could be a good surrogate. The multicultural character of his cuisine is evident in the final recipe, which combines the traditional Spanish sweets with *pili* in sweet syrup or pudding, *santol* sweet or tablets and coconut sweets.

The Pinpin press, located in the Manilan district of Santa Cruz, made a limited number of this book in 1913. Two copies have been located after much effort, one at the Rizal Library of the Ateneo de Manila and other in Archivo General de Indias in Seville, reproduced in integrity in this exhibition. The fact that the hispalense issue has an added story is given: it was acquired in its homeland to price of 1 Philippine peso, brought to Spain and donated to Archivo General de Indias for one of his officers, Eduardo Sanchez-Arjona, on November 29th, 1918.

Since then it has remained in its library, with no-one appreciating how unique it was. This work is a milestone in the history of Philippine cuisine. *A cocina nacional* has emerged since then on which, without renouncing its past, was becoming aware of its idiosyncrasies, special features and promising future.

⁸Felice Prudente Sta. Maria, "Early Philippine Cookbooks: Savours of Cultural Concern", announcement presented in the *23rd Annual Manila Studies Conference*, Manila 2014





GASTRONOMICAL TRADITION AND INNOVATION

Chele González

Cooking is perhaps one of the features that make us human. Since the discovery of fire the control of this culinary art has occurred in tandem with the development of human beings. Normally we eat 3 to 5 times a day and it is one of the social and cultural aspects that mark us as individuals. Cooking has also gone from a basic need to survive to a way of art where the chef are able to express many things through food. The basis of any cookery starts with the products of its environment, what nature give us in different seasons and geographical location. Thus, as the human being has expanded towards new territories, the products have been travelling to a point of no longer knowing what their real origin is. Contemporary concerns that cooks have, are that they have to know what is the origin of the products we use today, is its history, its culture and how have affected human beings. In short, its anthropology, or, as we called the Gallery Vask, is an anthropological cuisine.

All artistic creation must reconcile knowledge and technique with the inspiration of its author, who must be able to interpret the world around him, translate in his work and transmit it to society. One could understand that cooking as an art, as in any another artistic discipline, is based on the technique to express what you want. The cook can and must learn everything he can, because knowledge is the most valuable thing, and curiosity to keep learning is a basic quality to have.

Food is a peculiar art because its creations are ephemeral. Like music, a recipe can last over time through texts and images, but the culmination of the creative process and frenzy of sensations ends when the diner finishes the dish. This limitation should not be seen as something negative, but as a feature in itself of the culinary arts. Arguably it is a dynamic art and as such, it evolves. The creative process is continuous and, consequently, inspiration and expertise are renewed day by day. To these conditions we add a personal interest in expanding horizons, to enjoy new experiences, and to intensify the creative possibilities.

It is well understood that before the draft of this exhibition, it would open up new experiences. My experience with Filipino cuisine, which has meant an ethnographic approaches, has been another step in a process that has led me to the culinary innovation with respect for the oldest traditions. So this exhibition, which delves into the history of Spanish and Filipino cuisine, this has become a new



Gallery Vast, Manila. Photos Norman Lleses.





challenge and motivation. From the outset, the team of research and development in Gallery Vask has followed the guidelines set by the dialogue between history and gastronomy, among them Chele Gonzalez, Ivan Saez Sordo and the rest of the team and Antonio Sanchez de Mora, curator of the exhibition.

The information provided by historical documents and recipes of the past have been reinterpreted from our experience, to provide the reader of this book and exhibition visitors a taste of the cuisine of past centuries. One that sailed the oceans in the holds of ships and minds of those who decided to implement the kitchen to which they were accustomed, even if in a strange land.

The native, the indigenous, the foreign, the Asian, the American and the European joined together in a multicultural gastronomy which, as argued in this book, rooted in the past from the present. A dynamic, living present in our kitchen revitalises those flavours and gives them a new impetus. This exhibition could not stop in a reconstruction of historical recipes and, therefore, after the long journey, completed our work with new paths, giving value to that point in human history where products and culture crossed boundaries and produced the greatest impact and mix of gastronomy ever known. The culinary art is alive and in our case, we have all learned and been inspired to develop our curious researching spirit. The result is therefore the sum of tradition, history, anthropology and innovation, exemplified in the following recipes. Evoke a past, yes, but from originality, knowledge and culinary innovation. This is the principle Vask Gallery, which keeps alive the dialogue about who we are and where we came, to further develop gastronomic culture.



500

INGREDIENTS

- 140 grams Emperor or maya-maya
- 30 grams Spiced Broth
- 25 grams Shallots Shells
- 15 grams Almost majada

FOR SPICED BROTH

- 600 grams Onion julienne
- 300 grams Emperor (bones)
- 300 grams Emperor (trimmings)
- 1 liter Water
- 60 grams Olive Oil
- 150 grams White Wine
- 75 grams Lemon Juice
- 6 grams Cinnamon
- 6 grams Coarse Black Pepper
- 0.3 grams Saffron

FOR ONION SHELLS

- 200 grams Baby Shallots
- 30 grams Olive Oil
- 0.1 grams Salt

FOR MAJADA

- 100 grams Almonds
- 10 grams Raisins
- 25 grams Extra Virgin Olive Oil

ELABORATION

1. **Sweat the onion** in a pot with the oil at low heat for 40 minutes to an hour.

2. **Add the cinnamon, pepper and saffron;** then keep cooking for another 30-40 minutes.

3. **Add the bones** and dish trimmings then cook for 10 minutes at low heat, stirring occasionally.

4. **Add the wine,** reduce, add the lemon juice and then cook for a few more minutes.

5. **Add the water,** bring to a boil then let simmer for 20 minutes then infuse for an hour.

6. **Strain and clarify.**

Elaboration of onion shells

1. **Peel the onion** and place them with the oil and salt in a vacuum bag and seal.

2. **Steam in the oven** at 95 degrees for 15 minutes.

3. **Rest for a bit.** Cut in half, separate layers and pick the best ones.

4. **Sear on the plancha** until it gets nice and golden all over.

Elaboration of majada

1. **Toast almonds.**

2. **Finely chop** the raisins.

3. **Blend together** until it becomes a paste texture.



PLATING

1. **Sear the fish until skin is crispy**, finish cooking in Salamander until it reaches 49 degrees inside
2. **Place fish in the plate** with 5 pieces of the onions around.
3. **On the side**, place a quenelle of the majada. Serve broth in a jar and pour in front of the guest.
4. **Before serving the broth**, infuse again with coarse black pepper and cinnamon.

COMMENT

This is an adaptation of a recipe that is 500 years old. This recipe is Spanish with a Moorish touch and was created before the discovery of America changed gastronomy forever.

The dish can be enjoyed in two ways: First, on its own, this is a refined adaptation; and second mixed with the majada made of almond and raisins that sit on the side of the plate.

BINULO

INGREDIENTS

FOR THE PORK MEAT AND CRISPY SKIN (20 -15 PAX)

- 2.5 kg Cochinillo
- 600 g *Alibangbang*
- 5 L Water

FOR THE CRISPY *ALIBANGBANG*

- 1 pc *Alibangbang* (Best pieces)

ELABORATION

Cut the cochinillo in half. Put in pressure cooker with salt. Boil for 3 hours.

Take out the skin; remove excess fat from the skin. Put skin on a tray with wax paper, make sure its flat. Cover with another wax paper and put a food pan on top to make sure it is flat.

Put in the oven at 150C for 20 mins or until its crispy. Then cut into small squares approximately 1 inch by 1 inch. Leave in dehydrator until service time. Put back the meat in the stock and add alibangbang leaves and boil it for 30 to 40 mins. Just to infuse the flavor of the alibangbang leaves. Strain the meat. Shred the meat and set aside. Strain the stock until it is very clear and season with salt. Set aside.

During service render the fat of the pork and saute the shredded meat. Add the stock so it wont be too dry, season with salt. Add elderberries in the end.

Elaboration of crispy alibangbang

Place the leaf in 2 flat strainer and deep fry at 180C as flat as you can. Set aside in the dehydrator.

PLATING

Put meat at the bottom of the plate. Forming it to a square shape (same size with the pork skin) put the cripy skin on top of the meat. Then crispy alibang bang on top of the skin.

Put soup in the wood container. Pour it on the plate when served to the guests.



COMMENT

Long before the gas range, induction cookers and the like were invented, the native Filipino tribe called Aetas cooked their food with the use of bamboo. Thus the term *binulo* was derived. *Binulo* is the traditional and ancient way of cooking food inside a bamboo shaft. Direct heat is applied to complete the cooking process. This technique is famous in the Northern Luzon province and has influenced some of the modern dishes that is known to many.

Aside from unique cooking techniques, the Philippines are also famous for its culinary fare. A popular choice among the locals is the dish called sinigang. Sinigang is a sour soup using either tamarind or green mangoes mixed with either beef, pork, fish or shrimp and vegetables. To give a twist to sinigang, Gallery prepares this dish similar to the *binulo* technique with *alibang bang*.

BURO

INGREDIENTS

FOR THE FERMENTED RICE

- 200 g Tinawon rice, cooked
- 20 g Rock salt
- 300 ml Water
- 5 g White onion, brunoise
- 3 g Ginger, brunoise
- 3 g Garlic, brunoise
- 5 g Tomato, boiled, peeled and brunoise
- 30 ml Tomato juice, from blended and strained tomatoes
- 5 g Buro

FOR THE FERMENTED MAYA-MAYA AND CRISPY SKIN

- 1 Kg Maya-maya
- 50 g Rock salt

FOR THE MUSTARD LEAVES AND GRILLED MUSTARD LEAVES

- 100 g Mustard leaves

FOR THE PAN-SEARED MAYA-MAYA

- 30 g Maya-maya fillet

FOR THE PICKLED RED ONION

- 1 pc Red onion, 150 g per piece
- Salt

Pickling solution:

- 2 parts Cane vinegar
- 1 part Water

ELABORATION

Fermented rice

Cool cooked rice on a tray and season with plenty of salt. Transfer to a container and cover with thin paper to avoid contamination. Leave outside for 3 days to ferment. Once done, put in the chiller and set aside.

For one portion of buro, sauté first the fish buro and then the onions, ginger, garlic and tomato. Add tomato juice to make it creamy. Season with salt, if needed.

Fermented maya-maya and crispy skin

Fillet maya-maya and set aside the skin. Deep-fry the skin and set aside in the dehydrator for garnish. Put the fillets in a perforated pan and season with plenty of salt. Transfer to a container and cover with thin paper. Leave outside for three days to ferment. Once done, brunoise and set aside.

Mustard leaves and grilled mustard leaves

Grill the mustard leaves to a crisp.

Pan-seared maya-maya

Season fillet with salt. Sear in pan until skin is golden and finish in the oven at 1400C for one minute or until the fish is cooked at 450C.

Pickled red onion

Soak the onion in 10% salt-water solution overnight. Once done, drain and cover with salt for 8 hours. Wash the onion, then vacuum-pack in pickling solution.



PLATING

Put **fermented rice** on one side of the plate. Arrange 4 pieces of pickled red onion around the rice, and top with the seared fish. Add both fresh and grilled, crispy mustard leaves on one side of the fish, and finish with crispy skin on the other side.

COMMENT

With the **absence of refrigerators** in many households during the early days, fermenting and pickling ingredients became a traditional way for Filipinos to preserve their food. They call this buro or balao-

balao. Fresh produce and meats, when fermented and pickled, can be turned into a new dish or as a side to complete a meal.

Firm vegetables and fruits, like carrots and green mangoes, are commonly used in buro as they retain their texture during the process; but leafy greens and fish can be used as well. Gallery Vask takes rice and maya-maya, an abundant type of fish in the country, and develops these into a dish that plays with textures. This shows the simple yet sophisticated flavors of the combined local ingredients using a fundamental Filipino cooking method.

ESCABECHE

INGREDIENTS

FOR THE ESCABECHE SAUCE

- 200 grams Ripe Mango
- 1 gram Thyme
- 0.2 gram Bay Leaf
- 0.2 grams Szechuan Pepper
- 30 ml Canola Oil
- 175 ml Water
- 75 grams White Vinegar

FOR THE FERMENTED GREEN MANGO

- 1 pc Green Mango
- 80 grams Rock Salt
- 130 grams Water
- 80 grams Regulat White Rice

FOR THE ELEPHANT CLAMS

- 1 kilo Elephant Clams
(15 pcs, 70 grams each)
- 2 liters Water
- 70 grams Salt

ELABORATION

Escabeche sauce

1. **Peel the mango** and cut into cubes.
2. **In a small pot**, place all of the ingredients.
3. **Bring to a boil** and then reduce the heat to number
4. **Cook** for 35 minutes.
5. **Strain and press** a bit to get juices and some of the mango pulp.
6. **Serve at room temperature** with some extra virgin olive oil.
7. **Shelf life: 3 days.**

Fermented green mango

1. **Mis the water** with the rice for a few seconds until the starch comes out from the rice the strain and keep aside.
2. **Peel the green mango** and cut into 6-8 pieces.
3. **Cover in rock salt** for at least 1.5 hours then lightly rinse with water.
4. **Soak the green mango** in the rice water and leave it outside for 3 days. Store in the chiller afterwards.

Elephant clams

1. **To store the clams alive:** cover the clams using a wet trapo using salt water. Keep in chiller
2. **When about to serve,** boil the clams a la minute for 1 minutes in salty water.
3. **Clean quickly** and serve while it is warm.

PLATING

1. **In a small bowl** (Baludbad Plate), place the escabeche at room temperature with the extra virgin olive oil.
2. **Cut in half 2 pieces** of clams and place on top of the plate.
3. **Finish with small pieces** of fermented green mango.



COMMENT

In Spain, escabeche is a centuries-old preservation technique using acidic mixtures often with paprika; a technique that has travelled to the Americas and Asia through the galleon trade, resulting to various adaptations in different countries.

Take for example the Philippine version: locals treat escabeche as a special fish dish with a distinctive sweet-and-sour sauce. During their expeditions, the Spanish brought vats of vinegar used to preserve meat and fish—but they also brought along

honey and spices, leading many to believe that the escabeches from the olden times might have been sweet and sour all along.

The beauty of this dish lies in its rich history, which we strive to tell and share through our dishes at Gallery VASK. Here, local elephant clams are enveloped in a sour sauce that is sweetened with Philippine mangoes, for a light dish that connects two very different palates and histories in one plate.



GNOCCHI

INGREDIENTS

TENDONS

- 5 g Pepper
- 10 g Salt
- 15 pcs Bay leaves

STAR ANISE JUS

- 300 liters Demi Glace (clear)
- 20 g Star Anise
- White Sugar (if necessary)

CHICHARO SEEDS

- 500 g Snowpeas

STAR ANISE WATER

- 500 ml Water
- 50 G Star Anise

ELABORATION

Tendons

Boil the tendons then throw away the first water. When the water starts to boil, add the tendons and aromatics.

Lower the heat and simmer until tendons become tender and gelatinous for around 8 hours.

Check each piece carefully because not all tendons will cook at the same time.

Remove the pieces that are cooked and place on a perforated tray and chill.

Keep in the chiller overnight and in the next day, cut in gnocchi-like forms and keep in the chiller.

Staranise jus

Heat up demi glace and infuse with star anise for 20 minutes. Strain and set aside

Chicharos seeds

Take out seeds and set aside. Use trimmings for something else.

Staranise water

Heat the water and add the star anise. Remove from heat and cover and infuse for 20 minutes.

In the pass:

Reheat the tendons in the star anise water until they become tender and gelatinous. (Some of them will break or not look good, remove the bad ones).

At the moment of serving, transfer to another sauce pan where the anise jus is hot and reduce until it become gelatinous.



PLATING

Elder

Flowers

15 g Snowpeas

6 pcs Gnocchi

Put in the bottom of the bowl top and cover with the jus. Drizzle peas with olive oil and quickly warm under the salamander.

Place peas on top of the tendons and add the elder flowers.

COMMENT

The idea of the dish is connected with the heritage of the Chinese influence in Philippine cuisine. From the tendons, star anise and soup, we got inspired to create this dish where the tendons turn into the form of gnocchi. Beef jus is reduced and becomes gelatinous, infused with star anise to add more flavor to the dish. We also we want to give light to varieties of peas in the Philippines so we used snowpeas.

MOLE

INGREDIENTS

STAR ANISE JUS

- 350 grams White Sesame Seeds. Toasted
- 50 grams Cashews. Toasted
- 50 grams Raisins
- 5 grams Atchuete
- 35 grams White Onion. Diced
- 3 pcs Garlic cloves. Peeled
- 20 grams Ginger. Peeled
- 50 grams 64% Dark Chocolate Tanoiri
- 1 gram Anise Powder
- 0.5 gram Cinnamon Powder
- 1 pc Corn Tortilla
- 500 ml Chicken Stock
- 50 grams Coconut Oil
- 3 grams Salt
- 200 grams Tomatoes
- 6 pcs Dried Chillies
- 6 pcs Choriserero Peppers
- 1 pc Banana. Saba
- 40 grams Beef Jus
- 10 grams Muscuvado Sugar
- 200 ml Canola
- 1 pc Orange. For juice and zest

OX TONGUE

- 1.5 kilos Ox Tongue
- 115 grams Curing Mix

Curing mix:

- 275 grams Kosher Salt
- 113 grams Sugar
- 25 grams Pink Salt
- 2 grams Dry Thyme
- 2 grams Ground Black Pepper

CHICHARO SEEDS

- 1 kilo Snowpeas

ELABORATION

Staranise Jus

1. **Roast the chillies** in a frying pan. Toast in medium-low heat. Remove the seeds and stems.
2. **Soak** in warm chicken broth. Set aside.
3. **In the same pan**, toast onion, garlic and ginger all together. Add the atchuete and the rest of the spices.
4. **Grill the tomatoes** until it gets a nice charred color.
5. **Fry raisins** until it pops, remove and then fry tortilla in Canola until it becomes crispy.
6. **Cut banana** in small cubes and fry using the same Canola oil.
7. **Juice the orange** and keep the zest.
8. **In a food processor**, mix all the ingredients except for the chicken stock, chocolate and coconut oil, orange zest and juice. Blend until it turns into a paste for 5 minutes. Add a little chicken stock if necessary.
9. **In a large pot**, heat the coconut oil then add the paste. Cook at medium-high heat for a couple of seconds and then lower the heat and cook for another 3 minutes, stirring constantly.
10. **After 3 minutes** of cooking the paste, add the chicken stock, orange juice and zest and chocolate. Cook for another 20 minutes at low heat, stirring occasionally.
11. **Strain the mixture.** It should resemble a very thick paste. Check the seasoning.

Ox Tongue

1. **In a large bowl**, toss the tongue with the curing mix and coat generously. Transfer to a sealable bag and cure in the chiller for 3 days.



2. **On the 4th day**, rise the seasoning then place in a sealable bag again to sous vide for 48 hours at 64°C.
3. **Place in** an ice bath and chill.
4. **Trim and portion** to 60 grams each and vacuum pack individually. Warm each portion for plating.

Chicharos seeds

1. **Remove the seeds** and set aside. Use the trimmings for something else.

PLATING

1. **Regenerate** the portioned tongue in the sous vide bath at 60°C for 15 minutes.
2. **With the mole** at room temperature, drop 25 grams of the paste on the plate.
3. **Place the** portioned tongue on the plate and drizzle some olive oil for shine.
4. **Place 10 grams** of the snowpeas on the side of the tongue.
5. **Lastly**, sprinkle some orange zest on top.

COMMENT

Cacao has a long and storied history that connects Mexico, Spain, and the Philippines by way of the Manila Galleon trade. Spanning three centuries, Spanish trading ships made round trip voyages across the Pacific Ocean from Acapulco (now Mexico) to the port of Manila, and these opened exchanges of hundreds of products, including cacao.

A prized product until today, cacao is a chief ingredient in one of Mexico's most distinct recipes, Mole. Using the traditional technique to create mole, native nuts and spices—including banana and Kalingag-bark—are ground into a paste for a mole that takes on a Filipino personality.

Meanwhile, lengua or 'beef tongue', is a traditional Spanish ingredient which is also considered a delicacy in the Philippines, served in many a feast. All together, these elements—mole, native nuts and spices, and lengua—meld into a dish that showcases intriguing flavors with a deep cultural connection.



PAN DE SAL (MODERN)

INGREDIENTS

DOUGH

- 100 grams Glutinous Rice
- 25 grams Grated Parmesan
- 25 grams Queso Rustico

ADOBO JUS

- 36 pcs Garlic cloves
- 1,050 grams Soya sauce
- 660 grams White Vinager
- 2,100 grams Chicken Stock
- 9 pcs Bay Leaves
- 90 pcs Black Peppercorn

ADOBO GEL

- 30 grams Kuzu
- 300 grams Adobo Jus

ADOBO MOUSSE

- 225 grams Adobo Gel
- 810 grams Whipped Cream
- 45 grams Rump Steak Lamb Sous Vide

ELABORATION

Dough

Boil the water and add the rice. Cook for 20 minutes, strain and leave outside until it dries out for around 2 hours.

Blend the rice in the Thermomix at 90 degrees Celsius for 15 minutes and then add both cheeses, salt and blend for another 5 minutes.

Put in a pipping bag and rest in chiller overnight. Make small circles and bake in oven 15 minutes at 165 degrees Celsius until it puffs and becomes crispy.

Remove the pieces that are cooked and place on a perforated tray and chill.

Keep in the chiller overnight and in the next day, cut in gnocchi-like forms and keep in the chiller.

Adobo jus

In a pot, caramelize the sliced garlic and add the soya, vinager, chicken stock and boil. Reduce until 1/3, add the bay leaves and infuse for 30 min, strain and put in the chiller.

Adobo gel

Mix the Kuzu with the adobo jus in a sauce pan and heat slowly from cold until it becomes gel texture.

Adobo mousse

Warm the gel, mix with the cream when is whipped, add the rump steak lamb already sous vide at 62 de-



grees Celsius for 8 hours and cook cut it in very small brunoise and put in a piping bag until service. When is order full the pan de sal puff with the mousse, served immediately because get wet and soft quickly.

COMMENT

Adobo is a Spanish technique of pickling that was carried on by the Filipinos, typically using soy sauce, vin-

egar, bay leaves and garlic. One of the most important Filipino dishes is Adobo and we want to give reverence to this. Using the traditional Filipino adobo recipe, we created a mousse using chicken meat, adobo sauce and whipped cream. This moussed is piped in a crisp rice shell, mixed with Parmesan cheese that was puffed and it takes the place of the pandesal that is served with day old adobo which are traditionally eaten together.



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