Introduction
Gommans, J.J.L.; Lopez, A.; Donoso, I.

Citation
Gommans, J. J. L., Lopez, A., & Donoso, I. (2020). Introduction. In *Philippine Confluence: Iberian, Chinese and Islamic Currents, c. 1500-1800* (pp. 9-23). Leiden: Leiden University Press. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3221136

Version:	Publisher's Version
License:	Licensed under Article 25fa Copyright Act/Law (Amendment Taverne)
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3221136

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Introduction

Isaac Donoso, Jos Gommans, and Ariel Lopez[1]

Así como el río es más rico cuando recibe su caudal de diversos afluentes, así la cultura nacional es más extensa y variada cuando se surte de manantiales de distinto origen.

Rafael Palma[2]

During his lifetime, Rafael Palma (1874–1939), the fourth president of the University of the Philippines and the author of the *Historia de Filipinas*,[3] arguably represented the highest aspiration of Filipino intellectuals, something clearly expressed in the metaphor: "National culture is like a river, the more tributaries it has, the richer it is." Nowadays, his words seem like a vanishing ideal. As a result of intense postcolonial anti-colonialism, there remains a tendency to conceive of "national culture" in essentialist, ethnic, and teleological terms rather than plural, cultural, and processual ones. This tendency is not only a reaction to what one might term the Eurocentric excesses of earlier works on the period but it is also a result of the exigencies of postcolonial nation-building.[4] The Filipino historian and anthropologist Zeus Salazar represents this view as follows:

> Before the coming of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, there was no shared *pantayong pananaw* between the ethno-linguistic groups of the Philippine archipelago despite their close racial and cultural (*kalinangan*) kinship. There was no Filipino nation that encompassed varied cultures and societies. The Filipino nation was constructed only in the second half of the nineteenth century. It came as a result of the efforts of the Christianized elite who had been exposed to Western culture through Spanish language and through their entry, even if partially, to the Hispanic and Western worlds.[5]

It was the Filipino writer and journalist Nick Joaquín who asked his compatriots the uncomfortable question: "How can we say we are being nationalist when we advocate a return to our pre-1521 identity when that was a clan identity, a tribal identity."[6] But if Philippine national culture was

a product of the nineteenth century, what can we make of its variegated "early modern history?"[7] Or, to use Palma's metaphor again, what to make of a "national" culture that was in reality a confluence of multiple currents? In other words, was there something specifically Filipino about the great variety of groups that were able to carve out a bustling new civilizational hub—a *Perla del Oriente*—at the very edge of the known world? For Joaquín, the centre of it all was the old Manila Intramuros, "the Noble and ever loyal city."

> To the early conquistadores she was a new Tyre and Sidon; to the early missionaries she was a new Rome. Within these walls was gathered the wealth of the Orient—silk from China; spices from Java; gold and ivory and precious stones from India. And within these walls the Champions of Christ assembled to conquer the Orient for the Cross. Through these old streets once crowded a marvellous multitude—viceroys and archbishops, mystics and merchants; pagan sorcerers and Christian martyrs; nuns and harlots and elegant marquesas; English pirates, Chinese mandarins, Portuguese traitors, Dutch spies, Moro sultans, and Yankee clipper captains. For three centuries this medieval town was a Babylon in its commerce and a New Jerusalem in its faith.[8]

Excited about Manila's rise, Joaquín almost literally quoted a 1712 baroque poem that boasted the city's emergence as the "new Tyre":

> Manila rules here as Capital,
> Famous Emporium of the Indian Orient,
> Being in ancient years its wealth.
> Ofir, that this flows increases;
> From the Mughal Ganges, which fiercely
> One hundred mouths opens, until the brave Japan,
> And even from Comorin to the Promontory
> Tyre was Manila and rich Emporium.[9]

Here again we find the metaphor of the river: a confluence of multiple currents that have, together, made the rich emporium of Manila. In this volume we do not seek to investigate the joining of all the relevant currents but will focus on three important ones: the Iberian, the Chinese and the Islamic, all three of which themselves are, in turn, very much the result of converging multiple sub-tributaries. Although this volume will

zoom in from the global to the local level, we are very much aware that we cannot address the various ways in which other, equally important Filipino flows of a more local origin and older antecedents were affected by or impacted upon these three currents. At the same time, the volume builds on the observation that, on the eastern edge of Eurasia from the sixteenth century, the Philippines emerged as an important emporium in an increasingly globalized world that even linked the Old World with the New via the Pacific. We often tend to forget that something similar had happened to Western Europe at another oceanic crossroads along that other edge of the Eurasian continent.

With these considerations in mind, the present volume contains an interesting range of contributions from both senior and junior scholars who offer some fascinating non-European case studies of globalization as applied to one of the most prominent spaces of early modern global interaction: the Philippines. It is the result of the third Cosmopolis Conference that was organized on 21–23 June 2016 by Leiden University's Institute for History and hosted by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines in Manila.[10] For three days, participants from Asia, Europe and the Americas discussed various themes relating to interregional cultural exchange in the early modern Spanish Philippines. Indeed, situated at the crossroads of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, it turned out that the Philippines provided researchers with a fascinating middle ground of connected histories that raised fundamental new questions about conventional ethnic, regional and religious identities. As was the case at the previous Cosmopolis conference—in Bloemfontein, South Africa in 2015—in Manila scholars from all corners of the world explored the ways in which new long-distance connections impacted the making of new cosmopolitan centres at the margins of oceanic worlds. Indeed, by examining such geographical crossings, one gets the opportunity to compare and discuss historiographical traditions that have been, thus far, quite distinct. This exercise, which in Europe has been labelled *histoire croisée* (or "entangled history" or *Verflechtungsgeschichte*), can profit from the availability of various counter-points and perspectives; as such, something that seems, within one particular historiographical tradition, obvious and part of the consensus suddenly appears odd and very controversial from the point of view of another.[11]

Exploring the historiographical coordinates of the conference's major theme of early modern cultural entanglements, the contributions to this book profited from a pre-existing awareness of the Philippines's commercial centrality. For some decades, scholars have studied the way

that, from the mid-sixteenth century, the galleon trade managed to cross the vast Pacific Ocean to connect Asia with the New World and how this affected the economies of Monsoon Asia, from China to the Indian subcontinent, involving not only Iberian but also various other European and Asian trading networks. Much less attention has been paid to the cultural exchange that accompanied this trade and how it may have affected local identities at the very crossroads of these trading worlds in the Philippines.[12] As the once impenetrable Pacific is increasingly being studied as another connecting Braudelian inner sea, the early modern Philippines becomes an important topic to be discussed under the rubric of a Spanish Lake.[13] This global history perspective is also seen in the increasing interest in the mostly forced movement of peoples—slaves, soldiers and others—both within the wider Southeast Asia region and across the Pacific and Indian Oceans.[14]

Taken as a whole, this volume might serve to enrich a neglected aspect of Philippine historiography. While some Filipino historians have always emphasized the indefatigable agency of local societies in reshaping and subverting foreign American rule, they have remained less interested in the so-called Spanish period; the three centuries that preceded—if not created—the nation. One of the greatest Philippine historians, Teodoro Agoncillo, for example, was notable for saying: "there is no Philippine history before 1872."[15] Prominent historians were seemingly fixated on a critical dialogue with the hegemonic American perspective on the Philippines. In trying to locate the "Filipino" voice, it is not surprising that historians such as Reynaldo Ileto embraced Benedetto Croce's idea that "all history is contemporary history."[16]

Despite the domination of the (anti-)American discourse in the late-colonial and post-colonial periods, the Spanish period did attract the attention of some Philippine historians, especially those who were seemingly less concerned with the explicitly political agenda of "autonomous" nation-building and who instead actually examined those parts of Filipino society that had more expansive connections with the world at large.[17] The Jesuit John N. Schumacher, for instance, noted: "there was a history of Filipinos [before 1872], but since they left few records of their own, it is out of Spanish records that this history must be extracted."[18]

Indeed, in light of the current neglect of the early-modern era, one can only feel awe for the early work of at least three outstanding historians who explored this largely uncharted period: the Jesuit historian Horacio de la Costa, the Muslim historian César Majul and the American—but strongly

Filipinized—historian William Henry Scott.[19] These three pioneers of the early-modern Philippines have directed scholarly attention to three civilizational currents: Catholicism, Islam and Austronesia, respectively. Yet despite them having laid the historiographical groundwork, the production of academic knowledge that could support, elaborate, or even challenge their views has been dismally slow.

Although anticolonial nationalism in Manila's leading universities in the decades following independence was a factor in the neglect of this period, there are also other reasons. Here, one could cite Anthony Reid's lament that "there had been a regrettable tendency for Southeast Asians to focus their attention on recent history where the language and conceptual demands were lowest, leaving the earlier history more than ever to foreigners."[20] Indeed, basic research continues to be hampered by the linguistic divide that separates present-day Filipinos and many other Southeast Asians from the extant documents relating to this period of their history (e.g. Spanish for Filipinos, Chinese for Vietnamese, Dutch for Indonesians or even Javanese for the Javanese). In addition, scholars are often trapped in the practical realities of university life and civic demands to engage in the broader public space, thus dissuading them from becoming immersed in time-consuming research. Even if opportunities for such research do arise, research funders (especially the state) could nevertheless prejudicially influence the conclusions.[21]

This volume shows possible narratives and archives with which future scholars could critically engage. In addition to the broad civilizational themes (Spanish Catholic, Islamic, and Austronesian) that de la Costa, Majul and Scott have explored, this volume adds the Chinese aspect to these three and acknowledges that the important older and more local Austronesian currents are not well-represented in our discussions.[22] Hence, the main objective of the conference and this resultant volume was to add a global dimension to the increasing Filipino engagement with pre-nationalist cultural identities.[23] Inspired by Scott's work, we have, as much as possible, attempted to do so at the micro level of concrete individuals. This is far from an easy exercise because it requires the use of multiple sources in multiple languages stored in multiple libraries and archives. Following Scott, one also needs to take into account the wider ramifications of long-distance networks, an understudied example of which is the earlier Ibero-Islamic entanglements along the long "Granada-Manila continuum".

> […] the presence of a Spanish-speaking slave on the Luzon caracoa may not have been an isolated phenomenon. Perhaps further research on the Mediterranean connection will provide the final explanation by exploring the question of just how many people between Granada and Manila could speak Spanish in 1521.[24]

As such, what is offered in this volume is a modest attempt to add a global perspective to the history of the Philippines by juxtaposing Iberian, Chinese and Islamic perspectives. Navigating various underexplored archival resources, the first chapter by Jorge Flores demonstrates how rewarding an approach that is simultaneously both global and micro-level can be. The fascinating "accidental" and individual crossovers that he describes in a quadrilateral that, as well as Manila, included Macau, Taiwan and Nagasaki, were facilitated by an existing tradition of *convivencia* but, at the same time, happened despite significant pressure on the latter, be it as a result of the Spanish inquisition (see, for example, Crewe's chapter) or of slavery (see, for example, the Seijas chapter). Cosmopolitanism is always part of a more sordid story in which local societies violently engage with processes of increasing globalization and mobility. As is shown in the second chapter, by Ryan Crewe, cosmopolitanism may even have surprisingly "occult" roots in "modern" situations where religious categories become ever more rigidly defined. It reminds us that cosmopolitanism should not be seen as a positive value that exclusively arose from the European Enlightenment.[25] Indeed, focussing on the way in which global connections have helped create local Philippine society raises important questions about the meaning of the concepts and ideas that move from one context to the other. As shown in Marya Svetlana Camacho's chapter, seemingly commensurable ideas about female seclusion in the Philippine (*binukot*) and Hispanic (*recogimiento*) worlds may actually be the result of colonial appropriation and hide important differences in purpose and practice.

Engaging with the theme of confluence and currents raises questions about the extent to which we should view the Philippines as some space between: between oceans, between other civilizations. To keep to our metaphor, what tributaries flowed into that river that we now call the Philippines? First of all, we already know that early modern Manila served as an important maritime trading hub that, thanks to the silver galleons, connected the Americas to East and South Asia and involved a highly cosmopolitan community of traders, from the little-known Armenian pedlar to the highly visible Chinese merchant. In this volume, our

understanding of these trade links is further enhanced by focussing on the agency of local Manila traders (see the chapter by Ander Permanyer-Ugartemendia) as well as on the thus-far neglected impact of Chinese luxuries in the Spanish Pacific world as studied by Teresa Canepa. This also offers a fascinating new perspective on similar processes in early modern Europe.

The second part of the book focusses on Chinese (*Sangley*) currents and, in particular, how these were manifested through the operations of diplomatic intermediaries, language and the production of knowledge. The chapter by Anna Busquets gives a fascinating account of the Dominican friar Vittorio Riccio, who operated as an emissary of both the colonial Spanish authorities and their Chinese adversaries under the command of Zheng Chenggong. At the same time, though, he had to keep an eye on the interests of the Chinese living in Manila. In her contribution, Birgit Tremml-Werner reflects on the nature of cross-cultural communication through the medium of language by considering the available options, among them the administrative language of Castilian, a lingua franca like Tagalog or Hokkien, or a simplified mixture of tongues like pidgin.[26] The same kind of question—do we witness an eclectic or a more hybrid mode of translation?—can be asked when studying the production of knowledge in the case of the sixteenth-century *Boxer Codex*, which contains ethnographic information concerning the inhabitants of the Philippine islands based on Chinese and European scientific-*cum*-artistic traditions. As shown by Neilabh Sinha, an encyclopaedia like the *Boxer Codex* is a true microcosm of early modern Philippine society more widely.

Just as interesting as these trans-oceanic and transcultural east-west links with the Americas and China is the intensified north-south continuum that connected the Philippines with the Indonesian archipelago. There was no clear cultural boundary between those areas that are now part of at least two different nation-states and, as the result of increasing commercial, cultural and religious interactions in the so-called "Age of Commerce", a large area, including Brunei and Sulu, became part of an Islamic ecumene.[27] As is clear from the contributions by Eberhard Crailsheim and Tatiana Seijas in the third part of the volume, between this Islamic space and the Spanish colonies was a religious frontier, on both sides of which there emerged a strong discourse on violent confrontation and just war. In fact, the religious rhetoric masked a deeper economic interest of maintaining a war-zone in which slave-raiding took place at different times and with different numbers (Seijas) although, later on, it became exclusively associated with Islam (Crailsheim). Despite the rhetoric of holy

war and the economic interests on *both* sides of the frontier, we should be aware that this only partly characterizes the north-south divide as a whole. In reality, the two sides of this religious frontier did not represent closed religious, cultural or racial entities; this would only happen once the boundaries had started to harden within these communities. Instead, we continue to witness powerful mechanisms of *mestizaje* that created highly mixed societies in which the local and the global blended quite easily. As shown in the final chapter by Mahmood Kooria, even when dealing with such a high-profile identity marker as Islamic law, the same mixture of local and global ingredients was crucial in its making.

Here we should not forget that, despite the fact that this region developed into an increasingly violent religious frontier, it also remained a highly dynamic zone of contact between the South China and Celebes Seas. As a result, religious antagonism not only helped the region develop as a "convenient" enslaving zone for powers on both sides, at its very centre it also engendered the emergence of powerful new political entities, such as Sulu and Maguindanao, which exploited the economic potential of this frontier zone. During the eighteenth century, these sultanates superseded Brunei, Ternate and Makassar, which had played a similar role in the sixteenth century before being marginalized by Dutch power operating from Java and the Moluccas. In the eighteenth century, the Sulu Zone was able to reconnect to the global economy once more thanks to Bugis, Chinese, British and local Tausug merchant shipping that was looking for local products (trepang, pearls and bird nests) to trade for Chinese tea. Alongside economic expansion was the political project of state-formation. As the chapter by Kooria suggests, the sultans of Maguindanao and Sulu drew heavily from the Islamic legal tradition to modernize their respective realms. Sulu and Maguindanao were engaged, as Patricio Abinales and Donna Amoroso rightly suggest, in a "rivalry of [parallel] state-building" with the Spanish Philippines.[28]

At this southern frontier region, violent stories of holy war and the slave trade go hand-in-hand with other more gratifying stories that tell of a boundless spatial cosmography. One such tale is that of the first Muslim preacher in Jolo (Sulu), who came from paradise with three others, one of whom went to Java, another to Borneo and the third to Mindanao. Another story tells how this same pioneer was accompanied by Chinese Muslims. All the stories relate how they spread their creed after marrying local women and raising their children as Muslims. Take the case of the nobleman Raja Baguinda, from Minangkabau in Sumatra, who settled in Buansa (Sulu) after marrying the daughter of a local chief. Sometime

later, his daughter was married to Sayyid Abū Bakr, an Arab visitor who had joined him in Buansa (Sulu) and who, under the name of Sharīf al-Hāshim, founded the Sultanate of Sulu.[29] Like Jolo, Brunei was also very much part of this highly cosmopolitan *mestizo* culture. Around 1590, a Spaniard in Brunei was told that Islam had been brought by a Sultan Yuso (Yusuf), who had come from Malay lands via China. There, he had married a Chinese noblewoman and was confirmed as king of Borneo by the emperor of China "whom he recognized as a superior king." Hence, as with the rulers of Islamic Manila, the rulers of Brunei descended from "mixed" marriage. Interestingly, the people of Luzon (*luções*) were actively involved in these southern crossings, even reaching as far as Melaka, via Brunei, using Malay as a lingua franca which, alongside Tagalog, became one of the two languages of Manila before the arrival of the Spanish.[30]

Looking at the various contributions to this volume, we are dealing with cultures in which *mestizaje* was never disdained. In fact, Philippine mestizos became increasingly associated with society's wealthy upper classes. In other words, the Philippines provides us with a highly visible example of something that generally remains hidden behind the strong rhetoric of national and civilizational essences.

A possible explanation for the attraction to and acceptance of foreign cultures that contributed to such *mestizaje* is the promise of a cosmopolitanism that transcends and even subverts local cultures and notions of authority. One short but telling episode in this volume involves the unnamed chief of Cubao describing—and most likely complaining—to the Spanish authorities sometime in the late sixteenth century the proliferation of silk from China.[31] The unprecedented influx of silk and other Chinese products was a direct result of the Spanish importation of silver from the Americas for which the Chinese exchanged their goods. Because of such an influx, the chief of Cubao relates, people "of all social classes, from chiefs to slaves, wore silk clothing and this made it impossible to judge their rank from their dress." Considering that traditional social hierarchies and elite authority partly hinged on the control of foreign sumptuary goods,[32] the democratization of access to textiles likely caused alarm among sections of the local ruling elite, whose supreme status may, consequently, have been challenged. This particular episode might help explain mass local sentiment in a period that might have been punctuated by violence but was, nonetheless, marked by a considerable degree of acceptance of foreign peoples and cultures.

Naturally, however, local elites were at the forefront of adopting foreign cultures and adapting to the new social hierarchies in order to maintain or even strengthen their position. They served as military leaders in the Spanish "pacification" of frontiers and occupied important positions in the emerging Christian community.[33] From this perspective, one could examine the stories of Clara Caliman and Beata Isabel, who were early devout Christians and were praised in the missionary annals as an active missionary worker and a philanthropist, respectively.[34] There were very likely more individuals like them who used Spanish colonial institutions to advance their interests—temporal or spiritual—and thereby gained social status and respect. These historical figures are waiting for discovery in the archives.

At the risk of stating the obvious, it should be emphasized that the vibrant and cosmopolitan character of early modern Manila is not applicable to most of the archipelago. While there have been suggestions that economic prosperity trickled down to the far-flung provinces, the position of Manila as a trans-shipment port for the galleon trade makes it *sui generis*.[35] It should also be mentioned that, as Spanish colonial institutions increasingly interfered in the lives of the natives, their authority never became absolute, even—and especially—in remote provinces where the local elites continued to hold sway.[36] However, the essays in this volume showcase the possibilities of narratives and archival selections that future scholars of Philippine history may find useful. They present examples of and challenges surrounding how to uncover the local, "indigenous" voice while navigating "against and along the [Spanish] archival grain".[37] Finally, they remind us not only of the early modern roots of the nineteenth century social transformations and consequent nationalist revolution, but also of the familiar social divisions and inequalities that continue to mark the country up until today.

Notes

1 As editors of this volume we are grateful for Isaac Donoso's kind willingness to contribute to this introduction and to one anonymous reviewer who made some incisive comments on both the introduction and the book as a whole.

2 "La mentalidad de la Raza como resultado de la fusión de culturas e idiomas." *Voz Española*, julio 25 (1931), 7.

3 R. Palma, *Historia de Filipinas*, 2 vols (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1968–72).

4 A. Reid, "Introduction: A Time and Place." In A. Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power and Belief* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 6–7.

5 *Bago makaugnay ang mga dayuhang Kastila noong ika-16 na dantaon, wala pang iisang pantayong pananaw ang mga grupong etnolingguwistiko sa buong arkipelago, sa kabila ng kanilang pagiging magkakamag-anak at lubusang pagkakahawig sa lahi at kalinangan. Wala pa nga noon ang nasyong Pilipino na sumasaklaw ngayon sa mga kultura't lipunang nabanggit; lalo't higit, tulad ngayon, wala pa ring isang bansang magbibigay ng kabuuan sa Kapilipinuhan. Ang nasyong Pilipino ay nabuo lamang noong ikalawang bahagi ng nagdaang dantaon. Nabuo ito sa pagsusumikap ng mga elite ng bahaging Kristiano ng kolonyang Kastila. Ibig sabihin, nabuo lamang ito sa isang bahagi ng Kapilipinuhan na nalantad nang husto sa Kanluran at, samakatuwid, nabahiran kung hindi man talagang nabago nito – i.e. natuto ng wikang Kastila at napasok (gaano man kabahagya) sa kulturang Kastila at, sa pamamagitan nito, sa sibilisasyon ng Kanluran*. Zeus A. Salazar, "Ang Pantayong Pananaw Bilang Diskursong Pangkabihasnan." In A. Navarro, M. J. Rodríguez and V. Villán (eds), *Pantayong Pananaw: Ugat at Kabuluhan. Pambungad sa Pag-aaral ng Bagong Kasaysayan* (Quezon City: Palimbagan ng Lahi, 2000), 87.

6 N. Joaquín, *Culture and History. Occasional Notes on the Process of Philippine Becoming* (Manila: Solar Publishing Corporation, 1989), 245.

7 On the use of "early-modern" in Southeast Asia, see L.Y. Andaya and B.Watson Andaya, "Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Period: Twenty-Five Years On." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26:1 (1995), 92–8.

8 N. Joaquín, *Tropical Baroque: Four Manileño Theatricals* (Quezon City: National Book Store, 1979), 2.

9 *Preside aquí Manila Cabeça, célebre Emporio de el Indiano Oriente, siendo en antiguos años su riqueza. Ofir, que sus caudales acreciente; desde el Ganges Mogor, que con fiereza cien bocas abre, hasta el Japón valiente, y hasta de Comorín al Promontorio el Tyro fue Manila, y rico Emporio* (translation Isaac Donoso). The poem is in W. E. Retana, *Aparato bibliográfico de la historia general de Filipinas, deducido de la colección que posee en Barcelona la Compañía General de Tabacos de dichas islas*, vol I (Madrid: Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1906), 236.

10 As well as the authors of the published chapters in this volume, the following colleagues contributed papers to the conference: Darwin Absari, Fides A. del Castillo and Clarence Darro del Castillo, Kristie Flannery, Xu Guanmian, David Irving, Regalado Trota Jose, Simon Kemper, Ruth de Llobet, Dale Luis Menezes, Tristan Mostert, Kristyl Obispado, Mucha-Shim L. Quiling, and Marina Torres Trimállez.

11 For example, during discussions about the abolition of slavery at the second Cosmopolis conference in Bloemfontein, various scholars of the Indian Ocean complained about what they saw as the imposition of a rather one-dimensional Atlantic discourse of liberation.

12 But see recently, S. Bernabéu Albert (ed.), *La Nao de China, 1565–1815: Navegación, comercio e intercambios culturales* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2013).

13 See M.K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, People, and Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) and D. Armitage and A. Bashford (eds), *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), R.F. Buschmann, *et al.*, *Navigating the Spanish Lake: The Pacific in the Iberian World, 1521–1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014) and R.F. Buschmann, *Iberian Visions of the Pacific Ocean, 1507–1899* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014). For an excellent survey of the recent trends, see C.G. de Vito, "Towards the Global Spanish Pacific", *International Review of Social History* 60 (2015), 449–62. For the more recent, discursive claims of the Spanish state over the Philippines, see J.M. Díaz Rodríguez, "Domesticating Legacies: Spanish Official Discourses and the Philippines", *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 23:3 (2017), 235–47.

14 E. Tagliacozzo, "Navigating Communities: Race, Place and Travel in the History of Maritime Southeast Asia", *Asian Ethnicity* 10:2 (2009), 97–120; S. Mawson, "Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire: Indigenous Soldiers and Contingent Loyalty, 1600–1700", *Ethnohistory* 63:2 (2016), 381–413; T. Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico. From Chinos to Indians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) and E.M. Mehl, *Forced Migration in the Spanish Pacific World: From Mexico to the Philippines, 1765–1811* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

15 M. C. Guerrero, "Foreword." In *Looking for the Prehispanic Filipino and Other Essays in Philippine History* by William Henry Scott (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1992), v–vi.

16 See R.C. Ileto, "On the Historiography of Southeast Asia and the Philippines: The 'Golden Age' of Southeast Asian Studies: Experiences and Reflections", in *Can we write History? Between Postmodernism and Coarse Nationalism: Workshop Proceedings for the Academic Frontier Project. Social Change in Asia and the Pacific* (Japan: Meiji Gakuin University and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2003).

17 See the pioneering works of Filomeno Aguilar, Jr., Resil Mojares, Raquel Reyes, and Richard Chu among others. While their works sometimes include discussions on the early Spanish centuries, they mostly discuss late-Spanish

or American colonial periods. F. Aguilar, *Clash of Spirits: The History of Power and Sugar Planter Hegemony on a Visayan Island* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998); F. Aguilar, "Manilamen and Seafaring: Engaging the Maritime World beyond the Spanish Realm." *Journal of Global History* 7:3 (2012), 364–88; R. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity and Culture, 1860s-1930s* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010); R. A.G. Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippine Propaganda Movement, 1882-1892* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2008); R. Mojares, *Brains of the Nation: Pedro Paterno, T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Isabelo de Los Reyes and the Production of Modern Knowledge* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006).

18 J.N. Schumacher, S.J., "Review of *From Beaterio to Congregation: A Brief History of the Congregation of the Religious of Virgin Mary, Virgin Mary,* by Sister Maria Rita C. Ferraris, R.V.M." *Philippine Studies* 23:4 (1975), 485.

19 He is the author of landmark studies in pre-Hispanic Philippine history: *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City: New Day, 1974); *Prehispanic Sources Materials for the Study of the Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day, 1984); *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain* (Quezon City: New Day, 1985); *Filipinos in China Before 1500* (Manila: De La Salle University, 1989); *Looking for the Prehispanic Filipino and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day, 1992); and *Barangay: Sixteenth-century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila, 1994).

20 A. Reid, "Foreword." In Ooi Keat Gin and Hoang Anh Tuan (eds), *Early Modern Southeast Asia, 1350-1800* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2016), xx-xxi.

21 See the discussion on state-supported historical research, R. A. Curaming, "Contextual Factors in the Analysis of State-Historian Relations in Indonesia and the Philippines." *Philippine Studies* 56:2 (2008), 123–50.

22 However, one might argue that the *binukot*—as discussed by Marya Svetlana Camacho, below—could be a remnant of an older, perhaps even "Austronesian" tradition.

23 Part of the increasing Filipino engagement in the early modern period is an important project led by Professor Maria Serena I. Diokno of the University of the Philippines entitled "The Philippines, 1565–1898," which aims to produce by 2022 four edited volumes on the Spanish Philippines, with articles written mainly by Filipinos and using relevant primary sources.

24 Scott, *Looking for the Prehispanic Filipino,* 35-6. An attempt to answer this question is in I. Donoso, "Al-Andalus and Asia: Ibero-Asian Relations before

Magellan." In I. Donoso (ed.), *More Hispanic than we admit: Insights into Philippine Cultural History* (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2008), 9–35.

25 Cf. S. Subrahmanyam, "The Hidden Face of Surat: Reflections on a Cosmopolitan Indian Ocean Centre, 1540–1750", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61:1-2 (2018), 205–56.

26 For this, see also the pioneering work of V.L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993) and, more recently, M.J. Sales, "Translation and Interpreting in the Early Modern Philippines: A Preliminary Survey", *Perspectives: Studies in Translation Theory and Practice* 26 (2018), 54–68.

27 The term is of course Reid's; see his two-volume *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988–93). For a recent collection of studies that deals exclusively with the still mostly ignored Islamic ingredients of Philippine culture, see I. Donoso, *More Islamic than we admit: Insights into Philippine Cultural History* (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2017).

28 P.N. Abinales and D.J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham, MD etc.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 68.

29 A. Ibrahim, S. Siddique and Y. Hussain (eds), *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), 50. See also E. Clavé, "La malayisation du Sud Philippin (XVe-XIXe siècles): Recherches historiques appuyées sur l'analyse des sources narratives et juridiques des sultanats de Sulu (c. 1450–c. 1900) et de Mindanao (c. 1520–c. 1900)." PhD-thesis, Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2013.

30 Scott, *Prehispanic Sources Materials,* 42–3. The story and the citation regarding Brunei come from the *Boxer Codex* as provided by B. Watson Andaya, "Religious Developments in Southeast Asia, c. 1500-1800." In N. Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, vol. 1, part 2, *From c. 1500 to c. 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 171.

31 See Canepa's article in this volume.

32 See L.L. Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 389.

33 See respectively Luciano Santiago, "The Filipino Indios Encomenderos." *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 18 (1990), 162-84, and D.R.M. Irving, *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

34 See also Maria Svetlana Camacho's paper in this volume.

35 For the first, see B. Cruikshank, "Silver in the Provinces: A Critique of the Classic View of Philippine Economic History in the Seventeenth and

Eighteenth Centuries." *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 36 (2008), 124–51.

36 B. Cruikshank, "Religious Filipinos but Marginal Priests? An Argument against the Classic View of the Priest and His Role in the Period of Spanish Rule in the Philippines." *Pilipinas: A Journal of Philippine Studies* 43 (2004), 105–18.

37 A.L. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).