

GLOBAL EXCHANGE: GLIMPSES OF AN 18TH CENTURY COLONIAL KITCHEN IN MANILA

Rene B. Javellana, SJ
Fine Arts Program
Ateneo de Manila University
rjavellana@ateneo.edu

Abstract

It seems self-evident that Spanish cuisine influenced Philippine cuisine. The similarity in nomenclature, some with toponyms, suggests such connection. To imagine that Spanish-influenced dishes that Filipinos consume in today were exactly the same in the 18th century is to be oblivious of the complex evolution of Hispanic dishes, the result of colonial exchange and negotiation.

The 1768 inventory of the Colegio de San José's kitchen, an otherwise laconic list, is interpreted and brought to life with help of other studies, like that on food migrants by scholars, the late Doreen G. Fernandez, Dr. Isagani Medina and Corazon Alvina, which shed light on the ingredients available in colonial Philippines. The 18th century recipe book from Mexico by the Franciscan Gerónimo de San Pelayo, *Libro de Cocina del hermano fray Gerónimo de San Pelayo* gives us a glimpse of a kitchen in Mexico and suggests that the dishes in Fray Gerónimo's recipe book could easily be replicated in the Philippines as almost all the ingredients were readily available in Manila. If not some substitute could be found.

Essential in cooking with some complexity and sophistication is the ability to control heat. The versatile carahay, or wok, a common implement in the San José kitchen, was ideal for that. It was used not just for stir-frying, but for dry roasting, steaming and boiling.

Keywords

Colegio de San José, friars and religious, Hispanic cuisine, Jesuit suppression papers, 18th century foods and dishes

About the Author

Rene Javellana is currently on the Research and Creative Work track of the Ateneo de Manila University (2013-2015). He teaches the history of art at the Fine Arts Program of the

Ateneo. His field of specialization is Philippine colonial art and architecture interpreted in the context of history, culture and society. His most recent book, *La Casa de Dios: the Legacy of Filipino-Hispanic Churches in the Philippines* is the basis for a photo exhibit at the Casa de America in Madrid, Spain.

This essay reads a 1768 inventory of the kitchen of the Colegio de San José enlightened by other historical sources within the context of the exchange across oceans and continents during the Spanish colonial era in order to paint a picture of the types of food that a boarding school like the Colegio de San José prepared for the consumption of its student and faculty. These foods and the dishes made would not have been possible without the exchange accelerated by the trade between Asia, the New World and Spain, with the Philippines serving as an entrepôt.

This essay assumes the “Columbian exchange” first coined in 1972, by Alfred W. Crosby. Asked to define “Columbian exchange,” in a 2011 interview with the Smithsonian, Crosby says:

In 1491, the world was in many of its aspects and characteristics a minimum of two worlds—the New World, of the Americas, and the Old World, consisting of Eurasia and Africa. Columbus brought them together, and almost immediately and continually ever since, we have had an exchange of native plants, animals and diseases moving back and forth across the oceans between the two worlds. A great deal of the economic, social, political history of the world is involved in the exchange of living organisms between the two worlds. (“Alfred W. Crosby on the Columbian Exchange”)

The concept “Columbian exchange” has gone beyond academic discourse and has been adopted by popular writing, for instance in the journalist and food columnist, Raymond Sokolov’s *Why We Eat What We Eat: How Columbus Changed the Way the World Eats* (1991). Sokolov demonstrates how as a result of Columbus’ voyages an exchange of foods, cooking ideas and methods transformed the cuisines of Europe, the Americas, Africa and Asia. He argues that what are recognized as national cuisines are of comparatively recent origin and reflect the global exchange that happened, which Columbus initiated with his exploration of the New World. Food ingredients we take for granted like the tomato and potato, integral parts of national cuisines, were not available worldwide until the era of exploration and colonization. The Columbian exchange ushered an era of creative reinvention of local cuisines and transformed the way people ate.¹

Sokolov proposes that crucial to this exchange was the colonial laboratory, where cuisines were modified and experiments in new dishes and different combinations of raw ingredients were made. He cites the importance of Mexico, Philippines, Peru, northern Brazil, Puerto Rico and the Spanish Main as testing ground for this new cuisine.²

He zeroes in on six ingredients in the exchange and demonstrates how these food items were transformed into distinctive national and regional cuisine. The food items are tomato, potato, chili, chocolate, manioc, and strawberries.³

This essay does not seek to define a “national cuisine” for the Philippines but rather provides historical data to nuance future writing about Philippine national cuisine.

A POPULAR TRUISM

It is almost a truism to claim that Philippine cuisine is influenced by Spanish cuisine. The similarity in nomenclature suggests such connection. Dishes, like *menudo*, *cocido*, *croquetas*, *torta*, *relleno*, *estofado*, *sarciado*, *asado*, suggest Spanish roots. Some dishes even have toponyms like *callos madrileño*, *arroz valenciana* and *favada asturiana*. Similarities in ingredients, preparation and form are singled out as proof of contact. The Filipino *pochero*, with boiled bananas is clearly an interpretation of *cocido*; likewise *arroz valenciana*, which as Filipinos cook it, uses glutinous rice (*malagkit*); so does the *Kapampangan* variation *bringhe*, which adds coconut milk and turmeric (*luyang dilaw*, *dulao* [*Curcuma longa*]). These appear as interpretations of a Spanish original.⁴

Some dishes from the colonial era are not Spanish but Hispanic if not in origin, in inspiration. The Bulacan and Pampanga *tamales* have similarities to Mexican *tamal* in that both are wrapped—in banana leaves for the Philippine version and in dried cornhusk or plantain leaves for the Mexican. Both varieties are steamed. But then the similarities begin to diverge. The Philippine version uses ground glutinous rice or *malagkit*, the Mexican ground corn; the Philippine uses coconut, the Mexican does not. Philippine tamales is sweet; Mexican *tamal* can be savory or sweet (*tamal de dulce*) depending on the filling. It can have no filling and called *tamal sordo*, literally “deaf” tamal. Philippine *tamales*’ filling is shredded chicken meat, salted egg and a peanut sauce. Mexican uses a variety of meats—chicken or pork usually—but has no peanut sauce. The Mexican variety uses red or green salsa or mole.

The presence of Mexican-inspired dishes suggests that the usual “Spanish” influence on Philippine cuisine must be modified to “Hispanic,” that is, Spanish cuisine as filtered, reinterpreted, remixed and creatively reinvented in the colonies of the Spanish empire. Mexico and, to some extent, Peru were important filters and nodes of exchange because the Manila galleons dropped anchor in these places after a long journey across the Pacific. From 1565 to 1815, the Philippines was governed through Mexico and received its annual budget from Mexico because the Philippines was a province of the vice-royalty forging a strong political and economic link.

The galleon, which sailed annually on a more or less predictable schedule, forged that link. In 1565, the first galleon set sail from Manila, laden with spices, and was dispatched to Mexico by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, who had been sent to colonize the Philippines. Its navigator was Fray Andres Urdaneta, an Augustinian, who found the ocean current that facilitated the return trip to Mexico, the *tornaviaje*.

The last galleon sailed in 1815 during Mexico's protracted war of independence, after Spain lost control of the Mexican ports.

While Philippine cuisine is influenced by Spanish and Hispanic cuisine, we cannot assume that the way Spanish-influenced dishes are prepared in the Philippines at present has remained unchanged since the 1565, when Miguel Lopez de Legazpi arrived in Cebu to begin the colonization of the islands. Can we have a glimpse back in time to come to some understanding how dishes were prepared in the past?

We can return to about two and a half centuries ago, because an inventory of a colonial kitchen has survived, that of the Colegio de San José, a Jesuit run-institution in Intramuros, ordered closed in 1768 when the Spanish monarch expelled all Jesuits from the realm.

CONTEXT: THE COLEGIO DE SAN JOSÉ

The Colegio de San José was established in response to a petition of 18 June 1583, addressed to the King by Bp. Domingo de Salazar, O.P., who broached the idea of establishing a college in Manila for the inhabitants of the city and the islands as well as the *mestizos* and sons of the chief *indios*. Two years later on 18 June 1585, a royal decree authorized the foundation of a college for training candidates for the priesthood and young Spanish and mestizo boys to be run by the Jesuits. In the tradition of Jesuit schools in Europe, the college was to be fully endowed but by 1587, little was done to build the endowment and start the college so a petition was sent to the Real Audiencia asking for assistance.

It would take another eight years before an endowment of 1,000 pesos for 10 scholars was set aside by Gov. Perez de Damariñas. Thus, in 1595 San José was established on paper. Jesuit catalogues would describe it as a *colegium inchoatum* (a college in the process of organization). On 16 May 1596, Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, the *encomendero* of Oton on Panay Island and a good friend and benefactor of the Jesuits, made a will leaving his fortune to his wife and daughter with the condition that should either die their shares would be used to found a boarding college. Figueroa unfortunately died in Cotabato, Mindanao while en route to Brunei.

In 1601, with funds now growing and deemed sufficient, the Colegio de San José was formally inaugurated by Father vice-provincial Diego García on 25 August for the purpose of fostering vocations by training and keeping boys off the streets, from funds received for the boarders. Beginning this year, students attended classes at the College of San Ignacio.⁵

In 1604, Figueroa's daughter and only heiress died. As stipulated in Figueroa's will her inheritance would be turned over to the Jesuits. Figueroa's will did not specify that the endowment be given specifically to San José but the Jesuits who had funded the college since 1601 applied it to San José. The Figueroa endowment

would be “in the ecclesiastical terminology at the time, an *obrapia*” distinguished from San José as a college (Bernad 9).

On 28 February 1610, the Figueroa endowment was effectively received by the Jesuits. The fund initially maintained three scholars, increased in 1630 to 40; in 1657, dropped to 30, but in 1753 to 49 (Bernad 9). The students of San José attended lectures at the adjacent Colegio de San Ignacio to which it was linked by a covered corridor but returned to San José to review what they had learned. The students lived in San José and did not share quarters with the Jesuits (the scholastics or Jesuits in formation, the Fathers and Brothers who lived in San Ignacio) except for a handful, who were assigned to San José.

In 1623, a Papal brief, issued by Pope Gregory XV on 9 July 1621, arrived in Manila, which concluded the long drawn campaign of the Jesuits to have degrees conferred on the graduates of San Ignacio, after a stout opposition by Miguel de Benavides, archbishop of Manila and founder of the University of Santo Tomás. Three years later, in 1626, a San José student received his degree from the Colegio de San Ignacio.

CLOSURE OF SAN JOSÉ

San José came to an end when the Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines in 1768, following a worldwide expulsion from the Spanish realm by Charles III beginning in 1767.⁶ On 17 May 1768, Tuesday, at nightfall, the dispatch from the Spanish crown arrived in Manila by way of a galleon that came from Mexico. After reading the royal dispatches, the following evening Gov. José Raón appointed Manuel Galbán, an *oidor* of the Real Audiencia, to be special commissioner to implement the decree expelling all Jesuits from the Spanish realm. De la Costa writes, “The next morning, Thursday, 19 May, at nine o’clock in the morning, Galbán proceeded to the residence of the Jesuit provincial, which was at that time the College of San Ildefonso in the district of Santa Cruz. He was accompanied by a military escort and a government notary” (583).

Galbán summoned the community together and he was met at the door by the rector of the house, Fr. Bernardo Martín. Fr. Juan Silverio Prieto, the provincial was out of the house and had gone to visit the Colegio de Manila, on the southern bank of the Pasig. Fr. Bernardo Pazuengos, rector of the Colegio de San Ignacio, was in San Ildefonso and was requested to return back to the colegio and summon father provincial. While waiting for the provincial, the vicar of the archdiocese of Manila and several prominent citizens were summoned as witnesses to the event. As soon as the Jesuit provincial arrived, the decree of expulsion was read to the community. The Jesuits replied that they were ready to comply with the decree in all humility and obedience.

The Jesuits at San Ildefonso were told to proceed to the San Ignacio, except for a brother who would return to help with the inventory of Jesuit property. All keys to the house, church, storerooms, living rooms, archives, library, all chests and strong boxes were given to Galbán. The buildings were locked and sealed. By two in the afternoon, the house was secure and a guard posted to prevent anyone from entering or looting the property.

This scene would be repeated again and again as teams were sent out to expel the Jesuits and take an inventory of their properties, real and movable. All the Jesuits near Manila were told to gather at the Colegio de San Ignacio. At the expulsion, in San José “there were forty-one resident students registered in the college, thirty-seven of them Spaniards and four Chinese mestizos” (de la Costa 585-586) and eight Jesuits, five priests and three brothers. The vice-rector was Francisco Javier Prieto.

KITCHEN INVENTORY

It took time between the closure of San José in May and the inventory, which happened five months later. At this time, the 64 Jesuits who were booked on board the *San Carlos* in August were hobbling back to Manila because a storm caught the ship at sea and damaged its mast and the ship, which was beginning to split. The storm hit the ship on 8 September and lasted for three days when it was about 100 leagues from the Marianas. The storm drove them back to Manila for repairs and for new provisions but 50 leagues from landfall another storm struck the ship. By 22 October, the damaged *San Carlos* dropped anchor at Cavite. The Jesuits were placed under house arrest in the Colegio de San Ignacio but their superior Fr. Bernardo Pazuengos and the procurators or treasurers, Frs. Bernardo Bruno and Juan Francisco Romero were separated from the group and placed under arrest in different places. De la Costa surmises that Galbán “probably wanted to interrogate them separately on the finances of the province and took this precaution to prevent collusion” (591).

The inventory of the San José’s kitchen was not done right away because the assessors and auditors were busy with the inventory of the Colegio de San Ignacio and the provincial’s residence. They were quick to inventory and sequester the records of the province treasurer and its store of cash and other valuable commodities. Most likely, the government functionaries prioritized the inventory of the provincial’s residence because they were on the trail of the rumored Jesuit wealth, which had been spirited away in a secret cache, an allegation said of Jesuits elsewhere, which led to a search for such wealth as Jesuits were expelled first from the Portuguese realm in 1750-53, then the French in 1762-64 and finally the Spanish.

When the inventory of San José was made, the colegio was already empty. The students, who were on vacation when the decree of expulsion was read, were allowed by Galbán to return to San José on 12 June to get their personal belongings.

Because the colegio was closed, some students transferred to Santo Tomás or to San Juan de Letran, both run by the Dominicans, others to the recently opened diocesan seminary, or to “a private institution conducted by a certain Don Clemente Bermudez, which offered courses in moral theology. There were also numerous grammar schools in the city” (de la Costa 586), where those in the grammar years could go.

Without any interruptions of students and faculty coming in or out, the inventory was done over three days, 3 to 5 October 1768 in a number of discontinuous sessions. Sessions were interrupted because the day had ended or in one case, because an evaluation was disputed and no competent person was readily at hand to confirm the value of some items. Each session began with a set ritual with the opening of a room and removing its seals and ended with the locking of the room and the imposition of seals. The *escribano* would attest to the fact that the nothing has been moved or touched since the last session of the inventory.

The kitchen inventory records the colegio’s cooking equipment, china, cutlery, table linens and the pantry of non-perishable foods. Also in the inventory are entries on bolts of cloth, hats, combs, lamps, bells and other items not directly related to the kitchen. Entitled “*Inven.^{to} de los perten.^{te} al R.^l Colegio S.ⁿ Jph*,” the kitchen is found within the general inventory of the Colegio de San Jose, (*Legajo* I-1, folio 56-65, 3-5 October 1768, evaluated by assessor Miguel Baptista Pablo, authorized by Manuel Galbán, witnessed by the royal treasurer Garzaval, noted and certified as true by notary Joseph Villegas Flores) under the general classification, *Temporalidades* at the Philippine National Archives (RMAO, Record Management and Archives Office).⁷ The inventory is written on folio size cotton paper, the official paper for documents (called later in the 19th century *papel sellado*). The inventory papers are in good state, quite legible. Items inventoried are numbered 299-456 or a total of 157 entries. The table that follows excerpts from the 157 entries, and translates and classifies them according to the categories in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Representative Items in the Inventory of the Colegio de San José Kitchen, 1768

STORAGE	FOOD ITEMS	COOKING IMPLEMENTS	DINING UTENSILS	TABLE LINENS	MISCELLANEOUS
Wooden boxes from Parian with locks but no keys ⁸	13 tinajas of coconut oil	Chocolate jar and beater: 8 dozens and a half of common jars for chocolate	2 dozen fine plates, four dozen fine plates,	2 bed covers from the Ilocos: one blue and other red ¹⁶	2 spitons of yellow copper ²³
One large martaban jar and two small ones with their wooden covers for oil ⁹	2 tinajas of lard	4 small chocolate beaters of copper	4 dozen blue plates;	103 napkins of guinumi, dyed red and blue	8 candles
15 jars from San Pedro Makati encased in a rattan weave ¹⁰	14 pillones of sugar from Pampanga	4 coffee pots of copper from Japan	74 common small plates [platittos, used as charger for cups, or used for dessert]	7 towels from Europe, used	9 fando and a half of tobacco from Mariquina
41 jars from San Pedro Makati	5 tinajas of sugar from Pampanga	5 pots	Soup plates: four dozen soup dishes	11 tapa pechos of elefante ¹⁷	2 skin (leather) of a cow
12 jarlets from China	half tinaja of barley	1 large copper boiler (tacho)	Cup: twenty dozens of ordinary cups for warm foods	7 napkins of elefante	2 skins (leather) of a carabao
2 tibores (jar) blue and encased in rattan weave ¹¹	6 gantas of anis	3 arrobas and 16 pounds in weight ¹³	Tureens: two big tureens for soup	10 table cloths of elefante used	2 small copper lamps (belones)
	4 tinajas filled with beans	4 torteras	70 vinegar cruets with cover of earthenware	19 towel of manta (homespun) ¹⁸	
	4 tinajas and a half of mongo	1 caldron	16 salt shakers of earthenware	20 tapa pecho: 12 of elefante, and 8 of manta	
	2 bottles of oil from Castille ¹²	1 caldereta	1 torno of porcelain with servers ¹⁵	1 piece of manta dyed black	
		4 small woks (carajay)	6 dozen goblets	1 piece of sarampuli 4 brazas	
		1 large woks	6 dozen glasses	1 piece of ordinary sarampuli ¹⁹	
		3 large woks	7 glass for oil lamps	1 palio of Surat cloth ²⁰	
		1 large copper boiler of 3 arrobas and 10 pounds	Demitasse	2 pieces of rayadillo from	
		1 small copper boiler of 12 pounds	Trays: One yellow copper basin	Balayan [Batan-gas] ²¹	
		1 oven with cover	One pitcher with basin of yellow copper	2 pieces of cambaya dyed blue ²²	
		49 pounds	Presentation plates: Three salvers of white copper		
		2 chocolate grinders (metate) from China ¹⁴	3 serving dishes of white copper		
		one small weighing steelyard or scale (Romana pequeña)	4 candlesticks of yellow copper		
		2 pots with their mortar but no handles of old copper, 2 arrobas and 2 pounds	25 knives from Flanders		
		various pieces of old iron plates			

SOURCE: Record Management and Archives Office. “Inven[tar]io de los perten[ien]te al Real Colegio S[a]n J[ose]ph.” *Legajo I-1, folio 56-65*. Manila: Inventory of Jesuit Properties, 1768-1772. Print.

What is immediately striking is how little foodstuff had been stored. These are oils of three kinds: coconut (13 *tinajas* or jar), lard (2 *tinajas*) and oil of Castille, most likely olive oil (2 bottles); sugar from Pampanga (14 *pillones* and 5 *tinajas*), half *tinaja* of barley, 4.5 *tinaja* of *mongo*, 4 *tinaja* of beans (*frijoles*) and 4 *gantas* of anis. Missing are perishable items like fruit, vegetables, especially tomato, onion and garlic, spices (other than anise) meats and fish. Also notably missing in the inventory are items for rice, the staple, and preserved meats like the salted pork and beef, mentioned by Ignacio Alzina as staples of the Jesuit kitchen in a 17th century manuscript, fish and meats like chicken, pork or beef.²⁴

There are a number of reasons to explain these absences. First, the inventory was made five months after the decree of expulsion was read. This could mean that perishables were consumed or disposed of. Second, perishables were not generally kept because of the problem of storage. A Jesuit procurer, usually a brother assigned to the kitchen, would just have to go out daily to pick or buy fresh items. A 1727 map of Manila indicated that the Jesuit colleges had gardens, where vegetables and fruits were planted so the procurer did not need to go too far. In the Jesuit college were in-house lay assistants (*familiares*) who took manual jobs like cleaning, laundry, gardening and maintaining the sacristy. Fishing was one of the jobs assigned to these assistants, usually adolescents and young men. Manila Bay and Pasig River, both teeming with fish, were just outside the walls. As for meat, like beef, pork and chicken, an animal was slaughtered and butchered when there was an opportunity or need to do so. A third reason, but this is unlikely, the Jesuits and students of San José did not have meats, fish, vegetables, etc. in their diet. This is unrealistic to assume, because the rules of the college allowed at least a weekly consumption of meat. Two items in the inventory suggest that there had been meat available because in storage were *cuero* of a cow (*vaca*) of a water buffalo (*carabao*). “Cuero” can be translated as skin or leather. Was the skin a remnant of cattle slaughtered earlier, and its skin kept and treated to be used later—maybe made into leather shoes and belts?

READING THE INVENTORY

The inventory as it stands needs to be interpreted to concretize our understanding of what the students and faculty of San José may have eaten. In reading the document we have to look at three requirements for cooking: 1. basic ingredients like meats, fowl, sea foods, fruits and vegetables; 2. additives like seasoning, i.e., salt, sugar and spices and 3. methods of cooking.

To appreciate the ingredients that would have been available to the colegio's kitchen we have to return back in time and look at food encounters prior to 1768, and what ingredients these food encounters may have brought to the colonial table.

Ingredients and Additives, Early Food Encounters. The earliest record of a food encounter between Europeans and the inhabitants of the Philippines comes from Antonio de Pigafetta's account of the voyage of Magellan, when Europeans come to know and try for the first time the foods of the Visayans, the peoples they encountered in Samar, Leyte, Cebu and Butuan.

During the first encounter of Magellan's fleet with the indigenous peoples of Samar Island, Pigafetta writes about the food and drink the people brought to the Europeans.²⁵ The people presented fish, a jar of palm wine called *uraca* [i.e. arrack], figs more than one palmo long [i.e. bananas], and others which were smaller and more delicate and two cocoanuts. They had nothing else then, but made us signs with their hands that they would bring *umay* or rice, and cocoanuts within four days (Pigafetta 104).

While these encounters had the practical purpose of supplying the ships with fresh food supplies after subsisting a sea with salted rations, they were also occasions to forge a peaceful relationship between the crew and the indigenous peoples. Thus, diplomacy was in the agenda. Thus, that first encounter was followed by a second, four days later, Friday, 22 March 1521, when the locals brought food as promised: "At noon on Friday, March 22, those men came as they had promised us in two boats with cocoanuts, sweet oranges, a jar of palm-wine, and a cock, in order to shot that there were fowls in that district" (Pigafetta 109).

After Samar, Magellan's fleet sailed south arriving at Butuan on Mindanao Island on 22 March, Holy Thursday. Pigafetta was chosen to join a party that would parlay with the king or local chief of Butuan. The party was feted with a meal: "the king [as he called the datu] had a plate of pork brought in and a large jar filled with wine [i.e. *uraca*]." When the hour of supper came "two large porcelain dishes were brought in, one full of rice and the other of pork with its gravy." It was Good Friday, despite the proscription against meat, Pigafetta says "I ate meat on holy Friday, for I could not help myself" (119-120). Invited to stay on shore, the party was once more fed in the datu's dwelling with "a platter of roast fish cut in pieces was brought in, and ginger freshly gathered, and wine." Two more platters were brought in "one with fish and its sauce, and the other with rice." In Butuan, Pigafetta continues: "There are dogs, cats, swine, fowls, goats, rice, ginger, cocoanuts, figs [*i.e.*, bananas], oranges, lemons, millet, panicum, sorgo, wax, and a quantity of gold in that island" (132).

Inquiring from the datu at Butuan where the fleet might go to have more abundant provisions, the island of Cebu was pointed out. So the fleet sailed north.

At Cebu, after a drawn out negotiations with the local chief and negotiated through the party that came from Butuan "baskets of rice, swine, goats and fowls" were given to Magellan (Pigafetta 147). Having negotiated friendly terms with the

chief of Cebu Magellan and a landing party including Pigafetta, met the local chief who welcomed them to his village. He was seated on a mat and from “another mat on the ground he was eating turtle eggs which were in two porcelain dishes” (149). Surveying the village and noting the type of dwellings the people had, which were structures raised on stilts, he noted that “under the house they keep their swine, goats, and fowls”(153). “In that island,” he continues, “are found dogs, cats, rice, millet, panicum, sorgo, ginger, figs [*i.e.*, bananas], oranges, lemons, sugarcane, garlic, honey, cocoanuts, nangcas, gourds, flesh of many kinds, palm wine, and gold” (187).

After the untimely death of Magellan, the ship sailed to Butuan where they were fed and given “refreshments of sugar cane” (Pigafetta 206). From Butuan, the ship traveled to Chipit on Mindanao’s northern coast; “rice, ginger, swine, goats, fowls, and other things are to be found there.” Passing through Cagayan (de Oro) the ship arrived at Palawan “about twenty-five leguas to the west northwest from the above island [of Caghaian] we found a large island, where rice, ginger, swine, goats, fowls, figs one-half braza long and as thick as the arm [*i.e.*, bananas] (they are excellent; and certain others are one palmo and less in length, and are much better than all the others), cocoanuts, camotes [*batate*], sugarcane, and roots resembling turnips in taste, are found (207).

Pigafetta’s chronicle gives us a picture of the first food encounters between two groups. While more time is devoted by Pigafetta enumerating and describing foods in the islands of Samar, Cebu, Mindanao, Palawan and so forth, he also chronicles an exchange of food from Magellan to the Cebuanos. In order to gain the confidence of the local datu, Magellan sought to ensure the health of the datu’s subject who was at the brink of death but recovered after being baptized. As he was convalescing Magellan sent him “almond milk, rosewater oil of roses, and some sweet preserves” together with a mattress, a pair of sheets, coverlet of yellow cloth and a pillow to make him comfortable (166-167). Food was being used as a diplomatic tool of negotiation.

In the Blair and Robertson translation of Pigafetta, footnote 25 reads:

See Guillemard’s *Magellan*, pp. 329–336, and Navarrete, *Col. de viages*, iv, pp. 3–11, 162–188, for the stores and equipments of the fleet and their cost. The stores carried consisted of wine, olive oil, vinegar, fish, pork, peas and beans, flour, garlic, cheese, honey, almonds, anchovies, raisins, prunes, figs, sugar, quince preserves, capers, mustard, beef, and rice. The apothecary supplies were carried in the “Trinidad,” and the ecclesiastical ornaments in that ship and the “San Antonio.” (178)

Although intended as the crew’s supply, the possibility of using some items for exchange was possible. Exchange, which was to characterize the colonial era, began in the Philippines with Magellan.

Provisions for Legazpi's Voyage. If Pigafetta is about the foods that the Europeans encountered in 1521 and the food given by Magellan to the Visayans, the next document is about what was brought on Legazpi's 1565 colonizing voyage to the Philippines. A document listing proposed provisions (*metalotaje*) for the journey exists. This document proposes provisioning the ships with weapons, ship supplies, water, armament, goods for trading or bartering, like "Cinquenta docenas de cuchillos de Flandes con cauos de laton" and "Veynteplatos de laton" (50 dozens knives from Flanders with their lead sheaths and 20 plates of lead) and the all import food supply, part of the daily rations. Here is the list of the expedition's food supply, excerpted from the proposed list:

TABLE 2: Provisions for the Expedition of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, 1565

MEMORIA DEL METALOTAJEQUE ME PARESCÉ SE DEUELLEUAR EN ESTOSNAVIOS:	MEMORIAL OF THE SHIP'S PRO- VISIONS WHICH IN MY OPINION SHOULD BE CARRIED BY THESE SHIPS
280 quintales de vizcocho	280 quintals of hard tack of wheat ²⁶
500 hanegas de mayz	500 fanegas of corn
50 hanegas de frijoles	50 fanegas of beans
12 hanegas de hauas	12 fanegas of fava beans
20 hanegas de garuanços	20 fanegas of garbanzos
40 arrobas de aceite	40 arrobas of oil
40 de vinagre	40 arrobas of vinegar
4 pipas de vino en votijas vidriadas	4 casks of wine in glass bottles
50 toçinos	50 tocino [dried meat]
500 quesos	500 pieces of cheese
50 cantarillos de miel	50 small jars of honey
6 hanegas de lentejas	6 fanegas of lentils
50 arrobas de pescadoseco	50 arrobas of dried fish
6 pipas de sal	4 casks of salt

SOURCE: De Miguel, José Ramón. *Urdaneta y sutiempo*. Ayto de Ordizia. Especially, Documento No 3. "Informe sobre los pertrechos y provisiones necesarias para el viaje," 171-172.

Garbanzos, lentils, beans, corn, fava beans, vinegar, salt and honey, wine, oil and wheat, in the form hard tack; it is probably safe to suppose then that in 16th-century expeditionary ships like Legazpi's would have already brought similar foodstuff to the Philippines and that the proposed list of provisions was in fact brought by Legazpi.

In this list are both Old World and New World foods, namely garbanzo, which was already known by the Bronze Age in Italy and Greece and figures in the cuisine of the Middle East and Europe and *maiz* or corn from the Americas. Garbanzo is

the base for hummus of the Middle East and used in Spanish dishes like *callos*. And corn is the quintessential Mesoamerican grain.

Late-16th century Reports. Also from the 16th century are the 1586 report to Philip II presented by the Jesuit Alonso Sánchez, and the 1595 *relación* of Fray Domingo de Salazar, O.P., first bishop of Manila, also presented to the king. Both documents present facts about foodstuff available in the Philippines.

Sánchez's report is cited and excerpted by Pedro Chirino in his 1604 history. Sánchez had been chosen by both civic and ecclesiastical authorities to represent the Philippines in the Spanish and Papal courts and report on the condition of the Philippines and its need of assistance. In this source cited at length, are list of food items readily available:

This land abounds in rice and many kinds of beans (like lentils) growing in shrubs and trees, which bear abundant fruit. There is plenty of wax, honey, sugarcane, many species of bananas, much greenery, squash, eggplant, radish, mustard (green like endives or beets), much pepper, and other shrubs and vegetables proper to the land. Likewise, plenty of fruit, *lomboy* (like cherries), santol (like quince trees) and many different bananas (some smelling as strongly as musk, others like figs), many papayas (like melons but much more tasty and delicate), plenty of raisins (which serve for olives) many different oranges wild and cultivated, many tamarinds, and other kinds of fruits. With these, with sugar from China, much is preserved.

. . . [T]here are many tall palms, the coconut harvest is ample throughout the year for drinking, eating, and cooking, as though with milk. And wine from those palms is very abundant, very good. There is much vinegar, plenty of red wine fermented from sugarcane. In the same way, there is plenty of coconut oil for lighting, medicine, and purgative for wounds and other ailments, abundant sesame for cooking, although there are so many jars of oil that the product is hardly used. There are also many chickens of local species, many tame and wild ducks, doves and pigeons, many domesticated and wild pigs, much veal, much local cattle of 300 or 400 head a herd, which are a certain species of buffalo of very good or better meat than our cattle, and rather abundant fish of various species, all surprisingly wholesome and tasty.

. . . [W]ith this great supply of what has been mentioned, and the abundance of what is brought from China—wheat, flour, common biscuit, sugar, oil, ham, wine, oranges, chestnuts, walnuts, plums, raisin, dried figs of that region, preserves, grain and many other food supplies — one can say that there is no land in the Indies and even in Europe as well furnished and abounding in supplies and food. (Alonso Sánchez [1596] qtd. in Chirino 80-81)

Corroborating Sánchez's report is Salazar who writes about the Parian. Even at that such an early time in Manila's history, 1595, the city was well provisioned by the Parian market, where goods from China and elsewhere (Macao, Japan and Siam) were available at shops run by the *Sangley* or Chinese merchants. The Parian was a

flourishing market in the 18th century. By this time it had been relocated outside the walls of Manila, a harquebus shot distant from the walls since the 1630s uprising of the Chinese. The Chinese and Chinese *mestizo* enclave had spilled to the northern bank of the Pasig where three districts, Binondo, Sta. Cruz (Isla de Romero) and Quiapo were thriving commercial settlements. It would not be stretching the imagination to conclude that Manila was well provisioned with fresh food.

Salazar in 1595 writes:

Every day there is held a public market of articles of food, such as fowls, swine, ducks, game-birds, wild hogs, buffaloes, fish, bread, and other provisions, and garden-produce, and firewood; there are also many commodities from China which are sold through the streets.

Twenty merchantmen generally sail hither each year from China, each one carrying at least a hundred men, who trade from November until May—in those vessels coming hither, living here, and departing to their own country, during these seven months. They bring hither two hundred thousand pesos' worth of merchandise, only ten thousand pesos being in food supplies—such as flour, sugar, biscuits, butter, oranges, walnuts, chestnuts, pineapples, figs, plums, pomegranates, pears, and other fruits, salt pork, and hams—and in such abundance that the city and its environs are supported thereby during the whole year, and the fleets and trading-vessels are provisioned therefrom; they bring also many horses and cows, with which their land is well supplied. (28-29)

Other sources indicate that Spanish missionaries brought plants from the Americas to the Philippines, like the pineapple (*piña*) and potatoes.²⁷ They also introduced the European style plow (*araro*), pulled by draft animals; in Europe these were horses or bulls; in the Philippines it was the *carabao* or *anuang*. The missionaries' active involvement with agriculture and their introduction of foreign plant species had both a practical and an evangelical side to it. Practical was to make sure that there was an adequate food supply for the missionaries; evangelical was that by improving the life of the people they were evangelizing, they were laying the ground, which made preaching the Gospel viable. A modicum of physical comfort and economic stability, beyond that offered by hunting and gathering, was necessary for the establishment of settled communities and villages, the context for the mission of evangelization and the establishment of the Church.²⁸

Alzina's *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Visayas*. While other friar chroniclers like Juan de Plasencia, OFM, and a government functionary, Antonio de Morga, (1600) describe the flora and fauna they had encountered in the Philippines, none is more extensive and thorough than Ignacio Alzina's *historia natural* (natural history) of the Visayas. The natural history was not published in his lifetime and remained as a manuscript, known through various incomplete copies.

Alzina was Jesuit missionary assigned to the Visayas for many years. Upon his retirement from the Visayas, he was assigned to the parish of San Miguel, a suburb of Manila, where he died in 1674. He worked on a two-part multivolume manuscript from 1668-1672 five books. Part II exists only in fragments totaling to a little more than two books.

Part I, Books I and II of the natural history are relevant to a study of food because in Book I Alzina tackles the flora of the Visayas and Book II tackles fauna. While he writes in the manner of the Jesuit, José Acosta, who wrote about the natural history of the Americas, beyond description and categorization, Alzina had a practical slant to his documentation. He had his eye on the usefulness and benefit of the plants and animals, one key benefit was whether a plant or animal could be used for food. Tables A1 and A2 in the Appendix list the important food sources documented by Alzina. Alzina's list of foodstuff is extensive, documenting a variety of rice, other grains, root crops, bananas, domesticated and wild animals, fish, crustaceans, mollusks, shellfish, turtles and jellyfish.

From the sources cited above, we surmise that a century or more before the San José kitchen inventory, food ingredients from local sources and various parts of the world were already available, especially in Manila. Furthermore, to ensure that the Jesuit institutions were well provided and would have a source of income, the Jesuits owned farmland at Mayhaligui, north of Sta. Cruz and within the jurisdiction of Tondo that grew food locally. This was bought by Antonio Sedeño, SJ, the first mission superior, in 1594, from its owner Don Gabriel Tuanbakar, to build an endowment for the Colegio de San Ignacio. According to De la Costa, the land was "leased to Chinese fruit growers, truck gardeners, and poultry raisers." So was a property in Quiapo, a district adjacent to Sta. Cruz, donated that same year by Don Diego Vázquez Mercado. "By 1595 two hundred leaseholders were paying the college a monthly rental of three rials per leasehold" (133). Earlier in 1593, Sedeño had bought a cattle ranch in Taytay, which Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, a benefactor of the Society, had owned.

As for additives, the kitchen inventory of 1768, list sugar, vinegar, coconut oil, oil of Castille. No spice is mentioned except anise (*Pimpinella anisum*). Were other additives available? Among the additives, Salazar listed pepper, red wine from rice, honey, raisins, which serve as olives (probably a type of Chinese preserved fruit) and sesame oil, used in Chinese cuisine less for cooking than for flavoring.

COOKING EQUIPMENT AND METHOD

Having an idea of what main ingredients and additives would have been available to the San José kitchen, we now look at the process of cooking.

Pigafetta gives the first glimpse of local cooking traditions in the islands of the Philippines where Magellan's ships dropped anchor. He speaks of at least three types of food preparation: namely, roasting, cooking in a clay pot and cooking in a

bamboo culm, salting in particular fish. A fifth method using vinegar, a sixth, eating raw food may be inferred. Roasting is frequently mentioned by Pigafetta. In Butuan, the disembarking party were offered roasted fish; he wrote: “cakes of rice and millet, baked and wrapped in leaves, and roast fish” were offered them (Pigafetta 169).

Regarding cooking in clay pots, which is essentially, boiling, Pigafetta wrote:

They ate their rice as if it were bread, and cook it after the following manner. They first put in an earthen jar like our jars, a large leaf which lines all of the jar. Then they add the water and the rice, and after covering it allow it to boil until the rice becomes as hard as bread, when it is taken out in pieces. Rice is cooked in the same way throughout those districts. (203)

Regarding cooking in a bamboo culm, which is essentially, steaming, Pigafetta wrote:

Rice is cooked there under the fire in bamboos or in wood; and it lasts better than that cooked in earthen pots. We called that land the land of promise, because we suffered great hunger before we found it. We were often on the point of abandoning the ships and going ashore in order that we might not die of hunger (207).

Salting is referred to when Pigafetta speaks of salt fish; almost raw when he complains that the Visayans’ food was half-cooked and very salty. Cooking in vinegar or with vinegar is inferred from Pigafetta’s description of a fish dish with its sauce and the description how vinegar was made: “When they wish to make vinegar, they allow only the water to putrefy, and then place it in the sun, and a vinegar results like [that made from] white wine” (106). The sauce may have been vinegar, probably spiced, similar to the Visayan *kinilaw*, which is raw fish cooked with vinegar and the smothered with a sauce of vinegar, onion, ginger, pepper, chili and other flavorants, in some instance, coconut milk.

Two other processes or methods are described by Pigafetta, how coconut oil and uraca (arrack or *alak* in the Philippine languages) and were made. “When the natives wish to make oil, they take that cocoanut, and allow the marrowy substance and the water to putrefy. Then they boil it and it becomes oil like butter” (106). For *alak*, the process was as follows:

They [the locals] get wine in the following manner. They bore a hole into the heart of the said palm at the top called palmito [*i.e.*, stalk], from which distils a liquor which resembles white must. That liquor is sweet but somewhat tart, and [is gathered] in canes [of bamboo] as thick as the leg and thicker. They fasten the bamboo to the tree at evening for the morning, and in the morning for the evening.

Pigafetta describes a process of extraction, still practiced today. The *palmito* is the compound bud of the coconut tree, which is encased in a cover enclosing a cluster of flowers on stalks. When young this case and stalk is soft and can be cut. From the cut, as Pigafetta has correctly observed a whitish liquor is extracted. Allowed to ferment this is what Pigafetta called uraca or alak but in the more common term used at present is *tuba*.

Rice wine, Pigafetta encountered in Palawan, where he said: “They [the locals] have distilled rice wine which is stronger and better than that made from the palm” (211). Coconut milk is obtained by grating the coconut meat, mixing it with water and straining the mixture through a cloth. Pigafetta said this way they “obtained milk like goat’s milk” (107).

While Pigafetta describes the extraction of coconut oil, he does not say if cooking with oil was practiced in the islands he had visited. Instead he speaks of oil in the context of grooming, where says oil was used for the hair and as an ointment against the heat. Women were fond of using coconut oil. “They anoint the body and the hair with cocoanut and beneseed oil” (99).

Pigafetta describes rice dishes offered them in Palawan. He wrote:

Then they gave us a present of various kinds of food, made only of rice. Some were wrapped in leaves and were made in somewhat longish pieces, some resembled sugar-loaves, while others were made in the manner of tarts with eggs and honey. (214-215)

Pigafetta also mentions being given “refreshments of sugar cane” (206) when the fleet returned to Butuan after the death of Magellan at Mactan Island. Could he be referring to sugar cane juice or pieces of sugar cane meant to be masticated to extract the sweetness?

A century after Pigafetta, Alzina adds more information about methods of food preparation and types of food preparation. Below is a table about the preparation and cooking of rice.

TABLE 3: Methods and Types of Food Preparation

1. PREPARING AND COOKING RICE	
bayo (1,I,7)	to unhull rice using a mortar and pestle
binocboc (1,I,7)	rice flour
linogao (1,I,29)	(linugaw, lugaw) rice cooked with sugarcane
linupac (1,III,14)	(linupak) rice cooked with coconut milk and turmeric (Linupak in present usage refers to method of preparation where ingredients are mixed together by being pounded in a mortar.)
morisqueta (1,I,7)	Spanish term for unsalted, unseasoned boiled rice, so called because this was the way Muslims ate rice. (The term was used in 19 th -century Chinese restaurants (panciteria) in Manila to refer to fried rice, morisqueta tostada.)

natuc (1,I,14)	festive rice dish cooked with bastard saffron [<i>kasubha</i>], coconut meat and milk and colored yellow. [This probably similar to <i>kuning</i> , rice prepared by the Tausogs for festive occasions.]
opa (1,I,7)	(V. upa, T. ipa) rice hull
philipig, pilipig (1,I,6)	(pinipig) rolled and flattened rice
sinabavan (1,III,14)	(sinabawan) rice mixed with coconut and its milk (In present usage, sinabawan means soup.)
tapul (1,I,7)	dark colored rice, almost black [Called in the Tagalog region as <i>pinurotong</i> , this seasonal upland rice is used to make rice cakes and <i>putobumbong</i> , rice cake cooked in a bamboo tube.]
tibucai / loto (1,I,6)	(luto) boiled rice or corn (maiz) [Luto in present usage means cooked.]
tinapai (1,I,7)	(tinapay) bread like dish made with rice flour and cow's milk or carabao's milk [Tinapay in present usage means bread or any kind.]
2. WORDS RELATED TO RICE, INCLUDING EQUIPMENT FOR RICE PREPARATION	
biol (1,I,16)	sack for hauling rice
caraha (1,I,7)	(Var. carahay, karahay) cooking pan with rounded bottom [Chinese wok]
luson, luzon (1,I,7)	(lusong) mortar
nigo (1,I,7)	winnowing basket
sipol, dipang (1,I,1; 1,I,7)	tool for harvesting/ cutting rice stalks. Most likely this is a short knife rather than a sickle
tubigan (1,III,5)	(tubigan) rice sprouts in an inundated paddy [Tubigan in present usage refers to flooded paddy fields.]

SOURCE: Alzina, Ignacio. *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Visayas*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996. Print.

While this list is limited to rice, Alzina's *historia* demonstrates that the local way of food preparation was known to him. It may be assumed too that it was known to other Europeans in the Philippines, who had to deal with the local population and employed them as domestic servants, like, coachmen, nannies, laundry women and so forth. The sunken galleon *San Diego* shows the presence of local tools for cooking, namely, terra cotta clay pots and its clay stove (See Desroches 1995, 180, in particular the figure labeled Cat 3 Braserio, Inv. T55). These are similar to those mentioned by Pigafetta and recovered in numerous archaeological sites dating to the pre-colonial and colonial era.

By the mid-17th century, an international supply of food products and their additives was available and methods of cooking based on local traditions were being enriched with foreign introductions. The *caraha* (var. *carahay* or *karahay*) is mentioned by Alzina. A century later in the inventory of San Jose's kitchen may be found evidence of an even livelier exchange where the carahay is mentioned in the kitchen inventory.

SECRET TALES OF POTS AND PANS

Earlier in this essay, data from the pots, pans and linens of the San José kitchen have been teased from the colorless list of sequestered items; this line of inquiry continues in this section, so that even if no recipes or detailed descriptions of dishes exist in the Philippines, by reading the inventory in the light of available data on food, it is possible to conjecture what dishes may have been cooked. In this list, tools suggest the type of use, hence, dishes because by the 18th century Spanish cooking had developed such that the type of a pot and its name described its use.

Add to the Spanish cooking methods, the local methods, and a kitchen like San José's would have rich thrives of cooking methods. Is it far off to suggest that local methods of cooking were known in San José? The institutional Jesuit kitchens were run by a Jesuit brother, but he did not work alone. As mentioned earlier, he was assisted by familiares, hired lay workers who assisted in the running of a house.

San José engaged in institutional cooking or cooking on a large scale not a familial scale. De la Costa has gathered statistics on the population of San José, from 1601-1768, for the years when data is available. Students varied in number from a low of 12 to a high of 49; Jesuits from a low of 2 to a high of 8. This explains the multiple pieces of the same type of kitchenware.²⁹

Returning to the inventory and reading it more carefully, it is evident that the basic cooking processes were all available to the Jesuit kitchen: frying as shown by the jars of lard, coconut oil and *aceite de España*; sautéing would be the next step to frying; boiling as shown by the large pots available; stewing as shown by the pot specifically called *caldereta*; making thick omelets, pies and tarts in a *tortera*, of which there were four in the San José kitchen; baking by the oven with cover at 49 pounds in San José's kitchen; grilling or roasting might have been done using the "various iron plates" in the kitchen's storehouse. Even if there were no iron plates, roasting could still be done by skewering fish or meats and placing them over hot charcoal, or propping them up at angle before burning charcoal. The presence in the inventories of 4 dozens of fine *soperas* or soup plates indicates that soups were served.

The kitchen had a pestle (*mano be mortero*) weighing "cuatro arrovas y cinco libras" or more than 100 pounds. This is a very large pestle, suggesting that something was ground in bulk. Most likely were wheat, rice, corn, cocoa, coffee, spices or colorants like annatto seed also known as *achuette* or *achiote* (*Bixaorellana*). Achuette is endemic to the tropical regions of Latin America and was brought to the Philippines in the 17th century.

Other cooking implements and dining utensils give us further clues to the colegio's cuisine. San José had "4 coffee pots of copper from Japan," suggesting that coffee was available. There were three copper boilers (*tachos*) in various sizes and weights (3 arrobas and 16 pounds; 3 arrobas and 10 pounds and 1 small copper boiler of 12 pounds).

“Tacho” had a specific meaning in Cuba, and referred to boilers used to reduce molasses. That San José had *tachos*, did that mean sugar was made in the kitchen? If so why is there an inventory of sugar from Pampanga? And where would the kitchen have gotten the sugar cane to crush. If that were the case, there should have been other tools for crushing sugar but there is no mention of that. Most likely then the *tacho* was simply a large copper boiler for cooking food. The biggest boiler, at 3 *arrobas* and 12 pounds, weighed about 87.9 pounds with an *arroba* generally placed at 11.5 kilos although the Castilian *arroba* is 12.5 kilos. The largest boiler is a hefty pot, necessary if the kitchen were to feed a large number, every meal, three times a day. Other items in the inventory are various pieces of old iron plates. What the plates are for is uncertain; they could have been used for repairing pots and other tools or could be used to like a hot plate to grill food.

The statistics of enrollment and occupancy of San José mentioned above and detailed in the footnotes explain why there were 6 dozen fine plates, 4 dozen blue plates, 74 common small plates, 4 dozen soup dishes, 70 vinegar cruets, 16 salt shakers, 6 dozen goblets, 6 dozen glasses and 25 knives from Flanders. The kitchen fed a crowd rather than the one-person missionary in 17th-century Visayas who could survive on half a chicken, rice and vegetables daily. On occasion, like a feast, where guests were invited, the kitchen feed an even bigger crowd.

This large crowd is also suggested by the quantity of table linens consisting of table cloths, 103 red and blue napkins, 23 chest cover (*tapa pecho*) of *elefante* cloth, 7 used towels from Europe and 19 towels of homespun (*manta*).³⁰ With the kitchen of San José, we are facing institutional dining.

Although no inventory for cocoa or chocolate is in the San José list, the inventory records clearly instruments and utensils associated with chocolate. There were 2 *metate* or stone grinders from China, usually used to grind the roasted cocoa beans to powder. There were 8.5 dozens of the common jars or pitchers used for chocolate and 4 small copper *batidores*. The *batidor* (*batirol* in Tagalog) was a specific utensil, used for mixing chocolate and making it into a paste of milk, sugar and some water, made of wood or metal and consisted of a round stick as handle, which was twirled between the palms of both hand. The opposite end had an elongated serrated ball. When placed inside a pitcher or narrow jar, the ball was in the pitcher, while the handle stood upright and could be easily twirled thus mixing a smooth chocolate paste.

The 17th-century mission superior in the Visayas, Ignacio Alzina would be quiet upset of two practices that that had insinuated itself into the religious community, namely, the drinking of chocolate and the use of tobacco. He excoriated the use of chocolate and was afraid of its corrosive power in religious life. There was a raging debate about chocolate’s alleged aphrodisiac qualities, hence a threat to chastity. When chocolate first entered the Jesuit table and samples were sent to Rome, Jesuit General Claudio Acquaviva (general 1581-1615) prohibited its use and drink. But attitudes and judgment would change. Proscription and permission, the pendulum

swung to both extremes. Permission eventually won in practice, because chocolate was seen as a nutritious beverage, first given to the old, infirm and the convalescent, but then extended to all by the end of the 17th century. (An aside, Alzina also found sugar to be objectionable, an item in the San José larder.)

Another item that would cause Alzina unease is the 9.5 *fandos* of tobacco from Mariquina and the 2 spittoons of yellow copper. This is a clear indication that tobacco had been introduced into the religious house, and the spittoons suggest that it was chewed rather than smoked. Chewing tobacco in the Philippines is called “mascada” from the Spanish meaning a plug or wad of chewing tobacco.

While it might be argued that chocolate and tobacco, are not strictly the main foodstuff, nonetheless, their presence in the inventory does give a glimpse of table etiquette. Was tobacco used after dinner, perhaps, following European customs, while walking around the inner courtyard or *atrio*? Was chocolate or coffee served then? Following Spanish custom the main meal of the day, was served midday, around one in the afternoon, followed by siesta.

INGREDIENTS AND METHODS TO DISH

Knowing about available ingredients, equipment and methods of cooking can give us a fair idea of what was served at the San José table. But to concretize what we know, a recipe book is needed. However, there is no known 18th-century recipe book from the Philippines. The earliest known recipes are in a notebook detailing the dishes cooked in the Parisian residence of the Pardo de Taveras, which was the watering hole of many Filipino expats, who were studying or working in Europe. Among the recipes in the recipe book is a noodle dish (*pancit*), which the family matriarch annotated as having been served to José Rizal, the Philippine national hero, while on a visit to the family.³¹

The closest we can get to a recipe book of the colonial era is Mexican recipe book, *Libro de Cocina del Hermano Fr. Gerónimo de San Pelayo* (1780). This book can add to our understanding of dishes prepared at San José by giving at best an impression or suggestion of the dishes that could be prepared given what we have established about ingredients, equipment and cooking methods.³² While the recipe book is Mexican not Philippine, Franciscan not Jesuit, nonetheless, it is worthwhile examining the book because of the ties between the Philippines and the Mexico, and because the book is within the general period of the expulsion of the Jesuits. As we shall see later, although the book was published in 1780, it incorporated older recipes.

Friar's 18th Century Recipes. But Fray Gerónimo's recipe book stands unique as being first to be discovered in Mexico, (Yturbide, qtd. in Gerónimo 10); and thus, far no other recipe books have been discovered.

Fray Gerónimo's recipe compilation (catalogued as núm, 1531, Biblioteca de San Agustín, Mexico) is a small book, 10 x 16 cm in size; its folios are numbered 1 to 104. It is burnt at upper center of the page and 94 pages of the manuscript have remained.

The manuscript suggests that the recipes collated are far older than 4 March 1780 and are not all from Fray Geronimo because on folio 37 an annotation appears immediately after the recipe for *Manjarblanco*, which states: "Hasta aquí escopiado del libro de Fr. Daniel, Marzo 4 de 1780 años. S.P." (Up to this point is copied from the book of Fray Daniel, March 4 of the year 1780); S.P. presumably is the scribe. Internal evidence point to recipes from two decades earlier as there is an "Empanadas del año 1774" (Gerónimo140) "Empanadas del año 76" (152) and an even earlier "Otras [masas] del año de 67" (138).

Yturbide notes that the manuscript was written by three different hands as the calligraphy differs:

El recetario está reductado en tres estilos diferentes: la primera parte es la copia de un recetario anterior como lo advierte el propio fray Gerónimo en folio 17 (sic) . . . El resto por haver sido escrito todo por el propio fray Gerónimo, además la intervencion con una caligrafica diferente de otro religioso, o mas bien una monja, quizá capuchina, pues aparece una ensalada capuchina, a base de frutasa der ezadas con azúcar, vino y canela, entre otras recetas de los los dulces clásicos de entonces. [*The recipe book is written in three different hands: the first part is a copy from an older recipe book as mentioned by fray Gerónimo himself in folio 17 (sic) . . . The rest is written in the hand of fray Gerónimo, with the intervention of another hand by another religious, perhaps a Capuchin nun, because there is a Capuchina salad, with a fruit base, with added sugar, wine and cinammon, among the recipes for classic desserts*] (Yturbide 8).

That the manuscript shows kitchen burns, indicating that this was not a document meant to be archived but was a very practical work much used in the kitchen of the Convento de San Fernando (funded by the Propaganda Fidei for training missionaries for foreign assignments), where different hands probably began by copying an older collection of recipes and then adding new ones.

RHYME AND REASON

Because the manuscript is less of a formal or systematic treatise and akin to a family's notebook of recipes, where cherished dishes are recorded, and new ones added on by subsequent family cooks, at first glance, the recipes do not appear to be well-arranged. There seems to be no rhyme or reason why one dish follows the next. This is especially true of the latter half of the cookbook, where brief notes or adverts (*advertencias*) are inserted between recipes. These *advertencias* note the time order and the type of dishes to be prepared on special occasions, namely, jubilees,

every Sunday, Easter Sunday, the Misas de Aguinaldo; the principal Marian feasts—Annunciation (25 March), Assumption (15 August), Purification (2 February) and the Nativity or Christmas day (25 December): the sanctoral feasts with vigil—Sts. Michael the Archangel, Joseph, (Our Father) Francis of Assisi and the onomastic day of the prelate.³³ Other occasions include the first year when a prelate assumes his three-year term, when a chapter is convoked, and the days of the penitential processions. Other feasts are Ascension, feasts of Sts. Peter, Santiago, John the Baptist and Clare. Vigils of high feasts, Nativity, Friday of Dolores, Holy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday; “todos clásicos de la orden,” doubles, major and minor of the Virgin Mary, all saints of the order and the Church, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, and days of Jubilee.³⁴

Setting aside the *advertencias*, the cookbook’s index / table of contents “Abecedariopor mayor” hints how its compilers and authors perceived the arrangement of the book: folio 1-17, recipes of all sorts for principal dishes; folio 17-20, all types of salsas; folio 21-27, *guisados* or sautés; folio 27 to 30, principal dishes and salsas that are being tried (*experimentadas*); folio 30-32, notes on breakfast and *merienda* or between meals snacks; folio 32-36, on baked goods and desserts; folio 37-39, main dishes; folio 40-59, all types suitable for vigils; folio 66-17, *adveretencias*; folio 72-79, all types of sautés; folio 79-89, baked goods and desserts, desserts with garlic; folio 92-95, main dishes; folio 98-101, *advertencias* and folio 103-104, index / table of contents. The obvious repetition of the classification may reflect the three hands responsible for the manuscript.

Reading through the recipes suggests another method of classification by cooking techniques or by recipe types like *asado* or roasted meats, salsa or sauces. The cooking techniques collated are:

- *Olla*: This can mean a stew or a round pot, sometimes footed, used for boiling or making stew, which involves boiling. A type of stew is *fricase* (French fricassee) usually cooked with white sauce. Boiling in the pot is also used for making *sopas* (soup). Soup and stew are analogous; the difference is that the former uses more liquid.
- *Asado*: roasting on a spit or a grill or oven
- *Frito*: Frying. Its variations are:
 - *Guisar*: sautéing. The Spanish *sofrito* of tomatoes, onions and other flavorful ingredients is the basis of many Spanish dishes.
 - *Sancohar*: This is defined as half-cooking before the sauté and the addition of flavoring. Also to parboil. In Philippine usage, *sancoha* or *sangkutsa* is to sauté.

The recipe types are:

- *Sopa*: soup
- *Salsa*: Sauce. Sauces are prepared, which can be used in many dishes. Varieties of salsa are described in the recipe book and their recommended pairing with fish, fowl or meats is mentioned.
- *Torta*: A flat cake. In Mexican and Philippine usage, an omelet.
- *Estofado*: a type of stew
- *Ensalada*: This is mishmash of raw ingredients, usually vegetables and fruits. In Fray Gerónimo's recipe book, the *ensalada* is a fruit dish, using wine and cinnamon.
- *Relleno*: stuffed foods
- *Adobo*: food cooked with vinegar.
- *Postre*: Desserts are of two kinds: the first uses dough (*masa*) and is made into *torta* and pastries; the second uses sugar like *ante* (macaroon in Mexican usage).

Ingredients: The influences on Fray Gerónimo's kitchen are "global" to use a much-favored contemporary catchword. Marco Buenrostro and Cristina Barros say that the recipes show Spanish influence but with a marked Arabic twist with the "escabeches y alcaparrados." Pepper, *perbe*, or in the recipe book listed as *prebe* or *prebre*, from the Latin word *piperum*, links the dishes with the classic world. *Clemole*, also listed as *mole de España*, reflects Mexican sauces but with new condiments. The recipe for beans is not unlike present bean dishes but for *epazote* an aromatic herb (*Chenopodium ambrosioides*), American wormseed, from Central America. The name derives from the Náhuatl, *epazotl*. French influence is evident in the fricassee and *fricandós*, Italian in the *estofados* and recipes using noodles (*fideos*).

Among the main ingredients used are: Meats: beef, pork, goats and rabbit. Fowl: chicken and turkey. Fish: from fresh, salt and brackish waters. Most common species cited are *blanco* (whiting?), *bagre* (catfish), *trucha* (trout), *pampano* and *bacalao* (cod). Fish can be served fresh, dried or semi-dried. Eggs: scrambled, with beans (*frijoles*), *papas*, and fava beans (*havas*).³⁵

Most of the vegetables mentioned are European: beetroot, Swiss chard, spinach, peas, carrot, thistle (artichoke?), *acelgas*, lettuce, celery, cauliflower, endive and *coles*. Other comes from Mexico, namely *chayote*, *calabacitas*, *calabaza de Castilla*, and *jitomate*.

For desserts, local fruits are used like *mamey*, mango, pineapple, oranges, coconut (*coco*), *jicama* and *camote* or sweet potato. Spices come from two countries or continents, namely: garlic, onion, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, saffron, *yerva Buena* (type of mint), *tomillo*, laurel, which are mixed with *epazote*, with chocolate, and especially with chilies fresh or dried.³⁶ These mixtures are used with all types of dishes.

Tequesquite or *sal de terra* (sodium bicarbonate) was used to temper the flavor of food, and corn dough was made into breadcrumbs, grated bread, toasted and fried bread. Wheat flour was used to give color to sautés.

Cooking techniques of the era were quite sophisticated. Recipes called for high and medium heat. Caldrons were covered and sealed with a thick cloth to slow down evaporation. A technique known as “cocinar a dos fuegos” involves placing a pot over a fire and above the pot putting a griddle with a lighted *carbon*, i.e. charcoal. With this technique food could be broiled. For *asado*, an oven was used. This could be small or large. The large ones were made of bricks arranged in the shape of a dome, and were used primarily for baking bread, of which a large quantity was made for the community. Occasionally, the oven would be used for cooking something else. Such techniques are all mentioned by Fray Gerónimo.

Cooking utensils from this era were quite specialized. Besides the *ollas* and *cazos*, were spatulas for flipping eggs, funnels and mortars for *huevos reales*, *calderetas* (casseroles), *torteras* (*torta* or omelet pans), *lebrillos* (glazed pot, earthenware), colanders, *metate* (stone grinder for grain and cocoa), *comal* (griddle) and *popotes* (straws). Wooden chopping boards were used for mincing meat and other ingredients using a machete. Graters and grinders were used. A *pozuelo*, a large earthenware, was used to mix dough where a wooden spatula or stick was used for mixing. Large pies were glazed with egg yolk using a bird’s feather to spread the beaten yolk.

The picture emerges of a complex cuisine influenced by many cultures and across continents, each one contributing to the rich and eclectic cuisine of the Hispanic empire.

COMPARISONS AND OBSERVATIONS

The table of the Colegio de San José was by no means simple; in fact, it was sophisticated. Putting together evidence from the inventory of San José, the proposed provisions for Legazpi’s expedition and information from Alzina, and other sources we can summarize and surmise the ingredients that could have been available for the cooks of San José and compare it with Fray Gerónimo’s recipe.

Appendix, Table A3 Comparative List of Ingredients, Spices and Oils, 18th-century Mexican and Philippine Cuisine places side by side ingredients mentioned in Fray Gerónimo’s recipe book with what was available in the Philippines during the 18th century and cites the documentary or visual evidence.

Although lacking the direct documentary evidence of 18th-century recipes from the Philippines, plausible inferences based on documents can be made. What is evident from the comparative list is that all the basic meat and fowl, except for mutton, rabbit and turkey, listed in Fray Gerónimo, were available in the Philippines. As stated earlier, although the meats do not appear in the 1768 inventory of the San

José kitchen, such basic foodstuff could be easily procured and were certainly not unknown.

Some plants, brought from Mexico like the pineapple (*piña*) had been successfully acclimatized so that they could be propagated. Culling data from Panganiban, Madulid, Fernandez and other sources, we can build a synoptic picture of the food migrants from the New World that arrived in the Philippines (See Appendix, Table A4: Plant Migrants: Non-endemic or Introduced Plants from the Americas). While their years of introduction cannot be pinpointed accurately, many of these plants and foodstuff were brought early in the colonial era. Corn (maize) has been mentioned in the provisions of the Legazpi's expedition of 1565. In the *vocabulario* of Juan de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlucar (first publication 1711), *mais* is already listed as a Tagalog word, an indication that corn was already well-known and common in the Philippines. In 1668, we see, for instance, an illustration (lamina VII) of the pineapple in Alzina, drawn together with the endemic *pandan*, whose fruit resembled the pineapple's.

It would be too difficult, for instance, to replicate or adapt in Manila a recipe for meatballs or rice. For what could not be imported from the Americas, local substitutes were found. For instance, saffron (*azafran*), had a local substitute *casubha* or safflower, also called bastard saffron. For lemon (*limón*), there many citrus substitutes, like *biazun* or kaffir lime.

Aside from the ingredients, crucial to the development of more complex dishes is the cook's ability to control heat—from simmer to vigorous boil, from quick deep fries to slow bakes. Thus, it is worth noting and comparing with Fray Gerónimo Mexican kitchen and San José Philippine kitchen to determine if they both had a way of controlling heat for cooking. Fray Gerónimo instructs that some foods should be cooked or simmered using mild flame (*manso*). This was achieved by increasing the distance between the cooking pot and the flame. In the case of the rounded *olla* or stew pot or the caldereta, stew pan or boiler, this hung from a heavy hook and chain; the chain was raised or lowered as needed. Lowering it brought it close to the log fire beneath; raising kept it away and hence, less hot. Fray Gerónimo also describes a technique of cooking where burning charcoal in a flat metal dish is placed above the dish so that it is heated above and below; a technique familiar to Filipinos because this is how *bibingka*, a rice cake, is cooked. He also speaks of putting a ring of cloth, *tapadera*, around the rim of the steaming pot to tighten its cover and keep in the steam.

San José's kitchen had a small *caldereta*, and one large and small boiler, which could easily be hung from a chain and brought nearer or farther from a flame. Could the iron plates listed in the San José inventory be used like a brazier for hot charcoal placed on top of a dish? And the name, *tapaderas*, for some of the table linens listed in the inventory suggest they stoppers to keep in steam. So the San José kitchen could control heat and could have used techniques similar to those described by Fray Gerónimo. Additionally, San José's kitchen an added advantage:

the Chinese wok, listed as *carajay*. “Carajay” is not a Spanish term but local and used in the Philippines to refer to a wok, usually one with a pair of metal handles. The wok is constructed such that its lower section heats faster than its rim. The rim is for food that requires mild heat, the base for high heat. The technique is to bring the chopped and bite-sized ingredients to the rim and running it around the rim using a long handled spatula; the time and speed depends on what one is cooking. These techniques are still practiced today.

In the San José inventory are “four carajay, although small,” one slightly larger, and four large ones; this suggests that stir-frying was known. Were Chinese dishes also cooked in the kitchen?

While Europeans may have had an aversion for foreign foods; for instance, tomato did not figure in European cooking for a long time. This exotic plant from the New World was raised as an ornamental for its yellow fruit, hence, the Italian *pomodoro*. But as the sources we have cited earlier, Pigafetta, Sanchez, Salazar and Alzina, the Europeans who came to the Philippines were quite daring when trying local fare. Pigafetta did partake of the foods offered him and on occasion became intoxicated with the local uraca. Sanchez and Salazar were appreciative of the fact that food ingredients, many from China, were readily available in Manila. And Alzina, his accurate description of many food stuffs show that he did try them. On one occasion he even took to milking a dugong and drinking its milk. He dissected the mammal so he was able to describe its anatomy. He also ate dugong meat as did many Jesuits in the Visayas, even in Lent, because they considered the marine mammal as a fish because it lived all its life in water (Alzina, I, 2, 15). Admittedly, Alzina complained about rice in the Visayas, that it was prepared so simply and blandly, but his complaint is often paired with lamenting the lack of nutritive substance in rice compared to wheat. Was he pining for baked wheat bread, which to him was more nutritious than boiled rice?

Were these missionaries, exceptional people already willing to take the risk of traveling half way around the world, with no hope, maybe even desire, to return home, risk takers who would not be afraid also to try new foods as they encountered lands, flora and fauna, peoples and cultures foreign to them? Were Sanchez, Salazar and Alzina exceptional? Or did they represent the kind of daring and open-mindedness to make the encounter with an alien situation a fecund point of exchange found in those who dare leave the comforts of home?

Notes

1. The blurb to Sokolov's book reads: "When Christopher Columbus stumbled across America in 1492, the Italians had no pasta with tomato sauce, the Chinese had no spicy Szechuan cuisine, and the Aztecs in Mexico were eating tacos filled with live insects instead of beef. In this lively, always surprising history of the world through a gourmet's eyes, Raymond Sokolov explains how all of us—Europeans, Americans, Africans, and Asians—came to eat what we eat today. He journeys with the reader to far-flung ports of the former Spanish empire in search of the menus of two hemispheres merged. In the process he shows that our idea of "traditional" cuisine in contrast to today inventive new dishes ignores the food revolution that has been going on for the last 500 years. *Why We Eat What We Eat* is an exploration of the astonishing changes in the world's tastes that let us partake in a delightful, and edifying, feast for the mind."
2. Spanish Main, i.e. Caribbean, Gulf of Mexico and sections of the American mainland under Spain.
3. Manioc (*Manihot esculenta*), also called cassava, known in the Philippines as *kamoteng kahoy*, *balinghoy*.
4. *Luyang dilaw* is often confused with the Visayan *langkawas* and *galangal* used in Thai cooking. Like *Curcuma* they both belong to the *Zingiberaceae* family, however there are different. A common genus name of *langkawas* and *galangal* is *Alipinia*. Ginger (*luya*) belongs to another genus altogether, *Zingiber*.
5. The Philippines was established as a mission dependent on Mexico in 1581 by Antonio Sedeño. In 1595, by the decree of Jesuit general, Claudio Acquaviva, the Philippines was raised to the status of vice-province under the Mexican province. Diego Garcia who succeeded Ramón Prat as vice-provincial in 1601. In 1605, the Philippines was elevated to an independent province of the Society of Jesus.
6. The expulsion, suppression and restoration of the Jesuit order has been the subject of many publications, especially in preparation for the bicentennial celebration of the Restoration of the Society of Jesus in 2014. The informative and comprehensive account of José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, 2013, *Expulsión y Extinción de los Jesuitas (1759-1773)* Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero is one of a number of recent studies on the expulsion and suppression of the Jesuit order. Charles III addressed the decree, dated 17 February 1767 to the Count of Peñaranda, minister of state, for implementation. It took one year for the decree to travel from Spain to the Philippines. Two copies of the royal decree were dispatched, one through the usual Pacific route and another through the Dutch route via the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia and Canton, to ensure that the decree reached the Philippines. The dispatches from Mexico arrived first.
7. Folio numbers are written on the right hand corner of every folio, apparently by hands other than the escribano. Most likely the folio numbers were added by compilers of the independent inventories, each one being a separate document. Not all of these folio numbers have been preserved as the corner of the documents are the first to break off from the page.

8. Parian: Chinese ghetto in Manila. In 1768 the Parian was located outside Intramuros in the area presently the foot of present-day Quiapo Bridge. The Parian moved sites over the centuries. First, it was within the perimeter of Intramuros, and then was moved outside Parian gate. But after 1630s uprising, the Chinese ghetto was moved to an area near the Pasig River at a distance from the walls of an harquebus shot. By the 18th century this ghetto occupied the area in which the present Central Post Office, the Metropolitan Theater and the approaches to Jones, MacArthur and Quiapo Bridge are located.
9. Martaban: Large storage jars from Indochina usually with a brown glaze. Some jars have embossed dragon designs, hence, they are known as dragon jars. Named after Martaban in Myanmar (Burma).
10. San Pedro Makati: Also known as San Pedro de Buenavista. Site of the Jesuit novitiate built in 1609. The novitiate chapel and residence was a gift by Capt. Pedro de Britto. Attached to the novitiate was an estate, known for making bricks and other items in terra cotta. The Spanish term for earthenware reinforced with rattan weave is “embejucado.” Weaving rattan strips or vines outside a terra cotta jar is a common Southeast Asian practice, which serves to reinforce the jar against breakage. Attached with a woven handle the jar was easier to carry.
11. Tibod (plural tibores): Storage jar, usually of terra cotta.
12. Oil from Castille: Probably, olive oil.
13. Tacho: In Cuba, a term for boiler used in reducing molasses.
14. Metate: Mexican in origin, a stone grinder. Shaped as a rectangle with both ends slightly raised so that the center bent, corn, grain, chocolate, beans, etc., were ground using a cylindrical stone tool called *mano*.
15. Torno: set of porcelain ware
16. The Ilocano blanket is presently called *abel*.
17. Elefante: A type of white cloth, mentioned in Juan de la Concepcion's *Historia general de Philipinas*, (1792, 22)
18. Manta: Any type of cloth but is can also refer a veil.
19. Sarampuli: Manuel Blanco in *Flora de Filipinas* (1837) describes sarampuli as “tinte morado” achieved by using añil or indigo (395). Sofronio Calderon (1878-1954) in *Dating Filipinas* (1907) describes sarampuli as a black cloth used by women.
20. Palio: Literally, pallium. Most likely this referred to a bolt of cloth rather than the liturgical pallium, insignia worn by archbishops and metropolitans. Jesuits were not allowed to hold episcopal rank unless commanded by the Pope. The meaning of “Suratte” is uncertain.
21. Rayadillo: From raya, meaning line. A finely stripped cloth. In the 19th century the rayadillo was identified with the uniform of the Katipunan. Blue thin strips run vertically against a white background.
22. Cambaya (Khambhat) is in Western India. The textile may have been imported from India by traders, usually Muslims, who plied the trade routes from the Middle East to insular Southeast Asia.

23. Elsewhere in the Jesuit inventories, tobacco is mentioned among the supplies of the Jesuits. Spitoons suggest they chewed tobacco. But it is not certain whether they also chewed betel nut.
24. Ignacio Alzina in *Historia de las islas y indios de Visayas* says that among the Jesuit missionaries in the Visayas, domestic pigs were slaughtered four or five times a year. Pork not immediately consumed was salted to preserve it. And this salted pork (ham perhaps) was the staple meat that got the missionaries between the butchering of a new pig.
25. Magellan's crew was a mixed crowd from different areas of Europe. Magellan was Portuguese and Pigafetta was Italian, hence it would be more proper to refer to the 1521 encounters as that between Europeans and Visayans.
26. Hard tack of wheat was a form of very dry bread that kept well and was a standard provision for ocean-going ships. To eat the bread, it was soaked in water or wine. *Quintal* is a medieval unit of measure one-fourth of a *fanega*. *Fanega* (*hanega*), or bushel, has the approximate equivalent of 55.5 liters. Arroba is a unit of weight about 25 pounds or 11.3 kilos.
27. See Appendix A, Table A4: Plant Migrants: Non-endemic or Introduced Plants from the Americas.
28. As a social and human organization, Christianity first flourished in the urban setting of the Roman Empire. As it expanded through conversion of the northern tribes like the Gauls and Goths, Christianity was acculturated in a village setting. During the age of colonization, missionaries encountered people barely out of the hunting and gathering way of life. This semi-nomadic way of life was seen as not conducive to the implanting of the Christian faith. It was necessary to get the people to settle and agricultural development was one way to keep them in place. With the strategy of establishing settled settlements or *reducciones*, and more productive agricultural practices, the missionaries hoped that the town life would appeal to these semi-nomadic people. This orderly and controlled way of life made it possible to celebrate the Church's feasts throughout the liturgical year, which presupposed a settled way of life.
29. Cited here is Table 10 in De la Costa 571:

TABLE 10: Jesuits and Students in the College of San José, 1601-1768

YEAR	JESUITS	STUDENTS
1601	2	12
1603	2	20
1612	2	12
1618	2	17
1621	2	19
1624	4	24
1630	5	41
1643	3	44

1651	5	30
1656	5	20
1659	6	26
1665	3	16
1672	5	30
1675	5	22
1687	6	32
1694	7	32
1701	6	26
1719	8	30
1737	8	40
1740	8	40
1753	8	49
1768	6	41

SOURCES: Annual Letters and Catalogues in ARSI Phil.; Colin-Pastells III, "Appendix"; Expulsion Proceedings, 1768 in Archives of the Philippine Vice Province

30. The linens used in the refectory suggest too dishes served. The *tapa pecho*, a large napkin for protecting a shirt or upper garment and placed over the chest, is used to prevent sauces from staining one's clothes or juices and gravy from dishes cooked *au jus* from dripping on clothes. This suggests then sauces for meat and poultry and the consumption of shellfish and crustaceans like crabs and prawns, which can get messy when cracked open and consumed.
31. The recipe book of the Pardo de Tavera family is in the special collection of the Ateneo de Manila University's Rizal Library.
32. *Gerónimo de San Pelayo, Libro de cocina del hermano fray Gerónimo de San Pelayo*, (1780). Mexican series. Colección Recetarios Antiguos, published (2000, reprint 2003).

Recipe books or manuscripts of recipes from convents in Spain are not unknown but rather have been preserved and subsequently published. Yturbide mentions the following: *Libro de la cocinación*, of the Capuchin order of the province of Andalucía, dated 1740; *Comun modo de guisar que observaban en las Casas y Colegios de los PP. jesuitas de la Compañía de Jesus*; *El libro de Alcantar*, a recipe book of the Benedictines; *El Nuevo arte de cocina, sacado de la escuela de experiencia economica*, written by Juan Altamiras, pseudonym of Fray Raymundo Gómez, Franciscan cook of the convents of Aragon, published 1745, followed by subsequent editions; *Apuntes de la cocina, para uso de los hermanos carmelitas descalzados* by Fray G. de la V. del Carmen, edited by El Monte Carmelo of Burgos in 1929.

33. Onomastic refers to the saint (el día del Santo) from which comes a person's baptismal name. In Europe it is customary to celebrate this day rather than

one's birthday. Prelate (*prelado*) apparently refers to the provincial superior rather than the local bishop, as inferred from the context, where a term of three years is set for the prelate. Bishops have no terms but hold the office for life.

34. Double, major and minor refer to the classification of feasts in terms of solemnity. From the 1568 version of the *Roman Missal* (Pius V), the so-called Tridentine Missal, to 1907, feasts were classified as I Class, Doubles, II Class, Greater Doubles, Doubles, Semidoubles. The origin of the term double is contested and may refer to the repetition of the antiphon response to the Psalm or to the celebration of two Masses on a saint's day.
35. Also known as faba, broad bean, field bean, bell bean or tic bean.
36. While Buenrostro and Barros speak of the food ingredients from two countries (*pais*), clove and cinnamon did not come from Mexico but from the Spice Islands of the Far East. Here in the hot house of the tropical environment came the spice that propelled the galleon trade. By the 18th century, Asian spices were part of Mexican cuisine, hence the authors remark of the exchange between two continents; the third Asia, a faint memory.

Appendices

TABLE A1: Plant Food Sources in Alzina's Historia, Part I, Book 1

NAMES	COMMENTS
1. RICE AND RICE-RELATED TERMS	
pala, palai (1,I,7)	generic name for unhulled rice. palay [Present spelling palay]
Arlai	
Tapul	
2. OTHER GRAINS	
arlai (1,I,7)	white colored millet. Visayan budbod.
batar (1,I,7)	dark colored or black millet. Visayan borona
3. ROOT CROPS	
apare (1,I,8)	whitish small taro
bagong/ bagung (1,I,8)	like gabi but not as good
borot (1,I,8)	wild taro from the mountains like apare but has spines and is less sweet
camotes/ patatas (1,I,8)	introduced from Mexico
corot (1,I,8)	Taro
gabi/ laguai (1,I,8)	taro. Visayan takway: in present usage, takway, in Visayan refers to the gabi runners and is eaten as a vegetable.
hagmang (1,I,8)	Taro
humna (1,I,8)	taro, variety with light color yellow
ibing (1,I,8)	similar to ubi
talian (1,I,8)	whole trunk not just the root is edible
ubi (1,I,7)	colored taro. Violet in color, usually served sweetened
4. BANANAS AND BANANA-RELATED TERMS	
saging (1,I,6)	generic name for bananas. Twenty-five species are known.
saguig saguing (1,I,10)	like a banana. <i>Alzina: small type of banana</i>
anipa (1,I,9)	<i>Alzina: good quality banana one heme long (hand span long)</i>
bulig (1,I,9)	bunch of banana. Tagalog buig; Visayan bulig. <i>Alzina: This Visayan word means to assist, thus, bananas help one another to form a bunch</i>
canara/ maluco (1,I,7)	<i>Alzina: variety of banana common in the Moluccas</i>
lisohan (1,I,9)	banana with many seeds, lisuhan or saba. <i>Alzina: Flesh is fermented to make vinegar, by mashing it, mixing with water and storing in clay jars for a while.</i>
pinitogo (1,I,9)	short and stubby banana <i>Alzina: banana whose fruit is like pitogo (an edible fruit from which is flour and oil are made).</i>
saba/ obispo (1,I,9)	for frying and for saute
tinagcan (1,I,9)	fruits are small and roundish like cherries
tinduc (1,I,9)	large tasty banana. <i>Alzina: Type of large banana, with a yellowish flesh like peach.</i>

torlongbinocot (1,I,9)	excellent type of small banana (Most likely, what is called in Tagalog señorita) Binocot refers to a noble woman among the Visayans. Usually, a shaman or someone with exceptional gifts or powers, the chosen woman is not exposed to sunlight so that when going outdoors she is wrapped in a shroud or blanket. The act of wrapping in Visayan is bucot, hence the name. The binocot was reputedly very fair and beautiful. <i>Alzina: Type of banana, which means in Visayan the finger of a lady, because it has such shape.</i>
torlongdato (1,I,9)	excellent type of large banana. Literally the name means finger of the datu or chief
abaca (1,I,7)	non edible fruit but planted for its fiber which is woven into textile

SOURCES: Alzina, Ignacio. *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Visayas*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996. Print.

—. *Historia sobre natural de las islas Bisayas, Segunda Parte de la Historia de las islas e Indios de Bisayas del Padre Alzina*, 1668-1670. 1998. Ed. Victoria Yepes. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998. Print.

TABLE A2: Animal Food Sources in Alzina's Historia, Part I, Book 2

NAMES	COMMENTS
vaca (1, II, 1)	cow. The common Philippine name in the Philippines is baka, clearly from the Spanish. <i>Alzina: Cows are imported from China and Mexico. Beef not part of traditional Visayan diet; slaughtered for great feasts; milk source; milk made into cheese.</i>
cabra, cambing (1, II, 1)	kambing, goat
jabaliés, ababa, baiong (1, II, 2)	baboy ramo/wild boar. <i>Alzina: Baiong is a cross between a domesticated and wild pig.</i>
puerco, babui (1, II, 2)	baboy/ pig; biik /young pig, suckling pig. <i>Alzina: A generic name for domesticated and wild pig.</i>
búfalo, carabao (1, II, 4)	anuang, kalabaw, kalabao, karabaw, water buffalo.
ciervo, venado, bogsoc, usa, libai (1, II, 4)	usa/ deer. <i>Alzina: libai is a female deer</i> (Archaic term and no longer used).
sabalo (1, II, 16)	tarpoon. This name was applied by Alzina to a large pelagic fish but in contemporary Philippine usage refers to the adult milkfish. Because it the source of fish fries, sabalo is a protected fish in the Philippines.
bancol (1, II, 16)	<i>Alzina: like tuna</i>
tangigi (1, II, 16)	tanguigui/ mackarel. <i>Alzina: flesh is very tasty.</i>
alimusan (1, II, 16)	alimusan/ marine catfish. <i>Alzina: a type of catfish</i>
bunag (1, II, 16)	<i>Alzina:very good species</i>
butete (1, III ,3)	puffer. This is a poisonous fish if improperly cleaned. Japanese call it fugu..
sansatan (1, III ,3)	
mansa (1, III ,3)	Mamsa

tabaay and others (1, III, 3)	Alzina does not list all the fish used as food. As he indicated that the Visayan sea teems with variety and number of fish. Common marine fish eaten in the Philippines at present and not listed in Alzina are: <i>apahap</i> [Pacific sea bass], <i>bulgan</i> , <i>danggit</i> [squirrel fish], <i>dilis</i> [anchovies], <i>dorado</i> [dolphin fish], <i>hasahasa</i> , <i>kitang</i> , <i>lapu-lapu</i> [grouper], <i>maya-maya</i> [mahi-mahi], <i>pampano</i> [pompano], <i>sapsap</i> , and many more. Alzina may be implying these fish with the “etc.”
soriao, balu taguman	
cangreo, alimango (1,II, 17)	alimango, mud or river crab; alimasag/marine crab; talangka/ small river crab
calumpihis (1,II, 17)	crab with single shell, probably like the curacha from Zamboanga
langostas (1,II, 17)	hipon/ shrimp; lukon, prawn; pitikpitik/ mantis shrimp
nocos (1, II, 14)	squid. small type of squid
cogita (1, II, 14)	pugita/ octopus.
pez mulier, duyon (1, II, 14)	dugong, duyong/ sea cow. <i>Alzina: Visayans dry the meat by fire before eating.</i>
tandagan (1, II, 14)	Swordfish
pagi (1, II, 16)	Ray
pacangan (1, II, 16)	saw fish
tortuga, olaniban (1, II, 16)	pawikan, bao/ turtle. <i>Alzina: Turtle meat is eaten but the olaniban is more treasured for its shell. Turtle eggs a Visayan delicacy.</i>
tipai or capis (1,II, 28)	capiz, pios, window pane shell Placuna pelucida. <i>Alzina: Translucent shell used as windowpanes; flesh eaten; small pearls are found inside.</i>
ostiones, talaba (1,II, 28)	talaba, sisi. <i>Alzina: meat hard to digest.</i> [Visyan. Sisi refers to a smaller species of oyster.]
masabai (1,II, 28)	mother of pearl. <i>Alzina: meat edible like oysters and pearl from this is the best.</i>
buchia (1,II, 28)	bukya, dikya, salabay/ jellyfish, jellies. <i>Alzina: After removing tentacles, Indios eat remaining mantle with vinegar. Spaniards who live among them have learned to eat jellyfish.</i>
moto (1,II, 28)	moto, red or dark-colored jellyfish.
bebe, balisara (1,II, 28)	<i>Alzina: Indios fond of eating this shellfish.</i>
palaca, gogon (1,II, 28)	palaka, paka, frogs. <i>Alzina: Eaten by Indios; Alzina has eaten them a number of times. Large variety called gogon eaten by Europeans but Alzina has not.</i>
palomas caseras (1,II, 23)	domesticated doves. <i>Alzina: Great variety of doves, more than in Europe because many species were imported from China and other Asian countries.</i>
baluran, baruranay, baluranai (1,II, 23)	wild dove. Most likely migratory because Alzina says that these doves are not numerous except in the time when they breed annually; Indios love the meat if fat..
limocon (1,II, 23)	bato-bato, turtle dove. <i>Alzina: Wild but like the domesticated variety</i>
gallinas de sanglai (1,II, 23)	<i>Alzina: domesticated chicken from China and Cambodia</i>
gallinas de indio (1,II, 23)	native domesticated chicken

patani (1,II, 23)	<i>Alzina: chicken with dark meat and eggs, more delicate, firm and nourishing meat; brought from southern Philippines</i>
gallinas (1,II, 23)	manok, manuk, manok na labuyo, monteses (wild chicken)
tabon (1,II, 24)	tabon/ a type of megapod (<i>Megapodius cumingi</i>) <i>Alzina: Meat was not good for eating but the eggs were gathered by the Visayans and consumed. It is almost all yolk.</i>
salamgan (1,II, 24)	balinsasayaw/ swiftlet Five varieites of swiftlets whose nests are harvested: <input type="checkbox"/> white-nest swiftlet [<i>Collocalia fuciphaga</i>] <input type="checkbox"/> black-nest swiftlet [<i>Collocalia maxima</i>] <input type="checkbox"/> grass-nest swiftlet [<i>Collocalia esculenta</i>] <input type="checkbox"/> mossy-nest swiftlet [<i>Collocalia vanikorensis</i>] <input type="checkbox"/> Himalayan swiftlet [<i>Collocalia brevirostris</i>]. <i>Alzina: Numerous birds in the caves near Cabo del Espirtu Santo [Samar], nests are edible and nourishing. According to the Chinese abundant in the Calamianes (northern Palawan). Make good soup, esp. for the aged and infirm.</i>
pato (1,II, 24)	duck. Eaten but also used by the Chinese for fishing
murcielagos, cabug (1,II, 24)	batas. <i>Alzina: Edible but not eaten by all the Indios, some consume more and others less.</i>
abeja, liguan, potio-can, bulig, cabulai, quivit, (1,II, 27)	bees. Five or six species of bees produce honey and wax
gusano (1,II, 27)	caterpillar, Silk worm most important
avispas, corocoron macihag, buligan (1,II, 27)	Wasp
abejon, doron, locton,	
chicharras, durat (1,II,28)	type of bee
loia (1,II, 23)	bee larva

SOURCES: Alzina, Ignacio. *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Visayas*. Madrid: Consejo Superio de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996. Print.

---. *Historia sobre natural de las islas Bisayas, Segunda Parte de la Historia de las islas e Indios de Bisayas del Padre Alzina, 1668-1670*. 1998. Ed. Victoria Yepes. Madrid: Consejo Superio de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998. Print.

NOTE: Summaries of comments from Alzina are flagged with his name and rendered in italics. Comments from the author are not flagged

TABLE A3: Comparative List of Ingredients, Spices and Oils

18 TH -CENTURY MEXICAN AND PHILIPPINE CUISINE		
INGREDIENTS		
MEXICAN	PHILIPPINE	
Source: Fray Gerónimo (1780)	Sources: Various Philippine Documents (16 th and 17 th centuries)	
1. MEATS AND FOWL		
Cochino: pig	swine	Sánchez 1586, Salazar 1595
Puerco: pork	puerco, babui	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 2
	wild hogs jabaliés, ababa, baiong <i>Alzina: Baiong is a cross between a wild hog and a domesticated pig (Puerco de casera).</i>	Sánchez 1586, Salazar 1595 Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 2
Carne: beef, meat <i>N.B. Instead of referring to cows or buffalos, the recipes refer to “carne” or beef.</i>	buffalo buffalo, carabao cows vaca <i>Alzina: Cows were brought from China.</i>	Salazar 1595 Sánchez 1586, Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 4 Salazar 1595 Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 1
Ternera: veal	Veal is the meat from a young calf. If cows were raised in cattle farms, veal could be procured.	Sánchez 1586
Cabrito: kid, young goat	cabra, kambing	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 1
Carnero: lamb (mutton)		
	ciervo, venado, bogsoc, usa libai: deer	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 4
Conejo: rabbit		
Gallina, gallo: chicken	fowls	Sánchez 1586
Pollo	gallinas de sanglai: domesticated chicken from China gallinas de indio: domesticated native chicken patani: chicken with dark meat	Salazar 1595 Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 23

	ducks pato	Sánchez 1586 Salazar 1595 Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 23
Guajtole (Mex): Turkey		
Pichón: chick (pigeon)	palomas caseras baluran, baruranay, balurani: wild dove limocon: turtle dove	Sánchez 1586 Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 23
Aves: bird	game-birds tabon: a megapod. <i>Alzina: the meat is not good, Visayans, however, consume its eggs.</i> papagayo, abucai, cacatua: parrot. <i>Alzina: its dark flesh can be eaten.</i> salamgan: balinsasayaw or swiftlet. Not the bird but its nest is consumed. <i>Alzina: the bird is numerous in the caves near Cabo del Epiritu Santo. The nest makes good soup, esp. for the aged and infirm.</i>	Pigafetta 1521 Sánchez 1586, Salazar 1595 Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 23
	murcielagos, cabug: <i>Alzina: Although edible not all Indios eat bat, some eat more and others less.</i>	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 23
	pez mulier, duyón: dugong <i>Alzina: classifies this marine mammal under fish. Visayans eat its meat but not regularly. Its fatty flesh was first dried by fire.</i>	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 17
Leche: milk	The presence of cows suggests that milk was also available.	
Huevos: egg; yema: egg yolk	<i>Alzina mentions that the Visayas eat eggs, they eat a variety including eggs of the Tabon bird and the sea turtle (pawikan).</i>	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 24
2. FISH AND SEA FOODS		

Pescado: fish	<p>fish</p> <p>Various fishes are documented in Alzina, namely, <i>sabalo</i>, i.e. adult milkfish (<i>bangus</i>); <i>bancol</i>, like tuna; <i>tangigi</i>, mackarel; <i>alimusan</i>, marine catfish; <i>bunag</i>; <i>mansa</i>, mamsa; and <i>soriao</i>.</p> <p>Also mentioned are <i>tandagan</i>, swordfish; <i>pacagan</i>, saw fish and <i>pagi</i>, ray.</p> <p><i>Alzina notes that the Visayas teems with a variety and number of fish and does not list all of them. Lamina XV illustrates the following: iho, shark; doyong or peje mulier; pacagan; paucan, sea turtle; and various shellfish</i></p>	<p>Salazar 1595</p> <p>Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 16</p> <p>Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 17</p> <p>Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 16</p>
Sardinas: sardines	Varieties of Philippine sardine are known, like <i>tawilis</i> from Lake Taal. Although not mentioned by Alzina, the sardine may be implied among those fish Alzina did not mention.	
	cangreo, alimango: crab	Alzina 1668-72, 1,II,17
	calumpihis: type of crab with single shell (probably like the curacha of Zamboanga)	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 17
	langosta: shrimp	
	nocos: squid	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 14
	cogita: octopus	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 18-19
	tortuga, olaniban: turtle	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 18-19
	tapai or capiz: capiz, scallop	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 28
	ostiones, talaba: oyster	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 28
	masabai: mother of pearl	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 28
	<i>Alzina: The meat is edible like oyster.</i>	
	<p>buchia: jelly fish.</p> <p><i>Alzina: After removing the tentacles, the Indios eat the remaining mantel. Spaniards who live with the Indios have learned to eat jelly fish.</i></p>	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 28

	bebe, balisara <i>Alzina: Indios fond of eating this shellfish</i>	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 28
	palaca, gogon: frog. <i>Alzina: Indios eat it and so has Alzina a number of times but not the large variety called gogon, which some Europeans eat.</i>	Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 28
3. CEREALS AND GRAINS		
Arroz: rice	pala, palai <i>Alzina notes several terms related to rice</i>	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 7 Sánchez 1586
	arlai: white colored millet	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 7
	batat: dark colored or black millet	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 7
	tapul: dark colored rice, almost black	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 7
	cebada: barley	Inventory 1768
Maiz	maiz	Legazpi 1565
4. ROOT CROPS		
Camote: sweet potato	camote camotes: sweat potato	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	apare: whitish small taro	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	bagong/ bagung: like gabi but not as good	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	balibaran: type of ubi	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	borot: wild taro like apare but less sweet	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	corot: taro	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	gabi/ laguai: taro	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	hagmang: taro	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	humna: variety of taro with light yellow color	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	ibing: like ubi	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	palauan: taro	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	ubi: colored taro [usually violet]	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 7
	talian: root and trunk are edible	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
	orabi	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 8
Papas: potato		
5. FRUITS AND NUTS		

	figs (from China)	Sánchez 1586 Salazar 1595
	oranges (from China)	Salazar 1595
	pears (from China)	Salazar 1595
	plums (from China)	Sánchez 1586 Salazar 1595
	pomegranates (from China)	Salazar 1595. <i>N.B. Salazar also mentions dried fruits from China.</i>
	chestnuts (from China)	Sánchez 1586 Salazar 1595
	walnuts (from China)	Sánchez 1586 Salazar 1595
Almendra: almond		
Piña: pineapple	<i>Lámina VIII in Alzina illustrates a pineapple (piña) growing in the Visayas.</i> Pineapple came from the Americas.	Salazar 1595
Manga: mango	mangas, pajo, balono. Balono or baluna is a type of mango with a whitish or light yellow flesh when ripe. Pajo refers specifically to small mangoes but in the Visayas it also the generic name of mango.	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	papaya, pawpaw and other fruits	Sánchez 1586 Salazar 1595
Platano: banana	saging: Generic name for banana, various species are known. <i>Alzina has a long list of edible bananas; he includes abaca (1, I, 7), although he says abaca's fruit was not eaten. Bulig (1, I, 9) is a bunch of bananas.</i>	Sánchez 1586 Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 6
	<i>The following species are listed by Alzina.</i> saging saging: meaning banana-like, refers to a small type of banana	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 10

	anipa: banana one hand span long (heme)	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 9
	canara/ maluco: banana variety common in the Molucas	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 7
	lisohan: banana with many seeds, fermented to make vinegar	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 9
	pinitogo: short, stubby banana	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 9
	saba/ obispo: for frying and saute	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 9
	taromansi	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 9
	tinagcan: fruits are small and roundish like cherries	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 9
	tinduc : large, tasty banana	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 9
	torlongbinocot: excellent type of small banana	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 9
	torlongdato: excellent type of large banana	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 9
	coco: coconut	Sánchez 1586
	lumbia: sago palm. <i>Alzina says that a type of bread "specie de pan" comes from this tree.</i> He is referring to sago starch extracted from the trunk of a felled tree; the starch can be used for baking.	
	sambalagi: tamarind	Sánchez 1586 Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 24
	bilimbin, bilinbin: star fruit	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	biliran: fruit of balimbin	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	camansi: type of bread fruit	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	hantol, santor: santol	Sánchez 1586 Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	lanca: jackfruit	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	macupa	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	malabugi: wild fruit like macupa	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	mavalo, mavolo: velvet apple	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	tambis: type of macopa	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	atipolo	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	banquilin	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 12
	boboa, boasboa	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 12

	chiquei: chico	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 12
	coal	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 12
	isao: lychee from China	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 12
	lomboy	Sánchez 1586 Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 11
	santol	Sánchez 1586
6. VEGETABLES		
Aceituna: Olives		
Acel(g)as: Swiss chard		
Alcaparron: large caper		
	Aniss: Anise	Inventory 1768
Apio: celery		
Berejena: egg plant		Sánchez 1586
Betabel: beet root		
Calabasa: squash	Tabayag <i>Alzina mentions other types of squash and gourds: tabiyaiong, condol or candol</i>	Sánchez 1586 Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 25
Calabascita: small squash		
Cardo: artichoke		
Chayote: chayot, vegetable pear		
Chicharo: sweat pea		
Chirivias: parsnip		
Clavos: cloves	<i>Alzina mentions cloves when describing sangig, a type of basil which is mixed with cloves for sautés.</i>	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 27
Colifor: cauliflower		
Ejotes: green beans		
Escarola: Endive		
Espinaca: spinach		
Frijoles: beans	frijoles frijoles prietas frijoles balatong hantac hantac sa sanglai	Legazpi 1565 Inventory 1768 Receipt of Dec 1768 Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 7 Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 7 Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 7
Garbanzos: chick pea	garvanços garbanzos	Legazpi 1565 Receipt of Dec 1768

Grajea: small sugar plum		
Haba(s): broad bean	havas patani	Legazpi 1565 Receipt of Dec 1768
Jitomate: tomato		
Lentejas: lentil	lentejas lentejas	Receipt of Dec 1768 Legazpi 1565
	mongos: mung beans mongo	Inventory 1768 Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 1
	miel: honey <i>Alzina list different names for bees (abeja)— liguan, potiocan, bulig, cabulai, quivit, which are five or six species that produce honey or wax.</i> Wax was given as tribute or as gifts to the church for use in liturgical rites. The excess was exported to Mexico.	Legazpi 1595 Sánchez 1586 Alzina 1668-72, 1, II, 27
Mostaza: mustard	mostaza: mustard	Sánchez 1586
Rosas: Rose		
Zanahoria: carrot		
	rabano: radish	Sánchez 1586
7. DRINKS AND BEVERAGES		
	café: coffee	Inventory 1768. N.B. Inferred from reference to cafeteras de Japon
	cha: tea	Inventory 1768

Chocolate: chocolate	chocolate	Inventory 1768. N.B. Inferred from reference to utensils used for preparing chocolate: metate, batirol and chocolate mugs De la Costa 1961, 585 states that among the baggage Jesuits were allowed to take with them to the Colegio de Manila where they were to be put under house arrest were “boxes, linen, tobacco, chocolate and other effects of that nature.”
8. PROCESSED FOOD		
Acitrón: candied lemon, peeled and glazed fruit; also clarified cider	A variety of citrus endemic to the Philippines can have easily been made into acitrón by using sugar. <i>Alzina lists a number of citurs plants: aslum sa sanglai (oranges from China), biasun, cabugao, cajiel or cajel, corongai, curum, iris, linao, manugbuc, ocban, samulao, macalpi, and tambulirlir. Aslum is the generic name for citrus.</i>	Sánchez 1586 Alizna 1668-72, 1, I, 13
Almíbar: syrup	This can easily be made using sugar and water.	
Costilla: rib	The rib of pork or beef can be cut easily from a butchered animal.	
Cuajada: curd	Curd is extracted from milk. If there are cows, milk would be a product and curds can be produced by introducing vinegar to cause the curd to separate from the whey.	
Fideos: noodle	Not mentioned in the documents but the Philippines close proximity to China suggests that noodles would have been easily available in the markets of Manila.	
	flour (from China)	Sánchez 1586, Salazar 1595
Queso: Cheese	queso	Legazpi 1565 Receipt of Dec 1768

Pan: bread, wheat, flour	vizcocho bread tinapai. <i>Alzina: Tinapai refers to rice baked like bread. Although wheat was not grown in the Philippines it was imported from China.</i>	Legazpi 1565 Salazar 1595
Panocha: raw sugar	The term is not mentioned in the documents, although in present Philippine usage, panocha does refer to unrefined or brown sugar, i.e. sugar in its earliest stage of processing.	
Pasas: Raisin		
<i>N.B. Method for drying food stuff is explained.</i>	pescado seco	
Pipián: Indian fricassee		
jamón <i>N.B. Method for preserving meat explained</i>	tocino salt pork ham	Legazpi 1565 Salazar 1595 Salazar 1595
Vino: Wine	vino	Legazpi 1565
9. SPICES (ESPECIAS) AND FLAVORINGS		
Ajonjoli: sesame	lunga, ajonjoli <i>Alzina: Oil from lunga is used by women to scent their hair.</i>	Alzina 1668-72
Ajos: garlic		
Alcaparras: capers		
	annis de China pansipansi (anise from China)	Receipt of Dec 1768 Alzina 1668-72,
Azafran, Szafran: saffron	casubha ca[c]humba: bastard saffron, safflower	Alzina 1668-72 Receipt of Dec 1768

Azucar: sugar	<p>Azucar de Pampanga</p> <p>Azucar</p> <p>Sugar, which originated in Asia, was made in the Philippines from the juice of the sugar cane.</p> <p><i>Alzina notes the variety of cañas dulces, namely, salahi, balug, bagug, bulilao, dinai, maburuc, minai, sagao, tanbong. The generic name of sugar cane is tubo.</i></p> <p><i>Buri nectar or tuba was also a source for palm sugar, called calamai.</i></p>	<p>Inventory 1768</p> <p>Sánchez 1586</p> <p>Salazar 1595</p> <p>Alzina 1768-72, 1, I, 17; 1, I, 19; I, 1, 29.</p>
Canela: cinnamon	<p>caningag</p> <p>canela</p> <p>canela de Zamboanga</p> <p>canela de Ceylon</p> <p><i>Lámina VIII in Alzina illustrates a cinnamon (canela) growing in the Visayas.</i></p>	<p>Alzina 1668-72</p> <p>Inventory 1768</p> <p>Receipt of Dec 1768</p> <p>Receipt of Dec 1768</p>
Cebolla: onion		
Chile: chile; chili pepper		
Chilitos: small chili		
Clavo: clove	<i>Alzina: Clavo is mentioned as mixed with sangig, a type of basil, and used for sautés.</i>	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 27
Comino: cumin		
Culantro: coriander, cilantro	culantro	Receipt of Dec 1768
Epazote: aromatic herb from Náhuatl, <i>epaztol</i>		
Laurel: laurel, bay leaf		
Limón: lemon		
Mejorana: marjoram		
Oregano: oregano		
Pimienta: pepper	<i>Lámina VIII in Alzina illustrates a pepper vine (pimienta) growing in the Visayas.</i>	Sánchez 1586

Romero: rosemary		
Sal: salt	sal	Legazpi 1565
Tomillo: thyme		
Tornachile: thick pepper		
Vinagre: vinegar	vinagre	Legazpi 1565
Yerba buena: peppermint, mint		
	doghan, dogan: type of nutmeg	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 24
	casubha	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 24
	dolao, dulao: yellow ginger, langka-was <i>Lámina VIII in Alzina describes dolau as "azafrán de los indios."</i>	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 24
	lamudio: aromatic herb with flavor between anís and cumin	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 24
	tanglad, tanglar: lemon grass	Alzina 1668-72, 1, I, 24
Aceite: oil	azeite de Castilla: olive oil	Inventory 1768
	1. aceite	Legazpi 1565
	azeite de coco	Inventory 1768
Manteca de Puerco	manteca	Inventory 1768
Manteca: lard, fat		
Mantequilla: butter	Mantequilla: butter	Salazar 1595

TABLE A4: Plant Migrants: Non-endemic or Introduced Plants from the Americas

COMMON PHILIPPINE NAME	SCIENTIFIC NAME	ETYMOLOGY	ENGLISH AND OTHER PHILIPPINE NAMES	REFERENCES IN COLONIAL VOCABULARIOS
acheute	<i>Bixa orellana L.</i>	achuete	achuete or asueti	
anonas	<i>Annona reticulata</i>		bullock's heart	
atis	<i>Annona squamosa L.</i>			
Avocado	<i>Persea Americana Mill.</i>	Nahuatl ahuakatl	abokado, bokado	
azucena	<i>Polianthes tuberosa L.</i>		asusena	
balimbin	<i>Averrhoa carambola L.</i>		star fruit, balimbing; balingbing, galangan	balingbing. Pc. Una fruta cuadrada (FSA + 1624, 30)

cacahuate	<i>Glyricidia sepium</i> (Jacq. Kunth ex Walp.)		Mexican lilac; kakawate, madre kakaw, madre de cacao; marikakaw	
Caimito	<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>		star apple; custard apple	
Calabaza	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i> Duch	kalabasa or karabasa;	squash; kalabasa	
Cereza	<i>Muntingia calabura</i>		aratis, ratis or datiles, sarsa	
calachuchi	<i>Plumeria acuminata</i>		frangipani kalatsutsi, kalasusi, karatutse, or kalanotse;	
camachile	<i>Pithecellobium dulce</i> (Roxb.) Bth	from Nauhatl Cuanhmochitl;	kamatsili; kamonsil; Spanish plum	
camias	<i>Averrhoa bilimbi</i> L.		kamias; kalamyas; iba	Qiling. pc Árbol de camias (NS 1711, 327)
camote	<i>Ipomea Batatas</i>	N'ahuatl camotl;	kamote; sweet potato	Camotes. Camoti. pp. Camotes silvestres. Baguing. pp. Camotes grandes. Tarac. pc (NS 1711, 497).
casui, caju	<i>Cassuvium reniforme</i>	Tupi (Brazil) acajú, the name of the tree is acajuba	cashew; kasuy or balubad;	Casuy. pc Una fruta que tiene el hueso, ó pepita á fuera (NS 1711, 105).
Chayote	<i>Sechium edule</i> (Jacq.) Swartz		sayote; tsayote	
chichirica	<i>Catharanthus roseus</i> ,		kantutan, kutsarita	
chico	<i>Manilkara achras</i> (Mill.) Fosberg	N'ahuatl xicot-zaptl	chico	
cacao	<i>Theobroma cacao</i> L.	Cacao Nahautal cacaua, root form of cacahuatl "bean of the cocoa tree" is the source of chocolate in N'ahuatl zocatl	cacao; kakaw. Chocolate is tsokolate or sikulate	
ciruela	<i>Spondias purpurea</i>		sinigwelas	
guayabano	<i>Annona muricata</i>		soursop; guyabano	

guayaba; guaya	<i>Psidium guajava</i> L.	Arawakan (W. Indies) <i>guayabo</i> “guava tree” or Tupi <i>guajava</i>	guava; bayabas; guayabas; kalimba-hin; tayabas	
Jicama	<i>Pachyrrhizus jicamas</i>		singkamas;	
maiz	<i>Zea mays</i>		corn; mais	Mais. pp. Ojeriza. Mag, tenerla. A quien se tiene, Pinagmamaisan. Mapagmais.- Frequent. (NS 1711, 242).
papaya, pawpaw	<i>Carica papaya</i>	probably from Arawakan, papaya	papaya; kapayas; kapaya	Papaya. Un árbol cuya fruta, es muy conocida por ser muy sabrosa y sana (MR c. 1630, 321) Papaya, pp. Una fruta: Parang papayang hilao, inútil. Vide Paco. (NS 1711, 299)
pascuas	<i>Euphorbia pulcherrima</i> Willd. ex Klotzch		paskwas; pasko; poinsettia;	
Pimiento	<i>Piper nigrum</i> L.		black pepper; pimenta; malisa; paminta from the Indies but introduced via Mexico	Cagascas. pc Pimienta larga. Itt. Un árbol medicinal. (NS 1711, 87)
Piña	<i>Anas comosus</i> (L.) Merr		pineapple; pinya; tinya	
Chayote	<i>Sechium edule</i> (Jacq) Swartz		sayote; mirliton pear	
tomate	<i>Lycopersicum esculentum</i>		tomato; kamatis	
Zapote	Zapote is used for many kind of fruits Sapodilla (<i>Manilkara zapota</i>); yellow sapoted (<i>Pouteria campechiana</i>)	Nauhatal tzapotl		

SOURCE: Alzina, Ignacio. *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Visayas*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996. Print.

---. *Historia sobre natural de las islas Bisayas, Segunda Parte de la Historia de las islas e Indios de Bisayas del Padre Alzina, 1668-1670*. 1998. Ed. Victoria Yepes. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998. Print.

Abbreviations:

FSA= Francisco de San Antonio, (+1624) 2000. *Vocabulario Tagalog: Tagalog-Spanish Dictionary*, edited by Antoon Postma. Quezon City: Pulong, Sources for Philippine Studies.

MR = Miguel Ruiz, (+1630) 1997. *Bocabulario Tagalo*, edited by José Mario C. Francisco, Quezon City: Pulong, Sources for Philippine Studies.

NS = Juan de Noceda y Pedro de Sanlucar, (1711) 1832 *Vocabulario de la Lengua Tagala*. Reprint. Valladolid: Imprenta de Higinio Roldan

References:

Alvina, Corazon S and Domingo A. Madulid. 2010; Fernandez, Doreen G. 1997; Madulid, Domingo A. 1986; Madulid, Domingo A. 1995, 2000, 2nd edition 2001; OE Online Etymology Dictionary; Panganiban, Jose Villa. 1970; Ruiz, Miguel (+1630) 1997; San Antonio, Francisco de. (+1624) 2000.

Works Cited

- Alvina, Corazon S. and Domingo A. Madulid. *Flora Filipina: From Acapulco to Manila*. 1st Ed. Manila: National Museum, 2010. Print.
- Alzina, Ignacio. *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Visayas*. Ed. Victoria Yepes. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996. Print.
- . *Historia sobrenatural de las islas Bisayas, Segunda Parte de la Historia de las islas e Indios de Bisayas del Padre Alzina, 1668-1670*. Ed. Victoria Yepes. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998. Print.
- Bernad, Miguel A. "The Colegio de San Jose 1601-2001: The Turbulent 400-year History of an Educational Institution." *Sons of San Jose: The Josefino Spirit: A Profile*. Ed. James Kroeger. Quezon City: San José Seminary Alumni Association, 2002. 3-35. Print.
- Buenrostro, Marco and Cristina Barros. "Notas sobre la cocina conventual." *Libro de Cocina de Fray Gerónimo de San Pelayo, México, Siglo XVIII*. Mexico: Conaculta, 2003. 21-25. Print.
- Chirino, Pedro. *The Philippines in 1600*. Trans. Ramón Echevaria. Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1969. Print.
- . *History of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. I. Trans. José S. Arcilla. Ed. Jaume Gorriz I Abella. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila UP, 2009-2010. Print.
- . *Historia de la Provincia Philippina de la Compañía de Jesus [History of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus]*. Trans. José S. Arcilla. Ed. Jaume Gorriz I Abella. Vol. 2. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila UP, 2010. Print.
- Crosby, Alfred W. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Connecticut: Greenwood P, 2003. Print.
- De la Costa, Horacio V. *Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1961. Print.
- De Miguel, José Ramón. *Urdaneta y su tiempo*. Documento No. 3. "Informe sobre los pertrechos y provisiones necesarias para el viaje," 163-176. Ordizia: Ayuntamiento de Ordizia, 2008. Print.
- Del Fino Diaz, Fermín. Presentación. *Historia Natural de las Islas Bisayas del Padre Alzina*. 1668. By Ignacio Alcina. Ed. Victoria Yepes. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996. xiii-xix. Print.
- Descroches, Jean-Paul and Franck Goddio. *El San Diego: Un Tesoro bajo del Mar*. Madrid: Compañía Española de Petróleos, 1995. Print.
- Fernandez, Doreen G. *Fruits of the Philippines*. Makati: Bookmark, 1997. Print.
- Frost, Elsa Cecilia. "La pobre comida de los frailes." *Libro de Cocina de Fray Gerónimo de San Pelayo, México, Siglo XVIII*. Mexico: Conaculta, 2003. 11-19. Print.
- Gambino, Megan. "Alfred W. Crosby on the Columbian Exchange." *Smithsonian.com*. 4 Oct. 2011. Web. 15 Sept. 2014.
- Gerónimo de San Pelayo. *Libro de Cocina de Fray Gerónimo de San Pelayo, México, Siglo XVIII*. Mexico: Conaculta, 2003. Print.
- Historia Natural de las Islas Bisayas del Padre Alzina*. Ed. Victoria Yepes. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996. Print.

- “Letter of Bishop Domingo de Salazar to Philip II, 1595.” Eds. and trans. Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson. *The Philippine Islands*. Vol. 7. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909. 28-51. Print. 55 vols.
- Madulid, Domingo A. *An Illustrated Guidebook to Common House Plants and Garden Plants in the Philippines*. N.p.: Prospero M. Hernandez, 1961. Print.
- Madulid, Domingo A. *Pictorial Cyclopedia of Philippine Ornamental Plants*. 2nd ed. Makati: Bookmark, 2000. Print.
- . *A Dictionary of Philippine Plant Names*. 2 Vols. Makati: Bookmark, 2001. Print.
- OE Online Etymology Dictionary. n.d. Web. 12 May 2013.
- Panganiban, Jose Villa. *Diksyunaryong Pilipino-Ingles: With Etymological Information, Multiple Meanings, Derivatives, Synonyms and Idiomatic Expressions*. 2nd ed. Manila: Bede’s Pub., 1970. Print.
- Pigafetta, Antonio. “Primo viaggointorno al mondo Italian text with English translation of events of 1519–1522.” Eds. and trans. Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson. *The Philippine Islands*. Vol. 33. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1906-1913. 26-272. 1903-1909. Print. 55 vols.
- Record Management and Archives Office. “Convento de esta ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña.” Manila: Inventory of Jesuit Properties, 1768-1772. Print.
- . “Inven[tar]io de los perten[ien]te al Real Colegio S[a]n J[ose]ph.” *Legajo I-1, folio 56-65*. Manila: Inventory of Jesuit Properties, 1768-1772. Print.
- Riera, Ignasi. *La Cuina del XVIII*. Illus. Lluïsa Jover I Armengol. Recipes by Gloria Baliu. Catalunya: SD Edicions, 2003. Print.
- Ruiz, Miguel. *Bocabulario Tagalo: Tagalog-Spanish Dictionary*. 1630. Quezon City: Pulong Sources for Philippine Studies, 1997. Print.
- San Antonio, Francisco de. *Vocabulario Tagalo: Tagalog-Spanish Dictionary*. 1624. Quezon City: Pulong Sources for Philippine Studies, 2000. Print.
- Sokolov, Raymond. *Why We Eat What We Eat: How Columbus Changed the Way the World Eats*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991. Print.
- Yturbide, Teresa Castelló. “Introducción, glosario y obras consultadas.” *Libro de Cocina de Fray Gerónimo de San Pelayo, México, Siglo XVIII*. Mexico: Conaculta, 2003. 7-10. Print.