# Trans-Pacific Encounters

# Trans-Pacific Encounters:

## *Asia and the Hispanic World*

Edited by

Koichi Hagimoto

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

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This book first published 2016

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library



ISBN (10): 1-4438-8896-6
ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-8896-7

Front cover:
Peruvian, Colonial period, late 17th to early 18th century
Wool, silk, cotton, and linen interlocked and dovetailed tapestry
Overall@ 238.3 x 207.3 cm (93 13/16 c 81 5/8 in.)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Denman Waldo Ross Collection
1 1.1264

To my son, Taishi

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to the contributors of this volume for their commitment and support throughout the various stages of preparing this manuscript. This is a collective work and would not have been possible without their patience and dedication. My special thanks go to Ignacio López-Calvo and Shigeko Mato with whom I co-organized the 6th International Conference on Orientalism and the Asian and Arab Presence in the Hispanic and Lusophone World in Tokyo in April, 2014. As I mention in the Introduction, many of the essays in this book are based on the talks delivered at the conference. I am grateful for Ignacio who first put me in touch with Cambridge Scholars Publishing and who allowed me to edit this collection so as to continue what he had started with his previous volumes. The editorial team at CSP has been extremely helpful and supportive from the beginning. I especially want to thank Daniel Ridley, Sam Baker, Victoria Carruthers, Sophie Edminson, Courtney Blades, and Amanda Millar for their valuable assistance. As always, I am deeply grateful for the encouragement by my mentor, Daisaku Ikeda, and the faculty and friends at Soka University of America. At Wellesley College, I received support from faculty awards, the Huntington Fund, my wonderful student assistant, Shan Lee, and members of the Spanish Department. Finally, this work would not have been possible without the extraordinary support of my wife, Alaina Farabaugh, and our son, Taishi Alan Hagimoto. As a product of the intersection between Japan, the U.S., and Latin America, Taishi is an example of the "trans-pacific encounter." To him I dedicate this book.

# INTRODUCTION

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A Peruvian textile from the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth century shows a magnificent mixture of iconographies from Asia and Latin America (dust jacket). Depicted alongside the Chinese mythical creature of *xiezhi* is a variety of Peruvian fauna, including alpacas and viscachas, rodents native to the Andes. Also present is a large peony flower surrounded by paired phoenixes, which are important symbols in China. The dominant red color in the background has different meanings for Asian and Andean cultures: it symbolizes good fortune for the former and the Earth for the latter. Inspired by imported Chinese embroidery, indigenous weavers in Peru incorporated various elements of Eastern tradition into their own techniques and materials. This unique combination of imagery embodies a transcultural relationship between the two distant regions.

In his essay "Asia y América" (Asia and America), Octavio Paz argues that Asians and Amerindians are "distinct versions of a single origin" or "independent developments of a single seed" (175).[1] Even though his claim is only a hypothesis, it suggests that the origin of trans-pacific contact between Asia and Latin America can be traced as far back as the pre-Colombian period. Recently, Erik Camayd-Freixas has highlighted that one of the recurrent theories concerning the birth of indigenous populations and their culture in the New World points to possible encounters with distant Asia (9-16). In fact, archeologists and historians have long explored similarities between ancient Asia and Mesoamerica, especially in the areas of art, science, religion, cosmology, and political system. In *Trans-Pacific Echoes and Resonances; Listening Once Again* (1985), Joseph Needham and Lu Gwei-Djen contend that, although the originality of Amerindian culture must be recognized, there is also a wide array of Asian influences in Mesoamerican civilizations:

[1] "versiones distintas de una misma concepción"; "desarrollos independientes de una misma semilla."

> we retain the conviction that individuals from Asia, and even small groups, did come, possibly quite often, bringing with them ideas and objects which stimulated the Amerindian peoples to parallel or divergent developments (2).

Centuries later, another form of trans-pacific "echo" and "resonance" emerges at the moment of the Discovery. The image of Asia was clearly in Christopher Columbus's mind while he was sailing westward from Europe in search of a new land. As he wrote in his journal, "I want to go see if I can reach the island of Cipango" (Colón 93).[2] It is well known that he was following Marco Polo's earlier vision of the "marvelous" continent of the East when he accidentally arrived in the present-day Bahamas during his voyage in 1492. Until his death in 1506, Columbus was convinced that today's Cuba was the island of "Cipango" (Japan) that he had been looking for. His lifelong search for the Orient is indicative of how the exoticization and the idealization of the Far East constituted an essential aspect of Latin America's historical narrative from the moment of conquest and colonization.

Since the fifteenth century, communication across the Pacific has been constant. However, the myriad encounters that constitute the basic contours of transpacific studies have often been overlooked by the traditional emphasis on transatlantic studies. In addition, although socio-political ties between Asia (especially China and India) and Latin America (especially Brazil) have drawn burgeoning attention among politicians and economists in recent years, there continues to be a critical void in the studies of literary, cultural, and historical relations between the two regions. In this regard, Julia Kushigian's *Orientalism in the Hispanic Literary Tradition: In Dialogue with Borges, Paz, and Sarduy* (1991) is a pioneer work that opened a new field for Latin American literary and cultural studies. Using Edward Said's classic work, *Orientalism* (1979), Kushigian argues that Hispanic Orientalism differs from the European model described by Said in that the former engages in a more respectful and persistent dialogue with the oriental other. Similarly, it would be impossible for today's scholars to discuss the Asian influence in *modernismo* without referring to Araceli Tinajero's *Orientalismo en el modernismo hispanoamericano* (2004). Tinajero, like Kushigian, points to the singularity of orientalism within the Latin American context, emphasizing how *modernista* writers and travelers turned to Asia not through the hierarchal, imperialist gaze that was prevalent in the Western discourse, but based on admiration and curiosity. Other literary critics

[2] "Quiero ir a ver si puedo topar a la isla de Cipango."

have followed these studies over the last decades. Some of the most notable works include Axel Gasquet's *Oriente al Sur: El orientalismo literario argentino de Esteban Echeverría a Roberto Arlt* (2007), Debbie Lee-DiStefano's *Three Asian-Hispanic Writers from Peru: Doris Moromisato, José Watanabe, Siu Kam Wen* (2008), Ignacio López-Calvo's *Imaging the Chinese in Cuban Literature and Culture* (2008), and Rebecca Riger Tsurumi's *The Closed Hand: Images of the Japanese in Modern Peruvian Literature* (2012). In terms of the history of Asian populations in the continent, *Encounters: People of Asian Descent in the Americas* (1999)—edited by Roshni Rustomji-Kerns, Rajini Srikanth, and Leny Mendoza Strobel—offers a groundbreaking anthology about diverse voices and experiences of Asians in the Americans.

In recent years, specialized conferences and workshops have taken place around the globe, providing an important platform through which scholars from both the West and East discuss the relations between Asia and the Hispanic world.[3] Ignacio López-Calvo spearheaded this undertaking in 2006 when he organized an international conference titled "Orientalisms and the Chinese Diaspora in the Americas" in Denton, Texas. The conference became an annual meeting and has been brought to such countries as Morocco, Russia, and Japan (this book is based on the papers presented at the Tokyo conference in April, 2014). The three conference volumes he has edited—*Alternative Orientalisms in Latin America and Beyond* (2007), *One World Periphery Reads the Other: Knowing the "Oriental" in the Americans and the Iberian Peninsula* (2009), and *Peripheral Transmodernities: South-to-South Dialogues between the Luso-Hispanic World and "the Orient"* (2012)—include articles by U.S.-based and international scholars who present their views on different aspects of Hispanic and Lusophone Orientalism. From a slightly different standpoint, Debbie Lee-DiStefano has organized an annual symposium on "Asians in the Americas" since 2012. Unlike López-Calvo, Lee-DiStefano focuses on the general context of the hemisphere as a whole, allowing the symposium participants to reconfigure the traditional area studies paradigms, such as Asian American Studies, Latin American Studies, Diaspora Studies, and Migration Studies. Moreover, other parts of the world are also looking into the Asia-Latin America relationship. Some examples include the conference organized by the Latin American Studies Council of Asia and Oceania in Manila (Philippines) in 2012, the conference on "Indo-Hispanic Dialogue:

[3] I use the term "Hispanic world" in order to include not only Spain and Spanish America, but also the pre-1898 Philippines under the Spanish empire.

Bridging the Cultural Gap" in New Deli (India) in 2013, the international conference on "New Perspectives on Transpacific Connections—The Americas and the South Pacific" in Munich (Germany) in 2013, and the international colloquium on "East Asia and Latin American Intersections" in Buenos Aires (Argentina) in 2014. Considering the global circulation of ideas about the connections between Asia and the Hispanic world, the present volume seeks to participate in and contribute to this ongoing debate.

The essays that follow explore multidimensional points of the transpacific intersection through historical contacts as well as literary influences. They cover diverse periods from colonial times to the present and discuss a wide range of topics. The book is divided into three parts, the first of which is devoted to the Philippines. In the now classic *The Manila Galleon* (1939), William Schurz demonstrated how the Manila Galleons—the principal means of communication between Asia and the New World for two and a half centuries—played a critical role in the development of Spanish colonialism in the Pacific. Today, however, it is often forgotten that the Philippines was once an important constituent of Spain's imperial trajectory. According to Adam Lifshey, this is partly because of the marginalization of Filipino studies in Western academia:

> The Philippines remains virtually unacknowledged by Spanish departments despite over three centuries of Spanish colonialism; by English departments despite being, according to some measurements, perhaps the fourth largest Anglophone country in the world; and by Asian departments, despite geography, because of all the successive Western presences in the islands (17).

The first cluster of essays in this volume seeks to grapple with this dearth, attesting to the importance of the Philippines for the Spanish empire. In his article, Roberto Fuertes-Manjón examines the development of nautical sciences and the discovery of sea routes in the Pacific during the sixteenth century. Along with Portugal, Spain began to create innovative technologies in nautical sciences in the fifteenth century, which contributed to the advancement of astronomy and navigation and led to the improvement of nautical charts. As Fuertes-Manjón underlines, the search for a new route connecting the Far East and the New World was a key factor in Spain's imperial expansion, especially after the failed expeditions by Hernando de Grijalva (1536) and Ruíz López de Villalobos (1542). Fuertes-Manjón pays special attention to Andrés de Urdaneta, a Spanish circumnavigator and skilled commander who discovered the *tornaviaje* (return voyage) from Manila to Acapulco. Fuertes-Manjón's study

suggests that Urdaneta's knowledge and experience on both sides of the Pacific allows us to compare the socio-cultural context of the colonial Philippines to that of Spanish America.

Following Fuertes-Manjón, Lizbeth Souza–Fuertes continues to explore the function of the Philippines under Spanish rule. Her study focuses on the interactions between Spain and Portugal and their capital cities, Manila and Macao. By reading historical documents, Souza–Fuertes examines the trade and cultural relations between the two European powers and their trading sites in Asia. She argues that Manila and Macao played a fundamental role in terms of their geo-strategic relevance in the region. At the same time, the two cities served to disseminate different cultures from Europe and the Far East. According to her, even though the Manila Galleons was never free of confrontation between Spaniards and Portuguese, its creation led to a more productive alliance based on collaborations, such as the prolific trade connections between Manila and Macao during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the presence of Portuguese merchants in the Spanish territories. As Souza–Fuertes points out, this kind of alliance proved effective in their collective fight against the Dutch and the British in the Pacific.

The first section ends with Kristina Escondo's discussion of the nationalist, anti-colonial discourse of nineteenth-century Philippines. What is interesting about her study is how she compares the Philippines to Cuba, the other colony of the Spanish empire that achieved independence in 1898. Specifically, Escondo analyzes two political manifestos written in the late nineteenth century: "Manifiesto de Montecristi" (Montecristi Manifesto) by the Cuban intellectual and patriot José Martí and "Ang Dapat Mabatid ng Mga Tagalog" (What the Filipinos Should Know) by the Filipino revolutionary leader Andrés Bonifacio. Both Martí and Bonifacio represented the voices of the working class through ideals of collectivism and dedicated themselves to propagating the ideas of liberty, independence, and democracy. Based on theories of subaltern studies (Rodríguez, Guha, Chatterjee, etc.,), Escondo shows how the two writers equally underscore the connections between peasant insurrections, revolutions, and colonialism in their respective manifestos. According to her, rather than responding directly to the nation-state, Martí and Bonifacio carried out more confrontational demands for justice and citizenship through what she calls an "anti-colonial *grito*," which is an alternative language and order characterized by reasoned revolt and solidarity. Escondo's essay makes it clear that the Philippines and Cuba shared some elements of *fin-de-siècle* anti-colonial resistance, even though they originated on opposite sides of the Hispanic world.

The next section, entitled "Hispanic Orientalism," deals with the representation of Asia and the Orient in Latin American literature and culture. First, Svetlana Tyutina's article examines the eighteenth-century visual art known as *castas paintings*. Following the pejorative tradition European colonizers used to depict Amerindians, these paintings represent various conditions of race in the New World. Tyutina maintains that the *castas paintings* reveal important information about the reality of racial diversity in Spanish America as well as the function of the hegemonic, colonialist discourse. She emphasizes "the transatlantic nature of Hispanic Orientalism," claiming that the (mis)perception of the Amerindian Other during the colonial period was parallel to the (mis)representation of the Semitic Other in the Medieval and Renaissance peninsula. Specifically, her study focuses on the "Orientalized" images of such groups as *Albarazados*, *Barcinos*, *Moriscos*, *Chinos*, and *Genízaros*. By carefully analyzing the visual representation of these marginalized groups, Tyutina illustrates the development of the orientalist trajectory in colonial Latin America.

In the nineteenth century, Latin American intellectuals expressed their fascination with the Far East through the region's first literary movement, *modernismo* (1880-1920). As indicated by Tinajero's *Orientalismo en el modernismo hispanoamericano*, one of the most active writers from this period was the Guatemalan Enrique Gómez Carrillo. In his essay, Ignacio Corona studies Gómez Carrillo's perspective on India described in "La India regenerada" (Regenerated India). Gómez Carrillo was among many *modernistas*, including José Juan Tablada, Arturo Ambrogi, and Efrén Rebolledo, who traveled to Asia at that time. They helped create Latin America's first literary and cultural market, which Corona calls "a regional imagined cultural community." These itinerant writers established a productive literary journalism to articulate a complex web of identity discourses *vis-à-vis* Europe and Asia. As Corona explains, Gómez Carrillo's chronicle of India demonstrates the author's paradoxical vision concerning the relationship between Asia and Europe: while the Guatemalan writer admires the relatively fair and benign nature of English colonialism in India, he also observes the emergence of a new hegemony spreading more extensively than in other European colonies. According to Corona, the way in which Gómez Carrillo and other *modernistas* defined Latin America's cultural identity through their chronicles remains pertinent to the role of journalism in the region today.

Felipe Arocena's next article continues to focus on India. Unlike Corona, however, Arocena turns to the historical and sociopolitical perspectives offered by Octavio Paz, one of the protagonists of Latin

American *vanguardia* in the twentieth century. It is undeniable that India is an exuberantly multicultural country that has, for decades, witnessed a surge of conflicts between different religious and ethnic groups. Despite being one of today's fastest growing economies, the country has suffered from various internal problems, including poverty and social inequality that stem from the traditional caste system. As Arocena shows, Paz described these issues in *Vislumbres de la India* (In Light of India), published in 1995, in which the Mexican author discussed India's religions, languages, and ethno-cultural identities. Arocena compares Paz with the renowned Indian economist Amartya Sen, highlighting how the two intellectuals similarly envision India's future through secularism and democracy. Following their vision, Arocena concludes that India's unity can be accomplished not in spite of its diversity but because of its multiculturalism.

The last part of this volume, entitled "Asia in Today's Latin American Literature," contains two essays on the influence of Asia in contemporary Latin American literature. Andrea Juliana Enciso proposes a new understanding of the Argentine poet Hugo Padeletti. While other critics have already recognized the influence of Zen Buddhism in Padeletti's poetry, Enciso moves a step further and examines the blending of, and the crossing between, Eastern epistemologies and Western ontologies in his work, especially *El andariego poemas 1944-1980* (2007). Her reading underlines two elements that make Padeletti unique: the use of photographic image and the haiku-like emphasis on the present moment. Using Barthes's theory of photography (particularly the concept of "punctum"), Enciso claims that Padeletti presents his poetry as a snapshot through which he attempts to capture a specific moment of reality. According to her, the importance of Padeletti's poetry lies in its representation of the philosophical and aesthetical concerns that connect Argentina and Japan. By analyzing such a creative project, Enciso argues, we can reconfigure the perception of epistemological hegemony and subalternity in Latin American writings as well as the conventional notion of Eurocentrism.

Finally, Shigeko Mato concludes this collection with her original study about a Peruvian migrant worker in Japan, depicted in Luis Fernando Arriola Ayala's novel *Gambate: 頑張って* (2011). Based on his own experience as an illegal migrant in the 1990s, Arriola Ayala creates a story that reflects the hardships and difficulties of undocumented laborers in contemporary Japan. The history of Japanese migration to Latin America, especially Brazil and Peru, is already familiar to many of us. Less known is the reverse migration of *dekasegi*—people who migrate "back" to Japan

from abroad in search of better jobs. Rather than relying on a reductionist approach that oversimplifies the relationship between migration and identity construction, Mato reads *Gambate* as a narrative that proposes a counter-discourse against the idea of a fixed, stable, and non-hybrid identity. Using Sara Ahmed's notion of "uncommon estrangement" and Sten Pultz Moslund's "organic hybridity," Mato demonstrates how the protagonist of Arriola Ayala's novel interacts with other migrant workers in Japan and creates a hybrid identity via a slow and organic process. In a certain way, Mato's essay redefines the field of Latin American literature because it deals with a text by a Peruvian writer about the marginalized presence of his countrymen in Japan. Here, "Latin America" is no longer a simple category of geography, but rather a malleable, transferable concept incorporated into the physical space of a distant Asian country.

The eight essays in this volume employ different methodologies and approaches to explore the multifaceted relationship between Asia and the Hispanic world: by investigating the overlooked aspect of the Hispanic Philippines (Fuertes-Manjón, Souza–Fuertes), by comparing the anti-colonial literature of the Philippines to that of Cuba (Escondo), by scrutinizing the "Orientalized" images of Latin American colonial art (Tyutina), by analyzing *modernista* and *vanguardista* writings about India (Corona, Arocena), by underlining the integration of Eastern philosophy and aesthetics into contemporary Argentinean poetry (Enciso), and by exposing the experience of a Peruvian migrant worker in Japan (Mato). The diverse viewpoints that these authors offer create a dialogue with each other and together provide an interdisciplinary approach to the understanding of trans-pacific encounters, both in the past and the present. We live in a world where globalization is frequently associated with the politics of inequality through which dominant Western forces and ideologies penetrate into the non-Western peripheries. Viewed in this light, the present volume suggests an alternative vision of globalization and transnationalism, one which highlights intercultural dialogues and alliances across the Pacific.

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# PART ONE:
# THE PHILIPPINES

# THE DISCOVERY OF NEW SEA ROUTES WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SPANISH AMERICA AND THE PHILIPPINES

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At the beginning of the sixteenth century, important advances in nautical sciences, which influenced the knowledge of astronomy and navigation as well as the improvement of nautical charts, faced a strong barrier in the Pacific Ocean. It was impossible to travel directly from the Philippines to the New World, making trade and cultural relations with these islands extremely difficult. The failed expeditions by Hernando de Grijalva (1536) and Ruíz López de Villalobos (1542) made it clear that it was necessary to find a route that would reach the Spanish American coastline from the Far East in order to establish regular communications with the Philippines. Andrés de Urdaneta became the central figure in this process. From his first great maritime experience on García Jofre de Loaysa's expedition to the Moluccas Islands in 1525 until Legazpi's voyage to the Philippines, which Urdaneta led in 1564, he had spent a total of thirty years dedicating himself to the study of navigation and cartography. Not only was he an exceptional mariner who discovered a return route from the Philippines to Acapulco, but he was also a knowledgeable military man, diplomat, and Augustinian friar. His experience as both a high official in Mexico and an outstanding man of the Church contributed to bringing a new spirit to the Philippines, a spirit that gave a new sense of appreciation to native values and also encouraged a new evangelization project. In this study, I propose to examine the links between the advances in nautical sciences and the voyages of discovery in the Pacific, along with the expansion of cultural interrelations that were established between the Philippines and Latin America. These relations are the basis of the formative years of development in the Philippines, during which time Andrés de Urdaneta played a prominent role.

If the fifteenth century was defined by the voyage of exploration in the Atlantic Ocean that culminated with the discovery of America and with sailing around the African continent, the next century was characterized by the protagonism of the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. This was possible due to the opening of new maritime routes, the peak of the spice trade, and the development of the markets in India, China, and the Philippines. All of this shifted the center of gravity of trade and exploration to the Far East.

The search for a route to the Orient became a priority for Spanish kings, especially after the arrival in Calcutta of the Portuguese explorer Vasco de Gama, who created a stable path to Asia for the first time in 1498. In 1513, the Spaniard Vasco Núñez de Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean; seven years later, Fernando de Magallanes, in pursuit of a route to the Far East by sailing west, explored the strait that was named after him. His expedition through the Pacific, in which he reached the islands of San Lázaro (later known as the Philippines), became an important event in maritime history. After the death of Magallanes in the island of Cebu, Juan Sebastian Elcano took over the project, completing the first voyage around the world with his arrival in San Lucas de Barrameda, Spain, on September 6, 1622.

Throughout this expansion of the Iberian countries towards the Far East, the great nautical discoveries that began in the fifteenth century played a key role. Although these discoveries had common antecedents in the Iberian Peninsula, it was mainly the Portuguese who made them possible. Joaquim Soeiro de Brito summarized the Portuguese contributions to the nautical sciences through several factors: 1) the creation of the Nautical Guides of Munich and Évora, 2) the development of the latitude calculation methods through astronomical observations, 3) the adaptation and perfection of navigational instruments, and 4) the preparation of the ephemerides and astronomical tables (Brito 70). These achievements placed the Portuguese at the vanguard of European nautical development. They adapted the astronomical knowledge of the era to nautical sciences, established the foundation of modern astronomical navigation, and overcame the limitations of coastal navigation, which was the only kind practiced until the fifteenth century despite consistently accruing errors.

These significant advances cannot be understood without considering the close relationship and cooperation within the Iberian world throughout the centuries. The Spanish and Portuguese shared a common heritage in terms of nautical knowledge, and it is worth noting the importance of two prominent Spanish thinkers from the thirteenth century: Alfonso X el Sabio and Ramon Llull. In their works, *Las Siete Partidas: El Libro del*

*Fuero de las Leyes* (Seven-Part Code), *Libro del saber de Astronomía* (Book of Wisdom of Astronomy) as well as *Arbor Scientiae* (Tree of Science), the two thinkers established the fundamentals of scientific knowledge of navigation in the Middle Ages. These works were well-known among Portuguese astronomers and cosmographers.

Until the fifteenth century, nautical science was relatively rudimentary, as it was based on observations of the coast and used elementary instruments such as the compass and nautical charts in order to establish navigation by means of course and distance. It was a domain in which practical knowledge prevailed. Although very little is known about the requirements of maritime pilots at that time, Luís de Albuquerque's transcription of a passage in *Las Siete Partidas* by Alfonso X el Sabio reveals that they had to know many things about the sea, including where the currents were, the movement of winds, and everything related to seamanship. Furthermore, these pilots needed to be familiar with the location of islands and harbors as well as the entrances and exits of ports in order to guide their ship safely (Brito 46). As far as techniques used by maritime pilots are concerned, there is information in a passage of the treaty *Arbor Scientiae* by Ramon Llull, written between 1286 and 1295: "Besides this instrument, [the maritime pilots] have a nautical chart, a compass, a nautical needle, and the Stella Maris"[1] (Brito 46).

The ship's course was obtained by the nautical compass, which was affected by the movement of the ship. The magnetic deviation was unknown, and the navigated distance was obtained from estimates. This produced significant mistakes since adequate instruments to measure time did not exist at that time; the only device used was an hourglass. By combining information about the ship's course and the navigated distance, the ship's position was determined on a rudimentary chart (47).

However, there was a problem with this system because the ship's route did not correspond exactly to the estimated path due to drift. Therefore, corrections had to be calculated. These corrections were found either in tables (the best known table was "Toleta de Marteloio") or by means of an abacus, which was "the instrument" mentioned by Ramon Llull (47). The "compass" probably refers to the Italian sailing directions published around 1250 that gave information about the Mediterranean routes and ports (Brito 48).

The nautical charts, known as "portolan charts," were graded in neither latitude nor longitude and only contained a list of measured distances. The

[1] Translated by the author.

oldest preserved chart of this kind is the "Pisana" chart, dated around 1275. The portolan charts were later substituted by cylindrical projection charts, even though they were not adequate for latitudes higher than 20º. Portuguese cartographer Pedro Nunes studied this problem in two treaties published in 1537—*Tratado sobre certas dúvidas da navegação* (Treaty of Certain Doubts in Navigation) and *Tratado em defesa da carta de marear* (Treaty in Defense of the Nautical Chart)—in which he demonstrated that the navigation errors were due to the convergence of meridians (Brito 69). The solution to the problem of representing the spherical surface of the earth over the flat surface of the nautical chart was found by Gerard Kramer (Mercator), who presented the first chart of "increasing latitude" in 1569 (69). Another important instrument was the sounding line, used to determine the depth of water in a specific place. Finally, "Stella Maris," the polar star, was used to verify the latitude (48).

All these instruments and techniques reflect the high skill level of navigation reached by the end of the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century, important advancements took place regarding the calculation of latitude, which was obtained by measuring the angle formed by the axis of the world with the horizon or by measuring the altitude of the pole over the horizon. However, this method had a long tradition since it was already mentioned in *Libro del Saber de Astronomía* (Book of Knowledge of Astronomy) by Alfonso X el Sabio (53).

The observation of the polar star was carried out with a quadrant, and a correction was applied to the readings since the polar star did not coincide with the celestial pole. The Portuguese were the ones to elaborate the rules of applying this correction in the so-called *Regimento do Norte* or *Regimento da Estrela Polar* (Brito 57).

The longitude was much more difficult to obtain because there was no fixed reference that could be used as a basis, and there was no exact measure of time, which was imperative to the calculation (53). Each country used a different meridian as a reference. The Spaniards used the meridian of Toledo as the basis for its computation, and the Portuguese used the meridian of Sagres. The challenge presented by the longitude led King Philip II to reward the scientists who solved the problem, for which even Galileo vied (Sellés 180). The solution to this problem was discovered in the eighteenth century with the construction of chronometers or mechanical precision clocks, which allowed navigators to obtain the exact time at sea and which were essential to carrying out the necessary calculations to obtain the longitude (Sellés 53).

With the expansion of navigation towards the southernmost hemisphere, seafarers were under constraint to use not only the polar star

but also the sun and, finally, the stars of the Southern Cross. It is believed that the first astronomical observations aboard took place between 1460 and 1470, since the *Regimento da Polar* (Polar Nautical Guide) came into existence sometime before 1470 (54).

Ships approaching the Equator—whose passage was achieved in 1471—observed that the polar star was no longer visible, so mariners had to measure the sun's altitude when passing by the meridian at midday in order to obtain the position of the boat. In order to apply this method, they became familiar with the appropriate rules of calculation or *Regimento* (Nautical Guide) and also learned the value of the declination at the moment of observation. In other words, adequate astronomical tables were urgently needed (57).

In Portugal, the first navigation manuals were *Regimento de Munich* (Munich Nautical Guide), published in 1509, and *Regimento de Évora* (Évora Nautical Guide), published in approximately 1517. These became the foundational texts for mariners in Europe. In the first guide, the rules to calculate latitude are extended to the Southern Hemisphere. However, the Évora Nautical Guide is much more important because it shows how much progress had been made since the publication of the Munich Nautical Guide, which did not require previous knowledge of the hemisphere in which the observer was located. This was not always easy when in proximity to the equator (Brito 58). Besides *Regimento do Sol* (Sun Nautical Guide), these two Nautical Guides contained *Regimento do Norte* (Northern Nautical Guide), solar tables, a list of latitudes in several places, and a translation of *Tratado de la esfera del Mundo*, (Treaty of the Sphere of the World) by Sacrobosco, which was used as a cosmographic guide to understand other texts (58).

Another important Portuguese nautical work is *Tratado de Agulha de Marear* (Treaty of the Compass), attributed to João de Lisboa and published in 1514. It studies the correction of the magnetic declination based on the position of the Guards of the Polar Star. Later, Pedro Nunes translated and commented on *Tratado de la esfera de Sacrobosco* (Treaty of the Sphere of Sacrobosco) (1537), and later added *Tratado em defensam da carta de marear* (Treaty in Defense of the Nautical Chart). In 1546, he published another important work, *De arte atque ratione navigandi* (Art and Theory of Sailing).

The first work of navigation published in Spain was *Suma de geographia que… trata largamente del arte de navegar (*A Brief Description of the Ports, Creeks, Bays and Havens in West India) (1519) by Fernández de Enciso, which incorporated the tables with the values of solar declination. Sixteen years later, *Tratado del Esphera y del arte de*

*Marear* (Treaty of the Sphere and Art of Seafaring) (1535) was published by the Portuguese Francisco Faleiro, who was at the service of the Spanish Crown (Sellés 182).

The culmination of these works of navigation occurred with the publication of Pedro de Medina's *Arte de navegar* (Art of Navigation) in 1545 and Martín Cortés' *Regimiento de navegación* (Nautical Guide) in 1552. Cortés also wrote *Breve compendio de la sphera y de la arte de navegar* (Brief Compendium of the Sphere and the Art of Navigation) in 1551 (182). Sellés reminds us that Medina's book had fifteen editions in French, four in Dutch, three in Italian, and two in English. Consequently, as Guillén Tato put in the title of his work, it could be said that "Europe learned to navigate in Spanish books"[2] (Sellés 182-183). It is also worth mentioning the widely-used book written by cosmographer Rodrigo Zamorano and published in 1581, *Compendio de la Arte de navegar* (Compendium of Nautical Art). Another important work is *Instrucción náutica* (Nautical Instruction) by Diego García de Palacio, published in Mexico in 1587. This was the first printed work dealing with naval construction (182-183).

Besides creating rules to calculate latitude, the *regimentos* also contained the ephemerides or solar tables to apply them. For each day of the year, these tables gave the position of the sun in relation to the Zodiac signs, and the declination referred to the ecliptic. These ephemerides had diverse origins, including Arab and Hebrew. Some well-known works were those compiled by Alfonso X in his *Libro del Saber de Astronomía* (Brito 61).

The most important ephemerides in the history of navigation were the Zacuto tables or *Almanaque Perpetuo* (Perpetual Almanac), which were prepared between 1473 and 1478 in Salamanca, Spain, where Zacuto was a university professor. He was in Portugal from 1492 to 1496 and published in Leiria the Latin translation of the Hebrew original, which was carried out by his disciple José Vizinho. Zacuto's influence was enormous, and the *Almanaque Perpetuo* was the basis of all Portuguese tables published afterwards. Zacuto even prepared tables for Vasco da Gama and Pedro Cabral's famous trip (Brito 62). With the discovery of the constellation of the Southern Cross in approximately 1455, astronomical navigation became possible in the Southern Hemisphere, but it was still necessary to create *regimentos*, such as the one included in João de Lisboa and Andrés Pires' nautical guides (*Libros de Marinharia*) (66-67).

[2] Translated by the author.

Regarding the use of navigational instruments, the Portuguese Mestre João Farras summarizes the astronomical navigation of the era in a letter to King Manuel: "for the sea, the best method is to use the altitude of the sun rather than that of any star, and it is better to use the astrolabe rather than the quadrant or any other instrument" (67). The other instruments that Mestre João mentioned were the *balestilha* (cross-staff) and the *tavoletas ou tábuas da Índia* (Indian tables) or *Kamal*, which were brought by Vasco da Gama from India where they were used by Arab navigators. While the quadrant was adequate for stellar observations, the astrolabe was a better tool to obtain the altitude of the sun (the cross-staff was the best instrument for low altitudes). This technique continued until the eighteenth century when the sextant was introduced. The precursor of the sextant—the octant—was invented in 1731 by John Hadley, and John Bird made the first sextant almost twenty years later (Brito 67). Nautical safety depended mainly on the preparation by pilots who frequently had to carry out the function of cartographers as well. This required special training. It is known that in sixteenth-century Portugal, the Head Cosmographer, Pedro Nunes, "taught classes to maritime pilots, cartographers, and builders of navigational instruments in Lisbon" (Sellés 181-182).

In Spain, *Casa de Contratación* (House of Trade), a government agency founded in Seville in 1503 to regulate and control the colonies, established the position of Head Pilot in 1508. The Head Pilot's mission was to educate pilots who were sailing to America, as well as to evaluate and approve nautical charts and navigational instruments. Four years later, the so-called *Padrón real* was established. This was a chart in which new discoveries were annotated, constantly updated, and would be used as a model for future nautical charts. In 1552, the position of Professor of Cosmography was established with the duty of teaching Navigation and Cosmography (Sellés 182).

These advances in nautical sciences and their literary resources were not only shared by the Spanish and Portuguese pilots and cartographers, but they were also integrated into the navigation of the Pacific Ocean. This was demonstrated by the list of instruments and collection of nautical texts provided for the Legazpi-Urdaneta expedition in 1565. Several works became extremely useful, including *Tratado de navegación* (Treaty of Navigation) by Martín Fernández de Enciso, *Tratado del Esphera y del arte de marear* (Treaty of the Sphere and the Art of Navigation) by Francisco Falero, *El Compendio del arte de navegar*, (Compendium of the Art of Navigation) by Alfonso Sanchez de Huelva, and the famous works by Pedro de Medina and Martín Cortés, which had been written and used since 1545, although they were not published until 1551 (Cárdenas 87).

The 1565 expedition initiated the colonization of the Philippines. It was preceded by a period of intense conflict between the Spaniards and the Portuguese that began with the expedition of Loaysa to the Moluccas Islands in 1525. This conflict was caused by the stipulations of the Treaty of Tordesillas, which divided the newly discovered lands between Portugal and Spain along a meridian 370 leagues west of Cape Verde. The lands to the east belonged to Portugal and the lands to the west to Spain. According to the terms of the Treaty, the Moluccas Islands were located in the middle. This ambiguity created problems of jurisdiction over the islands and led to a long dispute between King Carlos I of Spain and King João II of Portugal. The struggle over the Moluccas Islands became a priority for the Spanish King. In order to determine rights over the islands, three Spanish-Portuguese commissions were created. The first one was held in the Spanish town of Vitoria, the other two in Elvas (Portugal) and Badajoz (Spain). However, negotiations ceased in 1524 (Cárdenas 15).

The failure of these negotiations resulted in the preparation of a Spanish expedition to conquer the Moluccas Islands. It was also the first voyage of Andrés de Urdaneta to the Pacific Ocean. On July 24 of 1525, an armada comprised of seven ships left La Coruña, Spain, under the command of García Jofre de Loaysa. Their goal was to occupy the Moluccas Islands and, consequently, gain control of the spice trade. This was the second trip to the area after Fernando de Magallanes.

At the time, Andrés de Urdaneta was 17 years old. He served as Juan Sebastián Elcano's assistant on the ship "Santi Spiritu." He returned to Spain only eleven years later (Cárdenas 37). Already during the 1525 expedition, he exhibited some of the qualities that would define him throughout his life and took on a variety of rolls that characterized his biography. He was a navigator, a cosmographer, a soldier, an adventurer, a merchant, a diplomat, and a man of the Church. He excelled at all of these professions and, from his diary, we have a reliable source of information that illustrates his undeniable leadership qualities, open-minded character, endless curiosity, power of observation, and solid humanistic preparation.

Loaysa and Elcano died during this expedition while sailing through the Strait of Magallanes, but Andrés de Urdaneta took on great responsibilities in spite of his young age. More than three months after leaving the Strait of Magallanes, the ship arrived in Guam. At that point, the captain of the expedition, Toribio Alonso de Salazar, also passed away, so Martín Iñiguez de Carquizano took charge of the voyage. After a short stay in one of the Mindanao islands, they reached the Moluccas Islands (Cárdenas 46-47).

The order by Carlos I of Spain to conquer the islands and build a fortress led to a war between the Spaniards and Portuguese that began in 1527 in Tidor (Arteche 69). During this confrontation, Urdaneta demonstrated his expertise as a mariner, a soldier and a diplomat—just as he had done during the voyage from La Coruña—in a situation characterized by constant conflict between the Spaniards and Portuguese. At the same time, this conflict also involved the natives who supported one side on some occasions and switched to the other side when it suited them.

Under the command of Martín Iñíguez de Zarquizano, Urdaneta carried out important missions on different islands as the ambassador and military leader of the Spaniards and indigenous peoples against the Portuguese, as well as captain of exploratory expeditions in the area. This allowed him to not only become acquainted with the geography of the region but also establish contact with the natives.

As the war with the Portuguese intensified, Urdaneta led military operations against them and also against the Tarenate Indians, who were their allies. Zarquizano's death and his replacement by Hernando de la Torre further intensified the war. Faced with continuous attacks by the Portuguese, de la Torre decided to surrender. In 1529, the Spaniards moved to Zamafo (Arteche 104).

Urdaneta, however, did not accept the surrender and, together with a group of soldiers, initiated a period of violent military expedition on the islands, which allowed him to familiarize himself with different languages and cultures. In the end, he became the ultimate defender of the cooperation between the Spaniards and Portuguese and signed a peace treaty in 1530 (Arteche 113). That same year, he was sent on a diplomatic mission by de la Torre to sign a friendship pact with the indigenous leaders (115).

In November of 1530, a Portuguese armada arrived in Tarenate under the command of Admiral Gonzalo de Pereira. He informed the Spaniards about the clauses of the Treaty of Zaragoza signed in 1529, in which Spain conceded the Moluccas Islands to Portugal. This forced Urdaneta to change his plans. Five years later, he returned to Spain, sailing by the island of Java and the Malaccan peninsula as well as Ceylon (127). In Cochin, he joined de la Torre and his companions to take a convoy heading to Portugal. He arrived in Lisbon in June of 1536 (Arteche 129).

Upon arrival, the Portuguese authorities confiscated all of Urdaneta's documents, including maps to the Spice Islands that were prepared for the Loaysa expedition as well as nautical information on the ship "La Florida" from the coast of New Spain (129-130). Urdaneta headed to Valladolid to meet the king, who was in Italy at the time, and informed the Consejo de