

THE SPANISH COLONIAL TRADITION

From 1565 to 1898 the Philippines was a colony of Spain. During this long period, Spanish-influenced architecture appeared, namely, the *iglesia* or *simbahan* (church) and its adjoining *campanario* (bell tower) and *convento* (residence of the parish priest), the *escuela* (school), the *fuerza* or *fortaleza* (fortification), the civic buildings like the *casa real* and *tribunal*, the *farola* (lighthouses), the *bahay na bato* (dwellings of wood and stone), and the *puente* (stone bridges).

It is generally acknowledged that the Philippines is the bastion of Christianity in the Orient. Some scholars believe that, because of this, the country absorbed the greatest degree of influence from the west in the Asian region, losing much of its identity in the process. Other scholars believe, however, that all these influences were really assimilated by the older ethnic base, which actually indigenized them. It is pointed out, for example, that the Spanish word for church, *iglesia*, never became fully accepted among the Filipinos, who used their own terms to denote a place of worship. Thus the Tagalog and Cebuano use *simbahan*, the Ilocano, *simbaan*, and the Pampango, *pisamban*. This process of indigenization was to characterize much of Filipino construction during the more than three centuries of Spanish colonization.

The Beginnings

The history of Philippine architecture under the Spanish regime begins with the arrival of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi's expedition in 1565. In Cebu, Legaspi's men founded a city, built a chapel, and erected a fort. The Spaniards then spent a short while in Iloilo, but because of promising reports they continued further north to Manila. In 1571 they took over the charred remains of the settlement of the city's previous native ruler Soliman. Legaspi then traced the borders of the new Spanish city on the strategic tongue of land at the mouth of the Pasig River.

From the beginnings of Spanish Manila may already be discerned the patterns which were to characterize much of colonial town planning throughout the country. Streets were built at right angles to each other, with the resulting layout appearing like a huge chessboard. There was a huge, open square, called the plaza, around which were situated the most important buildings of the city: the cathedral, the governor general's palace, the tribunal, and the city council. Secondary plazas were later constructed in different parts of the city. Since the city was located by the sea, an additional ordinance was followed: the main plaza was located close to the waterfront. For pueblos or towns located inland, the plaza was ordinarily placed in the center. Although the plaza evolved in Spain and other European countries during the Renaissance, it was in the Spanish colonies in America that the plaza complex was fully developed and exploited. The Philippines was, therefore, the recipient of much of the town-planning experience gained in the New World.

The fusion of East and West in Philippine architecture was slowly effected through

trialand error. The first buildings were of wood and bamboo, materials the Filipinos had been working expertly with since early times. Roofs were of nipa palm or cogon grass, and doubtless these primary constructions resembled the native residences. It became clear, however, that clusters of these wooden houses were predisposed to fire. By the mid-1580s, through the efforts of Domingo Salazar, the first bishop of Manila, and of the Jesuit Antonio Sedeño, edifices began to be constructed of stone. Fr. Sedeño built the first stone building, which was the residence of Bishop Salazar, as well as the first stone tower, which was one of the defenses of the walled city. By 1587 Governor General Santiago de Vera required all buildings in Manila to be built of stone. For this purpose, the Chinese and the Filipinos were taught how to quarry and dress stone, how to prepare and use mortar, and how to mold bricks. Thus began what has been called the first golden age of building in stone. Glowing accounts of towering palaces and splendid mansions reached the Peninsula. But the ambitious plans of the Spaniards were dashed in 1645 when a terrible earthquake struck Manila. As one writer quipped, citizens were no longer roasted; they were crushed instead.

The twin dangers of fire and earthquake gave rise to another type of architecture. New edifices, with the significant exception of churches, rarely rose to more than two floors. Stone walls expanded to as much as 3 meters thick, and buildings started to employ buttresses. Stone was used only for the first story; the second story was now built of wood. Another important element was the incorporation of the prehispanic framework, which relied on interlocking beams and houseposts to hold a structure together. The stone walls yielded their load-bearing role to the houseposts, known as *haligi* or *harigue*; in effect, the second floor was supported by the houseposts, while the stone walls acted as a solid curtain for the wooden framework. This type of construction was soon called *arquitectura mestiza* or “mixed architecture”—a term used by the Jesuit Ignacio Alzina as early as 1668—because it was partly of wood and partly of stone (Merino 1987: 67).

The character of *arquitectura mestiza* was further influenced by its builders who were mostly amateurs and artisans. The Philippines, which was two oceans removed from Spain, was understandably not one of the popular tourist destinations in those days, and very few professional architects made it to these shores. Construction projects were, therefore, initiated and supervised by both civil and religious authorities, especially by parish priests who were forced to handle such chores as bridge building. Even then, there was no guarantee that what the friar’s hand traced on paper would be faithfully translated into stone.

The actual business of building was done by what were then known as the *maestros de obras* (master builders). These were natives who had practical experience and who learned additional skills from the friars, engineers, and other knowledgeable persons. The Augustinian scholar Luis Merino has theorized that Filipinos were at the helm of construction projects just 20 years after the founding of Manila. The names of these native builders are slowly coming to light. Indications are that the *maestro de obras* of the walls of Intramuros in 1591 was a Filipino named Pedro Jusepe. Moreover, Fr. Merino has unearthed 1591 documents which confirm that these laborers were paid

wages, a practice which is proved by records spanning three centuries (Merino 1987: 51-53).

Only during the second half of the 19th century, when the Philippines was enjoying an economic boom, did more and more professional engineers and architects from Spain arrive in the country. It was then that the first Filipino professional architect Felix Roxas Sr., arrived from studies abroad to practice his profession. The earthquakes which struck Manila in 1863 and 1880, although disastrous, provided at least one good result: the city engineers got together and finally produced a set of building ordinances designed to reduce the destruction caused by earthquakes. It was observed that edifices constructed after the 1863 earthquake, incorporating scientific building principles, withstood the 1880 catastrophe and suffered little damage. Towards the last decades of the 19th century, there was so much building activity in progress that many builders were caught unaware by the Philippine revolution against Spain. Some churches were lucky to be finished under the American colonial regime; others were never completed.

The many building requirements issued during the Spanish regime took into consideration the wide variety of materials available in the country. Obviously, the earliest churches, houses, and buildings of the colonial period were made of wood and bamboo. Filipino carpenters were expert at determining which kind of wood was best suited to which functions. Molave, for example, was the best for houseposts, because it was impervious to termites; it could be imbedded in the ground without rotting, and it hardened as it aged. Narra was a favorite for *tabla* (floorboards), because of its deep red color and the beautiful sheen it acquired when polished. Nails were not used until much later. Instead, wooden pegs and dovetail joints kept the pieces together; this feature allowed wooden structures a certain flexibility of movement without splitting or breaking apart during earthquakes.

With the discovery of stone quarries in the 1580s by Bishop Salazar and Fr. Sedeño, the art of masonry slowly developed throughout the islands. Buildings of cut stone, such as those in Manila, were described as *de silleria* or *de cal y canto*. Outside Manila the skill of cutting stone spread only gradually, and buildings were erected using variously shaped rocks and river stones; this type of construction, known as rubblework, was called *de mamposteria*. The art of making bricks was also introduced at the same time as building in stone. Clay, molded in rectangular wooden forms, was fired in kilns to produce *ladrillos* (bricks), *tejas* (roof tiles), and *baldosas* (floor tiles). Sometimes floors were paved with heavy slabs of granite left by the Chinese galleons, which had used them as ballast; hence these stones were called *piedra china*. Stones and bricks were cemented together using *argamasa* (mortar), a mixture of powdered lime and water. Lime was obtained from limestone quarries, coral reefs, and seashells. According to typical Filipino lore, ingredients as plant sap, molasses, and even eggs were used to make the mortar more binding and durable.

Another important function of mortar was to protect masonry walls from erosion and moisture brought on by the humid atmosphere and heavy rains. Known as

paletada, this protective layer of mortar was also carved to provide ornamentation for facades and entrances. Mortar, applied over a screen of interwoven branches and wooden slats produced a thin wall known as *tabique pampango*, which was used primarily for partitions between rooms but sometimes also as exterior walls.

Glass, which was imported and very expensive, was rarely used in the country. Instead, window panes were made from the translucent *capiz* clam, which allowed light to filter through while at the same time acting as a protective barrier. Modern materials, such as galvanized iron sheets and Portland cement, were introduced towards the last decades of the 19th century.

As construction techniques were developed, quarries opened, and kilns constructed, various parts of the country began to show a preference for specific building materials. Most of the buildings in Manila and central Luzon were of adobe, a volcanic tuff quarried from the hills which is entirely different from the material of the same name found in Latin America (adobe in those hispanic countries refers to mud and straw formed into rectangular blocks which are then dried in the sun). In northern Luzon brick was the essential building material; houses and churches of brick were also built in scattered areas of the archipelago, all the way down to Jolo, Sulu. Towns along the coasts of Luzon, especially from Zambales to Batangas, used roughly hewn blocks of coral stone. Many constructions in the Bicol peninsula took advantage of the abundant volcanic stone. Throughout the Visayas, the craft of cutting stone or coral was virtually elevated into a fine art, with blocks fitting so precisely into each other that not even a razor blade could be inserted between blocks. The material was so durable that it did not have to be protected with a layer of *paletada*. This art was brought by the Visayan settlers to the coastal towns of Mindanao.

Under more than three centuries of Spanish initiative, buildings of wood, stone, and brick were constructed all over the archipelago, from the Batanes Islands in the north to Tawi-Tawi in the south, from Palawan in the west to Samar in the east. These structures may be classified into four main groups, based on their function in the community: military, religious, domestic, and civil.

Military Architecture

Realizing the perils of their expedition in Cebu, Legazpi and his men erected in 1565 a triangular fort near the coast of the city. Named Fort San Pedro, it was a modest palisade of timber which, as it turned out, would be the first in a chain of fortifications erected by the Spaniards throughout the country. In the process of colonizing the Philippines, the Spaniards made many enemies: the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, and the Chinese. Many Filipinos were also resentful about Spanish encroachments and led sorties against the new settlements. Most disgruntled of all were the Igorot peoples of the Cordillera and the Muslims of Mindanao; both these groups resisted hispanization until the end of the Spanish

regime. The Muslims, in particular, erected their own *kuta* or forts to protect themselves from the Spaniards.

In Manila, a palisade was built in 1571 around the new city. The first stone fort Nuestra Señora de Guia was built in the 1580s by Fr. Sedeño at one corner of the Walled City facing what is now Rizal Park. Its foundations were later incorporated into the stone walls enclosing Manila, which were built by Governor General Gomez Perez Dasmariñas in the 1590s. During this time another fort was constructed over the ruins of the fortifications of the city's previous Filipino ruler, Soliman; named after Spain's patron saint, Santiago, it guarded the mouth of the Pasig River. Across the bay from Manila was Cavite, which became the port of call for the galleons; in time this city was also fortified with stone walls and its own fort, named San Felipe.

A typical stone fort had three or more sides called *cortinas*. Above some of these walls were *casamatas* (stone platforms) from which cannon and other artillery aimed outwards. Flanking *cortinas* on both ends were quadrangular bulwarks known as *baluartes* or *bastiones*. At other corners were perched little turrets, called *garitas*, in which sentinels kept watch. A *foso* (moat) often surrounded the entire fortification, and at the water's outer reaches a low wall called the *falsabraga* provided yet another line of defense. A heavy structure, known as the *revellin*, was sometimes erected on one side of the main entrance for added protection. Depending on its size, the inside of a fort could include the following: *alojamientos* (living quarters) for the soldiers; *calabozo* (jail), *herreria* (foundry), *almacenes* (warehouse) for powder, provisions, and ammunition; *pozo* (well), and even a chapel. In fact, entire churches were incorporated into forts, the entrance to the church also serving as the entrance to the fort. Examples of church fortresses of this kind may still be seen in Cuyo, Palawan; Capul, northern Samar, and Guiuan, eastern Samar. In a number of places, such as Miag-ao, Iloilo and Atimonan, Quezon, the churches themselves doubled as fortresses. In Dupax, Nueva Vizcaya, the priest's quarters had slit windows from which archers and gunfighters could repel attacks by the unconverted Isinay.

In an attempt to deter Muslim raids into the Visayas and Luzon, the Spaniards built forts in the strategic islands of Palawan, Cuyo, and Culion. They also dared construct stone forts in the homeland of the Moros: Mindanao. These were built in Zamboanga, Basilan, Tandag, Cagayan de Oro, Cotabato, and Pangui, in what is now Ozamis City. With the advent of steamships, the Spaniards gained the upper hand and in 1876 conquered Moro territories in the Sulu archipelago. Small stone fortifications rose in the islands of Jolo, Siasi, and Bongao.

Although the Spaniards had their hands full with the Moros, they also had to contend with other disgruntled Filipinos who lived in the interior. Thus a fort was built in Lubao, Pampanga as a defense against the Aeta. In 18th-century Cagayan, forts were constructed in Tuao and five other towns as defenses against the Igorot from the nearby Cordilleras.

Since the government in Manila was slow in sending help and armaments, it was

often left to the parish priest and the townspeople to set up their own defenses. Watchtowers were set up along the coasts to spread warning signals to the nearby towns. While a great number of watchtowers in the Bicol peninsula were of wood, those built under Augustinian supervision along the coasts of Ilocos, Batangas, and Cebu were of stone, and hence more massive. The Recollects also built stone towers and forts for their parishes in Masbate, Romblon, Bohol, and Negros.

With the modernization of shipping, the *farola* (lighthouse) became necessary. Many extant *farola*, such as those in Bangui, Ilocos Norte, guarding Cape Bojeador; Palauig Island, Cagayan, guarding Cape Engaño; Corregidor, guarding the entrance to Manila Bay; and Capul Island, northern Samar, guarding the San Bernardino Strait, were built in the last decades of the 19th century. They were renovated and improved by the Americans in the next century.

Despite all these fortifications, complaints and reports persisted that the colonized settlements were not defended enough. In 1762 the British practically breezed their way to the gates of Manila, the fortified walls of Cavite and Intramuros notwithstanding. After their departure in 1764, an old fort in the district of Malate was rebuilt to improve the defenses; named after San Antonio Abad, it was also known as La Polvorista, because it was used as a powder magazine. Ironically, it was over this fort that the Americans first raised the Stars and Stripes in the Battle of Manila in 1898.

Religious Architecture

Easily the most visible reminder of the Spanish heritage is the Catholic church in the center of most Philippine towns. The great number and variety of this and other religious structures confirm the fact that the Spaniards were here not just for commercial gain but, more importantly, to win souls for God.

The Christianization of the Filipinos was the work of two types of clergy, the religious and the secular. The religious clergy was composed of several orders, each of which had its own provincial who was responsible to the order's headquarters in Spain. In the Philippines the most important religious orders were the Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Augustinian Recollects. On the other hand, the secular clergy was governed by a hierarchy of bishops and archbishops. Due to various historical reasons, the great majority of the Filipinos were converted by members of the religious orders, generally called *frailes* or friars, who arrived from Mexico or Spain in a boatload or *barkada* (today "barkada" means gang or peer group). In contrast, the small number of the secular clergy limited them to serving in cathedrals and a few parishes.

The earliest religious structures were churches built for the religious orders, who lived in adjoining monasteries. The first monastic churches were built for the Augustinians in Cebu and Manila in the same years these cities were taken over by the Spaniards.

The mother churches of all the religious orders were concentrated in Intramuros; hence the largest monasteries in the Islands were also located here. From Intramuros the friars set forth to conquer spiritual fields for the Lord, not only throughout the Philippines but also in China, Japan, Cambodia, Indonesia, and Guam.

Smaller monasteries were founded as rest areas in cooler places around Manila, for example, in San Francisco del Monte for the Franciscans. Sadly, many monasteries in other large urban centers, such as those for the Dominicans in Lallo, Cagayan, the Franciscans in Naga, Camarines Sur, and the Recollects in Cebu City have disappeared. Luckily, the 18th-century house of the Jesuits in Cebu City still stands, although it has been converted into a warehouse.

These monasteries served as headquarters for the religious in certain areas, and thus had many rooms and were quite large. A monastery was basically four sided in plan, with a cloister enclosing an inner courtyard, atrium, or garden, where the friars could meditate. One entered through the *porteria*, the office where records were kept, schedules arranged, and religious prayerbooks sold. The friars met their guests in the *recibidor*, and had their meals in the *refectorio*. In the Augustinian monastery of Intramuros, the refectorio is preceded by a *de profundis* room, where the residents prayed for their deceased companions and benefactors. The wing adjoining the church was reserved for the sacristy, where the priests vested for mass; vestments, utensils, and decorations for religious rituals were also kept here. Living quarters and recreation rooms were on the second floor.

The influence of monastery architecture is most obvious in the construction of the parish priest's residence. This building, ordinarily called *casa parroquial* (parish house) in other countries, is until today popularly referred to as the convento, a term originally reserved for houses of monastic communities. Conventos most akin to monasteries are those of the Franciscans along the shores of Laguna de Bay, which are quadrangular cloisters enclosing gardens. Many others were L-shaped, with the church building providing a third side so that the plan resembled a C or a U; although the fourth side was missing, the space for an inner courtyard was still retained.

The conventos, more than their older and grander cousins, the monasteries, followed the canons of traditional Philippine architecture. Apart from the bedrooms or cells, the *sala* (receiving room) and the *comedor* (dining room) were located on the second floor. An open area, called the *azotea*, enabled residents to enjoy the cool evening breezes. Elsewhere were spaces for a clinic, classrooms, and storage. In some towns, such as Sarrat, Ilocos Norte, the convento doubled as the municipal hall.

Of the various kinds of churches in the Philippines, the parish church was the most common. This church indicated that a town had "come of age," i.e., it was an independent parish and had its own parish priest. A system of prayers and religious devotions was introduced and maintained by the ringing of the church bells; hence people lived "under" the sound of the bells or *bajo las campanas*.

For a town to be elevated to the status of parish, a church should already have been built in the community. In probably all cases, this primal church was of local light materials, such as bamboo, wood, and thatch. As the parish grew in size and wealth, the church was improved, strengthened, or even rebuilt. There were instructions that as much of the old structure should be used whenever reconstruction was carried out. For example, after the fire of 1707 in Majayjay, Laguna, the parish priest enclosed the old, charred walls in layers of brick and masonry work, resulting in new walls that were 3 meters thick. Up to the 19th century buttresses were added to reinforce walls against earthquakes. The most outstanding of these may be seen in Pangasinan, Ilocos, and the Cagayan Valley.

The main longitudinal body of the church was the nave; large churches could have a nave flanked by two aisles. The entrance was through the huge wooden doors of the main entrance. To either one's left or right was the *bautisterio* (baptistry), where newly born babies were baptized into the Christian faith. The placing of the baptistry close to the entrance was symbolic of one's entry into the Christian community. At the far end of the sanctuary was the *altar mayor* (main altar), with its elaborately decorated retablo or altar screen. In many cases, the church incorporated a transept, which was a hall cutting across the nave just before the main altar, making the floor plan resemble a cross. Over the crossing of the nave and the transept was usually a dome or a tower with windows that illuminated the sanctuary. To one side or behind the main altar was the *sacristia* (sacristy), where the priest and his assistants put on their vestments before celebrating mass. The priest delivered his sermon from the *pulpito* (pulpit), an elevated structure (generally of wood) located at the nave at some distance from the transept. Musicians and singers performed at the *coro* (choir loft), a high platform just behind or over the main entrance. Following the Spanish tradition, the organ was perched on a loft next to the *coro*. Most of the congregation were left to stand or kneel; long benches were provided only for the *principales* or leading citizens of the community. Persons who wanted to attend the ceremonies privately could do so behind the *tribunas*, screened balconies with access from the second floor of the convento. The interior of the church was often richly furnished with side altars, paintings, and carvings of religious subjects, but everything was intended to focus attention on the tabernacle at the center of the main altar.

Apart from the convento which was discussed earlier, another integral part of the church was its *campanario* (bell tower). This structure often adjoined the church building, and its ground floor usually housed the baptistry. Bell towers could be as simple as the four-posted structures of early churches, or imposing, like the solitary monuments of the Ilocos. Only a few churches managed to hang bells from *espadañas*, free standing walls with openings which were popular in Latin America. The threat of earthquakes confined their construction to only a small number of churches, chiefly in the north. Bells performed many services for the community, tolling the hours, calling the congregation to worship, announcing important events, and warning of impending danger.

The church compound was the most dominant feature of any town's architecture.

The impressive vista formed by the outlines of the bell tower, church, and convento was enhanced by the spacious yard or patio in front of it, which was often enclosed by low stone walls and ringed by venerable acacia trees. A number of churchyards were marked at regular intervals by little shrines for the 14 Stations of the Cross, as in Argao, Cebu.

The patio was the site for outdoor ceremonies, like the *hosanna* of Palm Sunday, and the lighting of the Easter fire and the *salubong* of Easter Sunday. For the *hosanna*, a raised and decorated platform was built to house children, dressed as angels, who sang the hymn “Hosanna Filio David.” For the *salubong*, a tall and elaborate construction of bamboo called *galilea* and resembling a triumphal arch, was built so the images of the Virgin and the Risen Christ could pass under. At signal, a child, dressed as an angel, descended from the apex of the arch to remove the black veil of the Virgin. For fiestas and other occasions, the *arko* (arches) were built not only in the patio but also in strategic spots around town. Some of these arches could be ostentatious architectural structures of wood, sporting features as ogee arches, cartouches, swags, and moldings. The more humble though equally pleasing arch was made of bamboo. Temporary shelters of bamboo, called *kubol* in Tagalog or *abong-abong* in Ilocano, were built especially for Holy Week and the feast of Corpus Christi. For the latter feast, a procession starting from the church would stop at these structures for benediction and prayer. The *kubol* resembled the huts, called *tuklong*, made by farmers in their fields. An altar with a *santo*, candles, and flowers completed the furniture of the hut.

One other important part of the church complex was the cemetery, which in many parishes was located some distance away from the town center. In the early days the dead were buried inside the church, but this practice was found to be unhygienic; subsequent decrees called for the provision of graveyards, first outside the church, and eventually away from the plaza. Cemeteries and their chapels became veritable architectural monuments in themselves; the one in Janiway, Iloilo won for its builder an award from Spain for its artistry.

Lying outside the town proper were villages or barrios whose inhabitants chose to live near their rice and farm lands. To minister to their spiritual needs, the *visita* system was evolved. Chapels built in selected areas were visited by the priests according to a regular schedule. Various called *capilla*, *camarin*, *ermita*, *santuario*, *tukiong*, or *visita*, a structure of this type was often only of light materials. As the barrio grew, the chapel could be rebuilt in stone; if the residents were numerous enough, they could even petition to be separated from the mother parish and be elevated into an independent parish.

To facilitate the religious administration of the islands, the country was divided into several dioceses headed by bishops. At the seat of each diocese, which was often the capital of a region, was a cathedral. By the end of the 19th century the Philippines had six cathedrals—in Manila; Lallo, Cagayan; Vigan, Ilocos Sur; Naga, Camarines Sur; Cebu; and Jaro, Iloilo.

An adjunct to the cathedral was the bishop's residence which resembled a convento in form, although it was much larger. Unfortunately, all except one of the six structures were destroyed during World War II. The only remaining bishop's residence from this period is the one in Vigan, Ilocos Sur.

Each diocese was also responsible for the establishment and maintenance of seminaries for the formation of the secular clergy. Due to many problems, however, seminaries were only established in the 18th century. Only one seminary from this period still stands today: that of the diocese of Nueva Caceres in Naga, Camarines Sur.

The rectangular form appears to have been the basic structure of religious buildings. This form was hardly touched by such concepts as baroque movement, rococo lighting, or gothic structure. Exceptions to these are few but are highly interesting, namely, the Greek cross plan, with all four arms short and equal in length, adopted by the magnificent church of Oton in Iloilo; the round and oval floor plans used for various cemetery chapels; and the undulating facade of the San Luis Church in Pampanga, which appears to have been an experiment with baroque structure.

Western and other influences are evident in the various styles of building ornament and furnishings. In the 19th-century gothic arches, romanesque recessed portals, byzantine friezes, and neoclassic columns appeared on facades and walls, enlivening what would otherwise be squat, heavy structures. These, however, were not always precisely copied from Western models, but were interpreted by artisans according to their taste and were sometimes combined with native motifs.

Domestic Architecture

The *bahay kubo* was the archetype for domestic architecture during the Spanish regime. In its most basic form, the house consisted of four walls enclosing one or more rooms, with the whole structure raised above ground on stilts. Contemporary writers have described it as a "floating volume." Its resemblance to a cube earned its description in Spanish, *cubo*. Being in the tropics, the house was designed to allow maximum ventilation. Its large windows and slatted floor insured the flow of air throughout the interior. Bamboo, nipa, cogon grass, anahaw leaves, and other organic materials were used for the walls and roof. Inside, partitions were kept to a minimum.

Rain water slid off quickly from the steep roof, while floods and moist ground were as light inconvenience as the house was safely above the ground. The bahay kubo was constructed as a community project in the tradition of *bayanihan* or communal cooperation. The house was simple and light enough, so that it could be carried by a number of people and transferred to another location.

Inside, the living area was divided into two principal parts. The larger space was the sala or *bulwagan* (living room). On one side or corner of this was the *silid*, a small

room where clothes, mats, and pillows were kept. The other space was the *kusina* (kitchen), which had a *banguera*, a window rack made of split bamboo where plates and glasses were exposed to the sun to dry. Next to the kitchen was a roofless extension, also of split bamboo, called the *batalan*, where the family washed and bathed.

The simplest house was a one-room affair. Some had an enclosed sleeping room which was often raised a little above the bamboo floor. Although popularly called a *cuarto* after its Spanish equivalent, Pigafetta's observation in 1521 that Cebuano houses had rooms similar to those of the Europeans suggests that this feature may date back to prehispanic times (Pigafetta 1969:38); moreover, there are native terms for it, such as the Tagalog *silid* and the Visayan *sulod*.

As mentioned earlier, fire and earthquakes tempered the Spanish penchant for building extravagant mansions, such as those found in Spain and Mexico. Eventually, nature forced the colonizers to appreciate the advantages of the lowly bahay kubo. The reconstruction of the late 17th-century Piñero house in Intramuros by scholars Fernando Zialcita and Martin Tinio Jr. (Zialcita and Tinio Jr. 1980:242-244) shows us that, although the stone walls reached up to the second floor, some native features had already been adopted. The living quarters were on the second floor, a *batalan* was provided at the back, and huge *molave haligi* supported the entire structure. Already present at this date was the *volada*, a cantilevered wooden gallery which was to characterize many *arquitectura mestiza* houses of the 18th and 19th centuries. The tall and thick stone walls may be attributed to the fact that Manila in the 17th century was still suffering from the trauma of the Dutch and Chinese invasions, so that houses were practically minifortresses.

In contrast to the fortified Intramuros house, examples of 18th-century houses in the provinces, although exceedingly rare, indicate a more relaxed lifestyle and, in their retention of the basic space allocations of the bahay kubo, represent an evolutionary transition to the 19th-century stone-and-wood houses, called bahay na bato. The modest Palma house in Imus, Cavite very much resembles a bahay kubo, except that its ground floor is enclosed with heavy stone walls. The living quarters are on the second floor. The *sala* takes up most of the space, and a little *cuarto* is reached by ascending just two steps. The more massive Ordoveza residence in Majayjay, Laguna also retains the traditional two-level arrangement, with the living quarters on the upper floor. There is a large *sala*, which leads to several *cuartos*. The dining room and the *batalan* are at the back. Solid houseposts go all the way to the ceiling, supporting the second story and the roof timbers.

Due to economic gains and the rise of the mestizo sangley or Chinese half-breed class in the 19th century, a number of Filipinos became wealthy enough to build their own bahay na bato. Some of the finest of these are in the towns of Taal, Batangas and Vigan, Ilocos Sur.

In the Taal houses, the *volada* came to its full development. This gallery, whose

name is derived from the Spanish word “to fly,” projected outward from the first-story wall, providing shade to pedestrians below. The slatted floor of the bahay kubo was now replaced with wide floorboards called *tablas*. Since the floor no longer admitted air, openings called *ventanillas* were provided between the floor and the windowsills. When the sliding panels of both *ventanillas* and windows were opened, the walls of the upper floor practically disappeared. Enhanced by the decorative tracery, wrought-iron work, and *calados* or wooden fretwork, the whole house resembled a huge bird cage (Zobel de Ayala 1963:28).

Until recently Philippine colonial houses were described as Antillan, because they seemed to resemble houses in the Antilles or West Indies. Upon closer scrutiny, however, the notion of similarity had to be given up. Among other reasons, the enclosed volada sets the bahay na bato apart from its cousins in colonial America, where the balconies were generally exposed.

In Vigan, capital of Ilocos Sur, many home owners chose to build both stories in brick, which was available in large quantities. With the massive walls, the volada disappeared in many residences and the kitchen became an extension in stone, with vents piercing the walls to let out smoke.

Different regions evolved their own building styles, which were in many cases dependent on the materials available. In the northernmost province of Batanes, which is often hit by storms, the Ivatan built houses of stone. The wall facing the strongest winds was always left windowless. Since adobe lends itself to sculpture, houses in Bulacan had facades decorated with carved flowers, leaves, and religious symbols.

With the growing complexity of life in the 19th century, space in the bahay na bato was allocated for specific purposes. The entrance was through the *zaguán*, a hall on the ground floor. As in the bahay kubo, much of the ground level was reserved for storage; in business districts some spaces were rented to shops. Horses for carriages were housed in stables called *caballerizas*. Ascending the *escalera* (grand staircase), the visitor waited to be received at the *caída* or *antesala* or a large room where informal entertaining took place. The *sala*, often the largest room in the house, was reserved for special functions such as *tertulias* or evening soirees. Displayed here were family portraits and the best furniture. At one end of the living room was the *comedor* (dining room), which led to the *kusina* with its ever practical *banguera*. To one side of the kitchen was the bathroom and toilet. The *batalán* was now transformed into the *azotea*, an outdoor terrace where the residents and their guests repaired to during cool clear nights. There were any number of bedrooms or *cuartos* which opened onto the *sala*. The upper part of partitions consisted of wooden fretwork called *calados*, which allowed air to circulate at ceiling height.

Although retaining the basic boxlike form, the 19th-century bahay na bato reflected changing tastes through the incorporation of motifs from the prevalent styles. Neoclassic decorations included columns, caryatids, and friezes adopted from Greek

and Roman architecture. Ogee or pointed arches over doors and windows were marks of the gothic revival. It was not uncommon to mix elements from different styles. In areas far from urban centers, such as Mindanao, ornament was enriched by motifs derived from local cultures.

Civil Architecture

Once established in Manila, the Spaniards commenced the construction of a number of buildings for the various offices needed in running the colony. These buildings, which represent probably the least-known class of colonial architecture in the country, may be grouped under three types based on their function: administrative, social, and commercial.

Flanking the Plaza Mayor of Manila were two of the most important administrative buildings in the land. The first was known by various names: *casa del ayuntamiento*, *casa del cabildo*, *casa consistorial*, *casa real*. This sprawling building was the seat of the country's government. It contained numerous administrative offices and the archives. On the second floor was a large hall where state banquets and balls were held. Across the *ayuntamiento* was the residence of the highest official of the land: the *palacio del gobernador general* or *palacio real*. On the second floor was the residence of the governor general and his family; in another part was housed the Real Audiencia or tribunal, until its abolition in the 18th century. The *ayuntamiento* and the *palacio*, both made of stone, had two stories and spacious inner courtyards. Like many buildings in the country, they had to be rebuilt quite a few times because of fires and earthquakes. The earthquake of 1863 totally destroyed the governor general's palace. It was never rebuilt; instead the governor general moved his quarters to a vacation house, called *Malacañang*, farther up the Pasig River.

Smaller versions of the *ayuntamiento* were built in towns all over the country, and were referred to as *casa real*, *casa municipal*, or simply *municipio*. Symbolizing the secular power of the state, it stood at one end of the town plaza, facing the symbol of religious power, the church. Some towns, proud of their status as capitals of the province, erected stone archways at the entrance to the poblacion. Such structures still exist in Pagsanjan, former capital of Laguna, and in Bucay, former capital of Abra.

The *casa hacienda* was the administrative building for the hacienda or landed estate. This consisted of one or more sprawling edifices housing quarters for the administrators and workers, kitchens, storerooms, carpentry shops, stables, and of course, a chapel. The *casa hacienda* built by the Augustinians in 1716 in Mandaluyong is one of the oldest in existence. Today it houses the Don Bosco Technical School for Boys.

A large number of buildings may be classified as social buildings. Contrary to popular belief, the Spaniards attended to the various needs of the population with a

concern that in many ways surpassed that shown by other European countries for their own people. Foremost among these was education, which for the greater part of the Spanish regime was administered by the religious orders. In the middle of the 18th century, Intramuros could boast of at least six schools within its walls. The Colegio de Santo Rosario, which developed into the Universidad de Santo Tomas, was founded in 1611 by the Dominicans. Other schools were the Colegio de San Felipe, the Colegio de San Juan de Letran, the Colegio de San Jose, the Colegio de Santa Isabel, and the Real Colegio de Santa Potenciana. In Vigan there was the Colegio de San Pablo and in Naga, the Colegio de Santa Isabel. In Cebu the Colegio de San Ildefonso was the forerunner of today's University of San Carlos. Separate buildings for public schools, popularly called *escuelas pias*, began to be constructed in the 19th century. A few large towns ventured to open vocational schools. The Escuela de Artes y Oficios de Bacolor in Pampanga was rebuilt in 1892 after it was damaged by fire.

Some of the schools in Intramuros began as orphanages. In the 19th century two more of such institutions were established: the Hospicio de San Jose and the Asilo de San Vicente de Paul. Both these charitable institutions enjoyed the luxury of spacious buildings and wide inner courtyards, in the center of which stood a chapel. The Hospicio nestled on a picturesque island on the Pasig River.

The first hospital was set up in Manila by the Franciscans in 1578. It was later turned over to the order of San Juan de Dios, which built a beautiful stone hospital and church in the 18th century. Three other hospitals were established in Manila: the Hospital Real, which was reserved only for the Spaniards; the Hospital de San Gabriel, for the Chinese in Binondo, and the Hospital de San Lazaro, for lepers in Santa Cruz. In the port of Cavite, an important military station, there were two hospitals: San Juan de Dios within the city walls, and Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in Cañacao.

Places for recreation were limited to theaters, cockpits, and the occasional bullfight. Stages for theatrical productions were constructed during special events such as fiestas, after which they were dismantled. The stages used for the production of the *komedya* or the *sinakulo* consisted of a platform raised on bamboo or timber supports. A painted backdrop, called telon, formed the back of the stage. Behind the telon, performers dressed and waited for their cues. The stage area could be roofed with thatch. Because stages were ad hoc structures, there were only a handful of permanently built theaters. Those in Manila were constructed outside Intramuros. The most substantially built was the Teatro de Binondo, which had stone walls and a colonnade on the second floor. Vastly popular were the cockpits, huge arenas of light materials covered with thatch. Venue for a pastime that not even the Spaniards could eradicate, the *sabungan*, as it is called in several Philippine languages, was an integral part of any important festivity. Today there is a cockpit in virtually every town. For bullfights, temporary wooden amphitheaters were built; the arena floor was of packed earth. Horse racing gained a foothold when a hippodrome was built in Santa Ana, Manila, in 1867. Presumably the viewing decks were constructed of the

same materials as those of cockpits, although perhaps were a bit sturdier. When the Americans arrived in 1898, they found the races always well attended.

Buildings for commercial purposes ranged from diminutive sidewalk stalls to huge factories. In nearly every town the Chinese were the chief suppliers of basic goods and supplies. In large towns, such as Manila, Vigan, Malolos, and Cebu, there was a special district for them called the *parian*, to which the townspeople flocked for their household needs. In 1758 a large commercial building was inaugurated in the populous Chinese village of Binondo, just across the river from Intramuros. Known as the Alcaiceria de San Fernando, the edifice was octagonal and contained several shops run by Chinese merchants. Destroyed by fire in 1810, it was not rebuilt perhaps because by then many other stores and shops had already opened. The largest, fanciest, and most prestigious companies were eventually established along a nearby street called the Escolta; by the second half of the 19th century this was the most important commercial district in the country. The opening of Manila as a free port encouraged British, German, French, and other foreigners to set up businesses on the Escolta and adjacent streets.

With the vigorous upswing in trade in the 19th century, many other types of buildings emerged. Factories were set up to process, among other things, beer, liquor, and cigars. The La Insular Cigar and Cigarette Factory, with its intricate Moorish motifs, was a good example of a building which combined commerce and art. Stone granaries and storehouses were constructed in the big market towns; rich families had their own *camarin* or *camalig*. A monumental customs house, the *Aduana*, was constructed in the 1820s in a portion of Intramuros along the banks of the Pasig River. The first bank, the Banco Español-Filipino de Isabel II, originally housed in the Aduana, moved in 1862 to its own building elsewhere in Intramuros. The second bank, the Monte de Piedad, first held office at the Colegio de Santa Isabel in Intramuros then moved to a new building in the Santa Cruz district; this edifice was notable for its templelike facade in the neoclassic style. In the late 1880s a railway system was established, and the central train station at Tutuban was constructed. A number of smaller train stations were set up along the Manila-Dagupan line.

Epilogue

The great cultural surge in Manila and the rest of the country in the 19th century was celebrated in its vibrant architecture, from the bahay kubo to the bahay na bato, from the visita to the cathedral, from the sabungan to the factory. But time and nature, and human beings, have conspired to erase this memory. Those that have survived to this day, so precious precisely because they are so few, are a constant reminder of the aspirations and artistry of the past. • R.T. Jose

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