THE COLONIAL ORIGINS OF MANILA AND BATAVIA: DESULTORY NOTES ON NASCENT METROPOLITAN PRIMACY AND URBAN SYSTEMS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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The primate cities in Asia are the most important centers of cultural change, especially in those fields which vitally affect economic development. Advanced education, new forms of business organization, new administrative practices, and, last but not least, new technologies find a fertile soil in these primate capital cities. Their intermediate position between East and West, their contact with world markets of commodities and ideas, their lack of many traditional bonds make them into eminently suitable vehicles for the introduction of new ideas and new techniques. [1]

IN 1939 THE GEOGRAPHER MARK JEFFERSON [2] PUBLISHED his cogent and seminal paper on the *primate city,* thereby introducing a concept that has been readily incorporated into the literature of the social sciences. [3] His discussion focused upon the pattern of pronounced metropolitan centralization which prevails in many nations throughout the world. To help systematize studies of the relationship between the premier city and other secondary centers, Jefferson argued that urban hierarchies are often

[1] Bert F. Hoselitz, *Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 224.

[2] Mark Jefferson, "The Law of the Primate City," *Geographical Review,* Vol. 29, No. 2 (April, 1939), pp. 226-232.

[3] Scholars from a number of disciplines have proved the utility of the topic of metropolitan primacy by relating it to urban investigations in their separate areas of interest. While several researchers have endeavored to examine the subject in a rather rigorous fashion, most remain content to treat the primate city as a subordinate theme. For affirmation of the interdisciplinary interest in urban primacy, see the following examples which have been drawn respectively from the fields of public administration, geography, sociology, urban and regional planning, history and economics: Aprodicio A. Laquian, *The City in Nation-Building* (Manila: School of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1966), pp. 2-5; Robert E. Dickinson, *City and Region: A Geographical Interpretation* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1966), p. 14; Raymond W. Mack and Dennis C. McElrath, "Urban Social Differentiation and the Allocation of Resources," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 352 (March, 1964), p. 27; John Friedmann, *Regional Development Policy: A Case Study of Venezuela* (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), pp. 35-37; Richard M. Morse, "Recent Research on Latin American Urbanization: A Selective Survey with Commentary," *Latin American Research Review,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Fall, 1965), pp. 47-48; Hoselitz, *op cit.,* pp. 185-215.

dominated by a single metropolis which "is always disproportionately large and exceptionally expressive of national capacity and feeling."[4] He suggested that the typical primate city is a capital, the nucleus of nationalistic ferment, a hub of cultural activity, the migrational locus of the state and the multifunctional center of the country's economy. In addition to these qualifications for primacy the paramount urban settlement generally has at least twice as many inhabitants as the second city. By testing this final criterion on the highest ranking metropolitan areas in fifty-one of the world's leading nations, he further substantiated the hypothesis. In twenty-eight countries the chief city was more than twice as large as the next, whereas in eighteen of these nations the primate city boasted a population more than three times as large as its nearest rival.[5]

Investigations of Primacy

Geographers concerned with Jefferson's theme have followed two avenues of inquiry which are applicable to investigations of metropolitan primacy in Southeast Asia. Those interested in the size continuum of population clusters and trained in the use of quantitative methods of analysis have examined the special problem of irregular city-size distribution that typifies nations dominated by a single city. All regions of high primacy feature a conspicuous population gap between the metropolis and the network of smaller centers, which stands in marked contrast to the orderly hierarchal arrangement formalized by George K. Zipf in the *rank-size rule*.[6] To facilitate the study of primate and rank-size distributions, researchers have adopted a rather simple and effective method of visual comparison. As the first step in a tripartite procedure, all cities in a given region are ar-

[4] Jefferson, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

[5] Although Mark Jefferson included the Commonwealth of the Philippines among the fifty-one "leading countries of the world," all major European dependencies of the mid-1930's were excluded. If he had listed the numerous colonies of South Asia, Africa and Southeast Asia, the argument would have been further strengthened, as most of the underdeveloped regions display a high degree of primacy. For pervasive commentaries on the dominant role of primate cities in Latin America and Asia, see Philip M. Hauser (ed.), *Urbanization in Latin America* (Paris: Unesco, 1961); Philip M. Hauser (ed.), *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East* (Calcutta: Unesco Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia, 1957).

[6] According to Zipf's theory, in every territory there is a tendency for a city of any given hierarchal rank to exhibit a population which is in inverse proportion to its rank. Therefore, if all the urban centers in a given state were arranged in descending order by population we should expect the second city to have exactly half as many people as the largest, while the nth settlement should display $1/n$th the citizenry of the premier city. George K. Zipf, *National Unity and Disunity* (Bloomington: Principia Press, 1941); George K. Zipf, *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort* (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., 1949). For a review of the literature, both empirical and theoretical, on rank-size relationships, see Peter Haggett, *Locational Analysis in Human Geography* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), pp. 100-107; Harold M. Mayer and Clyde F. Kohn (eds.), *Readings in Urban Geography* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 230-260.

ranged into size classes according to population.[7] The resultant frequency distribution is then transformed arithmetically into cumulative percentages. Characteristic graph patterns are revealed when this information is plotted on lognormal probability paper. Lognormal (rank-size) distributions produce a fairly straight line, while conditions of primacy yield a line that approximates the form of a reclining capital "L".[8] In recent investigations several intermediate patterns have been identified by Norton S. Ginsburg, Brian J. L. Berry and A. James Rose, thus suggesting that the primate and rank-size dichotomy may actually represent the extremes of a continuum.[9] To better understand the origin of these dissimilar distributions and hierarchal arrangements, geographers are now attempting to determine the conditions under which primacy evolves[10] and to illuminate "the complex interrelationships between urbanization, type of city-size distribution, and economic development."[11] In light of the recent genesis of this area of research, most conclusions are tentative or generalized in nature and work is concentrated upon the examination of world-wide patterns. Nevertheless, two researchers have pioneered in the study of city systems in Southeast Asia. Hamzah Sendut has recently published two articles on the subject. One focused upon urban primacy in the states of Malaysia, while the other is a regionally oriented work on city-size distributions. Both include substantive commentary on the historical development of the urban structure.[12] An empirical study by Edward L. Ullman represents an attempt to identify a hierarchy in the Philippines based on functions and population.[13]

A second avenue of inquiry highlighted by Jefferson's paper concerns the origin, development, function and cultural role of primate cities in

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[7] The number of size classes, the population range of each, and the threshold of the smallest cities is arbitrary. In his pioneering work Berry used six classes with the following ranges: 20,000-50,000; 50,000-100,000; 100,000-250,000; 250,000-500,000; 500,000-1,000,000; and over 1,000,000. Brian J.L Berry, "City Size Distributions and Economic Development," *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol. 9, No. 4, Part 1 (July, 1961), p. 575.

[8] See Figure 1.

[9] Norton S. Ginsburg, *Atlas of Economic Development* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 34-37 and Section 8; Berry, *op. cit.,* pp. 573-588; A. James Rose, "Dissent from Down Under: Metropolitan Primacy as the Normal State," *Pacific Viewpoint,* Vol. 7, No. 1 (May, 1966), pp. 1-27.

[10] Arnold S. Linsky, "Some Generalizations Concerning Primate Cities," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* Vol. 55, No. 3 (September, 1965), pp. 506-513.

[11] Brian J. L. Berry, "Research Frontiers in Urban Geography," in Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore (eds.), *The Study of Urbanization* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 413-414.

[12] Hamzah Sendut, "Statistical Distribution of Cities in Malaya," *Kajian Ekonomi Malaysia,* Vol. 2, No. 2 (December, 1965), pp. 49-66; Hamzah Sendut, "City Size Distribution of Southeast Asia." *Asian Studies,* Vol. 4, No. 2 (August, 1966), pp. 268-280.

[13] Edward L. Ullman, "Trade Centers and Tributary Areas of the Philippines," *Geographical Review,* Vol. 50, No. 2 (April, 1960), pp. 203-218.

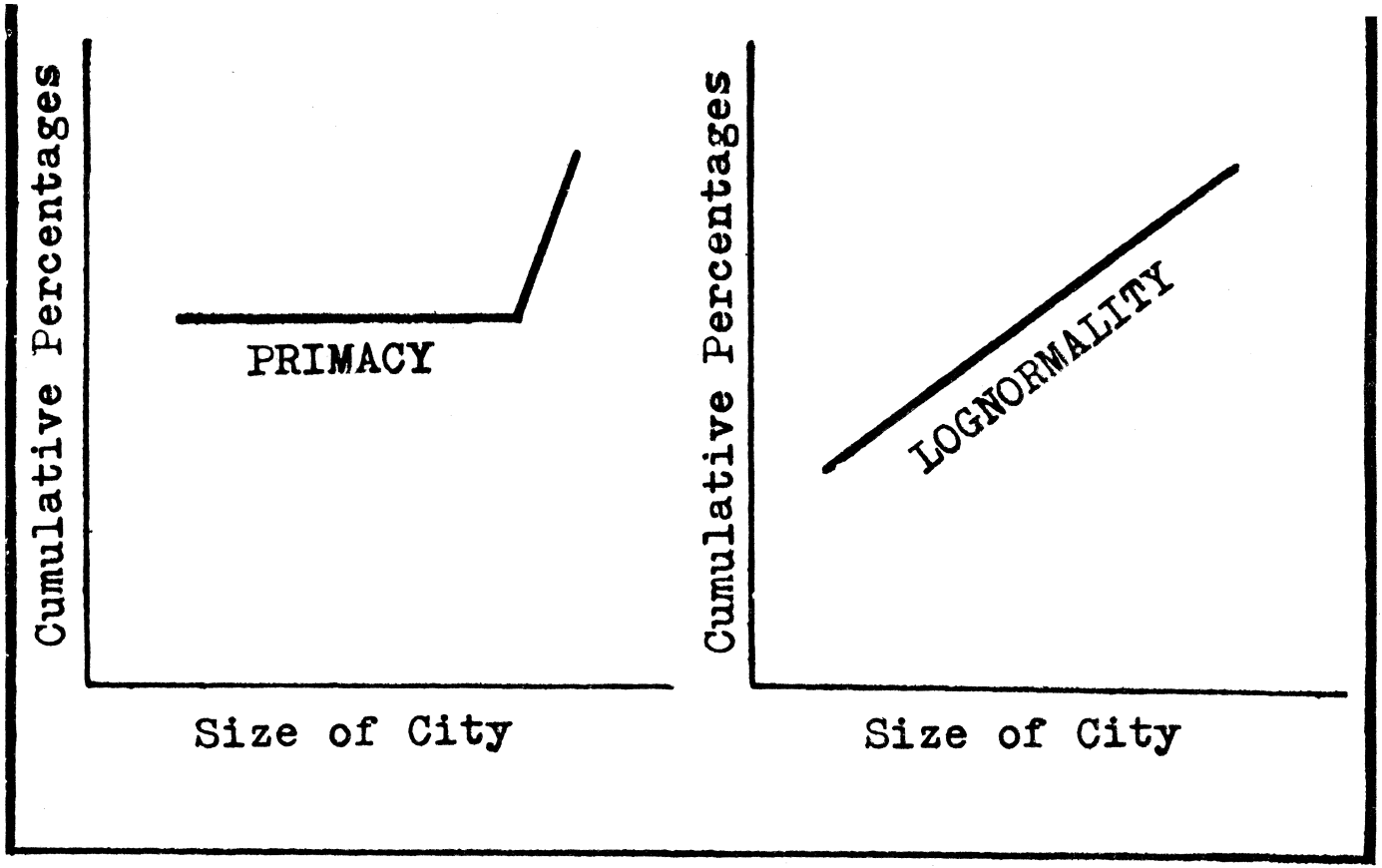

FIGURE 1. MODEL CITY-SIZE DISTRIBUTIONS

terms of unique national, regional and historical factors.[14] But as in the case of hierarchal studies, the geographical literature on this aspect of metropolitan primacy in Southeast Asia remains scanty. Indeed, the two most comprehensive statements on the major urban centers of the region were published by D. W. Fryer and Norton S. Ginsburg in the mid-1950's.[15] While the statistical data included therein has become somewhat dated, the articles are valuable as easily accessible sources of general information on the great cities of Southeast Asia. In addition to these two works a number of geographers and other social scientists have dealt indirectly with primacy while considering various problems subsumed under the heading of urbanization.[16] Although this dispersed commentary seems to reflect a genuine interest in primate cities, apparently few scholars have committed themselves to research specialization on the theme.

Despite the relative paucity of sustained essays on metropolitan primacy in Southeast Asia, one can scarcely ignore or deny the urban ascendancy of the primate cities — Rangoon, Manila, Djakarta, Saigon-Cholon, Bangkok and Singapore — in their respective nations.[17] Predictably, many writers

[14] Harley L. Browning's work on the development of urban primacy in Latin America is a representative study of this type. Harley L. Browning, "Recent Trends in Latin American Urbanization," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 316 (March, 1958), pp. 111-120.

[15] D. W. Fryer, "The 'Million City' in Southeast Asia," *Geographical Review,* Vol. 43, No. 4 (October, 1953), pp. 474-494; Norton S. Ginsburg, "The Great City in Southeast Asia," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 60, No. 5 (March, 1955), pp. 455-462. For another generalized statement, see Rhoads Murphey, "New Capitals of Asia," *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol. 5, No. 3 (April, 1957), pp. 216-243.

[16] I am not aware of a comprehensive bibliography on the Southeast Asian city. Only twenty-nine articles are listed for this region in Sommer's review of urban geographical literature. But it must be noted that these items are derived solely from geographical journals published in English or French, thus neglecting all articles that geographers have contributed to professional serials in other languages and to related social science periodicals. For an introduction to the dispersed literature on urbanization in Southeast Asia and general commentary on the subject, consult the text and bibliographical notes of the following: Hamzah Sendut, "Urbanization," in Wang Gungwu (ed.), *Malaysia* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), pp. 82-98; Hauser, *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, op. cit.*; John W. Sommer, *Bibliography of Urban Geography, 1940-1964* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Department of Geography, Dartmouth College, 1966) pp. 72-73; T. G. McGee, "An Aspect of Urbanization in Southeast Asia: The Process of Cityward Migration," *Proceedings Fourth N.Z. Geography, Conference* (Dunedin: New Zealand Geographical Society, 1965), pp. 207-218; W. F. Wertheim, *East-West Parallels: Sociological Approaches to Modern Asia* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1964); Norton S. Ginsburg, "Urban Geography and 'Non-Western' Areas," in Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore (eds.), *The Study of Urbanization* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 311-346; Pauline D. Milone, *Urban Areas in Indonesia: Administrative and Census Concepts* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1966); J. M. van der Kroef, "The Indonesian City: Its Culture and Evolution," *Asia,* Vol. 2, No. 8 (March, 1953), pp. 563-579; J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1955); W. F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1964), pp. 170-194.

[17] These six cities are indisputably the dominant metropolitan centers of Southeast Asia. With the sole exception of Rangoon, all have over 1,000,000 inhabitants. Although Phnom Penh, Kuala Lumpur, Hanoi and Vientiane are the capitals of sovereign nations,

have testified to the vital role of these urban agglomerations. In his survey of the region's dominant centers Ginsburg identified Bangkok "as a true Primate City, that is, a city with many times the population of the next largest city and a multiplicity of functions and attractions which give it dominance." [18] At a seminar on urbanization in the ECAFE Region, Philip M. Hauser noted that "many of the countries in Asia are characterized by one great metropolis, 'the primate city'; a great city which dominates the urban situation." [19] In the words of Hugh Tinker,

> Of Burma, Thailand, and the Philippines it can be said that the whole of industrial and technical development, of intellectual activity, of political power and administrative control is concentrated within twelve miles of the centre of Rangoon, Bangkok, and Manila. [20]

According to Bert F. Hoselitz, "in some underdeveloped countries this 'law of the primate city' is so strong that apart from a capital which may have a million inhabitants or more, there are no other 'large' cities." [21] The following portrayal of a typical primate city by a Filipino educator and resident of the archipelagic metropolis of Manila is even more convincing than the words of Western commentators:

> Metropolitan Manila is truly a primate city in that it dominates the whole country. In this small area, fully one-third of all manufacturing establishments in the Philippines are concentrated. Metropolitan Manila employs 40 per cent of the country's non-agricultural labor force and pays more than half of the total manufacturing payroll.
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> Within Metropolitan Manila are 90 of the country's 100 biggest corporations, 56 of these within the city of Manila alone. All but one of the main Philippine and foreign banks have their main offices in the area. All of the major newspapers, most of the radio stations and all of the commercial television stations are located in it. The city of Manila is the country's main port, the hub of all transportation facilities. As such Metropolitan Manila is the country's economic, educational, political and cultural center.[22]

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several conditions seem to preclude their inclusion among the paramount primate cities of the region. While Kuala Lumpur is the largest city of Malaysia, it remains functionally overshadowed by Singapore. As a result of recent investigations, Hamzah Sendut discounts the existence of a primate city-size distribution in Malaysia and in the unit produced by combining the two Vietnams, Laos and Cambodia. Furthermore, each of these cities has less than 500,000 people. Thomas Frank Barton, "Rural and Urban Dwellers of Southeast Asia," *The Journal of Geography*, Vol. 64, No. 3 (March, 1965), p. 117. Hamzah, "City Size Distribution of Southeast Asia," *op. cit.*, pp. 270-275.

[18] Ginsburg, "The Great City in Southeast Asia," *op. cit.*, p. 455.

[19] Hauser, *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, op. cit.*, p. 87.

[20] Hugh Tinker, *Reorientations: Studies on Asia in Transition* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), p. 48.

[21] In subsequent commentary Hoselitz defined a "large" city as a center of more than 100,000 inhabintants. Hoselitz, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[22] Laquian, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

Considering the overwhelming urban supremacy of primate cities, it is somewhat curious that a systematic monograph has not been published on this interesting facet of regional urbanization.[23] If the expansion of the great cities in Southeast Asia continues unabated, it seems apparent that scholars must increasingly devote themselves to investigations of the growth and development of the dominant urban centers. In the subsequent discussion I propose to describe the traditional urban systems of Southeast Asia, to review the colonial origins of Manila and Batavia, and to examine briefly the multi-functional role of these nascent primate cities in their respective colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Traditional Urban Systems

Prior to the period of European colonial expansion in Southeast Asia, both the insular and peninsular portions of the realm were dominated by a succession of aristocratic kingdoms. The essential integrative element in each realm was a sacred city that functioned as a center of *orthogenetic* transformation.[24] These urban nuclei, most of which were located in Java or in the river basins of the mainland, served as the inland capitals of territorially based domains. As the foci of agrarian civilizations that derived their politico-religious organizational framework from India and China,[25] the sacred cities were considered to be the crucial magical links between the microcosmos (an earthly kingdom) and the macrocosmos (the

[23] This statement must soon be amended. Shortly after preparing this article I received a brochure from Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., Publishers, announcing the publication and imminent distribution of *The Southeast Asian City* by T. G. McGee. Though my order was placed eight weeks ago, in July, 1967, the book has not yet arrived. But based upon McGee's numerous articles on Southeast Asian urbanization, I expect a readable and comprehensive treatment of the subject. A more inaccessible work is that of David Edwin Kaye, "The Evolution, Function, and Morphology of the Southeast Asian City from 1500 to 1800" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley, 1963).

[24] Robert Redfield and Milton B. Singer have suggested that the cultural role of cities provides a useful and legitimate basis for the classification and the comparative study of urban centers. In terms of their construct orthogenetic cities are those in which the traditional culture is crystallized and transferred to successive generations. These urban places are characteristic of the phase of primary urbanization. During this stage a "precivilized folk society is transformed by urbanization into a peasant society and correlated urban center." The primary function of a typical orthogenetic city "is to carry forward, develop [and] elaborate a long-established local culture or civilization." Robert Redfield and Milton B. Singer, "The Cultural Role of Cities," *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* Vol. 3, No. 1 (October, 1954), pp. 57, 60.

[25] While Chinese influences on urbanism were most pronounced on the Indochinese Peninsula, the impact of Indian culture remained pervasive throughout the rest of the region. For summary accounts of the historical impact of the Indian and Chinese cultural traditions in Southeast Asia, see D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia* (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1960); Brian Harrison, *South-East Asia, A Short History* (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1960).

universe).[26] Each inland capital was planned and constructed as an imitation of the celestial archetype based on the Indian model, thereby furnishing physical evidence of its fundamental role.[27] The layout of the walls, temples, moats, avenues and other morphological features was designed to symbolize the cosmological universe and to emphasize the king's palace from which all power radiated. By structure and function the sacred city provided the circumambient peasantry with psychic security and served as the repository of the Great Tradition. Therefore, the typical capital was not merely the largest city, chief consumer of agricultural surpluses, cultural hub and political center of the kingdom; it was also the magical catalyst that guaranteed coalescence of the realm.[28]

In terms of general systems theory[29] these kingdoms might be conceptualized as nodal regions with rather hazy political boundaries and a single urban nucleus. The "surface" of each regional system consisted of *sawah* lands from which the sacred city or primary "node" derived its sustenance. Agricultural surpluses, which accumulated in outlying farms, villages and minor towns, or the lower ranks of the settlement "hierarchy", were delivered to the orthogenetic capital by means of a "network" of inland waterways and a few rudimentary roads. The typical nodal region consisting of a capital city and its hinterland remained essentially a "closed system",[30] as the model kingdom in Southeast Asia was materially self-sufficient, culturally introverted and politically autonomous.

Although the inland cities often maintained markets with international linkages, this did not seem to negate their basic orthogenetic character or

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[26] For a concise statement on parallelism between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos, as well as commentary on the cosmic role of the city, court and ruler in the traditional kingdoms of Southeast Asia, see Robert Heine-Geldern, "Conceptions of State and Kinship in Southeast Asia," *The Far Eastern Quarterly,* Vol. 2, No. 1 (November, 1942), pp. 15-30.

[27] For plans of the orthogenetic cities of Burma and illustrations of representative architectural types, see V. C. Scott O'Connor, *Mandalay and Other Cities of the Past in Burma* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1908).

[28] By regarding the peasants as unrecompensed tributaries of agrarian surpluses and presuming that cities must be defined in terms of Western civilization, some scholars have argued that the sacred cities were merely cult centers and not true urban places. Michael D. Coe, "Social Typology and the Tropical Forest Civilizations," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* Vol. 4, No. 1 (November, 1961), pp. 65-85.

[29] In a rather succinct definition Peter Haggett describes systems as "arbitrarily demarcated sections of the real world which have some common functional connections." Peter Haggett, *op. cit.,* p. 17. For more detailed statements on general systems theory, see A. D. Hall and R. E. Fagen, "Definition of System," *General Systems Yearbook,* Vol. I (1956), pp. 18-28; Richard J. Chorley, "Geomorphology and General Systems Theory," *United States Geological Survey Professional Paper 500-B* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1962), p. B2. In the subsequent commentary quotation marks will be used to denote the structural elements of a model system as outlined by Haggett, p. 18.

[30] Closed systems are those which experience no inflow or outflow of energy. The opposite condition holds true in open systems. Chorley, *op. cit.,* pp. B3-B8; Haggett, *op. cit.,* pp. 17-19.

the closed-system structure of their tributary kingdoms.[31] Because they remained dependent upon the benevolence of the aristocracy for commercial rights and the guarantee of personal safety, the foreign and domestic merchants seldom induced revolutionary cultural changes. Accordingly, most traders proved willing to accept the established customs of the market, to reside in segregated districts and to obey the local authorities. Clifford Geertz has clearly demonstrated that the dominant participants in these closed systems were the urban elite and the peasants:

> There is a cultural elite, whose ultimate basis of power is their control over the central symbolic resources of the society (religion, philosophy, art, science, and, most crucially in the more complex civilizations, writing); and there is a subordinated practical hard-working peasantry, whose ultimate basis of power is their control over the central material resource of the society, its food supply. The two become symbiotically dependent upon one another, their two varient traditions reflecting back and forth within one another as in two etched mirrors, each catching dimly the other's reflection. One cannot have a peasantry without a gentry or a gentry without a peasantry . . . . There is a persistent cultural dialogue between gentry and peasantry, a constant interchange of cultural material in which fading urban forms 'coarsen' and 'sink' into the peasant mass and elaborated rural forms 'etherealize' and 'rise' into the urban elite.[32]

While change did occur in the sacred cities, it evidently remained within the context of traditional norms and derived primarily from rearrangements of indigenous cultural materials.

There were two exceptions to this urban and territorial model. The first was epitomized by the trade emporium of Malacca, an entrepôt that linked the commercial networks of the Indian Ocean with those of the Java and China Seas.[33] In the pre-European period hundreds of coastal cities proliferated along the shores of the region and all had the same *raison d'être* — trade. Because they obtained sufficient wealth from an active maritime exchange, their rulers generally did not seek to establish extensive agrarian kingdoms. As noted by Paul Wheatley, these city-states flourished only "in proportion to the productivity of their immediate territories and the demand for their commodities."[34] Contrasting the inland and port

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[31] The presence of a market does not necessarily deny the orthogenetic role of a city. To emphasize this fact, Redfield and Singer noted that "In the medieval Muslim town we see an orthogenetic city; the market and the keeper of the market submitted economic activities to explicit cultural and religious definition of the norms." Redfield and Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[32] Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 227-228

[33] Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Histroical Geography of the Malay Peninsula Before A.D. 1500* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1966), pp. 306-325.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 308-309.

cities, Nathan Keyfitz describes the latter as follows:

> Different in their relation to sources of food, and their internal form, were the coastal cities, where the porcelains of China were exchanged for the cloves and nutmegs of the Moluccas; the cloth of Gujerat and Bengal for the pepper of Sumatra; the rice of Java for the tin of Malaya. They were likewise under the absolute rule of a prince, but one whose domain was the water as much as the land. He maintained himself by taxes on the town market and the harbor, by the profits of his own ships which went out to trade, by piracy [and] by providing slaves or other easily available local commodities to the passing trade. [35]

As cosmopolitan emporiums with regional and international contacts, the port cities were centers of *heterogenetic* cultural transformation.[36] Each existed as a separate node in an open regional system through which flowed men, materials and ideas.[37] A final contrast between the sacred capitals and the coastal cities was evident in their morphologies. The former were carefully planned politico-religious centers dominated by substantial temple complexes and built of durable materials. Coastal cities, on the other hand, developed near river mouths or on the banks of harbors and displayed a rather chaotic appearance. While the aristocracy in large ports occasionally possessed houses of brick and stone, most dwellings were fabricated of perishable materials such as bamboo and *nipa*. Early in the sixteenth century Antonio Pigafetta, Magellan's aide and chronicler, presented the following description of the city-state of Brunei:

> That city is entirely built in salt water, except the houses of the kings and certain chiefs. It contains twenty-five thousand fires. The houses are all constructed of wood and built up from the ground on tall pillars. When the tide is high the women go in boats through the settlement selling the articles necessary to maintain life. There is a large brick wall in front of the king's house with towers like a fort, in which were mounted fifty-six bronze pieces, and six of iron. [38]

One characteristic, however, was shared by inland and coastal cities; both were relatively ephemeral urban places. As the loci of shipping lanes, the port cities prospered or declined in response to trade fluctuations, regional conflict and adjustments in the network of maritime routes.[39] Because the

[35] Nathan Keyfitz, "The Ecology of Indonesian Cities," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 64, No. 4 (January, 1961), p. 349.

[36] Cities of heterogenetic transformation facilitate the disintegration or modification of the indigenous norms and generate new social and mental integrations. Redfield and Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[37] Keyfitz, *op cit.*, p. 349.

[38] Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage Around the World* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), Vol. 2, p. 35.

[39] For a definitive statement on the rise and fall of city-states on the Malay Peninsula, see Wheatley, *op. cit.*

inland capitals focused upon the palace of a god-king and could be sited elsewhere if he so desired, the rise and fall of sacred cities was often extremely abrupt. These centers were frequently relocated after the death or deposal of a king. Predictably, as a result of constant warfare and incessant dynastic conflict, the sacred cities underwent numerous rearrangements of sites and situations.[40]

A second exception was to be found in the Philippines. When Miguel López de Legazpi and his small band of Spanish *conquistadores* secured the archipelago, the Malay inhabitants occupied thousands of small and widely scattered villages. These lowland communities, which generally consisted of thirty to one hundred houses, were located on the banks of rivers and streams. The model *barangay* (village) was sustained by the produce of *sawah and swidden*[41] agriculture supplemented by hunting and fishing. Each functioned as the nucleus of a small, closed system nestled within a matrix of rainforests, mountains and seas. Inter-barangay contacts remained minimal and were polarized by ritualistic politeness and hostility born of mutual suspicion.[42] While several short-lived *barangay* confederations were apparently established under the leadership of outstanding native chieftains, most communities managed to preserve their autonomy and on the eve of European colonization the Philippines remained politically fragmented. Although Manila and several other large settlements were superficially Islamized at the time of conquest, the faith had failed to provide mortar for the organization of a defensive force capable of ousting the invaders from the islands or for the generation of cities.

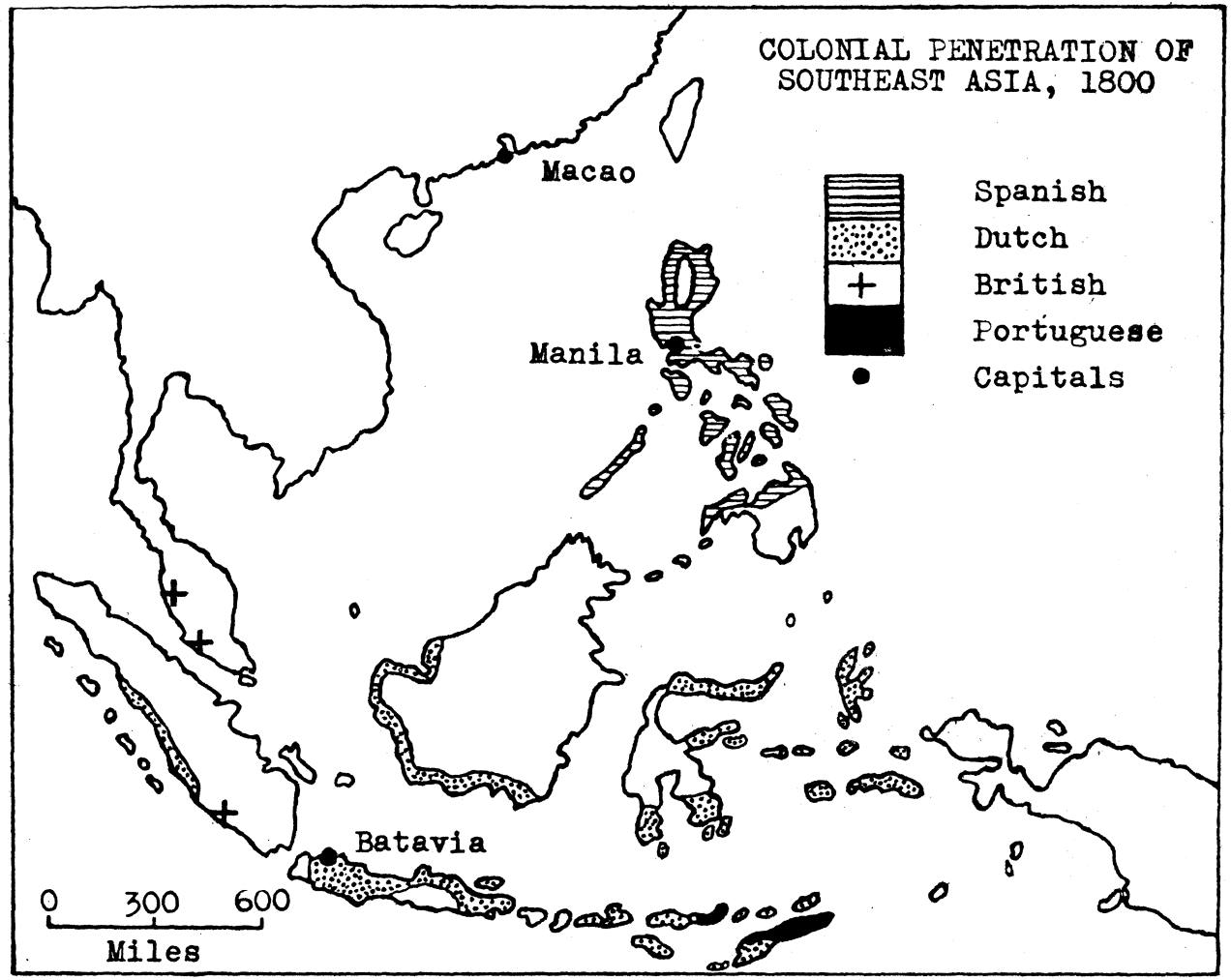
Systems Change, 1511-1800

Portugal initiated the European economic penetration and colonization of Southeast Asia by capturing Malacca in 1511. Almost before the city was fully secured the Lusitanian merchant-adventurers began to embark for coastal cities throughout the region. Late in the sixteenth century they were joined by traders from England, Spain, Holland and other North European countries. Some arrived as independent merchants, whereas others came as employees of the chartered companies. During the two centuries that ensued these invaders confined their efforts to the economic sphere and

[40] The last relocation of a sacred city occurred in middle of the nineteenth century when King Mindon moved his court from Amarapura to the new capital of Mandalay.

[41] For an excellent and readable discussion of the *swidden* and *sawah* ecosystems, see Clifford Geertz, *Agricultural Involution: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 12-37.

[42] For a more detailed description of the pre-Hispanic settlement pattern in the Philippines, see Robert R. Reed, "Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines: A Study of the Impact of Church and State," *The University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 11 (March, 1967), pp. 18-32.


COLONIAL PENETRATION OF
SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1800
Macao
Manila
Batavia
Spanish
Dutch
British
Portuguese
Capitals
0 300 600
Miles

Map 1

did not endeavor to gain direct control of Asian territories, governments or people.[43]

Despite the steady growth of the insular holdings of the powerful *Vereenigde Oostindische Compangnie* during this period, there is no evidence of a concerted attempt on the part of the corporate body to expand its territorial domain. As long as the indigenous rulers guaranteed the safety of the Company's employees, accepted European naval superiority and did not interfere excessively with their commercial dealings, the administration in Batavia refrained from direct intervention in the affairs of the local governments.[44] This pattern of general acquiescence to native authorities did not necessarily indicate that individual Europeans were submissive by nature. On the contrary, most of these pirate-merchants appear to have been rough-and-ready fellows driven to the East in search of wealth and adventure.[45] But there simply was no need for territorial or political imperialism before 1800.

In the metropolitan societies of pre-industrial Europe only the rich could afford luxury items from the Orient. Thus the chartered companies and independent merchants were able to satisfy the limited market demands without a drastic alteration of the regional trade patterns or widespread dissolution of the Southeast Asian political systems. As suggested in the foregoing paragraph, the Europeans came on more or less equal terms to barter their silver for spices and other luxury goods of the Indies. The traditional structure for exchange, which required no more effort on the part of the Westerners than the establishment of fortified factories in existing port cities or of garrisoned trading posts on strategic harbors, was preserved.[46] By limiting their acquisitions to scattered trading stations that were managed by only five to fifteen merchants and protected by small military detachments, the Europeans avoided excessive administrative expenditures and maximized profits for their metropolitan sponsors. During

[43] The Hispanic colonial experience in the Philippines provided a marked contrast. From the beginning the Spaniards sought to establish themselves as the territorial masters of the archipelago. This was considered a basic requirement for the radical politico-religious program of Christianization and Hispanization that they envisaged and implemented with a marked degree of success. See John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959).

[44] Even when force was employed to preserve the order necessary for profitable commercial dealings and when victory crowned the Company's efforts, the Dutch remained quite unwilling to assume the more expensive and complex task of administration. Therefore, they adopted a system of indirect rule whereby the local organization remained in the hands of acquiescent chieftains who proved willing to guarantee peace and protect European commercial interests. For an excellent commentary on direct and indirect rule, see Rupert Emerson, *Malaysia: A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937).

[45] Conrad Bekker, "Historical Patterns of Cultural Contact in Southeast Asia," *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (November, 1951), p. 5.

[46] For a fine description of Asian trade at this time, see J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, Ltd., 1955).

this period of superficial economic penetration, the indigenous urban systems, both inland and coastal, remained essentially intact.

In peninsular Southeast Asia the sacred cities and their tributary kingdoms continued to flourish as closed structures. Although Europeans were often permitted to locate factories within the walls or on the outskirts of the inland capitals and to engage in cut-throat competition with Asian traders, the foreigners did not seriously disrupt the continuing process of orthogenetic cultural transformation.[47] Indeed, the merchant-adventurers were tolerated only as long as they acknowledged the authority of the indigenous rulers.

In insular Southeast Asia the European presence was somewhat more evident because the chartered companies occasionally emphasized it by force and the Spaniards embarked upon an ambitious resettlement program to facilitate the Hispanization and Christianization of Filipinos. When native rulers actively resisted commercial encroachment, the Dutch invoked the ultimate sanction of military power by launching short punitive expeditions against the offenders. After achieving victory, securing commercial treaties and guarantying European interests, however, they proved quite willing to restore authority to tractable indigenous princes. Through this process a number of Javanese rulers were forced to accept the suzerainty of the Company. Under the resultant system of indirect rule the native leaders were allowed to govern their respective territories as long as they did not unilaterally abrogate treaties made with the Dutch.[48] Although the Batavian officials became adept in manipulating the native states against each other, their goals were always commercial in nature and the market remained inviolate. While peace reigned and European merchants prospered, the Dutch made no attempt to restructure the systems of *kraton* or coastal cities.

Despite an obvious disdain for administrative entanglements and an apparent disinterest in developing a colony based upon a framework of cities and towns, through their aggressive economic activities the Dutch did create a fairly stable network of trading settlements. Early in the seventeenth century, after a rather brief perod of intense conflict with the British and Portuguese, the V.O.C. firmly established itself as the supreme maritime and commercial power in Southeast Asia.[49] Though other European merchants continued to operate in the region, their undertakings remained small in scale and relatively disorganized compared with those of the Netherlanders. The Dutch commercial empire, as conceived by Jan Pieterszoon Coen and de-

[47] In his well-documented portrayal of Ayutthaya Larry Sternstein describes the foreign trading stations in the former Siamese capital. Included in the article is Dr. Gybert Heecq's detailed report on the sumptuous Dutch factory. It was written in 1655 and reflects the layout of European trading posts throughout the region. Larry Sternstein, "'Krung Kao': The Old Capital of Ayutthaya," *The Journal of the Siam Society,* Vol. 53, Part 1 (January, 1965), pp. 83-121.

[48] Emerson, *op. cit.,* pp. 1-9, 378-465.

[49] Hall, *op. cit.,* pp. 197-206, 224-282.

veloped by Antonie van Diemen,[50] displayed two ranks: a single dominant entrêpot and a lower level of "pin-prick" trading posts.[51] The latter consisted of scattered factories and garrisoned settlements, some of which served as the nuclei of small communities composed of a few Europeans, Eurasians, Malays and other Asians. The keystone in this system was Batavia, which, from its founding in 1619, functioned as the administrative, economic, cultural and military center of the Netherlands East Indies. Its stability among the transitory indigenous cities of Southeast Asia and its multifunctional character testified to the role of this colonial capital as the nascent primate city of Indonesia.

An even more stable urban network of colonial towns and cities was created by zealous Catholic missionaries in the Philippines. Upon their arrival in the archipelago the Spaniards were repelled by the decentralization of the intensely independent *barangays*. As proselytizing Christians, heirs of the Mediterranean urban heritage and citizens of the Hispanic imperial realm, they valued traditions of national and international societal organization. Many Iberians were disturbed because the Filipinos seemed to be living *sin policia*.[52] Furthermore, village dispersion presented a quite serious obstacle to the friars engaged in mission work. It was physically impossible for several hundred priests to indoctrinate approximately 700,000 people scattered in thousands of hamlets throughout the islands.[53] Only by community consolidation or reduction [54] could the spiritual conquest be achieved.. Diego Aduarte, a seventeenth-century historian, summarized the problem of *barangay* disunity and its solution as follows:

> The Indians [Filipinos] in their heathen conditions live in farmsteads and tiny hamlets, where it is difficult to teach them; and it is impossible that teaching

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 252-260.

[51] A two-step colonial hierarchy also existed during the sixteenth century when Portuguese Malacca controlled a small network of trading stations that were scattered throughout the region. But the resources of the mother country were meager and her manpower proved insufficient to stablize the structure. With the arrival of North European traders the Portuguese position became increasingly precarious and the decaying system collapsed after the Dutch capture of Malacca in 1641.

[52] Phelan, *op cit.*, p. 44.

[53] The first census of *tributos* (taxpayers), ordered by Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, totaled 166,903. It was assumed that each *tributo* supported three dependents. Based upon an average family size of four persons, a total of 667,612 souls were registered in 1951. Therefore, with the More population the archipelago probably had somewhat over 700,000 inhabitants. Unsigned (ordered by Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas), "Relación de las Encomiendas existentes en Filipinas el día 31 de mayo de 1591," in W. E. Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino* (Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1898), Vol. 4, p. 73.

[54] In colonial narratives Spanish chroniclers often employed the words "reduce" and "reduction" when reviewing the friars' missionary activities. The terms carried a dual connotation, religious and civil. They were used most frequently in reference to the process of Filipino conversion. Missionaries constantly strove to Christianize (*reducir*) the natives. A second meaning in official terminology described the process of resettlement or community consolidation. Thus a newly established colonial town or village was called a reduction (*reducción*).

> shall enlighten them, because of the inability of the religious to care for and attend to so many small villages. Hence, to make good Christians of them, it is necessary to gather them in larger villages.[55]

Both civil and clerical authorities recognized that successful colonial administration and thorough Catholic indoctrination remained contingent upon the congregation of Filipinos into larger communities. Indeed, resettlement was a necessary and logical corollary of Spain's politico-religious program in the Philippines.[56]

Throughout the Hispanic period the friars labored to restructure the traditional settlement pattern of the Philippines.[57] The resultant urban network was described by James A. LeRoy in 1905 as follows:

> Under one governmental unit, the old *pueblo* of Spanish phraseology, are included in the main center of population, which may range anywhere from a cluster of two hundred houses to a thriving rural city with perhaps a cathedral church, with secondary schools and even a printing-press, and the outlying rural districts, sometimes spreading over an area of forty or even more square miles, in which are various subordinate little centers of population, with from ten to several hundred houses in each, commonly called *barrios*. . . . A *barrio* may be but a little cluster of huts, located on the edge of the untouched forest or where they will be contiguous to the planted crops; but a *barrio* may also sometimes be a little village in itself, with its separate school (quite as it had a *visita,* or chapel dependent upon the parish church of the town in Spanish times) and with a thousand or more inhabitants.[58]

As a result of the missionaries' efforts, the Filipinos were stabilized in a fairly permanent system of villages, towns and provincial cities that facilitated the Spanish program of religious and cultural change.

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[55] Diego Aduarte, O. P., "Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores, Manila, 1640," in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), Vol. 32, p. 273.

[56] The authors of the Hispanic reduction programs envisioned a complete transformation of the preconquest settlement patterns. Reconstructed Filipino communities were to vary in size between 2,400 and 5,000 inhabitants, numbers which Spanish officials regarded as suitable for efficient civil and religious administration. Manuel Bernaldez Pizarro, "Reforms Needed in Filipinas, Madrid, 1827," in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.,* Vol. 51, pp. 198-200; Phelan, *op. cit.,* p. 44.

[57] The lessons of Indian congregation in Hispanic America had proved the utility of compact communities in Christian conversion and societal reorganization. Although the Latin American experience served as a model for programs of community consolidation in the Philippines the actual instruments of resettlement differed. Whereas in the New World the task of reduction was a joint effort of Church and State, in the Philippines civil congregations were rare. George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), Vol. 1, pp. 69, 87-88; Howard F. Cline, "Civil Congregations of the Indians in New Spain, 1598-1606," *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* Vol. 29, No. 3 (August, 1949), pp. 349-369; José Algué, S. J., and others, *Atlas de Filipinas* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900).

[58] James A. LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), pp. 42-44.

Almost from the beginning of Hispanic colonization Manila flourished as the primary node of the insular network of settlements.[59] Like Batavia, it was conceived as the nerve-center of an integrated colonial system and its prosperity derived from commerce. In contrast to the Dutch colonial city, however, Manila did not function as an entrêpot for Southeast Asian luxury items. Instead, the Spaniards exploited traditional Sino-Filipino trade relations and fashioned Manila into an urban warehouse linking Nueva España and China.[60] During the first four decades of this trade Manila experienced a golden age of prosperity. Late in the sixteenth century the commerce began to flourish, unhindered by restrictions and binding regulations. As the number of galleon voyages to Acapulco increased, Manila enjoyed a tremendous expansion in population and wealth.[61] By the dawn of the seventeenth century the galleon exchange was firmly established and the city was seeing its most glorious days. In this early period of Philippine colonial history the profits of the Sino-Spanish trade were fantastic and were shared by soldiers, government officials and clergymen, as well as merchants.[62] In 1587, only sixteen years after Manila's founding, Governor Santiago de Vera lamented that commerce had outstripped transportation. He informed Philip II that "trade continues to increase so that were vessels not lacking, a great quantity of goods would be sent to New Spain." [63]

In 1580 Manila commenced a brief reign as the foremost colonial capital in Asia. After the Duke of Alba conquered Portugal, Manila replaced Golden Goa as the administrative seat of Iberian power and for a time Spain's Asian empire extended from Ormuz to the Philippines. Predictably, Manila's trading linkages were equally extensive. During this period of Hispanic domination the city emerged as an emporium of Oriental trade.

[59] Cebu was the seat of Spanish authority in the Philippines for six years. But food supplies in the Visayas proved insufficient for establishment of a permanent capital city, so that starvation remained an ever-present specter confronting the Europeans. To alleviate the food shortages, Legazpi transferred his headquarters to Manila, the foremost *barangay* of the northern islands. As anticipated, Luzon's "rice basket" provided a secure economic base for the new colony.

[60] For a definitive statement on the Manila galleon trade and the city's warehouse function between China and Mexico, see William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1939).

[61] In twenty years Manila grew from a settlement of 2,000 persons to a multiracial city of 34,000. The population continued to increase, reaching a total of 42,000 inhabitants by the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1650 Manila's Spanish population numbered 7,350, most of whom lived in the walled city. Approximately 15,000 Chinese occupied the Parián quarter and 20,000 Filipinos were scattered throughout the suburbs. Human Relations Area Files, Inc., *Area Handbook on the Philippines*, Subcontractor's Monographs HRAF-16, Chicago 5, edited by Fred Eggan, 4 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for HRAF, 1956), p. 399; Phelan, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[62] Benito Legarda, Jr., "Two and a Half Centuries of the Galleon Trade," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (December, 1955), p. 347, 351.

[63] Santiago de Vera, "Letter to Philip II," quoted in Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine Political and Cultural History* (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1957), Vol. 1, p. 324.

The manifest lists of vessels which converged upon Manila Bay provided a veritable index of Asian trade commodities.[64] Manila's position as the multifunctional capital of the Philippines and the primary node in the embryonic urban network was firmly consolidated during this period of commercial and administrative florescence.

Although Batavia and Manila became the paramount colonial cities of Southeast Asia during the early period of European imperialism, they were actually rather small centers of population when compared with the metropolitan capitals that were to evolve in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nevertheless, they shared many of the features and functions that later characterized the primate cities of the region. Both were foreign innovations created to serve the needs of the West. The very location of Manila and Batavia as seaboard cities on the mouths of the Pasig and Tji Liwung emphasized their basic function as commercial centers that linked the European and Asian markets. As a corollary of their economic role, the two colonial capitals acted as magnets that drew men from all parts of the world. As early as 1609 the Spanish chronicler Antonio de Morga testified to the ethnic diversity of Manila.[65] The following account by Bartholomé de Letona, O.S.F. is even more convincing:

> The commerce of this city is extensive, rich, and unusually profitable; for it is carried on by all these Chinese and their ships, with those of all the islands above mentioned [in Southeast Asia] and of Tunquin [Tong-king], Cochinchina, Camboja [Cambodia], and Sian [Siam] — four separate kingdoms, which lie opposite these islands on the continent of Great China — and of the gulfs and the numberless kingdoms of Eastern India, Persia, Bengala, and Ceilan [Ceylon], when there are no wars; and of the empire and kingdoms of Xapon [Japan]. The diversity of the peoples, therefore, who are seen in Manila and its environs is the greatest in the world; for these include men from all kingdoms and nations — España, Francia, Ingalaterra, Italia Flanders, Almania, Dinamarca, Suecia, Polonia, Moscobia; people from all the Indias, both eastern and western; and Turks, Greeks, Moros, Persians, Tartars, Chinos, Japanese, Africans, and Asiatics. And hardly is there in the four quarters of the world a kingdom, province, or nation which has not representatives here.[66]

In Batavia a similar situation prevailed.[67] As a result the colonial cities became centers of heterogenetic transformation, which facilitated the disin-

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[64] For a catalogue and commentary on several hundred of these Asian items of exchange, see Antonio de Morga, "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas, Mexico, 1609," in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 16, pp. 178-185.

[65] In 1609 he observed the annual arrival of traders from China, Japan, the Moluccas, Malacca, Siam, Portuguese Goa, Cambodia, Borneo, India, Patani and "other districts." *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 184, 199.

[66] Bartholomé de Letona, O.S.F., "Description of Filipinas Islands, La Puebla, Mexico, 1662," in Blair and Robertson, *op cit.*, Vol. 36, p. 205.

[67] Bernard H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara, a History of Indonesia* (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve, Ltd., 1959), pp. 154-157.

tegration or modification of indigenous norms and generated new mental and social integrations.[68] They readily absorbed foreign cultural elements, thereby inducing processes of social, political and economic change.

There were also parallels in the physical structure of the colonial cities. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the urban cores of Manila and Batavia were surrounded by massive walls and moats that symbolized their role as the nerve-centers of each colonial system and guaranteed security in times of crisis. The governors-general, the foremost merchants, most of the colonies' administrative personnel, the major warehouses, the European religious authorities and the elite military forces were all resident within Manila's Intramuros and Batavia's Castle.[69] Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that these fortifications proved their worth against both European and Asian invaders.[70]

By their morphology the Dutch and Spanish colonial capitals clearly emphasized the fact that they were alien transplants on Southeast Asian soil. Both were constructed as images of the typical metropolitan cities of the time. Early in the seventeenth century Morga portrayed Manila as follows:

> It occupies the same site where Rajamora had his settlement and fort. . . . The whole site was occupied by this new settlement [Manila], and Legazpi apportioned it to the Spaniards in equal building-lots. It was laid out with well-arranged streets and squares, straight and level. A sufficiently large main square [*Plaza mayor*] was left, fronting which were erected the cathedral church and municipal buildings. He left another square, that of arms [*Plaza de armas*], fronting which was built the fort, as well as the royal buildings. He gave sites for the monasteries, hospital, and chapels which were to be built. Streets of the city are compactly built up with houses, mostly of stone, although some are of wood. Many are roofed with clay tiling and others with nipa. They are excellent edifices, lofty and spacious, and have large rooms and many windows, and balconies, with iron gratings. . . . There are about six hundred houses within the walls . . . and all are the habitations and homes of Spaniards.[71]

D. G. E. Hall describes Antonie van Diemen's work in developing Batavia in the following summary statement:

> He completed its castle, built a town hall and a Latin school and did much to expand and beautify the original settlement. Cultivation and industry were developed around it, chiefly by the Chinese whom Coen had encouraged to settle.

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[68] Both Manila and Batavia fit Redfield and Singer's model of the heterogenetic city: "In cities of this kind men are concerned with the market, with 'rational' organization of production of goods, with expediental relations between buyer and seller, ruler and ruled, and native and foreigner. In this kind of city the predominant social types are businessmen, administrators . . . rebels, reformers, planners and plotters of many varieties. It is in cities of this kind that priority comes to be given to economic growth and the expansion of power." Redfield and Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[69] Reed, *op. cit.* Chapter 6; Vlekke, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-190.

[70] Zaide, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-286, 306-322; Hall, p. 253.

[71] Morga, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137, 143.

> A new church was built, houses in the Dutch style lined the banks of the canals, and the whole place began to look almost like a Dutch city transplanted from Europe.[72]

The European-style urban cores were occupied almost exclusively by the Dutch and Spaniards and, therefore, served as physical indicators of the power and prestige of the foreign sojouners.[73]

Conclusion

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, Southeast Asia was dominated by two contrasting types of cities. In the peninsular areas sacred cities continued to thrive as the orthogenetic centers of relatively closed territorial systems. By contrast the multifunctional capitals of Manila and Batavia, each of which controlled a rudimentary network of colonial settlements, were the foremost centers of the insular realm. Though the indigenous *kraton* cities of Java and a number of coastal centers continued to function, their princes were unable to destroy the foreign implants that dotted the archipelagic shores. On land and sea the Dutch prevailed in all prolonged tests of military power. In the Philippines the Spaniards were quite successful in achieving their territorial, cultural, commercial and religious objectives. Through the efforts of a dedicated corps of missionaries, who used compact colonial settlements as instruments of Hispanization and Christianization, an embryonic urban hierarchy was established. In both systems the colonial capital reigned supreme in all functions. Thus an enduring consequence of Spanish and Dutch imperialism was the transformation of two small riverine communities into the undisputed colonial capitals, multifunctional nerve-centers and nascent primate cities of the Philippine and Indonesian archipelagos

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[72] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 529. As one might expect, the narrow streets, canals, and moats that gathered rubbish and bred the *Anopheles* mosquito were quite out of place in the tropics. Thus Manila and Batavia were not only the homes of many Europeans, but often became their graves soon after they arrived. W. F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, Ltd., 1964), pp. 172-173.

[73] Morga, *op. cit.*, p. 143.