The Philippine Islands
in the Chinese World Map of 1674

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Introduction

In 1674 a world map was published in Peking\(^1\), the second of its kind. The first one, printed in 1599\(^2\), had been prepared by the famous Jesuit priest, Matteo Ricci. For the second one another Jesuit was entrusted with the compilation: in this case the Head of the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy, the Flemish Father Ferdinand Verbiest, whose Chinese name was Nan Huai-jen\(^2\) and whose position is indicated on the map as Chih-li-\-li-\-fa\(^3\) Director of Astronomy.

The Verbiest map consists of a world map in two hemispheres (of three scrolls each) and two outer scrolls with more general information which had been published in a world geography, \textit{K'un-yü \textit{t'u-shuo}\(^4\)}, selected by Father Verbiest and published in Peking about 1673. In the preface Verbiest mentions that he "added the latest information to what the earlier scholars had written and could not have known\(^5\). He then enumerates these earlier scholars: Li Ma-tou\(^5\), Matteo Ricci (1552–1610); Ai Ju-lieh\(^6\), Giulio Aleni (1582–1649); Kao I-chih\(^7\), Alphonso Vagnoni (1566–1640); Hsiung San-pa\(^8\), Sabbatino de Ursis (1575–1620).

More detailed descriptions of the countries on the map taken from this work can be found adjacent to those countries, and it is the one pertaining to the Philippine Islands, taken from page 78 of the book, which concerns us here. It runs:

This country produces falcons. When the king of the falcons flies, the whole flock follows. When an animal prey is obtained, the king of the falcon first eats its eyes after which the flock is free to eat the flesh. There is also a tree which the animals cannot approach. Once they pass underneath, they die\(^3\).

While the map is a splendid piece of contemporary cartography and an equally splendid example of wood-block engraving and printing, it is particularly disappointing to find the description of countries in the Far East totally inadequate and decidedly not reflecting the extensive knowledge the Chinese had acquired during previous centuries of trade and commerce with those countries.

There is no particular reason for singling out the Philippine Islands, except that earlier references to the archipelago are scattered in books and articles which also treat of other countries, and it was thought to be of some use to bring these together.

We have been compelled to limit ourselves to geographical works published prior to the date of the map. Provincial and local records are not available in Sydney and the \textit{Ming-shih} is not germane to our purpose, as it had not been compiled at that date.

It may be remarked that, in a way, this article covers the same ground as Wu Ching-hong's "Study of References to the Philippine Islands in Chinese Sources from Earliest Times to the Ming Dynasty", \textit{Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review XXIV}, 1 and 2 (January–June, 1959). However, Professor Wu actually covers a much wider field than the title of his work indicates. He takes in a large part of the Southern Seas,
particularly those islands neighbouring on the Philippines. Furthermore, he quotes numerous Western scholars on these and related subjects. We have refrained from constantly commenting on relative passages in his work.

We have set out to prove that at the time of the Verbiest map in 1674 there was already available in China a fairly large body of texts on the Philippine Islands, from which much more revealing excerpts could have been given. Why such seemingly useless information was entered on the map is a question to which no satisfactory answer can be given. Verbiest certainly was not an amateur in either geography or cartography, and one might therefore have expected him to have been aware of the existence of the works quoted in this article. He may have wanted to make his map conform to the latest information available from European sources and therefore used his re-edited K’un-yü t’u shuo exclusively for that purpose. It could also be that he was under instructions to do so either from the Emperor K’ang-hsi or from his Order. We shall never know.

If, however, he was not aware of the existence of these earlier works, there remains the question of why they had not been brought to his attention by the Chinese scholars attached to his Bureau of Astronomy. The answer to this might well be that these scholars, being steeped in the Confucian tradition, would look down on anything as vulgar as a description of barbarian countries. Besides, the Chinese provinces which were mainly engaged in this overseas trade were traditionally those held in contempt at Court, if not downright distrusted because of their maritime trade and consequent outside contacts. This attitude was strengthened by the fact that the new dynasty was basically land-orientated and sought to limit maritime activities as much as possible. It was only when the Ming Shih was compiled between 1679 and 1724 that the Confucian scholars entrusted with this task deigned to quote from heterodox works, and then solely to show their alien masters the greatness of the Ming Dynasty they had replaced.

Some of our translations may be found to be at variance with previous translations. This may be because a different text was used, in which case we cannot comment, as only one text was available in Sydney. In other cases we had nautical reasons to differ and have indicated these where necessary.

Spanish records of the events described in the Chinese texts have been available from the end of the sixteenth century. The sources have been noted, but the often lengthy quotations have been dropped owing to lack of space and the fact that they were undoubtedly not available to Verbiest.

Texts prior to Ming:

For the sake of completeness we first introduce part of a text in the History of the Former Han Dynasty, which is believed by some scholars to refer to the Philippine Islands, said to be situated five months’ sailing distance from Ho-pu[9] and Hsü-wen[10], both seaports in Kwangtung province. The name given, Tu-yüan kuo[11], of course bears no resemblance in itself to any of the names used later to indicate the Philippine Islands or parts thereof. Besides, in the enumeration of countries this particular country was farthest away from Kwangtung. It is inconceivable to us that at any time in Chinese maritime history it would take as long as five months to cross the South China Sea to reach the Philippine Islands, when it took them only twenty days to reach what we now call Vietnam. We prefer to think of this as an early reference to Tu-heng[12], at some later date identifiable with Lampong in Southern Sumatra (Indonesia)?

The next reference to be looked at critically is found in the History of the Wei Dynasty, which says, "... more than 4000 lü from Japan there are countries called Lo[14] and
Hei-ch'ih[15]." The additional information that these two countries lie to the south-east of Japan at a year's sailing distance, whereas the Philippines bear south-west of Japan, makes it very unlikely that the Philippines are under discussion here. Only the distance of "more than 4000 li" , which works out at something like 1400 nautical miles, neatly fits the distance between Japan and the Philippines. It is likely that the text means that in those countries the people "go naked" and have their "teeth blackened".

Equally doubtful as a reference to the Philippines is a text in the History of the Liang Dynasty, where a country lying to the east of Funan is discussed. Funan can be roughly defined as present-day Cambodia plus an area south of that country. The text says:

In the regions east of Funan there is the Chang-hai[16](both in the K'ang-hsi tsu-tien and the P'ei-wen yün-fu defined as the South China Sea). In this sea there is a vast island (Borneo?) on which there is the country of Chu-po[17] (Java) to the east of which is the island of Ma-wu[18]. Again going east (across) the South China Sea for more than 1000 li (over 300 nautical miles) one arrives at Tzu-jan ta-chou[19].

It is to be remarked that Ma-wu is a neighbour of Chu-po (Java) and is apparently on close terms with it, either through trade or for ethnic reasons8. If corrections in this text are permitted or indicated, we are sorely tempted to suggest that Ma-wu should read Ma-i. We shall soon see there was an early relationship between Ma-i (Mindoro) and Java. The fact that "east" should then read "north" need not bother us greatly: although Mindoro lies north of Java, their vessels would still approach Java from the east for navigational reasons9.

Whether the Philippine Islands were known to the Chinese prior to the T'ang remains conjectural, but finds of T'ang ceramics and coins indicate that intercourse must have been established before the end of the ninth century. Because of China's much more advanced civilization, it is reasonable to suppose that the Chinese went there to trade, but not that the Filipinos came to China. Trade must have developed considerably during the Sung, and it is from this period that the first identifiable mention of the Philippines comes. In the encyclopaedia Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao, published about 1317, there occurs a passage included in the section on Java which reads: "...also there is the country of Ma-i. In the year 982 (its rulers sent an envoy who) carrying precious goods came to the sea-shores of Kuang-chou". Its inclusion in the Java section may be an indication that Ma-i joined the Indonesian embassy to the Chinese court. Direct trade may have been developed later, when the Chinese had found their was to Mindoro10.

It is not before the Chu-fan chih[25], a work by Chao Ju-kua[26] published in 1225, that we find chapters on unmistakable parts of the Philippine Islands.

Ma-i country is to the north of Borneo. There more than 1000 families live together near the creeks. They wrap themselves in cotton as garments or use a loin-cloth to hide their bodies. They have bronze Buddha statues11 scattered among the grasses of the jungle and we do not know where they come from. Robbers seldom come to their area. If a merchant vessel enters port, it anchors in front of the local magistrate's office. These offices are also the country's market-places. Once a ship has been entered in the records, (its merchants are) allowed to mix with the population. The headman always uses a white sunshade. The merchants are compelled to give him presents as a sort of donation, as is customary in barter. The natives come in
hordes to sell, and have carrying-baskets into which they instantly transfer the goods and then go off. In the beginning this was not well understood, but gradually it became possible to recognize the carriers of the goods so there were no losses. The natives sell, but also take our wares round to other islands for barter, being away the eighth and ninth months before returning. With what they have obtained they square with the merchants on the junk. There are also some who after a period do not return, which is the reason why, in trading with Ma-i, our junks return very late.

Three Islands: Babuyan, Manila, Lingayen, Luzon, and Lubang they all belong to this group.

The identification of Pai-pu-yen with Babuyan is possible and, for lack of a better one, should stand. It would imply that the natives of Mindoro had knowledge and/or intercourse with the Babuyan Islands lying far to the north and of no particular significance to them. In our opinion it is much more likely that the fishermen, sailors and traders, mainly from Fukien, knew of these islands and, when noticing racial and ethnic similarities between the Babuyan and Mindoro natives, considered them one of a group. That Chinese traders visited the Babuyan is evident from finds of T'ang, Sung, Yuan, Ming and Annamese ceramics found there. The identification of the second island mentioned, Pu-li-lu, with Polillo, a group of barren islands on the east coast of Luzon and never of any significance in terms of produce, commerce or industry to the present day, is out of the question. To reach them the early Chinese seafarers would have had to work their way through numerous islands towards the San Bernadino Straits and then northwards for a considerable distance, to find - what? The east coast of the Philippines is far from attractive, and much less so with a Pacific swell running or in weather influenced by typhoons, which are frequent in those parts in May and June. We are of the opinion that Pu-li-lu is an early, corrupted form of Manila. It might be Bulalo on the north coast of Mindanao, but this does not fit in with the others, all to the north of Mindoro. No archaeological finds have been reported for the Polillo Islands in the work mentioned in note 12. Wada also rejects this identification.

Their produce is: yellow wax, cotton, pearls, tortoise-shell, betel-nut and yü-ta cloth. Our merchants carry our porcelain wares, trade gold, iron pots, blacklead, multi-coloured beads, nails and suchlike for bartering.

Three Islands: Pu-li-lu (Manila)

Three Islands belong to Mindoro. They are: Calamianes, Palawan, and Busanga; all are inhabited and the people in them live in scattered communities. When our vessels arrive, they come out and barter. The whole complex is called Three Islands. The people’s way of living is more or less the same as in Mindoro. Each tribal village comprises more than 1000 households. The country has many lofty hills and range after range of peaks, towering like a wall. To cross them on high, one has to rely on passes.

The people plait rushes for their huts and, since there are no springs in the mountains, their women and girls carry two or three pots stacked on their heads to get water from a creek; when climbing up again, they tread as if on level ground. Especially in the remote valleys there are settlements called hai-tan; the people there are of slight build with round, yellowish eyes, curly hair and prominent teeth. They nest in
tree-tops, there to five forming a group. They creep and hide in the thorns and underbrush and shoot at people in covert attacks, many suffering from their malice. When presented with a bowl, they stoop to pick it up and joyfully run off yelling.

Foreign merchants, whenever they arrive at a settlement, do not dare to go near the shore, but first anchor their ships in mid-stream and sound the drum to call attention. The natives, who want to buy, then compete in sculling their dug-outs alongside, bringing cowrie shells, yellow wax, strange textiles, mats woven from cocos fibre and suchlike to offer for barter. If the price is not fixed during the discussion, it is necessary for the headman to finalize the haggling. We have to sacrifice some pongee sunshades, porcelain ware and rattan baskets to enliven trade. It is usual to detain one or two natives as hostages; (the merchants having) gone ashore and the market exchange of goods mutually concluded, the hostages are returned. A ship does not stay more than three or four days, but soon goes round to another (island). All the natives make the round of Three Islands, but do not accept the other islands' leadership.

Their mountains straddle the north-eastern corner and, if the traders arrive during the southerly winds, they find flood-water rushing down the mountains and incessant waves and breakers, so it is impossible to anchor their vessels. Because of this, those that do the Three Islands trade figure on four or five months before being in a position to return home.

For barter we use as commodities ceramics, black silk gauze, skeins of pongee, coloured beads, lead sinkers for nets, and white tin.

Manila is also included in Three Islands, but its villages differ in size. The men there are often violent and ruthless, prone to attack and rob. In the sea there are many part-alkaline rocks and in those waters are drifting around ivory-like objects, looking like sharp wooden knives, as keen as a sword or a halberd. A ship that has to pass there changes her course beforehand to avoid them. Manila's products are green jade and coral branches, extremely difficult to obtain. The people's customs are mainly the same as on Three Islands.

It has already been noted by our author that the junks trading on Ma-i were in returning, often not leaving until the ninth moon. For nautical reasons also it would be highly unlikely that the junks would try to return to China in May or June. May is the record typhoon month in the China Sea and rather late in the year for a reliable south-west monsoonal wind. June is worse in this respect. It is more likely that they left China in the third moon on the last of the south-west monsoon for a relatively speedy passage down, and at the same time to avoid delay on the Sulu Sea coasts on account of that monsoon. They would spend four or five months trading and return on the first of the north-east monsoon during the eighth or ninth moon.

P'i-shê-yeh Country

The native language is incomprehensible and traders do not go there. (These natives) go naked and wide-eyed, almost like animals. (In the district of) Ch'üan-chou there are islands called Peng-hu, belonging to Chin-chiang hsien. These islands have close relations with this country and they can see each others' smoke and fires. At times the natives go out to rob and plunder; when they will come cannot be estimated and great grief and damage are created by them, so that the locals suffer bitterly.
We agree with Laufer on several points, but see no reason for his conclusion on page 225: "which inclines me to think that the tribe, which, according to the Sung-shih, made a piratical move toward Fukien at the end of the XIIth century, cannot well have been of Formosan origin..."

On the contrary, the Chinese text leaves us in no doubt. The debatable point is whether those called Visayans on south-western Taiwan were as closely related to the Visayans of the Central Philippines, as the phonetic coincidence suggests. The emigration of the North Malayan culture no doubt proceeded along the eastern seabords of the South China Sea, and the Philippine Islands were peopled along this route. This migration is quite feasible for a race with little or no knowledge of ship-building or navigation and relying solely on frail fishing craft, perhaps adapted to longer but still strictly coastal voyages. Gradually, by island-hopping from the northern tip of Luzon across the Bashee Channel, the southern extremity of Taiwan was reached and settled. At this juncture Malayan-Filipino migration came to an end.

From the Chinese text it is also clear that this far northern outpost had lost its boat-building ability and had developed the raft instead. The raft is still a national vessel of the Taiwan aboriginal.

In the Ch'un-hsi period (1174-1190) their country's leader had the habit of leading numerous hundreds of followers in sudden attacks on villages like Shui-ao[37] and Wei-t'ou[38] in the Ch'üan-chou district. Giving free rein to murder and cruelty, they killed innumerable people; they raped the wives and daughters, afterwards killing them off. They delighted in iron articles such as spoons and chopsticks and, when the people closed their front gates in order to escape from them, they prised off the doors' rings (or knockers) and went away. If spoons and chopsticks were thrown to them, it was possible gradually to get them to go away.

Our official forces attacked them and at the sight of these iron-clad men they fought each other to strip them of their mail and, as they crowded in, they were massacred without compunction. To close in on an enemy they used spears with pennants. Ropes of over ten fathoms' length were tied to these to pull them back: they loved their iron so much, they could not bear to abandon it.

They do not have rowing boats but only bamboo rafts to go about their business. These can be folded up like a movable screen. In an emergency a whole band will pick up their rafts, float them on the water and escape.

The Chinese text is very positive on the use of rafts. Had the raiders come in boats, Laufer would have had a point in suggesting that the Visayans from the Central Philippines had "reached Formosa first, and then, driven away by inhospitable natives, turned to the shores of China".

We have to consider that the distance from the Visayan Islands to Taiwan is in the order of 800 nautical miles, a considerable distance for a boat, let alone for a raft of the description in the Chinese text. Apart from logistical difficulties and the absence of rafts as means of locomotion in the Visayan archipelago of the Philippine Islands, we can rule out this "rational explanation of the event".

The distance from south-western Taiwan to Ch'üan-chou, however, is a mere 140 to 150 nautical miles, and even less, if the piratical Taiwan Visayans made use of the Pescadores to assemble and prepare for the crossing. Experienced raftsmen, choosing the
right season, could cross to the mainland in less than three days and two nights and still be fit for battle. We are of the opinion that there occurred a similar identification-in-reverse to that proposed on page 221.

More than a century separates us from the next reference to the Philippines, which is found in the *Tao-i chih-lüeh* [39], (Historical Abstracts on Islanders) [21]. This text again throws up difficulties owing to similarities in the phonetic rendering of names.

Three Islands [22]

The settled parts are east of the capes and mountains; the islands share high capes and there are awe-inspiring tiers of mountains; the people live on the sides of these. The fields are poor and grain scarce. The people's customs are simple and their spirit noble. When wrong they are ashamed. Among the men and women there are albinos. The men have their hair in a topknot and the married women have a coiffure on a sort of spindle, all of them wearing unlined clothing. Men and boys often join our ships to go to Ch'uan-chou to spend all their capital—through brokers—on having their bodies tattooed. When their bodies are covered all over, they return to their country and their compatriots honour them as if they were elders, wait on them with ceremony and conduct them to the highest seats. Their fathers and seniors will not dispute them this—it is their custom to esteem those who have been to China.

The people boil sea-water to obtain salt and ferment cereals and sugar-cane to make spirits. There is a headman. The country produces yellow camphor and cotton cloth. For barter we use copper beads, green and white decorated bowls, cotton printed with small flowers, pig-iron and suchlike. Subordinate to the Three Islands are Ta-p'eil, Hai-shan, Panung-chi, Pu-li-laol and Tung-liu-li. These have not very much different produce, as they are near these (Three Islands).

In our text of the *Tao-i chih-lüeh* there follows a section on a country called Ma-i [55], which so far has been identified with Mindoro. However, in the *Hsing-ch'a sheng-lan* we found this same section—nearly verbatim—unmistakably indicating the island of Billitung in Indonesia. In the latter text its name is given as Mai-i-tung and the description is preceded by the words: "It is located in the ocean south-west of Gelam (Chiao-lan-shan) [58]."

Then follows on page 26:

Ma-li-lu [64]

A small bay penetrating far into their land. Mountains abound and water is everywhere, alkaline rocks being plentiful and wooded areas scarce. The fields are higher up and poor. The people mainly eat yams. The climate is hot.

The people's customs are righteous: if a native official dies, his widow is not supposed to marry a commoner but only a son or a grandson of another provincial official in accordance with rank and length of service. If this is in order, a man can be chosen to marry her, but, if not, she cuts her hair and contemplates suicide to end her life.

Men and women wrap a green cloth turban round their hair and wear a shortish red cotton loincloth.

The people boil sea-water to obtain salt and ferment sugar-cane to obtain spirits. They plait bamboo slivers into couches and burn fresh wax for lighting purposes. Their land produces tortoise-shell, yellow beeswax, laecca wood and bamboo-fibre cloth [Fujita gives ample reason why bamboo-fibre cloth should be understood as] [65]
banana-fibre cloth] as well as cotton cloth. For barter we use pure (metal) ingots, green cloth and green (celadon) earthenware, dishes, porcelain water-jars from Ch’u-ch’ou and other large jars, iron cauldrons, etc.

It may not be of great significance, but the two other references to parts of the Philippine Islands appear much further on in the book, i.e. after the description of Borneo and Java. It underlines the earlier observation that Chinese trade with these parts had developed through Borneo and Java. (See also page 220).

Su-lu[66][26]

This country is protected by rocks, capes and mountains. In the hills there is arable land but it is poor and the fields are barren, only suitable to plant millet and corn. People eat sago[27], sha-hu[67], fish, shrimps, univalves or bivalves. The climate is semi-tropical. They are vulgar and rustic people. Men and women have shaved heads, around which they wrap a black turban. Their loins are covered with a small piece of cloth of a printed flower pattern.

They boil sea-water to obtain salt and ferment sugar-cane to obtain spirits. For occupation they weave bamboo-fibre into cloth. There is a headman. The land produces mediocre lacca-wood, a yellow beeswax, tortoise-shells and pearls, the latter comparable to those produced at Shalipatan and others of the Three Main Ports[28].

Su-lu pearls are of bluish-white colour and round. They fetch enormous prices. The Chinese use them for women’s adornment. The colour is unsurpassed and they have the reputation of being an extraordinary commodity. Some have a diameter of an inch, and the large ones they produce fetch over 700 or 800 ting[68][29], small ones ten to twenty.

But seed-pearls, of which 10000 make up a liang[69] in weight, and those of 1000 to 300 or 400 to the liang come from the Western Ocean’s Three Main Ports, because this country, Su-lu, does not have them[30].

For barter we use red gold, leaf silver and patula[31] cloth, green beads, wares from Ch’u-ch’ou, iron bars, etc.

The last entry in this work which can be traced to the Philippines carries the title P’i-she-yeh, which we have already met in an earlier text, but this time it definitely represents the Visayas of the Central Philippines.

P’i-she-yeh[70]

An out-of-the-way spot in the Eastern Ocean. Mountains are undulating and consist of waste land. The arable fields are small and not much is grown. The climate is very torrid. It is the people’s custom to plunder.

Men and women bind their hair in a topknot and with black juice tattoo their bodies right up to their necks. They wear a belt made from palm-cord[32] and red pongee thread to gird their usually yellow sarongs.

The country has no headman and does not produce (for trade).

At times they pack dried provisions and row small boats towards far-away lands of outsiders. There they lie in ambush in wild mountains and search the valleys where no people live permanently. When meeting with fishermen or firewood-gatherers, they suddenly grab them to bring them back to their own country and sell them into
slavery. Each man sells for two taels of gold\textsuperscript{33}, hence the people from outside communicate with them for their release. This practice is their trade, so, when in the Eastern Ocean the name Visayan is heard, people flee in great fear.

The text makes it clear immediately that these Visayans did not live on Taiwan. The information about the tattooed bodies is important. Compare this with the relevant passage on Three Islands. Fujita offers the suggestion that Visayans went to Taiwan in their small boats to rob the Pescadores and plunder the mainland. We have given our opinion of that on page 223. Fujita adds that the people of Sung mistakenly thought the raids came from Taiwan. On the contrary, the mistake is in the name given to the robbers!

\textit{The Ming Texts}

In Western eyes the Ming dynasty is unique for its maritime expeditions into the Southern and Western Oceans. These took place mainly under the third emperor of the dynasty, whose reign is known by the \textit{nien-hao}, Yung-lo (1403-1425).

Their more or less sudden occurrence in Chinese history is puzzling, to say the least. We are inclined to explain them in terms proposed by Schubert\textsuperscript{34}, who describes "Gothic man" as a result of spiritual renewal, seeking harmony and content with the world as it presents itself. The aeon of "Gothic man" is followed by that of "Promethean man", who literally breaks his shackles and no longer looks up but ahead. To conquer the world and be its master is his aim. There are certainly parallels here between the Europe of which Schubart is writing and the conditions in China more than a century earlier than in Europa, but in both countries they gave rise to the spreading of sails across the seas.

The expeditions were undertakings of a size and scope that would have taxed any European country four centuries later. Their occurrence is proof that the arts of shipbuilding and navigation must have had their roots in a much earlier period, if not in antiquity, although references to them in Chinese history are very few and far between. It is inconceivable that these expeditions and all they involved could have been undertaken by decree, if the essential knowledge and experience had not been available in the first place. Ingenuity and resourcefulness being inherent in the Chinese people, they were capable of extending the undertakings now required of them far beyond previous trade and navigation.

In general, interest in overseas countries increased and, although none of the expeditions was scheduled to include the Philippines, trade with them increased and information about the Islands was often included in geographical works.

The first Ming text containing information about the Philippine Islands is the 1436 \textit{Hsing-ch' a sheng-lan\textsuperscript{[73]}} by Fei Hsin\textsuperscript{[74]}.\textsuperscript{35} It contains little that is new, as it was mainly copied from the \textit{Tao-i chih-lieh}. The embassy noted by Fei Hsin for the year 1418 was an added and more recent event. The section on the Three Islands differs so little from the \textit{Tao-i} that we shall omit it here (compare page 224).

As has been noted there and as is repeated here, the section following Three Islands refers to Ma-i-tung, Billitung in Indonesia.

\textit{Su-lu kuo\textsuperscript{[75]}} Sulu

...In the sixteenth year of Yung-lo (1418) their chief, in token of gratitude for Imperial favours, brought his wife and children across the seas to offer tribute. He pre-
sented a large pearl weighing seven liang and five ch'ien (281 grams), seldom if ever obtainable. The Emperor was greatly pleased and awarded him lavish gifts, including a golden seal and the cap and sash (of literati), whereafter he went back to his country...

This was not the first direct embassy from the Philippine Islands to the Court of China. The Ming-shih, in chapter 323, page 20, reports on an embassy from a country called Feng-chia-shih-lan[76], in the Fukien dialect pronounced P'ung ka si nan, which Lauffer identifies with Pangasinan, the tribe which used to live on the west coast of Luzon round the Lingayen Gulf.

Nearly a century later, in 1520, another interesting compilation appeared, in which the Philippine Islands are represented by a section on the Sulu Islands. Its author, Huang Sheng-tseng[77] of Hang-chou, does not leave us in any doubt about his sources. In his Preface, dated 13th July, 1520, he states, "So I have collected the information the interpreters have noted down in works like the Hsing-ch'a, the Ying-yai and the Chenwei." The work is called Hsi-yang ch'ao-kung tien-lu[79] (Documents on Tributary Countries in the Western Ocean).[37]

"Su-lu kuo. This country is situated in the southern part of the Eastern Sea. Its local capital is called Shih-chi chih shan[81]." This is a description of the place, rather than its name. Most likely the present capital of Sulu Province, Jolo (Holo), is meant. Since time immemorial this place has been a port of entry for foreign shipping. It is a well laid out town, surrounded by a wall. The Chinese quarter is built on a long pier about 1 ½ cables westward of the town proper[38].

...In the fifteenth year of Yung-lo (1417) the ruler of the east of this country, named Pa-tu-ke Pa-ha-la, and the western division's ruler, Pa-tu-ke Pa-su-li, and the divisional ruler, Pa-tu-ke Pa-li-fu, all accompanied by their wives, children and chiefs, came to court to offer tribute.

The three rulers mentioned were probably local chiefs co-operating in this embassy to save on overhead costs. They are here given the title 'paduka", which corresponds more or less to our "Excellency". Pahala and Pasuli were brothers, as we know from the Ming-shih, chapter 325. The former died while staying at the Government hostel in Te-chou[82], (Shantung) and was given a posthumous title and a state burial by the Emperor. In 1420 the Throne decreed that his son Tumahan should succeed him. Pasuli went to China again in 1421. The third man was probably named Prabu and was ruler of part of north-eastern Borneo.

The last statement may need a little more explanation. Groeneveldt[39] translates the section on Sulu from the Ming-shih, chapter 325. However, when we looked up the same events in the Ming-shih-lu, which in time and observation are much closer to events than the Ming-shih, we found:

Yung-lo, fifteenth year (1417), seventh month, on the day hsin-mao. The Emperor confirmed Paduka Patala[83] as the Eastern Ruler of the country of Sulu and the Maharajda of Kelamating[84] to be Western Ruler of the country of Sulu, Paduka Prabu to be the tung-ruler[85].

At the same time we granted them the patents of these titles, and they were given ceremonial robes and hats, silver seals and badges, caparisoned horses and insignia.
Their suite of over 340 headmen was given hats and sashes, silver brocade patterned cloth and ceremonial robes. On the day keng-hsü these people took their leave to return to their country and were given presents of 100 taels of gold, 2000 of silver, 10000 ting in paper money and 3000 strings of cash....

On the day i-ch'ou Paduka Patala fell ill in Te-chou and died. In three years' time his son, Tumahan[86], who succeeded him, was expected to visit China.

...Yung-lo, eighteenth year (1420), eighth month, on the day i-mao. The Western ruler of Sulu, Maháradja of Kelamating, sent an envoy to bear tribute of local produce; he was given paper money and sent back ....

Yung-lo, nineteenth year (1421), fourth month, on the day kuei-mao. The mother of the ruler of Eastern Sulu sent the ruler's younger brother, Paduka Suli, and others to bear tribute of local produce. Paduka Suli was presented with hat, sash and ceremonial robes, as well as assorted textiles.

Dr. Fuchs pointed out to us in a private letter that both the Ming shih 325, 13a and the Huang Ming hsiang-hsü lu[87] gave the characters[88] for the third ruler. The position of the three rulers then becomes clear: Patala was the leading ruler, situated on the islands in the southern part of the Sulu Sea with his capital, probably, on Jolo; Kalimanten ruled the western sets of islands, probably with a capital on Balambang or Banguey (Banggi)40; Prabu ruled the 'caves' which are found on the NW tip of Borneo, west of longitude 117E. Groeneveldt's remark in his note 2, on a mountain Klaibatangan is not supported by evidence on the maps: neither do the characters represent the name (nor the name of the river and a 963 feet high hill, both named Kinabatangan). The river flows into the Sulu Sea about 31 nautical miles east of Sandakan.

The articles offered in tribute consist of a certain type of camphor, textiles made from bamboo and from cotton, tortise-shell, cedarwood, sapanwood, black pepper, a type of pulse, yellow camphor and native peweter.

In the meantime the Spanish had appeared in the Philippine Islands, to which they gave that name, and, according to Blumentritt[41], met the Chinese for the first time on Mindoro Island in 1571. In a sense the Chinese trade with the Philippines changed to fit in with the demands of the Spanish market. Trade with Mindoro and the Three Islands during the summer months faded out; that with Sulu and Manila became a winter affair. Not only could the Fukien traders sail to Manila on both the south-west and the north-east monsoons, but with the establishment of the Spaniards at Manila it became far more practical to trade there after the silver-carrying galleon from Acapulco had arrived in late November or early December. As early as 1574 Antonio de Morga reports42...principal commerce is with the Chinese, who annually visit us towards the end of December and the beginning of January with a fleet of twenty to thirty vessels.... the Chinese junks return in the month of March and take seven days to do so ....

This change is also reflected in the listing of parts of the Philippine Islands in the geographical works: any country where the junks went on the south-west monsoon was listed as situated in the Tung-yang[89] and any visited on the north-east monsoon was Hsi-yang[90]. Taiwan was sometimes listed as both, naturally.
In 1617 Chang Hsieh published his *Tung-hsi-yang k’ao* A Survey of the Eastern Ocean and the Western Ocean, in which the sufferings of the Chinese and the fatal clash with the conquistadors is noted in detail:

Lü-sung

Luzon is in the Eastern Seas. In the beginning it was not important, but later it became increasingly so. In the third year of Yung-lo (1405) its ruler sent his minister, Ko ch’a-lao to our court with a tribute of local produce. Their country is close to Chang-chou, a reason why our merchant ships often go there. Over there are also Europeans who call themselves Kan-hsi-la countrymen (Castilla?). They come from the far west in order to barter with Luzon. Their chief himself, when speaking to them, said, “This country we could take and rule. However, we shall present yellow gold to wish Luzon’s ruler a long life. We only beg for a piece of land as large as a bull’s hide on which to build a house.” The ruler trusted them and promised it. The Spaniards then took a bull’s hide and cut it (into thin ribbons), laid them end to end and so formed a square, saying this was the correct size of the land they had asked for. The ruler was embarrassed and naturally lost all faith in the barbarians from afar. "After all, this is my land," (he said) "so every month I shall tax them according to our laws." And the Spaniards acquired the land; built a walled city, barracks and houses; arranged rows of cannon; used swords and shields and similar arms.

After some time they encircled Luzon, killed its ruler and drove the people into the mountains, so Luzon became a possession of the Spaniards. The King of Castille sent a governor to take charge of the capital. After a number of years the governor was changed. Nowadays those Chinese who traffic with Luzon are trading with the Spaniards. Many Chinese go to Luzon; after some trips they settle and do not return henceforth they are named Ya-tung; they live among the natives in numbers of some several thousands; after some time they cut their queues and raise children and grandchildren.

As Spanish sources indicate, the settling of the Chinese in Manila raised problems, although the Spaniards could not very well exist without them. The Chinese settlers provided them with competent tradesmen and, in case of need, with a reliable workforce. They raised vegetables where no native or Spaniard would succeed and could be squeezed for a head-tax and exorbitant rent when they were allotted a special section, called Parian, outside the city walls. It contained their cabildo or Town Hall and the alcalderia or raw silk exchange. The name Parian, indicates the pariah position the Chinese were considered to occupy. Not that pariah itself was originally derogatory—it is a Tamil word to indicate the drummers in Tamil society, a class apart. The word came into European languages through the Portuguese, who picked it up in Goa.

In Spanish texts the Chinese are often called Sangleys (Ch’ang-lai) but the more important of their merchants were called Avays (Ya-fei). Some turned to Christianity. Others realised that this had its advantages in trade and treatment, although it also carried certain risks, as was evident after the insurrection, when the richest Chinese Christian was accused of conspiracy and had all his possessions seized, both in Manila and New Mexico.

We shall now follow the first armed conflict as described in the *Tung-hsi yang-k’ao*. Its origin lies in the forced drafting of 250 Chinese settlers for an expedition against the Moluccas in 1593.
In the twenty-first year of Wan-li (1593) in the eighth month the governor belonging to the Lang-lei family and named Pi-li-hsi-lao (Gómez Pérez Dasmarinas) attacked the Moluccas and forced our settlers to act as soldiers to help in war. The barbarians had lured our people to sleep on shipboard and made us Chinese row the ship day and night. When a little tired, we were unceremoniously flogged or killed off. Bitterness and misery were our lot. P’an Ho-wu and others conspired together, saying, "To revolt means death; to be cut down means death; to wait means death as well; and of course war will bring death. It is better to kill the Governor and restrain our anger. (If) we succeed, we will hoist the sails and make for our native villages. If we do not, it is not too late for us to die." The conference decided on action. At midnight they entered the governor’s sleeping quarters and killed him. Holding his head aloft they yelled loudly. The other barbarians woke up in surprise not knowing what was happening, and all were put to the sword or went overboards and died. Ho-wu and the others acquired all the gold, treasures and armament and set sail for home but they lost their way and landed in Kuang-nan, to be forced to hand over the plunder taken from the governor. Kuo Wei-t’ai and thirty-two men fled, joined a ship and returned home.

This uprising occurred in October, 1593, two days after the ship left Manila for Cebu, with approximately forty Spaniards on board. At Marikaban they encountered a strong headwind and sheltered for the night, when the Chinese attacked. There were some survivors: Father Montilla, of the Franciscan order, and the governor’s secretary, Juan de Cuellar; they and the Visayans among the crew were landed in Ilocos (north-west coast of Luzon). The planned expedition was cancelled. Gómez Pérez’s son, who at the time commanded the fleet they were supposed to join in Cebu, came back to Manila and had himself appointed governor.

When the governor was dead, his son Lang-lei assembled soldiers stationed at Cebu and quickly returned to be appointed the new governor. He despatched a monk to China to offer apologies, making excuses for the injustice his father had shown. The Governor of Min presented a memorial to the Throne and it was decreed that the monk should be returned to his country with due ceremony and that to [Kuo] Wei-t’ai should be done what was proper. P’an Ho-wu stayed with the Viets and did not dare to return home.

The barbarians acquired the custom of enslaving relatives of Chinese settlers and imposing on them, exceeding (rational) limits. When these could not be met, they reprimanded and humiliated them incessantly. Offenders were severely treated according to their laws. From this time onward enmities and bitter feelings developed; suspicions deepened as the days went by; and the barbarians increased their imposition of slavery upon us.

That all was not well within the new colony shows up clearly in the correspondence with the home country. At the very beginning of the administration of Gómez Pérez Dasmarinas the civilians of Manila had felt the need for an audiencia (supreme court) to offset the dictatorial powers of the governor appointed by the king. This body corresponded directly with His Majesty, as did the Provincial of the Order of St. Dominic.

It was shortly after Governor Pedro Bravo de Acuña had taken office in 1602 that another incident intensified the already tense relations:
Later there was the Chi-i-shan (Cavite?) affair. From this mountain gold was mined for the important classes. Four nuggets (in the form of a scorpion’s tail) were found and a man foolishly boasted about them and said how strange and wonderful they were. (He apparently did this on the Chinese mainland for) in a memorial to the Throne it was reported: "In Luzon there is the Chi-i mountain on which gold nuggets grow by themselves. Men are sent to fetch them and are allowed to get myriads of them. This is not forbidden.

In reply a decree was sent to the Governor of Min, in which the court officials in strong words declared this to be a falsehood which should not be publicized. The Governor of Min, at that time Hsü Fu-yüan, supported this and sent the Deputy Magistrate of Hai-teng, Wang Shih-ho and an officer, Kan I-ch'eng, to investigate the land. When the barbarians first heard of this embassy, they were greatly started. All the Chinese streamed out to welcome them. At a meeting with the governor the ambassadors said the Chinese as a whole were innocent. They stressed that only the wicked had created difficulties and that the ambassadors had come to bring this matter to a peaceful end. They would force the villains to expose themselves and would do so by circulating the edict. The governor’s anxiety was slightly abated and he ordered his barbarian monk to spread flowers on the road and to receive the ambassadors.

The welcoming masses had tied reed mats together and made a shelter, as if for an official reception. The governor supplied a platoon of soldiers for a guard. He met the ambassadors on arrival and invited them to a dinner. Natural good spirits prevailed.

Addressing the magistrate the governor said, "When the Chinese say they will dig in that mountain, they should realize that every mountain has its master, who will dispose of digging rights. Besides, on what tree do these gold nuggets grow?"

The magistrate had nothing to say to that. Everyone looked at the boaster, Chang I, who said, "That part of the country is wholly made of gold. We should not ask where these nuggets come from. The edict is needed as a pretext to invade this country." This was such irrelevant, nonsensical talk, that the barbarians had a good laugh. The governor detained the boaster, handing him to the soldiery, whereupon the settlers intervened and requested him to be allowed to return to China to submit himself to the authorities. He was freed and made to take ship. This was in the fourth month of the thirtieth year of Wan-li (1602). The magistrate also returned home fell ill and died. The boaster had no success with his petition (for leniency) and was punished. His execution was made known overseas.

Of course, the barbarians in the end suspected China of having such presumptuous intentions (invading the country) and in due course harrassed the minorities, which had no means of subsistence, by lecturing to them. They remonstrated and said that if heavenly warriors descended upon them through the seaward gate, they would have no means of resisting them, which, of course, the barbarians doubted. Governor Acuña did not intend to be caught unprepared. He had the houses of the Parian closest to the walls demolished and in their place a ditch dug which filled at high tide. He had the walls repaired and pushed on with the building of an extra fortress. He ordered his district officers to find out what weapons the natives and Chinese possessed, but all his defensive measures were interpreted as offensive and only a small number of Chinese merchants (he reports about 2500) trusted his repeated assurances of their safety.
All Chinese who owned any piece of metal could suddenly sell it at a high price, even the small knives they used for cutting meat. The price thereof went up to several cash and the Chinese wanted to profit by that. A rumour was spread that this selling would be outlawed and soon in family after family there was not a small piece of metal left. Next, a day for registration and roll-call was fixed. Three hundred men were detailed to one courtyard and, once inside, were killed. This affair became known and the Chinese then brought all their people together in the vegetable gardens, camping them there and preparing for an uprising.

On the first day of the eighth month the barbarian soldiers in great numbers attacked the vegetable gardens, killing and wounding countless numbers (of us). The day after this our people assembled on the Lun[121] mountain (Tondo?) and erected a palisade to keep the enemy out. The barbarians also withdrew some distance. Their governor felt sorry and sent a man to sue for peace, but the Chinese were suspicious, felt they would deceive them and killed off the emissary. The barbarians then became angry and sought support from the civilians.

The attack on the gardens was made by Don Luis Dasmarinas, the son of the governor murdered by the Chinese in 1595. He had withdrawn to a place called Minondog and had been supplied with troops to keep an eye on the insurgents. He had also armed some civilians from the city before attacking and lost over a hundred Spaniards and his own life.

The other support from the city was that supplied by the Japanese living across the Pasig River in a section called Dilaos[1]. At the time there may have been less than 1000 Japanese living there, but apart from being good fighters the majority were Christians and therefore could be trusted. They were captained by the ninety-year-old Juan Pobre de San Lucar Barrameda[2].

For the next three days the Chinese on Lun Mountain hungered and could not get food. They braved death and attacked the city, but the barbarians made a sortie, gunning down the Chinese and killing more than 10,000. The rest were routed and fled everywhere to die of hunger, their bodies piled high on mountains and in valleys. It is estimated that 25,000 were sacrificed and that no more than 300 survived. In this battle the Chinese were too afraid and lacked leadership. Also their provisions and weapons were all but exhausted. They fought with their bare hands, their flesh enriching the soil and mud in this remote island.

While at Lun Mountain, the Chinese encountered wind and rain and had to stand in the open through the downpour. One midnight they saw along the sky a glow, bright and luminous, and at the same time the earth trembled. All were greatly frightened and some died in the panic that ensued. The barbarians then increased the violence of their deadly onslaught and butchered the remainder.

While Acuña acquitted himself well, militarily, in this incident, his report home does not reveal the underlying causes of Chinese discontent. These were expressed by two ecclesiastics of the Dominican order at Manila in letters to the King of Spain[3]. One stated that the 20,000 Chinese could easily have taken the city any time they wished and urged that the original order to allow 3000 to stay be rigidly enforced. However, he went on to explain how the authorities preferred to fleece the Chinese for licence fees,
pocketing the overcharges. The other one also urged the sending of a general inspector, "and choose for this a man who is of great integrity and with a great reputation for purity from all taint of greed... Your Majesty should not trust the Spaniards, on account of their greed, in anything which prove the ruin of this country", which are sorry words for a Spaniard to use about his compatriots!

That same month there was also a severe flooding of the rivers in Chang[124], inundating thousands of homes – a concurrence of great catastrophes.

Afterwards the governor of the barbarians issued an order aimed at mollifying the Chinese whose goods he had stolen. All of these goods had to be stored and locked in a godown. He then corresponded with the Governor of Min concerning the matter of relatives, so that the latter could go and receive their possessions.

During the next years merchant ships gradually returned. A crooked merchant, a certain Huang[125] toadied to the governor, and then, impersonating someone else in order to obtain his goods, or saying they were needed for someone's son to get married, he would pack the bundles and load his ship under false pretences, so the story goes. In the thirty-third year (1605) an edict was issued and a merchant was sent to inform Luzon of its contents, namely not to reopen the incident. Those who had stayed behind there also formed a colony again.

In the Tung-hsi yang k'ao there follows a description of Spanish physical characteristics, which is irrelevant here. The book also carries a section on Sulu, part of which is merely an elaboration of the Sulu section in the Hsi-yang ch'ao-kung tien-lu.

Su-lu

...Nowadays our merchant vessels that trade there inform us that their capital is in a secure position on precipitous cliffs in a mountain range, elegantly called "Heaven's Risk". It is likely that it was built by the divisional ruler. Several times the Franks[84] have attacked the capital but have failed to take it....

The last text to be considered in this study is the Wu-pei-chih, Notes on Military Preparations, of 1621[55]. In chapter 337 there is a short reference to Luzon:

Luzon is an island. The country is small but produces gold, which is the reason for its wealth. The people are somewhat disposed to be plain and do not like to go to law.

In the third year of Yung-lo (1405) the country's ruler sent Ko-ch'ao-lao to court with tribute.

More important is the map found in chapter 223 of the same work, entitled Map of the South-Eastern barbarians[128], which is reproduced here. Ma-i (Mindoro) and Three Islands are clearly indicated. It should be noted that Three Islands are entered to the west of Ma-i, which supports our argument, excluding Polillo on the east coast of Luzon as a possible port of call in Three Islands.

Conclusion

From the arguments we have offered we trust we have proved that in 1674 there was infinitely more material available on the Philippine Islands than was contained in the ornithologically dubious and botanically non-existent information given on the Verbiest map.
Notes


3. According to Bagrow, p. 202, there was at first a single copy of the Ricci map – probably the anonymous map of 1584 now in Bibliotheca Ambrosiana in Milan. The second edition, a woodcut, was made in Nanking in 1599 and a third, revised and enlarged, edition was produced in 1602. According to Wylie in his *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 58, this Ricci map was accompanied by a geographical work, *Chih-fang wai-ch'i*[^1], by Juan de Didacus de Pantoja S. J. († 1618), who worked with Ricci († 1610) in China from 1599.

4. Dr. E. D. Merrill, Chief of the Bureau of Botany at Manila in 1908, made the following reference to this tree: "The tree in question is the so-called upas tree of Malayan fables, Antherax toxica, regarding which the most fabulous accounts have been written, and which are admirably summarized by Robert Brown in: Bennett, Brown and Horsefield, *Plantae Javanicae Rariores*, pp. 53-63, in English, while an extensive account of it is also given by Blume in *Rumphia 1: 56".[^2]

5. Dr. E. D. Merrill, Chief of the Bureau of Botany at Manila in 1908, made the following reference to this tree: "The tree in question is the so-called upas tree of Malayan fables, Antherax toxica, regarding which the most fabulous accounts have been written, and which are admirably summarized by Robert Brown in: Bennett, Brown and Horsefield, *Plantae Javanicae Rariores*, pp. 53-63, in English, while an extensive account of it is also given by Blume in *Rumphia 1: 56".[^2]

6. We have not been able to consult Wu, "Supplement to 'A Study of References to the Philippine Islands in Chinese Sources from Earliest Times to the Ming Dynasty'" in *Journal of East Asiatic Studies* 1958, VII 4 (October).

7. Dr. E. D. Merrill, Chief of the Bureau of Botany at Manila in 1908, made the following reference to this tree: "The tree in question is the so-called upas tree of Malayan fables, Antherax toxica, regarding which the most fabulous accounts have been written, and which are admirably summarized by Robert Brown in: Bennett, Brown and Horsefield, *Plantae Javanicae Rariores*, pp. 53-63, in English, while an extensive account of it is also given by Blume in *Rumphia 1: 56".[^2]

8. We have not been able to consult Wu, "Supplement to 'A Study of References to the Philippine Islands in Chinese Sources from Earliest Times to the Ming Dynasty'" in *Journal of East Asiatic Studies* 1958, VII 4 (October).

9. WADA Sei, *The Philippine Islands as Known to the Chinese before the Ming Period*, Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko No. 4 (Tōkyō, 1929), 121-166.


11. Wu, 20 et seq.


16. Coming down the Sulu Sea and the Macassar Straits into the Eastern part of the Java Sea they would approach Java from the east.

17. On these Indonesian embassies see also WADA, 510 and 512.

18. We used the text as found in C. P. Shanghai, 1936.

19. read: idols. F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: his work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (St. Petersburg, 1911), 159-162, spec. 160. The text we used is found in: TSCC 3272.


23. Hai-t'ai[^28], the Aeta, negrito aboriginals of the Philippine Islands, see Hirth and Rockhill, 162.

24. Ibid., 162: "... generally prepare for the return trip during the fourth or fifth moon" (i.e. May or June). Our text has: [^29]. In this case[^29] shuai, should be read: lei[^30] and in that case means: to calculate. In this sense it is used in the expression lei-keng[^31]: an officer attending the clepsydra (lit.: calculating the watches). In a recent study of the Wu Pei chih Stellar Diagrams we found a similar use of this character: calculate.

25. B. Lauffer, "The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands", *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 1908, 50, 252 and note 1.


29. Lauffer, 256.

30. Hirth and Rockhill, 166, note 1, line 15. Wada discusses this matter extensively but, relying more on textual evidence than on navigational arguments, in conclusion sides with Fujita (see note 23) and neither supports Lauffer's conclusion.


32. W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century," in *Toung Pao* 16 (1915), 71 et seq.

We used the text found in *Hsüeh-t'ang ts'ung-k'o*[^42] with the commentaries by Fujita Toyohachi.

22 Rockhill, *Notes*, p. 268, may have used a text different from ours. A serious error is to have missed the significance of when-shen[^43]: to tattoo the body.

23 Ta-pei[^49], according to Fujita Toyohachi, corresponds with Jobago, an island off the eastern tip of Taiwan. Wada, p. 257, however, points out that only since the eighteenth century has this island been known as Botel Tobago. We agree with the rejection but cannot offer a better suggestion. *Hai-chan[^59]*, see note 15 for a variant character, *WADA*, pp. 520–522. *Pa-nung-chi[^51]*, HIRTH and ROCKHILL have Pa-chi-nung[^52] and equate this with Busanga island. Rockhill, *Notes*, p. 260 writes, "Panungki must be an error for Pakinung". Fujita in his commentary points out that when the second character is read *lung* instead of *ming* Palungki could very well represent *[^53]*. Balanga. Fujita, who did not agree with the identification of Pu-li-lao with Polillo off the east coast of Luzon, correctly remarks that, since Manila is rendered in the *Tao-i* by *Ma-li-lu*, this *Pu-li-lao* must represent a hitherto unidentified place. Wada, p. 526, suggests Cape Bolinao. Tung-liu-li[^64], neither Fujita nor Wada identifies this place to our satisfaction. Rockhill changes li into Hsin and wants it to read Eastern Luzon. We do not agree and maintain it should never be looked for in the eastern part of the Philippine Islands.

24 Chiao-lan-shan[^88] has been identified without a shadow of doubt as Gelam, an island off the south-west coast of Borneo. See also *Chi-lu hu-i-pien*[^57], published in 1617; also DUYVENDAK, *Ma Huan Re-examined*, p. 8 and note. Schlegel, in *Young Pao*, 9, 376, wrongly takes Chiao-lan[^60] to be a copyist’s error for Chiao-chou[^61] and identifies it with Tonkin. On Gelam see also HSING Ta[^62] in *Hsi-yang fang-kuo chih*[^61] (Peking, 1960), 58, and GERINI, *Researches on Ptolemy’s Geography* (London, 1909), 671 and 712.

25 Ch’u-chou[^65] is a prefecture in Chekiang, north-west from Wen-chou, the coastal port. A number of famous kilns are found there, among others the Lung-ch’tian kiln. These large jars are undoubtedly the martavanes, exported to the area in enormous quantities and sizes from *T’ang* onwards. A description is found in Fay Cooper Cole, *Chinese Pottery in the Philippines*, with a postscript by Berthold LAUFER (Manila, 1912).

26 The native name is Sug and the Malayan Suluk. ROCKHILL in *T. P.*, 16 (1915), 268-271. Since there is a separate section on the Visayans we should think of Su-lu as of the southern and south-eastern islands of the Su-lu Sea.

27 A palm tree; the core of its trunk contains a marrow rich in carbohydrates; a fully-grown tree of the *Metroxylon* (*M. rumphii Mart.* or *M. sagus Rotb.*) produces some 50 kilos of sago. The numerous roots of the felled tree serve as seedlings.

28 Fujita remarks that Shalipatan should be identified with present-day Masulipatam (see also *Journal of the Ceylon Branch R.A.S.*, XX, 222–228). This identification is based on Cheng Ho’s maps (the Mao K’un map). ROCKHILL, *T. P.*, 16, (1915), 268 et seq., gives Jurfattan, but not the grounds for his choice. There is a separate section in the *Tao-i* on the Three Main Ports. Although identification remains guess-work, it is certain they are to be looked for in Ceylon or neighboring India.

29 A small ingot of silver weighing ten taels or ± 375 grams.

30 Rockhill must have used a different text from ours, for there are widely different translations. However, shou-shih[^70] are not head ornaments, but women’s ornaments, although that also includes head ornaments. We also differ on the meaning of chung, which Rockhill translates: pearls worth ten thousand taels and upwards ... But, apart from the usual meaning of chung, which is heavy in weight or in importance, there would be no reason to quote the price of pearls in *ting* first and change to quotations in *taels* seven characters further in the same column.

31 An Indian silk cloth: *patola*.

32 Lang[^71] does not make sense. We suggest[^72].

33 About 76 grams of gold.


35 W. W. ROCKHILL in *T. P.*, 16 (1915) and Paul PELLIOT in *T. P.*, 30 (1933), 264 et seq., in which much time and energy are devoted to analysing the two texts known. Pelliot’s remark on p. 334 that Fei Hsin had pillaged the *Tao-i* copiously is correct. We used the text as found in Chi-lu hui-pien and Hsiieh-hai lei-pien. N. b.: Fei Hsin had never visited the Philippines himself.

36 Chen-wei[^78] is the position of the (compass) needle. Pelliot in *T. P.*, 30, 345, explains that there could have been a work (since lost) by this name. It is more likely that our author studied the *Mao K’un* map, on which sailing directions are entered.


39 W. Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca Compiled from Chinese Sources, (Batavia, 1880). 103.

40 In view of the information in David E. Sopher, The Sea Nomads, (Singapore, 1965), 129 et seq.

41 F. Blumentritt, Die Chinesen auf den Philippinen (1879) as quoted by Laufer.

42 Antonio de Morga, Historical Events of the Philippine Islands, (Mexico, 1609). The original is in Spanish, and appears in translation in "Writings of Jose Rizal, VI", Publications of the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission.

43 Laufer, 252 et seq.

44 For an extensive account of this, the Queen Dido trick, in Asia, see Laufer, 282.

45 We have checked the Chinese report against Spanish sources, now available in English: Blair, E. H. & Robertson, J. A.: The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898, 55 volumes, (Cleveland 1903–1909).


47 At the time Hsü Fu-yüan was Governor of the province of Fukien. Born in Te-ch’ing, his tzu was Meng-chung[101]; his biography is found in the Ming-shih 283.

48 Wang Shih-ho was a man from Ch’iung-chou on Hainan. At the time he was Assistant District Magistrate of Hai-teng-hsien in Ch’üan-chow-fu, Fukien province. See Chang-chou fu chih[111] section chih-kuan[114]. Laufer, p. 271, errs where he translates pai-hu i-ch’eng[115] by: with a hundred individuals from the same city. Pai-hu is a military rank, somewhat like a garrison commander of a town where a hundred families live.

49 Both the Tung-hsi-yang k’ao and our copy of the Ming-shih have Kan[117]. However, the annotations to Ming-shih 323 have Yu[118].

50 He may have heard, through the Japanese, of the effective katanagari[120] executed by Hideyoshi in Japan to prevent revolt.

51 Iwao Seichi[122], Nanyō Nihonmachī no kenkyū[123], (Tōkyō, 1966), 237 et seq., maps on pp. 244–245.

52 C. R. Boxer, The Affair of the Madre de Deus, TJS XXVI (1929).

53 Translations of both letters are found in Blair and Robertson (see Note 45), Vol. 12, 153 et seq.

54 i. e. the Spaniards in the Philippine Islands, of course.

55 Mao Yuăn-i[126], Wu-pei chih[127] with a preface dated 1621 and offered to the Throne in 1628. See Duyvendak, 17–21.