

# The Philippine Islands as Known to the Chinese Before the Ming Period

By

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## I

The intercourse by sea the ancient Chinese had with India and other advanced peoples of south-western Asia, so far as recorded evidence is available, runs back to the Han dynasty,<sup>1)</sup> and accordingly their knowledge about the "Southern Sea" dated at least as early. It is remarkable, however, that at first this was confined to the western half of the Southern Sea, and that the eastern part, including the Philippine Archipelago, was not recognized until much later periods. Nor is it very difficult to see the reason. Some years ago, Dr. ICHIMURA, while dealing with Fu-chien and Formosa before the T'ang age, observed how Fu-chien remained undeveloped long after Kuang-tung, which was also on the coast of China proper but farther away from the metropolis, and explained this as largely due to the greater or less facility of access and communication each was permitted by nature.<sup>2)</sup> In the same manner, the eastern half of the Southern Sea was so behind in coming under Chinese cognizance simply because it was less convenient to approach, and therefore less frequently used by Chinese trade; and of course this fact was again ascribable in a great measure to that backwardness of Fu-chien referred to.

CHANG HsIEH 張燮, in his *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao* 東西洋考, in the later Ming period (1617 A. D.),<sup>3)</sup> divided the Southern Sea countries, known

1) *Han-shu*, 漢書, Ch. 28 B. For the study of the text see FUJITA'S "Records of the Communication on the South-Western Seas in the Han Period," Geibun 藝文, Vol. V (1914), Nos. 10, 11, pp. 301-324; pp. 405-414.

2) "A Study on Fu-chien and Taiwan before the T'ang Period", Tôyô Gakuhô 東洋學報, Vol. VIII (1918), No. 1, pp. 1-25.

3) CHANG HsIEH, Shao-ho 紹和 by secondary name, born in Lung-hsi-hsien 龍溪縣, Fu-chien 福建, published the *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao* in 12 chapters, in the 45th year of the Wan-li era (1617 A. D.).

to contemporary China, into the two groups—“*Tung-yang*” 東洋 (Eastern Sea) and “*Hsi-yang*” 西洋 (Western Sea) countries. In the latter are included the countries in Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, and the south-western coast of Borneo. The former, with the Philippines as its centre, comprises the Moluccas and Wên-lai 文萊 (Brunei) on the northern coast of Borneo, the last-named place being commented on by the author as: “Wên-lai, which is identical with the ancient P’o-lo-kuo 婆羅國, is where the Tung-yang terminates and the Hsi-yang begins.”<sup>1)</sup> This division, however, did not originate with our Ming writer; he only set forth more exactly what had been acknowledged for centuries past, that is, not only in the Ming, but also in the Yüan period. To give illustration from earlier Ming literature, the *Ying-ai-shêng-lan* 瀛涯勝覽 by the Mohammedan Chinese MA HUAN 馬歡, in the 14th year of *Yung-lo* 永樂 (1416), has the phrase “the hub of the Hsi-yang (Western Sea)” said of Sumatra 蘇門答刺; and the *Hsing-ch’a-shêng-lan* 星槎勝覽, written by FEI HSIN 費信 in the 1st year of *Chêng-tung* 正統 (1436), speaks of Quilon 小葛蘭 in India as “the main port of the Hsi-yang countries.” Going back to the Yüan period, we find WANG TA-YÜAN 汪大淵<sup>2)</sup> in his *Tao-i-chih-liao* 島夷誌略 defining Putlam in Ceylon as “The Third Port of the Hsi-yang (Western Sea)”<sup>3)</sup> and also thus describing the P’i-shê-ya 毗舍耶 people: “Therefore the Tung-yang (peoples) hearing the name of P’i-shê-ya 毗舍耶, were terrified and ran away.”<sup>4)</sup> It is worth notice that the Ming author HUANG SHÊN-CHENG 黃省曾 *Hsi-yang-chao-kung-tien-lu* 西洋朝貢典錄, dated the 15th year of *Chêng-tê* 正德 (1520), preceding the *Tung-hsi-yang-k’ao* by nearly a century, and styling itself “The Standard Record of the Hsi-yang Tributaries”, still included in the number Sulu 蘇祿, P’o-ni 渤泥 (Brunei), and Liu-chiu 琉球 (Formosa). This seeming self-con-

1) Ch. 5, *Wên-lai*.

2) WANG TA-YÜAN, Huan-chang 煥章 by secondary name, was born in Nan-ch’ang 南昌 in Chiang-hsi 江西. During the *Chih-chêng* 至正 era (1341-1367) late in the Yüan period, he went on a cruise on board a merchant ship and visiting dozens of foreign countries, embodied his experiences in a volume entitled *Tao-i-chih-liao*. See FUJITA’S annotated edition, *Tao-i-chih-liao-chiao-chu* 島夷誌略校注.

3) See Passage on Sulu.

4) See Passage on P’i-shê-ya.

tradition, however, need not be called a mistake. It was perhaps an instance of Chinese simplification, where the term *Hsi-yang* was used less definitely so as to apply equally to part of *Tung-yang*, and even to Formosa. On the other hand, KU YEN-WU 顧炎武, nearly contemporary with CHANG HSIEH, in his *T'ien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-ping-shu* 天下郡國利病書, divides the Southern Sea countries by the identical line of CHANG HSIEH with the exception of Su-lu, which is counted among the western group, here apparently by mistake.<sup>1)</sup>

We may now ask, what was the nature of this division? Certainly Wên-lai was the dividing point. CHANG HSIEH declares once more in another passage, "It is where the Tung-yang ends and the Hsi-yang begins."<sup>2)</sup> And it is a proved fact that the name Wên-lai 文萊 was the transliteration of Brunei, the sea-port on the northern coast of Borneo. May we suppose that the Southern Sea was theoretically divided east and west by the meridian passing through this Brunei? With the Chinese at that stage of development of science, it is of course out of the question. As a geographical division, it is still less accountable, seeing that within the same island of Borneo, that Wên-lai section on the northern coast is alone counted among the Tung-yang countries, whereas San-mi port 三密港 (Sambas) on the western coast, and Wên-chi-ma-shên port 文郎 (即?) 馬神港 (Banjermasin) on the southern and so forth are included in the Hsi-yang group. Thus the historical Tung-yang and Hsi-yang division becomes a matter for interpretation, and it is not surprising that several attempts have been made at it by this time. Mr. TAKAKUWA, for instance, in his "*Study on Ch'ih-t'u-kuo*" 赤土國考, offered a solution of the problem. From CRAWFURD and YULE<sup>3)</sup> he cited the facts that the Malayans called those countries lying east of their own, "leeward lands," and those west of it, "windward lands"; and that among the Persian navigators, those islands westward from the point of the Indian Peninsula were spoken of as "windward islands" and those eastward as "leeward islands"; and arguing by this analogy he came to the

1) Ch. 93, *Fu-chien* 3, *Notes on Maritime Customs*.

2) *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, Ch. 8.

3) CRAWFURD, *Descriptive Dictionary*, p. 283; YULE & BURNETT, *Hobson Jobson*, p. 984.

conclusion that "the Ming Chinese, in distinguishing Tung-yang and Hsi-yang, followed the method of the Malaysians and Persians, which had the monsoon for its basis."<sup>1)</sup> It is true the influence of the monsoon upon the South-Sea traffic is worth consideration. But then the position of Brunei has obviously nothing to compare to the conspicuousness of the Malay or the Indian Peninsula, and the analogy must fail.

Nor does the proposed interpretation seem to stand the test of application. For example, the Moluccas are found in the category of Tung-yang, and yet they cannot be exactly said to lie leeward of Brunei. Again Tung-fan 東番, being Formosa itself, lay evidently on the lee side, but in fact, it is not, as the author supposes, included in the Tung-yang class. The theory attributing the origin of the Tung-yang and Hsi-yang division to the direction of the monsoon is, therefore, open to serious objection.<sup>2)</sup>

Dr. Tsuboi, on the other hand, declared it a misapprehension to

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1) Shigaku Zasshi 史學雜誌, Vol. XXXI (1920), No. 7, pp. 573-578.

2) Formosa, (Chi-lung and Tan-shui, 鷄籠淡水), were erroneously included in the Tung-yang group by Mr. Kuwata in his "Study of Ch'ih-t'u-kuo", (Tôyô Gakuhô, IX, 3), as also by Mr. Takakuwa in his investigation of the same country. But the fact that Formosa or "Tung-fan" 東番, as it was called, was left out of the Tung-yang category is sufficiently clear from this passage in the *Tung-fan-k'ao* 東番考 in the *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*: "It does not count among the Tung-yang or the Hsi-yang countries, though mentioned here supplementarily." It was, indeed, merely on account of its practical conjunction with the Tung-yang course that it was thus appended to the list. For further testimony, we may quote Ku Yen-wu, in his *T'ien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-ping-shu*, chapter 93, where the enumeration of the sea-ports in both sections of the Southern Sea is particularly accompanied by this remark: "There are, besides these, Chi-lung and Tan-shui, 鷄籠淡水, which, however, do not make any difference in the count of the Tung-yang and Hsi-yang shipping," (or more properly "in the enumeration of the Tung-yang and Hsi-yang sea-ports.") Nor did Tung-fan, as a matter of fact, form any part of the Chinese Empire of the Ming dynasty, to which epoch Mr. Takakuwa erroneously ascribes the origin of the distinction of the two oceans (Tung-yang and Hsi-yang). We may properly ask, then, why this country, so apparently on the leeside of P'o-ni as the monsoon blew, did not count as a Tung-yang place like its fellows? The monsoon theory will have to answer that question apart from the doubt arising from the weather bearing of the Moluccas. The interpretation by the sea-routes I am setting forth also seems to have its limitation in the case of Tung-fan, but granting that the division of the two seas followed the lines of development of sea-routes, it is fairly presumable that Tung-fan, because it had already been open to traffic for ages, was considered as exceptional and left out of the division. The above remark of Ku Yen-wu, "It makes no difference in the enumeration of the Tung-yang and Hsi-yang shipping (or ports)," may again be quoted in favour of the sea-route interpretation. It is to be noted, however, that the definition

regard Tung-yang and Hsi-yang as a geographical division and thought it more reasonable to assume that the distinction was simply due to, and corresponded with, the two trade-routes then open on the Southern Sea, which were detailed by CHANG HSIÉH under the names of *Tung-yang-chên-lu* 東洋針路 (Eastern Sea course) and *Hsi-yang-chên-lu* 西洋針路 (Western Sea course).<sup>1)</sup> I think this opinion is most acceptable. As we learn from CHANG HSIÉH, the western course, starting from the sea-port of Fu-chou, went coastwise until the point of the Malay Peninsula was reached, and then upon gaining Sumatra, turned eastward and advanced to Java, Bali, and Timor, and then, as the case might be, even to the south-western coast of Borneo. This line, on the whole, was familiar from very early times. The eastern course, on the other hand, after leaving the Fu-chien coast, and passing the Pescadores and Formosa, attained Luzon, and then either went along the coast of Palawan so as to reach the port of Brunei in Borneo, or proceeded south through the Sulu Sea as far as Mindanao, whence again the Moluccas might be sought eastwards, or else Borneo to the west via the Sulu Islands. The islands along this latter track, except the Pescadores and Formosa, were not known to the Chinese until comparatively late periods, very probably because of their isolated position on the open sea, and because communication in that direction was obstructed by the existence of ferocious Formosan savages and the roughness of the Formosan Strait and the Bashi Channel. It was quite different with the western course. It traversed the lands all of which lay upon or very close to the trunk line of traffic with the civilized peoples of south-western Asia, who were rich in commercial products. No wonder this group became known so much earlier, and if Brunei, forming the terminal part of the eastern division, was introduced sooner than any other Tung-yang place, it must have been, not by way of the eastern

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of Tung-yang was strictly observed in the Ming times, but never after. For witness, the Ch'ing author WANG CHIH-CH'UN 王之春 in his *Kuo-chao-jou-yüan-chi* 國朝柔遠記, Chapter 2, says, "Liu-chiu 琉球 (not Formosa, but Loochoo in this case) is a small Tung-yang country." Later the term *Tung-yang* grew more extensive in application, so as to cover even Japan, nowadays the only country called by that name among the Chinese.

1) "About the Countries in the China Sea and the Indian Ocean Known to the Chinese in the Ming Period," Tôyô Gakugei Zasshi 東洋學藝雜誌, No. 256.

course, but through the medium of the western route it was so close upon.

## II

Brunei appears for the first time in Chinese literature in the *Sung-shih* 宋史. This history, after stating how in the 2nd year of *T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo* 太平興國 (A. D. 977) of the Sung dynasty, the king of P'oni by the name of Hsiang-ta 向打 sent an envoy with a letter of homage and some tribute, adds this remarks: "This country had never before come forward with tribute, so its name is not discoverable in history."<sup>1)</sup> It provides, moreover, the translation of the letter referred to as follows:—

"Hsiang-ta had heard of the imperial court, but he did not know how to find his way there. It happened recently, however, the (Arabian) merchant P'u-lu-hsieh 蒲盧歇 was found mooring his boat at our sea port, and we ordered him to be brought to the capital. He said that he came from the Middle Kingdom, and that when he was about to reach the country of Chê-p'o 闍婆 (Java), he encountered a hurricane, which so damaged his vessel that he could not go on. Our people were greatly rejoiced to hear that he had come from the Middle Kingdom. Thereupon ships were built, and P'u-lu-hsieh was appointed to be guide for the envoy we now despatch to carry tribute to the court...."<sup>2)</sup>

It might seem this was the very first time that Brunei entered into any relation with China. So far as regards official communication, it was very possibly so; but as individual traders it is not unlikely that the two peoples had previously come into more or less contact. The above episode shows how the countrymen of Brunei had already learned to respect the Middle Kingdom, and this more than suggests that such was the case. I even suspect that the *Sung-shih* was presuming too much when it declared, as seen above, that Brunei had never come forward before and so was not discoverable in history. It is known that this history had its source on the subject in the *T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi* 太平寰宇記 by YAO SHIH 樂史 in the same period, and in the latter book

1) Ch. 489, *P'oni-kuo-chuan*.

2) *Ibid.*

we read: "P'o-ni-kuo 渤泥國 is not found on record, for many foreign countries have altered their old names."<sup>1)</sup> I should think here is a fairer view of the matter.<sup>2)</sup> Indeed, CHANG HSIEN and the *Ming-shih* both attribute the first introduction of the country of Wên-lai 文萊, viz. Brunei, to a much earlier date, saying that "Wên-lai was one and the same with P'o-lo 婆羅 of ancient times, which used to pay tribute to the court of the Emperor Kao-tsung 高宗, early in the T'ang dynasty."<sup>3)</sup> The alleged identity between Wên-lai (or Brunei) and that ancient P'o-lo, however, is open to question. What little we know about the position of the country of P'o-lo in the T'ang period is that it was reached by sailing southwest from Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, as is told by the *Hsin-T'ang-shu* 新唐書.<sup>4)</sup> As for its history of communication with China, we learn from the *T'sê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜 that it came in with tribute in the 1st month, 15th year of *Chên-kuan* 貞觀 (A.D. 642), in the reign of the T'ang emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗; to follow it up in

1) Ch. 178, *Nan-man* 南蠻 4.

2) The context in the *T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi* runs; "P'o-ni-kuo is not found on record, for many foreign countries have altered their old names. In the 8th month, 2nd year of *T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo* of our dynasty, the king of the country by the name of Hsiang-ta sent Shih-nu 施努 as envoy to the court, accompanied by the junior envoy P'u-a-li 蒲亞利 and Judge Ko-hsin 哥心 and others. His letter of credence... was in an unintelligible language, the characters being small and lined sideways. By imperial order, Mêng-ku 蒙骨 rendered it into the Chinese language, and in the version read: "The king of P'o-ni, Hsiang-ta says so and so. Owing to the arrival of the vessel of P'u-lu-hsieh, we are now enabled to introduce ourselves to the Court. Herewith we offer as tribute large pieces of camphor to the weight of 60 ounces 兩." In the light of this it is almost certain that when the southern king said, as has been observed elsewhere, that "they had heard of the Court, but had not known how to find their way there," he meant neither more nor less than that they had thitherto lacked proper opportunity for opening commerce with China, which was now for the first time afforded them. There is no doubt that the barbarian (guide) P'u-lu-hsieh was an Arab, while the name of the junior envoy P'u-a-li 蒲亞利 (Abu Ali?) points to the same race. The fact that the organization of the mission, consisting of senior and junior envoys and a judge 判官, and more especially the designation of the last office, was similar to the case of Java embassy, may be taken as indication that the two peoples were then under the influence of the same civilization, and this again will explain how the strange lateral writing could be deciphered in spite of the previous lack of acquaintance with the people themselves. It is also remarkable how the information given by those southern visitors as to the location of their own country in reply to the Sung officials' questions, bears witness to a mature experience of the Southern Sea traffic, as may be seen from the quotation I am giving in the next paragraph.

3) *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, Ch. 5, *Wên-lai*; *Ming-shih*, Ch. 323, *P'o-lo-chuan*.

4) Ch. 222 c, *Huan-wang-chuan* 環王傳.

the 8th month, 2nd year of *Tsung-chang* 總章 (A.D. 669), under Kao-tsung 高宗; and in the 12th month, 2nd year of *Ching-yün* 景雲 (A.D. 712) under Jui-tsung 睿宗;<sup>1)</sup> but thereafter the visit never recurs in any record until the Ming period. We do not really know how to relate this ancient country of P'ò-lo with that of Brunei, which was called P'ò-ni 勃泥 or P'ò-ni 渤泥 in Sung and Yüan literature and Wên-lai in Ming. Still on the other hand, there is a circumstance which we can not well pass by, that the embassy of P'ò-lo to the T'ang usually arrived in company with that of Huan-wang 環王 (Cochin China).<sup>2)</sup> The case is so similar to that of the later Brunei envoy who was first ushered in by a shipwrecked merchant drifted along from the sea of Java, and who subsequently made it a rule to come and return by way of Chan-ch'êng 占城 (Cochin China). I believe this comparison is of significance, and if P'ò-lo 婆羅 is eventually otherwise unidentifiable, we may attach some importance to the identification made by CHANG HSIÉH and the *Ming-shih*.<sup>3)</sup> However that may be, there is evidence that Brunei itself was a known name in the T'ang epoch. In the contemporary writer FAN CHO's 樊綽 *Man-shu* 蠻書, it is mentioned as 淳泥, which was obviously but

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1) Ch. 970, *Foreign Subjects, Tribute*.

2) *Ibid.*

3) The Ming author CHIAO KUNG 焦竑 in his *Kuo-chao-hsien-chêng-lu* 國朝獻徵錄, Chap. 120, gives an account of P'ò-lo as distinguished from Po'-ni, saying "P'ò-lo is sometimes held as identical with the ancient Ceylon 古獅子國. . . . In the 4th year of *Yung-lo* 永樂 (A. D. 1406), the country sent an envoy Wu-li-ko 勿黎哥 to bring tribute to the court. The Imperial gifts of figured silk were bestowed upon the king and the queen." He makes, however, no mention of Wên-lai. Practically this work was the source book of the *Ming-shih Lieh-chuan* (or of the *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, which the latter copied), and this will account for the presence of the *P'ò-lo-chuan*, apart from the *P'ò-ni-chuan*, in the Ming Annals. Here, however, the text runs as: "P'ò-lo is Wên-lai by another name. . . . In the 10th month, the 3rd year of *Yung-lo* 永樂 (A.D. 1405), a Chinese mission was sent there with a document with the Imperial seal and gifts of silk and money, to induce the king to adhere to China. In the 12th month, the 4th year, the eastern and western kings of the country both sent embassies with letters and tribute. The following year, they carried tribute again. . . ." Here, as we see, P'ò-lo is not connected with the ancient Ceylon, and it is undoubtedly an improvement. The reason why the *Ming-shih* and those other histories furnished a separate account of P'ò-ni, as being distinguished from P'ò-lo, must be that the name P'ò-ni was introduced by the Hsi-yang course, while the name Wên-lai (or P'ò-lo) came through the Tung-yang line. This same circumstance, we may also notice, led to the confusion of P'ò-ni 淳泥 (Brunei) with Ta-ni 大泥 (Patani) in the Malay Peninsula.



another spelling for 渤泥 or 佛泥 found later in the *T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi* and the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志, and also for 勃泥 as in the *Wên-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考 and the *Sung-shih*. All of these were phonetic transcriptions of Brni, which changed later to Brunei, and which, thus transformed, applied to the whole island of Borneo.<sup>1)</sup>

The other Tung-yang country which was noticed at all from a comparatively early date was that of Ma-i 麻逸 (Mait), lying in the central part of the Philippines. It appears on record in the Sung period, but in truth, is only mentioned accidentally, and moreover, that little information there is about it seems to have come merely by a roundabout way. For we see the *T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi* quotes the envoy of Brunei as detailing the position of his own country, as: "It (Brunei) lies in the sea to the south-west of the Chinese Metropolis 上都, at 40-50 day's sail from Shê-p'ò 蛇婆 (Java); 40 days from San-fo-chi 三佛齊 (Sri-Vishaya, about Palembang in Sumatra); 30 days from Mo-i 摩逸 (Mait); and as many days from Chan-ch'êng 占城 (Cochin China). These numbers of days are given on the favourable wind; otherwise, there would be no limiting the days."<sup>2)</sup> Again MA TUAN-LIN, after describing the country of Java, refers to Mait as one of its neighbours, saying, "There is also the country of Ma-i 麻逸, (some people of) which came to the coast of Kuang-chou 廣州 (Canton), with goods and treasure on board, in the 7th year of *T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo* (A.D. 982)."<sup>3)</sup> We shall take more notice of this Mait later on, but here this much may be anticipated that it was a people of considerable power, with their home in the island of Mindoro, who boasted supremacy over the whole Philippines for a long period. The point to be emphasized, however, is that whatever intercourse or even indirect acquaintance contemporary China had with those Tung-yang countries, Brunei and Mait, seems to have been owing to the western route alone. As for the above-noticed arrival of the Mait people on the Kuang-tung coast, it must have been an isolated and accidental case, for they never again entered into the

1) See HIRTH and ROCKHILL'S *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 158; and FUJITA'S *Tao-i-chih-liao-chiao-chu*, p. 43.

2) Ch. 178, *Nan-man* 4.

3) *Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao*, Ch. 332, *Ssu-i-k'ao* 四裔考, 9.

Chinese ken until the time the eastern course was really opened to traffic. So we may rest assured that the development of the Chinese intercourse with the Tung-yang countries depended all in all upon the working up of the Eastern Sea course.

### III

When the eastern course became first introduced is a question which is hard to answer for lack of materials. Perhaps one may notice this passage in the *Sung-shih*: "In the 2nd month, 5th year of *Yüan-fêng* 元豐 (A.D. 1082), the king of P'o-ni, Hsi-li-ma-no 錫理麻喏, again sent an envoy with a tribute of native products. When sailing home, the envoy asked permission to embark at Ch'üan-chou 泉州, which was granted."<sup>1)</sup> One might argue that the choice of the port of departure was so emphasized on this occasion because a new route was then about to be taken, and that, starting from Ch'üan-chou in Fu-chien, a Bornean homeward bound would rather have followed the eastern course. We must remember, however, that the sailing from Ch'üan-chou was by no means an extraordinary thing, for in those days it was a great resort of Southern Sea vessels,<sup>2)</sup> and that from there to Borneo, one would quite naturally have taken the western route, which was the more familiar way, even if comparatively circuitous. It is also worth consideration that since that time there was a lapse of nearly a century before any Tung-yang people appeared on the Chinese coast. Besides, we may reasonably infer that the introduction of the Tung-yang course did not much antedate the distinction of Tung-yang and Hsi-yang, and yet this leaves no mark in the *Chu-fan-chih*, written late in the Sung period, but appears for the first time in the *Tao-i-chih-liao*, in the later Yüan years.

I may by the way give a quotation from Mr. H. OTLEY BEYER'S "*The Philippines before Magellan*", which will be found of interest as it touches our present question: "While it was undoubtedly the usual rule to follow the Asiatic coast especially on the outward voyage, it

1) Ch. 489, *P'o-ni-chuan*.

2) KUWABARA, *On P'u Shou-kêng* 蒲壽庚. *Memoirs of the Tôyô Bunko*, II, p. 3.

would seem that many homeward-bound ships of the Amoy district might more logically travel up the west coasts of Borneo, Palawan, Luzon and Formosa.”<sup>1)</sup> Though we are not informed from what data this inference was drawn, we may admit that such may very possibly have been the case. At any rate, so far as Chinese record goes, the first time the eastern course was ever used by any Tung-yang people was when the pirates of P’i-shê-ya 毗舍邪 (following, as likely as not, the lead of the homeward-bound Chinese vessels), attacked the Fu-chien shore during the *Shun-hsi* 淳熙 era (A.D. 1174-89), of the Later Sung dynasty. They receive their first mention in the *Sung-shih*, where they are thus described in connection with Liu-chiu-kuo 流求國:—

“By the side of this country is that of P’i-shê-ya, who speak an unintelligible language, and go naked and lead savage life, scarcely looking like human beings. Once during the *Shun-hsi* era, several of their chiefs with hundreds of men came suddenly upon the Shui-ao 水澳 and Wei-t’ou 圍頭 villages in Ch’üan (chou) 泉 to commit slaughter and pillage with wantonness. They have a passion for iron wares, spoons, and chopsticks. The villagers may escape by shutting their doors, but the savages will tear off the fixtures of the door before they leave. Throw spoons at them, they will stoop down to pick them up. Catching sight of an iron-clad horseman, they will race with each other to tear off his armour. They may be beheaded in this act, necks in a row, but they won’t show any remorse. For fighting, they use javelins, to each of which is fastened a rope more than a dozen yards long, so that they may be pulled back after throwing; so grudging are they of iron. They do not use any rowing boats, but rafts made up of bamboo sticks. When pressed with danger, they close in, take their rafts on their shoulders, and swim away.”<sup>2)</sup>

It need hardly be said that “Liu-chiu” meant the south-western part of Formosa,<sup>3)</sup> and though the site of Shui-ao is unknowable, Wei-t’ou is to be recognized at the southern sea-side of Chin-chiang-hsien

1) *Asia*, Vol. XXI (1921), No. 10, p. 924.

2) Ch. 491, *Wai-kuo-chuan*.

3) WADA, “*A Study on the Ancient Names of Formosa*,” *Tôyô Gakuhô*, Vol. XIV (1924), No. 4, pp. 558-581.

晉江縣 in Ch'üan-chou. The description of P'i-shê-ya was first noticed by TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, who proposed to acknowledge in this historical people the Visayas, the known inhabitants of the middle section of the Philippines.<sup>1)</sup> G. SCHLEGEL, T. W. DAVIDSON, and other authors who followed in the study of this subject had a different view. They thought it extravagant to suppose that the Visayas, the Luzon tribe which was not recognized by the Chinese until the Ming period, should have already appeared before them as early as the Sung period, and what seemed more impossible, by crossing the wide ocean on bamboo rafts. Instead, they preferred to ascribe the P'i-shê-ya to Formosa.<sup>2)</sup>

The discussion of this question was further advanced by Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, in his "*Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands*," in 1907. He advocated the identity between Visayas and P'i-shê-ya, and the grounds of his claim were, besides the phonetic coincidence of the names, that it was quite natural for a maritime people to find their way from the Philippines to Formosa, and then to Fu-chien; that marine activity was a forte of the Philippine natives, whereas the Formosans showed little aptitude for sea-faring; that judging from the general usage of Chinese history a local tribe within Formosa would not have been styled 'So and So Kuo' 國 (Country), whereas the people in question is clearly designated P'i-shê-ya Kuo."<sup>3)</sup> HIRTH and ROCKHILL, however, did not fall in with this view, but made a new proposal to regard the P'i-shê-ya as some Formosan inhabitants of Philippine origin, perhaps the Pazehe tribe in the north of the island.<sup>4)</sup> For the *Sung-shih*, or rather the *Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao* which was its source book, took that description of the P'i-shê-ya raid from the *Chu-fan-chih*, and the following passage found immediately before the original account of P'i-shê-ya in the same book suggested the above idea to our authors: "Off Ch'üan, there is an island by the name of P'êng-hu 澎湖 (Pescadores), which belongs to the jurisdiction of Chin-chiang-hsien 晉江縣. It lies

1) *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, p. 127.

2) SCHLEGEL, T'oung Pao, Vol. VI (1895), p. 182; DAVIDSON, *The Island of Formosa*, p. 3.

3) Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 50, Part 2, pp. 248-281.

4) *Chau Ju-kua*, (1912), p. 166.

so near to that country (of P'i-shê-ya) that smoke and fire on one may be seen from the other. They (P'i-shê-ya) come and plunder from time to time. One can never anticipate their arrival, so that many fall into their carnivorous hands. This greatly pains the inhabitant."<sup>1)</sup>

Mr. Ino, the author of the continuation of YOSHIDA's *Gazetteer of Japan*, was also under the influence of the same passage, when he explained P'i-shê-ya in these words: "It might seem as if 'P'i-shê-ya' was confused with 'Bisaya' (Visaya), but seeing that the *Chu-fan-chih* is comparatively free from errors regarding Luzon, we should rather seek to identify their home in the seas about the Pescadores." For this purpose he chose the Hsiao Liu-chiu Islands 小琉球嶼 lying south of Ta-kou 打狗 in Formosa.<sup>2)</sup>

It will not require much insight, however, to question the reliability of the *Chu-fan-chih* statement as to the position of P'i-shê-ya. To my mind that pictorial expression of the proximity of the two peoples' abodes is in itself a telltale, revealing the whole to be a fruit of misinformation coloured with fancy. As Dr. FUJITA remarked, if the historical P'i-shê-ya raid was carried on by way of Formosa, which is quite conceivable, then there must have been chance enough for such a mistake to happen in deciding their home.<sup>3)</sup>

There is then no defeusable ground for recognizing the P'i-shê-ya as a Formosan race, and on the other hand, we seem to have sufficient data to clinch their identity with the Visayas in the middle of the Philippines. As we learn from CRAWFURD, DE MORGA, and other authorities, the name *Visayas* had its origin in the custom of tattooing;<sup>4)</sup> and we are told that the P'i-shê-ya "had a complexion as dark as lacquer, so much so that their tattooing was scarcely discernible," a fact witnessed by Wang Ta-yu 汪大猷,<sup>5)</sup> the Sung governor of Ch'üan-chou, and also corroborated in the succeeding epoch by WANG TA-YÜAN, saying

1) *Chu-fan-chih*, Part I.

2) Section of Taiwan, p. 162.

3) "About the Raid of the Nan-man (Southern Barbarians)," Geibun, 8th year, No. 6.

4) CRAWFURD, *Descriptive Dictionary*, p. 55; DE MORGA, *Phillippines, Japan, and China*, p. 49.

5) LOU YAO 樓鑰, *Kung-kuei-chi* 攻媿集, Ch. 88, *Life of Wang Ta-yu* 汪大猷行狀.

“They tattooed their bodies with black ink.”<sup>1)</sup> As for the general characterization of the people, I may thus quote the same Yüan author: “They have a common inclination for pillage and taking prisoners. . . . Customarily they provide themselves with dried food and go out in small boats, which are pushed along by rods. Confronted with a foreign tribe, they hide themselves in desolate regions among rough mountains and deep defiles. Coming across a person fishing or collecting firewood, they seize and bring him home as prisoner, to sell to another people; at the price of two ounces of gold per man. Among the countrymen this practice is imparted from one to another, and persistently followed until at last it becomes a regular occupation. So it happens that the Tung-yang (peoples), hearing the name of P’i-shê-ya, are frightened and run away.”<sup>2)</sup> Now compare this with the description of the Visaya given by that Spanish authority DE MORGA, who was a Mexican judge at a period corresponding to the late Ming days: “Their bodies are tattooed with many designs, but the face is not touched. . . . These Visay (Visaya) are a race less inclined to agriculture, and are skilful in navigation, and eager for war and raids for pillage and booty, which they call *mangubus*. This means to go out for plunder.”<sup>3)</sup> The points of coincidence are very obvious, and Dr. FUJITA, first bringing them to light, cast a great weight in favour of the identity of the two historical tribes.<sup>4)</sup>

In the present days, the only race in the Philippine Islands noted for their predatory habits is the Moros, who occupy the southern islands of Sulu and Mindanao; while the Visayas, their northern neighbours, who were observed three centuries ago to be “a race less inclined to agriculture and eager for war and raids” are nowadays quite a peaceful people. So, it becomes imaginable by analogy that in the Sung period three centuries earlier, their field of activity should have extended to the northern Philippines, and even to Formosa, whence they might occasionally swoop down upon the Chinese coast. This view, in

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1) *Tao-i-chih-liao-chiao-chu*, p. 59

2) *Ibid.*

3) *Philippines, Japan, and China*, II, pp. 112-3.

4) “*About the Raids of the Nan-man*,” Geibun, VIII, 6.

effect, will lend some credit to HIRTH and ROCKHILL's compromise which admitted the Philippine origin of the P'i-shê-yâ, while proposing to assign their home to Formosa.

It will seem from the *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao* and the *Ming-shih* that, in the Ming period, Wang-chin-chiao-lao (*Mong-kên-tsiu-lou*, in Cantonese) 網巾礁老, the inhabitants of Magindanao (Mindanao), were the only people remarked as Tung-yang marauders. "There is a tribe called Mong-kên-tsiu-lou, who habitually commit robbery on the sea," says CHANG HSIEH. "They go about in boats, using long oars, whose end is shaped like a gourd cut into halves and hollowed out for a water vessel. Dipped in the water, these oars toss on the boats at double speed. One may at times see far away among the waves some dim spots, and the next instant the robbers are upon him. He may try to run away, but it is too late; nobody will ever escape."<sup>1)</sup> This is given as an additional remark to the description of the Mao-li-wu 猫里務 (Marinduque), which people are said to have once been very prosperous, but in course of time hopelessly ravaged by the Magindanao plunderers. Indeed the peculiarities we learn of this fierce people remind us so much of DE MORGA's Visayas; and what is particularly noteworthy is that Ming history, so far as I know, makes no mention of P'i-shê-ya or any other name to be compared to Visaya. This gives rise to the thought that Magindanao themselves may have been Visaya at the same time, and this hypothesis will presuppose that the name Visaya (Tattooed) was originally not confined, as it is nowadays, to the central Philippines, but applied more widely to such Philippine inhabitants as were marked with piratic habit, including the southern tribes, and perhaps the northern too.<sup>2)</sup>

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1) *Op. cit.*, Appendix to *Mao-li-wu-chuan*.

2) HIRTH and ROCKHILL's location of Pe-she-ya in Formosa is partly owing to the false notion that Liu-chiu meant the northern section of Formosa, instead of its southwestern coast, as is now known. OTLEY BEYER, while ascribing the race to the same place, suggests that the name Visaya (Bisaya), so generally associated with the inhabitants of Borneo and of the middle and southern Philippines, had its origin in Sri-Visaya in Sumatra—a fact reminding us of the supreme power the latter-named race held over the whole Southern Sea countries from the 7th to the 12th century, (ASIA, XXI, p. 863). However this may be, what concerns us most is that fact explained by the same author that the name Visaya was usually confined to the inhabitants of Panay in the early years

At least we know that in the old Sung days, the Babuyan islanders at the northern extremity of the Philippines displayed their marauding ferocity on the Fu-chien coast. In the contemporary epitaph of Chou Ting-chên 周鼎臣, we read that once when he was a clerk at the county office of Chang-p'ü-hsien 漳浦縣, in Chang-chou 漳州, "the Pai-p'ü-yen 白蒲延 made a tremendous raid on Liu-ê-wan 流鶯灣. The constable resident there fought carelessly and was beaten. Whereupon our hero, taking captainship upon himself galloped to the scene. In three days, he had captured two chiefs of the enemy and destroyed the gang to the last man."<sup>1)</sup> As the result of FUJITA's inquiry shows, Liu-ê-wan was the bay into which flowed the Nan-chi 南溪 Stream, Chang-p'ü-hsien, and the event took place very probably during the *Shun-hsi* era, that is, the same period which saw the famous P'i-shê-ya invasion. The name Pai-p'ü-yen, which occurs also in the account of Ma-i 麻逸 in the *Chu-fan-chih*, as will be seen in the quotation below, corresponded beyond question to the Babuyan Islands north of Luzon. What relation this Babuyan raid bore to the repeated assaults by the historical P'i-shê-ya we cannot answer, but nevertheless we are provided here with sufficient evidence that it was by no means impossible in the Sung epoch for a Philippine race to attack the Fu-chien coast for pillage. I believe this consideration goes a great length to justify us to join Dr. FUJITA in advocating Dr. LAUFER's claim of the identity of the P'i-shê-ya and the Visayas.

#### IV

The Tung-yang countries that come next under our notice are Ma-i 麻逸 and San-hsü 三嶼. The first allusion made to the former,

of the Spanish occupation, but that later on it applied more extensively to all those islands, excepting Mindoro and Palawan, which lay southward from the main island of Luzon and northward from Mindanao; so similar, indeed, were respective peoples in language and custom. This analogy, I believe, will help the inference that in the preceding ages the name P'i-shê-ya was applicable to any of the fierce tattooed tribes of piratic habits in the Archipelago, even if not properly Visaya, and indiscriminately whether it was Pai-p'ü-yen (Babuyan), Wan-chin-chiao-lao (Mindanano), or that P'ü-li-lu (Manila) people described by CHAO JU-KUA as "generally fierce and wild, and fond of raid and plunder."

1) YEH SHIH 葉適, *Shui-hsin-wên-chi* 水心文集, Ch. 24, *Epitaph of Chou Ting-chên* 周鼎臣墓誌銘.



early in the Sung period, we have already observed. Later on when it appears again in Southern Sung literature, it is as a people in commercial relation to China, as if to illustrate the fact that even while the Visayas were busy repeating their raids on the Fu-chien coast, all the Philippines were not piratically inclined. We may quote the following description of this people from CHAO JU-KUA:—

“The country of Ma-i is to the north of P'o-ni. Over a thousand families are settled together along both banks of a creek. The natives cover themselves with a sheet of cotton cloth, or hide the lower part of the body with a sarong.

“There are bronze Buddhistic images of unknown origin, scattered about in the grassy wilderness. Robbers seldom come to this country.

“When trading ships enter the anchorage, they stop in front of the officials' place, for that is the place for bartering of the country. After a ship has been boarded, the natives mix freely with the ship's folk. The chiefs are in the habit of using white umbrellas, for which reason the traders offer them as gifts.

“The custom of the trade is for the savage traders to assemble in crowds and carry the goods away with them in baskets; and even if one cannot at first know them, and can but slowly distinguish the men who remove the goods, there will yet be no loss. The savage traders will after this carry these goods on to other islands for barter, and, as a rule, do not return until the 8th or the 9th month, when they repay the traders on shipboard with what they have obtained (for the goods). Some, however, do not return within the proper term, for which reason vessels trading with Ma-i are the latest in reaching home.

“The following place belong to this country. San-hsü (Three islands), Pai-p'u-yen (白蒲延), P'u-li-lu (蒲里嚙), Li-chin (里金), Tung-liu (東流) and Hsin-li-han (新里漢).

“The products of the country consist of yellow wax, cotton, pearls, tortoise-shell, medicinal betel-nuts and *yü-ta* cloth; and (the Chinese) traders barter for these porcelain, trade-gold, iron censers, lead, coloured

glass beads, and iron needles.”<sup>1)</sup>

From the statement that “Robbers seldom come to this country” we may understand that they were comparatively free from the harm of pirates like the Visayas. As for “officials’ place,” we cannot ascertain what sort of place it was, but at any rate it seems to suggest that the people had attained a considerable degree of political system and of commercial importance.

They also receive record from WANG TA-YÜAN, and though we get there no information to help us in locating their country, the following is of some interest as being illustrative of their social customs: “A wife, mourning the death of her husband, shaves her head, fasts for seven days and sleeps with the dead body, until at last she is nearly dead, as it happens often enough. After seven days, if she is still alive, her relatives help her to eat and drink. And if she is thus saved, she will not change her faith to her late husband for the rest of her life. Sometimes there occurs such an extreme case as that when the body of the husband is being burned, she darts into the fire to burn herself to death.”<sup>2)</sup> Obviously this is the suttee custom in India, and ROCKHILL supposes the island people acquired it from India or Java, at a later period than that of CHAO JU-KUA, who says nothing about it.<sup>3)</sup> It seems probable, however, that they had come under the influence of Hindu civilization somewhat earlier, for CHAO JU-KUA’s account of their country, as already seen, speaks of “bronze Buddhistic images of unknown origin, scattered about in the grassy wilderness,” and here we may suspect some Buddhist temples lying in ruin near that officials’ place.<sup>4)</sup>

As for the location of the country, it seems certain that it was at any rate to the north of P’o-ni (Brunei); the *Sung-shih* says it was

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1) *Chu-fan-chih*, Ch. A. This is taken from the translation by HIRTH and ROCKHILL, with a few necessary alterations.

2) *Tao-i-chih-liao-chiao-chu*, p. 6-7.

3) *T’oung Pao*, XVI, (1915), 2, p. 267.

4) OTLEY BEYER more accurately surmises that this suttee custom was introduced not directly from India, but through the Sri-Visaya either of Java or of Sumatra. (*Op. cit.*, p. 928.) He also recognizes there the influence of Hinduism, illustrating it by a number of images discovered in Cebu and Mindanao. By the way, that article printed in ‘Asia’ is not regular research work but it is announced that a fuller treatise is to be published in book form under the same title.

“at 30 days from P’o-ni”;<sup>1)</sup> and though it also says elsewhere “2 days (二日) from Chan-ch’êng 占城,”<sup>2)</sup> it was most likely an error which should be read perhaps “2 months (二月) from Chan-ch’êng.” These data, taken together, point to the middle section of the Philippines, and since Dr. LAUFER first connected the transcription Ma-i with Mait, as Mindoro was once called,<sup>3)</sup> this identification of his has always been accepted.<sup>4)</sup> It is indeed what might be easily expected that, of all the Archipelago, that particular part to the south of Luzon, that is, the region of Mindoro and Marinduque, should have been the very centre of development, and in fact, as Marinduque figured conspicuously in the Ming period, so must Mindoro have done in the previous ages.<sup>5)</sup> The site of Ma-i, therefore, is a settled question, but as regards those other places recorded in connection with it, such as San-hsü, P’u-li-lu, etc., there may be many opinions. First of all, we read in CHAO JU-KUA the following account of San-hsü:—

“The San-hsü (or “Three Islands”) belong to Ma-i; their names are Chia-ma-yen (加麻延), Pa-lao-yu (巴佬酉), and Pa-chi-nung (巴吉弄), and each has its own tribes scattered over the islands. When ships arrive there, the natives come out to trade with them; the generic name (of these islands) is San-hsü.

“Their local customs are about the same as those of Ma-i. Each settlement consists of about a thousand families. The country contains

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1) Ch. 489, *P’o-ni-chuan*.

2) Ch. 489, *Chan-ch’êng-chuan*.

3) *Op. cit.*, p. 252.

4) FUJITA, *Tao-i-chih-liao-chiao-chu*, passage on Ma-i; *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 160; etc.

5) According to BLUMENTRITT (*Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen*, p. 65), “Mait” means the “country of black men.” Here too, BEYER supplies a new fact, saying that “in connection with the Chinese name for Mindoro, it is interesting to note that the name is still current among the pagan inhabitants of the southern part of that island, who call it Ma-it; also that the old Tagalog family name *Gatmaitan* means simply ‘Lord, or Prince, of Ma-it.’” (*Op. cit.*, p. 923). SHEN Tzêng-chih 沈曾植 again suggests that the Sea of Mo-yeh-yang 磨葉洋 found mentioned in CHANG Hsieh’s description of the eastern sea-route was so named from Ma-it, (*Tao-i-chih-liao-kuang-chêng* 島夷誌略廣證, Chap. A.) We know that the sea, nearly corresponding to the Cuyo sea to-day, is not identifiable with the Mindoro Strait, but in view of the extent of influence exercised by the Ma-it people in those days, the above opinion doesn’t seem altogether impossible.

many lofty ridges, and ranges of cliffs rise steep as the walls of a house.

“The natives build wattled huts perched in lofty and dangerous spots, and, since the hills contain no springs, the women may be seen carrying two or three jars hung over their necks in which they fetch water from the streams, and with their burdens mount the hills with the same ease as if they were walking on level ground.

“In the remotest valleys there lives another tribe called Hai-tan (海膽). They are small in stature and their eyes are round and yellow (brown), they have curly hair and their teeth show (between their lips.) They nest in tree tops. Sometimes parties of three or five lurk in the jungle, from whence they shoot arrows on passers-by without being seen, and many have fallen victims to them. If thrown a porcelain bowl, they will stoop and pick it up and go away leaping and shouting for joy.

“Whenever Chinese traders arrive at any of the settlements, they live on board ship before venturing to go on shore, their ships being moored in midstream, announcing their presence to the natives by beating drums. Upon this the savage traders race for the ship in small boats, carrying cotton, yellow wax, native cloth, cocoa-nut-heart mats, which they offer for barter. If the prices (of goods they may wish to purchase) cannot be agreed upon, the chief of the (local) traders must go in person, in order to come to an understanding, which being reached the natives are offered presents of silk umbrellas, porcelain, and rattan baskets; but the foreigners still retain on board one or two (natives) as hostages. After that they go on shore to traffic, which being ended they return the hostages. A ship will not remain at anchor longer than three or four days, after which it proceeds to another place; for the savage settlements along the coast of San-hsü are not connected by a common jurisdiction (i. e., are all independent.)

“The Mountains are crowded into the north-eastern corner, and during the south-west monsoon the surge dashes against the shore,

and the rollers rush in so rapidly that vessels cannot anchor there. It is for this reason that those who trade to San-hsü generally prepare for the return trip during the fourth or fifth month (i. e., in May or June).

“The following articles are exchanged in barter: porcelain, black damask and various other silks, (glass) beads of all colours, leaden sinkers for nets, and tin.”<sup>1)</sup>

Then WANG TA-YÜAN thus describes the same place under the name of San-tao 三島, which characters signify the same sense as San-hsü 三嶼 (Three Islands):—

“It lies east of Ta-chi-shan Hill 大奇山.<sup>2)</sup> The islands stand apart from each other like (the feet of) a tripod. There are mountains with peaks rising one behind another, and the people dwell along their skirts. The fields are not fertile, and so produce only little grain. The manners of life are crudely simple; the climate rather warm. There are here some people who are “white.” Men have their hair in a fist-like knot at the top, and women in a mallet-like bundle 椎髻; both sexes wear open unlined garments. When some of the men take passage on board of (Chinese) ships to Ch'üan-chou to transact business, it is usual with them to empty their pockets there in order to get their bodies tattooed. On their return home, they will be treated by their country-men with respect due to superiors; they are given seats of honour, and even elders cannot contend with them. They are so highly esteemed in society because they have been to T'ang (China). The people boil sea water to get salt, and brew liquor from sugar cane. They have chiefs to rule over them. The native products are yellow wax, cotton, and *hua-pu* cloth 花布; and the goods used to exchange for them are copper beads, blue and white patterned porcelain bowls, printed cotton, and pig iron.

“Next stand, in the order of location, Ta-pei 荅陪, Hai-chan 海贍, Pa-nung-chi 巴弄吉, P'u-li-lao 蒲里老, and Tung-liu-li 東流里. They

1) *Chu-fan-chih*, Ch. A. This is also HIRTH and ROCKHILL's translation, revised where necessary.

2) A mountain near Cape Mao-pi-chiao 貓鼻角 at the southern extremity of Formosa.

show little difference in products, so we merely subjoin their names here.”<sup>1)</sup>

The comparison of the above accounts with that of Ma-i will show that the San-hsü or San-tao people were not nearly so advanced in the mode of commerce as the Maits, and surely their home was not such a flourishing centre as the latter's. That the name Hai-tan which CHAO JU-KUA ascribes to a savage race within San-hsü was the transcription of Aeta, and therefore meant the Negritos, the earliest known inhabitants of the Philippines, is a fact which was first and indisputably asserted by HIRTH,<sup>2)</sup> and which is remarkable in helping to demonstrate Ma-i to have been part of the Philippines. WANG TA-YÜAN, on the other hand, mentions Hai-chan 海贍, representing it as another island than San-tao itself;<sup>3)</sup> but we may take it for granted that this was both a corruption and a misplacement of Hai-tan 海贍.

Now the peculiar trait of this tribe described by CHAO JU-KUA, that if one threw porcelain bowls at them, they would stoop down to pick them up, and acquiring them, go dancing and shouting with joy, is reminiscent of what we have already read about the P'i-shê-ya in the *Sung-shih*, which also occurs in the *Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao* in these words: “Throw spoons at them, they will stoop down to pick them up, and thus may be delayed by a few steps.”<sup>4)</sup> And the above *Chu-fan-chih* description of their mode of life was compared by LAUFER<sup>5)</sup> to CHANG HSIEH's account of the inhabitants of Fou-ting-shan 覆鼎山 in Luzon: “This mountain is of the shape of a tripod set upside down, and hence the name. Here live a savage race, who nest in tree-tops and shoot birds and beasts, which they eat raw. There is no known track to this region.”<sup>6)</sup> In both cases we have a vivid picture of the most primitive life to be found in the Philippines of centuries ago. As for the men and women who were “white” observed in San-tao, they must have

1) *Tao-i-chih-liao-chiao-chu*, p. 4 b.

2) *Chinesische Studien*, p. 41.

3) *Op. cit.* p. 4. b.

4) Ch. 327.

5) *Op. cit.*, p. 252.

6) *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, Ch. 5, *Lü-sung-chuan*.

been what CRAWFURD gives as "Albino" in his Dictionary, accounting for them as: "Persons born without the colouring matter of the skin, eyes, and hair, and thus far imperfect, are occasionally to be seen in every race and every nation and tribe of the Malayan and Philippine Archipelago, as they are of those of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America."<sup>1)</sup>

CHAO JU-KUA'S account of San-hsü and WAN TA-YÜAN'S passage on San-tao, as we have seen, do not agree in every detail. But as we have had reason to identify Hai-chan in one with Hai-tan in the other, so we may now be justified in comparing Pa-nung-chi 巴弄吉 with Pa-chi-nung 巴吉弄 and recognizing an inversion of characters between them. As regards the identification of the three respective islands, the modern Chinese commentator SHEN TSÊNG-CHIH 沈曾植 asserted that "Chia-ma-yen 加麻延 was Luzon; Pa-lao-yu 巴佬酉, Sulu; and Pa-nung-chi 巴弄吉, Palawan,"<sup>2)</sup> without giving any proof, but this is indeed a bold conjecture, not reconcilable with many known circumstances. HIRTH and ROCKHILL, on the other hand, gave an identification quite acceptable on the whole, by determining Ka-ma-yen (加麻延) as Calamian, Pa-lao-yu (巴佬酉) as Palawan, and Pa-ki-nung (巴吉弄) as Busuanga; for these islands lie in succession on the main route from Mait to Brunei.<sup>3)</sup> For my part, I may venture to suggest that if we are to choose the form 巴弄吉 instead of 巴吉弄, and at the same time assume the character 弄 therein to be a corruption of 筭, then the resultant 巴筭吉 (Pa-suang-chi) will sound more like Busuanga, so that the whole identification may be phonetically better founded.

Dr. FUJITA did not consider it very necessary that San-hsü should imply three islands, but instead he thought that it referred to the three sea-ports on the coast of Luzon, namely—Sierra de Mariveles on its south-western corner, whose old name Camaya corresponded to 加麻延; Balanga, which was comparable with 巴弄吉 (taken as the correct form in preference to 巴吉弄); and Balanyan at the southern end, identifiable with 巴佬酉.<sup>4)</sup> It would be difficult, however, to defend this view. We

1) *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

2) *Tao-i-chih-liao-kuang-chêng*, Part I, San-tao.

3) *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 162.

4) *Tao-i-chih-liao-chiao-chu*, San-tao.

do not see why we should ignore the obvious signification of San-hsü (three islands), in the face of the statement that "each had its own tribes, scattered over the islands," and that "the generic name (of these islands) was San-hsü"; and that "the islands stood apart from each other like (the feet of) a tripod." And if the phrase "the mountains are crowded into the north-eastern corner" said generally of San-hsü might seem to suggest a contiguous land, yet it is quite possible that such configuration was common to all the islands. The context immediately below shows that there was no protection against the south wind, and from this we may understand that each island had a port which was open alike to the south. Moreover, "each community in San-hsü consisted of about 1,000 families," and to suppose that part of the south-western coast of Luzon facing Ma-i or Mindoro was so thickly scattered with centres of such considerable size would be ascribing too much prosperity and development to the Philippines of those days.

The *Yüan-shih* 元史, the Annals of the Mongol dynasty, gives the description of a certain country by the name of San-hsü, which, though Dr. FUJITA thinks it to be identical with that San-hsü on the western coast of Luzon we have been observing,<sup>1)</sup> was in all probability quite another country, neither to be recognized in Luzon nor anywhere else in the Philippines. The text runs as follows:—

"San-hsü-kuo is near Liu-chiu 瑠求 (Formosa). In the 30th year of *Chih-yüan* 至元 (1293 A. D.), under the reign of Shih-tsu 世祖 (Khubilai Khan), orders were given that a mission should be despatched to the country to invite vassalage from it. Bayan 伯顏, in the office of the Vice-Minister (*P'ing-chang-chêng-shih* 平章政事), and others, however, thus replied: 'We have discussed the matter with the intelligent persons. The country has a population of less than 200 families, some of which come at times to Ch'üan-chou for trading purposes. Last year, when our warships passed the country on their way to Liu-chiu, the countrymen supplied provisions to our expedition and also lodged our officers. They have certainly no design against

1) "*The Earliest Records of the Liu-chiu People's Commerce with the Southern Sea Countries*," *Shigaku Zasshi*, Vol. XXVIII (1917), No. 8.



us, so please let there be no despatch of a mission to them.' And the Emperor followed the advice."<sup>1)</sup>

Elsewhere in the same history, on the other hand, we read that in the previous year (29th year of *Chih-yüan*, 1292 A.D.), in the third month, the Yüan officer Liu Jun 劉閔, with more than 200 men under him, proceeded to Liu-chiu, employing as his guide a native of San-hsü by the name of Chên Hui 陳輝, and that "as the people on the shore did not understand the speech of San-hsü, three men were killed by them, and then the expedition returned."<sup>2)</sup> As the country with 200 families found on the way from Fu-chien to Liu-chiu (Formosa) must of necessity be some small island or islands about the Pescadores, and besides, the name of the native guide Chên Hui (陳輝) is certainly a Chinese one. San-hsü in this case, we may be assured, was a random name applied to a certain group of some three small islands in that particular quarter, and which therefore should be clearly distinguished, as claimed by Dr. LAUFER,<sup>3)</sup> from the more famous Philippine San-hsü.

Perhaps we may more approach accuracy in the location of the Philippine San-hsü by trying to identify those other places mentioned along with it. As we have seen, CHAO JU-KUA, in his account of Ma-i, enumerates P'u-li-lu 蒲里嚕 next to San-hsü and Pai-p'u-yen 白蒲延 and also provides a separate account of it immediately below the already quoted passage on San-hsü, as follows:—

"P'u-li-lu 蒲哩嚕 is connected with San-hsü, but its settlements are more populous; most of the people are of a cruel disposition and given to robbery. The sea thereabout is full of *lu-kü* stone 鹵股石 with jagged teeth like blasted trees, their points and edges sharper than swords and lances; when ships pass by they tack out in time in order to steer clear of them; from here come *ch'ing-lang-kan* (青琅玕) stone and the coral trees; but they are very difficult to get.

"The local customs and commercial usages are [the same as in San-hsü."<sup>4)</sup>

1) *Yüan-shih*, Ch. 210, *San-hsü-chuan*.

2) *Ibid.*, Ch. 210, *Liu-chiu-chuan*.

3) *Op. cit.*, p. 252.

4) *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 162, with necessary alterations.

Obviously 蒲哩嚙 was a varied spelling of 蒲里嚙 and it is very probable that 蒲黑嚙, mentioned in the Chapter of Natural Products<sup>1)</sup> as yielding cocoa-nut-heart-gourd (椰心覃), tortoise shell, and yellow wax, was a corruption of the same. From the way this place is introduced in history, it must have been a centre of no mean importance, perhaps even on the same level with San-hsü, Ma-i, and Java, etc. HIRTH and ROCKHILL assigned it to Polillo Island off the eastern coast of Luzon,<sup>2)</sup> but I doubt this solitary island can well be reconciled with the description. Besides, as we shall see hereafter, the Chinese navigation about Luzon in the Ming period was generally confined to its western coast, and there seems no sufficient ground to assume that Chinese trade in the previous ages extended to the eastern side of the main island as far as Polillo.<sup>3)</sup>

In the *Tao-i-chih-liao*, we come across a place named Ma-li-lu 麻里嚙, and on reading its description, we are struck with its resemblance to P'u-li-lu 蒲里嚙. The text runs:—

“Its small harbour recedes far into the land. The mountains are high and the water abounds in *lu-kü* (鹵股) stone. Woods are scarce, the fields high and lean. The people mostly grow potatoes. The climate is hot. The people attach much importance to honour. An administrator's wife, once widowed, will not marry a common man, but select a person of an administrating family to match in another country. Otherwise, she will shave her head, and devote the rest of her days to the reading of her prayer-book. Men and women have their hair in fist-like knots; they wear short garments

1) *Chu-fan-chih*, Ch. B.

2) *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 160; *T'oung Pao*, XVI, (1915), p. 269.

3) BEYER (*op. cit.*, p. 928) followed LAUFER in his interpretation of San-hsü; viz. recognizing Chia-ma-yen as Kalamian or Culion; Pa-lao-yu probably as Peñon de Coron; and Pa-chi-nung as probably Busuanga; and accordingly assigned P'u-li-lu to the northern end of Palawan. To this conclusion he was apparently guided by the *Tao-i-chih-liao* statement about San-tao that “it comprised separate islands standing like (the feet of) a tripod,” taken together with the *Chu-fan-chih* passage, “P'u-li-lu is connected with San-hsü.” I suspect this would be locating those places too close together, and that it is hardly reconcilable with the later conditions as ascertained. I should think one need not be so rigorously literal in the interpretation of the phrase “like a tripod” or “connected with San-hsü.”

of blue cloth, with red silk flaps hanging on them. The people boil sea water to get salt, and brew liquor from sugar cane. They tie bamboo sticks together to make a floor, and burn raw wax for lighting.

“The native products are tortoise shell, beewax, laca-wood, bamboo cloth, raw tree-cotton; while the goods used to exchange for them are standard silver ingots, blue cloth, china dishes, Chu-chou (處州) porcelain, water-bottles, large-sized jars, and iron tripods.”<sup>1)</sup>

Besides the partial coincidence in form between 麻里嚕 and 蒲里嚕, there is more than one circumstance pointing to their identity. We may easily suppose that the same race characterized in the Yüan period as regardful of honour (pride) had been in the previous age a fierce tribes fond of raids and plunder. The geographical descriptions in both cases, too, show much conformity which need not be dwelt on. Dr. FUJITA therefore rightly adjudged<sup>2)</sup> that 麻里嚕 and 蒲里嚕 were identical. He also connected them with Ma-li-lü 麻里呂, which is mentioned by the Ming author WANG CHAO-TSUNG 王超宗 and by KU YEN-WU, and again with Man-li-la 蠻里刺, given by the Ch'ing author HSIEH CH'ING-KAO 謝清高<sup>3)</sup>. According to Dr. ICHIMURA, the character 蒲 in 蒲里嚕 was very probably a corruption of the character 滿 (*man*), which was but another style of the character 滿 (*man*), and if so, the phonetical correspondence between *ma* 麻 and *man* 滿 will go a great length to confirm the above identification. It may be noted by the way that P'u-li-lao 蒲里佬 mentioned in WANG TA-YÜAN'S account of San-tao, despite the apparent resemblance in form, has really nothing to do with the place in question. On the contrary, this name was identical, as will be seen, with Ma-li-lao 麻里佬 to be observed in CHANG HSIEH'S description of the eastern sea-route,<sup>4)</sup> and to be identified with the cape of Bolinao, as it is now called.

Besides San hsü, Pai-p'u-yen and P'u-li-lu, there are Li-chin 里金,

1) *Tao-i-chih-tiao-chiao-chu*, p. 26.

2) *Ibid.*

3) Report of Wang Chao-tsung 王超宗詳文 in the *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, Ch. 5; *T'ien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-ping-shu*, Ch. 93; HSIEH'S *Hai-lu* 海錄.

4) *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, Ch. 9.

Tung-liu 東流, and Hsin-li-han 新里漢, which CHAO JU-KUA equally attaches to the rule of Mait. HIRTH and ROCKHILL at first read these as Li-kin-tung 里金東, Liu-hsin 流新, and Li-han 里漢, referring them respectively to Lingayen, Luzon, and Lubang;<sup>1)</sup> but thereafter ROCKHILL, upon the perusal of the *Tao-i-chih-liao*, proposed to revise the reading as Li-yin 里銀, Tung-liu-hsin 東流新, and Li-han 里漢, and to interpret the second name as "Eastern Luzon."<sup>2)</sup> Seeing, however, that WANG TA-YÜAN gives the name 東流里 (Tung-liu Village) as alternative for 東流,<sup>3)</sup> it will be impossible to read it 東流新. Li-yin or Li-chin agrees with Li-yin-chung-pang 里銀中邦 (The Middle Country of Li-yin), which occurs later in the *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, and is therefore generally assignable to the coast of Zambales, the westernmost part of Luzon Island; but more about this hereafter.

As regards Tung-liu and Hsin-li-han (New Li-han), we can not hope to identify them exactly, but since, out of the six territories belonging alike to Mait, San-hsü, Pai-p'u-yen, P'u-li-lu, Li-yin, Tung-liu, and Hsin-li-han, the first four have been found assignable to northern Palawan, Babuyan, Manila, and Zambales, it will naturally follow that the other two were certain sea ports on the northern and the north-western sides of Luzon Island respectively. And all those considerations help us to this conclusion concerning the rest of the Archipelago at that period, that the middle region of Panay, with Negros, Zebu, Leyte, and Samar, were the principal home of the Visayas, just as they are at present; while the southern section, comprising Sulu and Mindanao, was occupied by the Moros, the Mohammedan race dreaded even to this day for their ferocious character. Now what strikes us with wonder is how energetic and enduring a people the Mait must have been, who first rising in the early North Sung period (10th century), succeeded in maintaining hold of the most vital section of the whole Philippines as late as the close of the Southern Sung or perhaps even far into the Yüan dynasty (12th or 13th century).

1) *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 160. The Chinese text is as follows:—里金東流新里漢.

2) *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XIV, (1915), p. 269.

3) *Op. cit.*, San-tao.

To take passing notice of the place name Ta-p'ei 答陪 found in the WANG TA-YÜAN's account of San-tao, it was explained by Dr. FUJITA<sup>1)</sup> to be the transcription of Tobago and therefore connectable with Tan-ma-yen 談馬顏 mentioned in CHAO JU-KUA's passage on Liu-chiu, and as well with Hung-tou-hsü 紅豆嶼 mentioned by both CHANG HsIEH and CHÊN LÜN-HSIUNG 陳倫炯.<sup>2)</sup> If the name "Botel Tobago" came into existence, as Dr. TORII asserted,<sup>3)</sup> only in the middle of the 18th century, then this identification must certainly suffer. The commentators of the *Chau Ju-kua* and the author of the *Gazetteer of Japan, Continuations*, however, agree in regarding Tan-ma-yen to be the transliteration of Tobago.<sup>4)</sup>

V

Toward the end of the Yüan dynasty, we find Mait gradually giving way to the rising influence of Luzon. Whereas Mait is never known to have showed any tributary subjection to China, its successor Lü-sung 呂宋 (Luzon) leaves on record the evidence of its repeated visits to the court, beginning with the 1st month, the 15th year of *Hung-wu* 洪武 (A.D. 1372), in the reign of the founder of the Ming dynasty, when the envoy arrived at the Nanking court. Later, in the 3rd year of *Yung-lo* (E.D. 1405), the ambitious Emperor Yung-lo, bent on the expansion of his Imperial influence, despatched a mission to tame this country, and as a result, it again sent an envoy with tribute, who arrived in the 8th year of the same era (A.D. 1410), in company with that of P'ing-chia-shih-lan 馮嘉施蘭.<sup>5)</sup> The last-named country, one and the same with what is mentioned Pang-chia-shih-lan 榜佳施欄 by CHANG HsIEH<sup>6)</sup>, is thus described in the *Ming-shih* :—

P'ing-chia-shih-lan is another small Tung-yang country. In the 8th month, 4th year of *Yung-lo* (1406, A.D.), several of its chiefs, Chia-ma-yin

1) *Tao-i-chih-liao-chiao-chu*, p. 5 b.

2) *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, Ch. 5; *Hai-kuo-wên-chien-lu* 海國聞見錄.

3) "Study of the Place Names About Hung-tou-hsü," *Tôyô Gakugei Zasshi*, No. 175.

4) *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 164; *Continuation of the Gazetteer of Japan*, Part III, Taiwan, p. 187.

5) *Ming-shih*, Ch. 323, *Lü-sung-chuan*.

6) *Op. cit.*, Ch. 9, *Tung-yang-chên-lu*.

嘉馬銀 and others, came to the court with a tribute of native products. A donation was distributed among them of paper money, the amount varying individually. In the 4th month, 6th year, two other chiefs, Tai-mei 玳瑁 and Li-yü 里欲 came in with tribute, accompanied by a troop of followers. Imperial gifts were bestowed on the two masters, paper money equivalent to 100 silver pieces, and silk enough for 6 suits of clothes, for each; their retinue also receiving more or less. In the 8th year, the country again sent an envoy.”<sup>1)</sup>

Evidently this was in response to the Chinese invitation in 1405, above observed. GEORGE PHILLIPS determined this people to be the Pangasinans on the Lingayen Gulf in the north of Luzon,<sup>2)</sup> and there can be no disputing it. Since the above date, we hear nothing of Lü-sung or P'ing-chia-shih-lan for a century and a half, until the time of the Spanish occupation, which took place towards the end of the Ming dynasty. In this way it happens that what subsequent data we may obtain of them must come from CHANG HSIEH, the *Ming-shih*, and some other sources, all belonging to the periods later than the Spanish conquest. Let us now quote from the *Ming-shih* passage on Luzon:— “For a long period thereafter, it never paid tribute, but in the 4th year of *Wan-li* 萬曆 (A.D. 1576), when the imperial army gave chase to the pirate Lin Tao-chien 林道乾 as far as this country, the people there rendered considerable service in helping to destroy the enemy. Upon this, the country sent tribute once more.”<sup>3)</sup> As is clear from the historian's own explanation, the said people “bore the name of Lü-sung, but were Fo-lang-chi 佛郎機 (literally the Franks, or the Spanish) in reality,”<sup>4)</sup> and therefore none of the native tribes. The pirate in question was certainly the notorious Limahong himself, while Lin Tao-chien 林道乾 was a misnomer for Lin Fêng 林鳳.<sup>5)</sup> How the

1) Ch. 323, *Wai-kuo-chuan*.

2) *China Review*, XIX, p. 248.

3) Ch. 323, *Lü-sung-chuan*.

4) *Ibid.*

5) The identity of Lin Fêng with the notorious Limahong was first asserted by GEORGE PHILLIPS (*China Review*, XIX, p. 246) and subsequently corroborated by BERTHOLD LAUFER (*op. cit.*, p. 259), but it was our Dr. FUJITA that most circumstantially demonstrated the fact, (*Tôyô Gakuhô*, VIII, 1). As regards the Ming Captain Omoncon,

robber's party menaced the new establishment of Manila, and how furiously they battled to maintain their footing on Lingayen Gulf is a fact fully described in Spanish records. The *Ming-shih*, on the other hand, gives us a glimpse as to the progress of Chinese influence on the island. "By this time," it says, "tens of thousands of Fu-chien people had come here for the purpose of trading, because the country was both near and wealthy. Some of them stayed for good and brought up their children there."<sup>1</sup> Then the history goes on to relate how the Chinese element there continued to gain in power, until at last they came into collision with the Spaniards for the first time in the 21st year of *Wan-li* (A.D. 1593), and how they suffered a sweeping slaughter in the 31st year of the same era (A.D. 1603), and another in the 12th year of *Ch'ung-chên* 崇禎 (A.D. 1639). Expatiating on this topic, however, will be stepping aside from the main line of our study, whose aim is to ascertain the extent to which the Chinese knowledge went, in those days, as regards the Philippine region of the Southern Sea.

## VI

CHANG HsIEH gives us a very circumstantial account of those sea-routes which were resorted to in the contemporary period. There is among others the eastern route, designated as *Tung-yang-chên-lu* 東洋針路, which started from the foot of Tai-wu-shan 太武山 in Hai-chêng-hsien 海澄縣, Chang-chou-fu 漳州府, Fu-chien, and extended either as far as Borneo or as the Moluccas.<sup>2</sup> This is of particular interest to us, for by tracing the detail given of the route, we can make out what the contemporaries knew of the geography in that quarter.

Before quoting the text and setting about interpreting it, it will be better to explain in advance some technical terms which occur there most frequently. In the first place, there is the unit of distance

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who gave chase the pirate up to the Philippines, but of whom nothing is said by the same author, there seems small doubt that he was *Pu-tzung* (petty officer) Wang Wang-kao 把總王望高 himself, mentioned in the biography of Ling Yün-i 凌雲翼 forming part of the *Ming-shih*, Ch. 222.

1) *Loc. cit.*

2) *Op. cit.*, Ch. 8, *Tung-yang-chên-lu*.

designated “*ching*” 更. The same author gives an interpretation of it as: “The distance that can be covered in one day and one night with the favourable wind corresponds to 10 *ching*. One is said to reach such a place by sailing so many *ching*.”<sup>1)</sup> As far as arithmetics goes, one *ching* was equal to 2 hours and 24 minutes’ sail, but however that may be, this unit seems to have been practically understood to approximate 60 Chinese miles; for HUANG SHÈNG-1S’ÈNG says: “The nautical practice is to count 60 *li* as one *ching*.”<sup>2)</sup>

As regards the compass then in use, it was divided into 24 points, on the basis of the tradition of relating all directions to the Five Primordial Essences of *Mu* (木 wood), *Huo* (火 fire), *T’u* (土 earth), *Chin* (金 metal), *Shui* (水 water), and therefore its terminology consists of signs with peculiar import. As may be seen on the diagram showed on the accompanying map, north, east, south, and west were respectively designated by *tzü* 子, *mao* 卯, *wu* 午, and *yu* 酉, taken out of the Duodenary Cycle of Symbols called “Twelve branches” 十二支; and north-west, north-east, south-east, and south-west respectively by *ch’ien* 乾, *kên* 艮, *sun* 巽, and *kun* 坤, out of the Eight Symbols of Divination 八卦. Then the interval between any adjoining two of these points, cardinal and intermediate, is divided into three equal parts, each making an angle of 15 degrees, and the points thus created are named, on the side nearer the cardinal point, by one of the Decenary Cycle of Symbols called “Ten trunks” 十干, excepting *wu* 戊 and *chi* 己; and nearer the north-west, north-east, south-east, or south-west, by one of the Duodenary Cycle, that is, other than *tzü* 子, *mao* 卯, *wu* 午, and *yu* 酉, which have been already allotted to the cardinal points. For practical purposes, these 24 points could be doubled in number, for we often find the names of two adjoining points in combination as, for example, *i-ch’ên* 乙辰, *ch’ên-sun* 辰巽, *ping-ssü* 丙巳, etc., while *tan-tzü* 單子 (simple 子), *tan-kun* 單坤 (simple 坤), etc. signified respectively exact *tzü* 子, exact *kun* 坤, etc.

The omission from the compass terminology of the two particular

1) *Op. cit.*, Ch. 8, *Chou-shih-k’ao* 舟師考, (Nautical Practices).

2) *Hsi-yang-chao-kung-tien-lu*, Ch. 1, Chan-ch’êng, Note.





agree with near Mao-pi-t'ou Cape 猫鼻頭 now.<sup>1)</sup> Thus we understand the vessel, sailing from below T'ai-wú-shan in Hai-chêng-hsien, Chang-chou, passed the Pescadores, T'ai-nan, and Mao-pi-t'ou cape, in turn, sighted Hung-tou-hsü and Fu-chia-shan far away, and advanced via Pi-chia-shan to Ta-chiang. Those two islands, whose names must have originated in their peculiar shapes, one like a floating armour, and the other like a pen-stand, we may safely allot among the Batan and Babuyan Islands. As for the last-named place, Ta-chiang, we find it described elsewhere by the same author, as: "Ta-chiang is the first point to be reached in Tung-yang, and also one of the leading centres therein. It has a castle built of cut stone, where the Franks 佛郎機 (Spaniards) have appointed a chief to command a guard. Rice grows there in luxuriance, but the other products are limited to the class of skins and horns. Just before reaching the harbour, one will see Pi-chia-shan."<sup>2)</sup> The characters 大港 signify "great port", and we may be sure they were no transcription of any vernacular name, but a Chinese appellation applied to the locality of Aparri, the only important sea-port which could draw upon the rich fields of Cagayan. The stone castle alluded to suggests Lalloco to the south of the harbour, where the Spaniards, in their earliest Philippine days, established a garrison, after clearing the place of Japanese adventurers. Dr. LAUFER proposed to identify Ta-chiang (Great-port) with Manila,<sup>3)</sup> but after the above observation it needs no argument to prove his error. Now to resume the text:—

"Ta-chiang — Use *hsin-yu* needle, 3 *ching*, and get Na-ê-shan 哪峨山. Na-ê-shan — Advance again to Pai-t'u-shan 白土山. Use *hsin-yu* needle, 10 *ching*, to gain Mi-yen 密雁. Mi-yen-chiang — South of it is a fresh water port 淡水港. Below, there is a bay with a small harbour, which is Mi-lü-o 米呂蓼. Below again, there is the *lao-ku* 老古 bay,<sup>4)</sup> which is Mo-li-mu 磨力目. Sail again past the promontory,

1) *Continuation of the Gazetteer of Japan*, Part III, Taiwan, p. 168.

2) *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, Ch. 5, *Lü-sung-chuan*.

3) *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

4) The *lao-ku* bay may mean an old, obsolete harbour, but here, I believe, it means rather a bay abounding in what is mentioned elsewhere as *lu-kü* 鹵股 (*lao-ku*) stone.

and you reach An-tang 岸塘.”

大港用幸酉針三  
更取哪哦山 哪哦山再過爲自土山用辛  
酉針十更取密雁 密雁港南是淡水港水下一得  
小港是米呂薯下一老古  
得是廳力日再  
過山頭爲岸塘

We may say that there is something doubtful about the compass directions given above, but in spite of that, from the general drift of the statement it seems sufficiently clear that Na-ê-shan meant Laoag beyond Bojeador Cape; Mi-yen (Mi-ngan, in Cantonese), Vigan; and An-tang (Ngon-tang, in Cantonese), Candon. We may also notice this passage in the *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, “Nan-wang 南旺 is connected with Ta-chiang. Go on, and it is Mi-yen 密雁, and then Yen-tang 雁塘. Both are small villages, with produce of skins, horns and *tzū-hua* 子花.”<sup>1)</sup> There is little doubt that Yen-tang was An-tang; and Nan-wang, Na-ê-shan. It may be noted in passing that the name An-tang was also spelt 岸詹 by another author.<sup>2)</sup> Now to return to the main text:—

“Again from Mi-yen-chiang — From its P'u-t'ou-mên 幘頭門, use *ping-wu* and simple *wu*, 10 *ching*, and get Liu-miao-shan 六藐山. Liu-miao-shan — Below there are four islands. Use simple *ssü* needle, 5 *ching*, and get Lang-mei-hsü 郎梅嶼. Lang-mei-hsü — Simple *wu*, 4 *ching*, to gain Ma-li-lao-hsü 麻里老嶼. Ma-li-lao-hsü — Use *ting-wu*, 5 *ching*, and get Su-an-shan 蘇安山 and the port of Tai-mei-chiang 玳瑁港. Tai-mei-chiang — East of it is Pang-chia-shih-lan 傍佳施欄. Use *jên-tzū* needle, 4 *ching*, and *kui-chu*, 5 *ching*, and get Piao-shan 表山. Piao-shan — The mountain is so high as to make a conspicuous landmark for mariners, and hence the name. (For “Piao-shan” signifies ‘Front Hill’). Use *ping-wu* and simple *wu*, 5 *ching*, and get Li-yin-chung-pang 里銀中邦. Li-yin-chung-pang — *Ping-ssü*, 5 *ching*, and get T'ou-chin-chiao 頭巾礁. T'ou-chin-chiao — Use simple *wu*, 5 *ching*, and to get Lü-sung-kuo 呂宋國. Lü-sung-kuo — This country sent tribute, early in our dynasty, the envoy arriving by way of Fu-chien. Use *ping-ssü* and *i-ch'ên* needle, 10 *ching*, and get a sand-bank with a shallow opening 沙塘淺開. This is Mao-li-wu-kuo 猫里務國. Mao-li-wu-kuo — is identical with Ho-mao-li-kuo 合猫里國. During the

1) Ch. 5, *Lü-sung-chuan*.

2) KU YEN-WU, *Op. cit.*, *Fu-chien-Maritime Custom Duty*.

*Yung-lo* era, its envoy arrived in company with that of Lü-sung.”

又從密雁港癸酉年取頭門用丙午單六藐山下有四嶼用單巳郎梅嶼單午四更取  
麻里荖嶼用丁午更取蘇玳瑁港東是傍佳施欄用壬子針表山山甚高為壽門  
丙午及單午五里銀中邦丙巳五更頭巾礁用單午五更呂宋國國初貢路由  
巳及乙辰針十更取貓里務國即合貓里國也永樂

The above is given as the direct course from P'ü-t'ou-mên of Mi-yen. About Liu-miao-shan Hill and Lang-mei-hsü Island, we know very little, though perhaps they may be compared with Namagpacan and St. Fernando respectively. Ma-li-lao Island was, as already seen, identical with P'ü-li-lao mentioned by the Yüan author WANG TA-YÜAN, and so corresponds to Bolinao of to-day. 傍佳施欄 is another spelling for 馮嘉施蘭, viz. Pangasinan. Tai-mei Port points to Lingayen at the head of Lingayen Gulf, for CHANG HSIEH describes it in another passage as follows: "Tai-mei-port is where the lay of the country turns in, and therefore is called Tai-mei Gulf. Piao-shan Hill surrounds it. Every vessel going to Lü-sung will pass in sight of its front, so that this mountain serves as a landmark for sailors. Although the bay is named Tai-mei (Tortoise), it does not produce any tortoise at all, but only sappan wood. Advance again, and you reach Li-yin-chung-pang, which is a lofty island in the midst of the sea."<sup>1)</sup> It is obvious that Piao-shan Hill meant the Zambales Range, more particularly where its northern edge runs into the sea, and then Li-yin-chung-pang must have been some elevated island in the sea to its west. The name Li-chin 里金 is given by CHAO JU-KUA in the passage on Mait, while KU YEN-WU represents the country simply as Chung-pang.<sup>2)</sup> About Mao-li-wu, which was 10 *ching* away to the south-west of Lü-sung, we may be sure that it was not within Luzon Island itself. CHANG HSIEH provides a particular account of this country as follows: "Mao-li-wu is identical with Ho-mao-li-kuo. The land is small and the soil is poor. The country has numerous mountains, outside of which is the wide ocean. The sea teems with fish and shell-fish. The people know agriculture too. In the 3rd year of *Yung-lo* (1405 A.D.), its king sent an envoy

1) *Loc. cit.* Ch. 5  
 2) *Loc. cit.*

in the person of a Mohammedan Tao-nu-ma-kao 回回道奴馬高, who came with a letter of homage and a tribute of native products. The country is contiguous with Lü-sung, so that the envoy came in company with the latter's. Thereafter, the country grew more fertile, and the people more kindly and cultured, so much so that now seafarers have this saying among them, 'If you want to be rich, go to Mao-li-wu.' It is, indeed, a splendid land in a small country."<sup>1)</sup>

By and by, however, we know that this country was preyed upon by the southern neighbours Wang-chin-chiao-lao (Magindanao). "By this time they had suffered frequent raids," says the same author, "Many lives were lost, and finally the country fell into poverty. Now merchantships bound thither, must, for fear of the danger from the robbers, somewhat change their course so as to gain another islands."<sup>2)</sup> Such were the vicissitudes the people had to experience within the Ming period alone. Though it is difficult to identify the country with exactitude, there seems to be no reason why we should not follow Dr. Tsubor's opinion that the name was an abridged transcription of Marinduque.<sup>3)</sup> As for the other name for Marinduque, given as Ho-mao-li, it is hard to explain it. Mr. TAKAKUWA regards it as the transcription of Camaris,<sup>4)</sup> but I would rather suggest Camarine, which was the district immediately east of Marinduque. It is to be easily imagined that there was a shifting of power between these neighbour tribes; at first Camarine, and then Marinduque, coming into prominence so as to eclipse the other in history. Besides, the phrases "outside of which is the wide ocean" and "contiguous with Lü-sung" will well fit Camarine. TING CHIEN's 丁謙 opinion that Ho-mao-li meant Samar Island,<sup>5)</sup> by the way, is a conjecture without any foundation.

To return to the text:—"Or from Lü-sung, 呂宋—Get Chu-wei-shan Hill 豬未山 and enter the port of Mo-lao-yang 磨荖央港." Of the last-named place, the author gives this remark elsewhere, "Mo-lao-yang

1) *Op. cit.* Ch. 5; *Ming-shih*, Ch. 323, has nearly the same passage on the countr y

2) *Ibid.*

3) *Op. cit.*

4) *Shigaku Zasshi*, Vol. XXXII, No. 7.

5) *Chê-chiang-t'u-shu-kuan-tsung-shu*, First series, 浙江圖書館叢書初集.



end of the *Lü-sung-chuan*: “Wu-tang 屋黨, otherwise named Wu-tung 屋同, is a place fortified with castles and walls, all towering high and close together. It makes a depot for the barbarian chiefs to concentrate their provisions. The main entrance thereto is called Han-tsê (漢澤).”<sup>1)</sup> We see this place also mentioned in other works as Wu-tang 屋當 and Ê-tang 惡黨.<sup>2)</sup> There seems small doubt it was Oton at the west of Iloilo on Panay Island, where the Spaniards had a base in their early days of conquest.

The text runs next:—

“Han-tsê-shan — Use simple *sun* needle, to get Hai-shan Isle 海山. Hai-shan — Use simple *ssü* needle, 5 *ching*, to gain No-pi-tan 呷嗶. The inside of this is Sha-ying 沙瑤. Or from Han-tsê-shan — Use *ping-wu* needle, 20 *ching*, and get Chiao-i 交溢, whose other name is Pan-ai 班隘. Chiao-i — A little way down, there is Chu-chi-ma-shan Isle 逐奇馬山. Use *i-ch'ên*, 7 *ching*, and gain the port of Wang-kên-chiao-lao 翹根礁老港.”

漢澤山 用單巽針 海山 用單巳針五更取呷 又從漢澤山 用丙午針二十更 交溢 取交溢一名班隘  
積下為逐奇馬山. 用乙  
辰七更取翹根礁老港

Assuming that Han-tsê-shan was at any rate near Oton, perhaps being the same as Guimaras Island, Hai-shan must fall somewhere about the western extremity of Negros Island. As for No-pi-tan, at 5 *ching* SSE from the above, it plainly agrees with Dapitan, distinguished as the place of exile of the Philippine genius José Rizal; while Sha-ying, said to be inside thereof, was its hinterland, Sianib. The *Ming-shih* provides a separate account of each, and CHANG HSIEH describes them as: “Sha-ying and No-pi-tan are adjacent to each other. The latter is on the seaside, and the former a little around inside the hills. They are all on a par with Lü-sung, though they do not belong to the Spanish jurisdiction. . . .”<sup>3)</sup>

1) *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*, Ch. 5. *Lü-sung-chuan*; *Ming-shih*, Ch. 323, has nearly the same passage on the country.

2) See the Ming historian HO CHIAO-YUAN's 何喬遠, *Ming-shan-tsang*, *Wang-hsiang-chi* 名山藏主亨記 and the Ch'ing geographer HSÜ CHI-YU's 徐繼畲, *Ying-huan-chih-liao*, Ch. 2, *Lü-sung* 瀛環志略卷二呂宋.

3) *Op. cit.*, Ch. 5.

This passage is followed by a detailed account of the customs and manners of the people. Certainly these two places were situated the nearest to the Spanish headquarters at Cebu, but their inhabitants were the ferocious Mohammedans, who always defied Spanish dominion. It does not seem that the Chinese traders ever dared to carry its route any further east.<sup>1)</sup> Following the main line from Han-tsê-shan, south by east for 20 *ching*, the next place to be reached was Chiao-i or Pan-ai. This name is accounted for by CHANG HSIEN in an appendix to the above passage on Sha-ying and No-pi-tan: "Again there is a place named Pan-ai. Near by stands Wên-chao-shan 蚊罩山, which is a very strangely-shaped mountain. Supernatural beings come and go there every now and then. At its summit, one sees a fire-light, which never goes out day and night. Hence the other name — Fire Mountain. It is so exceedingly steep and rough, that people can rarely succeed in climbing it. At best they reach half way up and then stop. The inhabitants are flat-headed and go naked. This place is also out of reach of the Spanish command."<sup>2)</sup> In spite of all these details, we are told nothing about the site of the place. It is true the name Pan-ai phonetically suggests Panay, but from the supposed bearings of the country, we must rather look to the quarter of Zamboanga, the principal port in the Southern Philippines nowadays. Then Chu-chi-ma Hill, located a little below, will correspond to Taguima, as Basilan Island to its south was once called. It hardly needs explanation that Wang-kên-chiao-lao, 魍根礁老 next reached by 7 *ching* ESE, meant Wang-chin-chiao-lao (Magindanao) 網巾礁老, from which the present name Mindanao was

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1) It was noticed by Dr. Tsuboi that the Chinese traders, pacific in their general disposition, naturally preferred to avoid contact with the Spanish desperadoes, (*op. cit.* Tôyô Gakugei Zasshi, No. 256). This will account for the omission of Su-wu 宿霧 (Sogbu or Cebu), the main Spanish headquarters, from the Tung-yang course. Here we seem also to have a clue as to why the description of the Tung-yang-chên-lu is so meagre and inaccurate regarding Visaya regions south of Luzon. At any rate, this much we may assume, that the Chinese were prevented first by fear of P'i-shê-ya and then of the Franks or Spaniards from visiting the eastern coast of the Luzon Island, and this will help to prove the impossibility of P'u-li-lu 蒲里魯 being Polillo. It may be also remarked that Wu-yün 武運 and Fu-ho-lun 福河崙 included by KU YEN-WU among the Tung-yang class, though still unidentified, were obviously outside the Tung-yang course itself.

2) *Op. cit.*, *Sha-ying-(and)-No-pi-tan-chuan*.



derived. We observe the former name spelt Wang-chin-chiao-nao 網巾礁腦 by an author, while Min-ta-na-ê 民答那峇 is given by another as an alternative spelling.<sup>1)</sup> The inhabitants figuring in Ming history as notorious sea-robbers were the formidable Moros themselves, who followed their own Sultan from very early times, and who prove to-day as awkward to the American government as they did to the Spanish centuries ago. Their headquarters in the Ming period Dr. Tsuboi assigned to the vicinity of Davao, but since the original home of Magindanao is known to be about Cotabato of to-day, we may more reasonably turn to the same quarter for identification.

The sea-course under observation is further directed southeast into the Moluccas as follows:—

“Wang-kên-chiao-lao-chiang — Use *i-ch'ên* needle, 7 *ching*, and get in sight of Shao-shan Isle 紹山. Shao-shan — Use again *i-ch'ên* needle, 10 *ching*, and enter the port of Yü-tzū-chih 于子智港. This is the land of Mi-lo-chü 米洛居, where the Portuguese (Fo-lang-chi)<sup>3)</sup> have established a post. Yü-tzū-chih-chiang — Face to face with it is Chên-lo-li 眞羅里; and a little more inland is the fresh water port of Shao-wu 紹武淡水港, where the Hung-mao-i 紅毛夷 (Red-haired barbarians or Dutchmen) have their station. Shao-wu fresh-water port — Here stand four great mountains. Go on inside, it is Mei-lo-chü 美洛居, or as mariners call it, Mi-lu-ho 米六合.”

魁根礁老港 用乙辰針七 紹山 又用乙辰針十 更入于子智港 對面是眞羅里  
是米洛居地今佛郎機駐此 于子智港  
稍上是紹武淡水 紹武淡水港 此處大山凡四 進入即  
港紅毛夷駐處 美洛居 船入聯米六合

Needless to say, 米洛居 and 美洛居, together with 米六合, were varied transcriptions of Molucca, as also 味六合 used by KU YEN-WU.<sup>4)</sup> Dr. Tsuboi connected Shao-shan with Siao Island in the Sangir Group, and Chên-lo-li with Gilolo,<sup>5)</sup> and I do not hesitate to fall in with his idea. Then Yü-tzū-chih, which lay opposite Chên-lo-li, and which

1) CHÊN LUN-HSIUNG, *Hai-kuo-wên-chien-lu*; Hsü CHY-YU, *Ying-huan-chih-liao*.

2) *Op. cit.*

3) 佛郎機, being fundamentally the transliteration of the Franks, here means the Portuguese, not Spanish.

4) *Op. cit.*

5) *Op. cit.*

formed a Portuguese station, may perhaps have been Tidore Island; and the fresh water port of Shao-wu situated a little above and seat of the Dutch establishment, as possibly the Ternate of to-day. As regards Mei-lo-chü, CHANG HSIENH gives a particular account of it, relating how long the two European rivals kept on with their struggle, until the Chinese residents saw fit to step in to reconcile them, and the result was that "the two territories being divided by the mountain of Wan-lao-kao 萬老高. The boundaries were now marked out by its middle line, the land north of it being allotted to the Dutchmen, and that to the south of it to the Portuguese. They have ceased to fight and now they lord it in the island side by side."<sup>1)</sup>

1) *Op. cit.*, *Mei-lo-chü-chuan*. The Moluccas, with their spices, formed one of the greatest resources in the Southern Sea, and accordingly its first recognition by the Chinese is a matter of historical importance, though it is a question hard to settle. The practice among Western scholars has been, as GROENEVELDT was the first to do, to acknowledge the transcription of Molucca in the name Mi-li-ch'ê 迷黎車 found mentioned in the *To-p'o-têng-chüan* 墮婆登 of the *Hsin-T'ang-shu* and also in that of the *Chü-T'ang-shu*, (*Notes on the Malay Archipelago*, p. 117), but since this Mi-li-ch'ê is given as lying west of Hōling 訶陵 (Java), it is certain, as KUWATA justly argues, that it could not possibly have been the Moluccas, (*Tōyō Gakuhō*, Vol. IX, No. 3). We may be sure, on the other hand, that ROCKHILL was right in identifying with the Moluccas that Wên-lao-ku 文老古 which is described in the *Tao-i-chih-liao* as: "Narrow gorges there lead to ports. The land is low and close in formation, forests growing dense, and the fields being lean and yielding but little rice. The climate is hot; the people are frivolous in character. The coiffure is *chui-chi* 椎髻 (mallet-like knot) for both sexes, with pieces of *hua-chu* 花竹 cloth hung on it. They set up an elephant's tusk in the inner chamber, and make ritual use of it. They boil sea water for salt, and collect *sha-hu* 沙湖 (sago) for food. The land produces *ting-hsiang* 丁香 (cloves). Though these trees are found all over the mountains, still they do not blossom every year, but mature only once in three years, or, though less usually, once in two years. There are some chiefs ruling there. Every year they wait eagerly for Chinese vessels to come to trade with them, and sometimes divinate to ascertain the prospects of such opportunity by *Wu-mei* hens 五梅鷄. If one chicken is born, one Chinese vessel will come; if two, two vessels. The omen is as faithfully answered as sound by echo. The goods used to trade with them are silver, iron, *shui-ling* 水綾 silk, silk cloth 絲布, *Wu-lun* 巫崙 cloth, *Pa-chih-na-chien* 八節那潤布 cloth, earth-printed cloth 土印布, ivory, glass beads 燒珠, celadon porcelain, *Ying-chi* 埴器 pottery and the like."

The Molucca cloves are further described in the *Mei-lo-chü-chuan* 美洛居傳 in the *Ming-shih* (or rather originally in that of the *Tung-hsi-yang-ka'o*) as follows:—"There are spice mountains in this country. After a rainfall, the spices drop off the trees, and are strewn all along the shores of the streams. The inhabitants pick them up, but they are inexhaustible. The chiefs store them up until their sheds are full to the roof, and wait for merchant ships to take them away to sell. As no other Tung-yang country produces cloves, they are a specialty of this land. They have the virtue of keeping away evil elements, and therefore form an object of great commerce among the Chinese."

Here the Tung-yang course forks out at Chiao-i 交溢, one line stretching south-west to Sulu, as we read below:—

“ Or from Chiao-i—Sail to the west and get Chi-chiao-hsü 犀角嶼 (Rhinoceros-horn Island). Chi-chiao-hsü—Outside of it, there are three or four white reefs. Sail southward. Use simple *kun* needle, to enter the country of Sulu 蘇祿國. Su-lu-kuo—Early in the Ming period, this country came in with tribute, when there were reigning there Tung Wang 東王 (Eastern King), Hsi-Wang 西王 (Western King) and T'ung Wang 峒王 (Barbarian King). Later on Tung Wang (Eastern King) alone sent tribute and has continued to do so; possibly he had annexed all the land by that time. Where the merchant ship arrives, it is the former territory of T'ung Wang (Barbarian King).”

又從交溢對西開船取犀角嶼犀角嶼外有三四白礁南勢開蘇祿國國初報貢有東王西王不絕疑是爲東王所併突商船所至則峒王地

It is highly probable that Chi-chiao-hsü reached by sailing west from Chiao-i or Zamboanga, and from which Sulu might be attained in the south-westerly direction, was not Taguima namely Basilan, but Kabublu Island. The personal appellations Tung Wang (Eastern King) and Hsi Wang (Western King) must have reference to the location of their respective dominions, and we may suppose that Tung Wang was the lord of, say, Jolo; Hsi Wang, of Tawi Tawi; while the Barbarian King may have been the sultan of Pangutarang. Sulu, whose first development was due to the influence of the Bandjarmasin district side of Borneo, receives mention for the first time from the Yüan author WANG TA-YÜAN, yet we know nothing precise about its history, all the information available being found in the *Ming-shih* as follows:—“ Sulu is situated near Brunei 淳泥 and Java 關婆. At the beginning of *Hung-wu* 洪武 (circa. 1368 A.D.), it sent out an expedition to invade Brunei and gained great spoils, until at last Java came to the

In my opinion, the name of the mountain we notice in the description of the Tung-yang course is, as well as Wên-lao-ku 文老古, the transcription of Maluka, which was the original pronunciation of Molucca, and consequently the very source of the general name of the Molucca Islands; the mountain in question being a volcano about Ternate.

aid of Brunei, and compelled it to return. In the 15th year of *Yung-lo* (1417 A.D.), Tung Wang of this country, by the name of Pa-tu-ko-pa-ha-la 巴都葛叭哈刺; Hsi Wang, Maha-Raja(?)—Ko-la-ma-ting 麻哈刺叱葛刺麻丁; T'ung-Wang's wife Pa-tu-ko-pa-la-pu 叭都葛巴刺卜; accompanied by their families and subordinate chiefs, about 340 in all, came across the sea to bring tribute. . . . In the 18th year (1420 A.D.), Hsi Wang sent an envoy with tribute. In the 19th year (1421 A.D.), Tung Wang's mother sent the royal uncle Pa-tu-chia-su-li 叭都加蘇里 to the Chinese court, with a present of a big pearl weighing more than seven ounces. In the 21st year, the prince left for home, richly endowed with imperial gifts. In the following year, the country sent once more tribute, but never again thereafter. During the *Wan-li* era (1573–1619, A.D.), the Spaniards made assaults on the country over and over again, but the place being strongly fortified under the shelter of a mountain, they never succeeded in subjugating it. . . .”<sup>1)</sup> By the way, it is ascertained that the country paid tribute every now and then to the *Yung-chêng* 雍正 era (1723–1735, A.D.) of the Ch'ing dynasty. As for the above expedition into Brunei, it is also referred to in the account of P'oni in the same history as, “The country was invaded by Sulu and left greatly exhausted.”<sup>2)</sup> Sulu, small as it was, indeed was no less formidable an aggressor than its eastern neighbour Mindanao, and no wonder that we should be told, as below, of another branch of the Tung yang course, which reached Wên-lai without touching this country:—

“Or from Lü-fêng 呂蓬—Use *kun-wei* needle, 5 *ching*, and get Mang-yen-shan Hill 芒煙山. Mang-yen-shan—Use *ting-wei* needle, 10 *ching*, to gain the Sea of Mo-yeh 磨葉洋. Mo-yeh-yang—Use simple *wei* needle and also (in combination with) *ting-wei*, to get Hsiao-yen-shan Hill 小煙山. Hsiao-yen-shan—Cactuses grow on it. Use *ting-wei* needle, 5 *ching*, and get Chih-fêng-shan Hill 七峰山. Chih-fêng-shan—Use simple *ting*, 5 *ching*, and get Pa-lao-yüan 巴老圓. Pa-lao-yüan—Use *ting-wei*, 5 *ching*, to get Lo-fu-shan Hill 蘿蔔山. Lo-fu-shan—Use *ting-wei* needle, 3 *ching*, and get Shêng-shan Hill 聖山.

1) Ch. 325, *Su-lu-chuan*.

2) Ch. 325, *P'o-ni-chuan*.

Shêng-shan — Eastwards from Shêng-shan, there stretch out two great promontories. On either side of the ship, it is all *lao-ku* 老古 stone, with only one channel left open, which is dangerous to pass through. Use simple *wei* and *kun-wei* needle, 5 *ching*, and get K'un-lun Shan Hill 崑崙山. K'un-lun-Shan — Here we have another "K'un-lun", although the name was only applied here by sailor's exaggeration. Use *kun-wei* needle and get Chang-yao-hsü Island 長腰嶼. Chang-yao-hsü — The vessel passes the rock gate of the island. Use simple *wu* needle, 5 *ching*, and get Li-yü-tang 鯉魚塘. Li-yü-tang — Gain Mao-hua-la 毛花蠟 and now you are at the mouth of the port of Wên-lai. Wên-lai-kuo — is identical with P'o-lo 婆羅 Kuo. This is where Tung-yang terminates and Hsi-yang takes its start. Therefore the Eastern course comes to its end at P'o-lo kuo."

又從呂蓬用坤未針五更取芒煙山 芒煙山用丁未針十更取騰葉洋 磨葉洋用單未針併丁更取小煙山 小煙山  
 其上有仙人學用丁七峰山 七峰山用單丁五更取巴老園 巴老園用丁未五更取羅荷山 羅荷山用丁未針三更取聖山  
 聖山自聖山東去. 舟行甚險. 用單未及坤未針五更取崑崙山 崑崙山此又別一崑崙. 是始人稱名之耳. 用坤未針取長腰嶼  
 長腰嶼船過嶼門. 用單午鯉魚塘 鯉魚塘收毛花蠟即文萊國 文萊國即婆羅國. 此東洋最盡頭西洋所起處也. 故以婆羅終焉

It is evident that Lü-fêng, which CHANG HsIEH says lay south of Lü-sung, and produced conchs 螺叭 (used as money),<sup>1)</sup> meant Lubang Island of to-day; and 巴老園 was transcribed from 'Palawan' or 'Palawan'. The other names above mentioned are not to be as easily identified, but seeing that the western coast of Palawan was not conveniently navigable, we may well imagine that the course beyond Lubang went first over a track of sea past the eastern end of Busuanga, and then advanced by way of Dumarán and Timtion, until it entered Puerto Princesa, the leading port of the island. Thus Mang-yen-shan may have been the eastern point of Busuanga; Sea of Mo-yeh, the said track of sea; Hsiao-yen-shan, Dumarán; and Chih-fêng-shan, Timtion; while Pa-lao-yüán 巴老園, being one and the same with Pa-lao-yü 巴老酉, which counted as one of the three Islands (San-hsü 三嶼) in Sung and Yüan literature, must needs be placed about Puerto Princesa. Further on, we may reasonably guess that the vessel passed Abosian (Lo-

1) *Op. cit.*, *Lü-sung-chuan*.

fu-shan ?), Rasa Island (Shêng shan ?), Marangas (K'un-lun-shan ?), Balabac (Chang-yao-hsü ?), and Jesselton (Li-yü-tang ?), until it entered Wên-lai, namely Brunei;<sup>1)</sup> while Mao-hua-la touched at about the mouth of the port corresponds to Mangaloon in front of Brunei. That Wên-lai was identical with P'o-ni and that it sent an envoy to China during the *Yung-lo* era at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, along with Luzon 呂宋, Pangasinan 榜佳施欄, Marinduque 貓里務, and Sulu 蘇祿, is a fact recorded in both the *Ming-shih* and the *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao*. The latter book also adds this information about the country: — "As popular tradition goes, the present king is descendant of a Fu-chien man 閩人, who followed Chêng Ho 鄭和 in his famous expedition there, and who stayed to rule over the place. For this reason, there used to be by the side of the royal house a monument to the Middle Kingdom. Some years ago, when the people were once driven out by the Spaniards, they fled into the valley of a mountain-stream. There they let some poison flow down, and thus causing countless deaths among the Spaniards, made them run away to Lü-sung. . . ."<sup>2)</sup> As our observation of the Tung-yang route began with P'o-ni (Borneo), so does it now come to its end with Wên-lai (Borneo).<sup>3)</sup>

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1) All this location has still to be confirmed, but it is particularly uncertain regarding Pa-lao-yu, for Puerto Princesa fronts to the north-east, and not to the south-west, as Pa-lao-yu must have done. We may as well imagine that the navigation at that time went along the western coast of Palawan, perhaps out of the necessity of avoiding some savage inhabitants.

2) Ch. 5.

3) This article, originally prepared in Japanese and printed in *The Tôyô Gakuhô*, Vol. XII (1922), No. 3, has been translated by Mr. Hajime MATSUMOTO for the purpose of inclusion in *The Memoirs*. It may be added that among the other studies on the Philippines in the corresponding periods performed in Japan, I may mention as particularly noteworthy the works of Mr. Seiichi IWAO, the rising scholar in the history of the South Sea, published in *The Rekishi Chiri*, Vols. 51-52 (1928); which, however, I shall not here comment upon any further, since they are not directly concerned with any part of the essentials of this essay.



