

Chapter 3

SONG, MING, AND OTHER CHINESE SOURCES ON PHILIPPINES-CHINA RELATIONS*

Carmelea Ang See

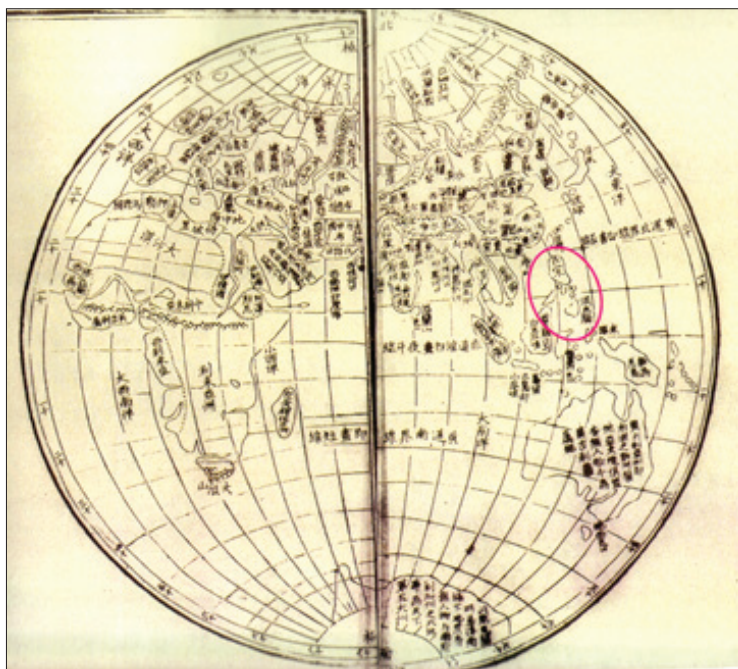
Introduction

Pre-Hispanic sources of Philippine history are still highly dependent on archaeology, artifacts, and anthropological studies (including folklore, music, oral traditions, customs, and practices). Due to the very early contacts between China and the various islands and kingdoms in the Philippines (before the name Philippines was given by the Spanish conquerors), Chinese written records like archival records, customs records, dynastic annals and provincial gazettes and books in the Chinese language provide a significant knowledge source to enhance information and understanding of Philippine history before European contact. For example, studies of early Chinese migration and ancient Chinese records, like the *Zhu Fan Zhi* (諸蕃志 *Records of Various Barbarians*)

* Paper presented at the inauguration of the Carlos Chan Lecture Series on Philippines-China Relations, organized by the Philippine Association for Chinese Studies and held at Xavier School in San Juan, Metro Manila on February 9, 2019.

(趙汝适 Zhao Rukuo 1225), *Dao-Yi Zhi-Lue* (島夷志略 *Tales of the Barbarian Isles*) (Wang Ta Yuan 1345), *Dong Xi Yang Kao* (東西洋考 *An Examination of the East-West Ocean*) (1617), and the Song, Ming, and Qing dynastic annals yield valuable information about Philippine history and society.

This paper aims to share some important Chinese sources that Philippine historians should be aware of and which should be significant references on Philippine historiography. It aims to showcase the importance of knowing Chinese sources especially in the study of pre-Hispanic Philippines. Maps from the 16th or 17th centuries would usually have indications that they were copied and based from earlier century maps. Many of them include various Philippine islands, most common of which is Luzon.



Dong Ban Qiu Tu (東半球圖 *Map of the Eastern Hemisphere*) includes **Luzon and Mindanao** (Go and Sy 2000, 54).



Gu Jin Xing Sheng Zhi Tu (Map of Past and Present Topography), a 1955 map transmitted to Spain after being brought to the Philippines in 1574. The lower right corner is said to point to the Philippines, but the claim has not been verified. (Go and Sy 2000, 38).

羅十八年八月王率妻子陪臣隨使來朝貢方物禮之
 如蘇祿國王王言臣愚無知雖為國人所推然未受朝
 命幸賜封誥仍其國號從之乃賜以印誥冠帶儀仗朝
 馬及文綺金織襪衣袍以下並有賜明年正月辭還復
 賜金銀錢文綺紗羅絨帛金繩裝衣靴屐衣袍以下賜
 有差王還至福建遇疾卒遣禮部主事楊善諭祭諡曰
 康著有司治瑣葬以王禮命其子刺芝嗣為王率衆歸
 賜鈔幣
 嘉嘉嘉亦東洋中小國永樂四年八月其酋馬銀
 等來朝貢方物賜鈔幣有差六年四月其酋瑛瑛里欲
 二八各率其屬朝貢賜二人鈔各百錠文綺六表裏其
 從者亦有賜八年復來貢
 文郎馬神以木為城其半倚山會番婦女數百人出乘
 象則婦女執衣履刀劍及檳榔盤以從或泛舟則會臥
 坐牀上婦女列坐其下與相向或用以刺舟咸慕其都
 民多縛木水上築室以居如三佛齊男女用五色布纏
 頭腹背多袒或著小袖衣裳頭而入下體圍以雙初用
 蕉葉為食器後與華人市漸用磁器尤好磁甌畫器其
 外死則貯囊中以葬其俗惡淫好者論死華人與女通
 輒削其髮以女配之永不聽歸女苦髮短問華人何以

後益蕃行故其地多華人又有葛卜及連兒米糞二國
 亦永樂三年遣使持書賜物招諭竟不至
 古麻利刺東南海中小國也永樂十五年九月遣中官
 張謙齋救撫諭其王幹刺義亦奔致賜之絨錦紵絲紗

Vol. 323 of the Ming Annals recounts Sulu and Pangasinan (Go and See, T. 1987, 11).

Ancient Records

The depth and breadth of the early relations between the Chinese and Filipinos were described in the ancient Chinese

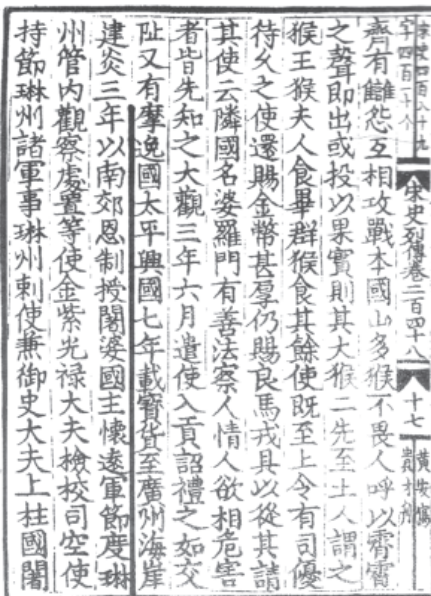
records – dynastic annals, travel accounts, customs records and maps – that invariably mentioned places in the Philippines before it was so named by Ferdinand Magellan in honor of King Philip II. Ma'I, Luzon, Pangasinan, Mindoro, Cebu, Ogtong, Mindanao, Sulu, Butuan, Kumalalang, Maguindanao and other bigger islands are among the place names that found their way in ancient Chinese maps and other records.

The best compilation of materials found in ancient Chinese records in reference to the Philippines can be found in a book, 中國古籍中有關菲律賓資料彙編 (*Zhongguo Guji Zhong You Guan Feilubin Ziliao Caobian* [Collection of Philippine Resource Materials in Ancient Chinese Records]) published by Zhongshan University (Sun Yat Sen University) in Guangzhou, China.

Anthropologist and historian Professor Chinben See suggests that an identification of the places mentioned in the book is a project that will contribute immensely to Philippine historiography (1992, 66). Three places mentioned in the book has been subject

of research by Go Bon Juan, research director of Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran. This is Ma'I or Ba'I in Laguna (2005, 123), Sayao and Dapitan, not in Zamboanga but in Central Visayas (2018, 5), and Kumalalang as Basilan (2019, 5-6).

Vol. 248 of *Song Annals* mentioned Ma'I (Ba'I, Laguna) people who brought valuable merchandise to Guangzhou in year 982 (Go and See, T. 1987, 10).



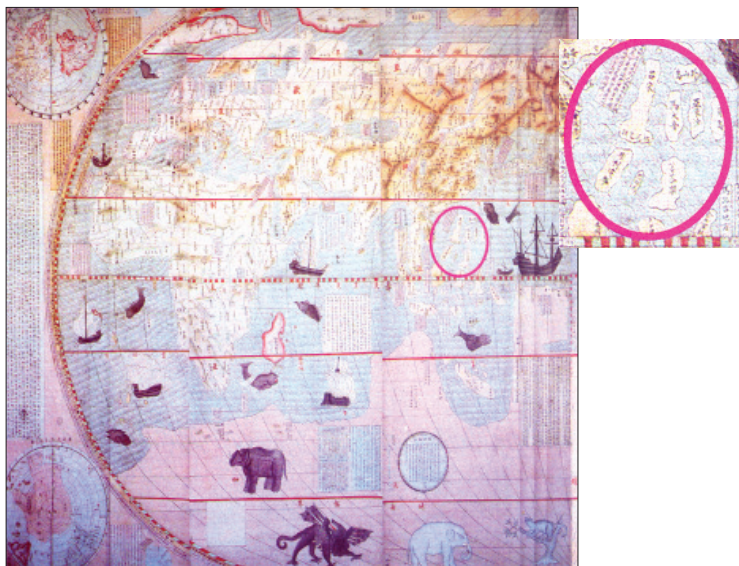


Vol. 248 of *Sung Annals* mentioned Ma-I (most probably Ba'I, Laguna), people who brought valuable merchandise to Guangzhou, in year 982 (Go and See, T. 1987, 10).



“*Kun Yu Wan Guo Quan Tu* (坤與萬國全圖 局部中國部份 Complete Map of All Nations, China and nearby area)” includes Philippine places such as Luzon, Filipina, Panama, Mindanao, and Manihuanga. The name Filipina possibly refers to the Philippines but is written in a big island south of Luzon. Based on its location and size, this island is very possibly Mindoro (Go and Sy 2000, 30-33).





(Top) “*Kun Yu Wan Guo Quan Tu* (坤輿萬國全圖 Complete Map of All Nations)” includes Philippine places: Luzon, Felipina, Panama, Mindanao, and Manihuangá.



(Left) “*Shi Hai Zong Tu* (四海總圖 Complete Map of the Four Seas)” includes Philippine islands like Luzon, Panay, Ogtong/Oton, Cebu and others.

Examples of ancient Chinese records mentioning the Philippines:

- “All live in small islands and ply back and forth in small boats. Their costumes and food and drink are similar to those of the people of Po-ni (Borneo). It yields raw aromatics, lakawood, yellow wax, soft tortoise shells. In bartering, the Chinese traders use white porcelain, wine, rice, tea, salt, white taffeta, and trade gold. [The word “all” refers to people in Sitankay, Jolo, Tausug, Bud Lima, Tanduo, Bajao]” (Zhao, “*Zhu Fan Zhi 1225*,” 1980, 87-91).
- *Sulu*. The land has the mountain and island. In tilling the land, they employ the method of burning “the hills” and then planting. The cultivated fields are unfruitful. They are fit for the planting of rice and wheat. The people eat *sago*, fish, shrimps, conchas, clams, and other shells. Their culture and customs are primitive. The men and woman cut their hair. Both of them bind a black turban and hang a piece of cotton cloth with fine impression. They boil sea water to make salt, and ferment sugar cane juice to make wine. To weave *tiak-po* (cloth made of bamboo fiber) is a popular job. There is a chieftain(s). The local products... lakawoods of average quality, yellow wax, soft tortoise shells, and pearls (Wang, 304-305; 458-459).
- Updates and new information regarding the Selden Map of China, after the preliminary study was published as a paper in the *Journal of History* (See, T. and See, C. 2015, 1-23), revealed new information to identify places in the map (see section below).

Butuan-China Connection

Butuan has a unique historical position in Philippine history. The excavations in 1986 where porcelain wares dating back to as

early as the Five Dynasties (907 to 960 AD) point to the significant position of Butuan as one of the earliest and most active trading ports in our country. It was through Butuan that goods from the spice islands in Moluccas (like the cloves which the Chinese first thought to have come from Arabia until the Butuan mission brought them as gifts) were brought to Champa and to the Chinese markets, bypassing the Sri Vijayan sea lanes (Scott 1989, 4-15).

The wealth of Song and Ming wares excavated in Butuan lend credence that it was a most important artery in the entire network of the active and fabulous Nanhai (Southseas) trade. Historian William Henry Scott (1969) once exclaimed, “In the Butuan City folks’ backyard, they could dig out porcelain pieces as easily as they dig out camote!” A municipality called Nanhaya in Butuan could very well be influenced by this Nanhai trade.

Scott gave additional graphic description of treasures unearthed in the Agusan excavations:

Graves have given up a variety of Chinese metal work such as bells, bowls, chains, coins, dagger handles, hinges, hooks, locks, mirrors, pins, projectile points, scales and studs and a number of Buddhist figurines such as the many-armed eight-inch bronze image from Mindanao or the famous 24-carat Agusan gold image now in the Chicago museum (39).

Sources from Chinese Records about Butuan

- The *Song Dynastic Annals* (*Song Shi* 宋史) by Emperor Zhen Zhong, chapter 7 writes, “First year Jingde 1004, First month fifth day Kingdom of Butuan sent tribute mission. The court handed down an edict prohibiting their export of Chinese goods, gold and silver, by direct market purchases, especially ceremonial flags and regimental banners to which they had taken a predilection” (Scott 1989, 3). People from distant lands do not understand rules and regulation, a minister complained.

- The *Song Dynastic Annals* by Emperor Zhen Zhong, chapter 8 mentioned that in the fourth year Jingde, 1007, Kingdom of Butuan's King Kiling sent another envoy, Yi-xu-han, with a formal memorial requesting equal status with Champa: "Your humble servant observes that the Emperor has bestowed two caparisoned horses and two large spirit flags on the Champa envoy; he wishes to be granted the same treatment and to receive the same favors." Champa, however, was one of China's oldest tributary states, having been sending missions since the fourth century, so the request was denied on the grounds that "Butuan is beneath Champa" (Scott 1989, 3).
- *Song Hui Yao Ji Gaw* (宋會要輯稿), chapter 197, "Accounts of Champa, Butuan" and Book No. 322, "Champa." Butuan is described as a small country in the sea to the east of Champa, farther than Mayi, with regular communications with Champa but only rarely with China. Champa, the sailing time to Mayi as two days and to Butuan as seven (Scott 1989, 3). Note: Scott mentioned that this is most likely erroneous. Judging from other Song sailing directions, Mayi would be 30 days away while Butuan 17 days beyond.

The Selden Map of China

This section is largely based from the earlier paper published in the Journal of History mentioned above. The history, provenance and significance of the map will not be rehashed in this paper. However, the place names will all be mentioned again with the additional information and updates incorporated.

The map throws light to the significance and importance of the Philippines in the maritime silk route of China through which China became connected to Mexico, Latin America, Europe, and to the global world.

The Philippines stands out as the country best identified in the entire map with most number of places (16 in all) named. Just the island of Luzon has seven places with names, the highest density among all other places similarly identified. This leads to hypothesis among scholars that the map must have been commissioned by a Hokkien trader in the Philippines. As well, several of the 16 names read in Hokkien are unique only in the Philippines. For example, only the Chinese in the Philippines refer to Spaniards in Hokkien as *Hua-lang* (化人), call Aparri, *Tua-kang* (大港), and Intramuros as *Ong-shia* (王城).

It is evident that the starting point of all the sea routes on the map is close to the port cities of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou of Fujian province, thus prompting researchers to assume that it was made there. “Others have suggested that the cartographer may have been an overseas Chinese who lived in Japan, Indonesia or the Philippines, and that this explains why these islands were depicted so much more accurately than in other maps of the period (Jiao 2014).”

Scholars mostly agree that the maker is from Fujian, regardless of where he is based as the Chinese characters on the map are mostly to be read in the southern Chinese dialect rather than imperial Mandarin. Evidence on the map itself strongly suggests that it was most likely made in the Philippines.

Though some of the locations of these places on the map, which appeared mostly in the western coastal area, are not accurate, they still indicate that the map maker and/or owner frequented many places in the Philippines and were familiar with them.

From north to south, following are the places identified in the map. The first seven names on northwestern Luzon are the same as the place names appearing in *Dong Xi Yang Kao* (東西洋考 East West Ocean Examination), a map book published in 1617. *Dong Xi Yang Kao* documents navigation routes from China to Southeast Asia and also contains time markers. Time markers correspond to the tide telling navigators to be at a certain location at a certain

time, and then directing them to turn which way and expect to reach another marker in such and such time.

Three other books where some of the places appeared, albeit in different characters but with the same sound, are 中國古籍中有關菲律賓資料彙編 (*Zhongguo Guji Zhong You Guan Feilubin Ziliao Caobian* [*Collection of Philippine Resource Materials in Ancient Chinese Records*]), henceforth mentioned as *Ancient Records*; 順風相送 (*Sun Feng Xiang Song* [*Voyage on Favorable or Tail Winds*, ca 1403]), henceforth referred to as *Favorable Winds*; and 指南正法 (*Zhi Nan Zheng Fa* [*Southern Directions*, ca 1685]), henceforth referred to as *Southern Directions*.

<i>Book title in Chinese</i>	<i>English translation</i>	<i>In this paper, henceforth referred to as:</i>
東西洋考 <i>Dong Xi Yang Kao</i>	<i>East West Ocean Examination</i> , 1617	<i>East West Ocean</i>
中國古籍中有關菲律賓資料彙編 <i>Zhongguo Guji Zhong You Guan Feilubin Ziliao Caobian</i>	<i>Collection of Philippine Resource Materials in Ancient Chinese Records</i> , 1980	<i>Ancient Records</i>
順風相送 <i>Sun Feng Xiang Song</i>	<i>Voyage on Favorable or Tail Winds</i> , ca 1403/ 17th century	<i>Favorable Winds</i>
指南正法 <i>Zhi Nan Zheng Fa</i>	<i>Compass Directions</i> , ca 1685	<i>Compass Directions</i>

1. 大港 *Tua-Kang*. It means “big port located in the north,” referring to the port of Aparri in Cagayan province.

2. 射崑美 *Sia Khun Bee*. Identified in *Ancient Records* as a place which could be Sanchez Mira, north of Luzon, west of Aparri belonging to Cagayan province.

3. 月投門 *Ge Tho Meng*. *Ancient*



Records says it refers to San Fernando, La Union in western Luzon. It is also mentioned in *Favorable Winds* and *Southern Directions*.

4. 香港 *Hiong Kang*. This is a strange place name because it is the same characters of Hong Kong, China. But definitely, it is not the Hong Kong of China, which was not yet known in the early 17th century. It was even much lesser known than Macao. It is indeed a puzzle as to what place in western Luzon this Hong Kong refers to. It literally



means fragrant harbor, and based on its geographical position, this could most possibly be the old historic city of Vigan, capital of Ilocos Sur.

Further research revealed that Hong Kong or Xiang Gang (香港) could point to the Pandan Harbor in Vigan, considering that the words mean “fragrant harbor,” and *pandan* is a fragrant grass.

Furthermore, Vigan appears in *East West Ocean* as 美岸 *Bi-Gan*, meaning “beautiful shore;” in *Favorable Winds* as 密雁 *Bit-ngan*, meaning “many swallows;” and in *Southern Directions* as 密岸 *Bit An*, which literally translates as honeycombed shores or a place with many shorelines.¹

Queries among the residents said 密雁 *Bit-ngan*, meaning “many or dense with swallows,” is a close description to depict

¹ A note on meanings and transliterations. Each Chinese character has its own meaning. A vocabulary term may comprise of one to three characters. For example, 苦力 refers to “coolie.” Separately, 苦 means “difficult” or “bitter,” 力 is “strength.” In a number of Chinese place names for the various islands in the Philippines, there are no meanings. Instead, the characters used are based on the phonetic sounds nearest to its original in the local language.

that when the ships from China arrives, the flock of swallows fly up, thus giving a graphic picture of a shore which is dense with swallows.

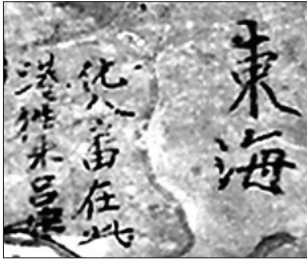
5. 南旺 *Lam-ong*. *Ancient Records* places this as Langangan in northern Luzon, but based on the position, this could more probably be Namoah, west of Aparri (Go 2014, unpublished). From Philippine history, this place already had a Catholic church built by the Spanish colonial government in 1570, so it must be a center of population and activity during early Spanish occupation.

6. 台牛坑 *Thay Gu Khang*. It literally means “cattle slaughter pit.” *Ancient Records* indicates it could be an ox slaughterhouse in Aparri or Vigan, but from its position, it most probably refers to Rancho, south of Vigan. Rancho in Spanish means a “ranch” (possibly the cattle ranch used in the map). However, further research reveals that Rancho is not a place where cattle is slaughtered.

7. 玳瑁 *Dai Mao*. It means “turtle shell,” the name commonly refers to Lingayen.

The seven place names mentioned above are already a clue to the map maker. Only numbers 1 and 7, Aparri and Lingayen, are commonly depicted in other Chinese maps. The author spent much time and effort tracing and researching the other locations. Some of them, like Rancho, is a small location and would most probably have been included in the map only because it is important to the map maker. As well, the characters used for the location is not really a place name but the function of the place.

8. The cluster of characters 化人蕃在此港往來呂宋 translates to “Spaniards are in this harbor. From this port back and forth to Luzon.” To the right of the characters is 東海 (Eastern Sea). From its position and description, this is San Bernardino Strait in Albay, southern Luzon. It is not often mentioned in colonial history books, but it is very significant here because this is the navigation route of the galleon trade. From Manila Bay, the

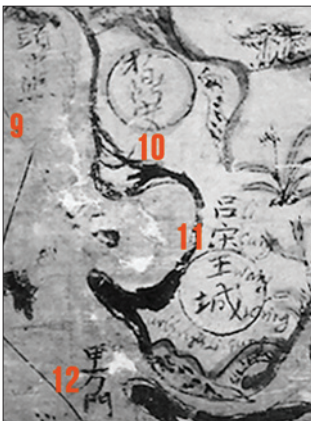


galleon goes south then up again to Bicol through Albay, then up and out to the Pacific Ocean.

This is our second clue that the map could have been made by a Chinese trader living in the Philippines because San Bernardino Strait is familiar mainly to traders.

This annotation is very interesting. The term 化人 (*Hualang* in Hokkien) is a unique term used only by Chinese in the Philippines to call the Spaniards. Other scholars did not realize this significance particularly because the characters put together is not a Chinese vocabulary term. 化 by itself means “turn” or “change.” It is most commonly seen and used as 化學, meaning “chemistry.”

Having a uniquely Philippine Hokkien term likewise contributes to the theory that the map was made by a Chinese in the Philippines. This location is not present in other Chinese maps reflecting the Philippines. Given that there is a significant characterization to the location, it must have been important to the map maker. Also note that this section refers to the sea, thus, it might be an important seafaring instruction for other Chinese merchants in the country at that time.



9. 頭巾礁. It means “head scarf/kerchief reef.” This could refer to the Turban Reef in the sea, possibly a maritime marker when ships approach Zambales. Since the characters are written in the vicinity of the sea and could refer to a reef or shoal shaped like a head scarf, it could also refer to the head scarf mountain at the southernmost tip of Zambales around which maritime routes travel.

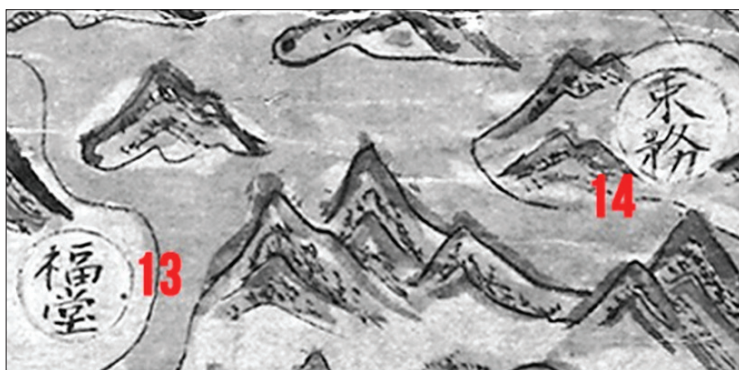
10. 口鼎安. This place is not found in ancient records but from its geography, the nearest it could refer to is what appeared in *East West Ocean* and *Southern Directions*, the Inverted Ting mountain. In *Ancient Records*, the inverted mountain referred to Bataan Mountain in Bataan province. However, it could, in fact, be the Natih Mountain in Bataan because it does look like an inverted Ting vessel 鼎. *Southern Directions* even mentioned a fake inverted Ting mountain, which could refer to Mariveles Mountain beside the Natih Mountain. The Bataan Mountain is in the west of Luzon and faces Manila Bay. From the north going south toward Manila Bay, the two tall mountains seen are Natih and Mariveles mountains.

11. 呂宋 (王城) **Luzon, Intramuros**. This refers to Manila, which, as early as 1372 (fifth year of Emperor Hong Wu's reign) already had a tribute mission to China. Intramuros is the walled city that begun construction in 1590.

12. 甲萬門 *Ka-Ban Meng*. *Ancient Records* mentioned that it is Maricaban island in Batangas. During a 2014 symposium, Robert Batchelor identified it as “Ten Thousand Shell Gate” (literal translation of the characters), at the Mindoro Strait or Apo Reef.

This is our third clue to the maker of the map. Maricaban is a very small town along the way from Batangas to Mindoro. There is no commercial value or any significant trading in the area. Why is it there? Even in contemporary times, only Philippine historians would realize its significance. This is the location where Pan Ho Wu instigated an uprising in 1593. In that uprising, Pan and other mutineers killed Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas. His death was subsequently “avenged” by his son, Luis Perez Dasmariñas, in 1603 when 22,000 Chinese in the *Parian* were massacred. The map maker must have been aware of these incidences.

13. 福堂 *Ogtong*. This name is not just a small municipality called Oton, west of Iloilo City in the island of Panay, which used to be called Ogtong.



This is another clue regarding the map maker's identity. The Mandarin pronunciation is *fu tang*. In other maps, the characters used are 惡黨 (*É thang*). *East West Ocean* uses 屋堂 (*wu tang*) and 屋同 (*wu thong*). All sound alike in Hokkien: Hoktong or Oktong.

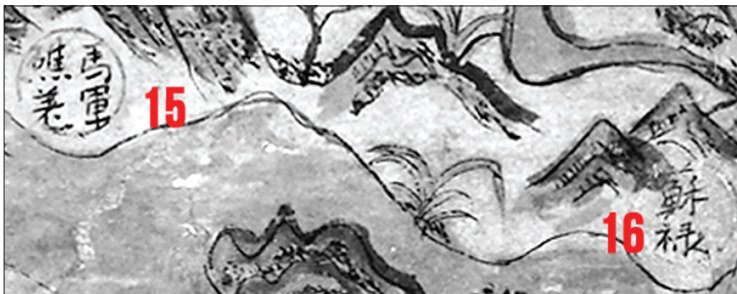
Researchers first encountered Oktong (written as 惡黨) in a 1781 Qing Dynasty map called “Observations from Island Countries (海國見聞錄).” The name was quite curious because 惡 means “ferocious” or “evil,” something the Chinese would not use for a place name. Close observation of this map and other Chinese maps reveal that Oktong is situated in the Visayas region, somewhere in the vicinity of Cebu and Panay. However, considering that only large islands are named in ancient maps and that there were no large islands other than Cebu and Panay, the greater possibility for Oktong was Negros. Other than Oktong, eight other large islands were also mentioned in the same map – Luzon, Panay, Cebu, Babuyan, Maguindanao, Camarin, Leyte, and Sulu. One thing was certain: Oktong must have been important enough to the Chinese that it was included in the map.

Further research into the history of Iloilo reveals that Ogtong was a prosperous Malay settlement on Panay island before Spanish conquest. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi established Ogtong as the first municipality on Panay (Go 2000, 71-72). Today, the only remembrance left is Oton municipality, Iloilo province.

14. Cebu is 束務 *Suwu* in Mandarin and *Sokbu* in Hokkien, literally meaning “waves.” Contemporary Tsinoys continue to use *Sokbu*, staying true to its original Hokkien pronunciation.

In various ancient records, Cebu appears as such:

Characters that appear in records	Mandarin pronunciation	Hokkien pronunciation
束務	<i>Su wu</i>	<i>Sokbu</i>
朔霧	<i>Shuo wu</i>	<i>Sokbu</i>
翔霧	<i>Xiang wu</i>	<i>Sokbu</i>
速巫	<i>Su wu</i>	<i>Sokbu</i>
西武	<i>Si wu</i>	<i>Se-po</i>
施褒	<i>Shi bao</i>	<i>Se-po</i>



15. 馬軍礁 荖 Maguindanao

16. 蘇祿 So-lok

Both Maguindanao and Sulu are common in Chinese history books and other maps.

Ma'I in Ancient Chinese Documents

Ma'I is the first place in the Philippines ever mentioned in ancient Chinese records, or in any foreign account, for that matter. The place appeared in an edict of the fourth year of Kai Bao (971 AD), vol. 186 of the *Song Dynasty Annals* and was

mentioned as part of a luxurious Chinese foreign trade. Hence, Ma'I is significant in Philippine historiography in general and in studies of Philippine relations with foreign countries in particular (Scott 1984; See, T. 2001)).

Early historians equated Ma'I with Mindoro because there were people there called Mait. Upon examination, historian Go Bon Juan proposes an exploration of ancient Chinese records and further study to draw more convincing conclusions to support Mindoro as Ma'I. His paper in *Philippine Studies* (2005) explores the possibility that Ma'I refers to Bai/Bae in Laguna. Ba'I had a more advanced material culture than Mindoro, and it covered a wide area located in the present-day provinces of Rizal, Quezon, and Laguna that produced precious merchandise valued in the trade with China.

Aside from vol. 186, Ma'I appeared in 10 other accounts during the Song and Yuan dynasties (960-1279 and 1271-1368, respectively). The long account on the "Kingdom of Ma'I" appears in the customs inspector Zhao Rukuo's *Zhu Fan Zhi* (1225) and a second one is in the chapter on "Ma-I" in Wang Da Yuan's *Dao-I Zhi Lue (Records of the Barbarians of the Isles* (1345). The first narrative lists trade items like yellow wax, cotton, pearls, tortoise-shell, medicinal betel nuts, and *yuta* cloth; and the foreign traders barter for these porcelain, trade-gold, iron censers, lead, colored glass beads, and iron needles (Zaide 1990, 1-2; Scott 1989, 1).

The second account from *Dao-I Zhi Lue* describes Ma'I as a mountainous range that is flat and broad. The settlement is on the two banks of the stream. The fields are fertile. The climate is rather hot. Also listed again are products that the country of Ma'I trades with the Chinese. The Chinese goods used in trading are caldrons, pieces of iron, red cloth or taffetas of various color stripes, ivory, "tint" or the like. After agreeing on prices, the barbarian traders carry off the goods for bartering the native products and bring these products back to the Chinese in the amount agreed on. The

Chinese vessels' traders (Filipinos) are trustworthy. They never fail to keep the agreement of their bargains.

Also in this entry is a brief description of cultural practices, particularly for the dead. Dead men are buried and wives stay with the husband for seven days. If the wives survive, they remain unmarried for their whole lives. In some cases, the wives throw themselves atop the funeral pyre and die along with the husband (Go 2005, 122).

These two accounts in the dynastic annals prompted Go to conduct further investigation into his theory. Go compared Mindoro with various Laguna towns, particularly Bai and Pila. Mindoro still has seven Mangyan tribes living on the island, but Go questions whether they are the Mait to whom historians attribute the name Ma'I. Could they have been the rich and prosperous traders that the Chinese recorded? Upon further examination and cross-referencing with other Philippine historians, Go discovered that the *datu* of Pila ruled over the biggest territories in the area. In fact, when the Spanish arrived, they were met with a developed, advanced and prosperous town, and subsequently conferred it the title *La Noble Villa* (The Noble Town) circa 1610.

Go cites Cynthia Ongpin Valdes' study of Pila, Laguna. She surmises that a small barrio in Pila, named Nanhaya, might refer to Nanhai, which literally is "Southseas" in Hokkien. As further proof of Pila's advanced civilization, the second printing press was established by the Franciscans in the town of Pila in 1611.

References to Ma'I in *Zhu Fan Zhi* mention details such as "several thousands of families gathered," "in front of the official plaza/park," and "the kingdom was surrounded by walls with a gate." The Ma'I described in the Chinese records already enjoyed a degree of sophistication. It is easier to imagine this sophistication to have existed in ancient Bai than in ancient Mindoro.

While this theory is not the final say in the matter, it is important now to look more closely at Chinese records and compare these to existing Spanish and Philippine histories. For example, *Zhu*

Fan Zhi's account on “betel nut” described a product of Ma'I as “pigeon's heart and big stomach” betel nut. Such information can be used to further investigate whether Bai is indeed the Ma'I in the Chinese accounts (Go 2005, 137).

Collection of Beijing Archival Materials on the Philippines

“The mother of the Philippine carabao is Chinese” (Marcelo 2010, 5). Leslie Anne del Barrio and co-researchers at the Philippine Carabao Center in Muñoz, Nueva Ecija conducted DNA sequencing studies to compare our local carabao with those from other countries. The finding – the Philippine carabao descended from the maternal line of Chinese buffaloes.

They were not aware that the DNA test serves only to confirm what has already been recorded in Chinese documents found in the *Collection of Archives on the Relations between China and Southeast Asian Countries in the Qing Dynasty, vol. II: Philippines* (2003). (Volume I of the archival collection is on Singapore. Vol. II: Philippines has 523 pages divided into seven sections. Section IV is the longest with 186 entries.)

Six documents, No. 245 to No. 250, showed that famine had decimated the carabao (water buffalo) population in the Philippines in 1901 to 1902. To avert the “great distress” brought about by the loss of 90 percent of carabaos in the country, the American colonial government decided to buy carabaos from China. Documents from China's national archives show the Americans transacting with China for the importation of 30,000 heads of carabao (*Archives* 2003).

The loss of the carabaos may partly be due to the famine itself, which pushed hungry farmers to slaughter their carabaos since they cannot plant anyway because of the Philippine-American War. If 90 percent of the carabaos died during that period, we can

only wonder about the number of people who perished.

The documents also reveal that China did not agree to export all 30,000 carabaos requested because “it would seriously affect the means of support of the farming population” in China. The government agreed to supply 10,000 carabaos to help the Philippines alleviate the dire situation and allow farmers to till the land again. The request for tax exemption was likewise not granted, but instead, China agreed to donate the full amount of the taxes for the rehabilitation of the farms.

Below is an outline of sections and brief descriptions of sample documents, translated into English:

Section 1: Military Records

Part 1: Secondary records, 90 documents

- Doc. 2, November 2, 1742: Report from Fujian admiral regarding the return date of the Sulu envoy.
- Doc. 38, August 8, 1761, p. 29: Gift list from Sulu.
- Doc. 88, p. 92: Decree from the Foreign minister assigning Consul General Yang Shijun to America’s small Luzon (Philippines) during the reign of Emperor GuangXu.

Part 2: Advisories regarding life in the Philippine islands, four documents

- Doc. 93, September 20, 1882: A Spanish envoy gives notice of cholera outbreak in Luzon.

Part 3: Edict files, 12 documents

- Doc. 97, March 18, 1764: Lists of gifts of five jade ware to the Sulu king as special reward.
- Doc. 106: Military ordering merchants not to engage in gambling in Luzon.

Part 4: Telegraph files, five documents

- Doc. 107: A telegraph dated July 18, 1885 from the governor of Guangdong stating that in Xiamen, some people from Luzon opened up a gambling den and resisted arrest.

Section II: Interior Files (Equivalent to Cabinet Level in Philippine Government)

Diplomatic or consular files, four documents

- Doc. 114: A list of gifts to the Sulu king from Emperor Qian Long, 1754.

Section III: Palace Files

Part I: Zhu Pi Memorials/ memoirs [Zhu Pi might be a person], 94 documents.

- Doc. 140, December 21, 1747: A Fuzhou general reports on the arrival of boats from Sulu and a tax exemption.

Part II: Palace telegraph files, seven documents

- Doc. 214, June 5, 1905: General Yuan wired to inform of three Russian boats fleeing to Luzon.

Section IV: National and Foreign Affairs Archives

- Doc. 217, September 20, 1882: Document from the Spanish envoy in the Philippines about disease prevention (in Spanish).
- Doc. 220, April 2, 1899: A map of the Philippines.
- Doc. 221, April 2, 1899: A map of Manila.
- Doc. 245, October 24, 1903: A letter of a US minister to the Imperial Highness on request for tax exemption for 10,000 cattle purchase (in English).
- Doc. 248, Nov. 13, 1903: A follow up letter that export duty will be paid as usual but the amount to be donated to the Philippines for relief (in English). Note: "That owing to the friendly relations existing between China and the United States, something must be done by way of compensation for favors received."
- Doc. 250, November 20, 1903: The actual telegraph about the purchase of the water buffalo.
- Doc. 251, March 24, 1904: A request for purchase of 100,000 *piculs* of rice from Yangtse Valley to the Philippines for famine relief (in English).

- Doc. 253, March 5, 1904: A request letter to buy 100,000 piculs of rice (in French).
- Doc. 279, April 16, 1906: Furnishes China's Imperial Highness of "Census of the Philippine Islands for 1903" (in English).
- Doc. 277, March 13, 1906: A donation to Tiong Se Academy by Gong Xian Xi (龔顯禧).
- Doc. 366, January 24, 1911: Outlines the arrest of more than 30 persons for violating the firecracker ban.
- Doc. 367, January 24, 1911: A bulletin containing a schedule when firecrackers are allowed. Note: Street names are in English.
- Doc. 368, 369, 370: A long report on the Taal Volcano eruption where 500 died from volcanic sulphur while more than 2,000 died when boiling lake water rose more than 10 feet. The documents also include two blurry photographs of the eruption.

Section V: Interior Government (in two sections, nine documents)

- Part I: Letters from various sources and different subjects sent to the Chinese emperor and/or officials from 1743 to 1803. Some of the documents are in connection to arrangements for official visits.
- Part II: Documents dated from 1727 to 1763, all detailing various gifts given by the sultan of Sulu to China.
 - a) Example: On June 24, 1727, the Sulu sultan gave two kinds of pearls (it could be two pearls or two pieces of jewelry with pearls), 12 pieces tortoise shells, several bolts of different kinds of cloth (many of them native cloth described as bamboo cloth), swallows nest (numerical modifier is uncertain if it is just one nest or several nests), a pair of *keris*, a pair of knives, mats, and some kind of firing instrument or rifle.

Section VI: On Education

- October 11, 1910: Five documents contain lists of English books donated by the Bureau of Education to China's Ministry of Education.

Section VII: Agriculture, Industry and Business Matters

- This section contains four documents like an insurance company's solicitation letter and a speech about China's commerce delivered at the Anglo Chinese School in 1906.

Books: *Beng Sim Po Cam, Shih Lu* – A Collection of Ancient Records About the Philippines

Ancient Chinese maps like the Selden Map identified mainly the trading areas known to the early Chinese. One of the ancient Chinese maps published in the collection *The Philippines in Ancient Chinese Maps* (Go 2000) has only the two visible words Ma'I on it. Ma'I, in fact, is the first place in the Philippines that appeared in ancient Chinese records. Go published a paper (2005) proposing that Ma'I is Ba'I in Laguna and disproved the earlier contention that Ma'I refers to Mindoro.

The first Chinese book translated into a European language (Spanish) is *Beng Sim Po Cam* (明心寶覽), otherwise known as *Libro Chino*. It was translated by Dominican friar Juan Cobo in Manila and the book was printed in Binondo and brought by Father Miguel de Benavidez to Spain as a gift to Prince Philip. In 2003, a Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran project with the First National Archives in Beijing, China collected all Qing Dynasty archival materials pertaining to the Philippines. They were published as *Collection of Archives on the Relations between China and Southeast Asian Countries in the Qing Dynasty, vol. II: Philippines*.

Four of the six earliest and rare books in the Philippines are on

Chinese letters and language. This is due to the introduction of xylographic method of printing by Chinese printers.

The earliest Chinese books printed in the Philippines were all written by Spanish priests. *Memoria de la vida Christiana* (新條氏正教便覽) by Father Domingo de Nieva; *Simbolo de la Fe* by Father Tomas Mayor while the other two – *Shih-lu* and *Doctrina Christiana en letra y lengua China* – were by Father Cobo, who even had a Chinese name, 高母羨.

Cobo also translated *Beng Sim Po Cam* into Spanish. The original *Beng Sim Po Cam* was compiled by Fan Li Ben (范立本) in 1393 (26th year of Ming's founding Emperor Hong Wu 洪武). It has 673 Chinese aphorisms from 110 different authors. The collection is grouped by topics into 20 chapters. It mainly serves as material for children's education and enlightenment.

Beng Sim Po Cam was first translated in 1590. This can be seen in the letter of Fray Dumago de Salazar's report for King Felipe II on "The Chinese and the Parian," published in *The Philippine Island* by Blair and Robertson.

Fray Juan Cobo, the Dominican regions, who, as I have said before, knows the language of the Sangleys and their writing, and who is most esteemed by them, is sending to you, Majesty, a book, one of the number brought to him from China. The book is in Chinese writing on one half of the leaf and Castilian on the other, the two corresponding to each other. It is a work worthy of your Majesty, and may it be received as such, because it is so rare a work, never seen before in the Parian, or outside China (Zaide 1990, 178).

In the previous sections, we mentioned *Ancient Records* a number of times in the discussion on maps. This book is a compilation of 236 documents culled from dynastic annals, customs records, maritime records, tribute records published by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Zhongshan University in Guangzhou. A few more important documents have been translated and collected in Blair and Robertson. One of the more popular documents translated is Zhao Rukuo's *Zhu Fan Zhi* or *Record of Various Barbarians*.

However, there is still treasure trove of documents still unmined. For example, 潮州府志 Chaozhou government records contain details about the life of Limahong, known in Philippine history as an invader who wanted to wrest control of the Philippine islands from the Spanish. The Chinese documents, however, provide a different light to Limahong and his activities and give us an avenue to rethink or re-interpret parts of our history.

These maps, books, and records reveal the vital link between China and the Philippines and through this link comes the Philippines connection to Mexico, Latin America, Europe, and to the global world.

References

- “Ancient Chinese Maps, Records and Books, 1989.” *The Journal of History* 61, 1 (2015): 1-23. De La Salle University.
- Dong Xi Yan Kao* (東西洋考 *An Examination of the East-West Ocean*). 1617.
- “First National Archives of China.” In *A Collection of Archives on the Relations between China and Southeast Asian Countries in Qing Dynasty*. Beijing: International Cultural Publishing Company, 2003.
- Go Bon Juan. “Ma’I in Chinese Records: Mindoro or Bai? An Examination of a Historical Puzzle.” *Philippine Studies* 52, 1 (2005) 119-138.
- Go Bon Juan. “Sayao and Dapitan.” *Tulay Fortnightly*, February 6, 2018. Manila: Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran, 1994. <http://tulay.ph/2018/02/06/sayao-and-dapitan/> [資料匯編].
- Go Bon Juan, and Joaquin Sy. *The Philippines in Ancient Chinese Maps*. Manila: Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran, 2000.
- Jiao Tianlong. “Mapping Ming China’s Maritime World.” *Orientation* 45, no. 4 (2014).
- Marcelo, Khrizhie Evert. “Where the Native Carabaos Come From.” *Highlights* 5 (2010).
- Scott, William Henry, and Go Bon Juan. 1989. *Filipinos in China before 1500*. Manila: De La Salle University.

*Philippines-China Relations at 45 During the COVID-19 Pandemic:
New Discoveries, Recent Developments, and Continuing Concerns*

- Scott, William Henry. *A Critical Study of the Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History*. Manila City: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1969.
- Scott, William Henry. *Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1984.
- See, Carmelea Ang, and Teresita Ang See. "The Philippines in the Selden Map and Other Ancient Chinese Maps, Records and Books." *The Journal of History* 61, 1 (2015): 1-23.
- See, Chinben. "The Ethnic Chinese in the Philippines." In *The Chinese Immigrants: Selected writings of professor Chinben See*. Edited by Teresita Ang See, 66-81. Manila: Kaisa Para Sa Kaunlaran, Inc., 1992.
- See, Teresita Ang. "Butuan – Unique Role in Philippines-China Relations." Lecture. Centennial of the First Butuan Tribute Mission to China. Butuan City, March 17, 2001.
- See, Teresita Ang. "Sandugo – the Ethnic Chinese and the Filipinos." Lecture on the centennial of the first Butuan tribute mission to China. Hotel Caraga, Butuan City, March 17, 2001.
- Sun Feng Xiang Song* (順風相送 *Voyage on Favorable or Tail Winds*). ca 1403/17th century.
- "The Selden Map of China." Bodleian Library, 2012. <http://seldenmap.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>
- Valdes, Cynthia Ongpin. "Treasures in Pila." In *Pila in Ancient Times*, 3-8. Laguna: Pila Museum, 2001.
- Wang Teh Ming. *Tao I Chi Lio* (島夷志略).
- Wang Ta Yuan. *Dao-Yi Zhi-Lue* (島夷志略 *Tales of the Barbarian Isles*). 1345.
- Wu, W. H. "Christianity Drives Translation of Chinese Book into Spanish." *Tulay Fortnightly* 26, 21 (April 1, 2014).
- Zaide, Gregorio F, and Sonia M. Zaide, eds. *Documentary Sources of Philippine History* 1 (1990).
- Zhao Rukuo. "*Zhu Fan Zhi* (諸蕃志 Records of Various Barbarians), 1225." In *Zhongguo Guji Zhong You Guan Feilubin Ziliao Caobian* (中國古籍中有關菲律賓資料彙編 *Collection of Philippine Resource Materials in Ancient Chinese Records*). 1980.
- Zhi Nan Zheng Fa* (指南正法 *Compass Directions*). ca 1685.