

the mines closed and the Japanese carted away much of the mining machineries to Japan. Many Chinese fled to the hills and to the barrios with their Filipino friends. The few who remained in the town were not molested by the Japanese. Instead, they were forced to provide the Japanese-occupying force with needed provisions.

Post-war to the Present

With the end of the war, many Chinese left the gold towns of Paracale and Mambulao because only a few of the mines reopened. But many Chinese remained to resume their prewar business in retailing, abaca trading, and coconut trading. The abaca and coconut traders performed a valuable service of extending cash to farmers without collateral save for an oral promise to sell their abaca and coconut produce to the trader at harvest time, the price of the produce being the prevailing market price.

During this period, Chinese businessmen branched out into the trucking, transportation, construction, and lumbering businesses. The old ones returned to either China or Taiwan, others migrated to more economically promising provinces or to Manila.

At present the descendants of early Chinese traders in this century went into local politics, a process started by the Lukban and the Vinzons families. Don Fernando Vinzons, a pure Chinese, was elected to the 1971 Constitutional Convention. In 1922, a *Tsinoy*, Manuel Tee, was elected mayor of Mercedes and effectively stopped the illegal fishing in San Miguel Bay, which unhappily, was discontinued by the *Tsinoy* mayor who succeeded him. The present Camarines Norte congressman, Emmanuel Pimentel, is a *Tsinoy*.

Perhaps the most surprising development in Camarines Norte Chinese history is the nationwide growth of the devotion to the Black Nazarene of Capalonga by Chinese, whether Catholics or non-Catholics. This devotion, started by Camarines Norte Chinese before the war, has resulted in an annual pilgrimage of Chinese all over the Philippines to the isolated town of Capalonga on its fiesta. The Chinese attend mass and perform a ritual from which they divine omens whether their businesses that year will prosper or not.

It is a promising development to see all Chinese and Filipinos unite in prayers and in good works to end all animosities, distrusts, and prejudices between Chinese and Filipinos in this land.

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THE WORD *PARIAN*: AN ETYMOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL ADVENTURE

Introduction

This paper is an overall view of a word as well as a system. The origin of the term *Parian* so well used in standard texts of Philippine history has not been adequately explained. One purpose of this research is to explore its possible beginnings and to examine its various usages. Recommended sources are Chinese, Mexican, Indian, and even Greek. Any contention that there is a relationship with the low caste *Pariahs* of India is contested.

The second part of this work deals with the coming of the *Parian* system itself — its history from earliest foundation to the present day. It can be noted that there were many *Parians* — not only the one in Manila but also in other Philippine cities, as well as in Mexico where an Oaxacan town bears the same name. Special mention will be given to pre-liberian settlements in Mindanao and adjacent South-east Asia. The economic activity rose to its height in Ming times (1368-1644) and diminished with the coming of the Europeans in 1511 and the advent of a new *parian* system within a colonial and national framework.

The Romance of a Word

It is sometimes implied that the term *Parian* is of East Indian origin and may relate to the low-caste *Pariahs* (Untouchables) of India. The word bears no primary resemblance to *parian* coming as it does from the Sanskrit *parayatta* meaning to be under submission. The Chinese are not the same kind of people as the Indian *Pariahs*, and the bristling and prosperous *Parian* of 16th century Manila no way resembled the squalid *Pariah* villages of the subcontinent. The Spaniards had little contact with

India save through Portuguese auspices. It was limited to the extent that word borrowing would not have been feasible. The word may have been Mexican, but it does not follow the structural pattern of a typical Aztec utterance.

The Manila *Parian*, as history knew it, was founded by Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa circa 1580. It was developed as a self-sustaining unit and was not only a center of trade but also of local industry and production. New economic opportunity to buy and sell brought more Chinese to the Philippines than had ever been known before — and this was much to the alarm of the Spaniards who remembered the Limahong attack of 1574. Mistreatment and provocation spearheaded the great revolt of 1603 leading to restrictions imposed upon the Chinese. This gradually led to final termination of the *Parian* in 1790.

Another interesting etymological possibility, favored by this study, is the Greek connection which leads to the island of Paros, one of the Cyclades of the Aegean Sea. Since remotest times, it was famous for its fine marble of almost transparent quality. Because of this clarity, it could be said to have resembled porcelain of the finest nature. It was called "*parian* marble" due to the local inhabitants who were thus referred. The local porcelain industry of the Manila *Parian* and the exquisite ivory carvings of the saints by Chinese craftsmen could have given it its name as a place resembling the production of ancient Paros.

Chinaware arrived in England in the wake of British naval victories over the Franco-Spanish coalition in the 18th century. A passion for *chinoiserie* spread over Europe, and it was honestly felt that China had achieved the highest level of civilization that the world had yet known. It was not until 1840 that *Parian* ware, strictly called such, was introduced into England by the company of Copeland and Garrett. By this time, the East India Company was in full control of eastern trade, and the acquisition of Hong Kong was only two years away.

Lastly, on the list of etymological possibilities, there comes a statement from a reputable Spanish encyclopedia (*Espasa-Calpe*, tomo, 42:55) that *Parian* is of Chinese origin and means a silk market (*alcaiceria*). It is on this premise that the second part of this paper will hereby begin. The Spanish interpretation has some possibility when one considers the word for silks: *Szu Pai*, with some Tagalog influence, it could be *pai-han* going to *pa-ri-han* meaning place of silk (Wheatley:97).

The Maritime Silk Routes

Because of an abundance of land and the accessibility of the overland route leading eventually all the way to Rome, the Chinese did not take readily to the sea with the exception, however, of the state of Wu (221) which was geographically close to Southeast Asia. Consequently, the Chinese were also late in controlling their own maritime economy, which was carried on mainly through Arab and Indian middlemen.

By the first century, an ever-increasing demand for silk encouraged the development of maritime silk routes. One of these began with an overland descent from China to India. This trail was blazed by the Kushan Empire of Kanishka (120-162) through which Buddhism entered China. Large quantities of silk were transported

through the Tarim Basin (Sinkiang) and over the Karakorum Mountains into what are now northern Pakistan and India whence the shipments were moved to Arab concessions on India's north-western coast. Some of this was loaded onto *dhow*s embarking for the Persian Gulf or to the Red Sea from where it was carried to Alexandria thus reaching the Mediterranean.

The other maritime route passed through Southeast Asia having come about as a result of merchants on India's Coromandel coast seeking a direct passage to the source of silk in China. Departing from ports near the Ganges, they coasted the Bay of Bengal until arriving at the Isthmus of Kraon in the Malay Peninsula. Here the passengers crossed overland and reboarded on the other side, they thereupon came to Funan (Phnom) at the mouth of the Mekong River and from there to China. The silk cargo came back by the same direction. It was not recommended to venture south of the Kra and enter the Straits due to the fact that there were pirates and dangerous currents.

Beginning in the third century, a series of changes took place that altered the maritime trade. The handling of the western operation passed into the hands of the Iranians and Ethiopians of Axum. This alteration caused the creation of an all-sea route from Sri Lanka to China by way of the Straits thus preserving the eastern passage from any similar fate. This, of course, caused the eventual collapse of Funan which had served as a middle port due to the nearness of the Kra Isthmus.

Last but not least, the west begun manufacturing its own silk due to the smuggling of worms out of China in the year 553. Although the great era of Chinese silk exportation was now ending, the legendary *Parian* silk market was never forgotten. Names in reference to silk survive today in such place designations and Seri Bandar (the Silk Port) and Seri Davipa (Serendip), an old name for Sri Lanka, which the Arabs erroneously thought was a production centre and not just a dispatch part which it actually was.

Trade under the Sung (960-1280)

The true birth of "independent" Chinese sea power took place in the Kingdom of Manzi ruled by the Sung Dynasty with its proximity to Southeast Asia. Early trade with Butuan was effected in 1001. Formal relations were established in 1011.

After 1127 when much of North China was lost to the Mongols, interest in the southern seas became more intense. Armed with amazing array of new technologies, including the compass, navigational charts, gunpowder, and sea-worthy ships, the Chinese themselves began to plough the seas between China and Java. It was perhaps at this time that a Javanese loan word became part of Chinese naval usage, e.g. the word *junk* from the Javanese *djong*. It was only after their ultimate fall to the Mongols in 1280 that this golden age of Chinese seamanship came to another end. The Mongols now ruled the entire Middle Kingdom.

Mongol Efforts to Revive Commercialism (1280-1368)

The glory of the Sung could not be entirely recovered, particularly after the failure

to conquer Java in 1293. Trade with the Philippines dwindled and Marco Polo reported in 1295 that the Great Khan had no authority over the 7,448 islands lying east of China (Latham:249).

The Mongols fared better in the west due to political factors. Persia was overrun by Mongol forces and Baghdad was sacked and plundered (1258). Byzantium had fallen to the Crusaders as early as 1204 and was held by them until 1261. Bales of silk arrived in Ormuz over the old western route having been loaded in Gujarat and thence to Alexandria.

The Ming Revival (1368–1450)

It was with the coming of the Ming that the *Parian* system actually began. Once again there would be independent shipping. With the decline of the silk market, however, the age of spices began and there was a preference and a new interest for Southeast Asia and what it had to offer.

Like in the earlier silk trade, there were two routes. The first one extended from China to Malacca, thence to Brunei and on to Ternate by way of the Sulu Sea. The second one was from China to Malacca and on to Ternate by way of Java-Malacca as a key-point, which was made possible by Admiral Cheng-Ho who built a supply base there in 1409. A consul was also set up in Palembang in 1406.

In late times, there was a tendency to enter Indonesia through Brunei owing to the defeat of 1293. Sulu became filled up with Chinese residents and others were to be found further east in Morotai and in Batjan which was known to the Portuguese as *Batochina* or Chinese *Batjan*.

Interest in Indonesia continued into the Ming period and a trade embassy under Paduka Batara arrived in 1417. In that very same year, Emperor Yung-lo dispatched Chang Chien to the Philippines as a high commissioner. His mission was to acquire Kumalalang in southern Mindanao as an outpost for the northern route. As such, it guarded the strategic entrance to the Celebes Sea and to the Spice Islands themselves.

It is of further interest to note that this time it was a trade of importation and not of exportation as the silk-traffic once was.

Other outposts were placed along the way almost in a straight line, e.g., Lingayen and Kota Kinabalu in Sabah — the latter was acquired thus:

Akbar Mohammed, the Sultan of Brunei, converted to Islam c. 1500. His brother, Akmaad, married the daughter of Ong Sum-ping, a Chinese merchant adventurer, who wanted to build an outpost. According to legend, he was searching for a fabulous jewel guarded by a dragon in Mt. Kinabalu. By killing the dragon and recovering the jewel, Ong gained a concession in Sabah which to this day is called "Tsina Balu" or "Ft. China."

In later Ming times, there was a preference for the southern route. The newly independent Suluans blocked the way and the Empire of Madjapahit was gradually deteriorating. To safeguard her interests on the Java route, China established trade colonies at Tuban and Gresik, two Javanese cities conveniently facing the

Flores Sea on the passage to Ternate.

By 1433, Ming sea power had begun to decay. Why?

1. China's western lands were lost to barbarians and there was a shift to strengthen her continental position.
2. Invasion pressure was also coming from the north.
3. Japanese pirates were ravaging the coast and coming into Southeast Asia.
4. After the death of the energetic Yung-lo, innovation was lost.
5. Islam was now advancing from Malacca to Indonesia and on to the Southern Philippines.

With the advent of the colonial powers in the 16th century, Chinese naval power again went into serious decline. Nonetheless, there was some resistance judged by the Europeans to be purely piratical in nature.

The best known example of this is Limahong who attacked Manila in 1574.* For a long time details concerning this man have been a mystery. New information can throw some dim but significant light on the subject. His foray against Manila was perhaps to drive out the Spaniards and regain the trade they were monopolizing. Upon being repulsed, he repaired to Lingayen where he founded a small outpost in the traditional way. Besieged for eight months, he returned to Peng-hu with only a few remaining ships. This is the official story. New data is as follows:

The patroness of Chinese vessels in Southeast Asia was the Heavenly Mother, the goddess Kwan-Yin. Limahong seems to have been the governor of the Malayan settlement of Patani which had been an emporium of trade since earlier days. He ruled under the name of Lin Tao-Chien. His sister was Lin Ku-niang. Limahong had recently converted to Islam against his sister's wishes and went on his abortive expedition to the Philippines. Failing to dissuade him, she killed herself and became deified as an avatar of the goddess who is still revered in Patani.

This story illustrates Chinese sentiments against the Islamic onslaught which was crowding them out of the commercial lanes. But in any case, the maritime empire was gone. A new era came, however, when the Chinese came into colonial Southeast Asia forming new *Parians* and emporia. Who has not eaten delicious *pansit molo* which has nothing to do with Muslim Moros but was invented in the shadow of the Spanish *morro* (fort) in the nearby outpost of the Iloilo *Parian*? The new *Parians* were not merely trade outposts but productive centers as well.

The system survived internationally. What are Singapore and Hong Kong or even Chinatown in San Francisco but new emporia in a modern age, emerging as

*On the Limahong Invasion. There are some doubts whether Limahong's voyage to the Philippines was intended to be an "invasion" to drive away the Spaniards. The fact that he brought women, children, and household goods showed that he probably just intended to find refuge but the language barrier prevented them from communicating this fact.

they did from the colonial framework as if guided by the hand of the mother goddess?

The Chinese Maritime Empire (13th to 16th Centuries)

1. Peng Hu (Pescadores), the islands were a refuge of pirates in the 16th century, notably by Limahong who attacked Manila in 1574.
2. Lingayen (Luzon), this city was founded by a Chinese outpost named Lin Gayen.
3. Kumalalang, this outpost in Mindanao served as a northern route to the Moluccas (1417). It was established by Chang Chien.
4. Jolo, an embassy under Paduka Batara, arrived in China in 1417. It also used the Moluccas route.
5. Kota Kinabalu (Malaysia), once called "Tsina Balu" (Ft. China), was founded by Ong Sum-ping, a merchant whose daughter married the Sultan of Brunei (1500).
6. Patani (Malaysia), Limahong's other name which was Lin Tao-chien. He went from there to Peng Hu.
7. Morotai and Batjan (Indonesia), clearly on the Moluccan route. A Chinese residency was here as early as 1293. The Portuguese used the term *Batochina* (Batjan China).
8. Tuban and Gresik (Indonesia), these outposts on the northern coast of Java faced the Flores Sea on the passage to Ternate (1400).

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JAPANESE COLONIALISM AND THE ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCHES ON THE 'OVERSEAS CHINESE' IN GREATER EAST ASIA CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE: AN INTRODUCTION

Introduction

When the Japanese military expanded into Asian countries, the Japanese-invading army killed many overseas Chinese and plundered their properties in Southeast Asia. For instance, in Panay Island, Philippines, more than 500 ethnic Chinese were killed by the Japanese army from 1942-1945.

While it is very important to describe accurately how the Japanese invaded Asian countries, there is another significant topic we have to study in this matter. Although there are many (but not enough) historical studies on the Japanese invasion into Asian countries, few proper analyses were conducted on the ideological aspect of the Japanese invasion.

Based on the idea of "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (GEACPS)," the Japanese government during World War II defined the purpose of war as a sacred war to liberate the Asian nationals from western colonialism. The GEACPS was an anthropological or ethnological concept, as well as the logic behind the expansion of the Japanese government. If we try to understand the Japanese invasion totally, it inevitably requires reflecting on the ethnological scheme behind the GEACPS and how the prewar Japanese researchers defined the nationals within it.

I focused this study on the overseas Chinese in GEACPS. How the overseas Chinese was defined was one of the crucial issues in the ethnological scheme of GEACPS. While the overseas Chinese was not an indigenous population in each