

FILIPINOS IN CHINA BEFORE 1500

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According to Chinese records, Filipinos went to China before the Chinese came to the Philippines.¹ As late as the Tang Dynasty (618-906), the Chinese had no knowledge of any land between Taiwan and Java — unless an undescribed place called Polo, southeast of Cambodia is to be identified with Borneo. The farther reaches of the South China Sea were considered the end of the world, a mysterious and dangerous region containing only a few legendary islands inhabited by dwarfs and people with black teeth.² But by the tenth century, a luxury trade in foreign exotica coming up the Champa coast (Vietnam) from Srivijaya (Palembang) and the Strait of Malacca had become such an important part of China's economy that the first emperor of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) took steps to control it.³ An edict of 972 indicates that Mindoro (Ma-i) was part of that trade:

In the fourth year of the K'ai Pao period [972], a superintendent of maritime trade was set up in Kwangchow, and afterwards in Hangchow and Mingchow also a superintendent was appointed for all Arab, Achen, Java, Borneo, Ma-i, and Srivijaya barbarians, whose trade passed through there, they taking away gold, silver, strings of cash, lead, tin, many-colored silk, and porcelain, and

¹ I use the term "Filipinos" to mean speakers of the languages indigenous to the Philippine Archipelago, and "Chinese" to mean speakers of languages historically written in Chinese characters.

² Brief references are found in the early dynastic histories—the A.D. 84 *Han Shu*, 290 *San Kuo Chih*, 479 *Hou Han Shu*, 558 *Sung Shu*, and 643 *Sui Shu*—and a fragment of K'ang T'ai's lost third-century *Nan ch'oi i wu chih* (*Record of strange things in the southern regions*); they have been competently surveyed in Wu Ching-hong's doctoral dissertation, "A study of references to the Philippines in Chinese sources from the earliest times to the Ming Dynasty," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, Vol. 24 (1959), pp. 1-181, with supplements in *Journal of East Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 6 (1958), pp. 307-394. Typical of more fanciful treatment are Wang Teh-ming, "An early mention of the Philippines in Chinese records," *JEAS*, Vol. 1 (1952), pp. 42-48, and "Sino-filipino historico-cultural relations. PSSHR, vol. 29 (1964), pp. 277-471, and J. Henry Baird, "The mystery of 'Huo-chang-chou' and the 'Chiau-ma,'" *JEAS*, Vol. 3 (1953), pp. 123-129. O. W. Wolters' deduction in *Early Indonesian commerce* (Cornell 1967) from the K'ang T'ai fragment that "the islanders in the Philippines were sailing 800 miles and more across the open sea to Funan" in the third century (pp.8-9) has been cited by F. Landa Jocano in his 1975 *Philippine prehistory* (p. 138), but has since been rejected by Wolters himself in *History, culture, and religion in Southeast Asian perspectives* (Singapore 1982), p. 35, n. 3.

³ See Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai trade," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 26, Part 2 (1958), and Wolters, *Early Indonesian commerce*.

selling aromatics, rhinoceros horn and ivory, coral, ember, pearls, fine steel, sea-turtle leather, tortoise shell, carnelians and agate, carriage wheel rim, crystal, foreign cloth, ebony sapan wood, and such things.⁴

Five years later the Sung court established direct contact with Borneo. A merchant from China with the Arabic-sounding name of P'u Lu-hsieh (P'u was a common Chinese transliteration of Abu) persuaded the ruler of Brunei of the advantages of tributary status with the Celestial Empire, and volunteered to guide a Bornean vessel there with tribute envoys himself. The Bornean ruler took the advice, and in Peking his envoys presented a memorial which requested that the emperor order the Cham ruler not to intercept Bornean ships should they be blown there off course, and informed the court that Brunei was a 30 days' sail from both Ma-i and Champa.⁵ Thus, whatever route P'u Lu-hsieh may have used, these details suggest that Borneo was already trading with both Ma-i and Champa, but that the ordinary route to China was via Champa, not the Philippine Archipelago. In 982, however, Ma-i traders appeared on the Canton coast, not on a tribute mission, but with valuable merchandise for sale, presumably having sailed there direct.⁶

A tribute mission was the Chinese idea of the fit diplomatic approach from the underdeveloped states and tribes which were historically her neighbors. The tribute, preferably exotica like pearls

⁴ *Sung Shih, Monographs (Chih)*, ch. 139. Ma-i or Ma-it, seems clearly to be Mindoro: it was so known to early Spanish missionaries (chapter 36 of Juan Francisco de San Antonio's 1738 *Crónicas* is entitled, "De la Provincia y Isla de Mait o Mindoro"); the word is still used by Panay fishermen and Mangyans around Bulalakaw; and the seas off the Calamianes Islands and Palawan are called the Mo-yeh Ocean in the sailing directions in Chang Hsieh's 1617 *Tung Hsi Yang K'ao* (*Eastern and Western Sea Pilot*), and Mayü Ocean in a contemporaneous rutter, the *Shun-feng Hsiang-sung* (*Recommended routes for favorable winds*). Fei Hsin's 1436 *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan* (*Overall view from the Starry Raft*), however, confused it with Billiton Island and so called it Ma-i-tung, whence it evidently passed into the official Ming history as Ma-i-weng (see Wu, op. cit., pp. 143-145).

⁵ The fact that Ma-i is rendered "Mo-yeh" in the 1367 *Sung Shih* and 1317 *Wen-hsien Tung-k'ao* (*Encyclopedia of literary offerings*) accounts has caused some scholars to question the identification, but the same reference is made to Ma-i in a 1375 essays on Borneo called "P'o-ni Kuo ju kung chi" ("Record of the country of Borneo's entering with tribute"), translated by Carrie C. Brown in "An early account of Brunei by Sung Lien," *Brunei Museum Journal*, vol. 2 (1972), pp. 219-231.

⁶ The simple statement in Ma Tuan-lin's well-known encyclopedia, *Wen Hsien T'ien k'ao*, "There is also the country of Ma-i, which in the seventh year of the T'ai-p'ing Hsing-kou period [982] brought valuable merchandise to the Canton coast (ch. 324) has been the subject of considerable misinterpretation, perhaps because it was long considered the first historic reference to the Philippines. Some scholars have regarded the Filipino traders as being on a tribute mission; more than one has recorded them not as Filipinos at all but as Cantonese merchants appearing in Luzon; and the late H. Otley Beyer added an "Arab ship . . . with a load of native goods from Mindoro" in his introduction to E. Arsenio Manuel's *Chinese elements in the Tagalog language* (Manila 1948), p. xii.

or frankincense and myrrh, was an acknowledgement of the emperor's primacy among human rulers, not a tax or direct source of revenue. The tributary states did not become colonies or part of the imperial administrative system: they were simply enrolled as independent states now occupying their proper niche in the Chinese cosmic order of things. The Emperor, in his role as the Son of Heaven, loaded tribute-bearing envoys with gifts intended to demonstrate China's grandeur and extend her cultural sway—brocaded court costumes with gold-and jade-encrusted belts and high-sounding titles, bolts of marketable gossamer silks fit for the tropics, and long strings of coins of the realm.

The envoys themselves were state guests, and if they ranked as royalty in their own lands, they were treated as such in Peking, and confirmed in office by being enlisted as feudatory princes of the empire with regal seals and patents of office. And if they happened to die in China—a not uncommon fate for tropical potentates in northern climes—they were buried with royal honors in impressive tombs at state expense, and some direct descendant was pensioned off to stay and perform the filial sacrifices. Those who came from little harbor principalities and lived off trade cherished these emblems of rank and prestige when driving bargains with their peers closer to home, and vied with one another to obtain them. Sometimes they appealed for support against an aggressive competitor, but China rarely intervened militarily though it occasionally exerted pressure by refusing missions—that is, by cutting off trade. China's recognition and granting of titles generally reflect the relative economic importance of the states receiving them, for in Chinese polity, the tribute system was the formality under which overseas trade was conducted. Sometimes the system was observed in fact, sometimes only in theory, and sometimes as a cover for profit and fraud.

The first Philippine tribute mission to China appears to have come from Butuan on 17 March 1001.⁷ Butuan (*P'u-tuan*) is described in the *Sung Shih* (*Sung History*) as a small country in the sea to the east of Champa, farther than Ma-i, with regular communications with Champa but only rarely with China. Where the text gives the sailing time to Ma-i as two days and Butuan as seven, it is obviously erroneous: there is no land east of Vietnam for 1,000 kilometers. Judging from other Sung sailing directions, Ma-i would more likely be 30 days away, and Butuan 17 days beyond that. It appeared on tribute missions again during the next five years, together with such other outlanders as Arabs, *Sanmalan* [Samals?], Syrians,

⁷ Butuan is mentioned in the *Sung Shih* (*Sung History*), ch. 488—significantly—under Champa, and the description in the *Sung Hui Yao Kao* (*Collection of basic Sung documents*), ch. 197, is appended to the section on Champa. Additional dates of Butuan missions appear in the *Sung Shih*, ch. 7-8.

Tibetans, Uighurs, and assorted southwestern hill tribes, adding non-Butuan products like camphor and cloves to its offerings.⁸

Butuan seems to have attracted some notoriety. For four years, its King Kiling (*Ch'i-ling*) sent missions every year: on 3 October 1003, for example, Minister Li-ihan and Assistant Minister Gaminan presented red parrots in addition to the usual native products like tortoise shell. Then in 1004, 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. ("People from distant lands don't understand rules and regulations," a minister complained.) In 1007 Kiling sent another envoy, I-hsü-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."

Finally, a new ruler with the impressive Indianized name or title of Sri Bata Shaja tried again. In 1011 he sent one Likan-hsieh with a memorial engraved on a gold tablet, non-Butuan products like "white dragon" camphor and Moluccan cloves, and a South Sea slave which he shocked the Emperor by presenting at the time of the imperial sacrifice to the earth god Fen-yin at the vernal equinox that year. But a tributary state able to deliver such precious products as cloves (the Chinese thought they came from Arabia) was not to be ignored. Accordingly, Butuan's Likan-hsieh, together with Ali Bakti representing King Chulan of Sanmalan, received the significant honor of military titles before departing—the Cherished Transformed General and the Gracious-to-Strangers General, respectively. And a Butuan memorial was granted which exalted Butuan and requested flags, pennons, and armor "to honor a distant land."⁹

⁸ Huang Zhong-yan of the Southeast Asia Research Institute in Guangzhou (Canton) identifies San-ma-lan as Zamboanga in *Zhong-guo Gu-ji zhong you guan Fei-lü-bin Zi-liao Hui-bian (Survey of Philippine materials in ancient Chinese records)* (Guangzhou 1980), p. 16, n. 2. Such an identification would accord well with linguist A. Kemp Pallesen's thesis that the Samals were far-ranging sea traders who settled on the Basilan Strait about the beginning of the eleventh century, and established an outpost in Butuan ("Culture contacts and language convergence," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California 1977). It is to be noted that San-ma-lan is only mentioned in the Sung sources together with Butuan, and that its ability to offer such tribute items as aromatics, dates, glassware, ivory, peaches, refined sugar, and rose-water suggests access to western Asian markets.

⁹ See Appendix I for the complete passage from the *Sung Hui Yao Kao*.

At the end of the twelfth century, some Filipinos visited China on a very different kind of mission. Riding the southern monsoons of 1171 and 1172, Visayan (*P'i-she-ya*) raiders struck the Fukien coast just south of Ch'üan-chou Bay, evidently staging in the Pescadores off the coast of Taiwan. Governor Wang Ta-yu relocated 200 families to the area to support a coast guard detachment and offered a bounty for the raiders, tactics which quickly produced more than 400 captives and the death of all the leaders. Probably it was also Visayans who attacked Liu-ngo Bay farther down the coast, where two of their chiefs were captured—three days after they had defeated the constabulary—by County Clerk Chou Ting-chen, who thought they had come from the Babuyan Islands. Governor Wang, however, thought the *P'i-she-ya* were natives of the Pescadores, and Superintendent of Trade Chao Ju-kua, writing 50 years later, thought they were Taiwanese.¹⁰

Chao's account is difficult to take seriously, however: it includes fabulous details like escaping rape and plunder by dropping chopsticks to distract the raiders, and he thinks they made their attacks from bamboo rafts that could be folded up and carried around like collapsible screens. A 1612 Ch'üan-chao gazetteer, on the contrary, specifically states that the *P'i-she-ya* raiders of 1172 used sea-going vessels. Moreover, a biography of Governor Wang makes it clear that they were similar enough to other merchantmen for coast guard patrols to falsely accuse some Cambodian traders of being *P'i-she-ya* in hopes of claiming the reward. (After examining their cargo, the Governor released them with the comment, "*P'i-she-ya* faces are as dark as lacquer and their language incomprehensible; those are not.")¹¹ Since the natives of Taiwan do not appear in Chinese accounts as seafarers, these *P'i-she-ya* were more likely Filipino Visayans, known to the Chinese in the 14th century as slave-raiders who sold their captives at two ounces of gold apiece.¹² As a matter of fact, Visayan

¹⁰ The data are given in Chao Ju-kua's *Chu Fan Chih* (*An account of the various barbarians*); Chou's epitaph in Yeh Shih's *Shuei Hsin Wen Chi* (*Shuei Hsin collection of engravings*), ch. 24; Wang's biography in Lou Yao's *Kung Kuei Chi* (*The Kung Kuei collection*), ch. 88; and a 1612 gazetteer, *Ch'üan-chou Fu-chih*, vol. 10; and discussed in Wada Sei. "The Philippine Islands as known to the Chinese before the Ming period," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 4 (Tokyo 1929), pp. 131-136, and W. H. Scott, *Prehispanic source materials for the study of Philippine history*, 2nd ed. rev. (in press), ch. 3.

¹¹ *Ch'üan-chou Fu-chih*, vol. 10, pp. 8-9. A similar quotation in the Governor's biography adds another significant detail: "The Visayan complexion is as dark as lacquer so their tattoos can hardly be seen."

¹² Wang Ta-yüan, *Tao I Chih Lüeh* (*Summary notices of the barbarians of the isles*), translated in Wu, op. cit., p. 111. The Chinese traditionally referred to all non-Chinese as "barbarians" because historically the only ones they knew were either preliterate cattle cultures or small states that looked to China for cultural inspiration. Although the terms, *fan* or *i*, are sometimes more delicately translated as "foreigners," I retain the original meaning be-

bards in the 17th century were still singing the romance of Datong Sumangga who made a raid on Grand China to win the hand of beautiful Princess Bugbung Humayanun of Bohol.¹³

China seems to have "discovered" the Philippines not long after the Visayan raids. An 1178 account of overseas trade was still unaware that some of China's trading partners were on the eastern side of the South China Sea, and flatly says the world comes to an end just east of Java.¹⁴ But the Sung government, unlike preceding dynasties, encouraged Chinese merchants to carry their goods abroad in their own vessels and offered bonuses for doing so, while shipbuilding techniques improved and the mariner's compass came into use.¹⁵ Thus by 1206, cotton-producing or -exporting Mindoro, Palawan, Basilan, and San-hsü (probably the islands between Mindoro and Palawan) were known, and by 1225 the Babuyanes also, and probably Lingayen, Luzon, and Lubang Island as well, and perhaps even Manila (*Mali-lu*).¹⁶ Meanwhile, the Emperor sought to redress an unfavorable trade balance by issuing edicts in 1216 and 1219 to encourage the export of porcelain and silkstuffs. A century later, Malilu, Ma-i,

cause it suggests the cultural rather than colonial nature of Chinese tributary status.

¹³ A summary translation in Spanish is given in Francisco Alcina's unpublished 1668 MS, "Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas, Parte mayor i mas principal de las Islas Filipinas," Part 1, Book 4, ch. 16.

¹⁴ Chou Ch'ü-fei, *Ling-wai Tai-ta* (*Answers to questions about places beyond Kuangtung*), translated in the introduction to Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: his work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (St. Petersburg 1911), pp. 22-27.

¹⁵ See Wang Gungwu, *The Nanhai trade* (1968); Paul Wheatley, "Geographical notes on some commodities involved in the Sung maritime trade," *JMBRAS*, Vol. 32, Part 2, No. 186 (1959), pp. 1-141; and Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (1967).

¹⁶ The 1206 reference is found in Chao Yen-wei, *Yün Lu Man-ch'ao* (*Random notes of Yün Lu*), ch. 5, and those of 1225 in the *Chu Fan Chih*, best known in the Hirth and Rockhill translation cited in note 13 above, which has frequently been reprinted in the Philippines, most recently by Liu Ti Chen in Alfonso Felix, *The Chinese in the Philippines*, Vol. 1 (Manila 1966), pp. 266-269. Other translations are 1) Hirth's German translation in *Globus*, Vol. 56 (1889), pp. 238-239, and his *Chinesische Studien* (Leipzig 1890), pp. 40-43; 2) Ferdinand Blumentritt's Spanish translation, supposedly from a lost English translation by Hirth, in *Solidaridad*, Vol. 6, No. 135 (15 September 1894), pp. 181-183; 3) Blair and Robertson's English translation in *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. 34, pp. 185-190, from a Blumentritt translation published by Clemente J. Zulueta in *Periódico Hebmadario Escolar*, 9 November 1901, reprinted in *The Journal of History*; Vol. 11 (1963), pp. 277-282, a word-for-word rendering of item 2 above; 4) a parallel Spanish and English version in the *Revista Histórica de Filipinas*, Vol 1 (1905), pp. 19-23 both signed by Paul Stangl but more probably the work of the editor, Felipe G. Calderon, since the Spanish explanatory remarks contain expressions like "nuestros progenitores" and "nuestro antiguo alfabeto" which are suppressed in the English; 5) Wu Ching-hong's reworking of the Hirth and Rockhill translation, op. cit., pp. 92-95; 6) W. H. Scott and Ju I-hsiung's English translation in *The Historical Bulletin*, Vol. 11 (1967), pp. 69-72; 7) W. Z. Mulder's English translation in "The Philippine Islands in the Chinese world map of 1674," *Oriens Extremus*, Vol. 25 (1978), pp 221-224; and 8) Scott's reworking of item 6 above in *Prehispanic source materials* (in press)

Butuan, and Sulu were reported to be dependencies of Brunei,¹⁷ and in 1346, Maguindanao (*Minto-lang*) was mentioned.¹⁸ This new geographic knowledge presumably reflects a direct China-Philippines trade route plied by sea-going junks out of Fukienese ports that made their last land-fall at the southern headland of Taiwan.

By this time, Filipinos were making use of these vessels themselves. As Wang Ta-yüan says in his 1346 *Tao I Chih Lüeh*:

The men often take [our] ships to Ch'üan-chou, where brokers take all their goods to have them tattooed all over, and when they get home, their countrymen regard them as chiefs and treat them ceremoniously and show them to the highest seat, without even fathers and elders being able to compete with them, for it is their custom so to honor those who have been to Tang [ie., China].

As a non-Filipino, Wang missed the point of the deference he reports. In Spanish times, it was still the custom for Filipinos so to honor those who were well tattooed, for tattoos were the mark of personal valor in combat—though, of course, those purchased in China would have been bourgeois counterfeits.

In 1368 a new dynasty came to power in China, the Ming, and its first emperor promptly dispatched emissaries to invite, or persuade, other countries and tribes to send tribute missions. Borneo responded in 1371, Okinawa in 1372, and Luzon in 1373. The even more energetic Yung Lo emperor during the first quarter of the 15th century sent a series of naval expeditions as far away as the shores of Africa (whence they brought back a giraffe for the imperial zoo), and cryptic official notices make it clear that the commercial and military implications of these armadas inspired a flurry of tribute missions from small lands politic enough to take the hint seriously. Although these fleets under the command of Muslim Admiral Cheng Ho did not reach the Philippines, other imperial envoys did, and Filipino traders themselves probably witnessed the full nautical display in ports like Malacca.¹⁹

¹⁷ Reference from the *Yung-lo Ta-tien* (*Great Yung Lo encyclopedia*), ch. 11,907, believed to come from the lost *Nan-hai chih* (*South Seas gazetteer*) of Ch'en Ta-chen, cited in Carrie C. Brown, "The Eastern Ocean in the Yung-lo Ta-tien," *Brunei Museum Journal*, Vol. 4 (1978), pp. 49-50.

¹⁸ *Tao I Chih Lüeh* (see note 12 above), translated in Wu, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

¹⁹ The statement in various Philippine texts that the Cheng Ho expeditions visited the Philippines has been refuted by Hsü Yün-ts'iao, "Did Admiral Cheng Ho visit the Philippines?" *Journal of Southeast Asian Researches*, Vol. 4 (1968), pp. 96-97, and the true facts are available in careful studies like J. J. L. Duyvendak's "The true dates of the Chinese maritime expeditions in the early fifteenth century," *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 34 (1939), and J. V. G. Mills' *Ma Huan/Ying-yai Sheng-lan: "The overall survey of the Ocean's shores" 1433* (Cambridge 1970). (Ma Huan accompanied Cheng Ho and his *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* specifically places in a list of places *not visited*.) I am unable to account for the list of Philippine ports Cheng Ho supposedly visited in Beyer's introduction to Manuel's *Chinese elements in the Tagalog language*, p. xiv, and Liu Ti Chen's "Comments by a Chinese scholar" in Felix, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

A number of Philippine states responded to the emissaries who were sent out in 1403-1405 to announce the new reign and, as the Chinese expression had it, "cherish the barbarians and give them orders."²⁰ On 17 October 1405, Luzon and Mao-li-wu presented tribute together with envoys from Java.²¹ (Mao-li-wu, also called Ho-mao-li, was on either Mindoro or Marinduque, and its representative was a Muslim called Taonu Makaw.)²² Pangasinan (*Feng-chia-hsi-lan*) appeared five times during the next five years—Chieftain Kamayin on 23 September 1406, for example, and Chieftains Taymey ("Tortoise Shell") and Liyü in 1408 and 1409—and on 11 December 1411 the Emperor tendered the Pangasinan party a state banquet.²³

Sulu appears in Chinese records in 1368 with an attack on Borneo from which it was only driven off by Madjapahit troops from Java. Sulu's first tribute mission was in 1417, when three royal personages arrived with a retinue of 340 wives, relatives, ministers, and retainers, and presented a memorial inscribed on gold, and such tribute as pearls, precious stones, and tortoise shell. They registered with the Board of Rites on 12 September as Paduka Batara (*Pa-tu-ko-pa-ta-la*) of the east country, Maharaja Kolamating (*Ma-ha-la-ch'ih-ko-la-mating*) of the west country, and Paduka Prabhu (*Pa-tu-ko-pa-la-bu*) as what translates as "the wife of him from the caves" or, literally, "the troglodyte's wife."²⁴ (*Paduka*, *batara*, and *maharaja* are all Malay-

²⁰ This expression has given rise to an unwarranted assumption of resident Chinese governors and Philippine inclusion in the Chinese Empire. What it meant was to persuade local rulers of the advantages of tributary status, to facilitate the collection of goods, organization of missions, wording of memorials, and selection of envoys, and to establish regular trade—licit or illicit, depending on the philosophy of the reigning emperor at the time.

²¹ Reference to 14th- and 15th-century Philippine tribute missions to China are found in the *Ming Shih*, ch. 6, 7, 8, and 323, and the *Ming Shih Lu* (*Veritable records of the Ming*), Tai Tsung ch. 37, 38, 45, 57, 118, 120, and 230, and Jen Tsung ch. 3. The official Ming history (*Ming Shih*), compiled by the succeeding dynasty as was standard Chinese practice, was not completed until 1739, but the detailed archival *Shih Lu* sources with exact calendar dates were compiled at the end of each imperial reign.

²² See Appendix II for the complete passage in Chang Hsieh's *Tung Hsi Yang K'ao*.

²³ The fact that Chief Kamayin's name is transliterated by the Chinese characters for "excellent," "horse," and "silver" led Berthold Laufer in his 1907 "The relations of the Chinese to the Philippines" to list horses and silver among the Pangasinan gifts (*Historical Bulletin* 1967 reprint, Vol. 11, p. 10); this error was carelessly copied by Wu Ching-hong in his 1962 "The rise and decline of Chuanchou's international trade" (*Proceedings of the Second Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia*, p. 477), whence it passed into more than one Philippine text, but was not repeated by Wu himself in his later works.

Laufer also refers to a Philippine embassy led by a "high official called Ko-ch'a-lao" whom no other scholar has been able to locate and whom Beyer identifies as a "Chinese governor appointed for the island of Luzon" (op. cit., loc. cit.).

²⁴ There has been some confusion in these names. The primary source—the *Veritable Records*—first refers to Paduka Prabhu as a wife, but in every

Sanskrit titles of royal eminence, and Brunei records always call the primary ruler of Sulu, Batara). On the 19th they were presented to the Emperor and received royal seals and investment as princes of the realm.

Paduka Batara was installed as the Eastern King and superior to the other two, Marahaja Kolamating as the Western King, and Paduka Prabhu—who now turns out to be the ruler himself, not his wife or as the “Cave King.” The word “cave” (*tung*) is actually the name of one or more border tribes in the mountains of southwest China who, if not actual cave-dwellers, were at least characterized as fierce or stalwart warriors. It probably indicates that Paduka Prabhu was culturally different from his two peers. Perhaps he came from the coast of Borneo. It is noteworthy that camphor is listed among Sulu’s tribute gifts though in fact it comes from northeastern Borneo. It is probable that Paduka Prabhu was Paduka Batara’s brother-in-law which might explain the confusion between him and his wife. Be that as it may these were the kind of relations the Sultanate of Sulu would have with Sabah chieftains 300 years later.

On 8 October 1417, the Sulu delegates took their leave, proceeding down the Grand Canal accompanied by military escorts and laden with gifts and chinaware, court costumes, ceremonial insignia, caparisoned horses, 200 bolts of patterned silk, hundreds of thousands of copper coins, and enough gold and silver to cover the expenses of the trip and show a handsome profit besides. But in the government hostel in Tehchow, Shantung, Paduka Batara died. Imperial ministers promptly arrived to construct a tomb with memorial arch and gateway, perform the Confucian sacrifices for a reigning monarch, and erect a memorial tablet which names him “Reverent and Steadfast” and was still standing a kilometer north of the city wall in 1935. The deceased ruler’s eldest son, Tumahan, was proclaimed his successor, and his concubine, two younger sons, and 18 attendants were given accommodations and pensions to observe the appropriate three-year mourning rites. The royal concubine and retainers were sent back to Sulu in 1423 in appropriate style, but the two sons remained

subsequent mention as a king, and the original error has been incorporated in the well-known account in the Ming history. Then, following Paduka Batara’s death, his mother sent his younger brother Paduka Suli on a mission where he remained two years and so appears in the records often enough to leave no doubt about his correct name. But a very similar name, Paduka Pasuli, appears in the 1461 official geography of the Ming Empire and adjacent areas. *Ta-Ming i-t’ung-chih*, as the king of the western country—that is, instead of Maharaja Kolamating—and this error is repeated in later Ming literature; see Roderich Ptak, “Sulu in Ming drama,” *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 31 (1983), pp. 225-242, which felicitously reproduces the pertinent page from the *Ta-ming i-t’ung-chih*. This is no doubt why Cesar A. Majul says Paduka Batara’s mother sent her brother-in-law, and considers him to be the western king (“Chinese relations with the Sultanate of Sulu” in Felix, op. cit., p. 151, and “Celestial traders in Sulu,” *Filipino Heritage*, Vol. 3 [1977], p. 591).

behind. What happened to them is told in a Tehchow gazetteer from the middle of the 18th century:

Besides the Chinese and Manchu population of this jurisdiction, there are two others—the Muslims, and the Wen and An families. Both practice the Muslim religion The two families Wen and An are the descendants of the Sulu king. The land of Sulu is in the midst of the Southeast Sea. During the Yung Lo period of the Ming Dynasty, its king, Paduka Batali, came to court, and on his way home died in Tehchow . . . His second son Wenhali and third son Antulu and some 18 followers stayed to tend the tomb. At that time, they could not mix with the Chinese because of their language, but the Muslims all took them in, and led their children and grandchildren to practice their Muslim customs, so they adopted their faith . . . Now there are 56 households of them, scattered in the northern and western barrios, and they intermarry with the Muslim people.²⁵

It will be noted that the Chinese account attributes the Sulu princes' introduction into a Muslim community not to a common faith but to a common language. This language was no doubt Malay, the *lingua franca* of Southeast Asian commerce at the time, and the medium by which Arabic terms were introduced into Philippine languages—except religious terms, which apparently came direct from the Koran. Muslim settlements were scattered all along the internal trade routes of China, and many of their mosques still stand on the banks of the old Grand Canal, once the eastern terminus of a sea route which began in the Persian Gulf. Paduka Batara would thus appear not to have been a Muslim himself. But if he was the Sipad the Younger mentioned in the Sulu royal genealogy (*tarsila*), he had a Muslim son-in-law, Tuan Masha-ika-*mashayikh* is a plural form of the Arabic honorific *shaikh*—and one of his grandsons was still living when the Sultanate of Sulu was founded. According to a later tradition, Tuan Masha-ika's parents had been sent to Sulu by Alexander the Great, and if this Alexander was really Iskandar Shah of Malacca instead, he was Paduka Batara's contemporary.²⁶

²⁵ *Te-chou Hsiang T'u-chih*. Taipei National Library of Local Gazetteers: Northern China No. 38.

²⁶ Majul states that "Sipad" is clearly a variant of "Sri Paduka" (*Muslims in the Philippines* [Quezon City, 1973], p. 14, n. 27) and there are at least two of them mentioned in the Sulu *tarsila* (genealogy), Sipad the Elder, and Sipad the Younger. The latter married his daughter Idda Indira Suga to Tuan Masha-ika, whose son Tuan Hakim, and Hakim's sons Tuan Da-im, Tuan Buda and Tuan Bujang, were all living *mantiri* chiefs at the time of Sumatran prince Rajah Baginda's arrival. Baginda in turn, gave his daughter's hand to another foreigner by the name of Abu Bakr, who became the first Sultan of Sulu and took the title Paduka. It is noteworthy that although the 17th sultan, Badar ud-Din I, claimed to be a descendant of Paduka Batara when sending a mission to China in 1733, the claim is not substantiated by the *tarsila*. (See Najeed M. Saleeby, "The history of Sulu," *Bureau of Science Division of Ethnology Publications*, Vol. 4 [1908], pp. 148-149, or *Filipiniana Book Guild* Vol. 4 [1963], pp. 30-37.)

Paduka Batara died on 23 October 1417 and was entombed on 20 November, and the Emperor's memorial tribute was set up the following September. Unfortunately, its biographic content is limited to such expressions as the following:

Now then, the King, brilliant and sagacious, gentle and honest, especially outstanding and naturally talented, as a sincere act of true respect for the Way of Heaven, did not shrink from a voyage of many tens of thousands of miles to lead his familial household in person, together with his tribute officers and fellow countrymen, to cross the sea routes in a spirit of loyal obedience.²⁷

It was because of this highly commendable conduct—the epitaph goes on—that the Emperor deigned to recognize him as paramount ruler of Sulu, suffered such unparalleled grief on learning of his demise, and ordered a sacrificial animal and sweet wine to be offered up so he would be known below the Nine Springs—i.e., in the land of the dead.

The epitaph is also a memorial to the tribute system. It expresses the basic philosophy concisely in a reference to the Hung Wu Emperor, founder of the Ming, who tried to enforce the system by closing China's ports to foreign trade in 1372:

Of old, when our deceased father, First Emperor Kao Huang Ti, received the Great Mandate of Heaven, he extended order to ten thousand lands, and as the fragrant vapor of his deep humanity and virtuous generosity spread beyond the nearby regions to which it had brought happiness, those far away were sure to come.²⁸

Not long after Paduka Batara's interment, the Emperor dispatched High Commissioner Chang Ch'ien to the Philippines on 15 December 1417. Commissioner Chang probably accompanied the military escort which took the young Tumahan back to Sulu, but his real mission was to bring Kumalalang, Mindanao, into line. (Kumalalang today is a rather backwater community at the head of Dumanguilas Bay on the road between Pagadian and Malangas in the province of Zamboanga del Sur.) Chang Ch'ien had had plenty of experience on this sort of mission: for several years he had directed Borneo's state affairs after installing the four-year-old heir of a Brunei ruler who died in Nanking. Now he presented impressive gifts to Kumalalang King Kanlai Ipentun like velvet brocade and skeins of heavy silk yarn, and seems to have spent more than two years there for the Kumalalang ruler followed him back to China in 1420.

On 16 November 1420 Kanlai Ipentun appeared at court with a large following which included his wife, children, and prime minister. On the 28th he sent up a personal petition:

²⁷ *Te-chou Chih* (1673), ch. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Your Majesty's simple-minded servant has been unable to understand why, although he is the one selected by his countrymen, he still has not received the imperial command; pray have the mercy to grant his investiture and his country's recognition.²⁹

The petition received favorable action, the investiture ceremonies were celebrated, and the Kumalalang entourage feted and regaled to the last man. But on the way home, Kanlai Ipentun suffered the same fate as his Borneo and Sulu neighbors and died in Fukien on 27 May 1421. Board of Rites Manager Yang Shan arranged his funeral and interment, and the Emperor bestowed the posthumous title of "Vigorous and Peaceful" on him, and named his son La-pi as successor.

Chang Ch'ien's presence seems also to have had its effect in Sulu. The western ruler sent a tribute mission in 1420, and in 1421 the eastern king's mother sent her late son's younger brother, Paduka Suli, while the Kumalalang ruler was still there. On 14 May, Paduka Suli left his mark in Chinese history by presenting a pearl weighing seven ounces, then spent two years there, presumably visiting his nephews in Tehchow since he took his late brother's concubine back home with him. On 3 November 1424, young King La-pi of Kumalalang sent Chief Batikisan and others with a gold-engraved memorial, and the following week a number of other countries appeared, headed by Chief *Sheng-ya-li-pa-yü* (Sangilaya?) of Sulu.

This rush to Peking was the last of a series of missions which probably indicates a shift away from the old Brunei-Mindoro-Luzon track to new trading centers astride the direct spice route from the Southeast Sea. Unlike the rulers of Luzon, Mao-li-wu, and Pangasinan who were referred to as chieftains and who never sent memorials engraved on gold, the heads of state in Sulu and Mindanao were called by the Chinese term for monarch, *wang*, and were received with the same protocol as Iskandar Shah of Malacca, the most important entrepot of Southeast Asia at the time and a favorite staging base for Cheng Ho's fleets.³⁰ Sulu, with its pearl beds, access to Sabah camphor, and strategic location, seems to have inherited that

²⁹ *Ming Shih*, ch. 323.

³⁰ The Chinese were most punctilious about establishing the legitimacy and precedence of foreign states and rulers before awarding tributary status. This is reflected in Kanlai Ipentun's November 1420 petition, and Butuan's of August 1011, and the fact that the senior Sulu ruler was listed simply as "Paduka Batará of the eastern country" until his investiture as king with a jade seal on 19 September 1417. It is also why they were slow to recognize the Spanish occupation of Luzon: what colonial history calls "the first embassy to China" appears in a Ch'üan-chou gazetteer in the following terms: "Lüsung [Luzon] attacked Lin Feng [Limahong] and drove him out, and what prisoners and booty there were they presented as an offering because they wanted to apply for tribute status equal to all the countries like Siam and Champa" (*Ch'üan-chou Fu-chih*, ch. 30). Ch'üan-chou Magistrate Lu I-feng and his cabinet then decided to seize the goods as spoils of war, and were rewarded by the Emperor with 20 taels of silver apiece for their performance.

older Butuan-Champa trade route which avoided Srivijaya territory. Indeed, modern linguistic evidence suggests that the Taosugs originally migrated there from Butuan. But now trade route led not to Champa but to Malacca, whose second ruler must have checked into the government hostel for tribute envoys in Peking right after those 350 Sulu delegates left for home.

The mysterious land of Sulu, with its pearls so lustrous they glowed under the sea at night and royal princes settled right in Shantung province, soon appeared in popular literature. A Ming drama titled *Hsia Hsi Yang (Voyage to the Western Ocean)* pictures it as being on the way to India, and has its King Paduka Pasuli capture Cheng Ho's ships for their cargos of silk and porcelain. The admiral escapes by a clever ruse: he lures the king on board to see a tree that bears porcelain instead of fruit. Paduka Pasuli introduces himself, *zarzuela*-like, with a little song:

The foggy dew lifts off the sea and morning brightly dawns; The ocean waves and breaking surf grow calm within the shoal; And long time living on the sea has been this land of mine—The mountain chief of ocean tribes, whose total peace pervades.³¹

But it was the real Paduka Suli's seven-ounce pearl which captured the Chinese imagination. Indeed, by the time Huang Hsin-tseng wrote his *Hsi Yang Ch'ao-kung tien-lu (Record of tribute missions from the Western Ocean)* in 1520, it had grown in size:

When I saw in the Book of Han the story of the two-inch pearl, and read in the biographies of the Immortals how in the time of Empress Lü an edict was handed down calling for a three-inch pearl and that a certain Chu Chung presented one and was given 500 gold pieces, and then Princes Lu Yüan secretly gave Chung 700 gold pieces to get a four-inch pearl. I considered it all false. But now that the *Starry Raft* collection says the Sulu king presented a pearl weighing eight ounces, I begin to believe it. No wonder he was given a gold seal! For even if things from distant lands are not very valuable, this would be reason enough for people from distant lands to come to court (ch. 1).

Sulu also receives more space in official Ming annals than any other Philippine state. The *Ta Ming Hui-tien (Great Ming compendium of laws)*, for example, records many administrative and fiscal details connected with its missions. The second section under "Board of Rites, ch. 64—Tribute, ch. 2," gives a synopsis of its vassal relations and a list of tribute offerings (ch. 106), and a routinary entry at the end of the list of return gifts received by the envoys provides an insight into the tribute system itself: "They were granted the

³¹ "Feng t'ien-ming San-Pao hsia Hsi Yang," *Mo-wang Kuan-ch'ao chiao-pen ku-chin tsa-chü* (Shanghai 1958), vol. 76, p. 30 v.

standard price for their goods and products, minus the tariff duties" (ch. 111). The section on "State banquets in local hostels for the maintenance of western and island barbarians" under the Provisions Accounting Office notes:

Country of Sulu. Yung Lo 15th year: one banquet. The king of this country came to court, passing through the prefectual way-stations, and was supplied with food and maintenance. He returned the same way (ch. 106).

Ten years later, however, budgetary cutbacks which ended the famous Cheng Ho naval expeditions also discontinued the banquets and established the following austerity in maintaining foreign envoys:

Ordinary daily gift-rations. For each barbarian monarch—one pair of chickens, two pounds of meat, one bottle of wine, firewood, and cooking ingredients. For each of the king's relatives—one pound of meat, one bottle of wine, firewood, and cooking ingredients. For each official and chieftain—a half pound of meat, half bottle of wine, firewood, and cooking ingredients. For his followers, women, petty officers, etc.—firewood only.³²

Supplemented by other Chinese accounts, these bookkeeping details make it possible to outline Sulu's growth as an international emporium. The earliest description—Wang Ta-yüan's in 1346—mentions only local products like "bamboo cloth" (abaca or ramie), beeswax, tortoise shell, lake-wood "of middling quality," and pearls, devoting most of its space to discussing the profits to be obtained from handling the last item.³³ A century later, the 1417 tribute mission presented pearls, tortoise shell, and "precious stones"—which must have been imports—but Chinese pearls are listed among the Emperor's return gifts. Significantly, the 1421 tribute list does not include pearls and that seven-ounce giant was presumably too personal a gift to the Emperor to show up in the account books. But it does include high-priced non-Sulu products like brazilwood, black pepper, cubebs (*piper longum*), foreign tin, "plum blossom camphor" (i.e., first-class), and "rice-grain camphor" (broken fragments). Finally, in 1617, Chang Hsieh's *Tung Hsi Yang K'ao* specifically describes a trading center whose inhabitants receive Chinese goods on credit from agents who are euphemistically called "hostages" so as not to offend the Spanish government which controlled the Manila galleon trade.

CONCLUSIONS

The presence of Filipinos in China between 982 and 1427 is suggestive for the pre-colonial history of those peoples archaeologist

³² *Ta Ming Hui-tien*, ch. 115.

³³ The translation is Rockhill's in "Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coast of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth century," *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 16 (1915), p. 270.

Wilhelm Solheim has called *Nusantao*—"southern island people." None of these contacts were made on pioneering voyages of discovery, across sea routes already known in pursuit of commerce already profitable. Butuan in the eleventh century and Sulu in the 15th were dealing in non-Philippine products; spices, aromatics, silks, and porcelain. Merchants from Ma-i appeared in China only ten years after the establishment of an office of maritime trade in Kwangchow (Canton), a port with no seafaring tradition of its own. And 350 years later, Filipino merchants like Arabs in Malaysia, were traveling to Ch'üan-chou farther north in Fukienese vessels. By the late Sung, Ma-i was itself the central port for the exchange of local goods on a Borneo-Fukien route, and may well have been a Brunei outpost. Chinese accounts call it a "country" with officials imposing harbor regulations but mention no king, and it never sent a tribute mission of its own. The tribute missions themselves are even more suggestive, for they are limited to two very brief periods, the opening years of the Sung and Ming Dynasties when energetic new emperors were tightening up trading restrictions.

The Butuan missions are patent attempts to bypass Champa middlemen and were probably not repeated because they were successful, just as the Champa-Butuan trade itself was probably successful in bypassing Srivijaya controls south of Borneo. Luzon's prompt response to the first Ming emperor's closing of Chinese ports to foreign trade was probably an attempt also successful, to transfer Ma-i's emporium to Manila Bay. The early 15th century Muslim envoy from Mao-li-wu may have been a step in the process, and the Pangasinan mission's less successful attempts to participate directly in the Borneo-Mindoro-Luzon-Fukien trade. The first Sulu mission with its anomalous three "kings" and the recognition of one as superior to the others, may have been intended to consolidate its position on the new Malacca trade route by the formal alignment of political ties at home. It also seems to have attracted enough Chinese attention to its lucrative trade for the court to send an emissary to woo a Mindanao competitor in Kumalalang.

It is noteworthy that there is no Arab shipping or trade route in the story. The late H. Otley Beyer theorized such a route passing up the coasts of Borneo and the Philippines to Korea via Japan, and concluded that the Ma-i merchants who reached Canton in 982 must have got there on Arab vessels.³⁴ He pointed to an uprising in Canton in 758 and a massacre in 878 as motivation for a new Arab route, and the presence of Arabs in Korea in 846 as evidence of its existence.³⁵ Whatever the merits of its reasoning, however, there

³⁴ Beyer, *op. cit.*, pp. xi-xii.

³⁵ The first Arab mission reached China in 651 by land, however, and even by sea they did not necessarily travel in Arab vessels e.g., one of the

is no need for any theory in the first place: the facts are readily available in the Braddell, Hourani, and Tibbetts studies of medieval Arab maritime commerce.³⁶ Arab sailing directions during the Tang Dynasty describe a course from the Strait of Malacca northeast to Champa, where it divides either to follow the coast around to China or to head directly across the open sea to Canton, with a feeder line collecting spices and aromatics in Sumatran and Javanese entrepôts where they presumably had been delivered in *Nusanto* bottoms. Following the Canton disturbances, they simply withdrew to Tongkong (northern Vietnam) or Kalah on the Malay Peninsula, transshipping to local Chinese vessels there. During the Sung, they returned not to Canton but to Ch'üan-chou, where they played such a dominant role they were sometimes appointed to Chinese office, but by the end of the dynasty they found it more profitable to board the huge junks of China's new merchant marine in Malaysian ports. Not until then do Arab sources refer to islands on the east side of the South China Sea.

Beyer's willingness to construct a theory on such slender evidence appears to be based on the assumption that commerce in the South China Sea had to be carried either in Arab shipping or Chinese: he evidently did not consider the possibility of Filipinos conducting the trade themselves. Since his day, however, historians and archaeologists alike have rediscovered the maritime capacity of the Malayo-Polynesian peoples, and the farflung extent of their trading ventures. In the first century, they were supplying European markets with cinnamon by delivering it to the African coast in outrigger canoes which Pliny, like Chao Ju-kua after him, thought were "rafts"—and in the 13th were delivering Sung porcelains to islands still unknown to the Chinese like Sulawesi.³⁷ And when the Portuguese reached Malacca

envoys sent from Brunei in a Bornean ship in 977 was named Abu Ali (*P'uya-li*).

³⁶ Roland Braddell, "An introduction to the study of ancient times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca," *JMBRAS*, Vol. 17, Part I (1939), pp. 146-212; George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early medieval times* (Princeton 1951, Beirut 1963); G. R. Tibbetts, "Early Muslim traders in South-East Asia," *JMBRAS*, Vol. 30, Part I (1962), pp. 1-45; *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese* (London 1971); and *A study of the Arab texts containing material on South-East Asia* (London and Leiden 1979); see also Kei Won Chung and George F. Hourani, "Arab geographers on Korea," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 58 (1938), pp. 658-660.

³⁷ J. Innes Miller, *The spice trade of the Roman Empire, 29 B.C. to A.D. 641* (Oxford 1969), pp. 153-159; Hadimuljono and C. C. Macknight, "Imported ceramics in South Sulawesi," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, Vol. 17 (1983), pp. 66-91.

in the 16th, they were surprised to find native merchantmen of greater tonnage than their own *naos*.³⁸

Magellan died in Mactan in 1521 just a century after Paduka Suli presented the seven-ounce pearl to the Emperor. At that time, Luzon ships were plying the waters between Manila, Timor, and Malacca, three points which describe a triangle that includes all of insular Southeast Asia. If one wishes to speculate about the advent of Tang porcelains or Arabic Korans in the prehispanic Philippines, therefore, a ready explanation is available namely, that they came in vessels built, owned, and manned by islanders born within that triangle.

³⁸ Pierre-Yves Manguin, "The Southeast Asian ship: an historical approach," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 11 (1980), pp. 266-276.

Appendix I

“Butuan” from the *Sung Hui Yao Kao*, Vol. 197

BUTUAN. Butuan is in the sea. It has had mutual relations with Champa, but not much communication with China.

In October 1003 its King Ch'i-ling sent Minister Li-i-han and Assistant Minister Chia-mi-nan to present tribute of native products and red parrots. In February 1004 when the New Year Festival was proclaimed, the Emperor sent messengers in the middle of the night to fetch the Butuan envoys to see the lanterns and attend the feast, and they were also given strings of cash. In April 1004 Li-i-han and the others were sent to present tribute of native products. In October or November, an official complained, “The Butuan envoys trade for a lot of Chinese goods, gold, and silver, to take back to their country, and they also take all kinds of flags and pennons. People from distant lands don't understand rules and regulations. I would therefore recommend that new restrictions be imposed to prohibit their dealing directly in the marketplace, and making private contracts.” It was done.

In July or August of 1007 King Ch'i-ling sent Minister I-hsü-han and others to present tortoise shell, camphor, *tai*-branches [?], cloves, mother-of-cloves, and native products. They were given caps, belts and robes, dishes and presents, and strings of cash, and provided with escorts. A month later, Butuan sent I-hsü-han to hand up a petition: “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.” An official commented: “Butuan is beneath Champa. If this rank is granted, I fear there will be no more chief's standards left. I would recommend instead that they be given five small varicolored flags.” It was done.

In March 1011 that country's King Hsi-li-pa-ta-hsia-ch'ih also sent an envoy, Li-kan-hsieh, with a memorial engraved on a gold tablet, to present cloves, white Barros camphor, tortoise shell, and red parrots when they came with tribute. At the time of the sacrifice to the earth god Fen-yin, he ordered his envoys to attend and present a K'un-lun slave, but the Emperor was grieved at her being so strange and far from home, and ordered her sent back. At the same time, King Ch'ü-lan of the land of San-ma-lan sent envoys to present jars of aromatics, elephant tusks, dates, almonds, “five-flavored seeds” [*Schizandra chinensis*], rose-water, fine-grained white sugar, cloudy glass bottles, and saddles. King Wu-huang of Wu-hsün and King Ma-wu-ho-lei of P'u-p'ò-lo, both small countries in the sea, sent envoys together to present jars of aromatics and ivory. In July Li-kan-hsieh was granted the title of Cherished Transformed General, and the San-ma-lan envoy, Ya-li-pai-ti, Gracious-to-Strangers General, and Ya-p'u-lo of P'u-tuan-lo, Honored Skillful General; all had sacrifices and received favors. The next month Li-kan-hsieh and the others sent up a memorial exalting their countries and requesting flags, pennons, and armor to honor distant lands. They were granted.

Appendix II

“Mao-li-wu” from Chang Hsieh’s *Tung Hsi Yang K’ao*, ch. 5

Mao-li-wu is the country of Ho-mao-li. The land is small and the soil barren; the interior of the country is full of mountains, and beyond the mountains is the open sea. The sea is full of seafood of all kinds. The people also know farming. In the third year of Yung Lo [1405] the king of the country sent the Muslim Tao-nu-ma-kao as emissary to present his credentials; he came to court and made offerings of native products. This country is neighbor to Lü-sung, so he came in company with the Lü-sung representative. Afterwards, the land gradually became fertile, and those simple people also became cultivated, therefore seafarers have a saying, “If you want wealth, be sure to go to Mao-li-wu, because it’s an excellent land for so small a country.”

There are some Wang-chin-chiao-lao [Maguindanao] people who are pirates on the seas. They travel in boats using long oars with ends like gourds cut in half. On occasion, those using these bailers get in the water to row the boat, and its speed is doubled. Seen in the distance out on the sea, they are like a few vague dots, but all of a sudden, the robbers are at hand; then scattering or hindering is of no avail, and nobody escapes. Mao-li-wu suffered many destructive raids with great loss of life, so that it has now become poor and wretched. Merchant ships going there avoid it for fear of the robbers, and set their course for other islands.

Famous sights. Mount Lo-huang: the top is white stone.
Products. Brazilwood. “Seed flowers” [?].

Commerce. When this little country sees the Chinese people’s ships, they are delighted and would never think of mistreating them, so the conduct of trade is most peaceful. What the Chiao-lao who practice piracy want is for people to visit that land, and ships that go there to trade are treated well because they secretly plan to kill them by this strategy.