

**A thousand years of Philippine history before the coming of the Spaniards
/ by Austin Craig ... A paper presented before the Philippine academy
at its open meeting in University hall, Manila, October 13, 1914.**

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A thousand years of Philippine
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**A THOUSAND YEARS OF PHILIPPINE HISTORY
BEFORE THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS**

BY

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A paper presented before the Philippine Academy at its
open meeting in University Hall, Manila, October 13, 1914.



*Don. Manuel de Gante
with the compliment
of Indulencia*

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A THOUSAND YEARS OF PHILIPPINE HISTORY BEFORE
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The Philippine History of which one is apt to think when that subject is mentioned covers hardly a fourth of the Islands' book-recorded history.

These records are not the romantic dream of a Paterno that under the name Ophir the Philippines with their gold enriched Solomon (10th century B. C.). They are solid ground than any plausible explanations that Manila hemp (abaka) was Strabo's (A. D. 21) "ta seerika," the cloth made of "a kind of flax combed from certain barks of trees." The shadowy identification of the Manilas with Ptolemy's Maniolas (c. A. D. 130) is not in their class. Nor, to accept them, is recourse needed to farfetched deductions like Zuñiga's that the American Continent received Israel's ten lost tribes, and thence, through Easter Island, Magellan's archipelago was peopled. Their existence saves us from having to accept such references as how Simbad the sailorman (Burton: The Arabian Nights, Night 538 et seq.) evidently made some of his voyages in this region, though it would not be uninteresting to note that the great Roc is a bird used in Moro ornament, the "ghoul" of the Thousand and One Nights is the Filipino Asuang and that the palm-covered island which was believed to be a colossal tortoise because it shook might well have been located where the Philippine maps indicate that earthquakes are most frequent.

The records hereinafter to be cited are for the most part of the prosaic kind, all the more reliable and valuable because they are inclined to be dry and matter-of-fact. They make no such demand upon imagination as Europe's pioneer traveller's tales, for instance the sixteenth century chart which depicted America as inhabited by headless people with eyes, nose and mouth located in the chest.

The British Museum's oriental scholar (Douglas: Europe and the Far East, Cambridge, 1904) states that by the beginning of the Chou dynasty (B. C. 1122-255) intercourse had been established at Canton with eight foreign nations. Duties as early as 990 B. C. were levied, and among the imports figure birds, pearls and tortoise shell, products of the Philippines, but the origin of

these has not been investigated. "Reliable history," says Dr. Pott (A Sketch of Chinese History, Shanghai, 1908), "does not extend further back than the middle of the Chou dynasty (B. C. 722) After the time of the Chou dynasty we come to more solid ground, for at the beginning of the Han dynasty (B. C. 206) the custom originated of employing Court chroniclers to write a daily account of governmental proceedings. These diaries were kept secret and stored away in iron chests until the dynasty they chronicled had passed away; then they were opened and published, and so form the basis of our knowledge of the events that had transpired while the dynasty was in existence."

Philippine history, however, has attracted only incidental interest in the translating of these voluminous chronicles so that while the first three mentions hereafter to be cited are well within the reliable history period they have not been verified and are valuable only as suggesting more definitely where to investigate.

Mr. Wallace Pratt, chief of the Bureau of Science's Division of Mines, states that he has read somewhere, but lost his notes of it, that the Philippines were once called "Gold" in China, because of their considerable export thither of the precious yellow metal. This parallels the Malay province named "Silver" (Perak or Pilak). Further he refers to Becker's Geology of the Philippines where (on page 90 of the reprint) F. Karusch gives a former German Consul in Manila as authority for gold having been exported to China during the third century. If the Chinese authority for this can be found it will destroy the value of Dr. Groeneveldt's observation (Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources; Batavia, 1876, p. 4) on his quotation from the history of the Liang dynasty (Book 54, p. 1):

"In the time of Sun Ch'uean of the house of Wu (A. D. 222-251) two functionaries, called Chu-ying and K'antai, were ordered to go to the south; they went to or heard from a hundred or more countries and made an account of them."

The commentator admits that "what these countries were is not stated," but believes the "Malay islands were not amongst them, otherwise their name would have appeared at that time already in the annals of China."

Since only a beginning has as yet been made in studying the voluminous records of China, a little further investigation may easily result in establishing this early date.

The last of the early three possible references to the Philippines, classed only as introductory because of their uncertain character, is from the narrative of Fahien, the details of whose home voyage seem to suggest that he passed in the vicinity of,

if not through, this group of islands. This Buddhist priest in A. D. 400 went overland to India (Groeneveldt, Notes, p. 6) in search of Buddhist books and fifteen years later came back by sea in Indian vessels via Ceylon and Java. Shortly after his death a book was published, written from his narratives, giving "an account of Buddhist countries" (Fo Kuo Chi). After staying five months in Java where "heretics and Brahmans flourished but the law of Buddha hardly deserved mention," Fahien embarked in May, 414, on a large merchant vessel with a crew of over two hundred and provisioned for fifty days. Steering a north east course for Canton, when over a month out they struck a typhoon, "a sudden dark squall accompanied by pelting rain." The Brahmans felt that the priest of the rival religion was a Jonah and wanted to land him on one of the neighboring islands but were dissuaded by a trader representing the danger that would be to all on coming to China. The weather continued very dark and the pilots did not know their situation. Finally on the 78th day, with water almost gone and provisions short, they determined to change their course since they had already exceeded the usual fifty days for the run. So on a northwest route in twelve days more they reached not Canton but Shantung, nearly thirteen degrees farther north. Now this voyage on a map works out that they passed the Philippines about the time that marooning the priest on an island was under discussion, and, as St. John notes (The Indian Archipelago, London 1853, Vol. I, p. 103), "The Philippines..... occupy the only part of the Archipelago liable to hurricanes." Apparently the land was then unfamiliar to these early navigators.

No voyages of discovery were attempted by the Chinese but, creeping along the coast, they finally came to the Malay Peninsula and they worked from one island to another in the Indian Archipelago. (Groeneveldt, p. 1). By this roundabout course in connection with the great island of Borneo, then called Polo and noted to have sent envoys to China in 518,523 and 616, we find the Sulu islands suggested. The reference reads "at the east of this country is situated the land of the Rakshas (or lawless persons, our pirates)." These were stated to have the same customs as the Poli people, unerring in throwing a saw-edged (wooden) discus knife, but using other weapons like those in China, in ways resembling Cambodia and with products like Siam's. Murder and theft were punished by cutting off the hands and adultery by chaining together the legs for a year. In the dark of the moon came the sacrifices, bowls of wine and eatables set adrift on the surface of the water, as Bornean tribes supposed to be akin to the Bisayans and Tagalogs now are doing. The Polans collected coral and trained parrots to talk, and so probably did the men

of Sulu. In their ears were the teeth of wild beasts and a piece of home-made cotton cloth was wrapped about their waists, sarong fashion. Their markets they held at night and they were accustomed to keep their faces covered.

Next in point of time is a reference through Southern Formosa, called by the Chinese P'i-sho-ye, which the author of "China before the Chinese" (De Lacouperie) believes is only a miscalling of Bisaya, and former Consul Davidson of Formosa corroborates this both on Chinese authority (Ma Touan-lin) and from local traditions. (Davidson: *The Island of Formosa Past and Present*, New York, 1903).

"Bands of uncivilized Malays" from the south drove into the interior the Formosans with whom the Chinese earlier had been familiar. So on the next expedition from the mainland, in 605, the Chinese leader was surprised to find on the coast strange inhabitants with whom he could not communicate. His surmise that the newcomers were Malays led the next expedition to take with it interpreters from different southern Malayan islands, of whom at least one made himself understood. The immigrants kept up communication with Luzon and on their rafts raided coast towns of China, as will be later seen.

Pangasinan once extended much farther north in Luzon and Mr. Servillano de la Cruz, a University of the Philippines student specializing in the history of that province, describes rafts of bamboo bound together with vines, of a size which two men can lift, yet used on rivers and by people venturing as far as four miles from the coast upon them.

The chronological order takes us again to the south.

A "Ka-ling" mentioned in the old Chinese history of the T'ang dynasty (618-906) has been, it seems to me, wrongly identified by the Dutch scholar Groeneveldt (*Notes on the Malay Archipelago*, p. 12) as Java on the assumption that Pali or Po-li was Sumatra. Since it is much more probable that Poli is only an older form of Poni, Brunei, our Borneo (Hose and McDougall: *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, vol. I) Kaling rather should be looked for as an island off the eastern side of Borneo, Cambodia to the north, the sea to the south, and on the western side of the island of Dva-pa-tan, which might have been the old, and more extensive, district of Dapitan on the northwest of Mindanao. Directions are so general that the fixing of the spot is only guess work, yet the probability puts it within the southern (Sulu) part of the Philippine Archipelago.

The walls of the city were of palisades as were those enclosing Fort Santiago's Moro predecessor. The king's palace was a two-story affair thatched with coir from the abundant coco palms

and the throne of the monarch was an ivory couch. Using neither spoons nor chopsticks, food was handled with that manual dexterity of which the Tondo tribune has recently been complaining as contributory to cholera. The palm wine was obtained just as tuba is now prepared.

The older history was considered vague and in its revision, called "the new history," fuller details appear, among them another name (Djava, Djapa or Dayapo (Dva-apo?). The larger houses were covered with palm leaves and like the king's equipped with ivory couches. Bamboo mats are also mentioned and the exports are given as tortoise shell, gold and silver, rhinoceros-horns, and ivory. The ivory might have been white camagon, since it was used for furniture, and the rhinoceros horns could have been imported. The rapid intoxication from the native drink is emphasized and, contrary to the American traveller (Rev. Arthur J. Browne) who attributed the introduction of vice here to his soldier-countrymen, a virulent venereal disease is mentioned. The alternative name of the island turns out to belong to the place on it where the king resided and he is said to be a descendant of Ki-yen who had lived more to the east in the town of Pa-lu-ka-si. Of his thirty-two high ministers Datu Kan-liung was chief and twenty-eight small neighboring countries owed him allegiance, as the twenty-eight islands would to a powerful Sulu sultan. (As to number of islands, see Saleeby's History of Sulu, Manila, 1908, p. 15).

A royal mountain resort overlooking the sea was Lang-pi-ya, a name for which, like the others, Groeneveldt finds it difficult to name a counterpart in Java, in this case noting "we think it advisable not to insist upon the above identification." The latitude would seem to have been in the Sulu neighborhood for at the summer solstice an 8-foot gnomon cast, on the south side, a 2.4 foot-shadow.

Between 627 and 649 envoys to China accompanied the tribute bearers from Dva-ha-la and Dva-pa-tan (Dapitan?), receiving acknowledgements under the Chinese Emperor's great seal. Dva-hala also asked for good horses, and got them.

Then in 674 there was an ideal ruler, a woman named Sima, of whom a story is told similar to one remembered in Korea, and somewhat like the tales of China's Golden Age, that a foreign king (prince of Arabs) to test the reports he had heard sent a bag of gold to be left in the road. There it remained undisturbed till the heir apparent happened to step over it. The incensed queen was dissuaded by her ministers from killing him but, saying his fault lay in his feet, insisted on cutting these off, finally, however, compromising on amputating the toes. Not only was this an example to the whole nation but it so frightened the Arab king that he did

not carry out his planned attack. This variation of the Queen of Sheba-Solomon anecdotes is common in Chinese history, and its extensive use was probably due to the same sort of local adaptation as later made an orientalized Dido story of land-measurement trickery spread so quickly after the coming of the Europeans. Groeneveldt suggests the Arab prince might have been one of the Arab chiefs in the Archipelago, which would by our identification nicely fit with Bornean conditions.

Between 766 and 779 three Ka-ling envoys visited China and in 813 four slaves (Groeneveldt thinks negroes), assorted colored parrots, "pink-birds"—whatever these may have been, and other gifts were presented to their powerful neighbor. A title of "Left Defender of the office of the Four Inner Gates" came to the ambassador who by cleverly seeking to relinquish this title to his younger brother secured imperial praise and the coveted honor for two members of his family instead of one.

In 827 and 835 were two embassies, and between 837 and 850 an envoy presented female musicians as the tribute gift. (Account summarized from Groeneveldt, pp. 12-15).

"The great sea southwest of Hainan," says he"..... has in it Triple-joint currents (San-ho-lin). The waves break here violently, dividing into three currents: one flows south and is the sea which forms the highway to foreign lands; one flows north and is the sea of Canton (and Amoy)..... one flows eastward and enters the boundless place, which is called the Great Eastern Ocean Sea.

"Ships in the southern trade, both going and coming, must run through the Triple-joint currents. If they have the wind, in a moment they are through it. But if on getting into the dangerous place there is no wind, the ship cannot get out and is wrecked in the three currents..... It is said that, in the Great Eastern Ocean Sea there is a long bank of sand and rocks some myriads of li (705 yards or 2-5 mile) in length. It marks the gulf leading to Hades (Wei-lu). In olden times there was an ocean-going junk which was driven by a great westerly wind to within hearing distance of the roar of the waves falling into Wei-lu of the Great Eastern Ocean. No land was to be seen. Suddenly there arose a strong easterly wind and the junk escaped its doom. (Hirth and Rockhill, Chau Ju-Kua, note 3, p. 185).

Such superstition, like that of the Pillars of Hercules, in the Strait of Gibraltar, naturally restrained explorations so that the first voyages across the China sea came from Manila.

The earliest account of Filipino traders comes through a brief mention in a French ethnologist's notes on foreigners in China (Henry St. Denis, *Ethnographie*, II, 502, according to Rockhill)

that in 982 merchants from Manila visited Canton for trade. They probably were not pioneers as it is related that they came with valuable merchandise. This was about the time (between 976 and 983) when the Canton trade was declared a state monopoly. Over two centuries a maritime customs service had existed in that port, reorganized in 971 because of the greatly increased foreign trade.

From 1174 to 1190 (Chau Ju-Kua's account, Hirth and Rockhill, p. 165) the Formosan Bisayan chiefs were in the habit of assembling parties of several hundreds to make sudden raids on villages of the neighboring Chinese coast. There murders innumerable and even cannibalism were charged against them, though perhaps there should be some discount upon these unfavorable statements as even today enemies are not always reliable authorities upon their adversaries.

They placed great value upon iron, even to the extent of attaching ropes, of over a hundred feet in length, to their spears so that these might be recovered after each throw.

Such was their fondness for all forms of iron that those surprised by them would throw away spoons or chopsticks of that metal so while the pursuers were stopping to pick these up they could gain a start. Once in the house the door had only to be closed and they would be distracted from the attack by sight of a iron knocker which they would wrench off and then immediately depart with it.

The soldiers decoyed them with mail-covered horsemen and in their mad struggle to strip off the armor they would meet their death without being sensible of their danger. Bamboo lashed into rafts conveyed them over the waters and when hard pressed facilitated their escape for these, folded up like screens, were easy to lift and swim off with.

A collector of customs (the Chau Ju-Kua before quoted) of Chinchew, the port in the Amov district later made famous by Marco Polo, from personal investigation obtained data as to the Philippines which he published in a geography written between 1209 and 1214 (B. Laufer, Relations of Chinese to the Philippines, Washington, 1907, p. 24).

Under "Mai," an island north of Borneo, he is supposed to include Western Luzon, and the Island of Mindoro, which Blumen-tritt thinks (Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen, 65) had the name "Mait," or black, from the former negrito population. The opening description, now held to be of Manila, tells of about a thousand families who occupied both banks of a water-course. Some people wore only waist-cloths while others draped themselves in a sort of cotton sheet, getting presumably much the same effect

as may be seen among the feminine bathers on the Tondo beach any Sunday morning.

Little bronze idols of unknown origin were to be found in the grassy region outside the village, for Mr. Rockhill is careful to translate "idols" instead of "Buddhas," holding that the word has the more general meaning often. Yet because the later idols of the country were of wood and clay one wonders where bronze idols would be made at that time if not in a Buddhist land. Manila was a peaceable community then, and peaceful too, for the fierce pirates of the south had not yet gotten into the habit of coming there, still less had settled, as they were to do two centuries later.

The traders' ships anchored in front of the quarters of the chiefs, to whom they presented the white silk parasols which these dignitaries were accustomed to use. There the market was held, and the shore people at once went on board, mixing in friendly fashion with the newcomers. Nor was there fear of loss, for such then was the Manilans' honesty that even when some one helped himself and took away goods without being seen he could be relied on in due season to faithfully account for them. The period was usually eight or nine months so that, though not travelling the greatest distance, those trading to Manila were among the latest in getting back to China.

The trade was without money, a barter of the country's yellow wax (a medium grade), cotton, pearls, tortoise shell, medicinal betel nuts, and native cloth, for imported porcelain, trade gold, iron censers, leads, colored glassbeads and iron needles. Names of other settlements in this region may be what we now call the Babuyan islands, Polillo island, off the East coast, Lingayen in Pangasinan, Luzon perhaps used of East Luzon and (according to Luther M. Parker, a graduate student in the University of the Philippines, 1913-14) Lian in Batangas.

For the group called "the three islands," Calamianes, Palawan and Busuanga are the closest resemblances to the curious names of the Chinese narrative, though B. Laufer in his notes to Fay Cole's Chinese pottery in the Philippines (Field Museum Bulletin) suggests another for Calamianes.

Local customs were said not to differ particularly from the ways of Mai. The country, grand in its scenery, had many ridges and ranges of cliffs rose from the shore, steep as the walls of a house.

Each tribe had about a thousand families (which seems to be only another way of saying that the tribes were large rather than an effort at statistics) and they lived in wattled huts in commanding situations difficult of access. The sight of women bringing water from the streams in jars gracefully and easily carried on the head,

two or three being borne one above another, still amazes and interests us as it did the Chinese geographer's informant.

In more remote valleys lurked the negritos, nesting in the trees the author alleges. They were stunted in stature, with eyes round and yellow, curly hair, and teeth exposed by their parted lips. In groups of three or five they would ambuscade some unwary wayfarer and many fell victims to their cunning and deadly arrows. But throwing a porcelain bowl would make them forget their murderous purpose and off they would go, leaping and shouting in joy.

The country folk evidently did not inspire in the traders the same confidence these felt toward the Manilans. Their ships would anchor in midstream and none went ashore till there had been sent one or two hostages to be retained till the trading was over. Drum beating announced their arrival, when the local traders raced for the ship carrying, evidently as samples, cotton, yellow wax, and home made cloth, and coconut heart mats, whatever this last may have meant. In case of disagreement over prices the chiefs of the traders came in person, when, after a mutually satisfactory settlement had been reached, there would be presents given,—silk umbrellas, porcelain and rattan baskets, probably the first two from the visitors and the last from the people. Then the barter was concluded ashore. Three or four days was the usual stop in each place when the ships sailed to another anchorage, for each of the settlements was independent of its neighbors. The Chinese goods were porcelain, black damask, and other silks, beads of all colors, leaden sinkers for nets, and tin.

Polilo, on the Pacific coast, was also, but less frequently, visited, to obtain two prized varieties of coral. There local customs and commercial usages were the same as on the other side of the archipelago but though the settlements were more populous the coral was hard to get and so there was little trade. The coast, too, was dangerous, with the sea full of "bare ribs of rock with jagged tooth-like blasted trees, their points and edges sharper than swords and lances." Ships tacked far out from shore in passing to avoid these perils and besides the people were "of cruel disposition and given to robbery."

Northern Formosa, during this period, was not visited by Chinese for there were no goods of special importance to be gotten there while the people were also given to robbery, but Formosan goods,—yellow wax, native gold, buffalo tails, and jerked leopard-meat, were brought to the Philippines for sale.

For 1349, in an unpublished translation by Mr. Rockhill of "A Description of the Barbarians of the Isles (Tao-i-chih-lio) by Wang Ta-yuan is mentioned, the "three archipelagoes" if that is the proper way to distinguish between Chao-ju-kua's Sanhsu

and the present San-tao. Islands were for the Chinese merely places distant by a sea route from each other rather than our "bodies of land completely surrounded by water."

This author's region was to the east of a very curious range of mountains if one may translate the name "taki-shan." It was divided by a triple peak and there was range upon range of mountains, which suggests to Mr. Rockhill the Pacific coast of Luzon south of Cape Engaño.

As now, the soil was poor and the crops sparse, while the heated climate was variable.

The old question of a lost white tribe, attributed so often to Mindoro, is raised by mention of "some males and females" being "white." Perhaps the breeding principle that a second cross sometimes reverts to the original type may be the explanation. Chinese mestizos have seemed to me whiter here than Europeans blends with Filipinas where no Chinese strain was present. Their delicate beauty suggests the Caucasians from whom the earliest Chinese may have taken wives in the remote past before they came to the "eighteen provinces." The first Spaniards comment also on exceedingly fair Filipinas and as the Caucasian type is the European ideal of beauty it probably resulted that such mixed marriages as occurred were with these Chinese mestizas. The prejudice of new converts against pagans, linked with the humiliation to which the Chinese residents in the Philippines were subject during Spain's rule here, led to covering up and ignoring all Chinese relations and is a very good reason why even where known there is today reluctance to admit descent from the oldest of civilized races. Yet before the Spaniards came both in the Philippines and in the lands from which successive immigrations of Filipinos have come, the Chinese traders ranked with the aristocracy and Chinese wives were sought by royalty.

A trait by no means died out was a fondness for jewelry shown by stowaways on board junks for Chinchew. When their money was all expended on personal adornments they returned home, there to be honored as travelled personages, the distinction of having visited China raising them above even their own fathers and the older men.

The 1349 account of Mai, or Manila, credits the people with "customs chaste and good." Both men and women wore their hair done up in a knot and clothed themselves in blue cotton shirts. Since the earlier notice, within the century and a quarter interval, Hindu influence had become manifest for a sort of suttee is related. New widows with shaven heads would lie fasting beside their husband's corpses for seven days. Then if still alive they could eat but were never permitted to remarry and many when the husband's

body was placed on the funeral pyre accompanied it into the flames. The region must have been populous for on the burial of a chief of renown two or three thousand slaves would be buried in his tomb. The imports show more luxuries; red taffetas, ivory and trade silver figuring in the later list.

Sulu comes in for mention with fields losing their fertility in the third year of cultivation. Sago, fish, shrimps and shell fish made up the diet and the people, with cut hair, wore black turbans as may now be seen in parts of Borneo, and dressed in sarongs. Boiling seawater for salt, making rum and weaving were their occupations ashore, and dyewoods of middling quality, beeswax, tortoise-shell and pearls, surpassing in roundness and whiteness, were their exports.

Laufer (*Relations of Chinese to the Philippines*, p. 251) gives 1372 as the date of the first tribute embassy to China from the Philippine peoples under their present name of "Luzon-men," then designating principally Manilans (*Ming Chronicles* chap. 323, p. 110 according to his reference). Luzon was then stated to be situated in the South Sea very close to Chinchew, Fukien province.

The ruler of the great Middle Kingdom in return sent an official to the king of Luzon with gifts of silk gauze embroidered in gold and colors. The commentator adds a well founded caution against accepting the word "first" as meaning anything other than that the chronicler was unfamiliar with previous notices.

Laufer quotes from the *Ming Chronicles* of the Malayan tribe F'ing-ka-shi-lau whom he concludes are the Pangasinanes, inhabitants of the western and southern shores of Lingayen Bay, Luzon, but in earlier days apparently extending further north. Early in the XV century they had a small realm of their own, sending an embassy to China in 1406 and presenting the emperor as gifts "with excellent horses, silver and other objects" and receiving in return paper money and silks. In 1408 the chief was accompanied by an imposing retinue of two headmen from each village subject to his authority and these in turn each accompanied by some of his retainers. This time the imperial gifts were paper money for the sub-chiefs and for each hundred men six pieces of an open-work variegated silk, for making coats, and linings.

Besides a 1410 embassy from Pangasinan there was another tribute party from Luzon headed by one Ko-Ch'a-lao who brought products of his country, among which gold was most prominent. This last party came because in 1405 the Emperor Yung-lo had sent a high Chinese officer to Luzon to govern that country. Here is definite political identification with the Chinese empire. In 1407 it is probable this moral force of respect for the superior culture

of what was the Rome of the Orient witnessed also a physical demonstration, for in that year the eunuch Cheng-ho set sail, with his 62 large ships bearing 27,800 soldiers, on the expedition which explored as far as the Arabian Gulf and required the nominal allegiance of the numerous countries visited during repeated voyages extending over thirty years.

Ian C. Hannah states in his "Eastern Asia: A History" that outside the North of Toh Chow, in Shantung province, by a little mosque, is yet marked the burial place of a former sultan of Sulu who died on a visit to the Emperor Yung-lo in 1417.

In the same year, Sulu's eastern, western and village rajahs with their wives, children and headmen all came to the Chinese court with tribute, and another tribute mission from Sulu arrived in 1420.

About the middle of the XV century, Doctors Hose and McDougall in their history of Borneo (Pagan Tribes of Borneo London, 1912, chap. 1) assert, a Bisayan was king of Brunei. This Alak ber Tala, later to be called Sultan Mohammed, introduced Arabic doctrines into his kingdom and the use of Arabic writing made his reign the beginning of Brunei's local recorded history. His great grand nephew, Makoda Ragan, had Arab and Chinese as well as Bisayan blood, a fact remembered to this day by having representatives of these three races officiating at the king's coronation, and the fourth official on these occasions is dressed in ancient Bisayan costume. Makoda Ragah, also called Sultan Bul-kiah, is spoken of as the most heroic character in Bornean history and conquered the Sulu islands, and sent expeditions to Manila, the second time seizing the place. His wife, the first queen of the Philippines of whom we know, was a Javan princess. This great king was accidentally killed by his wife's bodkin. It was this monarch or his son who died in 1575 that so impressed the chronicler of Magellan's expedition.

Corroboration for this considerable historic association comes in the Chinese jars found in the oldest burial caves as well as prized among the more remote hill tribes as ancestral possessions, handed down from so remote an antiquity that their origin has long been forgotten and they are now venerated as objects that came from heaven (Fay Cole: Chinese Pottery in the Philippines). The four-toed dragon claw designs place them among the Chinese manufacture of not later than the last of the XIV century.

Legend is not lacking, either, for a tradition of Tapul (Saleeby: The Origin of the Malayan Filipinos, p. 1) relates that a Chinese rajah who anchored his boat at the south of their island had his daughter stolen in the night by the "dewas." She was hidden in a bamboo stalk and there found by the solitary male who had

hatched out of a roc's egg. Their daughter, the earliest recorded Chinese mestiza, was, according to Doctor Saleeby again, the grandmother of the Chiefs of Sulu.

The very name Luzon is not the time-honored rice mortar, *La sung*, but *Luzong* of which John Crawfurd (*History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. 1, p. 324) says: "The term, I have no doubt, is Chinese, for the Chinese, who destroy the sound of all other native names of countries, or use barbarisms of their own, apply the word *Lusong* familiarly and correctly." They even associate it with their famous dynasty of that name and have a joke of their own at the expense of the Spaniards (B. Laufer: *The Chinese in the Philippines*).

Naming in pairs is common enough by Chinese to make it seem more than a mere coincidence that these islands are called "*Liu sung*," while their neighbors to the north were originally "*Liu Kiu*."

Now to recapitulate, first are three doubtful references, the early Chinese names for the Philippines, the credit for exporting gold in the 3rd century with the corollary inclusion in the report of the Commissioners to the southern countries in A. D. 222-251, and the probability of the Buddhist pilgrim's ship having been driven by storm through the archipelago in 414; then "the thousand years" begins in the extreme south with "the land of the *liakshas*" whose people resembled the *Polans* mentioned in 518, 523 and 616; the *Bisayans* invading Southern Formosa and in commerce with Luzon in 605, an island group between Borneo and Mindanao known as *Ka-ling* in the period 618-906; tribute from *Dapitan*, Mindanao, as *Dvapatan* in 627 and 649, in company with *Kaling's* envoys, and the story of the just Queen of 674; other tribute missions from *Ka-ling* in 766-779, 813, 827, 835 and 837-850; *Manila* merchants arranging trade in Canton in 982, the *Formosan Bisayans* raids between 1174 and 1190; *Mindoro* and Luzon as "*Mai*" and *Calamianes*, *Palawan* and *Busuanga* by their names although somewhat distorted in a *Geography* written 1209-1214; in 1349 further descriptions of "*Mai*" and adjacent regions and of *Sulu*; for 1372 the first tribute mission from *Filipinos* under the name "*Luzon-men*"; a Chinese official sent to govern Luzon in 1405; (*Luzon*) tribute in 1406; a visit to Luzon by the great Chinese *Armada* in 1407; an imposing embassy from *Pangasinan* in 1408; the burial of a *Sulu* sultan near a *Shantung* mosque while at the Chinese court in 1417; another *Sulu* mission in the same year and a similar one in 1420.

(Because well known, I have left unnoted how the Chinese were found trading throughout the Philippines on the coming of the Spaniards).

Here are over 26 date vertabrae whereon to frame our pre-Spanish Philippine history of which the Chinese references are the backbone.

Other workers are in the field. Dr. Saleeby speaks with authority on the Moro region; Judge del Pan has cultivated Javan associations; Mariano Ponce knows the influence of Indo-China; Chancellor Robertson has brought to light valuable Bisayan bark writings and Negros manuscripts; Luther Parker traced the ancestry of King Lakandola; Commissioner de Veyra and Manuel Artigas have written of the ancient days of their native Leyte. H. Otley Beyer is looking for resemblances between the hill people and southern border Chinese; Judge Romualdez is seeking out the remains of the ancient alphabets; and the University history club numbers a host of future academicians zealous to know of their country's past. For all there is room. Not from one man's line but by the combined wisdom of all will the history of the ancient Philippines be restored.

The philologist will find interesting language coincidences from the Dravidian structure of Korean stretching along a suggestive island route which reaches through the Mon Khymer of the western Indo-China coast to India itself.

The naturalist will reveal further evidence of long land separation such as the dissimilar neighboring Mindoro and Lubang suggest, the anthropologist will re-write for us the story of the Philippines' former peoples by discovering relationships with the Borneans and Formosan tribes, and perhaps with northern Japanese, whose development has been less rapid so that they are now in stages from which the Filipinos have emerged. The geologist may, too, recognize here the monuments of unhewn stone which make the world-route of that wonderful ancient people whose difficultly distinguished memorials have been found on every continent.

Yet for all these, because scientific speculation is liable to err, the man-made records of civilized China, wherein are many other references obtainable through intelligent research, must be the balance and check to keep our restoration of the forgotten past within due bounds.

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