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A Research about the Chinese Terminology in *Viaje de la China* by Adriano de las Cortes

Una investigación sobre los términos chinos en *Viaje de la China* de Adriano de las Cortes

阿德里亚诺·德·拉斯·科尔特斯《中国纪行》中国名词考

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Abstract: This paper examines and researches the origin of the Chinese terms Spanishized by Adriano de las Cortes in *Viaje de la China* to refer to local objects or personal names from various Asian languages. Since there are certain errors in previous research, this article would be important not only

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to understand better this single work, but to understand many western works of that time on China, considering the fact that Westerners shared transliterations of many words of Chinese origin in their communications.

Key Words: *Viaje de la China*; Adriano de las Cortes; western works about China of 17th Century; Ming Dynasty; Sino-Spanish relationship in 17th Century; Sino-Western relationship in 17th Century; Chaoshan area in Ming Dynasty.

Resumen: Este artículo investiga el origen de los términos chinos españolizados por Adriano de las Cortes en *Viaje de la China* para referirse a los objetos locales o nombres personales provenientes de varios idiomas asiáticos. Dado que hay ciertos errores en investigaciones anteriores, este artículo sería importante para entender mejor esta obra de viaje, pero comprender muchas obras occidentales de aquella época sobre China, considerando el hecho de que los occidentales compartían transliteraciones de muchas palabras de proveniencia china en sus comunicaciones.

Palabras clave: *Viaje de la China*; Adriano de las Cortes; obras occidentales sobre China del siglo XVII; Dinastía Ming; Relación chino-española en el siglo XVII; Relación chino-occidental en el siglo XVII; área de Chaoshan en la dinastía Ming.

摘要: 《中国纪行》是阿德里亚诺·德·拉斯·科尔特斯撰写的一部游记，讲述了他在潮汕地区被囚的经历及见闻。他在游记中用西班牙语转写了大量来自其他语言的中国专有名词，包括本地特产、人名、官职等，然而西方学者关于本书专有名词的考辨多有谬误。本文对《中国纪行》中的中国专有名词进行了考辨与研究，期望借助这些研究能够更好地帮助读者理解《中国纪行》以及那个时代西方人撰写的关于中国的著作。

[关键词] 《中国纪行》；阿德里亚诺·德·拉斯·科尔特斯；17世纪西方关于中国的著作；明朝；17世纪中国与西班牙的关系；17世纪中国与西方的关系；17世纪的潮汕地区

1. Introduction

25th January of 1625, the fifth year of Tianqi of the Ming Dynasty, a Spanish galliot named *Nuestra Señora de Guía* set sail in the direction of Macau. In it, there was a Jesuit Spanish missionary called Adriano de las Cortes, who was dispatched to Macau to “treat a certain business of considerable importance (de consideración)” (De las Cortes 1991: 97). They never arrived. A shipwreck occurred subsequently on 16th of February at Chingaiso, a seaside military town located in the Chaoshan region of China, and the crew was arrested as foreign intruders (or perhaps invaders). Their prison life would not terminate until the 21st of February of 1626 when they eventually reached Macau after being absolved by Anchacu. It was when Adriano returned to Manila when he undertook the writing of his posthumously unearthed travel work, *Viaje de la China*. In it, the Jesuit priest records chronologically all the events that occurred during his one-

year and five-day imprisonment in China along with a lot of information about the politics, society, culture, economy, and mores of the Chaoshan region in the Ming Dynasty. The manuscript of *Viaje de la China* is currently preserved at British Library.

Adriano was an inquisitive traveler who was fond of inquiring and recording every notable thing he found, but the fact that he didn't speak Chinese made it difficult for him to collect information. Adriano resolved it by turning to the Chinese who had had experiences in the Philippines and doubtlessly mastered Spanish. However, the so-called "Chinos ladinos" were still obliged to verbalize in Chinese many untranslatable Chinese proper nouns or terms, for instance, toponyms, personal names, special local products. Those nouns or terms, in Mandarin of Ming Dynasty and Teochew, were absolutely strange and unintelligible for Adriano de las Cortes, since he was completely ignorant about China and Chinese. Adriano's solution was to transliterate them according to Spanish pronunciation, which perfectly tackled his problems, yet caused even more to later researchers. These Chinese terms in this book have prevented researchers from revealing the reality of the Chaoshan area of that time through this book and hindered readers from fathoming it. And we cannot forget that the Spanish and French editions did not offer enough data on these terms, and there were many errors in the identifications that these editors gave their readers. Therefore, it seems necessary to write a paper specifically to identify these terms and give information about them. In addition, our research not only serves for the research and readings of this same work, but also for those of the western works of the same period on China, since most of the western authors at the time used the same system of phraseology to describe China.

In this paper we will provide the pronunciations in IPA transcriptions for those words from Chinese languages. Quite a few nouns in this book hail from the Mandarin of the Ming Dynasty (明代官话), which is the *lingua franca* of China in Ming Dynasty, and also the language that common people used to communicate with the Mandarins. The IPA transcriptions of Mandarin of Ming Dynasty we use in this paper are all provided by *Yundianwang* 韵典网¹ based on *Hongwu zhengyun jian* 洪武正韻賧.

¹ The URL of this website is <https://ytenx.org/>

As far as the Teochew dialect is concerned, we have to give you some basic facts about it here. There are various accents in Chaoshan area. They vary according to the areas in which the accents are spoken. Among them, the Chaozhou accent, Jieyang accent, and Shantou accent are most important and influential. According to the main classification of Chinese linguists, all of them belong to the subgroup of *Chaoshanpian* 潮汕片 (we are following the terminology of Xu Fuqiong, while other scholars named it differently yet without denying such a subgrouping) (Xu 2015: 353; Li 1986: 93; Pan & Zheng 2009: 56). Many Chinese characters are pronounced differently and have different intonations in these accents. An example would be the very name of Chaozhou: it is pronounced [tʰie²¹³⁻⁵⁵ tʰiu³³] in Chaozhou accent, but [tʰio¹¹⁻⁵⁵ tʰiu³³] in Chaoyang accent. We therefore must pay attention to the accent that was used in the area where Adriano learned the corresponding word to avoid related errors because it is certain that Adriano transliterated these words according to the pronunciation in the accent he heard, which would very possibly be the accent used in the area he was in. However, we have also seen cases in which the word is not pronounced according to the accent of the corresponding area, but according to another accent.

Adriano de las Cortes mainly lived in Jinghaisuo, Pengzhousuo, and Chaozhoufu, which at present respectively belong to Huilai, Shantou, and Chaozhou. Thus we have to ascertain which accent was spoken at that time in these places in order to ensure we have accurate identifications. The Huilai dialect is basically the same as the Chaoyang dialect with slight variations. As for the accent of Pengzhousuo, it was not Shantou accent, because at that time there was no Shantou but Chenghaixian 澄海县. The current Shantou was established in Qing Dynasty, it opened its port in 1861 and finally became a city in 1921, separated from Chenghaixian (Editors of the Gazetteer of Shantou 1999: 233). After that, a large number of immigrants from other areas of Chaoshan came to Shantou, bringing here their own accents, which finally gave birth to a totally new and neutral accent: the Shantou dialect (汕头话). The formation of this accent, according to Shi Qisheng, was approximately in 1946 (Shi 1988: 106). Accordingly, when Adriano was imprisoned in Pengzhousuo in 1625, the Shantou dialect didn't exist, and the Chenghai dialect might be the accent the natives of Pengzhousuo were speaking (at least they are similar). Therefore, in

this article, we will principally give the IPA of the pronunciations of the characters in Chenghai dialect, Chaozhou dialect, and Chaoyang dialect².

2. The toponyms

“Oquien”, and “Aynao” (Fujian, Hainan) are nowadays provincial-level administrative divisions. They are transcriptions of some Chinese languages’ pronunciation of the corresponding characters Fujian 福建 and Hainan 海南. “Oquien” is probably from Hokkien, [hɔk³² kian²¹]³. The Spaniards probably omitted the initial pronunciation “h” and replaced the syllable “kian” with a syllable that exists in Spanish, “quien”. Adriano didn’t learn this name in Chaoshan: long before coming to China, Adriano already had been informed about this province in the Philippines by merchants. “Aynao” is evidently the Spanish form of “Ainão”, the Portuguese word for Hainan. In *Suma Oriental* (1512-1515), Tomé Pires wrote it as “aynam” (Cortesão 1978: 359), apparently from Hainanese [hai²¹³ nam²¹] or Mandarin [hai⁵³ nam¹¹]. In one of the *Carta de Cantão*⁴ from 1520, it is mentioned as Hainão (d’Intino 1989: 22), and eventually “Aynão” in *Tratado das coisas da China* (1569-1570). What Adriano does is simply follow the line that Gaspar da Cruz started.

The transcription of *fu* (prefectures) derives from the pronunciation in Mandarin [fu⁵³]. *Viaje de la China* mentions 12 *fu*: el reino de Cantón, Chauchiufu, Chauchiufu, Namgionfu, Cochiufu, Zianchiufu, Lichichiuifu, Dianechiufu, Quinchiuifu, Fuchiufu, Chinchiu, and el reino de Tinchiu. Two toponyms have the same spelling: Chaozhoufu 潮州府, from Mandarin [tʃ^hɿɛw¹¹ tʃiw fu⁵³], and Shaozhoufu 韶州府 (identification from Pascale Girard), presently the city of Shaoguan 韶关 (Girard 2001b: 501). Girard

² The pronunciations will be based on the dictionaries of *Chaozhou muyu* 潮州·母语 <https://www.mogher.com/>, and *Chaozhouyin zidian* 潮州音字典 <http://www.czyzd.com/>, the IPA will be based on the *Chaozhouhua pinyinfang'an* 潮州话拼音方案 published on Wikipedia <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/潮州话拼音方案>, and the tones and the tone sandhi, on Lin Lunlun’s *Chaozhoufangyan shengdiao yanjiu* 潮州方言声调研究 (1995, 52-54).

³ In this paper we will merely provide pronunciations in the Zhangzhou accent of Hokkien due to the prevalence of merchants from this city in the communication between China and Iberian countries in the 17th century. The IPAs of Zhangzhou Hokkien are provided by *Hanzi gujinyin ziliaoku* 汉字古今音资料库 <https://xiaoxue.iis.sinica.edu.tw/ccr/#>.

⁴ Due to errors from copyists, these two letters written by two different Portuguese prisoners in China was named erroneously *Carta de Cantão*, as if there were only one letter. The title of the letter we cite here is *Tretado de hũa carta que da China veo a qual carta escreveo Christovã Vieira Vasco Calvo que la estão captivos os quaes forão da companhia dos embaixadores que levou Fernão Perez anno de 1520*.

also identifies the rest of the *fu* respectively as Nanxiongfu⁵南雄府, Gaozhoufu⁶高州府, Zhaoqingfu⁷肇庆府, Leizhoufu⁸雷州府, Lianzhoufu⁹廉州府, Qiongzhoufu¹⁰琼州府, Huizhoufu¹¹惠州府, Zhangzhou¹²漳州, and Tingzhou¹³汀州 (Girard, 2001b, 501-502). Pascale Girard's identification is convincing, despite some problems related to the pronunciations. The readers can easily tell the incongruence between the pronunciations of Spanish transcriptions and IPA transcriptions of their counterparts: "Zianchiufu¹⁴" and [dʒiɛw²⁴ k^hiŋ²⁴ fu¹¹] (Zhaoqingfu), "Lichichiu" and [lui¹¹ tʃiw fu⁵³] (Leizhoufu), "Dianechiu" and [liɛn¹¹ tʃiw fu⁵³] (Lianzhoufu), and "Quinchiufu" and [k^hyuəŋ¹¹ tʃiw fu⁵³] (Qiongzhoufu), "Fuchiufu" and [fui²⁴ tʃiw fu⁵³]¹⁵ (Huizhoufu), "Cochiu" and [kaw tʃiw fu⁵³]. The pronunciation of "Chinchiu" or "Chincheo" and other variants is likewise a big problem.

Many counties (*xian*县) are called by Adriano "ciudad" (city). All of these *xian* appear as transliterations of Teochew. One of the most frequent *xian* in *Viaje de la China* is "Toyo" or "Toygo". Pascale Girard identifies this place as Chenghai澄海 (Introduction, 2001a, 26), nowadays a district of Chaozhou. Nevertheless, the real Chenghaixian appears in chapter 26 as "Tinghaicu" (De las Cortes, 1991, 286), directly transliterated from the Teochew pronunciation [t^hɛŋ¹¹⁻⁵⁵ hai²⁴⁻⁵³ ku¹¹] (Chenghai¹⁶). We can easily confirm that word "Toyo" derives from Teochew pronunciation of Chaoyang潮阳 [tio¹¹⁻⁵⁵ iō⁵⁵] (Chaoyang)¹⁷. A very strong evidence is

⁵ Nowadays Nanxiong City, Shaoguan City.

⁶ Nowadays Gaozhou City, Maoming City.

⁷ Nowadays Zhaoqing City.

⁸ Nowadays Zhanjiang City.

⁹ Nowadays Beihai City, Qinzhou City, and Fangcheng City in Guangxi Province.

¹⁰ Nowadays Hainan Province.

¹¹ Nowadays Huizhou City.

¹² Nowadays Zhangzhou City, Fujian Province.

¹³ Nowadays Changting County, Longyan City, Fujian Province.

¹⁴ In other places of this book, Adriano refers to this city as "Sciauquin", which is consistent with its pronunciation in *Mingqing guanhua*, therefore, in all likelihood, "Zianchiufu" is a misspelling for "Ziauchinfu".

¹⁵ All of these IPAs represent the pronunciations of the corresponding character in the Mandarin of the Ming Dynasty.

¹⁶ In Chapter 26 Adriano was still in Pengzhousuo waiting for the "chapa" (a sheet of steel or a token) to go to Guangzhou. Therefore, he was only likely to hear this word in Chenghai pronunciation.

¹⁷ We only provide the Chaoyang pronunciation here because when Adriano first mentions it in Chapter 6, he was still with the soldiers from Jinghaisuo who captured him on the beach. These soldiers

Adriano's depiction of Toyo which just corresponds to the circumstances of Chaoyang. In Chapter 7, Adriano found the river they navigated very broad, by it they arrived at Chaozhou (De las Cortes 1991: 148), which confirms the identity of this river: Rongjiang 榕江, whose estuary is wide and located exactly between Chaoyang and Chaozhou. They could easily arrive in Hanjiang 韩江 through the tributaries of Rongjiang, and eventually in Chaozhou. In chapter 25, Adriano relates that he went to Aymanso to visit Father Matsuda, and passed Toyo on the way, which suggests that Toyo was right between Aymanso and Panchiuso (De las Cortes 1991: 276). Aymanso represents the Teochew pronunciation of Haimensuo 海门所 [hai³¹-⁵³ meŋ¹¹⁻⁵⁵ so⁵³] (Chaoyang¹⁸), presently Haimenzhen 海门镇 (Haimen Town), Shantou City, and Panchiuso is the Spanish version of Pengzhousuo 蓬洲所 [p^hoŋ¹¹⁻⁵⁵ tsiu³³ so⁵³] (Chenghai), nowadays Pengzhoucun 蓬洲村 (Pengzhou Village), Shantou City. The position of Chaoyang is precisely between Haimenzhen and Pengzhoucun, while the location of Chenghai does not meet this condition.

Adriano mentions additionally eight counties in *Viaje de la China*: Quinio (or Quimir, Quimo, which are obviously clerical errors), Taupon, Timguan, Fulen, Teiyocuy, Fuelay, Yaupen, Tinghaicuin, Ancho. Along with Toyo, they are actually the eleven counties of Chaozhoufu in the Ming Dynasty, despite the phonetic incongruity of some of these placenames: Jieyang 揭阳, Dabu¹⁹ 大埔, Pingyuan²⁰ 平远, Puning²¹ 普宁, Chengxiangxian²² 程乡县, Huilai²³ 惠来, Raoping²⁴ 饶平, Chenghaixian²⁵ 澄海县, Haiyang²⁶ 海阳. The syllable “cuy” and “cuin” are both from the Teochew pronunciation of the character *xian*, [kuī¹¹]. “Taupon” might be the misspelling of “Taupou” and etymologically from the Teochew pronunciation of Dabu 大

spoke Huilai accent, which is very similar to Chaoyang accent, and it's also possible that Adriano heard this word from local residents.

¹⁸ This place is near Chaoyang, the habitants who lived there spoke Chaoyang accents, therefore here we use the Chaoyang pronunciation.

¹⁹ Nowadays Dabu County, Meizhou City.

²⁰ Nowadays Pingyuan County, Meizhou City.

²¹ Nowadays Puning City, Jieyang City.

²² Nowadays Meizhou City.

²³ Nowadays Huilai County, Jieyang City.

²⁴ Nowadays Raoping County, Chaozhou City.

²⁵ Nowadays Chenghai District, Shantou City.

²⁶ Nowadays Chao'an District, Chaozhou City.

埔 [tai²¹⁻³⁵ pou³³] (Chenghai²⁷). “Quinio” corresponds to the pronunciation of the name of the city of Jieyang in Chenghai accent [kik⁻² iě⁵⁵], but the Chaoyang pronunciation [kik⁻¹¹ iō⁵⁵] matches better. “Timguan” is somehow problematic: only the second syllable matches the pronunciation of Pingyuan in Teochew [peŋ¹¹⁻⁵⁵ iaŋ⁵³] (Chenghai). The pronunciations of Puning [p^hou²⁴⁻⁵³ leŋ⁵⁵] (Chenghai), Chengxiangxian [t^hiā¹¹⁻⁵⁵ hiě³³ kuī¹¹] or [t^heŋ¹¹⁻⁵⁵ hian³³ kuī¹¹]²⁸ (Chenghai) and Huilai [hui²¹⁻³⁵ lai⁵⁵] don’t match exactly the transcriptions “Fulen”, “Teiyocuy” and “Fuelay” either, but the connection between the pronunciations and transcriptions is perceivable. As for the identification of “Ancho”, it is more a hypothesis based on the description of Adriano about its location. In chap. 26, Adriano explains that “Ancho” is a part of Chaozhoufu but governed by its particular Mandarin (De las Cortes 1991: 286), Haiyang County (海阳县) is the only one that could match this condition. It is quite close to the city of Chaozhou, so close that we could consider them one, and in the Ming dynasty it had its own Local Magistrate (*xianling*县令). The pronunciation in Teochew for “Raoping” (Yaupen) is [ziou¹¹⁻⁵⁵ p^heŋ⁵⁵] (Chenghai) or [ziau¹¹⁻⁵⁵ p^heŋ⁵⁵]²⁹ (Chaoyang).

In chapter 28, we spotted another five *xian*: Theolo, Luxancuy, Onangecuy, Cuyxen³⁰, and Poloncuy. We precariously identify them as Changle³¹ 长乐, Lufengxian³² 陆丰县, Yong’anxian³³ 永安县, Guishan³⁴ 归善 and

²⁷ See note 9.

²⁸ The first one is the literary reading of the character *chang*, and the second one is the colloquial reading. The toponyms aren’t solely pronounced in literary reading, actually, the names of two of the most important cities of the Chaoshan area, Jieyang and Shantou, are read in colloquial form. Don’t really know which reading at that time was used to pronounce the name of Chengxiang (since in reality this place doesn’t belong to the Chaoshan area, but a county where Hakka people is the majority), thus we show here both of them.

²⁹ We don’t know why, it seems that Adriano’s transcription of Raoping is more similar to Chaoyang pronunciation, while in 26 Chapter he was still in Pengzhousuo, where the prevalent accent is the Chenghai one. We conjecture that this might be due to that Adriano didn’t hear this city in Pengzhousuo, but on the way to Chaozhoufu accompanied by Jinghaisuo soldiers, who did speak Chaoyang accent. Therefore, we consider it appropriate to provide here pronunciations of both accents.

³⁰ In her introduction of the Spanish edition of *Viaje de la China* (Moncó 1991: 82), Beatriz Moncó talks about Adriano’s habits of substituting “x” for “j” or “z”, which suggests the possibility that the transcriptions “Luxancuy” and “Cuyxen” could be regarded as “Lujancuy” or “Luzancuy”, and “Cuyjen” or “Cuyzen”. At the same time, the Teochew pronunciations of Lufengxian and Guishan are similar to “Lujancuy” and “Cuyzen”, hence the identification presented subsequently.

³¹ Nowadays Wuhua County, Meizhou City.

³² Nowadays Lufeng City, Shanwei City, Guangdong.

³³ Nowadays Yong’an City, Sanming City, Fujian.

³⁴ Nowadays Huiyang District, Huizhou City.

Panyu番禺. Their pronunciations in Teochew are, respectively, [t^hian²¹³⁻⁵⁵ lak^{ˀ5}] or [tie^{ˀ24-53} lak^{ˀ5}], [lok^{ˀ21-44} hon²³⁻³³ kuī¹¹], [ion²⁴⁻⁵³ an²³⁻³³ kuī¹¹] or [ion²⁴⁻⁵³ uā²³⁻³³ kuī¹¹], [kuī²³⁻³³ sien³⁵]³⁵, and [p^hūā²³⁻³³ ŋo⁵⁵]³⁶.

Except for the provinces, prefectures, and counties that we have mentioned above, Adriano also quotes the names of many towns: Chingaiso, Panchiuso, Aymanso, and Tatapo. They correspond respectively the Teochew pronunciation of Jinghaisuo³⁷靖海所, Pengzhousuo³⁸蓬州所, Haimensuo³⁹海门所, and Tatoubu⁴⁰踏头埔. “Suo”所 refers to *qianhusuo*千户所 (battalion of thousand men), the military institution that comprehends 1120 soldiers, commanded by a *qianhu*千户 (general for thousand men). The transcription Chingaiso represents the Teochew pronunciation of Jinghaisuo, [t^hen³³⁻³¹³ hai³¹⁻⁵³ so⁵³]⁴¹ (Chaoyang). Tatoubu is the ancient name of the Dahao island of Shantou (Dahaodao达濠岛), the current name that came into use in the early Qing Dynasty. Its pronunciation in Teochew is [ta^{ʔ11-55} t^hao¹¹⁻⁵⁵ pou⁵³]⁴² (Chenghai).

As for Amptao, in their work, Huang Ting and Du Jingguo talk about a port-market called Anbu庵埠, which in Late Ming and Qing Dynasty was a prosperous port and other ports served as its marine outfall (Huang, T., Du, J.), and, during the reign of Qianlong, this port became one of the trade centers that connect Haiyang, Jieyang, Chaozhou and Chenghai, the four most important counties of Chaozhoufu at that time (实为海、揭、潮、澄四县之通市) (Zhou 1763: vol.34, p.13; Huang, T. & Du, J.). The

³⁵ At that moment, Adriano was escorted from Chaozhou. The guards would use the Chaozhou accent to speak with him. Accordingly, we decide to show solely the Chaozhou pronunciation of these toponyms, which is pronounced differently in Shantou and Jieyang.

³⁶ In Chapter 28, Adriano had already arrived in Chaozhoufu, and he was accompanied by a group of 60 soldiers (una legión con sesenta soldados) (De las Cortes 1991: 296), possibly composed by local residents or outlanders that who had lived here so long that they had adopted Chaozhou accent. Therefore, in this paragraph, we will solely use Chaozhou pronunciation.

³⁷ Nowadays Jinghai Town, Huilai District, Jieyang City.

³⁸ Nowadays Tuojiang Subdistrict, Jinping District, Shantou City. The pronunciation of this name in Teochew (Chenghai accent) is [poŋ¹¹⁻⁵⁵ t^hiu³³ so⁵³].

³⁹ Nowadays Haimen Town, Chaoyang District, Shantou City. The pronunciation of this name in Teochew (Chenghai accent) is [hai²⁴⁻⁵³ muŋ¹¹⁻⁵⁵ so⁵³].

⁴⁰ Nowadays Dahao District, Shantou City.

⁴¹ The first time Adriano heard this name was in Jinghaisuo itself, whose residents spoke a dialect basically the same as Chaoyang dialect, so it's highly possible that Adriano heard this word pronounced in that dialect. Therefore, we provide here the pronunciation in Chaoyang dialect instead of others.

⁴² When Adriano mentioned this place, he was in Pengzhousuo, so here we provide the Chenghai pronunciation.

pronunciation of the name of this port in Chaozhou dialect⁴³ [am²³⁻³³ pou³³] also resembles Amptao. If the priest disembarked at the position of Xiayuan Primary School⁴⁴ today, and walked diagonally toward Pengzhousuo, they would also pass by here. The prosperity of Anbu in 17th Century can be corroborated by *Local Gazetteer of Chaozhou during the reign of Shunzhi* (顺治潮州府志), written in 1661, 35 years after Adriano's liberation. In it, Anbu was mentioned as a market (集市) by the name of Dutou'an渡头庵 (Wu, Y. 1661: vol.1, 10). During the reign of Shunzhi (1644-1661), the Customs was established in Anbu (庵埠志 1990: 162). At the same time, a so-called Meixishi (梅溪市) is mentioned in the *Chaozhoufuzhi during the reign of Jiajing*嘉靖潮州府志 (1547) (Guo, G. 1991: 192). These facts demonstrate that between 16th and 18th centuries Anbu was a considerably flourishing commercial port, and yet decayed in 20th Century due to Xidong port's siltation⁴⁵ (溪东港的淤积) (Huang, T., Du, J.).

3. Products and miscellaneous concepts or objects

The most of the local products originate from Asian languages. The word "chicueyes" is mentioned in chap.17. Pascale Girard identifies it as a Filipino word for *Diospyros kaki* (Chinese persimmon, *shizi*柿子) without specifying from which language it hails (Girard, 2001b, 491). Only two existing books mentioned this name, the other one is *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas* by Antonio de Morga (1609), where the author states that "chicueyes, green or dried, it's a very delicate fruit" (de Morga, 1890, 352), which still doesn't give us any hint about its etymology. The other words from the Filipino language are less problematic, they patola, gabe, ube, dilao, piles, cancones, and tona. These words are still used in Philippines at present. "Patola" is the Tagalog word for *Luffa aegyptiaca* (sponge

⁴³ The first time Adriano passed by Amptao was in his way from Chaozhou to Pengzhousuo, so it's very likely that he received this word in Chaozhou pronunciation, for this reason, the IPA that we put here is according to Chaozhou accent.

⁴⁴ Here is the address of this school, in Chinese and English: 广东省潮州市潮安区东凤镇下园村下园小学; Xiayuan Primary School, Xiayuan Village, Dongfeng Town, Chao'an District, Chaozhou, Guangdong.

⁴⁵ Anbu port is located in the west side of the Meixi River (梅溪河), a branch of Hanjiang, and this port is not on the seashore. Thus, it must depend on Xidong port, Heting port (鹤汀港) and West port (西港) to be connected with the sea. According to Huang Ting and Du Jingguo, from late Qing Dynasty to approximately 1964 (about 150 years), Xidong port was sinking into the mire of gradual siltation and gradually was being transformed into arable fields. Finally, Xidong port was replaced Shashantou Port (沙汕头港), which finally became the modern Shantou city, and Anbu port, consequently, converted into nothing but a small and humble town (Huang, T., Du, J.).

gourd, *sigua* 丝瓜). “Gabe” or “gábi”, also hails from Tagalog, which means *Colocasia esculenta* (taro, *yutou* 芋头), and “ube” or “ubi” is *Dioscorea alata* (purple yam, *shenshu* 参薯). Regarding “dilao”, in Gemelli Careri’s work he describes “dilao” as a product similar to ginger (Gemelli Careri 1700: 190; Girard 2001b: 495). In reality, “dilaw” is a Tagalog word for “yellow”, and the Tagalog word for turmeric (*Curcuma longa*, 姜黄 *jianghuang*) is “luyangdilaw”. “Piles” is the Spanish transliteration for Tagalog word “pili” (English uses the same name), *Canarium ovatum* (*piliguo* 霹雳果). “Cancones” comes from Tagalog “kangkong” (*Ipomoea aquatica*, water spinach, *kongxincai* 空心菜) (Girard 2001b: 498). “Tona” (in chap.16) is a misspelling for the Cebuano word “Tuna”, a kind of snake, “small, glossy-black, worm-like, deadly poisonous” (Wolff 1972: 1055).

“Muy”, “Canaa” and “Lurgan”, mentioned in chap.17 and 18, originate from various Chinese languages. “Muy” (*mei* 梅) is probably from Cantonese [mui²¹] or Mandarin of Ming Dynasty [mui¹¹], it is the fruit of *Prunus mume* (in English “Chinese plum”). “Lurgan” comes from Cantonese pronunciation of *longyan* 龙眼 (*Dimocarpus longan*), [luŋ²¹ ŋan²³]⁴⁶, and “Canaa” obviously emanates from Teochew [kā³³ na⁵³] (Chenghai), referring to *Canarium album* (*ganlan* 橄榄).

“Sangley” appeared in chapter 2 as a type of bell, and it is the Spanish appellation for Chinese people from Zhangzhou who lived in the Philippines during 16th to 19th centuries. The first western who spoke of this appellation is a subordinate of Martin de Goiti (a Spanish admiral). This subordinate related that the natives of Luzon called the inhabitants of China “Sangley” (Blair 1903-1909: vol.3, 74; Fan, & Wu 2021: 35). Regarding the etymology of Sangley, there are three theories in academia, *changlai* 常来, *shanglü* 商旅 or *shengli* 生理 (in Hokkien it means business, viz. *shengyi* 生意)⁴⁷. Their pronunciations in Hokkien are, respectively, [siaŋ¹³ lai¹³], [siaŋ⁴⁴ li⁵³] and

⁴⁶ Probably Adriano learnt these Cantonese words from Portuguese merchants who had gone to Guangzhou for the Trade Fair, which commenced in 1554 or 1555, suffered a suspension between 1559 and 1571 (or 1572), and eventually forbidden and closed in 1640 (Tang & Yan 2005: 104-109). These Portuguese merchants learnt these words from Cantonese people, modified them to suit their mother tongue, and imparted them to Adriano.

⁴⁷ Regarding the attitude of the scholars towards these three words in history, you may read the following articles (in Chinese): Fan, Qihua, & Wu, Jiansheng 范启华、吴建省, 2021, 浅析西菲时期闽南话音译词 SANGLEY 的汉语词源问题 (A Brief Analysis of the translation word “SANGLEY” Chinese Etymology in Minnan Dialect during the Spanish-Philippine Period)[J]. 福建史志 (Fujian shizhi) (2), 34-40; Lai, Lindong 赖林冬, 2016, 菲律宾语 Sangley 的汉语词源及翻译研究 (On the Chinese Origin and Translation of Filipino Word “Sangley”)[J], 兰州文理学院学报 (社会科学版) (Journal of Lanzhou University of Arts and Science, Social Sciences), 32(5), 100-104.

[sɿŋ⁴⁴ li⁵³]⁴⁸. Concerning pronunciation, obviously *changlai* resembles more the word “sangley”, however, as Fan Qihua et al. said, the theory that sangley originated from “often coming” was first proposed by Francisco de Sande (Blair 1903-1909: vol.4, 50; Fan & Wu 2021: 35), but Francisco de Sande was just repeating what people (possibly local natives) said. If Spaniards did learn this word from native Filipinos in 1570, this appellation should have appeared long before Spanish occupied the Philippines. Zhu Jieqin, in his work, have cited a lot of historical records to prove us that Chinese commenced their business and immigration to the Philippines long before 16th century, business approximately in Song Dynasty (Zhu 2016: 8-12), and immigration, presumably in 7th century (*ibid.*: 18-23). Native Filipinos could learn to call the Chinese “sangley” at any time in the period from the first arrival of the Chinese to the Philippines until the Spanish occupation. The word “sangley” did not take its form of “sanglay” in Tagalog until the 19th century, in another word, “sanglay” was in reality the result of phonetic change (Fan, & Wu 2021: 38). *Changlai* is not necessarily the etymology of “sangley”, now that “sangley” could be result of any phonetic change. Before it was romanized and standardized by Spaniards, it could have suffered various phonetic changes and native speakers of every dialect could change its pronunciation to suit their language.

In this day and age, Hokkien native speakers also use expression like 我经常来 [gua⁵³ kiŋ⁴⁴ sian¹³ lai¹³] (new-styled and deeply influenced by Mandarin), or more old-styled one, 我常常来 [gua⁵³ sian¹³ sian¹³ lai¹³], but we cannot verify that people from the 7th to the 16th century would use this expression very frequently, nor can we confirm that they did not use it. If this word did come from *changlai*, Chinese merchants had to use it very repeatedly, almost transforming it into a catchphrase that was used, if not every minute, at least every day, so that Filipino natives would hear this word every time they saw the Chinese and took it as the name for the Chinese people. *Changlai*, however, does not seem to be such a catchphrase. The colloquial word *shengli*, in Hokkien, however, is a word of this class. It means business, and those Fujienese who went to the Philippines were all businessmen, they had to repeat this word every moment and every day, and hence more exposure to local Filipinos. Furthermore, the word

⁴⁸ We solely provide here the Zhangzhou pronunciation instead of Quanzhou pronunciation because the majority of Fujian immigrants in the Philippines in 16th century, the first time “sangley” appeared, consisted of immigrants from Zhangzhou. If this word indeed hails from Hokkien, it should hail from Zhangzhou dialect.

“physiology” may have been brought to the Philippines very early, and after a long time, it was transformed into “sangley” by the indigenous people.

In chap. 19, Adriano mentions various types of textile fabrics. Except for *acabá* and *damasco*, two words still in use in modern Spanish, the rest of them need to be identified. *Hungmua*, *qua* and *tiu* are respectively the transliterations of Teochew pronunciation of *huangma* 黄麻 (*Corchorus*, jute), *ge* 葛 (a sort of textile fabric), and *zhu* 苧 (*Boehmeria nivea*, ramie): [oŋ¹¹⁻⁵⁵ mua⁵⁵], [kua[?]], and [tiu³⁵] (Chenghai), plus the *abacá* (*Musa textilis*, Manila hemp, *majiao* 麻蕉), Adriano mentioned all the main linens in the southeast of the Ming Dynasty (有麻布、苧布、葛布、蕉布等⁴⁹) (Wu, S. & Tian, Z. 1986: 251). Concerning the word *sin*, it is possibly a misspelling of *siu*, considering Adriano’s habitual confusion of “n” and “u”, and *siu* represents the Teochew pronunciation of *xiao* 绉 (raw silk), [siou³³]. “Lanquin” is obviously from “Nanjing” (南京), referring to the famous Nankeen cloth (*nanjingbu* 南京布), and has been recorded by various contemporary authors⁵⁰. As for “cadaqui”, it is a loanword still existing in Tagalog (kandaki) from Arabic *tiyaab-al-kandakiyyat* (a wool-cloth), and it is “a narrow and solid article of clothing from China” (Potet 2013: 139).

There are also words from other languages. “Canja” is the Portuguese word for congee or porridge, directly from Malay *kañji*, and this from Tamil *kánxi* (Nascentes 1955: 94). The word “margoso” for *Momordica charantia* (bitter melon, 苦瓜 *kugua*) might be another word from Portuguese “amargoso⁵¹” (bitter).

The money “condin”, which appears hither and thither in *Viaje*, is a Spanish variant of the Malay word “kunduri” (Marsden 1812: 270), which represents the influence of another European language (probably Portuguese)⁵². In modern English it is called “candareen”, considering that a 17th English author transfigured this word into “contrin” (Yule & Burnell

⁴⁹ Translation: there’s cloths of jute, of ramie, of *ge* and of *abacá*.

⁵⁰ In Ming Dynasty, this kind of cloth was called *songjiangbu* 松江布, referring to its true origin, Songjiang (nowadays Shanghai).

⁵¹ Nowadays, Tagalog people still use “amargoso” to refer to “bitter melon”, though the more frequent word is “ampalaya”.

⁵² Another Portuguese word “candim” (more frequently spelled as “candil”) might be confused with it (Dalgado 1919: 199). It is a loanword from Kokani language (native language of Goa) “khamdi” (or qhanddy) (Dalgado 1893: 122; de Santa Anna 1868: 143), and this from Tamil language “kañtil” (Fabricius 1972: 189), or Malay “kunduri”. In modern English, this is called “candy”. They are similar, but this word doesn’t hail from Chinese system, but a pure Indian unit for measuring weight, and otherwise it can’t be used as a unit of money.

2010: 119), Adriano also could tend to distort the pronunciation of this word to suit the pronunciation habit of his mother tongue. It, in reality, originates from *fen*分, a Chinese measurement of weight, equaling to 10 cash (*li*厘) and 1/10 mace (*qian*钱). According to Adriano's description, a "condin" was in China equivalent to "three maravedís and half" (De las Cortes 1991: 157), which suggests that ten "condins" was approximately one a real⁵³. A Castilian real was a silver coin weighing approximately 3.43 grams until 1642 (de Villanueva 2005: 336), and according to Qiu Guangming's research on several weights excavated by archaeologists from the late Ming Dynasty, a tael (一两) was in the late Ming Dynasty equivalent to between 35.8 grams and 37.2 grams (Qiu, 1992, 482-488), i.e., in late Ming, a real was approximately equivalent to a mace of silver (一钱银子). Then a condin means a candareen of silver (一分银子), but there was no sycee of one candareen during Tianqi's reign (Gu 1958: 455-456), so the "condin" might be a kind of copper coin, or Chinese cash (铜钱). According to Peng Xinwei's description, during the reign of Tianqi, the ratio of copper coins to sycees is unstable, but we could still sketch that a tael of silver was approximately between 600 and 1000 cashes⁵⁴ (*ibid.*: 456), i.e., a mace of silver was between 60 and 100 cashes, and a Castilian real is less than a mace of silver in China, which entails that a "condin" was approximately between 6 and 10 cashes (六到十文钱) or less. We might deduce this so-called "condin" as *dangshiqian*当十钱 (big cash for ten cashes), viz., a type of coin that each is worth ten cashes. The "big cash for ten cashes" started to be minted in the first year of Tianqi's reign (Zhang, T. 1974: 1968). It was called to terminate in fifth year (1625), and the "big cashes for ten cashes" was all retrieved in sixth year (1626) (Gu 1958: 485-486; Fang, G. 2018: 3-4). Therefore, during Adriano's imprisonment in Chaoshan, it was totally possible for him to be given and use *dangshidaqian*.

Many other currencies are also mentioned in *Viaje de la China*, except for "real", "maravedí", "ducado" and "testón", famous units of the Spanish currency system at that time, we also find currencies names from Portuguese like "caxa" and "chapa". "Caxa" comes from "caxo", a currency equivalent to half "pardau" or 150 "reals" (réis) (Dalgado 1919:

⁵³ According to *Pragmática de Medina del Campo*, a "real" equals 34 "maravedís".

⁵⁴ The first-hand source is from the *Veritable Records of Tianqi* (熹宗天启实录), vol. 8, the August of first year of Tianqi (天启元年八月戊戌), and vol. 25, the January of the third year of Tianqi (天启三年正月丙午) (Gu 1958: 490).

244), which eventually became the etymology of English word “(Chinese) cash” (一文钱). However, we are not supposed to deal with this problem according to Portuguese’s ratio, now that the “caxa” of Adriano is the same as “chapa”, and it is not a coin made of gold, but something far less valuable, just observe the description of Adriano: “Chinese use copper to mint the little coins which I mentioned above, the caxas. One hundred and fifty of them are worth a little more than Castilian real” (De las Cortes 1991: 242). A “caxa” is probably a Chinese cash, considering the etymological relationship between the Portuguese word and English word.

A “ducado” was a gold coin that, according to *Pragmática de Medina del Campo*, was worth 11 real and a “maravedi” (375 “maravedis”), and during the reign of Carlos I de España⁵⁵ (1516-1556), the escudo replaced it as the coin that represents the gold standard, and it was converted into a mere unit of count (Hernández 1998). According to its equivalence with the reales, we might deduce that a “ducado” is roughly equivalent to one tael of silver (一两银子), especially as a unit of count without any material expression.

“Testón”, the same as its etymology, “tostón”, is equivalent to half “duro” (8 “reales”) or a “real de a cuatro” (4 “reales”) (Monedas Españolas 2021), to wit, roughly less than four maces of silver (四钱银子). In Chapter 10 Adriano relates that Parian Chinese sold horse mane in China, three testones per catty (cate) (De las Cortes 1991: 173), viz., every catty one tael and two maces of silver (一两二钱银子).

Many words’ etymologies or identities are difficult to confirm. “Candol” is a species of plant from the family of *Cucurbitaceae* (Calabaza), and, according to Adriano, is thick and greenish (grueso y verdoso) (De las Cortes 1991: 232). *Local Gazetteer of Chaozhou during the reign of Shunzhi* records various plants from this family, and the only one that could fit the description is *Lagenaria siceraria* (Molina) Standl. var. *hispida* (Thunb.) H. Hara (*hugua* 瓠瓜) (Wu, Y. 1661: vol.1, 48), but we still ignore its etymology. “Lindines”, according to Pascale Girard, is the same as G. F. Gemelli’s “bilimbini”, which are the carambolas (*yangtao* 杨桃) (Gemelli Careri 1700: 169; Girard 2001b: 494). Nowadays many Southeast Asian languages are still calling it *balingbing*, *balimbing*, *belimbing*, etc., but such phonetical similarity only proves that Gemelli’s “bilimbini” is carambola. There’s no evidence for us to determine Pascale Girard’s idea, because “lindines” is

⁵⁵ In English he is more frequently called Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor.

not so similar to “bilimbini”, or other words of the same origin that we have mentioned. “Chabán” appears in chap.28 (De las Cortes 1991: 298), and undoubtedly it refers to *shengqi* as suggested by Pascale Girard (Girard 2001b: 503), but we still can’t seek out its etymology. It might be the Cantonese word *qiban* 漆板 ([tʃ^het⁵ pan³⁵], lacquered plank), when Adriano asks about the lacquer, the local boatman thought he was talking about the plank, and hence such misunderstanding, but this is merely a conjecture.

4. The personal names or official names

The official names are easy to identify since they appear not only in *Viaje*, but also in other similar western works, however, unfortunately, we failed to identify most of the personal names in this book. We hereafter concisely present our industrious but failed research.

No need to repeat some names of mandarins, people, or monks, either well researched or easy to identify, such as *Tutan*, *Aytao*, *Colao*, *Anchaçu*, *Chaen*, *Gogcong*, *Humuno*, *Tiengnes*, *Chumpin*, *Nico* or *Fuision*. Here are the Chinese characters and transliterations of their origins, based on excellent research by previous researchers: *dutang* 都堂⁵⁶, *haidaofushi* 海道副使⁵⁷ (modified as *haidao* 海道), *gelao* 阁老⁵⁸, *anchashi* 按察使⁵⁹,

⁵⁶ In Ming Dynasty, *dutang* is the appellation for those mandarins from *duchayuan* 都察院 (The Censorate), and *duchayuan* also sent a lot of officials to provinces to manage military affairs, e.g. patrols, *tuntian* (give the fields to the soldiers to plow) (Zhang, T. 1974: 1834). This is obviously *liangguang-zongdu* 两广总督 (General of the provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi). Adriano always talks about “el Tutan de Cantón”, but in fact the base of *liangguangzongdu* was in Zhaoqing since 1564 (Shen, S. 1989: 1040; Guo, H. & Jin, R. 2007: 798). In *Viaje* Adriano relates that when twelve of the prisoners arrived in Guangzhou, they found that this “Tutan” had been dismissed on June 23, 1625 (De las Cortes 1991: 278), which confirms that this “Tutan” was obviously He Shijin 何士晋, the current *liangguangzongdu* who was dismissed (削) on May 14, 1625, for forming clique (党护) (Xizong zhehuangdi shilu: Vol.59, 天启五年五月辛酉; Gao, R.: Vol.14). If we convert May 14, 1625, Lunar calendar to the Gregorian calendar, it will be June 18 (Fang, S. & Fang, X. 1987: 645).

⁵⁷ *Haidaofushi* was one of the deputy officers of the provincial surveillance commission (提刑按察司), in charge of coastal defense and ocean trade and consequently has to deal with affairs related to foreigners. In a letter by João Rodrigues in *Viaje*, the Portuguese priest says that the *Haidaofushi* was changed between July and August (De las Cortes 1991: 281), we can therefore affirm that he was Qiu Maowei 丘茂炜, who took in charge on May 23 or June 18 of 1625 (升江西布政使司右参议丘茂炜为广东按察司副使分守海北道) (Xizong zhehuangdi shilu: Vol.59, 天启五年五月庚午).

⁵⁸ Appellation for the members of Grand Secretariat (*neige* 内阁) of Ming Dynasty.

⁵⁹ *Anchashi* was the senior officer of the provincial surveillance commission, in charge of juridical matters (Zhang, T. 1974: 1840). It was *Anchashi* who decided to release the prisoners of Nuestra Señora de Guía in December of 1625, the current *Anchashi* was Pan Runmin 潘润民 (Brook 2009: 110; Xizong zhehuangdi shilu: Vol.56, 天启五年二月乙巳), and he will stay in this post until the sixth year (Xizong zhehuangdi shilu: Vol.75, 天启六年, 二月癸亥).

duchayuan 都察院 (modified as *chayuan* 察院⁶⁰), *guogong* 国公⁶¹, *hongwu* 洪武, *tianqi* 天启, *zongbing* 总兵⁶², *nigu* 尼姑, *heshang* 和尚. *Tutan*, *Aytao*, *Colao*, *Anchaçu*, *Chaen*, *Chumpin* represent the pronunciation of Mandarin of Ming Dynasty with slight modification: [tu t^hɑŋ¹¹], [hai⁵³ daw²⁴], [kɔʔ(k) law⁵³], [ʔan²⁴ tʂ^haʔ(t) ʂi⁵³], [tʂ^haʔ(t) (ŋ)jjuɛn²⁴] and [tsuŋ⁵³ pin]. *Nico*, *Fuision* and *Gogcong* are perhaps from Teochew pronunciation: [ni²¹³⁻⁵⁵ kou³³], [hue²¹³⁻⁵⁵ siē¹²] (Chaozhou), and [kok¹ koŋ³³] (Chenghai)⁶³. About *Tiengnes* and *Humuno*, we ignore their etymology, possibly from Portuguese. “Lautea” in chap. 2 (De las Cortes, 1991, 102) also appears in Gaspar da Cruz’s work as “loutea” (da Cruz, 1997, 33). Adriano’s “lautea” is obviously from Teochew word *laoye* 老爷 (master, lord), [lau³³⁻³¹³ ia⁵⁵] (Chaoyang), instead of *laojia* 老家 (hometown) as Pascale Girard suggests (Girard 2001b: 482), and Gaspar da Cruz learned this word from Cantonese [lou²³ jɛː¹¹].

As for Chaozhoufu’s mandarins, they are undoubtedly the most difficult to identify. “Tavia”, “Talavia”, “Tayya”, “Goucia”, “Moucia”, “Cabanchon”. Especially the first three, they are like non-identical triplets that have made the identifier suffer a lot. “Tavia” is described by Adriano as the “Viceroy” (Visorey), i.e., *zhifu* 知府 (the prefect), and the “Viceroy” died in chap. 26, on Oct. 25, 1625 (De las Cortes 1991: 285). However, when Adriano was in the Chaoshan area, the current prefect of Chaozhou was Li Shi 李栻 (Zhou, 1763, vol.31, 33), who afterward obtained promotion in 1627⁶⁴ (Xizong zhehuangdi shilu, Vol.80, 天启七年, 正月己卯). And actually,

⁶⁰ The Chaen, as described by Simão da Cunha in *Viaje*, was the supervisor (visitador) of all of the Mandarins (De las Cortes 1991: 290). It is obviously *Chayuanxun’an* 察院巡按, another name of *xun’anyushi* 巡按御史, the mandarins dispatched to the provinces to supervise local officials (Zhang, T. 1974: 1768). In the letter Simão da Cunha informs the arrival of the new Chaen, who was called Chen Baotai 陈保泰, replacing Hu Liangji 胡良机, who was dismissed for leaving the base without receiving any order from superior (Xizong zhehuangdi shilu: Vol.60, 天启五年, 六月丁丑). And we can observe that Chen Baotai was still in the post in December (Xizong zhehuangdi shilu: Vol.66, 天启五年, 十二月乙亥).

⁶¹ The first rank of the nobility of China, equivalent to “duke”.

⁶² In principle, *Zongbing* was a general who merely settled in the border regions, and they did not have much power. In the late Ming, however, they became senior generals.

⁶³ “Nico” and “Fuision” are mentioned in chap.9, when Adriano was still in Chaozhou, ready to go to Pengzhousuo, so we here put the Chaozhou pronunciation, however, Chaoyang pronunciation of *heshang* seems to fit better the word “Fuision”: [hue¹¹⁻⁵⁵ siō³³]. As for *Gogcong*, it appears in the second part of this book, we don’t know where Adriano has learned this word, but very probably in Pengzhousuo, now that he spent almost all his imprisonment time in it, so here what we provide is the pronunciation of Chenghai.

⁶⁴ Besides, Adriano’s description of the incomes of Mandarins is highly doubtful. In 1373, the prefectures were divided into three ranks according to the revenue, however, this division was canceled thereafter, and all of the prefects were of rank 4A (正四品) (Lü 2015: 555). According to Zhao Yi 赵翼, Mandarins of rank 4A earned 228 bushels (*dan* 石) of rice annually. If we calculate it according to the

Li Shi's last name does not correspond to Tavia's, Jan (possibly from *han* 韩, in Teochew [haŋ⁵⁵]).

Concerning "Talavia", in chap. 5, Adriano describes him as "the General of the military" (General de la gente de guerra), and that he was called "Samhu", the second official of the prefecture (reino) after the Viceroy (De las Cortes 1991: 135). Perhaps he was the military commissioner of the Chaozhou garrison⁶⁵ (潮州卫指挥使) if we think of Adriano's description about him. His last name is "Men", perhaps the transliteration of *Ming* 明 in Teochew, [meŋ⁵⁵], but we cannot even decide this.

As for "Tayya", his last name is "Vy", transliteration of *Mi* 米 in Teochew, [bi⁵³], and he is "the second of the court of Chaozhoufu city" (De las Cortes 1991: 153), and the "mandarin of the prefecture's property" (Mandarin de Hacienda Real) (De las Cortes 1991: 258). His capacity could be easily deduced as *tongzhi* 同知 (Vice-prefect), though *tongzhi* doesn't merely take in charge of prefecture's property, but also other military and agricultural affairs (Zhang, T. 1974: 1849). An inscription in a literary temple (文祠) in Anbu town demonstrates that in 1626 the Vice-prefect of Chaozhoufu was Mo Tianlin 莫天麟 (Yang 2019: 12).

"Talavia", "Tavia", and "Tayya" are but transcriptions of *dalaoye* 大老爷, or *daye* 大爷, common people's appellation for the mandarins. According to *Liunansuibi* 柳南随笔 (Essays Written in Liunan), "in Ming Dynasty..... only those officials whose rank is equal or superior to the senior mandarin of the Three Financial Bureaus and their deputy officials could be called *laoye*, and the rest cannot be called but *ye*..... and those whose father was already called *laoye*, they should be merely called *daye* even if they are superior in rank" (Wang, Y. et al. 1983: 91). The bottom rank of this list, the assistant surveillance commissioner (*anchaqianshi* 按察僉事), is of rank 5A (正五品) (Lü 2015: 475), which entails the conclusion that obviously "Tavia" and "Tayya" were called *daye* because their father had acquired the appellation of *laoye*, while "Talavia", apparently from *dalaoye*, was given this title thanks to his elevated level as a Mandarin.

price of rice during Tianqi's reign, 0.927 per bushel (Gu 1958: 497), then it is 267 taels of silver (roughly 267 ducados), and if we calculate it according to Zhao Yi's description, "6 maces and 5 candareens are considered as one bushel of rice" (银六钱五分当米一石), the income of prefects was even less (Zhao & Wang, S. 1984: 750). Adriano, however, in chap. 21, says that Tavia, the Viceroy, could earn annually 2630 ducados (De las Cortes 1991: 258).

⁶⁵ Many of the Chinese historical terms that we quote in this paper are translated from ChinaKnowledge.de (Theobald 2000), please kindly view <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/index.html>.

“Goucia” and “Mocia” are apparently of last name Wu吴 and Mo莫, in Teochew [gou⁵⁵] and [mok⁴⁴]. The only problem that we feel compelled to face is the suffix “cia”. Its etymology is undoubtedly *she*舍, pronounced in Teochew [sia²¹³], the suffix for scions of aristocratic families (少爷). This suffix appears in a theater manuscript, under the title *Liuxibi jinchaiji* 刘希必金钗记 (Story of Liu Xibi’s Golden Headwear), in Teochew of the Ming dynasty, which shows that this suffix already existed in that dynasty (Chen, L. 1992: 173). Such a suffix continues to exist in modern Teochew, *a’she*阿舍 (in Teochew [a²³⁻³³ sia²¹³]) is currently an appellation for those sons of well-to-do families or powerful mandarins (or, modernly, officials), and you can also add a word from that person’s name (including family name) in front of this suffix to address those noble children or playboys, nowadays often ironically (Chaozhou muyu 2021b). In *Liuxibi jinchaiji*, the character Song She宋舍 (Master Song) is called in this way, [song⁴²⁻²¹³ sia²¹³], when another character satirizes him for being single at 30 years old and lecherous (宋舍, 你三十岁没老婆, 又来假佐少年郎…… 宋舍为人好风梭, 说话甚痴歌⁶⁶……) (Chen, L. 1992: 173), however, with that we cannot conclude that such a suffix was used for irony at the time, because Song She is *de facto* a member of the aristocracy, which is manifested in his claim: “Good reputations had my ancestors; the states and the counties are my backyards. All mandarins and aristocrats are my sworn brothers” (我家积祖有名声, 州县由我横行。但是官员并子弟, 尽是我结义兄弟) (*ibid.*). No other proof can show us if this suffix is suitable for Mandarins in the 17th century, or denies that it can be used for Mandarins, or tells us its accurate usage at that time. However, the following fact does tell us something: in *Xingshi yinyuan*醒世姻缘, the character Chao Yuan, son of a famous and noble father, is called Chao Dashe晁大舍 after being named as *xianling*县令 (County Magistrate), which suggests to us that in the 17th century, the word *she* could also be used for mandarins for being sons of noblemen (Xi Zhousheng 1986: 2-4; Chien, H. 2016: 344). Therefore, at that time, it was also possible that local people called Mocia and Goucia, Moshe莫舍 or Wushe吴舍 to indicate their nobility, after all, common people don’t speak Teochew with these mandarins, they don’t have to follow the standard usage of this word in Teochew.

⁶⁶ Translation: Song She, you are single at 30, and still pretend to be a stripling……Lustful things are favorite of Song She, and lustful is his speech……

“Goucia” is the third official of Chaozhoufu’s court (De las Cortes 1991: 153), i.e., the *Tongpan* 通判 (the controller general), the third prefectural official after the prefect and the vice-prefect. He is probably Wu Sheng 吴升, one of the *Tongpan* during Tianqi’s reign (Zhou 1763: vol.31, 40). As for “Mocia”, he is the fourth official (De las Cortes 1991: 134), and accordingly the *Tuiguan* 推官, the fourth prefectural official.

The last name we have to decipher is “cabanchon”, the Mandarin who led the soldiers to raid Adriano and his companions, and yet it is not the least troublesome. Our rudimentary idea is that he is the *zhengqianhu* 正千户 (the general for thousand men) of Jinghaisuo (Jinghaisuo is a battalion of thousand men), which could be roughly understood as the principal general for a battalion of thousand men (千户所). *Local Gazetteer of Huilai* (惠来县志) provides a list of names of Mandarins who served in Jinghaisuo but it doesn’t tell us any time, so we cannot make any deductions with it (Zhang, S. 1968: 376-378). Other than that, we don’t know anything about “cabanchon”.

5. Conclusion

Whenever and wherever a civilization (or an individual of a civilization), finds itself between another civilization, contact, and conflict consequently begin, this is the case of Adriano and China in his book. The invalidity of his mother tongue can be observed when he had to transcribe or transliterate words from languages whose phonetics were totally out of his reach: Teochew and *Mingqing guanhua* (from this fact we can also observe the bilingualism and the language mixing at that moment in Chaoshan area). There was no Wade-Giles romanization, nor *Pinyin*, nor that the Ming empire accepted Latin letters as a valid alphabet. His anterior linguistic experience was invalid in the face of this great empire. The only thing he could do was to transliterate, hopelessly and therefore arbitrarily, what he needed to represent in his text. It is for the same reason that when he met with the products, which China shared with Southeast Asian countries, he recurred to his fellow Southeast Asians and used words from their languages, which is far more accessible for him.

From this fact not only come out difficulties that have entangled us enough when we read *Viaje de la China*, both for foreign researchers and Spanish researchers, but also, we have to know, at that time and in the circumstance corresponded the desperate difficulty he had before these Chinese nouns and the desperate efforts he made to make known to his

readers the most mysterious part of China that they had never known from other similar books, without flattering or exaggerating, and with a little resentment.

This article will serve as an introduction and a critical glossary so that Chinese or Spanish or other researchers could delve further into this text and excavate more interesting facts from. However, it should be known that due to the lack of dependable reconstruction of the 17th century Teochew and the lack of accuracy of Adriano transliteration, we lack decisive evidence. Let us hope for further research with better evidence and methodologies that could offer more abundant and reliable identifications.

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