



# *The Murillo Bulletin*

Issue No. 2

June 2016

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## *In this Issue*

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PHIMCOS News & Events	<i>page</i> 2
<i>A Venetian in the Visayas: Antonio Pigafetta's Journey through the Islands</i> by Margarita V. Binamira	5
<i>The Naming and Mapping of the Batanes: Mapmakers have a Problem with these Islands!</i> by Peter Geldart & Christian Perez	9
<i>Rhubarb and the European Mapping of Central Asia</i> by Richard T. Jackson	17
PHIMCOS Board Members & Members 2016	22
PHIMCOS Committee Members 2016	23
PHIMCOS Membership & Enquiries	24

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The Philippine Map Collectors Society (PHIMCOS) was initiated in 2007 by a group of five enthusiasts in Manila who conceived the formation of the first club for map collectors in the Philippines. Membership of the Society, which has now grown to a current total of 26 active members, is open to anyone interested in collecting maps, historical prints, paintings, and old photographs of the Philippines. At the Society's general meetings, held quarterly, members discuss club business, exchange cartographic news, and show each other items of interest. After dinner a member or invited guest (or sometimes both) will give a presentation. The Society also sponsors exhibitions, lectures and other educational events.

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**Front Cover:** *Chart of the Philippine Islands, from the Spanish Chart, with the Adjacent Islands.*

*By A. Arrowsmith. Corrected from the Charts of Morata & Coello, 1841, 1851, and from the Survey of Com.<sup>r</sup> Bate, R.N. 1854. Published by R.H. Laurie, No. 53 Fleet Street, London, 1862.*

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## PHIMCOS News & Events

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**O**UR FIRST issue of *The Murillo Bulletin* was published in April and was received with enthusiasm. We thank our readers for their support, especially those members of PHIMCOS who purchased 20 copies of the journal (see below); and we are also very grateful to our advertisers without whom we would not be able to maintain and enhance this and future issues.

The first general meeting of 2016 was held at the Arya Residences on 10 February. The conversation was lively, with 17 members and six guests in attendance including our newest member Bill Brandenburg and his wife Marcy. After dinner we enjoyed two excellent presentations. The first, by Marga Binamira, was *A Venetian in the Visayas: Antonio Pigafetta Maps the Islands*, in which she spoke about Pigafetta, his account of the Visayan portion of Ferdinand Magellan's voyage around the globe, Magellan's death on the island of Mactan, and the various editions of Pigafetta's magnum opus *Primo Viaggio Intorno al Globo Terracqueo* or the *Journal of Magellan's Voyage*. The article on page 5 expands Marga's presentation.

In the second presentation, *Rhubarb and the European Mapping of Central Asia – From Munster to the Present*, Richard Jackson (an acknowledged expert on the subject) gave a highly entertaining discourse on the nature of rhubarb, its properties, varieties and value as a medicine in the late Middle Ages, and the maps that located its mysterious sources in Chinese Tartary. Among other little-known facts, we learned of the connection between rhubarb and the plague-carrying marmots of Mongolia. The meeting was rounded off with a delicious rhubarb pie very kindly provided by Rolf Lietz. Richard's full article is on page 17.

Our second meeting of 2016 took place on May 18, at the same venue. The PHIMCOS Board of Directors for the current year was approved, being the same board as in 2015 with the addition of Hans Sicat. The President announced that the board has approved both a modest increase in the attendance fees for members and guests (see page 24) and a new category of Joint Membership for members who wish to join as a couple.

## THANK YOU

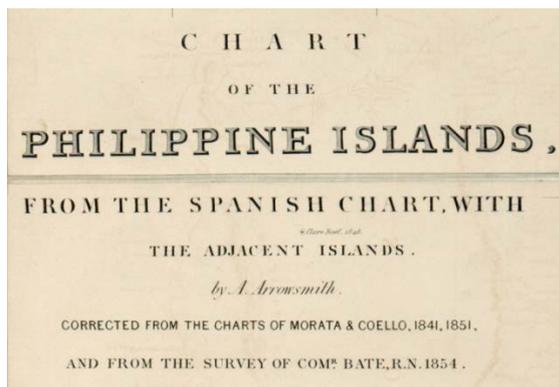
*to the following members of PHIMCOS  
for supporting the inaugural issue of*

### *The Murillo Bulletin*

- Margarita V. Binamira ● Mariano Cacho, Jr. ● Peter Geldart ●  
● Jaime C. González ● Jaime C. Laya ● Rudolf J.H. Lietz ●
- Raphael P.M. Lotilla ● Jose L. Mabilangan ● Carlos Madrid ●  
● Alberto Montilla ● Christian Perez ● Vincent S. Pérez ●
- Dieter Reichert ● Alfredo Roca ● Hans B. Sicat ● Jonathan Wattis ●

After dinner Alfredo Roca gave a presentation on *The Philippine Islands through the eyes of Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde, Francisco Diaz Romero and Antonio Ghandia* in which he compared Murillo Velarde's famous *Carta hydrográphica y chorográphica de las Yslas Filipinas* (1734) with the equally beautiful (but much less well-known) *Carta Chorographica del Archipelago de las Islas Philipinas* by Diaz Romero and Ghandia (1727). Alfredo's article on these two maps (in the context of other maps of the period) will appear in the next issue of *The Murillo Bulletin*.

Peter Geldart then gave short presentations on two maps he had brought to show members. The first was Aaron Arrowsmith's *Chart of the Philippine Islands, from the Spanish Chart 1808*. He explained that Arrowsmith's map, published in London in 1812, was copied from the *Carta General del Archipelago De Filipinas* by Felipe Bauzá published by the Spanish Dirección Hidrográfica in 1808.



*Title from the 1862 edition of Aaron Arrowsmith's Chart of the Philippine Islands*

New editions of the chart were published by Samuel Arrowsmith in 1832 and by Richard Holmes Laurie (with the addition of an inset *Plan of the Bay of Manila*) in 1845, 1853 and 1862. The last of these, illustrated on the front cover, has been corrected from the charts of the Spanish cartographers Juan Morata and Francisco Coello, and the surveys of Commander William Thornton Bate of the Royal Navy.

The second map shown at the meeting was the rare "pirated" version of Herman Moll's map of *Asia* by the Dublin publisher George Grierson. This will be the subject of another article to be included in the next issue of our journal.



*The Roving Exhibition at De La Salle University*

In *The Murillo Bulletin* Issue No. 1 we featured the PHIMCOS Roving Exhibition, which displays reproductions of important maps of southeast Asia and the Philippines at schools and universities in order to introduce students unfamiliar with the subject to the historical and geopolitical importance of cartography.

These well-attended events are always received with enthusiasm. In the first half of this year the PHIMCOS Education Committee was able arrange for the Roving Exhibition to be displayed at four venues, starting with the Philippine Women's University, Manila from 25 January to 5 February. PHIMCOS organised the exhibition in conjunction with the PWU's Schools of Arts & Sciences, Fine Arts & Design, Tourism, and International Relations & Diplomacy.

On the last day of the exhibition at PWU Dr Leovino Garcia gave a lecture on the theme "Putting the Philippines on the Map", attended by Mel Velasco Velarde who had kindly provided a full-sized copy of his example of the famous Murillo Velarde map.



*Dr Leovino Garcia lectures at the PWU*

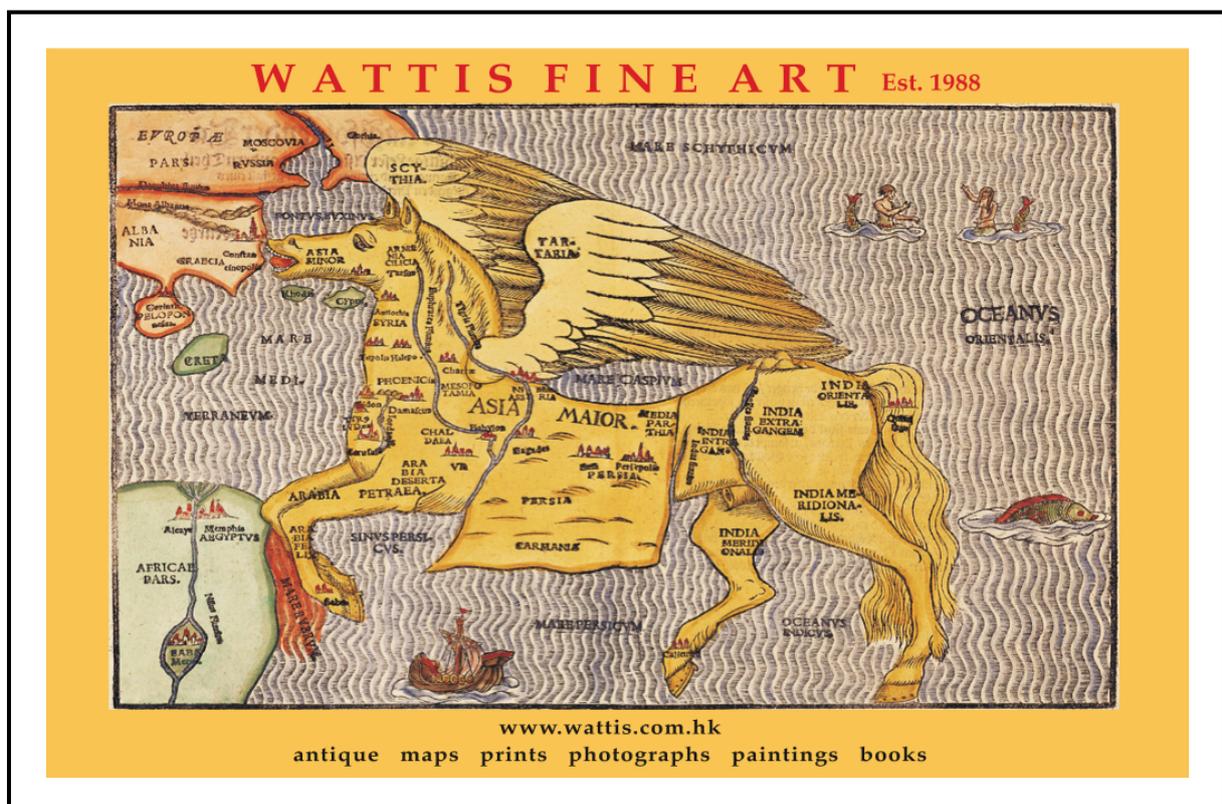


Jimmie González,  
Joel Binamira,  
Marga Binamira,  
PWU President  
Dr. Francisco Benitez,  
Amb. Rosario Manalo,  
Olivia Villafuerte,  
Rina Filart and  
Manny Ticzon at  
the opening of the  
exhibition at PWU

The other Roving Exhibitions so far this year took place at St Scholastica's College, Manila from 7 March to 15 March; at The Manila Polo Club from 8 June to 14 June as part of the club's Independence Day activities; and at De La Salle University, Manila from 20 June to 29 June, arranged by the DLSU Libraries. The Roving Exhibition has now been moved to Cebu, where it will be on display at the University of San Carlos from 11 to 22 July.

PHIMCOS is proud of its tradition of arranging and sponsoring exhibitions of maps, prints and

related historical items, and the preparations for our next exhibition, to be entitled *Mapping the Philippine Seas*, are well in hand. An Exhibition Committee has been formed and is in the process of selecting the maps and charts from members' collections to be included. Our current plan is for the exhibition to open on 14 March 2017, most likely at the Metropolitan Museum of Manila, and run until the end of April 2017. Further information will be provided as our preparations progress, and we hope that as many readers of *The Murillo Bulletin* as possible will be able to attend the events.



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## *A Venetian in the Visayas: Antonio Pigafetta's Journey through the Islands*

by Margarita V. Binamira

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ON 20 SEPTEMBER, 1519 five small caravels under the command of the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan set sail from Sevilla and down the Guadalquivir River to begin a voyage that would take them from Spain across the Atlantic Ocean, down the coast of South America, through the straits that would come to bear their captain's name, and across the Pacific Ocean to the Ladrone Islands in the Marianas. After an attempted mutiny and the loss of two ships, and having suffered from intense storms, hunger, scurvy and thievery, three of the vessels (the *Victoria*, the *Trinidad* and the *Concepción*) sighted Samar Island in the Visayas on 16 March, 1521. The next day, nearly 18 months after leaving Spain, Magellan and his crew dropped anchor off the small island of Suluan. Here began Antonio Pigafetta's 46-day journey through the Visayan islands.



Portrait said to be of Antonio Pigafetta in the Biblioteca Bertoliana, Vicenza

Pigafetta, in all likelihood the first Venetian to set foot in the Philippines, was the expedition's chronicler. His detailed account of Magellan's voyage was published as *Relazione del primo viaggio intorno al mondo* (Report on the First Voyage around the World). As will be explained, Pigafetta's work, which is also known as the *Journal of Magellan's Voyage*, has a complicated publication history as the original manuscript, now lost, has come down to us through several translations some of which have also been lost. This article focuses on the 46 days Pigafetta spent in the Visayas.

Not much is known about Pigafetta's childhood and youth, but it is believed that he was born around 1491 in Vicenza, then a protectorate of

Venice. He was from a wealthy family, and at the age of 24 he was a member of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a group of Christian Knights based in Rhodes. In 1518, the Grand Master of the order sent Pigafetta to Spain to meet the new Spanish king, Charles I (*aka* the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V). At the royal court, Pigafetta heard of Magellan's forth-coming voyage and was fascinated by the prospect of sailing west in search of the spices and riches of the Orient. With the permission of King Charles I and the Grand Master of the Order of St. John, Pigafetta joined Magellan's expedition as one of some 265 officers, sailors and other crew.

After a brief respite in Suluan, Magellan and his crew sailed to the nearby island of Homonhon where they stayed for a week to replenish their provisions. Here they found fresh water and traces of gold, prompting them to call it the "Island of Water and Good Signs." Magellan met the chieftains of the neighboring islands, who brought him fish, coconuts and rice. He named the islands the "Archipelago of San Lazaro" in honor of the Saint, on whose feastday they had arrived.

After seven days on Homonhon, the three ships sailed past the islands of Cenalo (Dinagat), Ibusson (Hibuson), Hiunaghan (Cabugan) and Abarien (Manicani) to the island of Limasawa, where they dropped anchor on 28 March, 1521. As this was Holy Thursday they prepared for Easter, and the celebration of the first mass in the islands.

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Magellan and Pigafetta interacted with the locals and chiefs, Rajah Kulambo of Limasawa and Rajah Siuau of Butuan. As there was a shortage of food on Limasawa and only limited trading with the neighboring islands, Magellan was forced to look for other locations to land; the rajahs told him of a larger island, called Cebu, where he could buy provisions and find opportunities to trade. As the voyage was also one of Christianization as well as exploration and commerce, Magellan searched for natives to convert to Catholicism.

On 4 April, 1521 they set sail for Cebu, passing the islands of Bohol, Leyte and the Camotes. After landing on Cebu on 7 April, 1521 Magellan met the island's chieftain, Rajah Humabon, who welcomed the visitors and allowed himself and his family to be baptized. On Cebu the crew replenished their supplies, entered into trade agreements with the neighboring towns and villages, and (with the threat of death) forcibly converted the heathens to Christianity.

Rajah Humabon then told Magellan of a certain chieftain, Rajah Lapulapu, from the nearby island of Mactan who was refusing to convert to Catholicism or pay tribute to the Spanish king. Unbeknownst to the Europeans, the two rajahs were enemies and Humabon deliberately pitted Magellan against Lapulapu. Because of his pride in showing off Spain's superior military might, Magellan said the superpower would "force God's will" on Lapulapu. He sailed to Mactan on 26 April, 1521 where, at the Battle of Mactan on the following day, Magellan was killed by Lapulapu's men and his body taken as a prize.

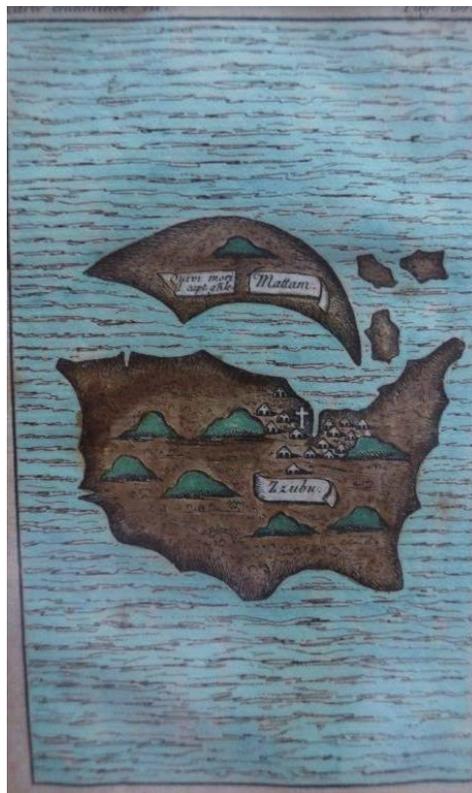
After their captain's death the crew regrouped, tried to negotiate for the return of Magellan's body, and in the process unearthed a plot by local tribes to attack and plunder the ships.

On 1 May, 1521, as Lapulapu's men began to attack the three vessels, the remaining sailors retreated to the neighboring island of Bohol. There they burned the badly-damaged *Concepción* (for which there were no longer sufficient crewmen) and continued on past the island of Panilinghon (Panglao); Pigafetta describes the natives as "dark as Ethiopians", but he may have been referring to the inhabitants of the island of Negros.

The two remaining ships, the *Victoria* and the *Trinidad*, continued to Cagayan de Sulu, passing the northern part of Mindanao (Sindangan Bay), then sailed to Palawan, Borneo and the Moluccas where they loaded up with spices. The *Trinidad* attempted to go back to Spain by way of the Pacific Ocean (the way they had come) but was captured by the Portuguese; all her spices were confiscated and her crew jailed.

The *Victoria*, with Pigafetta on board, was now captained by the Basque mariner Juan Sebastián de Elcano; she returned to Spain by way of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. On 6 September, 1522, the *Victoria* limped into Sanlúcar de Barrameda at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, having completed the first circumnavigation of the globe. Pigafetta was one of only 18 men (from the original 265) who survived the voyage.

Safely back in Europe, Pigafetta began to write his account of the three-year expedition. It would take him nearly two years to transcribe the notes, observations and maps from his journal, describing in detail all they had encountered during the journey. His original draft, in Italian, was finished in April 1524, and three copies of this source manuscript were produced in 1525. Pigafetta's original manuscript has since been lost, but we are able to trace what happened to the three published versions, only one of which remains in existence today.



Pigafetta's map of *Mattam* and *Zzubu*, from Carlo Amoretti's 1801 edition of *Premier voyage autour du monde* (from the author's collection)



Detail from the map showing Mattam (Mactan):  
 “Here died the Captain General”

The first published manuscript was given to the Grand Master of Rhodes, Pigafetta’s benefactor. Unfortunately, this has been lost and there is no account of what happened to it.

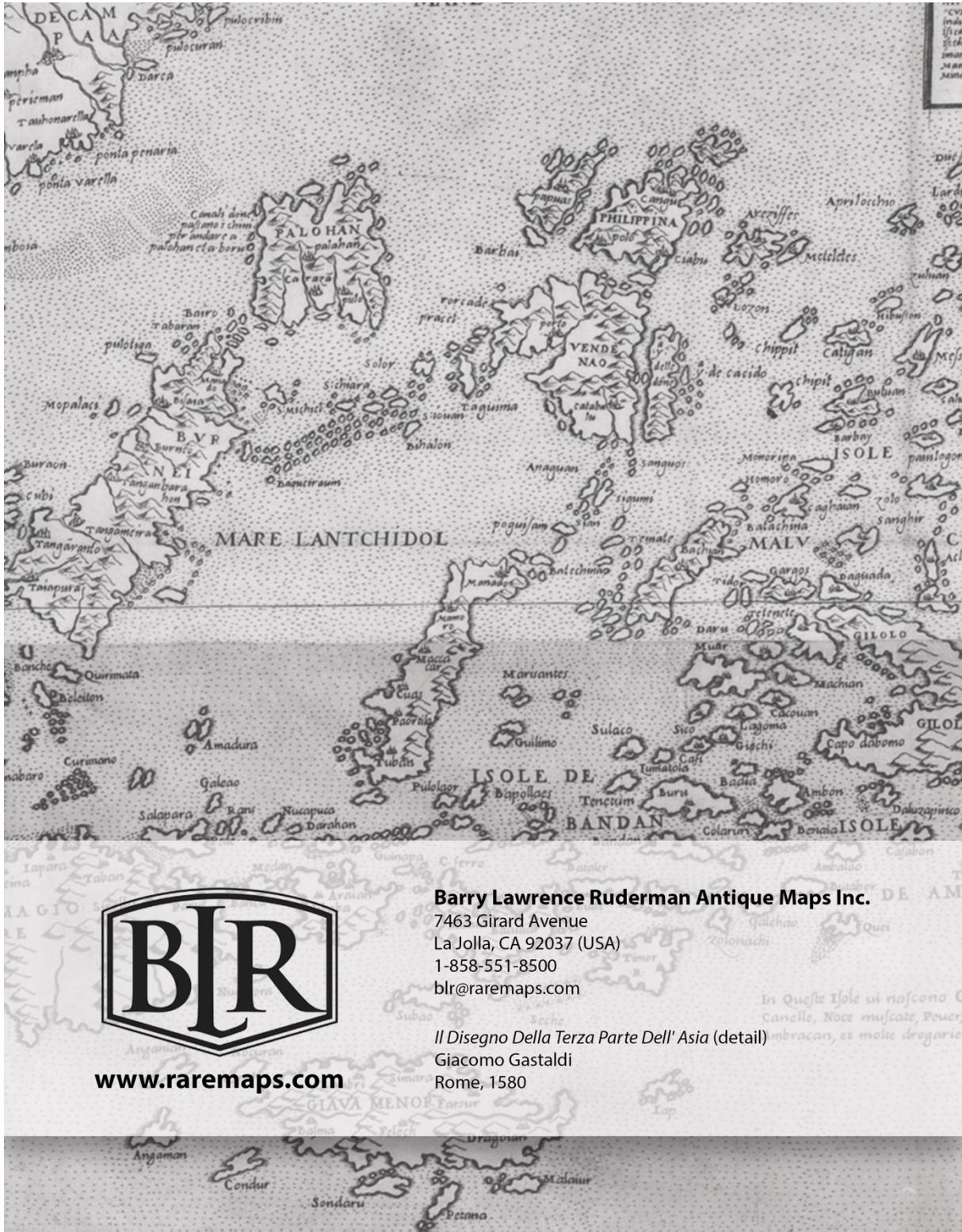
The second manuscript has also been lost, but before it disappeared it was used as the basis for four translations into French, three of which are in existence today. Two of these French translations are in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and the third is in the Beinecke Rare Book Library at Yale University. The fourth translation became the basis for a re-translation back into Italian, but unfortunately both the fourth French and the Italian versions have also been lost.

The third manuscript survived, and is kept at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. In 1797 the then conservator / librarian at the library, Carlo Amoretti, discovered the manuscript, modernized and edited the Italian text (with the removal of Pigafetta’s “indecent” accounts), and had the book printed in 1800 with the title *Primo Viaggio Intorno al Globo Terracqueo*. A French translation of Amoretti’s work entitled *Premier voyage autour du monde* was then printed by H.J. Jansen in 1801. The “indecent” passages were subsequently re-inserted by Andrea da Mosto in a new Italian edition in 1894, which was used as the text for an English translation included in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898 Volume XXXIII* edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson published in 1906.

If little is known about Antonio Pigafetta’s birth and childhood, even less is known about his later life. He is last recorded as having returned to the Knights of the Order of Saint John, with whom he may have died fighting against the Turks in 1535. But his account of Ferdinand Magellan’s journey remains as a testimony both to the remarkable human spirit of the voyagers and to the determination that accomplished the first circumnavigation of the earth and marked the inception of Christianity in our archipelago.



The route taken by Magellan and Pigafetta through the Visayas



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*Il Disegno Della Terza Parte Dell' Asia (detail)*  
Giacomo Gastaldi  
Rome, 1580

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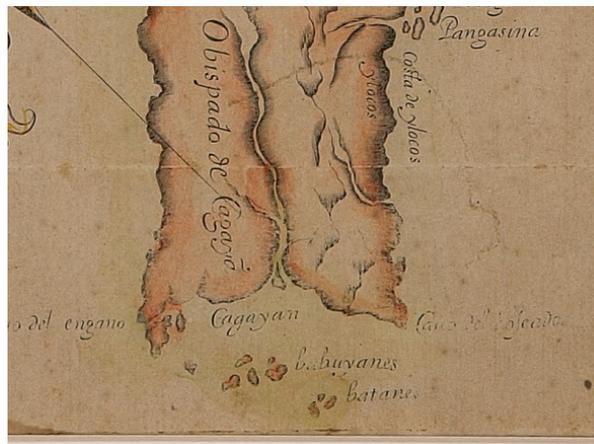
## *The Naming and Mapping of the Batanes: Mapmakers have a Problem with these Islands!*

by Peter Geldart & Christian Perez

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**T**HE BATANES are a group of ten islands (of which only three are inhabited) and a number of smaller, unoccupied islets and rocks located in the middle of the Luzon Strait, approximately 162 km north of Luzon and 162 km south of Taiwan. The island group is separated from the Babuyanes Islands to the south by the Balingtang Channel, and from Taiwan to the north by the Bashi Channel. Today Batanes Province, with a population of around 16,000, is both the northernmost and the least populated province of the Republic of the Philippines.



*Planta de las Islas Filipinas* by Manuel Orozco 1659  
(detail - see back cover for the whole map)

The earliest map on which (as far as we are aware) the Batanes are shown is a manuscript map of 1626 *Descripción de la Ysla Hermosa y parte de la China y de la Ysla de Manila* by Pedro de Vera, now in the Museo Naval in Madrid. However, the map is damaged and the five islands believed to be the Batanes group appear to be unnamed.

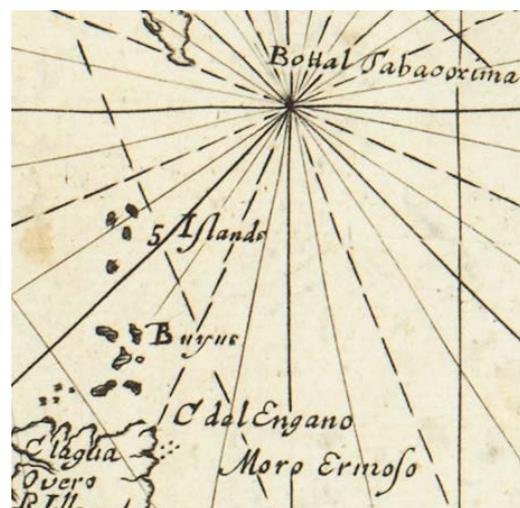
The first confirmed appearance of the name Batanes, which is derived from the Ivatan people who were the earliest known inhabitants of the islands, is in a map by Manuel Orozco *Planta de las Islas Filipinas dedicada al Rey N<sup>o</sup> Señor D. Felipe Quarto en su Real Consilio de Indias Año 1659*, published in Madrid in 1663 in *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesus, fundacion, y progressos de su provincial en las Islas Filipinas* by the Jesuit Fr. Francisco Colin. The map is oriented to the south, with north at the bottom.

The name Batanes appears only on Orozco's map, although the text by Fr. Colin does mention islands all the way to Taiwan: "After

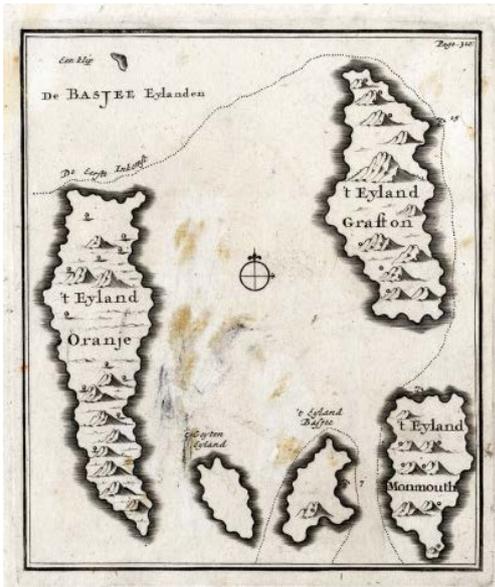
Cape Bojeador, in front of Nueva Segovia, eight league away, lie the Babuyanes, a range of small and low islands that run all the way to Isla Hermosa [i.e. Formosa or Taiwan]". Other early missionary accounts also talk of the Batanes; for example, in the *Historia de los PP. Dominicos en las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1871), Juan Ferrando mentions that Father Mateo Gonzalez travelled to three islands inhabited by the Ivatan people in 1686.

Many of the finest early sea-charts are Dutch and, starting with Willem Blaeu's *India quæ Orientalis dicitur* of 1634, these show the Batanes Islands as the "5 Eylanden" or "Vyf Eylanden". Other 17<sup>th</sup>

century European sea-charts copied the name, for example "5 Islands" or "Five Islands" on English maps and "les 5 Isles" on French maps.



Detail from *A chart of the Trading  
part of the East Indies and China*  
by John Thornton (1678/1703)



*De Basjee Eylanden* from a Dutch edition of Willam Dampier's *A New Voyage* (1698)

It may be that the Dutch “discovered” the islands during the decade after 1624, when they had been expelled from Penghu (the Pescadores) by the Chinese and were establishing their colony in southern Formosa. Alternatively, Dr. Stephen Davies of Hong Kong University has suggested that the term may have been a Dutch translation of the name given to the islands by their Chinese pilots (from whom they gathered a lot of their cartographical intelligence), perhaps referring to the five highest peaks visible from the masthead when out at sea since in many Chinese dialects the same word is used for both “mountain” and “island”.

William Dampier, an English buccaneer, explorer, naturalist and hydrographer later to be called “a pirate ruffian” but praised as having “an exquisite mind”, circumnavigated the world between 1683 and 1691. As he recounts in his travel journal *A New Voyage round the World* (London, 1697), Dampier “discovered” the Batanes islands (which he had supposed uninhabited) in the summer of 1687, and decided to name them:

*“[On] the sixth Day of August [1687] we arrived at the five Islands. Here, contrary to our Expectation, we found abundance of Inhabitants in sight; for there were three large Towns all within a League of the Sea; and another larger Town close by also. These Islands having no particular Names in the Drafts, some*

*or other of us made use of the Seamens priviledge, to give them what Names we please.*

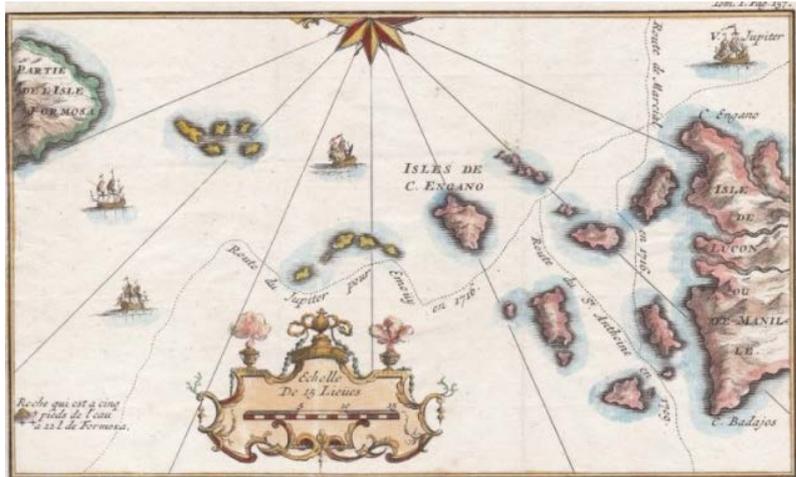
*Three of the Islands were pretty large; the westernmost is the biggest. This the Dutchmen who were among us called the Prince of Orange's Island, in honour of his present Majesty [King William III]. The northernmost of [the other two great islands], I called the Duke of Grafton's Isle, as soon as we landed on it; having married my Wife out of his Dutchess's Family. The other great Island our Seamen called the Duke of Monmouth's Island [after the popular protestant duke who had been executed in 1685]. Between Monmouth and Orange Island, there are two small Islands. The eastermost Island of the two, our Men unanimously called Bashee Island, from a Liquor which we drank there plentifully every Day, after we came to an Anchor at it. The other, which is the smallest of all, we called Goat Island from the great number of Goats there.”*

Dampier and his crew were very much taken with the local *basi*, which he describes as an “excellent Liquor, and very much like English Beer, both in Colour and Taste. It is very strong, and I do believe very wholesome”. Subsequently the name “Bashee Islands” was used for the whole group until well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Dampier was also impressed by the cleanliness, civility and honesty of the native Ivatans, although he does describe “a young Man buried alive in the Earth; and ‘twas for Theft”; a fanciful engraving of this scene was included in a 1698 Dutch edition of *A New Voyage*.



*“A Young Man buried Alive”*

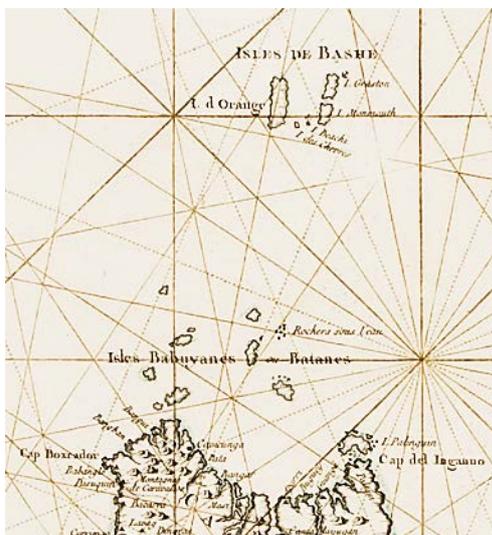
An attractive small map of the Luzon Strait was published in *Nouveau Voyage au tour du Monde* (Paris 1725), the book in which Guy Le Gentil de la Barbinais, a French buccaneer, relates his circumnavigation of the globe in *Le Vainqueur* in 1714-18. He narrates passing Cape Engano on 22 June 1716, sailing through the Babuyan Islands, seeing “an infinity of small islands”, and catching sight of Formosa three days later. The *Isles de C. Engano* are named on the map, and the Balintang rocks and Batanes are also shown (but not named). The map also shows the routes through the islands taken by the *Saint-Antoine* in 1709, the *Jupiter* en route to Amoy in 1716, and the *Marcial* in 1716.



*Isles de C. Engano* by Guy Le Gentil de la Barbinais (1728)

The next famous English captain to visit the Batanes was Commodore (later Admiral) George Anson, who sailed his flagship *Centurion* past the islands on his way to capture the Manila galleon *Neustra Señora de Covadonga* off Cape Espiritu Santo in Samar. As described in *A Voyage Round the World* (London, 1748), they were “in the latitude of the Bashee Islands, as laid down by Dampier” on 4<sup>th</sup> May, 1743 but spotted the “five small islands judged to be the Bashees” only some hours later; consequently they “had the opportunity of correcting the position of the islands which had been hitherto laid down too far to the westward”.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century the maps and charts showing the Batanes are confused, confusing and frequently erroneous in both cartography and nomenclature. Dampier’s cartography is copied on many maps, but other variations appear. For example, the magnificent *Carta Chorographica del Archipelago de las Islas Philipinas*, made in 1727 by “El Almirante Don Francisco Diaz Romero, y Sargento Mayor D. Antonio D. Ghandia”, shows the “Islas de los Batanes” as one large island surrounded by six smaller ones. This appears to be the second appearance of the name Batanes on a Spanish map; two late-18<sup>th</sup> century manuscript Spanish charts in the Centro Geografico del Ejercito in Madrid accurately depict the “Yslas Batanes”, but use Dampier’s names for the individual islands (with “I.<sup>a</sup> de Cabras” for Goat Island).

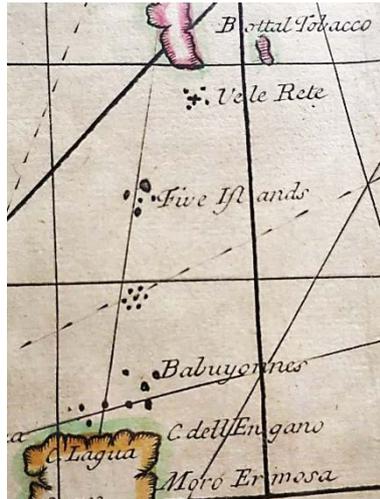


Detail from *Carte Reduite des Isles Philippines* by J.N. Bellin (1752)

Fr. Pedro Murillo Velarde’s magnificent wall map of 1734, the *Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica delas Yslas Filipinas* shows only part of the southernmost islands off the north coast of Luzon, named as the “Islas de Babuyanes y Batanes”.

The French cartographer Jacques Nicolas Bellin shows both the “Isles de Bashé” and the “Isles Babuyanes ou Batanes” on his copies of the Murillo Velarde map, *Carte Reduite des Isles Philippines* and *Carte des Isles Philippines 1re Feuille* (both Paris, 1752), but on his *Les Isles de la Sonde, Les Costes de Tunquin et de la Chine, Les Isles du Japon, Les Philippines, Moluques* (Paris, 1746) we find the “I. de Vaif” (a poor transcription of the Dutch “Vijf”, meaning five) as well as the “I. de Bashé”; on the latter map the Babuyanes are shown but not named.

Herman Moll's map of *Asia* (London, c1720) uses all three names and shows the "5 Islands" above the "Bashee Islands", with the "Babuyanes" further to the south. Edmund Halley's *A Chart of the Coast of China from Cambodia to Nanquam* (London, 1728) also depicts the "Five Islands", quite differently from Dampier's version, and has a very fanciful circle of seven unnamed islands further south.



Detail from Edmund Halley's *A Chart of the Coast of China* (1728)

Henry Wilson's *A Map of China, Japan, Tonquin Cochín-China and Siam* (London, 1732) shows the Batanes with the name "5 Islands" and the Babuyanes with the name "Bashee I.<sup>s</sup>". *Isles Philippines* by Georges le Rouge (Paris c 1748) does not name the group but does show "I. d'Orange" and "I. Grafton". *Philippynse Eylanden* by Johannes Van Keulen (Amsterdam, 1753) still uses "Vijf Eylanden". Thomas Kitchin's *Philippine Islands* (London c1752) has the "Bashi Isles or ye 5 Islands".

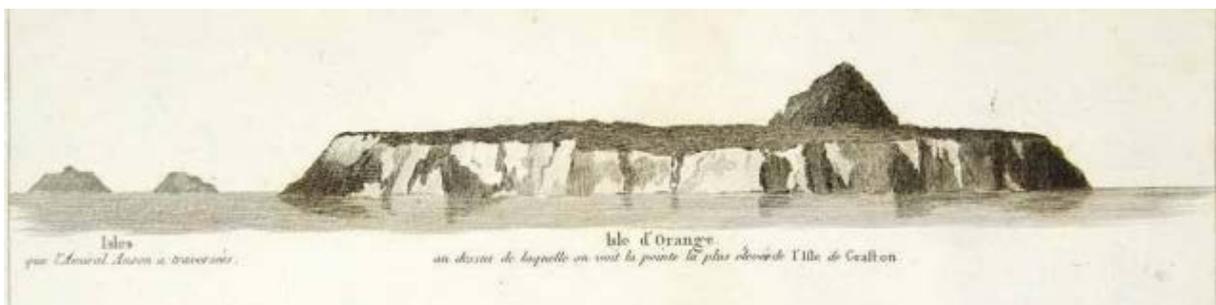
The first accurate outline of the Bashee Islands was published by Alexander Dalrymple on *A Chart of the China Sea Inscribed to Monsr. D'Aprés de Mannevillette the ingenious Author of the Neptune Oriental* (London, 19 April 1771). In particular he positions Orange Island correctly, to the north of the other large islands. Dalrymple had visited the islands in 1759 on his first voyage to the Philippines aboard the schooner *Cuddalore*. Subsequently he was particularly critical of "the Plan of the Bashee Islands in Dampier's voyages", which he dismissed as being "amongst the few [plans] I

have seen where there is no resemblance to the place", although he later acknowledged that Dampier's chart had been "merely a sketch".

Dalrymple, a prolific publisher of charts, plans and views who became Hydrographer of the East India Company in 1779 and the first Hydrographer to the British Admiralty in 1795, also published two large-scale charts of the islands, *Bay of Ivanna on the Island Batanes* (25 Nov. 1774) and *Plan of the Channel between the Islands Monmouth and Bashee situated to the northward of Luzon in Lat O 20°.22 N laid down the 23d Augt.*

*1769 on board the ship St. Jean Baptiste commanded by M de Surville, Chevalier de St. Louis Counsellor in the Superiour Council of Pondicherry* (20 May 1784), and two plates of views of the Batanes.

In 1782 José Basco y Vargas, the 53<sup>rd</sup> Governor-General of the Philippines (from 1778 to 1787), sent an expedition to ask the Ivatans to become subjects of the King of Spain, and to complete the formalities when they consented. King Carlos IV awarded Basco the title "Conde de la Conquista de las Islas Batanes" in 1789, and the new capital, a town on the north side of Batan, was named Santo Domingo de Basco (now just Basco) after him. On June 26, 1783 Joseph Huelva y Melgarjo became the first governor of Batanes. To quote from *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America* (London, 1790) by John Meares (an English navigator, explorer and maritime fur-trader):



View of Orange Island (with High Round Island behind) from John Meares's *Voyages* (Paris, 1794)

"The Bashee Islands are bold and safe; we were here in 1786, and procured refreshments. It may not be generally known that the Spaniards have taken possession of them. But so it is, and a governor resides on Grafton Isle, with about an hundred soldiers, several officers, a few priests, and five of six pieces of cannon, which are mounted before his house; but without fortification or defences of any kind. [The islands] are well inhabited by a race of inoffensive people, whose chief delight consists in drinking a liquor called bashee, which is distilled from rice and the sugar cane."

Mearns's book contains an attractive plate of nautical views, including "Anson's Rocks" (the islands Siayan and Mabudis) and a profile of Orange Island with the majestic volcanic cone of High Round Island (now Diogo) rearing up in the background (but mistakenly identified as Grafton, an error repeated on many subsequent charts).

Notwithstanding the corrections made by Dalrymple and other cartographers, the Batanes continued to be badly depicted and misnamed on the so-called "blueback" charts produced by commercial chart publishers in London and relied on by British sailors from c1760 until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Two charts published by Sayer & Bennett in 1778, *A general chart of the China Sea: drawn from the journals of the European navigators, particularly from those collected by Capt. Hayter and A Chart of the China Sea, and Philippine Islands ... Composed from an Original Drawing Communicated by Cap.<sup>t</sup> Robert Carr*, both show the "Bashee Islands" with Dampier's configuration, and on the latter chart Dampier's anchorage is indicated in the wrong location, the Balintang islands are identified as "the Five Islands", and the "Babuyanes and Batanes Is." are shown to the south.

Inset from *Reduzirte Karte von den Philippinen* by Heinrich Berghaus (1832)

*A New Chart of the China Sea, with its Several Entrances Drawn from a Great Number of Draughts, Journals and other Nautical Documents*, published by Laurie & Whittle in 1802, shows the Bashee Islands "according to the Pitt's Observations in 1760". The chart places Orange Island in the correct position, but Goat is depicted as the largest of all the islands, and Bashee is almost as big as Monmouth. The chart also gives names (never to reappear) to two small islands to the west of Goat: "St. George's" and "Plantarjon".

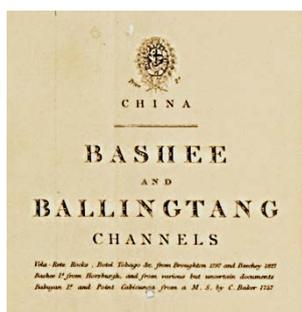
The first accurate blueback chart of the Batanes was *A New Chart of the China Sea, and East India Archipelago, Comprehending the Sunda Molucca & Philippine Islands in which are exhibited the Various Straits and Passages to Canton*, published by J.W. Norie in 1821. Norie's chart is based on the cartography of James Horsburgh, who published his own chart *China Sea. Sheet II* in 1823. Horsburgh had succeeded Dalrymple as Hydrographer for the EIC, and in 1809–11 he published *Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies, China, New Holland, Cape of Good Hope, and the interjacent Ports, compiled chiefly from original Journals and Observations made during 21 years' experience in navigating those Seas*.



This became the standard work for oriental navigation in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, Horsburgh's nomenclature for the Batanes remained confused; the third edition of the *Directions* (1827) states that: "Bashee, Balintang, Batan, Sabtang, and Bayat are native names", and follows with detailed entries for each of Batan "or Monmouth Island", Sabtang "called Monmouth Island by Dampier", Bashee Island, Goat Island, High Round Island "or Grafton Island," Bayat "or Orange Island", and the North Bashees.

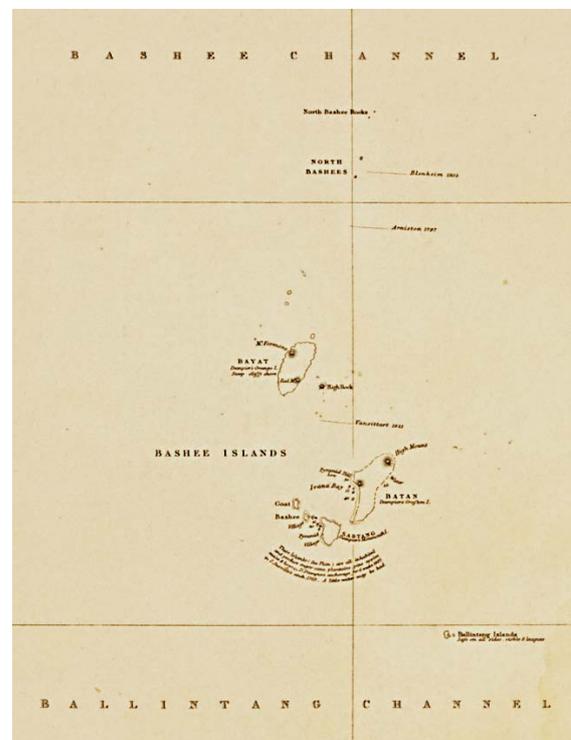
In the North Bashee islands Norie's chart shows both "The Royal Admiral's Channel" (through which the convict ship *Royal Admiral* passed on 13 Oct. 1801 on her return trip from Botany Bay) and "The Arniston's Channel" (through which the East Indiaman *Arniston* passed in 1797). The latter is also shown in the *Reduzirte Karte von den Philippinen und den Sulu-Inseln* by Heinrich Berghaus (Gotha, 1832), which copies Horsburgh's cartography but calls Diogo Island "I. Dampier, High Round R." and Anson's Rocks "Anson's Felsen".

The British Admiralty's Department of Hydrography was established only in 1795, and the early charts of eastern seas were reprints of those published by Alexander Dalrymple (its first Hydrographer). But in anticipation of the First Opium War with China (1839-42), under the direction of Rear Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort the Admiralty published new charts of the coasts of China and the South China Sea. These included (as chart no. 1352) *China – Bashee and Balingtang Channels*, published on January 24th 1841, which was based on surveys by "Broughton 1797 and Beechey 1827. Bashee Is. from Horsburgh, and from various but uncertain documents. Babuyan Is. and Point Cabicunga from a M.S. by C. Baker 1757."



Title (detail) from Admiralty Chart no. 1352 (1841)

Subsequently the Admiralty produced the first scientific chart of the Batanes: *China Sea. Batan Islands. Surveyed by Capt.<sup>n</sup> Sir Edward Belcher C.B. R.N. 1845*. First published on 30 October 1855, this chart (no. 2408) was to remain in print until well into the 20th century, with "additions to 1856", "corrections Jan. 1867" and "small corrections" up to January 1914. As well as soundings and topography of the islands, the chart includes three large-scale insets of Santo Domingo, Ivana and the Strait between Ibugos or Bashi and Sabtan. The islands are named: Dequez or Goat, Ibugos or Bashi, Sabtan or Seminanga [formerly Monmouth], Batan [formerly Grafton], Diogo (High Island), Ibayat (Orange Island), Siayan, Mabudis, North Island, and Yami.



Detail from *China – Bashee and Balingtang Channels*, Admiralty Chart no. 1352 (1841)

This Admiralty chart was copied by commercial publishers such as James Imray, by the French Dépôt des Cartes et Plans de la Marine (1867), and by the Spanish Dirección de Hidrografía as *Carta de las Islas Batanes, Levantada en 1845 por el capitán de la Marina Inglesa Sir Edward Belcher con planos del Estrecho entre Ibugos o Bashi y Sabtang, del Puerto de Santo Domingo de Basco, y del Fondeadero de San José de Ivana* (1871).



In the 19<sup>th</sup> century land maps of the Philippines continue to make mistakes when it comes to the Batanes. The first map to show the island group as a province, with Sto Domingo de Basco as the provincial capital, was Francisco Coello's map *Islas Filipinas - Primera Hoja Central*, published in his monumental *Atlas de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar* (Madrid, 1852). However, Coello's map mistakenly includes the Islas Babuyanes in the Provincia de Batanes, as does the *Islas Filipinas* by Ramon Prats (Barcelona, 1887); and Martin Ferreiro's *Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1864) erroneously includes Cagayan and Babuyan Claro in the province.

A grossly inaccurate map of the *Islas Filipinas* by Fernando Fulgosio (Madrid, 1871) not only shows the "Islas Bashee del Norte" as well as the "Rocas de Anson", but also a ridiculously enormous gap between the north coast of Luzon and the Babuyanes. However, the provincial boundary is eventually shown correctly in Edward Stanford's *The Philippine Islands* (London, 1890) (albeit with a mix of Dampier's and Spanish names for the islands).

In 1898 the United States of America acquired the Philippines pursuant to the Treaty of Paris, Article III of which states that "Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, and comprehending the islands lying within the following line: A line running from west to east **along or near the twentieth parallel of north latitude** (italics added) and through the middle of the navigable channel of Bachi." Any ambiguity concerning the northern Batanes was removed in 1900 by the Treaty of Washington, which states that

"Spain relinquishes to the United States all title ... to any and **all islands belonging to the Philippine Archipelago, lying outside** the lines described in Article III of [the Treaty of Paris]."

The Batanes and Babuyanes were then merged, and became part of the Province of Cagayán, as correctly shown in José Algue's *Atlas de Filipinas* (Manila, 1899) which gives Diogo the alternative name Rodonta. The Rand McNally map of the *Philippine Islands* published in 1900 shows the "Batanes or Bashee Islands" as part of Cagayan Province, but in 1908 the map was changed to show the "Batan Islands" in "Batanes Sub-Prov." In 1909 Batanes was split from Cagayan and reverted to being a full province, as shown by the US Coast and Geodetic Survey on its map of the *Philippine Islands* (Manila, 1928).

Today, NAMRIA (the National Mapping and Resource Information Authority of the Republic of the Philippines), whose slogan is "One Nation One Map", officially names the ten large islands in the Batanes as follows: Dequey, Vohos, Sabtang, Batan, Diogo or Di'Nem, Itbayat, Siayan, Di'Tarem, Misanga, and Mavulis. However, the cartographic tribulations of the island group are not yet over. In December 2010 the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas issued a new series of banknotes. The reverse sides of the notes depict scenes of natural beauty from across the Philippines, and include an outline map of the archipelago; or, more correctly, an "artist's impression" of the cartography of the Philippines because, although the Babuyanes are clearly indicated, the Batanes are completely missing.



Diogo Island seen from Itbayat, looking east (Photo Christian Perez)  
All maps illustrated are from the collections of the authors.

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## *Rhubarb and the European Mapping of Central Asia*

by Richard T. Jackson

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**A**LTHOUGH today most generally known as an odd sort of fruit, rhubarb (in the form of its roots) was a focal ingredient of the European pharmacopoeia for many centuries, and is still in widespread medical use. Rhubarb held such a central position in Western medicine that when the group of radical “scientific” young doctors established the medical journal *The Lancet* in London in the 1820s, the targets of their first campaign – against what they considered to be the unenlightened and mercenary members of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries – were referred to as “The Old Hags of Rhubarb Hall”.

During the 13<sup>th</sup> century, universities began to arise in Europe and almost all such new institutions had faculties of medicine attached to them. Knowledge accumulated over the centuries by physicians (of all faiths) working for Moslem rulers slowly seeped into these universities, and amongst such knowledge rhubarb’s remarkable properties were prominent. In terms of the physicians’ medical models it was used as an outstanding but mild purge. That it was held in high esteem is exemplified by the facts that:

- Francis I of France regularly chewed on a mixture of rhubarb root and *mumia* (the tarry substance that drains from embalmed corpses – whence the word “mummy”);
- the Holy Roman Emperor Charlemagne, when sending his emissary to treat with the Ottoman Empire as it expanded towards Hungary, instructed his ambassador privately to enquire whether the Sultan might provide him with some of the rhubarb that passed through his Empire; and
- Henry VIII of England on his deathbed was treated copiously with rhubarb.

Much later on, by which time Russia controlled the rhubarb trade, when Frederick the Great’s heir visited Catherine the Great the parting gift to the Prince from the Empress of All the Russias



*The author with rhubarb in Mongolia*

included a large quantity of rhubarb. Frederick himself, the unifier of Prussia, had earlier written to Voltaire stating that in exchange for a scintilla of the French philosopher’s wit he would give “all the rhubarb in China” (and NOT “all the tea in China” as the common English expression goes).

In the light of such a situation, it is not quite as surprising as might otherwise be the case that the earliest news that Christopher Columbus sent back to the Spanish court concerning his first voyage to what he imagined to be China contained the following:

*“I promise, that with a little assistance afforded me by our most invincible sovereigns, I will procure them as much gold as they need, as great a quantity of spices, of cotton, and of mastic (which is only found in Chios), and as many men for the service of the navy as their Majesties may require. I promise also **Rhubarb** and other sorts of drugs, which I am persuaded the men whom I have left in the aforesaid fortress have found already and will continue to find.”*



*Pax Mongolica: a caravan on the Silk Road or Rhubarb Route; detail from the Cresques atlas of 1375*

Although Polo, very unfortunately, did not provide a drawing of the rhubarb plant, he made it clear to Columbus and anyone else who studied his manuscript that rhubarb came ONLY from the lands, beyond the Great Wall of China, known as Tartary or Tangut (as they were to be called by Europeans for several centuries thereafter). In other words, even if Columbus had not found many

Nor should one be too astonished to find that two of the other great Iberian explorers, Vasco da Gama and Antonio Pigafetta, and the latter's most important editor, Giovanni Ramusio, should have devoted attention to finding rhubarb: it was very highly valued. But Columbus had an additional reason for his claim to be able to provide the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella with rhubarb: he had studied the account of Marco Polo's trip to China. Columbus annotated his own Latin edition of *The Travels of Marco Polo* (which may still be seen in the Biblioteca Colombina in Sevilla) with marginal comments on rhubarb, wherein Polo states that at Succuir (previously Suchow and now Suzhou, in China's Gansu Province):

*"throughout all the mountainous parts of it, the most excellent kind of rhubarb is produced in large quantities and the merchants who procure loadings of it on the spot convey it to all parts of the world..."*

pagodas, much silk, or virtually anything that could be called an advanced civilization amongst the Caribs, he did think he had found rhubarb – and therefore must also have found China.

In the half century before Polo and his uncles travelled overland to China, and for rather longer than that after their return, European merchants could move safely across Central Asia thanks to the so-called *Pax Mongolica*, as is illustrated in the superb Catalan Atlas of 1375 attributed to the Jewish cartographer Abraham Cresques. But by the time this atlas was produced, the Mongol Empire had split into rival Khanates.

The hope that the Mongols might become Christian vanished as Islam was adopted by all of the descendants of Chinggis Khan (save in the original Mongol heartland, where traditional shamanism remained strong), and merchant travellers other than the Moslems from Bokhara found it impossible to do business in Central

Until Polo reported this observation, Europeans had no idea whence rhubarb came, nor what plant it was derived from; for example, Jean de Joinville, a contemporary of Polo, seriously reported that it grew in the paradisiac headwaters of the Nile, where it fell into the river and was fished out by the Egyptians.

*"Where the true rhubarb is born"*  
from the map of Asia by Giacomo Gastaldi & Giovanni Ramusio (1559)



Asia. After a brief period of insight into Central Asian affairs, European traders (especially the merchants of Venice) had to fall back on their links with traders in the Middle East for any product (notably rhubarb) derived from the region or from China beyond.

This dependence remained in place, as far as Central Asian produce (including rhubarb) was concerned, even after da Gama opened up the route to India and China via the Cape of Good Hope. Much of what is now Chinese territory fell into the independent states generally referred to as Tartary. In the continuing absence of any reliable representation of the plant from which the “wondrous drug” was obtained, what rhubarb looked like had to be guessed. Some of the guesses were quite fantastic, for example the 12-foot tall plant depicted by André Thévet in 1575; and even the drawing made from Ramusio’s personal interviews with Central Asian traders who passed through Venice was of doubtful accuracy (not to mention that the botanist Pietro Andrea Mattioli placed his rhubarb among pagodas).

Just as the images of the rhubarb plant were largely imaginary, so too cartographers had to rely mainly on guesswork in locating its place of origin as all they had to go on was Polo’s original

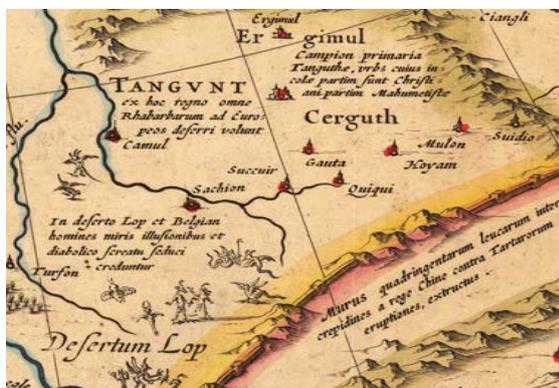


*Harvesting rhubarb, as fancifully depicted by André Thévet in 1575*

report. Sebastian Munster, for example, placed Tangut (without a mention of rhubarb) on the shores of the Arctic Ocean in his map of *India Extrema* first issued in 1540. Published only 19 years after Munster’s, the map of Asia by Giacomo Gastaldi, is consequently a marvellous piece of work not only for its detail and design but also for its relative accuracy (which derived, in the case of Tangut, from Ramusio’s personal interviews). This is the first map known to me to specifically mention rhubarb: *Succuir qui nasce il vero reobarbaro* (“Succuir where the true rhubarb is born”).

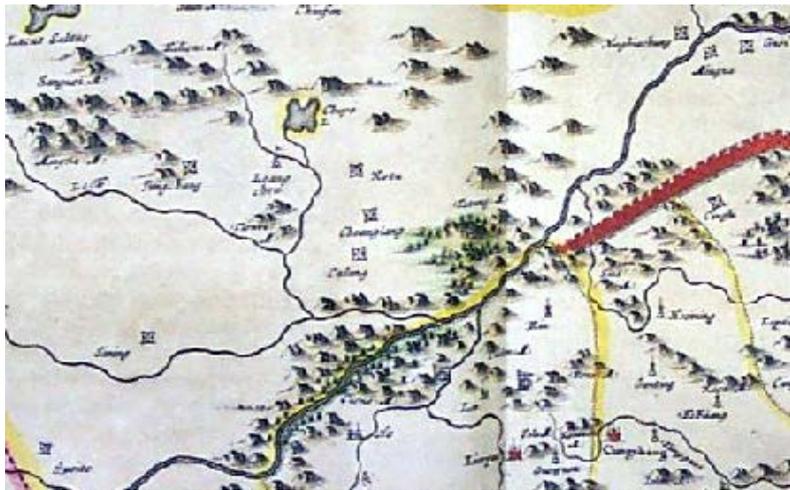
Various maps by Abraham Ortelius indicate the locations of both Tangut and Succuir reasonably accurately (although a little too far to the north). His map of Asia (c.1580) has: *Hic Rhabarbaru tanta copia provenit et ut hinc omnes orbis partes vebatur* (“From here an abundance of Rhubarb comes to all parts of the world”), which is almost word for word an exact quotation from Polo; whilst his Tartaria map (1598) has: *His montibus Rhabarbarum provenit* (“Rhubarb comes from these mountains”). Both Jodocus Hondius and John Speed published maps of Asia and Tartary which specify the location of rhubarb; in particular, Speed’s *The Kingdome of China* (1626) shows how Tangut lay well beyond the Great Wall, and states: *Out of this Kingdome, men will have all Rubarb to be brought unto them of Europe* (which is the first mention on a map of the name in English).

It is fair to say that in 1630, both in terms of knowledge of the nature of the plant itself and of its location, very little progress had been made since Marco Polo’s time, other than through the work of Ramusio and his informants. But matters were already beginning to change thanks to two quite distinct external variables: the progress made by the Jesuit missions to China, and the arrival of the Russians on the northern borders of China and Tartary.



*Succuir and Tangut shown (with dragons) in the map of Tartaria by Willem Janszoon Blaeu (c.1640)*

By the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Russians had begun to take over the trade in rhubarb, out of Kyakhta near Lake Baikal; they dominated this trade for the next 200 years, thereby greatly contributing to the Czars' revenues. In 1750 alone exports of rhubarb from Russia to Britain were valued at £70,000 (a sum that would be more or less £100 million today).



*Succuir, Tangut, the dragons and the rhubarb are all missing in the maps of Martino Martini published by Johannes Blaeu (1655)*

In terms of cartography, the Jesuits were very much more significant. As a result of their mapping of China under Imperial contract, European knowledge of the country increased enormously. This is well shown in two maps authored or part-authored by the Blaeu family. Willem Janzsoon Blaeu's map of *Tartaria* (c.1640) follows the practice of his predecessors: there is Succuir, there is *Tangunt* (sic) *ex hoc regno omne Rhabarbarum ad Europeos deferri voluit* ("Tangut from which kingdom all the Rhubarb desired by Europeans is carried"), and the rivers run northwards. All this is very comforting, until we notice Blaeu's note that "the people of Tangut are partly Christian and partly Moslem", which they were (along with Buddhists and animists) when Polo

was there, but certainly no longer by 1640; worse yet, we also see Blaeu's insertion of the little dragons and serpents for which cartographers had long been ridiculed!

However, 15 years later Johannes Blaeu produced a map of the same area, based on the maps of the Jesuit missionary Martino Martini, in which the rivers run eastwards (correctly), the dragons have been slain, there is no claim as to religious affiliation, and rhubarb, Succuir and Tangut are all banished. It is true that after 1655 the more romantic, less Jesuitical and



*True Rhubarb: an accurate depiction of one species of rhubarb by Athanasius Kircher (1667)*

therefore less accurate cartographers continued to scatter rhubarb and Succir around Tangut on their maps, but a corner had been turned.

The Jesuits not only improved maps – they drew rhubarb. If one excuses the palm trees, Athanasius Kircher's 1667 engraving is an accurate depiction – BUT of only one of the many species of the plant with which the missionaries were brought into contact on their travels around China. Their reporting of this discovery – whilst confirming Polo's apparently odd mention of his finding another rhubarb at a place (unfortunately with the same name, Suchow) in central China, a fact not picked up on by cartographers – only led to confusion.

There had always been confusion about where the best medicinal rhubarb came from; even the Romans had difficulty knowing if that which came to them from the Volga (Pontus) area (which they called *rhaponticum*) was the same as that which came through Palestine and Egypt (which they called *rhabarbarum*), and whether either was related to the rhubarb (*Rheum ribes*) which was grown as a food by the Persians.

By the 17<sup>th</sup> century rhubarb was coming to Europe mainly through Russia, but also via China itself, India, the East Indies, and the ancient entrepots of the Middle East; the average botanist could be excused for being unsure how or indeed whether these different products were related. Then the Jesuits came along and said there were lots of rhubarbs in lots of places in China (as well as beyond).

Ironically, therefore, the accurate information passed on by Matteo Ricci and his Jesuit colleagues in China, which seemed to make Polo's much earlier information obsolete, only muddied the botanical waters further. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century botanists from all across Europe went into a virtual frenzy to try and locate the "True Rhubarb". Carl Linnaeus himself and Benjamin Franklin were involved in the frantic search, along with the Prussians, Russians, British, French, Flemings and Dutch.

Rhubarb was NOT, despite what many say, a drug of any significance to the Chinese, but it WAS a significant veterinary drug for the Mongols and Tartars. However, since the emergence of modern China its scientists have

begun to take rhubarb almost as seriously as did their 18<sup>th</sup> century European counterparts – and with more success. Hundreds of papers have been published by Chinese scholars over 30 or so years on rhubarb's properties. Several such papers contain maps showing the present-day distribution of the medicinal rhubarbs, and they show that this distribution is indeed heavily focused on the area where Polo claimed to have seen rhubarb – Qinghai, Gansu and some areas of Sichuan. If Europe's leading 18<sup>th</sup> century botanists had relied on those earlier maps festooned with dragons and captions they would have done better than relying on the later maps, albeit far more accurate and modern (but lacking captions), that Ricci and his followers produced.

One last point of potential historic interest: the wild medicinal rhubarbs are closely associated with the Asiatic marmot (as observed by John Bell some 300 years ago). The marmots break up the ground, thus allowing the rhubarb to compete successfully with the otherwise all-invading grasses. But the marmots are the host to the flea which carries the flea *Yersinia pestis* – the cause of the Black Death. The Black Death came to Europe within a few years of Polo's visit. Did Polo inadvertently create a rhubarb rush which in turn brought European merchants into contact with the Plague?



*Asiatic marmots, whose burrows are built beneath rhubarb patches, as first observed by John Bell in 1726*

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The theme of the exhibition will be to explain the historical importance of the location of the Philippines at the centre of eastern and southeast-Asian trade routes, the discovery and use of those maritime trade routes by European explorers, colonists and traders, the search for new, faster and safer sea passages around and through the Philippine archipelago, and the use of scientific hydrography to improve the charts and thereby the safety of seafarers.

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PHIMCOS welcomes new members with a keen interest in collecting maps, historical prints, paintings, and old photographs of the Philippines. Prospective members must be nominated by a current member, and will be invited to a general meeting as a guest in order to become acquainted with the officers and other members of the Society. The membership application form is available from our website:

[www.phimcos.org](http://www.phimcos.org)

The initial fee for an Individual Membership is ₱6,000, with subsequent dues of ₱6,000 *per annum*; for Corporate Memberships (with two nominees) and personal Joint Memberships (for two people) the initial membership fee is ₱10,000, with subsequent dues of ₱10,000 *per annum*. Members and guests who attend general meetings also pay a contribution towards the cost of dinner and drinks of ₱1,200 per member and of ₱1,500 per guest.

For additional information, the purchase of PHIMCOS exhibition catalogues, and enquiries regarding *The Murillo Bulletin* (including advertising and letters for publication) please contact Yvette Montilla and/or the Editor at:

[phimcosinc@gmail.com](mailto:phimcosinc@gmail.com) or [pcgeldart@gmail.com](mailto:pcgeldart@gmail.com)

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**Back Cover:** *Planta de las Islas Filipinas dedicada al Rey N<sup>o</sup> Señor D. Felipe Quarto en su Real Consilio de Indias Año 1659*, by Manuel Orozco, published in Madrid in 1663 in *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesus, fundacion, y progressos de su provincial en las Islas Filipinas* by Fr. Francisco Colin. The map is oriented to the south.

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