

The Portuguese, the Maritime Silk Road and Macao's Connection with the Philippines in the Late Ming Dynasty¹

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The search for a direct maritime route between Europe and China, despite all its attendant risks and fears (which were exacerbated by the medieval mentality),² was motivated by the desire to access precious oriental merchandise (namely spices, silk and porcelain) in a sustained way and at more reasonable prices than was possible via the land-bound trade routes through Central Asia. The land routes entailed a variety of obstacles stemming from the political, military and religious turmoil that disturbed the territories through which the caravans passed. There did exist an old,

traditional maritime route linking the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean through the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf. However, when the Portuguese discovered and opened a route around the south of Africa (via the Cape of Good Hope), not only did the journey become faster, but it also skirted the numerous intermediary agents (Arabs and Indians) upon whom the earlier sea route had depended. Part of the journey along the traditional maritime silk route had to go overland, requiring the transshipment of goods; this raised the price of freight as well as the probability of damage and embezzlement. Normally, at the entrance to the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, merchandise would change hands: the Arabs did not allow entry to Europeans or Indians, but rather reserved for themselves the task of transporting the merchandise to the Indian coast, where once again it would change hands before arriving in southeast Asia and the South China Sea. Sometimes this passage was made overland, and the merchandise would cross the Malayan peninsula by convoy.

To underline the strategic role of the Cape of Good Hope route, the eminent English economist Adam Smith wrote, in 1776 in *The Wealth of Nations*, “the discovery of America and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope are the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind.”³

Likewise, we should be aware of the ancient nautical and technological expertise of the people of the South China coastal regions. Archaeological findings prove that as early as the Neolithic era, these regions, especially Zhejiang, had been engaged in shipbuilding and navigation.⁴ During the Han dynasty, the city of Panyu (today Guangzhou) was the Chinese empire's main hub for navigation to Southeast Asia.⁵

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INNOVATION AND CONTINUITY

In the fifteenth century, the Portuguese developed the navigational techniques necessary to sail the high Atlantic and around the cape of Africa. These developments allowed, for the first time, a direct link between Europe and India (1498) and on to China (1513) exclusively by sea. In remembering these developments, we must not overlook the fact that the Portuguese benefited from the knowledge of other civilisations, such as the Chinese, the Indian or the Arabic, in expanding their body of nautical knowledge

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and techniques. This fact, however, does not diminish the merit of the pioneering efforts of the Portuguese to assimilate this knowledge creatively, and to innovate new techniques in the art of navigation.

Portugal's control of the maritime route to India, and its ensuing monopoly over this trade during the entire sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, was due to a combination of factors. Salient among these were the Portuguese traders' strategic capacity for understanding the relations among regional forces, their successful integration into the traditional interregional networks of the Indian and southeast Asia trade, and their naval superiority combined with a diplomatic strategy that advocated enticing local rulers into allying with them, but responding with violence against any Islamic forces that tried to dispute their monopoly.

It bears emphasis that insofar as the Portuguese came to dominate the traditional maritime silk route through the Indian Ocean, they did so in a novel way, connecting the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic in a new, continuous maritime route around the Cape of Good Hope. It was their strategic union of war and commerce that allowed the Portuguese to gain political and economic control of part of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean routes, which from then on were militarised and monopolised whenever necessary and possible. The *cartaz* ("poster") policy (in which Portugal sold navigation licences to individual vessels along the route it controlled) was emblematic of that system.

Military force—in the form of the new and devastating firepower of Portuguese artillery (Portuguese cannon had the longest range at the time, and Portuguese rifles were more efficient and manoeuvrable than others), whether mounted on ships or in the fortresses they built at strategic points along the maritime routes—was always used whenever there was resistance to these imperialist plans. War, however, was practised more selectively against their competitors: in particular the Muslims, but also the Dutch and English when they attacked Portuguese territories and merchant ships. Piracy, as well as attacks by European competitors (most notably the Dutch), would become a decisive factor in the dismemberment and decline of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, as well as in the rise of the Dutch (and later English) mercantile monopoly.

However, although the advent of Portuguese control did exert a centralising influence along these

trade routes, and created a temporary monopoly, in general, it did not truly change the traditional system of commerce in the Indian Ocean. Rather, the Portuguese inserted themselves into pre-existing regional networks in Asia, altering neither the kinds of goods traded nor the way they were exchanged. They only temporarily succeeded in diverting the greater part of the volume of mercantile flow across the Indian Ocean away from the Middle Eastern route, with its well-established connections to the Mediterranean. However, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, the well-known historian of the Portuguese and European expansion, points out the impact of the Portuguese introduction of bills of exchange: "The Cape route introduced, almost from its inception, an important innovation regarding the system of traffic in the Levant [between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean]. ... Between Lisbon, on the one hand, and Cochin and Goa, on the other..., a system was established, beginning in the first years of the sixteenth century, whereby compensation of accounts was done by means of bills of exchange, without the material displacement of cash."⁶ In general, however, the Portuguese continued to pay gold and silver in exchange for precious goods from Asia. In China, the Portuguese integrated themselves into the traditional Chinese model for the accommodation of foreigners in their territory.⁷ At each port of call along the long voyage from Lisbon to Macao, Portuguese ships would trade part of the merchandise they had acquired at previous ports. Thus on any given ship, only the most precious goods made the entire journey from Portugal to China and from China to Portugal. Gold and silver were the major items with which the Portuguese and other Europeans could buy pepper in India and silk, porcelain and, later, tea in China. In the Southeast Asia, they could trade cotton cloth for spices.

PERIODICITY

Navigation along the Cape route was concentrated during favourable periods of the year, as determined not only by ocean currents, but also by the seasonal winds (monsoons) that periodically changed direction. In some months, these winds were favourable for navigation towards India, and in other months towards Lisbon. Normally, ships sailed from Lisbon between March and April (87%, according to

CULTURAL ENCOUNTER / Commercial Routes

Godinho). Ships that sailed at other times of the year risked longer voyages and even shipwreck, either because they were forced to turn back to the port of their departure (the so-called *arribadas*, generally caused by bad weather on the Atlantic), or because they had to find a safe port at some point along the journey (usually in Mozambique), to wait for the favourable monsoon. The most convenient schedule was to pass the Cape of Good Hope in July.

The voyage to India could last between four and seven months. Sometimes it was shorter, but it could be as long as one and a half years if the ship had to winter in Mozambique. Ships would arrive at one of the ports of call along the western coast of India (such as Angediva, Cochin, Cananor or Goa) usually in the second fortnight of August. From India they would set sail between December and January. After 1580, ships began departing later from the Tagus River and, as a result, later also from India. On the return voyage, they arrived in Lisbon between July and September; this voyage could take as few as four or as many as nine months, but the majority of ships completed the journey in five to seven and a half months.

After 1580, the number of ships that sailed outside of these favourable periods rose from 11% (1500 to 1579) to 18% (1580-1635), and this trend continued in later years. This phenomenon had two causes: on one hand, during the favourable season, there were often difficulties loading goods onto the ships in time, because the purchase of spices and other precious goods would leave the Portuguese government in India short of cash. On the other hand, delays were caused by trying to flee from pirate raids and the growing number of attacks by other European naval powers (Holland, England and France), which led to a doubling of the number of ships lost (5% until 1590, then 10% and later 24%); these attacks also motivated the search for lesser-known alternative routes (like the one from Macao direct to Lisbon). Godinho estimates that in the first 136 years of this trade, 11% of Portuguese ships were lost on the voyage to India, while on the return to Lisbon, 15% of ships were lost just in the first period. Luis de Albuquerque and Charles Boxer calculate that 10% of the 301 ships that set sail from the Tagus River before 1525 were lost. Filippo Sassetti, long used to sailing in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic (aboard Portuguese ships) wrote from Lisbon (and not from Cochin, as Godinho indicates), on

November 29th, 1552, "it is less dangerous to go from here (Lisbon) to India than from Barcelona to Genoa...because of the dangers of the sea or of pirates" (Sassetti, p. 327).

However, the war against the Portuguese conducted by rival European countries, along the Cape route and its subsidiaries, did not result only in a greater number of Portuguese ships choosing to set sail during periods that were less favourable for navigation, despite the risks involved. It also caused the cost of the voyage to rise dramatically, due to the increasing need for warships to accompany the Portuguese merchant ships along the Cape Route (*Carreira da Índia*), and led to an ebb in the flow of Portuguese mercantile activity. Another factor that contributed to the weakening of defences and the increase of losses was the state's growing disregard for the protection of mercantile fleets after 1570-80, when the management of the voyages was largely privatised (for example, the navy was often not sent to the Azores).

Before the invention of the steamship, navigation between China and Manila also depended on the monsoons. Therefore there were also times of the year that were considered more favourable for the trip to Manila and back. The best period to leave the coast of China was at the time of the new moon in the month of March; ships would usually return from Manila at the end of May or June, before typhoon season.⁸

According to António Morga (the Spanish factor) and official Portuguese documents, for example, a certain Lopo de Carvalho requested the reduction of his debt after one of his ships sank on the voyage to Manila; his request was denied, although he said that "the voyage would be sold only to those who will navigate during the ordinary monsoons."⁹ In this document, it is stated that a licence for one Manila voyage corresponded to each of the monsoons, but the holder of the licence could send as many ships as he wished.

The month in which the largest number of ships arrived in Manila from China varies depending on the period under observation. Between 1577 and 1644, about 1088 ships arrived in Manila, mostly between May and June. Nevertheless, although there were many arrivals in May and June, ships also continued to arrive throughout the year. From 1607 to 1645, the first ships arrived in Manila in January. Most of the ships arrived before July, but there were also one or two arrivals in November and even in December.¹⁰

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We may thus conclude that Macao-Manila trade took place on an annual basis, but intermittently. Often, the link was not official: clandestine trade took place more or less intensively, not always respecting the monsoons. When the Macao-Manila trade gained official approval, the authorities of the Portuguese State of India sent many directives dictating the need to respect the favourable period of the monsoons: “because the success of the voyages from Japan and Manila normally comes from ships that sailed from China to those parts at the beginning of the monsoons.”¹¹

The ships capable of sailing successfully along the Cape route were mainly “naus”—carracks or galleons of different tonnages. However, the caravel, even though it was smaller in size, was used in some fleets, such as that of 1533. With the development of mercantile traffic, there was a progressive rise in the tonnage of ships. They increased by almost 50% of their cargo weight, going from an average of 400 tons in the first third of the sixteenth century, to 500 to 1000 tons. The regulation (dated 1570) concerning the construction and loading of the ships for the Indian Ocean route (known as the *Carreira da Índia*), as well as the number of passengers and seamen allowed on board, stipulated that the ships should have a cargo capacity of 300 to 450 tons. As for stowage, it was stipulated that the lowest level of the hold should carry sufficient ballast (usually stones, sometimes already prepared for the construction of churches and the homes of European elites in the East), and that cargo should be properly packed in the spaces in the hold and in lockers. However, abuses of this regulation included the overloading of ships, to the extent that cargo would sometimes even occupy space on the deck that was necessary for the proper operation of the ship, thus increasing the danger of shipwreck in case of storms. Some unscrupulous captains even reduced the number of crew so as to fill more space with precious cargo. During the last decade of the sixteenth century, reality differed dramatically from the regulations: there were huge ships weighing 1500 to 2000 tonnes, capable of transporting 23,000 to 30,000 cwt of merchandise, while the norm was between 6,000 and 8,000 cwt of goods.

The ship's pharmacy would include a great variety of medicines. According to Charles Boxer, a *nau* would usually have a crew of 120 men (including

the pilot, the boatswain, the boatswain's mate, the surgeon, the chemist, as well as sailors and cabin-boys), and could transport 400 to 500 passengers; on the return voyage, however, captains usually reduced the number of passengers so as to increase the cargo capacity (Godinho estimates that ships carried 25% more cargo than was allowed by the regulations). The loading and equipping of ships were the responsibility of government organs in Lisbon, such as the *Casa da Guiné* and later (from 1506 on) the *Casa da Índia*, in accordance with the instructions of the *vedor da fazenda* (comptroller of the treasury). In India, brokerage and the obligatory deposit fell to the Crown factories. In Macao, this was the responsibility of the *Câmara Municipal* (Town Hall).

Ships could be outfitted for a voyage to the East at the initiative of the king or of private investors, or both. The private capital of wealthy Portuguese (noblemen like the brother of the Duke of Bragança, D. Alvaro, or the governor of India, Afonso de Albuquerque, or members of the bourgeoisie, like Fernão de Noronha or Rui Mendes) was often associated with that of foreigners, in joint ventures lasting for a specific period of time, in order to outfit ships and develop mercantile networks. This happened, for example, with the Florentines (in 1501, as a joint venture between the crown and private interests, with Bartolomé Marchione as the major shipowner), the Genovese, the Germans, and the Castilians; the Welsers, the Fuggers, and the Imhofs were especially important families in this regard. The selection of ships' captains (like the captains of fortresses) was the responsibility of the Royal Chancellery.

TRADE CONNECTIONS WITH CHINA AND PHILIPPINES

Trade between China and the Philippines grew in intensity as the Ming dynasty accepted a policy of gradually opening maritime commerce with the exterior. During the reign of Jia Jing (1522-1567) the *Wako* pirates (Japanese and Chinese) that had plagued China's coasts were finally quashed. Then, during the first year of Long Qing (1567) the mandarin responsible for the province of Fujian (Du Zemin) requested that his region be opened to maritime trade with the Eastern and Western Countries. Chinese traders at this time could travel freely overseas if they

CULTURAL ENCOUNTER / Commercial Routes

were provided with the proper licence.¹² In 1589, 88 licences were granted, and this number grew to 110 thereafter. In 1597, 137 licences were requested for ships from the Zhangzhou (Chincheo, Fujian) region. Half the licences were given for trade in the Eastern Ocean and the other half for trade in the Western Ocean, and a different licence registration tax was charged for each region.¹³

The maritime Chinese and Portuguese trade, formerly clandestine, flourished with its new freedom. Merchants from Moon Harbour in Zhangzhou began to trade directly with the island of Luzon, and this route soon came to supplant the much longer Guangzhou-to-Luzon route that went via Champa (today's Vietnam) and Borneo. Although the Portuguese tried to monopolise the Macao-Manila trade, and to secure exclusive trading rights with their partners along this route, the direct trade between China and the Philippines persisted and grew in importance, while the Portuguese trade with Manila declined.

The enormous Chinese consumer market and production capabilities, which the Portuguese had glimpsed in the flourishing mercantile life of the *Canton* (Guangdong), *Chincheo* (Fujian), and *Liampo* (Ningbo, in Zhejiang) regions, impressed them so much that many contemporary authors were convinced that, with free access to the Chinese market, Portugal would not need any of its other markets. Two examples follow: "if the Chinese trade were free for us, Portugal could renounce all other markets because Chinese goods are very much appreciated throughout Asia and all over the world" (Bocarro¹⁴); and, "If the Portuguese could have free access to the China trade, Macao could survive and grow without any other voyages to Japan and Manila, because the Chinese kingdom is such that their vassals may survive without foreign trade, and Macao's

inhabitants are considered by the Chinese authorities to be Chinese vassals (dependants)."¹⁵

Because of its geographical position, Macao was forced to buy its goods in Canton: "Within the limits of the city no products or textiles are produced and all that is necessary for these voyages [of trade with SE Asia, Japan and India] has to be brought from Canton in junks and other ships." The food supply for Macao's inhabitants also depended on the goodwill of the Chinese.¹⁶

According to the framework set out in the Spanish agreement for sovereignty over Portugal, trade between the Portuguese and Spanish colonies was forbidden, in order to preserve the economic interests of both societies. Thus, the Macao-Manila route was abolished by the Spanish-Portuguese administration because it competed with the routes from Spain (Seville-America-Philippines) and Portugal (Lisbon-Goa-Macao) via the Cape of Good Hope. This rivalry was due to the fact that when the Mexican and Peruvian markets were better supplied with silks and other Chinese products via the Philippines, they would import fewer worked silks from Spain. The Portuguese central power and traders associated with the Lisbon-Goa route also saw their habitual profit reduced when the Macao and Malacca traders sold silk directly in Philippines. The profits from customs duties at Goa and Lisbon were also reduced with the diminution of goods transported along these routes.¹⁷

During the end of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century, in spite of successive orders reaffirming these interdictions, the Macao-Manila route was frequently plied by private, clandestine traders who were both Portuguese and Spanish. However, in response to pressure from the Portuguese in Macao and the Spaniards in the Philippines, the authorities in Manila and Goa, on behalf of the central authority in Madrid, legalised

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	MACAO		CHINA		JAPAN		INDIA		OTHER		TOTAL	
Date	Average	%	Average	%	Average	%	Average	%	Average	%	Average	%
1586/1590	1,159.0	8.66	3,750.0	28.02					8,474.0	63.32	13,383.0	100
1591/1595			22,065.0	61	295.0	0.80			13,795.05	38.2	36,155.5	100
1596/1600			24,155.5	56.04	258.5	0.60	861.0	1.99	17,829.5	41.37	43,104.5	100
1601/1605	200.0	0.50	30,104.2	70.03	572.20	1.33			12,106.5	28.14	42,982.9	100
1606/1610	8.6	0.01	46,382.6	78.52	46.0	0.08			12,629.0	21.39	59,066.0	100
1611/1615	50.0	0.1	64,432.0	91.4			396.5	0.50	5,476.5	8.00	70,355.0	100
1616/1620	6,798.0	13.2	31,045.0	60.3	353.0	0.60	2,463	4.79	10,678.0	21.11	51,337.0	100
1626/1630	7,110.50	27.65	11,513.0	34.70	31.0	0.11	1,813.25	7.10	5,252.2	20.4	25,720.0	100
1631/1635	9,327.6	22.1	24,951.2	59	17.4	0.04	1,281	3.04	6,611.8	15.82	42,194.0	100
1636/1640	3,556.8	11.46	23,927.0	77.1			898.4	2.90	2,654.8	8.54	31,037.0	100
1641/1642	15,735.5	50.8	13,194.5	41.98					2,495.5	7.94	31,425.0	100
1641/1645	6,294.0	28.5	12,305.4	55.4			677.8	3.10	2,797.8	13	22,075.0	100

Table 1 ANNUAL AVERAGE VALUE, IN PESOS, CHARGED BY THE CUSTOMS OF MANILA, AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL REVENUE
 Source: Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques (XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles)*, *Introduction méthodologique et indices d'activité*, pp. 200-206.

the Macao-Manila route during certain periods. The tolerance and subsequent legalisation of the clandestine Macao-Manila trade by the Portuguese authorities in Goa must be related to the economic difficulties of the *Estado da Índia*. Part of the profits from the Macao-Manila trade (such as the royal monopoly or concession) was channelled to the Royal Treasuries in Manila and Macao, and the other part went to finance the *Estado da Índia* in its war against its European and Asian enemies.¹⁸

As usual, economic interests established the border between solidarity and conflict. The Portuguese Macao traders protested against the participation of Portuguese traders from Goa in the Canton fairs. In 1622, the Viceroy protected the Goa traders against the Macao protest, giving written authorisation for their activities in one of the two annual Canton fairs, and tried to exclude the Macao traders from that Canton fair (September). The *casados*¹⁹ of Macao accused the Goa traders of endangering the stability of the Sino-Portuguese

relationship. They said that the Goa traders paid no heed to Chinese traditions and law, but were only looking for a faster way to make money; they cited the Goans' practice of buying slaves to take to India, which contravened Chinese law and the oral agreements between Macao and China.²⁰

CUSTOMS DUTIES

The Macao-Manila route and its silk trade was a source of profit not only for the traders themselves, but also for the Macao and Manila customs in the form of taxes. The Chinese authorities also imposed different types of taxes on the Portuguese and other foreign ships, whether they arrived in Macao or in Guangzhou. Two kinds of taxes were levied upon the Portuguese: a commerce tax on ships, and a ground rent for the right to live in the territory of Macao. Foreign private trade with South China, particularly with Fujian province, was officially approved in 1567, after a long discussion among Chinese authorities

CULTURAL ENCOUNTER / Commercial Routes

YEARS	SHIPS	YEARS	SHIPS	YEARS	SHIPS
1580	2	1601	1	1622	0
1581	0	1602	0	1623	0
1582	1	1603	0	1624	0
1583	1	1604	5	1625	0
1584	2	1605	2	1626	0
1585	0	1606	1	1627	6
1586	0	1607	0	1628	2
1587	0	1608	0	1629	2
1588	2	1609	1	1630	6
1589	0	1610	1	1631	3
1590	0	1611	0	1632	4
1591	0	1612	6 - 7	1633	3
1592	0	1613	0	1634	0
1593	0	1614	0	1635	4
1594	0	1615	0	1636	1
1595	0	1616	0	1637	3
1596	0	1617	0	1638	3
1597	0	1618	0	1639	3
1598	0	1619	0	1640	3
1599	0	1620	5	1641	2
1600	0	1621	1	1642	1

Table 2 N° OF SHIPS ARRIVING IN MANILA FROM MACAO, 1580–1642

Sources: “Legajos” dos fundos da Contaduria das Filipinas do *Archivo General de Indias* em Sevilha (cf. bibliog.); BPAD. Évora, cd.CXVI/2-5; Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques*; B. & R., *op. cit.*, XI e XVIII.; APO, fasc.3.

(both imperial and regional) about the advantages and the disadvantages of such trade. Until 1567, in China, only the official tribute trade had been allowed, and Macao was the only exception to this rule. The Chinese demand for silver was clearly mentioned as the reason that the Chinese allowed Portuguese trade on the south China coast, in a report dated 1535 from the Cantonese Governor (*bu zheng shi*, named Lin Fu).²¹

Customs duties were the responsibility of the Department of Foreign Mercantile Ships (*Shi Bo Si*), which the Chinese authorities transferred to Macao in 1535. The method of calculating these taxes changed over this period: between 1535 and 1571 the *chou fen* method was used (the tax was calculated on a percentage basis—20% of the value of the goods); in 1571 the *zhang chou* method was adopted (the tax was worked out according to the tonnage of the ships). The reason for this change was that there was some difficulty in calculating the specific value of each type of merchandise.²²

These customs taxes were not applied equally to all foreign ships; the Portuguese in fact received privileged treatment in relation to other European and even other Asian ships (which came from the “Great Western Ocean”—that is, the Indian Ocean).

- Portuguese ships of up to 200 tons were classified into two categories, depending on whether or not it was their first voyage to China. The tax on the first voyage was 1800 *taels* of silver. For all subsequent voyages Portuguese ships would pay only 600 *taels* of silver.

- other foreign ships, independent of the number of trips they had made to China, had to pay a tax of 5,400 *taels* of silver. Excluding the first voyage, then, Portuguese ships paid about one ninth what other foreign ships paid.

Various Chinese sources (e.g., the *Guangdong Fu Yi Quan Shu*) mention the customs duties charged at Macao as well as the manner in which they were levied.²³ Upon the arrival of foreign ships in Macao, the mandarin in charge would inform the district of

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Xiangshan, asking for instructions from the *Bu zheng shi* (the provincial governor during the Ming dynasty) and from the *Hai Dao Fu Shi* (admiral of the command station of the Guangdong province). The Department of Foreign Mercantile Ships (*Shi Bo Si*) and the Chief of the District (*Xiangshan*) would send officials to the ships in order to measure it and thus establish the tax according to the regulations. The ship would then be registered and the money handed over to the Chinese authorities.

There were two other ways in which Portuguese ships were privileged: first, the military ships that escorted the Portuguese merchant ships paid no taxes; and second, a Portuguese ship involved in an accident would be rescued by the Chinese free of charge, whereas other foreign ships in such circumstances would be charged by the rescue service. Commerce with Portugal was therefore clearly favoured; there were great advantages for the transportation of goods in Portuguese ships.

Zhang Ru Lin and Yin Guang Ren (authors of *The Monograph of Macao*, or *Ao Men Ji Lüe*) tell us that *fan bo* (which were smaller than most ocean-going ships) were authorised to sail in Chinese seas, and were classified as *xiang*. Twenty of these ships were given their licences by the Chinese maritime authorities. These authors also mention that during the subsequent twenty years, sea damage reduced the number of these ships by half.²⁴

OTHER MACAO TAXES

The City of Macao, through the city council, charged half a percent on the goods that entered the city. In 1606 the Viceroy, Bishop D. Pedro de Castilho, wrote to His Majesty requesting permission for the inhabitants of Macao to levy a tax of one-half percent in order to strengthen the walls of the city and pay for a captain.²⁵ In 1607 (January 10) the King agreed to this request.²⁶

In order to respond to attacks by the Dutch and English navies, the Senate of Macao raised the taxes on goods in foreign ships. These taxes were levied according to the quality of the merchandise, ranging from 1% on lower quality goods to 1.5% on those of medium quality, and 2% on high quality items.²⁷ In 1623, the Macao customs rate was increased to 10% in order to raise funds for the

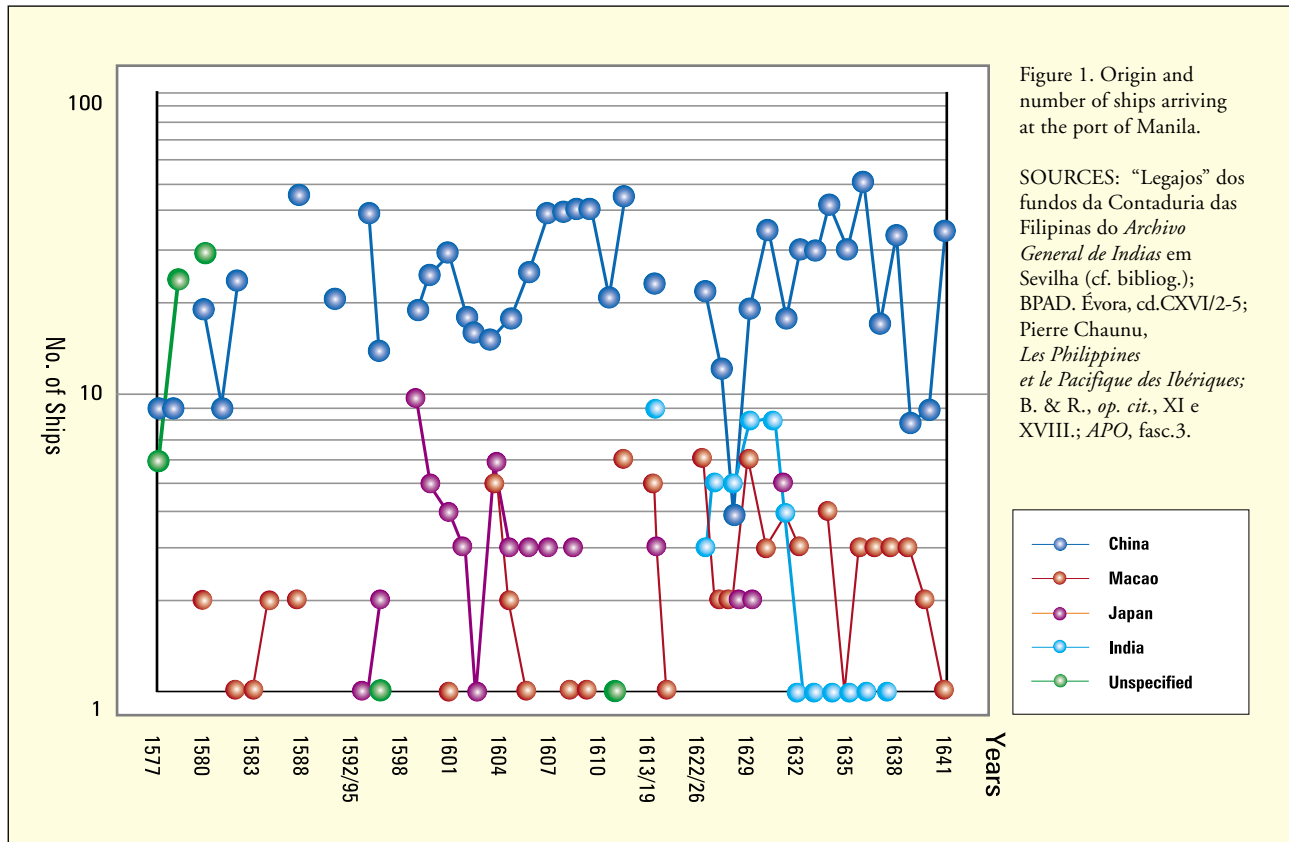
fortification of the city.²⁸ According to the representatives from Macao in Goa,²⁹ in 1623, the City Council's expenditures on the city of Macao were as follows: 10% of the budget went to pay taxes to Chinese customs, another 10% went to pay the *Capitão Mor* of the Macao-Japan voyage, and 6% to 7% went to cover the ordinary expenses of the city.³⁰

MANILA TAXES

Throughout the history of the Spanish presence in Philippines, the Manila customs levied different types of taxes under the *almojarifazgo* (maritime trade taxes). In general, these taxes can be classified into two types, the first a relatively low tax and the other relatively high. From 1610 onwards there was a tax of 3% on all commerce originating from the Indian Ocean and Japan, and a tax of 6% on Chinese commerce.³¹ These different tax rates, however, were not very significant in relation to the overall revenue of the Manila customs. On a long-term basis, they essentially reflected the policy of protecting trade with certain regions while exploring trade with others; in other words, they were an attempt to curb the predominance of the Chinese in the economic activities of Manila. Between 1630 and 1640, ships arriving in Manila from Macao would be subject to different tax rates: if they were private, they would pay 6%, but if they were royal they would pay 14%, including transportation charges.³²

In the city of Manila, the *pancada*³³ was the most common kind of contract. This consisted of a system of fixing a price for the total value of the cargo (which the Spanish merchants would purchase in bulk) to silk and other goods transported by junk from the various ports of south China. The price of Chinese merchandise would vary annually, depending on its quantity and quality, and on variations in the flow of silver to China. In fact, the Macao merchants protested the inflation of silk prices in Canton and Macao caused by the great amount of silver that reached China with Chinese merchants (from Fujian Province). The Portuguese could only react by accepting the purchase at market price and selling the goods, or refusing the price and returning the merchandise to Macao—the latter being a very expensive alternative. However, the Macao merchants still managed to carry on a very profitable trade with

CULTURAL ENCOUNTER / Commercial Routes



Manila. The *pancada* system was not new for the Portuguese merchants: it was also used by merchants in Japan, when they bought silk from Portuguese merchants, after which the Japanese would distribute the silk for resale.³⁴

MARITIME TRADE BETWEEN MACAO AND MANILA

The sea traffic between Macao and Manila, which totalled about 80 ships (more precisely, 77 ships were counted from 1580 to 1642) from Macao, was characterized by its irregularity (keeping in mind the economic, political, and military constraints on this trade). This traffic can be subdivided into three distinct periods of twenty years each.

The profits from Portuguese commerce along the Macao-Manila route can be estimated by examining the taxes collected on maritime trade in Manila (the *almojarifazgo*), and comparing this with the number of Manila-bound ships originating from Macao, China, India and Japan. In order to obtain some degree of standardization, the annual values of the taxes collected

on ships arriving from each of these points of origin have been averaged over a period of five years (starting from the total annual amounts charged by the *almojarifazgo*).³⁵ These figures are shown in Table 1.

By comparing the information in Table 1 with the data on the number of ships (see Table 2 and following Figures 1-6)³⁶ from Macao that entered the port of Manila during the same period, we may verify the main characteristics of the three periods suggested.

For the Macao-Manila route, during the initial period (1580-1600), not only does the smallest number of ships (8) register in Manila, but compared with the other periods, the cargoes of these ships also register a lower overall value. The periods in which the total amount of cargo transported from Macao was the least valuable were the years 1606-1610, 1611-1615, and 1601-1605, in which the annual average tax paid was 8.6 pesos, 50 pesos, and 200 pesos, respectively. During the period of development (1601-1621) there was an increase of 255% in the number of ships (to 23), as well as a significant increase in the overall value of transported goods (which increased from an annual

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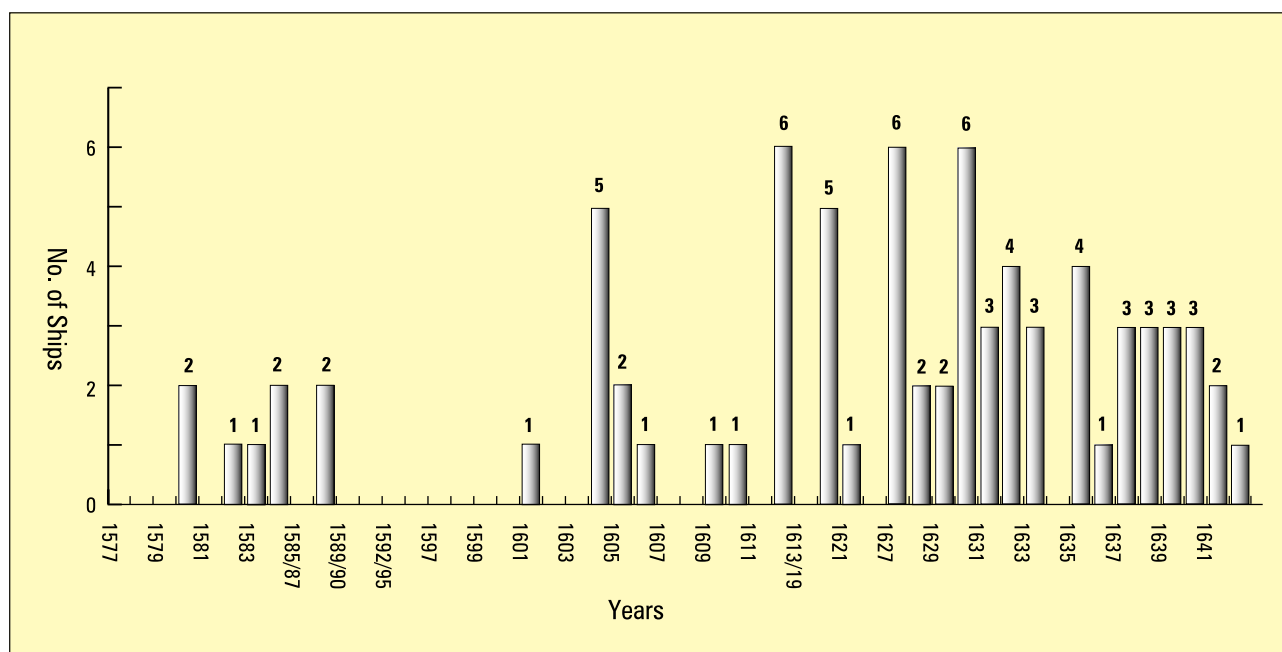


Figure 2. Number of ships arriving in Manila from Macao.

average of 8.6 pesos charged by the *almojarifazgo* in 1606-1610, to 6,798 pesos in 1616-1620). The period of expansion (1622-1642) saw an increase of 501% in the number of ships (46), and reached a peak in the overall value of the cargo transported by ship from Macao and taxed in Manila. The annual average in 1641-1642 is the highest, with a value of 15,735.5 pesos or 50% of the total customs revenue from all ships entering Manila. A rather curious point (which is also evident from the accounts of the *almojarifazgo*) is that in these two years only three ships arrived, while between 1627 and 1630, six ships arrived from Macao—the largest number of ships until the end of the eighteenth century.³⁷

CHINESE TRADE WITH MANILA

The volume of the goods transported by Chinese traders from Guangzhou, Quanzhou and Fuzhou, who mainly dealt in silk but also in other Chinese goods, provided the Manila customs with forty thousand pesos annually, with customs duties calculated at a rate of 3%. The sale of this merchandise gave China an annual income of one and a half million in gold.³⁸

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Chinese traders from Fujian province took preponderance in the China-Manila route. This is clear

from the level of tax they paid, which frequently exceeded 50% of the total customs revenues in Manila. The flow of Chinese trade to Manila continued to increase: while at the beginning of the seventeenth century it accounted for 80% of the total amount of taxes collected in Manila, in 1641-1642 it rose to more than 90%.³⁹

Pedro de Baeza refers to an annual average (by the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century) of thirty to forty junks arriving in Manila from the province of Fujian. These junks would trade embroidered or plain silk in exchange for the much-desired silver. Although he may be exaggerating somewhat, Baeza calculated that this trade was worth 2.5 to 3 million *reais* of silver annually.⁴⁰ Sebastião Soares Paes states that in 1633, with the beginning of the royal monopoly on the Macao-Manila route, the direct trade between China and Manila intensified: “forty ships called *somas* left the province of Chincheo (Fujian, mainly from the bay of Amoy) for Manila, loaded down with merchandise.”⁴¹ A more realistic estimate than Baeza’s is the one that, in 1591, calculated the value of this trade at about 300 thousand pesos annually. The currency normally used was the silver peso, also known as the rial-of-eight.⁴²

There were both internal and external reasons for the preponderance of Chinese in this trade.

CULTURAL ENCOUNTER / Commercial Routes

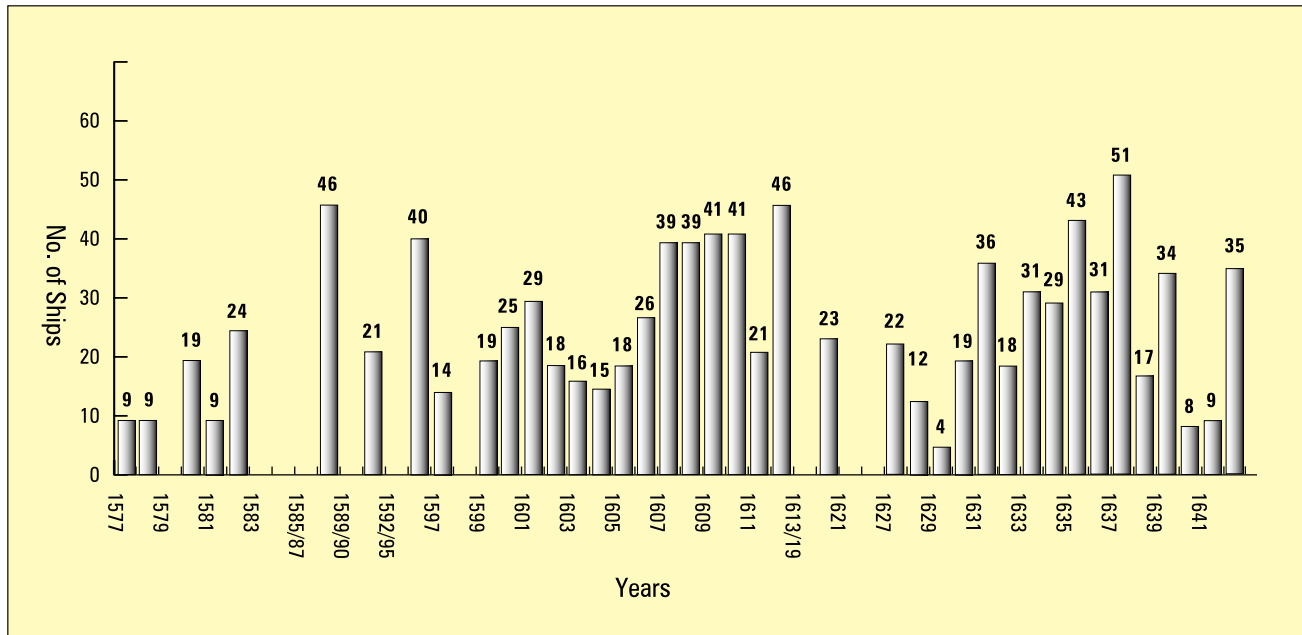


Figure 3. Number of ships arriving in Manila from China (excluding Macao).

Internally, the late Ming dynasty was a period of rapid economic and social development. Some external factors included the Chinese control of the silk trade, the war between the European nations in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans, the long history of Chinese trade in the Indian Ocean, and the waning of Japanese trade with the Philippines.

The Portuguese from Macao, however, were the ones most affected by the increase in direct commerce between the Chinese (from Fujian and Guangdong) and Manila. The Portuguese felt that their position as intermediaries between the Chinese market and the Philippines was weakening. Another source of concern for the merchants from Macao was the direct commerce that existed between Manila and Japan, despite the official prohibition of this trade. Portuguese authorities, especially the Captain-General of Macao, issued several rulings that aimed to impede and even forbid the trade between “Chinese merchants and Manila and Japan.” Fines and punishments were established for those who did not obey the law: five hundred *pardaus* of *reales* and the confiscation of the merchandise in question, which would be turned over to the Royal Treasury. Those who brought this kind of trade to the attention of the authorities would be rewarded with 100 *pardaus*, to be paid by the guilty party. These regulations were

publicized in the usual places (on the city walls of Macao), with a translation into Chinese.⁴³

Maritime commerce opened up during the late Ming dynasty (at the end of the sixteenth century) and stimulated Chinese trade with Southeast Asia; this is verified by both the Chinese and Portuguese documents of that period.⁴⁴ Letters from King Philip, for example, illustrate the way in which the authorities tried to protect the interests of the Iberian Empire in Southeast Asia. The objective of this legislation was to prevent the Chinese merchants (*chincheos*) from sailing directly to the regions of “Sunda, Patane, Andregir, Jambix and Solor” and buying pepper and sandalwood directly, thus protecting the routes and markets connected with Portuguese Malacca.⁴⁵ The opening of the Central Kingdom to commerce with the exterior made it easier for Spanish from the Philippines to trade directly with China. The merchants from Macao, however, protested strongly. An example of this is the letter from the Viceroy and Bishop D. Pedro de Castilho to the King, in which the former spoke of the interests of Macao’s inhabitants in forbidding “the Spanish from the Philippines to trade directly with China.”⁴⁶

From the data in Table 1, we may reach the following conclusions:

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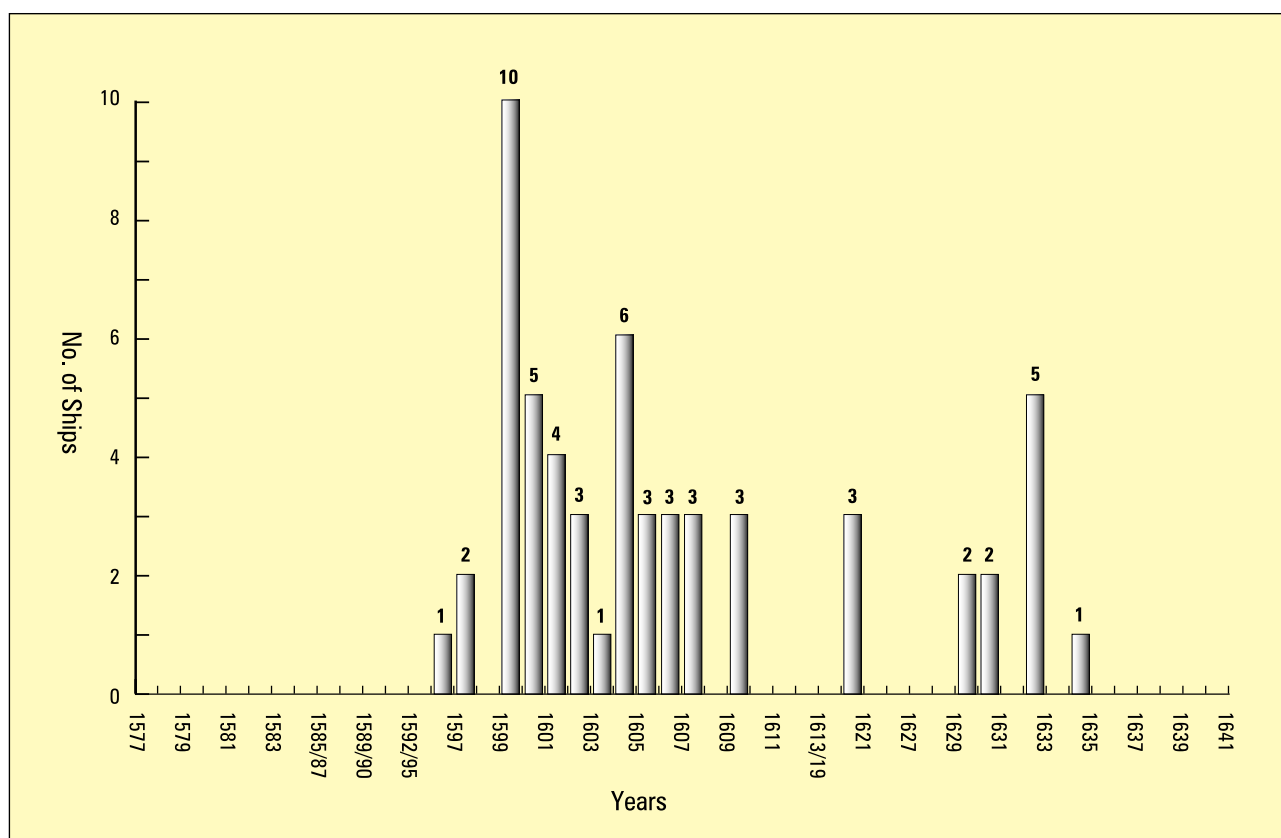


Figure 4. Number of ships arriving in Manila from Japan.

The period of peak trade along the Macao-Manila route does not coincide with the period of peak trade along the China-Manila route. Between 1580 and 1645, Chinese maritime trade with Manila accounted for the majority of the tax money collected by the *almojarifazgo* (with the exception of the period between 1586-1590, the only time in which trade with *Nueva España* accounted for more than 40% of customs revenues, reaching 61%).

The initial period (1580-1600) also witnessed the “take-off” of trade between China and Manila. The revenues from this trade went from 28.02% of the total (an annual average of 3,750 pesos in 1586-1590) to 56.4% (an annual average of 24,155.5 pesos in 1596-1600). During this time no ships from Macao were registered with the Manila customs. It is probable that goods from Macao were carried on Chinese ships.

During the following period (1601-1620), there was little trade with Macao, whereas Chinese trade with Manila expanded and indeed peaked. Between 1601-1605, the percentage of *almojarifazgo* revenues deriving

from the China trade rose suddenly to 70.03 % (an annual average of 30,104.20 pesos), and hit a peak of 91.4 % (64,432.00 pesos) in 1611-1615, after passing the 78.5% mark in 1606-1610. It is interesting to note that this peak in Chinese commerce corresponds to a decline in Portuguese trade between Macao and Manila (in 1606-1610, the annual average tax levied on goods from Macao was only 8.6 pesos, representing 0.01% of the *almojarifazgo* revenue, and in 1611-1615 it was 50 pesos, or 0.1 %). From 1615 onwards, Chinese trade in Manila began to decline.

The China-Manila trade entered a period of recession from 1620 to 1645 (which lasted until 1670-80, when another long period of expansion began); Portuguese trade with Manila peaked during this time.

JAPANESE TRADE WITH MANILA

Trade between Japan and Manila was of much less importance. It began between 1591-1595 (the total tax in this period of 295.0 pesos corresponds to 0.8 %

CULTURAL ENCOUNTER / Commercial Routes

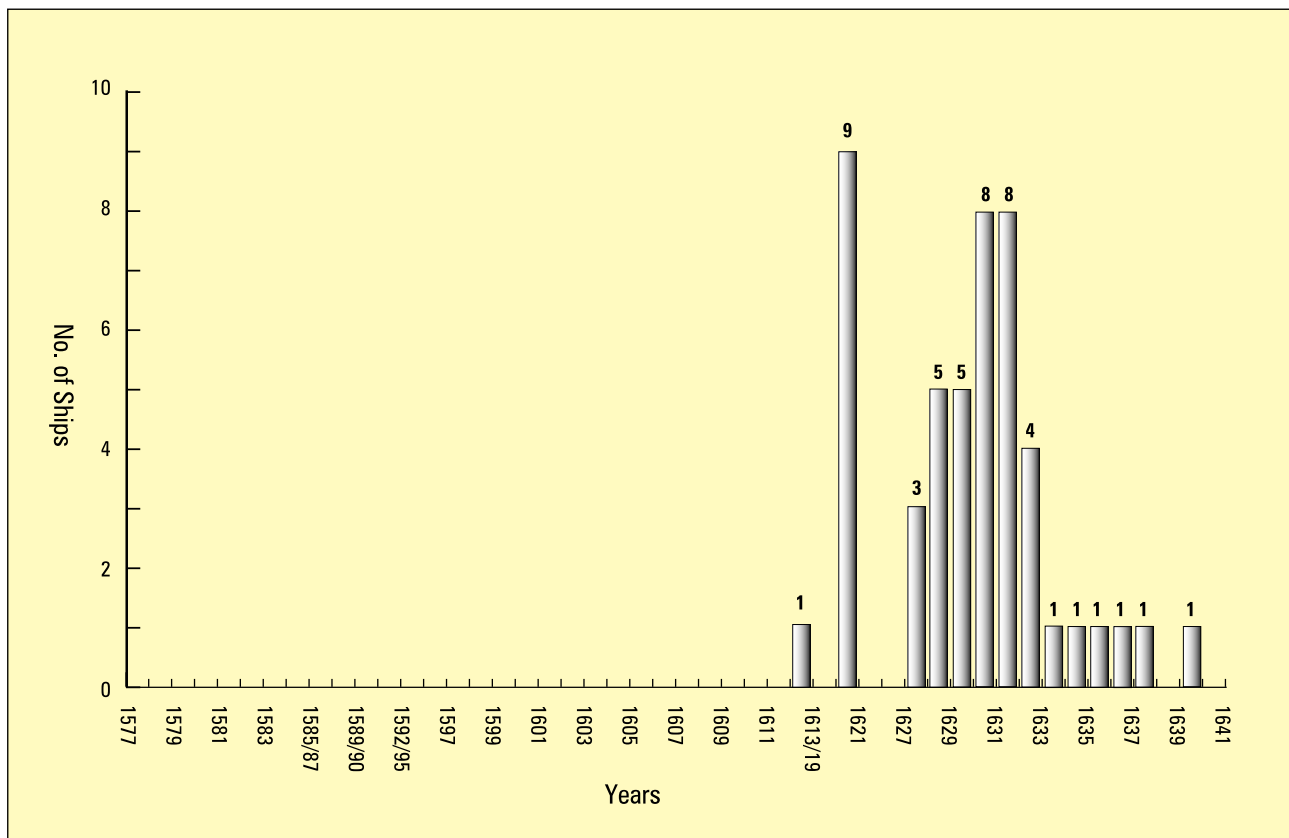


Figure 5. Number of ships arriving in Manila from India.

of the *almojarifazgo*) and 1596-1600 (258.5 pesos corresponds to a 0.6% of the *almojarifazgo*). It should be noted that during these ten years no ships from Macao arrived in Manila. Therefore it is possible that some of the merchants from Macao may have used some Chinese ships. In the following period (1601-1605), the annual average rose to 572.20 pesos, corresponding to 1.33 % of the total revenues of the *almojarifazgo*. The final period (1606-1635) was one of recession (only 46 pesos were collected in 1606-1610), followed by a small recovery in 1616-1620 (with 353 pesos), and finally the nadir came in 1631-1635, with an annual average of just 17.4 pesos.

INDIAN TRADE WITH MANILA

As for the trade originating from India, it contributed the most (in terms of percentages) to the *almojarifazgo* of Manila during the years 1626-1630 (7.05%, which corresponds to 1,813.25 pesos). In 1620, however, the cargoes of the nine Portuguese ships

that sailed from India to Manila were the most valuable. Therefore, although no ships were registered between 1616 and 1619, the value of the customs tax paid in 1620 was so high that when this amount is divided by five (for the five-year period 1616-1620), this period still has the highest average annual value, of 2,463 pesos. The registered cargo was the least valuable in the years 1611-1615 and 1641-1645, in which the Manila customs collected an annual average of 396.5 and 507.2 pesos, respectively. The majority of this trade was controlled by the Portuguese.

It is interesting to note that in the periods during which the merchants of Macao were unable to send their ships directly from Macao to Manila, Portuguese commerce with Manila originated from other intermediary ports in Southeast Asia, such as Macassar, Cambodia and CochinChina. Malacca sent at least one ship in 1597;⁴⁷ its cargo was evaluated and registered in the accounts of the *almojarifazgo* at 1.99% of the total, with an annual average of 861 pesos between 1596-1600.

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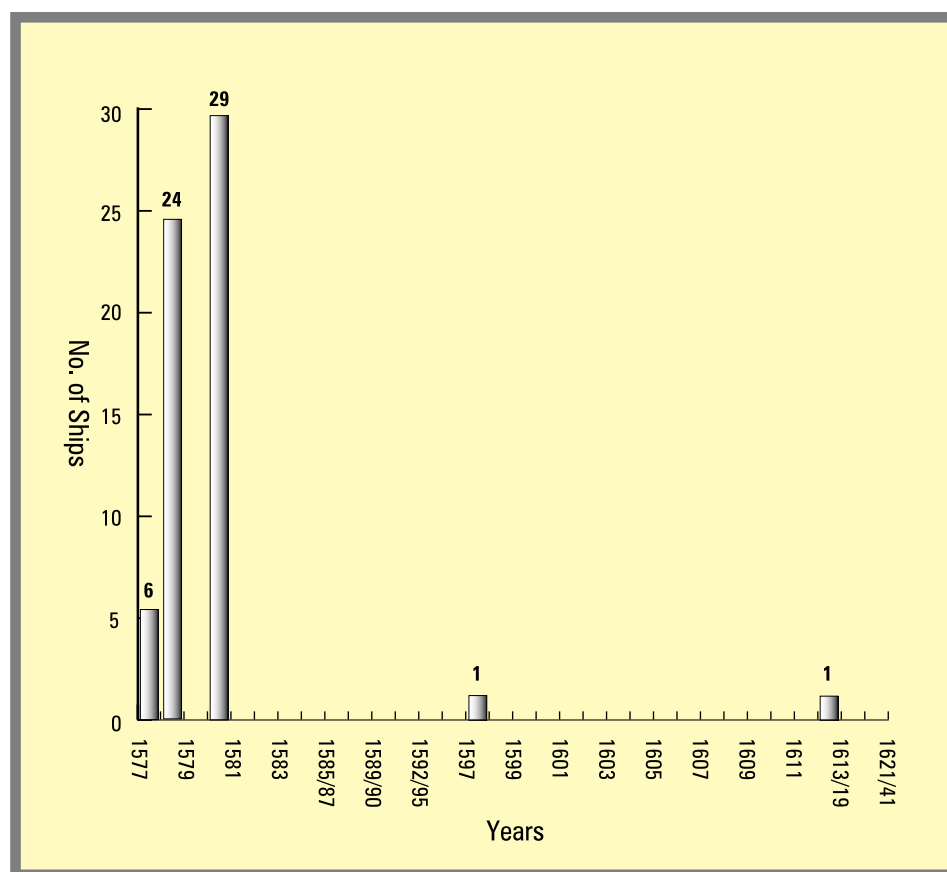


Figure 6. Number of ships arriving in Manila from other ports in the Philippines and from unidentified points of origin.

However, one must be very careful with the interpretation of the data mentioned above, because it does not provide all the facts concerning maritime traffic along the Macao-Manila trade route. One fact that must be considered is that, since trade was often officially forbidden, its continuity was assured through smuggling. Depending on the period and the political circumstances, a variety of other routes to Manila would be used, namely via Southeast Asia, India (especially Goa), or Japan. Between 1577 and 1644, around fifty Portuguese ships arrived from Malacca and from the Indian ports of Goa, Malabar, and Coromandel.

Another way of getting around official restrictions was to use ships from other countries, such as the ships from Japan in 1591, 1599, 1600, and 1601, which carried Portuguese goods. It is probable, however, that Chinese ships were used for most of the clandestine commerce from Macao to Manila, with independent merchants from Macao travelling in ships originating in Canton, or through Chinese agents

(*respondentes*).⁴⁸ Further documentation supporting this can be found in the *legajos* (codices) of the *Contaduría*, which refer to the presence of Chinese Christians (in 1633 and in 1634), and mention that the Chinese captain of one of the thirty-nine ships of 1608 was Christian; they also indicate that the owner of five of the 33 Chinese ships of 1631 was a Chinese Christian. The Portuguese could thus use some of these ships that were registered with customs without mentioning their place of origin, along with some of the registered coastal trade ships.

This pragmatic ability to overcome difficulties by finding alternate trade routes is an example of how Macao could survive the interruption and loss of trade from Japan, Manila, and Malacca. Macao traders worked clandestinely through Chinese agents or transported products along alternative routes, such as those from Siam, Cambodia, Cochinchina, Tonkin, Timor and Macassar;⁴⁹ from some of these ports, Macao merchants continued to trade with Manila even after Macao ships were barred from Manila. According

CULTURAL ENCOUNTER / Commercial Routes

to Claude Guillot, the best period for the Macassar and Banten trade (until the late seventeenth century) was when they traded with Manila.⁵⁰ During the second half of the seventeenth century, Macao traders were particularly active in the Macassar-Manila trade.⁵¹ Macao traders also used ships from other European countries. For example, the English ship of Francis Breton, president of the East India Company in Surat, was sent to Manila in 1644-45.⁵²

SOME NOTES TOWARDS A CONCLUSION

The trade along the silk routes always depended on the political contexts and the relations between the nations that controlled the regions (or seas) that the traders crossed. When the overland caravan routes through the grasslands, deserts and high mountains became even more dangerous because of political instability, merchants reoriented their trade along alternative routes, with a preference for the maritime route. Under the Ming and Qing dynasties, political and economic relationships between foreign countries and China were acceptable only if legally framed as "tribute missions." This so-called "diplomacy of silk" in fact allowed delegations from foreign countries to conduct a kind of disguised trade (in silk and other Chinese products) through which they could make back more than the value of the gifts they brought as tribute. In ancient times, in Rome, silk was more valuable than gold. In medieval and modern times, however, as the techniques of silk weaving came to be known in production centres outside of China, such as in Central Asia, Sicily and even in Lyons (France), the value of silk was somewhat reduced.

To understand the fundamental role played by Macao in the secular Portuguese monopoly of the trade between China and the West—as well as the reasons for its survival as a Luso-Chinese city—we must consider the interaction of three main kinds of factors: economic, geographical and political. The geographic position of Macao was simultaneously a cause for the city's fragility and for the strength of the Portuguese community there. Macao's main importance derived from its strategic location near the terminus of the ancient maritime silk route, the city of Guangzhou (Canton). This geographical fact, combined with the isolationist policy of the Ming and the prohibition on Chinese maritime trade,

allowed the Portuguese of Macao to become middlemen in the trade between China and the maritime world that surrounded it. However, because it occupied a very small peninsula, lacking the means to produce either food to sustain its residents or merchandise to trade with others, Macao's survival depended entirely on the cooperation between its residents and the Chinese authorities, both for the provision of daily necessities and the maintenance of its role as a mercantile intermediary between China and other countries. The Canton authorities had only to close the *Portas do Cerco*, and Macao's inhabitants would be subdued by hunger.

The Portuguese could satisfy China's great appetite for silver, which they brought from Japan and from America (via the Philippines or the Cape route). The abandonment of the fifteenth-century Chinese policy of maritime expansion and the prohibition on Chinese navigation contributed to the spread of clandestine trade and to the growth of piracy in the south China seas—piracy against which the Portuguese themselves also fought. The Portuguese did not represent a threat to China, either militarily or politically, since they integrated themselves and they accepted the dual political suzerainty of both the Portuguese and Chinese governments. To the latter, they paid a ground rent for living in Macao and a tax on maritime trade, and made "donations" to the governor of Canton whenever the authorities so instructed. Its dependence on China led Macao's Portuguese community, especially the merchants, to adopt a kind of pragmatism which in turn guaranteed the survival of Macao as a Luso-Chinese city. The residents of Macao opposed any unrealistic or even utopian project of expansion into the interior of China, and at times they required—even by use of force—officers of the Portuguese Crown to submit to the demands of the Chinese authorities.

In these complex and contradictory characteristics lay the originality of the Luso-Chinese city of Macao. The best example of this originality was the *Câmara Municipal* (City Hall) of Macao, with its real, pragmatic governmental capacity and functions. At the same time, at least in part, Macao reproduced the traditional Portuguese model of expansion, as evidenced by the remarkable mobility of the Portuguese settlers, the centralized administration which depended on the Viceroy of the

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Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, and the marked preference for precious and exotic goods, such as silk and porcelain, or gold and silver.

In a sense, then, the Portuguese in Macao represented an economic and political “added value” for the regional authorities of Canton, which became economically stronger vis-à-vis other regional authorities in China (namely those of other coastal provinces) due to its long-time role as the only legal port for foreign trade. Cantonese authorities in turn began to be able to exert greater political pressure than other mandarins, due to their ability to provide the imperial court with the exotic precious goods, such as ambergris, that the Imperial Court requested.

The Portuguese in Macao and the Spanish in Manila developed a policy of intermarriage; their descendants adopted elements of Chinese and Asian culture as well as of Portuguese and Castilian culture. Macao and Manila were two cosmopolitan cities, two great hubs of the maritime commercial networks that were economically so important in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were also well-fortified cities, whose fortresses provided protection against the numerous enemies (Dutch and English) of the era.

Starting from the mid-seventeenth century, however, Portuguese dominion over the maritime routes of the Indian Ocean gave way to Dutch, and then English and French, control. These powers followed and developed the mercantile system that the Portuguese had used (in terms of the routes travelled, the products traded, the integration into regional trading networks in Asia, and the continuing deficit in the balance of payments), at least until the Opium War in the nineteenth century.

It is also necessary to consider that, despite its success, the maritime route around the Cape of Good Hope did not eliminate the earlier routes overland or via the Red Sea. These routes, although substantially weakened, continued to supply central Asia, the Middle East and even the Mediterranean.

From a global perspective, the civilisational effects that the silk routes had upon humanity were crucial to the development of a multicultural and multiethnic world. They contributed to the cosmopolitanism of the great Chinese and Western cities. The cities of Macao and Manila are good

examples. The silk routes comprised a set of terrestrial and maritime itineraries that allowed the circulation not only of human beings and their material goods, such as the exotic and valuable merchandise discussed above, but also of cultural values in the broadest sense of the term: philosophical and religious concepts, scientific and technological advances, linguistic and musical ideas, fashions and cuisines. Of course, this circulation was bi-directional: East and West interacted in a remarkable way, which is still evident in the multifaceted cities of Macao and Manila.

Thus it was not only merchandise such as silks and porcelains that were transported along these routes; the sophisticated production techniques behind them were transported as well. The Europeans introduced new technologies, for everything from shipbuilding, astronomy and cartography, to the technologies that gave rise to the industrial revolution. Meanwhile, the daily eating habits of Europeans were modified by the introduction of spices and tea. In 1585, Filippo Sassetti, an Italian businessman, was charged by Francesco dei Medici, Grand Duke of Toscana, “to acquire the seeds of some plants to send him” in Florence (Sassetti, p.448). In the nineteenth century, the emperor of Brazil received from Macao, by way of the Cape route, an offer of several Chinese and Asian plants to be planted in the Botanical Gardens of Rio de Janeiro. Conversely, in Asia, potatoes and corn from the Americas, and several plants of African origin, came into popular use. Social habits such as clothing styles still today reflect the great prestige of exquisite silks. In the West, many holidays began to be celebrated with cheerful fireworks (whose Chinese origin we have already forgotten). In the field of thought, the mutual influence was even more intense, involving the diffusion of Buddhism, Islam, Nestorianism and Christianity.

Finally, the Cape Route and its associated voyages, which linked Europe to China and the Philippines, intensified the interpenetration between new social and political-philosophical models. The Chinese conception of state centralism based on a learned elite of state officials influenced the European Enlightenment philosophy, while European ideas of liberalism and libertarianism, in turn, influenced elements of the Asian elite.**RC**

CULTURAL ENCOUNTER / Commercial Routes

NOTES

- 1 This text originated as a paper presented at a conference in Kunming, China, entitled "Comparative Studies on the Silk Roads" (2001-10-28 / 2001-11-2). The Fundação Jorge Álvares sponsored my participation in this conference. See also my article entitled "The Impact of the Macau-Manila Silk Trade from the Beginnings to 1640", published in *The Silk Roads: Highways of Culture and Commerce*, ed. UNESCO and Berghahn Books, New York – Oxford, 2000.
- 2 José Mattoso, "Antecedentes Medievais da Expansão Portuguesa", in *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. 1, pp.12-25, Lisboa, ed. Circulo de Leitores, 1998.
- 3 Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, London, II vol., p.139, 1905.
- 4 Chen Dasheng and Denys Lombard, "Le rôle des étrangers dans le commerce maritime de Quanzhou ("Zaitun") aux 13^e et 14^e siècles", in *Marchands et hommes d'affaires asiatiques dans l'Océan Indien et la Mer de Chine, 13^e- 20^e siècles*, ed. Denys Lombard e Jean Aubin, Paris, 1988, pp.21-29.
- 5 Sun Yitu, ed., *The Silk Road on Land and Sea*, Beijing, China Pictorial Publications, 1989.
- 6 Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, 4 vols. 2nd edition, ed. Presença, 1982-85, vol. 1, p.247. To the interested reader, I recommend Godinho's synthesis of the structure of this route in "A rota do Cabo" (re-issued in 1981). Another work that takes up relevant themes is *De Ceuta a Timor*, by Luís Filipe Thomaz, and especially his contribution "Os Portugueses e a Rota das Especiarias" (pp.169-187). In it, Thomaz analyzes the system of voyages and the contradictions in its development (namely, the different currents of opinion and groups of interest in the court of Portugal).
- 7 Studies by Wu Zhiliang and Jin Guoping document this procedure. Wu Zhiliang, *Segredos da Sobrevivência, in História Política de Macau*, Macau, 1999. Jin Guo Ping, "Combates a Piratas e a Fixação Portuguesa em Macau", in *Revista Militar*, (n. especial, no. 2364, pp.199-228), Lisboa, 1999. I thank Jin Guoping for the following observation, which their most recent research has proven (but that previously had been previously a working hypothesis): that there was some continuity between the regulations and procedures that the Chinese applied to the foreigners in the city of Suzhou, on the northwest border of the terrestrial silk road, and the way that the Portuguese were later accommodated on China's southern coast. Jin and Wu analyze this theme in the paper they presented at the Kunming conference, "Puren Ruju Aomen Kaibu Lishi Yuanyuan Xintan" ("New directions in the search for the historical origins of the establishment of the Portuguese in Macao").
- 8 António Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Mexico, 1609, annotated by José Rizal, Paris, edited by Librería de Garnier Hermanos, 1890; and the edition from W. E. Retana, Madrid, 1909, p.351.
- 9 "Treslado do assento que se tomou em conselho da fazenda sobre a composição que se faz com Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho, por via da transação," codex CXVII/2-5 fl. 99, of the Biblioteca Publica e Arquivo Distrital de Évora. Published in the *Diário do 3^o Conde de Linhares*, pp.87-91, and in Boxer 1988: 253-256. Note that both Marco d'Avaló and António Bocarro, in their descriptions of Macau, give an inaccurate account of the Macao-Manila voyage during these periods. The former states (p.85) that the vessels leave Macao in April and generally return in October, while the latter says that it is possible to sail "during the whole year to Manila" (p.47), which, as we have observed, was not recommended. This contradiction is probably based on stories told in Goa (where Bocarro was located) about the clandestine trade, which perhaps did not strictly obey the normal calendar.
- 10 Rui Lourido, *The Silk Roads...*, p.213.
- 11 "Regimento que se deu a Romão de Lemos que vay por administrador das viagens de Japão e das mais anexas a ellas que se fazem por conta da fazenda de sua magestade (24 de Abril de 1637)" in the Historical Archive of Goa, «Livro do regimento e instruções», III, fls. 38 verse 51; and published in Boxer 1988:286-306.
- 12 Chang, T'ien-Tse, *Sino-Portuguese trade from 1514 to 1644. A synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese sources*, Leiden, 1934.
- 13 Chang, Stephen Tseng-Hsin, *Commodities Imported into the Zhang-Zhou region of Fujian, China during the late Ming period - A Comparative and Analytical Study*, Universitat Heidelberg, 1989 (Paper presented at a Symposium - 31-8 / 3-9, 1989), p.3.
- 14 In Portuguese, this reads, "se possuímos livre só o comércio da China bastava sem nenhum outro porque pera todo este Oriente serve o que nelle ha e pera todo o mundo." From Bocarro's perspective, this statement was justified by the fact that "de tudo o que a natureza produziu em muitos Reinos ha neste só muita cópia que parece que só nelle se dá, e nunca houve tanto cabedal de mercadores que lhes faltace em Quantão senão duma sorte, doutras muitas de fazendas e todas que servem." Quotations from the historian António Bocarro, in "Descrição da cidade do nome de D.s da China," which is found in a volumous work of 300 pages that includes the plans of 48 forts in Portuguese possessions in Asia. The full title is as follows: *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoacoes do Estado da Índia Oriental com as descripções da altura em que estão, e de tudo que há nellas, Artilharia, Presídio, gente de Armas, e Vassalos, rendimento, e despeza, fundos e baxos das Barras, Reis da Terra dentro, o poder que tem, e a paz, e a guerra, que guardão, e tudo que está debaxo da Coroa de Espanha. Dedicado à Serenissima Magestade del Rey Filipe o IV das Espanhas, e III de Portugal Rey, e Senhor nosso*, Goa, 1634. The description of Macau used here was published in Boxer 1942:37.
- 15 The original quotation reads: "Sendo que se lhes tivessem liberdade pera entrar e mercanciar pello Reino poderão conservar-se, e crescer sem mais viagens para Jappão, nem pera Manila, por resão de ser tal a monarchia da China que não necessita de comercios estranhos pera sustento dos Vassalos, e os de Machao estão lá tidos por vassalos..." BA. 54-XI-219, J.P. de Azevedo, *Advertencias...*, f. 20v.
- 16 "Relação do principio que teve a Cidade de Macau e como se sustenta ate o presente," BPAD: Évora, cód. CV/2-7, fol. 65, published by Fr. Manuel Teixeira, Macau e a sua Diocese, IX, O Culto de Maria em Macau, Macau, 1969, p.423.
- 17 This argument was also expressed by the contemporaneous Spanish feitor in the Philippines, Antonio Morga: "Por haberse engrosado tanto este trato, que hacia daño y perjuicio à las mercadorias de España, que se cargaban al Perú y à la Nueva España, y à los derechos reales, que por razon dellas se cobran, y haberse acodiciado les hombres de negocios de Méjico y el Perú, à tratar y contratar en las Filipinas, por mano de sus encomenderas y factores; de suerte, que cesaba en la mayor parte el trato de España," in Antonio Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas...*, p.350.
- 18 In April 1629, a secret order from King Filipe IV authorizing the Macao-Manila trade, was personally delivered by the Viceroy Miguel de Noronha on his voyage to India. See ANTT, "Livros das Monções ou documentos remetidos da Índia," Liv. XXXVIII, fl. 351; *Diário do 3^o Conde de Linhares*, I, p.51-52. See also Boxer 1988: 250.
- 19 The term "casado" refers to a Portuguese man who is married and has established himself in a city under Portuguese control. Status as a casado conferred certain privileges as well as some duties to the Portuguese administration. It corresponds to a social status of privilege and honor.

ENCONTRO DE CULTURAS / Rotas Comerciais

- 20 "Arezoado, em que se apontão alguas rezois por onde não convém ao bem desta cidade erem os Portugueses a Cantão à feira" (1622), in Luís Gonzaga Gomes, "Documentos Setecentistas Portugueses no Arquivo Colonial da Holanda," in Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões (1975), pp.40-60, p.57.
- 21 Chang Pin-Tsun, "Chinese Maritime Trade: the Case of Sixteenth Century Fuchien (Fukien). A thesis presented to Princeton University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in East Asian Studies," Princeton, New Jersey, 1983, p.165. See also K. C. Fok, "The Macau Formula: A Study of Chinese Management of Westerners from the Mid-sixteenth Century to the Opium War Period," a thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to Hawaii University, 1978, pp.33-64, and an abridged version in Portuguese, "O debate Ming acerca da acomodação dos Portugueses e o aparecimento da 'Fórmula de Macau,' a colónia portuguesa e as primeiras reacções Chinesas," in *Revista de Cultura*, n.16, Instituto Cultural de Macau, Macao, 1991, pp.13-30. Finally, see Luís G. Gomes, *Ou-Mun Kei Leok, Monografia de Macau*, Macau, Quinzena de Macau edition (Lisbon, 1979), p.103.
- 22 Huang Hongjian, *História de Macau*, (Nanjing, 1986). I thank Lu Yanbin and Wang Suoying for their translation (from the Chinese) of Chapter Six, "External Trade in the Ming Dynasty" (typewritten). Luís G. Gomes, in *Ou-Mun Kei Leok*, published different reports on foreign trade, such as "Memorial de Uóng-Hei-Mân acerca do facto de se dever prestar grande importância às fronteiras ser o mesmo que fazer ressuscitar o povo," pp.100-104, and "Memorial de P'óng-Sèong-P'áng acerca da forma como deve ser dividida Macau e como se deverá proceder para manter a tranquilidade em todas as reintrâncias do litoral," pp.104-109.
- 23 For an analysis of Chinese customs, see Yue Hai Guan Zhi (Reports of the Guangdong Customs-House); *Guangdong Fu Yi Quan Shu* (Complete Report on Taxes and Corvees of Guangdong Province). See also Zhu Huai, ed., *Xinxiu Xiangshan Xianzhi*, (1927), juan 6, p.27a.
- 24 "From the time that Kuóng-Iâm was the mayor of Hèong-Sân" to the period in which "the mayor was U-Lâm," in Luís G. Gomes, op. cit., p.227.
- 25 "...pretendem que S.M. lhes conceda nas fazendas que nella entrarem, pera com esse dinheiro cercarem a cidade e sobre se por nella hum capitão assistente que entenda nesta obra e tenha a seu cargo a guarda da dita cidade....," in BA., Cod. 51-VIII-18, n. f199, December 17, 1606.
- 26 BA., Cod. 51-VIII-6, nº 620, royal letter to the bishop D. Pedro de Castilho "sobre o direito por sento que pedem os moradores de Macau....".
- 27 Luís G. Gomes, op. cit., p.227.
- 28 "Treslado dos Apontamentos de Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho" (1-3 Maio de 1623), and "Treslado da Resposta dos Procuradores da Cidade de Macau," in Boxer 1988: 241-244.
- 29 Manuel Pereira, João Simões de Carvalho and Lourenço de Carvalho were the representatives of Macau in Goa. On May 3, 1623, they signed the document called "Transcript of the reply of the representatives of the City of Macau" ("Treslado da resposta dos procuradores da cidade de Macau"). See Boxer 1988: 243-244.
- 30 "Treslado da Resposta dos Procuradores da Cidade de Macau," in Boxer 1988: 243-4.
- 31 Almojarifazgo was the term used in the Spanish Empire for a series of taxes levied on maritime commerce. A comparison of the almojarifazgo levied on the Chinese trade before and after the tax was increased from 3% to 6% in 1610 reveals (after a short initial period that saw an overall increase in tax revenues) a balance, or even, during some years, a reduction in the average amount of income taxed per ship, in part due to the systematic under-valuation of goods in the Manila customs. In 1607 and 1608, the 78 Chinese boats paid 70,093.5 pesos, at a rate of 3%; in 1609-1610 the new tax rate of 6% was applied to the 82 Chinese ships, thus increasing this revenue to 128,338 pesos. The payment per ship increased from 900 pesos to about 1,500 pesos between 1607-1608 and 1609-1610. In 1611, a total of 31,683 pesos was collected from 23 ships, which means a tax of about 1,400 pesos per ship. In 1612, when the payment totalled 97,180 pesos for 46 ships, the payment per ship was about 2,100 pesos; and in 1620 the level of 1,200 pesos was maintained. On the other hand, in 1627 the payment per ship decreased to about 830 pesos, for a total of about 17,450 pesos paid to Customs. See Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques (XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles)*, *Introduction méthodologique et indices d'activité*, pp.34-35.
- 32 Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques*, pp.200-206; and Benjamin Videira Pires, S.J., *Viagem do Comércio Macau-Manila...* p.24.
- 33 The derivation of the name "pancada" is not clear. José Caetano Soares gives us two possibilities: the name may have originated either from "The custom of auctioneers to close the bidding by knocking on the table, in the markets, or from the regional term used in the north of Portugal, viagar de pancada, which means to follow in a group" (in *Macau e a Assistência*, pp.120). See Boxer 1988: 66.
- 34 Directive of "Conde Vice Rey da Índia," Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, 1584, in codex 49 IV-57, fls. 170 verso and following; «Jesuítas na Ásia» of BA. Published for the first time (according to C. R. Boxer) by Y. Okamoto in *Nichi-po Kotsu*, II, Tokyo, 1943, and also published in Boxer 1988: 197-200.
- 35 Taxes levied on maritime commerce, roughly calculated according to the value of the merchandise - ad valorem. From an examination of the documents (mainly, the *Extracto historial del expediente que pende en el Consejo de Indias a instancia de la ciudad de Manila...*, Madrid, 1736, fs.,324, gr. in 4º), it is possible to state that there was a direct correlation between the degree of mercantile development (of the maritime trade) and the total tax revenue (of the almojarifazgo) of Manila. See Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques XVIe - XVIIIe Siècles, Introduction méthodologique et indices d'activité*, Paris, 1960. For a detailed list of the manuscript documentation used here, found in many archives of several countries—such as the list of the "legajos of Fundos da Contaduría of Arquivo das Índias de Seville" (for the period from 1577 to 1645)—see Rui Lourido, *A rota marítima da seda e da prata: Macau-Manila desde as origens a 1640*, Thesis presented to the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1996.
- 36 I also used these tables in "The Impact of the Macau - Manila Silk Trade from the Beginnings to 1640", in *The Silk Roads: Highways of Culture and Commerce*, UNESCO and Berghahn Books, New York and Oxford, 2000.
- 37 See Rui Lourido, *The Silk Roads...*, 2000.
- 38 *Guang Dong Hai Fang Hui Lan* (Collection on the Maritime Defence of Guangdong), juan 37, compiled by Lu-Kun. Translated by Dr. Lu Yan Bin. António Morga, in his work *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, wrote: "Los derechos del tres por ciento de las mercaderías que traen de la China los navíos sangleyes, valen un año con otro, cuarenta mil pesos" (p.360). In this work he refers to a "relação escrita pelo Almirante D. Jerónimo de Bãñuelos y Camillo" in which he informed the king that "one and a half million in gold enters China each year." (p.350).
- 39 Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques*, Paris, 1960, pp.199-219.
- 40 Pedro de Baeza, "Esta relación y discurso, me mando V. Excelência que hiziesse... para que en el satisfizese las dudas que me puseron

CULTURAL ENCOUNTER / Commercial Routes

- cerca de la grande costa que la armada avia de hazer." Madrid, 1608, fls. 11v. 13. In Boxer 1988: 74.
- 41 "Carta de desembargador Sebastião Soares Paes para a Princesa Margarida, Duquesa de Mantua," Goa, 19 of January, 1637, in the ANTT, Lisboa, "Livros das Monções," XXXVIII, fls 468 and following. Also published in Boxer 1988: 278-286. This letter was a response to that of the Dutchess of Mantua (Regente do Reino de Portugal), dated March 7, 1636.
- 42 Rial-of-eight (*peso de "ocho reales"; "peso de plata"; "el duro"*). The commonest and most popular European coin in the Far East after the establishment of the Spaniards in the Philippines (C.R. Boxer). At Goa in 1584 it was officially valued at one cruzado (400 reis), or 6.66 tangas. In Peter Mundy's day, it oscillated around 10 tangas. The gold peso coin (or "peso de oro") was also in circulation and was worth 16 Spanish reals. For more detailed information about gold currency, see Boxer 1988: 336-337.
- 43 "Fundo Geral de Manuscritos" of BPAD. de Évora, códice CXVI/2-5, fl. 270, "Mandado do capitão Geral D. Francisco de Mascarenhas, acerca do comércio com Manilla e Japão."
- 44 See Wu Zhiliang, "Segredos da Sobrevivência," *História Política de Macau*, Macau, 1999.
- 45 See the January 1591 letter from Filipe I to Viceroy Martins de Albuquerque (HAG., "Livro das Monções," n. 3 fl. 430 (2ª via) and fl. 438 (4ª via), also published in the Archivo Português Oriental, fasc. 3º, parte 1ª, doc. 78, pp.286-299, and in the *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, nº 2 pp.309-312, reference: 13, 20-23/14-4. See also another royal letter, dated four years later (28/2/1595), in which the Viceroy is instructed to prevent, as far as possible, the "chincheos" from going to the islands of Solor to obtain sandalwood, not only because of the damage suffered by the royal treasury, but also because of the disruptions they caused. In *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, nº 2, pp.332-333, reference 44, 70-71/5-3, or in "Livro das Monções" n. 3-B, pp.589-590.
- 46 BA., Cod. 51-VIII-18, nº 243, fs.112-113v.
- 47 AGI, *Filipinas*, cd. 1204.
- 48 See, for example, the *correspondência* bonds of Tristão Tavares (1637) and Pero Fernandes de Carvalho (1638), published in Boxer 1988: 284-287. Among the various documents that confirm the existence of smuggling, the letter from Sebastião Soares Paes to Princess Margarida, Duchess of Mantua, dated January 19, 1637 (in the ANTT, Lisbon, "Livros das Monções," XXXVIII, fls. 468 and following) deserves mention. This is the reply to a letter from Princess Margarida dated March 7, 1636. Boxer published a summary of this letter, in English, in the article "Portuguese Commercial Voyages to Japan 300 Years Ago," in TJS, XXXI (1933-34) pp.65-75; this same author also published the complete text of the letter in Portuguese in Boxer 1988: 278-286. See the *Mandado do Capitão Geral D. Francisco de Mascarenhas* on the Macau-Manila-Japan trade. The original is in the BPAD. de Évora, códice CXVI/2-5, f. 270.
- 49 "Termo de fretamento que se fez para o Macassar, Cambodja, Cochinchina, Tonquim e mais partes conforme o consentimento dos senhores das embarcações de 12 de Novembro de 1640," in *Arquivos de Macau*, (AM), vol. 3, n. 2, August 1930, pp.61-63.
- 50 Claude Guillot, "Les Portugais et Banten (1511-1682)," in *Revista de Cultura, Os mares da Ásia, 1500-1800, Sociedades Locais, Portugueses e Expansão Europeia*, Macau, 1991, n. 13-14, pp.80-95. See also Chaunu, op. cit., 160-161. Between 1641 and 1646, eight ships sailed from Macassar to Manila.
- 51 Claude Guillot, "Les Portugais et Banten (1511-1682)," idem, p.93.
- 52 "The man who spurred that inspiration was an enterprising Portuguese merchant in Surat, Joseph de Brito, who pointed out to Francis Breton the considerable benefits that would be gained from trade in Manilla," in Serafin Quiazon, *English "Country Trade" with the Philippines, 1644-1765*, Quezon City, University of the Philippines Press, 1966, p.5. For more information on José de Brito, see W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1642-1645*, Oxford, 1927, p.219.

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Terra dentro, o poder que tem, e a paz, e a guerra, que guardão, e tudo que está debaixo da Coroa de Espanha. Dedicado à Serenissima Magestade del Rey Filipe o IV das Espanhas, e III de Portugal Rey, e Senhor nosso. In the Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora. This was published by C.R. Boxer in *Macau na Época da Restauração (Macau three hundred years ago)*, p.37.

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ENCONTRO DE CULTURAS / Rotas Comerciais

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