

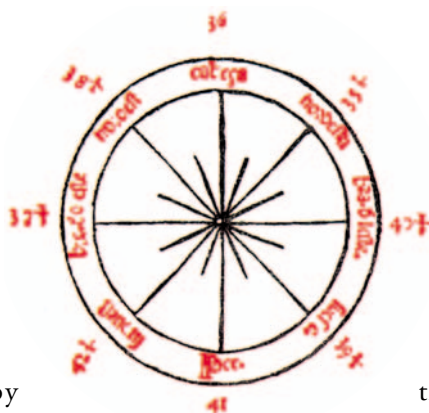
China in Portuguese and Spanish Historical Cartography in the 16th and 17th Centuries

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When the Iberian maritime activities started in the Atlantic Ocean in the mid-15th century, nautical charts played a crucial role in power strategy and navigation. Beautifully drawn maps made by professional cartographers containing information on the latest ‘discoveries’ were presented to kings and princes, while explorers were marking new findings on duplicates of these maps which they brought along on their voyages of exploration. The new findings would then be brought back to the courts and chancelleries for updating the cartographic information. Historical cartography spoke both for the cultural era and the power relationships at the time it was made. This paper aims to research with comparative tools the Portuguese and Spanish cartographic representations and to debate the maritime communications and geography of China.

THE IBERIAN POWERS IN ASIA

Several world trade networks existed before Iberian maritime navigation was active in the Atlantic Ocean. These networks in Asia were autonomous and



dynamic before the intervention of the Europeans, trading mainly spices, silver, gold, and luxury goods between China, India and Southeast Asian economies. These trade networks were centred in the Indian Ocean, between north-eastern Africa and India, and between India and South Asia, also gathering the economic relations between the South China Seas and south-eastern Asia.¹ Some regions in Europe were also involved in these trade networks through contact with the Arabic economies and with the Ottoman Empire and its trade connections with the leading Italian emporia. However, the Iberian kingdoms did not benefit much from these trade dynamics until the late 15th century, when they sought other means of having an involvement in Asia's rich trade systems.

The Portuguese were almost a hundred years ahead of their European counterparts in oceanic navigation when the other modern European states started exploring world commerce.² Supported by private and national agents and equipped with improved navigation technology and maps drawn with higher accuracy, identifying definitively the maritime paths between the south Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, the former “*mare clausum*” of Ptolemy's classical cosmography, the Portuguese navigators were active in seafaring in the Atlantic Ocean in the 15th century. These ongoing activities thrived under the strong rule of Dom João II,³ who encouraged new exploratory navigations and even private enterprises. New ports were set up on the western African coast, actively

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trading gold, slaves and local raw materials. Investments were followed by the arrival of Bartolomeu Dias at the southernmost tip of Africa in 1488, proving that the Atlantic Ocean and the Indian Ocean were connected, and opening up the possibility to arrive in the Orient by sailing around Africa and then eastward. Regular navigation activities were established by the end of the 15th century following the monsoon systems. Vasco da Gama made another breakthrough when he arrived in Calicut in India in 1498, and from that time regular Europe-Asia maritime voyages were launched, being monopolized by Portuguese official and trade investments for a long period.

When the Portuguese first came to Asia, they tried to enter into the existing trade networks, bringing back to Europe the Asian goods in high demand. Eventually they realized that the most profitable trade was not on the Europe-Asia route. Rather, trade amongst the Asian regions was much more lucrative. Ports and fortresses were set up along the coasts of Africa, India, and in the 16th century even in Southeast Asia after the conquest of Malacca in 1511,⁴ attempting to protect Portuguese trade and their monopoly of maritime connections; several agreements were also made with different local powers to facilitate co-operation and the establishment of Portuguese settlements in strategic points on the Asiatic maritime trade routes.

Portuguese traders acted then as intermediaries in different trade routes from Europe to Japan offering faster, cheaper and safer maritime services due to Portuguese naval superiority. The main 16th-century Portuguese trade routes were linking Canton-Macao-Nagasaki, Macao-Malacca-Goa-Lisbon and, after the Spanish conquest of Manila in 1571, Canton-Macao-Manila-Mexico.⁵

Amongst these trade routes, the Canton-Nagasaki commercial communication was the

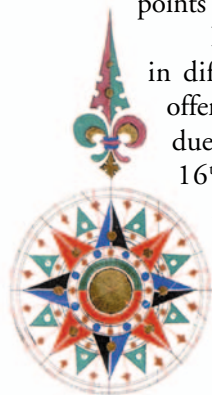
most profitable. The Portuguese were trading Chinese silk for Japanese silver, and this trade system increased with the Portuguese settlement in Macao from 1557. Since silver was used as the currency and weight system in Ming China, it was in high demand and had a very high economic value. The Portuguese made use of the difference in the value of gold and silver in China and Japan and exchanged Chinese gold for Japanese silver.⁶ When the Portuguese traders were expelled from Nagasaki in 1639-1640, they even told the *shogun* that Macao's existence was based on trade with Japan.⁷ At the same time, Portuguese traders also brought into China new European technologies and inventions, including a world cartography that was widely ignored by the court and high-ranking mandarins of the Middle Empire.

Meanwhile, the Spain created by the association between

Castile and Aragon through the famous marriage between the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella was a main rival of Portugal in exploratory navigation and trade in Asia. The Spanish kings and their political advisers were persuaded that China could be reached by sailing westward from Iberia, a dream already leading to Columbus' arrival in the Caribbean islands in 1492. The huge landmass of North and South America did not exist in the geographical documents of the 15th century. However, as shown in the famous early 16th-century *Cantino* planisphere, Portuguese navigators knew that the westward distance from Europe to the Orient rendered it impossible or at least incomprehensible to reach China by sailing westward, a fact that was confidential and was only made known to official Portuguese navigators. Christopher Columbus believed that the Orient, and therefore China, could be reached by sailing westward crossing the Atlantic Ocean, which, as he believed, and in fact was and is, not very large. Sponsored by the Spanish court, Christopher Columbus launched a total of four voyages between



Fig. 1: Juan de la Cosa, Map of 1500.



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1492 and 1502, exploring what he believed to be the *Indies*. On Columbus' return to Castile, when he was received by the Portuguese King D. João II, he even informed the royal court that he had reached the Indies. The king told Columbus that he had only arrived at some small islands on a large land mass that was already known to the Portuguese navigators.⁸ Columbus, as he had also done earlier when he tried to persuade the Portuguese king to sponsor his maritime projects, again did not believe it and reported to the Castilian queen his 'discovery', never knowing that he had 'found' the New World.

THE FIRST REPRESENTATIONS OF CHINA IN SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE CARTOGRAPHY

Christopher Columbus' misunderstanding can be followed in Juan de la Cosa's map of 1500 (Fig. 1). This Spanish navigator and cartographer was aboard three of Columbus' four voyages, and he included the latest findings from these voyages in cartography upon his return to Spain. The Caribbean Islands onto which Columbus landed on his first voyage were interpreted as a small group of islands being part of the Orient, and so small that they surely would not block the westward route to China and the rich Asiatic economies. Although Columbus explored more of the Caribbean

maritime and territorial regions in his subsequent voyages, America was understood then as a small piece of land, and China was seen as reachable by crossing the Atlantic Ocean: the earliest Spanish approach to China was thus an Atlantic one, merging utopian accounts, travel literature, and fragmentary geographic information. In fact, the Chinese empire and society were wrongly interpreted in Juan de la Cosa's map of the world. Unable to gather information on the interior of the continent, Cosa used some pictorial, nautical and fictional elements: wide wind roses, European style palaces and royal figures dominating Asia and China, rendering the "Orient" an exotic and fascinating place for European intellectual exploration. The Spanish cartographer had not arrived in these territories, and did not understand their specific cultures, reading them with European notions.

The Portuguese cartographers also had some serious misunderstandings about the American world despite having been involved in seafaring for half a century in the Atlantic Ocean, but at the same time they had some new understandings due to an intense exploration that reached the west coast of India in 1498. These misunderstandings and understandings could be seen in the earliest extant Portuguese world map, the Cantino planisphere of 1502 (Fig. 2), which was commissioned by the Italian secret agent Alberto Cantino, sent by Ercole d'Este.⁹

Fig. 4: Anonymous, Cantino Planisphere, 1502.



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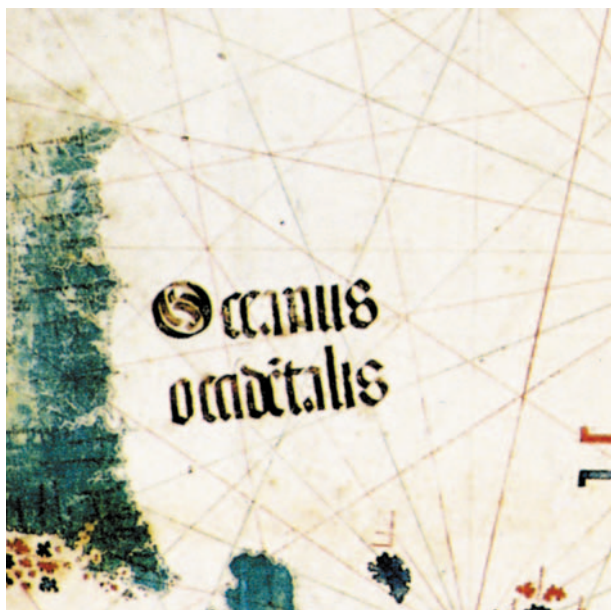


Fig. 3: Anonymous, Cantino Planisphere, 1502 (detail).

On this planisphere, there is a large area devoted to the unknown part of the world west of Europe,¹⁰ this large area, being almost one-third of the world, would not be, without knowledge of the ocean and the monsoon pattern, as easily sailed (if not being blocked by a large land mass in between) as



Christopher Columbus had imagined it. The Portuguese King D. João II had advised Columbus on it, but the Spanish-sponsored explorer was determined to find a westward route to the East. The legend on the map representing the Atlantic Ocean reads “*Oceanus Occidentalis*” (Fig. 3), meaning the “West Ocean”, to the east of North America. On the other end of the map, the legend on the map representing the Pacific Ocean reads “*Oceanus Orientalis*” (Fig. 4), meaning the “East Ocean”, to the east of China. The fact of showing two oceans demonstrates that the Portuguese cartographer supposed the existence of another large ocean between an unknown land mass and China. Therefore, the Portuguese had not tried to reach China in a westward approach. On the other hand, the Spanish explorers realized that there was another ocean west of the new land mass only when they crossed the conjunction of North and South America in 1509. Before then, the Spanish were trying to reach China directly by sailing west.

The Line of Demarcation drawn by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 is indicated on the Cantino planisphere (Fig. 5). The Portuguese navigators were not in serious dispute with the Spanish navigators in the 1490s, but each of these kingdoms wished to secure their own rights in land claims and therefore



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claimed routes to the Orient. An agreement was made between Portugal and Spain in 1493 with the help of Pope Alexander VI (and the Treaty of Tordesillas signed in 1494) to draw a line in the western world so that lands found west of this line would be claimed by Castile, and lands found east of this line by Portugal. This Line of Demarcation was subjected to change in later treaties, but it divided the world at the time between Portugal and Spain. It is worth noting in Cantino's planisphere the Portuguese and Spanish explorers' attempts to claim lands, as represented by flags placed in different spots drawn by the cartographer (Fig. 8). Castilian explorers were placing Spanish flags in the Caribbean Islands, believing that they were claiming land in the Orient. Nevertheless, China fell into the Portuguese domain in this map.

The Portuguese cartographers, unlike Christopher Columbus, had not mistakenly considered the Caribbean Islands part of Asia. The Caribbean Islands onto which Columbus landed were depicted near the



Fig. 5: Anonymous, Cantino Planisphere, 1502 (detail).

large land mass of South America, and these islands were attributed to Columbus who claimed them for the Castilian king.¹¹ Although the Portuguese explorers had not explored America yet, if the missing longitudinal line is added to the planisphere, then the size of the unknown world is considerable and comparable to the actual size of America.

In spite of the knowledge gained in the many voyages to the Orient, the Portuguese cartographer was still confused about the boundaries of Asia. The inscription near Greenland shows that Asia was believed to be extended to the north-west of Europe, Greenland being the extension of Asia¹² (Fig. 6). This confusion, which was common in Europe even in the following half century, explains Hernando de Soto's attempt to reach China by travelling north of

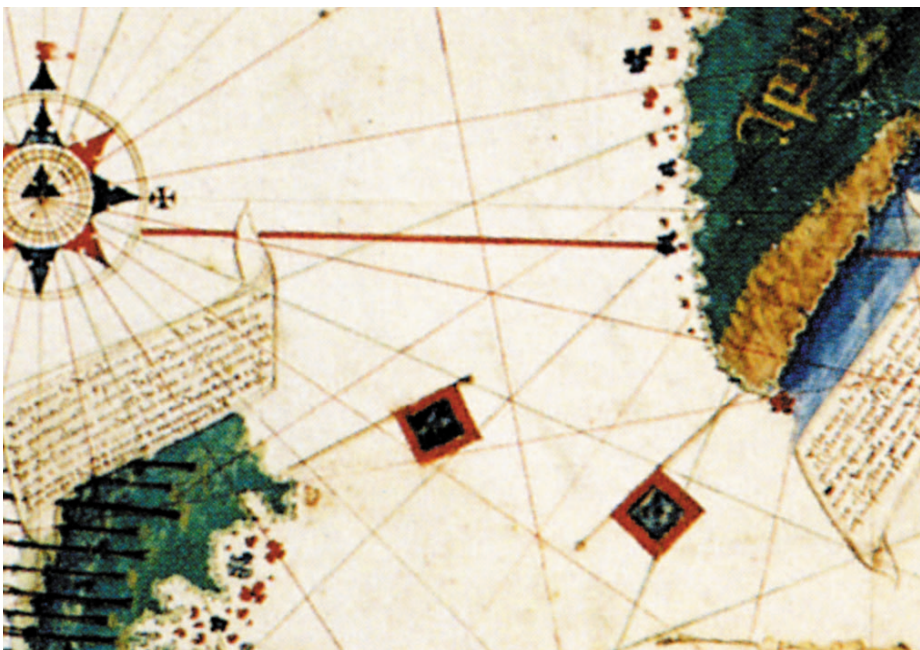


Fig. 6 : Anonymous, Cantino Planisphere, 1502 (detail).

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Fig. 7: Jorge Reinel, Planisphere of c.1519.

North America and the British project to navigate the North West Passage in an attempt to reach China.

THE SPANISH ATTEMPTS TO REACH CHINA

Twenty years after Christopher Columbus' voyage, even after America was eventually proved to be a large land mass, Spanish navigators were still trying to reach China by sailing westward. Jorge Reinel and his father Pedro Reinel were highly skilled and respected Portuguese cartographers. While exiled in Seville, Jorge Reinel was in service of the Spanish local trade house (*Casa de Contratación*), but his father Pedro Reinel came to fetch him after agreement with the Portuguese authorities.¹³ In Jorge Reinel's planisphere, made with his father's help in Seville in 1519 (Fig. 7), many accurate details were put on the eastern part of the world concerning lands that the Portuguese had been exploring for about twenty years and had been concealed by Portuguese cartographers and navigators. The many ships in the different seas showed that the Spanish, like the Portuguese,

were actively navigating in the seas, but the Spanish were basically installed in the western part of the world.

Flags were used as strategic symbols of power to claim lands where the Portuguese or the Spanish explorers had arrived. It must be noted that there was a Portuguese flag placed in China near the Pearl River delta (Fig. 8). The Portuguese first arrived in China in Jorge Álvares' voyage in 1513, six years before this map was made. Although there was no consensus among the local Chinese authorities on the Portuguese right to trade in Canton, the Portuguese were not concerned by this fact and had claimed China, or at least the Pearl

River delta, as a Portuguese trade objective. In fact, the first Portuguese embassy headed by Tomé Pires went to China in 1517, much earlier than the first Portuguese who settled in Macao. However, bureaucracy and misunderstanding rendered the first embassy a failure, and Tomé Pires and the rest of the embassy eventually all died in Chinese prisons.¹⁴

Contrary to the informative eastern hemisphere, the western

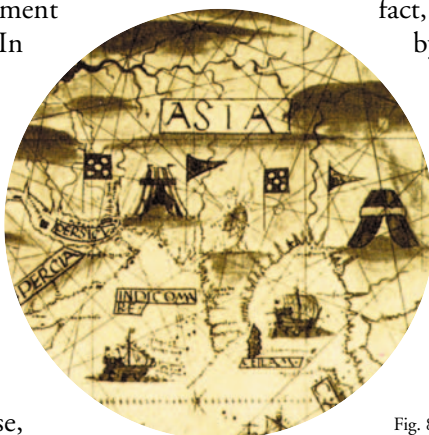
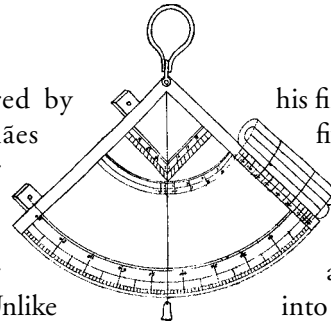


Fig. 8: Jorge Reinel, Planisphere of c.1519 (detail).

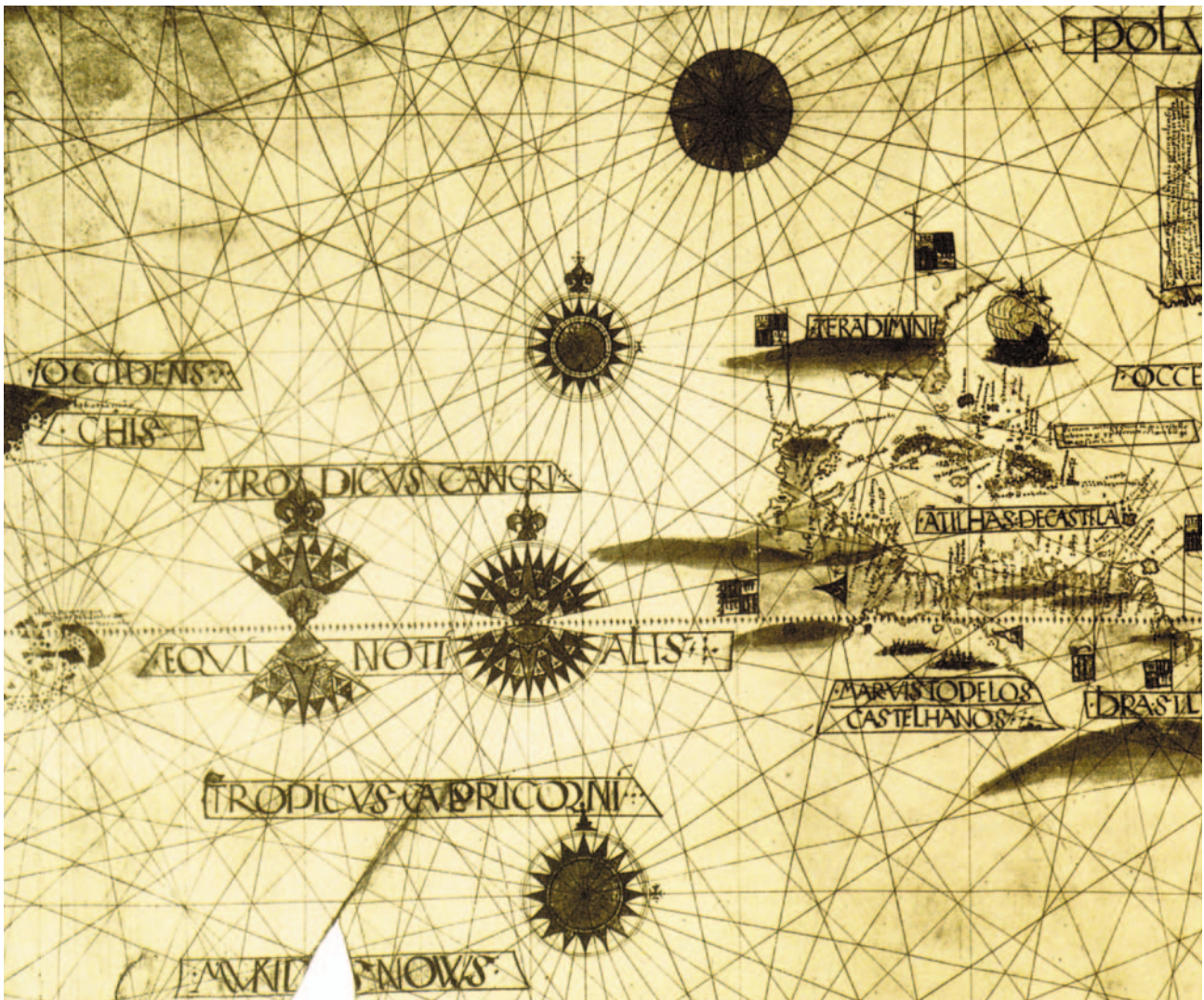
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hemisphere was unexplored. Sponsored by the Spanish court, Fernão de Magalhães [Ferdinand Magellan] was preparing for the first circumnavigation. Meanwhile, Jorge Reinel prepared this world map for Magalhães, reserving much space for America and the unknown ocean (Fig. 9). Unlike Christopher Columbus, Jorge Reinel was aware of the vastness of the unknown ocean. Although the Spanish were by now aware of the existence of a large land mass which they were relentlessly exploring and a large ocean that was totally unexplored, the Spanish explorers were obsessed with the goal of reaching Orient by sailing westward. Fernão de Magalhães launched



his first and last circumnavigation in 1519 with five ships and 126 sailors. They sailed south across the Atlantic Ocean, along the eastern coast of South America, crossed a stormy strait which would be named after Magalhães, lost one ship, and headed into the unknown, huge but peaceful ocean. Although Magalhães' fleet was able to arrive in the real "Indies", in what is today the Philippines, they were in difficulties of all sorts: lack of food and fresh water, disease, unstable weather, and frequent confrontations with the natives. The Spanish had found the route to the East, but could not return on the same route for they had not found the right monsoon wind yet.

Fig. 9: Jorge Reinel, Planisphere of c.1519 (detail).



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Fig. 10: Diogo Ribeiro, Anonymous planisphere of 1527.

Eventually Magalhães was killed in Mactan, near Cebu in 1521, which the Spanish claimed fifty years after his death. In 1522, the fleet returned to Spain crossing the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic under the leadership of Sebastian Elcano with only one ship and a handful of the remaining crew.¹⁵ So disastrous was this voyage that for the following fifty years no one dared another circumnavigation.

The Spanish explorers had been exhaustively navigating the oceans in the first half of the 16th century. On the Portuguese cartographer Diogo Ribeiro's

planisphere, commissioned by the Spanish court and made in Seville in 1527 (Fig. 10), the Portuguese and Spanish navigators' seafaring activities could be seen from the many ships drawn on the map. In the eastern hemisphere there were the Portuguese ships bearing the Cross of the Order of Christ, and in the western hemisphere there were the Spanish ships, all with detailed inscriptions describing the destination of each ship. The Line of Demarcation drawn in 1494 played a crucial role for centuries by dividing the world into two maritime zones of influence. This division

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however applies more to America than to Asia. There were constant arguments over the location of the eastern anti-meridian line. Different treaties were signed after the Treaty of Tordesillas, and different boundaries lines were drawn, especially in 1529 by the famous Treaty of Zaragoza, when the Portuguese King D. João III accepted to pay a huge compensation for the Portuguese right over the Moluccas, which were, in fact, in the Portuguese area defined by Tordesillas.

On Diogo Ribeiro's map of 1527, the boundary of the Portuguese and Spanish right to claim discovered

lands and maritime routes was obscure in Asia. Looking at the very edge of the eastern hemisphere, where the Portuguese and Spanish flags were placed to indicate possession (Fig. 11), China fell in between these two flags. The cartographer carefully placed the two flags apart to obscure the Line of Demarcation, rather than draw a definite line on the map, which then was still an assumed 'extension' of the one in the western hemisphere northward and southward. (At that time the size of the Pacific Ocean was still being measured and recorded). Although the Portuguese had already

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visited China and had sent the first embassy to China, the Spanish had also been trying to reach China. On the western edge of the map, it must be noted that a Spanish flag was put near the Pearl River delta, and the inscription read 'LA CHINA', exactly as it was written in the eastern hemisphere. Thus the cartographer claimed China for Spain.

CHINA MISUNDERSTOOD

One of the main driving forces behind the coming of the Iberians to China was trade, and this was clearly depicted on the map of Asia in Battista Agnese's atlas of different parts of the world dated 1544. The voyages of Christopher Columbus and Fernão de Magalhães were shown in a world map included in this atlas. However, due to the fact that this atlas was not an Iberian work, it will not be discussed more deeply

here. What seems interesting is the fact that in the chart of Asia, 'China' was placed in what should be the Pearl River delta (Fig. 12). It was understandable because at that time the Iberians had no means of official contact with China, and the Portuguese found other means by either smuggling in the Fujian or mingling with the southeast Asian merchants trading in Canton.¹⁶ For the Portuguese traders, Canton was the only place of commercial interest, and the only place in China where they could be present for the time being.

On the other hand, the driving force for the effort of the Spanish to arrive in China was clearly depicted in another non-Iberian map of the New World printed in the mid-16th century. The series of Münster maps of America was widely circulated in Europe in the 1540s and 1550s (Fig. 13). The Spanish conquistadors were exploring the New World and opening up mines in Peru and Bolivia. Hernando de Soto was one of the Spanish

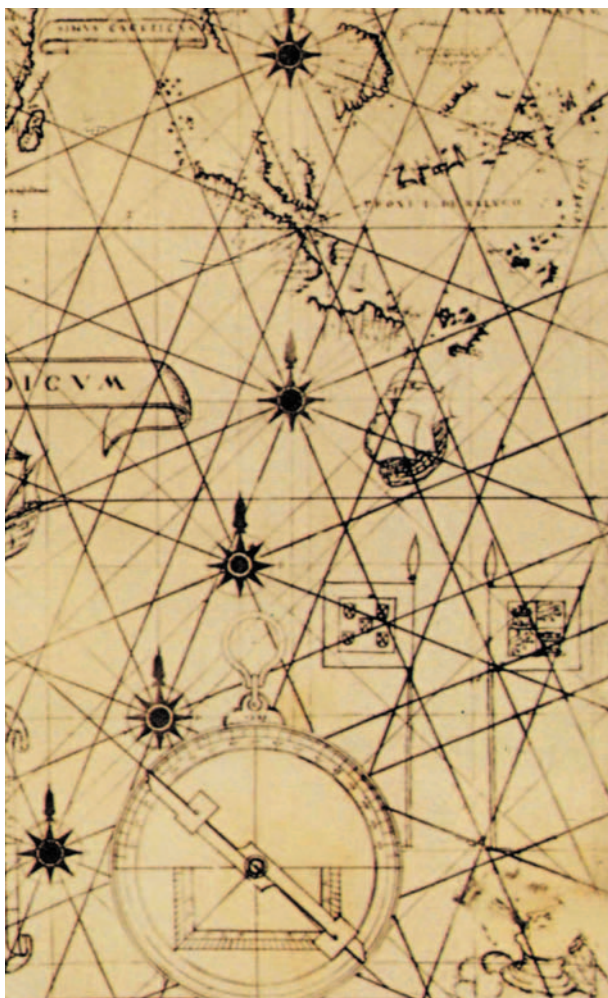


Fig. 12: Battista Agnese, Portolan atlas of 9 charts and a world map, etc. Dedicated to Hieronymus Ruffault, Abbot of St. Vaast, 1544 (detail).

conquistadors who fled poverty in his homeland and made his fortune working in the New World. With inspiration from maps similar to the Münster's charts of America, Hernando de Soto was convinced that China could easily be reached by travelling north in North America. It was not difficult to understand the cartographic attempt of de Soto in 1539 to reach China from North America because China (*India Superior*¹⁷ as labelled on the map) was shown just over America. Therefore, de Soto launched a journey into the "island" which is now Florida, bringing with him

Fig. 11: Diogo Ribeiro, Anonymous planisphere of 1527 (detail).

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620 men and 220 horses, trying to reach China by sailing north. Although we understand very well now with a more accurate map that it was far more difficult than de Soto believed it would be, we must understand him in his historical context and cartographic epochal knowledge. De Soto's crew left their ships and landed in Florida, where they encountered many natives and were frequently in conflict with them. They arrived at the Mississippi River, which they called the great river. They crossed the river and travelled further west, but returned to the Mississippi due to frequent danger. Eventually, the journey was forced to cease when de Soto died of fever in 1542. His men, in terrible condition and lacking provisions, came to an agreement to return to the known colonies, although not all of them had given up the attempt to sail further north.

After Cantino's chart, an anonymous planisphere dated 1545 is now the oldest known Portuguese world map incontestably made in Portugal.¹⁸ This is an interesting map showing different cultures unlike the culturally homogeneous representations shown in Juan de la Cosa's map of 1500. In this map, there were twelve figures shown representing different worldwide cultures and power in the lands that the Portuguese or the Spanish had claimed. Two of the figures in Brazil are holding Spanish shields representing Spanish sovereignty, a Chinese 'king' is holding a mace, and the remaining figures are holding shields bearing either the Portuguese royal arms or the Order of Christ Cross in Brazil, Africa and Asia. This aspect was asserting the "fact"—in rigor, the *right*—that Portugal claimed Brazil in South America and the lands in the Far East.¹⁹

Fig. 13: Sebastian Münster, *Tabula nouarum insularum*, ca. 1544.



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Portugal's claim to land was represented by different figures holding different symbols. Taking the example of Asia, a figure obscuring India is holding a shield bearing the Order of Christ Cross, the figure in Turkey holds a Portuguese royal armorial shield, whereas the figure in China holds a mace or sort of sceptre. The figure representing this fictional Chinese "king" is shown to be authoritative and, unlike the others, independent, for he is not holding a Portuguese shield. The Chinese king was not under any Portuguese colonial control like those in other parts of Asia. The Portuguese were not forcefully starting trade with the Chinese, but were entering into the existing trade system and trying to get a position in Canton commerce and fairs. Furthermore, the different cultures were represented with different costumes, unlike the European representation in Juan de la Cosa's map of 1500, although the sketch of the Chinese king does deserve some further discussion.

In fact, the representation of the Chinese king is clearly oriental (Fig. 14), highlighting the idea that the Portuguese did not have a real understanding of the Chinese culture and society at that period. The king looks Mongolian but simultaneously Arab. The yellow colour was worn by the Son of Heaven, but a Chinese emperor would have had shoes on. The cap and clothes are in Mongolian and Arabic styles but the yellow colour is Chinese, although the Chinese Son of Heaven should have shown more yellow and less blue than the figure displays. This fictional Chinese king is shown near the Pearl River delta, where the trading port of Canton was located, although foreign trade was forbidden in Ming China and traders were considered one of the lowest ranks in society. The Son of Heaven would not have bothered to come into contact with a trade region. The figure probably would have the authority of a sort of local mandarin, but not the degree of solemnity attributed to the Chinese Son of Heaven.

CHINESE RELATIONS WITH SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The representation of the Chinese was more accurate in the Portuguese cartographer António Sanches' map of Asia made in 1623 (Fig. 15). Having



Fig. 15: António Sanches, Planisphere of 1623 (detail).

traded with the Chinese by different means for almost a century and settled in the Macao enclave from 1557, the Portuguese interpreted the Chinese government officials in the manner of traditional scholars: wearing robes of orange, which was not the formal colour for a Chinese high-ranking government official but also not the yellow colour used exclusively by the Son of Heaven. Furthermore, the Chinese government officials in both the 1545 anonymous planisphere and in this 1623 Sanches map of Asia were facing the Pacific Ocean. According to Chinese cartographic tradition, the sea was a source of threat and danger due to smuggling and piracy, a strange extra-territorial zone dominated by "barbarian" activities.²⁰ During the late Ming Dynasty, Chinese people and traders were not allowed to leave China and migrate to a foreign, "barbarian" country. If they did, they were not allowed to return to the mainland. Chinese traders could not stay overseas for longer than a trading season. Southeast Asian traders could conduct commerce in Canton, but trade was done on the ships at a proper and secure distance from the city. The local officials were cautiously watching the traders to ensure that China's interests and rules were being followed. The Asian traders had to leave the

Fig. 14: Anonymous, Planisphere of c. 1545 (detail).

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Chinese territory after the authorized trading season.²¹ There were times when all the Chinese trading ports were closed to external commerce. However, Canton was poor in natural resources and had to rely heavily on international trade for revenue. Opening Canton for trade was in fact very crucial for the Pearl River delta region's economy.

On the other hand, the Portuguese cartographer had claimed China for the Portuguese areas of influence by placing a wide Portuguese royal blazon next to the Chinese official representation (Fig. 16). Despite the Chinese government's efforts in prohibiting trade, both China and Portugal in fact benefited from it and needed it. The Portuguese had been trading Chinese luxury goods for Japanese silver since the Portuguese started trade in Japan in 1543. At the same time the Portuguese were also gathering spices, sandalwood and other luxury goods from Asia to be imported into China, and distributing Chinese goods into other parts

of Asia. Although Portugal and Spain shared the same kings between 1580 and 1640, the Spanish traders were not officially authorized to trade on Chinese land directly or via Macao. They had been settled in Manila in the Philippines since 1571 and traded with the Portuguese and Eurasians from Macao who brought Chinese goods there.

While the Portuguese were exploring the Orient and actively trading in Canton, Spanish conquistadors were looking for gold and silver mines in the New World, but Spain benefited little financially from America until the opening up of large mines in Peru and Mexico in 1546. Production of gold and silver in South America amounted to as much as 85% of world production from 1500 to 1800.²² Gold and silver found in the New World were then transported back to Spain or used in trade. Trade flourished between Spain and America in the Atlantic Ocean and between America and the Asia-Pacific via the Philippines. These mines

Fig. 16: António Sanches, Planisphere of 1623 (detail).



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Fig. 18: João Teixeira, World atlas of 1630, with thirty-one charts, "Planisphere".

were important for trading with China because for the next two centuries the American silver arriving and being distributed via Manila fuelled the Chinese currency and trade systems dominated by silver.

The Portuguese trade in Japan came to an end in 1639-1640, when all the Portuguese had to leave the country (Fig. 17). After the *sakoku* policy in 1635-1642, no foreigners except the Dutch and the Chinese were allowed to stay in Japan. The Far East archipelago was then closed to the world until the 19th century, when the Americans were able to sign new trade agreements. Spain had chosen a strategic settlement in the Philippines, which was opposite to the gate into China. Macao was the entrepôt for the goods coming into and going out of China. After the closing of Japan, Spain was the main supplier of silver to China. Silver from South America was exported to Manila in the Philippines, where Chinese luxury goods, namely silk

and porcelains, were traded for the American silver. The Chinese goods were then sent back to South America, and thence to Spain. The silver was carried to Canton via Macao, where it supplied the Chinese economy,



Fig. 17: João Teixeira Albernaz I, Group of four charts of c.1640, "The western Pacific, with the Far East" (detail).

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which was consuming 80% of the Spanish American silver production.²³ Although the Spanish did not have a stronghold in China, they found means to trade with China. While looking for Orient, Spain found America. While looking towards America, Spain found Manila. In Manila, Spain found “China”.

TWO DIFFERENT APPROACHES

João Teixeira’s world map made in 1630 beautifully concluded the different approaches that the two Iberian powers took to China during the so-called “Age of Discoveries” (Fig. 18). The eye-catching red lines indicating the Line of Demarcation drawn in the Treaty of Tordesillas divided the world into two between

the then most powerful and active seafaring European kingdoms, Portugal and Spain. In the Atlantic Ocean, newly discovered lands found west of the Line of Demarcation would be claimed by Spain, whereas those found east of the line would be claimed by Portugal. In the Pacific Ocean, lands west of the line belonged to Portugal and lands east of the line to Spain. Portugal had been seeking the rich Chinese trade in the Orient, while Spain was astonishingly seeking a maritime path to China in the Atlantic Ocean. Having found America, Spain used American silver to purchase Chinese goods, while the Portuguese transformed Macao into the most lasting platform for Chinese external trade. Portugal took an *Oriental* approach to China, while the Spanish invented an *American* approach to China. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 K. N. Chauduri, *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, *Asia and Europe in the History of Globalisation*. Lisbon: CEPESA, 2004.
- 2 *Macau: Cartografia do Encontro Ocidente-Oriente*. Macau: Comissão Territorial de Macau para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, p. 22.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- 4 A. Cortesão and A. T. Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, Vol. 1. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987, p. 13 [Inscriptions in the Cantino Planisphere, 1502] “*Malaqua – in this city there is all the merchandise that comes to Calicut, to wit, cloves and benzoin and lignaloos and sandalwood, storax and rhubarb and ivory and precious stones of great value and pearls and musk and fine porcelain and much other merchandise; most of it comes from outside, on the side of the land of the Chinese... [near the coast of China]... here there is benzoin and lignaloos and lac and silk and musk... north of the latter [inscription]... here there is much silk and wax and musk and benzoin and storax and rubies and other stones of many kinds.*”
- 5 R. W. N Lamas, *History of Macau: A Student's Manual*. Macao: Institute of Tourism Education, 1999, p. 29.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 30-31.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 8 G. Thompson, *From “Fantasy Isles” into Continents: How Myths Became Realities at the Hands of Portuguese Cartographers*, [online], Available: <http://www.marcopolovoyages.com/Articles/EarlyPortugueseCartography.html>, [Retrieved: 2007, September 20], p. 6.
- 9 A. Cortesão and A. T. Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, Vol. 1, p. 7.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 11 “*There are... 103° of extension in longitude missing in the Cantino's planisphere, and as the east coast of Asia, with China, is*
- here represented, we can understand why the Portuguese gave the name ‘Antilhas’ to Columbus’s ‘Indies’ – they did not follow the Columbian error and identified the supposed Indies with the mysterious Antilha, which they had so long been searching for in the Atlantic...”
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 11 “*Discovered by Columbus... by order of the most high and powerful prince King Dom Fernando, King of Castile*”
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 11 “*This land [Greenland]... is believed to be the point of Asia*”.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 14 R. W. N Lamas, *History of Macau: A Student's Manual*, p. 17-18; Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, edited by Armando Cortesão. London, Hakluyt Society, 1944.
- 15 Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, *Portuguese Maritime Rights, Powers and Enclaves in Asia: the Philippines Connection*. Cebu: CEPESA, 2006, pp. 3-5.
- 16 M. Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China and Southeast Asia: Tribute, Trade and Influence*. Singapore: South Wind Production, 2003. Southeast Asian traders were only allowed to trade in Canton.
- 17 ‘India Superior’ was commonly used in historical maps to refer to China. ‘India Superior’ indicates the upper India, referring to the part of Asia located on the upper region of the Ganges River.
- 18 A. Cortesão and A. T. Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, Vol. 1, p. 156.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 155.
- 20 R. J. Smith, *Chinese Maps: Images of ‘All Under Heaven’*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 5.
- 21 M. Stuart-Fox, *A Short History of China and Southeast Asia: Tribute, Trade and Influence*.
- 22 Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques. XVI^{ème}, XVII^{ème}, XVIII^{ème} siècles*. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1960-1966.
- 23 *Ibid.*, pp. 123-129.