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When Political Economies Meet: Spain, China and
Japan in Manila, 1571-1644

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1. Introduction

A note on names and places

This research project raises some awkward issues concerning the transcription of names and places. In general, names are given starting with the first name. Chinese, Japanese and Korean names are given in the common order of family name followed by first name in Asian language publications, except for the listing of works by Japanese authors in the bibliography. Place names are given in their English form. Chinese or Japanese characters are used to avoid confusion with similar phonetic terms. Other foreign terms are transcribed in a spelling closest possible to the original, while in cases of doubt drawing attention to the original characters.

Note on weights, measures and currencies¹

	equals	equals	Note
1 peso	8 reals		
1 ducat	375 maravedis	11 reals and 1 maravedi	
1 escudo	350 maravedis or 10 reals		gold coin
1 real**)	34 maravedis		
1 maravedi			very small unit
1 tomin			copper currency
1 koku		60 kg	Japanese weight unit
1 picul (pico)*)	130 libras	60 kg	
1 tael	1.4 Spanish reals	1.4 Spanish reals	

*) *Picul* derives from a Malay dialect and entered European languages in the sixteenth century as *pico*. It was commonly used in South East Asia and roughly equals sixty kilograms.

***) Real: Spanish silver coin.

¹ Based on Mia Rodríguez Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire. Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551-1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988), xv-xvi.

Chapter 1

Part I: Introduction

Gradually commerce has so increased, and so many are the Sangley² ships which come to this city laden with goods – as all kinds of linen and silks; ammunition, food supplies, as wheat, flour, sugar; and many kinds of fruit (although I have not seen the fruits common in España) – and the city has been so embellished, that were it not for the fires and the calamities visited upon her by land and by sea, she would be the most prosperous and rich city of your Majesty's domains. As I have written to your Majesty in other letters, this city has the best possible location for both its temporal and spiritual welfare, and for all its interests, that could be desired. For on the east, although quite distant, yet not so far as to hinder a man from coming hither, with favorable voyage, lie Nueva España and Perú to the north about three hundred leagues, are the large islands of Japón; on the northwest lies the great and vast kingdom of China, which is so near this island that, starting early in the morning with reasonable weather, one would sight China on the next day.³

² A pejorative term used by the Spaniards for members of Fujianese merchant communities that originated from a mispronunciation of *chang lai* (those who come frequently) or *shang lai* (those who come to trade). See Manuel Ollé, *La Empresa de China. De la Armada Invencible al Galeón de Manila* (Barcelona: Acatilado, 2002), 244; 263.

³ Bishop Domingo Salazar to King Philip II in 1588. Cf. Emma Helen Blair, James Alexander Robertson, Edward Gaylord Bourne, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and Their Peoples, Their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as Related in Contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, Showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious*. Cleveland, 1903-1909 (55 vols. Hereafter abbreviated BR) (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1905) 7: 221-222.

1.1. Aims

1.1.1. The Empirical Setting

The short description quoted on the previous page was penned by the first bishop of Manila as part of a letter to the king in Spain. I have chosen it as an introduction into the topic of this dissertation, as it touches upon many crucial aspects of my study of early modern Manila. Looking at Manila as a global stage during the first century of Spanish rule allows us to study the far-reaching dimensions of the contacts between several 'political economies', as well as the challenges of pre-modern, regional 'globalisation'. The multi-layered encounters in Manila were the beginning of the historical processes that serve as the frame for a 'connected histories' analysis, which builds upon an idea – that already existed at the end of the sixteenth century – that there existed an interconnected 'globalised' world. Altogether, the foreign relations between the three pre-modern states illustrate the sprouts of the dynamics of 'globality' of the early modern period.

The point of departure for my thesis is the Manila-based cross-cultural trade.⁴ In economic history, the foundation of Manila as the capital of the Spanish Philippines in 1571, has been regarded by some as the beginning of global trade. Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, in their often-quoted article about the impact of intercontinental silver flows on world affairs, wrote that "Manila was the crucial entrepôt linking substantial, direct, and continuous trade between the Americas and Asia for the first time in history."⁵ In fact, cross-cultural trade in Manila was often the product of the diverging political concepts of the three trading nations involved, i.e. the three pre-modern states referred to in the title of the dissertation.⁶ Their intercultural encounters and their

⁴ I am aware that the term usually refers to the Atlantic exchange of European manufactured goods, African slaves and New World resources and agricultural products and differed strikingly from exchange via Manila. Nevertheless, I consider the term appropriate for referring to the characteristic trade patterns that linked the China Seas to the American continent.

⁵ Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Born with a silver spoon, the origins of world trade in 1571," in *Journal of World History* 6 (1995), 201.

⁶ I will here use Charles Tilly's straight definition of a state: "When the accumulation and concentration of coercive means grow together, they produce states; they produce distinct organizations that control the chief concentrated means of coercion within well-defined territories, and exercise priority in some respects over all other organizations operating within those territories." Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1990* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 19. David Kang has also worked with the concepts of 'states' by supporting his reasoning with Max Weber who defined a state as representing "a social community and territory, with a monopoly of legitimate violence within that territory." See David C.

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impact shall be studied in, and departing from, Manila, as a specific geographical setting in the period between the 1570s and 1640s.

Scholars from various academic backgrounds agree that the encounters between China, Japan and Spain⁷ led to new dimensions in global trade. In this respect, several historians have tried to 'evaluate' the Manila Galleon trade in American silver and Chinese silk and its effects on the Spanish economy.⁸ Jan de Vries is one who has acknowledged the global relevance of the trading route, stating that: "The ultimate expression of this speculative basis of international trade was the Manila-Acapulco trade. Because of the inordinate value of silver in Asia and the inordinate demand for silk in Europe, Spaniards found it worthwhile to send silver to Manila and exchange it for silk, which would be sent back to Acapulco, transshipped to Vera Cruz, and then sent on to Spain. Small changes in those conditions undermined this trade in the early seventeenth century."⁹ Since the sixteenth-century Spanish presence in Asia was characterised by a very fragile political power structure, it will strike us that remote Spain managed to dominate such an attractive location despite fierce competition from other powerful pre-modern states.¹⁰ Protagonists' aspirations and attitudes towards Manila were largely different. My point of departure is that the considerable differences in the behaviour of states, culture¹¹ and political economies matter.¹²

The Philippines were of secondary interest to imperial Spain – not many Spaniards lived there, and those who did behaved quite independently. Developments in the

Kang, *East Asia before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2010), 26.

⁷ I am aware of the debates whether Spain is a proper term to use for the power that reigned over Manila in that period, given that all matters of expansionism and colonialism in the New World were subject to the crown of Castile and its subjects. Nevertheless the term 'España' or 'Hispania' is regularly found in contemporary sources. For the sake of simplicity, the terms Spanish, Castilian or Overseas Spanish will therefore be used interchangeably in this thesis.

⁸ Katharine Bjork, "The Link That Kept the Philippines Spanish: Mexican Merchant Interests and the Manila Trade, 1571-1815" *Journal of World History* 9 (1998): 51-88.

⁹ Jan de Vries, *Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis 1600-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976), 115.

¹⁰ For an overview on the political entities in South East Asia and the connections between them, at the moment of the Spanish arrival see Anthony Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 1999).

¹¹ The slippery term culture hereafter includes various aspects including language, religion, traditions and customs. It has become a popular framework for discussing the impact of maritime relations as well as political economies based on fiscal regimes, geography and society. For a detailed discussion see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India 1500-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), 9-45.

¹² For such ideas see Peer H. H. Vries, *Via Peking Back to Manchester* (Leiden: Research School CNWS, Leiden Univ., 2003). For the role of culture in influencing economic developments see: Eric L. Jones, *Cultures Merging. A Historical and Economical Critique of Culture* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2006).

Philippines, moreover, did not reflect what the Spanish crown wanted. Nevertheless, Manila happens to be that specific area where the Spanish interacted with the Chinese and the Japanese, and so did their political economies.¹³

The nature of the South China Sea as a macro-region was particularly favorable for the development of long-distance trade,¹⁴ and thus provides the key for understanding the emergence of what I hereafter will call the Manila system.¹⁵ Students of world history are, as a rule, advised to avoid the word 'system' in contexts where there is no clear division between centres and peripheries. I will use it here in the less circumscribed meaning Paul van Dyke gave it in his ground-breaking work on the Canton system.¹⁶ The term 'system' seems furthermore justified by the references one comes across in the literature, like the Japanese shuinsen system,¹⁷ the Atlantic system or the Chinese tributary trade system that all indirectly influenced economic developments in Manila. S.A.M. Adshead, by the way, had already used the term a long time ago in an attempt to integrate the concepts of empire, government and statehood.¹⁸ It was characterised by multilayered connections based on negotiations, a complex market torn between protectionism and free trade, triangular circulations and bi- or multilateral communication involving different parties of the pre-modern states Ming China, Azuchi-Momoyama/Tokugawa Japan and the Spanish Overseas Empire.¹⁹

¹³ Spanish political economy of that time was dominated by mercantilist thought. See Richard Bonney, "Early Modern Theories of State Finance." In *Economic Systems and State Finance: The Origins of the Modern State in Europe 13th to 18th Centuries*, ed. Richard Bonney (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1995), 171-172.

¹⁴ Linda Grove, Mark Selden, Takeshi Hamashita, eds., *China, East Asia and the Global Economy. Regional and Historical Perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

¹⁵ I am aware that the term 'system' is already taken and moreover problematic since the Manila system is not characterised by centre-periphery relations as required by sociologists in the 1960s. My conceptualization borrows from Braudel's world economy definitions as well as from the latest empire theories of John Darwin, *After Tamerlane. The Global History of Empire* (London: Lane, 2007). I chose the term 'system' because of reciprocal forces and long-lasting structures that to a certain degree overlap with the idea of a connected history.

¹⁶ Paul van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Univ. Press, 2005). The Canton system lasted from 1700 until 1842. It describes transactions and interactions and is characterised by difference. His meticulous study shows how foreign merchants were treated and which institutions were responsible for them, which actors supervised and controlled them with a special focus on the power of knowledge, as well as the use of language as political tool. He concluded that the Chinese state was in particular interested in maintaining harmony and control in foreign trade.

¹⁷ A Japanese licensed foreign trade system in Southeast Asia between 1604 and 1635.

¹⁸ S.A.M. Adshead, *China in World History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 206.

¹⁹ In each of these three pre-modern states we find a single hereditary ruler who reigned over a well-defined territory with a largely agrarian economy. Governance was supported by sophisticated bureaucratic structures. See Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1991), 4.

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Contacts were not confined to Manila: ports in China and Japan, such as Quanzhou or Nagasaki, and surrounding oceanic space all the way to Mexico, also became integral parts of it. With the foundation of Manila as a permanent trading base for exchanging American (primarily Mexican)²⁰ silver and Chinese silk in 1571, the economic zone grew. Hence East and South East Asia were gradually integrated into the emerging global economy. All these points will be analysed with the aid of specific case studies in the following chapters. Crucial to our understanding is the high degree of improvisation for the early stage of cross-cultural trade between the last third of the sixteenth and the first third of the seventeenth century.

The three pre-modern states considered commercial relations as a form of 'negotiation', which explains the close links between diplomacy and trade. This was a further important characteristic of the Manila system. Hence a clear distinction between profit-oriented commerce and diplomatic communication is not always easy to pinpoint. The Manila system serves as micro-model for the macro-analysis of the complex entanglements and forms of competition *between* those states and *in* those states, between the local and the central.

Manila's economic and urban development would have looked entirely different without direct and indirect contributions from the cultural and economic spheres of China, Japan and Overseas Spain. Early modern Manila as a 'Eurasian' port city was undoubtedly the product of a *histoire croisée* between Overseas Spain, Japan and Ming China, at the heyday of what Anthony Reid has termed an "age of commerce".²¹ The majority of global economic historians will agree that the Spanish-ruled multiethnic port city linked developing international markets.²² Only in recent years has interest in the highly profitable transpacific exchange of silver and silk increased. In addition, East

²⁰ Marina Alfonso Mola, Carlos Martínez Shaw, "La Era de la Plata Española en Extremo Oriente," paper presented at *Filipinas en el Imperio Español (1565-1820)*. Valladolid, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 17 al 21 October 2011.

²¹ See François Gipouloux, *La Méditerranée asiatique. Villes portuaires et réseaux marchands en Chine au Japon et en Asie du Sud-Est, XVIe-XXIe siècle* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2009).

²² For the first attempts to do justice to Manila's role in world history see Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques Pacifique des Ibériques: XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe Siècles* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N, 1960). The French economic historian based his analysis on *almojarifazgo* data. For the ideas of the 'California School' on Manila's role in global economic history see the famous work of Andre Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1998). For studies on China and Japan's role in an emerging global world around 1600 see Richard von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000-1700* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1996); Ronald Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press 1991).

Asia's role in early globalisation²³ processes has drawn scholars' attention to early modern Manila.²⁴ In this respect, the work by Dennis O. Flynn and Antonio Giráldez on trans-Pacific bullion flows and their impact on the pre-modern world economy has been fiercely debated amongst scholars of economic history.²⁵

Here, a word of explanation with regard to the local population of the archipelago is in order. Indigenous people of the archipelago were by far the largest ethnic group that settled in and around Manila, partaking in Manila's early modern economic history. The reason why they will not be considered separately in this study is simple: they lacked a state and a political economy of their own, or rather, they were regarded as part of the Spanish unit.

Historical research on the South China Sea has shown that this region – mostly due to Ming China's restrictive policies on foreign trade – encouraged mainly private traders, who were calling at key Malay entrepôts such as Malacca and Chinese coastal centres prior to the arrival of the Iberians.²⁶ They ranged from Muslim and Malay traders to Overseas Chinese, mostly from Southern Fujian, to Ryukyans, as well as merchants from the Indian subcontinent. This environment fuelled the formation of loosely allied Japanese and Chinese trading groups – the so called *wokou* or *wakō*²⁷ – whose economic activity could also include pillaging and raiding. It is noteworthy that their maritime activities peaked around the middle of the sixteenth century,²⁸ at a time when the Iberians appeared as promising business partners for the East Asians. Together with merchants from Fujian,²⁹ illicit merchant adventurers would become the pioneers of the

²³ Jan de Vries has used following definition based on Manfred Steger's short summary: "[...] globalization is about shifting forms of human contact' leading toward greater interdependence and integration, such that the time and space aspects of social relations become compressed, resulting in the 'intensification of the world as a whole [...]." Cf. Jan de Vries, "The Limits of Globalization in the Early Modern World" *Economic History Review* (2009): 2.

²⁴ Flynn and Giráldez, "Born With a Silver Spoon," 201: "[Global trade] emerged when all important populated continents began to exchange products continuously – both with each other and directly and indirectly via other continents – and in values sufficient to generate crucial impacts on all trading partners."

²⁵ Bhaswati Bhattacharya, "Making Money at the Blessed Place of Manila. Americans in the Madras-Manila Trade in the Eighteenth Century" *Journal of Global History* 3, no. 1 (2008): 1-20; For a concise synthesis see Ubaldo Iaccarino, "Manila as an International Entrepôt: Chinese and Japanese Trade with the Spanish Philippines at the Close of the 16th Century." *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 16, (2008): 71-81.

²⁶ For the mobile networks in the South China Sea I refer to Craig A. Lockard, "The Sea Common to All": Maritime Frontiers, Port Cities, and Chinese Traders in the South East Asian Age of Commerce, ca. 1400-1750," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 2 (2010), 219-247.

²⁷ 倭寇 *wakō* literally means Japanese pirate. But most of the time comprised a larger number of Japanese.

²⁸ Maehira Fuseaki, "Minchō No Kaiken Seisaku to Ryūkyū Kaikin. Wakōron Wo Chūshin ni" *Kōtsūshi kenkyū* 67 (2008), 61-76.

²⁹ Chinese merchants calling on Manila were mainly Min people also known as Hokkien or Minnan.

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Manila trade and substantially contributed to the flourishing decades in the development of Manila and its natural harbour in Cavite. Thus, the fact that most studies of pre-modern Manila fail to take into account the various local and proto-national influences from China, Japan and Europe, during Asia's global integration, calls for a deeper and more systematic look into the subject.³⁰

Manila's economic 'failure' of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contrasts sharply to the developments of the early decades. This invites us to look closely at the role of the state in determining foreign relations, the impact of economic possibilities and official decision-making, as well as changes in diplomacy, common sense in historiography on Asia, as Kang summarised: "[E]arly modern East Asia was interconnected diplomatically, culturally, economically, and politically."³¹ Less acknowledged is the fact that the Philippine archipelago was part of it.

When the Philippines first came to the attention of the Europeans, following the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in Cebú half a millennium ago, nobody was aware of the islands' world historical importance.³² Least of all the Spaniards, whose hopes to find either spices or precious metals in abundance soon vanished. Nor could anyone know that the archipelago in the South China Sea would over centuries remain a geopolitical target for European, Asian and American powers alike.

When the three 'political economies' first met, the central governments did not try to monopolise power in Manila. The large-scale exchange of silver, silk and other luxury items such as porcelain nevertheless failed to encourage any country to take lasting advantage of Manila's unprecedented possibilities at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.³³ Herein lays a contradiction. Taking into account that despite the "generative role of the galleons",³⁴ the promising early decades resulted in economic dissatisfaction, mutual mistrust and a Philippine economy that was

³⁰ One of the most recent examples is François Gipouloux, *La Méditerranée asiatique*.

³¹ Kang, *East Asia*, 108 "Trade served as a double-edged instrument of system consolidation: it facilitated both more intense state-to-state interactions and the development of domestic state institutions. The picture that emerges is one [...] governed by national laws, diplomacy, and protocols, with states attempting to control, limit, and benefit from trade."

³² Integration of the archipelago into these networks dates back even before the arrival of the Spanish but the attraction of Luzón and Visayas increased enormously once the Europeans had settled there.

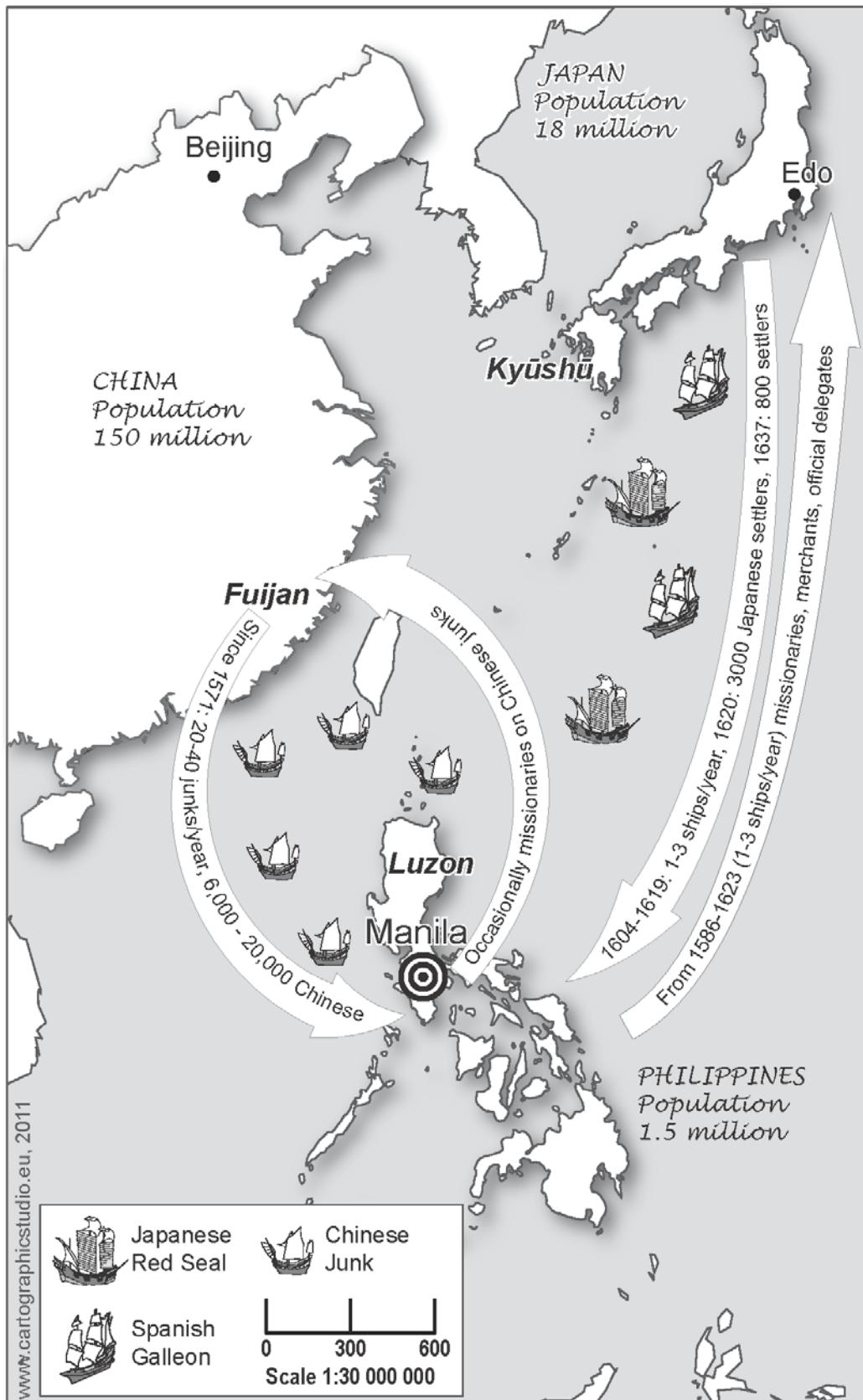
³³ Benito J. Legarda, "Cultural Landmarks and Their Interactions with Economic Factors in the Second Millennium in the Philippines," *Kindaamon XXIII* (2001): 44: "[...] the resulting trade between the great empire of China and the silver-rich colonies of the Americas, with the Philippines standing in the center of the whole enterprise, gave a completely new dimension, and a new direction, to Asia's trade. It completed the circle of world trade."

³⁴ Robert R. Reed, *Colonial Manila. The Context of Hispanic Urbanism and Process of Morphogenesis* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1978), 27-30.

not even able to sustain itself, one cannot help thinking that something did go wrong. For Manila itself, one is even tempted to think that the triangular relations did more economic harm than good. Indeed, it has often been argued that the poor economic development of the Phillipines was more the result of inefficient Castilian governance and less the product of the multicultural nature of the area. The question of what kind of dynamics controlled the rise and fall of the multiethnic South East Asian³⁵ port city, where annually at least one hundred thousand kilograms of silver circulated, remains unanswered.

³⁵ The Spelling 'South East Asia' is used to indicate that the term both covers regions in South East as well as East Asia.

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Map 1 Manila System

1.1.2. Research Overview and Questions

The majority of historical writing has looked at the Philippines in isolation and repeated long-held misconceptions of their early modern history. To conceive an alternative narrative, disentangling the historical processes from national history writing, is essential. In this dissertation, I aim to show how to examine 'large processes' embedded in multi-layered structures. Integrating Manila into world history thus happens (a) on an empirical level by considering the city's contribution to (proto-)global developments and socio-economic phenomena and (b) on a historiographical level by providing a balanced view of different narratives and discourses.

This dissertation examines multi-layered interactions based on the dualism between local and central, respectively private and state-controlled exchange. Opposing the common observation that the city was nothing more than a trading outpost for the Spanish and the Chinese,³⁶ I will also try to address to what extent the Manila system influenced consequent maritime policies, hegemonic aims and geo-political strategies in China, Japan and Spain.

A complex topic asks for a clear set of questions. Three broad questions have accompanied this analysis. They will be introduced briefly and described in further detail in the main chapters. The first category of questions focuses on early modern Manila and asks: What was the role of the central governments of China, Japan and Spain in global trade? How was the Manila trade integrated into their foreign policies and what can that tell us about their political economies?

The second set of questions derived from the desire to know what sovereignty meant to each of these countries and how they applied the concept towards Luzon. What was the role of the central governments? How did these pre-modern states deal with foreign affairs and why did none of them benefit lastingly from Manila?

The Manila trade appeared to encourage short-term growth but did not lead to long-term benefits. This contrast leads us to questions regarding the dichotomy between local and central interests. Did Manila 'fail' because it lacked a Spanish East Asian

³⁶ For the 'way-station thesis' see among others Oskar H. K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake. The Pacific since Magellan* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1979); Lothar Knauth, *Confrontación Transpacífica. El Japon y el Nuevo Mundo Hispanico 1542-1639* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1972) or Charles R. Boxer, "Plata Es Sangre: Sidelights on the Drain of Spanish-American Silver in the Far East 1500-1700" *Philippine Studies* 18, no. 3 (1970): 457-478.

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chartered trading company? What role did mercantilist policies play on an early modern market?³⁷ In order to avoid implicit ethnocentrism,³⁸ all questions will either be answered from a 'Manila-angle' or from a triangular perspective that equally covers all three pre-modern states. On the basis of selected case studies, these topics will be highlighted in their local, regional, national and international dimensions and interdependencies, and a chronological order will be followed as long as coherence permits.

1.1.3. State of the Art ³⁹

When I started my research, I was convinced that the ultimate goal has to be bringing the Spanish period on the Philippines back to history. In the process of writing, however, it turned out that the academic community had never entirely lost its interest in the Philippines, but that the century-long efforts only had to be brought together in order to contribute to new findings in global history.⁴⁰

At first glance much of the historiography on the Philippines lacks objectivity. Often it reads as the (hi)story(iography) of extremes, either based on a very positive or a very negative view of developments. The early modern or colonial period⁴¹ fared particularly poorly. The rather thin scholarly output can be segmented into several stages of writing history of the Philippines: both early Catholic chroniclers' descriptions of the *res gestae* of the ruling Spaniards and nationalistic scholarship of the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century had their hidden as well as obvious agendas.⁴² The third phase

³⁷ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism III: Perspective of the World* (New York: Harper, 1984), 21-88.

³⁸ Patrick O'Brien, "Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History" *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006): 3-39.

³⁹ For reasons of limited space an in-depth state of the art is impossible for this topic. It would mean giving an overview of complementing traditions of writing history in several countries. I therefore just mention a few seminal works. Representative studies will be discussed in the following chapters.

⁴⁰ The controversial question is no longer simply tackled by a few historians but has become a topic of popular interest. See Luis Francisco Martínez Montes, "Spain and China in the Age of Globalization (Part I)." *The Globalist. How the World Really Hangs Together (online magazine)* (2009, June 9), <http://www.theglobalist.com/storyid.aspx?storyid=7813>, accessed November 22, 2011. Spain's relations with East Asia started to attract popular history as well. See Ramon Vilaró, *Sol Naciente. Historias Hispano-Japonesas* (Barcelona: RBA Libros, 2011). Although a journalist he addressed the topic – except for a few inaccuracies – with sufficient source criticism.

⁴¹ In Philippine historiography often referred to as Spanish period.

⁴² For an overview of the most prominent chronicles see 2.1.4. Edited sources. For strong nationalistic Philippine history writing see annotations of José Rizal of Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* created in 1889. The work has been re-published as Antonio de Morga, *Historical Events of the Philippine Islands published in Mexico in 1609 recently brought to light and annotated by José Rizal* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2008); For a later example see Gregorio F. Zaide, *The Philippines since Pre-Spanish*

is best summarised as a phase of random and sporadic contribution from different scholarly backgrounds of varying qualities.⁴³ Data was often poorly researched, misrepresented, or highly selective. Moreover, Chinese and Japanese contributions were rarely integrated in a bigger picture. Only in recent years have committed scholars of global history tried to do justice to the archipelago's outstanding role in an emerging global economy. Contributions, however, remain loosely linked. In addition, several essays and shorter articles have been published focusing on the Philippines' connection with an emerging world trade.⁴⁴

It would be wrong to ignore the major contributions to the historiography of the Philippines of which future generations of researches benefited. The most prominent work, beyond doubt, is *The Manila Galleon* by William Lytle Schurz, first published in 1939.⁴⁵ His book provides us with the exciting history of those ships that were crossing the Pacific on behalf of the Spanish Monarchy from 1565 to 1815, i.e. just before Mexico gained independence from Spain. The French economic historian Pierre Chaunu, to whom we owe greatly for essential figures, for instance that more than a third of American silver went to Asia, collected extensive statistical data on trans-Pacific trade in the Spanish archives.⁴⁶

Another outstanding work is a monograph published by Robert R. Reed, who traced Manila's character from its establishment as colonial capital in 1571 to its growth as a cosmopolitan entrepôt up to the early 1600s.⁴⁷ We should not forget that several Filipino historians have carried out internationally recognised research. Benito Legarda Jr. started a trend in the late 1960s – that was followed by Leslie Bauzon – in researching the country's complex economic history.⁴⁸

Times. (Manila: Garcia Publishing Co., 1949).

⁴³ See Knauth, *Confrontación*; Spate, *Spanish Lake*; J. I. Israel, "Mexico and the "General Crisis" of the Seventeenth Century" in *Past and Present* 63 (1974): 33–57.

⁴⁴ Dennis O. Flynn has taken the initiative to collect articles on the history of the Pacific Rim in his Ashgate Valorum series "The Pacific World" over the past decade. Seminal reprints in the series include Berthold Laufer, "The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands" (Washington 1907) in *European Entry into the Pacific*, ed. Dennis O. Flynn et al, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 55-92; M.T. Paske-Smith, "The Japanese Trade and Residence in the Philippines. Before and during the Spanish Occupation" (Tokyo, 1914) in *ibid*, 139-164; Michael N. Pearson, "Spain and Spanish Trade in Southeast Asia" (Wiesbaden, 1968) in *ibid*, 117-138. For Manila's urban history I refer to Daniel F. Doepfers, "The Development of Philippine Cities before 1900," in *Journal of Asian Studies* 21, no. 4 (1972): 769-792.

⁴⁵ William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1985). First published in 1939.

⁴⁶ Chaunu, *Philippines*.

⁴⁷ Reed, *Colonial Manila*; For primary source data he completely relied on edited and translated sources.

⁴⁸ Benito J. Legarda, *After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1999);

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What all these studies lack is a clear focus on both early modern Spanish and Japanese data.⁴⁹ Like all narratives, they are the product of a certain perspective and only reflect part of the truth. Highly biased historiography on Spanish Manila is partly rooted in the far-reaching power of the *leyenda negra*⁵⁰ propaganda, as well as the fact that academic exchange between Spanish and anglophone researchers is still limited.⁵¹ Anti-Spanish propaganda has survived in the historiography to this present day. Scholars furthermore used to copy from the same standard works that have distorted our images on the Philippines.⁵² A further source of irritation in the Philippines' written history lies in constant neglecting the archipelago when studying the Spanish Empire. In recent seminal works in that field the Philippines were only relegated to a footnote at best.⁵³

There has also long been criticism that historians of South East Asia had consistently failed to integrate comparative approaches into their research. Roderich Ptak, Anthony Reid and Victor Lieberman were among the first who changed directions and renewed

John Leddy Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines. Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses 1565-1700* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 20.

⁴⁹ Leslie E. Bauzon, *Deficit Government. Mexico and the Philippine Situado 1606-1804* (Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1981), 20. His accusations have been partly falsified by Luis Alonso, "Financing the Empire: The Nature of the Tax System in the Philippines, 1565-1804," *Philippine Studies* 51, no. 1 (2003): 63-95.

⁵⁰ The so-called black legend refers to an anti-Spanish propaganda whose origin dates back to the Revolt of the Netherlands. While the original *leyenda negra* writing only focused on political and religious issues, Spain's failing economic performance has held centre stage in more recent black-painted histories. The term itself was coined by Julián Juderías in the early twentieth century and refers to the hostile writing about the Spanish (Castilian) Monarchy and its people. The *leyenda negra* accuses the Spanish of ruthlessly spreading Catholicism and political tyranny. For further details see Joseph Pérez, *La Leyenda Negra* (Madrid: Gadir Editorial, 2009). For the impact of the *leyenda negra* propaganda in the days of Philip II see *ibid.*, 53-139. Spanish historiography responded with the *leyenda rosa* that aimed at demonstrating Spanish civilizing contributions to colonial settings.

⁵¹ With the exception of Juan Gil's and Maria Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo's work Spanish scholarship has hardly had the opportunity to be read outside Spain. Juan Gil, *Hidalgos y Samurais. Espana y Japon en los Siglos XVI Y XVII*. (Madrid: Alianza, 1991); Maria Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo, *Filipinas. La Gran Desconocida (1565-1898)* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra), 2001. Further Spanish scholarship worth mentioning include: Emilio Sola, *Historia de un Desencuentro. España y Japón, 1580-1614* (Alcalá: Fugaz Ediciones, 1999). The contributions to Marina Alfonso Mola, Carlos Martínez-Shaw, eds., *La Ruta de España a China* (Madrid: El Viso, 2008) also deserve extra mentioning for their excellent syntheses and illustrations.

⁵² The compilation "The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770" is a typical case of a quite bold interpretation of facts, uncritical copying and not to mention sloppy editing. See Alonso Felix ed., *The Chinese in the Philippines 1570-1770* (Manila: Solidaridad, 1966); Zaide, for instance, speaks of the "Spanish dream of oriental empire and Spanish plans to invade China", see Zaide, *Philippines*, 266.

⁵³ See among others: Charles R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century. Being the Narratives of Galeote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar da Cruz and Martín de Rada, D.E.S.A. (1550-75)* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2004), xl-xli. See also Henry Kamen, *Empire. How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: Harper, 2003); Geoffrey Parker, *The World Is Not Enough: The Imperial Vision of Philip II of Spain* (Waco: Baylor Univ. Press, 2001). One chapter is dedicated to the Philippines, called "The Pearl the Orient", 197-237.

historiography on South East Asia.⁵⁴ However, as with the historical accounts of other Spanish Overseas territories, the Philippines have not gained sufficient attention in these studies.⁵⁵

Although a significant share of the Manila-trade entered China, insufficient attention has been paid to Manila's overall role for pre-modern economies in the region. Within the field of macro-level perspectives in parallel or comparative histories, scholars have not only uncritically accepted the *leyenda negra* by painting a picture of a Spanish crown unable to enforce efficient economic policies; but have also added a blue and a yellow legend for China,⁵⁶ and perhaps even for Japan.⁵⁷

The development of trends in Chinese and Japanese historiography is also of interest. The most prominent figure promoting the closed-country thesis was the influential British historian Charles R. Boxer, who for post 1639 Tokugawa Japan coined the expression 'the closed country'⁵⁸ The definition of the concept itself dates back to Engelbert Kämpfer's stay in Japan. Kämpfer emphasised in his written accounts on Japan that – with reference to Japanese foreign policy – the Dutch had a monopoly in trading with the 'closed' country.⁵⁹ However, the term *sakoku*, with its increasingly negative

⁵⁴ Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680, The Land Below the Winds I* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1988); idem, *Expansion and Crisis, Vol. II* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1993) For a recently published comprehensive description of the area in the early modern period see Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels. Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800-1830. Volume 2: Mainland Mirrors: Europe, Japan, China, South Asia, and the Islands* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009); The first volume of the series focuses less explicitly on the South China Sea but provides nevertheless worthwhile insights. Idem, *Strange Parallels, Volume 1: Integration on the Mainland* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003). As well as one of the many studies by Roderich Ptak. Roderich Ptak, *China and the Asian Seas. Trade, Travel, and Visions of the Other (1400 - 1750)* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998).

⁵⁵ A few exceptions exist, i.e. F. Landa Jocano, *The Philippines at the Spanish Contact* (Manila: MCS Enterprises, Inc., 1975). This reader for students gives a fairly comprehensive primary-source based overview of the early Spanish period.

⁵⁶ The discussion whether imperial China at the dawn of European arrival in Asia was 'blue' (as open and progressive) or 'yellow' (as backward and despotic) has been debated among China historians. I am grateful to my colleague Kent Deng for enlightening me on these points. A different 'yellow' legend could be also interpreted in terms of Japanese emphasis of a Japanese *Sonderweg* that was rooted in the specific political and economic path it chose at the beginning of the seventeenth century or the miraculous defeat of the Mongol fleet in 1281.

⁵⁷ Such interpretations were challenged during the last decades by Amino Yoshihiko who advocated for a multiplicity of centres of medieval Japan as well as **looking at Japanese history "from the sea", and Bruce Batten who strongly focused on centre-periphery concepts when arguing against Japanese heterogeneity. Bruce Loyd Batten, *To the Ends of Japan: Premodern Frontiers, Boundaries, and Interactions* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2003). Murai Shōsuke opted for wider time frames in understanding Japanese history. Murai Shosuke, *Umi kara Mita Sengoku Nihon. Rettōshi kara Sekaishi he* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shinso, 1997).**

⁵⁸ Charles R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1951), 362.

⁵⁹ Cf. Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 4; 13: Roland Toby furthermore tells us that at the turn to the nineteenth

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connotation, was only coined in the in later centuries.⁶⁰ Recent generations of historians have examined Japanese interactions in a wider world from an innovative maritime perspective.⁶¹

Even more recent scholarship on the political economy of the Spanish Overseas Empire has continued to omit the Philippines and the cross-cultural character of the Manila-trade has hardly been taken into account.⁶² Although Japanese scholarship has thankfully contributed to that field of research,⁶³ Japanese research only slowly provokes new enquiries in other regions of the world, for almost everything has been written in Japanese.⁶⁴

What about historical treatises on China's role in the emerging trade relations? Although even earlier (lengthy) debates on oriental despotism have been left behind, recent Chinese imperial history is still torn between older stagnation discourses and a new focus on the integrating dynamics of traditional systems, such as tributary relations that emphasise that China – on its peripheries – integrated in the early modern world economy, instead of having a completely closed economy. According to Takeshi Hamashita, the rest of the world had to adapt to China.⁶⁵ As a pioneer in advocating Asia's global integration, he overturned Marxist narratives and anti-maritime discourses that had long determined the picture of a long-stagnant Asia.

century, a Japanese intellectual, the Nagasaki Dutch interpreter Shizuki Tadao picked up Kämpfer's interpretation for his defence of the commercial status quo and coined the Japanese term 'sakokuron' for this form of Tokugawa foreign affairs. An unpublished translation circulated privately until the 1850s.

⁶⁰ It was coined when a Japanese scholar translated Engelbert Kaempfer's surprisingly positive accounts of late seventeenth-century treatise (first published in 1727) on the Japanese 'isolation'.

⁶¹ For a synthesis of 'umi kara mita ajia' (Japan as seen from the ocean) -research see Leo Ching, "Japan in Asia" in *A Companion to Japanese History*, ed. William M. Tsutsui (London: Blackwell, 2009), 407 speaks of Japan's "historical position vis-à-vis Asia" and based on Edward Said, about a "imaginative geography" that determines Japan's place in a world economy. Nakajima Gakushō, "16 sekimatsu fukken-firipin-kyūshūbōeki" *The Shien* 144 (2007), 55-92.

⁶² Kamen, Spain's Road to Empire; I refer to an influential article by Regina Grafe and Alejandra Irigoin, "Bargaining for Absolutism: A Spanish Path to Nation-State and Empire," in *Hispano-American Historical Review* 88, no. 2 (2008): 173-209.

⁶³ See among others Igawa Kenji, *Daikōkai jidai no higashi ajia: Nichiō tsūkō no rekishiteki zentei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007). Ōishi Shinzaburō, ed., *Shuinsen to Minami he no Senkusha* (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1986). Nagazumi Yōko, "17seiki Shotō Supeinryō Firipin Seifu no Nihonkankei Monjo" *Nantō shigaku* 63 (2004); Sugiyama Nariko, "Supein ryō no firipin no seiritsu," *Tōnanajishi 3 Tōnanajishi no Kinsei no Seiritsu 15-17 seiki*, ed. Ikehata Setsuo et al., (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001).

⁶⁴ This research trend already started in the midst of the twentieth century when many Spanish chronicles and other related material, including Morga's *Sucesos* and parts of Pablo Pastells' oeuvre, were translated into Japanese.

⁶⁵ Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita, Mark Selden, eds., *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150 and 50 Year Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2003).

1.2. Sources

One reason for relying heavily on primary sources is that I feel compelled to keep my account as objective as possible and not to repeat misconceptions. The variety of sources moreover helped me resist the temptation of taking a 'black and white' viewpoint. Nobody will deny the importance of raw data for unraveling persistent discourses. This is a far from straightforward job though. When cross-reading sixteenth and seventeenth century-documents, we constantly have to ask why certain information is given and what may have been the reason for the lack of other information. In many cases, even allegedly ordinary things produced misunderstanding, distrust and resentment.

New knowledge gained from a critical empirical study of early modern events will be examined in the light of relevant theories of global history.⁶⁶ As Masashi Haneda points out in his latest edited book, "we need a new model of world history that is pertinent to, and corresponds with, the reality of our globalizing, transforming and interconnected world."⁶⁷ This dissertation aims at highlighting these new perspectives that have only recently gained ground in Asian history and therefore intends to leave behind the long out-dated Fairbank narrative of 'Western impact and Asian responses' once and for all.⁶⁸

1.2.1. Primary Sources and the Problem of Data

A study in history is only as good as the choice of its sources. The sources that were selected for my empirical research include data drawn from correspondence with the colonial government in the Philippines, seventeenth-century records of Japanese foreign affairs, as well as a few official records of the Ming Dynasty.

Some readers may be irritated about the inequality between Western and Eastern

⁶⁶ For specific methods and theories of global history that have been subject to major scholarly debate see: Ulf Engel, Matthias Middell, "Bruchzonen der Globalisierung, Globale Krisen und Territorialitätsregimes – Kategorien Einer Globalgeschichtsschreibung" *Comparativ* 15, no. 5-6 (2005): 5-38. Bruce Mazlish, "Comparing Global History to World History" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28, no. 3, (1998): 385-395; David Armitage, "Is There a Pre-History of Globalization" in *Comparison and History. Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, edited by Deborah Cohen et al., (London/New York: Routledge, 2004): 165-175. Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History. Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Charles Bright, Michael Geyer, "World History in a Global Age" *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (1995): 1034-1060.

⁶⁷ Masashi Haneda, "Introduction" in idem, ed., *Asian Port Cities 1600-1800. Local and Foreign Cultural Interactions* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), 1.

⁶⁸ John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Chinese World Order. Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968).

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sources. This however should not be interpreted as clear sign for Eurocentrism, but lies in the simple fact that Spain meticulously recorded far more than the other countries. Even though China's and Japan's bureaucratic traditions also led to an enormous output of historical records, they were both deficient in recording early modern data on maritime ventures and the outside world.⁶⁹ Moreover, Chinese and Japanese interactions and transactions were often carried out on an unofficial or semi-legal basis. The pre-dominance of private merchants in all trade actions aggravates the dilemma of scholarship in that field. They have left only the faintest imprint in documentary records.

1.2.2. Spanish Data

The collections of the Archivo General de Indias in Seville comprise of official decrees on governing the Philippines, commercial policies, correspondence between authorities and other individuals of Spanish origin who lived and worked in the colony, as well as memorials and orders of the king and his councils dealing with the 'Indies'. The voluminous document corpus of the *Audiencia de Filipinas* holds the bulk of relevant Spanish material for this study. Other related sources can be found among documents of the *Audiencia de México* and the *Patronato Real*. The existence of Castilian overseas colonies and plans for expansion encouraged an unparalleled early modern knowledge gathering. Active – and at times aggressive – approaches in extending the Spanish sphere of influence beyond her territorial borders led to an impressive accumulation of information and recorded observations. Even though such foreign eyewitness accounts have their limitations for being biased and manipulative, critically analysed they are invaluable for drawing meaningful conclusions.

1.2.3. Japanese Data

Despite their scarcity, Japanese primary sources on foreign relations of this period represent the second important pillar of this research. Information was mainly used for defense. The early Tokugawa rulers therefore initiated information gathering on the outside world, including the newly arrived Europeans. Most prominent among the texts this produced are the *Ikoku Nikki (Diary of Foreign Countries)* and the *Tsūkō Ichiran*

⁶⁹ These developments were part of the seclusion policies and restrictions on foreign policies implemented by the central government both in Ming China and Tokugawa Japan.

(*Records on Navigation*).⁷⁰ The *Dai Nihon Shi*, the *bakufu*'s official daily records, also provide us with a few details on relations with Luzón. A further remarkable document is the *Luzon Oboegaki*, drafted in the 1670s when relations with the Spanish had already been broken off.

What we have to consider in our source criticism is that all Japanese primary sources were records of the Tokugawa regime, collected and compiled by order and under supervision of the regime. The scarcity of historical records and official documentation on its foreign relations with Spain itself is already a telling indication for differences in early modern foreign policies.

Record keeping was monopolised by Buddhist monks. In addition, Buddhist advisories controlled correspondence in foreign affairs. Under the reign of Tokugawa Ieyasu, for instance, a Zen Rinzai monk Ishin Sūden, also known as Konchiin Sūden, gained credentials in this field.⁷¹ He played a significant role in creating a culture of foreign correspondence and spreading anti-Christian sentiments that led to the prohibitions of 1612 and 1614. What is particularly interesting for us is that he was also involved in communications with the Spanish authorities in Manila. The language used in all official sources was classical Japanese, commonly in use in official documents in the sixteenth century and different from modern Japanese.

1.2.4. Chinese Data

Works of interest include printed editions of imperial histories such as the *Ming Shi* (*Ming Annals*) and the *Ming Shi-lu* (*Veritable Records*), as well as the *Daming Huidian*⁷² for foreign and tributary trade, and the *Dongxi Yangkao* for relations with Japan and the 'Franks'. The latter comprises studies on the Eastern and Western Oceans and is dedicated to the descriptions of the regions of East Asia and their relations with China,

⁷⁰ Tsūkō Ichiran ed. Hayami Akira et al., (Osaka: Seibundō 1967); Ishin Sūden, *Ikoku Nikki Shō* ed. Murakami Naojirō (Tokyo: Sanshūya, 1911).

⁷¹ 崇伝 (1569-1633): He began his political career as an important advisor of Tokugawa Ieyasu. After having built Konchi-ni temples in both Edo and Sunpu, Isshin Sūden commuted between these two shogunal residences. Sūden played an important role in negotiations with the Chinese Ming court over the reopening of trade and the nuisance of piracy. He was also instrumental in organising foreign delegations and drafting correspondence (*kokusho*). He compiled all the diplomatic records of the *Ikoku Nikki*.

⁷² A compilation of the Ming dynasty published in 1510 on the tributary system and foreign trade. Pintsun Chang, "Chinese Maritime Trade. The Case of Sixteenth-Century Fu-Chien (Fukien)" Ph.D dissertation, Princeton Univ., 1983, 9.

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as well as information on maritime routes. It was drafted between 1617 and 1618.⁷³ Chinese historiography is still underrepresented in comparative studies of global connections. Manila-based studies are no exception, even though Zhang Weihua already carried out extraordinary research in the first half of the twentieth century.⁷⁴

For my limited Chinese skills, I had to rely heavily on translated and edited works as well as on secondary literature for generating the relevant data.⁷⁵ The famous Ming-shi had been thoroughly scrutinised by experts on Chinese history in their attempts to answer questions of global history, economic history, port cities and overseas Chinese contribution to Early Modern South East Asia. The most interesting, and at the same time thankfully also most convenient tool for non-Chinese speakers, is an open database on a historical record collection called Ming shi-lu that provides extensive information on Ming China's foreign policy.⁷⁶ After the death of each emperor, a history office created a section on his reign using different historical sources including for instance "daily records."

Both the Ming shi and the Ming shi-lu represent official writing of history, works aiming at preserving historical knowledge under the control of the dynasty that decided which information were to be preserved. Therefore it is only natural that records on foreign trade, in a period of rigid government control and restriction, are rare. Luckily, new evidence is not entirely dependent on official accounts and can also be drawn from indirect remarks such as records from more general records.⁷⁷

1.2.5. Edited Sources

The majority of Japanese and Chinese primary source data used here was reprinted during the twentieth century in order to spare historians lengthy struggles with

⁷³ Chang Shieh, *Dongxi Yangkao* (1716), hereafter: *Dongxi Yangkao*; Large parts of the collection are based on records of the *Ming Shi*.

⁷⁴ Zhang Weihua, *Ming Shi Folangji Lüsòng Helan Yidaliya Si Zhuan Zhu Shi*, *Yanjing Xue Bao Zhuan Hao* 7 (Beijing: Hafo Yanjing xue she, Min guo 23, 1934).

⁷⁵ Geoff Wade, translator, *Southeast Asia in the Ming Shi-lu: an open access resource*, Singapore: Asia Research Institute and the Singapore E-Press, National University of Singapore, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/> (hereafter Wade, MSL and URL).

⁷⁶ Thanks to the painstaking efforts of Geoff Wade, *Ming shi-lu* entries referring to South East Asia have been translated to English. For further information see Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/>.

⁷⁷ For the sake of completeness we should mention genealogies of sixteenth and seventeenth Fujian: Zhuang Weiji and Zheng Shanyu, *Quanzhou pu die Hua qiao shi liao yu yan jiu* (Beijing, 1998). Coastal China has had a long tradition of migration to South East Asia. For an analysis of intercultural relations in Manila Fujian genealogies are therefore very valuable as a particular form of historiographical records that was often kept secret to the outside world.

calligraphy, as well as for practical archival reasons. Hereafter, I shall introduce printed and edited Spanish sources, including relevant chronicles. Doubtlessly one has to mention Emma Helen Blair's and James A. Robertson's work first. Between 1903 and 1909, they edited and translated a massive 55 volume set of material and documents concerning the Philippines.⁷⁸ One of the problems of that *magnus opus* is that it was compiled at the heyday of American imperialism in East Asia. The content is very selective and reflects the anti-Spanish bias of the years after the Spanish-American War of 1898. Nevertheless the compilation is of unprecedented value. A few years earlier, the Spanish civil servant and Philippine scholar Wenceslao E. Retana also busied himself to make important documents of the Spanish colonial government accessible to the public.⁷⁹

Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* also deserves special mention. This chronicle of the high-ranking government official was first published in 1609 in Mexico. He was the first non-clerical Spanish writer of Philippine history.⁸⁰ Doctor Morga, as he is conventionally referred to in sources of his time, was a very controversial colonial figure who served as judge in Manila from 1595 to 1602. Already in the early decades of colonial rule, missionaries and friars had collected an incredible amount of information on the archipelago and also started to write down historical events.⁸¹ As far as the religious chronicles are concerned, accounts on 'Asia Oriental' probably rank among the most extensive descriptions of lands and people of the sixteenth and seventeenth

⁷⁸ See footnote 3.

⁷⁹ W. E. Retana, ed., *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino. Recopilación de Documentos. Históricos, Científicos, Literarios y Políticos y Estudios Bibliográficos*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1895/96). Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas o mis viajes por este país*, ed. W.E. Retana (Madrid, 1893). At this point I should also like to mention the compilation by Pedro Torres y Lanzas, *Catálogo de los Documentos Relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla (6 vol)*, ed. P. Pablo Pastells, S.J. (Barcelona, 1925).

⁸⁰ For the rise and fall of Antonio de Morga as high-ranking crown official in the Philippines and the American viceroyalties see John H. Elliott, *Spain and the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 2009), 16-17. See also Jose Rizal's editorial and annotations in the 1890 edition of *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. For the tendentious writing of national history at the end of the nineteenth century see, Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century*. (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh, 2008), 175-180.

⁸¹ Francisco Colin, *Labor Evangelica Ministerios Apostolicos de los Obreros de la Compañía de Jesús, Fundación, y Progressos de su Provincia en las Islas Filipinas*, ed. Pablo Pastells (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1904); Diego Aduarte, *Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Philipinas, Japon, y China. Por el Reverendissimo Don Fray Diego Aduarte. Añadida por el Muy Reverendo Padre Fray Domingo Gonçalez, tome I (tome II = Baltasar de Santa Cruz)* (Manila: En el Colegio de Sânto Thomas, por L. Beltran, 1640). See also Francisco Colin, *Historia de la provincial de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesus. Segunda parte que comprehende los progressos de esta provincial de el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716* (Manila, 1749). Pedro Murillo Verlarde, ed., *Francisco Colin. Labor evangelica, ministerios apostolicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Iesus, fundacion, y progressos de su prouincia en las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1663).

century. As the example of González de Mendoza's *Historia de China* shows, they are of varying reliability but certainly of undisputed interest for our purpose.⁸² Some of them are still scattered over the globe in the original print and others have been re-edited over the years and can be found in almost any academic library.⁸³

1.3. Building a Theoretical Framework

Because we are dealing with a big topic in an interdisciplinary approach, displaying an overarching general theoretical perspective would result in lengthy descriptions. To avoid this, the different approaches will be introduced briefly in the specific chapters. In general, I see my work as the product of a cultural and linguistic turn in the social sciences that influenced global history. The study builds upon publications in the field of history and area studies that have dealt with political consolidation, theories of state formation and early modern empire building, post-modernist approaches on acculturation and appropriation, and recent debates on comparative economic growth and early modern development paths. Jan de Vries's ideas on "soft globalisation" are also very appealing for early modern Manila, as they embrace a broad array of indirect developments as part of its purported impact,⁸⁴ and thus allows combining culture and economic developments.

My research is designed to refute earlier 'exceptionalist' approaches of the European and/or Japanese past. In this context, I will also pay attention to the question of to what extent we find similar conditions for foreign trade in China, Japan and Europe up to the end of the eighteenth century? This question is prominent in scholarly debates on "the great divergence".⁸⁵ Although my research focuses on developments that took place some two centuries before the major world economies started to diverge, my thesis

⁸² Fray Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia del Gran Reino de la China* (Madrid: Miraguano Ediciones, 2008).

⁸³ Beginning with Antonio Pigafetta's *Primo viaggio intorno al globo terracqueo* (1534), followed by Juan González de Mendoza, *Dell' Historia de la China* (1588), and Diego Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadors en Philipinas, Iapon, y China* (1640). A later example is Pedro Chirino, S.J., *Relación de las Islas Filipinas. The Philippines in 1600*, translated by Ramón Echevarria (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1969).

⁸⁴ Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy 1650 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008), 4.

⁸⁵ Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence. China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000), 16-24; 225-263. There is a wider debate on China's global economic integration, trade and capital. Dating back to Max Weber and Karl Marx, leading figures of the last decades include G. William Skinner in the 1960s, Mark Elvin, Philip Huang, Peter Perdue and R. Bin Wong, to name only a few. What most of these approaches had in common was their strong focus on the rural sector.

aims at challenging Kenneth Pomeranz's famous argument that this divergence was caused by geographical contingencies by showing that in the early modern period, economic trends simply cannot be explained without considerable reference to politics and culture. Around 1600, the three main 'parameters' in my research – the role of the state, the structure of the various political economies and their maritime institutions – all show striking differences. In line with Derek Massarella, a respected historian of early modern Japan, who has argued that both Europe's and East Asia's contributions to long-distance trade have been misinterpreted,⁸⁶ I am skeptical about generalizing interpretations of the history of the early modern world. In recent years, many scholars have joined the critique on such interpretations and explanations that tend to omit the impact on culture and political decisions on economic developments.

1.4. Methods

As indicated, this study tries to bridge the gap between different perspectives of writing history, and to combine classic archival research with huge debates. We sometimes get the impression that primary source data is reserved for micro-history and global history confines itself to broad generalizations.⁸⁷ As a result, the latter has to face harsh critique for being superficial.⁸⁸ A combination of these contrary approaches is rare but not impossible and very often reserved to smaller projects. Instead of using historical evidence to produce superficial, 'flat' generalizations, the dissertation will be an attempt to write global history as a combination of traditional history based on archival research and more theoretical considerations based on interdisciplinary borrowings.

1.4.1. Reading Against the Grain

The methodological focus on 'reading against the grain' reflects the constant overlapping of global and micro history that characterises this dissertation. What

⁸⁶ Derek Massarella, "What was happening in East Asia around 1600?" <http://www.casahistoria.com/happening%20in%201600.pdf>, accessed October 13, 2010. Despite several shortcomings and typo's, a very thought-provoking synopsis.

⁸⁷ One example for recent attempts to combine both lines of research is Andrade, Tonio. "A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory" *Journal of World History* 21, no. 4 (2011): 573-591.

⁸⁸ For these scientific debates and counter-arguments see Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, "I would be flattered to think that anyone saw me as globally broad-minded" *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 20, no. 2 (2009): 170-183.

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exactly do we mean by that? For a comprehensive definition of that method I refer to Carole A. Myscofski, who has summarised it as “a subversive approach to the official historical documents that one encounters from the early modern period. It entails using the documents contrary to the way they were designed and intended, to draw out materials, insights and understandings that the recorders never intended to preserve.”⁸⁹ It encourages us to look for the 'not-mentioned' and the 'unexpected' and to think of reasons for missing information.⁹⁰ It goes without saying that it requires a very high degree of linguistic sensibility.

1.4.2. Comparative Analysis

In promoting historical sociology, the German sociologist Max Weber was concerned to illustrate the historical development of the macro-social processes. Being equally fascinated with local peculiarities, he remained skeptical about large-scale generalizations.⁹¹ In his work, he systematically compared economic, political and religious phenomena in different world-civilizations in search for an explanation of phenomena that were in his view uniquely European, like capitalism or bureaucracy. Several historical sub-disciplines followed in his footsteps and applied a comparative method.⁹² Many of his theses may be outdated, his methodology certainly is not. Thanks to comparative studies, scholars are able to understand structural similarities and differences and to distinguish between the particular and the general.

Among others, Eric Vanhaute has suggested two different paths to carry out research in global history, make global comparisons or look at global connections.⁹³ Like many other researchers, I believe that it is possible to combine them. It is a goal of my book to show Manila's complex connections and at the same time compare the political economies of the three main players in early modern Manila's history. It builds on a

⁸⁹ http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1003&context=teaching_excellence, accessed March 09, 2011.

⁹⁰ Michel Foucault would have called it “subjugated knowledges”, Carlo Ginzburg also promoted similar research steps. My own research reflects their once revolutionary approaches.

⁹¹ Bryan S. Turner, *Max Weber. From History to Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1993), 26; 32.

⁹² Dietrich Rueschemeyer and James Mahoney, “Comparative Social Analysis. Achievements and Agendas” in *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. James Mahoney et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005), 3-40.

⁹³ Eric Vanhaute, “Who is afraid of global history? Ambitions, Pitfalls and Limits of Learning Global History” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 20, no. 2 (2009): 31: “Human societies are interconnected on a systematic level, there exist large-scale units of analysis that condition historical developments.”

combination of external and internal explanations and a comparative analysis that emphasises differences and “parallels”, to use Victor Lieberman's term.⁹⁴ This analysis will not use much statistical data; data is mostly unavailable, or what is is not very relevant for the questions at hand. Connecting histories shows that ecological, demographic and economic forces were undeniably linked with culture. In Manila, both Catholic and Neo-Confucian ethics and morals played crucial roles in everyday lives, including the economy.

Several problematic aspects have to be addressed when opting for this methodology. First, the object of research dates from further back in history than most other connected histories. Second, the study covers three units of comparison, against the usual two, and moreover deals with multi-layered parameters. Third, the primary source data itself poses several risks of misinterpretation, such as the diversity of languages, origin and type of the material. Finally, for several topics, sources are scarce.

Comparative historians work with large social structures, often with a focus on cultural patterns and processes of change, or simply try to answer empirical questions in a comparative context.⁹⁵ Focusing on the early years of triangular contacts in Manila, we come across many indicators for a comparison of foreign policies that – as I hope to indicate – are closely linked to concerns of hegemony and governance in pre-modern Spain, Japan and China.⁹⁶ In that respect, my study will not be a simple comparative analysis of states (or political entities), rather an exploratory approach to their connected history in Manila. In other words, I will not compare the home economies of China, Japan and Habsburg Spain but analyse their impact on the Philippine home economy. We therefore need to find out what particular roles the three pre-modern states and their Manila-going people played.

There are cases when a triangular comparison is not feasible. Here, the ‘third state’ will be used as a kind of ‘counterexample’ for corroborating or qualifying the results of the comparison. When analysing the role of the state in the emerging global trade based on the transpacific exchange in the late sixteenth century, the Manila trade becomes the

⁹⁴ Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*.

⁹⁵ Cf. James Mahoney, <http://www2.asanet.org/sectionchs/09conf/mahoney.pdf>, “Historical Comparative Analysis. Generalizing Past the Present,” accessed December 05, 2011, 9; Jack Goldstone, “Initial Conditions, General Laws, Path Dependence, and Explanation in Historical Sociology” *American Journal of Sociology* 104, no. 3 (1998): 829-845.

⁹⁶ See Fernandez Armesto, *Civilizations*, 402, 473. In his evaluation of cultures and civilizations the author regularly compares developments of China, Japan and Europe (even Spain in particular) and classifies them together.

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main object of research while serving as a moulding tool for related processes. Only by comparing the three entities with a focus on Manila can we will recognise the true 'shape' of their political economies and foreign policies. As such, I am not aiming at reassessing the Philippines' economic failure,⁹⁷ rather trying to analyse the paradox that despite the enormous exchange of highly-prized silver and silk, for Manila the benefits of that trade seemed to disappear into thin air.⁹⁸ Therefore we will have to look at supply and demand of these two commodities and identify the various participants of the exchanges and analyse their negotiating practices.

Numerous scholars have re-emphasised the need for a global perspective in order to achieve a more correct understanding of the origins of far-reaching processes such as industrialisation, economic growth or under-development. Events in early modern Manila have the potential of throwing light on some of the big questions in global history. Just as Mark Elvin, one of the early figures of global economic history, wrote in 1973 in his famous study on technological decline in traditional Chinese textile industry, that became the base argument for his path-breaking high level equilibrium trap-theory on the non-occurrence of the industrial revolution in China, stating that "[a]t this point our analysis becomes more complicated, essentially because we are shifting from explaining what did happen to trying to explain what did not."⁹⁹ Accordingly, I will also start by drawing a general picture in order to find out what is missing, both in Manila and in the political economies of the three pre-modern states.

1.4.3. Connected Histories

Like any other new path in historical writing, global history has been subject to

⁹⁷ Salvador P. Escoto, "Coinage and Domestic Commerce in the Hispanic Colonial Philippines" *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 35 (2007), 213: "Hispanic colonial Philippines present a classic example of a nation's commerce gone awry right from the beginning. The island colony had a flourishing foreign trade unparalleled elsewhere in Southeast Asia, but its interior commerce was generally stuck in a barter system until the mid-nineteenth century. The underlying cause of this imbalance was the lack of appropriate coinage." Ibid, 231: "The chronic shortage of fractional currency and the adaptation of the ill-suited Mexican peso as its standard money retarded interior commerce, kept alive the barter system, caused rampant counterfeiting and allowed the Chinese to monopolize domestic trade."

⁹⁸ For a later period a recent publication manifests traders and merchants of Mexico City as the winners of the transpacific-trade. See Carmen Yuste López, *Emporios Transpacíficos. Comerciantes Mexicanos en Manila, 1710-1815* (México City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2007). Yuste has shown that Mexican traders after 1640 enjoyed financial advantage in Manila that allowed them intermediaries. Consequently, Mexico became the main beneficiary of the profits created in the Manila-galleon-trade in the eighteenth century.

⁹⁹ Mark Elvin, "The High Equilibrium Trap: The Causes of the Decline of Invention in the Traditional Chinese Textile Industry" in *Another History. Essays on China from a European Perspective*, ed. Mark Elvin (Sydney, NSW: Wild Peony, 1996), 33.

theoretical reflection and methodological debates. One of the latest outcomes of this exchange of ideas between international research associations and individual scholars is the so-called 'connected histories' approach.¹⁰⁰ Despite the fact that the term is rather vague, the concept of writing 'connected histories' has established itself amongst renowned scholars and contributed to a new era in historiography. 'Connected histories' builds upon the idea of one global world and global entanglements that provide the framework for the analysis of a historical process. In the case of early modern Manila, the development of the first global market was a truly global process, whose sustainability would have been impossible without interregional cooperation. The role of the state in determining foreign relations and economic processes will be re-evaluated. It stands to reason that different parties from China, Japan and Spain played different roles in the transpacific and the triangular trade in South East Asia, but their manifold contributions created the characteristics of the early modern port city. Regular access to the Manila market led to far-reaching interregional encounters that consequently triggered economic, cultural as well as political changes in all three pre-modern states, as such a further prominent feature of 'connected histories'. Connections are a useful indicator for the dynamics of globality in the early modern period and these 'connected histories' doubtlessly shaped the development of the port city itself.

1.5. Definitions and Setting

Research experience has shown that for a successful study of 'connected histories', it is absolutely necessary to define both parameters and historical events precisely. With regard to the three pre-modern states, a definition is necessary. A number of historical issues justify the use of the term 'pre-modern state' for late-sixteenth-century Spain, China and Japan, for they all represent advanced administrative and hegemonic entities with clear centralizing efforts. Initially I was planning to focus on the concept of empire. However, as this concept is so heavily tainted with the notions of imperialism, colonialism and exploitation,¹⁰¹ I abandoned this idea. For the Castilian (or Spanish)

¹⁰⁰ The methodological framework of 'connected histories' goes back to Sanjay Subrahmanyam's manifesto for the study of connected history that became one of the leading directions in the study of global history. In that article he advocated to focus on the connectedness of different entities and areas aiming to get a broader view on early modern history. See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia" in *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735-762.

¹⁰¹ Darwin, *After Tamerlane*, 23.

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territories it seemed partially appropriate. The Spanish Overseas Empire of the sixteenth and seventeenth century was a 'multinational' composite monarchy with a variety of territories that made it a truly global entity employing fiscal military reforms and coercive exploitation and expropriation in its overseas territories.¹⁰² As James Mahoney has noted, "[e]mpire building required staunch mercantilist policy, which made Spain a conquering power but ironically jeopardised long-run accumulation in the Castilian economy."¹⁰³ Ming China, as a state that projected power beyond its vast territorial borders, is considered a traditional agrarian empire.¹⁰⁴ Without any doubt, the term would have been mostly inappropriate for sixteenth and early seventeenth century Japan, an imperial and geo-political late bloomer.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, there are two essential characteristics of empire building that all three states shared: the lure of glory and confidence in their superiority.¹⁰⁶

For a discussion on what can be called a pre-modern state, it is noteworthy to consider that the Spanish regularly used the Latin term *res publica* when referring to their reign over the Philippines. What is furthermore striking, that in Spanish translation of letters from Japan *res publica* was also used for Japan and was commonly referred to as *estado de Japón*.¹⁰⁷

1.5.1. Time and Space

The period of research spans from the 1560s to the 1640s.¹⁰⁸ Changes in East Asia affecting the Philippines and its global character include the arrival of the European trading nations, Japan's appearance on – as well as withdrawal from – the international stage and the Ming-Qing transition that would meaningfully coincided with the "mid-seventeenth-century crisis in Southeast Asia."¹⁰⁹ Its periodisation also requires further

¹⁰² Darwin, *After Tamerlane*, 27.

¹⁰³ Mahoney, "Historical Comparative Analysis," 8. According to Robert Smith, Castilian economic thinking was marked by "the absence of a theoretical interest in *laissez faire* and simple competition."

¹⁰⁴ Darwin, *After Tamerlane*, 23.

¹⁰⁵ Yamamoto Yūzō ed., *Teikoku kenkyū: genri, ruikei, kankei* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2003).

¹⁰⁶ Parsons, *Rule of Empires*, 4.

¹⁰⁷ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 7. n. 107, "Testimonio sobre embajador de Japón, Faranda y Juan Cobo," 1593-06-01; For '*estado*' see for example AGI Filipinas 6, r. 6, n. 61, "Carte de Vera sobre pobreza de la gente de guerra, etc," 1586-06-26.

¹⁰⁸ Dietmar Rothermund, "Von der Krise des 17. Jahrhunderts zum Triumph der Industriellen Revolution (1620-1850)" in *Rhythmen der Globalisierung. Expansion und Kontraktion zwischen dem 13. und dem 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Peter Feldbauer et al., (Wien: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2009), 57. The period interestingly covers the peak decades (1580-1630) of the small ice age.

¹⁰⁹ For the mid-seventeenth century crisis see Reid, *Southeast Asia II*, 26.

explanation in a broader context. Here, the concept 'early modern' that I frequently use may become a stumbling block. At one point or another, the constant use of 'early modern' will meet criticism. I admit that because of its implicit Eurocentric connotation, the use of this term is problematic in comparative history. Its use dates back into the last century.¹¹⁰ But I saw no way to avoid it. Just as there also is no way to strictly define it. Every region has its own 'early modern' period. Jack Goldstone discussed that problem more than ten years ago, arguing that there was no such a thing as an 'early modern' world. Many of his observations were spot on.¹¹¹ In addition, further parallels to what Goldstone called an "age of transition" can be found for the processes discussed in my work. It is characterised by economic and socio-political dualism typical for centralised, bureaucratic monarchies.¹¹² Hence, the notion 'early modern' includes the idea of change, transformation and increased mobility on various levels that are all too obvious in encounters in Manila.

As a matter of fact, periodisations are man-made concepts and therefore not generally applicable and often problematic. Still, they are necessary in historical research since they are crucial pillars for our understanding. The idea of an early modern or pre-modern era is a product of European historiography and commonly refers to the period between 1500 (1492 as turning point) and 1800. China and Japan started to apply this concept during the twentieth century while remaining true to their traditional chronologies – the Chinese system of dynasties and Japanese historical eras.¹¹³ As a result, the pre-modern era in China often begins with the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) and in Japan usually with the establishment of Tokugawa rule in 1600.¹¹⁴ Thus both national histories do not know the idea of pre-modern for the sixteenth

¹¹⁰ Victor Lieberman, "Transcending East-West Dichotomies: State and Culture Formation in Six Ostensibly Disparate Areas," in *Beyond Binary Histories. Re-Imagining Eurasia to C. 1830*, ed. Victor Lieberman, (Ann Arbor: The Univ. of Michigan Press, 1999), 2. He argues that the use of the word for Asian history implies a "degree of comparability to Europe." He furthermore states the interrelatedness of the 'age of commerce' and 'early modern'.

¹¹¹ Jack Goldstone, "The Problem of the 'Early Modern' World." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 3 (1998): 249-84.

¹¹² Goldstone, "Problem," 253.

¹¹³ For periodisation and the stimuli from outside on structural changes defining the Southeast Asian space see Lieberman, "Local integration and Eurasian Analogies: Structuring Southeast Asian History, c. 1350-c. 1830," *Modern Asian Studies* 27 (1993): 475-572.

¹¹⁴ It is largely accepted that under the Tokugawa reign a stable political, social and religious order was established, in particular compared to the preceding century. The time before 1600 may therefore also be considered a critical juncture before the beginning of the early modern era. For Japanese periodisation it has also been argued that in many cases the early modern period for Japan started around 1570. See Michael Lewis, "Center and Periphery", in *A Companion to Japanese History*, ed. William M. Tsutsui (London: Blackwell, 2009), 431.

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century. However, both late Ming China and Azuchi-Momoyama Japan (1573-1598) show features that are compatible with the notion of 'early modern' already before 1644 and 1600 respectively.

Defining space is another complicated undertaking. On the broadest level, the region discussed covers the China Seas up to Japan, the Pacific Rim over to Mexico and the Spanish Atlantic. However, it was the China Seas – spreading from the Strait of Malacca in the Indian Ocean to Japan – where these three powers projected and extended their power in the course of the events.¹¹⁵

The South China Sea, has by nature been an area of vivid maritime interaction and commercial activity, attracting traders from East and West, including Japanese, Ryukyuan, Southern Chinese, Indians, Muslims, Persians and even a few Europeans, such as Florentine and Venetian merchants or Armenians, long before the Iberians had reached the area. Anthony Reid and Geoff Wade have shown the dynamics that led to increased commercial interaction in the maritime region and at the same time led to fundamental transitions in the development of states before 1500. Thereafter commerce and migration saw an unprecedented expansion due to macro-regional similarities in centralised bureaucracies and a sophisticated control of the monsoon system.¹¹⁶

As mentioned above, the spelling 'South East' Asia' is used in this work in order to avoid writing East and South East Asia time and again. Such a pragmatic decision does not solve ideological dilemmas.¹¹⁷ The position of the Philippines within the macro-region, on the other hand, had major implications on the development of triangular relations. Being considered periphery or "rimlands",¹¹⁸ it stands in clear contrast to the core regions China, Japan and Spain. This peculiar dialectic characterises the

¹¹⁵ Another expression is "Asian maritime worlds". It denotes a vast geographical sphere covering Japanese and Chinese coasts from the East China Sea as far as to the East African coast, and includes the maritime regions of South East Asia.

¹¹⁶ Reid, *South East Asia in the Age of Commerce I*.

¹¹⁷ I have been agonizing over the terms East Asia and South East Asia and whether it was politically and historically correct to use them as key terms in a comparative study of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Many standard regional 'labels' imply Eurocentric ideas and remind of a period of European powers' self-proclaimed superiority over other regions and civilizations. While aiming at providing a neutral and well-balanced view on intercultural encounters in the early modern period it would be wrong to do so with terms negatively influenced by political discourses. However, when looking at Asia as a whole, Japan and China do lie farthest East and the Malayan island world further south than the countries mentioned before. From a European perspective it is merely a geographic term integrating the most Eastern countries on the globe – providing that we use a map with Europe in the centre – which is contrary to commonly accepted opinion not the norm but also a product of "Western" dominance.

¹¹⁸ Victor Lieberman (*Strange Parallels II*) defines the rimlands as areas on the path to economic and political consolidation.

development of Manila.

The Philippines themselves are a further problematic concept, being nothing else but a sixteenth century imperial Spanish construct. Strictly speaking there were no Philippines and no Filipinos before the arrival of the Spaniards.¹¹⁹

1.5.2. Language

Decyphering language is one of the major challenges in early modern comparative history. Generating data from multilingual sources means not only extra efforts for reading and translating, but also poses major risks when it comes to data interpretation. I hope that discourse analysis methods will guard me against language-based misinterpretation. I will discuss the most obvious challenges.

First, the language of the early modern period differs from the modern language. Second, written language differs from spoken language. This is true for all three languages. When it comes to official documents and correspondence with authorities, we also have to consider specific political rhetoric. Finally, there is also the possibility of semantic problems due to concepts existing in one of the respective languages but not in the other, for reasons of different cultural or political concepts, which consequently led to misunderstandings in bilateral communication.

Language in general is still considered the biggest challenge for writing global or comparative history. Most particularly with regards to the conceptual vocabulary that mainly evolved in Europe. However, I have to state that the comparative analysis of this dissertation, despite being settled in South East Asia, has hardly ever had to deal with such matters. I have tried to limit myself to concepts applicable for all cultural contexts in order not to create asymmetrical perspectives.¹²⁰

1.6. Chapter Overview

The dissertation proceeds at two levels of analysis simultaneously; an empirical one from the viewpoint of Manila and a systematic approach analysing certain aspects of pre-modern states. As mentioned above, I aim to analyse the importance of the state for

¹¹⁹ For scholars' ideas on the construction of this concept see Legarda, "Cultural Landmarks," 43-44.

¹²⁰ These issues have recently been tackled for researching the history of South Asia in a panel called "Beyond comparisons – in search of a language to write history across cultures" at the *19th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies*, Leiden, June 27-30, 2006.

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private trading patterns and in a further step would like to tackle the question of whether (and how) the establishment of the Spanish colony in the Philippines, with its juridical body and new ways of controlling commercial interactions, changed the nature of private trading networks at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The dissertation is divided into four parts. Each part splits up into two chapters. Part I is primarily based on secondary sources while the rest uses a lot of original data. In each chapter I have tried to follow a logical and systematic order and to remain analytical. Each chapter ends with concluding remarks that aim to summarise findings and evaluate initially asked questions in order to link it smoothly to the next chapter. It was not always easy to adhere to the chronological order; in the chapters in particular that relied heavily on case studies it was sometimes not feasible.

Beginning with a general contextualization, chapter 2 provides us with the comparative framework by systematically describing relevant factors of Spain, China and Japan, for their connected history in Manila. Chapter 3 defines the space by giving a general introduction into the political and economic development of early Spanish reign over the Philippines and Manila. Chapter 4 evaluates the different levels of Manila trade, in order to contribute to a better understanding of the complex state-relations in the early modern period.

Part III (chapters 5 and 6) is on intercultural diplomacy, shows a strong intercultural and multilateral component for the analysis of early modern contacts between Spain, China and Japan. Focusing on a linguist approach, I try to show to what extent shifts in governance and sovereignty changed self-conceptions in China and Japan as a consequence of increasing contacts with 'foreigners' and how diplomacy and maritime trade came to play a critical role in East Asian quests for identity and polity building. In this respect it is particularly interesting that based on connections via Manila, Spain and Japan became pioneers in bilateral relations between Europe and East Asia.

Using specific case studies the last part (IV), I try to evaluate the significance of bargaining between local and central levels for global representation. Chapter 7 investigates how global, central and local factors co-existed and 'controlled' economic, political and social developments. The final chapter examines how these connected histories influenced the local level in Manila by pursuing the question of what daily life in Manila looked like. Here, an actor-based approach shall contribute to a global social history that in turn 'demystifies' early modern 'globality'

2. The Comparative Framework

2.1. General Thoughts on Comparing Political Economies

Just as the previous chapter served as an introduction into the research setting, this chapter is designed to examine the background of the encounters between Habsburg Spain,¹²¹ Late Ming China and Azuchi-Momoyama / early Tokugawa Japan that should be considered a watershed in Eurasian history, in a period when private trade expanded along with tributary trade, and these states showed an interest in benefiting directly from foreign trade, connections and triangular interaction between 1570 and 1640. This will hereafter be referred to as Manila system. We may speak of a period of similarities found in “territorial consolidation, administrative centralization, cultural/ethnic integration, and commercial intensification”, as Victor Lieberman has noted.¹²² Moreover, at the dawn of this period of closer connections between Europe and Asia, certain parts of each of the three pre-modern states had achieved a high literary culture and civilization and had “attained a high degree of socio-political organization and material culture.”¹²³

Understanding these momentous encounters requires a brief search for indicators, namely similarities and differences in Spain, China and Japan at the dawn of their co-existence in Manila. This chapter seeks to analyse both striking differences and similarities in the Chinese, Japanese and Spanish political economies at the end of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. Since the scope of this work does not allow for a systematic comparison, I decided to focus specifically on foreign trade policies, ideology and sovereignty in order to determine these three premodern states' world historical place by outlining their involvement in the wider world. Political economy is understood here as state intervention and protectionism for the sake of an emerging market economy.¹²⁴

For several reasons this approach can even be seen as marginally linked to the debates surrounding the so-called great divergence. At this stage it is still justifiable

¹²¹ As represented overseas and not as European territorial power.

¹²² Victor Lieberman, "Transcending," 7.

¹²³ Darwin, *After Tamerlane*, 27; 42.

¹²⁴ I here endorse Adam Smith's classic definition of "a branch of science of a statesman or legislator that proposes to enrich both people and the sovereign." Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. R.H. Campell and A.S. Skinner (Indianapolis: W. B. Todd, 1981), 678-679.

to agree with Pomeranz's main thesis of surprising similarities between China and Europe – and Japan – in the sixteenth and seventeenth century,¹²⁵ although we may say that it was an example that proves the rule, starting to industrialise in a period without 'economic windfall'.¹²⁶ In his comparative study on revolutions, Jack Goldstone pointed out that "the states of Early Modern Eurasia – including the European monarchies, Russia, China, the Ottoman Empire, and Japan, in roughly the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, were not greatly different from each other". He continues to point out that they had "bureaucratic assemblages of officials, under the direction of a single hereditary ruler", and that they all "claimed sovereignty over well-defined territories".¹²⁷ Late-sixteenth-century Spain, China and Japan represented highly advanced administrative and entities with hegemonic aspirations. During the sixteenth century, economic and political gaps between them were less prominent than in later centuries.¹²⁸

These are worthwhile considerations for linking my research to larger debates. What can the experience of Manila teach us in that matter? When looking at their encounters in the sixteenth century, we may start wondering whether the 'striking resemblances' thesis is tenable, or if it were rather 'striking differences' that shaped their experiences in Manila.

As Spain was the official ruling power of the Philippines and for reasons of their active political involvement on all known continents, I will start this introductory comparison with the Spanish Overseas Empire.

2.2. The Spanish Overseas Empire

As indicated above, sixteenth century-Spain's rise as global power is often linked to the accomplishments of King Philip II, who relied on the legacy of his ancestors,

¹²⁵ Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence. China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2000), 16-24; 225-263.

¹²⁶ For Japan and the Great Divergence see Sugihara Kaoru, *Japan, China, and the Growth of the Asian International Economy, 1850-1949* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005). See also Shimada Ryuto, "Kinsei Nihon Keizai no Ajiashiteki Shigi. 'Kinpen Meikaku' Ron to 'Sakoku' no Minaoshi Wo Megutte" in *The Economic Review of Seinan Gakuin University* 1 (2006): 63-87. One explanation given for Japan's extraordinary development is based on differences in consumption patterns that triggered the 'industrious revolution'. A term coined by Hayami Akira and promoted in Western language scholarship by Jan de Vries, it explains industrial growth and development in regions with a scarcity in natural resources. See Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008).

¹²⁷ Goldstone, *Revolutions*, 4.

¹²⁸ Darwin, *After Tamerlane*, 23.

the Catholic Kings and Charles I (V), in pursuing political agendas in and outside Europe. These include mutually beneficial agreements with the Pope, business deals with German bankers as well as a well-founded diplomatic service and an administration unparalleled by other European realms.¹²⁹ On the Iberian Peninsula, Philip II continued the unification process and the consolidation of power.¹³⁰ His reign marked the high point of the Spanish Overseas Empire, following the Age of Exploration that had taken explorers of the Castilian crown from the Canaries to the Caribbean Islands before the conquest of the Aztec Empire and the Inca territories that became the Spanish Viceroyalties of New Spain (Mexico; 1521) and Peru (1542).

Even though world history has often used the term 'Spanish Empire' uncritically, during the sixteenth and seventeenth the *monarquía española* was hardly ever referred to as an empire, for the term was reserved for the Holy Roman Empire in Europe. It was only due to the efforts of Philip II, one of the main actors in our story, that Spain became designated an empire. Phillip II continued the 'European' policy of his father but also focussed on the Iberian Peninsula and the New World.¹³¹ Despite omitting the term empire as a general defining concept, I consider it appropriate to refer to the Castilian dominions including all its colonies as the Spanish Overseas Empire. John Darwin moreover speaks of a 'Habsburg windfall empire' under Philip II as the only European effort in empire building during the long sixteenth century, though pointing out that Philip II lacked interest in using his resources for building a world empire and instead spent American silver on upholding dominance in Europe by continuing the religious and dynastic warfare his ancestors had started.¹³²

¹²⁹ Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714. A Society of Conflict* (London: Longman, 1986), 129.

¹³⁰ J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World. Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press 2006).

¹³¹ Kamen, *Spain's Road*, 153-155; J. H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700. Selected Essays* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1989), 7-9. See also Henry Kamen, *Empire. How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: Harper, 2003). Geoffrey Parker, *Felipe II. La Biografía Definitiva* (Barcelona Planeta, 2009), 759: "*Sol mihi semper lucet: el sol siempre brilla sobre mi.*"

¹³² Darwin, *After Tamerlane*, 97 "The nearest that the Europeans had come to building a world empire was the conglomerate of territories ruled over by Spain." Reinhard Wendt in turn suggested not calling it empire. "Es gilt als problematisch, das spanische Weltreich imperialistisch zu nennen. Versteht man unter diesem Attribut alle Kräfte und Aktivitäten, mit denen ökonomische, politische und strategische Interessen im globalen Maßstab mit den Mitteln formeller Territorialherrschaft ebenso wie mit informellen Methoden wahrgenommen und im Rahmen internationaler Mächtekonkurrenz durchgesetzt werden, kann es das spanische Imperium tatsächlich nur schwerlich charakterisieren." Reinhard Wendt, *Vom Kolonialismus zur Globalisierung. Europa und die Welt seit 1500* (Wien, Paderborn: UTB, 2007), 18.

2.2.1. The Composed Monarchy: A European Empire?

Habsburg Spain of those days was not only a major colonial power, but also a European monarchy. Consolidation of power on the Peninsula was embedded into the crucial events of 1492, including the conquest of the last *moro* bastion in Granada, the expulsion of the Jews and the discovery of the American continent by the Genoese seafarer Christoforo Colombo – who sailed under the flag of the Catholic Kings, Isabel I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragón. Following their nuptial union in 1469 in Valladolid, a massive composite monarchy (*monarquía compuesta*) was created. “Extra-peninsular kingdoms and seigniorial lands”¹³³ in the Castilian-Aragonese realm included the different reigns on the Iberian Peninsula, the Italian satellites such as Naples, Sicily and Milan, the Southern Netherlands, maritime outposts including Ceuta, Tripoli, and the Canary Islands and the newly discovered colonies in the Atlantic and Pacific.¹³⁴ When Spain established permanent power in Asia in 1565, it was at its pinnacle of territorial expansion, which in turn would lead to unavoidable economic struggles and political transitions. The *monarquía compuesta* has often been called the best-organised monarchy in Europe due to its bureaucratic structures and tremendous network of hierarchical administration. A complex institutional development helped to keep the huge entity of the Spanish Empire functioning. Administrative patterns emerged utilising parts of Castilian and Aragonese territorial policies that would later be adopted in the colonies.¹³⁵ J. H. Elliott and others have stressed the heterogeneity of political players in Spain and her colonies, including not just the crown but also government, councils, cities, nobility and other subjects, that led to complex but flexible modes of negotiations in government affairs.¹³⁶

In Europe, Philip II continued his father's hegemonic gambling with France, most of all over dominion in Italy, continuous struggles with the Protestant Dutch and eventually the battle against the Muslim. Dynastic traditions suggested that fighting

¹³³ For different structures of exercising power in Castile and Aragon see Miguel Angel Ladero Quesado, "Spain Circa 1492: Social Values and Structures," in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), 123.

¹³⁴ For the conceptualization of Iberian territorial empires in the Americas see Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984), 5-7.

¹³⁵ For Spanish juridical and economic institutions see Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, *Marte Contra Minerva. El Precio del Imperio Español, C. 1450-1600* (Barcelona: Critica, 2004).

¹³⁶ Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic*.

against the Muslims "was the primary task of a Christian prince".¹³⁷ The Union of the Crowns – or Iberian Union – that existed between Spain and Portugal for sixty years from 1580/1 also falls into the period we are looking at. Philip II's oath by the estates at the Cortes of Tomar in April 1581, that the overseas territories would not be joined gubernatorial to the Castilian territories, affected the Spanish room for manoeuvring in Asia and consequently governing the Philippines.¹³⁸ Agreements were based on the Treaties of Tordesillas 1494 and Zaragoza 1529, which will be analysed in more detail in the next chapter. Accordingly, after 1580 Portuguese overseas territorial independence had to remain untouched.¹³⁹

Too many hegemonic policies led to economic losses, which has led many historians to conclude that 'Spain' was by this time in decline.¹⁴⁰ In this context, the numerous state bankruptcies that occurred during the reign of the *Casa de Austria* as well as the beginning of the downturn in silver imports from the Americas in the seventeenth century, encouraged such views. The concept of 'decline', however, will always be a matter of perspective. For this study, common, well-known events of Spanish history will have to be looked at from the perspective of the Manila-system. Such decline was felt because the monarchy was at the high point of its territorial size during the sixteenth century. Serious economic struggles and political transitions complicated imperial policies after the death of Philip II. His successors, the *Austrias Menores*, were overshadowed by their powerful ministers (*validos*),¹⁴¹ beginning with the Duke of Lerma (Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas (1552/53-1618) and succeeded by Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimental (1587-1645), Count-Duke of Olivares.¹⁴² What can be used to counter the narrative of the rise and

¹³⁷ Mia Rodriguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551-1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988), 1.

¹³⁸ Friedrich Edelmayer, *Philipp II: Biographie eines Weltherrschers* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2009), 235-238; Parker, *Felipe II, 720-729: "cabeza del más extendido imperio que ha tenido rey del mundo"*.

¹³⁹ Kamen, *Spain's Road*, 133.

¹⁴⁰ J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (London: Arnold, 1963). Together with Kamen's studies, it has strongly influenced the wide acceptance of a decline of Spain beginning after the death of King Philip II. These descriptions found on the idea that the sixteenth century was the century of unification, social peace and economically wealthy years thanks to the inflow of American silver, while the seventeenth century was shaken by revolts, loss of central power, inflation in an age when the Spanish fell behind the Dutch and English in terms of military and hegemonic power.

¹⁴¹ Royal favorites who took the position of decision-taking ministers during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV. On the history and political impact of *validos* see LWB Brockliss, J. H. Elliott, eds. *The World of the Favorite* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1999); José Antonio Vaca de Osma, *Los Nobles e Innobles Validos* (Barcelona: Planeta de Agostini, 1997).

¹⁴² Patrick Williams, *The Great Favorite: The Duke of Lerma and the Court and Government of Philip Iii of Spain, 1598-1621* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2006), 54-78.

fall of Habsburg Spain as a European power caused by its absolutist, interventionist and over-bureaucratic tendencies, was the durability of Iberian performance overseas – a clear sign of success.¹⁴³

2.2.2. Integration and Administration of the New World

The mechanism behind Spain's political and economic decisions in overseas affairs was founded upon the *Gobierno Supremo y Universal de las Indias*, which was launched in 1536.¹⁴⁴ Spanish jurists and scholars were involved in building up well-functioning institutions and concepts for governing the diverse kingdoms – drafting explanations to legitimise Spanish conquest and suzerainty over new territories. Within the framework of imperial administration, the Council of the Indies, launched in 1524 as *Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias*, enjoyed enormous influence in overseas affairs. This was a result of its members having access to various forms of communication with the colonies, the right to elect new officials and create most of the laws for the Americas.¹⁴⁵ The *Consejo* was also charged with electing new colonial officials,¹⁴⁶ and was required to provide the king with the necessary details on administrative and judicial accounts and advise him if necessary. Consisting of eight members in 1609, the scope of the royal council covered administrative, economic, juridical and military matters. The Council of the Indies, as a bureaucratic advisory board, was part of the colonial government and was separated from the king, whose constitutional prerogative was to dismiss initiatives put forward by council members.¹⁴⁷ Colonial administration, that in the last instance depended on obeying royal orders, would have been unfeasible without well-functioning communication networks between the motherland and distant territories. As representatives of the numerous other councils, members of the *Consejo de Indias* also acted as spokesmen for the distant territories at the court and were supposed to present their issues.

¹⁴³ Carla Rahn Phillips, "The Organization of Oceanic Empires: The Iberian World in the Habsburg Period," in Jerry Bentley et al., *Seascapes. Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 2007), 72.

¹⁴⁴ James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Early Latin America. A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989).

¹⁴⁵ Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire*, 142.

¹⁴⁶ For a more detailed description see Javier Barrientos Grandon, *El Gobierno de las Indias* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2004), 105; 108-111; Kamen, *Spain's Road*, 142; Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001), 81.

¹⁴⁷ Rahn Phillips, "Organization," 72.

Needless to say, communication was the biggest enemy of the system.

For understanding the Spanish governance of the Indies, it is furthermore crucial to consider royal jurisdiction at the local level, in the colonies.¹⁴⁸ In later years, the most striking feature of the supposedly efficient Spanish administration was the creation of specific juntas, during the rise of the so-called *letrados*, influential advisors with valuable knowledge or skills, whose work seemingly made previous administrative institutions obsolete.¹⁴⁹ Institutions and laws that developed over centuries were often resistant to innovation.¹⁵⁰

The general concept of governing the Indies was strongly linked to the gospel and its Catholic interpretation, which can be seen in the rapid extension of the ideas of the *reconquista* in the new territories. The dual effort of colonizing and evangelizing efforts was sanctioned by a binding papal decree that ensured them support and benevolence in several other imperial matters. This religiously-motivated concept of governing dated back to the Catholic Kings, who were entrusted to defend Catholicism within their realm by the Inquisition by Pope Sixtus VI in 1476, a remit which was later extended to the New World in 1493 by the papal bulls *donación apostólica* and *eximiae devotionis* of Alexander VI. Practically, all Spanish overseas possessions enjoyed legitimization by the Pope.¹⁵¹ As a consequence, the Church respective religious orders came to play a significant role in social matters as well as the execution of power.¹⁵² At times they collaborated out of mutual interest, at other times Church and civil authorities were fierce opponents.

Institutional diversity characterised the political economy of the overstretched Spanish Overseas Empire. This was based on the very nature of the composite monarchy with its various political units in and outside Europe.¹⁵³ The Habsburg rulers transferred a centralised institutional framework to the colonies that relied on

¹⁴⁸ Javier Barrientos Grandon. *El Gobierno De Las Indias* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2004), 67-70.

¹⁴⁹ For the history of *letrados* who held the Spanish empire together and the increase in the number of universities for their education and training see Elliott, *Spain and Its World*, 16.

¹⁵⁰ Yun Casalilla, *Marte contra Minerva*, 405-407.

¹⁵¹ Philip E. Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), 79-86.

¹⁵² Barrientos Grandon, *Gobierno*, 75. It included the right to extract revenue of the tenth for the crown of which one half should be used for ecclesiastical matters and the other for the *Real Hacienda*.

¹⁵³ For further information see Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, "The Institutions and Political Economy of the Spanish Imperial Composite; Monarchy (1492-1714)" A trans-"national" perspective (XVth World Economic History Conference, August 2009) 2009, 5.

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sophisticated operatives well trained in the latest administrative necessities.¹⁵⁴ The Viceroy was the head of a colonial macro-unit. This office was first established in 1535 in New Spain (present day Mesoamerica); a Viceroyalty followed in Peru in 1542. Viceregal duties in theory included supervising the colonial administration, controlling the treasury and dispensing royal patronage.¹⁵⁵ The colonial bureaucratic and military career paths created knowledge of unprecedented value. Bartolomé Yun has shown that social origin and ethnic background did not impede colonial careers.¹⁵⁶

For the organization of colonial and maritime matters back home, the *Casa de Contratación* (House of Trade), founded in 1503 by royal decree, played a key role. It controlled all commerce in the new territories and the administration of transcontinental trade. In that respect, the Spanish Crown took a supervisory but not an active role in maritime trade.¹⁵⁷ At the same time this monopoly hindered private initiatives to make overseas trade more profitable, as reacting to changing supply and demand was limited.¹⁵⁸

A crucial point when considering the exceptional character of the Spanish colonial concept is that overseas politics followed a territorial model that brought along structural problems for the Spaniards in the Philippines.¹⁵⁹ Hence, the prime interest lay in subduing large territories to Spanish suzerainty by employing a reciprocal agenda of collecting taxes and evangelizing the indigenous population, followed by exploiting resources and introducing European cultural values. Unlike the English and the Dutch, whose overseas enterprises are nowadays described as trading-post empires, the Spanish aspirations aimed at establishing political dominance in the form of political empires.¹⁶⁰ While Florida and Caribbean were regarded as the near Atlantic, Mexico and Panama were part of the far Atlantic and the Viceroyalty of Peru

¹⁵⁴ Elliott, *Spain and Its World*, 14; James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development. Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010), 38.

¹⁵⁵ Kamen, *Spain's Road*, 142. In the 18th century the Viceroyalty of New Granada and Rio de la Plata were added to the administration of the Americas.

¹⁵⁶ Yun Casalilla, *Marte contra Minerva*, 114-128.

¹⁵⁷ For the different levels of control of the Spanish Atlantic see Murdo J. Macleod, "Spain and America: The Atlantic Trade, 1492-1720," in *Colonial Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984), 350-351.

¹⁵⁸ This stands in sharp contrast to merchants of Chartered Companies who were to outsmart the Spaniards in overseas trade in the seventeenth century.

¹⁵⁹ Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper speak of the integration of "extra-European territories and non-European peoples" into the monarchy. Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2010), 128.

¹⁶⁰ For a definition see Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, 137-144.

as remote Atlantic.¹⁶¹

In light of the extreme distances and remoteness within the empire, the question of how Spain administered power over areas such as the Philippines or Rio de la Plata has fascinated generations of researchers, and with good reason. The answer is that policy-making displayed a high degree of compromise and was often the result of the good negotiation skills of different colonial authorities and lengthy bargaining between the metropolis in Spain and colonial representatives and settlers.¹⁶² For sixteenth century Spain, domestic agendas naturally required more urgency than those of colonies that, in reality, the Spanish kings would probably not even be able to point at on a globe.¹⁶³ Thus, domestic affairs were not only addressed earlier for reasons of logistics and communication, but also were given more consideration.¹⁶⁴ This same pattern was relevant for the political economy of the Overseas Empire. In this regard, Regina Grafe and Alejandra Irigoin refuted Douglas North's model of inferior economic development due to exploitation and regulation by the crown by showing that the administration of the Spanish Empire was anything but centralised or absolutist, but rather the product of major negotiations between different political actors.¹⁶⁵

2.2.3. Trade with the Indies and the Spanish Political Economy

The Iberian strategy to profit from new territories by any possible means earned the Spanish and Portuguese colonial trade the little flattering term of "*exploitative trading system*".¹⁶⁶ All above this was due to the exploitation of precious metals and other resources in the colonies; in essence they robbed and shipped back what seemed lucrative (*quinto real* for the Crown). Only the discovery of enormously rich silver stocks in Mexican mines (Zacatecas and Guanajuato) and the veins of Potosí

¹⁶¹ Macleod, "Spain and America," 354.

¹⁶² Lockart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, 127. For a lively introduction into the fascinating *modi vivendi* of the Spanish project overseas see a compilation by Eberhard Schmitt, ed. *Indienfahrer 2: Seeleute und Leben an Bord im Ersten Kolonialzeitalter (15.-18. Jahrhundert)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 7. For the different implications of early modern colonialism see Shankar Raman, *Framing "India": The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern Culture* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2001), 5, where the author describes the particular relationships between the colonised and the centre and stressed that new territory was not directly incorporated into the colonial empire.

¹⁶³ The oldest extant globe is Martin Behaim's masterpiece of 1494.

¹⁶⁴ For the conflicts with Catalonia see Yun Casalilla, *Marte Contra Minerva*, 364-376.

¹⁶⁵ Regina Grafe, Alejandra Irigoin, "Bargaining for Absolutism" *HAHR* 88, no. 2 (2008): 173-209.

¹⁶⁶ de Vries, *Economy of Europe*, 116.

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(*cerro rico*) in the Viceroyalty of New Castile in 1545, as well as the introduction of mercury for amalgamation in the 1560s – which increased speed and profitability of Spanish silver production tremendously – made a massive production increase possible.¹⁶⁷ This moreover linked the Spanish seaborne trade with the Philippines as we shall see in the following chapters. The *peso de ocho reales*, coins minted in Peru and Mexico, became a globally recognised currency and helped enable rapid commercial expansion.¹⁶⁸ Regular and monopolised exchange of American silver – consequently distributed in Europe – and the export to colonies of manufactured European goods, were the main pillars of Spanish maritime trade.¹⁶⁹ Speaking of pillars, the American silver trade was the undisputed and most appreciated backbone of the entire Spanish oceanic trade of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Spanish system of oceanic trade was carried out between the fixed harbours in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, and Seville, under the supervision of the *Casa de la Contratación*, whose officials were in charge of securing commercial exchange, providing access to agricultural products from a wealthy hinterland, offering sufficient services for ships on the Guadalquivir, as well as financial services.¹⁷⁰ The Spanish trans-Atlantic trade exceeded the Portuguese trade with Indies in scale and value. Next to channelling riches into the Crowns' pockets, the Atlantic system or *carrera de Indias* of the sixteenth century became increasingly important for satisfying the needs of a growing colonial market.¹⁷¹

This highly complex organization of foreign exchange with the colonies may be best summarised as early modern mercantilism that followed a long list of regulations.¹⁷² The government was well aware of requirements for oceanic trade

¹⁶⁷ What was of further advantage to the Crown was its monopoly on mercury resources in Spain and Peru; see Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 135.

¹⁶⁸ Marina Alfonso Mola and Carlos Martínez-Shaw, "El Lago Español o la Primera Exploración del Pacífico," in *La Ruta de España a China*, ed. Marina Alfonso Mola et al., (Madrid: El Viso, 2008), 47-64.

¹⁶⁹ Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 105-110.

¹⁷⁰ Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 102.

¹⁷¹ For the Spanish silver trade and the role of Seville see C. M. Cipolla, *Conquistadores, Piratas y Mercaderes. La Saga de la Plata Española* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica de Argentina, 1998).

¹⁷² Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain & Portugal in the New World* (Minnesota: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1984), 426: "The regulation of the fleet system and limiting its ports of call; the restraints placed on trade between the Indies and Manila and between Mexico and Peru; the expansion of the function of the House of Trade and the Merchant Guild of Seville; the chartering of merchant guilds in Mexico City and Lima; the limitations placed on the production of silk, olives, wine, and textiles in America; and the establishment of royal and private monopolies for the sale of essential monopolies." For a summary of

and shipping, as can be seen in recurring sets of regulations 1607, 1613, 1618 "defining ship sizes, configurations, and operating norms for voyages between Spain and America".¹⁷³ However there were aspects the crown was unable to control: the success of this economic mechanism depended on the effort of many individual groups – such as sailors, miners and mule drivers who operated between the main American ports Vera Cruz in Mexico and Portobelo in Panama and the commercial colonial centres. They also were determined by the weather: while rainfalls were crucial for the silver mining process, favourable winds were important for a safe journey back to Europe.¹⁷⁴ In Asia, meteorological phenomena such as monsoons or typhoons could easily spell disaster.

The period we are looking at follows the peak years of Castilian overseas expansionism.¹⁷⁵ Within Europe, the country was in a difficult position at the end of the sixteenth century. The reason lay in costly foreign policies, and a foreign economy only beneficial to the wealthy classes. Power games and hegemonic conflicts, such as Charles' reign as Holy Roman Emperor or lengthy battles in the Netherlands, just to mention two prominent ones financed by New World riches, eventually culminated in bankruptcies once the silver flows from the Americas stagnated or drained off to other parts of Europe and manpower decreased in traditionally productive areas such as central Castile and Andalusia took its toll.¹⁷⁶

Henry Kamen also painted a picture of Spain as a backward country with no truly unified economy, which strongly depended on external supplies.¹⁷⁷ However, recent scholarship has convincingly refuted this decline thesis. Similarly, a focus on Manila will show that long-held misconceptions of Spanish history are no longer tenable and that the historiography on the Spanish empire had fallen prey to persistent

the financial issues of the Spanish Empire see Barrientos Grandon, *Gobierno*, 131-147; and on *hacienda*: 183-194.

¹⁷³ Rahn Phillips, "Organization," 73.

¹⁷⁴ For a good account of the general facts on the Atlantic trade I refer to Macleod, "Spain and America," 341-388.

¹⁷⁵ David Goodman, *Spanish Naval Power: 1589-1665. Reconstruction and Defeat* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997); See also Regina Grafe, "The Strange Tale of the Decline of Spanish Shipping," in *Shipping and Economic Growth 1350-1850*, ed. Richard W. Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 81-116.

¹⁷⁶ This paragraph is based on de Vries, *Economy of Europe*, 27-28. Economic historians count state bankruptcies under Philip II and Philip III 1557, 1560, 1576, 1596; 1607. See Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 1 (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1995), 505-512.

¹⁷⁷ Henry Kamen, *The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe 1550-1660* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1971), 291; J. H. Elliott, "The Decline of Spain," *Past and Present* 20, (1961): 62.

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stereotypes created by the many critics of Castilian imperialism. What is certainly true is that the motherland profited enormously from trade with the Indies during the first century.¹⁷⁸

At the same time, mercantilist state interventionism under Philip II had a far-reaching impact on the colonial economies.¹⁷⁹ Foreign ships were prohibited from entering colonial ports even though the metropolis could not completely satisfy consumer demands in the vast overseas empire.¹⁸⁰ While import duties for colonial merchandise were high, only selected ports in the home country were permitted to trade with the colonies. Thus consumer behaviour could not develop freely nor was the mercantile class always able to respond to changes on the market. In the 1620s, the Castilian protectionist movement campaigned vigorously for the exclusion of Portuguese merchants from the commanding positions they had won for themselves in the economic life of Spanish America and the Iberian Peninsula in the 1630s.¹⁸¹

This development was well known in contemporary Spain. The *arbitristas*, a group of scholars or "economic projectors and moralists"¹⁸² dwelt on how to solve Spain's financial (and moral) crisis with numerous suggestions for reform during the reign of the less lucky Habsburg kings, Philip III and Philip IV.¹⁸³ However, recommendations from the *Junta de Reформación*, established in 1623, did not affect the privileged society, while the increased revenue extraction from less privileged rural society only made them weaker and thus further harmed the economy on the Peninsula.¹⁸⁴ Commonly referred to as the 'seventeenth century crises', this period was characterised by economic and demographic stagnation, rebellions and a crisis

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Fernand Braudel, *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1977), 26.

¹⁷⁹ For a concise description of Spanish-American mercantilism see Mahoney, *Colonialism*, 36-44.

¹⁸⁰ John Lynch also stresses the high number of regulations in sixteenth century Spanish protectionism. John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598-1700* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

¹⁸¹ Cf. Jose Pellicer de Ossau, *El Comercio Impedido* (Madrid 1640).

¹⁸² Angel García Sanz, "El Contexto Económico del Pensamiento Ecolástico: El Florecimiento del Capital Mercantil en la España del Siglo XVI," in *El Pensamiento Económico En La Escuela De Salamanca*, ed. Francisco Gómez Camacho et. al., (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1998), 17-42. Elliott, *Spain, Europe and the Wider World*, 140. Fernández Pedro Navarrete, *Conservación de Monarquías y Discursos Políticos sobre la Gran Consulta que el Consejo Hizo al Señor Rey Don Felipe Tercero* (Madrid, 1792).

¹⁸³ For rational scripts of the *arbitristas* and a history of the movement see Bonney, "Early Modern Theories," 162-230.

Among many things they criticised the selling of offices as the source for economic decline, a policy that was also common in the Philippines.

¹⁸⁴ Spanish literature often speaks of a decadent monarchy for the time of growing influence of *validos*.

of absolutism.¹⁸⁵ Simultaneously, losses were feared and felt in all Spanish territories and ill-feelings towards those reaping benefits from trade with the Indies spread throughout the empire.¹⁸⁶

2.2.4. Repositioning in an Emerging Global World: European Conflicts, External Challenges and Maritime Issues

What exacerbated the Habsburg kings' poor economic standing, aside from the high costs of hegemonic policies, was domestic friction deriving from unsolved problems on the Iberian Peninsula, such as the repression of the Catalans in 1578 and continuous disputes with Barcelona. Tensions in Andalusia (economically strong parts of the former Emirate of Granada were only integrated into the Catholic monarchy a few decades before) were fuelled by social problems, due to religious intolerance dating back to post-*reconquista* Christian laws that further jeopardised domestic stability.¹⁸⁷ Muslim converts were believed to pose a serious threat to the national security. They were widely considered a 'fifth column' and potential allies of the Ottomans – in a period when Catholic Spain had just lost an ideological and political battle against the Protestants in the Low Countries, conflicts which in itself was an example of an extremely revenue-consuming agenda of carrying out European conflicts on a global stage.¹⁸⁸ Maintaining worldwide security whilst at its pinnacle as an imperial power after 1580 resulted in Philip II's foreign policy being considerate and defensive.¹⁸⁹ Such policy proved to be difficult in Europe, where the crown repeatedly struggled ideologically and politically with Muslims and Protestants in and outside its territorial borders.

By the end of the sixteenth century, manoeuvring in overseas territories had also

¹⁸⁵ For a discussion see Geoffrey Parker, *The World Is Not Enough. The Imperial Vision of Philip II of Spain* (Waco: Baylor Univ. Press, 2001).

¹⁸⁶ On illusion and disillusionment of the Spanish in the Indies see Elliot, *Spain, Europe and the Wider World*, 142.

¹⁸⁷ Including uprisings in Aragon between 1580s and 1590 and waves of famine in Valencia when the rural population was hit by the break-down of the irrigation system after Philip III had decreed the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609-1614. See Jesús Gascón Pérez, *Aragón En La Monarquía De Felipe II: Oposición Política* (Zaragoza: Rolde de Estudios Aragoneses, 2007.) Manuel Lomas Cortés, *La expulsión de los Moriscos del Reino de Aragón: Política y administración de una deportación (1609-1611)* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2008). At the same time the composite empire was shaken by the eighty years war with the Netherlands following the revolt of the Dutch beginning in 1568 of an autonomy-seeking population that made the overseas routes of the Iberians extremely vulnerable after 1600.

¹⁸⁸ Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 225-238; 273-293.

¹⁸⁹ Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, 135; 161-168.

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become complicated by the fact that European hegemonic conflicts had been transferred to the overseas territories when English, French and Dutch started to attack the Indies. The causes and consequences of the Spanish Armada's defeat to the English naval forces in 1588 – for a long time the prime example of Spanish 'dire straights' – have been revisited in recent years. Several historians now disagree with the general decline narrative, since Spanish sea power recovered within a year after the lost sea battle.¹⁹⁰

The Northern European trading nations were determined to break the previously mentioned Iberian monopoly that excluded foreigners from trading with the Americas. Aggressions continued even when conflicts had officially been settled in separate peace treaties and truces.¹⁹¹ The most famous examples include Francis Drake's Atlantic voyages, when he plundered the Spanish settlement of Cartanega in 1572 and 1586. In the year 1587, Thomas Cavendish seized a Manila galleon outside Cartagena de India, from where the silver fleets usually started their journey across the Atlantic.¹⁹² Maritime attacks experienced an upsurge in the 1620s, when the Dutch West Indies Company in the Antilles and other European powers established hegemony over vast territories in the Caribbean Rim and North America.¹⁹³ Northern European privateers were a potential threat to foreign ships and the Caribbean remained naturally vulnerable to foreign intrusion.¹⁹⁴

2.2.5. The 'Foreign' in the Spanish Overseas Empire

Having introduced political structures, a brief description of how dealings with foreign 'others' serves as a crucial indicator for the state of foreign relations, shall be given in order to link up with the actual actors of my survey. Spanish perceptions of the 'other' had many facets and served several political agendas. They could range from intentionally styled otherness, resulting from the religious spirit of the

¹⁹⁰ Edelmayr, *Philipp II*, 254-257. Referring to Felipe Fernández Armesto (1989), Edelmayr has shown convincingly that it was not as much a military failure as the lost propaganda battle that harmed the image of the Spaniards.

¹⁹¹ For a detailed description of the events in the Atlantic and political reactions in Europe see John H. Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 254-256.

¹⁹² Miguel Ángel Ladero Losada, *Las Indias de Castilla en sus Primeros Años: Cuentas de la Casa de la Contratación (1503-1521)* (Madrid: Dykinson S.L., 2008).

¹⁹³ For an overview for Spanish involvement in sea battles and economic warfare McAlister, *Spain and Portugal*, 429-430; Grafe, "Strange Tale," 86-87; Major strikes include the Anglo-Dutch attack on Cadiz of 1625 and the Dutch admiral Piet Heyn capturing the silver fleet in 1628.

¹⁹⁴ Parry, *Seaborne Empire*.

reformation, or unease of 'real' cultural, political and moral otherness, as experienced in different forms in all parts of the Indies. The 'others' were the *indios*, the *moros*, or the *chinos*, as well as the Dutch *corsarios* or other 'heretics'.

The political motto of Charles I (V) – *plus ultra* – excellently describes imperial Spanish foreign policies throughout the sixteenth century. The ultimate goal for all operations overseas was simply to gain control.¹⁹⁵ The strong notion of Christian superiority and diplomatic ambitions on overseas stages, backed with Eurocentric self-aggrandisement, was characteristic of Hispanic dealings with the 'other'. What made this aggressive expansion possible was early knowledge gathering, illustrated by the huge number of chronicles published in the early decades of colonialism.¹⁹⁶ For the Roman Empire as well as for the Middle Kingdom, the imperial ideology was based on 'civilisation', for the Spaniards it was the Catholic faith.¹⁹⁷

Pillars and features of dealing with the 'other' will receive more attention in the subsequent chapters. It seems more logical to describe Spanish official policies together with the case studies, where I will confine myself to topics, perceptions and narratives related to the history of the Philippines and its multicultural relations. We start with accounts available to Spanish policymakers and colonisers at the time. China and Japan did not hold centre space but were certainly areas of major concern. Both were not entirely new to the Spaniards, due to Marco Polo's accounts on Cathay and Zipangu and the Portuguese presence in Asia for decades.¹⁹⁸

Both countries were first and foremost considered important areas for continuing the spread of Catholicism. Their high decree of civilisation was often highlighted and they were instantly favoured as potentially permanent business partners in the Far

¹⁹⁵ Mahoney, *Colonialism*, 2: "In modern world history, colonialism is marked by a state's successful claim to sovereignty over a foreign land."

¹⁹⁶ To mention just the most relevant ones for the context of this study: Antonio Pigafetta, *The Philippines. Pigafetta's Story of Their Discovery by Magellan 1534* (Gatineau, Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1980); Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, *History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China (1588)* (London: Hakluyt, 1853).

¹⁹⁷ Elliott, *Spain and its World*, 9.

¹⁹⁸ Information about Japan during the first 40 years of Portuguese presence there was dominated by Jesuits' description (Luis Frois, Alessandro Valigano, João Rodriguez); later also Spanish laymen such as Bernardino de Avila Giron, Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco and Sebastian Vizcaino and Northern European merchants such as William Adams, John Saris and Richard Cocks contributed to travel accounts as described by Michael Cooper, ed., *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1965), 99-100; 119: "If Frois was the chronicler of stirring events and Cocks the recorder of daily life, João Rodrigues was par excellence the exponent of Japanese language and culture."

East.¹⁹⁹ Hence, the incorporation of the Philippine archipelago into the Catholic world was also of strategic nature: Luzón would serve as the Spanish missionaries' gateway to China and Japan, as we shall see.²⁰⁰

2.3. Ming China

Giving a brief introduction into the main factors influencing the foreign policy of the Middle Kingdom during the reign of the last Han-Chinese dynasty, the Ming, that is nowadays considered the last stage of a strong Chinese empire, is a difficult undertaking. Not only because of its complexity, but also because of the many myths and constructs of imperial and cold war historiography that surround it. Far-reaching economic and diplomatic relations and cultural guidance stand in sharp contrast to the notion of a conservative, despotic inflexible agrarian state burdened by a protectionist economy, without serious maritime agendas, and with little interest in the world beyond its vaguely defined borders.²⁰¹ But as with Habsburg Spain, narratives on Ming China also have to be put into the perspective of the Manila-system. Towards the end of the Ming dynasty, China was challenged by political change and commercial growth of the Southeast Asian macro-area; newly established markets whose formation coincided with the arrival of the Europeans and Japan's global integration. To all of which official China was only able to react slowly, if at all.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ See for instance Yonei Rikiya, "Kirishitan Jidai no Supein to Nihon," in *Supein to Nihon. Zabieru Kara Nissei Kōryū No Shinjidai-e* ed. Pandō Shōji et. al., (Ōtsu: Kōrishia, 2000), 179-196.

²⁰⁰ Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 105 (1600), Pedro de Acuña informed the king that: "Estando con estan las Islas Filipinas tan apartadas y remotas, y rodeadas de tantos y tan grandes reynos de ynfieles con la entrada y comunicación que tienen en Manila los Chinos, y Japones e inteligencia de los naturales se puede rezelar que aliados con los de la tierra podrian yntentar alguna novedad a que son ynclinadas y porque la mayor seguridad y fuerza que puede tener la tierra es la población de españoles [...]."

²⁰¹ For a discussion of the frontier debate see Pamela Crossley, ed., *Empire at the Margins. Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2006).

²⁰² John Elliot Wills, Jr. "Maritime China from Wang Chih to Shih Lang: Themes in Peripheral History," in *From Ming to Ch'ing*, ed. Jonathan D. Spence et al., (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1979), 201-238; For Chinese state consolidation in frontier regions see Steven Miles, "Imperial Discourse, Regional Elite, and Local Landscape on the South China Frontier, 1577-1722," *Journal of Early Modern History* 12, no. 2 (2008): 99-136. For the maritime frontier in particular: 112-117.



Map 2 Ming Dynasty

2.3.1. The Setting: Government in late Ming China

A number of other factors determine their connected histories. For instance, the big question in world history, why Europe discovered America and not technically advanced China? Especially given their pioneering inventions including compass and gunpowder – that ironically would become symbols of European expansionism and make Portugal and Spain virtually the first world powers.²⁰³ This is all the more striking in light of medieval China's sudden withdrawal from maritime enterprises after the great – logistically and financially immense – voyages of the Chinese explorer Zheng He between 1405 and 1433. He accomplished sailing similar large distances as the Iberians. The logistic achievements of his treasure fleet were also impressive.²⁰⁴ However, the benefits of the famous Yongle expeditions would prove unsustainable despite the recruiting new tributary trade partners in the South China Sea.²⁰⁵ In its own eyes, however, Ming China remained a great world power nourished by the centuries-old middle kingdom ideology, a fact that has often been described as imperial decadence.²⁰⁶

Nevertheless, in a time when Japan and Spain had only begun to develop structures for centralising power and sophisticated administration at the end of the sixteenth century, China could look back at a centuries-long imperial history that rested upon a distinguished bureaucracy and a sophisticated ideology. The concept of the "Middle-Kingdom versus barbarian states", as self-proclaimed hegemony over the rest of the world known to China and passive participation in external trade were

²⁰³ Both David Landes and Eric Jones came to the conclusion that China lacked interest and capacity deriving from the idea of cultural superiority. See David S. Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor* (London: Little, Brown, 1998) Eric Jones, *The European Miracle, Environments, Economies and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003).

²⁰⁴ The seven sponsored expeditions of Zheng He are often referred to as "Eunuch Sanbao's Voyages to the Western Ocean, 1405-1433" in popular history. They are also a proof of China's detailed geographical knowledge at the time.

²⁰⁵ Indeed when examining the events of the expedition we encounter similarities in acting as hegemon with Spain: "During these voyages Zheng's fleet subjugated a misbehaving Chinese enclave in Sumatra; intervened in a civil war in Java; invaded Sri Lanka and took its captured ruler to China; and wiped out bandits in Sumatra." Cf. Charles C. Mann, *1493. Uncovering the New World Columbus Created*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 124.

²⁰⁶ For the historiography on this phenomenon Ray Huang, "The Lung-Ch'ing and Wan'li Reigns 1567-1620," in *The Cambridge History of China. The Ming-Dynasty, Part I*, ed. Frederick W. Mote et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988), 511-581. For contemporary scholarship dealing with the historiography on Imperial China's world views see Zhaoguang Ge, *Zhai Zi Zhong Guo: Chong Jian You Guan "Zhong Guo" De Li Shi Lun Shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 116-125.

the pillars of foreign affairs.²⁰⁷ Other characteristics included an elite-culture with large numbers of intellectuals in charge of the court bureaucracy and the administration of a vast territory, and a hugely self-sufficient agrarian domestic economy.

The foundations of political institutions were inherited from former dynasties. The Yuan dynasty is known for having made a particular administrative effort of which the Ming became the beneficiaries. The latter adopted the geographic units of the Mongols and adapted them to their own needs. We find a hierarchical regional government subdivided into provinces, prefectures and sub-prefectures that split up into counties governed by one magistrate.²⁰⁸ The society was stratified in four groups with certain obligations according to neo-Confucian values.²⁰⁹ The state ideology was not without contradiction: Although all members of society should have been equal, the hierarchical social class structure with different rules for different classes was prejudiced against certain professional groups such as merchants, who were considered a non-productive class.²¹⁰

At this point we should mention Mark Elvin's 'high-level equilibrium' trap as an explanation for a broad stagnation during the Ming, and eventually the question why not technologically advanced China launched her own industrial revolution. He convincingly showed that it was China's very wealth and stability that impeded further commercial, economic and technological development as a consequence of an economic revolution under the Southern Song (1127-1279).²¹¹

²⁰⁷ John K. Fairbank, "Changing Chinese Views of Western Relations the Northwest and the Coast," in *Cambridge History of China: Late Ch'ing 1800-1911, Part II*, ed. John K. Fairbank et al., (Cambridge; Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980), 143: "Being firmly rooted in ancient traditions such as Confucianism, Daoism and Legalism the governing class of literate-officials clung to an old model of both society and foreign relations. This view of the world saw China as the centre of the world, the so called 天下 tian xia. The tian xia had no borders but encompassed all of earth, so basically any foreign country was not more than a kind of distant province to the dragon throne. Therefore the Chinese also did not see foreigners from western countries as superior or even as equals, but rather as barbarians coming from a long distance to either show respect to the ruler of "the world" or to be sent away in order to learn proper manners before confronting the "most civilized" heart of the world."

²⁰⁸ For more details see Timothy Brook, *The Troubled Empire: China in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 2010), 39-41.

²⁰⁹ Frederick W. Mote, *Imperial China, 900-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1999), 757-761.

²¹⁰ For a detailed description see William Atwell, "Ming China and the Emerging World Economy, c. 1470-1650," in *The Cambridge History of China. The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644*, ed. Denis C. Twitchett et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998): 376-416.

²¹¹ See Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past. A Social and Economic Interpretation* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press 1973), 137-172. For a further nuanced study see Gang Deng, *The Premodern Chinese Economy. Structural Equilibrium and Capitalist Sterility* (London: Routledge, 1999).

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After the unparalleled Great Voyages (1405-1433), during the progressive maritime imperialism of Emperor Yongle (r. 1398-1424), the Ming retreated within its own borders by strongly adopting the Confucian concept of sovereignty. Land-based riots required combining forces for border defence against the Mongols and the Vietnamese. This consequently led to a complete withdrawal from the sea. External intervention ended 1449 with a last border-conflict between Burma and Shan. That year is commonly considered as the turning point in foreign and defence policies in the south. Hereafter Ming China developed its typical inward-orientation with a Court monopoly on foreign trade. The reason for the trade ban was, however, not piracy, as it is sometimes claimed, but a new political-ideological *raison d'état* initiated by the first Ming emperor.²¹² Hamashita Takeshi's research on the nature of foreign relations and interactions in the South China Sea has shown the complexity of Ming China's integration in that area, despite the restricted official policies on foreign trade and self-imposed maritime bans.²¹³

Considering private overseas trade as a major risk to domestic stability, Ming China's official foreign policies became strongly concerned with security.²¹⁴ National security in the sense of guarding and defending the country's frontiers was top of the dynasty's agenda. The sea presented problems, not opportunities, and consequently the state avoided to deal with maritime issues by restricting them to a trickle.²¹⁵ David Kang called the tribute system the "diplomatic infrastructure" and spoke of "political and bureaucratic control" over maritime borders, which included repeating efforts to ban foreign trade and campaigns to destroy ocean-going ships until 1533.²¹⁶

China's idea of the outside world must be understood against the background of tributary relations and formal acknowledgment of the dynasty that was of extreme significance to the early Ming rulers. According to Wang Gungwu, this ideological construct was the reason why they limited their efforts to a "relatively small sphere of geographic influence and consistently tried to restrict the number of tribute

²¹² Angela Schottenhammer, "Vom Mongolischen Teilreich zum Neuen Reich der Mitte", in *Die Welt 1250-1500*, ed. Thomas Ertl et al., (Wien: Mandelbaum, 2009), 370-373.

²¹³ See Hamashita, "China, East Asia and the Global Economy," 18.

²¹⁴ A report of the Ministry of War of the year 1604, states that South China's coasts must be cleaned up from evil people, referring to private traders from Luzón . See Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3135>, accessed March 14, 2010.

²¹⁵ Wills, "Maritime China," 215.

²¹⁶ Kang, *East Asia*, 110-112.

missions by adhering to the classical ideal of one mission every three years for closely neighbouring countries and one mission every generation for the rest." Quickness in responding to border troubles and keeping foreign influence out of issues of domestic policies were of major importance to the court. More important was that in international relations, "countries overseas were not to be attacked" and that "tribute relations were not to be undertaken for profit".²¹⁷ In particular, the non-violence and non-interference over political events in other nations was an "important doctrine of Ming foreign policy" that remained active throughout the entire history of the dynasty.²¹⁸

In this context, it is extremely important to first and foremost understand the tributary trade as diplomatic act. Paying tribute was considered an act of submission. Thus, from an ideological point of view the investiture of local rulers by the Ming Court held centre stage. The ceremony itself reflected the principle of the relationship that "was characterised as one between a superior and subordinate power".²¹⁹ Any contact with foreign states was institutionalised and nothing was left to chance. A number of supervising institutions, including the Superintendencies of Maritime Shipping and the Ministry of Rites, as well as native officials guarding the regulations of tribute of the Ming Code – that regulated the frequency of contact as well as the number of the embassy-members and travel routes – controlled all contacts with the 'barbarian' states. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Supervisory Office for Taxes for Military Supplies (*duxiang guan*) joined the list.²²⁰ In

²¹⁷ Wang Gungwu, "Ming Foreign Relations: Southeast Asia," in *The Cambridge History of China, the Ming Dynasty, 1398-1644, Part 2*, ed. Denis Twitchett et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998), 307-308.

²¹⁸ Wang, "Ming Foreign Relations," 311-313: "The overseas foreign countries like An-nan, Champa, Korea, Siam. Liu-ch'iu (Ryukyu), Western Oceans, Eastern Oceans (Japan) and the various small countries of the southern man (barbarians) were separated from us by mountains and seas and far away in a corner. Their lands would not produce enough for us to maintain them; their peoples would not usefully serve us if incorporated. If they were so unrealistic as to disturb our borders, it would be unfortunate for them. If they gave us no trouble and we moved our troops to fight them unnecessarily, it would be unfortunate for us. I am concerned that future generations might abuse China's wealth and power and covet the military glories of the moment to send armies into the field without reason and cause a loss of life." This quotation is the passage of the opening section of the ancestral injunctions and particularly interesting for the language used.

²¹⁹ Hamashita Takeshi, "The Tribute Trade System and Modern Asia," in *China, East Asia and the Global Economy. Regional and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Linda Grove et al., (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 15.

²²⁰ Angela Schottenhammer, "The East Asian Maritime World, 1400-1800. Its Fabrics of Power and Dynamics of Exchanges. China and her Neighbours," in *The East Asian Maritime World, 1400-1800. Its Fabrics of Power and Dynamics of Exchanges*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 24.

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addition, these loyal principalities could hereafter count on China as protective power in the event of an external attack. Hence expensive tribute trade enterprises became a long-term investment. In the course of the fifteenth century, Southeast Asia increasingly sparked China's interest and several new tributary relations were established.²²¹

Historians of China have identified a certain notion of decline during the reign of Wanli (r. 1572-1620) resulting from weak imperial leadership, military efforts in Korea against the Japanese, a decrease of rural revenue and disobedient court eunuchs.²²² Ideologically, late Ming patronage of Buddhism affected economic and political decisions.²²³

2.3.2 Ming China's Political Economy

The anti-maritime policies of Ming stood in sharp contrast to those of previous dynasties. In 1320, the Yuan Dynasty allowed private traders to move freely and this led to an enormous influx of private traders into urban coastal ports such as Quanzhou, starting point of the Maritime Silk Road and a major harbour on the Maritime Spice Route (Zaitun of Marco Polo) that would become a centre of trade with Southeast Asia.²²⁴ With the 'maritime trade proscription policy' (*haijin zhengce*) in 1371 under Emperor Hongwu (r. 1368-1398), the Chinese state sought to entirely replace private foreign trade with official government-controlled tribute trade. An imperial edict of 1436 banned the construction of ocean-going vessels and prohibited maritime activity under the threat of death; in 1477, records of the Treasure Fleet were destroyed.²²⁵ Foreign countries willing to trade with China were asked to send tribute embassies to the Ming Court, where they then had to present themselves as subordinates paying tribute to the Ming Emperor. Foreign relations

²²¹ For a concise summary of different tributary trade discourses see Kang, *East Asia*, 11-13 where he sets out analyzing them as functional (Fairbank), symbolic (Wills, Keith Taylor) before he concludes that they are too scattered to generalise.

²²² Lieberman, *Strange Parallels II*, 504-524; 576-622; Warren I. Cohen, *East Asia at the Center. Four Thousand Years of Engagement with the World* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2000), 221.

²²³ Timothy Brook, "At the Margin of Public Authority: The Ming State and Buddhism" in *Culture and State in Chinese History. Conventions, Accommodations, and Critiques*, ed. Roy Bin Wong et al., (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1997), 161-181.

²²⁴ As illustrated by the authors of Angela Schottenhammer, ed. *The Emporium of the World: Maritime Quanzhou, 1000-1400*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

²²⁵ Valerie Hansen, *The Open Empire. A History of China to 1600* (New York: Norton, 2000), 383. John E. Wills, "Maritime Europe and the Ming," in *China and Maritime Europe, 1500-1800: Trade, Settlement, Diplomacy, and Missions*, ed. John E. Wills (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010), 24-78.

were limited to exchange with tribute paying barbarian states. This system, too, was ideologically rooted in Confucian traditions dating back from the Han to the Qing. During the Ming, the number of official mercantile delegations increased and became a normal means of political interaction. Yet, they were not consistently applied by every state or in every situation but could easily be modified, abandoned and applied with flexibility.²²⁶

Timothy Brook has argued that "tribute and trade were able to sustain each other so long as state diplomacy and foreign trade did not run into conflict."²²⁷ At the end of the sixteenth century, the tributary system should first and foremost be understood as external administrative order with a high amount of interdependence from the Ming and its loyal neighbours.²²⁸

Only certain commodities were allowed to be officially traded in tributary exchange. Tribute goods were consequently divided into 'official tribute goods' and 'private commodities' for commercial exchange in the Beijing Assembly Hall. Official tribute goods had to be sent to the emperor, some of which could be sold at its port of entry after the payment of a commission. As a rule, sixty per cent of the cargo was bartered with by the shibo si (Superintendency). Hence, foreign trade was possible, as long as the rules and rites set up by the Chinese authorities were obeyed. In the course of the dynasty, these offices were repeatedly closed and re-established, sometimes coming under the control of eunuchs. According to the *Dongxi Yangkao*, official goods entering China via the tributary route at the beginning of the seventeenth century included rhinoceros and water buffalo horns, bird nests, tortoise shell, aromatics, decoration, sulphur, precious woods, rare minerals, herbs and fabrics.²²⁹

From a political economy perspective, we find a court that monopolised the sale and distribution of certain products, and collected taxes on trade, transit and transportation. According to the renowned China-historian John E. Wills, in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, during the Changte period, ships from

²²⁶ Kang, *East Asia*, 8. The main argument of the book centres on Chinese hegemony as stabilizing power of tribute system.

²²⁷ Brook, *Troubled Empire*, 220.

²²⁸ Takeshi Hamashita, "Despotism and decentralization in Chinese governance. Taxation, tribute and emigration," in *China, East Asia and the Global Economy. Regional and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Linda Grove et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 29.

²²⁹ Schottenhammer, "East Asian Maritime World," 14-15.

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Southeast Asian tributary states were allowed to come as often as they wished, without regard for limitations of time and number specified in the regulations of the tribute system, and their trade was taxed. They were directed by eunuchs, who were especially interested in obtaining rare imports for the Palace.²³⁰ These facts illustrate the dynamics of the local level at the eve of the arrival of the Europeans and speak in favour of a gradual development of the Chinese economic system as not Beijing-centred but driven by complex dimensions.²³¹ This also supports my own thesis of an ambivalent relationship between local and central, official and unofficial respectively in terms of foreign trade and should therefore serve as theoretical framework for the rest of the book.

By the early sixteenth century, the tribute trade framework had become unsustainable and for our period of interest, it must not be overestimated. Gang Deng provocatively spoke of "disguised staple trade" in his study on the ambiguous relationship between state and merchants in China,²³² while David Kang, against the background of tremendous smuggling and other forms of non-state trade, even doubted its existence.²³³ As a consequence, scholars remain sceptical about the role of tributary trade for economic developments, which according to Takeshi Hamashita remained important for China's maritime sphere long into the seventeenth century.²³⁴

2.3.3. Repositioning in an Emerging Global World – The 1570s and the Single Whip Reforms

After recurring inflations and destabilisations of the monetary system, changes in the ownership of land and other socio-economic developments, a permanent outflow of copper coins increased the demand for silver all over the country.²³⁵ But domestic resources were limited. Under the pressure of importing a growing amount of

²³⁰ John E. Wills, Jr. "Relations with Maritime Europeans 1514-1662," in *Cambridge History of China. The Ming-Dynasty*, ed. Frederick W. Mote et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998), 334–335.

²³¹ Linda Grove and Mark Selden, Introduction to *China, East Asia and the Global Economy. Regional and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Linda Grove et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 7.

²³² Kent Gang Deng, "The Foreign Staple Trade of China in the Premodern Era" *The International History Review* 19, no. 2 (1997): 253-283.

²³³ Kang, *East Asia*, 13.

²³⁴ E-mail conversation with Richard von Glahn dated August 30, 2009 with remarks on importance of silver flows into China after 1600.

²³⁵ Schottenhammer, "East Asian Maritime World," 19: "The opening of trade was not a reaction to piracy but the consequence of socio-economic transformations inside the country, in particular land loss of small peasants."

foreign silver, the Ming government eventually suspended the official prohibition on foreign maritime trade in 1567, during the reign of Emperor Longqing (r. 1567-1572) – who took over from the decadent rule of Emperor Jiajing (r. 1521-1567). Almost simultaneously, tax payments were converted into silver (Single Whip or *yitiao bianfa*)²³⁶ in the 1570s. From the 1560s onwards, this change in the fiscal system stipulated that in principle all land taxes were to be paid in silver.²³⁷ In previous decades, scholars have often used the term 'silver century' for the period of China's large-scale imports of American and Japanese silver, which saw approximately 7,300 metric tons of silver were imported between 1550 and 1645.²³⁸ William Atwell – one of the major scholars in the field – stressed that the importance of silver and monetary transactions "helped to involve China more deeply in world economic affairs than ever before".²³⁹

Maritime trade prohibitions (*haijing*) were suspended for Fujian province and the *kaihai* (opening of maritime commerce) policy was introduced.²⁴⁰ Thereafter Chinese could sail to South East Asia to trade in certain commodities. As a consequence of the Ming government's new orientation towards foreign trade, 50 licenses per year were handed out to private merchants for overseas trade with South East Asia. In 1575, 100 licenses were issued, a number – which would be restricted to 88 by 1589 – for vessels containing some 20,000 tons of cargo space.²⁴¹ The license system ceased to function around 1620,²⁴² after a lengthy and fierce battle between illicit traders and wealthy smugglers of coastal regions such as Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang, that had long become integrated in the prosperous trade of the China Seas and against government officials.²⁴³ A minor proportion of the formerly illicit trade activities of

²³⁶ 一条鞭法: See Manuel Ollé, "La Formación de Parián de Manila. La Construcción de un Equilibrio Inestable", University of Granada, <http://www.ugr.es/~feiap/ceiap1/ceiap/capitulos/capitulo02.pdf>, accessed December 11, 2011, 39.

²³⁷ <http://thechinabeat.blogspot.com/2008/02/five-chinese-historical-events-that.html>. Accessed July 14, 2010.

²³⁸ Of this amount, Japanese silver totaled between 3,622 and 3,803 metric tons. Von Glahn, *Fountain*, 120.

²³⁹ Atwell, "Ming China," 416.

²⁴⁰ Chang, "Chinese Maritime Trade," 8-12.

²⁴¹ Marius Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (London: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 2002), 65.

²⁴² Léonard Blussé, *Strange Company. Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Leiden: Dordrecht, 1986), 104. For the relaxation of maritime policies see also Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/800>, accessed December 03, 2010.

²⁴³ For a summary of the events see Charles C. Mann, 1493, 130-133. See also Gang Deng, *Chinese Maritime Activities and Socioeconomic Development, C. 2100 B.C.-1900 A.D.* (London: Greenwood Press,

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the South and East China Sea was technically given official approval hereafter. Haicheng, also often referred to as Yüeh-kang or Moon Harbor near Zhangzhou in Fujian, was the first port opened to maritime trade in 1567. The opening of Haicheng, an outlaw entrepôt for decades, has been considered crucial for the economic transformation of the Fujianese coast.²⁴⁴ Due to its peripheral nature, the region would for centuries develop coastal and maritime trade regardless of restrictions. The court, being aware of the permanent private exchange on the coastal peripheries, did not take any measures as long as private foreign traders were hindered from coming to the major Chinese cities and social peace was maintained.²⁴⁵

It is fair to conclude that the arrival of the Europeans contributed to liberalisation of maritime trade in coastal China, however it certainly did not happen overnight. After the 1530s, trading ships other than tribute-carrying vessels were allowed to trade with private merchants (e.g. Portuguese) after part of the cargo had been appropriated as import tariff.²⁴⁶ The Ming introduced a system of licensed trade based on the so-called *kanhe* (*kangō*) certificates.²⁴⁷ These certificates were issued twice: one was kept with the *shibo si* in China, the other with the licensed foreign ship.²⁴⁸ Japan remained further excluded; a record of 1597 show that maritime trade remained severely controlled with trading regulations, examination and reporting of cargoes and guarantors.

At this time, the law had become increasingly subject to abuse. Thus, the grand coordinator and the Regional Inspector Jin Xue-zeng made

1997), 88-90, where he discusses the frequency and strength of armed smuggling, international connectedness and support from government officials and influential families.

²⁴⁴ Brook, *Troubled Empire*, 223-224; Wills, "Maritime Europe," 24.

²⁴⁵ Hugh R. Clark, *Community, Trade, and Networks: Southern Fujian Province from the Third to the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002), 167: "There was a direct connection between the growth of the local pottery industry and the expanding volume of South Seas trade through Quanzhou. Pottery [...] was sent throughout the South Seas trade routes. The Zhufan Zhi, for example, lists pottery among goods sent to destinations in modern Indonesia, the Philippines, Indochina, and the Malay Peninsula."

²⁴⁶ Chang Pin-tsun, "The Evolution of Chinese Thought on Maritime Foreign Trade from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century" *International Journal of Maritime History Volume 1*, (1989): 51-64.

²⁴⁷ Schottenhammer, "East Asian Maritime World," 24-25: The author summarises late Ming foreign affairs straight to the point as follows: "three main regimes of maritime trade administration may be distinguished: (1) the administration of tribute ships in the traditional sense; (2) the administration of Chinese ships sailing overseas from Haicheng in Fujian, which were obliged to pay taxes there; and (3) the administration of merchant ships – that came to Guangzhou and Macao to trade their commodities."

²⁴⁸ Schottenhammer "East Asian Maritime World", 15-16

*proposals: '1. On setting down ship categories. 2. On prohibiting private transgressions. 3. On the sending of officials. Each year a prefectural assistant should be sent and stationed at Hai-cheng to manage the levying of cargo taxes. In this way, the maritime defence deputy will not have to be concurrently concerned with administering taxation.'*²⁴⁹

Since official China did not develop any long-lasting institutions for tapping the potential of maritime foreign trade, no official profit-driven measures were taken and it remains unclear whether the reorganisation of maritime trade administration led to major political or economic changes.²⁵⁰ While the lifting of the ban on foreign trade for ships of various sizes and cargoes was reinforced in 1578 and taxation on foreign trade regulated,²⁵¹ the export of nitrates, sulphur, copper and iron from China remained officially prohibited.²⁵²

2.3.4. Maritime Issues: Illicit Trade Activities and Official Policies in the South China Sea

The century-long quasi-rejection of foreign trade is also reflected in the Ming Court's failure to turn the pirates of the Southern Seas into merchants, a popular strategy within state building processes in other regions.²⁵³ Here we may consider that once frustrated, active networks tend to try to profit from their skills in less complicated systems.²⁵⁴ Maritime Chinese traders did so in Southeast Asian port cities, however.²⁵⁵

Under these circumstances, the line between legal and illegal foreign trade became blurred during the entire sixteenth century.²⁵⁶ Illicit trade networks included outlaws and pirates as well as business people and sailors.²⁵⁷ The same dynamics lured people who simply wanted to escape from the strict societal system or the

²⁴⁹ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3036>, accessed December 03, 2010.

²⁵⁰ Wills, "Maritime China," 215.

²⁵¹ Wills, "Maritime Europe," 40.

²⁵² Tanaka Takeo, *Wakō to kangō bōeki* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1963), 208-209.

²⁵³ Braudel, *The Mediterranean 1*.

²⁵⁴ Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Capitalism, 2. The Wheels of Commerce* (London: Collins, 1982), 164.

²⁵⁵ Leonard Y. Andaya, "Interactions with the Outside World and Adaptation in Southeast Asian Society, 1500-1800," in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, C.1500-C.1800, Vol. 1, Part 2*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: The Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), 1-57.

²⁵⁶ The situation is nowadays often bluntly described as "merchants were pirates, pirates were merchants." Cf. Mann, *1493*, 126.

²⁵⁷ Roderich Ptak, *Die maritime Seidenstraße* (München: Beck, 2007), 277-289; Anthony Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999), 1-14.

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burden of border control. By definition, the interaction, collaboration and links within these private networks are difficult to trace due to a scarcity of written sources and the overlapping levels of business, smuggling and raiding, as well as attacks on Chinese cities with the help of Japanese maritime people. As Wills states, "to the Chinese state all these people were 'pirates'."²⁵⁸ Piracy (for the sake of simplicity this word will hereafter be used as generic term) played a major role in the transformation of foreign trade in the South China Sea. Chinese illicit traders became involved with the archenemies of the Chinese regime: the *wakō*.²⁵⁹ In 1547, the court in Beijing, known for turning a blind eye to these coastal activities, ordered the blockade of the illegal trade in Fujian, after a number of former high officials became deeply involved in private trade.²⁶⁰ For decades, private merchants from the coastal regents as well as Japanese and other traders had found ways to circumvent the tight restrictions and private exchange flourished offshore China.²⁶¹

We know that (especially) Fujianese private traders, due to their far-reaching integration in Southeast Asian markets based on Chinese proto-colonies in major trading centres such as Ayutthaya or Malacca, controlled commercial exchange in the South China Sea to a significant extent.²⁶² Increased trading activity led to the emergence of the famous Chinese Overseas communities (*huaqiao*)²⁶³ that were populated by what is nowadays acknowledged as the first wave of Chinese migration to Southeast Asia.²⁶⁴ Their settlements were the result of anti-pirate campaigns on Chinese coasts and would become essential stopping points for European seafarers. Anne Pérotin-Dumon outlined the role of these two groups in foreign trade of that time as "prosperous communities that defied the agrarian-bureaucratic orientation of the Chinese Empire."²⁶⁵

²⁵⁸ Wills, "Maritime Europe," 34.

²⁵⁹ 倭寇 *wokou* (chin.) or *wakō* (jap.) or *wae-gu* (kor.) literally means Japanese bandit. But most of the time, these groups comprised a larger number of Chinese than Japanese people.

²⁶⁰ Wills, "Maritime Europe", 34.

²⁶¹ Cohen, *East Asia*, 190-191.

²⁶² For the Fujianese traders see Wang Gungwu, "Merchants without Empire. The Hokkien Sojourning Communities," in *The Rise of Merchant Empires. Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750* ed. James Tracy (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), 400-421; Deng, *Chinese Maritime Activities*, 160.

²⁶³ *huáqiáo* (chin.) or *kakyō* (jap) originally refers to Chinese migrants of Han origin including Cantonese, Hokkien etc; It is still used for Chinese ethnicities residing outside China.

²⁶⁴ For the economic importance of the sixteenth-century Southern Chinese diaspora see Wang Gungwu, "The China Seas: Becoming an Enlarged Mediterranean," in *The East Asian 'Mediterranean': Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 7-22.

²⁶⁵ Anne Pérotin-Dumon, "The Pirate and the Emperor. Power and Law of the Seas, 1450-1850," in

The question how these permeable Chinese trading networks and trading communities merged with Japanese *wakō*, resulting in Sino-Japanese joint ventures will accompany us throughout this book. Particularly notorious along the southeastern coast around the mid-sixteenth century was organized smuggling by Zhu Wan, together with Chinese and Japanese pirates.²⁶⁶ Increasing *wakō* raids and the pressure on the north western border (Altan Khan) were the main reasons why the Ming permitted mutual and visiting trade that would come to exist simultaneously with tribute trade practices. This was the situation throughout the last third of the Ming dynasty: a dualistic seesaw of restrictive regulations in unattended loopholes.

Some final comments on Fujian, as the equivalent for local China in the Manila system. Despite having a rather independent development and distinctive cultural and social forms, Fujian was not a society defined by its avoidance of the state, nor existed any true tendencies for separation.²⁶⁷ Thus categorizing China's southeastern coast as a peripheral or marginal zone is problematic despite limited opportunities for positive interaction between profit and power.²⁶⁸ William Skinner's theory of cycles of opening and closure of Chinese communities and regions is still relevant in this regard.²⁶⁹

Macao, where the Portuguese had established a permanent trading outpost for which they paid an annual rent of 500 *taels*, further impacted economic liberalization tendencies.²⁷⁰ The Portuguese settlement was small: A few hundred Europeans lived among the local Chinese and their slaves. Political and economic elites were heavily supervised by Chinese authorities and trade often hindered, for example by new commercial restrictions in 1631.

Bandits at Sea. A Pirate Reader, ed. C. R Pennell (New York: New York Univ. Press, 2001), 34.

²⁶⁶ Wills, "Maritime Europe," 33. Zhu Wan appointed as "special grand coordinator" with wide authority to wipe out smuggling on the Zhejiang and Fujian coasts; For Zhu Wan see also Deng, "Foreign Staple Trade," 89: who fought against an internationally connected smugglers group including Japanese, Malaccans, Siamese, Portuguese, Africans as well as Chinese.

²⁶⁷ For the attitude of different Chinese stakeholders (policymakers) in this regard see Chang, "Evolution of Chinese Thought", 51-64.

²⁶⁸ Wills, "Maritime China," 204-206.

²⁶⁹ William Skinner, "Chinese peasants and the closed community – an open and shut case," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13, no. 3 (1971): 270–281.

²⁷⁰ Luís Filipe Barreto, "Macao: An Inter-Culture Border in the Ming Period." *Ming Qing Yanjiu* (2000); Clive Willis, ed., *China and Macau. Portuguese Encounters with the World in the Age of the Discoveries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

2.3.5. The 'Foreign' in Ming China

Under the circumstances described above, it is hardly surprising that the Chinese developed an ambivalent attitude towards outsiders. The example of official *wakō*-policies shows that the Ming needed a counterpart to help uphold their hegemony. Hence the image of the 'other' was constructed. 'Barbarian' for people of non-Chinese geographical origin was a flexible concept with numerous nuances. A combination of lax border policies and the sudden arrival of offensive Europeans influenced this pejorative attitude during the sixteenth century. Thus contact with the *folangji* (Franks), as the Portuguese were described in Chinese sources, had an altering effect on the maritime economic balance of coastal regions.²⁷¹

According to the Middle Kingdom-ideology, the world was divided in concentric circles of Barbarian states known as *hua-i* (jap. *kai-i*).²⁷² Beyond doubt, Zheng He's voyages had expanded Chinese awareness of the outside world as books such as *Xiyang chaogong dianlu* by Huang Xingzeng – drafted but not printed in the early 1520s – show. This work is based on travel accounts of Zheng He's companions on the Great Voyages, such as Ma Huan.²⁷³ He described places as far west as Hormuz and traditionally referred to the Indian Ocean as the west and everything east as the "East". Luzón is strikingly not among the countries he described.²⁷⁴ The idea of being in the centre – *zhonghua* – was of utmost relevance for interpreting activities of others.²⁷⁵ During the Ming period a new categorisation came into existence: 'South' or 'South Seas' (*nanyang*) – roughly for what we understand today by the South China Sea and the Southeast Asian archipelago.²⁷⁶ Geoff Wade has studied the impact of rhetoric and images in the elite Chinese representation of the outside world and

²⁷¹ The Dutch were later explicitly called *hung-man-fan*, red-haired Barbarians.

²⁷² For an illustration of the Chinese worldview see Tessa Morris Suzuki, "The Frontiers of Japanese Identity," in *Asian Forms of the Nation*, ed. Stein Tønnesson et al., (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1996), 48. See also Etsuko Hae-Jin Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology in Japanese-Korean Relations: From the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 7-34. She analysed the establishment of Tokugawa sovereignty in foreign relations tackling the dichotomy between practical and theoretical issues.

²⁷³ Huang Xingzeng, *Xiyang Chao Gong Dian Lu* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan, 1982).

Klaus Sonnendecker, "Huang Xingzeng. Verzeichnis der Akteneinträge zu Audienzen und Tributen vom Westlichen Meer" (PhD diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 2005). http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/FUDISS_derivate_000000003095/0_Sonnendecker-gesamt.pdf?hosts= accessed March 29, 2012.

²⁷⁴ Hamashita, "Despotism," 32.

²⁷⁵ Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*, 8-12; 14. "Ethnocentric ideologies manifested in this Chinese world order" [...] "Once tributary relations were established with China, tributary states used the Chinese era names and China offered abundant presents."

²⁷⁶ Hamashita, "Despotism," 31.

has concluded that it displayed a remarkable degree of consistency.²⁷⁷

Despite official information gathering policies, Ming China's dealings with foreigners were mostly a local affair of the ports in coastal provinces such as Quanzhou or Guangzhou. It is noteworthy that knowledge of 'others', particularly the Europeans, was less readily available than was the case in Spain or Japan. Knowledge formation and all dealings with foreigners differed for the simple reason that Chinese contemporaries hardly ever published their experiences abroad.²⁷⁸ Naturally, knowledge circulated differently.

Encounters with Europeans were characterised by ambivalence and recurring restrictions long into the Qing dynasty, who were not as hostile to foreign trade as their predecessors but still deeply mistrustful.²⁷⁹ Despite the opening of Macao to the Portuguese, the *haijing* was still considered an effective measure after the arrival of the Spaniards in Manila, when several Chinese captains refused to take Spanish friars as envoys back to Fujian in the 1570s as a consequence of a strong anti-Christian attitude and severe control of the maritime borders.²⁸⁰ Regarding the perception of 'others' we have to consult Chinese sources of the time. The *Dongxi Yangkao* (*Thoughts about the Eastern and Western Oceans*) – first published in 1617 – is the best available primary source material and particularly interesting when it comes to *folangji* and the people from the South Seas (*yi* or *fan*). A scholar named Zhang Xie (1576-1640) compiled a study of 12 scrolls, giving an insight in the economic situation of overseas countries. One of the strengths of his study lies in his account of the collection of tax revenues from maritime trade. Descriptions of the Philippines play a major role in this work and also give useful accounts on the Chinese settlements there.²⁸¹ The *Dongxi Yangkao* reveals that on the local level information

²⁷⁷ Geoff Wade, "Some Topoi in Southern Border Historiography," in *China and Her Neighbours: Borders, Visions of the Other, Foreign Policy 10th to 19th Century*, ed. Roderich Ptak et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 136-137.

²⁷⁸ See Georg Lehner, *China in European Encyclopedias, 1700-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 73-76 on the formations of knowledge, shows how knowledge was promoted; he distinguishes between hypotext and hypertext in the process of the creation of East-West ideas, explaining that "[...] European accounts on China may be regarded as hypotexts. Texts produced as in the course of perception, learned communication, and further dissemination can be seen as hypertexts."

²⁷⁹ Darwin, *After Tamerlane*, 92. For later and foreign trade ghettos in Macau and Canton and common restriction practices see van Dyke, *Canton Trade*, 6-13.

²⁸⁰ AGI Patronato 1, 1-2, 24: cf. Francisco J. Montalbán, *Das Spanische Patronat und die Eroberung der Philippinen. Nach den Akten des Archives von Indien in Sevilla* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co, 1930), 95.

²⁸¹ The work was republished in 1981. Zhang Xie, *Dongxi Yangkao*, 12 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981). Scroll (*juan*) 4 deals with the Philippines, scroll 5 with Japan, scroll 7 includes the overview of import taxes.

gathering was intensive thanks to the interest in foreign business partners. The *folangji* are featured with animalistic characteristics and the important role of monks is portrayed in the way that rulers seek their advice and shows that they have a lot of power in social and family affairs.²⁸²

2.4. Azuchi-Momoyama / Tokugawa Japan

Japan has long been portrayed as China's little brother, but this image did not exist in early modern Asia and was only popularised in later periods.²⁸³ Looking at early-modern Japan at the beginning of the Manila-trade, we find a country caught up in the processes of early modern state formation. Many scholars doubt whether Tokugawa and even less so Azuchi-Momoyama Japan, can be considered a state and remind us why, for instance an absence of a national judiciary.²⁸⁴ This will have to be put into perspective in the course of this study. Since a consolidation of power was still occurring at the end of the sixteenth century, Japan differed mainly from the two other entities. The period we are looking at is considered as the end of the widespread economic and political transformation processes that ended in a country-wide unification. Many of the accomplishments of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century that will be discussed hereafter can be regarded as the pillars of a pre-modern state.²⁸⁵ What justifies labelling Japan a state is the fact that regional Asian and Western 'states' recognised military rulers as the central authority; in essence the rulers who set the rules for foreign policies as representatives of Japan.

²⁸²<http://www.upf.edu/materials/huma/central/historia/xinamon/docums/seglesdoc/folanji.htm>, accessed May 15, 2011.

²⁸³ George Elison's *Deus Destroyed* has for a long time shaped Western image of Tokugawa Japan. What has more recently criticised in his works is a too western focus on foreign affairs. See also George Elison, *Deus Destroyed. The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1972).

²⁸⁴ See among others Jansen, *Making of Modern Japan*, 60; Lieberman, *Strange Parallels II*, 437: He further pointed out that regional integration and the idea of 'one state' in Japan was even in the mid-Tokugawa area not yet very advanced. The word '*kuni*' still referred less often to Japan as a whole than to one's region.

²⁸⁵ I endorse Michael Lewis on the subject of the Tokugawa central power in foreign affairs, when he notes: "The bakufu usually spoke for an entire "country" in conducting diplomacy in Asia and later with Western nations. Although a few domains at times engaged in "foreign" contacts [...] mainly for trading purposes, this was usually done with bakufu permission, or at least its sufferance. The fact that regional Asian and Western states recognized that the bakufu represented "Japan," and that domain governments acceded, however passively, to Edo's right to set "foreign policy" further attests to the emergence of a new center of unprecedented political authority." Lewis, "Center and Periphery," 431.



Map 3 Azuchi-Momoyama/Tokugawa Japan

2.4.1. The Setting: The Aftermath of Sengoku²⁸⁶

During the Ōnin War (1467-1477) – when two members of the ruling Ashikaga family (Ashikaga shogunate: 1336-1573) struggled over succession to the shogunal title – two different *shugo* (constable *daimyō* or major baron) camps emerged in central Japan. Continuous fierce battles eventually led to a breakdown of both shogunal and imperial power. Many *shugo*, who were traditionally based in Kyoto, left the capital and returned to their provinces where they sought to increase their individual influence based on military strength. As a consequence to the political fragmentation and social unrest, regional lords (*daimyō*) sought power and local organizations grew stronger due to the *bakufu's* and the *shugo's* loss of influence. Economic advancement in certain regions, such as the Kinai area on Western Honshū, was a further by-product of these political shifts that led to a very heterogeneous net of influential stakeholders and supra-regional corporations.²⁸⁷ Buddhist military elites – the Honganji branch of the True Pure Land sect and the Lotus sect achieved great distinction – gained control on the local level.²⁸⁸ The winners of the so-called warring states period were thus local lords and their warrior leagues emerging from *shugo* confrontations.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the archipelago saw some of its bloodiest battles of the pre-modern time, when huge parts of Japan were under control of several so-called *sengoku-daimyō*, who succeeded in subduing warriors into vassals.²⁸⁹ After one hundred years of re-occurring civil wars, the three famous

²⁸⁶ "Warring States Period": period of warfare and social disruption. The main characteristic of the period was local autonomy that enabled local lords to extend their territorial power by vassalage/land tenure. For a history of the political and economic turnover see Nagahara Keiji, Yamamura Kozo, "The Sengoku Daimyo and the Kandaka System," in *Japan before Tokugawa. Political Consolidation and Economic Growth, 1500 to 1650* ed. Nagahara Keiji et al. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981), 27-63.

²⁸⁷ They were often based on commons, bandits and free peasants active in economic or village affairs, as well as urban communities and pirates. For further details see Kristina Kade Troost, "Peasants, Elites, and Villages in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: California, Stanford Univ. Press, 1997), 91-109.

²⁸⁸ Also: 浄土真宗 *jōdo shinshū* = *ikkō*. Asao Naohiro, "The Sixteenth-Century Unification," in *The Cambridge History of Japan. Early Modern Japan*, ed. John W. Hall (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), 40-96. Jurgis Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," in *ibid*, 331.

²⁸⁹ Pierre François Souyri, *The World Turned Upside Down. Medieval Japanese Society* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2001). His work has sometimes been criticised for being too little empirical and providing too little evidence. Oishi Shinzaburo, "The Bakuhan System," in *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan*, ed. Chie Nakane et al., (Tokyo: The Univ. of Tokyo Press,

re-unifiers Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) emerged from this system. Due to clever military strategies and the economic strength of their domains, they eventually overcame power struggles within the military-feudal system.²⁹⁰ The Oda-Toyotomi hegemony – called *shokuhō* (1573-1598) in Japanese – was followed by the formative period of the Tokugawa shogunate and the overthrow of the old principles of rule during the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁹¹ Technically speaking, however, the civil war continued (although with longer periods of peace) until the end of the summer campaign of Osaka in 1615 that would mark the beginning of more than two hundred years of Pax Tokugawa or *tenka taihei*.²⁹²

Oda Nobunaga extended his power from Shiba in Owari province by defeating Imagawa Yoshimoto, lord of the Tōkaidō area, in 1560.²⁹³ After proclaiming his loyalty to the *shōgun*, he moved into Kyoto and built a castle at Azuchi²⁹⁴ in 1576, from where he launched his campaign to unify the country. Until his assassination by a vassal in 1582, he partly accomplished disempowerment of the militant Buddhist *ikkō* forces.²⁹⁵ He was also the first central ruler who got in touch with Europeans and negotiated with the first Christian missionaries – most likely because of his fascination for European weaponry that had proved to be very advantageous for his military campaigns.²⁹⁶ In this context, it bears mentioning that Japan became the only early modern gun-manufacturing country in East Asia. Moreover, the European missionaries served him as a welcome counterbalance to strong Buddhist *ikkō* sects.²⁹⁷

After having unified vast parts of the country, in 1582 he proclaimed his intention

1991), 12. Big players included families such as the Oda, Shimazu, Gohōjō, Uesugi, Takeda Imagawa or Mōri.

²⁹⁰ Oishi, "Bakuhan-System," 6-18.

²⁹¹ Akira Hayami, "Introduction: The Emergence of „Economic Society,“ in *The Economic History of Japan: 1600-1900*, ed. Akira Hayami et al., (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004), 1.

²⁹² Iwahashi, Masaru, "The Institutional Framework of the Tokugawa Economy," in *The Economic History of Japan: 1600-1900* edited by Akira Hayami et al. (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004), 85-104. He argues that Pax Tokugawa was above all an "institutional stability" that encouraged economic growth during the Tokugawa reign.

²⁹³ Owada Tetsuo, *Okehazama no Tatakai: Nobunaga Kaishin no Kishū Sakusen* (Tokyo: Gakken, 1989).

²⁹⁴ Azuchi and Momoyama stand for the castles in which the two unifiers resided.

²⁹⁵ Such as an association on Mt. Hiei or the *ikkō* Sect that had been active throughout the country.

²⁹⁶ For the introduction of rifles and weapons into Japan and Nobunaga's early successes see Paul Varley, "Oda Nobunaga, Guns, and Early Modern Warfare in Japan," in *Writing Histories in Japan: Texts and Their Transformations from Ancient Times through the Meiji Era*, ed. James C. Baxter et al. (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2007), 105-125.

²⁹⁷ Hayami, "Introduction," 2.

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to conquer China. Already in 1567 he had passed an Order for Free Markets and Open Guilds that technically legalised earlier practices promoted by powerful *daimyō*.²⁹⁸ In addition, he introduced social and economic reforms, such as a uniform grain measurement that is considered the first step towards national economic growth.²⁹⁹ The process of standardisation of weights and measures was just one of Nobunaga's accomplishments completed under his successor Toyotomi Hideyoshi (r. 1582-1598). Hideyoshi avenged Nobunaga's murder, and then went on to defeat his opponents: in 1584 Tokugawa Ieyasu who sought to extend his power from the Mikawa³⁰⁰ region and in 1585 Chōsokabe in Shikoku, followed by the Shimazu in Kyushu in 1587 and the Gohōjō of Odawara in 1590.³⁰¹

After Hideyoshi had become *kanpaku*³⁰², or imperial regent, in 1585, he could furthermore count on the patronage of the imperial court. Still acting in the name of the emperor, he became *taikōsama*³⁰³, lord of the lords, because of military strength. Despite missing out on a legitimate position that would have entitled him to act as the central ruler, he issued decrees aimed at changing economic and social policies, as *primo inter pares* in feudal Japan between 1582 and 1598. He established firm control over the country by using the military class and enforced his socio-economic measures by establishing four Neo-Confucian castes (*shi-nō-kō-shō*: samurai, farmer, artisan and merchant) that resulted in a stratified society. Only the first caste was entitled to use weapons, following the so-called sword hunt edict of 1588 in which he prohibited private warfare.³⁰⁴ When Toyotomi Hideyoshi passed away in 1598, his life-long opponent, Tokugawa Ieyasu, another vassal of Oda Nobunaga, seized the opportunity to rise to power by succeeding Hideyoshi as central ruler over vast parts of the unified Japan.³⁰⁵

²⁹⁸ *rakuichi rakuza rei*. Iwahashi, "The Institutional Framework," 92.

²⁹⁹ Shinzaburō, "The Bakuhan-System," 13.

³⁰⁰ Modern Aichi Prefecture.

³⁰¹ For a more detailed description of Hideyoshi's battles for absolute power see Asao Naohiro, "The Sixteenth Century Unification," 53-55, Asao Naohiro, *Toyotomi, Tokugawa no seifu kenryoku* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2004).

³⁰² 関白 chief advisor to the Emperor. Hideyoshi ascended to this major military office in the year 1585.

³⁰³ 太閤 respectful title for a retired *kanpaku* (imperial regent), a title Hideyoshi used after 1592.

³⁰⁴ *umi no katanagari* (disarming as measure to separate the classes) See Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 2.

³⁰⁵ John W. Hall, "The Bakuhan System," in *The Cambridge History of Japan, Early Modern Japan*, ed. John W. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), 130-145.

2.4.2. Pursuing Sovereignty at Home: Hideyoshi vs. Ieyasu

The intensity of political conflicts that dominated the political scenery in Japan during this period was characterised by the competition between centralising efforts and local lords' striving for autonomy. The Toyotomi-Tokugawa regimes managed to eliminate other regional centres. Despite being political opponents, Hideyoshi's and Ieyasu's politics reveal astonishing parallels. Just to outline a few examples: they both invested actively in helping Japan become a maritime power, they aimed to centralise foreign trade by introducing the licence system, and in foreign affairs they gradually withdrew from China. Hideyoshi was the first to institutionalise foreign affairs by distributing licences for maritime passages and trade. This exemplifies Hideyoshi's global orientation with regard to trade and institutionalisation of maritime trade prior to Ieyasu's rule. Several of Hideyoshi's ambitious state-building projects failed and were eventually realised by the Tokugawa.

Centralisation was the core element of this newly established pre-modern Japanese political system. Tokugawa Ieyasu enforced law and order throughout the country and established the political supremacy of the *bakufu* based on the *bakuhan*-system.³⁰⁶ Accordingly, individual rights and political freedom of the *daimyō* had to be curtailed in favour of the predominance of the *shōgun*. In 1603, three years after the Battle of Sekigahara, Tokugawa Ieyasu was installed *sei'i taishōgun*³⁰⁷ by the *tennō*. This act laid the foundation for the political framework that would back his power. Thereafter, Edo was chosen as the *bakufu*'s residence and became the new capital of Japan. In a further step, Ieyasu turned the *bakufu* into a hereditary office for his family by passing the title of shogun to his third son Hidetada after only two years in office.³⁰⁸ However, Ieyasu continued to pull the strings as *ōgosho*³⁰⁹, or retired shogun, who resided in Sunpu,³¹⁰ in today's Shizuoka prefecture.

The Tokugawa-regime – often labelled as a form of 'centralised feudalism'³¹¹ –

³⁰⁶ Oishi, "Bakuhan-System", 22.

³⁰⁷ Barbarian subduing general.

³⁰⁸ The system of primogeniture was established to avoid future dynastic conflicts. John W. Hall "The Bakuhan System," in *Warrior Rule in Japan*, ed. Marius Jansen (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), 164-165.

³⁰⁹ 大御所

³¹⁰ 駿府

³¹¹ The concept has been heavily debated among scholars and is no longer considered state-of-the-art. Hall, "Bakuhan System," 128-182. He argued that Japan was not a feudal system. However given that domestic political structures of Tokugawa Japan play no particular role here, I use it for pragmatic

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would become the pillar of the Japanese pre-modern state for the next two hundred and fifty years. One should not describe the political structures of the *bakuhan* as static 'Tokugawa absolutism'. One of the things it accomplished was to re-organise political administration and economic centralisation by introducing the all-encompassing character of *tenka kokka*, a countrywide economy (or all-state-economy) by the Tokugawa rulers.³¹² The *bakuhan seikokka* is defined by a great deal of political institutions and laws that became the theoretical framework of Tokugawa state formation.³¹³

The newly founded shogunate took several steps in order to centralise power. Restricting power on a local level was naturally the most important one: local lords (*daimyō*) were no longer allowed to deal with foreign powers, nor could they build new fortifications or undertake military action without authorisation. Instead, they had to commit their 'political resources' to the *bakufu* by supporting construction projects or submitting information.³¹⁴ Lieberman pointed out that "most daimyo realised early on that the new system enhanced their political and economic security, while allowing them to retain considerable autonomy."³¹⁵

Advocating a strong centralisation of the Edo shogunate, John Whitney Hall has stressed the representation of the shogunate as a clear evidence for national entity in- and outside Japan, which established uniformity in social, economic and religious matters under Tokugawa rule. In contrast, recent Japanese historical research has seen a growing number of studies challenging an over-emphasis of a centralised Tokugawa Japan by revealing independent developments in local domains and

reasons. For a discussion of the topic and more accurate concepts I refer to Lewis, "Center and Periphery", 431-432. See also Ikegami Eiko. *The Taming of the Samurai. Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1995); Hayami, "Introduction," 18; 22; 31: describes how this error occurred. It relates back to a popular Japanese history book of the Rai San'yo who argued in the early nineteenth century that the traditional Japanese system was that of *hōken* polity. During the Meiji restoration the term *hōken* was translated to 'feudalism' by Western historians. Hayami Akira heavily criticises the use of feudalism to describe the Japanese rural order. For the Tokugawa period, however, he stresses the parallels with Europe listing crucial factors for a feudal society: powerful lords ruled over territorial domains; military and agricultural classes not yet separated. See also Ching, "Japan in Asia," 432.

³¹² Oishi summarises the key elements of the *bakuhan*-system, the Tokugawa polity that was firmly consolidated by Tokugawa Iemitsu, as follows: "manipulating daimyo, managing the imperial court, controlling foreign relations, and sacralizing the Tokugawa legacy." Oishi, "Bakuhan-System," 22; Sakudo Yotaro, "Search of the Origins of the Modern Japanese Economy," in *Japanese Civilization in the Modern World. Economic Institutions*, ed. Mark W. Fruin et al., (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1989), 40.

³¹³ Fukaya, *Bakuhansai Kokka no Seiritsu*, 2-5.

³¹⁴ Hall, "Bakuhan system," 147.

³¹⁵ Lieberman, *Strange Parallels II*, 442.

shedding light on questions of identities within realms.³¹⁶ Although most of these studies focus on later periods, their claims of decentralisation for the eighteenth century implies that centralism and unifying transformation will have had their limits in earlier periods.³¹⁷

In short, the main factors of the Edo reign can be summarised as the *kokudaka* system (introduced by Hideyoshi) of land measurement and fiscal reforms of the 1590s (tax farming),³¹⁸ the separation of warriors and peasants through the *mibun*-system, the building of castle towns, minting of a national currency and the systematising of foreign trade and foreign affairs. Further intrinsic principles of the *bakuhan* order included the alternate attendance (*sankin kōtai*)³¹⁹ of 280 *daimyō* after 1634 – it required every *daimyō* to stay in Edo for half a year and to leave his family as hostage behind for the rest of the year.³²⁰ The last measure in particular boosted economic, institutional and intellectual growth, as well as the urban development of castle towns. The process was furthermore backed by Confucian principles of morality.

For the years prior to 1615, we must not forget that the Tokugawa regime was shadowed by the presence of Hideyoshi's underage son and his mother, who continued to claim their right to govern the country, and were therefore kept prisoners in the Castle of Osaka. Although the Tokugawa *bakufu* by then had gained a political foothold over large parts of the country and could therefore rely on a web of loyal vassals, their manoeuvring power remained limited to a certain extent. This changed with the defeat of Hideyoshi's loyal party in the previous mentioned Battle of Osaka of 1614/15.³²¹

Some may wonder where the *tennō* was in all this. In fact, the Japanese emperor was a crucial factor for improving Ieyasu's power base inside the country. Marius

³¹⁶ See among others Mark Ravina, *Land and Lordship in Early Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1999).

³¹⁷ For institutional diffusion of power during the Tokugawa period see also Victor Lieberman, "Introduction" to *Beyond Binary Histories. Re-Imagining Eurasia to c. 1830*, ed. Victor Lieberman (Ann Arbor: The Univ. of Michigan Press, 1999), 4.

³¹⁸ On how the war and innovations in the tax system transformed the Japanese state in that period see Nakabayashi, Masaki. "The Rise of a Japanese Fiscal State," in *The Rise of Fiscal States: A Global History, 1500-1914*, ed. Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012), 380-381.

³¹⁹ 参勤交代

³²⁰ Sakudo, "Origins," 33-34.

³²¹ For a comprehensive account on the establishment of the Tokugawa reign and the conflicts with Hideyoshi's party see Hall, "Bakuhan system," 149-61.

Jansen has pointed out the importance of keeping the court in Kyoto out of all military affairs, which he accomplished by being accepted to the independent position of *shōgun* of which Hideyoshi as *kanpaku* – a position the regent of the emperor could only dream of.³²² After the Battle of Sekigahara, Ieyasu in theory administered the *tenryō* on behalf of the emperor, which covered about one fifth of Japan including the major cities.³²³ In 1613, relations with the court were regulated by a set of decrees including instructions for court officials, the restriction of the emperor's military involvement as well as the improvement of titles and ranks.³²⁴ The emperor was widely deprived of his political powers and his duties were restricted to symbolic tasks such as assigning era names (*nengō*) and cultural obligations in the realm of Japanese fine arts. Japanese historians have argued that pre-modern Japan was politically characterised by a separation of authority and power between the *tennō* and the ruling warrior class.³²⁵

2.4.3. Repositioning in an Emerging Global World

Japan's economic development was encouraged by both its international standing and its objectives for Asia. Against this background, the country's active and passive role in the Ming tally system are of major interest and provide us with important indications for Japanese contributions to the Manila market.

Tributary relations were unstable and Japan's loyalty to China shrank in line with China's growing suspicion during the sixteenth century. In the 1540s, Chinese policies towards maritime relations with the Japanese became closely linked to coastal defence, controlling people that were considered wicked: the infamous *wakō*.³²⁶ Tensions rose because, as indicated earlier, the coastal authorities had for too long turned a blind eye to them and the Ming Court thereafter suspended official relations with Japan.

³²² Jansen, *Making*, 35.

³²³ David Flath, *The Japanese Economy* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 23.

³²⁴ Jansen, *Making*, 36.

³²⁵ Takagi Shōsaku, *Shōgunkenryōku to Tennō. Hideyoshi, Ieyasu no Shinkokuken* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2003).

³²⁶ Csaba Oláh, "Troubles during trading activities between Japanese and Chinese in the Ming period," in *The East Asian "Mediterranean" Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 317-330. Mizuno Norihito, "China in Tokugawa Foreign Relations: The Tokugawa Bakufu's Perception of and Attitudes toward Ming-Qing China" (PhD Diss., Ohio States Univ., 2004), Introduction.

After Portuguese merchants had landed in Tanegashima in 1542/43 – an island in Southern Kyushu, where an annual festival still reminds of the meaningful encounter with the Europeans and the peculiar shooting technology they had on board – the first ambitious Jesuit missionaries of the *Estado da India*, including the Basque Francis Xavier (born Francisco de Jasso y Azpilicueta; 1506-1552) followed in the year 1549 onboard a Chinese junk.³²⁷ After initial setbacks, it took the dedicated missionaries only a few years to establish on the archipelago.³²⁸ They benefited not only from the political instability and support from Kyushu *daimyō*, who were disintegrating during the entire ‘Warring States’ period, but also from their close ties to merchants in other Portuguese outposts. Trade with foreign nations had become very appealing to local lords who reigned over areas that had traditionally been linked to maritime trade.³²⁹ Under European participation, *namban*³³⁰ trade emerged. Furthermore important bases and ports for *wakō* operations also came to play a crucial role in subsequent peaceful trade and we therefore may assume a certain continuity of the *wakō*-trade due to systematic support by local lords. The flexibility of the network allowed participation in peaceful trade operations. Thus it cannot be stressed enough that their maritime trade was a most common pattern of private foreign trade and not all private traders from Kyushu and Fujian were malicious pirates³³¹, illustrated for instance, by the fact that Francisco Xavier and his fellow Jesuits reached Japan on board *wakō* vessels.³³²

Within a few years, missionary bases emerged in Yamaguchi, Kyoto (Miaco to the European friars) and Funai before the fathers of the Society spread all over Kyushu

³²⁷ For a synthesis of their spiritual work in Japan see Takizawa Osami, *La Historia de los Jesuitas en Japón Sigls XVI-XVII* (Alcalá: Universidad de Alcalá, 2010).

³²⁸ Shimizu Yūko has just recently shown how large the number of baptised Christians was already during the 1590s. Shimizu Yūko, "16seiki ni okeru kirishitan fukyō no jittai - senreishasū no kentō wo tōshite" *The Bulletin of Meijigakuin University Institute for Christian Studies* 43 (2010).

³²⁹ The area stretches from Hakata in Kyushu to and Korea. The abundance of Ming porcelain on tiny islands such as the Goto archipelago is a telling indication for the thriving exchange.

³³⁰ 南蛮. The word stands for Southern Barbarian, referring to the people coming from the Southern Seas. The term was apparently only used for the trade that emerged after the arrival of the Iberians at the midst of the sixteenth century and not for earlier exchange Kyushu and Southeast Asian traders via the Ryukyu network.

³³¹ For the context of pirates' global economic importance see John L. Anderson, "Pirates and World History. An Economic Perspective on Maritime Predation, in *Bandits at Sea. A Pirate's Reader* ed. C. R. Pennell (New York: New York Univ. Press, 2001), 107-124.

³³² Already Charles R. Boxer observed that *wakō* were not just pirates but often operated as free merchants Boxer, *South China*, xl; For a good overview of the heterogeneous *wakō* phenomenon see Jurgis Elisonis, "Christianity and the Daimyo," in *The Cambridge History of Japan. Early Modern Japan*, vol. 4, ed. John W. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), 321-326.

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where several *daimyō* were baptised. This reflects the Jesuits' strategy to seek converts in the ruling class and that their secret hope *cuius regio, eius religio* could become reality in Japan as well. With the prospects of regular access to trade with China, missionaries from Goa and Macao could soon rely on the support of the lords from Kyushu. Rivalry among these local lords benefited the Europeans in the early decade. In 1580, the Jesuits received Nagasaki as permanent base from Ōmura Sumitada, the first noble convert to Christianity in 1562 or 1563 who was known as Dom Bartolomeu in European sources.³³³ Thus, as a domain of the Society of Jesus, Nagasaki enjoyed a special status from its earliest history as an international port and would remain the main foreign gateway to Japan until the nineteenth century. In 1578, the 'king' of Bungo, Ōtomo Yoshishige, followed as convert. To reap the benefits of the Macao-trade with the Portuguese, the *daimyō* of Arima, Harunobu, also became a baptised Christian.³³⁴

Crucial aspects of the dual nature of the local-versus-central dynamic in economic and infrastructure development were rooted far back in the history of the warring states period when local lords managed to monopolise resources in close collaboration with peasants and merchants. This same environment attracted *daimyō* to foreign trade as a welcome source of revenue. Supply and demand was usually provided within the realm, thus the profits were invested on the local level.³³⁵

Following Hideyoshi's major battle against the Shimazu, one of the powerful lords, in 1587 – a battle that led to an eventual submission of Kyushu – the self-declared central ruler would become more closely involved with European issues. Ironically, Hideyoshi granted free trade to Portuguese merchants before he released a ban on Christianity and proposed the friars' expulsion – known as *patenren tsuihō*³³⁶ – in July of the same year.³³⁷ Given the chronology, the motivation behind these acts was first and foremost politically motivated and only partially anti-Christian.

³³³ Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo," 321-326.

³³⁴ On Kyushu *daimyōs'* involvement with Jesuit missionaries see Diego Pacheco, S.J., "The Europeans in Japan, 1543-1640" in *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan* edited by Michael Cooper, S.J. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1971): 52-55. See also Peter Kirsch, *Die Barbaren aus dem Süden. Europäer im alten Japan 1543 bis 1854* (Wien: Mandelbaum, 2004), 53-60.

³³⁵ Lieberman, *Strange Parallels* II, 423; see also Matao Miyamoto, "Quantitative Aspects of the Tokugawa Economy" in *The Economic History of Japan: 1600-1900, vol. 1*, ed. Akira Hayami et al., (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2004), 40.

³³⁶ 伴天連追放

³³⁷ Anti-Christian laws: バテレン追放令 *bateren tsuihō rei*, July 24, 1587 respectively June 19 (the Japanese original in the Matura *monjo* is dated with July) See Rekishigaku Kenkyū kaihen, *Nihonshi shiryō. Kinsei* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 2006), 43.

After becoming aware of the power of Christianity to interfere with his political agenda, he ordered all padres to leave the country. However, foreign merchants were not affected and the ban never materialised since most Jesuits found a way to remain in Japan.

Following the incorporation of Kyushu into one centralised Japan and the commanded expulsion of the Jesuits, Nagasaki was placed under direct control of the Toyotomi administration (*chokkatsu ryō*³³⁸ – a direct landholding to Hideyoshi that passed to the Tokugawa *bakufu* after 1600). The city would remain to be an important setting for the growing overseas trade. In its totality, Hideyoshi's progressive foreign relations have often been considered a manifestation of his aspiration to challenge China's hegemony in Asia.³³⁹ The invasion to Korea that will later be examined in detail backs that hypothesis.

2.4.4. A Japanese Political Economy: The Tokugawa *bakufu seiken*

The Tokugawa's political and economic power became based on the Kanto-Kyoto axis. Economic consolidation on the archipelago helped to achieve such a favourable position. By 1600, after having seized the lands of 91 *daimyō* who had opposed him, Ieyasu and his clan controlled over a quarter of Japan's agricultural production.³⁴⁰ Mining was another source for shogunal revenue. Bullion mines throughout Japan, confiscated by Hideyoshi as part of his economic consolidation program, were increasingly exploited under the Tokugawa. In the 1610s, they had access to fifty gold mines and thirty silver mines, of which the mines of Iwami, Ikuno and Sado were the most productive.³⁴¹ The Tokugawa gained control over the silver and copper that was refined in Nagasaki.³⁴² These commodities would help them to become an important player on the Asian market at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Japan's significant role in Asia, however, was not just a self-imposed active

³³⁸ 直轄領

³³⁹ Cohen, *East Asia at the Center*, 183-215.

³⁴⁰ Edwin O. Reischauer and A. M. Craig, *Japan: Tradition and Transformation* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1973) 81-85.

³⁴¹ Conrad Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993), 69.

³⁴² The export of huge amounts of Japanese silver led to bottlenecks in domestic supply and eventually to the export prohibition of 1688. Thus, in the eighteenth century copper export increased. For the Dutch participation in this lucrative commerce see: Shimada Ryuto, "The Intra-Asian Trade in Japanese Copper by the Dutch East India Company during the Eighteenth Century" (PhD diss., Leiden Univ., 2005). For economic development see Minamoto, "Quantitative Aspects," 37.

one.

During Azuchi-Momoyama/early Tokugawa reign, Japan found several ways to trade with China without relenting to Chinese claims for supremacy. The regular voyages of Chinese, Europeans and Siamese, as well as other trading parties to Japan, shows that Japan remained a "significant strategic fact in East Asia" after 1640.³⁴³ Later on in the seventeenth century, the *bakufu* started to introduce several import-substitution programmes, the greatest of all being to encourage domestic sericulture aiming at ending Japan's dependence on Chinese imports in that field.³⁴⁴ In 1668 the export of silver was eventually prohibited by the *bakufu*.³⁴⁵

The Tokugawa were initially interested in many forms of maritime trade.³⁴⁶ The most prominent measure taken by the Tokugawa to centralise foreign trade was the licensed trade based on *shuinjō* or vermilion seal passes holding the seal of the Tokugawa *bakufu*, a system first tested by Hideyoshi.³⁴⁷ During the active years between 1604 and 1635, a total number of 356 licences was issued to Japanese, Chinese and European traders and captains for trade between Japan and Southeast Asian destinations.³⁴⁸ In Ieyasu's time, *shuinjō* were accessible to some *daimyō*, to private individuals and houses, and to temples.

A further important introduction was the *ito wappu*, or yarn allotment that is particularly significant for our purpose since it affected the European powers in Asia. In 1603/4 the Tokugawa demanded the leading merchants of Kyoto, Sakai and Nagasaki form a thread guild. A few years later, Osaka and Edo traders were allowed to join. These Japanese silk dealers bought silk exclusively from Portuguese or Chinese brokers in bulk for a previously fixed price before distributing it to local merchants. This system hindered the Europeans from bargaining and having too

³⁴³ Ronald Toby, *State*, 5.

³⁴⁴ Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, 39.

³⁴⁵ Kozo Yamamura, Tetsuo Kamiki, "Silver Mines and Sung Coins: A Monetary History of Medieval and Modern Japan in International Perspective," in *Precious Metals*, ed. John E. Richards (Durham, N.C.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), 329-362.

³⁴⁶ Hoping the lay brothers would increase the direct involvement of the Japanese in the market economy of the Manila system, Ieyasu was at first even open to mendicant missionaries.

³⁴⁷ Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 2-5; Gono Takashi, "Betonamu kirisutokyō to nihon. 16, 17 seiki Cochina ni okeru kirisutokyō senkyō wo chūshin ni shite" *Bulletin of Cultural Research Institute, Aoyama Gakuin Women's Junior College* 16 (2008): 45. Japanese researches have furthermore found a record in the seventeenth-century drafted sixteen-volume *Nagasaki shi* (長崎志) that indicates that already Toyotomi Hideyoshi attempted to control foreign trade by distributing licenses to selected traders from Nagasaki, Kyoto and Sakai.

³⁴⁸ Gono, "Betonamu," 46.

close ties with the local people.³⁴⁹ Hence due to this type of wholesale bargaining a new class of brokers emerged, acting as powerful merchants and middlemen for the Europeans.

2.4.5. Maritime Issues: From *Wakō* Enterprises to *Shuinsen* Trade

Despite its island character and geographical location that both had the potential to help encourage foreign exchange, Japan was a late bloomer in maritime development. Indeed, some very early seafarers possessed a solid knowledge of navigational winds and the Chinese compass was widely used. Yet, it would be wrong to speak of a control of the surrounding waters, neither in navigational nor in political terms. Consequently, offshore seafaring remained unpopular until the sixteenth century. Prior to that Japan could also be considered inward-oriented. The ruling classes showed little interest in investing in their people's presence on the seas or in foreign countries.

For the sake of understanding ocean space as linking element in early modern global trade, we have to examine the characteristic elements for pre-modern Japan's maritime integration: the notorious *wakō*. Japan had always had access to the geographically close Yellow and East China Seas; the entire area hosted operations of pirates and adventurers, or "influential non-state actors" as David Kang has termed them.³⁵⁰ Japanese land-based writers referred to seafarers "whom they perceived as living outside the confines of land-based institutional frameworks" as *kaizoku* (sea-based outlaws).³⁵¹ When different groups of clandestine private traders, acting on their own behalf, as well as adventures supported by local magnates, led into a flourishing contraband island trade in the fifteenth century, the Japanese participation in maritime space around islands in the East China Sea as part of the *wakō* movement soon re-emerged. Japanese historiography distinguishes in general between an early and a late wave of *wakō* activity. The latter reached its peak in the South China Sea when unemployed *bushi* who were well trained in the use of European firearms and experienced at the sea after Nobunga's success in maritime

³⁴⁹ On that see Atsushi, Kobata, "Edo Shoki ni Okeru Kaigai Kōeki," in *Nihon Keizai no Kenkyū*, ed. Kobata Atsushi (Tokyo: Shibunkan 1978); *Nihonshi shiryō*, 130.

³⁵⁰ Kang, *East Asia*, 27.

³⁵¹ Peter D. Shapinsky, "With the Sea as Their Domain: Pirates and Maritime Lordship in Medieval Japan" in *Seascapes, Littoral Cultures and Trans-Oceanic Exchanges*, ed. Jerry Bentley et al., (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 2007), 222.

battles. At the end of the military power struggles a new wave of *wakō*-activity emerged.³⁵² We may therefore say that these groups show overlapping features with the Spanish *hidalgos*: They were characterised by a high level of independence and aggressive expansion, intervention, exploration and self-interested trade.

On a central level, Hideyoshi passed a law against *privateering* in the South China Sea in 1588. Succeeding Tokugawa rulers re-enforced similar laws after rising to power in 1600. The most prominent measure taken in order to control foreign trade was the introduction of passes showing the ruler's vermilion seal – the *shuinjō* mentioned above. Only merchant ships equipped with a seal from the central *bakufu*-government were allowed to sell their goods in Asian ports. This was not only a means to guarantee the ruling nobility a share in lucrative foreign transactions but also to protect Japanese maritime trade against unfair competition on the Sea. 43 passes in total were issued for Chinese captains, 38 for Europeans and 259 for Japanese who carried an average crew (including merchants) of 225 men.³⁵³ It is important to consider that trade activities between Japan and the Europeans would increase after 1615. However, this was at a time when the role of the Spanish had already become peripheral. Consequently, Spanish visits to Japan remained sporadic, while the Portuguese, English and Dutch established permanent trading factories on Hirado.

2.4.6. The 'Foreign' in Early Modern Japan

Having looked at early modern Japan's political economy, we should now focus on the question of how the Japanese society and policy-makers perceived the outside world. For a country undergoing major political transformation, the view of the outside world had major implications for political identity-building. Political shifts inside Japan occurred at the same time as the maritime setting in the macro-region underwent major changes and an "international setting" developed in East Asia, as Hayami Akira had phrased it.³⁵⁴ Thus it will be reasonable to ask whether a correlation between these two existed.

³⁵² Hashimoto Yu and Yonetani Hitoshi, "Wakōron No Yukue" in *Introduction to Asia's Maritime Historical Research*, ed. Shiroki Momoki (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008), 80-90; Tanaka Takeo, *Wakō to Kangō Bōeki* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1963).

³⁵³ Jansen, *Making*, 19.

³⁵⁴ See Hayami, "Introduction", 1-35.

Geographical knowledge in Japan broadened after first contacts with the Europeans, much later than it did in China. However, while China's role in cultural policies would diminish, it gained in geopolitical relevance. Hideyoshi, having access to previously gathered information, was well aware of the size of China and its maritime affairs. He also understood that *wakō* were in regular contact with Chinese merchants in Sakai and Hyogo.³⁵⁵

A systematic collection of information on other parts of the world only began under the Tokugawa. Of course, Europeans were recognised as coming from a very distant place, despite being denominated as *nambanjin*, and both central rulers as well as local *daimyō* were curious to find out more of about their negotiating partners who came on 'black ships'.³⁵⁶ However, few investigations were dedicated to the countries of origin of these people. As a result, documents on the relations with and about the Europeans are comparatively scarce in Japan. Nevertheless these encounters made a strong impression, influencing debates of unification, national character, centrality and the pre-modern state, as Lieberman concluded.³⁵⁷

The political idea of one Japanese culture thus became a unifying element and a factor to legitimise power. The entire period of encounters with the West paved the way for early modern Japanese state formation and nation building that reflect in nationalistic accounts on the outside world. In terms of identity formation, the Land of the Gods-Writ (*shinkoku*) and the attempt to create a model of Japonocentrism or "Japanese style Middle Kingdom" is the most prominent case.³⁵⁸

Examining the image of foreigners in Azuchi Momoyama and Tokugawa Japan, Ronald Toby argues that during the seventeenth century East Asians were deliberately depicted as foreigners and considered exotic. However, this change in the perception was strongly influenced by encounters with the *namban* and also enforced after *kaikin* laws. Before the Japanese met the Europeans, their worldview was based on a three-countries-theory including *waga chō*, *shintan* (or *tō*) for China,

³⁵⁵ Adriana Boscaro, *101 Letters of Hideyoshi: The Private Correspondence of Toyotomi Hideyoshi* (Tokyo: Sophia Univ., 1975), 45.

³⁵⁶ For the Manila Galleon we have an example of autumn 1601. Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 179/567. The first *kurofune* to enter Japan was a Portuguese *nau* that anchored in Nagasaki in 1571. Thus the beginning of the Macau–Nagasaki trade is dated with that year. Originally they were even believed to come from India, as Toby has shown in a fascinating article. Toby, "Indianness", 326.

³⁵⁷ Lieberman, *Strange Parallels II*, 436-437.

³⁵⁸ For *shinkoku* see also Souyri, *World Turned Upside Down*, 7, 135-136; Conrad Totman, *Japan before Perry: A Short History* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press 1982), 104-105; Mark J. Hudson, *Ruins of Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Japanese Islands* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1999), 236-242.

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Korea and Southeast Asia and *tenjiku* for India.³⁵⁹ The first Europeans were initially pressed into known worldviews categories and labelled *tenjiku*.³⁶⁰ Gradually, the Japanese worldview changed from the 'three-countries' to a 'many countries' view.³⁶¹

Tokugawa Japan actively collected information on the outside world, especially about potential diplomatic partners. In addition, government officials such as Ishin Sūden kept accounts of communication with foreign countries and their people. The *Ikoku Nikki* and the *Tsūkō Ichiran* are the most prominent compilations from that time.

Last but not least, a few words shall be said about the decades after Tokugawa Japan's openness to the outside world. When we think of early modern Japanese foreign affairs and the treatment of strangers, we soon find ourselves confronted with the concept of 'national seclusion' or literally 'closed country': *sakoku*. The term refers to a set of rules and regulations guiding Japan's foreign relations between 1639 and 1853. They included the ban on leaving Japan, marriage of Japanese with foreigners, prohibition of Christianity and end of commercial interaction with Portugal, Spain and England. Japanese historians suggest replacing the controversial and heavily debated term with the more correct *kaikin* that stands for 'maritime prohibition'.³⁶² The respected American scholar Ronald Toby criticised with good reason the contention that scholars had overlooked Tokugawa Japan's relations with Asia by overrating the rupture in Japan's relations with European powers after 1639.³⁶³ Besides, economic and cultural exchange with the outside world was granted by the establishment of the famous Dutch outpost Dejima, a man-made island off the port of Nagasaki, initially built for the Portuguese in 1636, as well as by

³⁵⁹ 我朝、震旦、天竺. See Ronald P. Toby *'Sakoku' to Iu Gaiko* (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 2008), 184-210. In this book Toby based his arguments on the analysis of early modern illustrations of foreigner. This paragraph is largely based on Toby's book.

³⁶⁰ Toby, *Sakoku*, 187-191.

³⁶¹ Arano Yasunori, "Kinsei Nihon ni Okeru 'Higashi Ajia' no 'Hakken'," in *"Higashi Ajia" no Jidaisei*, ed. Arano Yasunori et al., (Hiroshima: Keisuisha, 2005), 21-52; Miyoshi Tadayoshi, "'Sankoku' kara 'Gotairiku' e." In *Kinseiteki Sekai No Seijuku*, ed. Arano Yasunori et al., (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010), 172-177.

³⁶² Thanks to the works of Arano Yasunori, Ronald Toby and others it is nowadays widely accepted amongst historians of early modern Japan that the *bakufu's* foreign restriction policies did not aim at a definite closure of the country. Mizuno Norihito brilliantly summarised the different scholarly opinions on Tokugawa Japan's state diplomacy. See Mizuno, "China in Tokugawa Foreign Relations," 109-110; Arano, "Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia". Seventeenth century propaganda oscillated between *jōi* ('expel the barbarians') to *kaikoku* ('open country'). Yamamoto, Hirofumi, "'Sakoku' to Iu Engan Bōbi Taisei," in *Sakoku o Minaosu*, ed. Yōko Nagazumi (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1999): 20-35. He argued that *sakoku* did not mean a total ignorance of the outside world.

³⁶³ Toby, *State*, 4.

regular visits of Chinese, Koreans and Ryukyuan to Tokugawa Japan – although on strict terms of the *bakufu*. However, not only the Dutch and Chinese in Nagasaki contributed to commercial and information exchange, but also the different Southeast Asian trading partners that continued to send ships to Japan far into the eighteenth century, all above Siam.³⁶⁴ However, exchange was strictly controlled and limited to specific ports of entry – similar to the Chinese model from Satsuma as gate for Ryukyu merchants, to Matsumae for trade with the Ainu of Hokkaido.³⁶⁵ Moreover, the question whether Ryukyuan can be considered 'foreign' to Japan – or whether their “foreignness” was created in need of tributary nations – has fascinated generations of Japanese historians.³⁶⁶

2.5. Outlook

A few concluding remarks on the ideological background of the three central states shall help us contextualising encounters on a political level in Manila; encounters that shaped the biased discourses on mutual superiority. Let's start the other way round: Japan was rooted in a trinity of moral Confucianism, mythical Shinto and metaphysical Buddhism as functionalist units of deities and the tradition of *tennō*. China's ideological framework was also rooted in a trinity: Buddhism, local traditions and strong Confucian concepts shaped its famous Son of Heaven dogma. Early seventeenth-century Spain was less complex in its religious devotion as the only accepted belief was Roman Catholic faith. Spanish rulers were not just strong believers in the Bible but also had a strong desire to spread the word of their God. The Spanish king therefore was the patron of Catholicism, holding close political and spiritual ties to Rome. Thus religion was also a political tool that helped to organise the state. Despite rational governing concepts, rulers of all three states claimed to

³⁶⁴ Iwao Seiichi, “Kinsei Nagasaki bōeki ni kansuru suryōteki kōsatsu,” *Shigaku zasshi* 62 (1953). He provides charts showing that between 1600 and 1660 about one third of the “Chinese” ships coming to Nagasaki were from Southeast Asia. Between 1660 and 1680 only one fourth came from the Chinese mainland.

³⁶⁵ In terms of these restrictive policies it will be interesting to note that they were tightened up in 1715 when trade with the Chinese and Dutch (to two vessels from Batavia annually) was by a catalogue of laws known as *shōtoku shinrei*; thus the initial “maritime ban” had a comparatively flexible character. A period of conservative economic thought promoted by the famous bullionist advisor Arai Hakuseki who warned of the danger of exporting precious metals, followed.

³⁶⁶ For the controversial case of the Kingdom of Ryukyu see Michael Lewis, “Center and Periphery”, 424-443; Toby, *State*, 48; See also Watanabe Miki, “Ryūkūjin ja wajinka - jyūryoku sekimatsu no chūgoku tōnan gaikan ni okeru 'Ryūkūjin' zō” *Shigakuzasshi* (2007). The article discusses the sensitive issue of confusing Japanese with Ryukyuan for Ming officials.

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have special relations with a divine power; for matters of legitimization and aspired increase of power with spiritual support which points to the importance of knowledge and education. In Chapter 5 we will see how religion and philosophy were abused to satisfy imperial designs.

In the realm of hegemony we have seen a number of similarities, as well as differences. Understood as the central government's sphere of influence, it involved political economy, information gathering and the power to mobilise people according to the ruler's will. This leads us to the famous concept of the fiscal-military state. In this regard, Spain's active encouragement for expansion and her power to move people differs particularly from the other two entities.³⁶⁷ Japan's strikingly similar tendencies will be studied in detail elsewhere in this book.

We have already hinted at the fact that all three pre-modern states had an interest in controlling foreign trade, either for the sake of enriching their treasury or for the sake of guarding their territorial borders. All forms of state intervention should be understood as regulating and controlling measures, not as restrictions or total prohibitions. Despite striking cultural differences, they shared various political features. One of them was the policy of creating foreign enclaves. Dilao and the Parian outside the city walls of Manila, sealed off Deshima in the Bay of Nagasaki and sealed off Macao offshore Guangdong province, were created for a similar reason: to control foreign traders and make ensure that they would not pose a threat to the domestic social order. These pre-modern states tried to avoid liberal interactions through communications with other countries but the potential economic advantages were just too big to fully forgo them.

In the context of trying to understand the Manila system, as a new zone of globalisation, it will also be crucial to note that similar policies were common in the region: the idea that foreign policies were the exclusive matter of the central authorities. Foreign policies were marked by exclusiveness, seclusion, limitation, bans and restriction – whilst exceptions existed in all three states and in particular Spanish monarchs guaranteed commercial opportunities to their subjects. With regard to the role of the governments, we have asked what the states did for their merchants and whether the central government should be considered an

³⁶⁷ I refer to the 2012 editorship of Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, Patrick K. O'Brien and Francisco Comín Comín, ed. *The Rise of Fiscal States: A Global History, 1500-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012).

encouragement or an obstacle to successful connections. Here, we may simply conclude that major differences in the decrees of sovereignty exerted over foreign trade existed in Spain, China and Japan: Around 1600 none of these three countries, with their access to the South China Sea, could ignore the beginning globalisation processes or shut its people off entirely.

One last note of caution: It goes without saying that the Philippines were of secondary interest to imperial Spain and that the Castilian king was not able to implement most of his policies there – mainly because of a permanent lack of Spanish settlers. It may therefore appear impossible to study early modern Spain's political economy by using the example of the Philippines. Nevertheless, Manila happens to be that specific area where the Spanish pre-modern state co-existed with the Chinese and the Japanese states. Everybody had the opportunity to set up one's own business and settle there without major conflict, as we shall see in the next chapter.

3. The Foundations of a Global Stage

[...] *y como esta tierra es tan nueva y sea de trata como pimpollo.*³⁶⁸

3.1. The Early Modern Philippines

The Philippines were – according to the abovementioned quote of the fourth official Governor General Santiago de Vera (r. 1584-1590) as fragile as *a bud*. In many respects his credo became a motto for the early decades of the Spanish period. But at the same time it interfered with the common sense of both actors and observers. The colonisation of the Philippines was a complex venture. Most notably the results differed from what were seemingly similar projects in the Americas and had less drastic effects on the local population, due to both ecological reasons and because Spanish colonising methods had been refined over the years. Since the Spaniards applied the same administrative patterns there as in the New World, the picture of a "coercion-intensive state"³⁶⁹ that "devoted more of [its] energy to settlement, enslavement of the indigenous (or imported) labor force and exaction of tribute" has blurred historians' understanding.³⁷⁰

A common view in the historical treatises on the Spanish Philippines is that the islands were first and foremost a Catholic project because the colonisers' religion had a more lasting effects on the archipelago's people than their language or their institutions.³⁷¹ The archipelago was far less hispanicised than certain regions of the Americas so that many of the original imperial goals were never accomplished. Thus it shall not surprise us that even within the Overseas Empire, giving up the colony was seriously considered more than once. In 1647, almost one hundred years after active colonisation, Philip IV (r. 1621-1665) concluded that the Philippines were inefficient

³⁶⁸ This phrase summarises early Spanish attitude towards dealings in its new colony perfectly. AGI Filipinas 18 A, r. 5, n. 31, "Carta de Vera sobre situación, comercio, japoneses etc," 1587-06-26.

³⁶⁹ Tilly, *Coercion*, 19;

³⁷⁰ Ronald Daus, *Die Erfindung des Kolonialismus* (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1983), 56: "Härtteste Ausbeutung nach unten und schamlose Unterschlagung nach oben waren die institutionalisierten Begleiterscheinungen."

³⁷¹ For the dilemma of why Castilian was never established as official lingua franca in the Philippines I refer to John Leddy Phelan, "Philippine Linguistics and Spanish Missionaries, 1565-1700" *Mid-America* 37, no. 3 (1955): 153-170. See also Vincente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism. Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society* (London and Durham: Duke University Press, 2005). Maria Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo, *Filipinas. La Gran Desconocida* (1565-1898) (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2001).

and that the conversion in the Far East was nothing but a disappointment.³⁷² We shall have ample opportunities to see to what extent these accusations are true. To start with, however, I would like to discuss the main characteristics of Spanish reign in her only Asian territorial colony with the clear focus of contextualizing the Spanish position in triangular relations.

3.1.1 The Islands in Pre-colonial Times

The archipelago that the Spaniards lavishly labelled Philippines was inhabited by a diverse number of peoples with different languages, life styles, customs, traditions and physical appearance. After first contact with the one to two million people living on the archipelago,³⁷³ the Spanish divided them – regardless of their heterogeneous origins – into two groups: *indios* and *moros*. The distinction was based on religious beliefs: *Moros* were Muslims and *indios* members of local tribes of Polynesian origin worshipping their native deities.³⁷⁴ Islam arrived at the islands 1380 and thereafter the Sultanate of Sulu was founded.

Before the Spanish conquest, Manila was also part of a Muslim principality, and the native population used to live together in the *barangay*, a socio-political unit of between thirty and hundred families under the rule of a petty chief or *datu*. These villages were constantly competing with each other.³⁷⁵ Decentralisation and the limits of subsistence agriculture were the main factors that hindered development and growth in pre-Hispanic times.³⁷⁶

Maritime people were attracted to the Philippines archipelago long before the booming years of lucrative interregional trade in the region. Although reliable data is

³⁷² Francisco Colin *Labor Evangélica de la Compañía de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas*, ed. Pablo Pastells (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1904), 43-44.

³⁷³ The word Filipino nowadays commonly used without cultural distinction was not in use in the early modern period. It only emerged together with national movements during the nineteenth century. It usually refers to the *mestizo* civilization born in the Philippines. For the semantic development and historical denominations see William Henry Scott, *Barangay. Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Univ. Press, 1994), 5; Zaide, *Philippines*, 6-8.

³⁷⁴ Francesco Carletti, *Reise um die Welt 1594: Erlebnisse eines Florentiner Kaufmanns* (Tübingen: Erdmann, 1966), 110: "[D]ie beiden Stämme sind recht unterschiedlicher Art. Das trifft sowohl für ihre Sitten und Gebräuche als auch für ihren Körperbau und ihre Bewegungen zu. Die *moros* haben häßliche Körper und Gesichter, sind dunkelbraun und haben eine träge und feige Gesinnung. Die anderen aber sind von schönem, kräftigem und stattlichem Körperbau. Ihre Hautfarbe ist heller, und im Umgang mit Waffen sind sie gewandt." For Spanish descriptions of the *indios* and their rites see Morga, *Sucesos*, 290-291.

³⁷⁵ Scott, *Barangay*, 5; Zaide, *Philippines*, 67.

³⁷⁶ See Doeppers, "Development of Philippine Cities," 770.

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scarce, we have evidence that the earliest commercial contacts with China date back into at least the tenth century, when Chinese and Muslim trading networks connected the Southeast Asian archipelago with the mainland.³⁷⁷ In the case of Japan, we assume that contacts did not evolve earlier than the fifteenth century. In any case, it was not before the second half of the sixteenth century that in Luzón – the most northern of the Philippine Islands – specific contacts between representatives of the three respective pre-modern states, all of them characterised by a central government interested in monopolizing power, took place. Historical evidence suggest that sixteenth century Pangasinan, from the coast of Lingayen Gulf from Bolinao (Zambales) to Balaoan (La Union), and the delta of the Agno River, had a long history of trade with Chinese junks.³⁷⁸ This direct Chinese trade was reflected in Pangasinan's use of porcelain jars for wine which were utilised for religious ceremonies, and a Spanish complaint that not only chiefs, but also even ordinary people, were wearing Chinese silk and cotton clothing.³⁷⁹ Miguel de Loarca's bold statement that “people of Pangasinan were more intelligent due to their contact with Chinese, Japanese and Bornean merchants” summarises Spanish intercultural stereotypes.³⁸⁰

Chinese and Japanese traders played an important role in the development of trans-regional contacts for certain indigenous tribes before the arrival of the Spaniards. As a consequence of the re-enforcement of Ming China's tally (tributary) trade relations following the ‘promotion tours’ of Zheng He and his crew, the smaller kingdoms of the Philippine archipelago began to send tributary missions to the Middle Kingdom in the early years of the fifteenth century.³⁸¹ According to the Ming Shi, in 1405 Emperor Yongle sent an officer with orders to establish Chinese suzerainty.³⁸² By the end of the

³⁷⁷ For pre-Iberian Muslim and Chinese trade routes between Borneo and Luzón see Roderich Ptak, "The Northern Trade Route to the Spice Islands: South China Sea – Sulu Zone – North Moluccas (14th to early 16th Century)" *Archipel* 43 (1992): 38-41. Re-printed in Roderich Ptak, *China's Seaborne Trade with South and Southeast Asia (1200-1750)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

³⁷⁸ For pre-Hispanic relations between China and 'Lüsong' see Wang Gungwu, "China and Southeast Asia, 1402-1424," in *Studies in the Social History of China and Southeast Asia. Essays in Memory of Victor Purcell*, ed. Nicholas Tarling et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970), 375.

³⁷⁹ When the Chinese-speaking father Bartolomé Martínez was shipwrecked on the coast nearby, he was able to baptise twenty Chinese traders he found there. See Scott, *Barangay*, 248.

³⁸⁰ See Scott *Barangay*, 248.

³⁸¹ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/1599>, accessed July 18, 2010.

³⁸² BR 34: 189; Milagros C. Guerrero, "The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770," in *The Chinese in the Philippines 1570-1770*, ed. Alonso Felix, Jr. (Manila: Solidaridad Pub, 1967), 16: "The Ming annals mention that in the second year of his reign, the Emperor (Yung Lo) sent an Admiral Cheng Ho to Luzón to establish Chinese suzerainty over the island. Cheng Ho's fleet of 60 vessels thrice attempted to reduce Luzon and the neighboring islands to vassalage. However, this attempt at dominion was discontinued

century the petty rulers no longer considered this pattern of foreign trade worth the effort and stopped sending tributary missions to China.³⁸³ Meanwhile, Chinese private maritime ventures started to arrive regularly in Visayas, Luzon, Pangasinan and Mindanao.

3.1.2 The Arrival of the Spaniards

Spanish relations with Visayas, the middle archipelago of the Philippine Islands, preceded Spanish settlement in the East Indies by a number of decades, dating back to Ferdinand Magellan's (Fernão de Magalhães: 1480-1521) crossing of the Pacific in the year 1520. Magellan died in battle on the island of Mactan (which is close to Cebú), ironically before being able to finish his journey around the world.³⁸⁴ Back then it was not the Islas San Lazaro, as his expedition corps christened the archipelago, but the nearby Spice Islands, that caught the Spaniards' fancy. Thus the entire project of gaining territory in the region had overtones of the hegemonic dispute between the Castilians and the Portuguese that dated back to the beginning of the European expansion over the Atlantic. In the year 1473, four years after the unification of the crowns of Castile and Aragon, Pope Alexander VI, a Spaniard himself, issued a series of bulls aiming at extending the power of the Catholic Kings and granting the sovereigns of Castile all lands to be discovered in the regions explored by Columbus. The famous bulls *inter caetera* and *dudum siquidem*, or Bulls of Donation, extended the Spanish influence to all new territories that lay west of an imaginary line of demarcation a hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.³⁸⁵ The Portuguese, who feared Spanish intrusion in the South Atlantic, called for an adaptation of the terms of the bulls of 1473 which resulted in the famous Treaty of Tordesillas 1494 that divided the world theoretically

after the death of Yung Lo and his admiral.”

³⁸³ One of the most illustrious descriptions of pre-hispanic interactions between the archipelago and East Asia and how it allegedly contributed to the archipelago's pre-Spanish economic history comes from the advisors to the US Chamber of Commerce of 1905. See Antonio M. Regidor, D.C.L. Jurado, J. Warren T. Mason, *Commercial Progress in the Philippine Islands* (Manila: American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippine Islands, 1925), 6-8. The narrative covers a bit of everything including Chinese and the Japanese contribution to the development of certain modes of production such as breeding fish or working in metals. For the origins of Chinese interest in the islands see also Wilhelm von den Driesch, *Grundlagen einer Sozialgeschichte der Philippinen unter Spanischer Herrschaft (1565-1820)* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1984), 291.

³⁸⁴ It was his naval commander Juan Sebastian Elcano who completed the first world circumnavigation on Magellan's ship.

³⁸⁵ Parry, *Seaborne Empire*, 22-23.

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370 leagues (1,770 km) west of the Cape Verde Islands.³⁸⁶ It was an attempt to divide the world into two spheres of influence, following the discoveries of the Americas of 1492. It soon became evident that this treaty assured the Portuguese Crown a 'direct' route to India as well as active participation in America by way of Brazil – which Pedro Álvares Cabral discovered for King Manuel I in 1500. In the meantime, the Castilians expanded via the Antilles to the American mainland.

As a result of this agreement it was only natural that the Spanish had to find an alternative route to the East Indies, the original target of all explorations. Indeed it was also only natural that Magellan's passage to the Pacific in 1521 and subsequent arrival in Cebú (Visayas) shook the newly established balance of power between the two Iberian sea powers, who could not agree on whose sphere the Spice Islands (Moluccas) were located. This again brought mathematicians, cartographers and crown officials into the plan. The first attempt to solve diplomatic disputes in Badajoz and Elvas in 1524 failed.

When news of the potential in the East had reached the Habsburg Court, Charles I (V) commissioned further expeditions. In the year 1525, the second embassy to the Moluccas led by Fray García Jofre de Loaysa with sixteen-year-old Andrés de Urdaneta onboard, set out to explore the Pacific. The latter should not return to Spain before 1536 via the Cape Route. These eleven years in the Pacific provided him with unparalleled knowledge about the ocean.³⁸⁷ The expedition reached the Moluccas with 127 men who soon found themselves in disputes with the Portuguese from Malacca. About the time of Loaysa's navigation, Hernán Cortes, then governor and captain general of New Spain, jumped on the bandwagon, stating that Spain should broaden its influence across the Pacific.³⁸⁸ Charles I provided him with a royal charter (*cédula*) dated June 10, 1526. Cortes received the order to send an armada to the Moluccas to support Loaysa's mission there, however this project also failed. The eventual treaty was signed on April 22, 1529 in Zaragoza, in favour of the Portuguese who received exclusive rights to take

³⁸⁶ Following Christoforo Colon's return from the West Indies the treaty was signed on June 7, 1494 in Tordesillas close to Valladolid. The treaty was ratified by Pope Julius II. (1443-1513) in 1506. The treaty has been edited by Luís Adão da Fonseca, José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, ed. *Corpus Documental del Tratado de Tordesillas* (Valladolid: Sociedad V Centenario del Tratado de Tordesillas, 1995), 158-167.

³⁸⁷ The entire paragraph is largely based on Isabelo Macías Domínguez, "Presencia española en el Pacífico" in: *Filipinas. Puerta de Oriente. de Legazpi a Malaspina Catálogo on-line*, Sociedad Estatal para Acción Cultural Exterior, ed. Alfredo José Morales Martínez (2003), http://www.seacex.es/Spanish/Publicaciones/122/flipinas_03_presencia.pdf, accessed December 10, 2010, 30-31.

³⁸⁸ See articles in the following compilation: Carlos Martínez-Shaw and Marina Alfonso Mola, eds., *La Ruta de España a China* (Madrid: El Viso, 2008).

action in the Moluccas when the imaginary line of the Treaty of Tordesillas was virtually extended to the Pacific and laid down 297.5 leagues to the east of Moluccas. Spain abandoned her claims on the Spice Islands in return for a sum of 350,000 ducats and the right to colonise what a few years later would be christened the Philippines.

Claiming "exclusive privileges in enormous swathes of ocean"³⁸⁹, the Spanish liked to call the Pacific their Sea – (*mare nostrum*), like the Romans used to call the Mediterranean; accordingly terms like Spanish Lake (*lago español*) emerged for the Ocean.³⁹⁰ Consequently they made several expeditions all over the region, in order to explore and colonise the 'new' area.³⁹¹ Ruy López de Villalobos's expedition of 1542/43 to Mindanao and Leyte was one of the very few of these extensive projects that had a lasting impact. After a successful expedition launched from Mexico, he named the islands *Islas Filipinas* in honour of the Habsburg heir to the Spanish throne. He was sent by the Viceroy, who was keen to set foot on the Spice Islands. Villalobos and his men had received an order to found a colony to prepare the ground for a future Christian mission, but local hostility and shortage of food supplies obliged them to sail away to the Moluccas where they finally surrendered to the Portuguese, before Villalobos died in Amboina in 1546.³⁹²

Another reason why active Castilian participation in Southeast Asia and permanent settlement efforts were belated was of geographical nature: for decades Castilian explorers failed to establish a return route to Mexico as an alternative to the Cape Route that was reserved for the Portuguese as a result of the Treaty of Tordesillas. It was Andrés de Urdaneta's nautical skills that eventually provided the Spanish with a feasible return route (*tornaviage*) free of Portuguese interference. After six unsuccessful ventures³⁹³, Urdaneta and his men succeeded in crossing the Pacific back to New Spain via the Strait of San Bernardino on the galleon *San Pedro* in 1565.³⁹⁴ King Philip II had

³⁸⁹ Jennifer L. Gaynor, "Maritime Ideologies and Ethnic Anomalies" in *Seascapes. Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges*, ed. Renate Bridenthal et al., (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 2007), 55.

³⁹⁰ Philip E. Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001), 62-65.

³⁹¹ Steinberg, *Social Construction of the Ocean*, 75-84.

³⁹² Kamen, *Road to Empire*, 200; Diaz-Trechuela, *Filipinas*, 51-52.

³⁹³ This number includes the Pacific exploration under Hernando de Grijalva in 1536/37 that led him to the Christmas Islands, the Pescadores and New Guinea.

³⁹⁴ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 181: Heading towards Northeast, Urdaneta and his crew arrived on the 39th degree. From there they crossed straight to the Coast of California on the 34th degree from where they would continue southwards and finally reached the port of Navidad on October 1st and Acapulco on

explicitly requested the establishment of a feasible *tornaviaje* as a condition for his support of the project. When permitting the last expedition, he declared “the main purpose of this expedition is to establish the return route from the western isles, since it is already known that the route to them is fairly short.”³⁹⁵

In the meantime, Miguel de Legazpi started with the ‘pacification’ of the archipelago in Cebú, the chief port of Visayas, which was also where they had arrived in February 1565 and founded San Miguel on May 8, 1565.³⁹⁶ However the inevitable assaults by the indigenous population made it impossible to follow the instructions to avoid bloodshed. Continuous struggles, conspiracies and a Portuguese attack in September 1568 persuaded him to move the colonial centre to the northern island of Luzon.³⁹⁷ The Spanish *conquistadores* reached the far more attractive Manila Bay. Roughly at the same time the first group of Spanish and Mexican merchants and soldiers arrived with military supply in Cebú, following Urdaneta’s nautical achievement. During the years to come, the Spaniards succeeded gradually in extending their rule over Luzon and partially to the Visayas.³⁹⁸ The rest of the islands remained outside the Spanish sphere of influence until the end of the colonial period.

3.2. The Castilian Territorial Model

3.2.1. Land Seizure and Regional Administration

The imposition of Spanish rule in the Philippines was possible through the use of a *divide et impera* policy. After the conquest, the Spaniards tried to implement their well-tested policies regarding the indigenous population. Their traditional colonial policies included the establishment of permanent bases with political, military, economic,

October 8 the same year. See Macías Domínguez, "Presencia española", 35; See also Spate, *Spanish Lake*, 104-106;

³⁹⁵ Cf. Kamen, *Spain's Road*, 201.

³⁹⁶ Maria Lourdes Diaz-Trechuelo, "Legazpi y la Integración de Filipinas en el Imperio Español de Ultramar," in *Filipinas, Puerta de Oriente. De Legazpi a Malaspina Catálogo on-line*, Sociedad Estatal para Acción Cultural Exterior, ed. Alfredo José Morales Martínez (2003), http://www.seacex.es/Spanish/Publicaciones/122/flipinas_04_presencia.pdf, accessed November 26, 2009, 49.

³⁹⁷ According to Spanish sources a fleet under the command of Gonzalo Pereira supported by war *perahu* from the Spice Islands led an unsuccessful attack.

³⁹⁸ Results of the early colonizing efforts cannot be dealt here with in detail. I refer to Jaume Gorriz Abella, *Filipinas antes de Filipinas. El Archipiélago de San Lázaro en el Siglo XVI* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2010). The author summarises and re-interprets the far-reaching studies by early Spanish reports by Miguel de Luarca, Santiago de Vera and Pedro Chirino.

religious and cultural centres. As we have seen, after unsuccessful attempts in Cebú , Legazpi sailed with his fleet to Manila, where he found all the necessary conditions for a permanent settlement: a productive hinterland, a considerable number of inhabitants, a strategic position and existing trading structures.³⁹⁹ The Spaniards outwitted the Muslim ruler of Manila and began systematically suppressing the independent *barangay* in order to enforce Spanish authority over a large area.⁴⁰⁰ Unlike the Portuguese in Malacca, who used the existing structures of the Muslim outposts, the Spaniards built a new network of cities in the Philippines, all being dependent on the central government of Manila.

The Spanish colonial rule in sixteenth-century Southeast Asia was characterised by a very fragile power structure. Despite being the nominal rulers of the Philippines, from a politico-economic point of view, in terms of actual power, the Spaniards were only one among many influential actors in South East Asia. Early centralizing efforts failed due to the disunity of the population and ethno-linguistic differences that – unlike in the Americas – could not be smoothed out with the persistent use of the Castilian language. In the beginning this heterogeneity proved favourable to the Spaniards, who could manipulate the situation by initiating wars between the local tribes and collaborating with antagonistic local leaders.

Indigenous people who collaborated with the Spaniards were often tasked with demanding tribute payments from the local population and enjoyed therefore certain privileges and formal authority over the others.⁴⁰¹ Serving as mediators for the Spanish conquistadors, they received the *principalía* status; this shows how the Spanish colonial government built on existing socio-political organisations. While cities or *pueblos* were managed by *principalias* under the strong influence of a parish priest, provinces and municipalities were administered by the so-called *alcaldes-mayores*. *Alcaldes* were political and military leaders, officials and financial managers. The administration of the Manila realm was divided among *alcaldes*, which meant that the inhabitants of the municipal quarters were legally and officially considered subjects of the respective *alcaldes*. For the easy access to revenue the office enjoyed great popularity. For the same

³⁹⁹ John Villiers, "Portuguese Malacca and Spanish Manila. Two Concepts of Empire," in *Aspects in History and Economic History Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Roderich Ptak (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1987), 44.

⁴⁰⁰ Villiers, "Portuguese Malacca," 45.

⁴⁰¹ For a synopsis of the lives of indigenous population under Spanish rule see Linda Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

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reason the offices and their distribution – mostly among Spaniards – was a very controversial matter and accusations of corruption filled hundreds of court pages.⁴⁰²

In the year 1569 Legazpi – who was originally not equipped with the necessary order to conquer or colonise⁴⁰³ – was appointed *governador general* of the Philippines, he finally received a royal charter that gave him the title *adelantado* and the right to found cities and distribute *encomiendas* (trusteeships)⁴⁰⁴ among his people. In theory, this was a far-reaching instrument of power to ensure control over the indigenous people.⁴⁰⁵ Regardless of economic dependence on foreign trade, politics were primarily based on the land-oriented *encomienda*-system, without paying any attention to a region's specific conditions. The *encomienda* was a "well-defined institution in which the holder performed certain governmental duties and in return received tribute".⁴⁰⁶ Thus it was a genuine tax resource for the Spanish crown used to fund the administration and exploitation of the new territories after having been introduced in the Americas by the early conquistadores.⁴⁰⁷

In the year 1576, an official counting listed already 143 *encomenderos* but compared to the early *encomenderos* in the Americas, their rights were limited. Due to the king's rejection of a request for further *encomiendas* in 1574 and the 1576 and a ban on any further grants, their position would barely improve.⁴⁰⁸ In 1591, their number had increased to 270, with 668,000 natives working for Spanish *encomenderos* in the entire

⁴⁰² AGI Escribanía 403b, Legajo 1 de pleytos de Manila, 1614 / 1620 (95), "*es cosa muy notario del Real aver no se les paga a los alcaldes del Parián cosa ninguna sino solo el aprovechimiento que tienen de las tiendas de los dhos sangleyes que dellas la pagan al dho alcayde cada mes dos reales que alcavo del ano bienen a montar un muy grueso salario y a los dhos alcaldes hordinarios ni de la real caxa ni de los dhos sangleyes se les da cosa ninguna.*"

⁴⁰³ Díaz-Trechuelo, *Filipinas*, 58-59.

⁴⁰⁴ *Encomienda* refers to the labour system that was employed in the Spanish overseas colonies in the Americas and the Philippines. It was a sort of feudal right granted by the king to the colonial elite to obtain tribute or service from the native population.

⁴⁰⁵ Written in the *cédula real* from August 14, 1569 that reached the Philippines at the end of the same year.

⁴⁰⁶ Schwartz and Lockhart, *Early Latin America*, 92.

⁴⁰⁷ In recent years research has focused on the socio-political dynamics behind the system. Subrahmanyam stresses the dynamics from below in the spread of royal policy in the Spanish colonies. See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (December 2007), <<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/112.5/subrahmanyam.html>> Accessed August 10, 2010.

⁴⁰⁸ Kamen, *Spain's Road*, 202; Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581-1768* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), 13: "In the 1580's, the area within five leagues [approx. 20 kilometres] of Manila was divided into four private encomiendas with a total population of 3,500 and one Crown encomienda with a population of 4,000."

colony.⁴⁰⁹ Upset by this development of a rich land-owning class with the potential to undermine political power, the king soon imposed several laws restricting the allocation of the *encomienda*. In addition, he promoted the cultivation of agricultural products and thereby hoped to boost exports.⁴¹⁰ At the beginning of the next century, the colonial government appointed officials and priests instead of *encomenderos* to administer the indigenous people. These reforms, however, did not change the social welfare of the locals.

The *encomienda* system was, with good reason, criticised for exploiting and abusing indigenous labour: the fiercest critiques were the missionaries.⁴¹¹ Following a crown intervention in the early 1590s, private *encomiendas* were gradually confiscated. Local tribute peaked at 88,000 pesos in 1595. It was often paid in kind, although relatively low rates at ten *reales*, and "forced the colony to produce for the market".⁴¹² Thus, especially during periods of inflation, the system caused much hardship in the sixteenth century.⁴¹³

In 1621, Rios Coronel carried out a thorough investigation of the living conditions in both types of *encomienda* and claimed that the indigenous population paid 2 *reales* annually.⁴¹⁴ Based on forced labour and constant tribute collecting, Bauzon has calculated that by 1619 the Spanish government owed the Filipino people one million pesos due to forced labour and unfair trade policies.⁴¹⁵

3.2.2. Colonial Offices

While it is true that administration and decision-making remained in the hands of the Crown and the *Consejo de Indias*, the colony was administered by three types of officials: (1) the governor general, (2) the judges and fiscals of the supreme/high court

⁴⁰⁹ Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, *Encomienda, Tributo y Trabajo en Filipinas (1570-1608)* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1995), 178; C. H. Cunningham, *The Audiencia in Spanish Colonies as illustrated by the Audiencia of Manila: 1583 to 1800* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1919), 21. For other prevailing problems see Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 6.

⁴¹⁰ Bernd Hausberger, "Das Reich, in dem die Sonne nicht Unterging. Die Iberische Welt," in *Die Welt Im 16. Jahrhundert. Globalgeschichte*, ed. Peter Feldbauer et al., (Wien/Essen: Mandelbaum/Magnus Verlag, 2008), 352.

⁴¹¹ Bishop Salazar as 'Las Casas of the Philippines', cf. van den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 196.

⁴¹² Luis Alonso, "Financing the Empire: The Nature of the Tax System in the Philippines, 1565-1804" *Philippine Studies* 51, no. 1 (2003): 80.

⁴¹³ Alonso, "Financing the Empire," 71-79.

⁴¹⁴ Rios Coronel, *procurador general* of the Philippines on the revenues of the Royal Hacienda. cf. van den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 232.

⁴¹⁵ Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 43.

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(*audiencia*) and (3) the bishops and archbishops.⁴¹⁶

The governors general acted on behalf of the king and most were sent from New Spain. The average tenure of a governor, who held executive authority in the Philippines, was short and many candidates saw this job their as part of a 'tour of duty' rather than a permanent presence or residence in Manila.⁴¹⁷ The post in Manila was traditionally considered an early low stage in these royal authorities' *cursus honorum*, so that many used this as a stepping stone to more renowned posts on the other side of the Pacific.

Due to far-reaching competences as head of both judicial and administrative affairs and to his military duties as captain general, he technically reigned absolute.⁴¹⁸ Moreover he acted as royal-vice patron, having the same relationship with the church in the colony as the king would back in Spain.⁴¹⁹ With regard to financial affairs, he would attend a weekly meeting of the *Junta de Hacienda*.⁴²⁰

Established in 1583, the *audiencia* was set up as court of appeal, with a board of *oidores* or judges in charge of civil and criminal affairs. In the absence of the governor, the *audiencia* could take over government.⁴²¹ The administration was not hierarchically structured, as there were separate entities for administration, military, judiciary, finance and the church.⁴²² In addition to the *audiencia*, city councils (*cabildos*) were established in the major colonial centres.⁴²³ In terms of royal control and efficiency, it is important to note that *audiencia* consisted of senior officials sent from Spain, in particular the *oidores* or judges with their undisputed political influence that according to the metropolis in Spain should not develop too close ties to the region they were working in. It was a direct instrument of control and could interfere in both state and religious affairs.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁶ Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 6.

⁴¹⁷ In the the later period of our study the average time in office amounted 4.5 years, until 1609 it was only 3.5 years. For a list of governors see http://www.zamboanga.com/html/Spanish_governors_of_the_philippines.htm/ Accessed November 15, 2011.

⁴¹⁸ Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 32.

⁴¹⁹ Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 195.

⁴²⁰ Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 197.

⁴²¹ In the year of its establishment Governor Vera and three other auditors became the supreme organ for decision making in colonial matters. See Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 119.

⁴²² My readers may miss one institution usually discussed in Colonial Spain, the Spanish Inquisition. It is spared out here for reason of limited relevance. The inquisition was not officially introduced in the early decades and no independent tribunal existed in the Philippines. However, we should be careful not to retell the narrative of bloodless conquest of the Philippines. Revisionist work has dug up shocking inquisition files in Mexico.

⁴²³ Hausberger, "Reich," 350.

⁴²⁴ Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 99.

A peculiarity in the early colonial setting that illustrates the fragile character of Spanish rule was the abolition of the *audiencia* between 1589 and 1595.⁴²⁵ Re-opening the *audiencia* was both a decision to keep the Philippines with the Overseas Empire and a clear initiative to demand serious commitment from the Spanish settlers to the colonial project in the East. The list of instructions that Governor Tello received in 1598 from the king reflected the Spanish view that increasing trade with China required a stable government.⁴²⁶ Control over colonial officials was thereafter secured by the institution of the *residencia* – a body that scrutinised potential evidence for corruption and fraud against the crown at the end of the term.

Regardless of how important foreign trade was for the survival of the colony, high-ranking Spaniards continued to prefer a strong military command over liberal trade. Juan José Delgado insisted that the "islands need disinterested military governors, not merchants; and men of resolution and character [...], not students, who are more fit to govern monasteries than communities of heroes."⁴²⁷ The quote illustrates the military character and the priority of territorial expansionism. The strong focus on military strengthening has often been explained as a result of the proximity of Japan and China. In fact it was aggression from neighbouring Muslim communities and the Spanish unwillingness to give up its claims on the Spice Islands.⁴²⁸

In matters of administration and settling policies, the colony was a nuisance not only to the motherland, but also to the Viceroyalty in Mexico. Within the Overseas Empire, the Philippines were subordinate to the Viceroyalty of New Spain and strictly speaking it was only after 1821 that the Philippines were ruled directly from Spain.⁴²⁹ Regina Grafe and Alejandra Irigoin argued in 2008 that ongoing internal struggles over who would finance the polity and politics characterised colonial reality in the Spanish Overseas territories and insisted that any "[l]egislative initiative [...] was subject to influences

⁴²⁵ Alonso Sánchez, an ambitious Jesuit that will receive more attention in subsequent chapters played an important role in the temporary abolishment of the *audiencia* by appealing convincingly to the Council of the Indies during a trip to Spain.

⁴²⁶ Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 79.

⁴²⁷ Juan J. Delgado, *Historia General, Sacro-Profano, Política y Natural de las Islas del Poniente llamadas Filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta de Eco de Filipinas de Dn. Juan de Atayde, 1892). 212-215; Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 228.

⁴²⁸ AGI Patronato 24. r. 61 "Cartas a los capitanes mayores de Macao, Ambon, Molucas," 1582; AGI Patronato 47, r. 21, "Relación de las islas Molucas," 1606.

⁴²⁹ The Viceroyalty of New Spain with its headquarters in Mexico City and reigned over present day Mexico, Guatemala, the Caribbean Islands under Spanish rule, Lower California and eventually the Philippines.

from multiple players".⁴³⁰ This assumption also holds major relevance for the Philippines.

Entrusting Mexican authorities with this agenda explains why it has often been claimed that from the very beginning, the Philippines were treated as a dependency of New Spain.⁴³¹ While it is true that New Spain was in charge of the finances of the Philippines, archival research shows that the islands were integrated into the Overseas Spanish Empire by a centralising colonial authority that, just as the Mexican authorities, ultimately had to bend to the wishes of the Habsburg monarch. I therefore agree with Leslie Bauzon when he wrote that "Spanish bureaucratic members in Madrid, pro forma, treated the Philippines as merely another provincial district of Mexico." He continued: "it is safe to say that the Philippines were practically independent and self-sufficient in the consideration of matters purely political in nature."⁴³² However, I do not support the thesis of a colony under the auspices of another colony that is often proclaimed.⁴³³ The subsequent case studies shall demonstrate that clearly.

Indeed, during the years when no *audiencia* existed, the Viceroy in Mexico did have enormous power over the affairs in the East.⁴³⁴ Thereafter, the Crown tried hard to restrict his growing power. In 1607 Philip III (r. 1598-1621) issued a decree ordering him to "give aid to the governor and captain general of the Philippines in whatever may occur" and to send him the necessary amounts of arms, men, munitions, and money for the conservation and management of those islands.⁴³⁵

3.2.3. Dualism between Secular and Ecclesiastical Administration: The Church Beyond Missionary Duties

The strongest imperialist impulse behind the colonisation was indeed the spread of Christianity in the region. Motivated by faith, missionaries were regarded reliable

⁴³⁰ Grafe and Irigoin, "Bargaining," 178; 204.

⁴³¹ Kamen, *Road to Empire*, 203. Although problematic, the view of the Philippines as a colony within a colony survived until very recently. Carmen Y. Hsu, "Writing on Behalf of a Christian Empire: Gifts, Dissimulation, and Politics in the Letters of Philip II of Spain to Wanli of China," *Hispanic Review* 78, no. 3 (2010), 328. She comes to a similar conclusion: "It was not the Council of the Indies but the Mexican *audiencia* that provided the organizational base and the final decision-making authority for any initial venture into the Pacific."

⁴³² Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 8: "The only years during which the Philippines colonial regime can be said to have been subordinated to the viceregal government of Mexico were those from 1565 to 1583 and between 1589 and 1595, when no *audiencia* existed."

⁴³³ Among others by Villiers, "Portuguese Malacca", 53.

⁴³⁴ Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 9.

⁴³⁵ Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 10.

'Spanish'⁴³⁶ colonisers. The Catholic mission has often been ideologically linked to the spirits of the crusades and occidental fights against Islam. The nineteenth-century American historian Edward G. Bourne – one of the pioneers in historical writings on the Spanish Philippines – evaluated that the Philippines were “more of a mission outpost than a colony”.⁴³⁷ Indeed, the Roman Catholic faith is the most visible heritage of the Spanish colonisation.

To the ruling elite, collaboration with Catholic missionaries was convenient. Missionaries eager to go to work in the promising 'fields' in China or Japan were easily found and once they got stuck in the Philippines for various reasons they were welcome as colonisers. In the long run, however, their celibacy hindered active integration of indigenous communities. But that is another story.⁴³⁸ In order to defend sovereignty, the Catholic mission would attempt to accelerate indigenous acceptance of Spanish rule across the archipelago. Religious submission helped the Spanish gain better control over the population, to exploit their work force, to tax them and to pursue mass conversions efficiently. To minimise the risk of resistance from the indigenous population, pre-colonial structures were eliminated as far as possible. To consolidate rule, special rights were granted to local people in urban centres. This allowed the further development and the survival of the traditional indigenous culture.

The Spanish crown preferred a soft conquest, a policy that led to clashes between conquistadores and missionaries.⁴³⁹ Early modern Iberian colonisation followed the doctrines based on the ideas of Tomas of Aquin and Francisco de Vittoria, that stipulated that force was only justifiable when the sovereign of a territory refused conversion of the people living in his realm.⁴⁴⁰ In the Spanish Philippines, the indigenous people would only be forced into tribute-paying when they had had the opportunity to hear the gospel. Once the indigenous people were 'pacified' they had to pay tribute. Rates were not fixed but varied depending on the prosperity of a region. The average annual tax-rate was 6

⁴³⁶ I use quotation marks here because Catholic friars were a rather heterogeneous mix of different European nationalities who acted in the name of the Spanish king.

⁴³⁷ Edward G. Bourne, *Discovery, Conquest and History of the Philippines* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1907).

⁴³⁸ Hausberger, "Reich," 353. See also the articles in María Dolores Elizalde Pérez-Gruoso y Josep M. Delgado Ribas, eds., *Filipinas un País entre dos Imperios* (Barcelona: Eds. Bellaterra, 2011).

⁴³⁹ The Manila synod of 1581-82/1586 was launched to solve growing dualism and discussed handling interactions with the indigenous population under the chairmanship of Bishop Salazar. The outcome had only limited effect on the politics and justice on the archipelago.

⁴⁴⁰ van den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 200; 264-265; For the exact content of Marsilius von Padua's bull *Unam Sanctam* see Montalbán, *Spanische Patronat*.

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reals at the end of the sixteenth century.⁴⁴¹ Friars were the earliest advocates of a better legal treatment of the local population, long before the *audiencia* decreed 1598 that “Indians shall be better treated and instructed in our Holy Catholic Faith as our free vassals”. In their function as the educating class, founders of schools and first teachers,⁴⁴² they also took care in moral issues such as guarding them against forbidden gambling and indulging in immoral practices that were common among the Chinese.⁴⁴³

Friars, with their far-reaching political powers, based their efforts on integrating different cultures into a European-ruled colonial society, which made friction with the civil government inevitable. Complaints were numerous as the following quote indicates: “The ecclesiastics and religious quietly take away from and add to the instruction at will, and without the supervision of the governor and the ecclesiastical superior, contrary to his Majesty’s orders. This occasions many difficulties. They do not allow the bishop to visit their curacies; for fear that the injustice of their action will be discovered.”⁴⁴⁴

The different orders competed for influential posting: The Dominicans were the best strategists and filled the highest positions, such as the first bishop of Manila after the Episcopal See in Manila was established by Philip II in 1579. In Manila, rivalries among the different Catholic orders moreover witnessed debates on better proselytising methods – in particular after the Jesuits had reached the archipelago.⁴⁴⁵ The increasing number of missionaries, of whom in 1591 there were 140 missionaries,⁴⁴⁶ asked for clear instructions to avoid further conflicts. On April 27, 1594, the government of Philip II took a crucial step in the administration of the islands: dividing the Philippines among the four missionary orders, a measure providing the clericals with major power in the countryside.⁴⁴⁷ Consequently each order could concentrate on specific linguistic studies, even though with the exception of Tagalog, efforts were inefficient, as John L. Phelan

⁴⁴¹ de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 19.

⁴⁴² Díaz-Trechuelo, *Filipinas*, 102-104.

⁴⁴³ Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 53-54.

⁴⁴⁴ BR 10: 80.

⁴⁴⁵ Pastells, *Historia I*, ccxlix: In 1625, the archbishop Don Fray Miguel García Serrano demands the king in Spain to assign the entire missionary work exclusively to the Jesuits.

⁴⁴⁶ For the religious orders contribution to the administration of Manila see AGI Filipinas 77, n. 15; 1602; see also Montalbán, *Spanische Patronat*, 108-110; Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Vankley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. III, Part 1, 202. Between 1575 and 1596 an astonishing total of 454 members of mendicant orders had reached the islands.

⁴⁴⁷ Phelan, "Philippine Linguistics," 154.

concluded.⁴⁴⁸ Only in the Tagalog provinces around Manila were all the orders represented. Moreover, the orders' competences were clearly divided, while doctrines were unified in the Philippines. A measure designed to avoid confusion among the natives.⁴⁴⁹

In essence, the colonisation of the rural area was accomplished by friars. Missionaries were of utmost economic and social importance for infrastructure projects such as building roads, bridges, irrigation canals and dams, introducing new plants from Mexico and Europe, and for providing for social welfare by running orphanages and hospitals. They were the only source of organised education. Administrative and educational contributions of the Catholic Church remained the most important pillar of Spanish rule. Herein lay the real accomplishments for the creation of an integrated Filipino nation.⁴⁵⁰ In the 300 years of Spanish rule the Augustinians – the first Catholic order to reach the Philippines (Andrés de Urdaneta was one of them) – founded 385 towns. The Franciscans under Pedro de Alfaro, who came to the Philippines in 1577, founded 233 towns. The Jesuits, led by Antonio Sedeño, Alonso Sanchez and Nicholas Gallardo, arrived in 1581 and during their troubled stay they founded 93 towns. The Dominicans came in 1587 and founded 90 towns over the years. The first Augustinian Recollects, who would become a very important pillar of proselytisation over the next centuries, were led by Juan de San Jerónimo and arrived in Manila in 1606. They founded 235 towns.⁴⁵¹

Ecclesiastical administration became institutionalised in the *patronazgo real*, a religious agency in Asia that supported Spanish spiritual conquest.⁴⁵² In return for the Pope's support, it was the king's duty to provide financial support and protection to the

⁴⁴⁸ Phelan, "Philippine Linguistics," 158-159. In order to facilitate the spread of the gospel among the native population, four different printing presses were established: the Dominican press 1593, the Franciscan press 1606, the Jesuit press 1610, and the Augustinian press around 1618.

⁴⁴⁹ Pedro Chirino, S.J., *Relación de las Islas Filipinas. The Philippines in 1600*. Translated by Ramón Echevarria (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1969), 20.

⁴⁵⁰ The renowned Filipino historian Vincente Rafael has claimed that Catholicism was the integrating element for the Filipino nation and that especially conversions of Tagalogs accelerated that process. See Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 6-19.

⁴⁵¹ de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 9: The first four Jesuits who arrived in the Philippines 1581 from Mexico travelled at the king's expense and were given the remarkable sum of 1,500 pesos for their journey. They left Acapulco on the galleon San Martín, the same vessel on which the first bishop of Manila travelled. The passengers of that year's Manila galleon are representative and underline the political importance of evangelization at that time: Next to 96 officers about 100 passengers including Domingo de Salazar and his Secretary Fray Cristóbal de Salvatierra, 18 Augustinians and 6 Franciscans and the 4 Jesuits were on board.

⁴⁵² Lach and Vankley, *Asia*, vol. III, Part 1, 203-204. Pope Leo X granted the *Jus patronatus* to the Portuguese crown in 1514.

church in its overseas possession and to pay the friars' passage to the Indies.⁴⁵³ Until the religious brothers left Spain, they were bound by royal instructions. Once they reached the Philippines, they depended on the favour of willing *encomenderos* for covering missionary expenses.⁴⁵⁴

Disagreement about governing policies and power struggles were daily occurrences. Deciding which fields would be designed as joint agendas and in which fields prelates and bishops were not to meddle with the government was a complex matter. The crown aimed at keeping the bishops from overusing their power of excommunicating government officials and also at limiting the secular power of ordinary priests by prohibiting their active participation in foreign trade.⁴⁵⁵ Despite this competitive nature of Spanish colonial administration, Henry Kamen concluded that direct control was virtually absent and control was only possible through a set of compromises. "The world's greatest empire of sixteenth century, consequently, owed its survival to the virtual absence of direct control."⁴⁵⁶

3.3. Crown Monopolies: Overseas Spain's Political Economy

Having reviewed colonial structures, we should now quickly clarify how such a colonial project was financed. In the long run, maintaining the Philippines caused considerable financial drawbacks for the metropolis.⁴⁵⁷ The US-trained Filipino historian, Leslie Bauzon has illustrated the financial and fiscal misery of the Spanish Philippines during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, starting with the year 1606. He reached the conclusion that the Spanish colony was a "fiscal nightmare"⁴⁵⁸ and was thereafter often quoted for his claim that the Filipinos were "paying for their own colonization".⁴⁵⁹ He further stressed that colonial economy was in addition dependent of financial aid (*situado real*) paid by the Mexican treasury throughout the centuries. The

⁴⁵³ Lach and Vankley, *Asia*, vol. III, Part I, 200.

⁴⁵⁴ Montalbán, *Spanische Patronat*, 110.

⁴⁵⁵ Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 80

⁴⁵⁶ Kamen, *Spain's Road*, 142.

⁴⁵⁷ See Carla Rahn Phillips, "The Growth of Composition of Trade in the Iberian Empires, 1450-1750," in *Rise of Merchant Empires. Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750* ed. James D. Tracy, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), 98; Alonso, "Financing," 64.

⁴⁵⁸ Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 20; His analysis is largely based on data compiled by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson and additional data from the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Mexico; however not from the Contaduría where most important information on the treasury of the Spanish Overseas Empire is kept. For the early years see also Nuchera, *Encomienda*, 188-212.

⁴⁵⁹ Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 46.

so-called *situado*⁴⁶⁰ was taken from the treasury of New Spain and made up a significant part of the funding of the colony. *Situado real* was an imperial means of transferring financial surpluses to those colonies and regions with perennial deficits. In the case of the Philippines support mainly came from Mexico.⁴⁶¹ Between 1610 and 1640, the *situado* that included the ad valorem tax collected from the Manila galleon trade in Acapulco, as well as forty ducats per ton collected in Acapulco, together with a ten per cent-import duty that amounted to 300,000 pesos.⁴⁶² Revenues would be channelled to the colonial government in the Philippines.⁴⁶³

In sharp contrast to the Portuguese *Estado da India*, Overseas Spain did not succeed in financing the colony with gains from maritime trade and its profits.⁴⁶⁴ When pointing out Spain's economic failure in Asia, the tendency to contrast it with the Lusitanian success story has prevailed until today.⁴⁶⁵ Regarding the Spanish system, we may conclude that the regulation of the fleet system for both the transatlantic and transpacific trade, with its limitations of scale, number of ships and its ports of call are an unmistakable sign for state interference aiming at exploiting trade patterns for the crown on behalf of the colonies' economies, which would reap far more profits than the motherland itself.⁴⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the Manila trade grew rapidly, largely beyond the

⁴⁶⁰ Meaning subsidy, income or appropriation. A general fund created to support "non-self-supporting Spanish imperial outposts". It was ideally raised from the returns from the Manila Galleon trade and freight duties in Acapulco. See Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 56-60.

⁴⁶¹ Juan Grau y Monfalcón, *Justificación de la Conservación y Comercio de las Islas Philipinas: Al Ilustrissimo y Reverendissimo Sr. Don Juan De Palafox y Mendoza, del Consejo de su Magestad en el Real de las Indias, Obispo de la Puebla de Los Angeles (Madrid, 1640)*, 9-10: "*La mesada y media anata 6 que estas diez partidas hazen 243,922 pesos. A que se han de añadir los derechos, y fletes de mar, y el Almoraxarifazgo, que se cobra en Nueva España de las mercaderias que vienen de las Islas, que todo esto vale 300 pesos y es renta que viene, y procede dellas, y assi por cedula de 19 de febrero de 1606. Esta mandado que esta partida, según lo que montare cada año remita a Manila, y que tanto menos vaya de la hacienda Real de Mexico. Y si todas estas mercaderias se venden, y comercian en la Nueva España una dos, y mas vezes, y pagan de alcavala lo costumbrado, si respeto de dos que se solian pagar se modero a 30 pesos en el Memorial grande con que ya tienen las Islas 593,922 pesos de cargo.*"

⁴⁶² Alonso, "Financing," 80.

⁴⁶³ Díaz-Trechuelo, *Filipinas*, 108; Moyano, Jose Cosano. *Filipinas y Su Real Hacienda* (Cordoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1986).

⁴⁶⁴ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "World in Balance," 10-11. For the organization of the Portuguese realms in Asia with the largely autonomous *Estado da India* that financed the enterprise with customs, taxes and other tributes see Peter Feldbauer, *Die Portugiesen in Asien 1498-1620* (Essen: Magnus Verlag, 2005), 82: "Was die Portugiesen so zäh verteidigten, war keine Kolonie im spanisch-lateinamerikanischen Sinn." They only had sovereign power over Ceylon, the Moluccas, Goa and the coastal region of Gujerat.

⁴⁶⁵ See among many others Gipouloux, *Méditerranée Asiatique*, 144-148; 160-161. However, most scholars praising the first outpost empires in Asia do not pay attention to the fact that Portuguese came under totally different conditions, with different aspirations and were in many cases only successful until the Dutch arrived with more elaborate means of coercion.

⁴⁶⁶ Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 90.

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Crown's supervision, exceeding Atlantic exchange in value by 1600.⁴⁶⁷ Control was pursued with the help of expanding functions of the *Casa de la Contratación* in Seville, which before long became integrated in the Council of the Indies that monopolised trade between Spain and America until the 1650s. As 'mercantile tribunal' it was a monopoly institution for licensing ships.⁴⁶⁸

From its earliest days, the Manila trade became a crown monopoly. Legazpi established a customhouse (*real hacienda*) right after the foundation of Manila and the crown took a serious interest in the income of the Manila-trade.⁴⁶⁹ The bulk of revenue came from *almojarifazgo* tax levied on Chinese merchants and settlers that according to Pierre Chaunu, ranged between roughly 17 and 27 percent of the royal treasury (*caxa*) between the years 1600 and 1640.⁴⁷⁰ The *almojarifazgo* was an *ad valorem* duty on both imports and exports, established for all Spanish colonies.⁴⁷¹ In Manila it was collected from Chinese and Portuguese traders, initiated by Governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa in 1581 as a 3% tax on Chinese commerce that netted them about 30,000 to 40,000 pesos a year during the 1590s.⁴⁷² It was quickly promoted as a safe source of revenue and a back-up in case of failing *encomienda* policies.⁴⁷³ In 1621 the estimated income from that custom duty collected from luxury goods was 80,000 pesos.⁴⁷⁴

Throughout the centuries the Castilians did not succeed in making the islands self-sufficient and had to struggle with expenses greater than receipts. Most of the time expenditures would exceed income. For the year 1584, we know that whilst officially 41,231 pesos were spent and another 30,000 needed, only 30,000 had entered the royal treasury.⁴⁷⁵ The colonial government was not only always short of money, but also very often even deeply indebted to its people and church organizations such as the

⁴⁶⁷ Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 146.

⁴⁶⁸ Mahoney, *Colonialism*, 37–38.

⁴⁶⁹ AGI Filipinas, 339, l. 1, f. 41v, "Petición de cuentas detalladas de la Hacienda de Filipinas," 1572-06-04.

⁴⁷⁰ Chaunu, *Les Philippines*, 92.

⁴⁷¹ AGI Filipinas 18 A, r. 6, n. 43, "Carta de Ayala sobre ventas de oficios, encomiendas, ... etc.," 1588-06-29. The *Leyes de India* (Laws of the Indies), a set of commands and decrees, theoretically linking the new territories to the Crown's will. Originally passed by the Catholic Kings, the Laws of the Indies, have often been considered as an inefficient instrument to assert any real authority in the New World. However, in economic terms it was efficient enough to levy revenues (*quinto*) in the name of the king.

⁴⁷² Cf. Ollé, *Formación*, 41; Cf. Deng, "Foreign Staple Trade," 266.

⁴⁷³ AGI Filipinas 18 A, r. 6, n. 43, "Carta de Ayala sobre ventas de oficios, encomiendas, etc.," 1588-06-29.

⁴⁷⁴ Data collected by Rios Coronel in 1621; cf. van den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 232-233. For the year 1626 the same author listed only 22,000 pesos; this suggests fluctuations in China trade beginning in the late 1620s.

⁴⁷⁵ Montalbán, *Spanische Patronat*, 110.

Hermandad de la Misericordia (est. 1594). At times the financial state of the colony deteriorated as a result of the manifold military expenses and embassies to neighbouring countries that remained expensive thereafter.⁴⁷⁶ By 1608, the costs for diplomatic exchange had gone up to 6,000 pesos, although after that year, the expenses incurred for this purpose apparently stabilised at 1,500 pesos.⁴⁷⁷ The Americas were not the only source of support. Imports from China and Japan were also necessary for the survival of the Spanish colony.

Those who suffered most from the consequences of Spanish 'pacification' were the colonised. Food became scarce because peasants had to leave their farms and work instead as forced labour, especially for shipbuilding. The now more dependent and unproductive population grew and with it did the demand for food. Substantial shortcomings led to rising prices of commodities and goods.⁴⁷⁸

Critical voices such as Governor Vera (r. 1584-1590) offer examples of how conservative economic understanding harmed the Manila market. In the year 1586 he claimed that colonisation should be encouraged by the abundance of a country's natural resources as well as the good prospects for future discoveries, not by the profits of commercial exchange. Therefore, he concluded, trade with China had to be stopped.⁴⁷⁹ As we will see later, it was often the Mexican party standing up for continuing trade and good relations with China for the sake of the Philippines' future.⁴⁸⁰ As we will see, trade with China did not come to an end, nor was the monopoly officially abolished.

The common policy of local Spanish officials in the 1590s was that the integration of the hinterland and its people would help to improve the economic situation of the Philippines. Most Spanish attempts to increase economic profit for both the motherland and the colony itself were short-lived. Measures aiming at preventing the outflow of silver pesos to China remained the most prominent economic policy, resulting in a strictly controlled Manila-trade far into the seventeenth century, as shown by the writings of Juan de Grau y Monfalcón, procurator of the *audiencia*. He proposed that the market was strong enough to afford limitations due to its economically healthy status

⁴⁷⁶ Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 43-45. In 1580, these embassies cost the Philippine's treasury 1,500 pesos.

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 83.

⁴⁷⁸ Díaz-Trechuelo, *Filipinas*, 125.

⁴⁷⁹ Montalbán, *Spanische Patronat*. Ratified by the king in June 1586.

⁴⁸⁰ Montalbán, *Spanische Patronat*, 118-119.

and thanks to forty years of unlimited trade.⁴⁸¹ The Manila Galleon regulations of the years 1593 and 1604 have to be considered against this background.⁴⁸²

The perception of the economic possibilities of the Manila-market was also a matter of biased, public discourse, fuelled by the idea that it would cause high expenditures for the metropolis (either Madrid as the seat of the sovereign king or Mexico City as the seat of the Viceroy, as the highest colonial representative). The perception of the Philippines being a heavy financial burden had existed in Spanish governmental circles since the days of the first colonising efforts. One of Philip II's secretaries, Juan de Ledesma, stressed in a memorandum of the Council of the Indies of 1586, that the royal treasury had spent more than three million pesos on the discovery, settlement and maintenance of the Philippines, whilst only 12 pesos were levied on one *tonelada* of export and import.⁴⁸³

3.3.1. The Founding of the First European Capital in the East

The promising outlook of future trade relations with China was the strongest impetus for Legazpi and his followers to found Manila as the colonial capital; it offered optimal conditions for foreign trade with East and Southeast Asia and guaranteed access to supply from outside. When the first Spanish soldiers arrived in the region in 1567, a Muslim clan was ruling the area. Because of the city's favourable location, the Spaniards decided to build their capital there. The Muslim leader Rajah Sulaiman III, did not want to submit to Spanish sovereignty but agreed to a friendship treaty. When a revolt broke out, the Spanish captured and burnt the city. In the year 1571, Miguel López de Legazpi occupied the territory and founded a Spanish settlement at this small trading port.⁴⁸⁴ Before long the city would be replete with typical Spanish colonial features such as parallel and perpendicular straight streets, a cathedral and government buildings made of stone in the centre. One of the biggest challenges for the early Spaniards were fires and earthquakes that destroyed large parts of constructions made of ill-suited

⁴⁸¹ Grau y Monfalcón, *Justificación*, 11-14.

⁴⁸² Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 30.

⁴⁸³ Santiago de Vera in a letter to Archbishop Moya y Contreras, Manila 20 June 1585 cf. de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 643.

⁴⁸⁴ See document of the foundation by Hernando Riquel, June 19, 1572 cf. Maria Lourdes Diaz-Trechuelo Spinola, *Arquitectura Española en Filipinas (1565-1800)* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1959), 7. Three years later on June 20, 1574 Manila receives the title "*insigne y leal*" and in 1595 "*cabeza de Filipinas*", capital of the Philippines. Thereafter its coat of arms composed of half lion and half dolphin with a castle and a crown as imperial symbols was created in 1596.

traditional materials such as reed and local woods.⁴⁸⁵ Weather and typhoons should also be taken into consideration as worthwhile explanation for the general decline thesis with regard to the galleon trade.⁴⁸⁶

Urbanisation has often been regarded as a major accomplishment in Spanish colonial settings and the key in understanding Spanish imperialist success that often included resettling the native population.⁴⁸⁷ In all this, the Spanish were far ahead their European competitors.⁴⁸⁸ Moreover, like any growing early modern conglomeration, Manila depended heavily on immigration. Various scholars have pointed out that Manila would not have survived without migration from China. This, however, was not merely the result of insufficient colonial policies, but a rather common phenomenon of the time. A quick look at historical research reveals that no major city in the sixteenth and seventeenth century was able to reproduce its population without external help.⁴⁸⁹ Permanent surplus of male population was another factor that Manila shared with many European cities.⁴⁹⁰

The historical geographer Robert R. Reed, tried to show to what extent Spanish and native elements specifically influenced urban development. Manila can be classified as a capital with certain political-administrative functions as well as a port city dependent on incoming foreign traders. However, what is of the utmost interest in the case of Manila was its function as a European colonial city. In Doepper's terms, "Spanish colonial policy was characterised by a detailed recognition of ethnic groups and an effort to keep these governmentally, ecclesiastically, socially, and spatially separate."⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁵ Pastells, *Labor Evangelica I*, 53.

⁴⁸⁶ James Francis Warren, "Weather, History and Empire: The Typhoon Factor and the Manila Galleon Trade, 1565-1815," in *Anthony Reid and the Study of the Southeast Asian Past*, ed. Geoff Wade (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012), 183-220.

⁴⁸⁷ Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 65: "Just as writers on Southeast Asian urbanism seem inclined to ignore or to give only passing reference to the pivotal role of hispanized towns and cities in facilitating the early transfer of a Great Transformation nurtured in Iberia to the Philippines, so have they failed to adequately depict the revolutionary impact of Spanish resettlement programs in inaugurating the colonial urbanization of Filipinos before most Western power had even acquired a tenuous foothold in lands to the east of the Cape of Good Hope."

⁴⁸⁸ Villiers, "Portuguese Malacca," 41: "Manila thus became the first truly European capital city in Southeast Asia. In Malacca the Portuguese merely replaced the indigenous rule of an already rich and powerful city-state by driving them into exile."

⁴⁸⁹ Herbert Knittler, *Die Europäische Stadt in der Frühen Neuzeit, 1500-1800* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 2000), 37-38.

⁴⁹⁰ Knittler, *Europäische Stadt*, 43-44 lists garrison cities, university cities and port cities as well as ecclesiastical centres as typical places with significant male overpopulation.

⁴⁹¹ Doeppers, "Development", 769.

3.3.2 The Municipal Government

In any newly founded city of the Overseas Empire, a municipal government (*cabildo municipal*, or city council) oversaw the development and administration of the new community. Carla Rahn Phillips, one of the leading historians on the Spanish period in Latin America, has stressed the importance of "municipal identity" for the organization of any Spanish colonial society.⁴⁹² The municipal government was Manila's first governing institution and linked the overseas community and the metropolis to each other. During the early years, the *cabildo* of Manila included only two *alcaldes* (mayors) and a varying number of *regidores* (municipal councils or aldermen), one *alguacil mayor* and a clerk, that all met twice a week.⁴⁹³ Jurisdiction lay in the hands of *alcaldes ordinarios*, who were usually not part of the municipal government. The *cabildo* (chief constable) was in charge of guaranteeing the city's supply. In this function, its members were ordered to collaborate with the Chinese.⁴⁹⁴

All these centralised government institutions had proven their efficiency in Spain and Spanish America, and were of hierarchical structure. Some of these posts allowed wide opportunities for self-governance, i.e. when it came to handling the indigenous population and other social matters.⁴⁹⁵ Here *alcaldes mayores* and *gobernadorcillos* – as head of the indigenous communities – were granted major competences.⁴⁹⁶ Social and juridical matters were also subject to a degree of bargaining; consultations of public opinion, interrogation and questionnaires were typical tools of a reasonably democratic colonial administration, on this lower level at least.⁴⁹⁷

3.4. Demographic Vicious Circles

As well as economic pressures, the colony also suffered from a shortage of willing and well-educated settlers from the motherland. Nevertheless, Spanish observations

⁴⁹² Burkholder and Johnson *Colonial Latin America*, 85-91; Rahn Phillips, "Organization," 78.

⁴⁹³ Trechuelo, "Legazpi," 51. For a list of all *alcaldes* and *regidores* see Luis Merino, *The Cabildo Secular or Municipal Government in Manila* Translated by Rafael Lopez (Iloilo: Research Center of the Univ. de San Agustin, 1980), 120-124.

⁴⁹⁴ For further context I refer to chapter 8.

⁴⁹⁵ Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla and Francisco Comín Comín, "Spain: From Composite Monarchy to Nation-State, 1492-1914." In *The Rise of Fiscal States: A Global History, 1500-1914*, ed. Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla et al., (Cambridge Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012), 234-244.

⁴⁹⁶ For a detailed description of the colonial administration see van den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 268-270; His study reflects common narratives of contradictory views on dealings with the indigenous.

⁴⁹⁷ For instance in order to evaluate the functioning of collecting local tax collection or the conduct of *encomenderos*. See Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 28.

penned in Manila presented a confusing image. Many settlers seemed unhappy and disillusioned at the same time as the outside world was envying them because of Manila's outstanding position and easy access to huge profits. Yet it was more than the unattractive and tedious migration across the Pacific and the high mortality rate of Spanish settlers that made circumstances in Manila difficult. Demographic developments soon became and ever remained a great challenge for Manila,⁴⁹⁸ and will be analysed in greater detail in chapter 8.

Chinese and Japanese people helped make up these gaps. By the year 1600, hundreds of Fujianese and Japanese merchants would not only supply the Spanish colony, but also settled in large numbers around the walled Spanish city, and thus became the real colonial settlers of the Manila Bay area.⁴⁹⁹ In turn, this would lead to various political, administrative and economic problems. One of the earliest accounts we have is a record of Governor Francisco Sande (r. 1575-1580), who counted 500 Spaniards in the entire colony in the year 1576.⁵⁰⁰ In 1581, the city hosted between three and four hundred Spaniards, of whom only fifty were adult females, after around 1,000 new Spanish settlers were sent from Mexico to colonise the archipelago the previous year.⁵⁰¹ About twenty years later, Governor Tello (r. 1596-1602) estimated that 1,200 Spaniards lived on the islands, pointing out the lack of military men who were needed on various spots such as in Mindanao or Cagayan.⁵⁰² There were about 800 garrisoned in Manila in 1586.⁵⁰³ As we will see, Habsburg Spain was unable to take necessary measures because of a permanent lack of settlers.

Comparatively speaking, these numbers were not so much smaller than the population of Peru in the first forty years of Spanish rule there, however there it grew at a much faster rate.⁵⁰⁴ Even though the situation in certain places in the Americas seemed

⁴⁹⁸ For a general study of Manila and the Philippines' demographic development see Merino, *Cabildo*, 35-36. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the number of Spanish in the whole colony including soldiers amounted to some 2, 200, at best. The number of households registered in Manila numbered 300. In the same period already more than 20,000 Chinese lived in the area around Manila, despite the official order from Spain that their number must not exceed 6,000.

⁴⁹⁹ See among others Igawa, *Daikōkai jidai*; Ōishi Shinzaburō, ed., *Shuinsen to minami he no senkusha* (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1986).

⁵⁰⁰ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 3, n. 23, "Carta de Sande sobre jornada de China," 1576-06-02.

⁵⁰¹ Iaccarino, "Manila," 77.

⁵⁰² AGI Filipina 18B, r. 7. n. 61, "Carta de Tello sobre posible ataque de Japón," 1597-05-19.

⁵⁰³ Rafael Bernal, "The Chinese Colony in Manila, 1570-1770" in *The Chinese in the Philippines 1570-1770*, ed. Alonso Felix, Jr., (Manila: Solidaridad Pub, 1967), 46.

⁵⁰⁴ Mahoney, *Colonialism*, 67: 2,000 in 1536 and about 5,000 in the 1540s but already about 8,000 by 1555.

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more favourable to the Spaniards, one should in general not overestimate the number of Spanish settlers outside the Iberian Peninsula. John Elliott, who based his estimations on the emigration statistics by Peter Boyd-Bowman, speaks of 240,000 settlers for the sixteenth century and 400,000 for the seventeenth century – the lion's share coming from Andalusia and Extremadura.⁵⁰⁵ Spaniards (*españoles*) were either born on the Spanish mainland or were first generation, new world descendants. The colonial society was divided in clerics and commoners.⁵⁰⁶ 40 percent of the Manila Spaniards at the beginning of the seventeenth century were *encomenderos* and more than 30 percent soldiers or ordinary citizens.⁵⁰⁷ In the 1620's, 2,400 men and women including some *mestizos* were registered in the Manila parish.⁵⁰⁸

While the number of colonists from Spain was stagnating, people from Southern China began to arrive in large numbers. Available numbers have to be regarded as approximates, often exaggerated for various political reasons. For the earlier years, Roman Bautista mentions in a letter to the king that 2,500 Chinese were waiting in the river that connected Manila with the port in Cavite to trade with the Castilians after the devastating fire in Manila of 1583. In this letter, it is noteworthy that the number of Chinese is mentioned directly after a petition for financial and military support for the hard-pressed colony.⁵⁰⁹ According to a letter of Santiago de Vera to the king in 1589, 4,000 Chinese lived permanently in and around Manila.⁵¹⁰ Their number was usually fluctuating along with economic prospects. In peak years it could rise to 30,000.⁵¹¹ A resident of Manila noted in 1614 that during March and July, the period of the Manila galleon trade (*'feria'*), about 16,000 Chinese (including hibernating and visiting merchants) lived in Manila while between eight and nine thousand were permanent settlers.⁵¹² By ways of comparison: In Nagasaki the number of Chinese is reported to

⁵⁰⁵ Elliott, *Spain and its World*, 11. Interesting in this context are the migration figures according to M. Mörner (cf. Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 201) that counted 104,610 people in the period between 1501 and 1600 and 74,000 during the first 25 years of the seventeenth century.

⁵⁰⁶ Burkholder and Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*, 195.

⁵⁰⁷ Merino, *Cabildo*, 35; 57-58; for a list of the Spanish citizens in Manila see *ibid*, documental supplement: 77-119.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. Merino, *Cabildo*, 38.

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. Trechuelo, *Arquitectura*, 11.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. Trechuelo, *Filipinas*.

⁵¹¹ Pastells, *Catálogo*, cclxv.

⁵¹² AGI Escribanía 403b, Legajo 1 de pleytos de Manila, 1614 / 1620 (96); For the institution of the *'feria'* see Juan Gil, *Los Chinos En Manila. Siglos XVI y XVII* (Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, I. P., 2011), 37-58.

have increased in ten years from twenty to 2,000 in 1618.⁵¹³ Registers of licence fees (or poll taxes) for the Chinese *sangleyes*⁵¹⁴ give us a more accurate estimation of the size of the Chinese community. In 1621, there were over 21,000 licensed Chinese residents in Manila and approximately 5,000 who were unlicensed.⁵¹⁵ The Chinese community came to dominate the majority of the business sectors, ranging from retail to the building and the service industries.⁵¹⁶

Following growing interaction with Japan, the number of Japanese residents in Manila rose steadily. An average trading ship (vermillion seal ship) between 1593 and 1633 had 236.5 people on board,⁵¹⁷ thus more than enough space for migrants. The remarkable dominance of Japanese settlers in the urban surroundings becomes clear when looking at Spanish accounts.⁵¹⁸ However, I remain sceptical about the frequently quoted number of 3,000 Japanese settlers in the year 1606.⁵¹⁹

As indicated, religious administration was a key characteristic. Religion was a political issue. Consequently baptism determined the status and treatment of the settlers from East Asia. Economically speaking, conversion to Christianity was not a requirement for leading a rich and fruitful life in Manila. The majority of migrants from China to Manila did not convert to Catholicism and remained *sangleyes infieles*. Although as heathens they would become a thorn in the Spaniards' side, they became the backbone of the economic life in far more than their non-Christian neighbourhood. Other issues led to unavoidable conflicts, beginning with Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas' philanthropic move of permitting local non-Christians to celebrate their

⁵¹³ Cf. Marius Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1992), 9.

⁵¹⁴ See *Introduction*, footnote 2.

⁵¹⁵ According to a letter of governor Fajardo y Tenza to the King, Sept. 21, 1621. Cf. Murakami Naojirō Murakami, "Japan's Early Attempts to Establish Commercial Relations with Mexico, (July 19-23, 1915) in *The Pacific Ocean in History. Papers and Addresses Presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress*, ed. H. Morse Stephens et al., (San Francisco: The Macmillan Company, 1917), 468.

⁵¹⁶ Alberto Santamaría, O. P., "The Chinese Parián (El Parián de los Sangleyes)," in *The Chinese in the Philippines 1570-1770*, ed. Alonso Felix, Jr. (Manila: Solidaridad, 1966), 90; See also Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat. The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), 170.

⁵¹⁷ Gonoï, "Betonaumu", 51.

⁵¹⁸ See anonymous report on early trade relations between Japan and Spain. "Filipinas y el Japon. Aviso al Comercio. Rapport Adressé a la Mageste le Roi de Pays-Bas par les Ministros de Colonies et des Affaires Exterieurues" in *Tōyō Bunko Archival Source* (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1860), 15. Iwao Seiichi, *Nanyō nihonmachi no seisui* (Taipei: Taipei Teikoku Daigaku, 1937), 292-300.

⁵¹⁹ Pedro Murillo de Verlarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas*, Libro 18 de la Recopilación de Indias; cop. 20: "[...] en noviembre de 1606 habia en Manila mas de 3000 Japoneses pues se fuja allí este numero como limite en que debieran en cerrar los gobernadores a esta población extranjera."

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heathen deities that naturally ended in a conflict with the Catholic missionaries.⁵²⁰

The attitude of the metropolis to the ever-growing number of Chinese in Manila, especially against the background of a stagnating Spanish population, was wavering, as we shall see elsewhere. As the Spanish missionaries' gateway to China and Japan, any official Spanish action in Asia also has to be regarded in the context of regular endeavours to globally spread and protect Catholicism. The king initially hesitated before finally decreeing on June 8, 1585 that passages to China were prohibited for any Spanish missionary without explicit permission given in the Philippines to enter China for conversion.⁵²¹

Governor Niño de Tavora was yet another colonial official who lamented that none of the merchants bothered to move to Manila and invest their fortune there. By the 1620s, Manila had become "empty, with no dwellers in the houses, with no one to fill the void left by our dead". Indeed, in 1637, more than sixty-five years after the foundation of the city, Manila reportedly only counted a hundred and fifty households.⁵²² Due to a dearth of Spanish women, the mixed blood population grew rapidly. In the view of these circumstances, one has to ask what was the role the Chinese and Japanese immigrants? They were certainly less marginalized than members of different Filipino tribes and an integral part of the city and its society. Carl Rahn Phillips has detected a similar phenomenon in other Spanish overseas territories, specifically with regard to Africans in the Americas.⁵²³

⁵²⁰ Colin, *Labor Evangelica I*, 623.

⁵²¹ BR 25: 137.

⁵²² Morga, *Sucesos*, 14.

⁵²³ Rahn Phillips, "Organization," 82.



Map 4 South China Sea 1571

3.5. Manila's Global Integration

Henry Kamen has recently claimed that

*Manila was a highly vulnerable and isolated outpost, wholly outnumbered by native populations, subsisting not only because of its tenaciousness but even more because of the tolerance of the two major powers in Asia, the Chinese and the Japanese. Rather than being, as it pretended to be, the capital of a colonial territory, it was little more than a small trading outpost, similar to the Portuguese outposts of Goa and Macao.*⁵²⁴

In one point he is absolutely right: The market was both foreign-oriented and foreign-dominated. I strongly disagree with the rest. Circumstantial evidence provided in chapters 4 and 8 will show where Kamen's estimation is too narrow. Yet, he is not the only one who promoted monocausal explanations. The Spanish historian Manuel Ollé has argued that this setting hindered the initially pursued territorial model:

*The initial optimism turned within a few decades into a strategy of defence, with the rapid construction of city walls, adapting a passive and receptive position that converted Manila into an entrepôt, a city of enlace, that stopped acting according to the logics of territorial domination that was imported from America and started to respond to the mercantile logics of the region with the conquest of key cities that marked competition and rivalry between the merchant communities in Southeast Asia.*⁵²⁵

Yet, Manila had more to offer. Like other international port cities in Southeast Asia, such as Hoi-An in modern Vietnam or Ayutthaya in Thailand, it offered a 'neutral setting'⁵²⁶ for Japanese and Chinese traders. With the emergence of Japan in maritime

⁵²⁴ Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire*, 206. The number of factual and spelling mistakes in the chapter on the Philippines could be taken as indication for the obvious disinterest in this area.

⁵²⁵ Manuel Ollé, "La Formación De Parián De Manila. La Construcción De Un Equilibrio Inestable " Univ. of Granada, <http://www.ugr.es/~feiap/ceiap1/ceiap/capitulos/capitulo02.pdf>. Accessed January 17, 2012, 27: "Este inicial optimismo se vería transformado a las pocas décadas en un estrategia defensiva, con rápida construcción de murallas, con adopción de una posición pasiva y receptiva, que convierte a Manila en un entrepot, una ciudad de enlace, que no actúa ya según la lógica de dominación territorial importada de América sino según la lógica mercantil de la región, con captura de plazas clave, que marcaba las interacciones de competencia y rivalidad entre comunidades mercantiles en el sureste asiático."

⁵²⁶ von Glahn, *Fountain*, 121.

commerce, such neutral settings were booming.⁵²⁷ Within the few years, this would transform Manila into a prosperous port city; it became part and parcel of the emerging world economy.⁵²⁸

The limits of mercantilism have to be emphasised in this context. In the early modern Southeast Asian market economy, the state existed because of trade, not trade because of the state.⁵²⁹ Manila, being part of a territorial colony, is characterised by an ambivalent balance of power between the state and market and her colonial urban context. The early modern China-historian Timothy Brook, for instance, wrote that

*Manila greatly mattered to everyone who traded there. It was the point of commercial contact between the economies of seventeenth century Europe and China, and once silver was flowing, not even a massacre could break the contact. Each side brought to the table what the other one wanted to buy and could afford, and took from it what it could use.*⁵³⁰

What sounds like the description of a market economy ‘Mecca’, without any government intervention, indeed reflects some of Manila's free market-like structures, as an entrepôt for an entirely new type of commerce – the transpacific exchange that will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

The Government did not provide much support for the few Spaniards who traded in Manila, let alone invested in creating institutions for the transpacific trade. This leads me to suggest that the Philippines may have lacked the same ideological rank as the colonies in the Americas. Although very important for state-ideological and geopolitical matters, as well as for their Catholic zeal,⁵³¹ the Philippines ranked behind the Americas in terms of good governance. Shifting focus from important issues of finance and human resources, to the viceregal authorities, such as the *situado*, is just one example for the negligent governance of the Philippines. With regards to the colonial elite, primary source accounts give the impression that in the colonial society nothing seemed to work

⁵²⁷ Wills, “Maritime China,” 201-238, 211.

⁵²⁸ For Asian and European contribution of Southeast Asian port cities’ florescence see Andaya, “Interactions,” 1-57.

⁵²⁹ The Malacca sultanate is a typical example for a Southeast Asian mercantilist state that dealt with commerce and movable wealth more or less in the way traditional agrarian states did with real estate. See Reid, *Southeast Asia II*, 205. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony. The World System A.D. 1250 - 1350* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), 303.

⁵³⁰ Brook, *Vermeer’s Hat*, 170.

⁵³¹ On the several attempts to use the Philippines as a base for christianizing China see Ollé, *La Empresa*.

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as it should. For example, corrupt officials, price-dumping merchants, and lazy citizens, all held back maximising potential, for selfish reasons. The main problem for the Philippines was most certainly that royal orders were not fulfilled, which was especially true for places far away from central control.⁵³² Several scholars have suggested that the Spanish administration indeed worked according to the principle '*se obedece, pero no se cumple*' ('one obeys but does not comply' or 'heaven is high and the 'emperor' far away'), a tactic that also invited conflict in the Philippines.⁵³³ Nothing was more challenging than governing such a geographically remote place.⁵³⁴

⁵³² Nuchera, *Encomienda*, 188.

⁵³³ Grafe and Irigoin, "Bargaining," 179; See also Phelan, "Authority and Flexibility in the Spanish Imperial Bureaucracy," in *Administrative Science Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (1960), 59.

⁵³⁴ AGI Escribanía 403 B, Legajo 1 de pleytos de Manila, 1614 / 1620.

4. Triangular Trade: Junk Trade, Transpacific Trade and Provision Trade

4.1. General Considerations on the Manila System

From the historical discourse of recent years, one could easily get the impression that silver was the only driving force behind commercial encounters between Asia and Europe after 1571. The fame of the Manila Galleon is rooted in the claim of Sino-centrist scholars and the California School that the bulk of silver eventually ended up in China.⁵³⁵ This same discourse views Manila as nothing more than a way station to China and the bullion flows from America as no-win situation for the Spanish.⁵³⁶ This dissertation argues in line with the reasoning that American (mainly Mexican) silver flows entering China were the backbone of the Manila market.⁵³⁷ The point I want to make is that a comparative view on exchange patterns has the potential to debunk the strong claims of leading figures of the California School, for example Andre Gunder Frank's contention that China was the ultimate beneficiary.⁵³⁸

Every year, dozens of Chinese junks carried silver back to Fujian. Juan de Medino called the Chinese sampan traders in Manila "dear friends of silver" and their deals with the Spanish the "richest and most opulent of any known".⁵³⁹ Referring to China as

⁵³⁵ For an overview of the debates see William S. Atwell, "Another Look at Silver, Imports into China, 1635-1644" *Journal of World History* 16, no. 4 (2004): 467-491.

⁵³⁶ Bullionism: economic theory that wealth is defined by the amount of silver and gold. Linking the debate to the Indian subcontinent, Om Prakash labeled this trade "bullion for goods" in which Asian merchandise exchanged for silver, gold, and other commodities see: Om Prakash, "Bullion for Goods: International Trade and the Economy of Early Eighteenth Century Bengal" *IESHR* 13, (1976): 159-187.

⁵³⁷ Definition for market by Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis. An Introduction* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2007), 25: "A market is both a concrete local structure in which individuals or firms sell and buy goods, and a virtual institution across space where the same kind of exchange occurs. How large and wide-spread any virtual market is depends on the realistic alternatives that sellers and buyers have at a given time." Wallerstein's definition coincides with the dynamics of exchange in early modern Manila.

⁵³⁸ For the ideas of these historians see Peer Vries, "The California School and Beyond: How to Study the Great Divergence?" *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik/Austrian Journal of Development Studies* 24, no. 4 (2008): 6-49. He shows that 'members' of the California School tend to overlook major institutional differences between China and the West. I endorse his critique on the California School that "tend to deny or at least downplay the importance of specific human agency in terms of institutions, policies, knowledge, technology and culture." Much of the confusion about Manila is hampered by that omission.

⁵³⁹ Juan de Medina, *Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustin de estas Islas Filipinas, desde que se Descubrieron y no Poblaron Por los Españoles, Con Las Noticias Momorables*, (1630, reprinted 1893), 86. The seventeenth-century author where he furthermore criticised the Spanish of being bad businessmen: "Y si los españoles no fueran tan arrojados, es cierto que el trato les hubiera salido más barato y los chinos no hicieran lo que quieren de ellos."

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'silver's prison', he can even be called the first 'silver-sink' theorist.⁵⁴⁰ So, even though it is often said that the Spanish had nothing to offer but silver, it was precisely what China most needed at the point of encounter with the Iberians, after the *Single Whip Reforms* that turned the payment of the bulk of taxes and labour service into silver.⁵⁴¹ Thus, China's enormous thirst for silver was quenched by both Japanese and American silver exports throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century and beyond.

Indeed, the Spanish also feared that this trading environment would lead to a constant outflow of silver to China, emptying treasuries in Manila, as a report by Governor Tello (r. 1596-1602) of the year 1598 implies:

*Your Majesty's treasury is greatly embarrassed as I have noted in the letter pertaining to the royal finances. It occurs to me to declare here what may be done in this regard, should it appear best to your Majesty. [...] During the ten days they spend here they gain more than a hundred per cent; and this year according to the universal opinion, fully two hundred per cent.*⁵⁴²

Estimations based on the records of contemporary officials suggest that the loss of silver – based on the Manila-galleon-trade – amounted to 5,000,000 pesos (127,800 kg) in peak years.⁵⁴³ Richard von Glahn's moderate calculation for silver entering China from Manila that amounted around 584,000 kg between 1572 and 1600 (or roughly 21,000 kg annually)⁵⁴⁴ puts exaggerated high numbers into perspective, while he admits that the actual number was by far higher due to smuggling and unregistered trade.⁵⁴⁵ The reason why so many different estimates exist for the transpacific silver trade lies in

⁵⁴⁰ Medina, *Historia*, 69: "De suerte, que no me engañaré en decir, que el reino de la China es el más poderoso que en el mundo hay, y aún le podemos llamar el tesoro del mundo; pues allí se aprisiona la plata y se le da cárcel perpétua"; For the 'silver sink' narrative see Flynn and Giráldez, "Silver Spoon," 201-21. Frank, *ReOrient*, 131-165; The 'silver sink' theory is closely linked to the 'silver junkie' discourse by L. Eastman, see von Glahn, *Fountain*, 245.

⁵⁴¹ Schottenhammer, "East Asian Maritime World," 19; Kanging Li, "A Study of the Song, Yuan and Ming Monetary Policies within the Context of Worldwide Hard Currency Flows During the 11th and 16th Centuries and Their Impact on Ming Institutions and Changes," in *The East Asian Maritime World 1400-1800: Its Fabrics of Power and Dynamics of Exchanges* ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 124-128.

⁵⁴² BR 10: 179.

⁵⁴³ von Glahn, *Fountain*, 124.

⁵⁴⁴ von Glahn, *Fountain*, 137-138.

⁵⁴⁵ von Glahn, *Fountain*, 138: "the actual scale of silver imports [from the Philippines] to China could easily have been three or four times as great. Most of the reports from Manila in the 1620s and 1630s estimated the volume of silver exported to China at roughly 2 million pesos (51,100 kg) annually." He also speaks of more conservative estimates of 1.5 million pesos (38,325 kg) annually.

the scarcity of precise sources and records. For my narrative I use Richard von Glahn's figures because they are most convincing to me. They are estimations taken from moderate calculations and based on the idea that the silver exports to Manila at least doubled because of intensive smuggling.⁵⁴⁶

The *situado* that was designed as a subsidy for the colony and sent from Mexico on the galleon often missed its target and also ended up in China. However, there must have been a reason why the Spanish merchants and authorities did not manage to keep the necessary silver on the islands. Indeed, merchants and government officials exchanging silver got plenty in return, starting with a regular income from import taxes, gains from lucrative trade in highly-valued luxury items for the trans-Pacific exchange, as well as provisions for the colony. Why then did the latter feel a negative balance of trade, as we still do today? The answer is that the often-praised Manila galleon trade turned out to be a mixed blessing for the Spanish settlers of Manila. The riches being brought from America never directly enriched the colony. In the early years, numerous petitions to give up the colony, as it was nothing but a losing deal for the royal treasury, reached the king in Spain.⁵⁴⁷

When it comes to scale, it is crucial to remember that Manila was ranking among the number-one ports in Southeast Asia, by trade volume, the number of ships that used the port, as well as with complex transactions at the end of the sixteenth century, all of which were telling indications of how sophisticated the commercial system was.⁵⁴⁸ The

⁵⁴⁶ I will briefly introduce competing or contradictory accounts and estimates. Official accounts in Mexico speak of low amounts. During the 1580s and 1590s, about three tons of silver bound for Manila were registered on average in Acapulco every year. In the 1620s, the official amount of silver had increased to twenty tons a year, and eventually settled around ten tons. For the entire galleon-trade official records speak of about 700 tons of American silver carried to Manila. Brook, *Vermeer's Hat*, 171-172. Much debate has been generated around the thesis by Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giraldez. Their research has been criticised for overestimating silver figures and the amount of contraband trade. A synthesis of silver circulation debates and results of different studies beginning with Earl Jefferson Hamilton, Dennis O. Flynn, William Atwell, Niels Steengaard, John J. TePaske, Han-Sheng Chuan, Ward Barrett and others is given by Shaw and Mola, "La Era de Plata Española". They state that figures put forward by Flynn and Giraldez are far too high while those of TePaske are too low, and believe that the most reasonable estimations were to be found by Han-Sheng Chuan. The quantities of American silver sent to China according to Chuan are as follows: 1598: 1,000,000 pesos; 1601: 2,000,000 pesos; 1602: 2,000,000 pesos; 1604: 2,500,000 pesos, 1620: 3,000,000 pesos; 1633: 2,000,000 pesos.

⁵⁴⁷ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 4, n. 52, "Carta de Ronquillo sobre armada de Carrión contra Japón," 1582-07-01. In this letter to Philip II, the governor invoked the king to abandon the Philippines for causing nothing but deficits: "*Ya tengo escrito a Vuestra Magestad la poca hacienda que tiene aquí y los muchos necesidades forcosas que ay y con quanto trabajo y artificio alcanza a el gasto conforme a ello Vuestra Magestad probea lo que mas sea serbido pues sin esta ayuda de esta poca hacienda que aquí tiene Vuestra Magestad no se puede conservar esta placa.*"

⁵⁴⁸ Andaya, "Interaction," 5.

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role of Japanese trade might be the key to understanding this system's complex dynamics.

A comparative approach could help to shed light on these multiple connections. In order to understand the Spanish rule over the Philippines, a comparison with Portuguese rule over Macao should suffice. Taken seriously, such a project would be enough work for another dissertation and is therefore not achievable within this present frame of research. However, occasional references to the situation in Macao shall help us to understand Manila.⁵⁴⁹ With good reason the Portuguese trading outpost had been referred to as 'the pearl of the east'.⁵⁵⁰ It was the most successful Lusitanian project in Asia – not only because of its longevity under Portugal (from 1557 until 1997), although the Chinese state repeatedly claimed ultimate authority over Macao⁵⁵¹ – but also as centre of the Jesuit mission in the East and as hub for communication of the *Estado da India*. Given their relative closeness and convenience, (partially illegal) commerce between Manila and Macao existed during the entire colonial era and was essential for maintaining both Iberian strongholds. Apart from supplying Manila with necessities and Chinese commodities, Macao had another function in the Manila system: it would become the bridge for Spanish privateers to access Nagasaki. For understanding the dynamic of both Macao and Manila in this global silver trade, it is important to note that Japan remained excluded from official Chinese trade. We should also recall that officially China – time and again – renewed prohibitions on maritime trade.⁵⁵² Towards the end of the Ming rule, the country experienced a silver crisis –when around 1640 the value of silver had developed an international standard, silver exports from Spanish America and Japan into China decreased dramatically; this triggered a further huge debate on whether there is a connection between the decline in silver flows into China and the

⁵⁴⁹ See Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008), 169. A specialist on Jesuit history he hints on the benefits of comparing Macao and Manila.

⁵⁵⁰ Its closeness to China and the special contract that permitted the Portuguese access to the Chinese market and the annual official voyages to Nagasaki are characteristic elements that backed the privileged position of the Portuguese during the sixteenth and the early years of the seventeenth century. For a detailed analysis of Macao's global economic integration in later centuries see Paul van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macau. Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Trade* (Washington D.C: Univ. of Washington Press, 2011).

⁵⁵¹ Wills, "Maritime Europe," 35 has stated that the date 1557 no longer counts as certain. In Chinese sources 1557 as date of Portuguese acquisition is only found once; The name of the settlement derives from "Amagao" (Cape of Ama). Ama was a nickname for the goddess Mazu.

⁵⁵² When Chinese maritime trade was re-opened in 1684 again large amounts of silver entered the country.

Ming-Qing transition, as well as the Ming-Qing wars from 1619 to 1689.⁵⁵³

4.2. The Manila Galleon and Beginning of Trans-Pacific Trade

As soon as the Philippines were established as permanent colony in the East Indies, cargos with provision and silver were sent from Acapulco to Manila annually. The passage via Mexico served as the Philippines' only regular transport network and bridge to the European mainland. The galleon's lonesome journey across the Pacific was the longest to that time.⁵⁵⁴ For the mainly Spanish passengers, the route was not only an adventure (and a risky one at that), but also a recipe for endless boredom due to sailing times of up to a year.⁵⁵⁵ Next to settlers, missionaries and imperial officers, it carried necessities for the small Spanish colony and the precious metal it became famous for. It has been calculated that between 1500 and 1800, 80% – or 150,000 tons – of the world's silver was mined in Latin America, of which an annual average of one to two million pesos (25,000 to 50,000 kg) was shipped across the Pacific.⁵⁵⁶ As we have previously seen, this number was much higher during the peak decades of the Manila trade.

During its developing first decade, trans-Pacific trade showed a largely unrestricted, *laissez-faire* structure. Its restrictive character began in the 1580s, as a response to diverging interests in Manila, Mexico and Madrid, as well as smuggling and other several risks at the high sea. Most worrisome were English privateers preying at Spanish vessels,⁵⁵⁷ so much so that eventually the number of ships, their cargo and their available ports of call was reduced. Spanish growing fear of European rivals, all above the English

⁵⁵³ For the debate on the Ming-Qing transition see the different standpoints of Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez, "Cycles of Silver: Global Economic Unity through the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 13, (2002): 391-427.

⁵⁵⁴ Murdo J. Macleod, "Spain and America: The Atlantic Trade, 1492-1720," in *Colonial Latin America* ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984), 354: He most appropriately compared it with trips to the moon in our time.

⁵⁵⁵ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 193. For the grave losses see William J. McCarthy, "A Spectacle of Misfortune: Wreck, Salvage, and Loss in the Spanish Pacific," *The Great Circle* 17, no. 2 (1995): 95-105.

⁵⁵⁶ William J. McCarthy, "Between Policy and Prerogative: Malfeasance in the Inspection of the Manila Galleons at Acapulco, 1637" *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 2, no. 2 (1993): 178. For additional details, see BR 20: 51; 69-70.

⁵⁵⁷ See María Dolores Elizalde Pérez-Grueso, "Filipinas, Plataforma Hacia Asia" *Torre de los Lujanes* 63 (2008): 122. In early November 1587 Thomas Cavendish captured the 600-ton Manila galleon Santa Anna off Cabo San Lucas in California, where he took an enormous cargo of 122,000 silver dollars. Paradoxically Cavendish's ship was too small to carry the entire treasure cargo. English Protestant corsairs were considered the biggest threat among Philippine government officials in the 1590s see Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 30 (1589).

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and the Dutch, was anything but unfounded, as we will see hereafter.

Reportedly, the crown sanctioned trade between Lima and Manila in 1579; in 1580 the first ship was sent from Manila to Peru with spices and other luxury goods and a second in the following year with merchandise from several Asian regions.⁵⁵⁸ However, merchants in Spain were quick to convince authorities that the expansion of the Manila trade seriously harmed commerce in the Americas.⁵⁵⁹ Thereafter the king started issuing a series of propitiatory decrees that first blocked the trade route in 1582 with an order not to send ships to Peru. In the meantime merchants from other parts of the vast Overseas Empire tried to circumvent the crown monopoly. For instance a ship from Peru laden with silver landed in Macao in the year 1590. Manila merchants had reported that the viceroy of New Castile, García Hurtado de Mendoza, had dispatched the Jesuit Leandro Felipe with two million pesos for buying Chinese copper for Peruvian canon production. Conservative forces reacted promptly: The ship was confiscated after part of the money was entrusted to the Jesuits in Macao, who were suspected of having used it for trade with Nagasaki.⁵⁶⁰ In Manila, fears were rising that they would be left outside profitable trade with China and before long the Spaniards drafted a petition to the king, in which they made clear how important it was for the Philippines that commerce between Peru and respectively New Spain and China was to be prohibited.⁵⁶¹ Trade restrictions between Peru and the Philippines had to be re-issued in the years 1593, 1595 and 1604, and eventually again in 1640 when in theory all trade between the two American Viceroyalties was prohibited.⁵⁶² Fear of too much freedom of trade and independence of the two colonies was the motivation behind the king's intervention. Precious revenues, such as the 3% *almojarifazgo* government authorities collected from merchant ships in Manila and Mexico and an additional cargo charge (*fletes* or anchorage due) of 12 pesos were important incentives to strictly define the trading route from above.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁸ Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 9 (1582).

⁵⁵⁹ BR 8: 316-318; BR 17: 29, 33-34, 41-44.

⁵⁶⁰ Antonio Cabezas, *El Siglo Ibérico de Japón. La Presencia Hispano-Portuguesa en Japón (1543-1643)* (Valladolid: Univ. de Valladolid, 1995), 270. I should like to mention that although I have great respect for Cabezas's scholarship, I could not help wondering why he provides his readership with so few references.

⁵⁶¹ AGI Filipinas 18 A, r. 7, n. 47, "Carta de Audiencia de Filipinas sobre sublevaciones," 1589-07-13.

⁵⁶² Yuste López, *Emporios Transpacíficos*, 123.

⁵⁶³ Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 9 (1582); Other sources speak of a practice of collecting an higher amount of tax from Chinese traders based on the Recopilación book 8, title 15, law 21; Milagros C. Guerrero, "The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570-1770" in *The Chinese in the Philippines 1570-1770*, ed. Alonso Felix, Jr. (Manila: Solidaridad Pub, 1967), 31 speaks of up to ten per cent of the total value. BR 8: 316-318. A

The Manila Galleon was the third royal grant after the *encomienda* and *situado* described in chapter 3, therefore it will come as no surprise that any loss, for instance when the ships failed to make their annual voyage from Mexico, would hit the colonial economy badly.⁵⁶⁴ Consequently, the ideal that the Manila galleon trading system would ensure the Philippines could be self-supporting, could never be accomplished.⁵⁶⁵ Thus only Mexican silver could be shipped to the Philippines with official sanction.⁵⁶⁶ It would take almost four years of consultations until measures were taken to maintain the Philippines' exclusive status in China trade.

Probably the most powerful instrument introduced by the crown to protect the American colonial market from being flooded with Chinese goods, while still maintaining a substantial and profitable exchange between the Philippines and Nueva España, was the *permiso*. This regulatory mechanism, proclaimed by Philip II on January 11, 1593 and confirmed in a series of later decrees, originally fixed the value of Asian goods shipped annually from Manila, below the specified sum of 250,000 pesos and established the maximum carrying capacity of the galleons. The upper limit of the proceeds of sale at Acapulco could be no more than double that figure.⁵⁶⁷ Needless to say that such restrictions remained nothing but political theory, while smuggling and corruption often more than doubled the export figures. The amount of silver sent from Acapulco was limited to 1,000,000 pesos in 1593. In reality, it remained closer to 2,000,000 pesos in this period, determined by supply and demand as well as cargo space, rather than by restrictive measures. At the same time the number of galleons was restricted to two per year.⁵⁶⁸

Royal regulations and crown intervention were one of the reasons why no Spanish trade company was established.⁵⁶⁹ Hence, in a global comparison Spanish traders had a

quantitative study should also consider that new fiscal measures were introduced in Mexico at that time; the *alcabala*, a general sales tax of two percent in 1575 that doubled to four percent in 1636 is the most famous example. See: McAlister, *Spain & Portugal*, 363.

⁵⁶⁴ Merino, *Cabildo Secular*, 53; *Manila mal gobernada* ed. Edward E. Ayer, Manuscript Collection, The Newberry Library: "*Daño mui considerable q se hare en las islas es permittir q los sangleyes chinos llevan todos los años para china quasi un millon en plata podiendose modificar tanta saca conq lleven mitad engendros o q los españoles sean mercaderes q entonces quedara la mas de la plata en tierra y no como se experimenta q no viniendo un año la nao de Mexico no se halla un real en todas las islas.*"

⁵⁶⁵ AGI Filipinas, 339, l. 1, f. 41v, "Petición de cuentas detalladas de la Hacienda de Filipinas," 1572-06-04.

⁵⁶⁶ Iwaski F. Cauti, *Extreme Oriente y Perú. En el Siglo XVI* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992), 21-54.

⁵⁶⁷ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 292.

⁵⁶⁸ For the two royal decrees of early 1593 see Spate, *Spanish Lake*, 161-164; BR 8: 316-318; BR 17: 29, 33-34, 41-44.

⁵⁶⁹ Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 12-13.

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certain disadvantage to merchants of the Western European trading companies. The latter enjoyed not only relative freedom in foreign trade, but also the opportunity to choose legally between commerce and privateering.⁵⁷⁰ Merchants who sailed on Spanish ships – no matter if it was the great Manila Galleon or smaller trading vessels operating in Asia – were by contrast bound to the law of the crown; they could only choose between lengthy negotiations or committing economic crimes against the state.

Without doubt, the Spaniards tried to keep competing parties out: When the Florentine merchant Francesco Carletti visited Manila in 1596/97, he was clearly surprised by the difficulties he and his father faced to get permission for their enterprises. This shows that foreign trade at Manila must already have been over-restricted by then.⁵⁷¹

In the course of regulating trade, *boletas* were issued with the intention of equally dividing cargo space on the galleon amongst the citizens of Manila and guarding them against competition from Mexico.⁵⁷² Yet before long it was the monopoly of a few liquid businessmen who managed to acquire enough *boletas* for the passage of their merchandise.⁵⁷³ Government officials would follow. The *boleta* system in the end also helped to undermine Spanish control.⁵⁷⁴ Before he enacted a law that banned merchants from Nueva España to build factories or companies there, Philip II – in 1589 – commented on the economically harmful participation of rich Mexican merchants in the galleon-trade that could degenerate Manila to a transit port.⁵⁷⁵ Since supervision of outgoing ships was carried out by judges of the *audiencia*, there was always enough suspicion of corruption and harmful collaboration with Chinese merchants.⁵⁷⁶ A far-reaching dependence of the colony on the galleon trade made if anyone Mexican merchants wealthy.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁰ Pérotin-Dumon, "The Pirate," 35.

⁵⁷¹ Carletti, *Reise um die Welt*, 108-119.

⁵⁷² Pastells, *Historia General*, 265; Bernal, "Chinese Colony," 61: "These were valuable and were given to the recipient purely because he was a Spaniard."

⁵⁷³ John Villiers, "Silk and Silver: Macau, Manila and Trade in the China Seas in the Sixteenth Century," A lecture delivered to the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at the Hong Kong Club. 10 June 1980. (1980), 74.

⁵⁷⁴ Merino, *Cabildo*, 54-55: "It caused an uncontrollable speculation on the part of the capitalists of Nueva España, who were using the *boleta*, through their agents in Manila, to import goods from China at an enormous profit, to whom they paid up to 8 or 10 percent of the capital invested."

⁵⁷⁵ Cédulas reales 1700, no. 30 (1589).

⁵⁷⁶ AGI Escríbanía 403B, Legajo 1 de pleytos de Manila, 1614/1620; see also Bauzon, *Deficit Government*, 14: Archbishop Santibañez concluded in a letter to the king in 1599 that the Spanish colony in the Philippines would not survive without the galleon trade.

⁵⁷⁷ Merino, *Cabildo*, 56. The most important commercial suit tried by the *audiencia* dates back to the year 1656 when several residents of Mexico were excluded from galleon trade. Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 114-115.

4.3. South China Sea Trade in the Sixteenth Century

Vital multi-ethnic networks of people possessing outstanding commercial skills shaped the economic nature of the silk and spice trade in the South China Sea region – the starting point of the Maritime Silk Road of the fifteenth century.⁵⁷⁸ As indicated in chapter 2, well-established markets on regular maritime trading routes – linking East and Southeast Asia via Muslim trading networks to as far west the Eastern Mediterranean⁵⁷⁹ – and a rather complex system of exchange comprised of both tally trade and private enterprises, justify labelling the China Seas a cross-cultural trading area.⁵⁸⁰ Nonetheless, interactions prior to the arrival of the Europeans had long been neglected by scholars studying the economic development and the trading networks of Muslim, Malay, Overseas Chinese and Ryukyuan, who connected entrepôts like Malacca or Ayutthaya and Chinese coastal centres such as Quanzhou.⁵⁸¹

Upon the arrival of the Europeans, particular reactions against protectionist foreign trade policies – including the Sino-Japanese trade ban – encouraged an increase in private trade in Southeast Asia. The Ming Court stigmatised these maritime merchants that included families from Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang province as traitors and pirates. Nowadays they are regarded as secret traders who developed along with China's official trade relations with barbarian states in the Western Ocean *xi yang* and Eastern Ocean *dong yang*. They coexisted with tally trade missions from the Philippine archipelago to the Middle Kingdom and Chinese private maritime ventures to Visayas, Luzon and Mindanao.⁵⁸² The *Ming shi* clearly states that there was a colony of Fujian people on Luzon before the arrival of the Spaniards.⁵⁸³ This may even date back to the

⁵⁷⁸ Reid, *Charting the Shape*, 7-8; Ptak, *Maritime Seidenstrasse*, 168.

⁵⁷⁹ Muslims from Mindanao and Sulu made regular visits to Manila in order to buy Chinese silk. "Their monopoly of silk, both raw and finished, their numerical superiority of vessels, their long experience in South East Asia and their geographical nearness gave the sampan traders an initial advantage which the Europeans did not have in the earlier phase of the Western expansion." See Serafin D. Quiason, "The Sampan Trade, 1570-1770," in *The Chinese in the Philippines*, ed. Alonso Felix (Manila: Solidaridad Pub, 1966), 166.

⁵⁸⁰ For the development of flourishing exchange in the region see Andaya, "Interactions," 2-17.

⁵⁸¹ For Chinese maritime trade and shipping see Gang Deng, *Chinese Maritime Activities and Socioeconomic Development, C. 2100 B.C.-1900 A.D.* (London: Greenwood Press, 1997).

⁵⁸² According to Chinese geographical understanding Luzón and Pangasinan were located in the Eastern Ocean. *Dongxi Yangkao*, book 4, part 7, 3.

⁵⁸³ Laufer, "Relations," 65; Ming Shi chapter 323 as cf. Boxer, *South China*, xl: "Itinerario del P. Custodio Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola, in: Real Academia de la Historia", Madrid, Col. Muñoz, no. 297, fol. 86-163 is a Spanish document claiming that in ancient times the islands were subject to the 'king' of China who deliberately gave them up at some point. Guerrero, "Chinese in the Philippines," 15-16, made a similar claim referring to the same source.

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vivid maritime trade through Quanzhou during the Song period.⁵⁸⁴

This type of exchange originated from *sampan* trade that had dominated maritime exchange in the region since the Southern Song.⁵⁸⁵ For the period discussed here, it is commonly referred to as junk trade.⁵⁸⁶ The Fujianese or Hokkien junk traders, those who came in largest numbers to Manila, were considered extremely gifted maritime traders knowing "market conditions and customs in various ports of call [...] able to adjust their tactics to local conditions".⁵⁸⁷ Linked by kinship ties, their merchant network spread over the entire seascape and made them the best-connected merchants of the commercial clans system (*gongsi*). Those fuelling the first Chinese diaspora in South East Asia remained connected with their homeland in Fujian. The commercial framework of this Fujianese business network enabled smooth exchange, due to mutual business confidence that gave them a major advantage in any type of transaction.⁵⁸⁸

How did Japan fit into this system? After Japanese tributary missions had been dismissed by Chinese government officials in Ningbo in 1523 and 1542/43, trade bans were continuously renewed by the Celestial Empire. Hence, official trade with China had to be circumvented. At the same time, the 'warring states period' had left a vacuum for unemployed *bushi*, better known as samurai in historiography. Many of them were proficient with European firearms and experienced at sea, especially after Nobunaga's success in maritime battles. Soon piracy and smuggling carried out by merchant adventurers – commonly referred to as *wakō* – re-emerged. Roughly at the same time, Japanese local lords (*daimyō*), seeking to extend their political influence, supported this kind of external commerce carried out by groups of Chinese and Japanese private merchants and pirates.⁵⁸⁹ From several bases, they tried to cream money off the top of

⁵⁸⁴ Clark, *Community*, 167.

⁵⁸⁵ For the origin of the word see Hans Konrad van Tilburg, "Vessels of Exchange. The Global Shipwright in the Pacific," in *Seascapes, Littoral Cultures and Trans-Oceanic Exchanges*, ed. Renate Bridenthal et al., (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 2007), 42: "Originally, the term comes from the Chinese language, meaning three (san) boards (ban), and describes a small simple skiff. The authoritative Oxford Companion to Ships and the Seas defines these craft as 'typical small and light boat; [...] the coastal sampan [is] fitted with a single mast and junk-type sail.'"

⁵⁸⁶ W. E. Cheong, *The Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade* (London: Routledge, 1997). The author examined the connectedness of European and Chinese traders in Canton and the different stages of seventeenth and eighteenth century Canton trade that developed from junk trade to chartered company trade and eventually country trade.

⁵⁸⁷ Craig A. Lockard, "The Sea Common to All". Maritime Frontiers, Port Cities, and Chinese Traders in the Southeast Asian Age of Commerce, ca. 1400-1750" *Journal of World History* 21, no. 2 (2010): 225.

⁵⁸⁸ Pin-Tsun Chang, "The First Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century," in *The Global Opportunity*, ed. Felipe Fernandez Armesto (Aldershot Variorum, 1995), 105-120.

⁵⁸⁹ Lieberman, *Strange Parallels II*, 420-428. Okada Akio, Katō Eiichi, *Nichiō Kōryū to Nanban Bōeki* (Kyoto:

maritime exchange in East Asia.

Whilst private Chinese commercial activities increased in the sixteenth century, the *wakō* joined them in this illicit trade. Peter Shapinsky speaks of "commercially vibrant" fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Japan, where sea-based outlaws (that received a special status and recognition by maritime lords) were "recognized as authorities" over maritime space and people.⁵⁹⁰ Although it has been argued that 'classic' *wakō* raids had come to an end in the 1560s, thanks to Ming trade relaxations,⁵⁹¹ there is evidence that coastal authorities remained on alert. For example, in 1589 the Fujian Grand Coordinator Zhou Cai reported: "The coastal residents of Zhang-zhou go to trade with the various fan. The major traders illicitly link up with the Japanese yi who spy on our coasts. Does this suggest that pirates were still active?"⁵⁹² Later in the same writ, it becomes clear that these trading networks were linked to the Manila trade.⁵⁹³ This is just one of many examples of how the Japanese 'pirate traders' ability to switch between raiding and trading upset the Ming authorities.⁵⁹⁴

Allied Japanese and Chinese secret merchants' maritime activity had reached its peak around the midst of the sixteenth century and connected major sea routes to Luzon.⁵⁹⁵ The first Japanese merchants reaching the Philippine archipelago were undoubtedly part and parcel of this network of illicit traders.⁵⁹⁶ The flexibility and fluidity of their

Shinbunkaku Shuppan, 1983). A generic term for trade with Europe during the Azuchi-Momoyama and early Tokugawa period. A long-anticipated survey by Oka Mihoko has just recently brought to light the close ties between missionaries and European traders. Oka Mihoko, *Shōnin to Senkyōshi: Nanban Bōeki no Sekai* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2010).

⁵⁹⁰ Shapinsky, "With the Sea," 221-223: The self-perception of these pirates differed since they portrayed themselves as sea lords. They often received support from local land-based authorities who in turn directly and indirectly recognised their maritime power base.

⁵⁹¹ Brook, *Troubled Empire*, 224.

⁵⁹² Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/2675>, accessed November 17, 2011.

⁵⁹³ 'Pirates' importance for the growing commercial exchange between the Philippines, China and Japan has just recently been illustrated by Kenji Igawa, "At the Crossroads: Limahon and Wakō in Sixteenth Century Philippines," *Elusive Pirates, Pervasive Smugglers. Violence and Clandestine Trade in the Greater China Seas*, ed. Robert J. Anthony (Hongkong: Hongkong Univ. Press, 2010), 74-84.

⁵⁹⁴ See Ming-shih, ch. 322 of the 1779 edition. Cf. Charles R. Boxer, *Great Ship from Amacon. Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1963), xxiv: "the 'wa' (Japanese) were shrewd by nature; they carried merchandise and weapons together, and appeared here and there along the sea-coast. If opportunity arrived, they displayed their weapons, raiding and plundering ruthlessly. Otherwise they exhibited their merchandise, saying that they were on their way to the Court with tribute. The south eastern coast was victimised by them."

⁵⁹⁵ Maehira Fusaaki, "Minchō no Kaiken," 61-76.

⁵⁹⁶ AGI Filipinas, 18 A, r. 5, n. 31, "Carta de Vera sobre situación, comercio, japosenes, etc.," 1587-06-26. The existence of a settlement of Japanese sojourners in Cagayan, on the northern edge of Luzón, which according to contemporary records hosted the unlikely number of several hundred Japanese, also proves the existence of early links between Japan and Luzón. See Iwao Seiichi, *Nanyō Nihonmachi* (Taipei: Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku, 1937), 245-247. See also Pastells, *Historia General* I, 294: He mentioned a

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communication patterns in the South China Sea, at the junction of tally trade to illegal private trade, has been stressed by Arano Yasunori. He also stressed their well-functioning transport network or *wakō-teki jyōhō*.⁵⁹⁷ When the *wakō* phenomenon faced the arrival of the Europeans, a new type of seagoing *namban* trader was the result. These enterprises were sponsored by local lords in Kyushu – hence the term *corsario* used by the Spaniards was indeed appropriate.⁵⁹⁸

Piracy was a socio-economic phenomenon as well as a profit-seeking enterprise. Many illegal seafarers landed in Manila, driven by their struggle to survive. Padre Medina gives a shocking account of the fate of the Fujianese immigrants' in China – overpopulation on the mainland forced people to live on the sea. Most likely, these 'floating people' were in close contact with *wakō* during the sixteenth century. Joint enterprises would have guided them to the Philippines as soon as they got wind of easy gains or a better living.⁵⁹⁹ In the fashion of promoting a glorious life under Christian rule, the Catholic father insisted that roaming around the South China Sea would make their lives a misery, but once they came to Manila they were assured a wealthy life.⁶⁰⁰

The well-established maritime network of the Ryukyu kingdom connecting the economies of China and Japan during the trade embargo of the sixteenth century, may have also contributed to the *wakō's* success in the South China Sea and the integration of the Japanese economy to other Asian regions.⁶⁰¹ Emphasising the dominance of the

report by Lagazpi of the late 1560s, in which the governor claimed that Japanese came together with the Chinese on the same trading vessels and went as far South as Mindoro.

⁵⁹⁷ Arano Yasunori, "Nihonkei ka'i jyoyō no keisei" in *Nihon no Shakaishi* ed. Amino Yoshihiko et al., (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1987).

⁵⁹⁸ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 6, n. 61, "Carta de Vera sobre pobreza de la gente de guerra, etc," 1586-06-26.

⁵⁹⁹ BR 10: 212-213: "On account of suspicion which arose a long time ago regarding the Chinese, and because the Japanese pirates brought Chinese pilotes and seamen, I made some investigations Alonso Sauyo, governor of the sangleys, but nothing of importance was discovered."

⁶⁰⁰ Medina, *Historia*, 68-69: "Y a solo Manila solían venir de cuarenta para arriba, y el año de 1631, con ser ya cuando no venían llegaron a cincuenta, entre chicos y grandes. Dejemos los que van al Japón, que aunque sobre ello tienen grandísima pena, con todo eso van al Japón, con todo eso van sin número, porque son grandes los ganancias que tienen. Van a Siam, a Cambodia, a Borney, al Maluco, al Macasar y finalmente todo lo corren y andan llevando el hierro, el azogue, la seda, el arroz, el puerco, el oro y otros mil cosas, sin que nada les haga falta para su sustento [...]." In fact, Padre Medina just as Timothy Brook (*Vermeer's Hat*, 170) relates a popular narrative of seventeenth-century China. For the original see Ng Chin-keong, "Maritime Frontiers, Territorial Expansion and Hai-Fang During the Late Ming and High Ch'ing," in *China and her Neighbours: Borders, Visions of the Other, Foreign Policy 10th to 19th Century*, ed. Roderich Ptak et al., (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 244. Censor Yüan-ch'u described the situation in 1639 as follows: "sea is the paddy land for the Fukienese" [...] the poor joined the sea bandits and connected to the 'overseas barbarians'".

⁶⁰⁰ BR 7: 214.

⁶⁰¹ Okamoto Hiromichi, "Foreign Policy and Maritime Trade in the Early Ming Period: Focusing on the Ryukyu Kingdom" *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 95 (Studies of Medieval Ryukyu

Chinese world order, Hamashita Takeshi has shown that during the second half of the sixteenth century, merchants from Ryukyu, loyal tribute partners of the Ming, succeeded in connecting to Manila's silver trade.⁶⁰² Hamashita, who transferred Wallerstein's world system theories to East Asia, argued against John Fairbank by contending that in the early modern period the rest of the world adapted to China as the centre and not the other way round.⁶⁰³ In the case of Manila, it meant adapting to a passive China. Victor Lieberman has also underlined Ming China's indirect coordinating power, stating that

*Chinese nautical, metallurgical, ceramic, and textile technologies aided Southeast Asia as well as Japan, while China served as a conduit for the introduction from South Asia to Japan of highly productive Champa rice. In these ways, China helped to coordinate Southeast Asian and Japanese production.*⁶⁰⁴

This process would have been impossible without increased production output of the Chinese economy. Moreover it seemed to prosper at the end of the sixteenth century; developing further in the seventeenth – with a notable contribution from Manila. The combination of lawlessness and a lack of central power stimulated the development of prosperous and flexible commercial networks that changed the nature of certain regions of Southeast Asia, including Manila.⁶⁰⁵

4.4. A Triangular Trade? The integration of the Manila Galleon into South East Asian Trading Networks

4.4.1. Vast Dimensions of the Manila Galleon Trade

Early Spanish settlers welcomed the increase in incoming traders, as well as the flexible structures of Fujianese and Japanese maritime networks.⁶⁰⁶ The first ships are

within Asia's Maritime Network) (2008): 35-55.

⁶⁰² Takeshi Hamashita, "The Lidao Boan and the Ryukyu Maritime Tributary Trade Network with China and Southeast Asia, the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Century" in *Chinese Circulations. Capital, Commodities and Networks in Southeast Asia*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo et al., (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2011), 124-125. For a discussion of Hamashita's and Braudel's studies on historical capitalism in macro-regions see Po-Keung Hui, "Overseas Chinese Business Networks: East Asian Economic Development in Historical Perspective" (PhD Diss., State Univ. of New York, 1996).

⁶⁰³ Hamashita, "Tributary Trade," 12-19.

⁶⁰⁴ Lieberman, *Strange Parallels II*, 419-420.

⁶⁰⁵ Nakashima Gakushō, "16sekimatsu no fukken-firipin-kyūshū bōeki" in *The Shien* 144 (2007): 55-92.

⁶⁰⁶ Upon his arrival in Manila, Legazpi informed Philip II about the Chinese calling on ports in Luzón. AGI

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reported of having brought products of mediocre quality – a fact that changed during the following years once the Chinese merchants came to realise the purchasing power of the emerging Manila market:

They do not bring to sell the silks and beautiful things that they take to Malacca. They say that, if there were any one to buy them, they would bring all we wanted; and so, since trading with the Spaniards, they bring each year better and much richer wares. If merchants would come from Nueva España, they might enrich themselves, and increase the royal customs in these parts – both through trade and through the mines, the richness of the number of which are well-known to us.⁶⁰⁷

Lured by American and Japanese silver, Chinese private traders shipped ever growing numbers of finished Chinese products.⁶⁰⁸ In light of the lucrative silver-silk exchange in Manila, Flynn and Giráldez have suggested that the silver traded with China should be considered a commodity rather than a currency.⁶⁰⁹ Looking at the actual exchange patterns with Chinese traders, however, gives ample evidence for the use of silver as currency.⁶¹⁰

The year 1587 can be regarded as the beginning of official Japanese participation in the triangular trade relations, as an account by Francisco de Vera, the incumbent governor, shows. More than thirty ships came from China and Macao, as well as one large vessel from Japan. They were laden with horses,⁶¹¹ cattle and other merchandise,

Filipinas 6, r. 1, n. 7, "Carta de Legazpi sobre falta de socorro y descubrimientos," 1567-07-23. See also BR 3: 181: "The Chinese have come here on trading expeditions, since our arrival, for we have always tried to treat them well. Therefore during the two years that we have spent on this island, they have come in greater numbers each year, and with more ships; and they come earlier than they used to, so that their trade is assured to us." Miguel López de Legazpi moreover mentioned that Japanese frequented the islands.

⁶⁰⁷ BR 3: 182.

⁶⁰⁸ For the goods and commodities traded in Manila in the early trade with China see Ching-ho Ch'en, *The Chinese Community in the Sixteenth Century Philippines* (Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1968), 78-83. For Japanese silver see Sugiya Nariko, "16 sekigo no supeinryō firipin shotō. Gin no ryūnyū to genchi shakai" in *Ryūkyū wo meguru nihon. Nankai no chi'ikikan kōryūshi* ed. Yoneo Ishii (Tokyo: Tokyo Univ., 1998), 21-47.

⁶⁰⁹ Chaudhuri makes similar claims for India; both conclusions are based on the accounts of David Ricardo who had proposed that silver has to be considered a so-called high cost commodity. Kirti N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1978), 100-104.

⁶¹⁰ Grau y Monfalcón, *Justificación*, 11-21.

⁶¹¹ Horses have been a very imported trading item in China's maritime exchange, especially in tributary trade during the entire Ming period. Roderich Ptak has surveyed the logistics and driving forces behind it. He showed that specific ships for the transportation of horses existed. See Roderich Ptak, "Pferde auf See:

which was all sold very cheaply. Many were from Chincheo;⁶¹² equipped with Ming licenses (*salvo conducto*), they happily invited the Spaniards to come to their country following first encounters.⁶¹³

At this point, we should say a few words about the role of indigenous Filipinos in these exchange patterns. The only domestic ('Philippine') products to lure the East Asian trading nations were gold, wax and deerskin, followed by sappan wood and honey.⁶¹⁴ Trade in local goods were chiefly carried out in regions outside Manila, such as Pagasinan – a region rich in game.⁶¹⁵ For local products, Chinese and Japanese used to trade raw silk, sheepskin, bells, ceramics and spices. Significantly, these were also the main goods used for tributary trade with Ming China and its official tributaries like the Ryukyu Kingdom. Here pre-Hispanic exchange seemed to have continued without interruption for quite some time. During the entire Spanish period, the indigenous population of Luzon had access to the Chinese and their merchandise and interestingly even traded in American silver.⁶¹⁶

With regard to trade in deerskin, the Spaniards soon became concerned about that uncontrollable exchange, hence Morga urged a ban on its export.⁶¹⁷ The situation was aggravated by competition between Chinese and Japanese traders for these export products.⁶¹⁸ Nevertheless, this trade between the indigenous population and Japanese continued far into the seventeenth century and became highly valued in Japan's leather shoe production industry.⁶¹⁹ As a result of over-export, deer became almost extinct on the Philippines.⁶²⁰ Hence, in the seventeenth century Philippine deerskin imports to

Ein vergessener Aspekt des Maritimen Chinesischen Handels im Frühen 15. Jahrhundert," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1999): 199-223.

⁶¹² The term 'Chincheo' was common among European traders to refer to the main port from where Fujianese traders left for Manila. Historians have been debating whether it referred to Zhangzhou 漳州 or Quanzhou 泉州, both in Fujian province; It has also been claimed that it meant the famous Yüeh-kang harbour. Roderich Ptak, "The Image of Fujian and Ryūkū in the Letters of Cristóvão and Vasco Calvo," in *Trade and Transfer Across the East Asian Mediterranean*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 307.

⁶¹³ AGI Filipinas 18 A, r. 5, n. 32, "Copia de Carta de Vera al virrey sobre situación, japoneses," 1587-06-26.

⁶¹⁴ Agoo (La Union) close to Cagayan was an emporium for the exchange of Igorot gold. Some of the gold that was exchanged with the Japanese.

⁶¹⁵ See Scott, *Barangay*, 248, Zaide, Philippines, 347.

⁶¹⁶ Cf. Pastells, *Historia General I*, 294.

⁶¹⁷ For the Spanish response see Cédulas Reales, no. 30, (1589).

⁶¹⁸ Nakajima, "16sekimatsu," 70.

⁶¹⁹ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 251.

⁶²⁰ Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, 20-21. Deerskin was the principal trading good from Siam to Japan.

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Japan were replaced by those from Taiwan.⁶²¹ Chinese purchasers were also accused of causing ecological harm to the island by loading their ships with lumber that would cause wood shortages in Luzon.⁶²²

The local populations' participation in Sino-Japanese trade displeased the Spaniards. They nourished the idea of a lazy indigenous population, blaming them for spending money without much consideration. According to the Spanish, if the 'Indians' would have been more active in agriculture and manufacture – such as the weaving of cotton clothes – there would have been no need for the Chinese to come to the Philippines to provide the necessary supply and silver from the Americas. To that effect, these could have stayed on the island or been used for buying goods in South East Asia.⁶²³ This reveals a further structural problem: the arrival of the Chinese in great numbers harmed the traditional structures of Philippine society and forced many indigenous merchants and craftsmen to make their living as day labourers. Production was no longer a viable option for them.

A further important dimension of the Manila Galleon trade was the Americas' role as market for Chinese luxury items that profoundly changed consumption patterns in the Spanish Overseas Economy. After the remarkable amount of silk shipped to the Americas and Japan, ceramics was the second Chinese luxury good traded in Manila. Archaeological research has brought to light the significance of porcelain trade in the Greater China Seas at the beginning of the early modern age, as cargo registers of the Manila-Galleon, as well as archaeological findings, have verified.⁶²⁴ As the 'bridge' to the Americas, Manila also became a staging post for trans-Pacific ventures, as we will examine in more detail in the following chapters. The role of Chinese silk in transpacific exchange will be examined in chapter 7.

Last but not least, Manila's indisputable importance was reflected in the huge number of trading passes for Manila that were issued in China and Japan. Consequently,

⁶²¹ Oka, *Shōnin*, 109.

⁶²² BR 10: 84.

⁶²³ BR 8: 81-85.

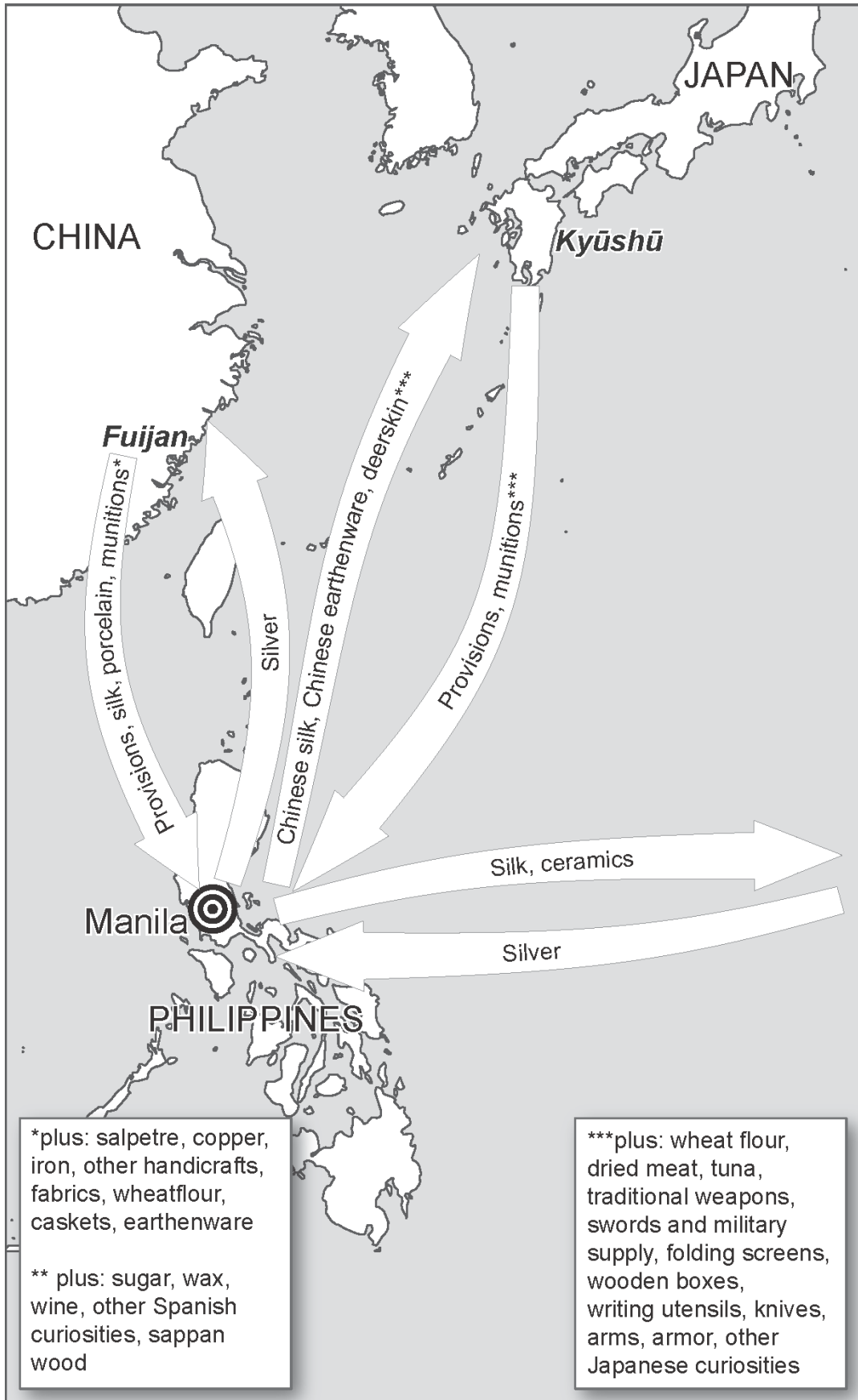
⁶²⁴ A recent exhibition in the Yuchengco Museum in Metro Manila displayed the discoveries of Zhangzhou ware found in the Philippines. The exhibits cover blue-and-white items of Fujian manufacturers that were produced especially to meet the need of European demand. See <http://www.yuchengcomuseum.org/pressroom/Zhangzhou%20Ware%20Found%20in%20the%20Philippines%20-%20PR%201.pdf>, accessed July 16, 2010. The San Diego sunk in the year 1600 due to a military clash with the Dutch navigator Olivier van Noort off the coast of Manila and was excavated in 1991. See Jean-Paul Desroches and Gabriel Casal, Franck Goddio, eds., *Die Schätze der San Diego* (Berlin: Argon Verlag, 1997). On the first Dutch-Castilian sea battle in Philippine waters see Schmitt, *Indienfahrer* 2, 224-229.

it triggered change in Chinese and Japanese central regimes attitudes towards foreign trade.⁶²⁵ It is noteworthy that the Spanish Crown also intended to distribute licenses among the settlers of the Philippines for inter-Asian trade but the plan was never implemented.⁶²⁶ The interest displayed by surrounding trading states proves the significance of the location and the Manila market throughout the seventeenth century. It had turned into a centre of a small-scale world economy for traders from different regions and of different origins, without ever aspiring to this.

⁶²⁵ Lin Renchuan, "Fukien's Private Sea Trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, ed. E.B. Vermeer, (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 167-215. John E. Wills, Jr. "Contingent Connections: Fujian, the Empire, and the Early Modern World," in *The Qing Formation in World Historical Time*, ed. Lynn A. Struve (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2004), 167-203. See also Elvin, *Patterns of the Chinese Past*, 217-225.

⁶²⁶ *Cédulas Reales*, 1700, no. 22 (1589).

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4.4.2. Fujianese Trade with Manila

We have read that in the wake of both licensed and illegal silver imports to China, several hundred Fujianese traders travelled to Manila annually after 1571. What still stands to question is how the earlier described private Chinese merchants, some of whom turned into licensed silver carriers, were integrated in the galleon trade?

Let's start by looking at the Spanish reaction, as early Crown intervention would also determine Sino-Spanish trade relations for the following centuries: In January 1593, King Philip II commanded that his vassals should no longer go to China to buy merchandise there; if they wanted to sell goods, the Chinese should come to Manila to do that at their own risk.⁶²⁷ With certain exceptions, this would become the exclusive pattern of Spanish trade with the Chinese Empire.

The sharp increase in the number of official traders is breathtaking: Some researchers speak of 30 permissions every year for Luzon from Yüeh-kang (or Haicheng). This would mean that by the end of the century, the bulk of ships sent to Manila were licensed.⁶²⁸ It remains difficult to determine the actual annual number of Chinese junks outbound to Manila. According to Spanish data, an average of 30 to 40 ships of 100 to 300 tons⁶²⁹ arrived in Manila during the peak years between the 1590s and the 1610s, when annual silver imports were carried out with official sanction between Manila and China. Their journey usually took between ten and fifteen days.⁶³⁰ Their success depended on external factors, such as monsoon conditions, that plagued foreign trade in the entire area, or the safety on the ocean.

⁶²⁷ "y mandar de que adelante ninguna persona trate, ni contrate en parte alguna de China ni por cuenta de los mercaderes de los dhas Yslas se trayga ni pueda traer hazienda alguna de aquel Reyno a ellas sino que los mismos Chinos las traygan por su quenta y riesgo." Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 49 (1593). King to Governor G.P. Dasmariñas, January 11, 1593: "para que informen sobre si convendría que el almirante y demás oficiales de las naos de la contratación de esas islas sirvan por sueldo, como está ordenado, o a cambio de un repartimiento de toneladas en dichas naos, como ha representado Fernando de los Ríos Coronel, procurador general de Filipinas. Se remite la misma orden a los oficiales de la real Hacienda de dichas islas y al arzobispo de Manila". Together with the *pancada* the rule was officially abolished in 1696 but most of the time successfully circumvented by private traders. See also BR 25: 137.

⁶²⁸ Ming shi, Biography of Luzón, chuan 323, 8730, Gang Deng, *Chinese Maritime Activities*, 265 on the Manila market: "The Chinese readjusted their operation by sailing to Manila more ships in 1575, 1580, 1596, 1599, 1620 and 1631." See also von Glahn, *Fountain*, 119.

⁶²⁹ Remarkably, some Manila Galleons were of the same size (300 tons).

⁶³⁰ Quiason, "Sampan Trade," 161; For the number of Chinese junks anchoring at Manila see Chaunu, *Philippines*, 149-192: 1581-90: 102, 1591-1600: 119, 1601-1610: 290, 1611-1620: 49, 1621-30: 73, 1631-40: 325, 1641-1650: 162 (including Macao). The 400 Spanish leagues (approx. 1,600 km) journey from Manila to Nagasaki took about fifteen to twenty days. AGI Filipinas 6, r. 7, n. 110, "Carta de Pedro González Carvajal sobre su viaje," 1594.

4.4.3. Irregular Beginnings of Japanese Trade in Manila

Recent research has emphasised that private traders and adventurers from Japan frequented Cagayan and the Pangasinan region – perfectly located for the Japanese – even before the arrival of the Spaniards.⁶³¹ This assumption is supported by the existence Japanese sojourners outpost in Cagayan, on the northern edge of Luzon. According to contemporary records, this hosted six hundred residents who traded weapons for gold (the famous Igorot gold) under the command of their pirate-captain Taifusa (Taifuzu) – a resident of a castle in Aparri.⁶³² In 1581 the Spaniards would uncover the existence of an illegitimate Japanese camp (with Spanish and indigenous residents), which they entitled Puerto de Japón.⁶³³ The following year, Governor Peñalosa urged a military strike against it, which resulted in around 200 Japanese deaths. After the Japanese defeat at the hands of Captain Carrion, the Spaniards founded the city of Nueva Segovia using the remains of the Japanese fortifications.⁶³⁴ Consequently the regions of Illocos and Cagayan were just as integrated in Sino-Japanese trading networks as Manila at the end of the sixteenth century has been overlooked. The etymological origin of Vigan at the west coast of Luzón⁶³⁵ reminds of a settlement for Southern Fujianese merchants and underlines Sino-Japanese collaboration. That Cagayan was more than just a temporary *wakō* hub and that Spanish fear of further attacks were not just hysteria or propaganda will become clear later.⁶³⁶

During the early years it was rather common that goods for the Spanish community in Manila were delivered by official traders, illicit traders or pirates alike. An eyewitness reported that other Japanese settlers from Cagayan came on friendly trade missions to Manila to sell their weapons. Governor Vera stated that good trade relations could be of further benefit for the archipelago, but at the same time he warned that "these Japanese

⁶³¹ Igawa, *Daikōkai*, 252.

⁶³² Iwao, *Nanyō*, 245-247; See also José Eugenio Borao, "La Colonia de Japoneses en Manila en el Marco de las Relaciones de Filipinas y Japón en los Siglos XVI y XVII" *Cuadernos CANELA* 17 (2005): 25-53.

⁶³³ The term was probably coined by Miguel de Loarca who reported that Japanese traders visited Pangasinan regularly for trade. Cf. Iwao *Nanyō*, 250.

⁶³⁴ Gil, *Hidalgos y Samurais*, 23-24; Iwao, *Nanyō*, 246. Other sources claim that Nueva Segovia was founded in 1581, in face of the shortage of building material some doubt remains regarding the credibility of the records about the event. AGI Filipinas 6, r. 4, n. 49, "Carta de Ronquillo sobre franciscanos, poblamientos, etc.," 1582-06-16.

⁶³⁵ 'Bee gan': 美岸; For details on the expulsion see Borao, "Colonia," 25-53.

⁶³⁶ A Japanese attack on a Chinese trading ship with food supply for Luzón, caused great harm to the colony. See Iwao, *Nanyō*, 249.

were vigorous people who know how to use weapons".⁶³⁷

According to Iwao Seiichi's survey, the pre-*shuinsen* trade settlement was almost exclusively based on private trade initiatives that were seeking individual profits. These peaked in 1595 with already one thousand Japanese, an amazingly rapid increase.⁶³⁸ Rather loose but well-functioning trading patterns were jeopardised by the Japanese ruling elite's attempts to formalise trade relations with the Spaniards. In their effort to unify the country, both Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu were eager to gain control over Japan's external relations and maritime trade, which marked the beginning of Japan's official involvement in international trade.⁶³⁹

Due to this institutionalisation of foreign trade, when all sort of foreign maritime trade was centralised by the means of passes holding the *shōgun's* vermilion seal (*shuinjō*) described in chapter 2, Japanese trade volume with Manila grew. In a letter sent to the governor in Manila in 1601, Ieyasu introduced his wish for regular trade both with Luzon and New Spain.⁶⁴⁰ This was also the beginning of bilateral correspondence that led to a standardised trade between Japan and the Philippines: three ships per season and mutual protection by the law for the merchants and their property.⁶⁴¹ Following an agreement between Tokugawa Ieyasu and Governor Pedro de Acuña that determined that four Japanese ships may enter Manila Bay each season in 1604/05, Spanish traders received official permission for four ships to do business in Japan annually.⁶⁴² Once the vermilion ships (*shuinsen*) were distributed among merchants operating under licences from the Tokugawa in 1604, Manila became one of the most

⁶³⁷ AGI Filipinas 34, n. 75, "Carta de Santiago de Vera sobre situación general," 1587-06-26; AGI Filipinas 18 A, r. 5, n. 31, "Carta de Vera sobre situación, comercio, japoneses..., etc.," 1587-06-26 mentions letter of Gaspar and Hirado. Maria Grazia Petrucci's research embeds this sort of business arrangements in a broader Southeast Asian context. "Pirates, Gunpowder and Christianity in Late Sixteenth Century Japan," in *Elusive Pirates, Pervasive Smugglers. Violence and Clandestine Trade in the Greater China Seas*, ed. Robert J. Anthony (Hongkong: Hongkong Univ. Press, 2010), 59-72.

⁶³⁸ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 260.

⁶³⁹ Gakushō Nakajima provides us with thorough research on Kyushu-Fujian-Luzón trade and gives particularly enlightening details on Japanese warlords participation in the 1590s, showing that regular foreign trade relations were established before the Tokugawa reign for the sake of hegemonic policies. Gakushō Nakajima, "The Invasion of Korea and Trade with Luzón : Kato Kiyomasa's Scheme of the Luzón Trade in the Late Sixteenth Century," in *The East Asian Maritime World, 1400-1800. Its Fabrics of Power and Dynamics of Exchanges*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 145-168.

⁶⁴⁰ Ikoku Nikki Shō, 66-67: "Only trading ships with the seal of the bakufu should be permitted to trade."

⁶⁴¹ Ikoku Nikki Shō, 202-209; AGI Filipinas 6, r. 9, n. 175, "Copia de carta del obispo de Japón al gobernador sobre Dayfu Sama," 1601.

⁶⁴² For trade official trade agreements see Ikoku Nikki Shō, 46; 62; Tsūkō Ichiran fol. 179/569 and 571. Sola, *Extremo Oriente*, 95.

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popular destinations and would remain so until 1613.⁶⁴³ Among the earliest issued vermillion seal passes, four of a total number of 29 were for trade with Manila.⁶⁴⁴

Until 1600, only private enterprises, often in collaboration with the Portuguese, guided Spanish merchants to Japan.⁶⁴⁵ Several references in Spanish and Japanese accounts mention Spanish vessels in Japan but a systematic survey is difficult. What we know from fragmented evidence is that in addition to private commercial enterprises, many of these initiatives were linked to the provisions trade.⁶⁴⁶ Following the legitimisation of sending ships to Japan, the colonial government dispatched one in 1608. The cargo of the ship consisted mainly of raw silk and was accompanied by colonial officials; with the returns from silk trade Spaniards bought iron, saltpetre, hemp, flour and blankets for the Manila warehouses (*reales almacenes*).⁶⁴⁷ Herein laid the main difference with Sino-Spanish trade that was almost exclusively limited to Manila, as the result of an unspoken agreement between the Ming and the Habsburg Court. We know that only one year after the crown forbade Spanish trade in China, Dasmariñas complained about the Chinese dictating the rules. "They do not permit us [...] to go to their country, nor may a Spaniard go thither to invest one real – a custom entirely contrary to the freedom of trade. Therefore in order to avoid other undesirable results, I have decreed that Chinese traders shall not live here under the pretext of being merchants."⁶⁴⁸

The Tokugawa foreign trade regulations of three ships per season initially had very positive effects on the Manila market. Pedro de Acuña wrote that Japanese ships "provided with the seal of the emperor are warmly welcomed".⁶⁴⁹ Despite well-

⁶⁴³ Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 41; Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, 19; To give an idea of scope and scale of the system: 29 licenses were issued in the first year already. Until the abolition of the system in 1635, 350 permits had been issued, interestingly enough, 43 were granted to Chinese and 38 to European captains and merchants.

⁶⁴⁴ Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 49; Japanese in Manila, as well as their co-patriots in Ayutthaya were extremely influential in regional trade thanks to the silver-silk axis with China and thus troubled policy-makers and other merchants on the spot.

⁶⁴⁵ Cabezas, *Siglo Ibérico*, 275; among the most famous Spanish settlers of Nagasaki we find Bernardino Avila Giron and Duarte Antonio.

⁶⁴⁶ It should be emphasised that Japanese, Chinese and Spanish ships were involved in that missions: "*El Santiago el Menor, que el año pasado envié a Japón, trajo pólvora balas, hierro, y clavazón, de que teníamos gran necesidad para los almacenas reales, a causa de lo mucho que se gastó en la guerra de los sangleyes; también trajo cantidad de harinas particulares, que fue grandísimo provecho, y se cobró de flete a razón del tercio o cuarto, con que se supe un pedazo del gasto de navío.*" Cf. Cabezas, *Siglo Ibérico*, 447.

⁶⁴⁷ Cabezas, *Siglo Ibérico*, 448.

⁶⁴⁸ BR 8: 274.

⁶⁴⁹ Cf. Colín, *Labor Evangelica*, 15-16.

functioning provisions of trade thanks to annual *shuinsen* to Manila, the Spanish ruling elite considered to restrict Japanese trading ships again in 1609. A law enacted on July 25 aimed to remove the danger by requiring that the trade between the two regions be carried out exclusively using Spanish vessels.⁶⁵⁰ As with so many other multi-ethnic governing policies, it never materialised. The following year, interim governor Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco (r. 1608-1609) complained that only the private merchants gained from a galleon sent to Japan in 1610. Reportedly, the same venture cost the king 15,000 pesos.

At the heyday of Japanese-Spanish relations before 1610, when the largest number of Japanese ships engaged in the Manila-trade, the Japanese had managed to establish well-functioning institutions that enabled them to benefit from catering to the luxury needs back home as well as from serving the daily needs of the Spanish community.⁶⁵¹

4.5. Manila as Sino-Japanese Intermediary Port

Clearly, Japanese merchants came to Manila to buy Chinese products. Above all it was silk that was sought-after in the Japanese domestic economy and therefore shipped across the ocean in quantities rather alarming to the Spaniards.⁶⁵² For that very reason, Morga complained in 1598 about the Japanese who used to buy up all silk from China. Evidence confirms that the Spaniards even feared that too many Japanese traders in Manila would cause harm and decrease silk supplies to New Spain and Europe, trade which provided direct income for the crown.⁶⁵³ Before the seventeenth century, the bulk of Chinese silk going from Manila to Japan did so on board Portuguese ships, as Oka Mihoko's work has shown.⁶⁵⁴ While white silk and raw silk was mainly purchased in Guangdong and directly shipped to Japan, imports from Manila included silk yarn in the amount of 400-500 *picul* before 1600, compared to 1000 *picul* annually from Macao.

The Japanese role in the Manila market remained ambiguous. We may assume that

⁶⁵⁰ Recopilación de Indias, lib. IX, título XLIV, ley II (Madrid July 29, 1609): "*la contratación, comercio y navegación que hubiere desde las Filipinas al Japón, se hicieron por los vecinos de los islas para no dar lugar a que los japoneses vengan a ellos.*"

⁶⁵¹ Already Schurz stressed the importance of silk exports and changes in consumption to the New World. Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 32.

⁶⁵² Louis Cullen categorised the Spanish in Manila among Japan's competitors for Chinese silk. See Louis M. Cullen, *A History of Japan, 1582-1941. Internal and External Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), 22.

⁶⁵³ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 334 based on Morga-Retana, *Escritos Ineditos*, 84.

⁶⁵⁴ Oka, *Shōnin*, 99-100. Extensive lists of goods of *namban* and Portuguese trade in Asia including scope and prizes are a noteworthy contribution of the book.

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they pulled the strings behind-the-scenes, given their extensive purchasing power. The comparatively larger effort they had to make to reach Manila furthermore implies proper gains. The principal cargo of vermillion seal ships was Japanese silver, the common currency on the Manila market where prices were fixed by wholesale arrangements since the 1590s.⁶⁵⁵ Antonio de Morga lamented that:

On departing, the Japanese are wont to take cargoes of silk and gold, which are merchandise intended for Xapon. This should not be allowed until the Spaniards have made their purchases, for it increases the price of silk. The flour, biscuits, and wax brought from Xapon are suitable commodities for this country. Some persons have already become so keen in their plans to dispose of these goods that they buy them by wholesale, store them, and retail them. This must be prohibited, and an order issued to the effect that this state shall be provided and supplied with them at moderate rates.⁶⁵⁶

The late Japanese economic historian Katō, pointed out that sixteenth-century Japan's readiness to buy large quantities of silk yarn was linked to the growing market that developed in castle towns at that time. This tendency would extend into the seventeenth century and even led to shortages in the 1620s.⁶⁵⁷ Thereafter Japanese domestic silk production increased along with direct Chinese imports.⁶⁵⁸ Since domestic raw silk production was still inferior both in quality and quantity, the flourishing silk weaving in Nishijin industry was heavily dependent on imports from abroad.⁶⁵⁹ Contemporary visitors even detected a silk addiction in Japan. Richard Cocks, head of the EIC trading post in Hirado, for instance, lamented Japanese lack of interest in wearing broad cloth.⁶⁶⁰

As Chinese high-quality silk was the principal commodity for Japanese brokers, my hypothesis is that Chinese silk yarn and other silk products were the driving force behind Japan's efforts in maintaining regular trading relations with Manila. As such, silk played a similarly important role in the early modern globalising processes as the silver that integrated the Chinese economy globally via Asian port cities did. The global demand for silk was said to have encouraged Chinese peasants to give up rice growing

⁶⁵⁵ For more details see chapter 7.

⁶⁵⁶ For the unfair practices of Manila Galleon officials see BR 10: 81-85.

⁶⁵⁷ Katō Eiichi, "The Japan-Dutch Trade in the Formative Period of the Seclusion Policy – Particularly on the Raw Silk Trade by the Dutch Factory at Hirado, 1620-1640" in *Acta Asiatica* 30 (1976): 45.

⁶⁵⁸ For more details on Japanese silk weaving see Marius Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, 17.

⁶⁵⁹ Hayami, "Introduction," 16.

⁶⁶⁰ Richard Cocks, *Cape Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622 with Correspondence*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (London: Hakluyt Society, 1883), 259. (Nov. 13, 1613).

for the sake of mulberry cultivation, while others commercialised rice production in order to feed those working in the sericulture.⁶⁶¹

According to Charles Boxer, the Japanese enjoyed a much greater freedom of trade at Manila than the Chinese.⁶⁶² However a closer look suggests the opposite. Contrary to previous assumptions, they were not exempted from paying the *almojarifazgo* to the royal treasury.⁶⁶³ Nevertheless there were times when they did not pay taxes for the exchange of silver to Chinese silk.⁶⁶⁴ Spanish-Japanese trade relations were often jeopardised by the arbitrary attitude of Manila authorities who tended to make decisions without the king. When Philip III found out that not all Japanese trade was taxed, he seemed worried that trade with Japan was a losing deal for the royal treasury and accused colonial authorities of trying to enrich themselves illegitimately.⁶⁶⁵

There was more to the story: Japanese trade in Manila was integrated in interactions between Japanese towns all over Southeast Asia that would reach 18 in the 1620s. That Manila took a special role in Japan's mercantile positioning in the China Seas can be seen in the fact that it was a leading vermilion seal ship destination in the first two decades of Japanese official foreign trade.

The end of trade with Japan in 1635, and Malacca's fall to the Dutch in 1641, led to a crisis for the Portuguese in Southeast Asia. This change, as well as the end of Spanish nominal reign over Portugal, would reset the connections between Manila and Macao. Thanks to Charles Boxer and Pierre Chaunu, we know that in 1640, half of Manila's imports by value came from Macao.⁶⁶⁶ Conservative Spaniards, defenders of protectionist economic policies, were not amused by the increase of Portuguese traders.⁶⁶⁷ In 1642 the Spanish Crown once again officially decreed that Portuguese were no longer allowed to enter Manila.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶¹ Lieberman, *Strange Parallels II*, 420.

⁶⁶² Boxer, *Great Ship*, 73.

⁶⁶³ Around the year 1600, 218 tributes were collected from Japanese households in Manila. See BR 27: 79; 135.

⁶⁶⁴ AGI Filipinas 29, n. 94, "Carta de los oficiales de la Real Hacienda de Filipinas," 1607-07-14.

⁶⁶⁵ AGI Filipinas 329, l. 2, f. 97r-98r, "Ordenes sobre comercio con China y Japón," 1609-07-25; AGI Filipinas 329, l. 2, f. 100r, "Petición de informe sobre regalo al emperador de Japón," 1609-07-25.

⁶⁶⁶ See Gipouloux, *Méditerranée Asiatique*, 143.

⁶⁶⁷ According to Friar Domingo Navarette travel accounts cf. Charles R. Boxer, *Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415-1815* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975), 91: "Macao, he wrote, thrived so much with the trade of Japan and Manila, that it grew vastly rich, but never would vie Manila, nor is there any comparison between the two cities for all their analogies. I find as much difference, in all respects betwixt them, as is betwixt Madrid and Vallecás, and somewhat more, for the people of Manila are free, and those of Macao, slaves to the Chinese."

⁶⁶⁸ AGI Filipinas 330, l. 5, f. 14v-15r, "Orden sobre comercio de los portugueses con Manila," 1652-12-10.

4.6. “The Spirits That They Called” – Bargaining on the Spot

The aim of this subsection is to analyse the dynamics of bargaining ‘on the spot’ based on new empirical data that suggest that bargaining conditions were often influenced by external developments.⁶⁶⁹ Regardless of constant control measures from above, Manila reflected *laissez-faire* structures. The hypothesis of a free market is further supported by the fact that protectionism failed. This resulted in re-occurring rampant inflations, partially as a consequence of silver in transit, as well as fluctuating prices.

The best-known example of bargaining was the institution of *pancada*,⁶⁷⁰ a form that existed for several years with varying success. The *pancada* was the ultimate example of top-down bargaining. King Philip II ordered the introduction of the *pancada*-system for Chinese merchandise between 1589 and 1591. It guaranteed fixed prices for Chinese imports based on negotiations in advance, to ensure that the Chinese did not cream off the profits of this lucrative exchange.⁶⁷¹

Philip Curtin contends that this system of bulk purchase would eventually undermine the monopoly.⁶⁷² The *pancada* gave rise to a form of collective bargaining prior to the actual trade. The captain or head of a Chinese merchant ship was supposed to bargain with a committee of Spanish officials or merchants (*cargaderos de la nao*). These merchants, representing the municipality of Manila, would be bargained to a fixed price that could not be changed once the investment had been placed.⁶⁷³ Such a procedure was believed to improve the Spanish merchants’ profits. It must have been easy for skilled brokers and neutral traders to outsmart government officials. Any delay would have increased the opportunity for private merchants to “make their own deals on the side”, leading to the flourishing of “smuggling and contraband trade”.⁶⁷⁴ Moreover, Japanese competition with Chinese silks and their often superior purchasing power on the Manila market often led to sudden price increases that negatively affected Spanish

⁶⁶⁹ John Darwin emphasised in his recent book the “play of economic and geopolitical sources” as crucial for understanding the dynamics of empires. John Darwin, *The Empire Project. The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009), 7.

⁶⁷⁰ A Manila neologism of unknown origin.

⁶⁷¹ Cédulas Reales 1700, 45 (1593) The suggestion for such policy initially came from Gomez Peres Dasmariñas in a letter dated June 20, 1591; Philip II confirms his order once again in a *cédula* written on June 11, 1594.

⁶⁷² Curtin, *Cross-cultural Trade*, 134.

⁶⁷³ Recopilación de Leyes de Indias, book 9, title 45, law 34.

⁶⁷⁴ Guerrero, “Chinese in the Philippines,” 24; For smuggling and notoriously corrupt officials in Manila (on this point) see McCarthy, “Between Policy and Prerogative,” 163-183.

purchasing power.⁶⁷⁵ Thus by the turn of the century, the *pancada* was gradually replaced by a free market environment, the *feria* (fair).⁶⁷⁶

The famous fair of Manila is reminiscent of what Fernand Braudel described for late sixteenth century Europe.⁶⁷⁷ Trade patterns following the arrival of the Manila Galleon and Chinese and Japanese ships should be re-evaluated under the assumption that emerging merchant capitalism had not yet manipulated the market. Bargaining on the spot caused conditions and rules on the Manila market to change rapidly. Despite a well-functioning information network, the crown proved incapable of stifling decadent developments. Morga complained about Manila's chaotic economic profile that showed no fixed laws, high prices of provision and counterfeiting merchants, for which he blamed Chinese and indigenous Filipinos for unfair sales strategies."⁶⁷⁸ Moreover he accused rich Spanish *encomenderos* and Chinese of manipulating rice prices.⁶⁷⁹

That this commercial environment was dominated by Fujianese traders seems logical. Reinforced restrictions and numerous reforms accomplished little, as portrayed by the Augustinian friar Juan de Medina, prior of the Augustinian convent in Cebú, in 1630. Trade with China was of great use for the islands not only for those living there, but also for the whole of Spain. Because in China, "everything and as much as desired was available" and the number of merchant ships was uncountable. Father Medina underlined the fluidity of the network and the mobility of the merchants who also went to Siam, Cambodia, Borneo, Moluccas, Macassar and Japan and thus secured Manila's provisions in everything needed including iron, mercury, silk, rice, pork, gold and a thousand other things that are all exchanged against silver.⁶⁸⁰ It would not be too far-fetched to credit the intensity of the bargaining tactics to the long and elaborate traditions of Chinese haggling that can still be experienced today.⁶⁸¹

Since prices on the Manila market were conditioned by the availability of silver, the market was very vulnerable to external factors for the entire period of our study. Serafin Quiason has shown how a "starved Manila or Acapulco market would induce a rise in prices"; for instance in 1628 when prices for silk and other Chinese commodities were

⁶⁷⁵ See Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 74-78; 115, 133.

⁶⁷⁶ Wills, "Maritime China," 356.

⁶⁷⁷ Braudel, *Afterthoughts*, 40.

⁶⁷⁸ BR 10: 81.

⁶⁷⁹ BR 10: 84-85.

⁶⁸⁰ Medina, *Historia*, 68-69.

⁶⁸¹ Already Rafael Bernal ("Chinese Colony," 45) pointed out that the Chinese were skilful bargainers.

very high due to the scarcity of silver coming from the Americas. Indeed, one witness noted a price rise of 400%.⁶⁸² A saturated market, in turn, had an opposite effect and caused price falls, as happened in the 1590s.⁶⁸³ One immediate consequence of this market sensitivity was the abolishment of taxes on essentials such as foodstuffs and military equipment in the early seventeenth century. In any case, limited availability of goods and the high level of competition made early modern Manila an expensive place, as the constant complaints suggest.

At the same time, there exists a large number of records about huge profits one could make during the earlier stage of less supervision and government restrictions.⁶⁸⁴ Although I do not have sufficient material at hand to definitely resolve this problem, I consider speculations about high gains a clear sign that brokers were active before the restrictions of the year 1593. In addition I have found that at the height of triangular trade, active intermediaries were practically absent from Manila. In reality, Fujianese traders dealt with the Fujianese market, *shuinsen* traders with Japan and Spaniards and *criollos* for Mexico, and increasingly after 1610, the Portuguese for Manila and Mexico.⁶⁸⁵

4.7. Provisions Trade

We have already heard that the Spanish colony would have struggled without constant supply from China and Japan, and that private traders were taking care of the material welfare of Manila. One of the crucial products carried from South China and Kyushu to Manila was flour.⁶⁸⁶ The first cargo from Hirado – that arrived at Manila in 1587 – registered wheat alongside salted fish, weapons, silk and handicrafts.⁶⁸⁷

Contemporary Spaniards enjoyed the convenience of imports that was to some extent an adaptation of the socio-economic conditions in the Americas.⁶⁸⁸ Ample

⁶⁸² Cf. Quiason, "Sampan Trade," 168.

⁶⁸³ Quiason, "Sampan Trade," 169.

⁶⁸⁴ Summarised by Grau y Monfalcón, *Justificación*, 11-21.

⁶⁸⁵ Tatiana Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila 1580-1640." *Intinerario* 32, no. 1 (2008): 21. In the 1630s, the Portuguese kept the Spanish colony supplied with merchandise and slaves and the Spanish were willing to turn a blind eye to violation of trade prohibitions.

⁶⁸⁶ For Japan see Tsūkō Ichiran fol. 179/566; See also Okada and Katō, *Nichiō Kōryū*, 227-228.

⁶⁸⁷ AGI Filipinas 7, r. 1, n. 18, "Carta de Acuña sobre temas de gobierno," 1604-07-15: "*Con el emperador de Xapon (./.) se tiene toda buena correspondencia y tambien con sus vasallos que aqui aviden a contratar y el dinero q hazen de los harinas, xamones, atun, yerro, clabacon, armas y otras cosas q traen a vender lo llevan empleado en cueros de venado que los ay de la tierra y mercaderias de China como siempre lo han hecho este año por haver succedido la perdida de la nao de Macan han traído algunos dineros y hecho empleo dellos;*"

⁶⁸⁸ Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism* II, 157: "In America, supplies dominated everything; [...] But here it was not the minero (the mine-owner) who saw to his own supplies. The merchant advanced him rations,

Spanish accounts, whose authors ranked from missionaries to the king in Spain, gave evidence of the Chinese settlers' efforts in feeding Manila by providing bread, pork, chicken and fish for virtually everyone for little money.⁶⁸⁹ Food cargoes became a vital part of the Manila system, a necessity for the provision of the galleon trade and Spanish soldiers in the region.

Fujianese provisions trade in Manila was part of the junk trade in the region. Thus some junks overlapped with inter-Asian trade or had been used for provision trade. On a more general level, the system in which East Asian locals catered for the needs of European traders are reminiscent of what Paul van Dyke has termed 'provisions trade' for his Canton system.⁶⁹⁰ He has shown how Chinese merchants and authorities could take advantage of foreigners' need for supplies. In Manila the opposite was the case. While a whole range of resources had to be shipped to Manila from Southern China and Kyushu, neither private Fujianese or Japanese merchants, nor their respective central ruling power, ever seemed to have taken 'empty stomachs' as the basis for negotiations. They also did not seriously consider 'starving out' Manila, simply because the dominant Fujianese settlers in Manila never transformed their quantitative advantages into political power.

There can be no doubt that the Manila market was an early modern hub for arms trade and it was again China and Japan that filled existing gaps due to Spaniards' outspoken need to defend and wish to expand.⁶⁹¹ Antonio de Morga declared that Chinese captains and merchants should be ordered, under penalty of imprisonment, to bring saltpetre, iron, copper and other metals, which they had until then refused to bring. Since this could not be covered entirely by inner-imperial supply it became a joint Sino-Mexican effort.⁶⁹²

As examined above, cargoes from Japan also often included traditional weapons, swords and military supply such as iron, iron bullets, saltpetre, copper and nails.⁶⁹³

textiles, tools and mercury against silver and gold, thus imprisoning him within a system either of barter discreetly or openly; but he did not ultimately control the chain of trade links handling supplies."

⁶⁸⁹ BR 7: 228; For a detailed list of goods see Morga cf. Guerrero, "Chinese in the Philippines," 23; Japanese and Chinese flour was sold for 16 *reals* per quintal while the same amount of flour shipped from New Spain cost 80 *reals* (BR 18: 179).

⁶⁹⁰ van Dyke, *Canton Trade*, 51-75.

⁶⁹¹ Abella, *Filipinas*, 101.

⁶⁹² BR 10: 84.

⁶⁹³ See Antonio de Morga, *Firipin Shotō Shi*, ed. and transl. Kanki Keizō (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966), 391-392.

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Moreover hemp for ropes and sails was also imported from Japan.⁶⁹⁴ Both in 1586 and 1587, Japanese ships with weapons arrived in the Philippines.⁶⁹⁵ The lack of an iron or a weapons industry in the Philippines hung over Japanese-Spanish trade relations far into the seventeenth century. In 1619 a government official described the economic and financial advantages – for both the colony and the Overseas Empire – of trading with Japan and China. Due to cheap iron shipped to the islands from China and Japan, they were able to save on the expenses for nails for ship-building. 25 pounds (11.5 kg) could be bought for eight *reals*, whereas nails from New Spain cost more than twice as much.⁶⁹⁶

In 2008, Japanese historian Maehira Fusaaki discussed the role of weapon transport in the China Seas – weapons ranging from traditional Japanese swords to manufactured European-style rifles that even found a ready market in Fujian, despite the Ming prohibition on purchasing firearms.⁶⁹⁷ Hence, we have reason to believe that weapon transports to Manila were part of a wide spread regional trading network of reciprocal supply. This would also explain why during the years of war with Korea, a Japanese warlord, Kiyomasa, sent ships to Manila to acquire Chinese copper and saltpetre.⁶⁹⁸

Needless to say that provision trade was well integrated into the bargaining system, however under special conditions. Provisions trade was excluded from any trade regulations. His Majesty had ordered that no custom duties or tax burden must deter Asian traders from selling their goods in Manila.⁶⁹⁹ This certainly was an incentive for smaller traders to visit the city and encouraged others to stay and to help colonising the archipelago. Thus the tax exemption must be regarded as a smart move of the royal government. To give just one concrete example: Merchandise brought to Manila from Hirado by a Sino-Japanese crew in the year 1593 included tuna, ham, 300 bags (*picos*) of flour, 20 of copper, 1600 blankets, and 3 boxes of *catanas*.⁷⁰⁰ The goods had to be declared before the governor and his clerk.⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁴ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 163.

⁶⁹⁵ BR 7: 96-105; van den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 248.

⁶⁹⁶ BR 18: 175-176.

⁶⁹⁷ Maehira, "Minchō," 61-76.

⁶⁹⁸ Nakajima, "Invasion of Korea," 156.

⁶⁹⁹ Cédulas Reales, 1700: no. 71 (1590); BR 7: 89.

⁷⁰⁰ A *catana* is a traditional Japanese sword.

⁷⁰¹ Pastells, *Historia General* I, 49-50.

4.8. Silver, Arbitrage and Other Connections

Historians are emphasising – with good reason – that the impact of the integration of some one hundred Iberians into China's economy at the end of the sixteenth century was minor. The history of silver flows to China became a metaphor for global economic connections of the pre-globalised world. The assertion that the fall of the Ming Dynasty, under the pressure of increased military spending and the decline in silver imports to China from Japan and Manila between 1635 and 1644, has been heavily debated over the past three decades.⁷⁰²

Data presented by Richard von Glahn, suggests that before 1600 China imported on average 46,600 kg of silver per year, of which about 60% came from the Iwami mines of Japan that were discovered in the 1530s.⁷⁰³ For understanding the global dimensions of trade in silver a quick note shall be made on the diverging silver-gold ratios – very important for quick profit for merchants dealing with silver in the late sixteenth century. Due to a devaluation of silver in relation to gold, in 1566 and 1608, the silver to gold ratio was 12.12:1 in the Castilian Empire in China it rose from 5.5:1 to 8:1 between the years 1566 and 1608.⁷⁰⁴ This means that value of silver was twice as high in China as in Spain in the 1590s.

It is not the aim of this work to analyse long-term impact on economic (under-) development, but rather to examine actual exchange patterns and their socio-political embedment of the period.⁷⁰⁵ However, even that is not an easy venture.⁷⁰⁶ Regular cross-cultural silver trade dates back to the Portuguese arrival in Asia. Only ten years before the Ming relaxation of foreign trade the Portuguese received permission to settle in Macao in 1557. This major concession was the result of competition between Cantonese merchants and Fujianese maritime traders.⁷⁰⁷ To both parties the Europeans seemed to be qualified to offer what they needed: access to silver. Over time the

⁷⁰² Atwell, "Another Look," 467-91; Brian Moloughney and Wenzhong Xia, "Silver and the fall of the Ming Dynasty: A reassessment," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 40 (1989): 51-78.

⁷⁰³ von Glahn, *Fountain*, 134.

⁷⁰⁴ The ratio data is based on a famous report by Pedro de Baeza of the year 1609 in which he also described arbitrage practices based on an alleged abundance of gold in China; Cf. Boxer, "Plata es Sangre," 461. See also Atwell, "Ming China," 404.

⁷⁰⁵ Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis*.

⁷⁰⁶ Wills, "Maritime Europe," 53-54: He acknowledged that the Seville archives are a disappointment when it comes to the quantities of traded goods in Manila, and I am afraid I have to agree. So we have to make do with Chaunu's figures even if they have been criticised for their changing collection practices.

⁷⁰⁷ Ptak, *Maritime Seidenstraße*, 165-168.

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Portuguese turned into intermediary traders who soon found a profitable way to reap huge profits from carrying Japanese silver to China. This trade even became institutionalised in 1571, when a permanent Macao-Nagasaki route was established.⁷⁰⁸

The lucrative silver business even secured the Jesuits a foothold in Japan, as they actively participated in arbitrage trade between China and Japan, after a 1578 agreement between the controversial Jesuit missionary Alessandro Valignano secured and Macao-Nagasaki silk merchants that won the Society 100 of the 96,000 kg of silk sent annually. This deal required the Jesuits to invest about 4,000 ducats, for which they would later receive the approval of Aquaviva, Pope Gregory XIII and the royal officials in Macao and Goa.⁷⁰⁹

The Jesuits' success in combining missionary work and trade caused fierce competition with the envious Spaniards, all above Mendicant friars who struggled with establishing their mission in Japan. Jesuits achieved their goals not only because they were flexible, but also due to the fact that they were backed by fairly 'liberal' institutions, like the *padroado*. This royal church patronage entitled the *padres* to take part in trade within the wider borders of the *Estado da India*.⁷¹⁰

While Japanese silver helped a few Portuguese captains and merchants in Asia to amass enormous wealth, we can rule out that the Spanish ever systematically participated in arbitrage trade as silver-gold intermediaries between China and Japan.⁷¹¹ An early seventeenth-century Spanish observer pointed out that the reason why the Portuguese at Macao managed to benefit financially from trade with the East Asians was that they denied the Japanese direct access to their market, while the Spanish allowed the Japanese to buy direct from Chinese merchants.⁷¹² Unlike the Portuguese in Macao, who carried Asian as well as European goods on their own ships to trading centres such as Nagasaki, the Castilians never developed institutionalised inter-Asian trade. Indeed, Spanish integration into Asian maritime zones and networks mostly differed from other

⁷⁰⁸ For a recent synthesis of the Macao-Nagasaki trade see Rui Manuel Loureiro, "The Macau-Nagasaki Route (1570-1640). Portuguese Ships and their Cargos," in *Shipping and Economic Growth 1350-1850*, ed. Richard W. Unger, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 189-206 in which he divides the commercial interaction of the *kurofune* into four stages, analyzing the varying success of the enterprise. For a detailed overview on the prices of Luso-Japanese trade in these decades see AGI Patronato 46, r. 31, "Memoria de mercaderías de nao portuguesa: de China al Japón," undated.

⁷⁰⁹ de la Costa, Jesuits, 55-56.

⁷¹⁰ Charles R. Boxer, *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Japan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); BR 10: 192; 198-201.

⁷¹¹ See von Glahn, *Fountain*, 131.

⁷¹² Cf. Gil, *Hidalgos y Samurais*, 236.

European port cities whose rulers were much more prone to coercion.⁷¹³

Table 1: Chinese trading ships to Luzon⁷¹⁴

Year	Number
1581-1590	102
1591-1600	119
1601-1610	290
1611-1620	49
1621-1630	73
1631-1640	325
1641-1650	162

Manila's silver trade developed independently from Macao. Instead of becoming direct intermediaries, the Spaniards institutionalised and provided an advanced framework that triggered continuous and sustainable visits from the Chinese and Japanese: a port of call. This Spanish system in the Far East did not only save them overhead costs but even made them skim off money from the incoming trade – at least in theory.

We have heard that officially no more than 50,000 kg were shipped across the Pacific –Chinese goods brought to Manila during the same period must have valued some 1,300,000 pesos – regardless of Spanish restrictions.⁷¹⁵ A Spanish account of 1598 estimates that the Chinese “take eight hundred thousand pesos and sometimes more than a million. During the ten days they spend here they gain more than a hundred per cent; and this year according to the universal opinion, fully two hundred per cent.”⁷¹⁶ However according to data generated at the Archivo General de Indias, annual income based on *almojarifazgo* only amounted 23,000 pesos.⁷¹⁷ This explains why paragraphs in the *cedulas reales* gives accounts of Chinese traders who came to the island and did not register properly.⁷¹⁸ In light of the silver figures discussed above, this illustrates that

⁷¹³ For instance, in 1641, when the VOC had finally succeeded in seizing Malacca it introduced measures to make it the leading trading centre of the wider region by forcing merchant ships to pass the Strait of Malacca by use of maritime violence. See Adam Clulow, "European Maritime Violence and Territorial States in Early Modern Asia, 1600-1650" *Itinerario* 33, no. 3 (2010), 77.

⁷¹⁴ Source: Kang, *East Asia*, 132.

⁷¹⁵ TePaske, "New World Silver, Castile and the Philippines," 444.

⁷¹⁶ BR 10: 179.

⁷¹⁷ Bernal, "Chinese Colony," 44.

⁷¹⁸ Cédulas Reales, no. 71 (1594).

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even contemporaries in Manila were not fully aware – or rather not fully interested – in the actual dynamics of trade with China.

Evidence suggests that Japanese traders were also involved in arbitrage deals. About the year 1575, Juan Pacheco Maldonado reported to Philip II that Japanese vessels visited Luzon every year for the purpose of exchanging silver to gold.⁷¹⁹ This backs the neutral trading spot thesis; Manila's potential in enabling Japanese traders to circumvent Portuguese intermediaries as well as Chinese trade prohibitions must therefore not be underestimated. We may argue that the anti-Japanese regulation in Macao turned into Manila's comparative advantage. It became the only port in the region that provided a free, liberal market for independent merchants from China and Japan.⁷²⁰

Primarily *haifuki* silver, refined by the cupellation method, was used in transactions with foreign traders via Macao and Manila. However, in 1609 the *bakufu* prohibited its export and instead inferior quality coins became more commonly used in maritime trade.⁷²¹ During the active *shuinsen* trade period, when in some years more than 30 Japanese vessels sailed to South East Asian trading hubs, they carried as much as 30,000 to 40,000 kg of silver annually, an amount that was not reached by the private Chinese merchants trading in Japan. In the peak years between 1615 and 1625 they even reached the formidable value of 130,000 to 160,000 kg, which was far more than the Spanish in Manila had to offer.⁷²²

What do we learn from analysing the history of the booming silver trade with China? For a start, both Japan and Spain became silver suppliers for China. The irony behind this is that China looked down at her suppliers, constantly mocking that they brought nothing but silver to exchange for manufactured Chinese goods such as silk and ceramics.⁷²³ Manufacturing of both goods was not yet similarly advanced in the Spanish realm and in Japan and costs for domestic products were higher compared to Chinese imports.

⁷¹⁹ BR 3: 295-303.

⁷²⁰ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 335. The commodity is referred to as *chokidan*: Tax burden for the Japanese merchant, Leon Mangobeo who sold steel in 1617 was 2 pesos 2 *tomin* and 69 *grano* per *picul*. The Japanese captain Luis Melo who brought 173 silver bars the same year, paid for 3 real each bar, for normal gold the same tax as the Chinese 224 pesos.

⁷²¹ Asao, "The Sixteenth-Century Unification," 60-63.

⁷²² Iwao, *Nanyō*, 63-67; 328-330.

⁷²³ Cf. Murai, *Umi kara mita*, 164.

4.9. Manila-Macao: Change, Challenge and Competition in the South China Sea

Tensions, greed and hatred between Portugal and Spain seemed to peak in overseas realms and poisoned the trading climate of the Manila system as early as in the 1590s. The dynastic union between Portugal and Castile after 1580/81,⁷²⁴ which complicated the relationship with the Portuguese of the *Estado da India*, whose people feared to lose their autonomy. In particular in Japan and China, Portuguese made great efforts not to lose their comparative advantage to the Spaniards; and advantage that manifested in particular in the Jesuits' permanent residence in Nagasaki and their special ties to the nobility. It stands to reason that this new situation was challenging for both Iberian parties.⁷²⁵ The Spanish, in spite of being well aware of the restrictions for their Overseas territories, hoped their situation in the Far East would improve thanks to cooperation with the Portuguese; any sign in that direction, in return, made the Portuguese suspicious of losing their independence. Eventually, the Union of Crowns caused more harm to the Spanish position in the East than good.

The Portuguese had a strong interest in keeping the Castilians out of Japan and China. While they failed in Japan, for China they achieved that the Spanish did not receive 'their own Macao'.⁷²⁶ For instance in 1575, when the two Augustinian friars Rada and Marín made attempts to settle in Amoy. Yet, arrangements for the 'Chinese enterprise' under the governorship of Francisco de Sande failed, due to the opposition of the Habsburg monarch who did not want to endanger fragile Iberian relations.⁷²⁷ Interestingly, a further advance was even initiated by Fujianese traders who – unhappy about the arrival of two Portuguese ships in Manila during the trading season – invited governor Santiago de Vera in the year 1587 to build a Spanish trading outpost in 'Chincheo'.⁷²⁸

In the meantime, Macao had acquired full city status with a municipal council in 1585. The ruling Portuguese, unlike in Goa, were not *fidalgos* but mainly merchants acting as agents in trade with China, and spice brokers. This special character of the

⁷²⁴ The message of this political manoeuvre reached Governor Ronquillo de Peñalosa in a royal decree on April 4, 1581; See Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 6 (1584).

⁷²⁵ James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs. 1580-1640* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1993).

⁷²⁶ A further attempt followed 1598 at El Piñal as we shall see in the next chapter.

⁷²⁷ For the failure of the years 1575/76 of Rada and Loarca see Ollé, *Empresa de China*, 64.

⁷²⁸ AGI Filipinas 34, n. 75, "Carta de Santiago de Vera sobre situación general," 1587-06-26.

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outpost limited crown intervention.⁷²⁹ Until the 1610s, Manila and Macao developed parallel as global trading hubs.⁷³⁰ Neither the East Asians nor the Iberians made serious attempts to integrate the two trading hubs into their political economies. This was without question the result of continuous competition and individual claims for control and dominance. In addition to opportunist trading collaborations and short-time network building, mutual disrupting was a common maritime practice.

Joint Iberian efforts in the region were rare. It was far more common for them to play off against each other, and we may wonder if these dirty battles for monopoly directly affected Manila. The Spaniards of the time were convinced it did:

If any of the Spaniards who went to that land received ill-treatment at the hands of the Chinese, it was due to the evil reports of us which the Portuguese spread among them, warning them to be aware of Castilians as a people addicted to stealing and seizing foreign kingdoms; and who as they had become masters of Nueva España, Peru and the Philippines, would strive likewise to obtain China.⁷³¹

Both the extent and the nature of Portuguese contributions to trade in Manila remain unsolved in historical research. John Villiers found that African slaves, Indian cottons, spices, amber, ivory, precious stones, toys and curiosities from India, Persian and Turkish carpets, gilded furniture made in Macao were shipped on Portuguese ships to Manila.⁷³² Thus, in this quote that refers to the situation in the 1610s, neither silk nor ceramics, as the main Chinese merchandise in triangular trade, are mentioned. Due to decreasing returns from trade with Japan, the scale of Portuguese commercial activity in Manila increased in the 1620s. So Manila became their logical shelter – however, trading conditions remained unstable. The 1630s then were the boom years for Portuguese trade in Manila. Portuguese profits were little appreciated in Manila, led to a series of complaints that culminated in seventeen articles in 1632 and the total prohibition of

⁷²⁹ Villiers, "Silk and Silver".

⁷³⁰ Macao's sudden growth and the enormous profits of its resident merchants as intermediaries in the official Macao-Nagasaki trade have always been undisputed. Pierre Chaunu, "Manille et Macao face à la conjoncture des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles" *Annales ESC*, no. 3 (1962), 579; Gipouloux, *Méditerranée Asiatique*, 142-143.

⁷³¹ BR 7: 216.

⁷³² Villiers, "Silk and Silver".

Portuguese trade at Manila.⁷³³ In later decades, Spanish ships must have also participated in the Canton trade, as Paul van Dyke indicated.⁷³⁴

4.10. Intercultural Patterns of the Manila Trade

In order to understand the full spectrum of the Manila system, we have to examine its intercultural dimension even further. In our period, the only form of outgoing Spanish trade from Manila was carried out on Spanish vessels to Japan. It is fascinating to see that all these merchant ships were equipped with presents for the *shōgun*.⁷³⁵ What seems a different form of bargaining or bribery was nothing more than overlapping European and East Asian traditions combining commercial interaction and diplomatic codes to which the Spanish – the Dutch would do so in an institutionalised manner just as a few decades later – obeyed in order to secure access to the Japanese (and consequently the Chinese) market.⁷³⁶ This type of commerce combining diplomacy and trade was an important feature of the political economy of the Manila market. Martha Chaiklin wrote: "The bestowal of gifts to smooth diplomatic negotiations, from ruler to ruler, and between envoy and ruler, was a common practice in most parts of the world until well into the nineteenth century."⁷³⁷ Indeed, the Spaniards were also encouraged by opportunism when they sent goods labeled as gifts but considering Spanish officials' suspicion, as well as the quantity of 'gifts', such a conclusion falls short in various ways.

An anonymous account on the register attached to the first vessel sent by Ieyasu shows that this trade pattern could be very lucrative for the Spaniards. It listed a remarkably rich and extensive range of goods, including five hundred swords, different metals and 10,500 blankets. Goods like two toilette mirrors and 30 golden folding screens give reason to believe that it was not a standard commercial transaction but rather the result of a typical East Asian combination of diplomacy and trade – in the

⁷³³ Spate, *Spanish Lake*, 228.

⁷³⁴ van Dyke, *Canton Trade*, 15

⁷³⁵ Cabezas, *Siglo Ibérico*, 447-8 quoted a letter of the audiencia in Manila of July 8, 1608: "*Cada año se ha enviado un navío, en el cual van cartas y un presente de pañolos y algunas piezas de seda, vino y otras menudancias, que todo cuesta menos de ochocientos pesos; y es tan necesario esto, que si las cartas no fuesen a esta sombra, serían mal recibidas: recíbenlo allá con voluntad, y el gobierno (japonés) he enviado cada año cinco de armas, a su usanza, que son de poca defensa y valor, aunque parecen bien.*"

⁷³⁶ One of the pillars of VOC trade with Japan was the annual journey to Edo (hoofreis naar Edo) where a Dutch delegation offered exclusive gifts to the *shōgun*. Grant K. Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch, 1600-1853* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000), 24-28.

⁷³⁷ Martha Chaiklin, "The Merchant's Ark: Live Animal Gifts in Early Modern Dutch-Japanese Relations (2012) <http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/9.1/chaiklin.html> Accessed March 13, 2012.

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sense that next to the presents displayed by an official delegation, other goods were exchanged by accompanying merchants, as introduced for China in chapter 2.⁷³⁸ Clearly the described items included symbolic gifts. Records like this are not necessarily accurate in quantitative terms but doubtlessly help shed light on Hispano-Japanese relations. Another account by Antonio de Morga that mentioned folding screens (*byōbu*)⁷³⁹ and swords among common Japanese imports to Manila falls into the same category.⁷⁴⁰

Now, what was the Spanish contribution? Interestingly, in official Japanese records we mainly find gifts and traditionally exotic tributary items listed among the things sent from the Philippines. Depending on their availability they often had a very improvisational character. Next to weapons, Castilian wine, for instance was repeatedly recorded.⁷⁴¹ In particular, sending wine was not without irony. Exporting wine from Spain (a common good on ships to the Americas), was already a transatlantic challenge, due to the problematic storage in the unbearable heat. Murdo J. Macleod described how church elites lamented over the fact that wine sent from Spain had already gone bad when it got to the Americas. A similar story could be told for olive oil that was much in demand for baptism but would arrive rancid.⁷⁴² Thus sending these Spanish products to the Philippines was in fact a waste of resources and cargo space. Certainly, when Castilian wine reached the *shōgun's* Court after at least two years of travel it was essentially vinegar. Unfortunately we do not know anything about the use of the items in Japan.

During active trade with Spain, commercial gift-giving had a random character and was applied as opportunity presented; it was only institutionalised later during the seventeenth century without Spanish participation. The Japanese historian Takase

⁷³⁸ AGI Filipinas 7, r. 7, n. 88, "Memoria de mercaderías que trae el embajador de Japón," 1600; See also Ikoku Nikki Shō, 68 where five golden folding screens are mentioned in a register on goods sent to New Spain in the year 1612.

⁷³⁹ Some folding screens were sent to Europe and thanks to Habsburg connections even ended up in Graz. The Ōsakajō-zu-byōbu is still part of the rich furniture of the Eggenberg Castle. See <http://www.kleinezeitung.at/steiermark/graz/graz/1484215/index.do> as well as [http://www.museum-joanneum.at/upload/file/Schloss_Eggenberg\[0\].pdf](http://www.museum-joanneum.at/upload/file/Schloss_Eggenberg[0].pdf) Both last accessed February 23, 2012. What is worth mentioning in this context that it was exactly the trade relations described here that created the term 'Spanische Wand' for precisely this piece of furniture that became increasingly popular in Renaissance Europe.

⁷⁴⁰ BR 10: 81-85.

⁷⁴¹ For wine sent to Japan see Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 179/575; Ikoku Nikki Shō, 44; 69.

⁷⁴² Macleod, "Spain and America," 334-335; 367-369: In good old protectionist fashion, wine yards and olive groves were forbidden in New Spain; nevertheless Peru eventually gained a foothold in the agriculture of wine and olives.

Kōichiro has discovered a document of a financial officer of Manila of 1607 stating that it was customary to send ships from Manila to the Japanese ruler along with an ambassador and highly priced gifts (between 800 pesos and 1000 pesos).⁷⁴³

At this point we do not know enough about the role of gift-giving to provide a satisfactory interpretation. We can simply state that it existed. Later on we shall have the opportunity to discuss certain numerous implications such as a Filipino-Spanish attempt to circumvent royal orders or a Japanese attempt to imitate China and to put the middle kingdom system upside down.

4.11. Concluding Remarks

Despite being a centre for triangular trade between 1571 and 1644 for Mexico, Japan, China and eventually Spain, the early modern Manila market was as much a global challenge – first of all for the Castilians. At times, Castilians aimed at creating a more liberal atmosphere. At the turn of the seventeenth century after the *pancada* system was abolished, the Spaniards rejoiced in almost unrestricted commerce for several years before re-enforced royal restrictions brought about a sudden end. Crown intervention hindered economic developments and numerous laws caused only moderate return to the colonists. They were the only early modern European trading nation granting the Japanese direct access to their market and at the same time they were the only early modern European trading nation that did not establish permanent or temporary factories in Japan or China.

The Chinese inability to pull the strings in triangular trade by channelling the gains from that trade into their home economy is as striking as the fact that they did not send their own ships to the Americas: a bold step that the Japanese were keen to take as we shall see hereafter. For the Japanese, the greatest challenge was a combination of structural problems and bad timing. This claim is backed by the fact that the peak of Japan's trade in Manila was around 1607 and thus earlier than the peak years of Japanese maritime trade in the region between 1615 and 1625.

We have also said that the multi-layered dynamics are best described as a system of lasting global impact. Manila was not the core of a semi-dependent periphery but

⁷⁴³ Takase Kōichiro, *Kirishitan Jidai No Bōeki to Gaikō* (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2002), 102; See also AGI Filipinas 329, l. 2, f. 100r, "Petición de informe sobre regalo al emperador de Japón," 1609-07-25: According to Juan de Silva presents for the Emperors of China and Japan cost 1,633 pesos.

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connected to various parts of the China Seas and the Pacific, although interactions were of varying intensity. The fluidity of the system resulted in rapid change and led to the parallel existence of protectionist commerce and *laissez-faire* exchange. Changing consumption patterns resulting from cheap and available Chinese goods enabled all classes and ethnicities to shop for Chinese commodities in Manila. While the Manila galleon trade was a crown monopoly, in reality this monopoly was not as strong as the word suggests, but instead left room for triangular exchange at a neutral spot.

Measuring Manila's significance in early modern global trade, I have argued that merchant interests were not the exclusive stimulus for Manila's development. The main challenge for Spain's political economy was reacting to well-established, century-old concepts (i.e. tributary trade) that could not be easily replaced by new mercantile standards.

The mercantilist order commonly attributes a crucial role to the state. However, state must not be mistaken with policies. Trade was driven by market demand. The Chinese in Manila were not buyers, but sellers on the Manila market. With regard to mercantilist policies we find equivalents in governmental control institutions: the Atlantic system, the Manila galleon trade, the *shuinsen* and the Chinese superintendency. To illustrate how mercantilism and proto-capitalism flourished in Manila we have to look at the market. Merchants became the wealthiest class in Spanish colonial towns. In the Spanish Americas it was the official Castilian traders who monopolised Atlantic trade. In Manila, to a remarkable extent, it was also foreign traders. That they did not re-invest in enhancing their political position or re-invest it in their home economy can only be understood in the embedded nature of the Manila system: When things became too rough other attractive port cities were easily found.

The examples given undermine the myth of a monopolising Spain, a backward, uninterested Japan and an agrarian, isolationist, despotic China. From a mere focus on trade relations it looks as if the Japanese state was a short-time winner. But as we know, for a political economy, commercial success makes only half the truth.

The following chapter shifts analysis to sovereignty and why the states failed to take advantage of the location's obvious qualities. Multi-layered encounters of state competition and geopolitical considerations in Manila had negative effects on the city's long run commercial development.

5. Triangular Foreign Relations and Diplomatic Cultures

5.1. Intercultural Diplomacy and Foreign Relations in the South China Sea

In this exploratory chapter, I shall sketch the dynamics of the external relations of China, Japan and Spain during this period of growing material and human exchange based on the Manila-centred triangular trade. The development of regular commercial relations, demonstrated in previous chapters, depended not only on the interplay of trade and diplomacy, but also on a whole range of contingent external factors. Here, the Spanish in Manila serve as a sort of template for examining foreign affairs on the Manila market.

Diplomacy as a means of (re)determining cross-cultural relations and globality has only recently developed as a 'theme' in global history.⁷⁴⁴ In its classic sense, it's understood to mean "information-gathering, representation and negotiation", where the diplomatic system did not control the diplomatic process.⁷⁴⁵ All three fields were largely improvised in the early modern period.

After having contextualised the different patterns of foreign relations between these three pre-modern states, an interdisciplinary approach will help uncover how official and unofficial encounters shaped foreign policies, power relations and political interaction. Methodologically this chapter presents the results of cross-reading multilingual sources. In doing so, I aim to relate my findings to Zoltan Biedermann's study on Portuguese diplomacy in Asia, where he pointed out that ambiguity was the fundamental keyword for understanding intercultural encounters on a political level. Similarly, Spanish encounters with the East Asian 'nations' also took place in a world where "practical and symbolic values overlap[ed]".⁷⁴⁶

Our task here is to reach an understanding of whether diplomacy changed based on increased interaction with each other. Interestingly enough, the establishment of European rule over Philippine territories coincided with governmental changes

⁷⁴⁴ For the interpretative framework see John Watkins, "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe" *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008): 1-14.

⁷⁴⁵ Jeremy Black, *A History of Diplomacy* (Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago, 2010), 14.

⁷⁴⁶ Zoltan Biedermann, "Portuguese Diplomacy in Asia in the Sixteenth Century. A Preliminary Overview," *Itinerario* 29, no. 2 (2005): 15.

in China and Japan. Thus it will be interesting to see how contact with the Iberians affected diplomatic encounters in the region; in turn to what extent this led to changes in Spain's foreign policies in Asia in the following decades. Answering these questions requires disentangling trade and diplomatic exchange embedded in the various challenges of intercultural communication in the early modern period.

For a better understanding of the diversity and complexity of these encounters I prefer to speak of 'intercultural diplomacy' instead of just diplomatic exchange, as the outcome of increasing contacts between different political cultures that still lacked a uniform etiquette. Prior to European expansionism, the bulk of state-level contacts were reserved for neighbouring countries of similar cultural or political background. While direct Castilian contact with Japan and China was an entirely new phenomena in the history of diplomacy, relations between China and the West were not new to the sixteenth century. However, when European influence spread over Southeast Asia, a change in East Asian dealings with Europe became unavoidable, due to undefined and unsettled claims of political and economic hegemonies and overlapping local and central interests.

When the doctrine of encounters on an equal level started to emerge with the Peace of Westphalia in Europe, this rudimentary idea of the equality of negotiating parties was far different to our present notion of equality – where the same bilateral rights are granted to every nation-state regardless of size or economic power.⁷⁴⁷ Nonetheless, in sixteenth century Europe, 'parity' communication already happened if the two parties were *inter pares*.⁷⁴⁸ Despite the absence of such principles in China and Japan,⁷⁴⁹ we should remember that ideas on bureaucracy as well as symbolic culture had progressed far in Asia prior to the eighteenth century and strongly affected Europeans who were often fascinated with Asian standards.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁷ For the development of modern European diplomacy see Black, *Diplomacy*, Introduction and chapters I and II; Keith Hamilton and Langhorne Richard, *The Practice of Diplomacy. Its Evolution, Theory and Administration* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011). For China see Leo K. Shin, *The Making of the Chinese State. Ethnicity and Expansion on the Mind Borderlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006).

⁷⁴⁸ Biedermann, *Portuguese*, 26; Diplomacy as correspondence between "equal" states as we have known it since the Congress of Vienna of 1815, when diplomatic language became European, has been instrumental in creating an erroneous picture.

⁷⁴⁹ Kang, *East Asia*, 3. The author notes that in the Western system equality of nations is taken for granted and considered 'enduring reality of international politics'.

⁷⁵⁰ Antje Flüchter's work and theoretical approach – in particular her ideas on the circulation of

What Spain, China and Japan had in common was that their state ideologies rested on feelings of being superior to the outside world. While the Spaniards were spurred on by hegemonic Catholicism, China and Japan had their own ideas on 'world orders'. A complex body of thought positioned them into the centre of the universe and above other nations; hence they would call the Europeans barbarians.⁷⁵¹ The Middle Kingdom ideology (*tian xia*) was incompatible with other claims of global sovereignty.⁷⁵² Although this Sino-centric world included Japan, the Japanese were mostly reluctant to fulfil their imposed duties as barbarian states and have thus often been styled as the counterpart of enthusiastically subduing Koreans.⁷⁵³

Encounters between official and unofficial contacts, e.g. encounters between colonial officers with central respectively local lords, have to be disentangled from the communications of private merchants. Strictly speaking, private merchants' initiatives cannot be considered 'official' encounters for they were considered disintegrative elements from the viewpoint of the central state (as represented by government officials and ruling class members in Beijing, Osaka/Edo and Valladolid/Madrid/Seville). However, since unofficial contacts represented the bulk of early modern cross-cultural contacts, their impact on central policies must not be ignored entirely.

One may argue that such a survey would be in danger of falling back on the old narrative of how ignorant the Europeans' were when it came to how to behave in the East, and vice versa. This narrative overshadows early accomplishments and successful communication patterns. Here too, I believe that the situation in Manila was different. We must not confuse European merchants who were extremely flexible and quick to adapt to Asian customs for the sake of increasing commercial profits with government officials in Manila who were interested in safeguarding the colony against potential risks from outside.

knowledge of the state between Asia and Europe, the so-called 'performative culture' deserve special mention in this context. Antje Flüchter, "Sir Thomas Roe vor dem Indischen Mogul: Transkulturelle Kommunikationsprobleme zwischen Repräsentation und Administration," in *Im Schatten der Macht. Kommunikationskulturen in Politik und Verwaltung 1600-1950*, ed. Stefan Haas et al., (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 2008), 119-143; Michael R. Auslin, *Negotiating with Imperialism. The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2004), 4.

⁷⁵¹ *Yi* 夷 or *fan* in Chinese, *nanban* 南蛮 in Japanese.

⁷⁵² Hsu, "Writing," 329. The author emphasises the Habsburg king's claim for "sovereignty over the Old World as well as the New".

⁷⁵³ Toby, *State*, 139

5.2. Developments of Sino-Japanese Foreign Relations

The geopolitical dimension of this study demands begins with an examination of the specific development of Sino-Japanese relations. Although I am sceptical about the importance of tributary trade for early modern economic development in East Asia (as indicated by Takeshi Hamashita),⁷⁵⁴ China's indirect impact on Japan's trade and diplomacy was crucial.⁷⁵⁵ One of its outcomes was certainly helping the development of specific Japanese forms of diplomatic relations from the fifteenth century.⁷⁵⁶

For centuries, China had been the focus of Japanese foreign affairs and an almost exclusive source for its cultural borrowings.⁷⁵⁷ During the entire period studied here, however, Japan was reluctant to accept the Middle Kingdom's claim for superiority. Politically, the Japanese were never really at ease with Chinese leadership over the Confucian society in East Asia, despite Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's acceptance of Chinese suzerainty at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Receiving the symbolical title "king of Japan" after 1402, the Ashikaga *bakufu* sent 11 official missions through authorised ships until the middle of the sixteenth century.⁷⁵⁸

Speaking of 'Sino-Japanese diplomatic culture', when describing the specific procedure, the Japanese applied in preparing and sending embassies to the Ming Court, that included diplomatic documents and *kanhe* (*kangō*) certificates written by Gozan monks,⁷⁵⁹ Csaba Oláh has shown that 'diplomatic disagreements' already existed during the Ashikaga rule and the so-called *buke geikō* diplomacy controlled by the warrior class.⁷⁶⁰ He also illustrated that at the beginning of the sixteenth

⁷⁵⁴ See chapters of Grove et al., *China, East Asia and the Global Economy*.

⁷⁵⁵ Speaking of Japan's role in tributary trade with the Middle Kingdom it is striking that the Japanese rulers did not manage to establish diplomatic relations after their last tributary trade mission (*kangō*) in 1541 until 1871 when Meiji Japan signed a friendship treaty with the Qing. However, we must not underestimate the enormous potential of indirect contacts through trade in Japan as well as in European-ruled port cities.

⁷⁵⁶ Okamoto, "Foreign Policy and Maritime Trade," 35-55.

⁷⁵⁷ The historian John Whitney Hall has particularly shaped this view.

⁷⁵⁸ Kang *Diplomacy and Ideology*, 32-33: Although Ashikaga Yoshimitsu desired to establish formal relations with Ming China, initially he was not accepted as head of Japan. Only after bringing an appropriate letter (*piao*) in which Japan accepted Chinese centrality and the Chinese calendar for official correspondence, the Ashikaga became a tributary of the Ming in 1402 and were allowed to send state letters with the title of "King of Japan" (= *nihon koku ō*).

⁷⁵⁹ The same monks should also draft Hideyoshi's correspondence with foreign rulers. See Asao, "The Sixteenth-Century Unification," 69.

⁷⁶⁰ Csaba Oláh, *Räuberische Chinesen und tückische Japaner: Die diplomatischen Beziehungen*

century, Japanese envoys became increasingly irritated about how they were treated by Chinese officials.⁷⁶¹

Sino-Japanese relations became increasingly ambivalent from this time.⁷⁶² Amidst the confusion of the civil wars, the powerful Ōuchi clan seized the tallies from the Ashikaga and thereafter established a monopoly on tributary trade with China, which the *bakufu* acknowledged in 1516.⁷⁶³ A crucial moment in the process of Japan's repositioning and breakaway from the Middle kingdom system was the so-called Ningbo incident. In 1523, when the tribute missions of two different Japanese noble families arrived at Ningbo (Zhejiang province), the official entry port for the Japanese, a dispute broke out between the two rival groups. When they were consequently denied access, several of the desperate Japanese traders and sailors plundered the nearby area. Once the Ming Court was informed about this violent incident, they ordered the suppression of all trade with the Japanese. This incident had a lasting impact on diplomatic relations; official relations barely recovered and tributary trade ended with the last mission received in China between 1547 and 1549.⁷⁶⁴

During the following decades, we can trace a newly awakened self-conscience in diplomatic relations and advances towards the Ming that grew in conjunction with the warlords' success in centralising the country. Nevertheless, the re-opening of diplomatic relations with the Ming Court failed because Hideyoshi refused to become a vassal of the Ming emperor.⁷⁶⁵ He would go on to provoke China with his infamous invasions of Korea in 1592 and 1598, known as *bunroku no eki* and *keichō*

zwischen China und Japan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009).

⁷⁶¹ Csaba, *Räuberische Chinesen*, 55-57: Correspondence between these two parties (1539) speaks of the very inflexible rules that were applied in dealings with Japanese merchants. Other recent research on the development of diplomatic relations in East Asia include Kōji Itō, "Japan and Ryukyu During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 95 (2008): 79-99.

⁷⁶² See Schottenhammer, "The East Asian Maritime World," 22-23: Chinese sources speak of the incident caused by striving for tribute, accusing the Japanese to be solely interested in trade and profit, and not showing enough respect and subordination to the Chinese emperor. As a result, trade relations with Japan were suspended until 1539/40 but should not recover until the seventeenth century.

⁷⁶³ Masayoshi Sugimoto and David L. Swain, *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan: A.D. 600 - 1854*, (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1978).

⁷⁶⁴ Olof Lidin, *Tanegashima. The Arrival of Europe in Japan* (Copenhagen: Nias Press, 2002), 41. In 1549 a delegation sent by Sakai merchants for tributary trade were prohibited access to the tributary protocol by Chinese officials. "three new great merchant ships were about to set sail to the South for Great Ming China. And, about 1,000 young men, sons of rich families of the Kinai area and of the area West of Kinai, set out to be merchants."

⁷⁶⁵ Mizuno, "China in Tokugawa Foreign Relations," 121.

no eki, or Imjin War in Western sources. Recent research had emphasised the world historic importance of these events that harmed Korea's economic development and future of the Ming dynasty.

Hideyoshi's ambitious project to conquer Korea and China deserves further attention because of how it helped shape Japan's hegemonic aspirations. After the king of Korea had thwarted Hideyoshi's plans to invade China, the latter launched an invasion. With around 160,000 men he overcame a militarily unprepared and poorly equipped Korean army, taking Pusan in May 1592 and Seoul the following month. They continued to Pyöngyang before meeting major resistance. On the naval side in particular, Hideyoshi had to cope with massive losses. The tactics of Yi Sun-sin, a royal messenger who outsmarted the Japanese navy with turtle boats, was notable. He successfully cut the Japanese supply lines, giving the Korean population some breathing space before Ming sent an army in support – as they were acting as protectionist power of their loyal Chosön barbarian ally.⁷⁶⁶ Eventually, the Japanese were routed.

This early modern East Asian war between 1592 and 1598 serves as example for the balance of power and geopolitical shifts in the Sino-centric world. Eager to impress the Ming Court with his military power,⁷⁶⁷ Hideyoshi did not entirely fail; although his troops never reached the Chinese mainland, the Ming Court felt seriously threatened and grew nervous about Japanese military strength.⁷⁶⁸ Indeed, Zheng Jiexi has uncovered evidence for an attempt by the Ming to assassinate Hideyoshi.⁷⁶⁹ Indeed, the Ming Court proposed prices and other rewards for the

⁷⁶⁶ Historiography about these infamous military advances is – as is often the case with such delicate topics – is full of legends and myths. Hideyoshi's Korea invasion and clash with Ming China, like any other war, had economic and ecological side effects. Various sources speak of 200,000 up to 2,000,000 people killed and 80 per cent of the arable land destroyed after 1598. Kenneth Swope has claimed that the boat construction had increased in Southern China in order to meet the demands for maritime battles and that additional taxes on merchants and ships were collected to finance the war. Swope, Kenneth. *A Dragon's Head and a Serpent's Tail: Ming China and the First Great East Asian War* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 286-288.

⁷⁶⁷ Swope, *Dragon's Head*, 230.

⁷⁶⁸ Ng, "Maritime Frontiers," 248: the author summarised considerations in Ming circles at the time of the Korea invasions on how to best pacify the Japanese. Suggestions included studying them well, getting their superior weapons such as canons and eventually trading with them.

⁷⁶⁹ Zheng Jiexi has recently published a survey on Chinese information gathering about Japan that consisted of the three elements: the tribute system (based on information delivered by Korean and Ryukyu merchants), trade and intelligence gathering by Chinese private merchants, and communications on the battlefield. For the second element we may assume that such information was also collected in places like Manila and Nagasaki. Zheng Xiexi, "Wanli Jiki ni Nihon no Chösen Shinryaku ni Hennyü Sareta Minchüjin," *Journal of East Asian Cultural Interaction Studies* (2010),

head of Hideyoshi and his generals including Matsura Shigenobu. A record in the Veritable Records of Emperor Shenzong gives evidence on the global interconnectedness of Hideyoshi's aggressions: "We should inform the Portuguese, who are now living in Macao, of the aggressive purpose of Japan, and convince them to assassinate Hideyoshi for a reward."⁷⁷⁰ Intelligence activities of Chinese spies in Japan were intensified; the first spy arrived from Fujian in 1593.⁷⁷¹ Spies, who collaborated with private Chinese merchants, were sent by both the governor of Liangguang (Guangdong and Guangxi) Province and Fujian, as well as by the King of Ryukyu.

For this study, the diplomatic context is more relevant than the battlefield. After the first defeat, Hideyoshi agreed to a diplomatic solution and drafted a list of conditions for his surrender to the Ming.⁷⁷² Meanwhile his military commanders – who were in touch with the Chinese – forged a letter suggesting that Hideyoshi was interested in becoming King of Japan, an official tributary partner of China, following the example of his predecessors. Hideyoshi himself would only find out in 1596, when an embassy of the Ming Court reached Kyoto with the intention of officially acknowledging him as King of Japan under Emperor Wanli's edict. After chaotic negotiations, Hideyoshi refused to become a vassal of the Ming emperor and strongly opposed the title because it implied that the Japanese ruler was inferior to the Chinese emperor.⁷⁷³ Hideyoshi's warrior mentality combined with his low social standing kept him from negotiating with the Ming on unequal Sino-centric terms. Unwilling to subdue to the Ming, Hideyoshi stepped out of the traditional Chinese system, aiming at establishing a new world order that would help him and his people to stress the superiority of the Japanese nation.

http://www.icis.kansai-u.ac.jp/data/journal02-v1/23_zheng.pdf. Accessed June 11, 2011.

⁷⁷⁰ Ming Shi, 242, Year 19, 20th of November

⁷⁷¹ Zheng, "Wanli Jiki," 344.

⁷⁷² After being pressured by allied Chinese-Korean forces to draw back from Korea, Hideyoshi received two Chinese envoys in his Nagoya (now Saga prefecture) military headquarters in Kyushu, in 1593. A personal letter to his wife indicates Hideyoshi's view on the relations with China and the outcome of the *kyōsen shuppei*, as the invasion is called in Japanese: "The envoys of the throne have come here from the Great Kingdom of Ming Empire offering peace negotiations, and I have given them a note stipulating our conditions. If they agree to them all, I shall accept their apology, leave the Great Ming Empire and Korea to act just as such foreign countries please, and then make a triumphal return. However, I have given orders to my men to do some construction work and other things in Korea, and it will take a little more time to complete this work. (...) 5th month, 22nd day." Cf. Boscaro, *101 Letters*, 56.

⁷⁷³ Boscaro, *101 Letters*, 57. The two envoys were Hsieh Yung-tsu (jap. Sha Yōshi) and Hsü I-kuan (jap. Jo Ikkan).

Did relations with China change after Hideyoshi passed away? In terms of state-to-state relations the answer is no. Even though the first Tokugawa rulers were interested in distancing themselves from Hideyoshi and his political rhetoric, they were also unwilling to be considered as inferior to the Ming.⁷⁷⁴ In the year of the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), a delegation was sent to the Ming Court aiming at opening trade with Fujian. However, the merchant Itami Yajoshiro from Sakai was rejected and the chances of opening regular trade faded. In fact, Tokugawa Ieyasu (Minamoto Ieyasu)⁷⁷⁵ later stepped into Hideyoshi's shoes by challenging the primacy of the Chinese world order to an even greater extent.⁷⁷⁶

What would not change for centuries was that international relations were exclusively defined from Japan's status vis-a-vis China, the *kai'i no sekai* (Middle Kingdom surrounded by Barbarians).⁷⁷⁷ The Tokugawa ruler sent three letters addressed directly from the *bakufu* to the Ming Court but no *kokusho* (official state letters); indeed, they were signed by Ieyasu as Privy Minister (*naidaijin*).⁷⁷⁸ When Satsuma – on behalf of the *bakufu* – seized control of the Ryukyu Islands, the Ming Court, although displeased, would still maintain tributary relations with the Okinawan rulers.⁷⁷⁹ This power play would eventually have profound consequences “for both the Japanese national consciousness and Japan’s approach to international relations.”⁷⁸⁰

Simultaneously, (semi-)official attempts puzzled Ming authorities. In 1603 the Shimazu Clan sent a mission inviting Chinese merchants to several ports in Kyushu. Although official treaties failed, the number of private Chinese – many of them operating on *shuinsen* – increased rapidly.⁷⁸¹ Here too Ieyasu actively sought to

⁷⁷⁴ The Japanese habit of placing themselves on the same level with the Chinese emperor dates back to the seventh century. Discussed in a conference paper by Angela Schottenhammer at the "Sea Rovers, Silk, and Samurai: Maritime China in Global History" Conference, October 27-29, 2011 at Emory Univ., Atlanta.

⁷⁷⁵ Official name used for Ieyasu in Japanese sources.

⁷⁷⁶ Swope, *Dragon's Head*, 292.

⁷⁷⁷ Kang, *East Asia*, 50.

⁷⁷⁸ Mizuno, *China*, 113. Other official letters include the *hōshosen*: a letter stating the order of a ruler. Katō Eiichi, "Bahansen, Shuinsen, Hōshosen. Bakuhan Seikoku no Keisei to Taigai Kankei," in *Shuinsen to Minami he no Senkusha*, ed. Ōishi Shinzaburō, (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1986), 120-134.

⁷⁷⁹ Jansen, *Making*, 86; For the complex role of Okinawa in Chinese-Japanese relations see also Shogo Suzuki, *Civilization and Empire: China and Japan's Encounter with European International Society* (London: Routledge, 2009).

⁷⁸⁰ Ronald Toby, "Contesting the Centre: International Sources of Japanese National Identity," *The International History Review* 7, no. 3 (1985), 349.

⁷⁸¹ Uehara Kanetsugu, "Shoki Tokugawa Seiken No Bōeki Tōsei to Shimazushi no Dōkō," *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 71, no. 5 (2006), 512-513.

strengthen ties with Chinese merchants for the sake of direct access to Chinese silk production.⁷⁸² In December 1610, Ieyasu demanded the reopening of tally trade (*kangō bōeki*) from the governor of Fujian and offered licenses (*shuinjō*) for trade with Nagasaki in a letter drafted by his vassal Honda Masazumi.⁷⁸³ That they did not meet the protocol, for instance by not using Chinese era names, makes them appear careless.⁷⁸⁴ In reality, of course, it was political calculus.

In order to keep diplomatic autonomy, the *bakufu* eventually changed its strategy in relations with China by “manipulating diplomatic relations with Korea and the Ryukyuan kingdom.”⁷⁸⁵ Relations with Korea had been restored based on the Treaty of Kiyu (1609) – via the Sō family of Tsushima and Ieyasu’s clever tactics. Korea would go on to play a leading role in designing Tokugawa Japan’s foreign relations, which were only established in 1617. From this point, the Japanese system of foreign politics helped the Tokugawa clan and its loyal vassals to maintain a monopoly over foreign trade and served as useful tool for claiming international legitimacy, due to ceremonial embassies received from Korea and Ryukyu.⁷⁸⁶ For later considerations on the Japanese case in Manila we have to remember that the Ryukyuan and Koreans were also considered by the Chinese state as model barbarians or trustworthy members of the middle-kingdom system. Ronald Toby argues that the set of diplomatic regulations placed on the two neighbouring kingdoms were most important for Japan's independence from the Chinese system.⁷⁸⁷ Ming China's reluctance in reviving direct correspondence with the Japanese gave the incentive for the Japan-centred Middle kingdom system (*nihongata ka'i chitsujō*⁷⁸⁸) that virtually placed Japan into the centre and therefore

⁷⁸² Jansen, *Making*, 85.

⁷⁸³ The letter was drafted by Honda Masazumi on December 16, 1610; For a transcription of the letter in which Honda refers to himself as Fujiwara Masazumi see Rekishigaku Kenkyū, *Nihonshi shiryō*, 121-122; Mizuno, “China in Tokugawa Foreign Relations,” 113-114.

⁷⁸⁴ Jansen, *Making*, 86.

⁷⁸⁵ This topic has been subject to various debates for more than three decades now. While Arano Yasunori claimed that Japan did not see itself as inferior to China, Ronald Toby argued that the Tokugawa's concern that tributary relations with Ming China would put their sovereignty inside the Japan at risk. Iwahashi “The Institutional Framework,” 94.

⁷⁸⁶ Korea is an even more complicated case and cannot be tackled in detail here. I refer to Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*.

⁷⁸⁷ Ronald Toby, “The ‘Indianess’ of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other,” in *Implicit Understandings*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994): 323-351.

⁷⁸⁸ For *nihongata kai chitsujō* 日本型華夷秩序 see Arano Yasunori, “Nihongata kai chitsujō no keisei” in *Retō naigai no kōtsū to kokka*, ed. Asao Naohiro et al., (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1987), 184-226; Bruce Batten, “Frontiers and Boundaries of Pre-Modern Japan”, in: *Journal of Historical*

made recognition from China obsolete.⁷⁸⁹ In this context, it will be interesting to see that when the Japanese – at the beginning of the seventeenth century – presented their own state ideology, official China did not even bother to comment on Japan's newly found self-assurance.⁷⁹⁰

The Chinese would keep their suspicious attitude towards the Japanese. For instance, a Portuguese source mentioned how Cantonese authorities severely pressed the Portuguese Senate once they had found out that 96 Japanese were registered as settlers of Macao in the year 1612.⁷⁹¹ The following year, Ming China forced the Portuguese at Macao to expel them before reviving the law that Japanese must not enter Macao.⁷⁹²

5.3. Geopolitics and Diplomatic Relations between China and the Overseas Empire

The diplomatic standards of the Ming differed largely from the conquering Yuan (Mongol) dynasty. The latter actively sought allies via diplomatic exchange that even included papal legates.⁷⁹³ The Ming had a strikingly different idea of how to pursue universal rule. National security – in the sense of guarding and defending the country's frontiers and domestic stability – were major concerns for the Ming dynasty, even after the relaxation of maritime trade in the 1560s.⁷⁹⁴ As we have seen, the interplay between diplomacy and trade shaped foreign relations. As a consequence, the Court regarded merchants as trading on behalf of their rulers and therefore as diplomatic representatives.⁷⁹⁵ In the early years of interaction between the Spaniards and Chinese traders, Iberians were considered tributary traders by Ming authorities. A record of the Assistant Censor-in-chief Liu Yao-hui, grand

Geography 25, no. 2 (1999), 176.

⁷⁸⁹ Shōsaku Takagi, *Shogunkenryōku to Tennō. Hideyoshi, Ieyasu no Shinkokuken* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2003).

⁷⁹⁰ Mizuno, "China in Tokugawa Foreign Relations," 109-114.

⁷⁹¹ Boxer, *Great Ship*, 82.

⁷⁹² Wills, "Relations with Maritime Europeans," 351; Wills, "Maritime Europe," 47.

⁷⁹³ Henry Yule and Henri Cordier, eds., *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China* (London: Hakluyt, 1915); Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press 2001), 51-59.

⁷⁹⁴ A report of the Ministry of War of the year 1604, states that South China's coasts must be cleaned up from evil people, referring to private traders from Luzón. Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3135>, accessed March 14, 2010.

⁷⁹⁵ Wang Gungwu, *Anglo-Chinese Encounters since 1800: War, Trade, Science and Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), 50.

coordinator of Fujian of 1576, confirms this fact when he writes in the *Ming shi-lu*: “Further, the tribute memorial and local products brought by those of Luzón are submitted herewith.”⁷⁹⁶ In the early years of interaction between Spanish and Chinese traders, official China considered the Iberians as tributary traders, until the latter rejected such treatment, viewing it as a humiliation.⁷⁹⁷ Unlike the Portuguese and the Dutch, who enjoyed tributary status at Guangzhou between 1656 and 1667, the Spaniards never achieved official access to the Middle Kingdom, nor were they ever allowed to go to Beijing. Direct bilateral negotiations between China and Spain did not occur during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I anticipate that this is a further crucial point for understanding the special nature of the colonial policies of Overseas Spain.

The first direct encounter between the Ming state and the Overseas Spanish Empire dates back to 1574, when a group of pirates led by Lin Feng launched an attack on Manila, after their attempts to take over parts of the Guangdong Coast and Hainan Island had been frustrated. The story of Lin Feng, who would be erroneously recorded in European sources as Limahon, has mostly been presented as a unique story of an evil Chinese outlaw who tried to conquer the fledgling Spanish settlement in Manila with his fellow pirates. The dominant discourse stressed the Castilians’ heroic defence of what they considered their property and territory. According to European records, the Spanish commander Juan de Salcedo and his men defeated Lin Feng’s pirate force of seventy ships and more than 3,000 invaders, before a fleet under Wang Wangguo (Wan Kao, Omocon or Homocon in Spanish sources)⁷⁹⁸ was sent from China to support the Spanish.⁷⁹⁹ Igawa Kenji has only recently added an East Asian perspective by scrutinizing Chinese records and brought to light Lin Feng’s incorporation into *wakō* networks with a prominent Japanese general called Sioco.⁸⁰⁰

When Ming forces pursued the ‘Guangdong bandit’, as Lin Feng is called in Chinese sources, all the way to Luzón, the first “treaty” between Spain and China

⁷⁹⁶ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/1020>, accessed March 14, 2010.

⁷⁹⁷ Ollé, *Empresa*, 68.

⁷⁹⁸ See Ollé, *Empresa*, 57. See Chen, *Chinese Community*, 59-60; 65. Chen accuses him of misconduct in the Philippines, corruption and manipulation of both the Spanish and Fujianese authorities,

⁷⁹⁹ Ollé, *Empresa*, 56.

⁸⁰⁰ Igawa, “At the Crossroads,” 80. For the mysterious Sioco see Tōyō bunko, *Filipinas y el Japón*, 19-20.

was concluded.⁸⁰¹ Chasing pirates for the common interest of lawfulness and peace in the South China Sea would become a joint Sino-Spanish initiative. Wang Wangguo admitted that only with Spanish help they could defeat the outlaws. Its positive start shows that Chinese officials did not mistrust the Spanish in principle. Nonetheless, official China continued to look down on her short-term ally: "The yi troops of Luzón defeated the bandit Lin Feng at sea, burnt ships and took heads. However, Feng burst through the cordon and fled. The Squad Leader Wang Wang-gao and others then took more heads."⁸⁰²

In Manila, Lin Feng's attacks were regarded as "Chinese attacks on Spanish sovereignty"; they led to military moves against the intruders and inspiring individual advances towards China.⁸⁰³ Governor Lavezaris (r. 1572-1575) seized the opportunity of having Admiral Wang Wangguo as envoy of the viceroy of Fujian in Manila in 1575.⁸⁰⁴ From their talks, Lavezaris understood that the 'king' of China was interested in friendship with the Spaniards.⁸⁰⁵ Thus it was also the beginning of confusing the two divergent diplomatic models based on a different understanding of 'friendship'.

Showing his gratitude, Admiral Wang Wangguo offered a Spanish delegation passage to "Chincheo" (Zhangzhou) and Fuzhou on board his ship. Two Augustinian friars, Martín de Rada and J. Marín, were quickly designated as an embassy to Fujian. This embassy carried Lavezaris' letter to the emperor – translated by the

⁸⁰¹ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/1013>, accessed April 03, 2012.

⁸⁰² Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/1020>, accessed February 11, 2011.

⁸⁰³ What shaped this narrative was Governor Francisco Sande's bold plan of the year 1576 to conquer China with a force no larger than six thousand men, as well as restless attempts by Padre Alonso Sanchez to establish missionary posts in China. See AGI Filipinas 6, r. 3, n. 26, "Carta de Sande sobre corsario Limajón, reino de Taibin, etc," 1576-06-07.

⁸⁰⁴ Walter Demel considered the terms 'delegation' and 'envoy' misnomers in this context: Walter Demel, *Als Fremde in China. Das Reich Der Mitte Im Spiegel Frühneuzeitlicher Europäischer Reiseberichte* (München: Oldenbourg, 1992), 86: „Von den Europäern wurden nämlich auch solche diplomatischen Missionen gerne als „Gesandtschaften“ bezeichnet, die nicht etwa an den Kaiser, sondern nur an einen seiner Vizekönige in den südchinesischen Provinzen gerichtet waren. Die erste derartige Mission dürfte jene des Portugiesen Leonel de Sousa gewesen sein, der 1554 durch seine Verhandlungen in Kanton erreichte, daß der Handelsverkehr mit den Portugiesen wieder legalisiert wurde. Im Auftrag des Gouverneurs der Philippinen begab sich 1575 eine kleine spanische Delegation unter der Leitung des Augustiners Martín de Rada nach der Hauptstadt der Provinz Fujian.“

⁸⁰⁵ Retana, Archivo, 30: "El Rey de China haria con nosotros grandes amistad y hermandad y se pondrian en lugar donde el Rey bibe y en los otros lugares publicos padrones de piedra y en ellos escripto la hazaña de los castillas que no se avian querido hazer con limahon antes le avan muerto para hazer bien al Rey de China el qual Omocon como vio al cosario tan destrocado y sin esperanza de navios en que se yr el sabia."

Chinese Manila-merchant Sinsay – soliciting friendship and trade.⁸⁰⁶ Before their departure, Governor Levazaris gave them detailed instructions not to mock at religious cult, speak with women or walk alone by night,⁸⁰⁷ illustrating just how difficult early intercultural contacts were for the Spanish. Upon their arrival at the Fujianese coast, Chinese authorities reportedly treated the Spaniards well and allowed them to trade along the coast, but not to build a settlement such as the Portuguese had in Macao.⁸⁰⁸ It was the first Spanish attempt to establish bilateral relations and be officially integrated into the tribute system. The two delegates returned to Manila in 1576 with an escort of Chinese soldiers and gifts.⁸⁰⁹ When it became clear that the Spanish troops were unable to capture and hand over Lin Feng, the Fujianese authorities changed their friendly attitude and gave up supporting Spanish entry to China.⁸¹⁰

Three years later the 'Chinese enterprise' (*empresa de China*)⁸¹¹ was picked up by the Franciscan friar, Pedro de Alfaro. Unable to convince the Cantonese authorities,⁸¹² he was soon expelled and thereafter tried his luck in Macao.⁸¹³ The most controversial figure in the Spanish China mission was probably the Jesuit Alonso Sanchez, whose two journeys to Southern China – the location of the rites conflict that ended the Jesuit mission in the early eighteenth century – between 1578 and 1584 were a total failure for the Christian mission.⁸¹⁴ For example, he set out for China in March 1582 with a mixed Filipino-Spanish crew and Alonso, a Christian interpreter of Bengali origin.⁸¹⁵ Horacio de la Costa has claimed that the delegation was equipped with a sealed letter written in Chinese and signed by

⁸⁰⁶ Zaide, *Philippines*, 330; for the letter see Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas*, 206-208. For the Rada mission see also Medina, *Historia*, 112-118.

⁸⁰⁷ Ollé, *Empresa*, 63.

⁸⁰⁸ Hsü, *Rise of Modern China*, 94.

⁸⁰⁹ Hsu, "Writing," 325.

⁸¹⁰ Boxer, *South China*, xlvi.

⁸¹¹ de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 83.

⁸¹² Mendoza, *Historia*, 251-253. Being denied official permission they decided to go on their own initiative, before Ortíz eventually backed off. Alfaro managed to sneak into Canton with the assistance of a Chinese captain. I should also like to mention a recent research project by Ashleigh Dean at Emory Univ., on these matters.

⁸¹³ Montalbán, *Spanische Patronat*, 101.

⁸¹⁴ After being expelled from China he fled to Macao (February 1583) from where he returned to Manila. Portuguese Jesuits refused to collaborate with their fellow *padres* from the Castilian Crown. See: Ollé, *Empresa*, 104-106; ARSI Phil 16, 21ff. Almost the entire compendium no. 16 deals with Sanchez's fund raising and persuading efforts for a Castilian intervention in China for the benefit of the Catholic religion.

⁸¹⁵ de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 39. "Alonso of Bengal had only a smattering of Chinese, but was the best Ronquillo could provide."

Governor Ronquillo, drafted “with the help of the captain of a trading junk and addressed to the Viceroy of Kwangtung Province [...]. This letter accredited Sánchez as ambassador with powers to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce and to request permission for the Spaniards to establish a trading post at the coast similar to Macao.”⁸¹⁶ Shortly later, Pope Gregory XIII barred mendicants from going to China and Japan and restated this privilege to the Jesuits in a papal bull of June 28, 1585.⁸¹⁷

As soon as Spanish missionaries targeted China, the Portuguese Jesuits’ were on alert. In 1582, Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607), a Jesuit from Macao, visited Chao-ch’ing, the seat of the provincial governor of Canton, where he was informed about the violation of Ming rules by a Spanish group led by a Jesuit from the Philippines. Ruggieri, suspected of being a spy, was brought to Canton after landing in southern Fujian. Supposedly, Ruggieri made a favourable impression on the governor, who sent for him after his return to Macao.⁸¹⁸ Accordingly, the Spaniards owed their friendly treatment to the Italian Ruggieri – who was later even invited to take up residence in a Buddhist temple⁸¹⁹ – and to the fact that he was fluent in Chinese.

In the meantime in Spain, a plan was hatched in 1577 to send an embassy to Emperor Wanli in the name of King Philip II but not realised until 1580/81.⁸²⁰ This diplomatic initiative included two letters drafted between 1580 and 1582.⁸²¹ It illustrates the king's positive attitude and a very diplomatic approach; at the same time it was a misinterpretation of his own position vis-à-vis the Son of Heaven.⁸²² Mendoza himself never set foot on China and based most of his compendium on reports by Miguel de Luarca’s 1580 mission to China.⁸²³

⁸¹⁶ de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 39.

⁸¹⁷ Montalbán, *Spanische Patronat*, 102.

⁸¹⁸ Williard J. Peterson, "What to Wear? Observation and Participation by Jesuit Missionaries in Late Ming Society," in *Implicit Understandings*, ed. B. S. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), 408.

⁸¹⁹ Within the next years it became common for some Jesuits to dress and style like Buddhist monks. But for their short hair and special robes, Buddhist monks were regarded as ‘others’ by commoners. See Peterson, "What to Wear?" 414.

⁸²⁰ Ollé, *Empresa*, 84-88.

⁸²¹ Ollé, *Empresa*, 137. The second embassy dispatched consisted of six disalced Franciscans with Jerónimo de Burgos as their spokesman. Neither did this letter reach Beijing because of a delayed arrival of the friars in Manila. See Hsu, "Writing," 328. According to Hsu a first letter was written in 1580 and a second one year later.

⁸²² For the letter to Emperor Wanli see AGI Patronato 24, r. 51, "Carta de Felipe II al Rey de la China," 1580-06-01; *ibid* 1-1-2/24.

⁸²³ Mendoza, *Historia*, 259-263. The book is a fascinating example for the dissemination of knowledge on China in early modern Europe. Mendoza used the eyewitness reports of his fellow

The selected envoys were equipped with a letter and presents for the 'king', Emperor Wanli, seeking his friendship for the Philippines' welfare and peace,⁸²⁴ and ordered to foresee the country's opening to the word of God in the future. But we know that Emperor Wanli never received the letters from Spain.

Despite its eventual failure, the project is telling for Philip II's diplomatic strategy.⁸²⁵ Philip – who had learnt the art of diplomacy early on the European hegemonic stage and was by nature devoted to morality⁸²⁶ – warned Mendoza to not offend the Chinese authorities.⁸²⁷ The set of presents prepared to accompany the letter was eventually sold in Mexico. That was the result of the anti-Chinese lobby around the ex-governor Sande (r. 1575-1580), who opposed the project as being too costly and to great a risk for Spain's honour. They finally succeeded in convincing the viceroy and the king to give up their plans to initiate friendly relations with China.⁸²⁸ Over the years he developed formidable anti-Chinese propaganda full of absurd accusations and defended a 'just war'⁸²⁹ against the heathen Chinese.⁸³⁰ Even though he was not taken very seriously, this shows the competing lobbies within the Spanish empire.

These famous letters can help us better understand Spanish dealings with the Celestial Empire. They imply that the Spanish had a basic idea of Chinese etiquette.⁸³¹ Carmen Y. Hsu has recently warned not to overstate the crown's

Augustinian friars, editions were published in Europe up to the year 1655 and translated into 38 different languages including Spanish, English, Italian, French, Latin, German and Dutch. See Lehner, *China in European Encyclopedias*, 74.

⁸²⁴ Mendoza, *Historia*, 149-150.

⁸²⁵ It comprised the three Augustinians Mendoza, Marín and Ortega.

⁸²⁶ Mia Rodríguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551-1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988), 7; 33.

⁸²⁷ See also Hsu, "Writing," 326-7.

⁸²⁸ I found one sound explanation for Sande's hostile feelings towards China: hurt pride because the Chinese embassy of 1575 was hesitant in handing over the presents intended for his predecessor, the late Levazaris. See BR 4: 38-40.

⁸²⁹ As declared just or holy by the pope, for instance, a war of defence of the patrimony or dynastic claims for a Christian purpose. See Rodríguez Salgado, *Changing Face*, 27.

⁸³⁰ Cf. Retana, *Archivo*, 45-46: "*En una carta que vino de China del yncueanton como ellos son barbaros y la noticia verdadera que de nosotros tienen es que somos hasta duzientos hombres dize no se que palabras que quieren dezir tributo que se metio en la caja del Rey un presente que les llevaron el año pasado antes que yo viniese y como el Omocon falseo las cartas que de aqui llevo segun de buelta me an dicho los frayles y asimismo hurto gran cantidad de aquel presente debio de dezir que por su yndustria ae avia quemado la armada e corsario limahon allegado los castillas a que ymbiasen aquello para su rey y despues aca todos ellos procuraban se escriviese de aca conforme a su voluntad como e dicho.*" Morga, *Sucesos*, 219-220; Retana, *Archivo*, 43: "*La guerra con esta nacion de Chinos es justisima por librar personas miserables que matan y toman hijos agenos para estupros y las justicias y mandadores y el Rey.*"

⁸³¹ Timothy Brook, "Europaology? On the Difficulty of Assembling a Knowledge of Europe in China,"

adoption of Chinese standards and its friendly approach.⁸³² “Consistent with his imperial vision, the Spanish monarch attempted to gain control over the Asian world by pursuing diplomatic ties with the Celestial Empire.”⁸³³ She concludes that compared to his father's diplomatic ambitions, Philip II's diplomatic etiquette was marked by pragmatism that reflected the influence of instrumental political thinkers of the time, who advocated prudence in dealing with non-Christians.⁸³⁴

Official Chinese initiatives to improve their knowledge of the new rulers of Luzón are not known to the author. Unlike the king in Spain and the viceroy in Mexico, who both urged information gathering on China and Japan,⁸³⁵ officials and nobles including the emperor seemed disinterested in the origin of the new barbarians. The Spaniards were – quite early – very well informed about power relations and customs in China as a result of detailed ethnographical studies carried out by missionaries in East Asia such as Mendoza's *Historia de la Gran China* or Luis Frois' accounts on Japan.⁸³⁶ The huge amount of relatively reliable studies gives evidence for an enormous European interest in unknown lands. Regular contact with Chinese merchants doubtlessly improved mutual understanding.

Taking curiosity as an indicator for intercultural understanding, we encounter major differences in the two country's foreign policies.⁸³⁷ One explanation for Ming China's continued reluctance towards Luzón was its self-perception as being ideologically superior. In this tradition, the first Ming Emperor Hongwu (r. 1368-1398) drafted a list of 12 states that were to be invaded by for future generations – Vietnam, Korea, Japan and Luzón included.⁸³⁸ An account shows that the Chinese

in *Christianity and Cultures. Japan & China in Comparison 1543-1644* ed. M. Antoni J. Üçerler (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2009), 269.

⁸³² Hsu, “Writing,” 323-44. What I found striking is that she attributed the act of sending lavish gifts exclusively to Philip's hidden agenda of convincing the Chinese emperor to accept missionaries, without taking into account East Asian traditions of gift-exchange. Moreover the author omitted political and economic considerations of the Spaniards in Asia.

⁸³³ Hsu, “Writing,” 324.

⁸³⁴ Hsu, “Writing,” 334.

⁸³⁵ Ollé, *Empresa*, 51.

⁸³⁶ Mendoza, *Historia*. Luis Frois, the first author of Japanese-Portuguese dictionary, who was not only a connoisseur of Japan, but also in close contact with Oda Nobunaga see *De Rebus Iaponicis Historica Relatio, Eaque Triplex (...) Ludovico Frois Societatis Iesu, Ad R.P. Claudium Aquavivam, eiusdem Societatis Praepositum Generalem missa* (Mainz: Ioannis Albini Weiß, 1599).

⁸³⁷ We are asked to apply the paradigm of a communication as being comprised of three elements: information, utterance and understanding to evaluate what knowledge a party has on its disposal. Willy van de Walle and Kasaya Kazukiko, *Dodonaeus in Japan: Translations and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period* (Leuven: Leuven Univ. Press, 2001), 104-105.

⁸³⁸ Cf. Kang, *East Asia*, 98.

Court did not even bother to clarify their status. Described as Western *yi*, the Spanish from Luzón were sometimes confused with tributary trade partners, sometimes not. Ironically, the Chinese used to encounter similarities with the Japanese:

*Some Japanese ships drifted to Xiao-cheng in the Fu-jian seas. Naval forces pursued them to Zhang-zhou Port and Xian-qi, where 27 yi persons were captured. Through interpreters it was learned that they were Japanese merchant yi who travelled to foreign lands, and that they had been blown ashore by the winds. [...] Also, there were Luzón people and Western fan people, some of whom had sold themselves as servants and some of whom were returning home on the ship. The Fu-jian Grand Coordinator Xu Xue-ju advised and noted: [...] The Western fan are not tributary yi, but rather are a rebellious tribe. As to [those persons from] Luzón, in past years, they killed almost 10,000 of our merchants. Its people must not be treated indulgently. As long as they have no rebellious desires, we cannot be too severe on such people. Also, among the Japanese and the various other yi, there are many women and children. We cannot kill innocents, but likewise, releasing them would violate the law. The only option is to detain them but without executing them.*⁸³⁹

Spanish exclusion from official tally trade partly dated back to the days of Governor Sande, who feared that sending presents to the Chinese Emperor might be misinterpreted as a gesture of subjugation by the Spanish king. He therefore stopped initially positive looking intercultural encounters with official China.⁸⁴⁰ Nevertheless, coastal bureaucrats in China classified the new rulers of Luzón as tributary partners, as we have seen.⁸⁴¹ Another account of the Ming Shi-Lu shows that the Chinese State was not entirely sure about the status of Luzón: "As to Luzón, although it is not a tributary country, it has been able to incline towards righteousness. The local products offered by the king should be considered as proxy tribute".⁸⁴² Interestingly, they were not considered a foreign threat.

Spanish attempts to establish bilateral relations were constantly frustrated.

⁸³⁹ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3188>, accessed December 04, 2010.

⁸⁴⁰ See Ollé, *Empresa*, 68.

⁸⁴¹ Wade, MSL,, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/1020>, accessed December 02, 2010.

⁸⁴² 代進; Wade, MSL,, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/1013>, accessed December 08, 2010.

With regard to Manila both the Ming government and private Chinese traders indirectly respected Spanish suzerainty and their rules, despite the prevalent dualistic discourse between popular and official discourse in China. Officially, Sino-Castilian relations were unsustainable. A telling indication is that after having recognised European rule in Luzón for decades, a Chinese government document of 1631 referred to Luzón as a subordinate country.⁸⁴³ The Chinese called the Spaniards “men of Luzón” and – according to Immanuel Hsü – they were also known as ‘Fo-lang-chi’ (*folangji*; Franks), as the Chinese did not distinguish them from the Portuguese.⁸⁴⁴ However, the bigger question is: to what extent Luzón remained within the sphere of official China during the sixteenth century? The most accounts come from contacts with friars. As we have seen, the Chinese did not distinguish them from other people from the ‘Far West’.⁸⁴⁵ *Fanseng* as well as *fantu* were generic terms for foreign or Castilian missionaries coming from Luzón.⁸⁴⁶ Most likely this was used as a distinction from *falongji* (Franks) used for the Portuguese. A term rarely used for the Castilians residents of Luzón was *ganxila* – kingdom of *ganxilago* meaning Castile.⁸⁴⁷ Against this background it might be surprising to learn that as early as 1604 Chinese official already aware that Dutch were formerly governed by the Spaniards.⁸⁴⁸ During the Qing period, Luzón was officially listed among ‘foreign countries’, just as Macao, Japan or Siam and Portugal, Spain, England and France.⁸⁴⁹

5.4. Diplomatic Relations between Japan and the Overseas Empire

5.4.1. Irregular Beginnings

We already know that regular and systematic encounters between Luzón and Japan began in the 1580s.⁸⁵⁰ In the year 1584, a Spanish or Portuguese⁸⁵¹ trading

⁸⁴³ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/833>, accessed March 17, 2011.

⁸⁴⁴ Hsü, *Rise*, 95. Pejorative terms and the lack of political correctness were features common to all three governments. We may think of the Spanish calling the Chinese in Manila *sangleyes*, or the Japanese referring to the Europeans as *namban* (=Southern Barbarians).

⁸⁴⁵ Hsü, *Rise*, 94-95.

⁸⁴⁶ 番僧 (*fanseng*); 番徒 (*fantu*).

⁸⁴⁷ Ollé, *Empresa*, 249.

⁸⁴⁸ Ng, “Ming Maritime Frontiers,” 248.

⁸⁴⁹ Ng, “Ming Maritime Frontiers,” 221.

⁸⁵⁰ One of the earliest attempts to draw a picture of the beginnings of an academic analysis of diplomatic relations between Japan and the Castilians was made in the first edition of the

vessel heading to Macao went astray and landed in Hirado, where its crew was warmly welcomed by the ruler ('king') of the island. Waiting for the proper monsoon, they spent two months on the island, during which time they received help to fix their vessel.⁸⁵² The islands' *daimyō*, Matura Shigenobu⁸⁵³ (the 'king of Firando'), sought the opportunity to express his desire to establish relations with the 'other' Iberians. In a letter, he assured the governor in Luzón his friendship and expressed his hope for the future evangelisation of his people.⁸⁵⁴ The Spanish were delighted but still suspicious.⁸⁵⁵

In 1586 Omura Sumitada, the lord of Nagasaki, sent eleven Japanese to Manila. One of them, a merchant, was referred to as Pablo Faranda (=Harada) Hiemu. As a result of this encounter, the Spaniards learnt about the delicate situation of Christianity in Japan, where not enough priests were present.⁸⁵⁶ Introducing themselves as Christians, they were warmly welcomed by Governor Santiago de Vera, who in turn would immediately report this promising encounter to the king in Spain.⁸⁵⁷ The fact that the Japanese local lord asked for support for the Christian mission in Japan speaks for Omura's diplomatic skills in dealing with the Iberians, in the sense that he knew prospects for a future Catholic mission would lure them. As a sign of accepting his friendship, governor Vera sent presents to the Christian lord and to two of the leading Portuguese Jesuits, knowing that they were eager to

Monumenta Nipponica, a well-established journal for studies on reciprocal influence between Japan and the West. Henri Bernand, S.J. "Les Débuts Des Relations Diplomatiques entre le Japon et les Espagnols des Iles Philippines (1571-1594)," *Monumenta Nipponica* 1 (1938): 99-137.

⁸⁵¹ Oka, *Shōnin*, 97.

⁸⁵² AGI Filipinas 34, n. 64, "Carta de Pablo Rodríguez sobre el Rey de Firando," 1584-10-07.

⁸⁵³ 松浦鎮信

⁸⁵⁴ AGI Filipinas 34, n. 63, "Traslado de carta del rey de Firando," 1584-09-17; See also *Dainippon shi* 11, 7, 595; Murakami Naojirō, "Hirado in Trading History" (in Japanese), *Nihon Gakujitsu Fukyu Kai*, 1917, appendix 5-6. The letter and the presents sent by Matura were carried on a Portuguese ship.

⁸⁵⁵ Birgit Tremml, "Waren sie nicht alle Piraten?" in *Schrecken der Händler und Herrscher. Piratengemeinschaften in der Geschichte*, ed. Andreas Obenaus et. al., (Wien: Mandelbaum, 2012). forthcoming.

⁸⁵⁶ Evidence is given by a unique document, an inquiry by Bishop Salazar in Kishino Hisashi, "Firipin Bōeki to Suke Emon, Ki Emon," in *Shuinsen to Minami he no Senkusha*, ed. Shinzaburō Ōishi (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1986): 42. Thanks to the printed edition drafted by Johannes Laures, S.J., we have a rough idea of these early Christian delegates, that included Don Juan de Vera, native of Hakata, Tacaua Niemo, y Don Balatsar Garnal, both natives of Bungo, Pablo Faranda Ziem, native of Miaco, Jeronimo Batanambe Zemoxero, native of Bungo, Andrés Gonzalves Ambraya Yafachiro, native of Firando, Joacim de Vera, native of Bungo, y a Gabriel Nangano Totamon, native of Miaco, Juan Yananguia Guenimoto, native of Sakai, Juan Yamamoto Josogiro y a León Giminsō Ixogiro natives of de Hakata. Laures, "Ancient Document," 7.

⁸⁵⁷ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 6, n. 61, "Carta de Vera sobre pobreza de la gente de guerra, etc," 1586-06-26. See Johannes Laures, S.J., "An Ancient Document on the Early Intercourse between Japan and the Philippines." *Cultura Social* XXIX, no. 337/38 (1941): 1-15.

keep the Castilians out of Japan.

The Japanese vessel that brought the letter of Matsura Takanobu from Hirado the following year also brought merchandise and weapons to introduce the commercial potential of Matsura's realm.⁸⁵⁸ Matsura and another Christian *daimyō*, Konishi Yukinaga, also known as Don Agustín, offered to send troops and people to the governor of the Philippines without asking for anything in return. On June 26, 1587, Governor Santiago de Vera (r. 1584-1590) reported to the good news to the king in Madrid.⁸⁵⁹ Requesting the opening of a trading route between Japan and the Philippines, he pointed out that they were enemies of China and even offered military help for very low cost. This points at the beginning of Japanese mercenaries in Southeast Asia⁸⁶⁰, an opportunity that Santiago de Vera was willing to take gratefully.⁸⁶¹ For instance, right on the day of the arrival of the envoy from Hirado, Santiago de Vera made preparations to send the Japanese a letter together with presents – which he considered to be of great value – and two translations to his king in Spain.

Rather loose contacts with the Spaniards existed for a decade before Japan's ruling elite tried to formalise trade relations. Rivalry among the Kyushu *daimyō* triggered a special interest in Luzón.

In 1592 and 1593, Hideyoshi had carefully selected ambassadors with letters sent to the Spanish governor in Manila, informing him about his enormous might and his intention to conquer the Philippines, unless the Spanish paid tribute to Japan.⁸⁶² This advance should be understood as part of the *kanpaku* diplomacy characterised by Hideyoshi's expansionist ideas. The Japanese ruler valued the "the restoration of the *kangō*-trade" as a "necessary condition for controlling the Asian sea trade and achieving political hegemony in Asia".⁸⁶³ Hideyoshi's diplomatic struggles with China introduced above serves as the setting for requests for

⁸⁵⁸ Shimizu Yūko, "'Sakoku' Seisaku No Shintei to Supein," in *Nihon Supein Kōryūshi*, ed. Bandō Shōji et al., (Tokyo: Nenga Shobō Shinsha, 2010), 139.

⁸⁵⁹ AGI Filipinas 18 A, r. 5, n. 32, "Copia de Carta de Vera al virrey sobre situación, japoneses," 1587-06-26.

⁸⁶⁰ AGI Filipinas 34, n. 75, "Carta de Santiago de Vera sobre situación general," 1587-06-26. For mercenaries from Hirado in Southeast Asia see Clulow, "Maritime Violence," 83.

⁸⁶¹ Igawa, "Crossroads," 83.

⁸⁶² AGI Filipinas, 18 B, r. 2, n. 12, "Carta de G. P. Mariñas enviando cartas de Japón," 1592-06-11; BR 8: 260-261. Letters were sent to the Philippines in 1591, 1592, 1593, 1597. The first three letters were similar to those sent to Taiwan. Dasmariñas' letter mentioned above thus frequently refers to Samban and Liuqiu.

⁸⁶³ Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*, 85.

tributary missions from Luzón and Taiwan in the year 1593.

The Spanish answer to this insult was vague. Although authorities in Manila managed to just wait and see, they felt increasingly uneasy about the growing number of Japanese in the city and some officials suggested that they should all be sent back to Japan, "for they are of no benefit or utility, but, on the contrary, very harmful".⁸⁶⁴ Fear of a Japanese invasion under Hideyoshi remained in Manila.⁸⁶⁵

From the Spanish viewpoint, the Franciscan friar Pedro Baptista – on behalf of Governor Dasmariñas – signed a kind of friendship treaty the following year, which can be seen as the beginning of the short-lived bilateral relationship between Japan and the Philippines, in which Hideyoshi was acting as the ruling power of the entire country, while Spain was represented by the governor of the Philippines. Hideyoshi had already used the friendship element rhetorically before asking the Spaniards to prove their friendship by obeying him in sending tribute.⁸⁶⁶

The next episode followed in 1594, when Sōjin Hōgen Hasekawa sent a message to Dasmariñas, affirming that Japan would not send any military expedition but maintain peaceful trade relations with Luzón. The Spanish in Manila rejoiced in the news that several Japanese lords were willing to convert to Christianity and the promise of military support of ten thousand men whenever possible.⁸⁶⁷ In the summer of the same year, the new governor, Luis Perez Dasmariñas, the son of the unfortunate Gomez Pérez, sent Jerónimo de Jesús to Hideyoshi to introduce himself as the new governor. This third Castilian envoy warned his governor in a letter written in Satsuma in 1595 that the Japanese ruler indeed showed great interest in conquering the Philippines.⁸⁶⁸ Thus, in the course of this diplomatic act, suspicions of a Japanese attack revived.⁸⁶⁹

But it was only in 1596, when the Manila-galleon *San Felipe* capsized on the

⁸⁶⁴ Morga, *Sucesos*, 230.

⁸⁶⁵ Pastells, *Historia General I*, 51.

⁸⁶⁶ Pastells, *Historia General III*, 56-57; 60. Japan's friendship was re-assured by Harada's mission in 1593 (April 27): "A lo que el emperador Cambacondono mi señor me invía con titulo de embaxador a V. S. como a persona que esta en nombre del Rey Philipe es a pedir y ligar desde agora en adelante las paces que el estrecho vinculo de verdadera amistad y fraternidad [...]."

⁸⁶⁷ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 7, n. 110, "Carta de Pedro González de Carvajal sobre su viaje a Japón," 1594.

⁸⁶⁸ Borao, "Colonia," 6.

⁸⁶⁹ Jerónimo de Jesús from Nagasaki warned his fellow Franciscan brother Francisco de las Misas of a possible conquest by Satsuma. Iwao, *Nanyō*, 262. Based on an account of Pastells, Iwao reported that the third Japanese ambassador Hasegawa Sōnin, stated in a letter of 1593 that if trade between the two countries was cut off, military would be sent. Sōnin was baptised Pedro Karubaha-ru. See Kishino, "Firipin Bōeki," 43.

coast of Shikoku, that pent-up tensions on both sides gave rise to a dramatic episode in the history of early modern Japanese-Spanish relations: When an increasing number of Japan-based Europeans and newly converted Japanese became involved in the discussion about the confiscated cargo, Hideyoshi – who had issued an unsuccessful ban on Christianity in 1587 – saw the time ripe for bearing down on the intruding Spaniards and the spread of Christianity. In February 1597, at the height of Hideyoshi's aggressive foreign policies, one Mexican, one Portuguese and six Spanish friars, as well as 18 Japanese Christians, were crucified in Nagasaki and became known as the first martyrs on Japanese soil.⁸⁷⁰ Fierce competition in proselytising on Japanese soil between Portuguese Jesuits and Spanish Franciscans doubtlessly fuelled the negative atmosphere of the period.⁸⁷¹

This incident would be used on various occasions to garner support for military interventions or the cutting of relations with the Japanese. In July 1597, the governor of Luzón reacted to Hideyoshi's provocation and sent his ambassador Luis de Navarrete with presents (that according to Spanish accounts even included an elephant – as we will see later) to appease Hideyoshi, while Tello insisted on having the cargo from the shipwrecked San Felipe returned, as well as the bones of the martyrs.⁸⁷²

Suspicion originated from the quick spread of false information. Knowing that about 100,000 Japanese soldiers would come back from the Korea invasion, Tello reported in 1598 that Japanese merchant ships were officially calling at Manila in larger numbers; of the total number of 16 vessels, roughly half of them referred to as piratical, who also plundered the indigenous population. Much to his regret, not all of them could be chased and overcome.⁸⁷³

⁸⁷⁰ Morga, *Sucesos*, 78-84.

⁸⁷¹ During the Tokugawa reign Franciscan friars became important mediators between Japan and Luzón.

⁸⁷² AGI Filipinas 6, r. 9, n. 146 "Carta de Tello sobre abandono de Mindanao, embajada a Japón," 1598-06-23. For the elephant see Morga, *Sucesos*, 81. For more details on the spectacular project refer to chapter 6.

⁸⁷³ BR 10: 211: "But, as it happened that the pirates came after them, as we suspected that they were not all of the same understanding and alliance, several investigations were made in regard to them, and their commanders arrested, although nothing of importance was found. I sent general Don Joan Ronquillo and Captain Joan de Alcega to attack the enemy with a galley and a galliot; and although they came within sight of them, they did not effect the desired purpose, because their vessels were not suitable, and heavy storms were threatening, I sent Captain Gaspar Perez to [...] with some vireys and small ships; he had better luck, for, having met with two of the Xaponese ships, he

In conclusion, the aspirations of both sides were transparent, yet clearly divergent in the sense that on one side they were based on trade and state building efforts and on the other side on mission and trade. What both approaches had in common was their seeking increasing international dominance.

5.4.2. Diplomatic relations between Tokugawa Japan and the Spanish Overseas Empire

Spanish-Japanese relations improved with Tokugawa Ieyasu's rise to power, when political contacts were restarted to sit next to commercial activities. For this reason, post-1598 foreign policies have often been regarded as completely different. Nevertheless, Ieyasu's 'goodwill' politics remained ambivalent: A study of primary source material shows the complexity of official relations between Japan and the Spanish Crown.⁸⁷⁴

For inaugurating state-to-state correspondence with Luzón, Ieyasu used similar practices as with China. One of the first things Ieyasu did to appease the Spanish at Manila was to issue a new ban on piracy and re-confirming his interest in trade relations with the Castilians. Only a few months after Hideyoshi's death in 1599, he sent Goro Emon⁸⁷⁵ to invite the Spaniards to trade in Kanto.⁸⁷⁶ The following year, he sent the Franciscan friar Jerónimo de Jesús as an envoy, equipped with a *kokusho* to the Spanish governor, ensuring the latter about his intentions of establishing regular trade relations with the Philippines and New Spain.⁸⁷⁷ A further issue tackled was piracy: All illicit traders should be rounded up and

overcame the one which awaited him, and killed the whole crew. He brought one Xaponese of this city here alive, who was executed in the sight of the Xaponese and the Chinese."

⁸⁷⁴ For a detailed study of the most significant events in the short-lived history of early modern Spanish-Japanese relations see Gil, *Hidalgo y Samurais*. See also my own thoughts on the complex matter in Birgit Tremml, "A Global History of Manila in the Beginning of the Modern Era," in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2009): 184-202.

⁸⁷⁵ 五郎右衛門

⁸⁷⁶ Uehara, "Shoki Tokugawa," 508.

⁸⁷⁷ Uehara, "Shoki Tokugawa," 509: When two Chinese ships were attacked by Japanese pirate ships while loading their cargo, the Spanish governor demanded to punish the Japanese corsairs. Ieyasu blamed people from Satsuma for that Manila incident and put 400 people to death. See *Ikoku Nikki sho*, 198-199; 214. He furthermore agreed to limiting of only three Japanese trading ships sent to Manila per season and suggested limiting the size of the vessels and that trade should meet the demands of the governor of the Philippines. All these arrangements were made in a *kokusho* (state letter) to the colonial government in 1601. Sola, *Desencuentro*, 86-88: The Franciscan Jerónimo de Jesús, who met Ieyasu personally, seemed to have played a particularly important role in shaping early Tokugawa-Spanish relations.

punished.⁸⁷⁸ He even asked the Spanish authorities to transmit the names of Japanese rebel merchants disturbing the Philippines.⁸⁷⁹ Governor Acuña approved, calling Ieyasu “a just and wise king“ (*un Rey tan justo y prudente*) in June 1602.⁸⁸⁰ Ieyasu wrote in a letter to the Spanish governor that the pirates who used to operate around Luzón should be punished without exception.⁸⁸¹ He further commanded that the Chinese among them were to be sent back to Dai Ming (=Great China) since they did not have anything to do with Japan.⁸⁸² A further crucial aspect in setting up bilateral relations is the legal treatment of the people of one country coming to or living in the other country. In one of the official letters, Ieyasu granted the Spanish governor the right to administer justice over all Japanese based in Manila.⁸⁸³ In line with these logics, he did not permit the Spanish residents of Japan extraterritoriality – a privilege that English and Dutch merchants enjoyed in the early seventeenth century.⁸⁸⁴ Spanish missionaries and merchants should be punished according the Japanese law.⁸⁸⁵ It is noteworthy that Ieyasu placed himself on equal terms with the governor of the Philippines. In the next chapter we shall see what this meant for Japanese settlers in Manila.

In one of his first direct encounters with the Spaniards on Japanese soil, the soon-to-be *shōgun* proved his good intentions. In 1602, another Manila-galleon lost its course and was forced to land in Ōtaki in Kazusa (in present-day Chiba).⁸⁸⁶

⁸⁷⁸ Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 179/570.

⁸⁷⁹ AGI Filipinas 19, r. 3, n. 36, "Traducción de carta de Tarazaua Ximono Cami a Acuña," 1602-06-01. Ieyasu's letter came together with a letter of his vassal, called Ximonocami in the Spanish sources. Emilio Sola called his style blunt. He insisted on an answer to the matter of direct trade with New Spain and urged a rapid reply from the governor in Manila. Sola, *Desencuentro*, 94-96.

⁸⁸⁰ "En nombre de Dayfusama habia escrito Fray Jeronimo de Jesus al Gobernador de Manila sobre el trato y comercio entre japones y españoles, manifestandole haber preso y castigado a los japones y sangleyes, que en años precedentes habian ido a hacer daño a Filipinas." AGI Filipinas 19, r. 3, n. 38, "Carta del fiscal Salazar sobre llegada de Acuña," 1602-06-20.

⁸⁸¹ This has to be understood as a general approach in Tokugawa dealings with maritime merchants. During the thirty years of active foreign policies they invited several Southeast Asian rulers to punish misbehaving Japanese merchants according to local law. For Cambodia, for instance, see Kondō Morishige, "Gaiban Tsūsho" in *Kaitei shiseki shūran*. (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1983), 181; Takeda Mariko, *Sakoku to Kokkyō No Seiritsu* (Tokyo: Doseisha, 2005), 7-27; Yoshi S. Kuno, *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent Volume II (1940)*: Univ. Of California Press, 1940.

⁸⁸² Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 179/570.

⁸⁸³ Ikoku Nikki Shō, 44-46.

⁸⁸⁴ Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere. Europe's Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1990), 115-116. As early as 1613, the *bakufu* decreed that the crimes of EIC employees should be punished by the head of the factory. The later, could only try them according to *bakufu* regulations.

⁸⁸⁵ Cabezas, *Siglo Ibérico*, 319.

⁸⁸⁶ AGI Filipinas 19, r. 3, n. 51, "Relación de lo sucedido a Lope de Ulloa en la Espiritu Santo", 1602-07-26.

Legend has it that the passengers of the wrecked galleon *Espiritu Santo* were welcomed then sent back to Luzón on a Chinese style vessel.⁸⁸⁷ Contradictory Japanese accounts make it difficult to evaluate this event. One suggests that despite major public attraction to the strange items and people, the ruling local authority, Honda Izumo, strictly prohibited any of these goods to be taken.⁸⁸⁸ The other account tells us that while those on board were saved the ship and its entire cargo sank. Ieyasu took pity on them and granted them a Chinese-style junk that should take them home.⁸⁸⁹ We are also informed about a *bakufu* official that accompanied the Spaniards to Luzón and was then to report to Ieyasu. Lope de Ulloa, the captain of the galleon, sent his brother Alonso and a certain Francisco Manrique as a delegation to Ieyasu. They picked the most precious items they could find among the merchandise for New Spain. In return, Ulloa was given a letter from Ieyasu addressed to the Spanish governor. He ensured the Spaniards that nothing was to be taken from foreign ships⁸⁹⁰ and re-emphasised in the letter to Manila that no Spaniard had to fear about his property in Japan.⁸⁹¹

Despite some remaining suspicions, most authorities in the Philippines came to appreciate the advantages of regular contact with Japan. Even the king himself considered stable relations with the Japanese as a guarantee for the Philippines' well-being. Being informed about the annual supply from Japan and the Japanese 'emperor's' sympathy for the Castilians, he insisted on maintaining peaceful relations with Japan, for the sake of the Castilians in Asia in the light of a possible attack from China.⁸⁹²

Aware of the benefits of global trade, Ieyasu soon targeted at the Castilians of Luzón for collaboration on a trans-national level. Herein lies the major difference with China. In their efforts to unify the country, both Hideyoshi and Ieyasu (1600/03-1616) were eager to gain control over Japan's external commerce. With regard to early modern Japanese state's integration in the Manila-trade we will have to consider that the *bakufu's* aspirations were diversified and even included a

⁸⁸⁷ *Ikoku Nikki Shō*, 66-67.

⁸⁸⁸ *Tsūkō Ichiran*, fol. 179/568.

⁸⁸⁹ *Tsūkō Ichiran*, fol. 179/568. The author of this second record claims that the ship did not leave Japan before the year 1604. However, this is very doubtful.

⁸⁹⁰ Sola, *Desencuentro*, 99.

⁸⁹¹ Sola, *Desencuentro*, 97.

⁸⁹² Cf. Tōyo Bunkō, *Filipinas y el Japón. Aviso al comercio*, 51. Cedula Real de Felipe III, Segovia 4 Julio de 1609 a Don Juan de Silva.

whole set of bilateral negotiations, such as the integration of Japan into the trade with Mexico.

In 1604, an envoy of the 'King of Luzón' demanded Ieyasu's permission for the Christian mission in Japan.⁸⁹³ Although Ieyasu did not make any clear concessions, in 1605, Spanish traders received official permission to send four trading ships to Japan annually from Luzón. Other issues were tackled in diplomatic-commercial expedition of Captain Francisco Moreno Donoso in 1606/1607, who was sent by order of the governor to Japan twice with presents and a proper delegation to the 'emperor'. His negotiations with the Japanese led to a proposed military alliance against China. As we shall see below, the Spaniards, after an escalation with the Chinese in Manila, felt vulnerable and needed urgent support against a possible retaliation.⁸⁹⁴ Hostile polemics and mutual allegations among resident European merchants, including the Dutch, as well as between Jesuits from Macao and Franciscans from Manila, would come to dominate foreign affairs on Japanese soil.⁸⁹⁵

Ieyasu's global projects did not always meet with Spanish approval. For instance, during the entire period of trade relations with Japan, were the Spaniards were determined to deter them from actively trading directly with New Spain, despite constructive Japanese suggestions and the prospect of safer journeys for the Manila Galleon. A similar delicate matter was The Spanish attempt to negotiate a 'Dutch-free' Japan was just as delicate. This anti-Dutch article dated back to of Governor Acuña's reply to Ieyasu in June 1602. Boldly, he demanded that the Dutch should be sent to the Philippines. He described them as rioting and rebelling vassals of the king of Spain, even attributing them features of pirates ("*se han salido a la mar a robar*").⁸⁹⁶ What is most striking by way of comparison is that the 1605/06-correspondence with China also included anti-Dutch sentiments: "The penalty imposed on the Sangleys who piloted the two Dutch ships that were on the coast of Chincheo was very just. These Dutch are not friends of the Castilians, but

⁸⁹³ Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 179/571 (1604).

⁸⁹⁴ A description of the 'ambassador's' accomplishments in foreign relations are well documented in AGI Patronato 53, r. 24; "Méritos y servicios: Francisco Moreno Donoso: Filipinas," 1620-04-27. He supported the Catholic mission by building two churches in Bungo with his own money.

⁸⁹⁵ For a synthesis of the lengthy disputes about the incident see Ainhoa Reyes Manzano, "Mitos y Leyendas sobre las Relaciones Hispano-Japonesas durante los Siglos XVI-XVII" *BROCAR* 29 (2005), 62-63.

⁸⁹⁶ AGI Filipinas 19, r. 3, n. 35, "Copia de Carta de Acuña al emperador japonés Dayfu Sama," 1602-06-01.

bitter enemies; for, although they are vassals of the king of the Hespañas, my sovereign, they and their country have revolted, and they have become pirates like Liamon [Limahon] in China.”⁸⁹⁷ Thus it can be regarded as one Spanish line of sovereign diplomacy.

It seems strange that Ieyasu, who was interested in keeping peace and order, did not react differently to Acuña's allegations. His reply to the King in 1603 was surprising – he argued that the Dutch were very committed to him and therefore it would be unjust to turn them in.⁸⁹⁸ Ieyasu had heard the Dutch version of the story and started sympathising with the independent Northern European traders. He knew they would be of future use and therefore soon equipped them with official Japanese trading licences; the 'Dutch' *shuinjō* was issued for Patani the following year.

Spanish complaints about Japanese pirate attacks in the Philippines, for instance, continued during the first decade of the new century.⁸⁹⁹ It was in 1609, the year of Grotius's publication of *Mare Librum*, that a Japanese ship was overcome and its crew killed by the Spaniards. Roughly at the same time, Governor Tello protested to Ieyasu against the piratical practices of the Japanese people. Driven by Tello's letter, Ieyasu is reported to have ordered the seizure of six ships that had cleared from southern ports of Japan to plunder in Philippine waters, and had more than 200 of their crewmembers crucified as a warning (one hundred according to Jesuits sources).⁹⁰⁰ Indeed, he encouraged the Spanish in a letter to execute any Japanese trouble-maker.⁹⁰¹ Several sources suggest so much friction with the Japanese in Manila between 1605 and 1609 that Spanish authorities avoided pledging anything that might satisfy Ieyasu's delicate aspirations.⁹⁰²

What is most striking when looking at foreign affairs in the early decades of Tokugawa hegemony is that Hidetada, under whom true anti-Spanish sentiments

⁸⁹⁷ BR 14: 46.

⁸⁹⁸ Pastells, *Catálogo*, xxvi.

⁸⁹⁹ In 1604 Pedro de Acuña informed the Spanish king that Japanese pirates were again operating around Luzón. See Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 102. From a Spanish point of view, Japanese and Chinese pirates were one of many risks to the colony's security in the 1590s that resulted in constant vigilance. See *Cédulas Reales* 1700, no. 30 (1589).

⁹⁰⁰ Cf. Yūko Shimizu discussed the mediating rule of missionaries in negotiations between Manila and Japan. Shimizu, "'Sakoku' Seisaku", 143.

⁹⁰¹ Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 47. Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 179/576.

⁹⁰² For the original letter sent by Ieyasu in 1609 see AGI MP-Escritura_Cifra 30, "Carta original del Universal Señor del Japón, Ieyasu Tokugawa (Minamoto Yeas), al duque de Lerma, en la que autoriza a los navíos españoles procedentes de Nueva España a tocar puertos japoneses, dejando los pormenores del asunto al franciscano Fray Luis Sotelo," 1609-12-28; for Hidetada's letter dated May 4, 1610 see AGI MP-Escritura_Cifra 31.

began, sent far more letters to Luzón than to any other country.⁹⁰³ Philip III's friendly correspondence with Ieyasu was common, since we find similar remarks on Cambodia and Borneo.⁹⁰⁴

Ironically, friendly relations and bilateral negotiations reached their pinnacle in the year 1609, as a result of an unexpected audience of Vivero y Velasco, the retired governor of the Philippine, with Tokugawa Ieyasu. During his tenure – before Ieyasu and Hidetada – he was one of the fiercest critiques of the Japanese.⁹⁰⁵ The meeting had the character of a short-lived blessing in disguise, resulting in the first and only friendship treaty between Spain and Japan. The *bakufu* was willing to tolerate the presence of the Spanish friars on condition that regular trade would finally be established between New Spain and Japan. An anti-Dutch article was again omitted from the treaty. For the sake of economic advancement of his nation, Ieyasu further requested the services of fifty Spanish miners from Mexico who would introduce Western methods of mining silver. To increase the maritime capacity of his country, he asked for shipwrights who could instruct the Japanese in the construction of ocean-going vessels.⁹⁰⁶ For various reasons, things did not go according to plan. One of them was the Spanish reluctance at helping fulfil the Japanese wish to enhance overseas trade. The Japanese were still irritated by the spread of Christianity, considering it as a disturbance to domestic peace.⁹⁰⁷ Hence, we should not overestimate the accomplishments of bilateral relations of the early seventeenth century. Comparing the Spanish involvement in Japanese affairs with the Dutch gives an inaccurate disillusioning picture.⁹⁰⁸

This encounter and its resultant positive short-term outcomes benefitted from early modern global connections: The ship that took Vivero and his people back to Mexico was constructed by the Kentish pilot William Adams (Miura Anjin),⁹⁰⁹ an

⁹⁰³ Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*, 277-278.

⁹⁰⁴ BR 27: 126.

⁹⁰⁵ Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 179/574: He expelled Japanese with the reason that they "stay[ed] behind without any special purpose" and that "they do not know what they want", thus they disturbed the social order in Manila.

⁹⁰⁶ AGI Filipinas 1, n. 133; "Consulta sobre carta de emperador de Japón," 1611-05-13.

Dai Nippon Shiriyō (Imperial Univ. of Tokyo, ed.) Part XII, vol. 6, 658-667.

⁹⁰⁷ For diplomatic considerations following Vivero's negotiations with Ieyasu see AGI Filipinas 1, n. 133, 13, "Consulta sobre carta del emperador de Japón," 1611-05-13.

⁹⁰⁸ Only four years after the first Dutch merchants had arrived in Bungo onboard *De Liefde* in the year 1600, the Dutch Captain, Jacob Quaeckerhecq, was sent with a vermillion license to Patani in order to open trade on behalf of Tokugawa Hidetada. Blusse, "Sorcerer's," 88.

⁹⁰⁹ After having been ennobled by the Tokugawa as the only European in history.

enemy of the Spanish and Ieyasu's closest non-Japanese advisor. Such a generous deed leaves room for speculation as to motive. My thesis is that the Europeans in East Asia cooperated regularly with each other despite hostilities and rivalries. Vivero and his fellow travellers including 23 Japanese merchants and Father Diego Muñoz (designated envoy of Ieyasu to the Court in Madrid to New Spain), were reported to have boarded the *San Buenaventura* in Uraga on August 1, 1610 and were brought to Acapulco safely three months later.⁹¹⁰

Notwithstanding this promising outlook, things began to go awry following Vivero's departure from Japan. The controversial story of Sebastián Vizcaíno (1548-1624), who became known as the ambassador of New Spain to Tokugawa Ieyasu, is just part of a bigger picture that we will readdress in more detail in the chapter on the global and the local dimensions of the Manila system.

5.5. Sovereignty and Early Geopolitical Interest

As Sanjay Subrahmanyam has pointed out in a slightly different context, “[t]he crucial point, however, is not just that these empires existed, but that they recognised one another, and as a consequence they often borrowed symbols, ideas, and institutions across recognizable boundaries.”⁹¹¹ What he argues regarding entangled diplomatic relations between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire – as illustrated by their similar ambitions to be universal rulers or shared symbols – was also largely true for Japan and Spain at the end of the sixteenth century. Mutual recognition of authority and hegemony over a certain territory doubtlessly existed and missions took place on similar ground despite mutually both entities holding feelings of superiority. Early modern state-to-state contacts allowed for the recognition of the authority of other diplomats. Does that mean that Japan adapted quickly to the European style or that the foreign relations with the Europeans were kept on a more tolerant level than in Ming China? We must not forget that Tokugawa sovereignty and political authority benefited from foreign relations – local governments subordinated if only passively, to Edo's right to set foreign policy.⁹¹²

⁹¹⁰ Murakami, "Japan's Early Attempts," 473.

⁹¹¹ Subrahmanyam, *Iberian*, 1.

⁹¹² Ching, "Japan within Asia," 431

5.5.1. Spanish Aspiration and East Asian Reaction

It is crucial to note that while a few Spanish individuals sought to expand the empire by conquering China, Cambodia (the Spanish were infamously involved in the struggle for succession in Cambodia in 1598)⁹¹³ and other regions in the East, Habsburg Spain's official policy there was cautious and defensive: the king as the head of the Overseas Empire was not interested in adventurous expansionism.⁹¹⁴ The historiography has often disconnected Governor Francisco's Sande's naïve dreams of conquering China from the historical context and mistakenly interpreted it as a general Castilian project.⁹¹⁵ The fact that King Philip II expressively prohibited such steps has been widely ignored. He not only refused to approve starting an armed invasion,⁹¹⁶ but also he even nipped these bold ventures in the bud, essentially to avoid costly conflicts with the Portuguese. Until the turn of the century, territorial expansionism was the absolute goal of only a few ambitious Spanish representatives in the Philippines.

Although Manila-centred foreign affairs were marked by suspicion and insecurity, it would be wrong to think that the few Castilians did was only being responsive to external pressure. Of course they had their own agenda. The information network within the Spanish Overseas Empire worked remarkably well. In 1589 Philip II set up a general plan for the Philippines' relations with their neighbours. The hierarchy in the importance of the foreign matters reflected the extent of relations between the Spaniards and the foreign powers: "None of the people who come to the ports of the islands" – drafted the king – "who are Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Siamese, Borneos, and others are paying anchorage".⁹¹⁷

⁹¹³ ARSI Phil 15, 143-146: Spanish soldiers led by Blas Ruis de Herán González and the Portuguese Diogo Veloso entered Cambodia and Laos, where they became involved in struggles for succession. A coup with some revolting Cambodian nobles failed despite military support from Filipino-Japanese auxiliary forces that had been sent from Manila, and some of the Spanish generals lost their lives. See Zaide, *Philippines*, 284-286.

⁹¹⁴ Morga, *Sucesos*, 74-77.

⁹¹⁵ Boxer, *South China*, 241-310.

⁹¹⁶ Governor Sande proposed an armed invasion of China with four to six thousand men. He called the Chinese cowards because they did not know how to ride horses in military encounters. See Guerrero, "Chinese in the Philippines," 19; For his plea to the king see Pastells, *Catálogo II*, xlvi-xlvix.

⁹¹⁷ "*Tambien se me ha suplicado por parte de la dha ciudad mande que ninguno de los que de fuera acuden a los puerto de las dhas yslas como son chinos, portugueses, japones, sianes, burneyes, ni otro algunos, no paguen derecho y principalmente de Bastimentos, municiones y materiales para ellas sobre lo qual y como los Chinos reciben mucha pesadumbre y se impide la frecuencia del trato y se siguen otro inconvenientes habiendo informado muy particularmente el dho P. Alonso Sanchez. He tenido y*

Despite a strong interest in non-violent relations with China and Japan, military superiority remained the main political pillar for the Spanish in Southeast Asia. In 1578, they launched an attack on Brunei, destroying one of their strong Muslim opponents in the region. Consequently, as Anthony Reid has argued, city-states in Southeast Asia were forced to adopt a more defensive military system and develop new trading patterns, often outside the European sphere of influence.⁹¹⁸ In the 1580s – a period of recurring failures to dominate the Moluccas – Philip II’s cosmographer and advisor, Giovanni Battista Gesio, assured the king that Luzón was strategically as important as Flanders or Italy and that it would be a perfect base for reaching out to China and Japan,⁹¹⁹ an opinion shared by Francisco de Sande, the third Spanish governor of the archipelago. Sande, notorious for downplaying Manila’s economic potential and spreading stereotypes, feared an invasion from China after he had been sold a European-style arquebus by a Chinese merchant.⁹²⁰ Both Sande and Gesio were still driven by the *conquista* mentality of the sixteenth century that can be seen in a systematic focus on hegemonic targets in the South China Sea. Similarly, in 1586 a general junta (not surprisingly predominated by Alonso Sánchez) held in Manila proposed the conquest of neighbouring territories for “religious propagation purposes”.⁹²¹ We must not forget that conquest and the spread of Christian belief and culture had a very strong lobby in Western Europe: “During the seventeenth century, jurists and theologians still had no doubt about the divine origins of sovereignty, but they came to hold that in the process of transmission to earthly agencies the people were a passive rather than an active instrument [of God].”⁹²² However, unlike

tengo por bien que por ahora se sobresea en la cobranza de los dhos derechos de bastimentos y municiones y assi no permitireys que se lleven hasta que yo otra cosa provea y mande.” Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 30 (1589). Since Alonso Sanchez is also mentioned in this letter it is very likely that the Sino-phob Jesuits had a finger in the pie.

⁹¹⁸ Reid, *Charting*, 225.

⁹¹⁹ Cf. Kamen, *Spain’s Road*, 225.

⁹²⁰ Cf. Retana, *Archivo*, 42: “La contratacion con los de China es muy dañosa para los españoles y para los de estas yslas porque solamente traen hierro ques util y otra cosa no porque sus sedas son falsas y sacan de aca plata y oro y quanto mas durare la comunicacion con nosotros sin guerra tanto mas platicos se yran haziendo y tanto menos tameran a lo que ayan tratado. Aqui me an dicho yndios japones y chinos que los portugueses an llevado alla armas en especial arcabuzes como nosotros los usamos y a mi me vendio un chino un montante portugues y asi les podrian enseñar el uso del artilleria gruesa y mandar los cavallos y otros tan perjudiciales que como son mercaderes no es de maravillar lo hagan v. m. crea que conviene abreviar;”

⁹²¹ José Eugenio Borao, *The Spanish Experience in Taiwan, 1626-1642. The Baroque Ending of a Renaissance Adventure* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Univ. Press, 2009), viii.

⁹²² McAlister, *Spain & Portugal*, 436.

Southeast Asia, conquest of East Asian territory was clearly not a political target of Madrid, Mexico or Manila. It would be wrong to state Spain had a particular obsession for China or Japan. At the same time we must not ignore re-occurring voices for active conquest: Despite pragmatism in the metropolis, the then Mexico-based scholar Ríos Coronell, proposed in 1597 further conquests of China, Cochinchina, Cambodia and Siam.⁹²³

Attempts to gain a foothold in the spice trade with the Moluccas in 1582, 1589 and 1593, under the command of the enthusiastic militarist governor Dasmariñas, dwarfed other Spanish imperial adventures in the East – judging from the number and cost of expeditions. Relations with Siam, apart from China the biggest player on the Southeast Asian mainland, were originally friendly, at least in the eyes of the Spanish authorities. Things changed significantly in the 1620s after the Dutch had initiated bilateral relations with the rich kingdom. Some historians even speak of a Spanish war with Siam.⁹²⁴

One Spanish attempt to strengthen their foothold in East Asian waters should receive further consideration. Responding to competition from Europe, Spanish authorities sought to get similar access to the Chinese market as the Portuguese had in Macao. The Rada mission had failed, but they launched another enterprise by establishing a trading outpost in El Piñal in 1598.⁹²⁵ After the foundation of this minor foothold, the Spanish petitioned the Cantonese authorities (*Hai-tao-fu-shih*) for access to the Chinese market. What is noteworthy about their petition is that they wanted to be treated on the same footing as were the Siamese, just as the Portuguese Leonel de Sousa had requested in 1554 before securing Macao for the Portuguese.⁹²⁶ Boxer writes that the Chinese translations of the Spanish petition include arguments in favour of the Spanish and against the Portuguese. In reaction, the Portuguese discredited the Spanish with the Cantonese authorities by describing them as "harmful thieves",⁹²⁷ the same stereotypes they had used in Japan in 1596.

⁹²³ AGI 18 B, r. 7, n. 68, "Carta de L. P. Marinas sobre Fernando de Ríos Coronel," 1597.

⁹²⁴ Zaide, *Philippines*, 286.

⁹²⁵ The island is located in the coast of Canton and was occupied by the Castilians between 1598 and 1600. In Chinese it is known as Hutiamen. See Ollé, *Empresa*, 254.

⁹²⁶ Boxer, *Great Ship*, 61.

⁹²⁷ "eram ladrones y levantados, y que eran gente que alçauan con los regnos donde entravan." cf. Boxer, *Great Ship*, 61.

When a larger ship came from Manila to El Piñal in 1599, the Macanese reportedly traded with them. However, at the end of the trading season, the Spanish did not leave anyone behind at El Piñal and the Cantonese authorities never allowed them to enter the mainland.⁹²⁸ From the pragmatic Spanish politician Grau y Monfalcón we learn that the entire project was considered in violation of the royal decree of 1593; although secret circles in Manila discussed the issue again in 1603 and 1609 and despite a royal decree of July 25, 1609 “by which that trade of China and Japan was permitted to the citizens of Manila”, the Spaniards continued to prefer to await East Asian traders in Manila.⁹²⁹ To sum up, El Piñal was more a mercantile project than a territorial initiative.⁹³⁰ Spanish Taiwan policies, on the other hand, were a more delicate and ambivalent case and will be treated in chapter 7.

Hegemonic shifts between China and Japan at the end of the sixteenth century served as starting point for the Philippines' integration in East Asian foreign affairs. At the same time the Spanish were uncertain about China's military strength. We have reason to believe that there were times when the Spanish feared invasion by China and Japan. The Spaniards in Manila seemed worried about China's military strength – probably because of the shock of the raiding and threats of Lin Feng and his men in 1574 that survived in the collective memory and anti-Chinese propaganda trans- and cis-Pacific.⁹³¹ Portuguese intentional miscounts of how badly the Chinese treat them in order to keep the Spanish out from mainland China have certainly increased the Spaniards' uneasy feelings.

Implicit accounts suggest that the Spaniards overestimated sixteenth century

⁹²⁸ “In Tai Yao's years in power (Tai-Yao, governor of Guangdong and Guangxi from 1597 to 1610), events and rumours repeatedly reinforced Chinese negative attitude toward Macao, but no changes in policy resulted. In 1598 the Spanish of Manila attempted to establish their trading point in the Canton Estuary. They were well received in Canton, spent about 7,000 reals on presents, and were told they could establish themselves at a place they called El Pinal, the location of which is unknown. The Portuguese having failed to persuade the Canton authorities that they should exclude the Spanish, took different action, launching an unsuccessful fireship attack, but desisted after the Chinese reduced Macao's food supply.” Cf. Wills, “Relations,” 349.

⁹²⁹ BR 27: 110. See also AGI Filipinas 329, l. 1, f. 54v-56r, “Orden de tratar sobre la entrada en China,” 1603-10-15.

⁹³⁰ Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto, “Enemy at the Gates. Macao, Manila and the “Pinhal Episode” (End of the 16th Century).” *Bulletin of Portuguese /Japanese Studies* 16, (2008): 11-43. The author demonstrated that Spanish and Portuguese sources on the event are full of contradiction.

⁹³¹ Edward R. Slack, “Sinifying New Spain. Cathay's Influence on Colonial Mexico via the Nao de China” in *The Chinese in Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. Tan Chee-Beng et al., (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 19. For decades, Lin Feng's defeat was solemnly commemorated in Mexico.

China's naval power. In a letter to the King, Bishop Salazar recalled that the Portuguese lied about the Chinese military strength and coast guarding efforts in previous years. He reported that the Spanish in Manila were told that "they [mandarins] kept large fleets to guard the coast, and to kill and arrests all who land there" and concluded that they had been deceived by the Portuguese.⁹³² Paradoxically, this stands in sharp contrast to Mendoza's accounts on China that would help shape the image of a military weak state in Europe for decades.⁹³³

The second major Sino-Spanish clash of regional consequence occurred in 1593 when Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas requested that 250 Chinese should assist them as rowers on the Spanish galleys in return to a monthly salary of two pesos from the royal treasury.⁹³⁴ When the Chinese merchants naturally refused, they were taken by force. They soon revolted however; on October 25, 1593, killing the Spaniards including the governor who served as military general of the expedition. The incident became known in Chinese sources as the P'an Ho-wu Incident.⁹³⁵ A few months later, a Chinese war fleet with seven mandarins arrived in Manila Bay and claimed to have come in search for the Chinese renegades. The interim governor and other high-ranking Spanish residents received them politely. Nevertheless, this was reason enough for the Spaniards to suspect them of preparing an invasion.⁹³⁶

Having the powerful Chinese emperor as enemy was generally considered to be the greatest possible danger for the Spanish colony. Thus, Dasmariñas' son and interim governor sent an envoy to the Fujian authorities in order to discuss the crime committed by the Chinese.⁹³⁷ They answered promptly by sending seven ships with high-ranking officials to Manila and by recalling resident Chinese from there. The episode is fascinating due to unexpected Chinese resistance, the Spanish responses and in turn the active steps then taken by the Chinese government. To put it in Ch'en's terms this was "an expression of the policy of protecting Chinese overseas, a remarkably new phenomenon in the history of the Chinese immigration abroad."⁹³⁸ This leads us to revisit our understanding of Ming China's foreign

⁹³² BR 7: 213-214.

⁹³³ Mendoza, *Historia*.

⁹³⁴ Escribanía 403B (96), 1614.

⁹³⁵ The *Dongxi Yangkao*, book 5 and the Ming shi lu describe the events in detail.

⁹³⁶ Bernal, "Chinese Colony," 51.

⁹³⁷ The delegation included Fernando de Castro, Diego de Chavey, Cañizares and two Dominicans.

⁹³⁸ Ch'en, *Chinese Community*, 143.

policies. After the Emperor had received the letter sent by the Spanish governor it was reported on November 14, 1594:

The Fu-jian Grand Coordinator Xu Fu-yuan memorialized: "The son of the head chieftain of Luzón has complained that some of our evil people who had attached themselves to their tribe, had attacked and killed his father, before stealing valuables and fleeing." The Ministry of War re-submitted the memorial and proposed: "We should capture the offenders and punish them in accordance with the law. Further, we should entertain and send back the chieftain's envoy both to strengthen their desire to look towards the Court and also to use the occasion to spy on the situation of the Japanese yi." This was approved by Imperial command.⁹³⁹

Interestingly, Chinese officials related the incident to troubles with the Japanese, which is reminiscent of aforementioned episodes where the Japanese and the Spanish were perceived in the same way.

Finally, the infamous incident that for the sake of simplicity I call the "Chinese rebellion of 1603", should illustrate to what extent cultural and political divergences between the Catholic Castilians and the Confucian Chinese affected foreign relations. Much has been written on this episode.⁹⁴⁰ Contemporary and more modern accounts of the rebellion differ widely, depending on the authors and their viewpoints. I will limit myself here to diplomatic implications. The Spanish are said to have burnt the Chinese silk market in Manila, the *alcaicería*, and following that about 20,000 Chinese are believed to have been killed by joint Spanish-Filipino and Japanese forces.⁹⁴¹ What might have caused such an outrageous incident? The Chinese, on the one hand, had been subjected to severe repressions and extra taxes, were ghettoised and had been suppressed by government and church. The Spaniards, on the other hand, envied Chinese settlers who dominated large sections of the Manila-market and accumulated immense wealth.

In analyzing the events of 1603, we have in any case to be careful with numbers. Both the Chinese and the Spanish – the latter because they were in permanent need

⁹³⁹ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/2988>, accessed November 06, 2011.

⁹⁴⁰ For the events see José Eugenio Borao, "The Massacre of 1603. Chinese Perception of the Spanish on the Philippines" *Itinerario* 23, no. 1 (1998): 22-29. For the Chinese view see Zhang Weihua, *Ming Shi Folangji Lüsung Helan Yidaliya Si Zhuan Zhu Shi* (Peking: Hafo Yanjing xue she, 1934), 90-101.

⁹⁴¹ AGI Filipinas 84, n. 118, "Carta del cabildo eclesiástico de Manila sobre sublevación de sangleyes," 11-12-1603.

of financial and military support from their mother country and the Mexican viceroyalty may have had good reasons for exaggerating the number of people killed. A first hand source of Manila's municipal government – the *cabildo* – indicates that 20,000 Chinese revolted.⁹⁴² In Chinese records numerical data vary between some ten and 30,000.⁹⁴³ The Spanish refuted the allegation of having killed as many as 30,000 in an official letter to China, claiming that the total number was less than half of that.⁹⁴⁴

Given the big losses on the Chinese side, one would expect the Chinese emperor to seek revenge for the injustice that had happened to his people. Yet, whilst still opposing private foreign trade vigorously, it is likely that the Ming court did not consider the settlers of these overseas communities as Chinese any longer, but rather subjects of the rulers of Luzón. It is safe to say that their attitude showed the typical 'betrayal of the great Celestial Empire'-discourse that in centuries to come would stigmatise Chinese migrants as traitors to their motherland.⁹⁴⁵ Although the events were discussed among Ming officials, who resented the fact that the 'Luzón chieftain' punished Chinese merchants without permission, the Ming never took action against the Spanish.⁹⁴⁶ The emperor made clear that he would not wage war for the sake of ordinary merchants, even less to avenge something that had happened outside China.⁹⁴⁷ The emperor's only reaction was to ask the *audiencia*, the highest court in Manila, to serve up justice.⁹⁴⁸

It has been claimed that Ming emperors were eager to maintain military

⁹⁴² Merino, *Cabildo Secular*, 36.

⁹⁴³ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3169>, accessed September 10, 2009.

⁹⁴⁴ AGI Filipinas 7, r. 1, n. 28, "Carta de Acuña al virrey de Ucheo sobre castigo de sangleyes," 1605-08. Further reason to believe that the events of 1603 were less fatal than demonstrated in Chinese and secular Castilian sources is the way they are described in the annual Jesuit letters to Rome. See ARSI Phil 1, fol. 22, P. Angelo Armano en Manila: "Este verano de 1606 se a recibido la cassa de V. R. escreta en diziembre de 1603 la qual traxo el P. Fray Diego de Guevara religioso de S. Augustin, y entendiendo la amistad que en essas partes a hecho a la Comp/a se lo agradeci como era razon. y se hiziendo con ellas señales de mostracion de voluntad y amor que eduencia de suerte que se puede confiar que abra quedado satisfecho de aver hallado aca tan buena correspondencia de nra parte; alla tengo por cierto que no dexaron de senerla quando aya llegado que ya se partio de muy prosper para su mayor servicio y gloria. Del entendimos lo de la solevacion de los sangleyes; y como pretendian alcarce en (de) essa ciudad, y el fin que esse negocio tuvo que cierto fue providencia del S/r y socorro del cielo que siendo en tan grande numero no solo no saliesse de su intento, sino que les empiesse tan mala parte come fue avelos muerto casi todos."

⁹⁴⁵ Adam McKeown, "The Social Life of Chinese Labor," in *Chinese Circulations: Capital, Commodities and Networks in Southeast Asia*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo et al., (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2011), 70.

⁹⁴⁶ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3136>, accessed September 10, 2009.

⁹⁴⁷ Cf. Borao, "Massacre of 1603," 33.

⁹⁴⁸ AGI Filipinas 74, n. 60, "Testimonio de memoriales de Benavides sobre sangleyes," 1605-07-07.

supremacy in East Asia. Comparing China's reaction during the Imjin War to official China's reluctant behaviour after the 1603 'mutiny' indicates that tributary countries were dearer to the Ming than its own people. Korea had been one of China's oldest and most loyal tributary partners and therefore Hideyoshi's invasion brought the Chinese into the picture. At the same time offending overseas Chinese was not considered a direct insult against the country nor a potential threat.

5.5.2. Direct and Indirect Hegemony: East Asian Aspirations and European Responses

In line with the main warrant of my research, I suggest thinking of China, Japan and Spain as three powers seeking to increase or maintain hegemony during a period of change and transformation. The Sino-Japanese ambivalent relationship during the entire sixteenth century has often been viewed as Ming China's battle for hegemony in East Asia, that was moreover of global significance, for it involved all East Asian players of the time, including Ryukyu and Tsushima. This certainly affected the triangular foreign relations in Manila.

For the Europeans, balance of power depended not only on military or ideological superiority, but also on having the best possible allies. This was in particular the case for the Spanish, who were new to the region and could not rely on historical ties. Early on, China and Japan were especially desirable allies for the Spaniards in Asia, a fact that proves how much they (secretly) admired these two powers. It's no exaggeration to say that they accepted them as equal players on the international stage. Depending on the situation in the East Indies, the Spanish longed for collaboration with either the Chinese or the Japanese – often as an ally against the other East Asian country. Their strategies were not always honourable, but 'political incorrectness' was often unavoidable for the utmost urgency of matters. Changing allies – and even if it was only 'on paper' was a delicate matter that required an ideological adaptation of previous agendas. When the Spaniards needed China's help against the Japanese, after a period where they had promoted the opposite, officials busied themselves to provide sound arguments for the turnover. An example of 1592 illustrates the dilemma following Hideyoshi's

demand for vassalage.⁹⁴⁹ After the Spanish governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas (r. 1590-1593) had received Hideyoshi's arrogant letters, he immediately discussed forging an alliance with China.⁹⁵⁰ In a letter to the king, Dasmariñas – himself a military man who had fought against North African corsairs before coming to the Philippines⁹⁵¹ – introduced a strong argument for well-functioning diplomatic ties by praising the Chinese people's noble character, their good will and their interest in good relations with the Spanish. We should keep in mind that in those days prejudice of culture and mentality were largely interchangeable. In order to strengthen their argument, cunning Spanish officials contrasted their positive accounts on the Chinese with a description of the "filthy Japanese" who were defamed "bellicose pirates" whose king was the archenemy of the "king" of China.⁹⁵² However, changing fronts in foreign affairs in Manila seemed to be a daily matter, as we shall see. In addition, the Spaniards seemed to stress its positive relations with Japan whenever it experienced troubles with China and vice versa.⁹⁵³ With

⁹⁴⁹ 朝貢要求

⁹⁵⁰ AGI Filipinas 18 B, r. 2, n. 13, "Carta de G. P. Mariñas proponiendo alianza con China," 1592-06-12. The governor even refers to a Christian father situated in China who was told to ask the mandarins for help against the Japanese. In 1597 another source suggest immense Spanish suspicion:

"There is always suspicion of Xapon, and according to the advises which I now have, those people desire exceedingly to come here, although it is difficult for them to do so by ship. Consequently, I am, and shall be, well prepared for them, with arms in readiness. Garrisons are always maintained in that part of the country by which they would approach, namely, in the province of Cagayan. I have great hope, God helping, that Japan will be subdued. Several prominent persons there, with whom I have friendship and communication, have written to me. I have replied to them, and sent them presents, as much be done with these people. The one who is most friendly is the general of Coria, named Gentio (Kato Kiyomasa), who is close in order of succession in the kingdom to the Conbaco. He wrote me that, although not a Christian himself, he is a friend of Christians. Having this good-will, he might receive the holy gospel, and I am trying to bring this to pass. This communication is secret, being without the knowledge of the Conbaco, who is very hated in the kingdom, because of his great tyranny." BR 10: 170-171. See also AGI Filipinas 6, r. 8, n. 115 "Carta de L. P. Mariñas sobre embajada de Pedro González," 1594-06-25 and AGI Filipinas 6, r. 8, n. 114, "Testimonio de carta de emperador de Japón, acuerdo respuesta," 1594-04-22.

⁹⁵¹ Manuel Ollé, "La Formación de Parián de Manila. La Construcción de un Equilibrio Inestable," <http://www.ugr.es/~feiap/ceiap1/ceiap/capitulos/capitulo02.pdf>, 28. Accessed January 23, 2012.

⁹⁵² AGI 18 B, r. 2, n. 13, "Carta de G. P. Mariñas proponiendo alianza con China," 1592-06-12. In terms of information transfer it is worth mentioning that the Spanish were very well aware of the political frictions between the Ming Court and Japan, it says: "*El rey de la China es mortal enemigo y oppuesto a Japan y ganaria se lo mucho la voluntad condarle a entender que con tener carta y enbaxada del rrey de Japon en que piderevestia amistad y aviso como quiere hazer guerra a la China no se le ha dado credito ni oydos a cosa alguna y lo que mas V. M/d fuere servido de e screbille y ofrecelle.*" The Japanese themselves nourished the grounds for such considerations. The widespread idea of a Japanese attack routed in the enquiries of the Japanese delegates who came to Manila in 1592 and informed the governor of Hideyoshi's plans to invade China and also Luzón if the Castilians were not willing to collaborate with him on his own terms. See *Pastells I*, 40-51.

⁹⁵³ AGI Filipinas 7, r. 1, n. 18, "Carta de Acuña sobre temas de gobierno," 1604-07-15.

regard to changing sides in the South China Sea, it is also interesting to note that private Japanese merchants were reported to speak ill of the Chinese. This tendency can be recognised throughout the entire period of Japanese residing in Manila. For instance, when Harada Kiemon offered military service of Southern Japanese troops for future Castilian conquests in the East, including the Moluccas and China, the Japanese made clear that they did not have a very high opinion of the Chinese.⁹⁵⁴

As we have seen, fear of a military attack was fuelled by news about the Korea invasion and Hideyoshi's plans to conquer Taiwan and the Philippines.⁹⁵⁵ Constant Spanish suspicion of the Japanese offers an excellent illustration of early modern intelligence that was spread by the word of the interpreter Antonio López, a Chinese proficient in Japanese, who worked for the Spaniards in the early 1590s.⁹⁵⁶ Another example is the elaborate Spanish understanding of political and foreign affairs is an account on the Ryukyu demonstrates: "the king of Japan sent to *Liutui* (Taiwan) where they obey more to the Chinese and their old king had died and the new king was confirmed by the Chinese and in Japan all the nobles are confirmed by a license of the king."⁹⁵⁷

Both Hideyoshi and Ieyasu felt impelled to legitimise their power in and outside Japan and were therefore seeking official recognition as central rulers. Caused by the 'absence of China', defining supremacy by finding allies from outside the Sino-centric world was therefore a welcome substitute. Iberians and Japanese served one another as respective legitimating stone in the South East Asia.⁹⁵⁸

Furthermore, the Japanese started to enjoy advantages in maritime trade thanks to indirect access to Chinese markets via European intermediaries, who interacted extensively with Chinese private merchants.⁹⁵⁹ In this respect, Japanese dealings

⁹⁵⁴ Bernand, "Les Débuts," 115.

⁹⁵⁵ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 7, n. 110, "Carta de Pedro González de Carvajal sobre su viaje a Japón," 1594: "[...] y los padres supimos por muy cierto que algunos Japones de los principales pidieron al Emperador licencia para yr a sujetar las Philippinas y hazerle señor dellas sinq al Emperador le costasse nada, el qual respondió que no queria tratar de aquello hasta ver respuesta de V. M/d".

⁹⁵⁶ AGI Patronato 25, r. 50, "Trato del embajador del Japón con Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas," 1593.

⁹⁵⁷ AGI Patronato 25, r. 50, "Trato del embajador del Japón con Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas," 1593: "[...] el Rey de Japon mando a los lo obedescan mas al Chino al qual tenian este rreconocim/to que el Rey biejo muerto avia de ser el Rey nuevo y firmado por el Chino y que en el Japon todos los nobles estan señalados para el Rey paraque ninguno sin su licencia."

⁹⁵⁸ For these ideas see James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 2009).

⁹⁵⁹ According to Lieberman "China helped to coordinate Southeast Asian and Japanese production."

with the Iberians facilitated access to China and rendered tributary trade relations obsolete. In terms of legitimisation, encounters with people from outside the Sino-centric world order helped the Japanese to escape the Chinese-centred universe. As a result these changes in diplomacy linked Japan economically closer to China but at the same time separated it further politically.

Looking at diplomatic contacts from a triangular perspective, we notice that in early modern East Asia a huge number of international relationships were dominated by piracy and related political discourse. Already in the fifteenth century, the Chinese emperor required the 'king' of Japan to contribute to peaceful relations by suppressing pirates and repatriating their captives.⁹⁶⁰ Hideyoshi followed similar strategies. In his early strikes against the *wakō* he created a system of licensed trade and had it introduced to the Spanish in Manila in the year 1593. Projecting sovereignty to the wider maritime region surrounding Japan, the unifier pointed out that the Japanese merchants who used to travel to the Philippines were of ordinary background and low-spirited traders.⁹⁶¹

The Spaniards, in turn, had made acquaintance with uncivilised Japanese merchants long before they had received Hideyoshi's warning. We have heard about constant Spanish complaints about piracy across the Philippine coast. Here we have to ask, whether it was it an actual maritime threat or rather political rhetoric that dominated Manila during that time? We know for certain that none of the three states distinguished between piracy and privateering when it came to external competition with militarily stronger parties. The central authorities in China, Japan and the Philippines used to monopolise power over the maritime realm by understanding "pirates as everyone's common enemy" before and after Grotius' writ.⁹⁶² As imperial powers, they extended jurisdictional claims into ocean space, ignoring humanist ideas of the natural law of the sea.⁹⁶³

See *Strange Parallels II*, 419-420.

⁹⁶⁰ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 7, n. 107, "Testimonio sobre embajador de Japón, Faranda y Juan Cobo," 1593-06-01: "y porque los xapones que hasta aqui an venido del Xapon no era gente principal sino comun y baxa [...]."

⁹⁶¹ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 7, n. 107, "Testimonio sobre embajador de Japón, Faranda y Juan Cobo," 1593-06-01.

⁹⁶² The idea dates back to Cicero; Cf. Michael Kempe, "'Even in the Remotest Corners of the World': Globalized Piracy and International Law, 1500-1900" *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 3 (2010), 356.

⁹⁶³ Lauren E. Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty. Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400 - 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010), 111.

5.6. The Impacts of Religion on Bilateral and Intercultural Relations

The history of early modern Christianity in East Asia has fascinated generations of missionaries, chroniclers and historians who composed a complex picture.⁹⁶⁴ It is fair to conclude that no other European power in the early modern period was as committed to spreading Christianity for reasons of both faith and universalism. Every overseas action was accompanied by the Gospel. This policy was rooted in the strong links between the Castilian kings and the Pope, who granted them a juridical right to govern the New World by nature of papal bulls. Civil authorities in the Philippines dreamt of ideal negotiating conditions based on a common belief.

Such a setting implied that Spanish colonial projects could never be carried out as mere economic ventures as it was common for the Dutch, the British and even the Portuguese. Every matter was to be underscored by a holy purpose – a policy that certainly put some of the colonial vassals under pressure. The king himself used to remind his subordinates of their spiritual duties.⁹⁶⁵ Proselytising efforts were more than politically motivated. For a long time, Japan was considered a paradise for Christianity. Both leading clerical authorities of the East such as, the Basque Francis Xavier, as well as the first bishop of the Philippines, Domingo de Salazar (1512-1594), were convinced of the Japanese society's 'Christian potential' and therefore promoted missionary efforts, as illustrated in Salazar's letter to Philip II: "if we go there in the way that God commands and desires, and at the time appointed by his Divine Majesty (for we men cannot know), we shall make one of the largest conversions ever seen since the time of the primitive church."⁹⁶⁶ Indeed, quantitative records of Japanese Christian converts during what was arguably labelled the 'Christian Century' are remarkable.⁹⁶⁷ Auto-accounts of Iberian missionaries often spoke of up to one million Japanese converts by 1614. Historians nowadays find a number of 300,000 more likely.⁹⁶⁸

⁹⁶⁴ Charles R. Boxer who coined the term 'Christian Century' described Portuguese and Castilian missionary efforts in Japan. Charles R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1951) Gonoï Takeshi is indisputably the 21st century expert on Christianity in Japan.

⁹⁶⁵ Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 9 (1582): Philip II reminded his subordinates of their spiritual duty to prepare the ground for proselytizing the Chinese.

⁹⁶⁶ BR 7: 219.

⁹⁶⁷ Boxer, *Christian Century*.

⁹⁶⁸ Reyes Manzano, "Mitos," 60.

Nevertheless, from a Christian Castilian perspective, things did not go as smoothly as in other parts of the world. In the year 1585, the Jesuits secretly obtained a brief of Pope Gregory XIII granting them a monopoly of the Japan-China mission. Although missionaries from the Philippines had entered Japan as early as 1586 and their number grew in line with increases in trade and diplomatic relations, from the point of view of spiritual law, their work in Japan was illegitimate until the year 1608/9 when Pope Paul V. officially opened Japan to Castilian friars from Manila and issued them privileges.⁹⁶⁹ This change in politics followed negotiations between Philip III and Pope Clement VIII, who opened China and Japan to all commoners in 1600.⁹⁷⁰ The Jesuits never stopped disapproving strongly of the presence of the mendicants.⁹⁷¹ The Jesuits in the Philippines, who had a particularly complicated stance in the East for rivalry with their fellow brothers, became intermediaries between the Jesuits in Japan and the rest of the Portuguese *patronao* and Castilian friars from other orders⁹⁷² – a controversial position that reflects the critical global dimension that carried European matters to East and Southeast Asia. *Visitador* Alessandro Valignano, fearful of both a schism and the end of the mission in Japan after Ieyasu's accession to power, urged in a letter in 1602 to the vice provincial of the Society in Manila to restrict the coming of mendicants to Japan.⁹⁷³ This attitude was mainly the product of diverging positions and competing mentalities of the culturally more empathic, moderate Jesuits – whose global methods from China to Paraguay reflected the “principle of cultural accommodation”.⁹⁷⁴ Their success caused resistance and envy among conservative

⁹⁶⁹ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 9, n. 175, "Copia de Carta del obispo de Japón gobernador sobre Dayfu Sama," 1601. also known as *Sedis apostolicae providentiae* negotiated with Fr. Diego Arduarte, O.P. and Juan Pobre, O.F.M., in June 1608 allowed the missionaries from the Philippines in Japan. Only one year earlier, the Holy See had ordered that no missionaries from the Philippines must go to Japan. See AGI Filipinas 329, l.2, f. 40v-41r, "Orden de recoger todos los breves no vistos por el Consejo," 1607-02-06. Lach and Vankley, *Asia in the Making of Europe* III, Part 1, 203.

⁹⁷⁰ Lach and Vankley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 130: Pope Leo X granted the *Jus patronatus* to the Portuguese crown in 1514.

⁹⁷¹ Alessandro Valignano's famous *Sumario* provides us with insights into the complex relations between the *padres* of the Society and other friars. Goa exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Portuguese East through the bishoprics of Malacca (1557), Cochin (1558), Macao (1575), Funai (1588), Cranganore (1601). Matteo Ricci first entered China in 1581 and proceeded to Peking in 1601.

⁹⁷² J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth Century Japan*. (London/New York: Routledge, 1992), 86.

⁹⁷³ Cf. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 87-99.

⁹⁷⁴ Hsü, *Rise*, 100.

Catholic Orders.⁹⁷⁵ The latter were known for their subversive activities of and their life of poverty that puzzled the Japanese. Neither party was willing to give up.⁹⁷⁶ The lack of harmony among the Christian Orders in Japan caused concern in the Philippines but the problem was never solved.⁹⁷⁷

In chapter II the anti-Christian policies of Japan have briefly been mentioned. On a political level, the key problem with an increasing number of Japanese converts was that in the eyes of Hideyoshi and thereafter the *bakufu*, they tended to be more obedient to the Gospel and those who preached it than to their lords. This was already a pressing issue when Hideyoshi launched his campaign against the Shimazu lords of Satsuma in 1587. Here he first became aware of the huge number of Christian converts who believed that Christ was superior to all things, "higher even than the national conqueror Hideyoshi himself."⁹⁷⁸ He consequently ordered the expulsion of the missionaries and a ban on Christianity since this foreign religion was a danger to his own hegemony.

His harsh reaction has to be understood against the impact of *shokatsurei* on foreign policy and can only be understood when looking at Hideyoshi's foreign policies as a whole. Yet, despite the ban on Christianity, Hideyoshi issued documents in 1591 that made clear that foreign trade was not affected by the rule. In his correspondence with the Jesuits, he made clear that Japan, as the 'land of Gods', did not need Christian priests, while trade with these nations was permitted.⁹⁷⁹ Beginning in the 1610s, it was not only disobedience against the rulers that disturbed them, but also the xenophobic feelings that eventually led to the Anti-Christian-edicts of 1612/14. Again, these were only targeted at missionaries and converts and not (as yet) foreign traders.

In the Middle Kingdom, Spanish missionary efforts under Martin de Rada from 1575 made a far smaller impression than in Japan and brought mainly decreasing

⁹⁷⁵ AGI Filipinas, 74, n. 91, "Carta de García Serrano sobre sínodo, Corpus, sedes vacantes," 1621-07-31. Only the foundation of the *propaganda fide* by Pope Gregory XV in the year 1626, theoretically put an end to the Luso-Castilian competition in proselytising the entire globe.

⁹⁷⁶ Only a few years after the San Felipe incident, a plea of maintaining relations with Japan and sustaining the Catholic mission there reached the king. AGI Filipinas 18 B, r. 7, n. 71, "Carta de L. P. Mariñas sobre Camboya y Japón," 1597-06-28.

⁹⁷⁷ BR 14: 68-69.

⁹⁷⁸ Ōishi, "The Bakuhan-System," 26.

⁹⁷⁹ Ikoku Ōfukusho kanshū, cf. *Nihonshi shiryō*, 49-51.

returns from their very beginning.⁹⁸⁰ Mendicants soon seemed to realise their limited possibilities in the Middle Kingdom. Among the Jesuits in Manila, the China enterprise did not seem to lose attractiveness.⁹⁸¹ In the year 1587 General Claudia Aquaviva [General of the Jesuits in Rome, r. 1581-1606] forbade the Jesuits in the Philippines to enter China.⁹⁸² After having explored maritime China and having set up a utopian plan for getting a stronghold there, Alonso Sánchez, who was elected agent for the affairs in the Philippines and to put forward the so-called *Empresa de China*,⁹⁸³ spoke at the Castilian Court before Philip II in 1588.⁹⁸⁴ Having been dismissed by both the Castilian King and the Jesuits in Rome, the topic seemingly lost relevance for the pro-conquest party in Manila. For the sake of completeness I should also mention the rather meaningless journey of Martín Ignacio and other Franciscans from Spain to China and back via India Oriental between 1581 and 1584, on which they tried to combine trade and conversion.⁹⁸⁵

Missionaries who left the Philippines with the ambition to convert the Chinese in their homeland, received licences, also referred to as *chapa*,⁹⁸⁶ that would give them the permission to enter the strictly controlled ports of China. Juan Cobo, for instance, was reported to obtain a licence in Canton for the Christian mission to China.⁹⁸⁷ Missionary projects were furthermore linked to a license from the Pope, often communicated by a royal decree. Initially, the pontiff technically had to

⁹⁸⁰ See Boxer, *South China*, lxxi-lxxii. For Rada's mission in Fujian see also: Narrative of the mission to Fukien, June – October 1575 (translated from Fr. Gaspar de San Agustín, O.E.S.A., *Conquistas de las Islas de Philipinas*, Madrid, 1968).

⁹⁸¹ Thousands of filed pages at the ARSI serve as evidence. See for instance Raymundo 1594 to Aquaviva: ARSI Phil 14, ff. 1-2.

⁹⁸² Luke Clossey, "Merchants, Migrants, and Globalization in the Early Modern Pacific" *Journal of Global History* 1, (2006): 50-51.

⁹⁸³ de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 83 based on Colín-Pastells. He suggested that Bishop Salazar, the *oidor* Rojas, Attorney-general Ayala, the factor Roman and Sánchez met at night in the bishop's house to prepare a detailed plan for the *empresa* de China that should convince the king.

⁹⁸⁴ de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 88; Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 68. The same Alonso Sanchez was a very important spokesman for the Jesuits in Europe and became to play an important part in the council of the years 1581-82 (on the theories and methods of the mission). ARSI Phil 16, 26-27.

⁹⁸⁵ Mendoza, *Historia*, 149.

⁹⁸⁶ A Chinese captain received a *chapa* for the president [of the *audiencia*], in "which the latter is entreated to do justice to the captain who brought the letter, so that he might collect some money which was due in this city; in the letter he anxiously entreats the great fathers Juan and Miguel, who know the languages, to help the captain, for they are known in that country to help the Sangleys. Their names occur twice in that *chapa*, the first letters of the two names being written in red ink, which is considered a mark of veneration among the Chinese." Cf. BR 7: 236-237.

⁹⁸⁷ Aduarte, *Santo Rosario*, 214-216. Being fluent in Chinese and Japanese he doubtlessly played an important role as cultural mediator. Salazar reports in the year 1590 that a Chinese woman from 'Chincheo' wrote a letter to Fray Juan Cobo, expressing thanks for having assisted her husband in a "matter of business." See BR 7: 236.

approve of all proselytising action taken in the Far East. Under these circumstances, the disparity between law and reality was always striking. In the missionaries' activities in the East, this is especially so, as Luke Clossey has recently shown for China: A royal decree of 1585 required for any religiously motivated trip to China an approval of both the governor and the archbishop of Manila.⁹⁸⁸ After 1596, missionary projects even required the consent of the president of the *audiencia* of Manila, as well as of all religious provincials of the colony. Until 1640 the restriction was reissued at least five times, however with little impact.⁹⁸⁹ Equally disobedient behaviour can be observed with regard to Japan. There were as many ways to circumvent royal instructions as the king and his council had issued bans on leaving for Japan without approval.⁹⁹⁰

The Spaniards' missionary zeal created a narrative of stubborn Catholics who understood active conversion as the key to everything. Members of the Catholic order sacrificed their lives for the spread of the gospel in the Far East. Indeed, when looking at their early attempts to establish a Catholic mission under Philippine supervision in China and Japan, such a view prevails. What is most striking here is that the Spanish side could sometimes even be considered tactless once it came to negotiations with Japan. Cross-reading the available direct correspondence between Japanese and Spanish rulers confirms that missionary efforts and the good treatment of the Spanish friars were a priority for Madrid and Manila. Spanish missionary zeal was quite obvious: every official letter to Japan referred to the situation of the Spanish missionaries in Japan. The king himself was not always happy about their methods.⁹⁹¹

5.7. Concluding Remarks

In the early modern world, sovereign power was closely linked to the concepts of familiarity and foreignness. Conduct oscillated between hostility and mutual

⁹⁸⁸ Clossey, "Merchants", 50-51.

⁹⁸⁹ BR 28: 67-68; 70-71.

⁹⁹⁰ Pastells, *Historia General I*, 49; December 31, 1621; February 16, 1635 and finally November 6, 1636.

⁹⁹¹ *Cédulas Reales* 1700, no. 71 (1596), February 5 and 16, as well as November 6, 1636; between 1596 and 1621 at least four charters were sent to the Philippines reminding the Spanish subjects that missionaries must not enter Japan without express licenses of both governments. These charters show that the Crown accepted the Portuguese aspirations for proselytizing China.

acceptance. Despite frequent encounters, it is difficult to speak of regular foreign relations in the period, at least as we recognise them today. What is interesting is that the two East Asian nations directed all their advances to Luzón where they (reluctantly) acknowledged Spanish sovereignty without question. At the same time, representation at home and power struggles within the realm consumed political energy.

For what purpose is such an analysis on diplomatic communication and bilateral contacts required in this study of the early modern Manila? The answer is simple. As I hope to have shown, foreign relations and governance entirely shaped the nature of encounters between these three pre-modern states. Similarities in militarily-supported state ideologies and legitimising self-aggrandizement are furthermore evident in all three countries' foreign affairs. Just as the Spanish were uncomfortable with sending symbolic tributary gifts, the Japanese fear of having an inferior standing within the Sino-centric world order remained in the heads of the *bakufu*. The Chinese Court, in turn, stood clearly above – or rather outside – regional bargaining for power-games. Trade and securing profits were certainly the key elements in this diplomatic relations. This suggests that Japan eventually adopted parts of the Chinese understanding of foreign affairs and that the *sakoku*-policies of the 1630s were initiated aiming at monopolizing foreign trade.

To sum up, what did we learn about the three pillars of diplomacy? In the field of information gathering, we find major differences. Even though it has not been explicitly mentioned, the Spanish, just like the rest of the Europeans in East Asia, were eager to collect, monopolise and disseminate knowledge within their power realm. In addition to the official histories on China and Japan that were published in Europe as early as in the 1580s, government documents give insight into their thirst for knowledge. The situation of the East Asians was different, most obviously for structural reasons. Active information gathering could never provide first-hand observations. However, here too we find striking differences between the Chinese and the Japanese approach. While Chinese attempts to study the Europeans and the Japanese manifested themselves in sporadic records of political events, Tokugawa Japan began with systematic compilations. The sheer existence of the *Tsūkō Ichiran* tells us a lot about Tokugawa Japan's official position in international trade. It summarises efforts to collect historically and politically relevant data, including

information on the trading parties, record of presents sent and presents received, as well as information on navigation.

Representation was vague and complex at the same time. Official representation did not exist. But what about the missionaries who often spent several years in China and Japan and in particular in Japan at several points met and cooperated with the authorities? Chinese and Japanese living in Manila could theoretically have aspired similar links to the Spanish authorities. Lacking recognition from their rulers at home, they did not achieve such positions in Manila. Whether the Spanish oppressed individual attempts in Manila will be discussed in chapter 7.

With regard to negotiating, so far we only know that fighting piracy was the only lasting success in the triangular relations. The nature of negotiations with manifold challenges such as the question how to create legal space and trust in intercultural correspondence will be examined in the next chapter.

Only weak states need diplomacy to survive on the international stage. Spanish Overseas diplomacy played in a different league and they therefore never acted as submissive as the Portuguese or the Dutch. What did they have to lose in Asia? It has moreover been claimed that for European deficits in standardised diplomatic practice, they often adapted to Asian diplomatic protocols.⁹⁹² On the other hand, the tributary trade context and the century old traditions of basing legitimacy on recognition from the Middle Kingdom had created an elaborate system of diplomatic exchange in East and Southeast Asia. Still, as case studies in this chapter have shown, the Spaniards did not accept that Asian standards as nature-given. I therefore endorse Zoltan Biedermann's claim that the development of diplomatic culture in the East in a time of growing access to available geographical and ethnographical information "reveal[ed] both apprenticeship in the short term and changing policies in the long run".⁹⁹³ The strict Asian protocols as necessity for direct relations with Asia were both tedious and stressful for all Europeans, not just the Spaniards. Trade was often not only the cause for but also the soothing element (and tranquiliser) in diplomatic difference.

⁹⁹² See Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1976), 311-314.

⁹⁹³ Biedermann, "Portuguese," 17.

6. Communication and Misunderstanding

6.1. The Challenges of Official Communication

This chapter will focus on various patterns of communication within the previously discussed triangular diplomatic order. An emphasis on topic-related case studies makes it difficult to follow a chronological order in this chapter. The underlying framework is composed of different diplomatic contexts, namely friendly relations and the tributary concept with claims for submission.⁹⁹⁴ Several case studies deal with the complex encounters between pre-modern states that then lacked both profound knowledge of and experience in dealing with each other. We shall have a closer look at how the Spanish and the East Asians corresponded on an official level. In the early modern world, tact and protocol was the key to diplomatic exchange, as it remains today. Thus, language, as well as non-verbal communication and the consequences of misunderstandings, were daily concerns.

Examining embedded intercultural communication, I will also discuss actual communication problems, with a primary focus on linguistic discourse.⁹⁹⁵ The lack of a common language posed a major problem for contacts on a supposedly equal level in peaceful trade and diplomatic missions in East Asia.⁹⁹⁶ Nobody will deny that in seascape communities, a lingua franca was quickly established for trade negotiations or urban administration. Such improvised communication patterns, however, were clearly insufficient in state-to-state correspondence.

Last but not least, we will re-address gift-giving as specific etiquette in foreign relations. Recent studies on the importance of ritual in pre-modern state relations have stressed that early modern diplomatic ceremony reflected a state's international position. The Spaniards in Manila tried to adapt to new cultural settings as much as their political self-perception permitted them. Receiving delegations from China or Japan,

⁹⁹⁴ Zoltan Biedermann has introduced the Portuguese concept of *amizade* as friendship diplomacy in sixteenth-century Asia in his previously quoted article of 2005. Similarities can be found in Spanish diplomatic conduct in the East.

⁹⁹⁵ For linguistic theories see Alan Murray and Rajit Sondhi "Socio-Political Influences on Cross-Cultural Encounters: Notes Towards a Framework for the Analysis of Context," in *Analyzing International Communication*, ed. Werner Enninger et al., (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987), 17-35.

⁹⁹⁶ It is well known that the major problem of the Spanish was the absence of key words for preaching the gospel in local languages (such as trinity, *deus* for one single true god, or Holy Spirit). At the same time European political concepts were alien to their new negotiating partners and vice versa.

governors made special efforts to impress with pomp. They had learned from their European experiences and desired to above all be regarded as standing atop other Europeans in Asia. In addition, they wished to improve their position within the hierarchy with other territorial rulers.⁹⁹⁷ Similar aspirations can be traced in the numerous early modern Japanese attempts to impress foreign delegations.

6.2. Language in Bilateral Communication

“Language” writes Henry Kamen in his brilliant 2002 work on the Spanish Empire, “was power”. He quoted Antonio Nebrija's promotion of one language as crucial for establishing and maintaining power at the end of the fifteenth century.⁹⁹⁸ I further endorse Kamen's subsequent statement that back then language “was not limited to vocabulary and grammar” but also included cultural, religious and habitual aspects.

For instance, Philip II's diplomatic initiative towards Emperor Wanli consisted of letters written in Spanish. According to Carmen Y. Hsu, the decision to write in Spanish resulted from the king's desire to transport a "patriotic-religious message" that was reinforced by the friars that served as envoys.⁹⁹⁹ However, for Hsu the alternative would have been Latin and I do not see for what reason Latin would have become the language used in intercultural diplomacy in Asia. While I have doubts whether Philip II aimed at applying the same means of monopolising sovereignty in Asia with similar means as used in Europe, I understand his choice to write in Spanish as the king's wish to meet on par with the Ming emperor, an attempt to introduce equal state-to-state correspondence in the new diplomatic setting.

At the same time we should not overrate the impact of actual language skills. It has been generally assumed that language and the scarcity of interpreters and translators were the main sources for communication problems, next to the hostility among early modern rulers in multinational settings. Even sixteenth century Iberians used substandard language skills and mediocre interpreters as a welcome excuse for their

⁹⁹⁷ William Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach" *The Journal of Modern History* 52, no. 3 (1980): 461-462.

⁹⁹⁸ Cf. Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road*, 3. From the introduction to Nebrija's first Grammar of the Castilian language. "I have found one conclusion to be very true, that language always accompanies empire, both have always commenced, grown and flourished together." See also, Robert Lee Nichols, "Struggling with Language. Indigenous Movements for Linguistic Security and the Politics of Local Community" *Ethnicities* 6, no. 1 (2006): 28.

⁹⁹⁹ Hsu, "Writing," 329.

failure in dealing with Japanese issues. However, we have reason to suspect there was much more to it than that. Cross-reading diplomatic sources have shown that the real problems were more complex – while pidgin-Spanish or pidgin-Japanese complicated the development of friendly bilateral relations, different concepts of foreign policies as well as mutual feelings of superiority even hindered it.

6.2.1. Language, Linguists and Envoys

Oral communication during actual encounters is a further dimension of official contacts that allows analysing the triangular relations and the politico-economic intentions behind them. Obviously language skills were a primary concern for audiences and negotiations and skilled linguists were not always ready at hand. Even for high-ranking bilateral negotiations, the non-native speaking parties had to make do with amateur interpreters, such as merchants or missionaries.¹⁰⁰⁰ Since professional interpreters only emerged during the seventeenth century, we will have to ask who became interpreters in these triangular relations. On Japanese soil, their literate predecessors can already be found at the beginning of the century, for instance Pedro João Rodriguez (Tçuzzu or Tsuzzu), a Jesuit nicknamed 'interpreter' who was the best linguist among the missionaries and served Hideyoshi as personal agent in Macao affairs after 1595,¹⁰⁰¹ and was later employed by Ieyasu before he fell in disgrace and was replaced by William Adams.¹⁰⁰² Rodriguez's excellent language skills were most likely the result of his long-term stay (from an early age) of 33 years.¹⁰⁰³

I have no concrete explanation to offer as to what qualified an early modern person in this intercultural setting as an ambassador, however, the ability to communicate was certainly a crucial characteristic. The ambassadors introduced in the previous chapter

¹⁰⁰⁰ It is very unlikely that any of them was as fluent and sensitive to linguistic nuances as Lady Tora in the TV-drama 'Shogun'. In the Americas the power of translation lay in the hand of the indigenous population since Spanish policy was to make them learn Spanish and not the other way round. See Nichols, "Struggling," 29.

¹⁰⁰¹ The Japanese rulers are also known for their efforts of having gifted translators and interpreters at their disposal. This strategy increased parallel to an increase in foreign trade as the institution of Dutch and Chinese interpreters in Nagasaki after 1639 shows. See Michael Cooper, S. J., *João Rodrigues's Account of Sixteenth-Century Japan* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2001). Rodriguez became famous for his work published in Nagasaki between 1604 and 1608 entitled *Arte de Lingoa de Iapam*. It deals with many aspects of the Japanese language including grammar, letter writing and courtesies.

¹⁰⁰² Also known as Miura Anjin after having been ennobled by the Tokugawa as the only European in history.

¹⁰⁰³ For more details on his life see Michael Cooper, S. J., *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York: Weatherhill, 1994).

show a very mixed background: the Spanish sent friars, the Chinese high officials and the Japanese military merchants, or 'borrowed' European friars.¹⁰⁰⁴ We may say that the majority of ambassadors were unrelenting personalities that made them well-suited for that position. Ambassadorial choices were often improvised, as qualified people were often simply not available. In the year 1608, Ieyasu even sent the Kentish William Adams as envoy to Manila. Apart from this posting it is notable that his visit is barely mentioned in the existing Spanish records.¹⁰⁰⁵

While missionaries were sometimes sought after by Japanese officials, domestic merchants, considered 'cosmopolitan', remained their first choice. In Hideyoshi's first embassy, the official ambassador and regular Luzón merchant Harada Kiyemon, suddenly fell ill and had to be replaced by a Kyushuian of lower social rank called Harada Magoshichirō.¹⁰⁰⁶ It was he who would stand before Governor Dasmariñas in May 1592 with Hideyoshi's letter demanding the delivery of tribute on behalf of the 'king of Japan'. Unlike Kiyemon, his language skills were deficient. Reportedly, the Spaniards simply could not understand what the letter actually meant since no reliable translator could be found.¹⁰⁰⁷ Confused by contradictory translations, the Spaniards in the Philippines remained doubtful about the authenticity and the author of the letters.¹⁰⁰⁸ The Dominican Juan Cobo (1546-1592) was chosen to solve the issue and sent on a mission to Japan in 1592. Several contemporary Spanish sources described him as ambitious man, quick at picking up Mandarin.¹⁰⁰⁹ Although he would struggle in

¹⁰⁰⁴ Yūko Shimizu discussed the mediating rule of missionaries in negotiations between Manila and Japan. Shimizu, "Sakoku", 142-143.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Sola, *Desencuentro*, 100.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Different sources give different names for Kiyemon's substitute. In Japanese sources Harada Magoshichirō is most common. In other sources, such as the 1592 letter to Spain, he is referred to as Harada Kiyemon's vassal and nephew Gaspar who filled in for Harada after the latter had fallen in just before the departure of the mission; According to Kishino's interpretation he was the first of three ambassadors to Manila, who reportedly also got baptised there.

¹⁰⁰⁷ AGI Filipinas 18 B, r. 2, n. 12, "Carta de G.P. das Mariñas enviando cartas de Japón," 1592-06-11. This first officially sent letter from Japan included further peculiarities from a sixteenth-century European point of view: There was the large amount of letters from different members of ruling elites of unfamiliar titles and apparently high-ranking positions, that should emphasise the importance of the matter. The letters included a letter of the 'king', his treasurer, his general and one of the 'rey' of Firando [Hirado]. Another reason that made the Spaniards speculate about Japan's greatness was the fineness of the paper that the Spaniards even compared with a papal bulla.

¹⁰⁰⁸ BR 9: 23-49.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Learning Chinese was considered a particularly difficult task: The missionaries themselves played an important political role as very popular linguists: In the 1590s learning Chinese was considered a lengthy project, which is why they appointed a Chinese merchant in Macao who spoke good Spanish ('español' in the cited source): ARSI Phil 14, f.1.

Japanese,¹⁰¹⁰ he was doubtlessly an expert in Chinese characters. Indeed, he translated a classic of Chinese literature into Spanish shortly before he became ambassador.¹⁰¹¹ So even if his oral communication skills were rudimentary, his Japanese must have been proficient enough to notice interpretation mistakes or fraudulent misrepresentation.

On his actual encounter with the Japanese authorities, Cobo was assisted by the Christian Chinese Antonio López, a leading figure in the Chinese community in Manila, and a certain Juan Sami, a master of Chinese language. In Japan they were taken to Hideyoshi, who resided in his military headquarters in Nagoya in Hizen/Kyushu. Cobo's official audience was accompanied by traditional acts for negotiations. The Spanish ambassador reportedly enjoyed unparalleled honours and eventually was consigned with assisting Kiyemon's second embassy to Manila.¹⁰¹²

This agreement leads us to a further objective of direct state communication, namely the question of how to build trust. The act of gaining trust in those days was a matter of improvisation, as several episodes show. To help the Spaniards to identify Harada as ambassador, for instance, he was wearing specific vesture.¹⁰¹³ Often to help build trust both ambassadors would be present during the diplomatic encounter. In order to assure the implementation of bilateral agreements between Hideyoshi and the governor of the Philippines, it was decided that talks should be continued in Japan a few months after Harada's visit to Manila. This diplomatic act was also intended as a conference of the Spanish and Japanese ambassadors. Building trust was naturally also an issue in cross-cultural trade relations.¹⁰¹⁴ Trading licenses or certificates were the most obvious

¹⁰¹⁰ Diego Aduarte, *Santo Rosario*, 234: "sin que en esto hubiesse mas dificultad de mandarlo, que ya se sabia que el Padre Fr. Iuan sin replea ninguna avia de poner luego el ombro al trabajo, aunque fuesse tan grande como el apredar esta lengua China, que a los mas avetrajados ingenios se les ha hecho siempre (y es) difficultossissima. Pero ayudele el Señor, come ayuda siempre a los obedientes, y aprendiola con ventajas de manera que extensivamente ninguno supo tanta lengua China, como el, aunque en la pronunciacion le hizieron otros ventajas pero suplía el esta falta, (que lo es, y no pequeña en esta lengua) con la abundancia que tenia de palabras, con que se explicava muy bien, y le entendian. Acudio a este ministerio con tantas veras, y favorecia tanto a los Chinos, que le nombraron por su protector, y era como su abogado en sus causas con que los tenia muy aficionadas assi, y lo oyian con gusto [...]"

¹⁰¹¹ Manuel Ollé called him a pioneer of cultural exchange, not only for his efforts of translating the Chinese classic *Mingxin baojian*: Ollé, "Formación," 27.

¹⁰¹² According to Spanish accounts, a foreign ambassador had never before been treated with as much courtesy as Juan Cobo. After his audience with Toyotomi Hideyoshi he was even invited to a traditional Japanese tea ceremony (*chanoyu*). See BR 9: 36.

¹⁰¹³ Since his communication skills did not seem reliable enough Harada should show his peaceful intentions in the cloth he was wearing at the audience (*vestido blanco y morado*). See AGI Filipinas 6, r. 7, n. 107, "Testimonio sobre embajador de Japón, Faranda y Juan Cobo," 1593-06-01: *El portador de esta es Faranda Quiemo Xapon (...) lleva por senal una veranderilla colorada en la popa fecha en aixi puerto de Xapon.*

¹⁰¹⁴ For the Spaniards in Manila the trust issue had even further dimensions. They had to justify all their decisions to the king in Spain. Filipinas 6, r. 7, n. 107, "Testimonio sobre embajador de Japón, Faranda y

examples in this regard. Already Juan Cobo described Japanese ships with a Chinese-Japanese crew, arriving in Manila in 1592 equipped with a coloured licence. Chinese tallies, Castilian *boletas*, or *cartazas* of Portuguese trade in Asia are all signs that similar foreign trade strategies could be described as trust building efforts.

None of these measures were substantial enough to entirely allay suspicion. Given that Ieyasu suspected that the Catholic friars would hide or lie about the prospects of trade with New Spain.¹⁰¹⁵ In that respect, missionaries in Japan might have shown similar characteristics as the famous dishonest diplomats who lied for the sake of their country in other regions and periods.¹⁰¹⁶ In another diplomatic encounter in 1604, Pedro de Burgillos took letters personally back to Luzón, because the Japanese merchants who would have left early for Manila did not seem trustworthy enough.¹⁰¹⁷

Correspondence with China saw similar difficulties. In 1605, following the exchange of letters regarding the events around rebellion and mutiny of 1603/4, the Spanish governor lamented that the style of the translation he sent to Spain was unpolished, because those who translated it were not very skilful in both languages.¹⁰¹⁸

6.2.2. Oral Communication

Juan Cobo never returned from his trip to Japan.¹⁰¹⁹ What made him set sail in tempestuous weather despite warnings, remains subject to speculation. Since the audience in Manila had to be carried out without Cobo's mediating skills, Hideyoshi's vassal's and the Spanish colonial authorities' mutual ignorance of the others' mother tongue continuously provoked misunderstandings. The presence of the pro-Spanish linguist Antonio López did not change that fact.

While Hideyoshi's representatives in Manila assured the Spanish of their lord's wish for friendship and alliance as long as the Philippines were friendly to Japan, his letters

Juan Cobo," 1593-06-01: "*Todo lo qual como arriba e dicho e pedido a V S/a en nombre del emperador mi S/or y por quanto V S/a a dudano acerca de mi autoridad por no mostrar letras de el emperador mis traistados el padre Fray Juan Cobos con autoridad plenissima para que yo capitulase con V S/a todo lo que para las paces y amistad era necess/o me prefriero y obligo que enegado que sea a la pressencia de mi emperador ynviar le las capitulaciones firmadas de su propia mano y porque es verdad lo firme de mi nombre.*"

¹⁰¹⁵ Sola, *Desencuentro*, 94.

¹⁰¹⁶ Black, *Diplomacy*, 59.

¹⁰¹⁷ Sola, *Desencuentro*, 95.

¹⁰¹⁸ BR 14: 70-71.

¹⁰¹⁹ Different sources give contradictory accounts about Juan Sami. José Borao, who based his findings on earlier research by Iwao Seiichi claimed that he was killed in Taiwan after Cobo's ship stranded there. The Blair and Robertson documents list him as witness in the Manila interrogation upon Harada's first mission. BR 9: 42-43.

and the rumours circulating – according to Chinese and Spanish witness accounts – suggested the opposite.¹⁰²⁰ It was complicated to uncover the truth and to test the validity of two diplomatic patterns (tributary relations or equal friendship relations). As a consequence, the question of whether Hideyoshi claimed vassalage or indeed only wanted to initiate friendly relations ("I do not desire silver, gold, or soldiers, or anything else, but only fast friendship with your nation")¹⁰²¹ could not be solved. The line between friendly diplomacy and symbolic tribute relations was obviously so thin that responding was an extremely delicate matter and there were even fears that the honorific act of gift-giving could be misinterpreted as bringing recognition to Hideyoshi or of approving his claims as universal ruler.

A further problematic aspect I have briefly touched upon was the unreliability of second-hand information. Since all diplomatic mediators pursued different goals, officials saw themselves confronted with different versions of the diplomatic encounters on Japanese soil. While the two Iberian captains Juan de Solis¹⁰²² and Joan Cuellar spoke very much in favour of Kiyemon, and gave positive accounts on Cobo's stay in Japan, Chinese merchants and Parian residents such as Antonio López accused the Japanese of bad intentions and reported preparations for a Japanese invasion of Luzón.¹⁰²³ Here we encounter overlapping aspirations and diverging mercantile interests of these two 'groups'. We may therefore conclude that the negative propaganda of the Chinese and conflict with Portuguese merchants in Japan were major external disruptive factors for intercultural diplomacy.

Harada Kiyemon himself was accused of having deliberately played with words at the audience in Manila in an attempt to deceive the governor by giving a very positive account of the accomplishments of the Franciscan mission in Japan.¹⁰²⁴ Thus, when initial euphoria had vanished, all that was left was mistrust and confusion. Several sources spoke of a Spanish merchant, Bernardino Avila Girón (jap. Abira Hiron),¹⁰²⁵ who

¹⁰²⁰ BR 9: 34.

¹⁰²¹ BR 9: 36; Chirino, *Relación*, 63: "[...] mas lo que quiero es amistad con los castellanos, trato y comunicacion porque e sabido el buen tratamiento que allá hacer a mis Xapones, que yo no quiero plata, ni oro, ni gentes ni otras cosas."

¹⁰²² Juan Solis was one of the truly global characters of the Spanish Empire: Around 1590 he travelled as merchant of the king from Panama to Macao, then to Japan and from there to Manila.

¹⁰²³ The reference at the margin of the original Spanish report that says "ancient fears of Japan, 1593" is a telling indication for constant fear and mistrust. BR 9: 55.

¹⁰²⁴ Kishino, "Firipin Bōeki," 45.

¹⁰²⁵ A private Spanish trader famous for his travel accounts on Japan.

claimed having been present at some of the talks between Cobo and the Japanese authorities.¹⁰²⁶ He informed the governor about Harada's false interpretations and indirectly blamed the designer of the early official connections between Japan and the Philippines of having betrayed both sovereigns by playing them off against each other.¹⁰²⁷ Being driven by his own economic interests as a private merchant made Kiyemon an unsuitable candidate for Hideyoshi's project. Kiyemon was doubtlessly among the most controversial and probably also most powerful figures in these relations. He is reported to have issued passes for the traders of his domain and was also likely to inspect purchase goods upon return to Japan.¹⁰²⁸

The Spanish authorities eventually decided to play for time and appointed the Franciscan Pedro Baptista as second official ambassador to Japan. In his official letter, Dasmariñas repeatedly regretted the uncertain character of the Harada mission: Both Cobo's short memorial and Harada's lack of credentials as Japanese ambassador had confirmed his suspicions. To ensure smooth communication at the Japanese court, Baptista was equipped with copies of all previously exchanged letters and a memorial of Harada Kiyemon.¹⁰²⁹ Despite negative reports of the Jesuits missionaries on the spot, Pedro Baptista kept confidence in future relations. Indeed, things started to relax a bit, and Dasmariñas seemed willing to agree to licensed trade between Japan and Manila in May 1593.¹⁰³⁰

When evaluating the Spanish reaction, it is crucial to remember that the same officials took care of colonial affairs. Thus, in trying to evaluate Spanish responses to Hideyoshi's geopolitical moves in the South China Sea, we must not forget the Spanish dependence on supply from Japan – both in foodstuff and munitions. What is furthermore notable is that the original letters sent by Hideyoshi and his vassals were never forwarded to Spain because the colonial government wanted to keep them for potential negotiations with the Chinese emperor. Referring to the absence of Japanese

¹⁰²⁶ Kishino, "Firipin Bōeki," 42-45.

¹⁰²⁷ Kishino, "Firipin Bōeki," 45-46: Intentionally or not, Kiyemon told the Lord of Japan that Cobo had been sent as envoy of the governor of the Philippines together with a horse as token of his friendship.

¹⁰²⁸ AGI Patronato 25, r. 50, "Trato del embajador del Japón con Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas," 1593: "*Dize Antonio [...] que Faranda era el que los gobernacia y que sin licencia de Farada ninguno podiera bolvera al Japon y que si a Faranda no tenian este ano buen rrecavido no bolveria a Japon y que si le tratavan bien bolveria dize que este buen tratm/to le entendia que seria obedecer al Rey del Japon.*"

¹⁰²⁹ BR 9: 57.

¹⁰³⁰ BR 9: 30. Strikingly, Harada's ship had 120 Chinese and Japanese merchants on board.

translators at the Court in Spain, a ready translation was sent to the metropolis.¹⁰³¹

Relations with China were less complex, simply because China paid far less attention to Manila. Nevertheless, Sino-Spanish relations developed complex types of different semi-official communication full of vagueness and improvisation. These communication patterns included letters from Manila to the Fujianese Viceroys¹⁰³² and Chinese replies to the governor. The Spaniards were not bothered that they never communicated with the highest authorities. Strictly speaking, they themselves were not the highest ranking Spanish authorities either. The absence of official letters from the Ming emperor to the Spanish king clearly indicated crucial differences with Japan. The official Ming policy is considerably different to that at the private maritime level, as neither regular trade relations nor socio-economic adaptation of the Fujianese people to Spanish Manila would have been so smooth, without a clear interest for the 'other'.

The religious missionaries' encounters with local authorities – who would interrogate the foreigners upon their arrival – were another form of Sino-Spanish semi-official contacts.¹⁰³³ Chinese converts, who had spent time in Macao, assisted as intermediaries and Portuguese was used as lingua franca in these early encounters.¹⁰³⁴ Most of the time such crucial interrogations were carried out in prisons, for according to Chinese customs uninvited barbarians were always first taken into custody.¹⁰³⁵ The Spanish found Chinese bureaucracy a hard nut to crack. Although they had finally been issued the required license by the 'mandarins', they remained confused about the officials' suspicions and xenophobia: "they guard and monitor their town with such attention and feel so strange about the foreigners who enter."¹⁰³⁶ Rumours of two Franciscan friars who were arrested immediately after their arrival in China before being taken handcuffed before high-ranking Chinese officials, testify to indications for communication deficits on both sides. When the Chinese official learned who they were, he gave orders to set them free, and to provide for their support until they could return.¹⁰³⁷ John E. Wills pointed out that the Europeans showed a tendency to "reject Chinese explanations of their decisions and to interpret these explanations as a result of

¹⁰³¹ AGI Filipinas 18 B, r. 2, n. 12, "Carta de G. P. Mariñas enviando cartas de Japón," 1592-06-11.

¹⁰³² also viceroy 副王 in Chinese sources.

¹⁰³³ Ollé, *Empresa*, 266: One of the Chinese bureaucrats that got in direct contact with the Castilians was the intendant of the coastal prefectures of Xinghua and Quanzhou in Fujian.

¹⁰³⁴ For Alfaro's journey see Mendoza, *Historia*, 261.

¹⁰³⁵ Aduarte, *Historia*, 214-215.

¹⁰³⁶ Aduarte, *Historia*, 215.

¹⁰³⁷ BR 7: 215.

the corrupt self-interest of the officials.”¹⁰³⁸ In light of these findings, we may conclude that Sino-Spanish relations did not even have short time effects.

6.3. Official Communication Between Japan and the Spaniards:

A basic requirement for diplomatic encounters was mutual recognition. The provided cases studies suggest that the causes for unstable, ambivalent Japanese-Spanish relations were rooted in the long list of misunderstandings in correspondence, as well as external factors such as *wakō* raids and the increasing number of Christian missionaries 'invading' Japan.

Studying available accounts on the earliest correspondence helps uncover the difficulties with direct communication. State-to-state correspondence between the country 'where the sun rose and the country where the sun never set' shows the obstacles deriving from diverging ideological concepts in foreign relations. To begin with, Toyotomi Hideyoshi's approaches towards Southeast Asia have often been neglected. Hideyoshi's letters to Manila serve as case study for communication problems. As a result of encounters with Iberian friars and merchants on the archipelago, Hideyoshi had a basic understanding of the political structure of the Spanish Overseas Empire before he initiated state-to-state communication. Nevertheless, Hideyoshi's idea that Luzón was part of the wider East Asian tributary world differed from Spanish self-perceptions. He addressed his letter to the Spanish governor Dasmariñas, asking him to send tribute and symbolically submit to his power. He was even smug enough to seek a response from the Spanish king.¹⁰³⁹ Through Japanese ambassadors, he informed the Spanish governor about his enormous might and his intention to conquer the Philippines, unless the Spanish paid tribute to Japan.¹⁰⁴⁰ The Spanish translation of the first letter of June 1592 that was drafted in Japan is worth quoting at length since it illustrates the origins of complex state-to-state correspondence.

My kingdom was for more than hundred years caught up in terrible wars and all people very uncomfortable. Neither in trade nor in correspondence was the country united. At that point my great birth for governing the world and

¹⁰³⁸ Wills, "Relations," 336.

¹⁰³⁹ AGI Filipinas 18 B, r. 2, n. 12, "Carta de G. P. Mariñas enviando cartas de Japón," 1592-06-11.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibid.

bringing it to admirable glory took place, and already at a young age I assumed that office in the kingdom and in less than ten years that small kingdom [was] all subdued to me, the kingdom of Samnan [Taiwan] and Ryukyu and other kingdoms at different distances recognize me and send me tribute and now I wish to wage war on China and this is not for my power or because Heaven has told me to; Your kingdom still does not have friendship with me and therefore I would want to take that land but because Guantien Sunchittono told a private [vassal] of mine that their merchant ships come and go frequently; the same [person] says that the state in your kingdom and that they know everything and that he will go [there] in order to give part of all that and without me stepping out from [behind] my curtain he will bring it to an end because it is only hundred leagues and he will declare what you have to offer; these words are worthy as those of an old man; I listened to him despite being of low birth, and ordered shortly not to send my captains who would go with a strong army.¹⁰⁴¹

The common practice of drafting two different translations – similarly to employing two different interpreters at audiences to avoid fraud – was a condition in such instances. Still, these double translations often became an additional cause for misunderstanding. Such was the case with the translation of the same Japanese letter that was drafted in the Philippines. The letter begins as follows:

More than thousand years was Japan not governed by a man in whose times happened that many wars and conflicts between the lords so that one could not send a letter from one part to the other until now when the lord in heaven wanted that in my time everything will be unified and subdued to my obedience and I was so lucky that until today I have never lost a battle but left them all in victory in a period of ten years and thus I conquered the islands Lequio that was outside my obedience and with Korea.¹⁰⁴²

Hideyoshi brazenly exaggerated his international standing. Just as he made the Spanish believe that Taiwan was paying him tribute, he also told the Ming that Taiwan

¹⁰⁴¹ Author's translation of a Spanish transcript. Two different versions of the first letter sent by Hideyoshi are reprinted in Pastells, *En las Filipinas III*, 54.

¹⁰⁴² Pastells, *Catálogo III*, 54.

and Luzón had sent tribute envoys and asked the same from the Ming.¹⁰⁴³

Moreover, dialectics of friendship diplomacy and Confucian tributary relations became a further source of irritation, namely promises such as treating the Spaniards and Franciscan friars "like a father his sons".¹⁰⁴⁴ Unsurprisingly, the Spaniards in the Philippines were suspicious about Hideyoshi's intentions. Uncertain of how to respond, in June 1592 the governor of the Philippines sent a letter to the *daimyō* of Hirado, – who had been his confidant for some years by then – asking him how to proceed.¹⁰⁴⁵

Miscommunication can be blamed for the fiasco of the stranded galleon San Felipe in 1596/97. After Hideyoshi had confiscated the whole cargo and humiliated the crew, the distressed captain of the galleon threatened the Japanese with a Spanish invasion.¹⁰⁴⁶ The reasons for Hideyoshi's outrage were manifold.

While a memorial in Nagasaki still reminds people of the tragedy, ensuring that the event survived in the collective memory of Japanese Christians, contemporary Japanese accounts are full of contradictions. A very short notice in the *Tsūkō Ichiran* mentions the arrival of a trading ship with a broken mast in Tosa and adds that Hideyoshi, although confiscating their goods, providing the crew with water and food before letting them sail away.¹⁰⁴⁷ A second record describes an enormous number of between 250 and 500 people on board.¹⁰⁴⁸ When the damage was repaired in March 1597, the foreigners would be allowed to return home. Hideyoshi was reported to have treated them well, asked them what they needed before travelling back with sufficient provisions.¹⁰⁴⁹ None of these records mentioned the executions.

Learning about the *éclat*, the Spanish in Manila were shocked to hear that Hideyoshi broke the supposed friendship treaty of the previous years.¹⁰⁵⁰ When fear of a Japanese intrusion revived and many Japanese were sent back to their native country, the

¹⁰⁴³ Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*, 94.

¹⁰⁴⁴ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 7, n. 110, "Carta de Pedro González de Carvajal sobre su viaje a Japón," 1594: "[D]ixesse a V. M. que haziendo V. M/d buena amistad con el daria al gobernador de las Philippinas siempre que fuesse menester socorro de diez mil hombres. [...] para que de todo diesse cuenta a V. M y del buen tratamiento que me hizo siempre y tambien a los padres de S/to Franc/co que quedaron alla y pidiendole estos padres un pedaco de sitio para hazer una casa y iglesia."

¹⁰⁴⁵ AGI Filipinas 18 B, r. 2, n. 12, "Carta de G. P. Mariñas enviando cartas de Japón," 1592-06-11.

¹⁰⁴⁶ About the issue that has never been entirely solved in historical treatise see Fidel de Lejarza (O.F.M.), *Bajo la Furia de Taikosama*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Cisneros, 1961), cf. Manzano, "Mitos," 62-63.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Tsūkō Ichiran*, fol. 179/566.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Tsūkō Ichiran*, fol. 179/567.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Tsūkō Ichiran*, fol. 179/567.

¹⁰⁵⁰ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 7, n. 110, "Carta de Pedro González Carvajal sobre su viaje," 1594.

situation in Manila was on the verge of escalating.¹⁰⁵¹ Governor Tello expressed his hatred for the Japanese despot, stating that

*This king is gormandized on what he has stolen and gabbled up from the vessel San Felipe and is rumored that in the coming year he is going to Luzón; [...] For this purpose he intends to take the Lequois Island and the Hermosa in order to jump with his men from this point, take Manila, unless God prevents his progress. May Your Excellency perceive what measures are important and convenient to take.*¹⁰⁵²

However, the pretext for failing Hispano-Japanese relations at the end of Hideyoshi's reign was even more complex than the Castilian misinterpretation of East Asian balance of power. With regard to language, we learn that the Castilians had to employ Japanese interpreters to ensure the Jesuits were working on their behalf.¹⁰⁵³ Still, no Spaniard was capable of talking to Hideyoshi when they planned a visit in Kyoto. Consequently one-sided translations hindered their negotiations. Thus, the importance of personal contact for friendly relations also made a difference in state-to-state relations. When the Spaniards asked for an audience with the *kanpaku* (imperial regent) to solve the confiscation-issue, Hideyoshi's answer was negative. Clearly, the escalations were motivated by economic interest and the rich silk cargo on board the mercantile vessel. This aspect will be discussed in depth in the following chapter. That economic interests were placed above ideologies was a novelty in diplomatic relations in East Asia but became normal during the first decade of Tokugawa reign.

We have seen that Sino-Japanese relations changed with the Tokugawa. Most Western language publications analysing the 'prudent' pre-modern Japanese diplomacy with the rest of the world have fallen short in attributing significant value to relations with the Spaniards. Marius Jansen, for instance, pointed out that foreign relations with the Iberians were not worth mentioning in terms of political considerations, stressing that Ieyasu only issued a single state-to-state-agreement with the Dutch, after Maurice

¹⁰⁵¹ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 300.

¹⁰⁵² AGI Filipinas 18 B, r. 7, n. 65, "Carta de Tello sobre ataque japonés a Formosa y Manila", 1597-06-19. AGI Filipina 18 B, r. 7. n. 61, "Carta de Tello sobre posible ataque de Japón," 1597-05-19: The incident was a welcome opportunity to ask for a larger budget for the islands and also for him personally as governor.

¹⁰⁵³ AGI Filipinas 6, r 7, n. 107, "Testimonio sobre embajador de Japón, Faranda y Juan Cobo," 1593-06-01. This is just another letter that includes complaints about insufficient language skills for diplomatic communication.

of Nassau warned the *bakufu* in 1610 of the Jesuits' plans to split the country.¹⁰⁵⁴ However, in my understanding, the complex relations between Manila and Japan that dated back to 1587 served as the cornerstone for thirty years of bilateral relations between Japan and the Overseas Spanish Empire.

With regard to the early modern Japanese state's integration in the Manila-trade, the *bakufu* clearly wanted to integrate Japan into the trade with Mexico. As one of the most promising trading partners of the early years, Ieyasu targeted the Castilians of Luzón for his global projects as early as 1602. In August of the same year, he sent a reply to the governor of Luzón in which he stated his intention to establish direct trade between Japan and *Novi Spania* whilst offering the people of Luzón a safe haven in the "East of Japan" in times of bad weather.¹⁰⁵⁵ After his ambassador Terazawa made clear that his master was waiting for a positive answer,¹⁰⁵⁶ Ieyasu's wish of establishing trade with America was forwarded to the king in Spain. Thereafter it was ignored in direct communication.¹⁰⁵⁷ Spaniards – who still feared a Japanese attack – considered Ieyasu's request against their best interests. Fear of the Japanese grew stronger when they became aware of friendly contacts between the Tokugawa clan and Dutch merchants, who were increasingly gaining economic power in the Far East.

When it comes to Tokugawa's early seventeenth century state correspondence, discussion almost automatically leads to the *bakufu's* diplomatic advisors who played an important role in the way the court corresponded with other rulers and who ensured communication functioned. In the case of Japan and Spain, there is evidence indicating how surprisingly well this mechanism already worked in the early seventeenth century – in an age when no regular mailing ships or much technological support existed. As correspondence between the Japanese rulers and the governors in the Philippines shows, the Japanese knew exactly what was going on politically in the *namban* dominions. Special advisors for foreign affairs and governance such as Honda Masazumi (1566-1637) played an important role in bilateral negotiations with Luzón, sending several letters in response to Vivero's complaint about violent Japanese traders in 1608. He furthermore sent a letter to China in 1611 on behalf of Ieyasu. In later years, Hayashi Razan (1583-1657), a Neo-Confucian scholar and the most famous thinker behind

¹⁰⁵⁴ Cf. Jansen, *Making*, 74.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 179/570; Morga, *Sucesos*, 162-163.

¹⁰⁵⁶ AGI Filipinas 35, n. 50, "Copia de carta de Tarazaua Ximono Cami," 1602-06-01.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Pastells, *Historia V*.

Tokugawa foreign affairs, played a significant role both in collecting information and providing political strategies.¹⁰⁵⁸

Systematic approaches to foreign relations were effectively introduced after a long period in which little effort had been taken to become an integral part of dealings the outside world. In that respect the arrival of the Iberians can be seen as an important moment for Japan's global integration, since for the first time in history, the country considered itself as part of a wider world and not just on the edge of Sino-centric world order. That the Tokugawa rulers had established direct contact with rulers of 19 nations within less than ten years is proof of that success¹⁰⁵⁹ The huge number of trade missions to Southeast Asian as well as Mexico and its initially welcoming attitude towards Europeans were indicators for such a political change.¹⁰⁶⁰

It is important to spend some time considering the complexity of specific Japanese patterns of communication. The Japanese (as well as the Chinese and the Koreans) used official 'state letters', commonly known as *kokusho*, for official correspondence.¹⁰⁶¹ Exchanged between rulers of two countries, these scripts were also utilised to legitimise power. During the period of this study, no *kokusho* was exchanged between China and Japan because of several unsettled conflicts between the two East Asian countries.¹⁰⁶² However, Ieyasu sent *kokusho* to the Spanish governor in Manila and Mexico City for the sake of settling status relations.¹⁰⁶³ The letter to the Viceroy¹⁰⁶⁴ of New Spain in 1612 (drafted by Sūden), illustrates the Tokugawa rulers' commitment to establishing new diplomatic ties with the aid of hybrid diplomatic correspondence. Ieyasu employed the *kokusho* for asking the Spanish to put an end to the Christian mission in Japan before expressing his desire to establish permanent trade.¹⁰⁶⁵

¹⁰⁵⁸ Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 179/569; *Ikoku Nikki Shō*, 17-18.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Quoted from Adam Clulow, "European Maritime Violence and Territorial States in Early Modern Asia 1600-1650" *Itinerario* 33, no. 3 (2009): 81.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 49.

¹⁰⁶¹ Mizuno, "China in Tokugawa Foreign Relations," 116-119. This refers to a diplomatic letter from one country to another, strictly speaking it could only be sent from a central ruler or monarch to another, as Mizuno has pointed out by referring to the concept of *jinshin ni gaikō nashi* 人臣に外交なし meaning that nobody but the monarchs are in charge of diplomacy.

¹⁰⁶² Gono, "Betonamu," 44: Between 1602 and 1607 Ieyasu sent annually one official letter to the ruler of Cochinchina; this is important to consider because it was next to Manila a second major *shuinsen* destination.

¹⁰⁶³ Gono, "Betonamu," 44.

¹⁰⁶⁴ 国主.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Ikoku Nikki Shō*, 66-67: "[...] especially the merchant ships coming and going for the sake of trade from your good country. When your ships are coming to Japan, they can land at any port or bay of this country, there will not be any harm to them, a very strict law is applied all over the country, please do not worry about

The Japanese had over the centuries developed a very elaborate mode of honorific language that distinguishes between respectful, humble and polite speech. Japanese 'respect' language (*keigo*) was definitely the biggest obstacle. Social ranks were also differentiated through language in written correspondence with rulers inside and outside the country. For centuries, *kanbun*¹⁰⁶⁶ had been considered a necessary standard for written communication. Nuances in foreign language demand profound linguistic skills.

With regard to the Philippines, a record in the *Ikoku Nikki* shows the Japanese irritation about the plain Spanish writing style in a letter addressed to Ieyasu that was drafted mainly in Japanese phonetic language instead of Chinese characters.¹⁰⁶⁷ The Japanese language used in that letter differed widely from the diplomatic language used in other state letters and therefore was likely to be regarded as impolite.¹⁰⁶⁸ We have reason to believe that Spanish intentions behind the letter were misinterpreted. Unfortunately we do not know who translated that letter for the Spanish – the inconsistency of the script's characters suggests that it was either an Iberian missionary with Japanese skills or a Japanese merchant of low educational background. Clearly, the Europeans were not aware of such delicate norms.

Yet there are also examples that illustrate that the Spanish in Manila adapted quickly to East Asian standards of communication, as a letter sent to Japan in 1612 shows. It was exclusively written in Chinese characters, although in a very unconventional style.¹⁰⁶⁹ This shows that the Spanish were committed to conform to Japanese standards of *hentai kanbun*, but that they did not have the necessary skill or experience to use them correctly. Although hundreds of Japanese merchants lived and traded in Manila, it is unsurprising that they were not able to write in such elaborate prose. Original letters being written in corrupted *kanbun*¹⁰⁷⁰ prove Spanish openness to foreign diplomatic norms. Obviously, the Japanese merchants at Manila were able to translate and write letters for the Spanish but had only rudimentary skills of the proper court style.

A contrary example, that highlights Japanese awareness of language issues, was a

that and have no doubt. The goods of our country are written on a further letter, I am sending them as a present, even though it is only little."

¹⁰⁶⁶ 変態漢文 *hentai-kanbun*: 'anomalous kana'. Classical Japanese based on Chinese characters and Chinese style sentences that was used for official matters. Kana stands for the Japanese syllabary.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Ikoku Nikki Shō*, 17.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ikoku Nikki Shō*, 18.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Ikoku Nikki Shō*, 168.

¹⁰⁷⁰ No Kana (Japanese syllabary) used.

letter sent from Japan to the ruler of New Spain accompanied by a *kana* or *romaji*¹⁰⁷¹ transcript.¹⁰⁷² It is noteworthy that only the letter sent to New Spain was equipped with a 'reading-aid', but not those sent to Philippines.

To give a concrete example of the impact on communication problems, we should consider that Ieyasu's letter on the punishment of Japanese pirates of the year 1601/2 was doomed to be misunderstood. In the previous chapter, I have argued that in his first letter to Luzón, Ieyasu asked the Spaniards to drive out and punish Japanese pirates. In fact the complex grammar of traditional Japanese allows two different translations of the respective sentence.¹⁰⁷³ The more common grammatical meaning hints at an imperative, which is why it was most likely understood as a request; the second meaning of the grammar would be a past tense, thus it was not an order but a simple statement. Admittedly, Ieyasu's letter is easily misinterpreted due to an imprecise translation.

6.4. Intercultural Diplomacy and the Appropriation of Diplomatic Standards

The use of titles is a significant parameter for analysing foreign relations protocols and negotiation practices. Addressing a sovereign was another sophisticated matter. Employing specific honorary titles and designations indicates how the individual parties perceived each other. Not using them or replacing them with less common terms was a way of controlling hegemonic bargaining.

Different worldviews and strong ideas of cultural, respectively moral, superiority complicated official communication between the Overseas Spanish Empire and East Asia. Correspondence was full of euphemisms. In addressing or referring to foreign rulers, officials in the Philippines normally tried to avoid using the title 'emperor'. Although exceptions existed, they preferred to speak of a 'king' when writing about the head of the Ming dynasty.¹⁰⁷⁴ This attitude was based on their ideological background that only permitted one emperor, the one being approved by the Holy See.

As a consequence, the use of unusual or even wrong titles was intentional in early

¹⁰⁷¹ The Japanese term for the Latin alphabet.

¹⁰⁷² *Ikoku Nikki Shō*, 70.

¹⁰⁷³ *Tsūkō Ichiran*, fol. 179/570.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Aduarte, *Historia*, 78; Colín, *Labor Evangelica I*, 224-225; Filipinas 19, r. 3, n. 35, "Copia de carta de Acuña al emperador japonés Dayfu Sama," 1602-06-01.

modern intercultural communication. Consequently, the pragmatic use of concepts alien to Europe helped the Iberians to avoid precarious situations when dealing with Chinese and Japanese authorities. The most prominent example is 'mandarin', a term that referred to higher scholarly officials of different ranks. It was especially popular because European equivalents simply did not exist.¹⁰⁷⁵ Looking at the word's etymology, we discover that it was a Portuguese creation of the early sixteenth century that originated from Sanskrit and – on top of that – had never been used in any language spoken in China. In this respect, the title 'mandarin' gives further reason to speculate about a consequent use of 'neutral' terms in order to avoid ideological conflicts.¹⁰⁷⁶

The Spanish attitude for describing China closely resembles their strategies in dealing with the Japanese. The Castilians used *tayco* or *kanpaku*¹⁰⁷⁷ for Hideyoshi and *daifu* for Ieyasu in order to avoid concessions regarding their (geo)political power. 'Governor of Meaco', an explanatory translation for the *kanpaku*-office,¹⁰⁷⁸ as imperial general of the *tennō* who lived in Kyoto called *miaco* (=capital) in Japanese, was another common term. The title 'king' was apparently used as a generic term¹⁰⁷⁹ as we have seen in Navarrete's description of 'king' Hideyoshi and his thirty vassal kings. We even sporadically find the term *emperador* for a Japanese sovereign in Spanish texts. In most cases we can rule out that they referred to the *tennō* but instead simply meant the ruling power, all above to refer to Ieyasu. That they did not use *shōgun* should not surprise us. The term only came in fashion in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸⁰

A government document of April 20, 1592 describes the Spanish dilemma when it comes to addressing the Japanese 'tyrant': "because this king is very ambitious [or proud] and has subdued all principalities in Japan and has crowned himself emperor of these principalities, instead of inheriting the position, [which would have been impossible] because of his low birth."¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁷⁵ A similar practice could also be found in the Europeans bilateral relations in other parts of the world, e.g. with *califa*.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Mendoza (*Historia*, 261) described a Chinese Christian who served as Portuguese interpreter for the Franciscan missionaries under Alfaro who introduced the new arrivals to the "*Mandalines del mar, que son una manera de juices, para que ellos diesen aviso al Gobernador y él mandase lo que se había de hacer.*"

¹⁰⁷⁷ See BR 10: 170.

¹⁰⁷⁸ In the correspondence of the years 1592 and 1593 the Spanish refer to Hideyoshi as *quambaco*; in the translations of Hideyoshi's letters that were drafted in Japan he is called *emperador*.

¹⁰⁷⁹ See also the transcript of accounts on the Harada mission by Pastells, *Historia I*, 49-51. The Castilian authorities in Manila use "Rey de Xapón" at that time.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Jansen, *Making*, 60-62.

¹⁰⁸¹ cf. Pastells, *Historia I*, 51.

Japanese concerns with the title 'king of Japan' entirely changed foreign relations with its East Asian neighbours China and Korea, showing that the discourse had a strong political background.¹⁰⁸² Some of the correspondence drafted during the formative period of Tokugawa rule,¹⁰⁸³ such as Sūden's correspondence, made it clear that referring to the shōgun as "king" (*ō*)¹⁰⁸⁴ would be unacceptable as it would imply subordination.¹⁰⁸⁵ Signing official letters with "king" would have meant putting himself on a par with the king of Korea, who accepted investiture from the Chinese emperor. It took until 1635 for this matter to be resolved, when the title 'sovereign lord of Japan'¹⁰⁸⁶ was invented for official communications with the king of Korea. Because of disputes about the appropriate title, Tokugawa Japan did not establish direct trade with China anymore. Japan re-entered the East Asian World order "albeit in the same ambiguous position to the Chinese sphere it had always held."¹⁰⁸⁷ What did this mean for official relations with the Spanish of Luzón, who also used the title 'king of Japan'?

6.4.1. Cultures of Giving

While gift-giving was an integral part of diplomacy in Europe,¹⁰⁸⁸ we saw in chapter 4 that in East Asia presents were symbols of respect or submissiveness and part of commercial exchange.¹⁰⁸⁹ The Iberians (and European trading nations in general) soon became familiar with the full ramifications of this diplomatic tradition.¹⁰⁹⁰ At the same time, gift taking was also considered an implicit social behaviour. Giving and receiving

¹⁰⁸² Auslin, *Negotiating Imperialism*, 14-17: Confucian ideology reflected in Japanese traditional diplomatic culture. The diplomatic ritual established by the Tokugawa meant that the *shōgun* replaced the *tennō* as fundament of Japanese ideology.

¹⁰⁸³ The Buddhist monk Sūden and the Ashika-School were essential in the development of Tokugawa thought on foreign relations. Tokugawa bureaucracy centred on a set of offices including the *tairō* (great elder), the *rōjū* (five senior councils or elders), and superintendents (*bugyō*) of finance, temples, shrines, inspectors general (*ōmetsuke*). Being in charge of foreign policies the *rōjū* as a sort of minister for foreign affairs is of particular interest to us. See Jansen, *Making*, 47.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Nagazumi Yōko, *Kinsei Shoki no Gaikō* (Tōkyō: Sobunsha, 1990), 4.

¹⁰⁸⁵ His prominent works include the *Buke shohatto* of 1615 which he then read at an assembly of *daimyō* at Fushimi and the edict for the ban of Christianity in the previous year.

¹⁰⁸⁶ *taikun* 大君 (overlord) that is also translated as Great Prince. The English term tycoon originates from that title.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 39-41; Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*, 118-125; Jurgis Elisonas, "The Inseparable Trinity. Japan's Relations with China and Korea" in *The Cambridge History of Japan. Early Modern Japan*, ed. J. W. Hall et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991), 299.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Black, *Diplomacy*, 17.

¹⁰⁸⁹ There are clear signs that this topic will receive more scholarly attention in the near future from the perspective of gift-giving cultures and European responses as well as with regard to its role in commercial relations.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Boxer, *Great Ship*, 87.

gifts whilst communicating at the state level in East Asia was extremely significant. In all three countries, honorary gifts were listed in registers for future reference.¹⁰⁹¹

Some historians think that the reason why Francisco Xavier was not granted an audience with the *tennō* in 1549 was that he had neither a letter of recommendation nor any presents.¹⁰⁹² Similarly, the Portuguese struggled with gift-giving in China. They were first given some official recognition by the Chinese government when in 1582 the new Viceroy of Canton summoned Macao's chief officials to his court. The Lusitanian came with 4,000 *crusados* worth of presents – velvets, crystals, mirrors and so on – and were informed that foreigners could continue to inhabit Macao provided they remained subject to the laws of the Chinese Empire.¹⁰⁹³

The Spanish in Manila were informed that the Chinese Court required certain standards for gifts and did not tolerate any delays, once a mission was scheduled.¹⁰⁹⁴ They also knew that the emperor had previously disapproved of a set of gifts sent by the king of Portugal. They understood that a gift endowed to the Son of Heaven had to be exotic and costly, thus next to Spanish horses, watches, Venetian glassware and wine would also be appropriate. Given that horses were one of the most common tributary items during the Ming era, one could even argue that the Spanish were well aware of East Asian diplomatic protocols.¹⁰⁹⁵ Although Philip II's gifts for Emperor Wanli never reached China, the composition of the would-be presents is of utmost interest. Records of the year 1580 show that the Spanish were determined to obey the standards of the Middle Kingdom, as the set of presents prepared for the mission implies:

*[T]hese are necessary to maintain their friendship, and to keep them well-disposed for what is asked from them; for not one of them receives an embassy favorably, unless it is accompanied by some present. [...] For securing this amicable relation, there are spent annually one thousand and five hundred pesos.*¹⁰⁹⁶

¹⁰⁹¹ In 1602 letters were again exchanged between Ieyasu and the governor in Luzón. Matters discussed were trade with New Spain as well as the prosecution of Japanese pirates. Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 179/570.

¹⁰⁹² Sepp Linhart, "Japan im 17. Jahrhundert: Abschließung oder erster Schritt zur Richtung eines Imperiums. Japan" in *Die Welt Im 17. Jahrhundert. Globalgeschichte. Die Welt 1000-2000*, ed. Peter Feldbauer et al., (Wien/Essen: Mandelbaum/Magnus Verlag, 2008), 217.

¹⁰⁹³ Wills, "Maritime Europe," 38; 42.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Which was not the case for Philip's delegation.

¹⁰⁹⁵ AGI Indiferente 739, n. 264, "Consulta del Consejo de Indias," 1580-06-27. In a letter written in Macao on June 1584, Juan Bautista Román, later governor of the Chinese, suggested adequate presents for the Chinese Emperor. Cf. Ollé, *Empresa*, 151. For horses as tributary products see J. K. Fairbank, "Tributary Trade and China's Relations with the West" *East Asian Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (1942): 134. Ptak, "Pferde auf See," 200-206.

¹⁰⁹⁶ BR 27: 125-126.

According to a record on royal finances, the king, anxious to add a Spanish touch, spent 3,880,215 *reals* on the gifts including mainly Iberian cultural goods such as heavy woollen fabrics and floral velvet,¹⁰⁹⁷ Dutch canvas, heavy bedclothes with gold adornments, two Castilian-style suits, Spanish-style leg dresses, a doublet, a beret, nightgowns, twelve packsaddles, six sets of horse harness, a Venetian mirror, porcelain and glassware, as well as a painting showing his father Charles V with the infant king and Virgin Mary. The riding equipment and the boots were especially controversial considering their military connotation.¹⁰⁹⁸ The goods were rare, exotic and valuable – thus meeting all requirements of ceremonial tributary presents. Despite a certain lack of cultural sensibility, this quick response to diplomatic standards proves that the Habsburg king was willing to adapt.¹⁰⁹⁹

Significantly, the Spanish offered very similar presents to both Japan and China. In Spanish trade with Japan, we moreover find a pseudo-tribute gift giving culture.¹¹⁰⁰ That again suggests the Spanish willingness to act correctly and not to unnecessarily displease the Japanese. Upon his departure, Harada was equipped with a choice of Spanish valuables including an Andalusian horse¹¹⁰¹ and richly ornamented velour clothes, a Venetian mirror, colourful stockings as well as other genuine luxury items from Spain.¹¹⁰²

From the point of view of early modern communication problems, the previously mentioned elephant sent to Hideyoshi by Tello serves as a very illustrating example.¹¹⁰³ It must have been an enormous spectacle that was probably only topped by the 1591 parade in Kyoto following the return of the Tenshō mission, the first Japanese sent to Europe between 1582 and 1590, accompanied by the embassy of the Viceroy of Goa.¹¹⁰⁴ The Jesuit

¹⁰⁹⁷ Traditionally used for the clothes of the nobility in Europe.

¹⁰⁹⁸ AGI Patronato 24, r. 51, "Carta de Felipe II al Rey de la China," 1580-06-11. For the register of gifts see AGI Patronato 25, r. 3, "Memoria de las Cosas que su M/d puede embiar al Rey de Thaibin," 1583.

¹⁰⁹⁹ AGI Filipinas 1, n. 172, "Consulta sobre regalo y carta para el rey de Bojú", 1616-06-04.

¹¹⁰⁰ *Ikoku Nikki Shō*, 45; 68.

¹¹⁰¹ Horses, elephants and lions were common among Europeans to catch the fancy of the East Asian rulers and in turn gladly received them as exotic gifts. The "Book of Lion" first published in China in 1688 portrays the fascination with live animal gifts as well as Martha Chaiklin's recent article "The Merchant's Ark".

¹¹⁰² See Tōyō Bunko, *Filipinas y el Japón*, 34.

¹¹⁰³ This elephant that is also mentioned in Morga's accounts (*Morga, Sucesos*, 81) and is likely to be the one depicted on one of the famous *nanban* screens (lacquer paintings) by Kanzo Naizen. See: <http://www.twcenter.net/forums/showthread.php?t=368025>; Accessed September 19, 2011.

"The Expansion and the Arts" L. Sobral, page 416/417 "Portuguese Oceanic Expansion" Ed. 2007 Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (National Museum of Ancient Art), Lisbon.

¹¹⁰⁴ The *Tenshō shōnen shisetsu* (Mission of the boys in the Tenshō Era) refers to the first Japanese embassy to Europe that consisted of four young Christian nobles who were guided to the Pope in Rome

Diogo Mezquita accompanied a delegation of four noble Japanese boys to Madrid and Rome where they acted as and were treated as official ambassadors of Japan; in fact they were sent and supported by the daimyo of Bungo, Ōmura and Arima. The Spanish envoy Don Luis de Navarrete painstakingly guided the elephant to Meaco, where a tumult broke out among the people on the street. Afterwards the 'king' with thirty 'vassal kings' came to greet Navarrete. Tello's letter to Hideyoshi was read in public. We may wonder whether it is true that Hideyoshi was irritated about a picture of the Governor with a cane in his hand and wondered whether this was to be understood as a threat. He was easily convinced of the opposite and accepted the Spaniards' explanation of a diplomatic habit and token of friendship.¹¹⁰⁵ After three meals, Hideyoshi dismissed the Spanish envoy with a set of gifts including twelve coats of mail, thirty lances, and two horses. However, these presents would never reach Manila due to Navarrete's sudden death in Nagasaki. As with Juan Cobo, yet another Spanish eyewitness to official communication with Hideyoshi perished before being able to report.

So, what was this illustrious journey about? Should the elephant be interpreted as a late Spanish step in complying with Hideyoshi's tribute demands? Not really. Even though the elephant was sent by the governor desperate to smooth out things with the unpredictable Japanese central ruler, it is far more likely that merchants' interest was behind this bold diplomatic move.

That neither presents, nor a formal ambassador¹¹⁰⁶ were sent to China after the 1603/4 uprising is a clear indication for Japan's leading role in East Asian hegemonic struggles. The Spaniards justified their submissive behaviour as acts of self-defence.¹¹⁰⁷ Further evidence backs up that thesis: During the official encounters in 1601, six Spanish passengers of the stranded ship were sent to Meaco, carrying gifts for Ieyasu as they

and the King of Spain by the Jesuits between 1584 and 1586. For their ostentatious return to Japan see Cabezas, *Siglo Ibérico*, 269: "*La comitiva que fue a Kyoto en marzo de 1591 para hacer la embajada del virrey de Goa, con negros en atuendo de lujo y cadenas de oro, ostentando los ricos presentes por las calles de la capital, fue un espectáculo jamás visto en Japón.*" What is most fascinating about the project is that they were treated together with the ambassador of France and Venice at the coronation mass of Pope Sixtus IV. For details on the spectacular voyage I recommend visiting Micheal Cooper's short summary at <http://pweb.sophia.ac.jp/britto/xavier/cooper/cooper02.pdf>. Accessed March 13, 2012, 8. Regarding the audience with Hideyoshi in the Juraku Palace in Kyoto, Cooper wrote in his typical histrionic style: "Crowds gathered as the procession wound its way through the streets of the capital." For a Japanese synopsis I recommend Wakakuwa Midori, *Kuwatoro Ragattsui. Tenshō Shōnen Shisetsu to Seikai Teikoku* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2003).

¹¹⁰⁵ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 9, n. 146, "Carta de Tello sobre abandono de Mindano, embajada a Japón," 1598-06-23.

¹¹⁰⁶ The Spanish claim to have sent a proper messenger to Macao and blamed the Portuguese lack of cooperation for the failure of the mission. See BR 14: 54.

¹¹⁰⁷ BR 14: 48.

understood was Japanese custom. The incident shows that both sides had learnt to be more sensitive in these regards.¹¹⁰⁸ The last set of gifts for Ieyasu was prepared in the year 1613: The Council of the Indies delivered an instruction of Philip II that ordered that no offensive weapons should be sent as gifts to Japan. The list of suitable items included boxes of soap, paintings of Roman emperors and empresses, glassware from Barcelona or Venice as well as ornate amours.¹¹⁰⁹ Following the Middle Kingdom model, Ieyasu from the earliest days of his reign, would send official letters accompanied by precious gifts to the rulers of potential trading nations when promoting the vermilion pass system.¹¹¹⁰

Generally speaking, the exchange of gifts between the Iberians and the East Asians was a typical case of appropriation that entered bilateral relations of the political culture long after it had become routine in commercial exchange. Philip III was not enthusiastic about this specific commercial interaction. He complained about the expenses for presents for rulers listed among the expenses of the annual spending of the *hacienda* (royal treasury) in Manila.¹¹¹¹

6.4.2. A Clash of Ideologies?

Just before the Chinese revolted in 1603, official Fujian authorities had arrived in Manila on a strange mission: they came to explore gold mountains (called Mt. Ji-yi in Chinese sources),¹¹¹² and thus were suspected of being spies.¹¹¹³ After having received imperial orders, the Fujian mining taxation eunuch Gao Cai, sent officers across the sea. Reportedly, they had ascertained that Ji-yi did not produce gold and silver. The suspicious Spaniards lost their patience with the high-ranking Fujianese visitors when the strange visitors started to administer justice in the Chinese quarters.

Much of the confusion originated from different perceptions in China. The Ming Court blamed the Fujianese magistrate for provoking the Spanish and disgracing Ming China.¹¹¹⁴ Gao Cai, as well Zhang Yi and the Company Commander Yan Ying-long – who

¹¹⁰⁸ AGI Filipinas 19, r. 3, n. 55, "Carta de Morga sobre llegada de Acuña, socorro de Terrenate", 1602-12-01; Ikoku Nikki Shō, 66-67.

¹¹⁰⁹ Sola, *Desencuentro*, 135.

¹¹¹⁰ Leonard Andaya, "Interactions," 7.

¹¹¹¹ AGI Filipinas 329, l. 2, f. 100r, "Petición de informe sobre regalo al emperador de Japón," 1609-07-25.

¹¹¹² For a Chinese perspective refer to Zhang Weihua, *Mingshi Folangji*, 90-101.

¹¹¹³ AGI Filipinas 35, n. 62, "Carta de Bernardino del Castillo sobre llegada de tres mandarines," 1603-07-07.

¹¹¹⁴ Rafael Bernal mentioned several inconsistent Chinese accounts on the event. Unfortunately, he failed to cite the sources he used. Bernal, "Chinese Colony in Manila," 40-66. See also Wade, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3116>, accessed December 03, 2010: "As to the memorial by Yan Ying-

spread the rumour about the gold mountain – were punished for submitting a false report and arrested in the capital.¹¹¹⁵

Local Fujianese officials, in turn, demanded restitution for the 1603 slaughter, to the amount of 70,000 pesos. The translation of a letter from a Fujian official, who was called 'viceroy of Chincheo', is worth quoting at length: After negotiations with the emperor, this local official wrote two letters to the governor in Manila who received them in the second half of the year 1605.¹¹¹⁶

Then I wrote the king that owing to the lies that Tiongen had told, the Spaniards had suspected that we wanted to make war on them, for which reason, more than thirty thousand Chinese in Luzón had been killed, and the king approved what I had petitioned and so he punished said Yanglion by ordering him to be executed. He also had Tioneg beheaded and his head was hung in a cage; and he declared that the Chinese who died in Luzón were without any guilt. [...] After receiving these instructions [to proceed to do whatever is best] the Viceroy, the Eunuch and myself are now sending these our communications to the Governor of Luzón, in order that His Excellency may know the greatness of the king of China and of the Kingdom of China which is so large that it rules all lands on which on which the sun and the moon shine, also in order that the Governor of Luzón may judge the great justice with which a large kingdom as ours is ruled. No one has dared to offend this kingdom for a long time. Although the Japanese had attempted to disturb Korea which is under the Government of China, they were unable to succeed and instead, they were driven away, and Korea has remained peaceful and quiet, as well known to the people of Luzón.¹¹¹⁷

long and Zhang Yi, it is particularly perverse and improper. We have heard that through the levies at the Hai-cheng Maritime Trade Supervisorate Gao Cai already obtains 30,000 [liang?] of silver annually. He spares no efforts and does not give up his benefits. We humbly consider that although Mt. Ji-yi is overseas, it is not an area where bountiful gold and silver litter the ground, or a place where anyone can wash for and obtain these things. It is also considered that the tax-collecting eunuchs, the evil military officials and their followers constitute the power on which the various evil-doers depend. This may be effective in China, but will certainly not be so among the foreign yi. From where then will come this 100,000 [liang] of gold and 300,000 [liang] of silver which has been reported to the Emperor? Their aim is nothing more than to provide a pretext for the issue of an Imperial order by which the strict prohibitions on communication with the fan would be greatly relaxed. At this time, all of the evil people in the military and the market places, chattered about profits."

¹¹¹⁵ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3169>, accessed December 04, 2010.

¹¹¹⁶ Pastells, *Historia V*, xciv.

¹¹¹⁷ Letter depicted by Morga, *Sucesos*, 219-220.

This report demonstrates that foreign affairs were closely connected at the beginning of the seventeenth century and that in the eyes of China, Japan and Luzón had violated Middle Kingdom suzerainty. China's eventual non-intervention illustrates how its ideology of cultural superiority dominated foreign affairs. Hence, the Ming Emperor let down his expatriates, and refused to avenge their slaughter. José Borao concluded that "since the events had taken place outside China, it was difficult for the imperial officers to verify them, which is why they put forward brief and detached explanations".¹¹¹⁸ A second letter stated that local authorities in Fujian were in favour of revenge and war as just punishment for the ungrateful Spaniards, who had let down the Chinese after the latter had invested so much in Luzón. They wrote:

*The king only entrusted the writing of this letter to the Viceroy, the Eunuch and myself and the present envoy, in order that the people of Luzón may now know that the king of China has a good heart, is long-suffering and merciful, and he has not ordered that war be waged against the people of Luzón, and his righteousness is very evident because he has punished the lying of Tioneg. Now then, since the Spaniards are wise and prudent people, how is it that they do not feel regret for having killed so many people, nor repent for having committed said things and why do they not have a heart for the Chinese who have survived?*¹¹¹⁹

The Fujian officials replied to a letter from the Governor of the Philippines ¹¹²⁰, telling them that compensating the surviving victims was a necessary condition for the junk trade to continue.¹¹²¹ Spanish sources indicate that their 'king' threatened to send a thousand fighting vessels to wage war on Luzón.¹¹²² However, the Fujianese authorities had no other choice than subduing to the court's official foreign policies. A sullen governor Acuña boasted with Spanish military strength,¹¹²³ and significantly, the case

¹¹¹⁸ Borao, "Massacre of 1603," 24.

¹¹¹⁹ Morga, *Sucesos*, 221.

¹¹²⁰ For the Spanish-perspective on the 1603 events see a report by Miguel Rodriguez Maldonado, a soldier. See BR 14: 119-139; BR 10: 44.

¹¹²¹ In Spanish sources mention a request for 70,000 pesos for compensation. AGI Filipinas 7, r. 1, n. 18, "Carta de Acuña sobre temas de gobierno," 1604-07-15.

¹¹²² AGI Filipinas 7, r. 1., n. 28, "Carta de Acuña al virrey de Ucheo sobre castigo a sangleyes," 1605-08.

¹¹²³ Pastells, *Historia*, 100: "Y que toca a las licencias para venir de China navios a contratar a Luzon, no esta tan mal el darlas, que ni el Rey ni los demas quieren perder el mucho provecho que tienen con la mucha plata que de aquí se llevan cada año; pues esta se queda en china sin salir de alla un real, y las haciendas que nos

was not closed in the Council of the Indies until 1606.¹¹²⁴ The Spaniards were still fearful of a revenge attack. Archbishop Miguel de Benavides (1552-1605) warned King Philip III to comply with the Chinese “king’s” requests, including paying back the value of the property that was brought to Manila on Chinese ships in 1603 and freeing the survivors of the rebellion that were employed in the galleys.¹¹²⁵ Reflecting on appropriate steps to rehabilitate relations with China after the 1603 massacres, he further wrote that “it is quite probable that the king of China will at least cut off trade with the countries under the heaviest penalties, which would be the total ruin of this commonwealth. The king of China did this to the Japanese, who formerly had trade and commerce with the Chinese going to Japan and the Japanese going to China.”¹¹²⁶ No doubt, this has to be regarded as an example of a transferred collective memory. The Chinese merchants who passed this information on the Spaniards in Manila were clearly referring to the Ningbo incident. However, it does not tell us much about the political background of the Manila-trade. Intellectual circles in Manila tried to convince their king that the violence was an act of justice and therefore would not have harmed the Spanish authority.¹¹²⁷

In their direct correspondence with China, the Spanish for the first time encountered a haughty emperor: In a letter to the governor of the Philippines, a Fujianese authority (from 'Chincheo') pointed out that the Chinese emperor ('Rey de China') reigned over everything under the sun. The Spanish official immediately contested in a similarly boastful way. He stressed how many countries were under the rule of the Spanish king and that his empire was of comparable size. Later he would complain to his king that the fact that the Chinese did not trade or negotiate with any other countries made them think that there was no other country in the world greater than their own.¹¹²⁸

In light of central China’s half-hearted and hesitant reactions to the events in Manila, I have to disagree strongly with Edward Slack’s assumption that without Japanese military assistance the “[s]angleyes would surely have made the Philippines a colony of the Middle Kingdom.”¹¹²⁹ Neither the merchants themselves nor the central ruler tried

dan en trueque della se consumen y acaban en muy breve tiempo, y asi podemos decir que son en esto tan intresados o mas los chinos que los Castillas.”

¹¹²⁴ AGI Filipinas 1, n. 77, "Consulta sobre restitución de dinero a sangleyes," 1606-11-09.

¹¹²⁵ BR 14: 38-44.

¹¹²⁶ BR 14: 45.

¹¹²⁷ BR 14: 70-71.

¹¹²⁸ Pastells, *Historia*, xcvi

¹¹²⁹ Edward R. Slack, Jr., "The Chinos in New Spain: A Corrective Lens for a Distorted Image," *Journal of World History* 20, no. 1 (2009): 50. In his long overdue effort to bring light into the immigration of

to politically integrate mercantile outposts during that period. The correspondence not only illustrates the different views on hegemony but also makes clear that China did not desire any negotiations on a state-level.

6.5. Early Modern Intercultural Diplomacy: A Matter of Learning and Dis-learning?

The above case studies show that crucial knowledge of intercultural understanding had the tendency to disappear, even in global settings.¹¹³⁰ Examples can be found on different diplomatic stages, in all three pre-modern states. They weren't forgetting, rather pretending not to know or understand as result of an unwillingness to adapt to a foreign/unfamiliar cultural or political context. An illuminating example was China's wavering behaviour in considering Luzón as a 'tributary country'. In the case of the triangular relations in Manila, dis-learning or ignorance mainly occurred after a period of functioning correspondence and despite mutually beneficial trade relations.

Clearly, triangular diplomatic relations were constantly subject to ups and downs. Promising patterns of successful communication were jeopardised by ignorance or unwillingness to give in to the opposite negotiating party. A further reason for failure was 'intentional' misunderstanding. In particular, in interactions with the Japanese rulers there is evidence that the colonial government used the fear of Hideyoshi's geopolitical advances to receive more financial support from Spain.¹¹³¹

Hideyoshi's assertion that Japan was the land of gods (*shinkoku*), based on a complicated interpretation of the evolution of Shinto and Buddhism there, was communicated to the Philippines in 1597. As a means to further strengthen Japan's position within Asia, the Tokugawa *bakufu* soon employed a similar concept in foreign affairs.¹¹³² The same ideology became the foundation for the Japan-centric World Order that comprised both Chinese and European elements and should therefore be seen as a

Fujianese onboard the Manila galleons to Mexico, this author regrettably blinds out the different levels of the local and the central in these intercultural processes.

¹¹³⁰ For related examples of de-globalisation or *Entschleunigung* see articles in Peter Feldbauer et al., eds., *Rhythmen der Globalisierung. Expansion und Kontraktion zwischen dem 13. und dem 20. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2009).

¹¹³¹ AGI Filipinas 18 B, r. 2, n. 7, "Carta de G. P. Mariñas sobre ataque japonés," 1592-05-31; AGI Filipinas 6, r. 8, n. 115, "Carta de L. P. Mariñas sobre embajada de Pedro González", 1594-06-25.

¹¹³² Takagi Shōsaku, "Hideyoshi's and Ieyasu's Views on Japan as a Land of the Gods and Its Antecedents. With Reference to the "Writ of Expulsion of Missionaries" of 1614" *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 87 (2004): 59-84.

fascinating example of cultural hybridization.¹¹³³ We have noticed that for leading Japanese authorities, the spread of Christianity was a source of irritation and a nuisance to domestic peace. After unsuccessful attempts to come to terms with resident missionaries and other short-term visitors from the Philippines and other parts of the Spanish Empire, the *bakufu* issued two anti-Christian edicts in 1612 and 1614. It was a brilliant tactic to strengthen “indigenous ideas of national divinity” and a successful strike against European expansionism.¹¹³⁴ Tokugawa Japan's haughty *ka-i* ideology, following the Chinese model, was tightened after 1639, when the Tokugawa Court refrained from sending any diplomatic missions abroad. The outcome also shows that the means of international legitimisation had changed during the period of regular contacts with the Spaniards.

When Spanish relations with Japan hit rock bottom after Ieyasu's death in 1616, the Spanish felt helpless. Despite being aware of the anti-Christian laws and bans on missionary work, they did not change their strategies. In that respect they lacked both political pragmatism a certain diplomatic policy in Asia. Last but not least, it demonstrates the power of the Catholic Orders that has already been outlined in chapter 3. The fact that they referred to their ‘almighty’ Christian god in every single letter, even entirely secular ones, must have been most irritating for the Japanese.¹¹³⁵ Clearly, they would have known of the anti-Christian laws. When in 1620, representatives of Holland and England informed the *bakufu* about Portuguese and Spanish plans to conquer Japan,¹¹³⁶ the Spaniards no longer had the means to defend themselves and it can be concluded that their previous tactlessness had badly damaged their credibility.

In 1622, the City of Manila and some of her wealthy citizens sent a delegation and presents to Japan, eager to ask for re-establishing diplomatic relations and trade. Having arrived in coastal Japan, the crew, including several missionaries, was not allowed to go ashore.¹¹³⁷ The *bakufu* killed 50 Christians including Spanish missionaries in Nagasaki

¹¹³³ The Tokugawa vision was first officially announced in the 1611 letter to China. Ieyasu ordered his vassal Honda Masazumi to draft a letter to China that clearly indicated Japan's denial of Chinese supremacy and refers to Japan and China as two universes. For an elaborate description see Mizuno, *China*, 121-122.

¹¹³⁴ Toby even speaks of a Japanese success to extract itself from Chinese centrality and therefore was able to keep its independence from in the nineteenth century Toby, *State*, 227.

¹¹³⁵ AGI Filipinas 19, r. 3, n. 75, "Copia de Carta de Acuña al emperador japonés Dayfu Sama," 1602-06-02; AGI Filipinas 79, n. 87, "Decreto sobre breve de religiosos a Japón por Filipinas", 1609-12-20. AGI Filipinas 80, n. 43, "Carta de franciscanos sobre necesidad de religiosos y evangelización del Japón," 1620-08-08.

¹¹³⁶ See chapter 7: *Japan and the Philippines: The Real Alienation*.

¹¹³⁷ cf. Pastells, *Historia VII*, xl; Pastells, *Historia I*, 224-225.

the same year. In 1623 Governor Fajardo y Tenza (r. 1618-1624) sent another mission to Hidetada in order to inform him about the change of Spanish king. Another attempt to maintain relations beyond the *bakufu's* influence by sending a mission (D. Fernando de Ayala y D. Antonio de Arceo) to Satsuma in 1623 was also only a short-term success.¹¹³⁸ Arriving at Satsuma, the Japanese authorities waited several months before telling the Spaniards that they would not be received by the *shōgun*, that Japan would not continue trade with Manila, and that they were no longer welcome in Japan.¹¹³⁹ In this late official correspondence, the Spanish emphasised on several occasion's their king's desire to continue friendship and good diplomatic relations with Japan.¹¹⁴⁰

In December 1623, the *bakufu* decreed the end of the Spanish presence in Japan as well as a ban on Japanese voyages to Manila. The transportation of missionaries became a capital crime. Still, the Spanish were not willing to give in and sent another ship sent in November 1624, only for it to be dismissed by the Japanese authorities. The Spaniards blamed the Dutch for that.¹¹⁴¹ Already in March that year had been decreed that Spanish ships should no longer anchor in Japan and the *bakufu* had prohibited dealing with the Philippines and Spaniards entirely.¹¹⁴²

This time it was not only the Protestant 'heretics' that had been blamed for the drastic Japanese step, but also Buddhist monks, who were traditionally wary of Christian missionary activity in Japan.¹¹⁴³ What can also be understood as an example of dis-learning or simply unwillingness is that ideological battles could have been avoided, given the pragmatism of previous years.

Even though Spanish-Japanese relations in the early modern era were only relatively short, their contacts had lasting effects: when Japan's trade relationship with China changed considerably in the course of this period – from casual tributary missions and

¹¹³⁸ Aduarte, *Historia II*, 235.

¹¹³⁹ Pastells *Historia I*, 224-225.

¹¹⁴⁰ Aduarte, *Historia II*, 236.

¹¹⁴¹ AGI Filipinas 7, r. 6, n. 84, "Carta de Jerónimo de Silva sobre asuntos de gobierno," 1625-08-04.

¹¹⁴² The Tokugawa rulers eventually broke off relations with the Spanish in the Philippines after they refused an embassy of the Governor of the Philippines access to their ports. Recent research by Yūko Shimizu reveals that these drastic measures aimed at restricting the spread of Christianity and Iberian missionary activities and not primarily at ending political and economic relations. See Yūko Shimizu, "Nihon supein dankō (1624 nen) no saikōsatsu. Edo bakufu "sakoku" seisaku no keisei katei" *Rekishigakukennkyū* 853 (2009): 1-16. In her latest book she demonstrates how the troublesome relations with the Spaniards in particular influenced the 'sakoku'- edicts. Shimizu Yūko, *Kinsei Nihon to Ruson. 'Sakoku' Keiseishi Saikō* (Tokyo: Tokyodō shuppan, 2012), 303-327.

¹¹⁴³ Aduarte, *Historia II*, 234.

illicit actions into much more frequent and regular exchange¹¹⁴⁴ – it was to a large degree because of European influences. This leads me to suggest that regular contact with the Europeans helped Japan to set itself free of its ‘unequal’ relation with the Middle Kingdom. Nevertheless, we should refrain from overestimating Manila’s role in this context. Contacts with Manila were an important element in this process when intercultural contacts have encouraged the country to extricate itself from China’s tributary system. But it did so only to eventually establish new access to its big Eastern neighbour via Korea and the Ryukyu Islands. Meanwhile in the period 1606-1629, official relations were set up with Ayutthaya and Thai embassies that were received in Nagasaki 1616 and 1621, a practice that would continue during the seventeenth century.¹¹⁴⁵

The fact that Dutch and Chinese merchants were granted the right – be it restricted – to trade with Japan in the port of Nagasaki throughout Tokugawa Japan’s ‘*sakoku*’ or ‘*kaikin*’ restricted foreign trade-era from 1639 to 1856, sheds light on the question why it was easy to end the difficult relations with the Iberians.¹¹⁴⁶ By the late 1630s, official Japan distinguished between two categories of foreign relations: diplomatic relations (*tsūshin*) with Korea and the Ryukyu, and trade relations (*tsushō* – without diplomatic relations) with Holland and China.¹¹⁴⁷ This had no real implications for the relations with the Spanish, but meant a major change in Sino-Japanese foreign affairs. The nature of Japanese-centred *ka-i* and the extravagance of Ryukyu and Korean embassies to Tokugawa as “early modern legitimacy-building and intelligence-gathering”¹¹⁴⁸ included pompous ceremonies in its diplomatic reception of delegations to impress possible political opponents – including the *tennō* in Kyoto or the *tozama daimyō* – highlight major changes in foreign affairs.¹¹⁴⁹

¹¹⁴⁴ Hamashita, "Despotism," 27-28.

¹¹⁴⁵ Yōko Nagazumi, "Ayutthaya and Japan: Embassies and Trade in the Seventeenth Century" in *Japan and the Pacific, 1540-1920*, ed. Mark Caprio et al., (Aldershot: Ashgate Varium, 2004), 241-258.

¹¹⁴⁶ In 1635 the Chinese were ordered to come only to Nagasaki. Their number grew rapidly which explains why trade with the Europeans became obsolete: 74 ships in 1640 and 193 ships in 1688. A Chinese quarter for controlling trade with China and Chinese settlers was established. Michael Laver has done a wonderful job translating the *sakoku* edicts into English. By looking at a large corps of Japanese legislation and the Tokugawa's relations with foreigners he showed that the expulsion of the Spaniards and Portuguese were first of all an attempt to regulate foreign trade. He furthermore stressed that the *sakoku* edicts sought to strengthen Tokugawa domestic control over powerful local daimyō. See Michael Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony* (New York: Cambria Press, 2011).

¹¹⁴⁷ Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*, 153; Toby, *State*, 14-15.

¹¹⁴⁸ Cf. Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*, 7; Toby, *State*, 4.

¹¹⁴⁹ Iwahashi, "The Institutional Framework," 94-95.

Toby has argued that Japan's refusal to subdue to the primacy of the Chinese world order had profound implications "for both the Japanese national consciousness and Japan's approach to international relations and diplomatic behavior."¹¹⁵⁰ Their withdrawal from the sea after 1635 meant not subduing to any other states' rules, neither to the Chinese tributary system, nor to highly competitive European mercantilism. Japan was at the height of its foreign political power, writing the rules on foreign trade. Similarly to the Chinese world order, outsiders were only granted access on Japanese terms.¹¹⁵¹

All these examples help us to evaluate the situation: Dis-learning was only possible after a period of active commitment to functioning communication. From the Spanish side, we may conclude that the Iberians accepted their poor chances relatively early; whether Hermosa should be seen as an exception is arguable for several reasons. Since the Ming did not claim any sovereignty over Taiwan at the beginning of the Spanish conquest, I will not tackle it in this context. To sum up: Dis-learning has to be seen within the framework of multi-layered relations and had both many reasons and many consequences. Only the findings presented in the following chapters will bring us to the bottom of this phenomenon.

6.6. Concluding Remarks

Promising stages of well-balanced diplomacy based on bilateral agreements were always of a short-lived character. Was the determining force in international relations in Manila the actual inability of the parties, their reluctance in making compromises, being exposed to external threat or the unpredictable power of 'Chinese whispers'? I am personally inclined to think that the vagueness in language led to confusion. Moreover, early modern negotiating parties often actively 'produced' misunderstanding by giving false accounts or misinterpreting deliberately. In all this, stereotypes and prejudice were often the reason for false views.

Insufficient knowledge of geographical, political, historical or ideological nature created further discomfort among the negotiating parties. Depending on the other party when it came to complex issues and being forced to trust them while not having the means to verify new information was hard for all parties. Insufficient language skills

¹¹⁵⁰ Toby, "Contesting the Centre," 349.

¹¹⁵¹ Fairbank, "Tributary Trade," 137: He considered tributary relations as traditional defense measure.

clearly complicated their concerns. With regard to human agency, in the matters of building trust, it is safe to say that the basic idea of political and emotional ties to one's own state existed among the people of all three entities, but as a matter of fact loyalty towards the state was weak, in particular outside the respective territorial borders.

The lack of intercultural understanding becomes most obvious when we evaluate the power of different feelings of superiority in Manila-based relations. The unhappy marriage of trade and missionary zeal inevitably led to intrinsic friction. What is most striking here is that China and Japan reacted differently to Spanish advances, despite a common point of departure and similar mercantile interests on the Manila market. Contradicting worldviews and aspirations led to structural transformations in all three pre-modern states and poisoned bilateral relationships. The case of Spanish-Japanese relations is particularly noteworthy, since contacts with the Spanish Overseas Empire and a permanent link to Manila had held centre stage in Japan's foreign relations around 1600. At the end of the day, however, Japanese-Spanish relations were far poorer than Sino-Spanish or Sino-Japanese.

Several questions are still not satisfactorily answered. For example, to what extent does suzerainty and social affiliation with a nation state have to be taken on board in a future project? In other words: Were the Fujianese settlers still Chinese and can sixteenth-century *wakō*-bosses from Kyushu be considered Japanese? For the time being, however, the more general thoughts on entanglements in Manila mentioned in this chapter shall contribute to a broader understanding of early modern triangular diplomacy.

7. Zooming Out: Local and Central Dualism

No one can speak fairly of the Philippines unless he has seen it and has no particular axe to grind, and so there are few who are worthy of credence, although almost everyone speaks ill of it and gives it a bad name. The governors and other officials do it in order to enhance in your Majesty's eyes their hardships and services; but the fact is that nowhere do they have greater opportunities of becoming rich. [...] The religious who are discontented are so because of some personal grievance or because they are anxious to pass on to China and see strange sights. The merchants, if they say anything, do so to conceal their profits, which are greater than any that I know of anywhere else. [...] Thus a mistaken impression of the Philippines is derived from all these sources, and this is which keeps it in its present sorry state [...].¹¹⁵²

7.1. The Three Pre-modern Economies in Manila: Aspiration and Efforts

This chapter will pinpoint global and local connections related to early modern Manila. My hypothesis is that the key to understanding global Manila lies in disentangling central from local factors. The framework of the study is therefore based upon answers to questions about Manila's impact on the political economies of these pre-modern states. Questions asked include: How did the 'central' influence local political decisions; respectively how did the local (read: peripheral or coastal) influence the central, for instance as pioneer in commercial developments? Consequently this chapter will focus on statehood, state formation processes and other formative developments. In a further step, we will analyse how bargaining between local and central levels affected early modern Manila's development. When we compare political economies in Manila, Kazui Tashiro's approach to distinguish between traffic (*kōeki*) and trade (*bōeki*) in pre-modern state's involvement in foreign trade by distinguishing between profit-oriented and necessity-driven foreign exchange seems important. This approach was originally applied to Japanese trade with Korea.¹¹⁵³ While we think of

¹¹⁵² Alonso Sánchez's speech in front of Philip II in May 1587. Cf. de la Costa, Jesuits, 88.

¹¹⁵³ Traffic was conducted without intention to profit economically and transactions that were part of tribute shipments (*chōkō*). See Kazui Tashiro, *Nichikan Kōeki to Tsushimahan* (Tokyo: Sobunsha, 2007).

traffic – as described by Tashiro – as an East Asian concept, it may as well serve as a functional equivalent for early modern European monopoly-building or protectionism.

Furthermore, I aim to evaluate the Manila Galleon trade from a triangular perspective. What did the Manila trade mean to Japan, China and Spain on the state level? In previous chapters, we have seen how private traders became attracted to Manila, where they mostly enjoyed a comparatively liberal trading atmosphere. Within the pre-modern states, attempts to institutionalise, centralise or even restrict profitable foreign trade from above could change the situation of these individual traders for better or worse. We therefore have to ask: At what point, for what purpose and to what extent would the state intervene, and how local-central bargaining influenced triangular relations.

When studying the history of political economies, research has focused primarily on central powers and the importance of structural developments. In 2008, Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giraldez claimed that governmental support was required for sponsoring foreign trade.¹¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, Kevin H. O'Rourke and Jeffrey G. Williamson, who moreover denied the existence of a global market and an integrated world economy prior to the nineteenth century, suggested that there would have been a bigger trade boom without the state.¹¹⁵⁵ I understand the triangular setting in Manila from a revisionist perspective and agree with those who call for "de-centering the state" by looking at connections between individuals¹¹⁵⁶ whose decisions do not necessarily reflect the interests of the state. Hence there was certainly more to the picture than simply a "clash of European mercantilism with oriental despotism", a thesis once put forward by Patricia Carioti.¹¹⁵⁷

Providing that institutions made the difference, we have to look for those aiming at facilitating, supporting and securing foreign maritime trade including ships, port infrastructures or loans for merchants. We may also wonder what the central government provided for the sailors, merchants and passengers on board their ships,

¹¹⁵⁴ Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giraldez. "Born Again. Globalization's Sixteenth Century Ongoings (Asian/Global Versus European Dynamics)" *The Pacific Economic Review* 13, no. 3 (2008): 382.

¹¹⁵⁵ Kevin H. Williamson and Jeffrey O'Rourke, "When Did Globalisation Begin?" *European Review of Economic History* 6, (2002): 23-50.

¹¹⁵⁶ Peter D. Shapinsky, "Polyvocal Portolans: Nautical Charts and Hybrid Maritime Cultures in Early Modern East Asia" *Early Modern Japan: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 14 (2006): 4.

¹¹⁵⁷ Patrizia Carioti, "The International Role of the Overseas Chinese in Hirado (Nagasaki), During the First Decades of the XVII Century" (China, 2007), 39
<http://ny.xmu.edu.cn/Article/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=869>, accessed December 11, 2010.

given that it actually encouraged foreign trade. The Manila Galleon as a state-owned enterprise – as well as the vermilion seal offering protection and financial support – made a difference. In this respect, the *shuinjō* can be considered a measure taken by a central government to protect maritime trade from foreign competition, as a system of controlling foreign trade not only as a measure to enact central power, but also to benefit directly from imports.¹¹⁵⁸ In China, foreign trade policies displayed varying tendencies during the second half of the sixteenth century. While Guangdong developed a working system of control for the Macao trade, Fujian's bureaucracy struggled with Manila and the Dutch.¹¹⁵⁹ In the meantime, coastal China experienced a sharp increase in private journeys to Southeast Asia that would eventually show more sustainability and success than the state-run maritime projects of Spain and Japan.

Royal trade monopolies restricting the Manila market is a commonly held view. We have heard that foreign trade policies enacted in Madrid aimed at securing the economic treasury and supporting merchants and manufacturers in Spain – either to assure that peripheral zones of the overseas empire would not become too independent from supplies shipped from the Iberian Peninsula, or to appease the Portuguese.¹¹⁶⁰ In reality however, regulations preventing the developing maritime linkage between Peru and the Philippines of 1593 did not change the fact that both the Portuguese at Macao and traders from Peru continued to have shares in this profitable exchange.¹¹⁶¹ The king and the central government could not afford another trouble spot on the peninsula and preferred peace and military support at home over marginal economic gains from far away, as the example of trade in Chinese silk will exemplify.¹¹⁶² Colonial government officials in the Philippines, however, did not tire of informing the king about Manila's contribution to the royal treasury.

As shown in figure 1, a multi-layered framework characterised the triangular trade based on Manila. Regular access to the Manila market led to far-reaching interregional encounters, which in turn, triggered economic, cultural and political changes in all three pre-modern states, such as the institutionalised patterns of foreign trade in China and

¹¹⁵⁸ Adam Clulow warrants against the view that the *bakufu* was interested in institutionalizing foreign trade for the sake of benefitting economically. Adam Clulow, "Pirating in the Shōgun's Waters: The Dutch East India Company and the 'Santo Antonio' Incident" *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 13 (2006): 76.

¹¹⁵⁹ Wills, "Maritime Europe," 41.

¹¹⁶⁰ AGI Filipinas 339, l. 2, f. 70r – 71r, "Orden al Virrey de Perú sobre prohibición de comercio," 1593-01-11.

¹¹⁶¹ BR 25: 137.

¹¹⁶² Archivo General de Simancas, PTR. LEG. 89, doc. 298, "Memorial del Reino pidiendo la prohibición de la importación de seda de China y Persia," 1617-08.

Japan or a liberalisation of the American market within the Spanish Overseas Empire.¹¹⁶³ Clearly, when looking at the Manila system in its entirety, we see that the boundaries between local and central were often unclear; indeed, these overlapping areas of local and central involvement determined, or sometimes even encouraged, the development and nature of early modern globality.

A further distinguishing feature of the triangular trading network was the relative absence of intermediaries in foreign ports. Unlike Chinese or Portuguese traders in the Macao-Nagasaki trade, only native merchants shipped merchandise or silver from Manila to their home countries. A further crucial aspect of this trade was the diversity of the trading parties operating and collaborating in Manila, ranging from pirate-like traders (*wakō*), Overseas Chinese (*kakyō* or *huáqíá*) to licensed Japanese and Chinese merchants and Spanish colonial authorities, and other Manila residents who did not fit into any of these categories.

The schematic representation below suggests that the Manila trade was less hierarchical than expected because no power systematically controlled or institutionalised the Manila market. The bulk of trade lay in the hands of private traders and flexible co-operations. Thus it remains difficult to locate beneficiaries or losers.

¹¹⁶³ Edward R. Slack, "Sinifying New Spain. Cathay's Influence on Colonial Mexico via the Nao de China" in *The Chinese in Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. Walton Look Lai et. al., (Leiden: Brill, 2010),7-34.

7.2. Comparisons and Connections: The Global and the Local

It would be wrong to view the decisions of early modern entrepreneurs from a solely economic perspective. Naturally all parties engaging in trade had a strong interest in making profits and therefore based their economic decisions on the prevailing circumstances. Considering each party's exact expectations and aspirations helps to reset some of my earlier conclusions and to restate them in greater detail. For doing so, we need to look at tensions between local and central interests.¹¹⁶⁶ The distinct nature of this exchange was marked by ambivalent governmental controls and merchants' violating trade restrictions that mostly tended to ensure lucrative tax revenues from maritime trade.

Individual attitudes towards Manila differed largely among Chinese, Japanese and Spanish actors and agents, who were all politically and economically interrelated. Global players were, at the same time, local actors. They included Fujianese or Hokkien traders and Cantonese traders as well as officials; as well as all sorts of Japanese non-government actors interested in Manila or New Spain, in particular *wakō* and *daimyō* from Kyushu. In the Spanish Overseas Empire, they involved all 'Spanish' colonists in Manila as well as actors in the Viceroyalties in Mexico and Peru. On a more general level, a 'local' actor can be defined as the opposite of central actors, whom we met in the previous chapters.

Naturally, central and local factors had the tendency to overlap in multi-layered interactions. Elites' knowledge seeking often happened parallel to the cultural and technological exchange on the local level and in merchant networks. Political initiatives of regional officials gradually grew due to increased foreign trade. Thus Fujian officials, Kyushu *daimyō* and Spanish authorities alike supported private commercial enterprises in Manila, much to the disapproval of their central rulers.

7.2.1. The Spanish Metropolis and Transpacific Bartering

As indicated earlier, the Spanish were constantly concerned about potential losses.

¹¹⁶⁶ The most famous work dealing with mercantilism in the early modern Spanish Empire is probably Henry Kamen, *Crisis and Change in Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993). Debates date further back in history and show a controversial picture: Robert S. Smith, "Spanish Mercantilism. "A hardy perennial," *The Southern Economic Journal* 38, no. 1 (1971): 1-11.

They felt disadvantaged and therefore envied successful economic parties.¹¹⁶⁷ In Manila, such negative feelings arose with an increasing balance of trade with the Chinese. Traders and royal authorities in Manila feared that dealing with the Chinese would be unprofitable, since the Chinese only gave silk and ceramics of cheap quality in return for silver.¹¹⁶⁸ The two to four thousand ducats gained from the anchoring fee were not enough to bring growth to the settlement. Reacting to Manila's residents' complaints, the king's councils in Spain came up with the idea of abolishing direct trade with the Chinese at Manila by no longer exporting silver from Mexico.¹¹⁶⁹ As we have seen, this step was never undertaken.

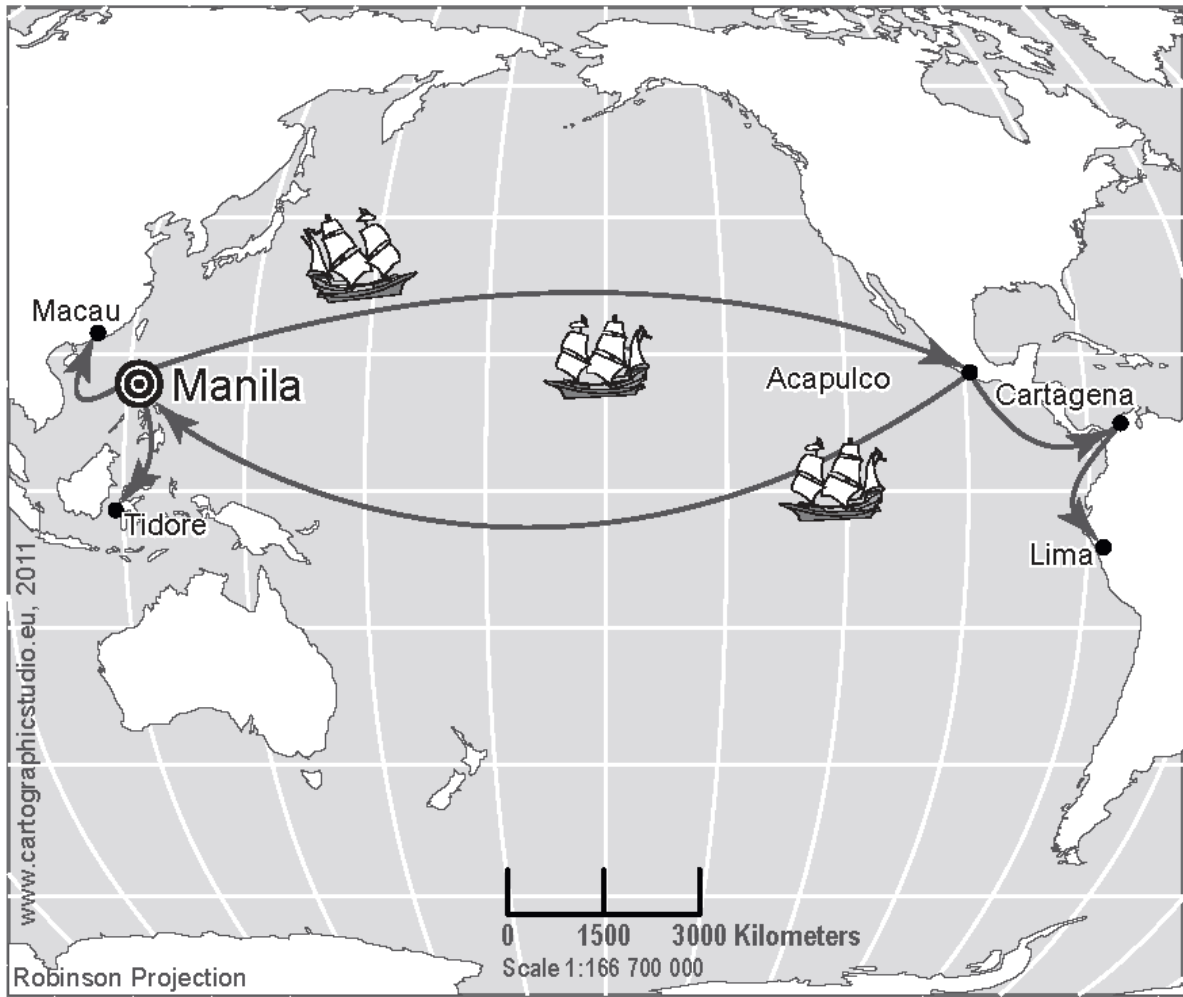
Merchants knew about the potential riches in Southeast Asia and intended to tap its full potential by copying the example of Portuguese commercial involvement in Japan. Early profit-oriented considerations included sending special cargos of Chinese silk to Peru with a possible net gain of two million pesos for one thousand *picos* of raw silk and sixty thousand pieces of satin, damask and other valuable fabrics.¹¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless such enormous gains remained mostly elusive.

¹¹⁶⁷ For the economic strains the Philippines caused the Spanish budget see Luis Alonso Álvarez. *El Costo del Imperio Asiático. La Formación Colonial De Las Islas Filipinas Bajo Dominio Español, 1565-1800* (A Coruña: Instituto Mora (México)/Universidad de A Coruña, 2009), 47; 145-165.

¹¹⁶⁸ BR 6: 279-280: The Spanish at Manila regretted that only a very small amount of the silver sent from the Americas stayed in the Philippines, while the settlers of Mexico complained about the bad quality of Chinese silk products that would cause price dumping.

¹¹⁶⁹ AGI Filipinas 339, l. 1, f.332v-333v, "Prohibición del comercio entre China y Nueva España," 1586-06-19.

¹¹⁷⁰ BR 19: 304-307. This report deals with speculations about the amount of money that could be earned from controlling trade between China and the Americas. For Chinese merchandise on colonial American markets see: Sucheta Mazumdar, *Sugar and the Society in China. Peasants, Technology, and the World Market* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1998), 154-155.



Map 6 Pacific Routes

What happened in Manila cannot be understood without reference to the impact of Chinese silk on the emerging Mexican market of the sixteenth century. The royal government had an interest in promoting the importance of silk production in the New World. While a large part was shipped out of Seville, lower quality goods soon came from local producers. In the Americas, textile-manufacturing was traditionally produced in *obrejas* that catered to the needs of the colonial society for European clothing.¹¹⁷¹ Many artisans from Spain were attracted to the Americas as they did not have to pay taxes. In the industrial centre of Puebla, the Church – as the main consumer of these luxury goods – encouraged the development of silk weaving. Colonial entrepreneurs were optimistic about the prospects of the silk industry in New Spain.¹¹⁷² Such was the situation at the eve of Chinese silk imports, explaining why a large group opposed the development of trans-Pacific trade, as soon as imports of raw silk, silk stockings, shirts for the wealthy, as well as vestments and tapestries for the service of churches and convents, reached the Americas.¹¹⁷³

Spain itself possessed one of Europe's most important silk industries. Out of Toledo, Granada, Seville, Valencia and Murcia came an enormous volume of finished silk. At its height at the end of the sixteenth century, Toledo is reported to have employed some 20,000 people in the silk sector.¹¹⁷⁴ Merchants and manufacturers of Andalusia and other regions, that relied economically on silk production, felt uncomfortable about the influx of cheaper and better quality Chinese fabrics. Effects on the New World markets were indeed soon visible: Earlier studies have revealed that the price of Mexican silk increased sharply in the second half of the sixteenth century, for example in 1579 the price of raw silk was almost seven times higher than forty years before.¹¹⁷⁵ It has been

¹¹⁷¹ Woodrow Borah, *Silk Raising in Colonial Mexico* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943).

¹¹⁷² Jan Bazant, "Evolution of the Textile Industry of Puebla 1544-1845," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7 (1964): 56-61.

¹¹⁷³ Art historians have made important contributions in that field. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has even dedicated a small collection to pieces of art that travelled on the Manila Galleon including representative items of Chinese ceramics and Sino-Chinese sacral art. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/mgrtr/hd_mgrtr.htm Accessed November 09, 2011. Another interesting cultural good based on Sino-Spanish transfer is the *mantón de Manila* that entered traditional Andalusian culture and is well-known until today thanks to its use in flamenco. The silk shawls are traditionally decorated with floral motives. Chinese landscapes are not uncommon either. <http://www.flamenco-world.com/magazine/about/mantones/mantones.htm> Accessed January 05, 2012. A particularly fascinating example from the early nineteenth century can be admired in the Museo de Artes Decorativas in Madrid, called "¿China o Filipinas?". See also <http://www.passimblog.com/de-china-a-sevilla-pasando-por-manila>. Accessed February 29, 2012.

¹¹⁷⁴ Cf. Israel, J.I. "Debate: The Decline of Spain. A Historical Myth?" *Past and Present* 91 (1981): 170-180.

¹¹⁷⁵ Bazant, "Evolution," 27.

argued that protests of merchants in Seville, who had a monopoly on the silk trade with the Americas, against the influx of cheap Chinese silk products into the Americas, are evidence for the harm that had been caused to the silk industry in Mexico and Spain.¹¹⁷⁶

When those living from Spanish sericulture started protesting in a period of constant social movements and civil protest,¹¹⁷⁷ the central government had to take action. Blood is thicker than water especially at times when military spending required huge amounts of tax revenue.¹¹⁷⁸ The Castilian Crown began to restrict the galleon trade as early as 1582, by closing the direct maritime connection between Peru and the Philippines.¹¹⁷⁹ Archival sources show that losses in the silk industry had the potential of turning into a fundamental problem for the crown.¹¹⁸⁰ The enormous import of Chinese silk of an estimated value of two million pesos shipped across the Pacific must have seriously harmed the silk industry in Granada and Valencia, even causing bankruptcy.¹¹⁸¹ The earliest *cédulas* sent to Manila included information on this matter. Thus, colonial officers in Manila must have been aware of it.¹¹⁸² In fact, the viceroy of Mexico remained the driving force in promoting the China trade. This in turn means that the royal restrictions – including the prohibition of Castilians to trade on Chinese territory – was a concession of Philip II to his Portuguese vassals who saw their privileged position in Macao at stake.¹¹⁸³ Conflicts of interests within the Spanish Overseas Empire become clear when we look at the following correspondence. When the Spanish settlers of the Philippines petitioned the king in Spain to order the viceroy of New Spain to prohibit trade with the Philippines, the latter, Alvaro Manrique de Zuñiga (r. 1585-1590), despite the protestations of his own people, wrote a very convincing plea for sustaining shipping

¹¹⁷⁶ Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 30.

¹¹⁷⁷ Spain suffered economically from the expulsion of the Moriscos as well as independence movements during the reign of King Philip III.

¹¹⁷⁸ Rafael Torres Sánchez, ed., *War, State and Development. Fiscal-military States in the Eighteenth Century* (Pamplona: Eunsa, 2007).

¹¹⁷⁹ BR 8: 316-318.

¹¹⁸⁰ Han-Sheng Chuan, "The Chinese Silk and Trade with Spanish-America from the Late Ming to the Mid-Ch'ing Period (San Francisco 1975)" in *European Entry into the Pacific*, ed. Dennis O. Flynn et al., (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2001), 241-260.

¹¹⁸¹ Archivo General de Simancas, PTR. LEG. 89, doc. 298, "Memorial del Reino pidiendo la prohibición de la importación de seda de China y Persia," 1617-08.

¹¹⁸² *Cédulas Reales* 1700, no. 3 (1577).

¹¹⁸³ Montalban, *Spanische Patronat*, 113. I should also like to mention that a Manila Galleon – directed by Francisco de Mercado – stranded in Nanao, an island of Guangdong close to the borders with Fujian in 1583. For a comprehensive list of all Manila Galleons including their arrival dates see <http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&pid=sites&srcid=ZGVmYXVsdGRvbWFpbntxYW5pbGFnYWxsZW9ubGlzdGluZ3xneDoxNzhiZWQ3NDkzNjEwNTA3>, accessed August 17, 2011. The only information we find regarding the 1585 vessel are 'one doubtful excluded' and for the following year 'one ship from Philippines lost'.

silver to the Philippines.¹¹⁸⁴ Looking at the minutes of meeting of the Council of the Indies in 1586, regarding the future of the Manila Galleon trade and silver drain to China, we understand clearly that the secretary of the council was in favour of the Philippines as his 29 points declaration show. Thus at that stage, a pro-Philippine party, interested in liberal trade with Chinese products offering a lucrative source of income, existed in Spain, Mexico and Manila.¹¹⁸⁵ Thus it would be too simplistic to blame just one region or one certain political group.

Thereafter the gap between theory and reality continued to exist. In 1587, the year of heightened ongoing debates about abolishing trade with China, the Spanish at Manila enjoyed the advantages of interaction with China when they once again received military supplies.¹¹⁸⁶ Probably the most interesting feature of the 1593 restrictions was an attempt to protect the profits of the Manila-galleon-trade 'from above'.¹¹⁸⁷ That year, Chinese merchants were officially prohibited from traveling to Mexico. King Philip II commanded that his vassals should no longer go to China to buy merchandise, but that Chinese were to come to Manila to sell their goods at their own risk.¹¹⁸⁸ Robert Reed has argued that all these regulations "gradually led to a highly institutionalised, closely supervised, and extremely restricted trade".¹¹⁸⁹ Han-sheng Chuan found out that in 1620, one *picul* of raw silk was sold in Manila for 200 pesos while the price for the same *picul* was 1,950 pesos in Lima.¹¹⁹⁰ He further estimates the profit margin for silk sent from Manila to the Americas at between 100 to 300%, on average.¹¹⁹¹ The fear that Chinese goods would swamp the American markets remained alive until the late seventeenth century.

We have learnt that prices for selling goods in Manila were fixed and defined in advance by means of the *pancada* system until 1600.¹¹⁹² Furthermore, taxes and customs led to different prices and profits for each trading party. The only way of bypassing these burdens would have been cooperating with galleon merchants, who themselves were closely controlled by government officials. Silk trade would become

¹¹⁸⁴ BR 6: 279-280.

¹¹⁸⁵ Cf. Montalbán, *Spanische Patronat*, 115.

¹¹⁸⁶ AGI Filipinas 18 A, r. 5, n. 31, "Carta de Vera sobre situación, comercio, japoneses," 1587-06-26.

¹¹⁸⁷ AGI Filipinas 339, l. 2, f. 70r – 71r, "Orden al Virrey de Perú sobre prohibición de comercio," 1593-01-11.

¹¹⁸⁸ BR 25: 137.

¹¹⁸⁹ Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 30.

¹¹⁹⁰ Chuan, "Chinese Silk Trade," 256.

¹¹⁹¹ Chuan, "Chinese Silk Trade," 256.

¹¹⁹² AGI Filipinas 18 B, r. 2, n. 4, "Carta de G. P. Mariñas sobre oposición a la pancada," 1592-05-31. AGI Filipinas 18 B, r. 2, n. 9, "Carta de G. P. Mariñas sobre Pedro de Rojas," 1592-06-06.

dominated by Mexican merchants (*mercaderes de plata*),¹¹⁹³ who competed with the Seville-based companies as well as common traders in Manila. Strong lobbies existed both in Mexico and Spain and the effects of Sino-Mexican exchange were indeed problematic for Manila: Ordinary citizens including the natives were no longer able to purchase highly prized silk products. Manila merchants could no longer send other merchandise because the limited space on the Acapulco bound galleon was largely reserved for silk cargoes.¹¹⁹⁴ To address this, the government chose to restrict participation in transpacific trade to those Spaniards (from Mexico) who were willing to settle in Manila for at least ten years.¹¹⁹⁵ The ships were inspected by *oidores*; designated by the governor to decrease smuggling and to protect passengers against ill-treatment.¹¹⁹⁶ It was a half-hearted attempt that above all encouraged contraband trade, as indicated in chapter 4, as merchants soon found ways to cheat on the crown by circumventing, bribing or faking cargo registers. Eventually non-crown merchants would take hold of this lucrative overseas commerce,¹¹⁹⁷ so that before long neither the Spanish metropolis nor the colonists were able to pull the strings in Manila's silk trade. An account of a trader taking part in the galleon trade neatly summarises the enormous profit margin of the early years:

*[T]wo hundred of ducats in Spanish commodities and some Flemish wares which I carried with me thither [to Manila] I made worth 1,400 ducats there in the country. So I make account that with those silkes [sic!] which I brought with me from thence to Mexico I got 2,500 ducats with the voyage, and had gotten more if one packe of fine silkes had not been spoilt with salt water.*¹¹⁹⁸

7.2.2. Japan: Foreign Silk Trade and Local-Central Competition between Kanto and Kyushu

The same ready-made Chinese silk that stirred Spanish parties was the greatest incentive for Japanese merchants to make the journey to Manila. With regard to the profitable exchange of silver and raw silk between Japan and China, the Japanese historian Nakajima has re-emphasised the gains made by Chinese and Japanese

¹¹⁹³ Lockhart and Schwartz, *Early Latin America*, 152.

¹¹⁹⁴ *Cédulas Reales* 1700, no. 30 (1589).

¹¹⁹⁵ *Cédulas Reales* 1700, no. 30 (1589).

¹¹⁹⁶ Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 158.

¹¹⁹⁷ Reed, *Colonial Manila*, endnote 19.

¹¹⁹⁸ Regidor, Jurado, Mason, "Commercial Progress of the Philippines," 10.

smugglers or pirates around the mid-sixteenth century – before they fell in the hands of Portuguese intermediaries who institutionalised silk and silver exchange between Macao and Nagasaki. He has furthermore pointed out that both the Ming and the Toyotomi regimes failed to enjoy huge direct profits from this exchange of the most precious commodities of their countries.¹¹⁹⁹ Being too concerned about domestic stability, the Ming did not even consider receiving the Japanese officially in their ports. Nakajima indirectly suggests that the lack of regulating mechanisms, such as laws that defined and institutions that supervised commercial exchange, harmed the pre-modern economies of China and Japan.

Lothar Knauth argued in the 1970s that it was a mix of military and commercial interests of the *daimyō* that guided the Japanese southwards.¹²⁰⁰ Circumstantial evidence confirms such a claim: The Japanese military approach was in the end a clumsy attempt to secure commercial profits. As discussed earlier, Chinese silk was the main Japanese export from Manila. However, most of the time, the Toyotomi regime did not have any share in the profits made there. This explains why Hideyoshi was so obsessed with confiscating the cargo of the *San Felipe*. Jesuits' accounts reveal that the Spaniards allied with the wrong party.¹²⁰¹ They failed to contact Hideyoshi's 'minister for foreign affairs'¹²⁰², who supported trade between Manila and Japan and in charge of preparing licences.¹²⁰³ In the wake of friction between the local and the central political level, Hideyoshi had confiscated the cargo of the Spanish trading vessel. Even in Japanese records, we find evidence for the confiscation of the *namban* goods. But we have to proceed with caution. The *Tsūkō Ichiran* reports of *namban* goods that were stored in Hideyoshi's depots in Osaka. The ship was repaired and the survivors travel back to Luzón in March 1597.¹²⁰⁴

From the beginning, silk was the main target and thus the event was essentially a continuation of Hispano-Japanese competition for Chinese silk. Economic motives

¹¹⁹⁹ Gakushō Nakajima, "Portugarujin nihon hatsuraikō zairon" *The Shien* 146 (2009): 41-81.

¹²⁰⁰ Knauth, *Confrontación Transpacífica*, 21.

¹²⁰¹ They contacted a certain Maxita Yemonnojon, Masuda Nagamori.

¹²⁰² ARSI Jap/Sin 32, f. 3v. – 4: "que es el que tiene a cargo los negocios de las Filipinas, y el que las ha favorizado siempre antes." f. 3 v – f. 4: "[...] para que el sobre que le guardesse una provision que en su lengua llaman xuyri, y por otra lengua chapa por lo qual el dicho taycosama dava licencia para que los espanoles libremente pudiessen andar por sus reinos, asi por la mar, como por la tierra."

¹²⁰³ ARSI Jap/Sin 32, f. 3: "que es el que tiene a cargo los negocios de las Filipinas, y el que las ha favorizado siempre antes."; ARSI Jap / Sin 32, f. 3 v – f. 4: "para que el sobre que le guardesse una provision que en su lengua llaman xuyri, y por otra lengua chapa por lo qual el dicho taycosama dava licencia para que los espanoles libremente pudiessen andar por sus reinos, asi por la mar, como por la tierra."

¹²⁰⁴ *Tsūkō Ichiran*, fol. 179/567.

overlapped with magnified communication problems as the following episode shows: One of the Japanese interpreters claimed that the Castilian captain wanted to bestow the cargo of his ship to Hideyoshi.¹²⁰⁵ The Jesuits paid a lot of attention to the issue of confiscation and who was to take the blame for the fate of the 26 Christian martyrs. Interrogations in the port of Nagasaki, following the crucifixions, made it clear that economic competition was behind the escalation. The Portuguese, who objected to the Japanese -Spanish trade relationship, were clearly intimidated by the voluminous silk cargo of the Manila Galleon and feared oversupply would cause a major price fall.¹²⁰⁶ Conflicting intentions are best summarised with a quotation: “Antonio, a Christian Japanese, interpreter of captain Don Matia de Landecho said [...] that the Portuguese told taycosama [Hideyoshi] that the Portuguese were no vassals of king Don Felipe who was a bad person, but that the Portuguese had another king with whom Taycosama had [already] made peace.”¹²⁰⁷ We may conclude that the San Felipe incident was neither religious nor geopolitical, but specifically an economic issue of connected Luso-Castilian and Sino-Japanese competition. That the Spanish galleon was able to cause such a stir on the Japanese market and political scene furthermore confirms the huge quantities of Chinese silk sent to the Americas. The episode moreover shows that Spanish negotiating practices did not always distinguish between central and local authorities.

As a consequence of the growing silk trade, the position of Chinese traders became increasingly important. The *bakufu* soon targeted direct trade with merchants from Fujian. In order to secure a direct share in the gains, the new rulers insisted on a concentration of Chinese trading ships in Nagasaki. Japan-based China trade indeed increased after 1610, due to special contracts and agreements with private traders.¹²⁰⁸ More or less at the same time, interest in Manila started to shrink and *shuinsen*-trade was redirected from Macao to Hoi-An – a port that in later years, after the break with the Spaniards, became Japan’s primary location for silk acquisition abroad.¹²⁰⁹ This change was the result of friction following the killing of Japanese merchants on the ship of Arima Harunobu that was stranded in Macao in 1608 before being harassed by the Portuguese.¹²¹⁰ The insult meant infringing upon the Japanese idea of extraterritorial

¹²⁰⁵ The fright was later distributed among nobility and allegedly even the *tennō* received some items.

¹²⁰⁶ ARSI Jap/Sin 32, f.6 - f.40.

¹²⁰⁷ ARSI Jap/Sin 32, f. 12-14.

¹²⁰⁸ Oka, *Shōnin*, 130-135

¹²⁰⁹ Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 49.

¹²¹⁰ See Boxer, *Great Ship*, 77-78.

rights granted by the *shuinjō* and had to be retaliated. When the Portuguese *Madre de Deus* arrived in Nagasaki shortly afterwards, it was attacked by Arima's forces.¹²¹¹ In the wake of that naval battle, the Nagasaki *bugyō* forced the Portuguese to ratify a statement “whereby they bound the city of Macao to renew the annual commerce, but on terms dictated by the Japanese.”¹²¹² The incident illustrates the *bakufu*'s authority in foreign affairs and Japan's growing superiority over its European ‘neighbours’, at a time when contacts with Luzón started to soar. This partially explains why the Spaniards did not even try to fill the vacant position of silk intermediaries by actively encouraging Sino-Japanese exchange in Manila.

The *bakufu*'s political moves contrast sharply to the desire of its travelling vassals. While there is even evidence that they claimed extraterritoriality for Japanese citizens in Manila,¹²¹³ a claim no other trading nation made at that time, Ieyasu granted the Spanish governor the right to administer justice over all Japanese according to the local law applied in Manila.¹²¹⁴ In Japan, he held the right to expulse and punish when facing imminent danger. This should have major consequences for the situation of Spanish missionaries and merchants in Japan. They did not enjoy extraterritoriality there either. Hence they were subject to Japanese law.¹²¹⁵ It is noteworthy that Ieyasu placed himself on a par with the governor of the Philippines.

Silk yarn would nonetheless remain the driving force behind Japanese mercantile activities in and around Manila from where huge quantities were imported aboard the vermillion seal and other ships. Next to the recurring silk shortage in Manila discussed above, an increase in Japanese domestic sericulture, as well as significant price fluctuations¹²¹⁶ that changed the profit margin, explain the Spanish reluctance in promoting active trade. Following revived disturbance after several years of a well-functioning system, Philip III attempted to change trade patterns in the year 1609:

The trade, commerce, and navigation from the Filipinas to Japon shall be made by

¹²¹¹ See also Clulow, "Maritime Violence," 84. In 1610 Arima's troops attacked the Portuguese vessel (*Nuestra Senhora da Graça*) of Andrea Pessoa and destroyed it on behalf of Tokugawa officials.

¹²¹² Kirsch, *Barbaren*, 157-160.

¹²¹³ Igawa Kenji, "Toyotomi Hideyoshi to Supein" in *Nihon Supein Kōryūshi*, ed. Bandō Shōji et al., (Tokyo: Nenga Shobō Shinsha, 2010), 77.

¹²¹⁴ *Ikoku Nikki Shō*, 44-46.

¹²¹⁵ Cabezas, *Siglo Ibérico*, 319.

¹²¹⁶ Cocks, *Diary*, 339 (from 1622): "Silk at present is not worth so much as it was at the arrival of our fleete, yet we have made away most of ours which rested, the presentes being geven out, and trusted it out till the next monson; as the Hollanders have donne the like."

*the citizens of the former islands, and the Japanese shall not be allowed to go to the islands. On the merchandise carried in the ships dispatched on the account of our royal treasury, no less freight charges shall be collected than those caused in the ships of private persons, so that the cost of the merchandise may be assured. If there should be any inclination or substance in this trade, so that the duties may be paid and our treasury relieved of a portion of its costs and expenses that be paid from them, we order that they be collected and paid.*¹²¹⁷

After all, this was the year of successful negotiations between Ieyasu and Philip's vassal Vivero. A comment on the official correspondence with the Philippines, in which the metropolis was informed about friendly relations, underlines how little significance the Habsburg King paid to the 'Japan matter'. It says: "*No hay que responder*" (No need to reply).¹²¹⁸

7.2.3. Private vs. *Shuinsen*-Trade with Luzón

Official *shuinsen* records leave no doubt that Manila was one of the first and until 1616 the most important destination for outgoing vermilion seal vessels, with a total number of 34 ships, a number only surpassed by 56 passes for Siam. However it degraded to a secondary role in Japan's foreign trade, outrivalled also by Cochinchina in the years to come.¹²¹⁹ The *bakufu* was directly involved in that trade by giving orders for imports.¹²²⁰

Shimizu Yūko distinguishes public and private Japanese trade with the Castilians between 1586 and 1625. She pointed out that these two forms did not influence each other, for they never existed simultaneously.¹²²¹ We may wonder, however, if it was really unlikely that private Japanese trade existed next to the *shuinsen* operations? Not only is it common to speak of private Japanese traders operating in the South China Sea,¹²²² but also several accounts speak of their existence. For instance, the Japanese *shuinsen* trader, Miguel Iloya, sold mirrors and bells to a value of 1194 pesos.¹²²³ The

¹²¹⁷ BR 17: 50.

¹²¹⁸ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 9, n. 173, "Carta de Tello sobre asuntos de guerra; Borneo, Japón...etc," 1600.

¹²¹⁹ Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 41; 48; Nagazumi, "Ayutthaya," 248.

¹²²⁰ Boxer, *Great Ship*, 88.

¹²²¹ Shimizu, "'Sakoku'," 138-143.

¹²²² Kondō, *Gaiban tsūsho*, 176.

¹²²³ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 335-336. Another one, Sebastian Ciomon sold 25 *tinaja* of biscuits for 3 peso each and earned a total 525 pesos in gold.

Japanese vermilion seal captain Luis Melo offers a further fascinating example. Investing private money in Manila showed that private profit was not uncommon in the *shuinsen* trade.¹²²⁴ At the same time, the *bakufu's* revenue from maritime trade is said to have been limited.¹²²⁵

Table 2: Japanese ships to Luzón¹²²⁶

Year	No. of ships	Year	No. of <i>shuinsen</i>
1567	1	1604	4
1572	1	1605	4
1575	1	1606	3
1580/81	several	1607	4
1582	12	1609	3
1585	1	1610	2
1586	1	1611	2
1587	1	1612	1
1589	1	1613	1
1590	1	1614	4
1591	1	1615	5
1592	1	1616	1
1593	5	1617	1
1599	≤18	1618	3
1600	2	1619	1
1601	1	1620	2
total	≥48	1621	4
		1622	2
		1623	1
		1624	2
		1630	2
		1632	2
		total	54

Institutionalisations interfered with personal freedom. For the central government, both the *shuinsen* trade and the *ito wappu* (yarn allotment) system, that set prices for silk imports in Nagasaki, could only materialise when the local lords yielded to the

¹²²⁴ BR 20: 232-233; Colin, *Labor Evangelica*, 665. A Japanese merchant, fluent in Spanish, called Nishi Luis, a Christian who spent several years in Manila before he moved back to Sakai in 1614, from where he continued to travel to Luzón, is a further example. See Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 119.

¹²²⁵ According to Adam Clulow, "A Fake Embassy, the Lord of Taiwan and Tokugawa Japan" *Japanese Studies* 20, no. 1 (2010): 26 maritime trade was not part of the *bakufu's* revenue sources and no mechanism existed to exploit trade. Other *shuinsen* traders include the Chaya family in Kyoto and the Hasegawa family of Nagasaki. See Nagazumi, "Ayutthaya," 242.

¹²²⁶ Source: Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 49; Shimizu, "'Sakoku'," 139.

shōgun's economic policies.¹²²⁷ In 1604, the Tokugawa demanded the leading merchants of Kyoto, Sakai and Nagasaki form a thread guild. A few years later, Osaka and Edo traders were allowed to join. These Japanese silk dealers (*ito toshiyori*: high-ranking officials of the *shōgun*) bought silk exclusively from Portuguese or Chinese brokers in bulk at a previously fixed price before distributing it to local merchants. This system enabled the Tokugawa to control foreign trade and to keep the Europeans from bargaining and having contact with the local people.¹²²⁸ The system originally only applied to Portuguese ships from Macao that were supervised by the Nagasaki *bugyō* (magistrate),¹²²⁹ who after 1606 would register all incoming goods.¹²³⁰ Manila ships also brought large amounts of Chinese raw silks in the years 1605, 1606 and 1612, which led to a rise in the pancada price for Macao ships. As Katō Eiichi has pointed out with reference to Japanese primary sources, at least one Spanish ship was also involved in its wappu business, when a large part of the silk that the Castilian ship brought to Nagasaki was purchased by the shōgun.¹²³¹ That measure took the Europeans the basis to strengthen their foothold in the Japanese economy and asked them to adhere to the rules dictated by the Tokugawa.

The economic power struggles of the two *daimyō* 'Don Bartolome' (Omura Sumitada) of Nagasaki or 'Don Agustín' (Konishi Yukinaga)¹²³² offer just one aspect indicating the strong impact of politically decentralised sixteenth century Japan on the South China Sea. The pioneer of semi-official Japanese trade with Luzón was Matsura Shigenobu, *daimyō* of Hirado in 1584, before Omura Sumitada succeeded him two years later. As we have seen, during the following years, trade between Manila and Nagasaki and Hirado started to prosper. Since the days of the prominent *wakō* Wang Zhi (a Chinese), who attacked the Korean peninsula in 1555, Hirado had been an important base of maritime trade that turned into an interregional trading hub.¹²³³ Within a few decades it should attract all four seventeenth-century European trading nations and host factories of the

¹²²⁷ Uehara, "Shoki Tokugawa," 505-522.

¹²²⁸ Honda Masazumi on May 3, 1604. For a copy of the original see Rekishigaku Kenkyū, *Nihonshi shiryō*, 130.

¹²²⁹ The position was created in 1592 and assigned to the *daimyō* of Hizen, Terazawa Hirota for the administration of the international setting.

¹²³⁰ Gomi Fumihiko et al., *Shōsetsu Nihonshi Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yamagawa Shuppansha, 1998), 244; See here also *Nihonshi shiryō*, 131-132 for 'sakoku' laws and rules for foreign trade of the years 1635 and 1639. 1631 it was introduced for Chinese and ten years later for Dutch traders.

¹²³¹ *Dainihon shiryō*, 12hen, no 8, 652.

¹²³² AGI Filipinas 18 A, r. 5, n. 32 "Copia de Carta de Vera al virrey sobre situación, japoneses," 1587-06-26.

¹²³³ Wills, "Maritime China," 211-212.

Portuguese, Dutch and the English during the 1610s and 1620s.¹²³⁴ The tiny island's lord, Matsura, approved of commercial relations with Manila, only after the Portuguese along with the Jesuits had withdrawn because of hostilities against them in the year 1587. Although Matsura was never seriously in favour of any Christian order, he encouraged Iberian mendicant friars to come to his domain.¹²³⁵ In his attempts to encourage the Spaniards to serve as middlemen in the China trade, Matsura even employed anti-Chinese propaganda.¹²³⁶ Matsura Shigenobu's strategy was successful, given that private Spanish merchants sailed from Manila to Hirado during the following years, loaded with Chinese merchandise. One early Spaniard in Hirado was the Castilian merchant Silvestre Rodriguez, who sailed to Japan in 1591/92 and became involved in the Harada mission of the same year¹²³⁷ – when at least three more private trading vessels from Hirado were expected in Manila.¹²³⁸

Another important local 'global player' was Shimazu Yoshihisa, *daimyō* of Satsuma, at that point the leading power in Kyushu. The Shimazu clan was a pioneer in regular trade with Luzón and invested in diplomatic relations – sending vessels and letters to Manila.¹²³⁹ Its short but intense participation in early modern trade in the South China Sea has been well researched in Japan over the past decades.¹²⁴⁰ In 1601 he addressed a letter to the Dominicans of Manila, expressing a warm invitation to come to his realm. A particularly notable aspect of his letter is his claim for suzerainty: "I have been told by [the Japanese] living there that you are treating those of my kingdom who go there well."¹²⁴¹ This letter suggests that as long as the Tokugawa clan had not fully established its power over the entire isles, Shimazu – as previous ally of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who did not subdue to Tokugawa Ieyasu until the year 1603 – was able to carry out sovereign foreign policies. This further suggests that Luzón and the relations with the Spaniards played an important role in establishing and increasing political power in the

¹²³⁴ See Lidin, *Tanegashima*, 95-97.

¹²³⁵ See Laures, "Ancient Document".

¹²³⁶ AGI Filipinas 18 A, r. 5, n. 32 "Copia de Carta de Vera al virrey sobre situación, japosenes," 1587-06-26.; For Kyushu-Hirado relations see also AGI Filipinas 34, n. 64, "Carta de Pablo Rodríguez sobre el rey de Firando," 1584-10-07.

¹²³⁷ Pastells, *Historia I*, 50.

¹²³⁸ Pastells, *Historia I*, 50.

¹²³⁹ Maehira Fusaaki made an initiative towards the local-central perspective by focusing on Shimazu's trade with Luzón as foreign trade at the periphery in 2004. Maehira Fusaaki, "Kinsei Shoki no Luson Kōryūshi wo Saguru. Shūen Ryōiki no Shiten Kara" in *Shinsatsumagaku, Satsuma, Amami, Ryūkyū*, (Nanpōshinsha, 2004).

¹²⁴⁰ Nagazumi, *Kinsei Shoki*; Katō, "Bahansen, Shuinsen, Hōshosen," 120-134.

¹²⁴¹ Cf. Aduarte, *Historia*, 251; Author's translation. "Yo he oido que tratais muy bien a los que van ai deste mi reyno, y se les he dicho a los que viven en el, para que lo sepan."

political transition processes in Japan.

Contextualising Luzón in Shimazu's claims for maintaining autonomy, Spanish records show that already under Hideyoshi, local lords in Kyushu were working on a secret plot with the Spanish in the Philippines, whom they trusted as allies against Japanese invaders, as the following letter by Governor Tello (drafted 1598) shows:

Several prominent persons there, with whom I have friendship and communication, have written to me. I have replied to them, and sent them presents, [...]. The one who is most friendly is the general of Coria, named Gentio, who is close in order of succession in the kingdom to the Conbaco. He wrote me that, although not a Christian himself, he is a friend of Christians. Having this good-will, he might receive the holy gospel, and I am trying to bring this to pass. This communication is secret, being without the knowledge of the Conbaco, who is very hated in the kingdom, because of his great tyranny.¹²⁴²

Thus, the Spaniards in Luzón were well aware of internal power struggles in Japan.¹²⁴³ Indeed, the Shimazu's position as official ally of the Toyotomi clan was particularly tenuous after 1600. Beaten by Ieyasu's troops in the Battle of Sekigahara, Shimazu Tadatsune withdrew to his domain in Southern Kyushu and was thereafter – similarly to other *tozama daimyō* such as Tosa – considered a potential opponent to the Tokugawa regime and a big challenge to the Tokugawa centralisation plans, even after formally becoming vassals after the battle.¹²⁴⁴

Local disobedience also determined relations with the Europeans. Clandestine agreements with local powers regarding military assistance were common and can be regarded as means to strengthen commercial ties with the Spaniards following initiatives of the Kyushu *daimyō*. Neither Hideyoshi's ban on private trade in the South Chinese Sea in 1588, nor the *shuinjō*-system, managed to centralise foreign relations.

Another important factor in evaluating the importance of the Luzón trade was the

¹²⁴² BR 10: 171. AGI Filipinas 6, r. 9, n. 146, "Carta de Tello sobre abandono de Mindano, embajada a Japón," 1598-06-23. We have reason to believe that Tello refers to a letter he received one year earlier. The sender is referred to as Cata Canzuyeno Camidano [Kato Kiyemasa]; See AGI Filipinas 6, r. 9, n. 140, "Carta de Tello remitiendo copia de Cata Canzeyuno Camidono," 1597-06-13.

¹²⁴³ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 9, n. 175, "Copia de carta del obispo de Japón al gobernador sobre Dayfu Sama," 1601. In April 1601 the Jesuit bishop of Japan sent a letter to Governor Tello reporting about the Battle of Sekigahara and the remaining resistance against Ieyasu (Dayfusama), especially pointing out that Satsuma opposition posed a major threat to the Christians there.

¹²⁴⁴ Jansen, *Making*, 53.

bakufu's hesitant behavior regarding the *daimyō's* participation in foreign trade. Actually, Matsura Shigenobu was the only *daimyō* obtaining a *shuinjō* for Luzón after 1604 – the rest were reserved for wealthy merchants.¹²⁴⁵ As a consequence, *daimyō* sought to hold close ties with merchant families, such as the Oda (who sailed to Luzón in 1604), to secure access to the Manila market. In the process of pursuing sovereignty on the sea, Ieyasu even asked the Spanish authorities to report unlicensed traders to him: "take their names, create a list and forward them" to Ieyasu who will take necessary measures.¹²⁴⁶

Trade in ceramics for use in the tea ceremony – that experienced a boom towards the end of the sixteenth century as a result of the expansion of a sophisticated *bushi* culture – namely old Chinese teapots that became known as *Luson tsubo* (*rusun tsubo*), is another example for local-central competition in Luzón. According to the art historian Tokugawa Yoshinobu, *Luzón tsubo* is a somewhat misleading name that served as generic term in the sixteenth century for all *tsubo* pots, Chinese earthenware acquired by the Japanese in Southeast Asia. The reason why they were called *Luson tsubo* was simply because the island was among the earliest destinations for Japanese seagoing merchants.¹²⁴⁷ Competition on a mercantile level dated back to the year 1599, when merchants operating on behalf of the Shimazu brought back a cargo of 121 *tsubo* from Luzón. The same year Tokugawa Ieyasu made an attempt to ban Satsuma's trade with Luzón for being the dominion of their enemy, the Shimazu. According to an original record, the *daimyō* sent the entire cargo to Ieyasu, who acted as if he had inherited the monopoly on *tsubo* trade from the Toyotomi regime.¹²⁴⁸ Ieyasu also started to centralise trade in *tsubo*. This measure was closely linked to his desire to legitimise power via *ochanoyu* (tea culture) and explains why the Shimazu clan lost that lucrative trading branch to the *bakufu*.

The Shimazu were eager to keep the political balance by maintaining their stronghold in overseas trade. One year earlier, the Satsuma clan had even attempted to

¹²⁴⁵ Uehara, "Shoki Tokugawa seiken," 511.

¹²⁴⁶ Tsūkō Ichiran 179/570 (1602): "What (I) tell this country, in case illicit (ayashii) traders from Japan will be spotted along the Philippine coast, [the Spanish should] take their names, create a list and forward them to Ieyasu who will take necessary measures. The Spanish should not trade with bad people, no matter whether they were equipped with a [trading] permit!"

¹²⁴⁷ Tokugawa Yoshinobu, "Luson No Tsubo" no Imi Suru Mono" in Shuinsen to Minami He No Senkusha, ed. Ōishi Shinzaburō (Tokyo: Gyōsei, 1986), 64-65. He criticised how the media handled the topic during the time of the 'kingin no hibi'-hype, a NHK TV series of the 1960s that presented the Japanese public with a problematic picture of historical facts.

¹²⁴⁸ Uehara, "Shoki Tokugawa seiken," 508.

establish official relations with Fujian by exchanging gifts with the viceroys there.¹²⁴⁹ In the year 1602, the ambassador Leo Kizaemon was sent to Luzón, where he asked on behalf of the 'King of Satsuma' for missionaries for his realm.¹²⁵⁰ However, these private initiatives did not pay off, so the Shimazu Yoshihiro requested a Luzón-bound *shuinjō* for the merchants of his *han* (domain) in a letter dated May 10, 1604. Receiving it for a vassal called Yamaguchi the same year, Shimazu expressed much delighted.¹²⁵¹

The *bakufu's* Satsuma politics cannot be understood without looking at the role of Chinese traders in Nagasaki; their presence and rights as foreign traders had manifested in several decrees, issued against the background of Japan's increasing demand for Chinese raw silk.¹²⁵² This moreover implied diminishing access to European markets in Asia such as Macao and Manila. Surprisingly, Ieyasu entitled the Shimazu clan to control the Chinese ships coming to Nagasaki in 1606. This again was a centralizing effort, since trade had to be adjusted to the requirements of Ieyasu in Sunpu and Hidetada in Edo. The Shimazu had no power over trade with Chinese ships, but bowed to Tokugawa hegemony. Regardless of the port of entrance of Chinese ships, they had to report their cargo to the *bakufu* – the first purchaser of silk. The Shimazu thus were intermediaries for private traders whose private property was never protected.¹²⁵³ At the same time Japanese private trade decreased.

A matter that best describes local-central tensions with regard to Castilian-Japanese negotiations is what I like to call the Kanto issue. Already in his first letter to Manila, Ieyasu invited the Spaniards to send ships to Uraga in Kanto, the centre of the Tokugawa domain. Until then the region surrounding present-day Tokyo had only played a minor role in maritime trade. Ieyasu was obsessed with the idea of channeling all foreign trade to Uraga in the Tokugawa domain and to turn it into an international port. However, whilst trade in other domains continued despite his express order and much to Ieyasu's anger no foreign vessels reached that port in the early years of his reign. The reason for that was not political but rather *force majeure*, strictly speaking problems with currents.

Governor Pedro de Acuña dispatched a small galleon to 'Quanto' in 1602 but after an unsuccessful struggle against contrary winds, the vessel eventually landed in Hirado.¹²⁵⁴

¹²⁴⁹ Mizuno, "China in Tokugawa Foreign Relations," 111.

¹²⁵⁰ Uehara, "Shoki Tokugawa seiken," 509-510.

¹²⁵¹ Uehara, "Shoki Tokugawa seiken," 509-510.

¹²⁵² Uehara, "Shoki Tokugawa seiken," 506.

¹²⁵³ Uehara, "Shoki Tokugawa seiken," 511; 514-515: *sakigai ken* 先買い権.

¹²⁵⁴ Cf. Pastells, *Historia V*, xvii; Cabezas, *Siglo Ibérico*, 450.

Thereupon Ieyasu insisted on an explanation on why the Spanish did not send their galleons to Kanto. Two years later the *bakufu* was again irritated that no Spanish ship had landed in Kanto, as Father Diego Bermeo informed the governor in Manila in 1604 on behalf of Ieyasu.¹²⁵⁵ A letter of the second *shōgun* Hidetada also indicates the aspired predominance of Kanto in foreign trade, as a means of controlling trade with the Castilians: Ships from Luzón were only to enter other Japanese ports when bad weather impeded a passage to Kanto.¹²⁵⁶

When the first ship from Luzón finally landed in Uraga in 1608,¹²⁵⁷ the *bakufu* had already given up on their previous plans. Northern European merchants seemed also interested in having a stronghold in the Kanto region for its closeness to Edo. However, the *bakufu* did not encourage the Dutch East India Company (VOC) or the English East India Company (EIC) officials to opt for Uraga. On the contrary, English merchants had to open their factory in Hirado against William Adam's insisting on Uraga.¹²⁵⁸ This, in turn, leads to two possible conclusions: either a change in the Tokugawa foreign policies by 1610 or very specific foreign trade relations with the Castilians from Manila. It should be mentioned, that in the years to come, nonetheless, the port was of international significance, as centre for delegations to and from New Spain and respectively Europe.¹²⁵⁹

7.2.4. Beijing-Fujian

In this subsection, I would like to stress the dialectics between Ming China's central policies and local reaction. In many cases they are interchangeable with 'official versus unofficial' or 'theory versus practice' that hindered any institutional transformation for re-investing in the home economy.¹²⁶⁰

The differences between Beijing's official policies and actual circumstances in coastal regions were, due to disintegration, bigger than in Japan or even Overseas Spain. John E. Wills explored this issue in an influential paper, arguing that China's maritime zone

¹²⁵⁵ Cf. Uehara, "Shoki Tokugawa seiken," 506; Murakami, "Japan," 471. There exists a type-written collection supposedly drafted in 1903 of documents relating commercial exchange between the Philippines and Japan by the same author, titled *Documentos Relativos al Comunicaciones de Filipinas con Japón Sacados del Archivo General de Indias y Otras Bibliotecas* in several libraries in Japan.

¹²⁵⁶ Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 179/574.

¹²⁵⁷ Pastells, *Católogo I*, 450.

¹²⁵⁸ Uehara, "Shoki Tokugawa," 506.

¹²⁵⁹ Gomi et al., *Shōsetsu Nihonshi Kenkyū*.

¹²⁶⁰ Chang "Chinese Maritime Trade," 74.

remained peripheral because of the limited opportunities for positive interaction between profit and power at the state's level. His claim that "Luzón and Taiwan [were] only marginally attractive as entrepôts and sources of a few mineral and other natural products, very promising for rice- and sugar-farming colonization, but requiring a very substantial concentration of economic and military power to transport colonists and protect them from the natives"¹²⁶¹ is particularly interesting for the present study. Late Ming China's maritime policies might best be summarised as a mix of "official and elite efforts", as Roy Bin Wong has described them.¹²⁶²

So, who were the counterparts and trading partners of Japanese private merchants in Luzón? Lin Renchuan has categorised different types of seagoing enterprises, distinguishing between the feudal type: local feudal lords and merchant families that followed a practice of adopting poor sons for overseas trade.¹²⁶³ According to the author, this system helped to circumvent the trade restrictions that allowed maritime China a fluid transition from maritime prohibitions (*haijing*) to 'liberal' private maritime businesses based on merchant capital and certain forms of slavery. The next category is trade with borrowed capital and/or rented ships.¹²⁶⁴ This practice integrated the entire region into maritime trade by interdependency based on the duty to pay back the loan and to declare goods from overseas trade.¹²⁶⁵ Finally he lists the independent type as the most elaborate type for the traders' ability to engage in trade with their own capital.¹²⁶⁶

Based on the widely discussed fact that smuggling and piracy on the empire's southern coasts became rampant because of the inward and restrictive character of the official trade policy, it should be obvious by now that attitudes towards European trading partners differed between the local Fujianese authorities and the court in Beijing. In matters concerning Manila it was often Fujianese who took initiative: at times successfully when not bound to prohibitions by the Imperial Court.¹²⁶⁷

¹²⁶¹ Wills, "Maritime China," 19.

¹²⁶² Roy Bin Wong, "Confucian Agendas for Material and Ideological Control in Modern China," ed. Roy Bin Wong et al., (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1997), 303, where he remarked that "No other state in world history has ever enjoyed the challenge of creating instruments of local rule over two millennia."

¹²⁶³ Lin, "Fukien's Private Sea Trade," 186: "The rich and powerful families of the coastal region of the Fukien had large seagoing vessels built illegally and provided venture capital, but sent their adopted sons out to sea to carry out the dangerous actual trading. Therefore we call this the feudal type of management."

¹²⁶⁴ Lin, "Fukien's Private Sea Trade," 189.

¹²⁶⁵ Lin, "Fukien's Private Sea Trade," 191.

¹²⁶⁶ Lin, "Fukien's Private Sea Trade," 192.

¹²⁶⁷ Ng, "Maritime Frontiers," 245: "In Luzon, skilled labor was in great demand, and the place attracted many Chinese migrants who could easily earn a living there with what they had learned at home."

As we have seen, for the central government the issue of traders from Luzón was never formalised and a reform in official dealings with foreigners would not happen for a long time, as hesitations about what arrangements should be made in Fujian for the Luzón Western *fan* and Japanese *yi* indicate.¹²⁶⁸

Several written sources of the late Ming show that on a local level, even government officials were very much in favor of permitting controlled foreign maritime exchange for both outgoing and incoming traders for the sake of preventing piracy. The huge benefits from overseas trade with the Europeans were of course the lure for maritime officials.¹²⁶⁹ In 1608, Ming local government officials still complained about the dreadful dealings of the taxation supervisor Gao Cai, blaming him of filling his own pocket's with taxes amounting to 30,000 silver coins collected from illegal trade with the Dutch as well as people from Luzón. His endeavours to encourage merchants to trade with the Europeans enticed illegal traders to Peng-hu, also known as the Pescadores – a group of 36 islets where in 1597 Ming established a patrol post when they acknowledged it as constant target of *wakō*. The Dutch would be added to the potential threats after 1622.¹²⁷⁰ There was a constant fear that foreign trade would corrupt the morals of ordinary merchants and government officials alike.

In Western studies, comparatively little attention has been paid to the diversity of Chinese traders in the macro-region. Cantonese and Southern Fujianese merchant groups competed fiercely over foreign trade existed, a dynamic that would only increase after the arrival of the Europeans.¹²⁷¹ Accordingly, Fujianese traders very early tried to win the Spaniards' favour for the sake of getting exclusive access to trade in Manila. Thus they also actively opposed Portuguese competition in Manila. Even Spanish officials recognised their envy, as two Portuguese vessels from Macao had arrived in Manila in 1587. Fujianese traders went one step further in their 'monopolising' efforts by inviting the Spaniards to establish a similar settlement on Fujianese soil along the

According to a Ming primary source, 'evil people' (*chien-min*) monopolised profits on foreign trade because of too severe trade restrictions.

¹²⁶⁸ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3191>, accessed June 17, 2010.

¹²⁶⁹ Cf. Brook, *Vermeer's Hat*, 170.

¹²⁷⁰ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3169>, accessed March 11, 2010; Ng, "Maritime Frontiers," 235.

¹²⁷¹ Fujianese trade with Manila was furthermore characterised by regional competition between Quanzhou and Zhangzhou and their active controversy over Xiamen, as Lucille Chia pointed out at a conference in 2011. Lucille Chia, "Beyond the Coast and into the Hills: The Impact on Zhangzhou of Maritime Trade and Migration, 16th-18th Centuries" in *Sea Rovers, Silk, and Samurai: Maritime China in World History*. Emory Univ., Atlanta, 2011, October 27-29, 2011.

lines of the Portuguese enclave in Macao. Obviously the viceroy of Zhangzhou shared this view and was willing to issue *chapas* (licenses) for the sake of mutually safe and beneficial trade.¹²⁷² One of the reasons why this project never materialised was the brisk change in liberal trade in the later 1580s and early 1590s and official initiatives for taxing incoming and outgoing ships in Yüeh-kang, such as licence fees, “water prohibitions” (a ship-tax), “land-prohibitions” (a kind of import tax) and “added provisions” (a tax levied on ships returning from the Philippines). From 1594 onwards, the annual tax earnings in Yüeh-kang ranged about 30,000 *taels*.¹²⁷³

In 1610, the government again tried to restrict ocean-going trade and the building of tall-masted ships once it came to realise that trading with Japan had become more profitable than business in Luzón.¹²⁷⁴ An impressive set of prohibitions reflects that the Chinese side had not relaxed its attitude towards Japan while regular trading patterns with the Chinese in Nagasaki had been established by then.

We observe that after 1615, due to the welcoming reaction of Tokugawa regime, Fujianese traders directly went to Nagasaki, rendering the neutral trading spot that Manila had offered superfluous. Although Manila lost significance as triangular port, silver from Mexico continued to flow in: and so did Fujianese traders. After the peak years of Fujianese shipping in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, anchorage thereafter gradually declined to an average of one third.¹²⁷⁵ A further reason why Fujianese shipping declined in the 1620s was Dutch blockades of Cavite, the port of Manila.¹²⁷⁶ Consequently, Manila became a focal point of maritime conflicts.

The Dutch moreover accused the Spanish and Portuguese of applying unfair unrighteous means in East Asia in their negotiations with the *shōgun*.¹²⁷⁷ However, the case of the Dutch differed from earlier responses to illicit Asian traders, who as non-institutionalised ‘pirates’ were often integrated in the Manila trade. While Chinese and Japanese leaders sought to ban ‘*ayashii*’ (read: suspicious) sea-going merchants, the Spaniards at the same time were opportunistic enough to deal with them. As long as

¹²⁷² AGI Filipinas 18 A, r. 5, n. 31, "Carta de Vera sobre situación, comercio ... japoneses etc," 1507-06-26. "[...] junto a nosotros no hazemos tambien lo mismo en la provincia de Chincheo de adonde ellos traen tanta hazienda a esta tierra que si alla estuviese españoles embiaran a esta tierra sus haziendas con las quales y con las que ellos traen no sería necesario que Portugueses viniese aqui."

¹²⁷³ Lin, "Fukien's Private Sea Trade," 196-197.

¹²⁷⁴ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3205>, accessed June 17, 2010.

¹²⁷⁵ Chaunu, *Philippines*, 202-205.

¹²⁷⁶ AGI Filipinas 27, n. 124, "Petición sobre comercio de Filipinas con China," 1621-7-21. The author of the petition claimed that trade had already stopped for three years by then.

¹²⁷⁷ Adams, *Memorials of Japan*, 25.

Manila's trade was not disturbed, everyone was welcome to trade. Clearly, this situation had changed in the late 1610s. The unrelenting pressure of the protestant trading companies, in particular the Dutch, in the waters surrounding Manila in the early decades of the seventeenth century had disastrous economic consequences for the galleon trade.¹²⁷⁸ Since Manila now was a common target of maritime attack, a general feeling of insecurity spread over the archipelago. Joint Manila campaigns were feared most. News of negotiations for collaboration with the Japanese, as well as of an Anglo-Dutch alliance further poisoned the climate. After an unfortunate sea battle off Manila in 1618, the Dutch turned to the English for support.¹²⁷⁹ In a general council, EIC and VOC members – based in Hirado – agreed in 1620 to send ten ships after earlier attempts had failed.¹²⁸⁰ The entire project was part of a larger strategic approach that included the entire China Sea region. Richard Cocks was supposed to sail to the Chinese coast in advance and look out for Chinese junks and take care of them.¹²⁸¹ They failed and tried again in October 1621, when eight ships were sent to the 'Manillas' and attacked passing vessels. Most of the time the Spanish eventually overcame attacks; sometimes supported by Fujianese merchants.¹²⁸²

In terms of official Chinese trade policies it is interesting to note that as a reaction to the aggressive forms of trade utilised by the Dutch and an increase of smuggling, the Ming Court re-established trade prohibitions in the second half of the 1620s.¹²⁸³ What is surprising however, is that trade with the Japanese on a local level was not affected in that sense that the maritime merchants neither stopped going to Nagasaki nor did they consider the Japanese in Manila as enemies

¹²⁷⁸ Merino, *Cabildo*, 36.

¹²⁷⁹ Cocks, *Diary*, 171.

¹²⁸⁰ Ch'en, *Chinese Community*, 126: "Governor Dasmariñas made every endeavour to build large galleys. This kind of ship was badly needed for the defence of the Philippines to replace lost ships, to cruise around the archipelago, to keep away the plundering English privateers and Japanese pirates, and thus to maintain the security of the sea routes between the Philippines and Mexico."

¹²⁸¹ Cocks, *Diary*, 209.

¹²⁸² Cocks, *Diary*, 302.

¹²⁸³ von Glahn, *Fountain*, 123.



Map 7 South China Sea 1644

Although the ban on maritime trade was re-imposed at the end of the Ming period, Manila remained a popular destination for Fujianese traders until the end of the Ming-Qing transition, following a relaxation of the trade ban in 1631.¹²⁸⁴ This, in turn implies that most of the triangular trade was carried out on licensed Chinese vessels. Further evidence for this is found in a Spanish source that spoke of a Chinese delegation that came to Manila in the early 1630s asking for the continuation of trade after the interruption caused by Dutch attacks.¹²⁸⁵ At the beginning of the Qing reign, during the 1650s, trade had diminished to a trickle. Nevertheless, a random sample of the registered number of ships from coastal China shows that while in 1607, 37 were listed, it was still 34 in 1642. In the ensuing years, we see major fluctuations with only 13 ships in 1620 and 8 in 1644.¹²⁸⁶ By way of comparison, in 1572 it was three and in 1581 it has reached 20 ships.¹²⁸⁷ Reason enough to speculate about the fluidity of the entire trading system. While Pierre Chaunu's figures indicate that trade precipitously dropped after 1640s, Atwell denied it.¹²⁸⁸ Indeed, in 1644 the colonial government earned 113,668 pesos (18% of the total income) from Chinese licenses.¹²⁸⁹

Some Fujianese private maritime merchants who understood to benefit from risks and succeeded in accumulating large sums for further investment took private initiatives.¹²⁹⁰ According to Gang Deng, illegal Chinese merchant magnates such as Zheng Zhilong – who after 1625 collected protection money from other Chinese merchants operating in the South China Sea – were among the winners of the system, due to their flexibility.¹²⁹¹ Changes in maritime commerce therefore were mainly linked to the rise and fall of illicit merchant networks alongside China's Southern coast.¹²⁹² Yet 1639 was

¹²⁸⁴ von Glahn, *Fountain*, 124; Elvin, *Pattern of the Chinese Past*, 219.

¹²⁸⁵ San Agustín, *Islas Philipinas*, 265: "*También llegó otra embajada del Mandarín o Gobernador de la Provincia de Tochen en China pidiendo la continuación del comercio, porque se había interrumpido mucho por temor de las correrías que hacían los holandeses, apresando los Champanes de China que volvían del comercio de Manila, que es para los Chinos el mas acomodado y rico, y para los españoles el más necesarios por la variedad de mercadurías que conducen el señuelo de la plata que viene de la nueva España que es el metal que mas estiman por no correr en China otra moneda, usando del precio intrínseco de este metal, sin cuño ni forma de moneda. Fue esta embajada bien despachada como sobre materia en que tanto se interesaba.*"

¹²⁸⁶ Chaunu, *Philippines*, 222-225. Between 1663-73 again 104 registered Chinese vessels came to Manila; *Idem* 165, 168.

¹²⁸⁷ Cf. Ch'en, *Chinese Community*, 64-70.

¹²⁸⁸ Atwell, "Another Look," 467-491.

¹²⁸⁹ van den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 234.

¹²⁹⁰ According to Deng, *Chinese Maritime Activity*, 101 "ultrafamily business organizations" were the secret.

¹²⁹¹ Borao, *Spaniards in Taiwan*, x.

¹²⁹² The maritime empire of the Zheng and other pirate corporations has recently gained attention. See among others Xing Hang, "Between Trade and Legitimacy, Maritime and Continent: The Zheng Organization in Seventeenth-Century East Asia." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 2010.

a good year for the mid seventeenth century. In that year 34 arrivals from the Chinese mainland were recorded in Manila. Officially sanctioned junk trade may have been about half of the total.¹²⁹³ After this the collapse was unremitting. An average of only seven vessels a year from Chinese ports reached Manila in the period 1644-1681.¹²⁹⁴

7.3. Early Modern 'Capacity Building': Transfer via Manila

By definition, information gathering from above can sometimes be referred to as capacity building¹²⁹⁵ or empire building,¹²⁹⁶ depending on the context. Information gathering from below, which is closely linked to cultural transfer, differs fundamentally. The Manila-related transfer was often a combination of both. Its key aspects at the end of the long sixteenth century included maritime and military technology and navigation skills.

Around 1600, the Japanese were more receptive to foreign know-how and ideas than the Chinese. Thus exchange and reception between Japan and the Philippines was far deeper, regardless of the poor sustainability of such projects. Let us begin with a comparison of active information gathering about Manila within the triangular relations. We have already had ample opportunities to notice how the Spaniards made use of their privileged position in collecting information. This also included a totally different approach from the two East Asian states.¹²⁹⁷ On the following pages we will examine their approaches.

7.3.1. Information Gathering and Technological Transfer

The Ming dynasty, unlike the Qing and earlier dynasties, was infamous for taking few initiatives to learn about the Europeans or their countries. Quite contrary to their fascination with European science, introduced by the Jesuits beginning with Matteo Ricci, knowledge about Europe – be it of political or ideological nature – was not sought

¹²⁹³ Chaunu, *Philippines*, 148.

¹²⁹⁴ Reid, *Southeast Asia I*, 288.

¹²⁹⁵ The term is only usually only used for contemporary catching up strategies but its ideas might as well be transferred to pre-modern settings.

¹²⁹⁶ As the tendency of countries to acquire access to resources, political or economic influence abroad. See Chapter 1: *Definition and Setting*.

¹²⁹⁷ See Zhang Xie, *Dongxi Yangkao*, vol. 12. (Zhonghua Book Company, 1981); Kusaemon Kawabuchi, *Luzon Oboegaki* (Kaihyō sōsho, 1671), as the Memoirs of the Philippines. Moreover Chinese travel writings and imperial descriptions of the margins of empire, as well as 'zhuang' (wondrous stories) should be mentioned in this context.

actively in the Middle kingdom.¹²⁹⁸

However, it would be wrong to label China totally ignorant to the outside world. The Middle Kingdom's policy was concerned with security and stability. Therefore security policies shaped information gathering. Traditionally, territories within the *zhonghua* (Middle Kingdom) were of more concern than other regions. The idea of being superior to neighboring regions is reflected in these accounts.

Knowledge of the Philippines and their new settlers spread during the 1570s, at least if we want to believe Mendoza (respectively Rada).¹²⁹⁹ The Chinese reaction to friars coming from Manila tells us a lot about this awareness of Luzón and the people from the West. Mendoza also reports a number of friars being accused as spies by another Chinese authority in the course of a tedious examination.¹³⁰⁰ It is striking to see that Chinese authorities - despite their suspicion of (and aversion to) European missionaries - still granted them audiences.

Dispatching spies abroad was the most famous Ming intelligence strategy. They did so in Japan during Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea, and at several occasions in Europeans dominions.¹³⁰¹ No matter how uncomfortable the latter were about it, there was little they could do. The efficiency and the constant availability of potential candidates partially explains why China did not see any need for direct contact with foreigners for information gathering, an attitude that can again be linked to the previous question of building trust. Paranoia was the flipside of these foreign policies: Chinese officials used to suspect every private merchant for a political spy, taking Chinese military secrets back to their native countries, such as Japan.¹³⁰²

Maritime issues are of particular interest. In 1558 Chinese authorities considered a tax on large ocean-going ships, indicating that such vessels existed.¹³⁰³ This bears mentioning, in light of the debates about Ming China's nautical backwardness. Leonard Blussé has discussed the notable lack of Chinese shipping accounts as an obstacle in

¹²⁹⁸ Discussed in-depth by Timothy Brook in an anthology on cultural transfer from Europe to China and Japan. Brook, "Europaology?" 269-294.

¹²⁹⁹ Mendoza, *Historia*, 263.

¹³⁰⁰ Mendoza, *Historia*, 268.

¹³⁰¹ Cocks, *Diary*, 285: "But, howsoever, these men [Chinese merchants] follow the matter hardly, and tell me that the Emperour of China hath sent spies into all partes where the Spaniardes, Portingales, Hollanders, and we do trade, in these partes of the world, only to see our behavours on towardses an other, as also how we behave our selves towardses strangers, especially towardses Chinas. And som have byn in this place and brought by our frendes to the English howse, where I used them in the best sort I could, as I have advized to Bantam, Pattania and Syam to doe the lyke to all Chinas."

¹³⁰² Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3116>, accessed December 03, 2010.

¹³⁰³ Wade, MSL, <http://epress.nus.edu.sg/msl/entry/3171>, accessed December 03, 2010.

studying China's maritime past as Chinese sailors left behind any travel writings: "Chinese sailors themselves may have been accustomed to life at sea that they saw little use in writing up experiences that they took for granted, assuming that they could write at all."¹³⁰⁴ Here, we notice a striking difference in Chinese maritime networks: Unlike in Europe, where the educated class often collaborated with adventurers in maritime enterprises, Chinese maritime people were random coastal settlers. Yet, a country that had been dominating trade in South East Asia for centuries must have had ample knowledge about it. The bulk of seafaring and maritime traditions were clearly rooted in information gathering on the local level. A fascinating example is the Selden Map in the Bodleian Library.¹³⁰⁵ It not only displays common Chinese knowledge of the surrounding seas, but also late Ming Fujian printing tradition. Depicting what is now known as China Seas, Luzón is marked on the map as well as Nagasaki. Historians believe that it was created and used by a mercantile network of Fujianese traders between 1618 and 1622. More information that interests us can be taken from the map: The Spanish are indicated as *huaren*.¹³⁰⁶ In addition, the style of map-making is traditional Chinese and does not show any European influence. The author of the map, who is likely to have taken his reference from the *Dongxi Yangkao*, stressed the dominance of bullion trade or commodity metals for Fujianese maritime trade, giving detailed information on the route of the Manila Galleon, as well as on silver and gold mines in Japan.¹³⁰⁷ Some of the information is reminiscent of a pilot manual and the use of the map was therefore clearly for private merchant shipping and not the result of a central initiative.¹³⁰⁸

7.3.2. Case studies from Japan

While the standard argument across the literature is that Japan was backward in shipping technology until the early seventeenth century, historians have called for a re-examination of these issues in the light of unwritten seafaring knowledge and long

¹³⁰⁴ Leonard Blussé, "Junks to Java: Chinese Shipping to Nanyang in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century" in *Chinese Circulations: Capital, Commodities and Networks in Southeast Asia*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo et al., (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2011), 222.

¹³⁰⁵ Brook, *Troubled Empire*, 217; 218 (for an illustration of the original map).

¹³⁰⁶ 花人

¹³⁰⁷ Wills, "Maritime China," 215.

¹³⁰⁸ Ge Zhaoguang, *Zhai Zi Zhong Guo: Chong Jian You Guan Zhong Guo de Li Shi Lun Shu*. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 91-94: He analysed the power discourse in imperial China based on reflection on the outside world as seen in historical studies, maps and world views.

traditions of controlling the sea, as we have seen in the *wakō* debates.¹³⁰⁹ Indeed, during the sixteenth century, it was common practice to enlist Chinese and Ryukyuan assistance in order to reach remote ports in Southeast Asia; hence many Japanese merchants calling at Manila came on foreign ships.¹³¹⁰ They often employed Portuguese pilots, for instance Vasco Dias, who regularly directed Japanese vessels to Manila in the 1590s.¹³¹¹ At the same time, Japanese ships coming to Manila before 1600 were described as of rather big size, each carrying a cargo of 1,500 to 2,000 *picos*¹³¹² of wheat flour; In 1592, Juan Cobo reported of three newly built sea-going vessels and Harada's ship to Manila of the same year was described as having carried 150 people.¹³¹³

The discourse on the development of Japanese early modern shipbuilding is biased by myths, misjudgments and misinterpretations. Let us look at several early modern accounts that represent its complexity. According to a Castilian seafarer who visited Japan, the 'emperor' of the islands commanded over two hundred ships and a huge artillery. Such a narrative stands in sharp contrast to Hideyoshi's desperate interest in Iberian shipbuilders for the sake of improving maritime technology that alerted the Spanish on the archipelago.¹³¹⁴ Japanese deficits in offshore navigation technology and strong desire to catch up at the beginning of the so-called Age of Discovery¹³¹⁵ played a crucial role in their interactions with the Spaniards. Vessels used by Japanese maritime traders were called *bahan* ships. Already Hideyoshi demanded experts in shipbuilding and Ieyasu repeatedly asked for Spanish assistance in making Japanese vessels competitive with foreign vessels.¹³¹⁶ At the same time, both rulers also insisted on

¹³⁰⁹ A sixteenth-century Chinese compendium on Japan, the *Chouhai tubian*, described the poor navigation skills of the Japanese. See: Shapinsky, "Polyvocal Portolans," 17-18.

¹³¹⁰ For a history of pre-modern Japanese navigation see Iida Yoshihiro, *Nihon Kōkaijutsushi Kōdai kara Bakumatu made* (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1980).

¹³¹¹ Cabezas, *Siglo Ibérico*, 267-268, listed Bartolomé Vez Landeiro ("*namban-king*"), Sebastián Jorge Maxar, Pedro González de Carvajal (who took Pedro Bautista back to Japan), Manuel Luis, Pedro Camello, Jorge Pinto Barbosa, Domingo Peres.

¹³¹² Pastells, *Historia I*, 50.

¹³¹³ AGI Patronato 25, r. 50, "Trato del embajador del Japón con Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas," 1593; see also AGI, Filipinas 6, r. 7, n. 107, "Testimonio sobre embajador de Japón, Faranda y Juan Cobo," 1593-06-01: "*El portador de esta es Faranda Quiemo Xapon el qual va en un navio nuevo pintadas unas ojos coloradas en la popa es navio seguro y llevo ciento y veinte hombres chinos y xaponeses.*" See also *Dai Nippon* 658-667.

¹³¹⁴ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 7. n. 110, "Carta de Pedro González de Carvajal sobre su viaje a Japón," 1594.

¹³¹⁵ The discourse of a belated birth of Japanese offshore navigation and their lack of solid vessels with elaborate technology has re-entered Western minds in the 1980s when James Clavell's *Shōgun* was broadcasted in various parts of the world.

¹³¹⁶ Rodrigo de Vivero, R. G. San Antonio, *Relaciones de la Camboya y el Japón* ed. Roberto Ferrando (Madrid: 1988), 149-157; 165; see also Morga, *Sucesos*, 143: "[T]hat the Spaniards could proceed to send their trading vessels to Kwanto and then in turn, the Governor would also send over master ship builders and yard personnel to build vessels with which to sail from Japan to New Spain and establish trade and

mining experts to be sent from New Spain.¹³¹⁷

Thus, we must challenge perceptions about Japanese 'nautical backwardness'. Zheng Ruozen described the differences of Chinese junks and traditional Japanese ships in 1563, in the *Chouhai tubian*. According to this compilation, the latter were not qualified for offshore journeys due to having a too flat hull and the only being able to sail with favourable wind.¹³¹⁸ A later Chinese source, the *Riben kao* (*Thoughts on Japan*), published around 1593, stated that the Japanese received assistance from Chinese carpenters to build large ships for several thousand *taels*.¹³¹⁹ A Korean who accompanied a vermilion-seal ship recorded: "Japanese possess only small ships incapable of traversing the great ocean. So with 80 pieces of silver, they purchase passage on Chinese ships."¹³²⁰ Pablo Pastells quoted a Spanish account that claimed in 1592 that because of the small size of the ships, a journey from Japan to the Philippines was very unlikely.¹³²¹ Despite the size and capacity of these ships, they were simple constructions mainly for rowing crews.¹³²² Similarly, in 1613, William Adams concluded that, although Japanese sailors were skilled, the Japanese islands lacked sufficiently advanced shipbuilding and navigational technologies. Another Spanish source suggested mutual transfer around 1605, when "vessels built after the fashion of China and Japon are very good with both oar and sail, and have greater capacity and accommodation for carrying provisions than any other kind of vessels with which oars are used."¹³²³

With the beginning of *shuinsen* trade and increased Japanese presence at sea we see a gradual change in Japanese ship constructions.¹³²⁴ Japanese historians also refer to great Japanese ships in Southeast Asia that became commonly known as *somasen*.¹³²⁵ After

friendly relations with the Viceroy there, for which purpose, he claimed the Daifu had already given his leave also for representatives of religion to go to Japan, make Christian converts, build churches and monasteries [...]" See also Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 79.

¹³¹⁷ Gomi et al., *Shōsetsu Nihonshi Kenkyū*, 216-219. The delegation to New Spain of the Kyoto merchant Tanaka Shōsuke of 1610/11 with the prominent purpose of establishing direct trade between Japan and Mexico and receiving a group of mining specialist to help the Japanese to catch up should be mentioned in this context.

¹³¹⁸ Zheng Ruozen, *Chouhai tubian*, j. 2, 201-202 (Beijing 2007). Cf. Nakajima, "Invasion of Korea," 149.

¹³¹⁹ See Nakajima, "Invasion of Korea," 150.

¹³²⁰ Shapinsky, "Polyvocal Portolans," 17-18.

¹³²¹ Pastells, *Historia I*, 51.

¹³²² Pastells, *Historia I*, 50.

¹³²³ BR 14: 69.

¹³²⁴ For the *shuinsen* constructions and nautical history see Nakamura Hiroshi, *Goshuinsen Kōkaizu* (Tokyo: Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, 1965).

¹³²⁵ Murai, *Umi kara*, 165: He concludes that the word *so-ma* derives from Sama, the name of a place close to the silver mountains. Japanese ships sojourning to China and Korea, laden with silver, were referred to as *soma-sen* by early Europeans. These ships are sometimes considered Chinese constructions of 500 to

being denied help by the Spaniards, the Japanese sought assistance from other Europeans. The first European-style trading ships were built under the supervision of William Adams in 1604 and 1605 in Uraga. He pointed out that good quality timber, hemp and iron made it possible.¹³²⁶ Ironically, the Spaniards were to buy one of these two after being fascinated by its robustness.¹³²⁷ The interim governor, Vivero y Velasco even proposed buying Japanese vessels for local use since the “cost of constructing galleys and ships in the Philippines is intolerable, the little wood that there is costs blood, for the natives suffering great harm having to drag the timber by hand” in 1608.¹³²⁸ A similar order was reinforced in 1623.¹³²⁹

Sebastián Vizcaíno's experience serves as evidence for this controversial reciprocal collaboration. Before his return trip to Mexico, Hidetada offered to build him a ship at his own expense, on the condition that the Spanish general would lend him ship-carpenters and take some Japanese merchants to New Spain.¹³³⁰ Unable to afford the highly-prized material, he eventually had to take the vessel 'San Juan Bautista' that was constructed in Sendai by Date Masamune, as a 500-ton Western style vessel. In 1616 the same ship crossed the Pacific to the Philippines and was eventually purchased by the Spanish governor.¹³³¹

In fact, knowledge exchange existed between Japan and Luzón, simply because transfer was unavoidable in multi-ethnic maritime communities. Manila even became something like a Mecca for shipbuilders – as shown by the case of Ikeda Kōun who drafted the famous *Genna kōkaishoin* 1623.¹³³² This navigational treatise that included crucial information such as explanations on the quadrant and astrolabe, a guide for using solar and nautical calendars, instructions on how to determine positions at sea by the sun and the stars, as well as navigational charts of the waters between Japan and Southeast Asia.¹³³³ In 1616, Ikeda Kōun sailed for two years as part of a *shuinsen* crew, when he visited Manila together with Manuel Gonzalo, a Portuguese navigator and

600 tons.

¹³²⁶ Adams, *The Kingdom of Japan*, 71.

¹³²⁷ For a discussion on these points see my article of 2009: Birgit Tremml, "Neuzeitliche Schifffahrt zwischen den Spanischen Philippinen und Japan" in *Seefahrt und die Frühe Europäische Expansion* ed. Alexander Marboe et al., (Wien: Mandelbaum, 2009), 179-208.

¹³²⁸ Cf. Juan Gil, *Hidalgos y Samurais*, 191.

¹³²⁹ Quoted from Sugimoto and Swain, *Science and Culture*, 177-178.

¹³³⁰ Murakami, "Japan," 473.

¹³³¹ Sudō Toshiichi, *Fune* (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku shuppankyoku, 1968), 115-118.

¹³³² Ikeda Yōemon Nyūdō Kōun, *Genna kōkaisho*, ed. Saigusa Hiroto (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1943).

¹³³³ For technological transfer in nautical and navigation issues from the Philippines to Japan see Sugimoto and Swain, *Science and Culture*, 179-185.

vermillion seal captain.¹³³⁴ *Genna Kōkaisho* is as an absolutely fascinating example of trans-cultural transfer and a typical example for early modern appropriation of navigation techniques since Ikeda assimilated several hybrid practices in the Greater China Seas, as Peter Shapinsky has argued.¹³³⁵

Technology made gradual advances and war ships (especially), with regional variations, were improved during the ongoing battles of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Following this the increase in maritime trade led to adaptations for cargo and the construction of hybrid style ships including indigenous Japanese, Chinese and European elements of about 500 tons around 1600.¹³³⁶ Regarding the ship design, the earliest *shuinsen* showed similar characteristics as the Chinese junk. Over the next decades, European shipbuilding knowledge entered Japan and a hybrid developed including Chinese, Mediterranean and indigenous Japanese elements.¹³³⁷

To 'catch up' in map-making was at least as important as shipping technology. Here, the Japanese definitely benefitted from regular interaction with European seafarers. Once certain skills had been acquired, the Japanese began to give their maps a genuine touch reflecting their worldview. Both early seventeenth century Japanese and Chinese cartographic visions were strongly influenced by Matteo Ricci's maps, with four seas and six continents. Tokugawa maps – with a small and large Eastern Sea – were also influenced by *namban* cartography, also known as *karuto*¹³³⁸ that launched the development of hybrid map-making. In fact they were largely a by-product of multi-cultural maritime collaborations resulting from Japan's nautical late-blooming.¹³³⁹

Maps are a perfect tool for manipulating our world views and perceptions, as well as serving as symbols for unification. I have argued before that encounters with the Europeans encouraged the Japanese to do whatever it took to pull away from a China-centred cosmos, that would eventually led into the creation of a Japan-centred world.

¹³³⁴ Iwao, *Shuinsen*, 231-232.

¹³³⁵ Shapinsky, "Polyvocal Portolans," 19.

¹³³⁶ Ishii Kenji, *Wasen* (Tokyo: Hosei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1995), 2-9.

¹³³⁷ Prominent elements came from the Chinese junk and the Iberian galleon. Vivid examples include the Suetsugu-ship and the Araki-ship.

¹³³⁸ See Alexandra Curvelo, "Aproximar a Distância. A Experiência Ultramarina Ibérica e a Criação de Imagens Pelodurante a Idade Moderna" in *Portugal und das Heilige Römische Reich (16.-18. Jahrhundert); Portugal e o Sacro Império (Séculos XVI-XVIII)*, ed. Madalena Simoes and Alexandra Curvelo (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2011), 256. For Japanese map-making under the Tokugawa and the construction of sea space see Marcia Yonemoto, "Maps and Metaphors of the "Small Eastern Sea" in Tokugawa Japan (1603-1868)" *Geographical Review* 89 (1999): 169-187; Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603-1868* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2003).

¹³³⁹ Shapinsky, "Polyvocal Portolans".

Previous research has shown how the new 'Japanese world system' was modelled on the traditional Chinese *ka'i* order.¹³⁴⁰ Tessa Morris-Suzuki has moreover stressed the steady decline of Chinese hegemonic power as the main reason for this development.¹³⁴¹

In Japan, both art and the purpose of information gathering changed during the seventy years of the Manila system. The most representative example of information gathering from above is certainly the *sōzu* of the 1640s. The *bankoku jinbutsuzu* (or *sōzu*; *Chart of all Nations*), for instance, was printed and published in Nagasaki in 1645.¹³⁴² These ethnicity-screens are an expressive example of the Japanese worldview and Japan's own place in a wider world.¹³⁴³ They depict people of all 'nations' known to Tokugawa Japan and reflect a change in self-perception outside Chinese cosmology. Interestingly, similar cartographic designs were published roughly at the same time in Europe.¹³⁴⁴ This process of reflecting one's geographical, political and ethnic position in the world, was inspired by interaction and cultural exchange with the Europeans – and accelerated the spread of a sense of nationality'.¹³⁴⁵ The conceptualisation of foreigners and foreign relations full of Chinese adaptations, such as the middle kingdom model of concentric circles, is a telling indication for the new hybrid form of foreign relations.

Japan was placed on top of all nations but not in a classical hierarchical composition. Significantly, European people were painted with white skin and the 'ethnic representatives' of each country were always equipped with characteristic cultural objects of their country. What is furthermore interesting is that despite the newly implemented seclusion policies, images were constructed through European lenses.¹³⁴⁶

¹³⁴⁰ Morris-Suzuki, "Frontiers of Japanese Identity," 50: The Japanese perception changed by two forces. "The first was the force of Japan's changing relationship with China; the second, the force of the encounter with the European powers."

¹³⁴¹ Morris-Suzuki, "Frontiers of Japanese Identity," 46-65. See also Mary Elizabeth Berry, "Was Early Modern Japan Culturally Integrated" in *Beyond Binary Histories. Re-Imagining Eurasia to C. 1830*, ed. Victor Lieberman (Ann Arbor: The Michigan Univ. Press, 1999). 103-126; Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print. Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period, Asia. Local Studies, Global Themes* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2006).

¹³⁴² Toby, *Sakoku*, 196-198: Later similar charts printed in Edo and Kyoto, only thereafter (2nd half of 17th C) reached the concept of *bankoku* the larger parts of the society; reflects the change of world view in Japan; broadened horizon and coincides with a withdrawal from China. Toby also showed that East Asia remains the centre of the earth in these global illustrations

¹³⁴³ Morris-Suzuki, "Frontiers of Japanese Identity," 46.

¹³⁴⁴ *Pareja de biombos con el mapa del mundo y 28 ciudades famosas, Japón*. Tokio Museo de la colecciones imperiales Sannomaru Shozokan; Willem Jansz Blaeu: *Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica*, The Amsterdam Maritime Museum. See Mola and Shaw *Ruta*, 109-110.

¹³⁴⁵ Morris Suzuki, "Frontiers of Japanese Identity," 46.

¹³⁴⁶ The Kyushu University Museum presents the masterpiece on its homepage and gives a fairly substantial description of the forty nationalities displayed. See <http://record.museum.kyushu-u.ac.jp/bankoku/> accessed December 11, 2011. Depicted in a table of several lines and columns are forty

Toby remarked that similar traditions of categorizing ethnicities existed in China, in the form of *ruisho*.¹³⁴⁷ Furthermore one can observe parallels with the illustrations in the Boxer-Codex printed with Chinese help in late sixteenth century Manila.¹³⁴⁸

This chart also gives insights into the Philippines' role in Japan's geopolitical positioning. While the Spaniards were illustrated together with Italians in the chart's penultimate section, just before the giants and the dwarfs, the inhabitants of Luzón was treated as an independent ethnic group. The Luzón male was dressed in European style trousers, while the Luzón female covered her hair casually with a long scarf reminiscent of the Virgin Mary or other biblical characters.¹³⁴⁹ Looking at China, we see that it held a prominent position but was explicitly labelled Ming, the name of the Dynasty that ironically had been replaced just one year before the first publication of the Chart.

Interrogations of the numerous Europeans on Japanese soil also served the ruling power for information gathering. When it comes to the perception of the Spaniards in times of increasing tensions, Northern European antagonists fueled the (already steaming) anti-Iberian sentiments of the *bakufu*. When William Adams was interviewed by Hidetada after the Dutch had taken a Portuguese ship on the Japanese coast, he gave a detailed account of European affairs, claiming that "[the King of] Spaine did think hym selfe to have more right [in these] partes of the world then any other Christian prince, by [reason] of the footing he had gotten in the Phillippinas and in other partes of the Indies, and thereafter per force ment to keepe all other nations form trading into these partes." The *shōgun* naturally disagreed and at the same occasion publically contradicted the policy of enslavement upon military victory that was common among the Dutch and the Spanish.¹³⁵⁰

nations beginning with Japan, followed by Ming China, the Tartars and Taiwan and other Southeast Asians. Only further down in the chart we find the then known European nations beginning with England

¹³⁴⁷ Toby, *Sakoku*, 198.

¹³⁴⁸ For the illustrations see <http://www.filipeanut.com/2011/09/the-boxer-codex/> accessed May 11, 2012.

¹³⁴⁹ What is most striking about the chart is the picture of 'America' that shows stereotypical 'Indian' symbolism including feathered headdress, bow and arrow. That means that the few members of the EIC or William Adams himself must have spread this picture that should come to dominate views of Native Americans all over the world in the following centuries.

¹³⁵⁰ Cocks, *Diary*, 281.

7.4. Geopolitical Strategies and Maritime Policies: Local-Central Tensions

7.4.1 China: Taiwan and the Zheng

By the time Taiwan first caught the Spaniards' fancy, the island was still outside the Chinese sphere of political influence.¹³⁵¹ As early as 1596, Spanish authorities suggested taking over Isla Hermosa before the Japanese, as a Japanese presence there would bring them too close to Luzón.¹³⁵² They suspected that the Japanese envoy Harada Kiyemon was planning a conquest of the island, which in turn was extremely worrying as they believed this would end trade with China.¹³⁵³ Governor Tello furthermore feared an enforcement of the Cagayan-Taiwan axis and demanded support for a Spanish invasion of Taiwan in 1597.¹³⁵⁴ With Hideyoshi's death the following year, the project became superfluous and Taiwan was remained off the Spanish radar until 1619, when the Spanish started expeditions, eventually conquered parts of the island in 1626. Their presence on the island would last until 1642.¹³⁵⁵ The first Chinese proposal for the systematic colonisation of Taiwan came privately from Zheng Zhilong in 1628.¹³⁵⁶ Active policies towards the South China Sea were not developed during the Ming as the Southeastern coastal region as was considered a periphery.¹³⁵⁷

The second attempt to establish on Taiwan is mainly understood as a reaction to the Dutch influence in the region. Dutch and English practices of naval coercion damaged the Iberians and East Asian trading nations alike, as we have already seen. In the year 1622, the Dutch built a fortress on the Pescadores with the aim of receiving official permission to trade with the Fujianese. They would withdraw to Taiwan in 1624 after negotiations with the Fujianese Grand Coordinator, who granted them access to China-

¹³⁵¹ Ng, "Ming Maritime Frontiers," 238. Taiwan was a "and beyond the reach" for the Ming.

¹³⁵² Letter of Governor Luis Pérez Dasmariñas to His Majesty, July 8 1596. Reprinted in Borao, *Spaniards in Taiwan*, 18-20.

¹³⁵³ Reprinted in Borao, *Spaniards in Taiwan*, 21-22.

¹³⁵⁴ Yoshi S. Kuno, *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent* (Univ. Of California Press, 1940).

¹³⁵⁵ For reasons of limited space the fascinating episode of Spanish involvement in Asian politics can only be mentioned briefly. Recent works have tackled the topic. I recommend in particular Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese. Dutch, Spanish, and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century* (Gutenberg <e>, New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2006). José Borao and his research team have edited a very helpful compilation that includes the most relevant sources on the Spanish occupation and administration of Taiwan including trade figures.

¹³⁵⁶ Wills, "Maritime China," 215.

¹³⁵⁷ Ng, "Maritime Frontiers," 212.

Japan intermediary trade.¹³⁵⁸ But the VOC never succeeded in creating a monopoly in trading with the Fujianese, nor in keeping the Iberians out.

In 1619, policymakers in Manila expressed their wish to circumvent Chinese taxes and make trade with Quanzhou more profitable by establishing a trading outpost in Taiwan.¹³⁵⁹ The outlook of a new market for lucrative China trade was just another incentive for Spain's 16-year long colonizing efforts that were entirely financed from the Philippines. Spanish Taiwan (Santo Domingo and Jielong) was administered by Spanish governors from Manila, while the conversion of the indigenous and Chinese population was left to three dozen Dominican and Franciscan missionaries.¹³⁶⁰ Eventually, fierce Dutch harassment and Chinese pirate empires (well organised maritime privateers), forced the Spaniards to surrender.¹³⁶¹ Based in Fujian Province, the Zheng clan controlled Chinese and East Asian maritime trade from around 1627 to 1683. As 'illicit merchants', they would cooperate with the Dutch at times during the 1620s. In those days, Zhilong also aimed at increasing his power by collaborating with Manila Chinese under his pseudonym Nicolás Gaspar,¹³⁶² the Christian name he received after his baptism in Macao.¹³⁶³ As supreme commander of Fujianese military forces and founder of the remarkable 'Zheng maritime empire', he worked as translator for the VOC in Taiwan and after having been involved in long-distance trade in Manila and Nagasaki became the new pirate chief in 1624.¹³⁶⁴

The Ming-Qing transition of 1644 brought the real change to Sino-Spanish relations. Pierre Chaunu's figures indicate a significant decline in tax income from trade with the Chinese after 1650s.¹³⁶⁵ In addition, political shifts in China turned Manila into a geopolitical target for the Southern Ming: The most fascinating aspect in the Zheng empire's contact with the Spanish was their attempt project sovereign power by extending control over the South China Sea, including claims over Fujianese trade(rs). Shortly after the defeat of the Dutch in 1662, Zheng Chenggong sent Victorio Riccio, O.P.

¹³⁵⁸ Blussé, "Sorcerer's," 93.

¹³⁵⁹ Borao, *Spaniards in Taiwan*, 41-48.

¹³⁶⁰ Borao, *Spaniards in Taiwan*, xxvii-xxxii.

¹³⁶¹ Andrade, *Lost Colony*, 30-31.

¹³⁶² In Japanese sources: Tei Shiryū.

¹³⁶³ On the life of Zheng Zhilong see Anna Busquets, "Los Frailes de Koxinga." In *La Investigación Sobre Asia Pacífico en España*, ed. P. A. San Ginés (Granada: Universidad de Granada Colección española de Investigación sobre Asia Pacífico, 2007), 393-422.

¹³⁶⁴ Victorio Riccio was in close contact with him and wrote extensively about his life and hegemonic claims over Taiwan. For Zhilong and the Dutch see Leonard Blussé, "Sorcerer's Apprentice," 95-99.

¹³⁶⁵ Chaunu, *Philippines*, 114-115; 123-125.

with a letter to Manila threatening invasion.

Between 1657 and 1663, Zheng Chenggong and his son Zheng Jing, as leading figures of maritime China and rulers of Taiwan, made similar advances. By asking for tribute and submission to their sovereignty, both Hideyoshi and the Zheng applied a model of Sino-centered foreign relations to strengthening their position against internal and external forces. In both cases the Spaniards saw their position as sovereigns over Luzón challenged. Interestingly enough, although seventy years and more than thousand miles separated these two interim military rules, their diplomatic tactics showed a significant number of parallels.¹³⁶⁶ On both occasions Dominican friars were employed as linguists and cultural mediators.¹³⁶⁷ The Spaniards indeed prepared for a conquest and assembled military support from Mindanao and Maluku as well as made improvements to the city walls using forced Chinese labour. These preparations fuelled tensions and mutual ill-feeling. This time the colonial government gave the Chinese some time to leave the island before they took up arms. Similar to previous clashes, peaceful relations were re-established the following year.¹³⁶⁸

7.4.2. Japan

Japanese advances in New Spain

Just as economic and geopolitical considerations motivated the Spaniards and the Zheng clan to improve their standings in the China Seas, the Japanese tried to expand in the Pacific region. A fascinating local actor and geopolitical player in Hispano-Japanese encounters was Date Masamune, *daimyō* of Sendai. He not only differed geographically from the other local players, but also in terms of timing, His foreign activism did not start until 1611, a period that marked the beginning of irreparable tensions between Overseas Spain and Tokugawa Japan. Date Masamune clearly aspired to increase the political power of his realm with the help of Mexican merchants and Franciscan friars. With Ieyasu's permission, he sent an embassy to Mexico and Spain.¹³⁶⁹ The project

¹³⁶⁶ AGI Filipinas 201, 85r-88v, "Testimonio de la respuesta de Sabiniano Manrique de Lara al tirano Cogsenia," 1662-07-12.

¹³⁶⁷ We may recall that the Franciscan friar Pedro Baptista was chosen as second ambassador to Japan.

¹³⁶⁸ See Wills, "Maritime Europe," 60-61.

¹³⁶⁹ Gonoï Takashi. *Hasekura Tsunenaga*, Shinsōban Dai-1-Han (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 2003); For the Hasekura mission to Spain see also Pastells *Catálogo*, CLXXXI – CCXV; for the number of ships arriving in Acapulco see: <http://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&pid=sites&srcid=ZGVmYXVsdGRvbWVpbnxtYW5pbGFnYWxsZW9ubGltZdGluZ3xneDoxNzhiZWQ3NDkzNjEwNTA3>. Accessed October 11, 2011. Original records of Hasekura's

marked the beginning of an entirely new era of Hispano-Japanese relations that were characterised by Mexico and Spain, but not the Philippines, being involved in negotiations. Another local actor playing a leading role was the zealous Franciscan missionary Luís Sotelo, who was driven by the dream of establishing a diocese in Japan, as a stronghold against the Jesuits in Nagasaki. What the two allies had in common was that their sovereigns did not take them seriously and were unwilling to support their surreal projects.¹³⁷⁰

How did this last diplomatic stance come into being? Date Masamune debuted in Japanese foreign relations shortly after Vivero's return to New Spain and the consequent mission of Sebastián de Vizcaíno to explore the legendary gold islands (*Islas Rico de Oro y Plata*) north of Japan.¹³⁷¹ Vizcaíno, who found fame as explorer of the Californian Coast, was at the same time appointed ambassador to the Tokugawa Court.¹³⁷² He was sent from New Spain, shortly after the arrival of the delegation of the Franciscan Alonso Muñoz as ambassador of the *bakufu* in Mexico, in a last serious attempt to establish permanent relations with New Spain. During his stay in Japan, Vizcaíno would meet Hidetada and Ieyasu several times, where he demanded trade permission as well as a trade prohibition for the Dutch and sought to confirm the friendship between the two nations, but was repeatedly met with an inflexible Japanese position.

Sebastián Vizcaíno was probably the worst representative the Iberians could have asked for. Much in the style of Lord McCartney in Qing China 180 years later, he was unwilling to follow Japanese diplomatic protocol and insisted on meeting face to face as was custom in Spain. Despite being disturbed by such proud behaviour, the Japanese eventually acceded to Vizcaino to meet with this protocol.¹³⁷³

After his expedition was unsuccessful, he sealed a deal with Date Masamune for the Hasekura mission – named after Date Masamune's ambassador Hasekura Tsunenaga (also called Rokuemon). Paradoxically, Hasekura was appointed Hidetada's envoy to Europe. Carrying letters by Hidetada confirming friendship and the continuation of

embassy were published in Spain in 2012: José Koichi Oizumi and Juan Gil, eds. *Historia de la Embajada de Idate Masamune al Papa Paulo V (1613-1615)* (Madrid: Ediciones Doce Calles, S.L., 2012).

¹³⁷⁰ Pastells, *Catálogo*, clxxxii-clxxxiii: The authorities in New Spain and Vizcaino mistrusted Luis Sotelo.

¹³⁷¹ The strange mission was not unnoticed by other European traders in Japan. Cocks reported in detail. Cocks, *Diary*, 283.

¹³⁷² What makes his biography furthermore interesting is that he functioned as a merchant on a Manila Galleon in the years 1586 and 1589.

¹³⁷³ Sola, *Desencuentro*, 129. Some sources even suggest that he threatened he would return to Mexico without meeting the *shōgun* if he would not have his way.

direct trade with New Spain, and a more critical one by Ieyasu pointing out the Japanese aversion to Christianity in their country, he set out for Europe.¹³⁷⁴ Vizcaino's expedition was a failure from the point of view of the viceregal government. Not only that they did not find the Islas Ricos de Oro y Plata, they also did not adhere to the order not to bring any Japanese to New Spain.

In 1614, the Japanese embassy reached Seville, where the mayor of Seville was presented gifts and letters from the 'king of Sendai' (referred to as 'Rey of Boxu'; Date Masamune).¹³⁷⁵ Date Masamune promised the conversion of his entire realm, once a direct trade route between Sendai and New Spain was established.¹³⁷⁶ The audience with Philip III, who was reported to have shown little interest in Hasekura's mercantile plans, was less promising. The Spanish authorities were uncomfortable about his presence and first and foremost wished for his speedy departure.¹³⁷⁷ There was a major dispute about who would come up for the mission's expenses.¹³⁷⁸ After a journey to Rome, the delegation was finally persuaded to head back to Mexico in 1617, without having achieved anything. Their onward journey brought them to Manila where Sotelo's hopes to find the necessary support for his project were deflated.¹³⁷⁹

One may argue that the whole episode had nothing to do with Manila. It did, quite simply by excluding and partially avoiding it. Spanish policy makers, such as the Duke of Lerma, would have gone as far as trading the Philippines for regular annual trade relations with Japan, as became clear from during secret negotiations organised by Lerna, whereby the Dutch would give up Asia in exchange for complete peace with Spain. We can only speculate about the incentives behind this 'betrayal' of the Philippines, whose inhabitants expressively opposed such plan. One likely explanation is a revenge to the Dutch.¹³⁸⁰

¹³⁷⁴ AGI Escritura_cifra, 30, "Carta original del Universal Señor del Japón, Hidetada Tokugawa (Minamoto Hidetada), al duque de Lerma, en la que autoriza a los navíos españoles procedentes de Nueva España a tocar puertos japoneses, dejando los detalles del asunto a los padres franciscanos Fray Alonso Muñoz y Fray Luis Sotelo, que llevan cinco armaduras japonesas de regalo," 1610-05-4.

¹³⁷⁵ Gil, *Hidalgos y Samurais*, 308; 399. Ōizumi, *Keichō Kenō Shisetsu Haken Mokuteki no Shinsō*, 239-242. Massarella, *World Elsewhere*, 169-171.

¹³⁷⁶ Gonoï, *Hasekura Tsunenaga*, 103-107.

¹³⁷⁷ See also Rodríguez-García, *Las Armas Japonesas del Rey de España*, 46.

¹³⁷⁸ See for example AGI Contratación 5352, n. 21, "Francisco de San Martín," 1616-06-23. AGI México 28, n. 46, "Cartas del Virrey Marqués de Guadalcazar," 1616-12-01; AGI Filipinas 37, n. 13, "Petición de Mariana de Espina de los gastos del embajador de Japón," 1615-05-20.

¹³⁷⁹ Cabezas, *Siglo Ibérico*, 318.

¹³⁸⁰ The paragraph is based on Sola, *Desencuentro*, 134-136. The governor, *audiencia* and the City of Manila opposed plans to open a direct route between Japan and New Spain 1611; AGI Filipinas 163, l. 1, n. 1, "Copia de capítulo de carta de la Audiencia de Filipinas al rey," 1611-07-16; AGI México 24, n. 88, "Carta

In the meantime, New Spain sent one final Catholic mission to the Tokugawa Court, under Father Diego de Santa Catalina, in autumn 1615.¹³⁸¹ Due to recent circumstances the mission was not received by the Tokugawa Court; the humiliated Spaniards eventually decided in autumn 1616 to return to New Spain, despite a vice regal order not to come back before meeting the *shōgun*.¹³⁸² An impatient Date Masamune left the political stage after speculations of his involvement in a conquering plot in 1618.¹³⁸³ When Hasekura Tsunenaga eventually returned to Japan there was no longer mention of friendly trade relations.

Japan and the Philippines: The Real Alienation

To the Northern European trading nations, the fiasco of diplomatic relations with New Spain served as inspiration for the revival of the idea of a joint campaign against Luzón to drive out the Spaniards. Convinced by their arguments that it would be an easy task if launched from Taiwan, and the lure of future trade benefits with China, Hidetada was not "unwilling to listen".¹³⁸⁴

Indeed, the *bakufu* became more hostile to European traders in the 1620s following changes in foreign policies after Ieyasu's death in 1616, when in August the *bakufu* restricted European trade to Hirado and Nagasaki.¹³⁸⁵ The early 1620s saw drastic confiscation and persecution of Catholic friars and their Japanese accomplices as result of centralising efforts.¹³⁸⁶ In particular captains carrying Spaniards to Japan were severely punished.¹³⁸⁷

In 1621, the *bakufu* prohibited the export of weapons and the voyage of Japanese on foreign ships. Other foreign trade was not immediately affected: An overview of imports from Japan to Manila of 1621 includes 947 bags of wheat flour (for 10,705) as well as

de Juan de Silva al rey," 1611-08-20.

¹³⁸¹ Cocks, *Diary*, 274.

¹³⁸² Tsūkō Ichiran, fol. 185/54.

¹³⁸³ Zaide, *Philippines*, 356.

¹³⁸⁴ Cocks, *Diary*, 283-284.

¹³⁸⁵ Rekishigaku Kenkyū, *Nihonshi shiryō*, 130.

¹³⁸⁶ Cocks, *Diary*, 334.

¹³⁸⁷ Cocks, *Diary*, 248-249. On March 11, 1622: "Torazemon Dono sent for Capt. Camps and me to com to hym, for that he had something to tell us from Oyen Dono, themperours secretary. Soe we went to his howse, where we mett Cacazemor Dono, Stroyemon Dono, and Jentero Donos secretary. And they tould us that, tuching the priz goodes ir the friggot, the Japons, said it was theirs, and not the Spaniardes or Portingales, but themperour would not beleeve them, for that we had proved them tretors in bringing padres into Japon, contrary to his comandement."

49,900 pieces of biscuits (for 12,554), soy beans, oil and pig legs.¹³⁸⁸

Annoyed with uncontrollable competition and frictions between VOC and EIC traders, the *bakufu* closed the factories in Hirado in 1623 a few months before they broke with the Spaniards. In 1624, when a Spanish intrigue against the *bakufu* with some of the northern *daimyō* was reported, the *shōgun* closed all Japanese ports to Spanish ships.¹³⁸⁹ Paradoxically four *shuinsen* were registered for Manila.¹³⁹⁰ The Spaniards for their part were not willing to give up easily.

The 1620s were also a period when Spanish-Portuguese tensions in the East relaxed. Thus it may not surprise us that several years later, Spanish forces sent by Governor Don Fernando de Silva, assisted the Portuguese of Macao against the Japanese in Siam.¹³⁹¹ The burning of Takagi Sakuemon's¹³⁹² red-seal ship (according to Spanish accounts it carried a cargo of about 25,000 pesos) by a Spanish war ship in Ayutthaya¹³⁹³ would determine future Spanish relations with the Japanese and reflect the downturn of Spanish foreign policies in the East in late 1620s and 1630s, when conditions in the South China Sea had undisputedly reached a point of transition.

As news of the incident reached Japan – a furious public spurred on by the Dutch – called for revenge for this major offence against the *bakufu's* maritime sovereign rights, represented by the *shuinjō*.¹³⁹⁴ However, despite seizing a Portuguese galliot at Nagasaki in retaliation, the Japanese authorities remained hesitant, although weighing the topic back and forth; the Japanese eventual non-intervention brings to mind Roland Toby's claim that the *bakufu* was not aiming to project power over the sea with the *shuinjō*.¹³⁹⁵

The *bakufu's* decision to end all Japanese trade relations with Luzón puzzled Spanish merchants. Reactions in Manila further show that leading authorities were unable to understand Japan's political move. The only explanation the Spaniards could think of was Japan's stubborn refusal to negotiate and to prosecute Japanese Christians. Governor Távora (r. 1626-1632), knight of the order of Calatrava, concluded that if the trade prohibition continued it would be a clear statement for being an enemy of the

¹³⁸⁸ Iwao, Nanyō, 338.

¹³⁸⁹ Shimizu, "Sakoku seisaku," 150-151. In a special audience in Edo, the Spaniards were told that they were no longer welcome in Japan. See Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 120.

¹³⁹⁰ Shimizu Yūko, *Kinsei Nihon to Ruson. 'Sakoku' Keiseishi Saikō* (Tokyo: Tokyodō Shuppan, 2012), 234-236.

¹³⁹¹ Medina, *Historia*, 263-264.

¹³⁹² 高木作右衛門

¹³⁹³ See AGI Filipinas 8, r.1, n. 6, "Carta de Niño de Távora sobre materias de gobierno," 1629-08-01.

¹³⁹⁴ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 96.

¹³⁹⁵ Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 6-7: "In fact, the bakufu did not attempt to monopolize foreign trade, but actually promoted the trading interests of certain daimyōs."

Castilians.¹³⁹⁶ This reflects the official attitude in all parts of the Overseas Empire. The king and his councils belatedly called for maintaining secular trade relations with Japan for the sake of the islands' well-being, but it was too late.

Learning about increased ship-building activity, the colonial government remained concerned about Japanese retaliation after the Siam affair.¹³⁹⁷ A desperate Governor Távora promised King Philip IV that he would do everything to promote friendly relations.¹³⁹⁸ He therefore sent two ambassadors (Juan Arceo and Fernando de Ayala) with a precious gift. Again being denied access to Japan, they left empty-handed; thereafter the Spanish blamed the failure on the Dutch and their false accounts and wrong accusations of covert missionaries sneaking into the islands.¹³⁹⁹

Following the Siam incident and rumors about Japanese retaliation,¹⁴⁰⁰ the governor of Nagasaki and lord of Shimabara surprised the Spanish in Manila with a mission to revive trade in Nagasaki; although *shōgun* and *rōjū* dismissed his plea, merchants ships were sent to Manila, Taiwan and Macao during his reign.¹⁴⁰¹ Spanish observers noted that the second embassy was received with far less pretensions than the first; the diplomatic dispute about the burning of the vessel in Siam was discussed and Governor Juan Niño de Távora although accusing the embassy of a hidden agenda of a potential invasion,¹⁴⁰² aimed at soothing hard feelings with rich presents.¹⁴⁰³ All these attempts, as well as a strengthening of the Catholic alliance, ultimately had negative consequences for the Iberian foothold in Japan.¹⁴⁰⁴ After several failed missions, Governor Salamanca (r. 1633-1635) admitted that relations with Japan came to an end in 1633.¹⁴⁰⁵

In the meantime, licenses for foreign trade had been restricted to a select group of seven families or individuals, each with a particular tie to the Tokugawa.¹⁴⁰⁶ The *hoshō*,

¹³⁹⁶ AGI Filipinas 8, r.1, n. 6, "Carta de Niño de Távora sobre materias de gobierno," 1629-08-01: "[...] continuaren en proibir el dho trato entenderemos quieren ser nros enemigos [...]."

¹³⁹⁷ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 97; Nagazumi, *Shuinsen*, 83; 121: Following Tokugawa's anger a ship sent to Manila from Japan (Takagi) in 1629 was sunk by a Spanish ship and the entire crew buried in the sea.

¹³⁹⁸ AGI Filipinas 8, r. 1, n. 17, "Carta de Niño de Távora sobre materias de gobierno," 1632-07-08.

¹³⁹⁹ Medina, *Historia*, 264; Zaide, *Philippines*, 356.

¹⁴⁰⁰ BR 23: 93-94: Governor Távora reported to Philip IV that angry Japanese burnt the Portuguese ship 'Trinidad' in 1630, as well as about Japanese constructing large fleets; "I thought it uncertain news, because of my knowledge of the nature of the Japanese; yet I resolved to make use of it to further the fortification of this city and its environments."

¹⁴⁰¹ Nagazumi, *Kinsei Shoki*, 54.

¹⁴⁰² San Agustín, *Islas Philipinas*, 263-264.

¹⁴⁰³ San Agustín, *Islas Philipinas*, 265.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Spate *Spanish Lake*, 227 based on BR 23: 112, 114; BR 24: 218-20.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, 95-97.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Jansen, *Making*, 75.

or guarantee, system inaugurated in 1631 tightened the reins; a ship-owner now needed specific authorisation from the *rōjū*, as well as the Nagasaki *bugyō*, to leave the country. In a critical analysis of *bakufu* laws, Matsui Yōko has shown that laws regarding the treatment of foreigners in Japan of the years 1633 and 1634 contain the provision that "those who have resided abroad for unavoidable reasons and return to Japan within five years will be allowed to stay, but those who wish to leave again will be executed."¹⁴⁰⁷ She further showed that the following order of 1635, when *shuinsen* trade eventually ended, no longer included this passage because Japanese had ceased travelling abroad. We should not overlook that Japan's maritime trade, by volume, reached its peak between 1636 and 1639 despite severe maritime controls.¹⁴⁰⁸

In 1638 the Portuguese experienced a similar fate.¹⁴⁰⁹ Their reactions to the *bakufu*'s severe measures were also characteristic. After having been banned from Japan in 1635 and officially expelled in 1639, Macao sent an ambassador in 1640, who was killed by the Japanese authorities. Both cities' desperate efforts to re-open trade with Japan attest to Japan's significance in triangular trade and Iberian awareness of the importance of that branch.

The Dutch continued promoting an active strike against Manila in shōgunal audiences.¹⁴¹⁰ A VOC captain of the Hirado factory (Nicolaes Coukebacker) reported in detail to the *shōgun* in 1637 the circumstances in Manila and assured Dutch support for a possible Japanese invasion of the Philippines.¹⁴¹¹ Evidence from Japan suggests that the *bakufu* was no longer interested in such ventures; at the time it was preoccupied with alarming domestic opposition. The so-called Shimabara-Amakusa rebellion of 1637 became a benchmark for Japanese-Dutch relations, in part due to the Northern Europeans' unconditional military support with canons. This demonstrative strike against fellow Christians convinced the shōgunate of the Dutch commitment to commercial interaction and granted the later permission to stay in Japan, in a period when the third *shōgun* Iemitsu even broke off mercantile ties with Tonkin and Siam

¹⁴⁰⁷ Matsui, "Legal Position," 25.

¹⁴⁰⁸ von Glahn, *Fountain*, 137.

¹⁴⁰⁹ When a revolt broke out in Shimabara in Kyushu, the Portuguese were ordered to leave the country and never to return again to Japan. Disobedience would be punished with death.

¹⁴¹⁰ Nagazumi, "Foreign Policy," 81-82.

¹⁴¹¹ Borao "Colonia," 23: The *bakufu* asked Dutch support (Coukebaker or Koekebakker; head of the Dutch factory in Hirado) in invading Manila, but their plans were impeded by the Shimabara events. That episode is also surrounded by debates. Most of these assumptions are based on Murdoch's speculations and a scholarly debate between a certain Watanabe and a certain Prof. Tugi in the 1920s; Shujiro Watanabe, "Japan did plan to conquer the Philippines," *The Philippines Herald*, Manila, August 9, 1929.

fearing they would transport Spanish or Portuguese missionaries.¹⁴¹²

The issue of taking over Luzón was brought up again in the 1640s, following Tokugawa Iemitsu's and Itakura Shigemune's secret plans to send troops to China in 1646. Although the project remained a 'geopolitical utopia',¹⁴¹³ authorities stayed on alert as suggested by a geopolitical work dedicated to Luzón by Kusaemon Kawabuchi, first published in 1671.¹⁴¹⁴ At the same time, illicit trade and smuggling continued until the 1650s.¹⁴¹⁵

From a broader angle, Sino-Japanese relations changed drastically in the aftermath of the Manila system. Between the late 1630s and the 1660s, when the Southern Ming ran out of foreign assistance against the Manchus, they turned to Japan and the Portuguese for help. Around a dozen of requests were sent to Edo and the Nagasaki *bugyō*. At times both the Tokugawa as well as the Shimazu were sympathetic, but eventually sent only ambiguous replies instead of substantial support.¹⁴¹⁶ Officially, no official diplomatic relations existed between China and Japan from 1549 until 1871.

7.5. Concluding Remarks

Parallel to encounters on the official level, connected history occurred predominantly in peripheral regions. These shadow zones created their own niches within these triangular relations. Local efforts rarely represented the official policies of the ruling elite. Yet, local initiatives often became the triggering force for central action. The needs of the 'central' government in Spain and those of the colony in the Philippines were very often incompatible and more than once caused an 'imperial dilemma'. Likewise, Ming China should not be considered as entirely against foreign trade. What characterises early modern China's foreign trade is a disconnection between official views in the capital and local reality. The central governments of Ming China and Imperial Spain also faced different constraints than the local merchants in Fujian and Manila. Similar developments can be found in Japan where the *bakufu* competed with local landlords and merchants for the favour of foreign merchants. While the lack of government-support encouraged

¹⁴¹² Nagazumi, *Kinsei shoki*, 61.

¹⁴¹³ Patrizia Carioti, "The Overseas Chinese in Nagasaki between the 16th and the 17th Centuries: A Preliminary Investigation" in *Sea Rovers, Silk, and Samurai: Maritime China in World History*. Emory Univ., Atlanta, 2011, October 27-29, 2011.

¹⁴¹⁴ Kusaemon Kawabuchi, *Luzon Oboegaki* (Kaihyō sōsho, 1671).

¹⁴¹⁵ Shimizu, "Nihon supein dankō," 1-16.

¹⁴¹⁶ Cohen, *East Asia*, 213.

private Chinese traders to create a distinguished mercantile network spanning from Japan via the Philippines and Indonesia to the Southeast Asian mainland, local Spanish merchants in Manila had to give in to government commands aiming at maintaining hegemony in and outside Europe and were most of the time 'stuck'. By the time of intensified Japanese participation in the Manila-trade, the newly established military-aristocratic government was very much occupied with building its own stable pre-modern state. At the end of the day, sovereignty at home proved to be more important than overseas expansion. This made the *bakufu* the strongest central player. Edo managed to turn economic drives into political benefits for the central government. The *bakufu* monopolised foreign trade by means of the vermilion-seal system. This can be regarded a major difference between Japan and China, as well as Japan and Spain where competition between local and central levels was never overcome. From that time, the *bakufu* set the standards in foreign trade and fell back on traffic as common form of exchange.

During the early decades of the transpacific trade, both Chinese and Japanese merchants had incentives to meet and trade in Manila. Japan's withdrawal and her rigorous foreign policies, including a self-imposed maritime embargo after 1639 have blurred historians' view on its relevance for the early modern world. It was neither sudden, nor new. When re-assessing Manila's role in global history, however, we must not overlook that as a consequence of a successful state formation and economic restructuring, Japan's aspired hegemonic position in East Asia was redefined. Through interactions with Spain and China in the decades prior to her 'closure', Japan managed to become an independent economic player and what one may label the first real pre-modern state in East Asia, all thanks to efficient institutions.

Compared to what we have learnt in previous chapters we are inclined to conclude that within the Manila system Fujian acted as a state, not Ming China. When evaluating the role of the local level, mentality, for instance, have to be taken into consideration. Similarities can be seen in the advances of Japanese peripheral players with certain military power such as the *daimyō* of Hirado, the Shimazu or Katō Kiyomasa made similar advances towards Manila as in later decades the Zheng rulers. What is crucial in all this is the Spanish reaction: their giving-in to and obeying non-sovereigns.

8. Zooming in: Early Modern Manila and a micro-study of regional globalisation

*It has almost always been true that colonial schemes or their commercial equivalents were devised not by government but by private enthusiasts in search of wealth, virtue or religious redemption.*¹⁴¹⁷

8.1. Indicators of Early Modern Regional 'Globalisation'¹⁴¹⁸

I admit that the provocative term 'early modern globalisation' calls for further explanation. With the help of concrete examples of encounters on the spot, I hope to stress again that Manila was more than a cross-cultural trading hub. There are several parameters with which to measure global connectedness and sustained pre-modern global exchange.

While the previous chapter discussed the dualism between local and central interests in the three pre-modern states and how they shaped the global stage, here the main focus shifts to the impact of socio-political aspects. In order to find a comprehensive answer, I chose an actor-based approach for this chapter, for the simple reason that the actual settlers and sojourners formed this multi-cultural centre of the 'ecumenical maritime trading zone', as Philip Curtin would call the South China Sea.¹⁴¹⁹ With regard to these actors, we should ask who pulled the strings in Manila? Was it "cross-cultural brokers",¹⁴²⁰ seafaring people who became the intermediaries between their home country and the overseas merchants in other ports, or Spanish colonial officials, royal merchants or the Church?¹⁴²¹ Given the complex structure of exchange in Manila, we will not find a prototype of a port city dweller, not even within the trading community. Its able members possessed impressive nautical skills and economic insider knowledge,

¹⁴¹⁷ Darwin, *The Empire Project*, 3.

¹⁴¹⁸ Academics have been sympathizing with the idea of regional 'globalisations' in the early modern period. Iberian imperialism is one of the topics tackled in that field. See for example A. G. Hopkins, ed. *Global History: Interactions between the Universal and the Local* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

¹⁴¹⁹ Rahn Phillips, "Organization," 71-86. Focusing on transport and communication networks in the administration of the Spanish and Portuguese "oceanic empires" from 1580 to 1640, the author argued that the Habsburg rulers managed to control their vast territory thanks to the great number of Spanish-born families involved and a substantial net of vessels, as well as Catholicism as strong tie.

¹⁴²⁰ A term coined by Philip D. Curtin, *The World and the West. The European Challenge and the Overseas Response in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), 1.

¹⁴²¹ For Spanish actors and settlers see the documental supplement of Merino, *Cabildo*, 77-109.

intercultural understanding, cultural adaptation, manufacturing techniques and language skills; some of them were introduced in the chapters on connections and others will be examined below.

During roughly the last third of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, Manila became the new home for people from three pre-modern states.¹⁴²² Their encounters and bargaining experience were momentous as was the equilibrium of forces. Cohabitating East Asians, Castilians and natives in Manila triggered specific contacts between representatives of three pre-modern states, all of them characterised by a central government interested in monopolising power.

8.1.1. The Braudelian Model and other Attempts to Study Maritime Space¹⁴²³

I have already indicated that Manila was a product of connected histories and should be approached as a system.¹⁴²⁴ Over the past decades, it has become popular to apply Braudel's macro-region approach.¹⁴²⁵ In particular, economic historians – inspired by Braudel's Mediterranean macro-region – have long been applying geography-based methods on maritime regions in the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic or East Asia. Leading scholars in the field have called the economic environment of maritime Asia 'commercial regions', 'systems' (Denys Lombard) and 'worlds' (Fernand Braudel).¹⁴²⁶ They include centres of far-reaching autonomy, ethnic diversity, with a large scale of products traded and astonishing organisational and singular logistical requirements. Whole areas were stimulated by its trading activities. Thanks to advancing scholarship, for instance by Angela Schottenhammer, we have learnt that the South China Sea was a similarly dynamic pre-modern world economy as the Mediterranean world.¹⁴²⁷ Nevertheless,

¹⁴²² Recent research on intercultural trading centers in East and South East Asia has revealed the political and cultural importance of such port cities for entire regions. Haneda, "Introduction" to *Asian Port Cities*, 3-4.

¹⁴²³ The concept of maritime space here includes not just the ocean but also other locations inseparably linked to it such as ports, ships, markets and workshops.

¹⁴²⁴ Vanhaute, "Who is afraid," 30: increasing interaction of human groups incorporated in bigger structures, making choices about political, economic, social and cultural systems.

¹⁴²⁵ Several interdisciplinary projects tackled the worlds of waters from various angles. See Barbara Watson Andaya, "Oceans Unbound: Transversing Asia across 'Area Studies'." *Journal of Asian History* 65, no. 4 (2006): 685.

¹⁴²⁶ As Francois Gipouloux has summarised scholars' attempts to label the specific region. *Méditerranée Asiatique*, 161, or 'Pan-Asian trading ring': see Deng, *Chinese Maritime Activity*, 107.

¹⁴²⁷ In May 2009 the first conference on the Chinese Sea as commercial zone took part in Paris under the title "La Méditerranée asiatique: Rivalités et complémentarités entre centres d'affaires et financiers". For additional details and broad scholarly contributions see

debates on whether a comparison with the Mediterranean is fertile have not led to any satisfying conclusions.¹⁴²⁸ I am aware of the limits of the approach that has its drawbacks in a relatively vague conceptualisation. Speaking of a Mediterranean of the East is particularly problematic as soon as we take into account climate and wind systems that both influenced navigating conditions.

After 1590, Manila developed into a centre of this maritime world but it is arguable if it was ever perceived as a focal point by the people of the time. When talking about port cities, we are easily tempted to perceive them as centres or key cities but very few ever were. According to Braudel, centres control world economies.¹⁴²⁹ Let us think of Zhangzhou or Quanzhou in the same period: neither was established as centre despite merchant capital.¹⁴³⁰ Despite the enormous exchange in silver and silk, monopolising efforts were either not attempted or unsuccessful. It remains to be clarified whether Manila was a multicultural trading port or simply a colonial Spanish city? It can doubtlessly be related to the category of the early modern colonial trade diaspora, where 'foreign' Europeans ruled over a merchant settlement.¹⁴³¹

To enhance our understanding, I would like to contrast arguments by both speaking in favour of and against a port city model. For the methodological foundations of this chapter, I refer to Francois Gipouloux's recently published book *La Méditerranée asiatique*, where he also tackles the special case of port cities in the Greater China Sea.¹⁴³²

<http://actualites.ehess.fr/nouvelle1060.html%3E> <http://actualites.ehess.fr/nouvelle3480.html>.
Accessed May 27, 2010.

¹⁴²⁸ Heather Sutherland, "Southeast Asian History and the Mediterranean Analogy", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 34, no. 1. John E. Wills, "The South China Sea is not a Mediterranean. Implications for the History of Chinese Foreign Relations," *Zhongguo haiyang fazhanshi luwenji* 10 (2008): 1-24.

¹⁴²⁹ Braudel, *Afterthoughts*, 27-31.

¹⁴³⁰ Merchants of both Fujianese cities invested their gains abroad or moved to other booming Chinese ports such as Xiamen.

¹⁴³¹ For definition of 'trade diaspora' see Philip Curtin, *Cross-cultural Trade*, 2-12. He defines them as "communities of merchants living among aliens in associated networks". The general notion of diaspora is broader and therefore only partially suitable for the Chinese and Japanese in early modern Manila. What is true is that as individuals they defined themselves in opposition to their host society, identified themselves with their homelands although contacts often remained on an "irregular and indirect" basis. See Paul E. Lovejoy, "The African Diaspora: Revisionist Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture and Religion under Slavery" *Studies in the World History of Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation* 1 (1997).

http://www.yorku.ca/nhp/publications/Lovejoy_Studies%20in%20the%20World%20History%20of%20Slavery.pdf. Accessed November 16, 2011.

¹⁴³² Gipouloux, *Méditerranée Asiatique*.

8.1.2. Fitting and challenging concepts

Ironically, despite the popularity of port cities in global history studies, satisfying definitions are still rare. Studies on port cities have primarily focused on processes and developments after 1600 and global trade held centre stage. We may argue that Manila fit Haneda Masashi's recent description of a port city as

*a common and ordinary type of city found everywhere in the world. Before the age of train, car and airplane, they were often important political centres, hubs of regional economies and places where new arts, ideas and technologies were developed in the melting-pot of overseas and home cultures. A port city belongs to a country but, at the same time, it belongs to the maritime world that fronts it and connects it with the outside world. It represents the local culture of the country to which it belongs but it also appears alien to the people of that country owing to the presence of foreign peoples and cultures.*¹⁴³³

As focal points of trade activity, port cities shaped the fate of a region and their appearance became turning points in history. A further feature was that the focus of most economic activities lay on overseas markets. Unlike century-old cities in Europe or East Asia, Manila's society did not grow organically. Consequently, market and business did not follow usual development paths. Strictly speaking, strong stimuli of external commerce led to a city with a strong external market but a weak domestic economy, in danger of insignificance. Indeed, all major Asian pre-modern ports would lose their former significance by at the latest 1900 – a typical historical development, since neither systems nor their centres are static.¹⁴³⁴

Occasionally, scholars consider port cities as economically independent and politically autonomous. In this regard, we will have to examine the active economic integration of a huge number of East Asians in Manila's "Sino-European co-colonialism".¹⁴³⁵ In Manila – as well as in other Southeast Asian port cities – interdependence also led to negotiations and cooperation between the Overseas Chinese

¹⁴³³ Haneda, "Introduction" to *Asian Port Cities*, 3-4.

¹⁴³⁴ Abu-Lughud, *Before European*, 6; 37; 303. Malacca is a prominent example for the decline of a centre. The Straits entrepot lost significance after Muslim intermediaries were replaced by direct seagoing merchants.

¹⁴³⁵ Tonio Andrade, *How Taiwan Became Chinese. Dutch, Spanish and Han Colonization in the Seventeenth Century*, chapter 6, <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/andrade>; accessed December 11, 2010.

and Europeans, which in turn, led Manila became home to expert communities as part of a multi-ethnic melting pot.¹⁴³⁶

Despite Manila's strong dependence on external trade and her importance as intermediary port,¹⁴³⁷ I argue that when we want to reach an understanding of the essence of the Manila system, limiting our study to trade would ultimately fall too short. Therefore I also consider the term 'emporium', as Manila has sometimes been labelled, problematic. The Spaniards were not the dominating trading nation, while the Spanish 'state' nonetheless maintained far-reaching power over Manila, and acted as strong state.¹⁴³⁸ Unlike the Dutch at Batavia, the Portuguese at Macao or the English in India, the Spanish did not develop Manila as an emporium for the export of goods to European or Asian destinations.¹⁴³⁹ Export was rather a by-product of Spain's colonising pattern and therefore Manila was at best, an emporium for China or Japan.

Thinking of a port city as the catalyst for proto-capitalist developments is also a difficult argument to make for Manila, since the city as well as her citizens never played a significant role in the famous intra-Asian trade that became an important source of revenue for European trading companies in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.¹⁴⁴⁰ This would mean that while other port cities had developed important institutions that ensured her agents the control over the money circulating in the port surroundings, Manila's institutions remained fragile. Manila's constant shortage and lack of supply and provision, in short her vulnerability, kept her ultimately from taking over a leading role in the macro-region.

8.1.3. Special Characteristics of Manila

A further specific characteristic of the Spanish presence in Asia which will be addressed in this chapter are the legal and administrative institutions that developed due to the diversity of actors. Similarly to commercial exchange in the early years, creation and change of these institutions was often the product of bargaining on the

¹⁴³⁶ See Charles H. Parker, *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age: 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010), 136.

¹⁴³⁷ Manuel Ollé, "Las Relaciones de China y España en el Siglo XVI" in *La Ruta De España a China*, ed. Marina Alfonso Mola et al., (Madrid: El Viso, 2008), 75.

¹⁴³⁸ Villiers, "Portuguese Malacca," 52: "The Spanish did not develop Manila as an emporium for the export of Southeast Asian goods to the west, and Manila was never a centre of any consequence for local inter-island trade or for goods produced in the Philippines."

¹⁴³⁹ Villiers, "Portuguese Malacca," 52.

¹⁴⁴⁰ P. H. Boulle et al., *Companies and Trade* (Leiden: Leiden Univ. Press, 1981).

spot. At the same time, (geo)political interactions described in the previous chapters led to specific social, urban and juridical models, as a result of altering incentives, challenges and needs, as the result of constant migration to Manila.

Port cities are generally regarded as hubs that offer immigrants remarkable social mobility.¹⁴⁴¹ Spanish, Fujianese and Japanese people in Manila assumed new roles by responding to the necessities of the colonial society and the market, something they would not have done in a different context.¹⁴⁴² Since immigrants undertake certain economic tasks in their host countries, the entire process is closely linked to their integration into the labour market.¹⁴⁴³

The overall setting for human interaction is reminiscent of Marie Louise Pratt's research on asymmetrical encounters between the old core and new territories. In her seminal work on trans-culturation, the US-American philologist insisted on the improvisational character of colonial encounters,¹⁴⁴⁴ an explanation that has potential to help us better understand encounters in Manila. It stands to reason that perception and stereotypes developed differently in the Philippines than in imperial settings in later centuries, as Pratt describes.¹⁴⁴⁵ In Manila, knowledge gathering and implementation of European ideas was piecemeal and poorly planned, if at all, "created in chaotic, improvisational contact zones."¹⁴⁴⁶ Adaptation and assimilation were central to these processes. Both 'foreigners' and Spaniards had to adapt to cultural and political influences; hence we can speak of encounters being on a largely between equals.¹⁴⁴⁷ However, the Spaniards had a twofold comparative advantage in this regard – they were

¹⁴⁴¹ Cohen, *East Asia*, 205.

¹⁴⁴² For Chinese early migration to Southeast Asia see Chang, "First Chinese Diaspora".

¹⁴⁴³ Migration studies in global history still have a lot of untapped potential since comparative surveys of a larger picture are still quite rare. Recent attempts of global social history where quantitative and qualitative studies alike have profoundly changed our knowledge and understanding of historical migration. A recent paradigm in the field is the human-centred approach to migration that stresses emotional, spiritual and intellectual aspects next to material security. Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2002), 15; see also Jan Lucassen, ed., *Migration History in World History. Multidisciplinary Approaches* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Gungwu Wang, ed., *Global History and Migrations* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997).

¹⁴⁴⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 38-68.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Pratt's research focuses on classic European imperialism.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Elizabeth Green Musselman, "Indigenous Knowledge and Contact Zones: The Case of the Cold Bokkeveld Meteorite, Cape Colony, 1838" *Itinerario* 33 (2009): 32.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Williard J. Peterson's interpretation seems relevant for all groups that flocked together in Manila: "On a more general level, it also seems to show that an "outsider" might move from being an observer to being more a participant in his host's community, regardless of where he starts on some imaginary axis between the stranded victim of a shipwreck and the immigrant eager to be assimilated, with tourists, conquistadores, merchants, missionaries, and ethnographers arrayed between the poles." Peterson, "What to Wear?" 403-421.

considered 'ruling class' and had access to both first and second hand knowledge.

In this regard, it would be rewarding to consider Christopher Bayly's approach of an economy of knowledge.¹⁴⁴⁸ Did the Spanish inside the Manila system develop an equation of power with knowledge, as the British did? Knowledge doubtlessly shaped the perception of the colonizers and influenced their behaviour and policies. Pratt and others have stressed the importance of the colonial periphery for representation 'at home' that spread feelings of superiority over native people. It will be interesting to see which party enjoyed advantages as a result of having regional or local knowledge, how they dealt with disadvantages and how knowledge differences influenced encounters in Manila. A certain level of inequality was rooted in the very difference of the encounters: While Spanish encounters with China and Japan were people-based, the East Asians primarily encountered the Spanish state and bureaucracy, as well as Christian doctrine.

In fact, the obstacles of trans-regional communication were less problematic for direct communication in Manila, where multi-lingual communication patterns had been created along the way. Intercultural awareness and willingness to interact was often overshadowed by the lack of structures of internal communication, that in itself was weakened by church authorities, biased questionnaires and random interpreters.¹⁴⁴⁹ What deserves extra mention is that the Castilian language was not abused as imperial tool for discrimination within triangular relations, unlike in other colonial settings.¹⁴⁵⁰ On the contrary, intermediary forms of communication were developed during the early decades. Pidgin Fujianese or Pidgin Spanish with Tagalog elements were commonly used in daily encounters. In addition, slightly different types of lingua franca including Mandarin, Portuguese and Malay elements circulated on the ocean.¹⁴⁵¹ At the same time, Chinese and Japanese was spoken in areas dominated by East Asian settlers.¹⁴⁵² The silk

¹⁴⁴⁸ For these questions and the "economy of knowledge" of an empire see Christopher A. Bayly, *Empire and Information. Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003). For the construction of knowledge and information transfer see also: Benedikt Stutchey, ed., *Science across the European Empires, 1800-1950* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005). On the Spanish case see Victor Navarro Brotons, et al., *Más Álla de la Leyenda Negra: España Y La Revolución Científica. Beyond the Black Legend: Spain and the Scientific Revolution* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, C.S.I.C., 2007).

¹⁴⁴⁹ This topic has also been taken up by Juan Gil in his latest book. Juan Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila. Siglos XVI y XVII* (Lisboa: Centro Cientifico e Cultural de Macau, I. P., 2011), 245-248.

¹⁴⁵⁰ For a discussion of these developments see Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 23-26.

¹⁴⁵¹ For the development of an offshore lingua franca in the China Seas see Shapinsky, "Polyvocal Portolans," 18.

¹⁴⁵² Shapinsky "Polyvocal Portolans," 19: The author mentioned Nagazumi Yōko stressing the importance of Southern Chinese (Min Nan) dialects such as Hokkien spoken by the people from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou.

market was a multilingual quarter, with shops kept by Fujianese serving Fujianese, Spanish, Japanese and other local customers. Functioning communication patterns were provided for every member of the colonial society without being discriminated against or being forced into-controlled linguistic structures.

Manila was a node in a wide-spread information network. A diary entry by Richard Cocks in 1616 gives an idea of Manila's key role in supra-regional communication. When the Portuguese cargo ship from Macao failed to call at Nagasaki that year he noted: "This news is come per a galley and a galliot which are arrived at Lanagasaque [Nagasaki] and came from the Manillas."¹⁴⁵³ This record is a clear evidence for the dynamics of the Manila area that moreover benefited from frequent contact with Chinese and Portuguese navigators and merchants.

8.2. Manila and East Asian Human Agency

It has been mentioned that Manila could not have survived, let alone turn into an internationally recognised city, without steady migration from China and Japan. Recently, thanks to the efforts of Wang Gungwu, Lynn Pan and Carl A. Trocki, a stronger research interest in Chinese Overseas history has emerged.¹⁴⁵⁴ The field of early modern Japanese overseas ventures has been dominated by the pioneering efforts of Iwao Seiichi.¹⁴⁵⁵ Ideas on migration of that particular region are closely linked to diaspora – a regionally scattered community, sharing language, culture and religion, and often kinship ties.¹⁴⁵⁶ Prototypical diaspora would retain ties with their homeland and were often unable to return home.¹⁴⁵⁷ What has sometimes been called Japanese merchant

¹⁴⁵³ Cocks, *Diary*, 135; 175.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Wang Gungwu, "The China Seas," *Diasporic Chinese Ventures. The Life and Work of Gungwu* ed. Gregor Benton, et al (London: Routledge Cruzon, 2004), 7-22; Carl A. Trocki, *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy. A Study of the Asian Opium Trade 1750-1950* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 15: He divided Chinese migration to Southeast Asia from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries into five periods. See also Lynn Pan, *Sons of the Yellow Emperor. A History of the Chinese Diaspora* (New York: Kodansha USA, 1994).

¹⁴⁵⁵ Hirayama Atsuko, "Firipinasu Soutoku Fuusousetsuki no Taigaikankei. Katorikku Teikoku to Higashi, Tounanajia (1565-1650)" *Tezukayama gakujutsu ronshū* 10 (2003): 67-91. For a larger study on Japanese migration see Nobuko Adachi, *Japanese Diasporas. Unsung Pasts, Conflicting Presents, and Uncertain Futures* (London: Routledge, 2006).

¹⁴⁵⁶ Philip Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, 2-12. The concept of trade diaspora was already introduced by Abner Cohen, "Cultural Strategies in the Organization of Trading Diasporas" in *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*, ed. Claude Meillassoux (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971): 266-281.

¹⁴⁵⁷ William D. Wray, "The 17th-Century Japanese Diaspora. Questions of Boundary and Policy" Thirteenth International Economic History Congress, Buenos Aires 2002. Preconference: Corfu, Greece, 1-16. See also Madelana Ribeiro, "The Japanese Diaspora in the Seventeenth Century: According to Jesuit Sources" *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 3, (2001): 53-83.

diaspora to Southeast Asia became the backbone of flourishing Japanese towns in the South China Sea that were home to approximately 80,000 people.¹⁴⁵⁸

On a very general level, all new Manila residents were port city migrants with a crucial relationship with the seas. Therefore the line between sojourners and settlers remained thin for the entire period of research. The sea was the source of new riches, and was the bridge between their old and new lives. Therefore it remains difficult to assess to what extent and at what point they were absorbed by the colonial society.¹⁴⁵⁹ Members of this fluid community in Manila, in particular the Fujianese, were migrant merchants, who put the well being of their kind above individual gain.¹⁴⁶⁰

It is interesting to note that migrant populations were always willing to relocate to even greener pasture if required. For instance it happened in the late 1630s, a disastrous period for the triangular trade due to losses on the trans-Pacific route. Knowing there would not be much to gain, Fujianese traders stayed away and probably relocated to other markets in Japan and Taiwan. As soon as Manila had recovered, they came back at the end of the decade.¹⁴⁶¹

8.3. Administration and Multi-layered Urban Matters

I would now like to reflect on the political administration, social integration and cultural adaptation of early modern Manila as both an East Asian and a Spanish project. As mentioned earlier, the role of the state on a 'local level' must also to be taken into account. Manila, – a cosmopolitan trading metropolis of global significance – maintained the character of a local community despite its sudden growth.¹⁴⁶²

After having built a solid town to meet the needs of the Spanish inhabitants, enforcing 'settling' policy for visiting traders remained unsettled for decades. One paradox of Manila was that despite the natural desire to keep their rivals' (in particular other European trading nations') access to Manila limited, the Castilians permanently relied on settlers from East Asia as well as logistical support from the Portuguese.¹⁴⁶³

¹⁴⁵⁸ Yoshiaki Ishizawa, "Les quartiers japonais dans l'Asie du Sud-Est au XVII^e siècle," in *Guerre et Paix en Asie du Sud-Est*, ed. Nguyen The Anh and Alain Forest (Paris: Harmetton, 1998).

¹⁴⁵⁹ In 1964, Milton Gordon has promoted the model of assimilation, a model that has been refined in the 1990s with a focus on job availability as the most important factor for migration. See also Anthony Richmond's new synthesis of theoretical perspectives: more nuances approach, general push and pull factors.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, 5-7.

¹⁴⁶¹ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 259.

¹⁴⁶² For Manila's urban development under Spanish rule see Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 21-26.

¹⁴⁶³ Benjamim Videira, Pires, SJ. ed. *A Viagem de Comércio Macau-Manila nos Séculos XVI a XIX*.

Ironically, the system seemed to have worked so well that Manila Spaniards did not see a necessity to make a special effort to change it: contemporaries called the Manila-Spanish slothful and malicious swindlers and gamblers who abhorred physical work.¹⁴⁶⁴ Easy access to everything they desired made engaging in agriculture or industry superfluous.¹⁴⁶⁵ Contemporary colonial correspondence furthermore suggests that soldiers were badly paid and their provisions insufficient. The dissatisfying average salary for a soldier was six pesos and for a musketeer not more than eight.¹⁴⁶⁶ A combination of unwillingness and inability of the overseas empires' administration increased discontent among Spanish citizens who soon earned a reputation as decadent merchant soldiers who competed with two other groups of actors: powerful New Spain capitalists and Manila merchants who were the politico-economic elite of all Overseas Spain.¹⁴⁶⁷ The first sat in Mexico, controlling the distribution of silk; the latter travelled to Manila and enriched themselves in the traditional way as their fellow treasure fleet brokers in the Atlantic before returning to more 'civilised' areas in the empire. It is safe to say that due to Mexico's dominant role, most dealings in Manila reflected the symptomatic competition within the Spanish Overseas Empire.

Everyone knows how much money is brought to the Philippines each year, just as everyone knows that most of this money belongs to the people in Nueva España and elsewhere. This is the real reason why prices are so prohibitive here in Manila and so low in Nueva España, despite the profits of so many middlemen. The truth is that when, after a period of two years the accounts are settled, very few of us have made some profit, and in many cases not even the investment is recovered. This is the reason why we are always forced to dig into our capital to pay for living and other expenses and why our wealth is dwindling, as is well known [...].¹⁴⁶⁸

Although Fujianese and Japanese contributed to Manila's urban development from the beginning, the socio-economic integration of the city remained a complicated venture of which every single aspect was either an incentive for or the product of

Comunicação Apresentada ao V Congresso Da "Associação Internacional De Historiadores Da Ásia" (Macau: Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau, 1987).

¹⁴⁶⁴ cf. Bernal, "Chinese Colony," 42.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Blussé, *Strange Company*, 78-79.

¹⁴⁶⁶ AGI Filipinas 6, r. 9, n. 173, "Carta de Tello sobre asuntos de guerra; Borneo, Japón...etc," 1600. The danger from Japan was exaggerated in order to get more money for the colony.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Merino, *Cabildo*, 54-56.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Account by Governor Niño de Tavora in 1623, cf. Merino, *Cabildo*, 56.

bargaining on the spot. After a relatively liberal and unrestricted Chinese and Japanese presence in Manila during the first two decades of Spanish reign, colonial authorities began to take steps against the growing number of East Asian settlers. In particular their economic superiority called for strict policies that in turn testify to the Fujianese traders' strong position in commercial bargaining.

8.3.1. Settling Policies: Actors and Agents

Economic motives and fear of Japanese or Chinese conspiracies, revenge or violent outrages, were the two dominant driving forces behind the colonial settling agenda. Conflicting settling policies reflect the social consequences of undying prejudice and the ambivalent relationship with the East Asians and explain why Asian settlers did not become an integrated part of the urban society before the midst of the seventeenth century. With regard to Japanese settlers, for instance, we see wavering Spanish positions that were often dominated by the attitude of powerful Manila-based Spanish actors. The question is, whether the Spaniards thought of East Asian residents as subjects on their own or did they see them first as Chinese or Japanese subjects? Pleas for expulsion took turns with pleas for friendly relations and closer collaboration. Rios Coronel is a crucial figure when it comes to understanding Spain's varying attempts in administering the multicultural society of Manila. In a period when the Spanish Philippines rejoiced in mutually beneficial trade and the beginning of rather stable relations with Tokugawa Japan, Rios Coronel contaminated the court in Madrid with anti-Japanese spirit. In an audience with the Consejo de Indias in Madrid in 1603, he promoted their "total expulsion because they were delicate people who easily get caught up in rows with the Spanish".¹⁴⁶⁹ The xenophobic period had already begun a few years earlier, when the interim governor Antonio de Morga expelled 12,000 Chinese in 1596. Repression was often the consequence of minor clashes between Spanish and East Asian settlers.¹⁴⁷⁰

The human-centred approach enables us to take a further category on board. In an

¹⁴⁶⁹ Tōyo Bunko, "Filipinas y el Japón," 22-23; my translation.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Cf. Zaide, *Philippines*, 341. It remains doubtful whether Morga's account is reliable. The same year he forwarded the king his position. BR 10: 81-82: "It would be very advantageous forcibly to eject all the Sangleyes who are scattered throughout the islands – namely, those who are protected by the *alcalde mayor* and the religious because of the money that they cause to it. A minor argument between a Japanese and a Castilian settler led into a major armed battle, reportedly initiated by the Japanese." See also Tōyō Bunko, "Filipinas y el Japón," 24.

approach to yield new perspectives, authors of an anthology on seascape examined the characteristics of maritime agents.¹⁴⁷¹ How can this approach be applied to Manila? Most actors we have 'met' so far were related to maritime trade. They ranged from captains and traders, navigators, sailors, ship owners, to those involved in building or rigging ships; linguists and government officials. Undoubtedly, the Chinese merchants have to be understood as part of the urban society. Lin Renchuan classified them in three different groups, distinguishing between (1) regular merchants leaving Manila after finishing business, (2) merchants who stayed for a certain period, hibernating¹⁴⁷² in Manila and (3) those who settled. This classification surprisingly derives from a Chinese source of the time.¹⁴⁷³

Who was this Chinese maritime merchant? He was part of a larger business organization, also called "family-cum firms" headed by an adult male, where decision-making processes involved older generations.¹⁴⁷⁴ Gang Deng identified different types of Chinese proto-companies. Two types seem to have been relevant for Manila: joint ventures, arrangements between government and traders that date back to the days of the Song Dynasty, and ship-bound partnerships with the ability to provide and maintain large ocean-going ships for several hundred passengers. These vessels' captains were wealthy merchants who acted as managers (*gongshou*). Their entire crew had paid jobs on board regardless of the individuals' status. At the same time, they were all members of several family-cum-firms, who controlled their separate cargo and business accounts. Overheads, such as tolls, were shared among all passengers.¹⁴⁷⁵

An advanced entrepreneurial spirit made the Chinese the number-one maritime agents in the contact zone in Manila. Catering to the needs of the Spaniards in Manila and the elites of the Americas, they adapted quickly to their potential customer's demands and tastes. Copying became a special pattern of transfer that incorporated both cultural and technological elements.¹⁴⁷⁶ In a maritime space, these ideas travelled

¹⁴⁷¹ Jerry Bentley et al., *Seascapes. Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

¹⁴⁷² Zhang Xie, *Dongxi yangkao* (1716) introduces the idea of 'hibernating' merchants: *ya-tung*, literally 'pressing the winter' (cf. Santamaria, "The Chinese Parián," 71) The concept of staying over the winter also existed in contemporary Castilian sources.

¹⁴⁷³ *Ming shi*, Biography of Luzon, chuan 323, 8730, cf. Lin, "Fukien's Private Sea Trade," 167-215.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Deng, *Chinese Maritime Activities*, 101.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Deng, *Chinese Maritime Activities*, 102.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Sucheta Mazumdar discusses Manila's function as gateway for trans-Pacific technology transfer: Sucheta Mazumdar, *Sugar and the Society in China. Peasants, Technology, and the World Market* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1998), 75-79.

freely and were exported to China and Japan from Manila. Kären Wigen's plea for ocean-oriented research stressed that "maritime-based social formations have long served as models for social change in landed societies."¹⁴⁷⁷ Moreover, islands as units for study have constantly been gaining ground in historical research for their important roles in global interactions or the political dimensions of territorialisation of seas.¹⁴⁷⁸ Legal intermediaries or travelling agents with language proficiency are of particular interest to this study.¹⁴⁷⁹ No doubt, Chinese did make an effort here as well. Mestizo members of their community acted as interpreters for the ships arriving from China.¹⁴⁸⁰ Traditionally good relations with the indigenous population that soon led to a sharp increase in intermarriages, linked Chinese settlements to the local community and accelerated that process.

8.3.2. Manila and her Ethnic Neighbourhoods

On the next pages we shall examine the interplay of xenophobia and attempts to live in peace and harmony that marked multi-ethnic experiences in early modern Manila due to demographic obstacles. Hereafter we will examine how different cultural backgrounds affected relations on the spot. The Spaniards soon learnt that with a de facto presence of strong states nearby, systematic discrimination policies bore little fruit; nonetheless suspicion remained rampant and continued to be the largest obstacle for urban integration. Hence, all three parties had to bargain for acceptable treatment and political representation.

By the end of the 1580s, both a Chinese and a Japanese town existed in Manila. Both grew fast compared to the town where the Spanish settlers lived.¹⁴⁸¹ Strong interdependence characterised the urban society. The scarcity of settlers negatively affected the Spanish governing power, since there were never enough effective Castilian

¹⁴⁷⁷ Wigen, "Introduction" to *Seascapes*, 16.

¹⁴⁷⁸ A further example is a recent project by the two Austrian researchers Friedrich Edelmayer and Margarete Grandner labelled 'Insular Studies'. See Friedrich Edelmayer, "Entre el Caribe y Madrid. Conflictos en el Nuevo Mundo y la Justicia Real. El Caso de Santa Catalina (Siglo XVII)" in *Violencia y Conflictividad en el Universo Barroco*, ed. Juan Luis Castellano et al. (Granada: Editorial Comares, 2010), 345-373.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Steensgaard et al. have shown that the concept goes back to the Medieval Mediterranean and "commanda" agreement between Christians and Muslims. See Niels Steensgaard, *Carracks, caravans and companies: The structural crisis in the European-Asian trade in the early 17th century* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1973).

¹⁴⁸⁰ Only a few names have been recorded: For instance, those of Juan de la Cruz, Agustín Carpio, and Juan Sansón, who were part of a flexible network of intermediaries. Cf. Slack "Sinifying New Spain," 11.

¹⁴⁸¹ Pastells, *Historia General*, ccxxxv-ccxxxx; Santamaria, "Chinese Parian," 76-81. For 1634 a Manila census exists with details on their occupations and social status.

settlers. More money was needed for imperial representation, as Governor Tello hinted in a letter to Spain. The meagre output of his *encomienda* was not enough to represent the glory of his king in light of the daily coming and going of subjects of grand kings and nations in Manila.¹⁴⁸² Hence we may conclude that the absence of Iberian cultural representation gave room to a more East Asian atmosphere.

Intramuros

One of the characteristics of Manila that it shared with other European enclaves in Asia was the walled city. As soon as it was established, Spanish *intramuros* was considered the social, religious and military capital of a province in a territorial empire.¹⁴⁸³ Like any other Spanish colonial capital, it was considered *ciudad de españoles*. A special body of law was fashioned exclusively for Spanish settlers including the famous silver merchants from Mexico, while the crown assigned the missionary orders as connecting agents between Spanish authorities and other ethnicities.¹⁴⁸⁴ The fortified centre, that reflected sixteenth century rational Spanish urban design with regular and broad street patterns, squares for representation and the cathedral,¹⁴⁸⁵ hosted both the headquarters of the colonial government and the residential area for higher-ranking Spanish townspeople.¹⁴⁸⁶

Both indigenous people and migrants from East Asia settled outside the city walls. Dealing with multicultural neighbourhoods 'from above' was by no means a European phenomenon but very common in the region. For example, in Ayutthaya too, the walled centre was surrounded by ethnic neighbourhoods of different origins including Chinese, Malays, Chams, Japanese, Indians, Arabs and Persians.¹⁴⁸⁷

Manila's stonewalls replaced spiritual walls to a large extent. The concept of 'spiritual walls' or religious frontiers, a major success in American settlements, was clearly inadequate for the Philippines, where strong opposition from neighbouring

¹⁴⁸² Filipina 18B, r. 7. n. 61, "Carta de Tello sobre posible ataque de Japón," 1597-05-19: "*hazer mem/d de una encomienda de consideracion en mi orden que todo se a deconvertir en el rreal servicio de V M/d y sertifico a V M/d queel sueldo que aqui tengo no me alcanssa al gasto y pstentacion de cassa y creados y todo es necesario a quien aqui rrepresenta la rreal persona de V M/d avista de tan grande rreynos y tantas naciones estraños como aqui entran y salen cada dia.*"

¹⁴⁸³ Díaz-Trechuelo, "Legazpi," 49-66.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 15.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 38-40.

¹⁴⁸⁶ According to Schurz's accounts on the Manila Galleon, approximately two hundred Spaniards came to Manila every year, but in return, a large number went back to Mexico or Spain.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Lockard, "The Sea Common to All," 241.

Muslim domains challenged Spanish spiritual rule.¹⁴⁸⁸ The existence of walls is interesting in two aspects: geopolitically and in terms of the role of religious orders that used to settle outside the concrete barriers where their missionary projects were centred.

Parian¹⁴⁸⁹

Immediate prospects of a better life, and weather conditions, accelerated growth of the Fujianese population in Manila. As monsoons only permitted travel between May and July, there was often not enough time for trade transactions.¹⁴⁹⁰ Before long, the Spanish became suspicious of those who stayed behind. When their number had reached several thousands, they were assigned their own quarter, the Parian in the early 1580s¹⁴⁹¹ or – according to one Chinese settler – already in 1576.¹⁴⁹² The Parian became the official silk market and theoretically the exclusive district for Chinese retail and artisans' shops.¹⁴⁹³ Regarding the origin of the term Parian, an early Chinese settler, Miguel Onte claimed that the word derived from Tagalog, meaning the same as *alcaicería* in Castilian ¹⁴⁹⁴, or silk market in English.¹⁴⁹⁵

Migration scholars are sceptical about Spanish achievements in integration and how they treated the Fujianese as the main migrant group. Dirk Hoerder even went as far as comparing 'sangley'-policies with the pogroms of the Jews and Moriscos in Spain, due to constant pressure to convert to Catholicism, the use of spiteful stereotypes, heavy tax burden, and forced labour.¹⁴⁹⁶

¹⁴⁸⁸ See also Richard Kagan, "A World Without Walls. City and Town in Colonial Spanish America," *The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*, ed. James Tracy (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), 117-152. Typically, Manila is not even mentioned in the study.

¹⁴⁸⁹ For the latest studies see Gil, *Chinos en Manila*, 142-194. A very concise and compelling study based on ample, multi-linguistic material with fascinating visual sources is found in Ollé, "Relaciones," 65-80.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Maria Lourdes Diaz-Trechuelo, "The Role of the Chinese in the Philippine Domestic Economy (1570-1770)," in *The Chinese in the Philippines 1570-1770*, ed. Alonso Felix (Manila: Solidaridad, 1966), 176.

¹⁴⁹¹ Records on the establishment of the first Parian vary between 1579 and 1581. In the course of the seventeenth century not only the Chinese settlers increased, but so did their settlements. See Santamaria, "Chinese Parian," 84-90.

¹⁴⁹² Escribanía 403B (1614).

¹⁴⁹³ According to a letter by Governor Dasmariñas to King Philip II, 1591, cf. Santamaria, "Chinese Parian," 90: "Within the city is the silk-market of the Parian where the Chinese merchants trade. They have 200 stores which probably employ more than 2,000 Chinese."

¹⁴⁹⁴ On the etymological origin of the word see Santamaria, "Chinese Parian," 68-69. Scholars have debated whether the word is of Chinese or Mexican origin. Evidence that it is not a Chinese word can be found in the fact that the Chinese referred to the Parian as Chien-nei.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Escribanía 403B; According to James Warren the word means 'market place' in Tagalog. Warren, "Weather, 188.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures*, 179.

Indeed, the Parian was a secluded area to which all Chinese had to return at night with the exception of bakers, gardeners¹⁴⁹⁷ and domestic staff serving Spanish households, who could stay within the city walls.¹⁴⁹⁸ This explains why in previous publications the word 'ghetto' was sometimes used. However, I consider it inappropriate since clear evidence for the enforcement of the rigid confinement to the Parian was either missing or easily circumvented. While the Chinese seemed to have adapted to living in their Parian, many of them kept their shops within the city walls so that they went there every day.¹⁴⁹⁹ Moreover the Fujianese were fully aware of how essential they were to the material welfare of the islands.¹⁵⁰⁰ Seclusion policies were only effective to a limited extent. The daily life of many Chinese settlers happened among Spaniards inside the city walls, until the evening prayer that called them back to their allocated Parian where they would spend the night in accordance with the order of the governor.¹⁵⁰¹ The number of Parians as well as the houses inside these Chinese quarters would be limited in order to stop the Chinese spreading out over the island, in particular to regions with only a small number of Spaniards.¹⁵⁰²

Such policies were not a genuine European invention; they were common to Macao or Nagasaki, for example. Ordinary Portuguese in Macao were not allowed to enter Chinese mainland without special authorization. A strictly controlled gate impeded interaction between Cantonese and Portuguese citizens.¹⁵⁰³ Canton offers an ever better example, where the Chinese at first were not allowed to stay within the foreign quarters after nightfall.¹⁵⁰⁴

The Parian was supervised by the Dominicans and guarded by watchmen whose number could be increased if necessary.¹⁵⁰⁵ Over the years, Parians would grow in number and change their location. The Spaniards understood that the Parían of Tondo

¹⁴⁹⁷ The Jesuits employed 500 Chinese for the cultivation of the gardens in the surroundings of Manila. See BR 10: 149: "They give each Sangley, for the portion of the garden which he works, one peso and one fowl each month." For the fascinating story of Sino-Jesuit cooperations in the Philippines I refer de la Costa, *Jesuits in the Philippines*, 68-69. Father Sedeño who decided that instead of Tagalog, the newly arrived Chinese should be ministered in Chinese, should receive special mention in this respect.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Ollé, "Formación," 28.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 91 (1597).

¹⁵⁰⁰ Escribanía 403B: According to this source, some Castilian inhabitants of Manila employed up to eight Chinese in their households.

¹⁵⁰¹ Escribanía 403B.

¹⁵⁰² Cf. von den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 294, based on a *cédula* of 1606.

¹⁵⁰³ Villiers, "Silk and Silver," 70.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Dyke, *Merchants of Canton*, 13.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Escribanía 403B: In 1595 Antonio de Morga founded a further Parian in San Gabriel; that one also burnt down. The next Parian was built about six hundred steps away from the main gate.

was home to Christian Chinese, whereas Baybay and Binondo were inhabited by non-Christian Chinese (*sangleyes infieles*).¹⁵⁰⁶ Albeit these settlements were all located outside the walls – these quarters became an integral part of the colonial town.

In the Parian, numbers of shops grew from 185 in 1588 to 200 in 1591, while the census carried out by the municipal government in 1586 listed 750 Chinese shopkeepers.¹⁵⁰⁷ The Parian of Salazar's account is reported to be much larger and higher than the first Parian "because on the firm ground where the four rows of buildings are located they have built their houses and the streets leading through the Parían, a separate street for each row of buildings. There are long passages and the buildings are quadrangular in shape."¹⁵⁰⁸ In both Chinese settlements, houses were built of wood and reeds; eventually they would be destroyed by fire. Some scholars have argued that Chinese were not allowed to build in stone, either due to stone shortages or Spanish discrimination.¹⁵⁰⁹ Salazar acknowledged that under the governorship of Governor Vera, many Chinese houses were covered with fire resistant tiles; as a consequence of the solid building policy the Parian of the Chinese became an eye catcher, if not a sight worth visiting for its beauty.¹⁵¹⁰

A further interesting detail is that the Parian had a similar character as modern China towns in Asia – except for the illuminated advertising. Signs on the shops and other placards were written in Chinese characters and lanterns decorated its alleys.¹⁵¹¹ The Parian was also famous for its well-functioning canals used for transporting goods.¹⁵¹² A 1638 document explains that the Parian hosted a specific street for every craft or trade. Early in the morning the streets were filled with Chinese people praising their goods.¹⁵¹³ This indeed is very similar to other Chinese cities, as everyone ever visiting China is likely to agree with.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Escribanía 403B (103).

¹⁵⁰⁷ Ch'en, "Chinese Community," 107.

¹⁵⁰⁸ BR 7: 224.

¹⁵⁰⁹ One of them is Ronald Daus, *Manila. Essay über die Karriere einer Weltstadt* (Opitz: Babylon Metropolis Studies, 1987), 40-41. He suggests the concept of architectural boundaries.

¹⁵¹⁰ BR 7: 225.

¹⁵¹¹ BR 7: 225.

¹⁵¹² BR 7: 228; See also Domingo Salazar, O.P., letter to the King on June 24, 1590. Cf. Retana, *Archivo III*, 68: "In the remaining space within the four fronts of the Parían is a large pond, which receives water from the sea through an estuary. In the middle of the pond is an islet, where the Sangleys who commit crimes receive their punishment, so as to be seen by all. The pond beautifies the Parían and proves to be of great advantage, because many ships sail into it through the aforesaid estuary at high tide, and bring to the Parían all the supplies, which are distributed thence all over the city."

¹⁵¹³ Cf. von den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 321.

Manila's 'Chinatown' also became an institution for proselytising 'heathens'. Governor Santiago de Vera assigned the Dominican order to build a wooden church and houses in the *alcaicería*.¹⁵¹⁴ The church was described as a magnificent building partially as a result of financial support from the Chinese community. This 'common money pot' (Chinese public budget) mentioned in that context is of major interest. Allegedly Christian and non-Christian Chinese deposited altogether no less than 20,000 pesos annually.¹⁵¹⁵

Implications for settling policies in the Parian and regular attempts to keep their number as small as possible even entered Chinese primary sources. Together with rumours of a Japanese attack that made the Chinese suspicious as the *Dongxi Yangkao* and the *Ming Shi* suggest: "At the time there were some who spread the rumors that the Japanese were coming make an inroad. Luis [interim governor Luis Dasmariñas], fearful of the Chinese communicating with the enemy, again considered expelling them."¹⁵¹⁶

These descriptions cast doubt on the tolerant atmosphere in multicultural Manila. An evaluation of the events shall follow after having compared the situation of the Chinese settlers to the one of their Japanese neighbours in Dilao.

Japanese Towns

Before being assigned their own residential district, the Japanese used to live among the Spaniards of Intramuros.¹⁵¹⁷ Yet, the community of sojourners from Japan became too large and difficult to control in the eyes of the Spaniards. Ranking colonial officials considered the Japanese a proud and sometimes arrogant people. As a result, they were designated their own quarter in 1585 in Dilao, the Tagalog word for yellow.¹⁵¹⁸ This was close to the Chinese Parian in San Gabriel, where they used to trade silk. Further Japanese districts – sometimes referred to by the Spaniards as the 'Parian of the Japanese' – would be founded over time. There they lived under the supervision of Franciscan friars who a few years later became the strongest 'Spanish' order on mainland Japan.

The Japanese Christian Pablo was among the first resident merchants. According to

¹⁵¹⁴ Pastells, *Historia I*, 506.

¹⁵¹⁵ Medina, *Historia*, 101: "(...) tenían una caja de comunidad, para gastos que se ofrecen."

¹⁵¹⁶ Cf. Ch'en, *Chinese Community*, 143.

¹⁵¹⁷ P. Ortiz Armengol, *Intramuros de Manila* (Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1958).

¹⁵¹⁸ Other sources claim that the word Dilao stands for a medical plant of which the fruits could be considered the saffron of the Philippines. See Colin, *Labor Evangelica I*, 37.

Andrés Perez Franco, Japanese residents at Manila paid one real per month as a tax on their shop. Within a few years, the place turned into a lively Japanese town. Similar Japanese commercial enterprises could also be found in Ayutthaya, Hoi An and Tonkin. Next to merchants, the Japanese town in Manila was also hosting political immigrants – opponents of the Japanese regime – and ideological refugees, e.g. Catholic converts.¹⁵¹⁹ During the following decades they were granted a certain form of self-governance.¹⁵²⁰

When in June 1606, the fiscal of the *audiencia* Rodriguez Diaz Guiral visited the Japanese settlement for inspection, he counted 91 shops and lodgings for the Japanese.¹⁵²¹ The early years of the seventeenth century were the peak years of the scattered Japanese towns in Manila before Japanese trade restrictions limited the number of Japanese people coming to Manila.

Even though the number of Japanese residents was much smaller than that of their Chinese counterparts, they are said to have caused serious troubles for the Spanish authorities. In particular, tensions with Hideyoshi and Spanish encounters with *wakō* did not help perceptions of the inhabitants of Dilao. In the period between 1605 and 1609, a series of riots occurred. After an uprising in 1606, the Jesuit Gracián described them as the “Spaniards of Asia”.¹⁵²² They were said to be turbulent and resentful to controlling measures and they generally conducted themselves as though they were conscious of the support of their rulers at home, who were known for taking national honour very seriously. Hence, Japanese settlers could act more independently, compared to Fujianese settlers, who could not count on the patronage of Chinese authorities.¹⁵²³ Spanish authorities demanded at several occasions that Japanese traders were to submit their weapons before entering the city.¹⁵²⁴

For almost fifty years the Japan-towns or *nihonmachi*,¹⁵²⁵ namely Dilao, San Miguel

¹⁵¹⁹ Wray, "Japanese Diaspora," 8;

¹⁵²⁰ Morga, *Sucesos*, 182; Iwao, *Nanyō*, 315.

¹⁵²¹ Pastells, *Historia V*, 101: “[A]l parían de Japones que está de esta otra parte de un estero de los sangleyes, y conté las tiendas de Japones que en él ay, y pareció aver 91 tiendas sin las casas y viviendas altas.” Wray, "Japanese Diaspora," 23: “The Japanese in Manila were at one point much more numerous, reaching a peak of about 3,000 residents in the early 1620s. However, following the suspension of the vermilion-seal ships their numbers fell more quickly than those of other towns [e.g. Batavia, Ayutthaya or Hoi An] By 1637, there were only 800 compared to 2,000 Spanish residents, and 20,000 Chinese, but they also seem to have survived longer than Japanese in other towns.”

¹⁵²² de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 362.

¹⁵²³ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 99.

¹⁵²⁴ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 261-265.

¹⁵²⁵ For the success-stories of other Japanese overseas communities in Ayutthaya, Hoi An or Tonkin see Iwao Seiichi, *Shuinsen Bōekishi no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1958).

and a settlement called Cavite, retained a cultural atmosphere reflective of Japan. Its residents continued to use their mother tongue, wear kimono and other traditional dress and maintain their native cooking and specific forms of entertainment and as a consequence Japanese culture could be found in Manila.¹⁵²⁶ This shows that most Japanese at Manila were not willing to be integrated in the society of their new home country. Similarly to Fujianese merchants, sea-going Japanese brokers' high degree of mobility raised suspicion among the colonial society.¹⁵²⁷

8.3.3. A Flexible Labour Market?

What does the existence of these ethnic quarters show us? What does it mean for our port city analysis or rather what Manila meant to these migrants? Those who left their status as maritime actors behind experienced considerable social change. Once they had established themselves in Manila they could count on a steady income and enjoy better standards of living; even if they only found work as daily labourers. Wage and daily labourers must have been a common sight in Manila towards the end of the sixteenth century when jobs were easily found in Spanish construction projects, agriculture or on the harbour. The daily wage of non-professional East Asian worker's was one real without meals.¹⁵²⁸ Discussing Chinese indentured labour in British colonial settings, in a recent contribution to an anthology on Chinese global interactions, McKeown claimed that Chinese labour was a commodity. He convincingly argued that: "mobilization and exchange of labor were indispensable aspects of expanding markets and trade."¹⁵²⁹ This was already critical for Manila. We may even assume that this was a specific development in Manila and that during the early decades the existence of abundant available labour replaced slave labour of the later centuries.¹⁵³⁰

The Chinese dominated all important service branches.¹⁵³¹ They worked as carpenters, bakers, butchers, painters, smiths and goldsmiths, served in construction

¹⁵²⁶ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 282.

¹⁵²⁷ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 342. He refers to an account of 1621.

¹⁵²⁸ BR 7: 229.

¹⁵²⁹ McKeown, "The Social Life of Chinese Labor," 62.

¹⁵³⁰ See Seijas, "Portuguese Slave Trade," 21: Portuguese became the primary suppliers of slaves (both Black and Asian) for the Spaniards beginning as early as 1580s.

¹⁵³¹ AGI Escribanía 403B, 109: Capitán Juan de Muxico, 1614: "*En esta ciudad no ay perssonas que usen los oficios que son necesarios en una republica sino son los sangleyes los quales los usan y ban a parar a sus manos todas las cossas que son nessesarias para los dhos ofizios y assi de ninguna suerte se puede escusar el trato y comercio con los dhos sangleyes.*"

and produced bricks and lime.¹⁵³² It is important not to confuse settling Chinese with maritime merchants. Chinese control of the entire service and manufacturing sector, as shipbuilders, translators or interpreters (*jurebassos*)¹⁵³³ put them into influential positions in the urban community. This indirectly led to a rise in their social status. In theory, such advancement was only possible if the East Asians had converted to Christianity. Baptism hardly ever made them devoted Christians. Without Chinese diligence and commitment, the Spaniards could not have built fine houses at low cost.

A common paradigm in migration studies is that work is the key to positive social integration. Although the division of labour in Manila led to integration of the Chinese work force, official policies remained ambivalent. Spanish authorities preferred them not to become too 'hispanised' and instead to remain easily distinguishable. Only those absolutely necessary for services the Spanish could not perform should remain in Manila.¹⁵³⁴ This shows that issues with the local society were far from being solved. The indigenous population, despite their marginal role in foreign trade, also affected social policies. No other explanation can be given for the fact that in 1609, the government in Spain revised the old system of *repartimiento* in the Philippines.¹⁵³⁵ Modifications foresaw the integration of East Asian settlers into work for the crown, such as personal assistance, public construction and naval services for a 'just salary'. Only when the Chinese were unwilling or unable to satisfy the demands of the labour market could the governor assign native people.¹⁵³⁶

Ship-building in the yards of Cavite was mainly carried out by Chinese and Malay labour under the supervision of Spanish experts. Wages were fixed for these imperial projects. Moreover, Tagalog and Chinese carpenters were involved in the building of the galleons, often in *repartimiento*-style forced labour.¹⁵³⁷ In Cavite they also worked as ironsmiths, forging nails and bolts, tacks, and other things needed. According to a

¹⁵³² BR 7: 228-229.

¹⁵³³ The word was commonly used for 'interpreter' in early modern Southeast Asia. See: Samuli Kaislaniemi, "Jurebassos and Linguists: The East India Company and Early Modern English Words for 'Interpreter'" *Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis (HEL-LEX 2)*, ed. Alpo Honkapohja et al., (Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2009), 60-73. For *jurebassos* in Manila see Cocks, *Diary*, 334, where he mentioned for instance Hernando Ximenes as *jurebasso* who offered his service in Bantam and Manila in 1622.

¹⁵³⁴ BR 10: 81-85.

¹⁵³⁵ Nuchiera, *Encomineda*, 241.

¹⁵³⁶ Cf. Nuchiera, *Encomineda*, 241: "*Si estos no quisieran o no pudieran satisfacer las demandas laborales, se facultaba al gobernador para que convenciese a los naturales a que acudiesen a tales trabajos.*"

¹⁵³⁷ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 67-68.

Spanish record of 1619, "the native Indians who are smiths are paid twelve reals per month, and the [S]angle Chinese smiths twenty-eight reals per month, and their ratio of rice which is equivalent to one-half a Spanish."¹⁵³⁸ If we compare these numbers with Salazar's account above we see that Chinese wages had barely changed in thirty years. Willing Chinese migrants mingled in the Cavite area and found employment in the maritime sector. A significant number based there used their position to migrate to New Spain – lured by an even better life. Edward R. Slack has thus argued that the Chinese were remarkably mobile within the Spanish Pacific Empire.¹⁵³⁹

An expanding Manila market with increasingly elaborate exchange led to as moneylenders being much sought after. The Chinese moneylender gained increasing importance, as the following example shows: In 1610, about 480 borrower's notes (for three pesos each) from the Chinese to the Spanish were pending.¹⁵⁴⁰ This led to the curious situation that Chinese merchants acted as capitalists offering loans to Spanish merchants.¹⁵⁴¹ The irony lies in the fact that the Spaniards had always tried to monopolise trade with American silver.

Quantitative data offers further insights into rags-to-riches stories inspired by the 'Manila dream'. When the Ming Ministry of War estimated in the 1630s, as we have seen in a previous chapter,¹⁵⁴² that a hundred thousand Fujianese came to Manila annually, we must not take it literally. Nevertheless, it gives a rough idea of the number of Chinese workers, as well as about the availability of work. Fujianese turned from piracy to a settled life that meant security and stability. Compared to the Japanese we may conclude that the latter had fewer skills to offer to satisfy colonial demand.

The fact that the Chinese dominated several sectors implies their swift adaptation and appropriation of necessary skills that corresponded to any change in material culture, or a modification of practices in non-European contexts, as Jürgen Osterhammel would call it.¹⁵⁴³ In this context, cultural transfer is to be understood as the adaptation of

¹⁵³⁸ BR 18: 175-176.

¹⁵³⁹ Slack, "Sinifying Mexico," 11.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Medina, *Historia*, 102.

¹⁵⁴¹ Morga, *Sucesos*, 183; BR 13: 219. In previous chapters we have heard of 800.000 silver and gold.

¹⁵⁴² Brook, *Troubled Empire*, 225: "for the people living along the coast have no other way to make a livelihood", wrote a Fujian petitioner in 1639. "The poorest always band together and go to sea to make a living. The most coastal restrictions are tightened, they have no way to get food, so they turn to plundering the coast."

¹⁵⁴³ For considerations on the effects of cultural transfer see Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens. Europa und die Asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert* (München: Beck, 1998), 25; 29; 64-68; See also Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: Beck, 2009), 28-45.

knowledge to established ideas and practices and thus implies a willingness to learn.¹⁵⁴⁴ Worship paintings and church furniture as well as book-binding are particularly interesting fields for cultural transfer and Chinese adaptability.¹⁵⁴⁵ Manufactures of the 'sangleyes' became the backbone of the urban society in Manila. Within a few years, they gained a reputation of being very gifted with their hands, industrious and their cheap prices were appreciated. Their ability to copy almost any product after a short period of time was admired by many. When it comes to the quality of these goods, peoples' opinions largely differed, covering a wide spectrum of negative and positive superlatives.¹⁵⁴⁶ It stands to reason that in this process, Manila offered a positive climate for cultural exchange between the Chinese and the Spanish that gradually increased the quality of the products manufactured there.¹⁵⁴⁷

While Chinese entrepreneurs created a very vibrant economic climate, the Spanish manufacturing sector remained very small and was no competition for the Chinese. Spanish became *encomenderos*, landowners, merchants, bureaucrats or ecclesiastical authorities, but only very few made money by providing the other settlers with daily necessities.¹⁵⁴⁸ This was the job of the Chinese, the Japanese and the indigenous population. So instead of resulting in a stable economy and a fair trading environment, we find that the primary and secondary sectors depended almost entirely on second-class citizens.

Like some Chinese counterparts, many Japanese residents also managed to accumulate a certain amount of wealth and social status by running their own shops, trading the cargo of the Japanese ships or finding employment as captains, sailors, soldiers, personal assistants or mercenaries for the Spanish.¹⁵⁴⁹ In 1615, Governor Silva

¹⁵⁴⁴ Maxine Berg, "In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 182, no. 1 (2004): 85-142; For the effects of cultural exchange on consumption patterns see Martin Muslow "Konsumtheorie und Kulturtransfer. Einige Perspektiven für die Forschung zum 16. Jahrhundert" in *Kulturtransfer. Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfgang Schmale (Wien/Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2003), 134.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Lucille Chia, "The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter: Chinese Sojourners in the Spanish Philippines and Their Impact on Southern Fujian (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)" *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, no. 4 (2006): 509-534.

¹⁵⁴⁶ BR 7: 226: Salazar praises their virtue of "*produc[ing] with exactness*".

¹⁵⁴⁷ BR 7: 225. "They make much prettier articles than are made in España and sometimes so cheap that I am ashamed to mention it."

¹⁵⁴⁸ AGI Escribanía 403B: Miguel Onte noted that "non-Christian sangleyes have taken all jobs of the republic; they are shoemakers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, embroiderer goldsmiths, hatter and all other necessary offices [=services or professions] and the Spanish do not provide them, nor do they have more than five or six shops where they only send Castilian goods and presents."

¹⁵⁴⁹ Okada Akio, *Nichiō Kōryū to Nanban Bōeki* (Kyoto: Shinbunkaku Shuppan, 1983), 157.

employed a particularly large number of Japanese military personnel on a fleet of 15 ships against the Dutch penetrating the Moluccas.¹⁵⁵⁰ Military assistance was one specific form of regional semi-private collaboration that included Japanese. They also offered their service to the Dutch and to the Portuguese in Macao.¹⁵⁵¹ Here the line between voluntary and indentured service was particularly blurry as the example of the Chinese mutiny on the Moluccas expedition of 1593 has shown.¹⁵⁵²

8.4. Taxation and Residence Permits

Controlling the Chinese settlers was closely intertwined with benefiting from them financially, as the case of Chinese residence permits indicates.¹⁵⁵³ Initially, control was linked with the evangelisation process – a common Spanish strategy based on the belief that Christians were ideally more submissive. However, despite the efforts of numerous friars, news about their lack of success had reached the king in Spain before the turn the century; on its receipt he lamented that not a single Chinese on the island was a believer anymore.¹⁵⁵⁴

With regard to the management of the Parian, it was common for Fujianese merchants to pay rent to the Spanish governor until 1593. When reports of Fujianese grievances reached Madrid, the king decreed that a more subtle way of taxation should be found. Instead of paying the governor, the *alcalde mayor* (judge of the Parian) should be paid. We may assume that this reform did not make life easier for the Chinese. It was no secret that the policy was often abused, despite constant Crown intervention. For instance, Governor Fernando da Silva and his secretary were accused of embezzling revenues in 1625.¹⁵⁵⁵

Jealous and concerned about the migration of silver to China, the Spaniards tried to cut their possible losses with a complex system of different sums of poll tax for the

¹⁵⁵⁰ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 291. The author provided the unlikely number of 500.

¹⁵⁵¹ In this context see also Adam Clulow, "Japanese Mercenaries," 15-34. See Iwao, *Nanyō*, 246-256 for the fascinating example of Yamada Nagamasa who commanded seven hundred Japanese mercenaries. Boxer, *Great Ship*, 82: In 1612 many Japanese served as personal assistants substituting negro slaves.

¹⁵⁵² ARSI Phil 16, 157-161v: Esc il Gov. G.P. "Dasmariñas per andare a Maluco: egli avienne una violenza e disgratiata morte". This notification made by the Jesuits and sent back to Europe is a clear indication for impact of the event and anti-Chinese propaganda.

¹⁵⁵³ The *oidores* of the *audiencia* were in charge of issuing those permits. When it came to frictions with Chinese settlers they were often blamed of maladministration and corruption. AGI Filipinas 76, n. 53, "Carta del Obispo de Nueva Segovia Diego de Soria, sobre alzamiento de sangleyes," 1594-07-08.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 91 (1597).

¹⁵⁵⁵ Cf. von den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 295.

indigenous, the Chinese and the Japanese populations. After they had experienced the first major wave of Chinese migration, 64 *reales* were charged for the privilege to stay, twelve *reales* for owning a house, and five *reales* as tribute.¹⁵⁵⁶ After 1611, per capita tribute was levied on the Chinese.¹⁵⁵⁷ Bernal stated that eight pesos were collected annually from non-Christian Chinese. This eight pesos tax burden was imposed by Governor Juan de Silva (r. 1609-1616) and brought in 80.000 pesos in 1621.¹⁵⁵⁸

The early twentieth-century Japanese historian Naojirō Murakami presented quantitative data based on a compilation of decrees by Philip IV of the year 1627. He acknowledged that newly converted Chinese were exempted from the payment of tribute for ten years and thereafter only had to pay the low rate of the native Filipinos.¹⁵⁵⁹ In later decades we see a significant increase: In the year 1636, governor Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera (r. 1635-1644; several years later he was fined for the loss of Taiwan) prided himself with having collected between 11,000 and 13,000 licenses amounting to more than 170,000 pesos for the real hacienda.¹⁵⁶⁰ He pointed out that not all governors were similarly diligent in collecting head taxes, exemplifying it with an attached list of revenue taken from the Chinese between 1612 and 1634.

When looking at the recorded residence permits paid by Chinese settlers between 1612 and 1634, we see an increase in the 1630s, peaking at 135,904 pesos in 1634, almost twice the amount of the income from the same tax in the 1610s.¹⁵⁶¹ These figures and the fact that the tributary burden on Chinese and Japanese long remained an issue are strong arguments against the 'general decline in the 1630s' thesis.

Although Chinese and Japanese are often mentioned together, we have reason to believe that the latter were treated differently. Spanish officials used to complain that the Japanese merchants did not pay any custom fees when exchanging their silver to Chinese silk in Manila.¹⁵⁶² Even though Iwao claimed that Japanese traders had to pay the same entrance fee as the Chinese,¹⁵⁶³ there is no clear evidence for a head tax.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Zaide, *Philippines*, 333.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Bernal, "Chinese Colony," 47: An annual head tax was laid on the Chinese after 1611. 8 pesos annually for non-Christian Christians; For more on this matter see chapter 5.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Data based on Rios Coronel 1621. Cf. von den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 232.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Siehe Recopilación. lib. 6, tit. 18, ley 7 issued by Philip IV, June 14, 1627. Cf. Murakami, "Japan's Early Attempt".

¹⁵⁶⁰ Pastells, *Historia VIII*, ccxlvii.

¹⁵⁶¹ Nuchera, *Encomienda*, 241.

¹⁵⁶² AGI Filipinas 29, n. 94, "Carta de los oficiales reales sobre varios asuntos," 1607-07-14.

¹⁵⁶³ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 335.

8.5. Juridical Issues and Multicultural Conflicts

Integrated multi-layered urban societies require elaborate administration. From the earliest days of the colony, juridical matters became a pressing issue for negotiations with the Crown. As a result, a complex juridical body developed over the years, with different levels of jurisdictions for different 'nationalities'.

When asking under which juridical system Chinese and Japanese matters were dealt with in Manila, we have to look at changing official Spanish policies and compare them to common practises in Manila. A study of the memorials of the Castilian bureaucrats shows that during the earliest encounters, very general problems had to be solved. Evidence that the East Asian settlers were regarded as subdued to the Castilian crown is rare. Some Church representatives, initially suspicious and cautious in their dealings with the Chinese, changed their attitude in the late 1580s and became self-appointed guardians of the Chinese in Manila, eager to protect Chinese merchants' interests and assure the settlers a peaceful life, free of unfair intervention of the colonial authorities.¹⁵⁶⁴ In an attempt to solve some of the problems of the Philippine society, Bishop Domingo Salazar gathered intellectuals and policymakers in the year 1582 to discuss new strategies for the Philippines. One of the questions addressed was whether the governor should punish crimes according to Spanish law. Since the island was part of the *republica española*, it was primarily defined by Spanish laws (*Leyes de Indias* or Laws of the Indies). While the application of these laws was assigned to the governor, the bishop was an important man when it came to Chinese legal integration into the colonial system.¹⁵⁶⁵ This was a novelty in Spanish imperial politics, given their fundamental differences with policies during earlier conquests on the Iberian archipelago or the Americas where the Spaniards encountered heathens or Muslims.¹⁵⁶⁶ The attitude of the metropolis concerning the jurisdiction of the Chinese was wavering and got constantly mixed up with the question of restricting Chinese financial gains in Manila.¹⁵⁶⁷

¹⁵⁶⁴ BR 7: 221; Dasmariñas to Felipe II on June 20, 1591 BR 8: 274: "From the pulpits they say that the governor is going to hell, because the Chinese have their laws, and we cannot dictate them unless we first govern ourselves according to the laws and customs which we found among the Indians of that country, because it was and is theirs." AGI Filipinas 76, n. 41, "Carta del obispo de Nueva Segovia Miguel de Benavides sobre quejas de los chinos," 1598-07-05.

¹⁵⁶⁵ van den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 267.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Ladero Quesada, "Spain circa 1492," 100.

¹⁵⁶⁷ BR 7: 154-155. See also BR 10: 83-84: "The Sangleys should not be allowed to have Pariáns in certain

8.5.1. The “Chinese”

Early Chinese settlers were described in the brightest colours as easy-going neighbours, being clean, well-educated and above all industrious.¹⁵⁶⁸ Stereotypes of the Chinese settlers changed within the course of time from “very unassuming and modest people” and diligent, hard workers¹⁵⁶⁹ to “an unscrupulous race” famous for adultery and sodomy.¹⁵⁷⁰ Similar wavering tendencies can be traced for the Japanese.

Legal discrimination had hardly any impact on maritime trade in Manila. It was simply an administrative tool. Neither limits to their freedom of trade, nor oppressive behaviour of the Parian supervisors, seemed to have stopped the Fujianese from frequenting Manila. Initial resistance against Spanish trade control policies introduced in the days of Governor Ronquillo (r. 1583-1584), was soon replaced by adaptation and compromises.

Contrary to the aversion of colonial officers, Philip II acted as a just king in all matters regarding the Chinese in Manila. Relying on Bishop Salazar's accounts, he suggested providing them with legal representatives (exercising jurisdiction) such as *alcaldes mayores* (sometimes referred to as *alcaydes* or *capitanes*) and *regidores*.¹⁵⁷¹ In order to alleviate grievances of the Chinese community, the Spanish monarch ordered that the Christians among them should be allowed to elect their own mayors and municipal councils.¹⁵⁷² Only two years later, militating against a too large number of Chinese interpreters who committed fraud, Antonio de Morga insisted that “these Sangleys should not be afflicted as at present by any judges, constables, and interpreters – who, by various pretexts and calumnies, cheat and rob them, and perpetrate much fraud,

towns of the islands, where there are but few Spaniards. The justices harbor them there for their own profit, and the harvests that they gather from them and their ships, as in Manila. This might prove very harmful and injurious, and renders it necessary that, at the very least, the ship coming to trade shall dispose of its cargo as quickly as possible, and return to China with all those who come in it. It is only just that, when the Sangleyes arrive with their ships, they should observe the proclamations issued which prohibit them from bringing many people. Penalties should be exacted, and when the Sangleyes return they should take as many people as they can, thus relieving the country from the many here who are an injury to it.”

¹⁵⁶⁸ BR 3: 155-180.

¹⁵⁶⁹ BR 3: 168; BR 7: 228-229.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Morga in BR 10: 83; 150. The account was written by the archbishop of Manila Ygnacio de Santibañez in June, 1597 to Felipe II. Medina, *Historia*, 68-69.

¹⁵⁷¹ See Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 71 (1591): “*por ser ya esta población de sangleyes de mochos vecinos, y que cada día servan aumentado se les podría conceder que hiziesen eleccion de alcaldes y regidores y otros oficiales de justicia y gobierno mayormente que es gente que vive con publicia.*”

¹⁵⁷² Cédulas Reales 1700, no 71 (1591): “[...] *que hiziesen eleccion de alcaldes y regidores y otros oficiales de justicia y gobierno mayormente que es gente que vive con publicia, y tienen discreción para governarse [...].*”

coercion, and bribery."¹⁵⁷³ And he urged stricter control:

*It is necessary [to restrict rigorously] the Chinese from going about as they now do among these islands for trade and profit, without any system, robbing the country, enhancing the value of articles, and imparting many bad habits and sins to the natives. They also explore the ports and harbor entrances, and reconnoicer the country, that they may be able to work some injury when occasion offers.*¹⁵⁷⁴

The Chinese remained a delicate issue for not paying their *alcalde mayor* in the early seventeenth century.¹⁵⁷⁵

Although a slightly different story, but nevertheless worthwhile mentioning at this point, was the Chinese difficulty in defending their property within the linguistically challenging environment. The bishop of Nueva Segovia, as head of the Dominican Order – the only protecting institution for the Chinese settlers – wrote to Felipe II in July 1598 about the "the grievous injuries that [the Chinese] suffer daily from [the] Majesty's officials and other Spaniards", which a group of Christian and non-Christian Chinese had expressed in two letters addressed to the Spanish king, written in their language and characters. The bishop claimed that the king's own vassals were the greatest enemies of the Christian law since they violated the royal decree of leaving Chinese property untouched.¹⁵⁷⁶

Legal treatment of the Chinese had many facets. In the early years, the government held exclusive responsibility and jurisdiction over the Chinese. Given the persistent fear of a Chinese invasion, this made sense. Once the Parian had been established, it was constituted as a self-sufficient Chinese community.¹⁵⁷⁷ This implies that the *sangleyes* deliberately subordinated to the will and jurisdiction of the colonial government. Given the vague conceptualization of the Chinese administration, obedience and disobedience

¹⁵⁷³ BR 10: 82.

¹⁵⁷⁴ BR 10: 81.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Escribanía 403B, 100: Christian *sangleyes* beyond the jurisdiction of the *alcalde mayor* of Tondo do not pay for any *alcalde mayor*, but the king has to pay his salary. "[L]os *sangleyes xpianos* que estan en la juristicion del *alcalde mayor* de Tondo pagan ninguno *alclade mayor* de aquella juridicion sino que su mag/d paga a el *dho* *alcalde mayor* y sin el *dho* salario el *dho* *alcalde* tiene sus *aprovechimientos* de *poyos* y *firmas* que es de consideracion y esto save y responde a esta pregunta."

¹⁵⁷⁶ BR 10: 166-67. According to the Bishop the two Chinese petitions were sent to Spain and delivered by the Dominican Soria who acted as envoy. The petition only reached Philip III in April 1600.

¹⁵⁷⁷ For a rather detailed description of the Parían see Aduarte, *Historia II*, 463-465: 10,000 Chinese live there, sometimes even up to 20,000.

were closely intertwined, for instance by corruption or collaboration with indigenous people or the Church, given the different legal concepts and these two groups' access to the hinterland that would often serve as welcome hideaway.

If we believe Adshead, overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asian Chinatowns had criminal potential because of the high number of small-scale, non-established private enterprises and unwelcome, plebeian emigrants.¹⁵⁷⁸ Many other early interpretations hint at a discourse of cultural clashes, due to Spanish ignorance or arrogance instead of relaying an appealing narrative of a peaceful, mutually enriching port city environment.¹⁵⁷⁹ Common descriptions mostly deny any possibility for acculturation.

It is noteworthy that as early as 1586, positive steps led to the establishment of a protector of the natives and protector of the Chinese.¹⁵⁸⁰ Dominican friars, for instance, made special efforts to administer to them in Mandarin.¹⁵⁸¹ Juan Cobo was one of the first four Chinese-versed priests. The issue of administering the Chinese, politically of ever-growing importance, was fuelled by the conflict between the church and the royal government. The agenda of multi-layered jurisdiction stretched from settling regulations to political competition between government officials, as we have seen in the king's act of good intentions of 1594 that granted the Chinese their own *alcalde* captain, a Castilian who often held other appointments such as e.g. *regidor* or *procurador*.¹⁵⁸² The governor general, who also issued the residence licences, was appointed as protector of the Chinese in 1604. This accumulation of offices naturally had a negative impact on social and legal affairs of the Fujianese: "Action should be taken, so that these sangleys should not be afflicted as at present by any judges, constables, and interpreters – who, by various pretexts and calumnies, cheat and rob them, and perpetrate much fraud, coercion, and bribery."¹⁵⁸³

Injustice has to be traced within the system. To begin with, the colonial government did not pay him regular salary, but granted him the right to collect two pesos from every single shop in the Parian. The system enabled the *alcalde* to establish Spanish norms and

¹⁵⁷⁸ Adshead, *China*, 210.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Guerrero, "Chinese in the Philippines," 27-28.

¹⁵⁸⁰ See BR 6: 167-168; cf. Ch'en, "Chinese Community," 73: "A Protector of the Indians should be appointed, a Christian man, and with authority to defend them, and prosecute their suit [...]. The *alcaicería* and the care of the Chinese residing in Manila, be annexed to his office."

¹⁵⁸¹ San Agustín, *Islas Philipinas* lib II, 381.

¹⁵⁸² *Recopilación de Indias* 2, title 5, law 55, cf. Guerrero, "Chinese in the Philippines," 30.

¹⁵⁸³ BR 10: 83.

standards in direct interaction with the Chinese entrepreneurs' business.¹⁵⁸⁴ At the same time it was tempting to increase salaries by fining retailers for not adhering to Spanish standards.¹⁵⁸⁵

In terms of executing power, the capitán of the Parian had to obey the instructions of the king, respectively his representative in the Philippines; the governor general; and technically the *audiencia*, who monitored him and could report abuse of authority.¹⁵⁸⁶ The earliest legislation to be found in the Laws of the Indies, dealing with the government of the Chinese was enacted on April 15, 1603.¹⁵⁸⁷ The Chinese had the right to appeal against them. Bakers, fishermen and butchers complained regularly about the unfair tax collecting methods and attempts to increase the amount of money to be paid.¹⁵⁸⁸ The problem with Chinese jurisdiction in Manila was that only a single judge was in charge of all up to 20,000 settlers and their jurisdiction for both civil and criminal cases. Besides, for the Spanish it remained a disturbing cost factor.¹⁵⁸⁹

A local Chinese authority also existed; the 'governor of the sangleys'¹⁵⁹⁰ held another office suggesting self-government and political representation of the Christian Chinese.¹⁵⁹¹ In 1590, the Christian Chinese Don Juan Zanco was the first publicly acknowledged person to hold that office.¹⁵⁹² John E. Wills has pointed out that it was not clear if his political power affected the non-Christian Chinese.¹⁵⁹³ The *alcalde* of the Parian during the 1603 uprising was a Christian Chinese, loyal to the Manila government. His Spanish name was Juan Batista de la Vera, transcribed as Eng Kang.¹⁵⁹⁴

¹⁵⁸⁴ Regarding the sums paid for that office: The regular price for the post of *alcalde* in the early decades was 2,000 pesos while it is reported that they were often sold for only 1,000 pesos, which meant a major loss for the royal income. See AGI Escribanía 403B.

¹⁵⁸⁵ AGI Escribanía 403B (95); For controversial policies see Pastells, *Historia VI*, xxviii.

¹⁵⁸⁶ For instance in the case of Marcos de la Cueva as recorded in Escribanía 403B: "*En yr a hazer causas de diputacion al dho Parián siendo contra cedula expressa de su mag/d que les proxibe el hazelo e manda que pribativamente el alcayde que fuere del Parián tenga el conosimiento de todas las caussas de sangleyes que se ofrecieren sin que otra ninguna justicia se entremeta a conocer de ellas las qual dha cedula esta mandada guardar y cumplir por la real audiencia y así no se puede dezir exseder yo sino antes los dhos alcaldes y diputados pues ban contra tantos mandalos e proviciones.*"

¹⁵⁸⁷ Recopilación 5-3-24.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Escribanía 403B: Between 1611 and 1614 the *alcaldes* Antonio Arzeo, Hernando de Avalos, Luis de Contreras and Marcos de la Cueva were all officially accused by the high-ranking Chinese population, including Christians and esteemed interpreters of abusing their offices.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Merino, *Cabildo*, 213: Purchase of the Clerkship of the Chinese Parián was 1.11% of annul spendings.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Gil, *Chinos en Manila*, 237-244.

¹⁵⁹¹ BR 16: 197: "The Chinese have a governor of their own race, a Christian, who has his officials and assistants."

¹⁵⁹² Cf. Wills, "Maritime Europe," 56.

¹⁵⁹³ Guerrero, "The Chinese in the Philippines," 30-31.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Cf. Wills, "Maritime Europe," 57.

A similar office existed in other port city communities – a Hokkien-merchant captain administered the Chinese Quarter Tay Kie Ki (Tin Kap) in Malacca.

In 1614, the laws under Philip III were slightly modified. The fiscal of the *audiencia* became legal protector of the *sangleyes* and the *alcalde mayor* continued to supervise legal matters. Pastells accused these Spanish officers of enriching themselves enormously.¹⁵⁹⁵ Thereafter no other judge was allowed to deal with Chinese legal matters and they were not even allowed to enter the shops of the Chinese.¹⁵⁹⁶ In 1598, the *audiencia* decreed that the Chinese who were arrested should pay their creditors within six days, or have their services sold for debt.¹⁵⁹⁷ Under the impression of these facts, the possibilities for self-government should not be exaggerated. A certain paragraph in the law regarding the *audiencia's* non-intervention in the jurisdiction of the Chinese rendered almost every attempt to reform their administration useless: "unless in case so extraordinarily necessary and imperative that it may appear convenient to limit this rule."¹⁵⁹⁸

The second half of the 1620s saw further changes in the administration of the *sangleyes* through Governor Tavora's attempted to increase the church taxes imposed on the Chinese.¹⁵⁹⁹ By then the number of Chinese settlements around Manila numbered at least six. The Parian of Santa Cruz, for instance, remained under Jesuit supervision.¹⁶⁰⁰ Not surprisingly, the missionaries too tried to finance their work with revenues taken from the newly-converted and potential converts.¹⁶⁰¹

It is fascinating that there were times when the Chinese appealed directly to the king in Spain, as a memorial of 1630 shows: They complained about the ill-treatment by government officials and asked to be governed by mandarins or *alcaldes mayores* of the Chinese nation.¹⁶⁰² Philip IV apparently did not comply with these requests.

Next to Castilian Parian officials, wealthy Chinese merchants became influential in

¹⁵⁹⁵ Pastells, *Historia I*, 261.

¹⁵⁹⁶ von den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 301.

¹⁵⁹⁷ BR 10: 293.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 250-251.

¹⁵⁹⁹ BR 23: 36.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Pastells, *Catálogo*, 259.

¹⁶⁰¹ Pastells, *Historia General*, cclv: "cien pesos y cien fanegas de arroz en cáscara y dos arrobas de vino de Castilla para celebrar, que es la mitad que se da a los dos religiosos que administran en la Iglesia de Parián, y se le pague de la caja de dicha comunidad de los *sangleyes*; por haber constado por los papeles que presentó tenerlos en doctrina y administrandoles los santos sacramentos y para ella tomen la razon los dichos tenedores de la orden en los papeles de dicha caja de comunidad, para que en todo tiempo conste". (Manila 1631-06-18).

¹⁶⁰² Cf. Cunningham, *Audiencia*, 253: "King to the President and oidores" 1630-12-21

the Chinese community in the Parian. A remarkable case was Li Tan, a Fujianese adventurer, born in Quanzhou.¹⁶⁰³ The story of that flexible merchant illustrates how Nagasaki gradually replaced Manila in the 1620s and illustrates the development of a flourishing Japan-Taiwan-Fujian-network of Li-Tan and his brothers. As trafficker of porcelains and silks, he served as 'governor' of the *sangleyes* in Manila, before he fled to Hirado after allegedly being forced to work on the galleys by the Spanish. His brother was headman of the Chinese at Nagasaki. Wills reported of a Spanish merchant who searched for him in Hirado to try to collect on a debt for which he had earlier stood surety in Manila.¹⁶⁰⁴ Eventually, Li Tan became the chief of a pirate community in Taiwan, where he died in 1625.¹⁶⁰⁵ Having had sufficient knowledge in Japanese and Castilian for his business negotiations, he opted for a typical career as ocean-going private merchant in the Manila-trade, as this is reflected in the way he was perceived. To the Europeans, he became known as 'Captain China', which shows his outstanding power in controlling the people and the sea.¹⁶⁰⁶ He was not the only one to accumulate knowledge in Manila and later became a successful illicit trader based in Taiwan during the late 1620s, cooperating with the Japanese and the Dutch. Thus he reminds us of Zheng Zhilong (or Iquan in Dutch sources), another famous 'Chinese pirate' who became part of Li Tan's network in the 1620s.¹⁶⁰⁷

8.5.2. The Japanese

William D. Wray has divided Japanese emigrants in three categories: (1) The vermilion-seal ship businessmen, (2) Christian refugees and (3) military people including mercenaries and low-rank samurai. The last group left the country due to increasing political and social pressure and were consisted mainly of opponents of the Tokugawa clan.¹⁶⁰⁸

¹⁶⁰³ In some sources, such as the *Ming-shi lu* he is spelled Li Dan, while Cocks referred to him as Captain China.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Wills, "Maritime China," 217.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Cf. Slack, "Sinifying New Spain," 23; George Kuwayama, *Chinese Ceramics in Colonial Mexico* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1997), 16.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Iwao Seiichi, "Li Tan, Chief of the Chinese Residents at Hirado, Japan, in the Last Days of the Ming Dynasty" *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 17, (1958): 27-83; Andrade, *How Taiwan*, chapter 2.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Charles R. Boxer, "The Rise and Fall of Nicholas Iquan" *T'ien Hsia Monthly* 11, (1941): 401-39.

¹⁶⁰⁸ They may therefore at large be considered *rōnin* Wray, "Japanese Diaspora," 8. See Dainippon Shiryou 12-38, genna 7, month 7, day 27; Cf. Yoko Matsui, "The Legal Position of Foreigners in Nagasaki during the Edo Period," in *Asian Port Cities 1600-1800. Local and Foreign Cultural Interactions*, ed. Masashi Haneda, (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009), 29; Tatiana Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila 1580-1640" *Intinerario* 32, no. 1 (2008): 22. "In the case of Manila it appears that Asian slaves were much

A permanent Japanese presence in Manila posed a major challenge to the colonial administration, especially because of stronger links between South East Asian Japanese-towns and Japan. Another obstacle for peaceful integration must have been the fact that several of the earliest settlers of Dilao were said to come from the *wakō* settlement of Aparri, close to Cagayan.¹⁶⁰⁹ Although geographically rather distant from Manila, these camps influenced the social life of the Japanese towns strongly. Encounters with these self-declared rulers and military conflicts had a strong impact on the Spanish perception of the Japanese.¹⁶¹⁰

We know of cases of individual Japanese actively seeking to gain controlling power in Manila. One such case would become known as the Japanese-Filipino conspiracy of the late 1580s: a case that suggests intensified interaction with native Japanese in Manila. It started at some point in 1585 in the Province Pampanga and ultimately led to the conspiracy in Tondo in which some Japanese merchant settlers collaborated with Magat Salamat and Agustin de Legazpi, two former indigenous captains of Manila. Agoncillo argued that these two were dissatisfied with their power loss and therefore asked the Japanese to send soldiers for a strike against the Spaniards.¹⁶¹¹ Indeed, a Japanese squadron arrived in 1587.¹⁶¹² Captain Joan Gayo, who came to Manila on a Japanese ship that year, was also implicated in the plots of 1587 and 1588 that resulted in the execution of traitors all the way down to their interpreter Dionisio Fernandez, a Christian Japanese.¹⁶¹³ This could not allay Spanish suspicions. Gomez Perez Dasmariñas declared in a letter of 1592, that the thirty Japanese dressed as pilgrims pretended to visit the church in Manila were in fact spies who came to study port facilities.¹⁶¹⁴ Does that suggest a greater Japanese than Chinese political influence in Manila?

A further example is the rumour about Hideyoshi's official ambassador Harada Kiyemon, whose alleged political ambitions to become captain of Dilao, fit perfectly into

preferred over African slaves." Also mentioned by Bhasawathi Bhattacharya, "Making Money at the Blessed Place of Manila. Americans in the Madras-Manila Trade in the Eighteenth Century" *Journal of Global History* 3, no. 1 (2008): 1-20.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Zaide, *Philippines*, 346: "Kingdom of Cagayan".

¹⁶¹⁰ Tōyo Bunko, *Filipinas y el Japón*, 11: "En ciertas provincias conserva degenerado tipo semejante al Chino proviene de cruzamientos con las japonesa sus desembarcos sus invasiones piraticas dejaron muchos rastros en las costas en N. de Luzon en la desembarcadero del rio Cagayan, rastros que principalmente ya revelan en el cobrizo color de los rostros y redondes del globo ocular."

¹⁶¹¹ Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *A Short History of the Filipino People* (Manila: Univ. of the Philippines, 1960), 135.

¹⁶¹² Tōyo Bunko, *Filipinas y el Japón*, 14.

¹⁶¹³ BR 7: 95-110.

¹⁶¹⁴ Ch'en, *Chinese Community*, 99.

the picture.¹⁶¹⁵ As well as pleading for self-government, the Japanese kept close ties to local lords in their motherland. An eye witness of the time warned about the ambivalent relationship between Japanese and heathen Chinese settlers, and that the latter were not to trust because most of them had been previously done business in Japan.¹⁶¹⁶ He insisted that many Japanese from Cagayan were now in Manila and that Harada Kiyemon himself was involved in *wakō* trade in Cagayan.¹⁶¹⁷

Prior to the first of a total of three expulsions in 1597, bishop Benavides issued a complaint about the governor's reluctance in taking the Japanese threat seriously:

How can I tell your Majesty of the affairs of war? Although we are every moment fearing some movement from Japan, this man [Tello] will not build a single turret to finish the wall. He considers himself safe with a dark retreat, which he built to if the enemy should take a single house of the city, he is as well fortified there as are the Spaniards in their retreat. For, with the cheap labour of Chinaman, they have built here so that every house is a fortress.¹⁶¹⁸

This not only shows the complexity of relations with the Japanese but confirms earlier descriptions of features of the townscape.

Just as with Chinese settlers, the growing number of their Japanese neighbours were a source for major Spanish concern. Here too, attempts were made to limit their number. One such attempt by the *audiencia* during Acuña's absence in the Moluccas in 1605 precipitated a very serious crisis. A royal order of 1608, issued in response to reports of Rios Coronel, charged the governor to restrict the Japanese population, but directed him at the same time to exercise all care to avert any clash with them and not to do anything that would arouse the resentment of the 'emperor'.¹⁶¹⁹ In accordance with Ieyasu's anti-pirate campaigns the Spaniards considered it necessary to punish Japanese troublemakers publicly: "I sent Captain Gaspar Perez to [...] with some vireys and small ships; he had better luck, for, having met with two of the Xaponese ships, he overcame the one which awaited him, and killed the whole crew. He brought one Xaponese of this

¹⁶¹⁵ BR 9: 48; For more details on the Japanese conspiracy see BR 9: 40: Antonio Lopez cautioned against the infidel *sangleyes* who collaborated with the Japanese.

¹⁶¹⁶ This was all learnt from the interpreter Antonio Lopez from the Japanese Don Baltasar who by then had been travelling from Japan and Cagayan via Ryūkyū for seven years. See AGI Patronato 25, r. 50, "Trato del embajador del Japón con Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas," 1593.

¹⁶¹⁷ BR 9: 40.

¹⁶¹⁸ BR 10: 164.

¹⁶¹⁹ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 100-101; BR 10: 211.

city here alive, who was executed in the sight of the Xaponese and the Chinese."¹⁶²⁰

Japanese administration is sometimes referred to as self-government, under supervision of the Franciscans who were watching over the Dilao from a nearby convent – which reflects parallels with Dominican and Jesuit cooperation with the Chinese. It has not yet been fully resolved, whether a Japanese or a Spaniard should stand at the top of their administration. In 1627, a certain Capitan Juan Suion (probably the *shuinsen* merchant Itoya Zueimon) is mentioned as head of the Japanese in Manila.¹⁶²¹

Despite these new settlers' commitment to the Christian faith, the Spaniards of Manila continued to worry about new resurrections and frictions. In fact, their arrival simply meant growing complexity and increasing trouble for the colonial government in Manila.¹⁶²² In 1620, Philip III ordered the governor and the *audiencia* to adopt whatever measures they saw fit, though they were warned to take care not to harm the relations of trade and friendship then existing. Before this letter could reach Manila, Governor Fajardo wrote to the king: "A large part of the Japanese had been expelled, so that for a long time there have not been so few of them as now."¹⁶²³ However, a royal decree of the following year was critical of the fact that the Japanese were allowed to stay because of the "negligence and carelessness" of the authorities at Manila. The number of Japanese should not exceed 500, according to royal decrees.

Christian persecutions in Japan brought new impetus to the Japanese settlement in Manila, when the city became attractive for other reasons than trade. After the arrival of the new Japanese Christians, Yokuan Naito, who became a leading figure of the Japanese community, founded a further Japanese residential area. Consequently, the number of Japanese immigrants in Manila grew and exceeded 3,000 in 1623.¹⁶²⁴ What is noteworthy in the study of the Japanese Christian community in Manila is that this attracted the Jesuits of the Philippines – who until then had stayed in the background in Japanese matters and did not cross the seas northwards to join their Portuguese brothers 'in the field'. With the arrival of the first refugees in Manila, they tried to engage themselves in their welfare by administering the new community in Japanese.¹⁶²⁵

¹⁶²⁰ BR 10: 211

¹⁶²¹ Iwao *Nanyō*, 209-213.

¹⁶²² AGI Filipinas 74, n. 94, "Carta de García Serrano sobre incidente de Dilao," 1622-08-01. It is not entirely clear whether the incident was related to the Japanese settlers.

¹⁶²³ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 101.

¹⁶²⁴ Zaide, *Philippines*, 351.

¹⁶²⁵ ARSI Phil 11, 74. Iwao, *Nanyō*, 294-297; 355; 361-363; Borao, "Colonia," 13; The most prominent figure of this settler group was Takayama Ukon, also known as Dom Justo, *daimyō* of Takatsuki and later

Many Japanese Christians moved to Vietnam instead of Manila.¹⁶²⁶ Naturally, the number of Japanese settlers gradually decreased after the 1640s, with no more new-arrivals. Curiously the community managed to maintain Japanese customs and traditions for many years, as a Chinese record of the early eighteenth century indicates.¹⁶²⁷ A relative of the first Japanese martyrs built a chapel in the cathedral of Mexico in their honour that became the backbone of a collective cultural memory.¹⁶²⁸ Manila became a spiritual centre for newly converted Christians from the entire region and for some of them served as a way station to real (for profound believers) Catholic cities in the Americas.¹⁶²⁹

One possible cause for unsolved conflicts was their complex juridical status. In legal affairs, the Japanese differed significantly from the Chinese. The Japanese who had travelled overseas and lived in foreign countries did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Japanese authorities.¹⁶³⁰ Once a stricter course of Tokugawa domestic policies emerged, along with new rules for official residence (*jūtaku*) or the *ninbetsu chō* of 1634, social and occupational mobility became further restricted.¹⁶³¹ These laws stand in sharp contrast to the multi-cultural character in Manila. Furthermore, they stand in contrast to the encouraging and courageous foreign policy of the first two decades of the Tokugawa reign.

8.5.3. Cultural and Social Issues

On the following pages, case studies will help draw a clearer picture of the controversial matters of the multi-cultural administration of the early days. The hairstyle of the Chinese settlers, a seemingly minor aesthetic peculiarity, serves as fitting example.

Whether the Chinese should be allowed to grow their hair long or cut it after having

of Akashi before being disempowered by Tokugawa Hidetada. ARSI Phil 11, f. 67-69 v. (Ukondonus). For his Christian life in Japan see Johannes Laures, S.J., *Takayama Ukon und die Anfänge der Katholischen Kirche in Japan* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1954). In the 1630s a last wave of Japanese religious refugees landed in Manila. In May 1632 130 expelled Christians arrived.

¹⁶²⁶ Ganoi, "Betonamu," 47-49; 51-52. Ganoi estimates that at least 500 Japanese Christians migrated to the Japanese town in Faifo in the years 1618 and 1619 and contributed to the largest Japanese Christian community in Indochina.

¹⁶²⁷ Iwao, *Nanyō*, 365-367.

¹⁶²⁸ AHN Diversos, Documentos de India, 329, 1637.

¹⁶²⁹ AHN Diversos, Documentos de India, 329, 1637.

¹⁶³⁰ Shin, *Making of the Chinese State*, 26.

¹⁶³¹ See Matsui, "Legal Position," 3. She argues that the *bakufu* was interested in 'nationalizing' foreign groups as far as possible.

received baptism, resulted in a conflict between the ecclesiastic and the civil government. The solution of the problem was again the intriguing mix of Philip II's cultural empathy and political calculus.¹⁶³² The stumbling block in Manila and Madrid was whether converted Chinese should be forced to cut their hair short in Christian fashion or not. A pro and a counter party debated heavily until the king himself lay down the law. On June 11, 1585, he commanded his governor Santiago de Vera not to cut the new converts' hair against their will under any circumstances.¹⁶³³ The fussy hair-style issue remained a recurring theme in social policies and therefore serves as a significant example for the phenomenon of 'dis-learning' on a multicultural spot and suggests that multi-ethnic governing lacked a general level of continuity.¹⁶³⁴ Morga insisted in 1596 that "it would be much better for the Chinese who become Christians not to dress like Spaniards."¹⁶³⁵

Another token of Philip II's cultural vision can be traced in an order sent to Governor Gomez Pérez Dasmariñas a few years later in which he rejoiced that "they have started to preach the *sangleyes* in their language with a lot of success because they were docile people with good intentions, I order to favour and honour in everything that happens and animate them to continue so that it serves God most and before long a good number of religious would exist."¹⁶³⁶

From a social perspective, it is interesting that a comparatively high number of Chinese settlers were literate, as Lucille Chia has plausibly shown in a recent article.¹⁶³⁷ Although controversial scholarly views persist, what speaks in favour of a higher degree of education of the Chinese was their quick appropriation of sophisticated techniques, their involvement in the printing process in Manila and their reliable work as linguists.¹⁶³⁸

As to the question to what extent cultural and political divergences between the

¹⁶³² Tōyo Bunko, *Filipinas y el Japón*, 29.

¹⁶³³ Cédulas Reales 1700, no. 22 (1587).

¹⁶³⁴ For the controversy between Bishop Salazar and Governor Vera see AGI Filipinas 34, n. 75, "Carta de Santiago de Vera sobre situación general," 1587-06-26.

¹⁶³⁵ BR 10: 83.

¹⁶³⁶ Cédulas Reales, 1700: no. 45 (1593).

¹⁶³⁷ Lucille Chia, "Chinese Books and Printing in the Early Spanish Philippines," in *Chinese Circulations: Capital, Commodities and Networks in Southeast Asia*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo et al., (Durham: Duke Univ. Press 2011), 259-283.

¹⁶³⁸ P. van der Loon, "The Manila Incunabula and Early Hokkien Studies" *Asia Major: A British Journal of Far Eastern Studies*, London XII, no. 1 (1966). The Printing Press of the Parián run by the Dominicans, started to publish the first books in the late 1590s and just like in other Asian missionary areas, it mainly published translations of spiritual works.

Catholic Castilians and the Confucian Chinese led to communication problems, we should re-examine the infamous events of 1603. What might have caused such an outrageous incident? In addition to trouble with East Asian piracy described above, the Spaniards, on the other hand, envied Chinese settlers who dominated large sections of the Manila-market and accumulated immense wealth. Gatherings of the Chinese in the course of these events were considered a violation of a *cedula real* of Philip IV that prohibited the Chinese from leaving their Parián.

The incident reveals that the Spanish did not want to admit the necessity of Chinese settlers in Manila. Only a short while after the deprivation of the years 1604-06, they started out maligning the Chinese again.¹⁶³⁹ A further source of irritation was the number of Chinese vessels calling at Manila between 1602 and 1605, that only fluctuated slightly between fifteen and eighteen, whereas we saw a sharp increase to 39 in 1607.¹⁶⁴⁰ This means that the events of 1603/4 rebellion did not represent a *cesura*, as one would assume.

In the meantime, Chinese merchants had started to revive the trade with Manila and began to resettle in the rebuilt Parian. Official records show that in 1606, 6,533 Chinese came to Manila,¹⁶⁴¹ when 1,500 received permits of residence.¹⁶⁴² In the same year, some of them started working for the Spaniards again.¹⁶⁴³ A letter to Philip III of 1605 also confirms that eighteen ships arrived with merchandise and 5,500 Chinese on board.¹⁶⁴⁴ In 1607, Spanish officials reported that 14,000 Chinese merchants had come to Manila.¹⁶⁴⁵ We may assume that most Spaniards supported this kind of restoration of the status quo ante, as the city and its inhabitants faced lean years after the entire sangleyes-based network of supply had collapsed after the revolt.¹⁶⁴⁶ How important the Chinese were to the colony only became clearer after that incident.

Violent escalations were always the result of a long, slow build up of tension. They were no unique events either, rather repetition of the similar problems. Historiography speaks of 'massacres' of the years 1603, 1639, 1662, 1686 and 1762. Thus, we have to

¹⁶³⁹ AGI Escribania 403 B.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Chaunu, *Les Philippines*, 148-160.

¹⁶⁴¹ BR 14: 186-191.

¹⁶⁴² Diaz-Trechuelo, "Role of the Chinese," 184.

¹⁶⁴³ AGI Filipinas 74, n. 58, "Testimonio de Luis de Salinas sobre sangleyes," 1605-06-15.

¹⁶⁴⁴ BR 14: 50-52.

¹⁶⁴⁵ AGI Filipinas 29, n. 94, "Carta de los oficiales reales sobre varios asuntos," 1607-07-14.

¹⁶⁴⁶ AGI Filipinas 27, n. 48, "Copia de cédula aumentando derecho sobre mercaderías chinas," 1606-11-20.

understand the revolts as cyclic dynamics of unsolved social conflicts – discrimination led to uprisings and uprisings were followed by reprisals.¹⁶⁴⁷ It will be necessary to get to the bottom of the Spanish attitude by briefly examining the social and juridical embedment that led to the revolts and their severe retributive punishments. Clashes commonly originated from the numerical disequilibrium of Chinese and Spanish settlers. In 1639, revolt was stimulated by the loss of two Manila galleons and subsequent economic deprivations.¹⁶⁴⁸ Combat lasted between November 1639 and March 1640 and devastating fires harmed large parts of the city. In 1662, it was mysterious Fujianese authorities who suddenly appeared to administer justice in the Parian.¹⁶⁴⁹ The Zheng clan, who then claimed sovereignty over the Chinese Seas and Fujian, threatened Spanish sovereignty in Manila.¹⁶⁵⁰ Strikingly, the Zheng showed a directness and determination in foreign relations with the Spaniards that was unknown to the Ming and the Qing. Unlike the Ming authorities after the 'mutiny' of 1603, the Zheng – who considered the majority of these Fujianese in Manila as their vassals – were determined to avenge their unjust expulsion and death. Referring to the 1762 edition of the *Hai-ch'eng hsien chih*, van den Loom states that 80% of those killed were from Haicheng.¹⁶⁵¹

The second huge rebellion or revolt of the Chinese in 1639 is referred to in the Spanish chronicles as '*guerra*'. Spanish accounts are once again full of praise for the heroic Spanish victors as well as breathtaking exaggerations.¹⁶⁵² 22,000 Chinese were reported to have been killed by fifty Castilian soldiers and their three hundred *indio* supporters. According to John E. Wills, the events of 1639 mainly took place in the hinterland and affected Manila only on the periphery. He explained the revolt with social injustice and high economic pressure on Chinese who settled in close proximity of Manila. From the peripheral areas the revolt spread over to the Parian, where 26,000

¹⁶⁴⁷ For further reference see Andaya, "Interactions," 5.

¹⁶⁴⁸ BR 29: 194-196; 168-171: The larger of two Manila galleons was wrecked in 1638 en route to Acapulco with the loss of its entire cargo.

¹⁶⁴⁹ AGI Filipinas 7, r. 1, n. 18, "Carta de Acuña sobre temas de gobierno," 1604-07-15

¹⁶⁵⁰ See Anna Busquets, "Los Frailes de Koxinga," University of Granada, <http://www.ugr.es/~feiap/ceiap1/ceiap/capitulos/capitulo24.pdf>. Accessed February 5, 2012.

¹⁶⁵¹ van der Loon, "Manila Incunabula," 1; Zhang Xie, *Dongxi yangkao* (1618), 5.5b: It does not imply that a large proportion of the 25,000 victims were from that exact region.

¹⁶⁵² Pastells, *Historia General*, ccxlix. Fire always meant a threat to the Spaniards in Manila and the Chinese were mostly blamed to cause it. On the uprising of 1639 a Manila citizen reported: "*Al principio del alzamiento, dió orden al Gobernador por atajar el fuego, que pasasen a cuchillo a cuantos sangleyes gentiles o cristianos vivían en los pueblos cercanos a Manila, por la sospecha que de ellos se tenía executóse en muchos este rigor, y socorriendo la gracia de Dios a algunos, no quisieron perder las almas con las vidas, y así recibieron antes el bautismo [...].*"

Chinese settlers revolted against 300 armed Spaniards.¹⁶⁵³ Estimates of Chinese deaths range between 17,000 and 22,000.¹⁶⁵⁴

What does all this mean in light of the earlier posted notion of tolerance? When looking for hints for the social conflicts behind the uprising, we find a document about the administration of a hospital run by the Dominicans, 'Hospital de San Gabriel'. It reveals that a necessary condition to receive medical treatment was baptism.¹⁶⁵⁵ Next to discrimination, anti-Chinese propaganda accused the Chinese of having destroyed sacred items, of collaborating with the Dutch and of having killed a provincial Castilian *alcalde mayor*.¹⁶⁵⁶

Emphasis should be laid on the continuous climate of suspicion, as well as continuous inner-Asian conflicts. Both in 1603 and 1639, the Japanese provided major assistance and made materials available to the Spanish.¹⁶⁵⁷ At the same time, occasional Japanese expulsions remained a delicate issue in Manila, for example in the years 1606 and 1607, when the Japanese revolted against threats of deportation and the *audiencia's* order to work in the suburbs.¹⁶⁵⁸ Whilst in the first incident, Franciscan fathers managed to settle the conflict,¹⁶⁵⁹ the Japanese were defeated by joint Spanish-Filipino troops who are reported to have burnt the houses of the Japanese during the second.¹⁶⁶⁰ One condition for the Japanese to be allowed to stay on the island was that they surrendered their weapons. Another riot is recorded in 1609, when the Japanese joined forces with the Chinese and are said to have killed numerous Spaniards including Captain Cardoso.¹⁶⁶¹ Iwao claimed that in 1611, a letter by Philip III regarding these matters arrived in Manila and urged the local authorities to ban the Japanese from the Philippines.¹⁶⁶²

¹⁶⁵³ Wills, "Maritime Europe," 59-60.

¹⁶⁵⁴ de la Costa, *Jesuits*, 389-392; Santamaria, "Chinese Parián," 103-105.

¹⁶⁵⁵ von den Driesch, *Grundlagen*, 321.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Pastells, *Historia General*, ccxlviii; tomo IX, xxxv: Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera (r. 1635-1644) moreover blamed Chinese merchants prior to the uprising. He defended the cruel Spanish reprisal of setting fire to the Parian as an inevitable reaction to the violent outrage of a heavily armed mob of 24,000 Chinese.

¹⁶⁵⁷ AGI Filipinas 7, r. 1, n. 18, "Carta de Acuña sobre temas de gobierno," 1604-07-15.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Iwao, *Nanyō*, 286.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Morga, *Sucesos*, 248.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Schurz, *Manila Galleon*, 248.

¹⁶⁶¹ Cf. Iwao, *Nanyō*, 287.

¹⁶⁶² Iwao, *Nanyō*, 289; No evidence was found in the available Spanish data. All records between 1607 and 1612 emphasise the good relations with the 'emperor' of Japan.

8.6. Manila's Seascape Environment and Past 1624 Developments

Port cities have the tendency to become unattractive at certain points in history. The 1620s were doubtlessly a turning point for Manila. Manila's 'decline' shows parallels to the economic cycles of urban centres in Europe such as Venice or Antwerp at certain points in history.¹⁶⁶³ This means that Manila simply lost part of its previous popularity, due to fierce competition with Taiwan or Nagasaki in the short run, in the long run over the seventeenth century trading systems of the macro-region changed. Exterior developments, including militarily improving 'Chinese' merchant communities, the rise of the Dutch in Japan, covering Japanese dependency on certain imports in the 1620s and 1630s, explain Manila's 'downturn' well. Increased struggles with the Dutch and the Japanese and the growing influence of Portuguese traders in Manila went along with a general destabilisation of Iberian trade in Southeast Asia.

The loss of locational advantage is closely linked to the silver trade. Accordingly we may argue that Manila turned into a semi-periphery of a new maritime space. Accounts of VOC and EIC officials show that Manila and the Spaniards became somewhat more passively involved in a new triangular trade network towards the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century. In this stage of early English and Dutch country trade in Southeast Asia, Japan was supported with goods from the Indonesian and Philippine archipelagos after the establishment of the Dutch and the English Factory in Hirado in 1609 and 1611 respectively. Despite their aversion for the Spanish nation, the Northern European merchants could not resist the attraction of Manila. Richard Cocks, the leading merchant of the English factory in Hirado portrayed the situation in July 1618:

But being theare, they took councell together, and agreed to provid them selves of the needfull and to retorne for the cost of Manilla, there to attend the coming out of the China junck with their money, and soe to stripp them under the name of Hollanders. But now, all their people beign dead, they are drivem to this extremetye and sed this Scots man, called John Portis, to the Spaniardes at Nangasaque, to excuse the matter that they were driven into these partes by meanes of fowle wether, not having any merchandiz in the shipp, and therefore needlesse to com to

¹⁶⁶³ Braudel, *Afterthoughts*, 26.

Nangasaque, and to this effect carry a bongew of the King of Tushma¹⁶⁶⁴ with them to certefie as much, thinking (as is should seeme) to provide them selves of men at Tushma and to goe out againe upon their former pretence of boot-haling. This much Hernando Ximenes, being drunk, did discloze.¹⁶⁶⁵

Accounts like that show the complicated position of the Castilians in Japan and doubtlessly reflect the general view of both Dutch and English, who were both determined to control foreign trade off the coast of Japan and therefore were happy to see the Spaniards gradually losing ground in Japan.¹⁶⁶⁶ Constant remarks on the happenings in Manila suggest that it was far too important to be ignored throughout the years.¹⁶⁶⁷ A complete downturn can be ruled out. They moreover exemplify changes in the maritime space and the consequences for Manila as a port city. The English seemed particularly interested in the Spaniards and the role of European *realpolitik* played in East Asia. It also gives evidence of the impressively efficient English global information network: "He writes also how the King of Spaine maketh sharp warrs against the Duke of Savoy, and that the Venetians and the Turk take the Savoyans part. Allso that Prince Charles of England hath married or is made sure to the King of Spaines daughter."¹⁶⁶⁸

Other examples for external interest testify to the importance of the port city. The Dutch blockade of Manila, between the years 1619 and 1621, targeted the Spanish and the Chinese. Thus it would be too simple to conclude that this resulted from political conflicts in Europe. Rather Dutch assaults should be considered a commercial strategy and a simple consequence of an expanding Manila system that had become more competitive and more violent.¹⁶⁶⁹ Within the limits of the Asian setting, the trading

¹⁶⁶⁴ Tsushima.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Cocks, *Diary*, 54-55.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Derek Massarella, "'Ticklish Points': The English East India Company and Japan, 1621" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 11, no. 1 (2001): 43-50.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Cocks, *Diary*, 50: July 8, 1618: "Also, that the fleet in Manillas, which fought with the Spaniards the last yeare, is all cast away per stor wether, many Mores, Chinas, and 50 Spaniard being drowned in it; and that their in 8 new gallions built theare in place thereof. For the 8 gallions, I esteem it a lie, that on such a sudden they canor be made. Also, that the Frenche have sett out 8 gallions, or men or warr, to aide the Spaniardes in the affares. And that the King of Spaine had ordayned a fleete of gallions to have com by Cape Bona Speranza, to have joyned with them at Manillas, to have gon for the Molucas; but had staid them to make warrs against the Duke of Savoy."

¹⁶⁶⁸ Cocks, *Diary*, 55.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Cocks, *Diary*, 325-326; Even Cocks criticised Dutch barbarian behaviour in Manila and their cruel treatment of Chinese captives. *Ibid*, 327: "But the barbarousnesse of the Hollanders at Manillias the last yeare is much; for, after they had taken the China junkes and that the pore men had rendred them selves,

companies put up a major effort in disturbing Sino-Spanish trade. In 1621 the Protestant merchant alliance was equipped with as many as nine ships.¹⁶⁷⁰ Manila's political importance received further impetus by Dutch and English privateering practices during the first decades of the seventeenth century.¹⁶⁷¹ The Twelve Years' Truce between Philip II and the United Provinces officially brought an end to this action, by granting the Dutch the right to trade in Asia except for Spanish and Portuguese ports.¹⁶⁷² The situation started to escalate again in 1618. The Anglo-Dutch siege led to a disruption of junk trade until 1622.

Even in the 1640s, it would be wrong to speak of a decline of Manila. It is more appropriate to speak of stagnation relative to other trade centres in Southeast Asia that developed after Manila. Galleons from Acapulco – as well as Fujanese junks – came in smaller numbers but Manila's role for silver exchange remained mostly unchanged. Since Chinese settlers stayed after 1644, the main characteristics of port cities did not change either. Evidence is found by an attempt of the English East India Company at Bantam to establish trade between Tonkin and Manila as late as in 1673. The endeavour to obtain a trade license for Manila in London followed a luckless attempt to re-open trade with Japan that failed over a diplomatic misadventure. It was then when a company merchant wrote that Manila "proves almost as good as Japon". Maintaining that trade there was "free for all nations" he suggested selling cheap raw silk from Tonkin "could reap of very high profits [...] where the local Chinese could weave it into beautiful cloth for garments to be exported to New Spain."¹⁶⁷³ Asian merchants thus clearly remained attracted by the American market. Even though, the English project never materialised; this quotation is thus a further indication for Manila's importance as liberal global trading centre.

8.7. Concluding Remarks

Does the specific development of social and juridical affairs in Manila during this period show signs of globalisation and if so, where exactly did it materialise? Turning

the Hollandars did cut many of them in peeces and cast many others into the sea; whereof our men saved and took many of them up into our shippes;"

¹⁶⁷⁰ Cocks, *Diary*, 172; 187: Another campaign of 14 ships was planned in the same year.

¹⁶⁷¹ Kempe, "Remotest Corners," 353.

¹⁶⁷² Lach and Vankley, *Asia in the Making of Europe III*, Part 1, 10.

¹⁶⁷³ Cf. Hoang Anh Tuan, "From Japan to Manila and Back to Europe: The Abortive English Trade with Tonkin in the 1670's" *Itinerario* 29, no. 3 (2005): 83.

global, if understood as responding to the unfamiliar, making efforts to integrate and find peaceful solutions in a multiethnic setting, was mostly the result of bargaining on the spot.

In short, Manila's new and global accomplishments found their expression in the specific seascape centre, with more egalitarian political structures. When it comes to extraterritorial rights however, little was achieved for foreign traders. Yet, to be fair, the Asian merchants did not insist on such, either because they were unaware of them or because they did not consider them necessary. Instead, the signals their rulers sent were exactly the opposite.

Agency was one factor that negatively affected economic institutions. Unlike in other European port cities, there was no particular group of merchants acting as primary mediators or intermediaries in dealings with the outside world. However, this does not mean that cultural or political intermediaries did not exist. One of the outstanding accomplishments of the multiethnic environment was its potential to create global intermediaries. Their fluid identities may be indirect evidence of the lack of a uniform. The existing culture was characterised by constant changes, the ability to adapt, mobility and constant bargaining on the spot. The port city positively affected social mobility. A remarkable number of migrants found ways to improve their possibilities and even to move to different place in the social hierarchy.

The nature of Manila's multicultural society has to be understood exactly against this background. Friction that resulted in bloody mutinies was rooted in unsolved, unexpressed problems. It was the unbalance of settlers, some discriminated by law or social policies, and the permanent lack of manpower that represented the biggest challenge for the urban society. Unease can be seen in the way the huge number of Chinese settlers was treated and governed.

The stumbling block for Manila was the arrival of the Protestants. A critical turning point, therefore, was the establishment of trade factories in Hirado that inspired the Fujian-Kyushu-nihonmachi network and circumvented Manila. From the perspective of locational advantage, we may conclude that it was lost in times of change; thus Manila's misfortune was having to cope with successful rivals and the burden of the bulky Overseas Empire at the same time. We may say that after the 1630s, Manila was no longer considered a Southeast Asian city, but instead became an intermediary port or Iberian outpost for largely two-dimensional operations.

Speaking of a multi-cultural society is in reality inappropriate, since the different ethnic communities remained largely segregated. The construction of ethnic quarters certainly encouraged such development. Language and cultural differences that encouraged feelings of ethnic subjugation or proto-national behaviour further are furthermore to be blamed for belated or absent integration.

It seems that acculturation has not been tackled sufficiently. For a very simple reason: Processes of acculturation during this period were still relatively marginal. As we have seen in the multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, a high degree of native cultures remained and co-existed. Economically that explains why Manila maintained the character of an open zone. However we have to be careful not to jump to misleading conclusions. Thus, fluidity remains the ambivalent keyword. Given the role of licenses, attempted monopolisations and restrictions it remains controversial but still feasible since private initiatives, reckless bargaining, smuggling and other customs were at least as strong as government institutions.

Concluding Remarks

The encounters between Spain, China and Japan in Manila between 1571 and 1644 played an important role in shaping the political and economic development of all parties involved. Chinese demand for silver, Japanese interest in luxury goods and Spain's need to maintain a colony separated from the rest of its vast empire by thousands of miles, became the starting points for the triangular relations presented in this text. The political economies of these pre-modern states were neatly reflected in their approaches and aspirations towards Manila. The Manila system was not only central to the formation of cross-cultural trade between the Philippines, China, Japan, the Americas and eventually the Iberian Peninsula, but it is also essential for unravelling the paradoxes one encounters when delving a bit deeper into the history of early modern Manila. This is obviously a topic bridging micro and macro histories that tackles several big questions. I would argue that to grasp the essence of a complex topic (or system in our case), one needs an approach that compares and connects. I hope the four main findings of my dissertation, that are all interwoven to a certain extent, will leave no doubt about the validity of my approach.

My first finding is that trade relations and economic developments can never be fully understood by exclusively focusing on strictly economic arguments. Although I too am convinced that China's demand for silver was the driving force behind most of the commercial interactions of the Manila system, I have demonstrated that the actual exchange patterns were hardly ever solely determined by supply and demand. Hidden agendas of trade missions, bargaining traditions, politically or culturally motivated obedience or resistance to trade regulations became the real determining factors for success or failure of all operations. Despite licenses, attempts at monopolisation and restriction, fluidity remains the ambivalent keyword as government regulations and institutions were always confronted by private initiatives, bargaining, contraband trade and smuggling.

My second finding is that the distinction of the 'local' and the 'central', so intrinsic to most of these trade relations, had a major impact on various processes in the South China Sea during the entire period. The list of examples ranges from illicit traders who could act as semi-integrated suppliers to local authorities who simply acted as if they were a sovereign power. Parallel to encounters on the official level, connections can be

traced between Fujianese fisher villages, Japanese pirate hubs and Mexican towns. Very often those parallel encounters became integral parts of the triangular trade, much to the frustration and envy of the central authorities that had believed that had officially monopolised it. Although extra-governmental groups hardly ever followed the official policies of the ruling elite, these and the allegedly peripheral regions where they were located turned into fundamental pillars of the system. While the lack of government-support encouraged private Chinese traders to create a mercantile network spanning from Japan via the Philippines to the Asian mainland, Spanish merchants in Manila had subject themselves to the desire of their government to maintain hegemony in and outside Europe. By the time Japan began to intensively participate in the Manila-trade, its newly established military-aristocratic government was very much occupied with building its own stable state. That it eventually became the strongest central government of the three states is discussed here. In fact, Edo succeeded in making central government profit politically from local economic initiatives.

My third finding is that diplomacy, with its manifold features such as language, communication, knowledge gathering and representation, actually shaped foreign affairs. These factors have always been underrepresented in studies of Manila's role in world history. Even rather frequent encounters, however, did not automatically result in stable foreign relations. While official Sino-Spanish relations never reached any serious level, relations between Japan and the Castilian Empire switched between promising stages of well-balanced diplomacy, based on bilateral agreements, ignorance and aggression. Intense and varied contacts with the Spanish and the Chinese stimulated Japan's successful state formation and economic re-structuring. Spain was the first nation that was expelled from Japan and 'its' Luzón became a target of aggressive geopolitical activities, both under Hideyoshi and the Tokugawa *bakufu*. In this respect, it should not be lumped together with the other European trading nations present in South East Asia at that time.

A local-central duality was also prominent in most diplomatic encounters. Whenever convenient, the Spaniards addressed or responded to non-sovereigns. Officially, Japan showed similar tendencies of pragmatism when switching between the Philippines and Mexico in search for improved and more intense international relations. Obeying the wishes of central rulers, on the other hand, always implied one had to be careful, might have to wait through frustratingly long delays, or was even

ignored. Such reactions in all our three cases were rooted in strikingly similar state ideologies and claims of superiority, or rather the fear of displaying inferiority. At the same time, these ideological similarities stood in clear contrast to the crucial differences in the way our three states collected information, disseminated knowledge or perceived others. Those differences originated from domestic considerations rather than from different imperial designs. What is notable is that despite permanent clashes of hegemony, the countries continued to mutually acknowledge each others sovereignty.

Successful negotiations were usually dominated by themes of mutual interest. Fighting piracy was clearly the most vivid example of a shared goal, with means and measures easy to agree on. The nature of negotiations, with manifold challenges such as the question how to create legal space and trust, as well as the choice of envoys and cultural, mercantile and political intermediaries in intercultural correspondence, leaves us with a lot of untapped research potential.

Speaking of actors brings us to a further essential factor of triangular relations: language. Linguistic issues such as language proficiency, different writing styles, rhetoric, and terminology, and different juridical and administrative concepts had a much stronger impact on Manila than previously assumed. The risk of abusing interpretations and unstable transportation were just two of many obstacles that all parties involved had to face.

My final finding is that co-existing multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, inhabited by the Spanish, Chinese and Japanese, displayed Manila's 'open zone' character. As a port city, Manila displayed a special environment, characterised by a hybrid social and juridical setting, despite ethnic segregation and thus only limited social integration. Over time, it became clear to the Spanish that the most effective way of governing was to have foreigners supply their colony with necessities at the same time as restricting the latter's access to profits. There were imbalance of power between the different parties and compromises often had to be made. The Chinese were discriminated against by law and had to pay for their stay in Manila. The Japanese were also discriminated against by law but to a lesser extent. Still, the Chinese seem to have adapted better to the situation and the ever-growing number of settlers from China suggests that neither legal discrimination, nor any form of tribute, kept them from 'volunteerly' emigrating to the Philippines.

As a regulatory power, colonial Spain in theory controlled the urban administration and social interaction. The Chinese and Japanese, as well Spaniards, circumvented these rules and with their on-the-spot bargaining often overthrew norms and standards. I would once again like to stress the effects of proto-globalisation in this context. Although extraterritorial rights were never guaranteed to foreign traders, the specific seascape centre of Manila had more egalitarian structures to offer than other ports of both the macro-region and the three pre-modern states of this study. That changed both the economic life of the city and all its settlers.

Many of the factors mentioned above help to explain why Manila was different. Unlike with other European-ruled port cities, there was no uniform group of merchants acting as intermediaries. The multiethnic environment created remarkably adaptive, mobile and flexible global actors. Against this background, high social mobility may be expected, but to what extent it actually existed still needs to be studied in further detail. In a future study, a systematic comparison with other port cities will hopefully provide us with new answers.

A historical study like this has to tackle questions of continuity and change. In doing so, we are incidentally reminded of the many shifts and disruptions that I have tried to illuminate with the concept of 'dis-learning'. The period between 1571 and 1644 was neither static nor displayed linear development. All dis-learning processes were rooted in the ambiguity of the triangular relations as they existed in Manila. Prominent examples are the events surrounding the Chinese uprisings and their violent crushing, the Dutch blockades, and the changing patterns of official contact with the Japanese. After each massacre, Fujianese traders came back, after each Japanese aggression the Spaniards (be they missionaries or colonial authorities) sought a revival of friendly relations and local Japanese would continue to sail to Manila after the official trade ban had been introduced. Yet, Manila's locational advantage was certainly fragile and its advantages easily lost in times of friction or change.

In that respect, however, it remains unclear whether we should regard the 1640s as a turning point. Both from the point of view of Japanese and Chinese history there are strong arguments in favour of a 1640-cesura. But zooming in on Manila, suggests the opposite. In passing, I have shown that, from a Spanish perspective, things were different, as Grau and Monfalcon's strong claim for the preservation (*conservación*) of the islands, drafted in 1640, indicated. The suggestions they made for a more successful

Spanish project were based on universal Catholicism, a prudent diplomacy with neighbouring countries and relaxing trade prohibitions between China and New Spain. This highlights unchanging material and spiritual desires and shows that the Spaniards were back to where they had started seventy years earlier. To a certain degree we are too: a broad topic like this will always raise new questions that ask for thorough examination.

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Zusammenfassung (German)

Die frühen Jahrzehnte spanischer Präsenz in Manila, einer globalen Hafenstadt im südchinesischen Meer, bieten den optimalen Rahmen um Verflechtungen frühneuzeitlicher Staaten zu hinterfragen. Vor dem Hintergrund wachsenden transpazifischen Manila-Galeonenhandels, vornehmlich mit amerikanischem Silber und chinesischen (Luxus-)Waren, geht die vorliegende Dissertation der Frage nach, wie sich das Zusammentreffen verschiedener Akteure aus Spanien, China und Japan zwischen 1571 und 1644 einerseits auf die Entwicklung Manilas als globaler Handelsumschlagsplatz ausgewirkt und andererseits, was eben diese Kontakte in den frühneuzeitlichen Ökonomien dieser drei Staaten bewirkt haben. Zur Beantwortung wurden spanische, japanische und chinesische Originalquellen herangezogen. Dabei handelt es sich hauptsächlich um offizielle Aufzeichnungen, Aktenmaterial sowie diplomatischen Schriftverkehr. Des Weiteren wurden Ergebnisse aus bis dato wenig miteinander in Dialog getretenen Forschungstraditionen kritisch miteinander verglichen. Die Dissertation, die methodisch auf „Vergleich und Verbindungen“ aufbaut, um anhand konkreter Fallstudien diverse Prozesse und Dynamiken zu veranschaulichen und einen differenzierteren Blick auf diese zu ermöglichen, versteht sich als Beitrag zur Globalgeschichte zwischen großen Fragen und mikrogeschichtlichen Ansätzen.

Die Arbeit besteht aus vier Teilen, die je in zwei Kapitel untergliedert sind. Teil I basiert hauptsächlich auf Literaturrecherche, während in den übrigen Teilen versucht wurde, möglichst viele Originalquellen miteinzubeziehen. Auf die Einleitung folgt in Kapitel 2 die Kontextualisierung des Forschungsgegenstandes, in dem die drei vormodernen Staaten vorgestellt und relevante Entwicklungen für ihr Zusammentreffen in Manila systematisch miteinander verglichen werden. Kapitel 3 bietet einen Überblick über die Frühphase spanischer Herrschaft auf den Philippinen. Darauf aufbauend untersucht das folgende Kapitel die einzelnen Facetten des „Dreieckshandels“, wie den Manila-Galeonen-Handel, den Versorgungshandel und den sino-japanischen Direkthandel in Manila, um ein besseres Verständnis der komplexen zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen zu erlangen.

Teil III behandelt schließlich diplomatische Beziehungen zwischen China, Japan und

Spanien in der genannten Zeit. Dabei werden in Kapitel 5 insbesondere offizielle Kontakte vor dem Hintergrund unterschiedlicher diplomatischer Traditionen untersucht. Dies veranschaulicht, wie politisches Selbstverständnis und Weltanschauungen Hoheitsansprüche im südchinesischen Meer bestimmten und sich durch das Zusammentreffen in Manila weiter konstituierten. Kapitel 6 richtet den Blick dann spezifisch auf Sprache und interkulturelle Kommunikation. Anhand anschaulicher Beispiele werden potentielle Kommunikationsschwierigkeiten untersucht.

Der letzte Teil der Dissertation kehrt zurück auf die Ebene der politischen Ökonomien und hinterfragt die Bedeutung von *bargaining* zwischen lokalen und zentralen Akteuren. Kapitel 7 zeigt auf, wie globale, zentrale und lokale Faktoren nebeneinander existierten und wirtschaftliche, politische und gesellschaftliche Prozesse beeinflussten. Das letzte Kapitel zeigt schließlich auf, was vor Ort in Manila wirklich geschah und versucht zu veranschaulichen, wie die eingangs untersuchten Kontakte der drei vormodernen Staaten den multikulturellen Alltag in Manila beeinflussten. Evident wird, dass frühneuzeitliche 'Globalität' meist nicht mehr war als 'lokales' Feilschen.

Abstract (English)

This dissertation aims at examining the connected histories of Spain, China and Japan as they emerged and developed during their regular and intensifying contacts in Manila between 1571 and 1644. These encounters did not only have a lasting effect on Manila's nature as 'Eurasian' port city characterised by Iberian and East Asian co-colonialism, but also significantly shaped the political and economic development of the three pre-modern states involved. Examining the role of the state within these triangular relations, the dissertation simultaneously proceeds on two levels: firstly, on the study of intercultural diplomacy and secondly, on the analysis of the dualism between local and central. Cross-cultural trade all above the silver-silk exchange based on the transpacific Manila Galleon trade –, the changing nature of the political stages and the proto-globalization in the China Seas form the historical and empirical context of the study.

In doing so, I was cautious not to overlook the human beings involved in these processes and thus added an actor-based approach whenever possible. I tried to contribute to research in global history by examining and introducing rarely considered Spanish, Japanese, and Chinese sources – including records of foreign affairs and diplomatic correspondence – as well as by critically comparing different scholarship and historiographical traditions. Integrating Manila into world history seeks to revise many long-cherished misconceptions and thus happens (a) on an empirical level by considering the city's contribution to (proto-)global developments and socio-economic phenomena, and (b) on a historiographical level by providing a balanced view of different narratives and discourses.

In general, the results highlight what was different in Manila, where a multiethnic environment created remarkably adaptive, mobile and flexible global actors. The period between 1571 and 1644 was neither static nor one of linear development. Zooming in on Manila, I was able to study the far-reaching dimensions of the contacts between several political economies as well as the challenges of pre-modern, regional 'globalization', illustrated by the changing nature of the triangular relations during that time.

The dissertation consists of four parts. Each part splits up into two chapters. Part I is primarily based on secondary sources while the rest uses a lot of original data. Beginning with a general contextualization, chapter 2 provides us with the comparative framework by systematically describing relevant characteristics of Spain, China and Japan. Chapter 3 gives a general introduction into the political and economic development of early Spanish reign over the Philippines and Manila. Chapter 4 evaluates the different levels of the Manila trade (including transpacific trade, provision trade and Sino-Japanese trade in a neutral spot) in order to contribute to a better understanding of the complex state relations in the early modern period.

Part III (chapter 5 and 6) on intercultural diplomacy shows a strong intercultural and multilateral component for the analysis of early modern contacts between Spain, China and Japan. Focusing on a linguistic approach, I tried to demonstrate to what extent increasing contacts with 'foreigners' interrelated with diplomacy and maritime trade as well as polity building.

Using specific case studies, the last part (IV) evaluates the significance of bargaining between local and central levels for global representation. Chapter 7 investigates how global, central and local factors co-existed and controlled economic, political and social developments. The final chapter examines how these connected histories influenced the local situation in Manila by pursuing the question what daily life in Manila looked like. An actor-based approach contributes to a global social history that demystifies early modern 'globality' that in fact was hardly more than 'glocal' bargaining on the spot.

Curriculum Vitae

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Professional Experience

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University of Vienna, Department of Social and Economic History: Research and Teaching Assistant

Education

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University of Vienna: PhD-candidate in History

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03/2004 – 06/2007

University of Vienna: Studies of Intercultural Communication and Translation:

Japanese, English, German

10/2001 – 03/2007

University of Vienna: History and Japanese Studies

09/1993 – 06/2001

Gymnasium, Hartberg

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Languages

German (native) - English (fluent) - Japanese (fluent) - Spanish (fluent) - French (basic) - Chinese (basic) - Swedish (basic) - Latin (good)

International Experience & Scholarships

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Fudan University, Shanghai

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Research at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu in Rome

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The Newberry Library, Chicago

Short-Term-Fellowship

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Tokyo University

Visiting research student at the University of Tokyo with a grant from the Japanese Ministry of Education (Monbukagakusho)

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Research at the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla

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Exchange student at Momoyama Gakuin Daigaku, Osaka (Japan)

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Volunteer Ecuador, Quito

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Erasmus exchange student at Oxford Brookes University (Japanese Studies)

Lecturing

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Geschichtswissenschaftliche Arbeitstechniken: "Frühneuzeitliche diplomatische Kulturen im Vergleich"

Introduction into Global History

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Vorlesung "Seefahrt und die frühe europäische Expansion - Atlantik, Indischer Ozean, Pazifik"

Summer School 2010

Erasmus Mundus Global Studies Programme, July 7-10, Germany

Workshop on "Language and Diplomacy in a Global Context"

Spring Term 2010

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Geschichtswissenschaftliche Arbeitstechniken

Vorlesung "Seefahrt und die frühe europäische Expansion - Atlantik, Indischer Ozean, Pazifik"

Autumn Term 2009

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Lektüre Historiographischer Texte und Historiographiegeschichte "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas"

Vorlesung „Seefahrt und die frühe europäische Expansion - Atlantik, Indischer Ozean, Pazifik“

Spring Term 2008

University of Vienna

Lektüre Historiographischer Texte und Historiographiegeschichte – "Die Spanier auf den Philippinen und im Pazifik"

Publications

Journal articles and book sections

„Japanische“ Piraten und europäische Händler? Das wakô-Bild im trans-kulturellen Handel, in: Eugen Pfister, Andreas Obenaus, Birgit Tremml, Hgg., Piraterie in der Globalgeschichte (forthcoming September 2012)

The Global and the Local: Problematic dynamics of the triangular trade in early modern Manila, Journal of World History (forthcoming June 2012)

Neuzeitliche Schifffahrt zwischen den spanischen Philippinen und Japan, in: Alexander Marboe, Andreas Obenaus. Hgg., Seefahrt und die frühe europäische Expansion, Wien 2009.

A Global History of Manila at the Beginning of the Modern Era, Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften 20/2009/2, 184-202.

Reviews and Other

Takeshi Hamashita, *China East Asia and the Global Economy. Regional and Historical Perspectives*, edited by Linda Grove and Mark Selden, New York 2008 in *Comparativ* (forthcoming)

"What can global history do for us and what can we do for global history?", Global History Conference Report of "Connected History or a History of Connections?" in *H-Soz-Kult* on June 27, 2011 as well as in *GHIL Bulletin* 2011.

Paper Presentations

"Multi-lingual Challenges of Triangular Relations in Early Modern Spanish Manila: A preliminary study of Manila Linguists"

@ II. Congress of Asian Association of World Historians, Seoul Ewha Women's University, April 29, 2012

Roundtable: "Crime and Punishment: How Early Modern Harbours Dealt With Justice in a Multinational Environment"

@ II. Congress of Asian Association of World Historians, Seoul Ewha Women's University, April 28, 2012

"Sino-Japanese Sino-Japanese-Spanish Communication Patterns and Early Modern Geopolitical Change in the South China Sea"

@ Pirates, Silk and Samurai: Maritime China in Global History, Emory University, Atlanta, October 28, 2011

"Spanish Reactions to East Asian Concepts of Diplomacy at the End of the Long Sixteenth Century"

@ III. ENIUGH Conference, London, April 16, 2011

"Connected Histories or a History of Connections?"

@ Spring School at the German Historical Institute, London, April 11 – 14, 2011

„Interkultureller Informations- und Technologietransfer zwischen den Philippinen, Japan und China 1565-1898“: Visiting lecture at the Chair of East Asian Economy and Society, Universität Wien, April 5, 2011

“Changes in Diplomacy and Trade in Early Modern East Asia”
@ Asian Studies Conference Japan, Tokyo, June 20, 2010

“The global and the local: Who reaped the benefits of the Manila galleon trade?”
@ ESSHC, Ghent, April 26, 2010

“Illustrating daily routine in multicultural Manila: A clash of pre-modern states in early modern Manila?”
@ PACLAS, Manila, December 17, 2008

“The Early Modern Philippines: An economic pivot in an intercontinental context”
@ I. Congress of Asian Association of World Historians, University of Osaka, May 28, 2009

“The Philippines and the Pacific Ocean: Interfaces for Intercontinental Business Relations and Cultural Exchange in the Early Modern Era”
@ II. ENIUGH Conference, Leipzig, July 4, 2008

Awards

Theodor Körner Preis 2010

Japanese Language Proficiency Test, Level 1 (December 2009)

Miscellaneous and Memberships

Tokyo University: *chûseishi kenkyûkai* [Lectures on Medieval History]: “*Shoki no nihon to firipin no kôshô*” [Early modern negotiations between Japan and the Philippines]
June 24, 2009 (Tokyo, Japan)

Wakô-gasshuku [excursion and seminar on the history of medieval Japanese pirates]
March 29-31, 2009 (Ukushima, Japan)

Lecturing at the Kinderuni 2008: „Wer waren die Samurai“? (Vienna, Austria)

March 2003 - June 2003

Project in local Austrian contemporary history and exhibition „Wie Wolkersdorf feiert(e)“ (supervised by Stefan Emminger und Ernst Langthaler in Vienna and Wolkersdorf, Austria)

Association for Asian Studies (AAS), Ann Arbor, USA

Asian Association of World History (AAWH), Osaka, Japan

European Network in Universal and Global History (ENIUGH), Leipzig, Germany

Verein zur Förderung von Studien zur interkulturellen Geschichte (VSIG), Vienna, Austria