

“... the wealth of Macau is in the sea, the entire city lives off it, no other reliable goods are there but those brought by the wind and the tides, if they falter, everything falters ...”

Luís da Gama, S. J. (1610-1672)

Macau, December 15th, 1664

ONE THOUSAND Five Hundred and Fifty Five. In China, *Zhongguo*/The Middle Kingdom, it is the thirty third year of the “Excellent Order”/Jiajing of the Shining Dynasty, the *Ming*.

Ming China is the great demographic pole of the planet with 180 to 230 million inhabitants. In the mid-sixteenth century, the coastal provinces of the South, where the international maritime trade is concentrated, weigh almost 30 million people (Guangdong, circa 7.5 million; Fujian, circa 6 million, and Zhejiang circa 15 million). Demographically, both Japan and Southeast Asia are worth each 15 to 18 million inhabitants at the time.

Also in the sixteenth century, China is the centre of civilisation in East Asia, with a growing influence in Southeast Asia. It is the largest manufacturing and trading pole of that Asian world. Manufactured goods are imperially and state produced, but there are as well privately, locally and home produced goods, chiefly silk, cotton, porcelain, all kinds of furniture and ware, paper and printed books, especially in xylographic print.

The Chinese currency is the standard in international trading, from Nanyang to Japan and Korea. The so called “boxes”, the main ancient currency of

the Ming, from the end of fourteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century, are also the internal currency in certain Asian economies, such as Ryukyu and the kingdoms of Anam, and particularly in the Japanese economy.

Notwithstanding its decisive weight in all of the import and export trade of Southeast and East Asia—from pepper and sandalwood, amber and *sappan*,<sup>(1)</sup> to silk and porcelain, silver, gold, and copper—China endures a severe fiscal and monetary crisis. Since 1430-1450, the monetary system is based upon a silver standard, but silver, minted or not, is insufficient to supply demand. Since the decade of 1530, the imperial treasury’s monetary silver reserves are exhausted. In 1549, a fiscal reform is once again attempted, albeit to no avail. Private currencies and counterfeit currency, preferentially destined to Japan and Southeast Asia, are on the rise, especially in the Southern provinces of Guangdong and Fujian.

The end of trade relations with Japan, in 1549, puts a further strain on the fiscal-monetary problem of the state and brings on increasing pressure from private or semi-official international commerce in the coastal provinces of the South.

For twelve years, Jiajing (1507-1566) has been ceding a part of his own fiscal revenue for military expenses along the terrestrial and maritime borders, but this is often insufficient even to ensure garrisons’ payments.

From 1545-1550 onwards, the North witnesses a growing Mongolian military pressure. In 1548, the Mongolians defeat the imperial army at Huailai, a one day journey from the capital Beijing, which comes under siege in October 1550. All

1. Translator’s note: a dye extracted from the tree *Caesalpinia sappan*.

# 1555年：澳门的出生证

## 1555: Macau's Birth Certificate

Luís Filipe Barreto • 白烈度

……澳门的财富在海里，全城都靠海为生。除风浪所带来的东西以外，别无其他稳定的生计来源。海如有不虞，一切就都成问题……

鲁伊斯·达·加·伽马  
神父(1610-1672年)  
1664年12月15日于澳门

**1**555年，时值大明嘉靖三十三年。明朝的中国，是当时世界上人口最多的地方，有居民一亿八千万至二亿三千万。十六世纪中叶，作为国际水上贸易主要集中地的中国南部沿海城市，其人口就已经达到了三千万（广东约七百万，福建大概六百万，浙江近一千五百万）。而当时日本和整个东南亚的人口才分别为一千五百万和一千八百万。

十六世纪的中国同时也是东亚文明的中心，其在东南亚的重要性也在日益增加。中国当时是整个亚洲世界的手工制造及商业中心。有皇家和官立的作坊，也有私人和当地的作坊及手工作坊。它们生产丝绸、棉花、瓷器、各种各样的家具和用具，纸张、书籍，尤其是木刻书。

中国的银钱是当时南洋、日本及朝鲜海域国际贸易中的本位货币。中国的铜板，尤其是十四世纪末、十五世纪初明朝的铜板，也是如琉球、安南，尤其是日本等一些亚洲国家中通用的货币。

当时在胡椒、檀香、龙涎香、苏木（染料植物）、丝绸、瓷器、银、金及铜等货物的贸易上，在东南亚及东亚的进出口中占有决定性比重的中国，遇到了严重的财政与货币危机。从1430-1450年

throughout the decades of 1550 and 1560, the Northern terrestrial border is subject to successive, annual Mongolian attacks. The wealthy coastal provinces of the South are prey to violent, continuous attacks by pirates and smugglers, called *Wakou*, in the years of 1554, 1555, 1556, until circa 1560. These are provinces which show an increasing difficulty in bearing supplementary taxes and special charges to cover for official military campaigns. Campaigns such as Zhu Wan's, in the coastal defence of Fujian and Zhejiang against piracy, in the years 1547-1550, but also against private international maritime commerce, which is one of the pillars of the very wealth of these provinces.

1555, 1554, 1553. In this context of the beginning of the mid sixteenth century, the Portuguese, the *Folangji*, merchants, nobility from the official structure of the *Estado da Índia* (State of India), merchant-noblemen and Jesuit missionaries, have a certain measure of accurate knowledge regarding the Chinese and Sino-Japanese realities, shown, as we shall see below, in the letter written by Luís Fróis S. J., from Malacca to Goa, on December 1 1555. In that year—in those last two years—new mercantile opportunities and possibilities, possible advancements in Sino-Portuguese partnerships, are in the air.

The first Portuguese document written in Macau, where the term *Amacau* appears for the first time, is a letter of the merchant Fernão Mendes Pinto, at the time also a novice Jesuit brother.

Letter of November 20 1555, to the rector of the Goa College: “From Lampacau, the harbour where we are staying, I have arrived today in Amacau, which is a further six leagues ahead, and where I met father Master Belchior, who reached here from Canton, where he had been for twenty five days to ransom Mateus, who is a nobleman, and another man, from the city's prison, where they had been captive for six years, at the cost of one thousand tael, which amounts to one thousand five hundred *cruzados*,<sup>(2)</sup> and also to see the city, the ways of the people and the land, and work in order to ascertain whether it would be possible to leave behind brother Estevão de Góis to learn the language....”<sup>(3)</sup>

In 1555, Macau is a port and a meeting point for the Portuguese on their way to or from Canton, which is one day and one night away via Soma or Lantea, through the Sikian.

This brief stay in Haojing, leading to the Portuguese birth certificate of Macau, takes place as a call on the sea route to Canton and is part of a voyage in which the merchant of Patane (Pattani) and of the China Seas heads from Goa to Japan, to the port of Funai in the “kingdom” of Bungo.

This is a mercantile initiative, in which Fernão Mendes Pinto has invested part of his personal funds, around 3,000 to 4,000 *cruzados* from an estimated total of at least 7,000 to 10,000 *cruzados* at the time. But it is also a political initiative, since Mendes Pinto travels in the capacity of ambassador of the *Estado da Índia*, of Vice-Roy Dom Afonso de Noronha, to the Daimio of Bungo, Otomo Yoshihige.

Finally, his is also an evangelical mission. The merchant, a novice brother,

2. *Translator's note*: Portuguese coin, originally of gold, later of silver, roughly equivalent to 4 shillings in the seventeenth century.

3. “Carta de Fernão Mendes Pinto ao Pe. Baltasar Dias S.J., Macau, 20 de Novembro de 1555” [Letter of Fernão Mendes Pinto to Father Baltasar Dias S.J., November 20th, 1555], org. by Rui Loureiro—*Em busca das origens de Macau, Antologia Documental* [In Search of Macau's Origins, Documental Anthology, Lisbon, Ministry of Education], 1996, p. 68.

起，货币系统即以银本位为基础，或是银币或是银条，但均不能满足需要。从十六世纪三十年代开始，皇家国库所储存的银子已经开始短缺。1549年，曾搞过一次财政改革，但是未有成效。于是私钱及假钱开始泛滥，在广东和福建尤烈。它们的首选地点是流往日本和东南亚。

由于1549年同日本正式贸易关系的结束，国家的税收-货币问题进一步严重，因而增加了南部沿海省份私人或半官方国际贸易的压力。

嘉靖皇帝(1507-566年)持续12年将自己税收的一部分转让出来，用于支付陆疆和海疆的军事费用，但这常常不够，有时甚至连士兵的军饷都发不出来。

从1545-1550年开始，蒙古人在北边的军事压力越来越大。1548年，蒙古人在距离明朝首都北京只有一天路程的怀来打败了明军。1550年10月围困北京。在整个50-60年代，蒙古人每年进袭北疆。南方沿海富庶的省份也受到了被称为倭寇的海盗和走私份子的猛烈而持续的袭击。1554年、1555年、1556年，直至1560年接连不断。这些省份当时已经很难承受用于军事行动开支的赋税。这些军事行动包括1547-1550年期间朱纨所发动的保卫福建和浙江海疆的战役，其主要对象是海盗，同时也镇压当时的私人国际海上贸易，然而这正是这些省份财富的根基。

在十六世纪中叶初年的1555年、1554年和1553年，当时被称

为“佛郎机”的葡萄牙人，包括商人、葡属印度政权的贵族、经商的贵族及耶稣会传教士，已经对中国的实际情况，对中日之间的关系有了准确的了解。我们在下面将看到弗洛伊斯神父于1555年12月1日从马六甲写往果阿的一封信中有所反应。是年岁尾，已经出现了新的商业机会和可能性，很有可能会形成中国人和葡萄牙人的伙伴关系。

澳门第一份以葡萄牙文撰写，而且出现了“亚马港”一名的文献是由平托这个商人书写的一封信。他当时已是耶稣会的初修修士。此信的落款是1555年12月20日，收信人是果阿耶稣会学院的院长。

“今天，我从我们驻泊的浪白滂来到了亚马港。亚马港在浪白滂前方六里格多处。在那里我遇到了梅尔乔尔神甫。他从广州来此。二十五天前，他去广州洽赎贵族马特乌斯·德·布里托及另一已在广州城狱中关押了六年的人。共耗费白银千两，约合一千五百科鲁札多。此行顺便浏览城市，了解一下地理人情，看看是否可以将挨斯特万·戈伊斯修士留在当地学习语言，以备后用。”<sup>①</sup>

1555年澳门已经开辟为港口，同时也是葡萄牙人来回广州的集合点。当时乘索马船或龙头划沿西江只需一天一夜便可到达广州。

在“蚝镜”逗留的时间简短，但谱写下了澳门的葡萄牙语出生

1. 〈平托致迪亚斯神父函，澳门，1555年11月20日〉，载于洛瑞罗《澳门寻根》，里斯本，教育部，1996年，第68页。

finances the expedition and accompanies the head of the Jesuits in Asia, vice-provincial Melchior Nunes Barreto, S. J.

Melchior Nunes Barreto leads the evangelical mission along with ten other members, amongst which a Japanese interpreter and Luís Fróis S. J., who will remain in Malacca. The expedition carries an extensive library to Japan, including copies of works by Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, St Augustine, and St Thomas Aquinas, among other.

The Portuguese give the name Macau to *Haojing* (Oyster Mirror). A small fishing area, mostly for oysters and crab, and a harbour at the mouth of the “Canton river”, as it is called in the parlance of the sixteenth century, *Haojing* is inhabited regularly since the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century—at least since the time of the construction of the Temple to the goddess Má-Kó—by migrants and a core of residents, very likely Fujianese or Cantonese.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the years of 1509 to 1512-1515, from information available in Malacca in the Chinese circles linked to the Nanyang trade, the Portuguese hear, probably for the first time, references to *Haojing* (*Hou Keng*, in Cantonese).

Tomé Pires, who wrote down the essence of that information accumulated in Malacca mentions that “... beyond the port of Canton there is another port called Oquem three marching days away by land and one day and one night by sea. That port belongs to the *léquios* and other nations...”<sup>(4)</sup>

It is very likely that Tomé Pires’ Oquem, three days away by land and one night and one day by sea from Canton, is the Cantonese *Haocheng/Haojing*. I say *likely* because, in the *Suma Oriental*, the data regarding this matter lies somehow muddled and unclear.

Oquem is a good, albeit rather secondary, port of call en route to the main port of Canton, just a seasonal landing to support the long haul Asian commerce, used by the *léquios* and others for trading between Southeast Asia and the China Seas.

The *Léquios*, or Ryukyu Islands, Liuqiu in Chinese, from whence the Portuguese term originates, are a kingdom unified by Sho Hashi in 1429. With trade under royal monopoly and its main harbour in Naha, it reaches the apex of maritime and mercantile development in the reign of Sho-Shin (1477-1526), exactly at the time of the establishment, collection and writing down of the information regarding Oquem by Tomé Pires.

The kingdom of Ryukyu/Liuqiu pays tribute to China in the framework of official commerce, maintaining also official tributary commercial relations with the South of Japan, Quiuxu. In China, the main partner is Fujian. Even before the unification, at least since 1393, there exists an active Fujianese community based in Okinawa. The *léquios*’ navigation routes follow the coasts of Fujian and Guangdong in their travels to and from the Malaysian peninsula and the island world of Nanyang.

Since the years spanning 1411 to 1425, the *léquios* are one of the key intermediaries in the commerce from Southeast Asian seas to the Seas of China, Japan, and Korea. The

4. *A Suma Oriental de Tomé Pires e o Livro de Francisco Rodrigues* [The *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues], A. Cortesão ed., Coimbra, [University Press], 1978, book IV. Pp. 368-369.



证。澳门当时是来回广州水路的中继站，同时也是北大年和沿海商人从果阿前往日本的丰后“王国”的港口府内的落脚点。

当时平托将其部分资金，约三千到四千科鲁扎多 cruzados，投资于这一贸易。据估计，他当时的资产最少达到七千至一万科鲁扎多。同时他还参与政治活动。他当时的身份是由葡属印度总督诺罗尼亚派往丰后大名大友义镇的使节。

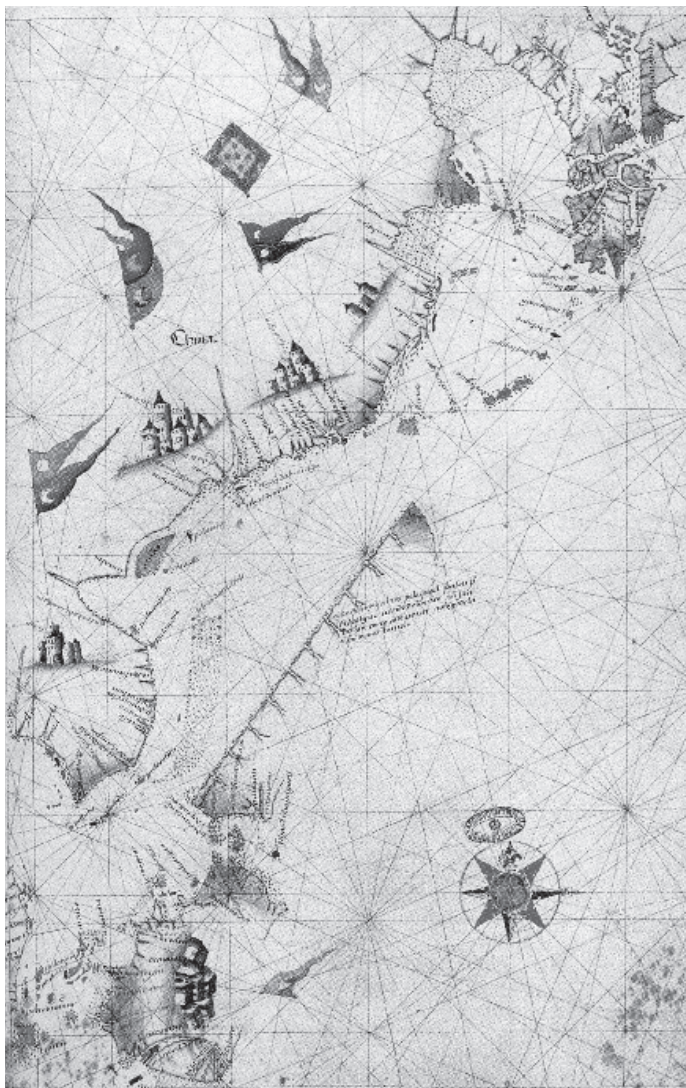
最后，他还有传教的使命。这位已经是耶稣会初修修士的商人为当时耶稣会在亚洲的首领巴雷多副省会长的活动出资，并伴随其左右。

巴雷多神父率领一个包括一名日本翻译和后来留在马六甲的弗洛伊斯在内的、十几人组成的传教团，带了大量书籍，包括柏拉图、阿里士多德、托勒密、圣奥古斯定和圣托马斯·德·阿基诺等的著作前往日本。

当时葡萄牙人称“蚝镜”为亚马港。“蚝镜”是一个小小的渔村，尤其盛产鲜蚝和螃蟹。它是十六世纪被称为“广州江”的珠江入海处的一个港口。十四世纪或十五世纪初起，始有常住居民。当时已经有福建人和广东人移民的村落。这至少从马阁庙修建起便开始了。

在十六世纪初，尤其是 1509 年至 1512-1511 年之间，当时在马六甲，通过与南洋贸易有关的华人的渠道，葡萄牙人或许第一次听到了“蚝镜”这个名字。“蚝镜”在广州话中的发音是 Hou Keng。

皮莱资将在马六甲搜集到的主要情报用文字记载了下来。他当



Anonymous Portuguese map of the Far East (from the Gulf of Siam to Japan), c. 1560, enclosed in the *Atlas* published in João de Lisboa's *Livro de Marinharia*. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. From *Macau: Cartografia do Encontro Ocidente-Oriente*, Macau, Comissão Territorial Para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, [1994], p. 90.

时这样写到：“除广州港外，尚有一港名‘Oquem’。陆程3天，水路

information collected in Malacca and transmitted, at the onset of the sixteenth century, through the *Suma Oriental* affords a glimpse of Haojing at the time as a possible port of call, near Canton, on the seaways which link Ryukyu and Fujian to Nanyang, and in articulation with another intermediary from Quiuxu (South of Japan).

The first document written in Portuguese, in Haojing/Macau, appears around forty years afterwards, on November 1555. Haojing is now also Macau, as the Portuguese did not adopt the Cantonese phonetisation Oquem (Oyster Mirror), which they had heard first, but rather the Fujianese expression Má Kó Cau (cove/bay of the ancestral grandmother).

The name Macau hints at the fact that the partnerships of Portuguese merchants and shipping entrepreneurs with the Fujianese are, at the time, as strong as, or perhaps stronger, than with the Cantonese communities and groups. It hints at that which will be a constant throughout the Ming period: a substantial weight in Macau of both Fujianese and Cantonese concerns and powers, a significant presence among the Chinese population of Haojing/Macau of a large community of “chincheos” (Fujianese) which, in 1627, Portuguese sources consider as predominant.<sup>(5)</sup>

This context of the birth of Macau—at least of the visible and specifically named birth, in the Portuguese sources—

as a port of call on the Japan Route in the framework of an expedition and partnership that is simultaneously mercantile, political and missionary doesn't certainly take place at random.

Who are these two Portuguese who met in Macau on November 20 1555? First of all, they are two prominent characters of the mercantile and Jesuit worlds, as well as two outstanding figures of the intellectual culture of the sixteenth century.

Fernão Mendes Pinto was born in the town of Montemor-o-Velho, around the years of 1509-1511, or even of 1514. On March 11 1537 he departs to Asia. During the first two years he lived as a soldier in the West Indian Ocean (Goa, Diu, Ormuz) and, from 1539 (Malacca) through 1557, as a merchant, mainly in Southeast Asia (Patane, Siam, Pegu) and Eastern Asia (in the China and Japan Seas).

Mendes Pinto's life as an adventurer-merchant must have begun around the years of 1539-1540.

In the 40s and 50s of the sixteenth century, Malacca is the centre of Portuguese, state controlled mercantile activities in the East Indian Ocean and the Seas of China, as well as the pole for Portuguese private trade activities, particularly by noblemen from the structure of the *Estado da Índia*.

Patane, a kingdom tributary to Siam (Ayuthia), located on the Eastern Coast of the Malaysian Peninsula, is a strategic port for Malaysian and Chinese merchants, and also a region that exports and produces pepper. It should be kept in mind that, since the fifteenth century, China consumes more than half of the pepper produced in Southeast Asia.

5. Cf. “Carta Ânua do Colégio de Macau, escrita de ‘Machaoporto da China’, aos 14 de Novembro de 1627” [Annual Letter of the College of Macau, written from “Macau port of China”, November 14th, 1627], in *Cartas Ânuas do Colégio de Macau (1594-1627)* [Annual Letters of the College of Macau (1594-1627)], org. J. Paulo Oliveira e Costa, Macau, Macau Foundation, 1999, p. 270.

昼夜可至。此为琉球人及其它国家使用的港口。”<sup>(2)</sup>

皮莱资笔下的沿广东海面陆程3天，水路昼夜可至的“Oquem”很有可能便是广州话的Hou Keng。我使用可能一词是因为《东方简志》这本书中记载的有关资料有所混淆。

“蚝镜”当时是前往主要港口广州的一个次要的，但却优良的港口。它是琉球人及其它在中国沿海经商的东南亚人的亚洲长途贸易的一个主要中继港。

Ryukyu/Liuqiu 王国，汉语称作“琉球”，葡萄牙语中的“Léquios”由此得名。1429年，尚巴志统一了这个国家，将整个贸易控制在王家手中，其主要港口位于那霸。在尚真统治期间(1474-1526年)，琉球的海外贸易发展到了顶峰。这正是皮莱资搜集和撰写关于“蚝镜”情况的时代。

当时琉球国在官方贸易方面属中国的朝贡国，同时也向日本南方的九州进贡。他们在中国的主要贸易伙伴是福建。至少从1393年开始，在琉球国统一前，在冲绳就有了一个非常活跃的福建人社团。琉球人沿着福建和广东的海岸航行，往返于马来半岛和南洋群岛之间。

在1411年至1425年期间，琉球人是当时东南亚海域向中国、日本和朝鲜海域进行贸易的关键中介人。从十六世纪初在马六甲搜集得到，并通过《东方简志》的记载传播下来的资料看，当时的“蚝镜”很有可能是一个靠近广州的中继港口，它连接了从琉球和福建前

往南洋的海道，同时又作为中继站连接了日本南部的九州。

大约四十年后，于1555年11月20日，在“蚝镜”/亚马港出现了第一份葡语文献。现在“蚝镜”也被称为亚马港。葡萄牙人没有采用他们一开始听到的粤语发音的Oquem，而是采用了闽语中的“马阁澳”，意为妈祖澳。

澳门的名称表明当时葡萄牙商人和船主同福建人结成的贸易伙伴关系等同于、或甚至强似于其与广东人之间的关系。这说明整个明朝，在澳门既有福建人的利益和势力，又有广东人的利益和势力。“蚝镜”/亚马港华人中主要社团之一便是一个巨大的福建人社团。1627年的葡萄牙文献显示福建人占大多数。<sup>(3)</sup>

在葡萄牙文献中，澳门产生的背景至少是个一目了然的过程，它既看得见，又有具体名称。它被认为是在商业、政治及传教航行和伙伴关系方面，向日本航行的基地港。这绝非出于偶然。

1555年12月20日在澳门的那两个葡萄牙人是谁呢？首先他们是当时商人和耶稣会中的佼佼者，同时又是16世纪知识文化的名人。

平托约于1509年或1511年，甚至是1514年出生于旧蒙特穆尔。1537年3月11日启程来亚洲。刚到

2. 阿尔曼多·科尔特藏《托梅·皮雷斯的〈东方简志〉及弗朗西斯科·罗德里格斯书》，科英布拉，大学印刷所，1978年，卷1，第368-369页。  
3. 请见《澳门学院年报，1627年11月14日写于“中国港口澳门”》，载于科斯达主编《澳门学院年报(1594-1627)》，澳门，澳门基金会，1999年，第270页。



In the fifteenth century, Patane is a Malaysian Islamic kingdom tributary to Ayuthia, and it has been on the way to recovering positions in regional trade from at least 1468-1469. From 1511, Islamic, *Léquiós*, and Javanese merchants ousted from Malacca will further boost Pantane's international trade, in which the Portuguese start to participate in 1518. Throughout the sixteenth century, Patane is one of the most developed secondary ports of Southeast Asia on the routes linking the Malaysian world to the Chinese communities of South-eastern Asia, and to the China Seas. Chinese "boxes" are the standard currency, for Patane will only have its own currency in the seventeenth century. Patane is a mercantile city-state for the exporting of pepper, rice, and cotton to China.

In the 40s and 50s of the sixteenth century, for Patane's Portuguese community in association, but also in competition with Malacca (Fernão Mendes Pinto has a brother there, Álvaro Mendes), that city remains as the capital of their private trading in the seas and coasts of South-eastern Asia and China.

In Patane, (Macau will later have a Patane, a quarter whose residents came from or were connected to that port), a city-state of around 50,000 inhabitants, there is a periodical concentration of around 300 Portuguese. Fernão Mendes Pinto is one of them. These are merchants linked to the private trade of pepper, clove, mace, nutmeg, *sappan*, amber, rice, cotton, silk, porcelain, camphor, musk,

china-wood, rhubarb, precious metals, Chinese currency, and fire weapons; products which are mainly aimed at the coastal markets of South China or, from there, at those of Southeast Asia.

Between 1541 and 1543, Fernão Mendes Pinto lives in Martabão, in the kingdom of Pegu, serving in the king's army as a merchant-gunman. By 1543, at the latest, he travels to China for the first time and becomes involved in the commerce networks linking Siam, Pegu, China and Japan.

Fernão Mendes Pinto was in Japan at least four times, staying in between the trips to and from the coast of China, trading in the triangular commerce of Southeast Asia, China, and Japan. In the mid sixteenth century, Fernão Mendes Pinto is one of the grand Portuguese merchants in Asia. The Jesuit Francisco Xavier, in a letter of 1552 to King João III of Portugal, defines Fernão Mendes Pinto as a "wealthy man" and immediately further: "... Guilherme Pereira and Diogo Pereira are two brothers, rather rich and wealthy men...".<sup>6</sup>

Besides being a wealthy merchant, Fernão Mendes Pinto is one of the greatest figures of Portuguese Renaissance culture due to his *Cartas* (Letters) and *Peregrinação* (Pilgrimage), of which the latter was written between the years of 1568 and 1578, and published for the first time in Lisbon in 1614 to become one of the Portuguese works of deepest impact in Europe during the seventeenth century.

It is quite relevant that it was Fernão Mendes Pinto, an Asiatised merchant-cum-man-of-letters—certainly the greatest among them—to write Macau's birth certificate. Macau is also born from the interests of a group of elite

6. "Carta de Fancisco Xavier S. J. para D. João III de Cochim a 31 de Janeiro de 1552" [Letter of Francisco Xavier S.J. to King João III, from Cochim on January 31st, 1552], in *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliquae eis scripta*, org. G. Schurhammer and I. Wicki, Rome. MISI, 1996, tome II, pp. 304-305.

亚洲的头两年，他可能在西印度洋充当过士兵(果阿、第乌和霍尔木兹)。从1539年起(马六甲)到1557年在东南亚(北大年、暹罗和勃固)及东亚(中国和日本海面)经商。

平托作为冒险家和商人的生涯可能始于1539年至1540年之间。

十六世纪四十年代至五十年代期间，马六甲当时是葡萄牙在东印度洋及中国海国家商业活动的中心，同时也是葡萄牙私人，尤其是在葡属印度国家政权中任职的贵族商业活动的基地。

位于马来半岛东岸的北大年当时是暹罗/大城的朝贡国。这是马来人及华商的重要港口，同时又是胡椒的生产和出口地。不应该忘记的是，从十五世纪开始，中国消耗东南亚一半的胡椒产量。

十五世纪，北大年是马来半岛的伊斯兰王国。当时是暹罗/大城的朝贡国。至少从1468-1469年起，它在区域贸易中的地位有所恢复。从1511年开始，伊斯兰商人、琉球人，爪哇人离开了马六甲，这样就更进一步推动了北大年的国际贸易。葡萄牙人于1518年开始进入北大年。整个十六世纪，北大年是东南亚连接马来语国家和东南亚及中国海华人社团的最发达的次级港口。中国的铜板当时是北大年的本位货币，因为北大年到十七世纪才铸造了自己的货币。北大年是一个向中国出口胡椒、大米、棉花的城邦。

在十六世纪四十年代至五十年代之间，当时在北大年的葡萄牙人

社团同马六甲既有伙伴关系，又有竞争关系(平托在马六甲有一个兄弟，叫阿尔瓦罗·平托)。它当时是葡萄牙在东南亚及中国洋面和沿岸私人贸易的首都。

在北大年(澳门地名中也有一处叫北大年(沙梨頭)，肯定是当时从北大年来的人或与北大年有关的人的居住地)，定期性地聚有三百葡萄牙人。当时这个城邦的人口约为五万。这些葡萄牙人中便包括平托。葡萄牙商人从事胡椒、丁香、荳蔻花、肉荳蔻苏木、龙涎香、大米、棉花、丝绸、瓷器、樟脑、麝香、土茯苓、大黄、贵重金属、中国货币及火器的私人贸易。这些货物主要输往华南沿海市场，再从此输往东南亚市场。

1541至1543年期间，平托曾经在勃固王国的马达班居住。他当时在国王的军队中充任枪手，同时经商。至迟在1543年，他首次前往中国，加入了暹罗、勃固、中国和日本之间的商业网络。

平托至少去过日本四次。在来回的途中，曾在中国沿海逗留，从事东南亚、中国和日本的三角贸易。十六世纪中叶，平托已是一个在亚洲的葡萄牙巨商。耶稣会士圣方济各·沙勿略于1552年写给葡萄牙国王若昂三世的信，将平托形容为“富人”，然后接着说：“……迪奥戈·佩雷拉和吉尔梅·佩雷拉兄弟俩腰缠万贯……”<sup>(4)</sup>

4. 〈圣方济各·沙勿略致若昂三世函，科技，1552年1月31日〉，载于舒马尔和维奇主编《圣方济各·沙勿略通讯录》，罗马，耶稣会历史文献，1996年，第2册，第304-305页。

merchants, such as Mendes Pinto himself, Diogo Pereira and Guilherme Pereira, and Leonel de Sousa: Western residents of Asia and Asiatised, triumphant merchants and men of letters, with privileged connections to the nobility, the political power, and the highest Jesuit missionary clergy such as the provincial Francisco Xavier or the vice-provincial Melchior Nunes Barreto.

The Macau that is thus in the process of birth, in 1555, is a port of call on the sea routes from the China Sea to Japan; a port of call and sea routes that imply a host of partnerships with Chinese and Japanese concerns and groups of interest. These sea routes require, on the Portuguese side, consortiums between noblemen and traders, Jesuits and merchants, private initiatives, either informal, semi-official or at the central official level. The first documented contact of the Portuguese with Macau takes place en route to Bungo, to the port of Funai. The monsoons and the mercantile mechanism in the context of the official relations between China and Japan render possible the birth of Macau: "... this disagreement between the Chinese and the Japanese is a great means for the Portuguese wishing to go to Japan because the Chinese don't go there to deal. Portuguese merchants have a great means to make their worldly riches there...".<sup>(7)</sup>

On November 20 1555, we find in Macau not only one of the wealthiest

Portuguese merchants in Asia, but also Melchior Nunes Barreto S. J. (1519-1570), the vice-provincial of the Society of Jesus in Asia, and provincial in exercise, brother of Dom João Nunes Barreto, the Latin patriarch of Ethiopia.

On October 18 1553, he had become vice-provincial of the Society of Jesus, and when the body of Francisco Xavier arrives in Goa, he decides to fulfil the mission in Japan, leaving for Malacca in May 1554.

With the financial support and Asian contacts of Fernão Mendes Pinto, and also the political support of Dom Afonso de Noronha, the Vice-Roy of the *Estado da Índia* between 1550 and 1554, he organises a missionary venture to Japan.

Like Francisco Xavier, Melchior Nunes Barreto is a Jesuit connected to the network of information and partnerships of the Asiatised Portuguese merchants. From Malacca, on December 3, 1554, he sends to Rome the anonymous *Enformação da China* (Report on China), obtained from a merchant nobleman who had been captive in China. This is the second information report on China gathered in Malacca by the Jesuit from the Portuguese merchants on the China Seas: "... a report on things Chinese... I send to Your Reverence so that you may judge on the plentiful opportunities to be found in a people so endowed with reason...".<sup>(8)</sup> The first report, gathered in Malacca in 1547 by Francisco Xavier S. J., is the anonymous *Enformação da Chyna, mandada per huu homem a mestre Francysquo* (Report on China, sent by a man to master Francisco), which shows all likelihood of having been authored by Mendes Pinto.

The stay in Malacca allows Melchior Nunes Barreto to obtain information

7. "Carta de Luís Fróis S. J. para os irmãos da Companhia de Goa, Malaca a 1 de Dezembro de 1555" [Letter of Luís Fróis S.J. to the brothers of the Goa Society, Malacca, December 1st, 1555], in *Documenta Indica*, org. J. Wicki, Rome, IHSI, 1954, vol. III, p. 318.

8. "Carta de Melchior Nunes Barreto S.J. para o P.e Inácio de Loyola em Roma, de Malaca a 3 de Dezembro de 1554" [Letter of Melchior Nunes Barreto S.J. to Father Inácio de Loyola in Rome, from Malacca on December 3rd, 1554], in *Documenta Indica*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 127.

平托除了是一个富商外，还因为他于1468年及1578年写的信件和于1614年首次在里斯本出版的《远游记》而成为葡萄牙文艺复兴文化的著名人物。《远游记》是十七世纪在欧洲产生很大影响的葡萄牙著作之一。

平托当时是一个有文化、亚洲化的商人。他肯定是佼佼者。澳门的出生证出于他手下是很能说明问题的。在一批商业精英利益的驱使下才出现了澳门，其中包括平托、迪奥戈·佩雷拉、吉尔梅·佩雷拉和来奥内而·德·苏扎等。他们是住在亚洲的西方人，而且已经亚洲化了。他们是成功的商人，同时又是文化人。他们本身就是贵族，或与贵族、政治权利及耶稣会高级教士，如省会长圣方济各·沙勿略及副省会长巴雷托有着特殊的关系。

于是澳门便出现了。1555年它已经是从中国海前往日本航道间的中继站。这一位置意味着它可与中国和日本人的各种利益关系和集团结为伙伴。葡萄牙方面，在这航道上，贵族商人、耶稣会和普通商人之间，须组成非官方的、半官方的或由中央政府提倡的合作伙伴。葡萄牙人第一次有文献记载的与澳门的接触就是发生在前往丰后府内港的航行途中。季风、商品及当时中国同日本之间的关系为澳门的诞生提供了机会。“华人与日本人之间不合，这正是葡萄牙人前往日本的好机会，由于华人不能去日本出售货物，而葡萄牙居民很

白烈度，《澳门：权力与知识——16-17世纪》，里斯本存在出版社，2006年9月，410页。

本书有两个部分，各具特点，而又互相补充：第一部分（海风海浪的恩赐）使我们看到构成澳门现实的经济、社会及政治力量。有三个层次：从澳门这个词的出现，转到1509-1554年之前的一个时期，然后叙述1557-1560年澳门迅速发展的动力。第二部分（有知识才有选择）介绍了形成澳门思想文化内容的文献与思想，包括1499-1555年间欧洲对明朝时期中国的了解，到对跨文化知识的吸取，以及产生于澳门的全部主要著作。这些著作成于十六至十七世纪期间，是澳门多元文化的体现。本书以大量的文献为基础，反映了澳门作为文化与经济的国际性服务平台形成的历史。这些文献来自许多不同的语言：葡萄牙语、汉语、西班牙语、意大利语、日语、拉丁语、荷兰语、马来语、英语和法语。如同作者自己写到的那样，他尽量在他所知的范围内查阅原文的手稿和已刊文献，然而在有必要的情况下，也使用某些外国语言的译文。

**Luís Filipe Barreto, *Macau: Poder e Saber. Séculos XVI e XVII* [Macau: Power and Knowledge. 15th and 16th Centuries] Lisbon, Editorial Presença, September 2006, 410 p.**

This study is organized in two specific, albeit complementary units. In book one "O que os Ventos e os Mares Trazem" (What is Brought by Winds and Tides), appear the economical, social, and political powers that weave the reality of Macau, organised in three movements: from the appearing of the word "Macau", to the years that precede this event, from 1509 to 1554, through to the following of Macau's dynamic between circa 1557 and 1650. In book two "Saber é Escolher" (To Know is to Choose), appear the texts and ideas which make up the knowledge of Macau's intellectual culture, from the horizon of European knowledge of Ming China, between 1499 and 1555, through to a landscape of acquisition of inter-cultural knowledge, and to the body of key-works written in Macau, which were a kind of inter-cultural manifestos created in Macau throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In this work, the history of an interface of international services, services of an economic and cultural nature, is established with basis on wide and diversified documentation. These sources are in a variety of languages: Portuguese and Chinese, Castilian and Italian, Japanese and Latin, Dutch and Malaysian, English and French. The author, as he himself mentions, tried to the best of his ability to read the documents, both manuscripts and printed material, in the original languages, nevertheless using translations whenever necessary.



on China and Japan, and to start envisaging a first project for the learning of the written Chinese language by Jesuit priests.

In a letter from Malacca, dated December 15 1555, Luís Fróis S. J. informs that the vice-provincial Melchior Nunes Barreto "... had determined that I be sent to China to be introduced in the land by the Portuguese, so that I could settle in the city of Canton next to some lords of the land and there remain for some two or three years learning the language, until priests would come from India, and once there, could find someone capable of interpreting the language to them..."<sup>(9)</sup>

Melchior Nunes Barreto is a scholar with a doctorate degree in canonical law, but also someone with a strategic vision and objective knowledge of reality, which resulted from the openness to the partnerships with merchants and with the Asian communities. In Macau, upon return from the second trip and stay in Canton, which made him the first Jesuit in mainland China, Melchior Nunes Barreto exchanges information and impressions with Fernão Mendes Pinto, who is about to depart to Canton. Also at the time, Duarte da Gama's ship called in Macau on the return from Japan.

"From this port of China, on November 23 1555", Melchior Nunes Barreto writes a letter published in Portugal, in Castilian, at the city of Coimbra, year of 1555. The letter's first edition in Portuguese was published in Évora, 1598, appearing as *Escreveo de Macoa porto da China* (Written from Macau, port of China).<sup>(10)</sup>

This letter is the first precise information about China based on the actual life experience of a Jesuit:

.. China has thirteen provinces or kingdoms, each one with a very populous main city as its head, from whence government takes place; the whole province being subject to it...the people are ruled within the country with such peace that all through the land, on those who rule and those who are ruled, there are no weapons to be seen. The people much enjoy eating and drinking, being much enslaved to sensuality, I greatly wished to remain in China...from what I gathered, the Chinese people are of very good understanding...I shall not write further about China, for if I did it would be endless...<sup>(11)</sup>

One of the most significant points of this letter of 1555 is the projection of the possible missionary strategies in China as formulated by the vice-provincial: "... from what I have experienced of the country, it seems to me that there are two ways to convert it..."<sup>(12)</sup>

One of the options would be the official way of diplomacy, via Beijing and the central Chinese power, the other, an informal entry of "two Society priests in Canton with two interpreters...". The

9. "Carta de Luis Fróis S. J. para os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal, de Malaca a 15 de Dezembro de 1555" [Letter of Luís de Fróis to the friars and brothers of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, from Malacca on December 15th, 1555], in *Documenta Indica, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 363.

10. *Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Japão y China..., de 1549 até o ano de 1580* [Letters written by the friars and brothers of the Society of Jesus from the Kingdoms of Japan and China...from 1549 until the year 1580], Évora, 1598, p. 32v.

11. "Carta de Melchior Nunes Barreto S. J. para os jesuítas de Goa, Lampacau/Macau, 23 de Novembro de 1555" [Letter of Melchior Nunes Barreto S.J. to the Jesuits of Goa, Lampacau/Macau, November 23rd, 1555], in *Cartas que os Padres..., op. cit.*, Évora, 1598, pp. 32v. a 37.

12. *Ibidem*, p. 35v.

有办法将货物运到那里并大发其财……”<sup>(5)</sup>

除了葡萄牙在亚洲的富商之外，1555年11月20日在澳门的还有耶稣会神父梅尔乔而·巴雷托(1519-1570)。他是埃塞俄比亚拉丁宗主教努内斯·巴雷托的兄弟。时任耶稣会亚洲副省长，代理耶稣会亚洲省长。

此人于1553年10月18日成为耶稣会副省长。在圣方济各·沙勿略逝世及其遗体运抵马六甲后，他当时决定要完成日本的传教并于1554年5月启程前往马六甲。

由于当时平托有资金，同时又有同亚洲人的关系，而1550年至1554年间出任葡属印度总督的诺罗尼亚也予以政治支持，巴雷托便开始准备组织前往日本的传教活动。

同圣方济各·沙勿略一样，梅尔乔而·巴雷托也是一名与亚洲化的葡萄牙商人情报网络有联系的耶稣会士。1554年12月3日，他从马六甲向罗马发送了一份匿名作者写的《中国情报》。这是从一位曾在中国被捕下狱过的贵族商人那里获得的，同时也是耶稣会在马六甲从曾在中国经商的葡萄牙商人那里得来的第二份关于中国的情报。“……这份关于中国的情报，我发给您……，让您看看在这些很有理智的人的身上机会很多……”<sup>(6)</sup>第一份情报是由圣方济各·沙勿略于1547年在马六甲获得的。那是一位匿名者写给方济各大师的《中国情报》。其作者很有可能是平托。

在马六甲的逗留使梅尔乔而·巴雷托得以了解到关于中国和日本的情况，同时开始筹划派遣耶稣会教士学习汉字的第一项计划。

弗洛伊斯在1555年12月15日从马六甲发出的信中，报告说副省长梅尔乔而·巴雷托“……当时决定派遣我前往中国，葡萄牙人把我带上陆地，以便在广州城让我同当地的一些大人物接触，然后在那里学习两三年汉语，直到从葡属印度来更多的神父。这样只要他们一到，便可以有人为他们翻译语言……”<sup>(7)</sup>

梅尔乔而·巴雷托是一位获得教会法法学博士的大学生，同时他也是一个具有战略眼光和对现实有客观了解的人。这一了解来自与亚洲商人及社团的结盟。他是第一个进入中国大陆的耶稣会会士。他第二次访问广州，回到澳门后，同当时也准备前往广州的平托交换过信息和看法。当时从日本归来的达伽马的大船正在澳门停留。

“1555年11月23日发自中国这一港口”。他的这封信1555年以西班牙语在科英布拉初次发表。葡语第一版于1598年在埃武腊刊行。当时的落款是“写自中国的港口亚马港”。<sup>(8)</sup>

5. 〈弗洛伊斯致果阿耶稣会修士函，马六甲，1555年12月1日〉，载于《东印度传教文献》，维奇主编，罗马，耶稣会历史学院，1954年，第3卷，第318页。
6. 〈巴雷多致罗马罗耀拉神父函，马六甲，1554年12月3日〉，载于《东印度传教文献》，前引书，第3卷，第127页。
7. 〈弗洛伊斯致葡萄牙耶稣会修士函，马六甲，1555年12月15日〉，载于《东印度传教文献》，前引书，第3卷，第363页。
8. 《耶稣会神父及修士日本及中国来函……，1549年至1580年》，埃武腊，1598年，第32页。

future will confirm the strategic vision of the vice-provincial.

Mendes Pinto and Melchior Nunes Barreto are in Macau in November 1555. From July 1555 to July 1556, they are at the ports of Canton, particularly in Lampacau and also in Macau. The information provided by them, in the letter of 1555, regarding Sanchuan<sup>(13)</sup>, Lampacau<sup>(14)</sup> and Macau, is not abundant, but rather precise and precious.

The ships of the Portuguese merchants are scattered and travelling between the three ports. Ships arrive from Japan, such as the vessel commanded by Duarte da Gama, which called at Macau coming from Hirado, and perhaps the junk under the captainship of Diogo Vaz de Aragão. Other ships depart for Nanyang.

The two first settlements seem to be locations of a prevailing concentration of Portuguese and Chinese merchants: "... this island of Sanchuan; from whence trade is carried with the Chinese..." (p. 34v.), says Melchior Nunes Barreto, although Fernão Mendes Pinto points out: "... Lampacau where ships come to trade..."

Around three hundred Portuguese, seamen and businessmen, shipping entrepreneurs, tradesmen/financiers, noblemen, merchants, pilots, and now also Jesuit missionaries, may be found in

these ports en route to Canton to trade for periods of around one month. Macau appears as the mandatory call on the trips to and from Canton.

Clearly mentioned among the products sold by Portuguese merchants in the Canton market are pepper, Japanese silver and grey amber "... some small quantity of raw amber, something that the king of China has been seeking for six years now, having made great promises to anyone who would fetch it for him..."<sup>(15)</sup>

Sanchuan now seems increasingly more the port of arrival and passage for those coming from Nanyang, whereas at the end of 1553 it was still the usual destination for arrivals from Japan.<sup>(16)</sup> Macau is the most recent mandatory port of call en route to Canton, while Lampacau remains as the central, albeit not the sole point of stay and arrival of silver coming from Japan (Fernão Mendes Pinto).

From Lampacau-Macau, at the end of 1555, Melchior Nunes Barreto states: "... at this harbour were we stay there are over thirty thousand *quintais*<sup>(17)</sup> of pepper, and one hundred thousand *cruzados* worth of silver in a ship that has just arrived from Japan, and all of this will be spent in one month, as the funds from Canton are allowed in..."<sup>(18)</sup>

At the same time, navigating in the *islands of Canton*, wintering in Lampacau, in 1555-1556, there are also Diogo Pereira, and members of their family-company, such as Gil de Góis, the brother-in-law, and Francisco Toscano Pereira, the son. As we have seen, on January 31 1552, Francisco Xavier had called Diogo Pereira a very rich and wealthy man.

13. Ibidem, p. 36.

14. Cf. "Carta de Pedro de Alcáçova S. J. para os irmãos da Companhia de Jesus de Portugal, Goa, 1554" [Letter of Pedro de Alcáçova S.J. to the brothers of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, Goa, 1554], in *Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Japão & China...*, de 1549 até o de 1580 [cf. note 10], Évora, 1598, fac-simile, Maia, Castoliva, 1997, vol. I, p. 27v. e p. 28.

15. *Translator's note*: Shangchuan.

16. *Translator's note*: Langbaiao.

17. *Translator's note*: One *quintal* = 112 pounds avoirdupois.

18. "Carta de Melchior Nunes Barreto S. J. para os Jesuitas de Goa, Lampacau, 23 de Novembro de 1555" [Letter of Melchior Nunes Barreto S.J. to the Jesuits of Goa, Lampacau/Macau, November 23rd, 1555], ed. cit., p. 32v.

这封信是耶稣会士基于切身经历而写出的第一份关于中国的准确情报。

“……中国共有十三个省份或王国。有一主要城市为省会，管辖全境。……官吏、平民个个平和。不见有人携带武器。华人喜爱吃喝，肉欲横流。我很想留在中国……据了解到的情况，华人洞达事理。……关于中国的情况，我不再着墨，否则难以收笔。……”<sup>9)</sup>

1555年这封信最重要的一点是它当时已经筹划了由副省长神父提出的开教中国可能的战略计划。“……根据我在当地获得的经验，我认为，要使她皈依可有两个途径……”<sup>10)</sup>

一种选择是通过北京的官方正式外交途径与中国中央政府接触；另外一种采取非正式的办法：“两位耶稣会神父在广州，还有他们的翻译……”。但是后来的情况证实这位副省会长确实有战略眼光。

1555年11月，平托和梅尔乔而·巴雷托正在澳门。从1555年7月到1556年7月，他们转辗于广东的数个泊口，尤其是浪白滘和澳门之间。1555年的两信中有关上川、浪白滘和澳门的信息虽然不多，但却非常准确和宝贵。

葡萄牙商人的大船分别停泊和航行于这三个岛屿之间。有来自日本的船只，如由达伽马担任船长的船，自平户而来，在澳门暂泊。或许阿拉贡的中国式帆船也在澳门停靠过。然后由此前往南洋。

早期的两处葡萄牙人居留地似乎是葡萄牙人同中国商人汇集之地。“……这上川岛，在那里同华人交易……(第34v页)”梅尔乔而·巴雷托这样说，但平托指出：“……浪白滘，在那里贸易……”

这三百多葡萄牙人都是水手、商人、船主、商业资本家、贵族、商贩和水手，现在又加上耶稣会传教士。他们都集中在前往广州航路上的泊口里，进行约一个月的交易。澳门是作为往返广州的必由之路而出现的。

当时葡萄牙人在广州市场出售的货物，明确提到过的有胡椒、日本白银和龙涎香。“……我带去了一些龙涎香。中国国王六年来寻觅此物。重赏为他带来该种货物的人，……”<sup>11)</sup>

上川现在似乎成了南洋方向来船的目的港及中继港。直到1553年年底它还是日本来船最经常停留的地点。<sup>12)</sup>澳门成为最新的前往广州的必经之路，而浪白滘尽管不是日本白银运达中国与船舶停留的唯一港口，却是一个中枢港口(平托语)。1555年末，梅尔乔而·巴雷托来往于浪白滘和澳门，他声称：“在我们停泊的港口，仅一条来自日本的大船便装运了三万多

9. 〈巴雷多致果阿耶稣会士函，浪白滘/澳门，1555年11月23日〉，载于《耶稣会神父及修士日本及中国来函》，前引书，埃武腊，1598年，第32-37页。

10. 同上，第35v页。

11. 同上，第36页。

12. 请见〈阿尔卡索瓦致葡萄牙耶稣会修士函，果阿，1554年〉，载于《耶稣会神父及修士日本及中国来函……》，1549年至1580年》，埃武腊，1598年，影印再版，马雅，卡斯托利瓦出版社，1997年，卷一，第27及28页。



Diogo Pereira is one of the founders of Macau. A mixed blood *casado*<sup>(19)</sup> from Goa, Diogo Pereira is, very possibly, son of an Indian mother and Tristão Pereira, who arrived in India in 1509. The Luso-Indian Diogo Pereira and his brother Guilherme Pereira are *casados* from Goa, as well as two of the most prestigious and wealthy figures of Portuguese Goa.

Diogo Pereira is a powerful merchant and shipping entrepreneur who, since the end of the decade of 1540, is the owner of one of the largest ships, the *Santa Cruz*, developing his concerns and activities in the region of Malacca, Siam, the South China Coast, and the South of Japan.

What is Diogo Pereira specifically doing in Lampacau and Macau in 1555? We know that on board his ship there is certainly pepper hauled from Sunda to Guangzhou (Canton), but we also know that: "... from Sunda came to China, on board the ship of Diogo Pereira, eight Japanese...".<sup>(20)</sup>

According to Chinese documents, 1555 is the year in which we find for the first time Japanese merchants dressed in Portuguese garb, and in association with Portuguese traders, in the commercial thoroughfares of Canton. An informal Luso-Sino-Japanese partnership starts to take shape in the sea and business routes which lead to Canton and, in 1555, Macau is the port and meeting point of the Portuguese plying the Canton route.

This partnership developed in the coasts of Fujian, however, by the mid-sixteenth century, it shifts to the coasts of Guangdong. The merchant who brings eight Japanese partners to Canton in 1555 is Diogo Pereira.

In 1555, the rich and erudite merchant Fernão Mendes Pinto writes Macau's birth certificate. In 1555 the immensely wealthy merchant Diogo Pereira is bringing to life the Chinese-Portuguese-Japanese trade of Japanese silver for Canton silk, one of the pillars of Macau's sustenance during the Ming period.

In 1555, Macau is being born, or rather, the international and multi-cultural dimension of Haojing, to which we call Macau, is being born. At the time it is simply a port for the trade of Southeast Asian pepper and Japanese silver, where some ships come to winter. According to father Gregório Gonçalves, in a report of circa 1570, the harbour is part of a triangular network of ports in Sanchuan, Lampacau, Macau.

Macau is one of the ports of the *islands of Canton*, in the growing and regular international commerce of Nanyang, increasingly less tributary, although fiscally integrated, which from the middle of the 1530 decade boosts the accelerated mercantile, manufacturing, and financial growth of the province of Guangdong/Guanxi.

By the latest in 1553 and 1555, Portuguese tradesmen call in Macau on the sea routes linking Nanyang, Japan, and Canton. In 1555, among the wealthy and very wealthy Portuguese merchants in the area of Macau there are Mendes Pinto, Luís de Almeida, Gil de Góis, Diogo Pereira. The zone is mentioned under the name of "Oquem" both in the

19. *Translator's note*: In Portuguese Asia, the term *casado* (lit. *married*) refers to a male individual settler, Portuguese or of mixed blood, wedded to a baptised indigenous or to a mestizo woman, in accordance with the official miscegenation policy in force throughout Portuguese settlements in Asia in the sixteenth century.

20. "Carta de Luís Fróis aos jesuítas de Goa, Malaca, 7 de Janeiro de 1556" [Letter of Luís de Fróis to the Jesuits of Goa, Malacca, January 7th, 1556] in *Documentos del Japon 1547-1557*, ed. Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, Rome, IHCI, 1990, p. 649.

公担胡椒及价值十万科鲁札多的白银。这些货物不消一个月便销售一空，原因是允许他们将货物从广州运来……。”<sup>(13)</sup>

同时在1555年至1556年之间，在广东诸岛之间航行并在浪白滗过冬的有迪奥戈·佩雷拉及其家族商行的成员，如其妹夫戈伊斯及其子弗朗西斯克·佩雷拉。迪奥戈·佩雷拉这个人，我们前面已经看到，圣方济各·沙勿略于1552年1月31日的信说他“腰缠万贯”。

迪奥戈·佩雷拉是澳门的创始人之一。值得指出的是，他是一个混血儿，而且在果阿有家室。其母很有可能是印度妇女，其父是1509年抵达印度的特里斯滕·佩雷拉。迪奥戈·佩雷拉这位葡-印混血儿及其兄弟吉尔梅·佩雷拉在果阿都有家室。他们是果阿最有名望、最富有的人士之一。

迪奥戈·佩雷拉是个大商人和大船主。从四十年代末开始，便拥有当时最大的船舶当中的一艘，名为“圣十字”号。他的商业利益与活动遍及马六甲、暹罗、中国南部沿海及日本南部。

迪奥戈·佩雷拉于1555年在浪白滗和澳门具体做什么？我们知道，当时他的大船上肯定载有销往广州的胡椒，同时我们也知道：“……有8个日本人乘坐迪奥戈·佩雷拉的大船从巽他来华……。”<sup>(14)</sup>

据中国史料，1555年在广东的商业街上首次出现了扮作葡萄牙人的日本商人。在当时通往广州的海

路及商贸路线上，这样一种非正式的葡-葡-日人的伙伴合作关系已然形成。1555年澳门已成为港口，和来往于广州的葡萄牙人的汇聚点。

这一伙伴关系产生于福建沿海，但在十六世纪中叶开始转向广东沿海。当时带着8个日本商业伙伴前往广州的是迪奥戈·佩雷拉。

1555年，平托这位有文化的富商写下了澳门的出生证。1555年，腰缠万贯的迪奥戈·佩雷拉开启了用日本白银交换广州丝绸的葡-葡-日人之间的贸易。这一贸易是明朝时期澳门得以生存的支柱之一。

1555年澳门正在诞生，确切地说是它正在成为具有多元文化性质的一座国际性的城市。它的名字叫“蚝镜”，但我们称之为“亚马港”。在当时，它不过是东南亚胡椒及日本白银贸易航线上上的一个港口。有船只在此停留过冬。据贡萨雷斯神父1570年左右所写的报告，当时上川，浪白滗和澳门已经形成一个三角网络。澳门是广东诸岛的泊口之一。南洋的国际贸易在日益增长，输贡的比重日益降低，唯在纳税方面与大陆保持不可分割的联系，这样的一种态势，促使了两广地区自十六世纪三十年代中期以来，在商业、制造与金融方面，加快速度地发展起来。

至迟至1553-1555年期间，已有葡萄牙商人途经澳门，从水路前往

13. 〈巴雷多致果阿耶稣会会士函，浪白滗，1555年11月23日〉，前引版本，第32页。

14. 〈弗洛伊斯致果阿耶稣会会士函，马六甲，1556年1月7日〉，载于梅迪纳主编《日本文献1547-1557》，罗马，耶稣会历史学院，1990年，第649页。

mercantile and the official Portuguese information circles of Malacca at the latest since the years of 1512-1515, as we have seen.

It is certainly used from 1530 onwards, albeit not intensely, together with the islands of Shangchuan (Sanchuan) and Langbaiao (Lampacau).

By the latest in 1553, Portuguese merchants at anchor in Macau are already requesting Canton's authorities the space for a more permanent settlement, as well as authorisation to stay beyond the seasonal limit in Macau, rather than in Lampacau or Sanchuan.

Following two decades of growing informal trade, illegal as far as the Chinese authorities were concerned, the now firm Chinese-Portuguese-Japanese partnerships dealing in silk and silver become more visible in the years of 1553, 1554, 1555. It isn't, however, a legal or official visibility in the framework of the Central or Provincial structure of the State, but rather a tolerated, informal reality; a partnership of profits and common interests between Portuguese, Chinese, and Japanese mercantile and financial groups. Economic partnerships which the political powers control and tolerate due to the common ground of profits and interest which are also partly theirs, either at the provincial level or at the state level.

By articulating the Chinese, Portuguese, and Castilian sources of circa 1570, it is possible to gather that in the years of 1554, 1555, 1556, there is a Lampacau-Macau axis through which are spread the majority of the two or

three hundred Portuguese merchants involved in the trade of the China Seas.

The Portuguese and Castilian sources, (the letter of father Gregório Gonzalez deserves careful analysis), seem to point to Langbaiao/Lampacau as the predominating place and to Haojing/Macau as the secondary one, both for wintering purposes as well as for the meeting of arrivals and departures to and from Nanyang and Japan. Portuguese sources show that Macau is the port of call en route to Canton, in the comings and goings of traders to the city's fair or to its markets. The Chinese and Castilian sources concur that it is indeed in Haojing/Macau that in 1554, 1555, 1556 pretexts and attempts at a continuous settlement of mercantile and maritime agents, and Portuguese (or linked to them) teams and crews start to be conceived instead of a mere seasonal stay.

1555, the year of Macau's birth certificate, issued by a notary-writer of Fernão Mendes Pinto's stature is also the year in which, according to Chinese sources, the Japanese lead by the Portuguese, which as we have seen are Diogo Pereira and his commercial agents, arrived at the markets of Canton:

... in the year 1555 the Portuguese barbarians bid the Japanese barbarians to come and trade in the waters of Guangdong. Chou Luan, amongst others, had the Japanese disguised, so as to pass as Portuguese and thus trade in Maima Street in Canton. They left after some time. Thenceforth, the Portuguese convinced the Japanese to return year after year and trade in Guangdong...<sup>(21)</sup>

21. Zheng Shungong—*Jih-pen-I-chien/Um Espelho do Japão* [A Mirror of Japan], chap. 6, pp. 4-5, work of circa 1564, quoted and translated by R. Usellis—*As Origens de Macau* [The Origins of Macau], Macau, Maritime Museum, 1995, p. 25.

南洋、日本和广州。在这些葡萄牙富商和巨贾中，1555年身处澳门地区的有平托、阿尔梅达、戈伊斯及迪奥戈·佩雷拉等。当时马六甲的葡萄牙商业和官方情报中已出现了有关澳门的内容。至少，我们已经看到过，在1512-1515年期间已经有了Oquem这个名称。

可以肯定的是，从1530年开始，这个地方就与上川、浪白滘一起被用作港口，尽管来船还不算多。

而至迟至1553年，停泊在澳门的葡萄牙商人要求广东当局给予他们可供更永久定居的地方，并允许他们在贸易季节外，在澳门，而不是在浪白滘和上川停留。

经过二十年非正式贸易的增长(它在中国当局眼里看来，是非法的)，华-葡-日之间业已结合牢固的丝、银贸易伙伴关系，在1553年，1554年及1555年期间，日见彰现。从中国无论是朝廷还是地方的官僚机构看来，这种公开的贸易是违法的，没有得到官方认可的，它只是一个非官方性质的、得到了默许的现实状况。葡萄牙人、华人和日本人的商业财团的共同利润和利益结合成了这样一种伙伴关系。这种经济伙伴关系，在朝廷与地方当局参与其中的共同的利益利润的基础之上，获得了政治势力的默许，并被置于其控制之下。

比照1570年左右的中国、葡萄牙及西班牙文献，可看到在1554、1555和1556年已形成一浪白滘-澳门轴心。参与中国海上贸易的两三百葡萄牙人主要分布在这轴心。

葡萄牙文献及西班牙文献(贡萨雷斯神父的信值得细读)似乎指出浪白滘是当时的主要地点，“蚝镜”/亚马港是次要的。它是越冬或作为来回南洋和日本的交汇点。葡萄牙资料显示，澳门是前往广州的中继站，由此葡萄牙人前往参加广州贸易集会或赴其各种集市。中国及西班牙史料同认为，在1554年、1555年和1556年，在“蚝镜”/亚马港开始寻找借口企图将商人、水手、船务人员或与他们有关的人长期留在当地，而不再是一种季节性的逗留。

1555年是澳门的出生之年，它的出生证是由平托这么一个身份的，作家式书记员签发的。就在同一年，据中国史料，日本人随葡萄牙人而来。我们知道，迪奥戈·佩雷拉和他的商业代理人进入了广州市场：“岁乙卯，佛郎机夷人诱引倭夷，来市广东海上，周鸾等使倭扮作佛郎机，同市广东卖麻街，迟久乃去。自是佛郎机夷频年诱倭市广东矣。”<sup>(15)</sup>

正是在这一年，皇帝下了一道诏书，要求广东省沿海官员从驻泊中国的洋船处购办龙涎香，常供京廷所需。葡萄牙洋商和巴雷多神父于该年11月均在广州售出这种货物。巴雷多神父报告说：“……为赎回这些囚徒我带去了一些龙涎香。中国国王六年来寻觅此物。重赏为他带来该货

15. 郑舜功《日本一鉴》，卷6，第4-5页，约成作于1564年，引自乌塞利斯《澳门起源》，澳门，海事博物馆，1995年，第25页上译文。




This is also the year in which an imperial decree demands from provincial coastal servants the ability to procure from foreign ships in China a regular supply of grey amber to the Imperial Palace in Beijing. This product was sold in Canton, in November, by Portuguese merchants and by Melchior Nunes Barreto who states: "... for the ransom of those captives I carried some small quantity of raw amber something that the king of China has been seeking for six years now, having made great promises to anyone who would fetch it for him because in their books it is written that it ensures long life to the elderly when eaten with certain preparations..."<sup>(22)</sup> The Portuguese prove thereby their ability to satisfy also the Imperial Centre's luxury and rare products economy, providing it with whale and sperm-whale oil, from the Indian Ocean, to be used as perfume and aphrodisiac: "... Diogo Pereira, a gentleman widely known in those lands, told me that the Chinese believe the same things we do regarding the creation of amber, and they told him so word by word, saying that it is of great use in commerce with women..."<sup>(23)</sup>

1555: Portuguese on their way to or from Japan, call in at Macau, en route to or from Canton. 1555: Japanese associated to Diogo Pereira, Leonel de Sousa and, certainly, to Chinese merchants, trade in the streets of Canton.

The Portuguese merchants in the islands and markets of Canton are part of a Sino-Luso-Japanese partnership which is taking its first sustained steps in Guangdong. *Macau* is being born.

1555: Macau is being born. Lampacau has already replaced Sanchuan as the central port to lay anchor at due to its greater proximity to Canton and its lesser harshness. Nevertheless, in 1553, the Portuguese had already requested to settle in Haojing/Macau, and knew already about the better conditions of the harbour, using it regularly as a gateway to Canton, and in their coming and going from the capital of Guangdong.

The Sino-Portuguese-Japanese partnership that links Nanyang to Quiuxu has already taken root, albeit recently, in the *islands of Canton*. It is now ready to become the hegemonic intermediary of the great international trade of silver and silk. Only the port-city is still to be born, but the location has been chosen and it is increasingly more visited.

Text edited by Tereza Sena and Fernando Sales Lopes from chapter 1 of *Macau: Poder e Saber. Séculos XVI e XVII*, by Luis Filipe Barreto. 

Translated from the Portuguese original by  
Rui Parada Cascais

22. "Carta de Melchior Nunes Barreto S. J. para os Jesuítas de Goa, Lampacau-Macau, 23 de Novembro de 1555" [Letter of Melchior Nunes Barreto S.J. to the Jesuits of Goa, Lampacau/Macau, November 23rd, 1555], ed. cit., p. 36.


23. Garcia de Orta—*Colóquios dos Simples, e drogas he cousas medicinals da India...* [Colloquies on the simples & drugs of India...], Goa, 1563, Colóquio 3, p. 14.

的人。因为据他们的书记载，此物与其它制剂配服，能够延年益寿……”<sup>(16)</sup> 葡萄牙人显示出他们有能力提供中国所需要的作为香料和春药的抹香鲸体内的“蜡质”物质，来满足中国对奇珍异物的需求。“……迪奥戈·佩雷拉曾对我说，华人对龙涎香的了解绝不亚于我们，他们曾对他详述一切。据华人言称，此物对同妇女的交欢具有特效，……”<sup>(17)</sup>

1555年，往返日本，葡萄牙人途经来回广州必经的澳门。1555年，日本人已同迪奥戈·佩雷拉和奥内而·德·苏扎结伙，肯定还有华人。他们已经在广州的街面上进行贸易。在广东岛屿和街市上的葡萄牙商人已经是华-葡-日人之间的商业伙伴关系中的一份子，而且在广东已经迈出了坚实的步伐。澳门正在诞生。

1555年，澳门正在诞生。浪白滘现在已经取代了上川，成为离广东更近的主要停泊点，因为水土不像上川那样恶劣。葡萄牙人早于1553年就已要求定居于“蚝镜”/亚马港。他们当时已经知道澳门港条件上乘，将其作为定期前往广东省会的大门。

连接南洋至九洲的华-葡-日商业伙伴关系尽管形成的时间不长，却已在广东诸岛扎下根。很快就将在丝、银大宗国际贸易中占据具有垄断性的中介地位。现在需要的是一个港口城市，而地点已经选好，被光顾的次数已越来越频繁。

本文由冼丽莎与罗方礼据白烈度《澳门：权力与知识——16-17世纪》第一章改写而成。

金国平译

白烈度，里斯本大学副教授，现任澳门科学与文化中心(葡萄牙科学技术及高等教育部的公立机构)主任。1992至1994年，曾任澳门大学葡萄牙研究系主任。1998年，任巴黎社会科学高等研究院的访问教授，同时也是欧洲科学基金会人文委员会委员。他用多种语言发表了许多书籍和文章，包括：《澳门制图学》(Lisbon, Missão de Macau, 1997)及《葡萄牙人走向亚洲(1480-1630)》(Lisbon, CNCDP 2000, 同年出版英文版本)。

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16. 〈巴雷多致果阿耶稣会会士函，浪白滘，1555年11月23日〉，前引版本，第36页。

17. 加尔西亚·达·奥尔塔《印度香药谈》，果阿，1563年，第3谈，第14页。