

Moderator's introduction to the workshop

In the era of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), topics like the ancient and 21st century maritime silk roads, maritime history and trans-Pacific trade have become increasingly popular. Studies on the Manila Galleon trade route are riding on the wave of this trend. The Manila Galleon trade route became an object of study for Americans around the time of the Spanish-American War in 1898. The route formed the basis of a common international academic community in 1960s and 1970s, and reached its most prominent point with the publication of *Reorient: the Global Economy in the Asian Age* at the end of the 1990s.

With this background, domestic academia has started research. However, Chinese researchers have been hindered because the source materials, in languages such as Tagalog and Spanish, are hard to access. For instance, the voluminous *Philippine Islands* poses difficulties to Chinese researchers because of its selections and translations. An interdisciplinary approach is necessary for this material. Take the following academic problems, for example. Ming Dynasty Chinese official and scholar Xu Guangqi wrote the *Introduction to Sweet Potato*, but did not know how sweet potatoes were imported from the Caribbean and Andes. Mexico imported a slew of icons and ivory carvings, without understanding how they were made in China.

Problems like these require Chinese scholars to switch their thinking from inland agriculture to maritime commerce, pay attention to academic centers and representative scholars from Spain, Mexico, Taiwan Province, the Philippines and Japan, and

start to consider all sorts of disciplines to master first-hand materials in order to really establish a macro global vision through micro analysis and medium-view theories.

Each scholar in the workshop clearly demonstrated their academic interests and specialties. Prof. Han Qi devoted himself to studying the 55-volume *Philippine Islands* based on his knowledge on the history of economic systems. He studied how the Manila Galleon trade route was gradually restrained in the number of voyages, the scale of the fleets, the amount of goods, and the amount of customs duties by laws in an early stage and established a system of permits, waybills, and wholesale transactions, which laid hidden dangers for the future development of trade.

Fabio Yu-chung Lee, an associate professor from Taiwan, is an expert in collecting and sorting out all kinds of historical materials. Based on the commodity tax documents of Manila's customs from 1620 to 1681 which he obtained, he talks about the most popular contemporary topic related to the trading activities, silver. Refining previous vague estimates to be more continuous and accurate, he better confirmed the inflow and amount of silver into Greater China.

Roberto Junco has been engaged in establishing the concept of "Manila Galleon archaeology" since the discovery of a shipwreck in Baja California in 1999, and has expanded the scope of archaeological studies in Mexico from the prehistoric period to the colonial period. He has studied the structure and shape of the early ships on the Manila Galleon trade route based on the world's first printed ship-building manual in 1587. His research confirmed the close collaboration between the Philippines, Mexico and Peru at that time based on multiple

sources of lead plates and the raw materials of iron nails used in the construction of the ships.

Liu Miao, associate professor from the Department of History, Xiamen University, analyzed many ceramic shards found in shipwrecks, identified their age, and analyzed the background of overseas trade at different times, proposing that the Manila Galleon trade route did not represent an isolated and stable trading activity. Rather, intertwined with different maritime powers and routes, trade along the route was long-term and complicated, and had different characteristics at different stages.

Cinta Krahe, an art history expert, combed and evaluated the spread of Chinese porcelain in New Spain and Spain based on a large number of documents such as royal and noble property lists and trade archives, and supplemented this by examining handed-down porcelain, unearthed porcelain pieces and contemporary oil paintings.

Starting from the case of the shipwreck in Ensenada, Deputy Director Weng Yanjun explored the starting time of Manila Galleon trade and the nature of the early trade through refined classification and statistics using samples of porcelain, and put forward his opinion that the ceramic trade was dominated by competing merchant groups.

Prof. Wu Jiewei has focused on the social exchanges over the Manila Galleon trade route since he wrote his doctoral dissertation. He introduced how the people of the Philippines formed their beliefs in Antipolo and Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazareno de Quiapo based on the importance of ships and safety of navigation.

Yu Shiyang cited little-known historical material and tried

to comprehensively demonstrate the historical process of a Spanish noble traveling from Peru to the Philippines and sneaking into Fujian and Guangdong provinces for commerce and being shut out in 1583. She pointed out that in the 1560s and 1570s, Spain did not have a clear understanding of how to approach China, and there were also competing interests in the Manila Galleon trade.

Focusing on the Manila Galleon trade route, the workshop has a clear topic and timeline. It involves economic issues, culture exploration and the ties between commerce and art with the popular topic of exported porcelain. It establishes the role of the Spanish language as a central tool that establishes the interrelationships of related disciplines. It also reveals another direction of the “21st Century Maritime Silk Road” and its historical origins, narrowing the distance between China, Spanish-speaking America and Spain.

In 2009, UNESCO designated October 8 each year as International Galleon Day to commemorate October 8, 1565, when the priest navigator Andres De Urdaneta began his 129-day journey from the Philippines back to Mexico, which started the trans-Pacific interactions over the following 250 years that have lasted to date. I sincerely hope that the Manila Galleon trade route can become a broader and deeper ideological concept soon, so that China and the world can better view the magnificent 500 years since Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastian Elcano sailed around the world.

Yu Shiyang
October 7, 2019

The 23rd Broadyard Workshop
Manila Galleon:
Trans-Pacific Interactions in the Early Modern Age
September 27, 2019

This workshop invited eight experts and scholars from universities and institutions home and abroad, including Peking University, Nankai University, Xiamen University, the Ceramic Archaeology Institute of Jingdezhen in China, Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH), and Spain's University of Alcalá to participate in the discussion.

In an opening speech, Prof. Qian Chengdan, director of the Institute of Area Studies, Peking University (PKUIAS), expressed his welcome and gratitude to the participating scholars. He said that maritime navigation and trade issues have been highly valued subject areas by the international academic community. At present, Western scholars have focused on commerce and trade cooperation in the Atlantic and achieved fruitful results. Regarding Pacific maritime navigation and trade, little research has been done due to various difficulties, thus leaving a gap in the international academic community's research. In recent years, more and more scholars have identified the research gaps and started to fill them. He hopes that Chinese and foreign scholars participating in this workshop can conduct in-depth exchanges and discussions on related issues and promote the progress of this research field.

Yu Shiyang, a lecturer at the School of Foreign Languages, PKU, moderated the morning session. She said that this year

marks the 500th anniversary of the first human voyage around the world. In 1519, Portuguese navigator and explorer Ferdinand Magellan led an expedition starting from Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Spain. In 1522, his companion Juan Sebastian Elcano led the fleet back to Seville, confirming that “La Tierra” was a sphere, which opened the door for global trade and communication. In 2019, Spain and Portugal jointly filed an application to UNESCO to mark the “first voyage around the world,” because this feat created the complete world picture as we know it now. This workshop focuses on the Manila Galleon trade route, and tries to reveal more about the connection between China and the Americas through the Pacific route since the end of Ming Dynasty from the perspective of economics, transportation, commodities and culture.

Prof. Han Qi from the Latin American Studies Center at Nankai University gave a presentation titled “Establishment of the Monopoly System of the Manila Galleon Trade: Based on the Study of the *Philippine Islands*.” The innovation of this research lies in the exploration of how the trading system was formed based on *Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*, a 55-volume series of Philippine historical documents translated by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, a director of the National Library of the Philippines, from 1910 to 1916.

Han Qi pointed out that current studies of the Manila Galleon trade route have two types of misunderstandings.

The first misunderstanding holds that the Manila Galleon trade route involved direct trades between China and Latin American regions. In fact, with the Philippines as their transit station, the Chinese goods was indirectly shipped to Latin

America. The second misunderstanding is that the Manila Galleon trading routes involved free trade. In fact, the trade was free only for a short period before transitioning into a monopoly controlled by Spain.

The Philippine Islands is a large-scale translation and editing project undertaken by the US after the Spanish-American War in 1898 for the purpose of implementing US colonial policy in the Philippines. The 55-volume project was led by the American historians Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, and was translated into English from Spanish manuscripts and books. Gradually published between 1903 and 1909, its preamble was written by Edward Gaylord Bourne, who is one of the founders of the field of Latin American history in the US. Its contents are mainly records and descriptions of the geographic features and human history of the Philippine Islands by early navigators, Catholic missionaries, and colonial officials. The contents also include royal decrees and laws describing the political, economic, commercial and religious conditions of the Philippine Islands, and the relationship between the Philippine Islands and China, Japan, India, and Europe from the late 15th to the 19th centuries.

Therefore, it is an important source of material for studying not only the history of the Philippines and the history of Spanish colonialism, but also the history of the “Maritime Silk Road” between China and Latin America.

According to Han Qi, the establishment of the trade monopoly system came after the route was first discovered and exploited, and an initial period of free trade. The Spanish colonial leader Miguel López de Legazpi occupied the island of

Cebu in 1565. The priest-navigator Andrés de Urdaneta discovered a new route from the west to the east via the North Pacific. At that time, the ship San Pablo took cinnamon from the island of Cebu back to Mexico, not commodities from China. In 1567, the Chinese government of the Ming Dynasty officially lifted a sea embargo, so that Chinese merchants along the southeast coast gained greater freedom of overseas trade. As a result, their ships rushed to the Philippines. In 1571, the Spanish occupied Manila and established their rule of the Philippines. On July 1, 1573, eight years after the opening of the Pacific route, two galleons full of Chinese cargo left Manila on their maiden voyages for the Americas. The cargo included 712 rolls of Chinese silk and 22,300 exquisite porcelain pieces.

The voyage lasted 5 months and arrived in Acapulco, Mexico, in November of the same year. This marks the beginning of the famous Manila Galleon trade route. According to the *Philippine Islands*, for 30 years after the islands were conquered, trade on the islands was not restricted and the islands enjoyed economic prosperity. The Manila Galleon trade voyages started from Yuegang port of Zhangzhou city in China and arrived in Manila in the Philippines, and then went to Acapulco in Mexico. Cargo was then transferred to the port of Veracruz, and finally to Spain.

There were five reasons for the establishment of the trade monopoly system on Manila Galleon trade route: First, Spain had established a mercantilist trade monopoly system in the American colonies, including the establishment of a trade agency by the Spanish king. The colony could only trade with the royal trade agency. Trade between the various regions of the

colony was severely restricted.

Second, the Manila Galleon trade routes impacted the royal trade in manufactured goods in the American colonies. The silk and porcelain shipped to the colonies stole the market for Spanish goods due to their lower price.

Third, the Manila Galleon trade route led to reduced royal tariffs, which was documented in customs records from Seville and Veracruz.

Fourth, the Manila Galleon trade route made silver flow from the Americas to Asian countries, mainly China.

Fifth, the prosperity of business in the Philippines due to trade led to a lack of efforts in developing labor in agriculture, animal husbandry, handicrafts, and especially construction business. This was harming the development of the Philippine colonies.

In view of the above reasons, the Spanish royal family successively promulgated a series of decrees and laws starting in 1586 to establish a monopoly system for the Manila Galleon trade route, including “Regulations on Trade with China” in 1586, the “Royal Act on Trade” in 1589, “The Royal Decree Regulating Trade in the Philippine Islands” in 1590, the “Sailing and Trade Act” (Article 5) in 1591, the “Sailing and Trade Act” (Article 1, 6, 15, 34, 44, 68 and 71) in 1593, the “Sailing and Trade Act” (Article 71) in 1595, and “King Felipe III’s Decree on Business in New Spain” in 1604. Generally speaking, this trade monopoly system strictly restricted the number of voyages, scale of the fleet, amount of commodities, trade tariffs, circulation area of goods in the Americas, and personnel exchanges, which was reflected by the permit system, waybills,

and wholesale transactions. The permit system mainly stipulated the number of ships, tonnage, the value of cargo, and the identity of trade participants. The waybill system referred to the allocation of cargo space through cargo tickets. The cargo tickets represented the right to transport goods. Only those who obtained the cargo tickets were eligible to load cargo on the trade ships. The wholesale transactions system means that two to three persons were appointed by the Philippine governor, the naval commander in chief, and the Manila City Council each year to evaluate the price of the goods. Goods from the Chinese merchants were wholesaled and then distributed to the residents of the island based on the principle of making profit.

The 1593 Act was a comprehensive trade restriction, but was not strictly enforced before 1604. After the enactment of the 1604 Act, trade restrictions were gradually implemented. The effects of these trade restrictions were as follows. First, the system limited the annual trade volume of the Philippine Islands and the Americas to a fixed figure, curbing economic development. Second, it hindered the entrepreneurial spirit of the Spanish, slowing down their population growth and giving rise to local corruption.

Fabio Yu-chung Lee gave a presentation titled “Study on the Amount and Flow of American Silver from Manila to Asian Ports: Based on the Historical Documents of Commodity Tax of Manila’s Customs from 1620 to 1681.”

The silver of the Americas was the most important issue in Pacific trade and related to economic development after the middle of the Ming Dynasty. The earliest researcher Earl Jefferson Hamilton has written about American silver and the

price revolution in Spain. French academic Pierre Chaunu, author of *Reorient: the Global Economy in the Asian Age*, Andre Gunder Frank, and scholars including Liang Fangzhong, Quan Hansheng, Qian Jiang, He Fangchuan, and Wan Ming, also conducted related research. It can be seen that American silver in Pacific trade has always been a topic of great concern to the academic community. Many scholars have conducted continuous research on it, but so far it is still in the stage of exploration.

The historical documents studied by Lee included *Philippine Islands* and the first-hand “contaduría” or bookkeeping records from the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla used by French historian Pierre Chaunu.

However, since some ships carrying the files sank, the files may not be complete. The files found this time are from between 1620 and 1680. The key point is that the files cover the demise of the Ming Dynasty in 1644. And because of the files’ continuity, they can avoid some ambiguities like Chaunu’s “five-year average.”

There are currently several research methods in the academic world to evaluate the flow of American silver. First, the proportion method of production units. Second, predictions of the amount of silver they carried based on the annual average number of Chinese ships returning from Manila and the ships’ carrying capacity. Third, the estimated figures by Manila officials each year. Fourth, the number of pesos (converted to metric tons) that can be shipped from Mexico to the Philippines by law, multiplied by the proportion of ships returning from Manila to China. This study uses the statistical method of

almojarifazgo, that is, figuring out the “price floor” through the total tax on goods registered at customs. The tax rate was 3% or 6%, and necessities such as flour were not taxed. Note that this is different from the price ceiling.

As for the basic quantity of American silver flowing to Asia through the Pacific route, there are three categories. The first category is legally circulated. It is clearly recorded in the *Recopilación De Las Leyes De Las Indias* that only two ships were allowed to each carry 250,000 pesos, which was about 12.8 tons of silver in total.

The second category is silver that was smuggled by ships, which is difficult to calculate. It requires more information, and currently not enough relevant research has been done. Generally speaking, the opportunity to send ships on a large scale to Manila to privately do business was small. This is because the voyage took one to two months and a large amount of materials were needed for the voyage, which would be easily discovered by others. In summary, the amount of smuggled silver on ships still needs further research.

The third category is silver that an individual can carry, such as hair clasps and crosses.

The above three categories comprised all of the American silver that was transported to Asia through Pacific trade.

However, it must be noted that not all silver that reached the Philippines was transported into China. The Philippines also entered the currency era after the large silver inflows, so the Spanish also consumed silver in the Philippines.

In addition, a significant amount of silver was used for secular or religious items or decorations, and some was

transferred to other parts of Asia through intermediary trade.

Lee said that the materials he used were the historical records of cargo taxes from Philippine customs from 1620 to 1680 (1,077 ships) recorded by Judge Diego Antonio de Viga of the Manila High Court (Audiencia) in 1681. The records say where the ships came from, the captains, whether there were any officials inspecting, and the amount of tax paid. The volume of the goods can be calculated through the tax amount and the tax rate, that is, the number of pesos that can be taken away by the ships, and this is used as the “price floor.”

Statistics show that, in terms of the number of ships, the year 1644 was a very important watershed. Before the fall of the Ming Dynasty, trade was still in a very prosperous period. On the whole, the average number of ships reached 30, with the year 1642 the peak. After the fall of the Ming Dynasty and before the Zheng Chenggong regime surrendered, although the number of ships in some years seemed to be large, the amount of tax paid was low, which means that although the number of ships increased, the value of cargo did not increase.

Did all the silver flow from Manila to China? Historical materials suggest that over 87 percent was shipped to Greater China including the Chinese mainland and Macao. (The proportion of silver shipped to Macao reached more than 20 percent in 1641.) Based on these statistics, most of the silver that reached Manila finally flowed to China. Notably, ships sailing toward other places, for example, Goa of India, did not leave with silver. According to missionary Adriano de las Cortes’ observations of Guangzhong around the year 1625, Captain Benito Barbosa went to Goa, but before arriving in Goa, he

actually went to Macao to buy Chinese commodities first. This represents another source of silver that must have flowed to China.

In summary, current studies believed that among the American silver that arrived in Manila, most circulated in intermediary trades flowing to China. Seen from the customs duties of Manila, nearly 90 percent of the duties came from the Greater China region. But what proportion of the American silver shipped to Manila ended up in China is a problem that still needs further historical materials to resolve. In addition, American silver carried from Manila by ships coming from Portuguese colonies in South Asia and Southeast Asia such as Goa and Malacca may have flowed into China via Macao.

In addition, if the problem of a lack of silver in the late Ming Dynasty was gradually resolved in the early Qing Dynasty, that is, after 1680, the main source might not be American silver, or at least not American silver coming from Manila. The source might have been Japanese silver, or the American silver shipped from Europe, because after 1640, the value of Manila's intermediary trading declined sharply. Especially after the Qing Dynasty incorporated Taiwan into its territory in 1684, and established Canton Customs in 1685 to allow foreign ships to come directly to China for trade, Manila lost its advantages.

Archaeologist Roberto Junco of Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) gave a presentation entitled "Manila Galleon Archaeology and Ship Construction."

The Manila Galleon trade began in 1565 and ended in 1815, linking different countries, regions and cultures for 250 years. The voyage was mainly between New Spain and the

Philippines, but extensions also included Peru in South America, Panama in Central America, and Asia. Before the Europeans arrived, Southeast Asia already had a relatively large business network, so the Europeans actually integrated themselves into this centuries-old trade system. Such integration had already begun when Cortes arrived in Mexico. As we all know, this Spanish conqueror occupied Mexico City in 1521 and officially started the multicultural symbiosis of today's Mexico. In fact, Cortes immediately started executing a plan to build ships and explore the Pacific coasts, because the existence of the American continent was a surprise discovered as Europeans were pursuing a trade route to Asia. So we saw that in 1525, 1527 and 1532, there were expedition teams sailing toward the west from New Spain. These voyages gradually led to Miguel López de Legazpi's occupation of the Philippines and Andrés de Urdaneta's discovery of the returning route.

The voyage between Manila and Acapulco was 16,000 kilometers, and the sailing time was more than six months, which was almost the longest distance that a ship could bear at the time. The motivation behind trading under such conditions was undoubtedly economic. The Asian markets were not very interested in Spanish or Mexican handicrafts, but were enthusiastic about silver from Mexico. American markets were fans of high-quality Asian products, such as porcelain, India's cotton cloth and China's silk, and were also interested in Asia's spices, ivory, furniture and copper items.

Junco said that the field of Manila Galleon archaeology started in 1999. Many Chinese ceramic fragments were found in archaeological ruins in Baja California, Mexico, which could be

traced back to the 16th century. The fragments provided archaeologists with real objects from smugglers, and the quantity greatly exceeded expectations. The objects recovered included fine and rough ceramics, Philippine beeswax, coins, copper items and even an image of Acalanatha and a Chinese bronze mirror. It can be imagined that in the early days of the Manila Galleon trade, businessmen were still exploring and at the same time shaping the needs of New Spain's markets.

Ship parts were also found along with the porcelain pieces. Both documents and archaeological materials about the ships are limited. At present, some galleons have been excavated in Mariana, the Philippines, and Central America. There are no complete examples, but since the discovery of lead plates, a kind of material which was spread all over the ship to help preserve the wood for longer periods of time, in a shipwreck site around the 1570s and 1580s, isotopic analysis revealed that some lead was produced in China, some in Peru, and some in Mexico. Therefore, from a very early age, these areas had been working closely together. The same is true for nails used in the ships.

Both lead plates and nails conform to the descriptions from historical documents. Our understanding of the structure of Manila Galleon ships is mainly derived from a document called *Instrucción náutica, para el buen uso y regimiento de las naos, sutaça, y sugobierno conforme a la altura de México* by the famous navigator and shipbuilder García de Palacio, which was published in Mexico in 1587. It was the first time in the world that the personal experience of a shipbuilder was printed into a book. It provided valuable design drawings of ships and described the various sizes in detail, giving us the specifications

for the structure of ships engaged in Pacific trade during this period.

It is currently known from the historical data that the earliest ships along the Pacific coast ordered to be built were by Hernando Cortes in Mexico in 1535. There were only two or three of them. They were small in size, only about 15 meters in length. After that, ships' sizes expanded rapidly with increasing trade demands, and their tonnage constantly increased. For example, the Saint Luke and the San Juan's load capacity were about 40 tons and 80 tons respectively in 1564, and the Saint Jerome and the Holy Spirit were 500 tons and 400 tons respectively in 1566. At the end of the 16th century, ships' load capacity has reached 1,000 tons, which was an extremely sharp increase. This is directly related to the Philippine's trade law, which did not allow a large number of small boats to travel back and forth. As a result, people built less but larger ships.

At the very beginning, the ships were only made in Mexico and were round in shape. By the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, they were more in line with European standards and became longer, larger and more slender. In the 1570s, Central America was able to provide good timber and people prepared to cross the ocean from there, so ships were built there.

The shipbuilding industry also emerged in the Philippines at the same time. Besides timber, iron imported from China was available, adding to the favorable conditions to develop shipbuilding, and making the cost there lower than in Central America and Mexico. At the end of the 16th century, all Manila Galleons were made in the Philippines.

Roberto Junco said that the galleons were built in Mexico at first. The shipbuilding followed different traditions and was influenced by styles from Spain, Portugal, and Venice. Then shipbuilding was transferred to Central America in the middle of the 16th century, and relocated to the Philippines at the end of the 16th century. Some ships were also made in Cambodia. Junco said that he hopes to do more exploration and excavation both on land and under the sea to get more details about the Manila Galleons.

Liu Miao, associate professor of Xiamen University's Department of History, gave a presentation titled "Viewing the Manila Galleon Trade in the 16th-19th Century from Porcelains in Sunk Ships."

The historical background of the Manila Galleon trade is the beginning of the Age of Discovery in the East and West at the beginning of the 16th century. When it came to the middle of the Ming Dynasty, the ban on maritime trade was gradually relaxed and private maritime trade emerged. A large number of private businessmen from China's Southeastern coastal areas flooded to Southeast Asia for trade. As for the West, Portugal and Spain successively reached the East Asian waters. Portugal arrived the earliest, and carried out smuggling with private businessmen from China's Southeastern coastal areas for as long as half a century. Portugal did not start to do long-distance and large-scale transcontinental trade until 1557, when it occupied Macao and took it as a trade base. Then Spain occupied the Americas and crossed the Pacific Ocean to reach the East Asian waters.

The Manila Galleon trade route basically ran along the

North Pacific Ocean between the equator and 30 degrees north latitude. The westward route was in the northeast trade wind belt with a slightly higher latitude than the equator, while the eastward route was mainly driven by the westerly wind belt located near 30 degrees north latitude. The route is considered to be the most dangerous voyage in history because it required crossing the wide Pacific Ocean. About 90 percent of shipwrecks occurred in the westward route, around the Philippines, Japan, and the western part of the Mariana Trench.

Liu Miao sorted out the data of several representative shipwrecks and related historic ruins in chronological order.

The blue-and-white porcelain pieces of the middle Ming Dynasty (1550-1570) unearthed from the Mexico City are very similar to the utensils found in the Portuguese shipwreck near Mozambique in the mid-16th century. Since no early data has been found in local archeological discoveries in Spain, it is thought trade across the Pacific might have existed before the establishment of the Manila base.

A sunken ship was found on the west coast of Baja California, Mexico. According to Edward Von der Porten's latest point of view, it is the *San Juanillo* of 1578. Many Chinese ceramics were found in it, mainly Jingdezhen fine porcelain, including blue-and-white porcelain, red and green porcelain. A small amount of Zhangzhou kiln porcelain was also found there, and the vessel shape and ornamentation reveal a very close temporal connection to the sunken ships *Nan'ao I* in Guangdong, the *Royal Captain Ansha II* of the Ming Dynasty found in the waters of the Philippines, the *North Reef 3* found in the Xisha area, *Shiyu III* and *Huaguang Jiao IV*.

Artifacts with a consistent style have also been found in the town of Spanish Santa Elena on Parris Island, which is located in South Carolina, in the southeastern US. The town was occupied by Spain from 1566 to 1567 and abandoned in 1587. As a result, the era of the unearthed porcelain is very clear. It is from the late Jiajing period to the early Wanli period.

In addition, the artifacts unearthed in Drake Bay can be divided into early and late stages. One kind of artifact is similar to the *San Juanillo* shipwreck mentioned above, including gifts exchanged for living materials from locals in 1579 by Captain Francis Drake, a British pirate and great navigator who took a break there when traveling around the world in the *Golden Hind*, and some artifacts on the Spanish galleon *San Agustin*, which was wrecked in a storm in 1595. The other kind of artifacts are decorative Jingdezhen *kraak* porcelain (a term probably coined by the Dutch in the 17th century when referring to a blue-and-white porcelain made from about 1570 to the 1640's) and Zhangzhou kiln large plates and bowls, which are similar to the relics found in the Spanish battleship *San Diego* that sank in 1600 in the mouth of Manila Bay, southwest of Luzon Island.

From 1991 to 1994, the *San Diego* was excavated. Over 5,600 pieces of pottery were found, including more than 500 pieces of blue-and-white porcelain from the Wanli period of the Ming Dynasty. This included bowls, dishes, bottles, cans, plates, and boxes. Among them were both Jingdezhen kiln *kraak* porcelain and Zhangzhou kiln products from the coastal area in Fujian.

In 1985, the *Nuestra Señora de la Vida* was excavated in Philippine waters. It was said to be sunk in 1620. It carried a

large amount of decorative Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou kiln porcelain. The porcelain was produced during the 1590s and the 1620s, similar to the porcelain found on many other Portuguese and Dutch galleons, including the *Wanli*, the *Mauritius*, the *White Lion* and the *Banda*. Most of the porcelain on the *Nuestra Señora de la Vidais* was plates, dishes, bowls, pots with folded rims and bottles. Their main decorative motif was mostly deer, bugs and grasses and miscellaneous treasures.

The *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* found near Saipan sank in 1638. According to documentary records, it was mainly loaded with silk and spices. About 10 kilograms of Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain pieces (*kraak* porcelain and some artifacts in the transitional style) and some gold jewelry inlaid with gems, crystals and diamonds were found in the sunken galleon.

In general, the shipwrecks mentioned above should be from between the 1630s to the 1650s. The porcelain excavated is mainly blue-and-white, but with two decorative styles. One is the decorative *kraak* porcelain, which had been very popular earlier and was still popular to a large degree.

However, there was also a large number of decorative porcelain styles of literati painting at the same time. This is called “Transitional Period” style, which thrived increasingly in its future development. Also, dishes that adapted to the daily dietary habits of Europeans emerged at that time.

No Spanish shipwreck that clearly belongs to the 1660s to 1680s has been found, but the ancient shipwreck found off the coast of Donggu village, Dongshan county, Fujian Province is thought to be from the late 1670s or early 1680s.. A large

amount of pottery from South China's kilns was excavated, and also some pieces of Jingdezhen porcelain and several examples of Japanese porcelain. Similar artifact combinations have been found in Southeast Asia and as far as Spain's American colonies, representing the production and use of porcelain in South China during that historical period.

The "Beeswax wreck" is representative of ships from the end of the 17th century to the early 18th century. Cultural relics found in the wrecks of that era are mainly Jingdezhen blue-and-white porcelain produced during the Kangxi and Yongzheng periods and a small amount of Dehua white porcelain, similar to artifacts found in the *Wanjiao I* in the Pingtan sea area and the *Vung Tau* in Vietnamese waters. Although the porcelain has traditional Chinese decorative themes, the shapes and decorative styles are more exotic. Some patterns are obviously from the West, such as vines, crossbar knot netting, unknown flower branches, and Western palace garden views. This reflects the porcelain's manufacture for export.

Liu Miao pointed out that data about shipwrecks during the late Manila Galleon trade period (after the mid-18th century) has not yet been found. However, the situation of the historic sites in Spanish American colonies reveals that mass-produced Jingdezhen domestic porcelain was transported there. The porcelain has relatively fixed and unified patterns. There was also Dehua white porcelain, blue-and-white porcelain and painted porcelain.

According to the data from shipwreck remnants cited above, we can analyze the background of overseas trade in

different periods.

First, in the early period of Manila Galleon trading, cargo suppliers were probably Portuguese, especially Portuguese Jewish merchants, who had already established a relatively stable trading base and network in Asia.

Second, after the Manila base was founded in 1571, Spanish businessmen actively carried out trade and soon established contacts with their Chinese peers. Jingdezhen porcelain export played a leading role in their business during that period.

Third, the Manila Galleon trade was booming from the end of the 16th century to the first half of the 17th century. The decorative *kraak* porcelain produced in Jingdezhen exclusively for the European market was excavated in many shipwrecks and overseas historic sites of that period. An imitation product in a similar style, Zhangzhou kiln porcelain, also appeared in large numbers then. The two products came from different traders — Chinese merchants from Yuegang port in Zhangzhou to Manila, and Portuguese merchants from Macau to Manila.

Fourth, after the 1630s, the Dutch East India Company changed its original trading system and expelled the Portuguese from the Asian market step by step. It required both “old porcelain,” namely *kraak* porcelain, and “new porcelain” for the transitional period. During this period, the Manila Galleon trade routes were still thriving.

Fifth, in the middle of the 17th century, China’s civil war and dynasty changes ceased the manufacture and export of Jingdezhen porcelain. Arita porcelain wares in Japan developed rapidly and its products were transported overseas to many

regions in the world such as Europe and the Americas by the ruling Zheng family in Taiwan who valued the Manila Galleon trade route.

Six, when the ruling Zheng family in Taiwan withdrew from the political arena in 1684, the Qing Dynasty rulers abolished the ban on maritime trade, restored Jingdezhen's porcelain industry, and continued to ship Jingdezhen porcelain to the Americas via the Manila Galleon trade route.

Seven, in the 18th century, the galleon trade between China's coastal areas and Manila gradually declined. The blue-and-white stoneware produced in Qing Dynasty in Dehua, Anxi, and other places in southern Fujian was found in large amounts in the Spanish Royal City ruins in Manila, an archeological site in Cebu, and many Asian ports including some in Japan. However, it has not been found in archeological sites in Mexico and its surrounding areas, which leaves us to discuss its nature and markets.

In summary, Liu Miao believes that the Manila Galleon trade route was not isolated, but intertwined with different marine forces and ocean routes. It represents a long and complicated process with obvious period characteristics.

Cinta Krahe from the University of Alcalá in Spain gave a presentation titled "Chinese porcelain from the Manila galleon in Habsburg, Spain." She discussed the distribution of Chinese porcelain in New Spain (Mexico) and Spain.

In the 16th century, new discoveries widened the borders of the Spanish Empire, such as the colonization of the Philippines and the settlement of Manila in 1571 during the reign of King Philip II of Spain. Spanish interest in the trade of Chinese

manufactured goods was clear from the start, as was the great ease of access to the sources of supply. Chinese junks arrived from the coast of China, mostly from Macao, carrying porcelain and other goods such as silks or lacquered furniture. The porcelain was made for export in the kilns at Jingdezhen, and in the provincial kilns of Zhangzhou and Dehua in Guangdong and Fujian provinces. Most pieces were of the type known as *kraak* porcelain, among which there was a precious dish with the coat-of-arms of García Hurtado de Mendoza, who was 4th Marquis of Cañete and viceroy of Perú at the end of the 16th century. More exclusive than *kraak* is a style known as *kinrande*, a Japanese term meaning “gold brocade.” It is decorated with gold leaf over the enamel, and made in the second half of the 16th century. There was also polychrome *wucai* or 5-color wares and the blue-and-white porcelain of the Transitional Period, made from about 1620 to 1680, which feature open decorations and finely painted landscapes. And finally, there were other porcelains of lesser quality, the so-called Zhangzhou wares, made in kilns in the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian, and white porcelain from the Dehua kilns in Fujian Province.

Most of the merchandise stayed in Mexico or New Spain. For households there, it became an essential commodity, and was distributed widely throughout the Spanish Americas. Chinese porcelain was used as tableware, for storage purposes, and, from the 17th century, for interior decoration as well. The *risco-fountain* in la Casa de Don Isidro Fabela, in San Ángel, Mexico City, a baroque-style fountain decorated with a potpourri of porcelain of different kinds and periods, is an emblematic example of the impact and the presence of Chinese

porcelain in Mexico. In New Spain's multicultural society, Chinese porcelain was valued for many reasons: it was exotic, beautiful, light, clean, and most importantly, it could be obtained at a very competitive price. It is clear that these Chinese goods represented a highly profitable business in New Spain. Notably, the trade in Chinese porcelain was not a Crown monopoly; it was carried out by private traders who also did not disclose the exact number of pieces contained in the bundles, boxes or chests in order to evade paying taxes for them.

From Veracruz on the Caribbean coast of Mexico, Chinese porcelain was carried every year by the Spanish treasure fleet to Seville (Spain) via La Habana (Cuba), in a mixed cargo which included other Asian and American products. During the 16th and 17th centuries the city of Seville was one of the most important economic and financial centers in Europe. Amongst all the luxury goods traded in Seville, pearls were the main import, while Chinese porcelain actually figured only as a minor foreign commodity.

Traveler Diego Cuelbis, writing at end of the 16th century, mentions more than 50 shops in Seville in the district of Triana which sold "very good loça" (pottery) at a good price, located on the Alcaicería de la Loza, a street set aside specifically for the sale of ceramics. Nowadays this area continues to sell all types of ceramics in Seville. The land on which the pottery shops stood belonged to Sevillian religious institutions and pieces of ceramic were used as payment for rent. Chinese porcelain shards and several intact wares have been found at excavations in all of these convents, and Painter Francisco de Zurbarán, who lived in the monastery of La Cartuja, repeatedly used Chinese porcelains

in his paintings.

Most of the porcelain imported from China that reached Spain was destined for the royal court in Madrid, and it must have passed through some important towns such as Córdoba and Toledo. A very early blue-and-white porcelain seat was found in Toledo's convent of the Capuchinas. In 1664, a group of nuns decided to found a convent in México City. This piece was probably sent as present from México to Toledo, although the exact date of the arrival of the porcelain plate cannot be known.

According to the Spanish emperors' post-mortem inventory record, Emperor Carlos I of Spain had very few pieces of Chinese porcelain in his inventory, but his son King Philip II (1556-1598) had the most extensive collection of Chinese porcelain in Europe in the second half of the 16th century. According to his post-mortem inventories, taken between 1598 and 1607, this amazing collection was housed in the so-called New Tower of the Alcázar in Madrid, a large square room in the south wing. The porcelain pieces listed in the inventory are the first in the Spanish royal household to be grouped as an independent section. The ceramics were further classified according to their place of manufacture, which included China. The porcelain in Philip II's collection, which included over 3,000 pieces, was probably used as tableware, which consisted of dishes, bowls, sauceboats, ewers, jars, bottles, and salt cellars.

Alcázar suffered from a fire and the porcelain was all destroyed. But we can estimate Philip II's collection according to the representative porcelain shards of the second half of the 16th century excavated during local archaeology work. Additionally, we can also make estimates based on other

well-preserved items of porcelain, including a kinrande bowl given to Austria as a gift, a blue-and-white porcelain bowl with a silver gilt mount kept in a church in Zaragoza, and 300 pieces of porcelain taken to the low countries by the emperor's daughter.

Philip III of Spain did not share the same interest in porcelain as his father, but textual sources indicate that porcelain was part of the tableware he used at mealtimes from his early life and that he also took porcelain on several different journeys. A certain amount of royal porcelain was broken, sold in public sales, or smuggled out and sold by palace servants whose wages remained unpaid. Also, pious presents of royal favor in the form of food presented on porcelain or silver dishes would be made to convents and monasteries near the royal palace in Madrid.

Philip IV (1621-1665) was a great connoisseur and assembled one of the most commendable collections of paintings and sculptures ever put together in Spain. Unfortunately a complete inventory of the king's *objets d'art* has not been preserved, although fragmentary inventories contain Chinese porcelain. By this point, Philip II's original collection of porcelain had suffered dispersal, breakages and replacements, and the overall quantity of Chinese porcelain remaining in the royal collection would have been much smaller, and mixed with European ceramics.

However there were new additions, including two porcelain Buddhist lion incense stick holders made in Dehua of Fujian Province and a pair of blue-and-white porcelain bottles decorated with a coat-of-arms. One can also find evidence of Chinese porcelain in the paintings created during the reign of

Philip IV. The painter Juan van der Hamen (1596-1631) arranged on a set of shelves a composition of artichokes, flowers, various glass vessels and a Chinese blue-and-white porcelain dish with cherries in one of his paintings. The great Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664) also depicted a Chinese bowl in his picture of the Virgin Mary as a sleeping child. It is one of the most delightful and typical of all *kraak* “*escudilla*” bowls. Antonio de Pereda depicted a Chinese blue-and-white dish in one of his paintings in 1652. Notably, these pieces were already quite old when they were depicted.

Chocolate was the first hot beverage to be introduced to the West by conquistador Hernán Cortés from the New World back to Spain in 1528. By the 1620s, the custom of drinking chocolate spread across Europe as Philip IV’s sister, Anne of Austria, introduced chocolate drinking to the French court. Porcelain bell-shaped cups *otjicaras* were used for drinking chocolate and were decorated in the new painting style of the so-called Transitional Period, which was depicted in the paintings by Juan de Zurbarán and Antonio de Pereda.

Charles II (1665-1700) was the last Habsburg king of Spain. In his inventory are several pieces of Chinese porcelain listed not only in the records of the *guardajoyas* (treasurer), but also in other palace departments, like the Bureau of Foods and Sauces. His wife was so fond of chocolate drinking that she kept 108 bell shaped-cups. Some members of the House of Habsburg in Spain not only collected large quantities of porcelain but also had separate cabinets in their palaces specially created to display pieces of porcelain. These pieces were used as garnitures for the interior decoration without care about their sources, such as

whether they were *Imari* three-colored style or *familleverte*.

With the departure of the Habsburgs and the arrival of the Bourbons, interior decoration underwent a transformation in the 18th century. Chinese porcelain, the “new white gold,” rose even higher in status and became an indispensable part of table service and luxury furnishings.

Weng Yanjun, deputy director of the Ceramic Archaeology Institute of Jingdezhen, gave a speech entitled “Investigation and Reflections on Ensenada Shipwreck Porcelain.” Starting from the case of the “Ensenada shipwreck,” he made a brief discussion on the starting time and the nature of early trade through statistical comparison.

Ensenada is the third-largest city and the only deep-water port in Baja California, Mexico, and an important port for international voyages. A 16th-century shipwreck was discovered there in 1999, and Chinese porcelain was found in an area of 11 kilometers long and 180 meters wide around the shipwreck. These porcelain shards have been sorted and stored at the Ensenada History Museum, which was reconstructed from a Spanish colonial prison.

Weng Yanjun said that 98 percent of the porcelain shards are from Jingdezhen kilns, and less than 1.6 percent are from Zhangzhou kilns. Ninety-one percent are from bowls and dishes, while the rest are from small cups. From the perspective of craftsmanship, 86 percent of shards are blue-and-white porcelain, and 13 percent *wucai* porcelain (all *wucai* porcelain are high-end products with complicated craftsmanship from Jingdezhen kilns), and a small amount of white porcelain, about 1 percent. The proportion of bowls made from *wucai* porcelain

was relatively high, reaching 86 percent.

There are five major styles of blue-and-white porcelain bowls. First, A-shaped bowls with a wide flared mouth and a deep curved belly. About 35 percent of them are decorated with orchid patterns, 21 percent with internal and external dragon patterns, 8 percent with flower and bird patterns, and 6 percent with refined phoenix patterns. Porcelain pieces with Chinese calligraphy are of very high quality but are rare, only accounting for 3 percent. They are of great significance to dynastic studies. Second, bowls with flower mouths or wide flared mouths, which accounted for 2 percent. The glaze and painting are very exquisite in the original *kraak* style, with single or double lines for separation. Third, bowls that are similar to cups but larger, which account for 4 percent and are with exquisite paintings on both inside and outside. And the fourth and fifth are upright-mouthed bowls mainly with bird patterns and larger bowls with open mouths.

The blue-and-white porcelain plates have a high degree of concentration. The plates with a shallow folded rim and the pattern of a red phoenix in morning sun account for the largest proportion (85 percent). Sometimes an exquisite painting style can be found on rough products. It is interesting that some shards have been polished. For example, historical records show that more than 70 processed porcelain shards were found in Indian camps. The proportion of Zhangzhou kiln products is not high. Judged by the patterns, they are more like Jingdezhen kiln products, but the profile shows that the porcelain quality is looser. Also, the proportion of more delicately crafted dishes (below 10 centimeters) is not high.

The blue-and-white cups are very similar to each other. There are only slight differences in the diameters of the mouth and the bottom. Most of them (78 percent) are decorated with the pattern of birds standing on a branch.

There are also a small number of blue-and-white porcelain pots from both Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou kilns, with more from the latter.

Cups and bowls make up the majority of *wucai* porcelain pieces. There are bowls with *wucai* patterns outside and blue-and-white patterns inside, and also *wucai* patterns both inside and outside. There are plates with small folded rims and flat folded rims. The number of cups is small, and they are severely eroded.

The proportion of white glaze is small with a few different types. There are cups similar to the blue-and-white ones mentioned above, and a small number of pots with no decoration but refined craftsmanship.

Viewed from the time when the porcelain pieces were produced, the earliest inscriptions in this batch of goods are the Jiajing period of the Ming Dynasty, as well as Xuande period and Zhengde period, but no Wanli period. Compared with the shipwreck of *Nan'ao 1*, it is found that 70 percent of the porcelain pieces on *Nan'ao 1* were from Zhangzhou kilns and 30 percent from Jingdezhen kilns. The patterns of red phoenix in morning sun on the porcelain pieces found in the two sunken ships were very similar, and so are the white glaze cups and blue-and-white cups. The cups are all with patterns signifying high posts with matching salary and phoenix patterns.

The brown and black glazed earthenware pots also have similar

handiwork. Not long ago, the thermoluminescence evaluation of the porcelain shards found in *Nan'ao* I showed that their lower age limit is around the Longqing period. As a result, it can be roughly inferred that the porcelain pieces found in the Ensenada shipwreck should be made between the 1560s and 70s.

Weng Yanjun put forward some thoughts on the age of the Ensenada shipwreck. Can archeological research get beyond the absolute time division in historical data and make its own speculation? Are all ships dispatched officially by the government? Is there a possibility of trade with private vessels? Are the records of all official vessels complete? Taking into consideration all the foregoing research, he believes that the Ensenada shipwreck belongs to the early trading period, and its products were for private trade. The wreck's porcelain pieces were non-customized with relatively refined craftsmanship.

Looking at these goods from a trader's point of view, merchants transported the goods to the Philippines for storage. After a few trips to the Philippines, they brought the accumulated goods to Latin American countries.

Sometimes some large warehouses and wholesale sites not only collected Chinese porcelain, but also goods from other Asian countries. As a result, the Philippines provided an excellent trade transit port for different merchants from all over the world to choose different goods. An interesting question is -- who led the trades? Did Chinese merchants, Spanish, Filipinos, Mexicans, Japanese, or other Southeast Asians choose the types and composition of the goods? The answers to this question needs to be further explored.

Wu Jiewei, deputy director of the School of Foreign

Languages at Peking University, gave a presentation themed “Philippine Religious and Cultural Exchanges in the Galleon Trade.” He pointed out that Catholicism spread to the Philippines through the Galleon Trade route and experienced localization. Eventually, the maritime beliefs of “Birhenng Antipolo” (Goddess Antipolo) and “Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazareno de Quiapo” were formed.

Wu Jiewei first analyzed the process of how the “Antipolo” belief was formed. As an island nation, the Philippines’ belief system mainly has two aspects. One is related to ships. Ships physically connect different islands, and spiritually serve as a carrier of communication to connect the present and afterlife, and the real world and the spiritual world. The other is a belief in praying for maritime navigation safety. Filipinos have beliefs that can connect people together across the sea.

From the perspective of social structure, the traditional belief form in the Philippines is mainly animism. After the Spanish entered the Philippines, the original local belief form was derided as paganism and devil worship. The Spanish belief system was brought to the Philippines and underwent localization. Such a process is common in the spreading of many religions. For example, although the Chinese belief in Avalokitesvara or the Goddess of Mercy is derived from Buddhism, it is much more popular in China than in India and Southeast Asia.

The formation of the Antipolo belief was related to the Galleon Trade route and is actually an exotic product brought into the Philippines by Spanish colonists. The main function of the goddess Antipolo is to ensure safe voyages at sea by blessing

the vast majority of the Spanish and a small number of Filipinos on board. However, those who did not sail at sea were still willing to support the belief, because they traded in goods through the Galleon Trade route and hoped that the goods could reach their destination Acapulco smoothly.

As a result, the belief was shared by both parties, although it was not passed back to Spain. The Antipolo belief has undergone a unique process of manifestation. Its original form is the statue of the Virgin Mary located in Antipolo. It is worth noticing that the core teachings of Catholicism are original sin and atonement, but in the Antipolo (Birhenng Antipolo) belief, believers hope that faith could bring concrete benefits. It had no connection with the spiritual world, but is closely linked with the real life. From the perspective of religious studies, the Antipolo belief underwent a process of generalization and acculturation. It was taken overseas by Filipinos, and also influenced by Mexican culture.

In terms of the social function of the faith in Birhenng Antipolo, it alleviated people's concerns about maritime risks along the Galleon Trade route through rituals and witchcraft. During the Galleon Trade voyage, some difficulties were unpredictable and insurmountable. Gambling and drinking were strictly prohibited. Before sailing, everyone on the sailing ship would pray at the Antipolo Church to get psychological consolation through their belief in Birhenng Antipolo. Such consolation could not be achieved by any scientific knowledge at the time. Faith in Birhenng Antipolo satisfied the need for people to be blessed, avoid evil and seek psychological comfort. In addition, it met the need for people to create a cultural

environment in which they could identify with each other. Wu Jiewei compared the belief of Birhenng Antipolo with Mazu. The latter also blessed the safety of maritime navigation. Both forms of belief described the “presence of saints” through folklore. The worship objects were both women. However, there were huge differences between them in terms of sources and functions.

Regarding the Black Nazarene in the Philippines, Wu Jiewei said that a statue of Jesus carved in dark wood is enshrined at the Quiapo Church in Plaza Miranda in the Philippines. January 9 each year marks the Black Nazarene, and Filipinos will carry the Black Nazarene out of the church in a parade. In addition, there is also Santo Nino (Baby Jesus) in Cebu. Theoretically, they were all colored but turned to black after being burned, and they are considered to have the “presence of saints.” Corresponding to Birhenng Antipolo’s blessing of maritime safety, the Black Nazarene blesses security on land. Faith in the Black Nazarene also reflects the integration of Christianity with local culture. Wu Jiewei emphasized that the religious exchanges in the Philippines were not exchanges with Spain, but mainly cultural exchanges with Spain’s American colonies.

Yu Shiyang, lecturer of the Spanish and Portuguese Department at the School of Foreign Languages at PKU, gave a presentation entitled “1583: A Failed Exploration — Peru’s Entry into China.” She started by discussing a book about Juan Gonsales de Mendoza’s journey from Lima, Peru to Manila and China. Mendoza was a Spanish businessman. He set off from Peru in February 1583, arrived in the Philippines in April, set off

again for New Spain in June, and arrived near Namoa Island. He then went to Chaozhou, Guangzhou and Zhaoqing, and reached Macao at the end of August. He left Macao in May 1584. Mendoza recorded the two-month itinerary with 50 pages and more than 10,000 words but failed to mention anything about his more than eight months' hold-up during the journey.

After looking through historical materials in Spanish of the same period, Mendoza and his team were suppressed by officials sent from the Philippines in May 1584. Several of them were executed in this incident. Although Mendoza himself was spared, he tried hard to escape by Portuguese ship to India. But he was expelled shortly after, returned to Spain around 1587, and then returned to Peru, Chile and other places hoping to take part in colonial exploration and silver exploration.

In general, the direct reason for the detention of Mendoza was that the crew was incited to mutiny shortly after departure, seizing the bounty on the ship, especially its gold. Further analyzed, it can be seen that he gained the trust of the Portuguese in Macao in a very short time using methods far more effective than the Spanish, and even seemed to be expected to obtain the right to trade. He had already purchased goods and shipped to Peru, stepping on the toes of the Spanish in the Philippines.

There are two questions worth mentioning. First, was Spain going to invade China or do business with China? After the Spanish gained a foothold in the Philippines in the 1560s and 1570s, they tried hard to replicate the successful experience of invading the Americas. Many people voiced support for waging battle on China. Proposals to directly conquer China by military

power, or conquer China by doing business with China, or by preaching, could be seen in dozens of sources over more than two decades. But there were also some opposition voices, thinking that this path would destroy the achievements of the Society of Jesus in China, and that the actual operation across two oceans was not realistic. Seville businessmen had just started to profit from the Galleon trade, and did not want their interests to be harmed. In addition, Philip II was repeatedly facing bankruptcy due to constant war making. After the Spanish Armada sank in 1588, he had no interest in the plan to attack China. In general, at the beginning of the Galleon trade, Spain's strategies toward China were controversial. Spain was not clear on whether to invade China or do business with China. But in any case, the Philippine ruling group did not want Mendoza to disturb the situation.

The second question is, if Spain was to do business with China, would it be run through the Philippines, Mexico or Peru? William Schurz, the founder of Manila Galleon research, mentioned the Mexico-Peru and Manila Galleon trade in his paper in 1918. Since 2010, a professor in Mexico has been mentioning the "forgotten South China Sea," "China's cargo transferred to Peru" and the triangular trade and smuggling issues of the Philippines, Mexico and Peru. At that time, Peru's local manufacturing industry was relatively backward but had a large amount of silver, therefore, market and purchase power were available. Most of the cargo shipped to Acapulco was sold to Peru.

In 1521, the Magellan fleet started from the north of Chile to the east and reached the Philippine Islands across the Pacific

Ocean. In 1568, another fleet from Peru arrived in the Solomon Islands and Marquesas Islands and returned, which was almost at the same time as the exploration of the North Pacific. The opening paragraph of Mendoza's book indicated the year and month of arrival in the Philippines, and specifically recounted the meteorological and hydrological conditions of the 74 days of the voyage, which can be regarded as a kind of confirmation.

In summary, Mendoza was stranded in China from 1583 to 1584. This personal failure was indeed due to his illegal appropriation of others' property. But it also reflects Spain's unclear understanding of China, uncertain strategies toward China, and the existence of many conflicts of interest within the colonies at that time.

In the Q&A session, attendees expressed their opinions based on the content above.

Considering that Mexican pesos were still used in some areas in the south of China during the Yuan Shikai era, Lee answered a question about whether silver coins were directly circulated or re-molded after entering China. He said the silver coins were mainly re-melted and reconstituted into the traditional form of silver coins after entering China. But some places appointed people to go to Guangzhou to collect Mexican silver coins. For example, there are cases in the coastal areas where silver coins were set aside and saved. Since the silver coins of Spain or Mexico and some other countries were safer than silver ingots in silver content, residents of coastal areas would keep some silver coins. But they would not treat them as currency, and still used silver ingots when interacting with other Chinese.

Han Qi paid much attention to the quantity of silver produced in Mexico and Peru and left in Latin America, and its impact on Latin America. According to Han Qi's research, about 20 percent of silver remained in the Americas, which helped promote the economy of the Americas. From 1565 to 1815, the Galleon trade route carried cargo to the Americas, but the total amount of silver carried from the Americas to Asia has not yet been uniformly agreed upon. He opined that there is another way to estimate the total amount of silver: counting the number of ships from the beginning to the end, and then subtracting the number of sunken ships to calculate the total value of the cargo. However, the problem now is that although there is a limit on a ship's capacity, the actual cargo volume may exceed the standard load, which makes it difficult to estimate the amount of silver.

Zhang Baoyu pointed out that the current study of China-Latin America economic and trade exchanges mainly involves Spain's colonies in the Americas. Brazil is rarely mentioned because it is not on a fixed route. However, Brazil and China also had close ties through Macao in history, especially after the Portuguese royal family moved to Brazil. There were Portuguese merchant ships that carried Chinese goods directly to Brazil, so local customs, architecture and other aspects of culture in Brazil have been influenced by China. For example, Chinese tea farmers in the early 19th century taught Brazilians to grow tea. Documents in this respect are abundant, and can be further studied.

Song Jianzhong opined that from the perspective of geographical discovery, the Manila Galleon route and the Pacific

route belong to the category of geographic globalization and economic globalization. This great subject spans a 250-year history, but the current research is far from sufficient, with much left to explore. He delivered his hopes that Chinese researchers can contact Spain, Portugal, Mexico, the Philippines and other countries through the academic platform of Peking University in the future to jointly launch an academic research alliance on the Manila Galleon route and the Pacific route to conduct research from different perspectives. Research from the perspective of underwater archaeology will encounter the problem of a lack of interdisciplinary knowledge. Scholars from different countries can communicate from a multidisciplinary perspective, which can better promote the research and development of the Manila Galleon project.

Yu Shiyang wrapped up the workshop. She first thanked the scholars for participating, saying that the participating scholars shared many years of knowledge, experience and research methods from economic, historical, archeological, and cultural perspectives. The Manila Galleon trade route project has a lot of space to explore. She looks forward to gaining more academic results through interdisciplinary and integrated research in the future and is willing to promote the implementation and cooperation of related projects.