


◎「韩」吴一焕 著

# 海路·移民·遗民社会

——以明清之际中朝交往为中心

 天津古籍出版社

# 海路·移民·遺民社會

——以明清之際中國立國為中心

王德信 著



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**Study of Sino – Korean Sea Association and Immigrants  
during the Late Ming Dynasty and the Early Qing Dynasty**

## 内 容 提 要

本书是对明末清初辽东半岛、朝鲜半岛、山东半岛间的中韩(朝)海上交往和在朝鲜形成的明遗民的社会活动(以宗族活动为主)的研究。

不论是从历史文化角度还是从现实社会的角度看,中韩之间都有着密切的关系。在历史上中韩两国的交往海、陆路都有,但以陆路为主。到明清之际,由于后金的兴起,明、朝鲜与后金(清)三方的关系、地位都发生很大变化,政局的巨变不仅使两国间交往的路线发生了改变,也导致原来单纯的贡道转变成移民通道。辽东的战乱促使大批的汉人利用贡道移居朝鲜,他们在朝鲜定居以后,形成了一个移民社会。朝鲜对中国移民采取了积极的宽容态度,中国移民也对朝鲜的思想文化的发展作出了相当大的贡献。

在这种认识下,本书以朝鲜发生壬辰倭乱到凤林大君回国这段时间的历史为主,对16世纪末、17世纪上半叶辽东政局的演变、明鲜之间的交通及其变化、明移民的迁居朝鲜和朝鲜政府对其政策以及明遗民及其后裔的社会宗族活

动作了具体研究,并延伸到此前的历史背景及其后的影响。

本书首先考察明末清初辽东政局与海路的重启。在古代社会两国间交往是以朝贡关系为基础展开的。在明代,由于两国间交往几乎全是以朝贡的形式进行,而朝贡路线永乐以后又规定为陆路,故在明中前期的很长一段时间内海路的交往基本中止了。不过到了明末,由于后金在辽东的兴起,不仅导致了海路的重启,也使明、朝鲜和后金三者间关系出现了错综复杂的变化。

其次探讨了明末清初辽东流民与遗民的东渡朝鲜。辽东的战乱与海上交往的开展,导致明末清初出现新一轮的赴朝移民高潮。在明末清初移往朝鲜的移民大致可分为四类:一是1592年壬辰倭乱时,为抗倭而进驻朝鲜的大规模明军中残留的一部分将士及其后裔,或称留民;二是后金渐盛,1620年到1629年间毛文龙在辽东沿海和朝鲜的皮岛开展海上活动,大量辽民从海上涌到皮岛并转徙朝鲜所形成的辽东流民;三是被清军虏到沈阳后,作为人质的朝鲜世子及其官员回国时,一起带来的明朝人;四是明朝灭亡后,为反抗满洲族统治而移居朝鲜的明遗民等。第一、三、四类型的移民,他们和他们的父祖多是有身份地位之人,反满信念较强,本书将他们也通称为遗民。这样,明移民主要由流民和遗民两大类构成。本书分别对他们的类型与来源、迁移的原因、路线和特点作了论述。

复次考察了明末清初在朝鲜的明移民、遗民宗族社会与朝鲜政府的遗民政策。分别对朝鲜政府对明遗民的优容

政策的背景、内容以及效果,遗民的尊祖与祭祖活动,遗民家族的族谱与训教和他们纪念明朝的活动作了论述。认为汉、满民族间政治伦理观念与生活方式的矛盾因素,是造成流民与遗民东渡朝鲜的最主要原因,遗民的政治色彩较浓厚。本书特别区分了流民、遗民的不同及各自的作用,较为深入地分析了遗民社会,对其意识、祭祀、宗族活动以及与地方和政府的关系也都作了具体考察。移民中的流民大部分成了向化人,而其中的遗民则大多保持了自己的文化特色,他们在融入当地社会的过程中,得到了朝鲜政府的优容和保护,被尊称为皇朝人。这与移徙南洋等地的华人有着显著的差别,但同样与南洋等地情况形成鲜明对照的是,现在当地的华侨势力微弱,显然,朝鲜政府的华侨政策失败了,其中原因何在?本书对此也将作一初步的探讨,并指明进一步思考的方向。

在东北亚曾经以中国为中心的观念格局已为世界化所取代,在处于这种变化当中的今天,辽东地区的状况,却与明末清初颇为相象。由于朝鲜的存在,中韩之间的陆上通路被阻绝,中韩建交前后,两国利用辽东大连、山东威海等明末清初业已利用的海路进行交往。民间的来往越来越普遍。因此,考察明清之际明鲜两国间的交通与明移民问题,除了它的学术意义外,或许能引起人们对现实问题进行思考有所补益。



## SUMMARY

The following article concerns the studies of the Sino - Korea sea communication between Liaodong Peninsula, Shandong Peninsula and Korea Peninsula, and that of the social activity, mainly patriarchal clan, of the adherents of Ming Dynasty at Korea.

There maintains a very close connection between China and Korea from the angle of history, culture and modern society as well. At past, the land and sea communications between China and Korea existed at the same time, while land was the dominant means. In the duration of the declining of Ming Dynasty and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, with the rise of the Later Jin Kingdom, the relationship between Ming Dynasty, Korea and Later Jin Kingdom, which was the Qing Dynasty later, and their political status met an abrupt turn. The abrupt turn of the political situation not only changed the Sino - Korea route of communication, but also turned the former exclusive tribute pass into a way of migration. The war of east of Liaoning made a great number of Han people migrated to Korea. With their settlement in Korea, this group of

Han people formed an migration community. The Korean government adopted a very positive tolerant attitude towards Chinese immigrants. The Chinese immigrants also made great contribution to the development of Korean theory and culture.

Thus, this article deals with the following topics with the historical background from the 1592 Japanese Invasion to the Return of the Great Emperor Fenglin; the change of political situation of east of Liaoning in the declining years of 16th century and the first half of the 17th century; the evolution of the communication between Ming Dynasty and Korea; the immigrants of Ming Dynasty and the attitude of Korean government towards them; the patriarchal clan activity of the Ming immigrants and their descendants; the historical background before this period and the influence after that.

First of all, this article studies the political situation and the resume of sea communications of Liaoning in the period of the replacement of the Ming Dynasty and the Qing Dynasty. In ancient society, the communication between two countries was based on the relation of tributes paying and taking. In Ming Dynasty, the Sino - Korea communication was carried out only in the form of tributes paying and taking. After the reign of Emperor Chengzu of Ming Dynasty the tributes routes was determined on land. Therefore, in a long run of the first half of Ming Dynasty, the sea communication was basically canceled. In the duration the delining

years of the Ming Dynasty, the rise of Later Jin Kingdom at east Liaoning not only resulted in the resume of the sea communication but also caused a subtle change in the relationship between Ming Dynasty, Korea and Later Jin Kingdom.

Secondly, this article studies the migration of Ming's refugees and adherents to Korea at the replacement of the Ming Dynasty and the Qing Dynasty. The war of east Liaoning and the development of the sea communication caused a new upsurge of migration of that time. The people migrated to Korea at that time can be divided into four groups. The first group was the remains of the Ming's army, which entered Korea to resist the invasion of Japanese in 1592, and their descendants. This group of people was called the remains. The second group was a great number of refugees of east of Liaoning, with the rise of the Later Jin Kingdom, who migrated to Korea through the Pi Island, when Mao Wenlong was fighting a guerrilla warfare at the coastal areas and the Pi Island from 1620 to 1629. The third group was the Han people taken to Korea by the Korea nobles, who was captured by the Qing's army, on their back. The fourth group was the people who migrated to Korea with the purpose of resistance the reign of Qing Dynasty. In this article the first, the third and the fourth group of immigrants are all called as adherents, for they and their grandparents and parents were of great position and with a strong belief of anti-Man nationality. That is to say the immigrants of Ming Dynasty was com-

posed mainly of the adherents and refugees, This article provides a statement for the sorts, the origin, the route, the distinguishing feature, and the reason of migration.

Thirdly, this article studies the partriarchal community of the Chinese refugees and the adherents and the immigration policy of Korea government, and provides separaue statements towards the following topics: the background, content, and influence of the tolerant policy of Korea government towards Ming adherents; the honoring and worshipping ancestors activities òf the adherents; the activities of the adherents to remember the Ming Dynasty and their family tree and the family instrution.

The main reason of the refugees and adherents, who maintained very strong political atmosphere, migration to Korea was the conflict of the polical and ethical attitude and the way of life between the Han people and the Man people. This article specially distinguishes the difference between the refugees and adherents and their influence respctively, and analyzes the adherents' community from the angle of their attitude, their worship, their religious life, and their relation with the local people and the local government. Most of the refugees became the Xianghua people, while the adherents kept their own cultural feature and won the respect and protect of the Korea government in the process of making themselves acceptable to the local community. They were respectfully called "the people from the empire". This is one of the dis-

tinguishing differences comparing with the south Asian area. While the other difference is the Chinese immigrants obtains very weak power in modern Korea. Obviously the policy of Korea government towards Chinese immigrants failed. What is the reason? This article will give a further discussion and point out the direction of next step.

The China center struture of North – east Asia has already been substituted by the nationlization. Today, thus, the situation of east Liaoning is very similar with that of the same area during the replacement of Ming Dynasty and Qing Dynasty. Because of the existence of PRK, the land communication between China and Korea was banned. After the establishment of diplomatic relations, the two countries utilized the Dalian of the east of Liaoning Province and Weihaiwei of Shandong Province, which was already used in the Ming and Qing Dynasties to fulfill the sea communication. The non – offical connection is more and more common. Thus apart from the scientific significance, the studies of China – Korea communication and migration may make some contributions to the solution of the modern problems.

## 序

### 深入学理分析和强烈现实 关怀的中韩(朝)关系史专著

韩国学者吴一焕教授的专著正在印制中,读者将见到四百年前(明清之际、16、17 世纪之交)中朝关系史的一个令人饶有兴趣的侧面:海上交通的开展与明朝人的移民朝鲜。

要读吴氏的书,不妨从他来中国游学、留学说起。他于 1992 年春天到南开大学做访问学者,一年后转为博士生,这部专著,就是他的博士学位论文增订修饰本。中韩建交是在 1992 年 9 月,记得这年冬天我去韩国出席学术研讨会,到北京办理赴韩签证,其时签证处是在一个不起眼的写字楼里,似乎韩国大使馆处于草创时期。吴氏在这种背景下,率先来到中国求学,是中韩关系新时期的留学生先行者,而后韩国留学生不断增多,就以在南开大学而言,处于各国留学生的名列前茅地位。吴氏作为先行者,这部专著,对明清之际中朝关系史的研究,亦为开创性之作。值此出版之际,我来说该书的一些特点和出自友情道贺的话,也是为与读者共同欣赏这部作品。

明清之际的中朝关系,处于极其复杂的政治状况,其时中国方面是后金(清朝前身)的兴起与不断壮大,占据辽东,掐断朝鲜与明朝的陆路往来通道;明朝在与后金的斗争中节节败退,乃至被清朝取代;朝鲜屡遭清朝的侵犯,沦落为清朝的附属国,可是因为感戴明朝援助抗倭和儒家文化信仰的共识,一心向往明朝,争取保持原先的友好关系,而鄙视新的宗主国清朝,其处境极为尴尬。在这两国三方势力的纷争中,朝鲜重新开启在明代前期、中期被明朝封闭的海上交通线,保持与明朝的联系;对于辽东战场的难民的流入,朝鲜虽非所愿,亦未拒绝,而对反对清朝、忠于明朝的明人遗民的入境,则取同情的态度,予以优待。吴氏在把握这种历史大背景前提下,重点论述海上交通的重开,明人移民的流入及其群体(宗族)活动与朝鲜王朝的态度、政策。

该书结构清晰易明,全书由三章及绪论、结语构成,三章标题分别是:明末清初辽东的形势与海路的重启;明末清初辽东移民与明遗民的东渡朝鲜;明末清初在朝鲜的明移民与遗民宗族社会。其结构逻辑是中朝海上通道的启动——明人移民的流入朝鲜——移民社会的形成与朝鲜政府的对策,这样层层揭示,一步步深入,就能将研讨的对象的真实状态呈现在读者面前。

关于海上交通重开及其路线问题。本来两国交往以陆路为主,明清之际由于陆上通道的阻塞,汉城(首尔)与北京的联络,只好依靠海路。吴氏考察中朝历史上四条海上通道:辽东沿海航线、黄海横断航线、东海斜断航线和中国沿

海航线。一般而言,前三条航线在唐以前就已开通,而第四条航线则在元明时被较多地利用。明清之际的海上之旅,从朝鲜黄海道海岸经中国辽东沿海、山东长山列岛,到登州上岸。然而由于明将毛文龙在皮岛的势力,成为朝鲜王国政府与明朝帝国政府联系的居间人,明朝辽东督师袁崇焕为削弱毛文龙势力,不许朝鲜使节到登州,而要到锦州登陆。吴氏以其对中朝两国三种政治势力的错综复杂关系的认知和深厚的海上交通知识,阐明明清之际海上交通线的变化与路线。世人云,21世纪世界的格局,是大国争夺海洋和太空霸权,因此人们应该有海洋意识。吴氏写此书,自然与“海洋霸权”不沾边,但是海洋意识则是鲜明的,因此我佩服他研究相关问题的学识。

“政局的巨变不仅使两国间交往的路线发生了改变,也导致原来单纯的贡道转变成移民通道。”“辽东的战乱与海上交往的开展等,导致明末清初出现新一轮的赴朝移民高潮。”贡道变成移民之路,成为移民潮的见证。吴氏一针见血地指出交通变动带来的社会人世变化。在明朝与后金的斗争中,生活在辽东的汉人平民和军士,因战争局势的变化,有些人从海道流落朝鲜。这种移民,吴氏依据他们对待明朝、后金的态度,区分为四种类型:一是1592年壬辰倭乱时,为抗倭而进驻朝鲜的大规模明军中残留的一部分将士及其后裔,或称“留民”;二是后金渐盛,1620年到1629年间毛文龙在辽东沿海和皮岛开展海上活动,大量辽民从海上涌到皮岛,并转徙朝鲜所形成的辽东流民;三是被清军虏到



沈阳后,作为人质的朝鲜世子凤林大君及其官员回国时,带走的明朝人;四是明朝灭亡后,为反抗满洲族统治而移居朝鲜的明遗民等。对第一、三、四类型的移民,吴氏认为他们和他们的父祖多是有身份地位之人,反满信念较强,可以将他们通称为“遗民”。这样,明移民主要由流民和遗民两大类构成。吴氏的归纳分析,对移民的分类,无疑是符合历史实际的,应当说是准确无误的。不过要指明的是,“留民”与后金没有直接的关系,那是明朝援助朝鲜抗倭战争的产物。

移民在朝鲜定居以后,形成了一个移民社会。吴氏就遗民的尊祖与祭祖活动,理清出遗民祭祖的几种形式:私家祭祀、官助本家祭祀、非家族报恩祠堂祭祀等;遗民家族的修纂族谱及其口碑谱、笔谱、刊谱的类型;家族训教的制定,家族教育的特色;遗民纪念明朝的活动。吴氏论证遗民群体活动出现的原因与特点,特别指出遗民的宗族观念与在中国本土人士有所不同,没有严格的血缘观念,主要是对中国先人的怀念,异姓共同建设报恩祠堂,缅怀祖先,保持中华文化的认同。而朝鲜政府对明遗民采取优容政策,称他们为“皇朝人”,大部分流民则成了“向化人”、“归化人”。吴氏就此作出“朝鲜国王对中国移民采取了积极的宽容态度,中国移民也对朝鲜的思想文化的发展作出了相当大的贡献”的总体评价。

附录地图的特色。该书有十二份图表,其中有四幅地图,即“古代中韩主要海上交通图”,“明清之际海道演变图”,“明遗民东来居住地域图”,“崇明报恩纪念祠宇与明遗