



明代海洋貿易、航海術和 水下考古研究新進展

香港海事博物館國際會議論文集

New Research into the Maritime Trades, Seafaring
and Underwater Archaeology of the Ming Dynasty

Hong Kong Maritime Museum International Symposium Proceedings



HONG KONG
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The background of the cover is a historical map of the Ming Dynasty, likely from the Wanli Atlas. It shows the vast territory of the empire, including the Korean peninsula, Manchuria, and the Southeast Asian archipelago. The map is rendered in a traditional Chinese style with mountains, rivers, and place names in Chinese characters. A compass rose is visible in the upper left corner, indicating the cardinal directions.

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香港海事博物館與英國牛津大學博德利圖書館於 2014 年 3 月 21 日至 6 月 23 日合辦《針路藍縷：牛津大學珍藏明代海圖及外銷瓷》展覽，並於 6 月 7 至 8 日舉辦以中國明代航海歷史為主題的國際學術會議。本書彙編學者當時發表的論文。

Following the exhibition *Mapping Ming China's Maritime World – The Selden Map and Treasures from the University of Oxford*, co-presented by the Hong Kong Maritime Museum and the University of Oxford's Bodleian Libraries from 21st March to 23rd June 2014, the 'New Research into the Maritime Trades, Seafaring and Underwater Archaeology of the Ming Dynasty' symposium was held on 7th and 8th June 2014. This volume is a collection of the scholarly papers presented in the symposium.

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第一部

明代東西洋航海圖

The Selden Map

《明代東西洋航海圖》與明末福建人的海外貿易

錢江
香港大學

摘要

《雪爾登地圖》（中國史學界同仁多稱之為《明代東西洋航海圖》）係英國牛津大學博德利圖書館珍藏的古代中國地圖之一。這幅早在 1659 年就被牛津大學收藏的古地圖生動地描繪出了近代早期福建商人在亞洲海域經商市易的大致概況：北起日本南部的長崎，南至帝汶島，東達蘇祿群島和馬魯古群島，西抵蘇門答臘島西北角的亞齊，到處可見福建商船的航路。這樣的一幅海上貿易航路示意圖，恰與十六至十八世紀福建商人在海外貿易活動的狀況相符。眾所周知，在古代中國各大商幫中，福建商人是最富有冒險精神的商賈，也是最成功的商家。由於福建地處中國東南沿海邊陲，地少人多，歷史上福建人不得不以海為田，向海外謀求生路。本文擇取了菲律賓群島的馬尼拉、日本九州和印尼爪哇島西端的萬丹這三個古代重要的貿易港埠來考察福建商人的海外貿易活動，希望能重現當年的歷史場景，說明福建商人在海外的經濟貿易活動中往往能克服困難，在逆境中掙扎拼搏，最終在海外立足，成為傑出的商賈。本文認為，只有在一個更大的歷史框架下來審視、分析福建商人的活動，人們才能夠更深層次地理解福建商人當時在亞洲海域的各僑居社區和貿易港埠所扮演的重要角色，從而進一步明白牛津大學所收藏的這幅珍貴的《雪爾登地圖》（《明代東西洋航海圖》）所蘊含的深遠的歷史意義和獨特性。

The *Selden Map* and the Hokkien maritime trade in late Ming

James K. Chin
University of Hong Kong

Abstract

The *Selden Map*, which has been in the collection of the Bodleian Libraries at the University of Oxford since 1659, vividly illustrates the landscape of Hokkien merchants' commercial activities in historical maritime Asia. Those activities took them from Nagasaki of Japan in the north to Timor in the south, and from the Sulu Archipelago and Maluku Islands in the east to Aceh of Sumatra in the west—a picture that tallies well with the history of Hokkien maritime trade from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Hokkien merchants were among the most adventurous and successful entrepreneurs in imperial China. Isolated on the remote southeastern periphery of China, the Hokkiens cast their eyes to the territories beyond the sea. They always regarded the sea in front of their homes as, in effect, their paddy field. Three cases (Manila, Kyushu, and Banten) are examined that illuminate Hokkien trade in maritime Asia. It is hoped that these cases will show that Hokkien merchants were economically preeminent, time and again defying the odds to prevail in the end. Only by examining the Hokkien merchants' activities in a broader historical context can their roles both in sojourning communities and in the history of maritime Asia be understood. In this way the uniqueness and significance exhibited by the wonderful *Selden Map* can be more fully appreciated.

Thanks to the kind efforts of Robert Batchelor and colleagues from the Bodleian Libraries, the *Selden Map*, which has been in the collection of the Bodleian Libraries at the University of Oxford since 1659, was luckily rediscovered in January 2008. A spate of research works, both in English and in Chinese, have been produced over the past five years concerning the map. No doubt this unique and important map has added many new elements and features to be incorporated into the studies of Chinese cartographical history while providing convincing evidence showing that the maritime dimension cannot be overlooked when studying the history of China, the late Ming in particular.

A close and careful examination of the map reveals that the anonymous Hokkien mapmaker drew eighteen shipping routes on the map, including six routes heading for the East Sea (東洋) and twelve for the West Sea (西洋), together with more than sixty port polities marked along the shipping routes, in addition to kingdoms, countries, islands, rivers, and mountains of seventeenth century maritime Asia. What is more interesting is that the departure point marked clearly on the map for both the East sea route and the West sea route was a harbour somewhere between Quanzhou and Zhangzhou on coastal south Fujian. Given that Quanzhou as a trade port had been in decline for centuries by 1600, while Moon Harbour (月港 Yuegang) had already come into the view as a well-known private maritime trade port by 1570s, it would be safe and reasonable to identify the departure point of Chinese trade junks in the early seventeenth century with the Moon Harbour of Zhangzhou, or Chincheo, as it was frequently referred to in contemporary Western records, rather than Quanzhou. In other words, shipping routes and port polities marked on the map vividly illustrate a landscape of Hokkien merchants' commercial activities in historical maritime Asia, ranging from Nagasaki of Japan in the north to Timor in the south, and from Sulu Archipelago and the Moluccas Islands in the east to Aceh of Sumatra in the west—a picture that tallies well with the history of Hokkien maritime trade in late Ming.

The Hokkien Trade with Manila

It was not until 1567, when the newly ascended Ming Emperor Longqing (隆慶皇帝) approved the repeated pleas of the Fujian Governor and the Grand Censor Tu Zemin (涂澤民), that the Hokkien junks began sailing from Yuegang, a well-known port for smuggling trade in south Fujian, to trade overseas legally. Four years later, the Spaniards established themselves

in Manila with American silver. In other words, it was only after the 1570s that the junk trade between Fujian and the Philippines involving an exchange of exceptionally high value entered a completely new era, which in turn brought China into the world commercial system, as argued by C. R. Boxer.¹ According to the records of the Ming dynasty, fifty Hokkien junks a year were initially granted licenses to trade with different entrepôts of Southeast Asia. In 1589, the number of junks licensed for trading to maritime Asia was raised to 88. This was later raised to 110 licenses in 1592, and to 137 in 1597.² Of these, about half the licenses were used for trading with Hispanic Manila. It was widely known that smuggling was rampant in the Manila trade and the actual number of junks calling at the port of Manila was far in excess of the figure recorded in the official archives. A large number of Hokkien merchants visited Manila clandestinely. The licenses issued only allowed them to trade with polities other than the Philippine Islands, such as Champa, Tonkin, Patani, and Taiwan. The main reason for their going to Manila clandestinely, as was pointed out by the Fujian Grand Censor Shang Zhouzuo (商周祚) in 1623, was that Manila was close by, and junks trading silks for American silver turned out to be particularly profitable for these adventurous Hokkiens.³

The most remarkable growth of the Hokkien junk trade during this period was from the late 1570s to the mid-1640s, and the usual number of junks visiting Manila varied from twenty to forty each year. After 1645, however, the number of junks arriving at Manila decreased sharply as a result of the civil war in China. In the years that followed, the maritime trade of China fell into the hands of the Ming-loyalist Zheng regime based in south Fujian and Taiwan. Consequently, the junk trade with Manila experienced a considerable slump for more than three decades and almost all the arrivals in the 1650s, 1660s, and 1670s were in fact junks belonging to Zheng Chenggong (鄭成功) or Koxinga's (國姓爺) family. A revival of the Hokkien junk trade to Manila began only in 1683 when the Qing government conquered Taiwan and put an end to the civil strife, followed by the lifting of the ban on overseas trade the following year. The junk trade expanded rapidly

1 Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), 17.

2 Zhang Xie, *Dongxiyang kao* 東西洋考 [A Treatise of the East and West Seas] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, rpt. 1981), vol. 7, 'Section of Taxation'; *Ming shenzong shilu* 明神宗實錄 [Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty: Shenzong Period] (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1962–66), vols. 210, 316.

3 *Ming xizong shilu* 明熹宗實錄 [Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty: Xizong period] (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1962–66), vol. 28, entry of 'the fourth month, the third year of Tianqi'.

thereafter, with more than 27 junks calling at Manila in 1686 and a peak of 43 in 1709.⁴

With respect to the coming of the Hokkien junks, Antonio de Morga, then president of the Audiencia at Manila, gives a graphic account in his records: 'A considerable number of somas and junks (which are large ships), come as a rule laden with goods from Great China to Manila. Every year thirty, sometimes forty, of these ships come, though they do not enter together as a fleet or armada, but in squadrons, with the monsoon and in settled weather, which ordinarily comes with the March new moon.... They make the journey to Manila in fifteen or twenty days, sell their merchandise and return in good time, before the strong south-westerly winds set in at the end of May, or the first days of June, so as not to run into danger on their voyage'.⁵ Captain John Saris, of the English East India Company, also observed in 1613 that, 'In the moneth of March, the Junckes bound for the Mannelies depart from Chanchu in Companies, sometimes four, five, ten or more together, as they are readie'.⁶

Though there was a large variety in the cargoes of the junks, silks and textiles always comprised the bulk of the goods from Fujian. In fact, Manila would have been nothing without the Fujian-Manila-Acapulco trading line. In the meantime, Hokkien merchants were the dominant participants in this vast silk for silver trade. As elsewhere in the marketplaces of South China Sea, Hokkien merchants knew how to maximise their profit by waiting for the right timing or skilfully adjusting the prices of their cargoes in accordance with the situation of the Manila market. The majority of the sagacious and thrifty Hokkiens would not, for instance, do their bargaining until the junks returned to Fujian, holding their cargoes over till the arrival of the following year's galleon.⁷ When they saw the Spanish galleon laden with silver coins enter the port while there were not much Chinese goods left in the market, they would immediately raise the prices of their goods. Similarly, when they were informed that silver was scarce at Manila they would cut down their shipments accordingly that year for a profitable sale. In 1628, for example, the scarcity of

4 For a detailed study on the topic, see Qian Jiang 錢江 (James K. Chin), '1570-1760 Zhongguo he Lusong de maoyi' 中國和呂宋的貿易 [The Junk Trade between China and Luzon, 1570-1760] (MPhil diss., Xiamen University, 1985), 15-49.

5 Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, trans. J.S. Cummins (London: Hakluyt Society, 1971), 305.

6 Ernest M. Satow, ed., *The Voyage of John Saris to Japan* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1900), 226-27. For a general account of the junk trade and its relations with the Manila galleon, see William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. Dutton, 1939), esp. 63-98.

7 de Morga, *Sucesos de Las Islas Filipinas*, 307.

silver from Acapulco induced a rise in the prices of the goods in Manila.⁸

Evidently what the Hokkien merchants aimed at was to trade for as much silver as possible and ship it back to China. It is clear that they did indeed play an important role in carrying massive amounts of American silver into China. It was estimated that on an annual basis, as much as 150 tons of silver crossed the Pacific from Acapulco via Manila to China. Of this, about 128 tons or five million pesos worth was sold ultimately to the Hokkien merchants annually, with a reported 307 tons being smuggled out in 1597.⁹

Considering that the Hokkien merchants kept coming and sojourning in Manila in spite of the repeated expulsions and slaughters by the Spaniards, the profits derived from the junk trade must have been enormously high. Two contemporary Chinese writers tell us that profits made by the Hokkien merchants were usually several times the capital they invested,¹⁰ which matches with the report submitted to the Spanish King Philip III dated 21 July 1599. In the report, Hieronimo de Salazar y Salcedo, the Spanish royal fiscal, estimated that the profits made on the Chinese silk could reach 400 percent.¹¹ In fact, in some years when the market in Manila or Acapulco was starved for Chinese silk and other luxury items, the profits reaped could probably be as high as 1000 percent.¹² Since the distance from Fujian to Manila was relatively short and the voyage

8 'Letters to Filipe IV by Juan Niño de Tavora (4th August 1628)', in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, eds. E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1903–07), vol. 22, 271.

9 For the relevant discussion and estimates, see Quan Hansheng 全漢昇 (Chuan Hang-sheng), 'Ming-Qing jian Meizhou baiyin de shuru Zhongguo' 明清間美洲白銀的輸入中國 [The Inflow of American Silver into China from the Late Ming to the Mid-Qing Period], *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies* 2:1 (1969), 61–75; Charles R. Boxer, 'Plata es Sangre: Sidelights on the Drain of Spanish-American Silver in the Far East, 1550–1700', *Philippine Studies* 18:3 (1970), 457–78; John J. TePaske, 'New World Silver, Castile and the Philippines, 1590–1800', in *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds*, ed. J. F. Richards (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1983), 425–46; Qian Jiang (James K. Chin), '1570–1760 nian Xishu Feilubin liuru Zhongguo de Meizhou baiyin' 1570–1760年西屬菲律賓流入中國的美洲白銀 [On the inflow of American Silver into China via the Spanish Philippines from 1570 to 1760], *Nanyang wenti* 南洋問題 [Southeast Asian Studies] 1985:3 (1985), 96–106; Artur Attman, *American Bullion in the European World Trade, 1600–1800* (Göteborg: Kungl. Vetenskaps-och Vitterhets Samhället, 1986).

10 He Qiaoyuan 何喬遠, *Min shu* 閩書 [History of Fujian] (1630), vol. 39, 'Banji zhi' [On Population and Taxation]; Fu Yuanchu 傅元初, 'Qing kai yangjin shu' 請開洋禁疏 [Memorial on Lifting the Ban upon the Overseas Trade], in Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, *Tianxia jinguo libingshu* 天下郡國利病書 [Complete Accounts of the Geography and Economy of the Ming China] (1662; rpt. Shanghai, 1903), Vol. 96, 'Fujian'.

11 'Letters from the royal fiscal to the King by Hieronimo de Salazar y Salcedo (Manila, 21st July, 1599)', in *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 11, 111.

12 'Letters from the archbishop of Manila to Felipe II by Ygnacio de Santibanez (Manila, 24–26 June, 1598)', in *ibid.*, vol. 10, 143; 'Early years of the Dutch in the East Indies', in *ibid.*, vol. 15, 303.

usually took only about ten days, it was possible for the Hokkien merchants to make a number of trips each monsoon season. Considering the great risk on the sea, such as the loss of junks caused by typhoon or the plunder by the Dutch or pirates, certainly the nearer the foreign ports were to Fujian, the smaller were the risks and the expenses and the larger the profits, as was argued by the Dutch historian Meilink-Roelofs.¹³

Closely related to the junk trade merchants was the group of Hokkien merchants who sojourned in Manila. As is well documented in the Spanish writings, Hokkien merchants or 'Sangleys' as they were frequently called by the Spaniards, had a near monopoly of retail business in the town. The Parian, or Chinese market, consequently became the nerve centre of the colonial capital's commercial life. In this colourful bazaar, people could find all kinds of goods and products of the East and the West. This sojourning merchant group grew rapidly. By 1588, the group regularly maintained 600 merchants and 150 shops in their quarter.¹⁴ William Dampier wrote of these Sangleys: 'the Chinese are the chiefest merchants, and they drive the greatest trade; for they have commonly twenty, thirty, or forty junks in the harbour at a time, and a great many merchants constantly residing in the city beside shop-keepers, and handy-craftsmen in abundance'.¹⁵ Various sources available suggest that the sale of foodstuffs and the supply of markets and homes were from the beginning in these Sangleys' hands. Every morning, the Spaniards living within the walled town would rush into the Parian to shop as soon as the gate was opened. The customers of the Chinese goods in the Parian were not the Spaniards alone, but also included the local Filipinos around Manila. Muslims from Mindanao and Sulu made regular visits to the *Parian* with beeswax and gold, and returned in their proas laden with Chinese silk, textiles, and calicoes.¹⁶ According to the Dampier report, the annual sales of the 592 shops amounted to 647,832 pesos. Taking into consideration the fact that these figures were gathered during the period of economic depression, the business turnover of Hokkien shops in normal times at Parian possibly would have been close to or more than one million pesos. It is remarkable that the

13 M. A. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), 265.

14 'Relation of the Philippinas Islands by Domingo de Salazar and others (Manila, 1586-88)', in *The Philippine Islands*, vol. 7, 33-34.

15 William Dampier, 'Dampier's Account of the Philippines', in *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World*, ed. John Pinkerton (London: 1808), vol.11, 38.

16 John Masfield, ed., *Dampier's Voyages* (London: E. Grant Richards, 1906 [1808]), vol.1, 228. See also Dampier, 'Dampier's Account of the Philippines', 14.

sizeable Hokkien sojourning quarter had so many shops in the mid-eighteenth century. This would put the Parian at par with the other contemporaneous large bazaars of Southeast Asia.

Largely as a result of the developments described above, the Hokkien merchants became indispensable to the colonial capital, and the Spanish community could not subsist without the Sangleys. As an example, note what happened after the massacre of 1603: 'When the whole business was over the city found itself in distress, for since there were no Sangleys there were nothing to eat and no shoes to wear, no matter how exorbitant a price was offered. This was because the Sangleys were the people most engaged in trade, and the ones who brought into the city all the necessary provisions'.¹⁷

The Hokkien Trade with Kyushu

The island of Kyushu of southern Japan, with its natural harbours and numerous scattered islands, had provided Hokkien maritime traders with excellent port bases for smuggling and sojourning since the early sixteenth century. The history of the Hokkien trade with Kyushu can be divided into three periods. During the first, roughly from the 1540s to 1635, the Hokkien merchants were allowed to trade freely with their Japanese partners, and were able to sojourn at any port on Kyushu Island with the encouragement of the local *ryoshu*, or lord, which in turn created several sojourning communities, large and small, in Kyushu. The second period was from 1635 to 1689, when the *bakufu* (幕府 shogunal government) ordered all foreign trading ships to use the port of Nagasaki, and succeeded in restricting the Chinese merchants to living in Nagasaki. In 1689, the Tokugawa bakufu built a *Tojin yashiki* (唐人屋敷 Chinese Quarter) in the village of Juzenji, Nagasaki, and ordered all of the sojourning Chinese to be moved into this walled quarter under the close watch of the Tokugawa authorities. The third period, after 1689, witnessed the decline of the Hokkien community in Kyushu with large numbers of Hokkien merchants moving to Taiwan and other major trade port polities of Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia.

In other words, the period before 1635 can be described as the golden age of trading activities of the private Hokkien merchants on the island of Kyushu, as those scattered islands along the jagged coastline of Kyushu could be easily accessed from their home villages in south Fujian.

17 de Morga, *Sucesos de Las Islas Filipinas*, 225.