

Hokkien Merchants in Maritime Asia prior to 1683 Bridging the East Ocean and the West Ocean

JAMES K. CHIN*



There is an old saying in China: *Min zai haizhong* 闽在海中, or “Fujian is in the sea,” implying that the local economy and daily life of this coastal province in southern China have long been closely related to maritime activities. The people of southern Fujian, better known as “Hokkien” 闽南人, have a long seafaring tradition. With the development of maritime trade, an increasing number of Hokkien who sailed overseas for trade had to stay temporarily at foreign emporia, waiting for the monsoon winds to make their return voyage. Thereby Hokkien sojourning communities gradually came into being in maritime Asia. While their commercial activities in some of the major ports of Southeast and East Asia have been examined, few studies have yet been done from the perspective of a regional maritime system, especially viewing the Hokkien merchants as a whole. The purpose of this article is thus to examine the Hokkien merchant group and their activities in maritime

Asia—the entrepôts of East Asia in particular.

The article is structured in the following way. First, I will give a brief account of the early Hokkien maritime activities in Southeast Asia, which will be followed by a survey of a number of major ports within the East Asian maritime system. Three representative entrepôts are chosen for examination: Korea, Kyushu and Taiwan. In addition, Manila is added to the picture as a typical Hokkien maritime hub. In the concluding remarks, the contribution made by Hokkien merchants will be further examined within the context of the transformation and development of the regional maritime system.

EARLY MARITIME ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

It is believed that Hokkien relations with the maritime world of Asia can be traced back at least to 84 A.D., when seven prefectures in Cochinchina sent their tribute by sea to the court via the port of Dongye 东冶, Fujian.¹ Archaeological discoveries in Fujian suggest that the early Hokkien were skilful canoe-builders.² In the early 3rd century, Fujian became the shipbuilding centre of the Kingdom of Wu 吴国. A sizable shipyard was established by the Wu ruler on the coast of Fujian to facilitate maritime expeditions,³ and a superintendent known as *Dianchuan xiaowei* 典船校尉, who was in

* 钱江 has taught in different universities of mainland China, Hong Kong and Singapore and is currently a Research Fellow at the Centre of Asian Studies of the University of Hong Kong. His research interest includes the maritime history of Asia, international migration of Chinese, and China's relations with the countries of Southeast Asia.

Tem leccionado em várias Universidades da China, Hong Kong e Singapura. Neste momento é “Research Fellow” no Centro de Estudos Asiáticos da Universidade de Hong Kong. A sua investigação abrange a história marítima da Ásia, a emigração chinesa e as relações entre a China e os países do Sudeste Asiático.

HISTÓRIA

charge of the shipbuilding for the kingdom, had his headquarters established in Jian'an (i.e. Fuzhou).⁴ The number of junks and warships produced by the shipyard over the 59 years of the Wu period must have been significant. This is evident from the fact that in 280 A.D., when the kingdom of Wu surrendered to the Kingdom of Jin 晋国, more than 5,000 junks were captured.⁵ Regular maritime traffic between south Fujian and the early port-polities of Southeast Asia was well-established by the early 6th century, as monks from India who preached Buddhism in China frequently had to go to Liang'an (i.e. Quanzhou) to embark on large vessels to return home. In 558 A.D., for instance, an Indian monk named Kulanatha went to Liang'an with the aim of setting sail for the Kingdom of Lankasuka in what is today southern Thailand.⁶

According to *Xishan zazhi* 西山杂志, a privately compiled history of Dongshi, Jinjiang, there was a burgeoning trade between south Fujian and the peoples of Southeast Asia by the 8th century. It records, for example, that in 720 A.D., Lin Luan 林銓, a Hokkien merchant from Dongshi, led a group of clansmen to set sail overseas, and with the help of a sea-route guide left by his great-grandfather Lin Zhihui 林知慧, they finally reached Borneo. This initial voyage gave birth to trade between Quanzhou and Borneo, and a large number of Borneans were subsequently brought to the coast of south Fujian, bartering spices and other tropical products for embroidered and coloured cloth made by Quanzhou women.⁷ However, the golden age of Hokkien maritime trade did not come until the Song dynasty (980-1279), especially the Southern Song during the 12th and 13th centuries, when Quanzhou rose as the most important seaport for China's foreign trade, as well as the most famous ship-building centre in the country.

Sporadic records suggest that during this period Hokkien merchants were actively engaged in trading at emporia ranging from Korea in the north to Sumatra in the south. Of the emporia in Southeast Asia, Champa, Annam and Java were certainly the port-polities most favoured by the Hokkien merchants, and frequently Chinese records of the era link these ancient polities to itinerant Hokkien. Thus, the year 992 saw Mao Xu 毛旭, a rich Hokkien merchant, acting as a guide for a tribute mission from the Kingdom of Shepo or Java. This was because Mao Xu had regularly travelled to Java on business and was personally familiar with the ruler of the kingdom.⁸ When Wang Dayuan 汪大渊

visited Gulidimen 古里地闷 (Timor) in the 1330s with a group of Hokkien merchants, he was told that in the past, a Quanzhou family surnamed Wu 吴 had organised more than one hundred of their fellow villagers to trade at this port.⁹ A similar situation can be found in Champa, which was situated on the central coast of present-day Vietnam. In 1166, for instance, a Hokkien *gangshou* 纲首 or head merchant by the name of Chen Ying 陈应 led five junks to barter with local people in Champa. This team of junks returned to Fujian in the following year loaded with frankincense, ivory tusk and a tribute mission dispatched by the king of Champa.¹⁰ Soon afterwards, another two Hokkien merchant groups led by Wu Bing 吴兵 and Chen Yingxiang 陈应祥, respectively, were seen doing business in Champa.¹¹

Commercial acumen was an acknowledged gift of the Hokkien merchants; this much can be seen from an anecdote of the late 12th century. In 1173, a Hokkien junk was blown to Champa by typhoon winds, and a Hokkien merchant on board the junk happened to witness that the kingdom of Champa was at war with the kingdom of Zhenla, or Cambodia. Since the soldiers of the two belligerent sides were fighting each other by riding elephants, no one could take an upper hand in the war. The Hokkien merchant, who had probably previously served in the Song army, persuaded the Champa king to change his strategy and replace his elephants with Chinese horses. In order to convince the Cham warriors, he even taught them how to shoot arrows while riding. The king was delighted to accept the advice and gave him large sums of copper coins to purchase the horses needed. Subsequently, several dozen horses were sent to Champa. The Champa forces won the war the following year, as the Hokkien merchant expected, while the merchant who had skilfully taken advantage of the conflict between two indigenous polities himself profited accordingly.¹²

It should be noted that some of the Hokkien merchants from Quanzhou who engaged in overseas trade became very wealthy in the course of their maritime activities. Fo Lian 佛莲, for example, a local Quanzhou merchant and the son-in-law of Pu Shougeng 蒲寿庚, possessed, among other properties, 80 junks and 130 *dan* 石 of pearls when he died in 1293.¹³ Taking into account the fact that Quanzhou was ranked the top entrepôt in China during the 11th and 13th centuries, a prominent merchant like Fo



Maritime Asia in 1660 or *Asia Noviter Delineata* by Willem J. Blaeu and Johannes Blaeu, 1660. Reproduced from Shi Shouqian ed., *Ilha Formosa: The Emergence of Taiwan on the World Scene in the 17th Century*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2003.

Lian could certainly be termed “the merchant prince of China.” In fact, one of the prerequisites set by the Chinese government in 1094 for any merchant to gain permission to engage in the Korea trade was that he should have, at the very least, capital of more than thirty million *guan* 贯 and two junks.¹⁴ Given that in 11th century China the price of one *dan* of rice was 600 or 700 *wen* 文,¹⁵ the capital requirement was obviously a huge amount. However, it confirms from another angle the fact that maritime merchants, especially those from Quanzhou rather than from Zhangzhou, were quite wealthy by the 14th century.

The sworn brotherhood had been a popular cooperative type among the Hokkien merchants since the 13th and 14th centuries. Sun Tianfu 孙天富 and Chen Baosheng 陈宝生, two late 14th century maritime

merchants from Quanzhou, can be advanced as an example. Forging a sworn brotherhood, they sailed together overseas to engage in trade. Over the ten years during which they visited most of the major emporia in maritime Asia, such as Korea, Japan, Java and Lopburi (i.e. Ayutthaya), they helped each other and shared everything they had. Consequently, they not only both succeeded in becoming well-to-do merchants, but were also called by their foreign business partners “the two chivalrous merchants from Quanzhou.”¹⁶

With the development of maritime trade, Hokkien merchants started to sojourn overseas. Some of them even stayed abroad for a very long period of time, but eventually they would return to their home villages in south Fujian. An interesting story relates to Wang Yuanmao 王元懋, a Hokkien merchant from

HISTÓRIA

Quanzhou, who went to Champa during the Chunxi 淳熙 period (1174-1189). As Wang had learned the Cham language when he was a child at one of the Islamic temples in Quanzhou, he became a bilingual expert in that country, and the king of Champa held him in great esteem. Wang Yuanmao was thus invited by the king to be his honourable guest, and subsequently married a princess of Champa. He stayed in Champa for ten years before finally returning to Quanzhou with capital worth a million strings of copper coins. Nevertheless, this is not the whole story. With the capital he carried with him from Champa, Wang started his own business in Quanzhou and organised a large group of Hokkien to trade overseas. Subsequently, Wang Yuanmao became one of the wealthiest merchants in the city, which in turn induced two influential court officials to forge marriage links with his family.¹⁷

Sojourning overseas for a while therefore seemed to have become a common practice among Hokkien merchants. Another contemporary source also mentions that these maritime merchants would sometimes ship off to foreign countries literati who failed the national examinations, released criminals, and petty officials; they called this practice *zhu dong* 住冬 or “passing the winter.” In fact, these early sojourners would not usually return after the winter. Instead, they would stay overseas for several years; some of them even sojourned overseas for more than twenty years, marrying local women and producing children.¹⁸ As a result, in a report submitted by the Fujian Maritime Trade Supervisory Board dated November 28, 1167, there are references to *tusheng tangren* 土生唐人 or local-born Chinese in Champa.¹⁹

Early Hokkien merchants’ activities overseas were not only recorded in the contemporary Chinese sources, they have also been corroborated by archaeological discoveries. In early 1972, for example, Wolfgang Franke and Ch’en Tieh-fan 陈铁凡 were invited by the curator of the Brunei Museum to determine the date of two Chinese tomb inscriptions unearthed in that country. To their surprise, what they discovered turned out to be the earliest extant Chinese tomb inscription in Southeast Asia; one of the tomb inscriptions, dated 1264, belonged to a Hokkien who was a former officer in Quanzhou.²⁰

Admittedly, the rapid growth of Hokkien overseas commercial activities during the 12th and 13th centuries was to a large extent encouraged by the

Chinese Southern Song government.²¹ The favourable treatment offered by the local regimes in both Northeast and Southeast Asia, on the other hand, also played an important role in attracting the Hokkien merchants to trade or sojourn in those societies. In Java, for example, the Chinese merchants as a rule would be installed in a guesthouse provided by the indigenous chief.²² The most compelling case, however, may be found in Annam, where the Vietnamese established their Dai Viet polity. Various contemporary Chinese sources point out that there were many Hokkien merchants sojourning in 11th century Annam, and one of them was named Li Gongyun 李公蕴, better known in Vietnam as Ly Cong Uan (and known posthumously as Ly Thai To). Li was proclaimed King of the Ly dynasty by general acclamation in 1010.²³ Very likely, this Annam king of Hokkien origin heard stories about the sages of early Chinese history when he was a child; therefore after he had assumed the throne he affirmed a golden age like that during the Shang and Zhou dynasties of Chinese antiquity.²⁴ Whatever the case, the years after the 11th century saw many Hokkien merchants invited to be court officials of the kingdom. The reason given by contemporary Chinese historians was that “the local people are generally illiterate; therefore the Hokkien merchants who travel to the kingdom in sea-going vessels will be given exceptionally good treatment and will be appointed as court officials to participate in policy-making. All official documents of this kingdom have thus been drafted by these sojourners.”²⁵ Presumably, it is also because the royal family had Hokkien connections, so merchants from home villages would be trusted and employed in the Ly dynasty. The fact that nepotism among the Hokkien was widespread in the Ly dynasty court is confirmed by another contemporary Chinese account. According to *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 续资治通鉴长编, an official history of the Northern Song dynasty written between 1159 and 1183, a *jinsshi* 进士 (third degree literati) from Lingnan named Xu Boxiang 徐伯祥 sent a letter to the King of the Ly dynasty in the early 12th century, asking for a position at the court. The reason that Xu wished to seek refuge with the Ly dynasty was that, as he explained in his letter, he had repeatedly failed the national examinations and he knew that the ancestor of the king of the Ly dynasty was Hokkien. Also, he had been told that many of the nobles and senior officials of the kingdom were Hokkien. Since

HISTORY

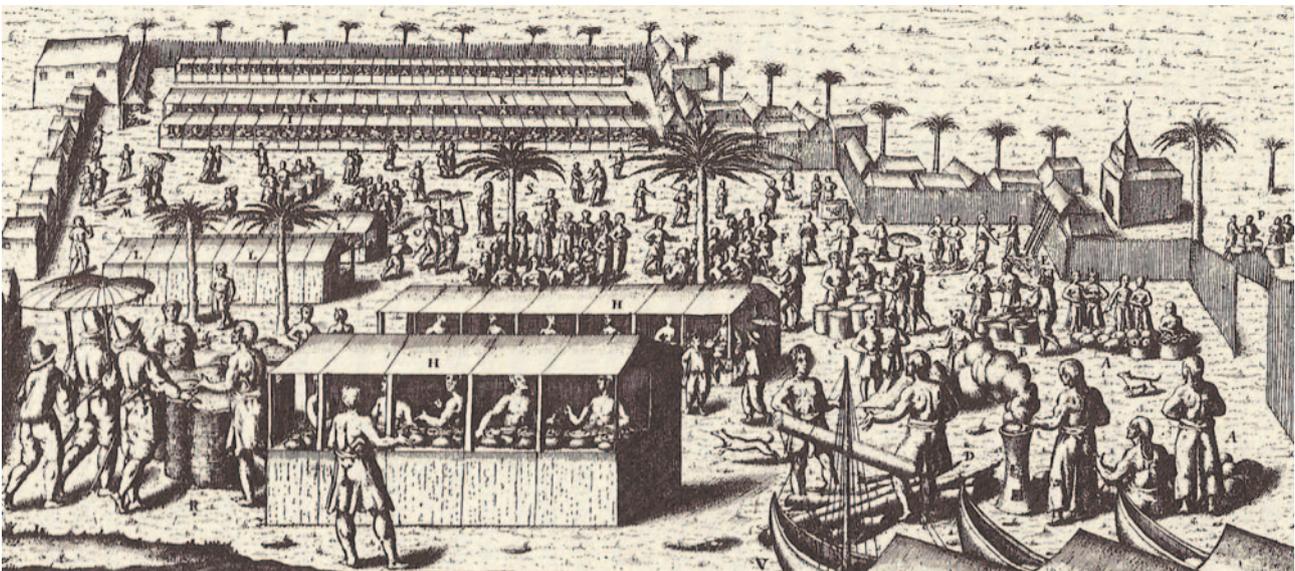
the Song court did not want to make use of his talent, he would prefer to serve the Ly dynasty like those Hokkien sojourners.²⁶ Without belabouring the point, it seems clear that a Hokkien sojourning community was formed gradually in the years following the 11th century at the site of present-day Hanoi, which the Vietnamese called Thang-long.

The sojourning Hokkien merchants were not active only in the Ly dynasty; a similar story can also be found in the Vietnamese Tran dynasty. The founding king of the Tran dynasty was a Hokkien by the name of Chen Rizhao 陈日照, known as Tran Thu Do in Vietnamese. It is worth noting that both contemporary Chinese sources and the later Vietnamese records are all consistent about the origin of the royal family; even authoritative Vietnamese history sources *Dai Viet su ky toan thu* affirms that the ancestor of their founding emperor was a Hokkien named Tran Kinh (Chen Jing 陈京).²⁷ Equally interesting is a note by Zhao Rugua 赵汝适 in his famous *Zhu Fan Zhi* 诸蕃志. When describing the kingdom of Jiao-zhi or Annam, Zhao remarks that “the surname of the Jiao-zhi king is Tang”²⁸ A careless glance at this sentence would probably lead people to think what Zhao Rugua means simply that the king had a Chinese surname, since the character “Tang” 唐 can be used to refer to anything from China. Nevertheless, a second thought would definitely help people, especially those who are familiar

with the Hokkien dialect, understand that here “Tang” actually refers to the popular Chinese surname “Chen,” because the character “Chen” 陈 is pronounced “Tan” in Hokkien, which in turn points to the Chen family, originally from Fujian. Considering the fact that Zhao stayed in Quanzhou for a long time in the 1220s when he was in charge of the *Tiju shiboshi* 提举市舶司 or the Maritime Trade Supervisory Board, that all the information contained in his book was extracted from reports or interviews with Hokkien maritime merchants returned from overseas, and that geographical and personal names were, as a rule, recorded in accordance with the Hokkien pronunciation, the explanation suggested above is probably applicable also to the Tran dynasty of Vietnam.

On the other hand, new sojourning Hokkien merchants were seen in most of the port polities of Southeast Asia in the early 15th century. In Palembang, before the late 1420s, there was a sojourning community consisting of thousands of Cantonese from eastern Guangdong and Hokkien from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou.²⁹ In eastern Java, many Hokkien were said to have settled down among local Javanese and Muslim traders. A number of early sojourning communities, scattered across ports like Tuban, Majapahit and Gresik, thus came into being. When Zheng He’s 郑和 fleet arrived in Java in the early 15th century, there already existed a Chinese sojourning village at Gresik named

A Dutch engraving based on contemporary descriptions of the Banten great market of West Java. Reproduced from G. P. Rouffaer and J. W. Ijzerman eds., *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597*, The Hague: Nijhoff for Linschoten-Vereeniging, 1915.



HISTÓRIA

Xin Cun 新村 (or “New Village”), with a Cantonese as its head.³⁰

Sojourning Hokkien merchants in Java were usually employed by local rulers to serve as interpreters or envoys in the tribute missions sent to the Chinese court, but some of them would ask to be allowed to return to their home villages when they arrived in China. In 1436, for example, a Javanese envoy by the name *Caifu bazhi manrong* 财富八致满荣 told the Ming court that he was a Zhangzhou Hokkien and his original Chinese name was Hong Maozai 洪茂仔, and since he had been captured at sea by a band of pirates before he fled to Java, he would be very happy if the court would send him back home. As he hoped, the court provided him with food and silver and sent him back to Zhangzhou in southern Fujian.³¹ Two years later, another Javanese tribute mission led by three Hokkien sojourners reached the Ming court. The envoy named *Ya-lie Ma Yongliang* 亚烈马用良, together with his two fellow villagers, Liang Yin 良殷 and Nan Wendan 南文旦, applied to go back to Zhangzhou prefecture with their families to build ancestral shrines and offer sacrifices. Of them, Liang Yin decided to stay at home permanently.³² Without doubt, Hokkien merchants’ contributions to the regional maritime trade in the early period under discussion here laid a solid foundation for their further development overseas in the years after the 15th century.

The early Ming maritime expeditions led by Zheng He doubtless promoted Hokkien maritime activities in Southeast Asia.³³ The empire-launched expeditions stopped abruptly in 1433, but soon afterwards, a large-scale private maritime trade, characterised by armed smuggling and collaboration with both the powerful local gentry and the Portuguese, was seen on the southeast coast of China. Patronized and supported by members of the influential local official-cum-gentry, such as Lin Xiyuan 林希元 and Xu Fuxian 许福先, more and more Hokkien ventured to sea to pursue profit without paying any attention to the maritime prohibition imposed by the Ming court. In one coastal village in Zhangzhou, for instance, there were about ten thousand families, and all of them were engaged in the smuggling trade. It was a local custom that when the smuggling merchants returned from overseas safely, they only told people that they had been away somewhere as guests, and all of their neighbours would come to congratulate them.³⁴ As

lamented by Zhu Wan 朱纨, the Governor of Zhejiang and Commander-in-Chief of the Maritime Defence, who was sent by the court to curb smuggling on the coast of Fujian and Zhejiang in 1547 but who ended up committing suicide, the inclination among Hokkien for trafficking overseas was irresistible.³⁵

KOREA

Apart from various port polities in Southeast Asia, Korea was an influential kingdom in East Asia and an important emporium frequented by Hokkien merchants after the early 11th century. According to the Korean historian Jeong In Ji, of the Chinese merchants, the Hokkien merchants were the biggest business partners of Korean merchants during the 11th century, and almost every year a group of Hokkien merchants from Quanzhou would visit the kingdom of Korea. In some years, this group was as large as several hundred merchants. According to the figures provided in Jeong’s *Ko-ryo Sa* (A History of Korea), 117 groups of Chinese merchants from the Song dynasty visited Korea between 1012 and 1192, and their total number amounted to 4,548. While most Korean documents only vaguely address these maritime merchants from China as “Song-shang” or merchants from the Song dynasty, occasionally they do record the places of origin of these merchants. Of them, the majority was from Fujian, especially from the Quanzhou region of southern Fujian. In other words, it could safely be assumed that the “Song-ren” (citizens of the Song dynasty) or “Song-shang” mentioned in the Korean documents would frequently refer to the Hokkien merchants from Quanzhou. Table 1 furnishes data on the Hokkien merchants trading with Korea from 1013 to 1091.

When the capital of the Southern Song Dynasty was moved to Lin’an (today’s Hangzhou) in 1138, the lion’s share of national revenue had to be sought from the duties levied on the maritime trade, which in turn facilitated the rapid rise of Quanzhou as one of the major foreign trading ports in China in the 12th century. Unlike the Guangzhou harbour, which remained largely an official entrepôt, Quanzhou was traditionally a port for private maritime trade. Nevertheless, in the years following 1138, the junk trade with Korea conducted by Hokkien merchants entered a boom period. It is affirmed that sixteen groups of Chinese maritime merchants sailed to Korea in the six years from 1147

TABLE 1.
HOKKIEN MERCHANTS TRADING TO KOREA DURING
THE 11TH CENTURY³⁶

YEAR	NAME AND NUMBERS OF HOKKIEN MERCHANTS
1013	Zai Yi 载翼
1015	Ouyang Zheng 欧阳征
1017	Forty merchants headed by Lin Renfu 林仁福
1019	Two hundred merchants led by Chen Wengui 陈文轨 and Yu Xuan 虞瑄
1020	A group of merchants led by Huai Zhi 怀贄
1022	A group of merchants headed by Chen Xiangzhong 陈象中
1023	Chen Yi 陈亿
1028	More than thirty merchants led by Li Shan 李善
1030	A group of merchants led by Lu Zun 卢遵
1033	Fifty-five merchants headed by Lin Ai 林蔼
1045	A group of merchants led by Lin Xi 林禧
1049	Sixty-two merchants headed by Wang Yicong 王易从
1060	A group of merchants led by Huang Wenjing 黄文景 and Su Zongming 肃宗明
1064	Lin Ning 林宁
1065	A group of merchants led by Lin Ning and Huang Wenjing
1068	Huang Shen 黄慎 and Lin Ning
1070	Huang Shen
1074	Fu Xuan 付旋
1087	Twenty merchants led by Xu Jin 徐晋
1088	Liu Zai 刘载
1089	Fifty-nine merchants headed by Xu Cheng 徐成
1090	A group of merchants led by Xu Jin
1091	A group of merchants led by Xu Cheng

to 1152, and their number totalled 1,332. Again, most of them were Hokkien merchants.³⁷ Commodities shipped from Song China included silk, coloured and white satins, clothing, porcelain, tortoise-shell, Chinese herbs and drugs, tea, wine, books, musical instruments, candles, copper coins, peacocks and parrots. With these goods Hokkien merchants were able to barter with their Korean counterparts for local products such

as gold, silver, copper, ginseng, sulphur, tuckahoe, animal furs, yellow lacquer, linen, horses, saddles and reins, long gowns, perfume oils, various fans, white paper and brush pens.³⁸ The Korean government even entrusted individual Hokkien merchants to purchase books or order Buddhist scriptures for them in China. Xu Jin, a merchant from Quanzhou, is such a case in point. Xu frequented Korea with his business and was thus familiar with the Korean royal family. The Korean court asked Xu to place an order at a print shop in Hangzhou for a specially made wooden copy of the Buddhist scriptures for the Korean government. When Xu shipped the copy, which comprised more than 2,900 wooden leaves, back to Korea in the spring of 1087, he was rewarded by the Korean government with 3,000 taels of silver—clearly a huge sum in the early 11th century.³⁹

An interesting phenomenon to be noted here is that some Hokkien merchants were actively involved in diplomatic affairs between the Song dynasty and the kingdom of Korea, and sometimes they quite simply functioned as diplomatic agents for the two countries. In 1068, for example, a group of merchants from Quanzhou, including Huang Shen, Lin Ning and Hong Wanlai 洪万来, were sent by the Song government to Korea with a confidential letter written by the Emperor Shenzong 神宗, asking to establish friendly relations with the kingdom of Korea. Huang Shen and Hong Wanlai were warmly received by the Korean authorities, and returned to Quanzhou with an official reply from the Ministry of Ceremonies of the Korean kingdom the following year.⁴⁰ The Chinese records reveal that Huang Shen was dispatched to the kingdom of Korea again in 1070, but remains silent about the aim of his second mission.⁴¹ Considering the fact that the year 1068 happened to be the first year of Shenzong's reign, it is very likely that the Song emperor was eager to create a new and stable diplomatic scenario in Asia for both the dynasty and himself; but because the Song court had no direct diplomatic channels through which to communicate with Korea, the Hokkien merchants who regularly plied the route between Quanzhou and Korea were asked to transmit important messages. Similarly, in 1075 a Quanzhou merchant named Fu Xuan asked to borrow a group of Chinese musicians to give a performance at the Korean court, via an official document issued by the Ministry of Ceremonies of the Korean kingdom.⁴²

HISTÓRIA

The private junk trade between south Fujian and Korea declined drastically after the 15th century, with the rise of official trade that accompanied the frequent tribute missions and the flourishing overland trade in horses and Chinese drugs in the border region. Maritime smuggling activities carried out by Hokkien merchants in the 16th century, however, were occasionally documented in Korean sources. The Jiajing 嘉靖 period (1522-1566) thus saw the Hokkien maritime smuggling trade with Korea reach its peak for a short period. In 1544, for example, more than 150 Hokkien merchants from Tong'an and Quanzhou (in southern Fujian) were caught off the Korean coast by the Korean coast guard.⁴³ Moreover, between December 1544 and March 1547, more than 1,000 Hokkien merchants who had drifted to Korea on their way to Kyushu Island were sent back to their home villages. Again, in February 1547, 341 Hokkien merchants headed by Feng Shu 冯淑 were sent home from Korea.⁴⁴

KYUSHU

The island of Kyushu, thanks to its natural harbours and numerous scattered islands, provided Hokkien maritime traders with excellent port bases for smuggling and sojourning beginning in the early 16th century. The history of Hokkien sojourning communities in 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 or small, in Kyushu. The second period comprised the years from 1635 to 1689, when the *bakufu* (shogunal government) ordered all foreign trading ships to use the port of Nagasaki, and succeeded in restricting the Chinese merchants to living in Nagasaki. To be exact, from 1635 onwards, the activities of the sojourning Hokkien in Kyushu—even in the whole of Japan—were completely confined to this small commercial port. In 1689, the Tokugawa *bakufu* built a *tojin yashiki* (the Chinese Quarter) in the village of Juzenji, Nagasaki, and ordered all the sojourning Chinese to be moved into this walled quarter under the close watch of the Tokugawa authorities. The third period, after 1689, thus witnessed the decline of the Hokkien community in Kyushu; large

numbers of Hokkien merchants moved to Taiwan and other major trading port polities in Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia.

In other words, the period before 1635 can be termed as the Golden Age for the development of private Hokkien merchants on the island of Kyushu, as those scattered islands along the jagged coastline of Kyushu were easily accessible from their home villages in south Fujian. In addition, their smuggling activities and sojourning on the island were welcomed and protected by the feudal lords of Kyushu within their respective *han* (domains), since the latter were eager to strengthen themselves economically by fostering overseas trade with the Ming merchants. Gradually, at least seven Chinese sojourning communities emerged on the island of Kyushu, particularly in Bungo-no-kuni, Hirado of Hizen and Satsuma, populated by merchants from south Fujian, Huizhou, and coastal Zhejiang.

The earliest Chinese sojourning community in Kyushu was probably formed in Hakata. According to *Riben Kao* 日本考 (Records on Japan), one of the contemporary Ming sources on Japan, the number of Chinese maritime traders sojourning in Hua-xu-ta (Hakata) was so large that the street where these merchants congregated was named Da Tang Jie 大唐街 (Great Tang Street). Some of these merchants were even unwilling to leave the community; they established their families there and produced offspring.⁴⁵ One thing is certain: the Chinese sojourning community of Hakata must have come into existence in the mid-16th century, as the book *Riben Kao* was compiled and published before 1593 by Ming military officials dealing with the *wako* or Japanese pirates.

Satsuma was another important settlement for sojourning Hokkien. It seems that the first group of Hokkien in Satsuma were the victims of *wako* in the early 16th century. Zheng Shungong 郑舜功 affirms in his travel accounts that about 200 to 300 Hokkien people were sojourning in Gaozhou (Takatsu) as slaves; all of them had been captured by Japanese *wako* from Fuzhou, Xinghua, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, and had been living in Takatsu for more than twenty years.⁴⁶ Probably for this reason, the Shimazu family that controlled the *Satsuma han* enjoyed close commercial relations with Fujian by the end of the 16th century. In August 1600,

Trading in the Chinese sojourning quarter of Nagasaki, Japan. Reproduced from Ishizaki Yushi, *Illustrated Scroll of Chinese Quarter (Tokan) in Nagasaki*, Nagasaki: Nagasaki Bunkensya, 2005 reprint.



荷物蔵

舟通船政高

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舟通船政高

HISTÓRIA

when Shimazu Yoshihiro was commissioned by the *Gotairo* (Five Regents) of the *bakufu* to repatriate the Ming general Mao Guoke 茅国科, who had been taken hostage when Japanese forces withdrew from Korea, this leading *ryoshu* appealed to the Fujian authorities through his family merchant, by the name of Torihara Soan, for the assumption of *kango* or tally trade relations between south Fujian and Satsuma. With the persuasion and assurance of the Shimazu family, 1607 saw a Quanzhou merchant named Xu Lihuan 许丽寰 anchor his junk off Satsuma. Xu traded at Satsuma for a year before returning to Quanzhou. During the next year (1609), ten Fujian trading junks entered the harbours of Satsuma, obviously encouraged by the example of Xu Lihuan as well as by the promise given and the protection provided by the Shimazu family.⁴⁷

It is interesting to note that some of the Hokkien smuggling merchants sojourning at Satsuma even entered into special relations with the local *ryoshu*. Zhou Hezhi 周鹤芝 was an excellent case in point. Zhou was from the village of Rongtan, in Fuqing, southern Fujian. He joined the smuggling trade groups when he was a teenager because he could not afford to go to school. However, because he was very smart and good at archery, all of his fellow countrymen acknowledged allegiance to him. Since he usually sailed to Kyushu and traded in Satsuma, he gradually formed intimate relations with the Shimazu family by becoming the adopted son of the Satsuma *ryoshu*. When Li Dan 李旦 died and Zheng Zhilong 郑芝龙 took over Li Dan's commercial and maritime empire, Zhou became Zheng Zhilong's valuable assistant in expanding Zheng's maritime empire. Later on, Zhou accepted the amnesty and enlistment offered by the Ming Dynasty, and was appointed by emperor Longwu 隆武 to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Ming naval forces. What needs to be noted here is the pivotal role Zhou played on the eve of the fall of the Ming Dynasty. In December 1645, Zhou sent an urgent letter to his adoptive father in Satsuma, asking the Japanese *bakufu* to lend him 3,000 Japanese soldiers to rescue the Ming court.⁴⁸

At about the same time, another community of sojourning Hokkien merchants emerged in Higo, nowadays Kumamoto. Similar to the community in Satsuma, the earliest residents of this Hokkien community also consisted mainly of common folk kidnapped from coastal Fujian by the *wako*. According to Kobata Atsushi 小葉田淳's study, the Higo Hokkien

sojourning community was established before 1589. The quarters of this community or *tojinmachi* were moved twice in the following 26 years. Moreover, at Tamana, one of the flourishing foreign trade ports in Higo *han*, there was another Hokkien sojourning community during the Genna period (1615-23), as evidenced by several Hokkien graves such as those of Lin Junwu 林均吾 and Guo Binyi 郭滨沂 from Haicheng.⁴⁹ As regards the merchants, what we see from the contemporary records is that Si Guan 四官, one of the famous Hokkien merchants engaged in the *shuinsen boeki* (the vermilion-seal ship trade) with Cochinchina, had his business based in Higo, and was therefore called by his fellow countrymen Higo Siguan 肥后四官 even after he moved to Nagasaki later on.⁵⁰

The final case with regard to the Hokkien communities on the island of Kyushu before 1635 concerns Hirado and the Goto Islands, a group of islands southwest of this hub of commerce. According to local legend, the sojourning community of Hirado was initially set up by private maritime traders from Fujian in around 1535.⁵¹ This sojourning merchant community was joined by Wang Zhi 王直, a well-known smuggling merchant from Huizhou, and his men in the early 1540s, before they were defeated by the Ming naval forces at Shuangyu, Zhejiang, in 1548. According to contemporary Japanese and Chinese sources, Wang Zhi and his business partners constructed a *tojinmachi* at *yashiki* of Hirado in the Chinese style. Encouraged by Matsuura Takanobu, the *daimyo* of Hirado, these venturesome traders not only induced many private Chinese maritime merchants to trade at Hirado, but also set up large, well-secured bases in the Goto Islands. It was only because of these Chinese smugglers, led by Wufeng 五峰, or Hui Wang 徽王 (King of Huizhou) as Wang Zhi called himself, that Hirado suddenly rose, in the 1540s and 1550s, to become a commercial port of the first importance in Kyushu (referred to as the "West Capital" in contemporary Japanese documents), with large numbers of merchants and a wide variety of goods flooding into it, either from Kyoto and Sakai or from southern China and Portuguese Macao.⁵²

It is intriguing to notice that many of Wang Zhi's leading associates and the majority of his buccaneers were Hokkien private merchants. The notorious *wako* raid on Zhejiang in 1552, for instance, was led by Deng Wenjun 邓文俊 and Shen Nanshan 沈南山. Deng was from Fuqing with his base at Yobuku in the same

HISTORY



Market in the Chinese Quarter of Nagasaki, Japan. Reproduced from Oba Osamu ed., *The Compilation of Paintings of the Chinese Residences (Token) in Nagasaki*, Kansai: Kansai University, 2003.

Matsuura *han*, while Shen was from Zhangzhou.⁵³ When Wang Zhi was trapped and killed by the forces of the Ming court in 1559, some of his Hokkien congeners, such as Xie Ce 谢策, Hong Dizhen 洪迪珍, Zhang Wei 张维 and Wang Jingxi 王靖溪, shifted their bases to the coast of Fujian and eastern Guangdong, while others continued their smuggling trade based in Hirado.⁵⁴ In other words, during the period under review, the Chinese sojourning community of Hirado was virtually dominated by private Hokkien merchants who took over the leadership from the Huizhou merchant group and integrated the community into the overseas Hokkien network.

A great deal of evidence shows that the Hokkien community that settled on the north-western coast of Hirado Bay reached its heyday in the early 17th century, especially under the leadership of Li Dan or Andrea Dittis, as he is usually referred to in Western-language records, a remarkable Hokkien merchant from Quanzhou.⁵⁵ The diary of Richard Cocks and the detailed archival records of the English East India

Company Factory at Hirado from 1613 to 1623 give us a fragmentary but fascinating picture of this Hokkien captain. In a letter sent to the East India Company, dated February 25, 1615, Cocks reports:⁵⁶

“These 2 Chinas brothers, Andrea Dittis & Whaw, are greate merchantes & will contynewally [bring more?] merchandiz in this place then all the Japons in Firando. Andrea Dittis was governor of the Chinas at Manilla in the Phillippinas and in the end the Spaniardes picked a quarrell on purpose to seize all he had, to the vallew of above 40,000 taies, [and put him?] into the gallis, from whence he escaped som 9 years since & came to Firando, where he hath lived ever since.”

It could be safely inferred from the above information that Li Dan had been a very rich merchant and the governor or leader of the Hokkien community of Manila before he escaped from the Spanish galleys in 1606, soon after the first Chinese massacre of 1603. Also, it seems evident that Li Dan established himself at Hirado very quickly, and regained his influence

HISTÓRIA

among his fellow countrymen within a few years. We do not know exactly when he became the Captain of the Hokkien community at Hirado. What we hear from the English sources is that when the fleet of the English East India Company first reached the entrepôt in 1613, Captain John Saris had to ask the Chinese Captain Audassee (Li Dan) to rent one of his houses at Kibikida for the purpose of setting up the English Factory, at a rent of 95 reals for six months.⁵⁷

In the early decades of the 17th century, the two Hokkien sojourning communities in Hirado and Nagasaki were closely connected. It was common for wealthy Hokkien merchants to have residences and warehouses in both towns, as is confirmed by Richard Cocks' diary. If one community had something important to discuss or celebrate, relatives, friends and fellow countrymen from the nearby community

would immediately come. For instance, on November 23, 1617, Li Dan held a grand birthday celebration for his younger daughter at Hirado, which was attended by a large group of Hokkien merchants coming from different parts of Kyushu. Of the guests, more than fifty were prominent Hokkien from the community of Nagasaki, "and each one hath brought a present, most of plate, and some of eatable stuffe."⁵⁸

Kinship was regarded as very important among sojourning Hokkien merchants, particularly if differences in their place of origin would have otherwise created suspicions or prevented business expansion. Consequently marriage and sworn brotherhood were widely employed to bolster commercial relationships and enhance social status during the early days of the Hokkien sojourning communities. The same was true of the Hokkien merchant community

in 17th century Kyushu. From Cocks' account we understand that Li Dan had a brother, Whowe (Ouyang Huayu 欧阳华宇) by name, who was a sojourner in Nagasaki, whilst he had another younger brother named Niguan (Er Guan 二官) living at Hirado. Nevertheless, Whowe was not Li Dan's blood brother as declared by Iwao Seichi 岩生成一. According to *Nagasaki meishou zue* 長崎名勝圖繪, Whowe was from Zhangzhou, while Li Dan was from Quanzhou, though both prefectures were the famous homes of Hokkien merchants overseas. In addition, their surnames were different. Since both of them were Captains of the early Hokkien sojourning communities in Kyushu,



Chinese sojourning quarter of Nagasaki, Japan. Reproduced from Ishisaki Yushi, *Illustrated Scroll of Chinese Quarter (Tokan) in Nagasaki*, Nagasaki: Nagasaki Bunkensya, 2005 reprint.

HISTORY

and they definitely needed to rely upon each other for assistance in expanding their business, the only effective and safe way under such a circumstance was to create some sort of fictive kinship ties between them. It is true that the relationship between Li Dan and Howe was very intimate. On April 11, 1616, for instance, Li Dan set sail for the Goto Islands to burn incense and pray for Howe's health at the Temple of Guan Yu 關王祠.⁵⁹ Apart from the frequent exchange of gifts and visits, they collaborated with each other to engage in the vermilion-seal junk trade to Tonkin, Cochin, Taiwan and Manila during the early 17th century.

Hokkien merchants who formed part of this sworn brotherhood group in Kyushu should also include Niguan and Weiguan 魏官. Again, the present author personally does not believe that Niguan was Li Dan's blood brother at Hirado. At most, he might have been Li Dan's clansman, as many a time Richard Cocks makes mention of him in his diary as "the China Capt. kynsman" who always led Li Dan's fleet and sailed to Cochinchina to purchase silk and pepper for him.⁶⁰ As for Geeguan, an industrious Hokkien merchant based at Hirado, he owned his own junk and mainly engaged in trade with Siam, with the collaboration of the English East India Company. Only in March 1617, when Geeguan died in Siam and it was suggested that his remains and possessions be returned to his brother Captain Howe in Nagasaki, was it revealed that he also belonged to this Hokkien group of sworn brothers.⁶¹ It is evident that sworn brotherhood thus frequently became the most popular pattern of creating kinship ties among the sojourning Hokkien, particularly in their early sojourning days. Sometime before March 10, 1620, when Li Dan was elected by his fellow regionals and clansmen as Captain-General of the Chinese in Japan,⁶² Hirado seemed finally to be established as the headquarters of sojourning Chinese communities on Kyushu Island led by Hokkien merchants, which also demonstrates to some extent the strength of kinship in pulling together sojourning Hokkien overseas.

Clearly these Hokkien merchants understood that family ties could act as a form of security and, in all sojourning communities, marriage could be a means of cementing community unity and mutual aid. Therefore March and April of 1618 saw Li Dan solidify his trading network by accompanying his daughter to Nagasaki and arranging her marriage to the son of Goguan 五官, another wealthy Hokkien merchant in Nagasaki.⁶³

What is especially noteworthy as a general feature of the development of Hokkien community overseas is that these sojourning Hokkien merchants not only built up their local business networks by intertwining different kinship ties, but also extended this kind of connection southward along the traditional Hokkien maritime trade route. In fact, a Hokkien business network ranging from the Kyushu Islands in the north to the Malay Archipelago in the south did exist in the early 17th century, and functioned well long before the emergence of the Zheng family maritime empire. It was surprising to discover that almost all the prominent leaders of the early Hokkien communities scattered across maritime Asia were actually familiar with one another, and that they maintained close relations within Hokkien society overseas. The casual mention of their communications in the Dutch records provides us with some evidence. In March 1625, through the courtesy of a Dutch vessel, Li Dan sent a letter to Bencon, Kapitein of the Hokkien community in Batavia.⁶⁴ Nobody knows what they discussed in that letter, but one thing is clear: the extent to which these Hokkien sojourning communities of the early modern period were connected with each other was much closer than previously believed.

What is more, like their fellow countrymen in Banten, a leading emporium in West Java during the 16th and 17th centuries, influential Hokkien merchants at Hirado knew well how to successfully establish their business overseas by forming special links with local feudal lords; sometimes they would even finance the ventures of these local lords despite the fact that they themselves might still be in debt. To cite an example, in a letter dated December 31, 1622, Cocks told his colleague Richard Fursland at Batavia that Li Dan had loaned a large sum of money (6,000 taels of silver) to Shimazu Iehisa, the lord of Satsuma, to invest in the maritime trade, although Li Dan himself owed much money to the English East India Company at that time.⁶⁵ Undoubtedly, this clever Hokkien captain maintained friendly relations with all of the leading feudal lords in Kyushu. While frequently exchanging courtesies with local feudal lords and nobles at Hirado such as Matsuura Takanobu and Sagawa Shumenokami Nobutoshi, Li Dan was on intimate terms with Hasegawa Gonroku, the *bugyo* of Nagasaki.⁶⁶ Needless to say, what he invested in forging special relations with these feudal lords was rewarded generously afterwards. In return for Li Dan's gifts and generosity, Matsuura Takanobu not

HISTÓRIA

TABLE 2. HOKKIEN MERCHANTS' VERMILLION-SEAL JUNK TRADING, 1603-1624⁶⁷

MERCHANT \ PORT OF DESTINATION	MANILA	TONKIN	CHAMPA	FAIFO	CAMBODIA	JAVA	PATANI	SIAM	TAIWAN
	Lin Sanguan	1606		1606			1603 1604 1605 1607		
Zhu Wuguan				1610 1613 1614 1616	1609		1606 1607		
Ouyang Huayu		1616 1618		1614 1615					1617 1618
Zhang Sanguan		1614		1615 1616					
Si Guan				1614					
San Guan				1614				1615	
Er Guan		1618							1620
Higo Siguan				1617 1618 (2 junks)					
Liu Guan				1614					
Li Dan		1617 1618 1621							1617 1618 1621 (2 junks) 1622 1623 1624 (3 junks)
Ci Shan						1606			
Betsu Kei								1614	
Total: 45	1	7	1	14	1	5	2	2	12

only helped him obtain the license for overseas trade from the Shogun at Edo, but also succeeded in securing for him the monopoly on trade with Taiwan.⁶⁸

While the Hokkien communities on Kyushu Island were dominated by sojourning merchants who plied between Japan and coastal China and Southeast

Asia, other sojourning Hokkien with expertise or special skills could also be seen in the community. On March 6, 1618, for instance, a Hokkien notary was asked by Li Dan and the English factory of Hirado to translate into Chinese a letter from the British King (James I, who styled himself “King of Great Britain”) to the

HISTORY

Ming emperor. The occupations taken up by sojourning Hokkien were diverse, and, according to Cocks, included musician, tailor, and haberdasher. And in February 1617, a Hokkien circus was even invited to give a performance with a tiger at the English factory.⁶⁹

Later on, with the rise of Nagasaki and Taiwan as two important entrepôts in East Asia as well as the enforcement of the *sakoku* policy by the Edo *bakufu*, Hirado declined gradually as a major centre of trade in Kyushu. The Hokkien sojourning community of Hirado started to disintegrate accordingly, particularly after the death of Li Dan in August 1625. While some of them left for Taiwan, Manila and Batavia to join their relatives and friends there, others moved to the increasingly expanding Chinese community in Nagasaki.

The beginning of the junk trade from South China to the port of Nagasaki dates back to 1562, according to Nagasaki historians Nishikawa Joken 西川如見 and Tanabe Mokei 田邊茂啓,⁷⁰ although it was not until 1569 that Omura Sumitada officially opened the port, with the arrival of Portuguese missionaries.⁷¹ Since the Portuguese vessels based in Macao only showed up at the port once a year for the first few years, the overseas trade at Nagasaki was in reality in the hands of a small group of Chinese private merchants, consisted mainly of sojourning Hokkien, as noted. However, the Hokkien junk trade with Japan suffered a serious setback when Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded Korea in 1592, an invasion aimed directly at Ming China. Normal trade relations with Japan were not resumed, although a few Hokkien smuggling junks entered the waters of Nagasaki in the autumn of 1600, shortly after the death of Hideyoshi in 1598.⁷² Perhaps because the Chinese junks trading at Nagasaki were predominantly from south Fujian, the year 1610 saw Honda Masazumi, a *roju* or councillor to Tokugawa Ieyasu, send a friendly letter in the name of Ieyasu to Chen Zizhen 陈子贞, Governor of Fujian, in which he expressed the wish that the junks from Fujian would be warmly welcomed to trade in Nagasaki regularly. Meanwhile, Hasegawa Fujihiro, the *bugyo* of Nagasaki, also sent a letter to Chen Zizhen, hoping for a revival of the *kango* (tally) trade with Fujian.⁷³

The Hokkien junk trade in Nagasaki fell into two categories: the *shuinsen boeki* (trade conducted by vermilion-seal junks based in Japan) and the *tosen boeki* (trade conducted by junks from China). The *shuinsen*

boeki, which engaged in trade between Japan and the commercial ports of Southeast Asia and Taiwan, started in the early 17th century and remained the principal channel of Japan's foreign trade until 1635, when it was suddenly abolished by the *bakufu*. Some wealthy sojourning Hokkien merchants, such as Lin Sanguan 林三官, Wu Wuguan 吴五官, Zhang Sanguan 张三官 (or Zhang Jiquan 张吉泉), Ouyang Huayu, Zhu Wuguan 朱五官, Er Guan and Si Guan, were actively involved in this trade. The *shuinsen boeki* was mainly a barter trade in which Japanese silver was exchanged for Chinese silk. The availability of larger quantities of silver for export, and the preference of an ever-more affluent warrior class for silk rather than cotton, boosted this kind of exchange. The major smuggling markets for silk for the *shuinsen boeki* were in Tonkin, Faifo, and Luzon, as well as Taiwan, especially after the Dutch set up a factory there in 1624. Table 2 provides data on the number of *shuinsen* dispatched by the Hokkien merchants during the first quarter of the 17th century.

The private *tosen boeki*, on the other hand, was initially seen by the *bakufu* as a supplement to the *shuinsen boeki*. However, with its rapid development in the 1610s, it gradually became the major importer of Chinese commodities to Japan, and finally replaced the *shuinsen boeki* completely in 1635 when the *bakufu* forbade Japanese ships from sailing overseas and succeeded in forcing all the Chinese junks to trade in Nagasaki. With regard to the scale of the smuggling trade conducted by Hokkien merchants with Japan after the opening of Nagasaki port, the memorial submitted to the throne by the Ming military board in 1612 could probably shed some light on it. According to the memorial, "People who are carrying out trade with the Japanese are all Hokkien. It is reckoned that their numbers total several tens of thousands, if we take the Hokkien from Fuzhou, Xinghua, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou into account."⁷⁴

A description of *tosen boeki* would not be complete without reference to the numbers of Chinese junks that entered the port of Nagasaki annually. One thing that should be noted in this regard is that, with the help of a large number of adventuresome Hokkien merchants, the Zheng family from south Fujian successfully controlled maritime trade between Nagasaki, Taiwan, mainland China and sundry Southeast Asian ports prior to 1683. According to the records of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki, the majority

HISTÓRIA

TABLE 3. CHINESE JUNKS TRADING TO NAGASAKI, 1634-1700⁷⁶

Year	Fujian junks		Jiangsu, Zhejiang & Shandong junks		Southeast Asian junks		Total	Year	Fujian junks		Jiangsu, Zhejiang & Shandong junks		Southeast Asian junks		Total
		%		%		%				%		%		%	
1634							36	1669	22	57.9	3	7.9	13	34.2	38
1635							40	1670	22	55	5	12.5	13	32.5	40
1637							64	1671	22	57.9	5	13.2	11	28.9	38
1639							93	1672	19	41.3	1	2.2	26	56.5	46
1640							74	1673	7	35	0	0	13	65	20
1641							97	1674	12	57.1	1	4.8	8	38.1	21
1642							34	1675	17	58.7	1	3.4	11	37.9	29
1643							34	1676	14	53.8	2	7.7	10	38.5	26
1644							54	1677	16	55.2	4	13.8	9	31	29
1645							76	1678	14	53.9	3	11.5	9	34.6	26
1646							54	1679	18	54.5	4	12.1	11	33.4	33
1647	19	65.5	5	17.2	5	17.2	29	1680	10	33.3	2	6.7	18	60	30
1648	8	47.1	2	11.8	7	41.1	17	1681	5	55.6	0	0	4	44.4	9
1649	46	92	0	0	4	8	50	1682	13	50	1	3.8	12	46.2	26
1650	50	71.4	9	12.9	11	15.7	70	1683	14	51.9	1	3.7	12	44.4	27
1651	23	50	10	21.7	13	28.3	46	1684	8	33.3	1	4.2	15	62.5	24
1652	34	68	3	6	13	26	50	1685	51	60	26	30.6	8	9.4	85
1653	32	57.2	5	8.9	19	33.9	56	1686	28	27.5	59	57.8	15	14.7	102
1654	40	76.9	1	1.9	11	21.2	52	1687	76	55.9	55	40.4	5	3.7	136
1655	37	82.2	3	6.7	5	11.1	45	1688	120	62.5	58	30.2	14	7.3	192
1656	38	66.7	2	3.5	17	29.8	57	1689	34	43	33	41.8	12	15.2	79
1657	31	60.8	1	2.0	19	37.2	51	1690	45	48.9	32	34.8	15	16.3	92
1658	36	68	4	7.5	13	24.5	53	1691	31	34.5	47	52.2	12	13.3	90
1659	43	71.7	4	6.7	13	21.6	60	1692	33	45.2	31	42.5	9	12.3	73
1660	33	67.3	2	4.1	14	28.6	49	1693	39	48.2	27	33.3	15	18.5	81
1661	31	63	1	2	17	35	49	1694	32	43.9	26	35.6	15	20.5	73
1662	36	78.3	1	2.1	9	19.6	46	1695	36	50.7	25	35.2	10	14.1	71
1663	16	55.2	3	10.3	10	34.5	29	1696	47	58	20	24.7	14	17.3	81
1664	28	71.8	2	5.1	9	23.1	39	1697	49	48.1	35	34.3	18	17.6	102
1665	17	47.2	2	5.6	17	47.2	36	1698	15	21.1	43	60.6	13	18.3	71
1666	16	48.5	0	0	17	51.5	33	1699	15	20.5	49	67.2	9	12.3	73
1667	15	51.7	0	0	14	48.3	29	1700	11	20.7	40	75.5	2	3.8	53
1668	30	69.8	0	0	13	30.2	43								

HISTORY

of Southeast Asian junks registered in Table 3 belonged, in actuality, to the Zheng fleet.⁷⁵ In other words, if we take these figures into consideration, the pivotal role played by the Hokkien merchants in the Nagasaki trade may be understood more easily.

The figures presented above clearly demonstrate a marked preponderance of Hokkien junks in the *tosen boeki*, especially during the period prior to 1688, shortly after Qing China lifted the ban on maritime trade. Nevertheless, the supremacy enjoyed by the Hokkien junks in the *tosen boeki* diminished very quickly in the last decade of the 17th century with the rise of the copper merchants. Buttressed by the Qing court, these official copper merchants, who were mainly from the provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, successfully put the Hokkien private merchants into the shade. It is likely that some of them were Hokkien merchants who moved their business settlements from Fuzhou or Xiamen to the port of Zhapu in Jiangsu or Shanghai and sojourned there, as Professor Oba Osamu 大庭脩 has convincingly argued.⁷⁷ Whatever the case may have been, quantitatively speaking, the early 18th century saw an abrupt rise in the numbers of junks from Jiangsu and Zhejiang visiting the port of Nagasaki. The primacy of the Hokkien private merchants in the *tosen boeki*, which they savoured for more than a century, was thus overtaken by their Chinese compatriots with the support of the Qing government. From then on, the focus of the Hokkien junk trade was shifted gradually to ports in Taiwan and Southeast Asia, although some of the Hokkien merchants, especially those from Fuqing, still competed in Nagasaki with merchant groups from other parts of China.

TAIWAN

There is no doubt that Taiwan was a strategically important entrepôt in the maritime trade network of East Asia during the early modern period. Nevertheless, the island had remained in obscurity until the early 12th century, though Chinese traders and fishermen from the mainland would occasionally visit it. Substantial intercourse between south Fujian and Taiwan did not start until the 12th and 13th centuries, when a number of Hokkien trading junks habitually stopped in southern Taiwan on their way to barter with the indigenous inhabitants of the Philippine Islands during the north-eastern monsoon season.⁷⁸

Taiwan's rise to importance in the regional maritime system owed much to the rampant Japanese *wako* (or "pirates") in the mid-16th century. While Japanese *wako* infested the whole southeast coast of China, especially the ports of Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong, it was widely known that these pirates actually included a large number of Chinese freebooters and poor fishermen from the coastal villages of Fujian. As a consequence, the Pescadores (or Penghu Islands) and Taiwan became refuges for these pirates. In the wake of several major military pacification campaigns carried out by Ming forces along the coast, the Hokkien pirate-cum-traders were forced to move away from offshore islets and retreated to Taiwan, which was outside the control of the Ming government.⁷⁹ In the years after 1550, the island thus became a meeting place for both Chinese and Japanese smuggling merchants heading for Southeast Asian ports.

Apart from pirate-cum-traders, a great many Hokkien fishermen were also involved in the smuggling trade between the mainland and Taiwan. According to Fujian Viceroy Xu Fuyuan 许孚远's report, each year from April to May a large number of traders from Tong'an, Haicheng, Longxi, Zhangpu and Zhao'an (on the south Fujian coast) would venture to Japan and Taiwan with heavily loaded cargoes of sulphur and lead.⁸⁰ Such activity gradually developed into a regular practice in the early 17th century, with Hokkien traders and fishermen sailing to Taiwan every year to barter with the indigenous people of Taiwan for local products. In early 1603, when Chen Di 陈第 accompanied Shen Yourong 沈有容 on a visit to Taiwan, he was surprised to see that Hokkien merchants and fishermen from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou knew how to speak the aboriginal language there, and that they brought agate, porcelain, cloth, salt, and bronze hairpins and earrings to barter for deerskins and dried deer meat, which were abundant on the island.⁸¹

The situation in the East Asian waters quietly changed with the arrival of representatives from two European Protestant nations—the Dutch and the British. In 1604, a Dutch fleet led by Wijbrant van Warwijck set out for Macao, but was blown to the Pescadores by a typhoon in August. Again, in June 1622, another Dutch fleet under Admiral Cornelis Reijersz was sent from Batavia to capture Macao. Having suffered great losses, the Dutch fleet was forced to settle temporarily on the Pescadores in late July 1622.

HISTÓRIA

The Dutch tried very hard for the next two years to force the Chinese authorities to open up trade, but all their efforts met with failure. Finally, when the famous Quanzhou merchant leader Andrea Dittis (Li Dan) came to the Pescadores in August 1624 and volunteered to broker the negotiations between the Dutch and the Fujian authorities, the Fujian government granted permission for the Dutch to resettle on Taiwan in return for the promise, given by the Chinese authorities, that Hokkien merchants would be allowed to trade with them on the island thereafter.⁸² In other words, Hokkien merchants played a crucial role in the early conflicts and negotiations between the Europeans and the Chinese government, and peacefully settled a potential diplomatic crisis by moving the Dutch away from the Pescadores.

Another important fact is that it was Hokkien merchants based in the port polities of Southeast Asia who advised and guided the Dutch to the China coast. Zhang Xie 张燮's *Dongxiyang kao* 东西洋考 was written in 1616, and printed the following year in Zhangzhou, southern Fujian. According to Zhang Xie, many Hokkien merchants from Haicheng sojourned in Patani for years, where they became acquainted with the Dutch in their daily business transactions. Among these merchants, one man named Li Jin 李锦 made a proposal to Wijbrant van Warwijck, suggesting that they establish a commercial factory on the Pescadores before opening trade relations with Zhangzhou (or Chincheo, as recorded in the Dutch archives). When Wijbrant van Warwijck hesitated and asked what the Dutch should do if they were refused by the local government officials, Li Jin advised him to bribe Gao Cai 高棗, a senior eunuch who had been sent by the Ming court to oversee the maritime affairs of Fujian and who was powerful in the local Fujian government. Li Jin even drafted three Chinese letters for the Dutch and asked his fellow villagers Pan Xiu 潘秀 and Guo Zhen 郭震 to send the letters to the eunuch and two generals in charge of coastal defence.⁸³

Nevertheless, after the Dutch resettled on the southwest coast of Taiwan, with the aim of establishing the island as an entrepôt for their China trade and purchasing as many Chinese products as possible for their trade in Asia, the Hokkien merchants quickly changed their trade strategy as well as the direction of their navigation. Given that silver, gold and tropical products now were available on an island nearby, a

great number of Hokkien merchants started to flock to Taiwan, rather than bothering to travel the long distances to the major entrepôts of Southeast Asia, such as Batavia, Manila, Patani, Johore and Melaka, as they had previously done.

Like their fellow villagers in Java, the role played by Hokkien merchants in Taiwan changed, and to some extent they became intermediary traders for the VOC. Two groups of Hokkien merchants could thus be identified, in accordance with their wealth and social status. While one group consisted of influential and well-to-do merchants such as Li Dan, Xu Xinsu 许心素 and Zheng Zhilong (alias Iguan 一官), the other was comprised of individual small merchants. In 1624, for example, the Dutch signed a contract with Li Dan, asking the latter to provide the VOC with 15,000 catties of silk.⁸⁴ Another example concerns Xu Xinsu, or Simsou, as he was addressed by the Dutch. Xu Xinsu was Li Dan's able assistant and intimate friend based in Xiamen (or Amoy); he was also involved in the 1624 negotiations between the Dutch and the Fujian authorities. Li Dan maintained close relations with senior government officials in Fujian by bribing them, and the key person who did this dirty work for Li Dan was Xu Xinsu.⁸⁵ Given that Xu Xinsu enjoyed special connections with senior officials in Fujian, he was awarded the monopoly on Chinese trade with Taiwan by the Fujian authorities as soon as the Dutch retreated to the island. In the meantime, in 1625, the Dutch gave him a deposit of 40,000 reals to purchase silk on their behalf. Xu Xinsu kept his word, sending shipments on five Hokkien junks at a time and delivering hundreds of piculs of silk to the Dutch on Taiwan. The total turnover ran to 800 piculs a year, which was more than two and a half times as much as the total amount sent aboard Chinese ships to Banten each year, according to the Dutch Governor at Batavia, Jan Pietersz Coen.⁸⁶

More interesting still was the deal concluded between the VOC and Zheng Zhilong (Koxinga's father) on October 1, 1628. According to the three-year contract, Zheng Zhilong had to deliver annually to the Dutch the following commodities: 1,400 piculs of raw silk at 140 taels per picul; 5,000 piculs of sugar at 3 reals per picul; 1,000 piculs of preserved ginger at 4 taels per picul; and 5,000 pieces of silk goods at 14 to 19 mas per piece. The total price amounted to 300,000 reals. Regarding the payment, the VOC was

HISTORY



Anonymous, Zheng Chenggong or Koxinga as depicted in a 17th century scroll. Collection of National Taiwan Museum. Reproduced from Shi Shouqian ed., *Ilha Formosa: The Emergence of Taiwan on the World Scene in the 17th Century*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2003.

to deliver 3,000 piculs of pepper at 11 reals per picul, and the remainder (267,000 to 278,000 reals) in cash.⁸⁷ Given that the total sum spent annually by the VOC at that time amounted to between 400,000 and 500,000 reals,⁸⁸ this contract between the Hokkien merchant *towkay* 头家 (or tycoon) and the Dutch would have been a gigantic transaction in early modern Asia.

The good days enjoyed by the Dutch in Taiwan, however, did not last long. Zheng Chenggong 郑成功, also known as Koxinga 国姓爷, rose in the 1640s after his father had surrendered to the Qing court. Zheng Chenggong inherited the maritime empire left by his father and became a vigorous opponent of

the Manchus. Basing himself in the Xiamen region, Zheng sent his junks annually to trade in Nagasaki, Taiwan and the major ports of Southeast Asia, and actually monopolised the entire maritime trade in East Asian waters. In 1661, Zheng attacked Taiwan, and by February 1, 1662, the Dutch were forced to surrender to him. Zheng Chenggong himself died in June 1662. But the Zheng family, led by Koxinga's son Zheng Jing 郑经, continued to maintain strict control over maritime trade, as it was the only important revenue available to maintain their significant fleet and support their military resistance against the Qing government. To cut off communications and provision lines between the mainland and Taiwan, the Qing government adopted a harsh policy in 1661, forcing coastal inhabitants to evacuate the coastal areas and move at least 30 *li* 里 inland, and prohibiting all maritime activities.⁸⁹ Contrary to what the Qing court had hoped, such a policy provided the Zheng family with the rare opportunity to reap giant profits by monopolising the maritime trade of China for almost 22 years. In the years after 1662, a large number of Hokkien junks with licenses issued by the Zheng family thus conducted a brisk trade at the ports of East and Southeast Asia. Nagasaki, Tonkin, Quinam, Cambodia, Siam, Patani, Ligor, Singora and Batavia were major ports frequented by the Hokkien merchants to collect products for the Chinese and Japanese markets. Chinese silk and Japanese copper and gold koban, for instance, were exchanged in Siam and other markets for rice. At the same time, Zheng Jing sent a mission to Banten to invite the British to trade in Taiwan, and supplied the British with considerable amounts of Japanese copper and gold koban for their trade with Coromandel, Surat and Bombay.⁹⁰

MANILA

It is generally held that hundreds of years before the coming of the Spaniards an extensive trade had been developed between the Philippines and south China, in which large quantities of trade pottery and other goods from China were brought into the islands.⁹¹ This trade made it necessary for some Chinese merchants and crew members, most of whom were Hokkien, to sojourn in the Philippines.⁹² Nevertheless, the early Hokkien sojourning communities established at various points along the junk trade route were quite

HISTÓRIA

small prior to the Spanish conquest. When Miguel Lopez de Legazpi arrived in Manila in 1570, he found only a small Chinese community with some forty Chinese merchants who had long settled there with their wives and children.⁹³ In fact, it was the coming of the Spaniards and the rise of Manila as the Asian hub of trans-Pacific commerce that significantly modified the pattern and conditions of the traditional Chinese junk trade with the Philippines, and breathed new life into the early Hokkien communities scattered throughout the islands. The new opportunities offered by the Manila galleon trade between the Philippines and Mexico not only generated profit for Hokkien merchants but also transformed their small settlements into a marked segregated community in Manila.

The Hokkien merchants, or “Sangleys”⁹⁴ as they were frequently called by the Spaniards, were from the Quanzhou and Zhangzhou prefectures in southern Fujian. Generally speaking, the majority of the Hokkien Sangleys sojourning in Manila, were from Zhangzhou prefecture, notably from towns and villages in Haicheng, Longxi and Zhangpu.⁹⁵ What is especially noteworthy in this regard is that merchants from Anhai, a coastal town adjacent to Quanzhou that was the maritime headquarters of the famous Zheng family in the early 17th century, played formative roles in Manila in the junk trade with Fujian and in the sojourning Chinese community as well.

Unlike other Hokkien Sangleys from rural south Fujian who on the whole were peasants, the Anhai Sangleys had primarily been merchants before travelling to the Philippines. Their aim in venturing overseas was thus not simply to escape their poor lives at home, but to maximise their profit with capital pooled together among clansmen. Therefore, the Anhai Sangleys were usually seen as well-to-do merchants in Manila. This group of merchants was so famous among the Hokkien Sangleys of Manila that any rich Chinese merchant in town would customarily be called *Anayes*, though the spelling of this term in Spanish documents varies (*Anayes*, *Anhayes*, *Avay* or *Auhay*).⁹⁶ Detailed information on this particular Hokkien merchant group in Manila, however, is surprisingly patchy. What we know is that there were five to six hundred *Avays* merchants in Manila’s *Parian* on the eve of the massacre of 1603.⁹⁷ Possibly because the prominence of Sangleys from Zhangzhou or Chincheo was widely known in the

Philippines, the Spanish Bishop Salazar even used the term “the province of Chincheo” to refer to all of Fujian province in 1590.⁹⁸

With the development of the junk trade with the Philippines and the need to wait for the proper monsoon for the return voyage, more and more Sangleys moved into the newly established Spanish colony, bringing with them goods and services from southern Fujian. The growth of the Hokkien population in Manila following the Spanish conquest was phenomenal. In 1572, the Hokkien numbered about 150. Sixteen years later, according to the report submitted by the Manila *Audiencia* (the highest tribunal of justice), “there are over 10,000 Sangleys now in this city.”⁹⁹ The number of Hokkien Sangleys reached its peak at the end of 1603. It was estimated by the Spanish authorities that they amounted to between 24,000 and 30,000 individuals on the eve of the massacre, an extraordinary number considering that at that time the total number of Spaniards and Mexicans residing in the Philippines was only 1,200 (700 of whom lived in Manila).¹⁰⁰ In 1639, approximately 23,000 Sangleys were killed in the second massacre. Nevertheless, massacres and expulsions were usually followed by the gradual return of the Hokkien to the region, and in 1649, there were again some 15,000 Hokkien merchants and artisans living in the ghetto.¹⁰¹ After each large-scale massacre or mass expulsion, there would be a lack of food or an increase in economic activity in Manila, and the Hokkien merchants and artisans would be allowed or even encouraged to settle anew in the colony. But if their numbers swelled too rapidly or the size of these communities became too large to control, the suspicious Spaniards would regard them as a danger to their safety, and the Spanish authorities would immediately launch another massacre or mass expulsion of the Chinese. The number of Hokkien in Manila as a result rose and fell cyclically, depending upon the economic situation of the islands and the ebb and flow of prejudice against and antagonism towards the sojourning Hokkien merchants.

As elsewhere in the sojourning communities of Southeast and Northeast Asia, the Hokkien merchants of Manila also consisted of two mutually supporting groups. One group was comprised of merchants from coastal Fujian who were engaged in the junk trade between Fujian and Manila and would annually visit the colony with cargoes of silk and other Chinese goods.

HISTORY

The other group consisted of merchants who sojourned in Manila would act as their agents or retailers, selling their goods for American silver shipped from Acapulco by the galleons, and accumulated local products for the return voyage. The commercial activities of the Hokkien merchants in Manila could thus be subdivided into two sections: junk trading, and daily buying and selling.

It was in 1567, when the newly ascended Ming Emperor Longqing 隆庆 finally approved repeated requests from the Fujian Governor and the Grand Censor Tu Zemin 涂泽民, that Hokkien junks began sailing from Yuegang (Moon Harbour), a well-known port for the smuggling trade in Zhangzhou, to trade overseas legally. Four years later, the Spaniards worked their way into the Philippine Islands and 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 entered a completely new era, marked by the exchange of exceptionally high-value cargoes, which in turn (as C. R. Boxer has argued) brought China into the world economy.¹⁰² According to the records of the Ming dynasty, fifty Hokkien junks a year were initially granted licenses to trade in Southeast Asia. In 1589, the number of junks licensed for trading in the Eastern and Western Oceans was raised to 88. This was later raised to 110 licenses in 1592, and, in 1597, to 137.¹⁰³ About half of these licenses would be used for trading in Spanish Manila. Based on the data collected by French historian Pierre Chaunu and other contemporary records, the number of Hokkien junks calling at Manila can be seen in Table 4.

It is important to note here that Pierre Chaunu's statistics were based on his study of the *almojarifazgo*, or import and export duties, which covered only the taxed portion of the junk trade. It is widely known that smuggling was rampant in the Manila foreign trade, and the actual number of junks calling at the port of Manila was far in excess of the figures presented above.¹⁰⁵ For instance, a large number of Hokkien merchants clandestinely visited Manila even though their licenses were issued for trade with Champa, Tonkin, Patani and Taiwan. The main reason, Fujian Grand Censor Shang Zhouzuo 商周祚 pointed out in 1623, was that Manila was so nearby that the junk trade in silks for silver turned out to be particularly profitable for these venturesome Hokkien.¹⁰⁶

In any case, as is evident from Table 3, the most remarkable growth of the Hokkien junk trade during this period was from the late 1570s to the mid-1640s, when the usual number of junks visiting Manila each year varied from twenty to forty. 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, China's maritime trade fell into the hands of the Ming-loyalist Zheng regime based in southern Fujian and Taiwan. Consequently, the junk trade with Manila experienced a considerable slump for more than three decades; almost all the arrivals in the 1650s, 1660s and 1670s were in fact junks belonging to the Koxinga family. A revival of the Hokkien junk trade to Manila occurred in 1683 when the Qing government conquered Taiwan and put an end to the civil strife, and in the following year the ban on overseas trade was lifted. The junk trade expanded rapidly thereafter, with more than 27 junks calling at Manila in 1686, and a peak of 43 in 1709.¹⁰⁷

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."¹⁰⁸ 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 foure, five, ten or more together, as they are readie."¹⁰⁹

As for commodities involved in the junk trade, it is widely accepted that Chinese silk and American silver were the two principal items of this Pacific leg of the China trade. In fact, Manila would have been nothing without the Yuegang-Manila-Acapulco trading line. Though there was an infinite variety in the cargoes of the junks, silks and other textiles always comprised the bulk of goods from Fujian. In the meantime, Hokkien merchants were the dominant participants in

HISTÓRIA

TABLE 4.
HOKKIEN JUNK ARRIVALS IN MANILA, 1570-1699

Year \ Port	Fujian	Taiwan	Total
1570-1579	67		67
1580-1589	230		230
1590-1599	183		183
1600-1609	266		266
1610-1619	250		250
1620-1629	179	5	184
1630-1639	314	24	338
1640-1649	171	4	175
1650-1659	52		52
1660-1669	45	15	60
1670-1679	29	22	51
1680-1689	69	6	75
1690-1699	161		161

this vast silk-for-silver trade. As in other marketplaces overseas, in Manila the Hokkien merchants knew how to maximise their profit through timing or skilfully adjusting the prices of their cargoes in accordance with the situation of the market. The majority of sagacious and thrifty Hokkien merchants would not, for instance, do their bargaining until the junks returned to Fujian, holding their cargoes over until the arrival of the following year's galleon.¹¹⁰ When they saw the Spanish galleon laden with silver coins entering the port when there were not many 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 in order to make a profitable sale. The year 1628 thus saw the scarcity of silver from Acapulco induce a rise in the prices of goods in Manila.¹¹¹ Apparently what the Hokkien merchants aimed for was to trade goods for as much silver as possible, and ship the silver off to China. It becomes clear that they did indeed play an important role in funnelling massive amounts of American silver into China. It has been estimated that 150 tons of silver passed across the Pacific, especially out of Acapulco and through Manila on its way to China, on an annual basis. Of these, about 128 tons, or five million pesos worth, were ultimately sold to Hokkien merchants

annually, with a reported 307 tons being smuggled out in 1597.¹¹²

CONCLUDING REMARKS: REGIONAL MARITIME TRADE SYSTEM AND THE HOKKIEN MERCHANTS

A re-examination of the maritime trade system of East Asia prior to the 18th century reveals that at least six trade hubs of differing sizes emerged in the region in different periods, including Korea, Kyushu, Ryukyu, the southeast China coast, Taiwan, Macao and Manila. It seems that in the early Christian era the regional maritime trade network was centred in the northern islands, with the Silla Koreans controlling maritime commerce. When the Silla fell, Chinese merchants came to dominate navigation and trade activities between Korea, Japan and China. As demonstrated above, the Hokkien merchants from the Quanzhou region were the most active and enterprising of them. Persians and Arabs did to some extent enter the network after the late 11th century, but for the most part they stopped in Quanzhou and did not venture beyond the East China Sea. Moreover, their presence on the south China coast was not significant. They were quite happy with what they had achieved in the oriental markets, but cast their eyes mainly towards the vast region extending from the south China in the east to the kingdoms on the Indian Ocean in the west.

While for a period of at least two centuries the regional maritime trade system remained centred on the ports of south China, the years after the late 14th century saw a gradual rise of private trade in the southern islands of Japan and the kingdom of Ryukyu. Japanese merchants mainly acted as intermediaries between Korea and Ryukyu, with official messages sent aboard Japanese ships, as well as gifts and various commodities for trade. On the other hand, with the assistance of Hokkien merchants and sailors who were dispatched to the Ryukyu kingdom by the Ming court with the intention of helping the kingdom with its tribute missions, the seafaring Ryukyuan fanned out to the coasts of south China and Kyushu and the major ports of Southeast Asia to procure native products.¹¹³ Thus in April 1512, for instance, when Tomé Pires visited Melaka, he found that many Liu-Kiu or Ryukyuan merchants were there with one of the *shabandar* in charge of Chinese business to look after

HISTORY

them.¹¹⁴ Siam and Melaka were the two leading ports frequented by the Ryukyuan vessels, while Samudra, Sunda and the Annam coast were less important within the Naha network, as indicated in the records of *Lidai Bao'an* 历代宝案 (or *Rekidai Hôan*). Unfortunately, the key role once actively played by the Ryukyuan in the regional maritime network—collecting tropical goods and re-exporting them to China, Japan and Korea—did not last long. For reasons unclear to us, with the advent of the Portuguese in the early 16th century, the Ryukyuan gradually retreated from the Southeast Asian waters, leaving Hokkien merchants and merchants of other nations to compete or collaborate with one another.

On the other hand, it is widely accepted that the foreign relations of the Chinese Ming Empire were governed and conducted under the framework of the tribute system. Tribute trade had a set of regulations to control the terms of tribute missions, the number of envoys and ships; only the ships with foreign tribute missions were allowed to enter Chinese ports. While each tribute mission would contribute a certain number of overseas products to the Ming emperor, the value of the various kinds of Chinese commodities, silk and textiles given by the emperor to foreign envoys was normally many times higher than that of the alien goods. The financial burden thus became increasingly heavy as more and more foreign countries tried their best to send tribute missions to China in order to make a profit, and the Ming court was eventually forced to adopt a more restrictive policy in its tribute system. Consequently, tribute missions from neighbouring Asian countries diminished considerably; Japan, for example, was only permitted to present tribute once every ten years. Understandably, the decline of the tribute trade in Ming China induced the rise of Chinese smuggling and Japanese piracy in the waters of East Asia. The arrival of the Portuguese on the Zhejiang and Fujian coast in 1522 further intensified the trend, as a flourishing illicit trade centre was established at Shuangyu Isles, Ningbo, off the Zhejiang coast. The structure of the East Asian maritime system was modified, with new elements and opportunities introduced by the Portuguese. More and more Hokkien merchants, peddlers, fishermen and peasants flocked to join private maritime activities. Shortly afterwards, in the 17th century (as pointed out above),

the Xiamen region and Taiwan rose in importance, becoming the new commercial hubs in the regional maritime trade network with the participation of the Dutch and the Spaniards. Again, the key players in the maritime network were Hokkien merchants, as they always adapted well to new environments. Nor did they would never miss out on an opportunity to expand their business overseas.

Unlike other segments of the Chinese population, the Hokkiens were mainly active in entrepôts overseas. In order to survive and expand in a foreign environment that was usually dangerous if not hostile, the sojourning Hokkien, who had never been supported or protected by the Chinese government, developed a set of unique networks to protect themselves. It is probably because the Hokkien merchants understood their own situation overseas that they worked hard to forge special links with local regimes or European colonial authorities, in the hope of settling down overseas to successfully establish their businesses. They employed various strategies in their efforts, such as weaving extended family or clan ties among fellow Hokkiens and creating business partnerships with European companies. By forging such connections, the Hokkien merchants not only enjoyed preferential treatment in business, forming an intermediary commercial sector, but also managed to raise the capital necessary for their business ventures from their foreign partners.

To be fair, the Hokkien merchants and other sojourners were exceedingly adventurous, and the period under discussion—especially the period from the 1520s to the 1680s—could be labelled as the heyday of the Hokkien activities in maritime Asia. There is no doubt that some of the main reasons for the success of Hokkien maritime trade were the new markets and economic opportunities provided by European businessmen. As a marginal trade group, their status in overseas society was always subordinate, despite their commercial success. However, the business networks they created allowed interactions among Hokkien throughout maritime Asia. Without attempting to develop a full history of the Hokkien merchants in maritime Asia prior to 1683, it suffices to emphasize that, as the most daring entrepreneurial group in early modern Asia, Hokkien merchants not only performed well in the East Asian waters but also played a bridging role, connecting the Southeast Asian maritime system with that of East Asia. **RC**

HISTÓRIA

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- 20 See Wolfgang Franke and Ch'en Tieh-fan 陈铁凡, "A Chinese tomb inscription of A.D. 1264, discovered recently in Brunei," *Brunei Museum Journal*, 3:1 (1973), pp. 91-99; Lin Shaochuan 林少川, "Boni you Song Quanzhou panyuan pu-gong zhi mu xin-kao" 渤泥 '有宋泉州判院蒲公之墓' 新考 (A new explanation about the Quanzhou tom' b of the Song dynasty found in Borneo), *Quanzhou: Haijiaoshi yanjiu* 海交史研究 (Journal of Maritime History Studies), 2 (1991), pp. 57-64.
- 21 For detailed studies on the Chinese foreign trade and government policies during the 12th and the 13th centuries, see Fujita Hiroshi 藤田豊八, "Soudai no shihakushi oyobi shihaku jourei" 宋代の市舶司及び市舶条例 (Maritime Trade Supervisory Board and the regulations on foreign trade in the Song dynasty), *Toyo Gakuho* 东洋学报, 7:2 (1917), pp. 159-246; Kuwabara Jitsuzo 桑原隲藏, "On P'u Shou-keng," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 2 (1928), pp. 1-79.
- 22 Ma Duanlin 马端临, *Wenxian Tongkao* 文献通考 (Comprehensive Study of the History of Civilisation), c. 1270-1317, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936, vol. 332, "Java."
- 23 Shen Kuo 沈括, *Mengxi Bitan* 梦溪笔谈 (Dream Pool Essays), c. 1086, *Sibu congkan* 四部丛刊 edition, vol. 25. The Vietnamese historical record *An-nan chi luoc*, however, claims that Li Gongyun was from Jiaozhou rather than from Fujian. See Le Tac 黎鞞, *An-nan chi luoc* 安南志略 (A Brief History of Annam), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995 reprint, vol. 12. Given the fact that *An-nan chi luoc* was written between the late 13th and the early 14th centuries, while *Mengxi bitan* came into existence only 58 years after the death of Li Gongyun, I believe what Shen Kuo recorded concerning the Ly dynasty to be more reliable and accurate.
- 24 See Keith W. Taylor, "The early kingdoms," in Nicholas Tarling ed., *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 139-140.
- 25 Ma Duanlin, *Wenxian Tongkao*, vol. 303, "Jiao-zhi."
- 26 Li Tao 李焘, *Xu Zizhi Tongjian Changbian* 续资治通鉴长编 (Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror of History for Aid in Government), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980 reprint, vol. 273, *ibid.*, vol. 273. The original Chinese record reads: "书曰: 大王先世为闽人, 闻今交趾公卿贵人多闽人也" ("The letter says: Your Majesty's ancestors were Hokkien, and I am told that currently the majority of nobles and ministers in Annam are Hokkien").
- 27 Ngo Si Lien, *Dai Viet su ky toan thu* (Complete History of the Dai Viet), Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Toyo Bunka Kenkyujo Fuzoku Toyogaku Bunken Senta, 1984-86, 3 books, vol. 5; Zhou Mi, *Qidong Yeyu* 齐东野语 (Rustic Talks in Eastern Qi), c. 1290, *Jindai mishu* 津逮秘书 edition, vol. 19; *Fujian Tongzhi* 福建通志 (Provincial Gazetteer of Fujian), 1737 edition, vol. 273.
- 28 Zhao Rugua 赵汝适, *Zhu Fan Zhi* 诸蕃志 (Accounts of Foreign Peoples), c. 1225, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956 reprint, vol.1, "Jiao-zhi kingdom."

- 29 Ma Huan 马欢, *Yingya Shenglan* 瀛涯胜览, (The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores), 1433, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955 reprint, "Old Harbour".
- 30 Ma Huan, *Yingya Shenglan*, "Kingdom of Java."
- 31 *Ming Shilu: The Yingzong Reign* 明实录: 英宗朝 (Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty), vol. 19, "June of the 6th year of Zhengtong".
- 32 *Ming Shilu: The Yingzong Reign*, vol. 43, "June of the 3rd year of Yingzong." The titles prefixed to their names as recorded in the Ming sources were Javanese official titles. According to Wada Hisanori 和田久徳, "八致" refers to "patih," a senior Javanese officer in charge of financial affairs while "亚烈" was a transliteration for "arya," meaning Regent or Pangeran. See Wada Hisanori, "Jugo-seiki no Jawa ni okeru chugoku-jin no tushou katsudo" 十五世紀のジャワにおける中国人の通商活動 (Chinese commercial activities in 15th century Java), in *Ichiko kyoutjyu taikan kinen ronsou benshu iinkai* 市古教授退官記念論叢編集委員会 ed., *Ronshu kindai chugoku kenkyu* 論集近代中国研究, Tokyo, 1981, pp. 581-609. For a detailed introduction to Javanese official titles, see B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, The Hague: W. van Hoeve Ltd, 1955, Pt. 2, p. 370, note 378.
- 33 For fuller studies on Zheng He's maritime expeditions and their relations with Southeast Asia, see Wang Gungwu, "Early Ming relations with Southeast Asia: A background essay"; "China and Southeast Asia 1402-1424"; and "The Opening of Relations between China and Malacca 1403-1405," in Wang Gungwu, *Community and Nation: Selected Essays on Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, Kuala Lumpur and Sydney: Heinemann Asia, 1981.
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- 35 Zhang Tingyu 张廷玉, *Ming Shi* 明史 (History of the Ming Dynasty), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974 reprint, vol. 205, "Biography of Zhu Wan." For detailed studies on the smuggling trade during the Jiaping period, see Sakuma Shigeo 佐久間重男, "Mindai kaigai watakushi boeki no rekishi teki haikeri" 明代海外私貿易の歴史的背景, *Shigaku Zasshi* 史学雑誌, 62:1 (1953), pp. 1-24; Chen Wenshi 陈文石, "Ming Jiaping Nianjian Zhe-Fu Yanhai Kouluan yu Sifan Maoyi de Guanxi" 明嘉靖年间浙福沿海寇乱与私贩贸易的关系 (Piracy and smuggling trade on the coast of Zhejiang and Fujian during the Jiaping period of the Ming dynasty), *Journal of the Institute of History and Language*, 36 (1965), Academia Sinica, Taipei; Ng Chin-keong, "The Fukienese maritime trade in the second half of the Ming period," *Nanyang University Journal* 5 (1971), pp. 81-99.
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- 39 Su Shi, "Qijin shanglu guo waiguo zhuang" 乞禁商旅过外国状 (Appealing to forbid merchants from travelling to foreign countries), in Su Shi, *Dongpo Quanji* 东坡全集 (Complete Works by Su Shi), *Sikuquanshu* edition, vol. 58, p. 2; Jeong In Ji comp., *Ko-ryo Sa*, vol. 13, "Ruizong shijia" (Genealogy of Ruizong). See also Chen Gaohua, "Beisong shiqi qianwang Gaoli maoyi de quanzhou boshao" 北宋时期前往高丽贸易的泉州舶商 (Quanzhou maritime merchants trading to Korea during the Northern Song period), Quanzhou: *Haijiaoshi yanjiu*, No. 2, 1980, pp. 48-54.
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- 42 Pang Yuanying 庞元英, *Wenchang zalu* 文昌杂录 (Things Seen and Heard by an Official at Court), c. 1086, *Xuejin taoyuan* edition, vol. 5; Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi Tongjian Changbian* (Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror of History for Aid in Government), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980 reprint, vol. 261.
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- 54 Xie Jie 谢杰, *Qiantai Wozhuan* 虔台倭纂 (Records of the Wako), *Xuanlantang congshu xuzi* 玄览堂丛书续集 edition; Zheng Ruozeng, *Chouhai Tubian*, vol. 4; *Haicheng xianzhi* 海澄县志 (Gazetteer of Haicheng County), 1762 edition, vols. 18, 24.
- 55 For a pioneering and comprehensive study on Li Dan, please see Iwao Seiichi 岩生成一, "Mimmatsu Nippon kyogū shinajin Kapitan Li Dan ko" 明末日本僑寓支那人甲必丹李旦考, *Toyo Gakuhō*, 23:3 (1936), pp. 160-173. A slightly revised version was published in English 22 years later; see Iwao Seiichi, "Li Tan, chief of the Chinese Residents at Hirado, Japan in the last days of the Ming dynasty," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, no. 17 (1958), pp. 27-83.
- 56 Anthony Farrington ed., *The English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, London: The British Library, 1991, 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 381. It should be pointed out that there were two letters sent by Richard Cocks to the Company on 25th February 1615. For reasons unknown to us, these two letters were bundled together and labelled as "25 February 1616" in the published EIC archive, but they were actually endorsed and sent out on 25th February 1615 by Cocks as indicated by the original letters. Consequently Iwao Seiichi calculated the year of Li Dan's arrival in Hirado one year later by mistake, and all the following historians who touched this topic without examining the original records themselves copied the mistake from Iwao, such as John E. Wills, Jr., Li Hsien-chang, Zheng Xifu 郑喜夫 and Xu Jianzhu 徐健竹. See John E. Wills, Jr., "Maritime China from Wang Chih to Shih Lang", pp. 216-217; Li Hsien-chang, "Keikan jidai no Nagasaki tojin o meguru shumondai" 慶寛時代の長崎唐人をめぐる諸問題 (Inquiries into the history of the Chinese in Nagasaki in the eras of Keicho and Kanei), Part I, *Chugoku Gakushi* 中國學志, 2 (1965), pp. 83-152; Zheng Xifu, "Buji Li Dan yan Siqu" 补记李旦与颜思齐 (Additional notes on Li Dan and Yan Siqu), *Taiwan Fengwu* 台湾风物 (The Taiwan Folkways), vol. 19, nos. 1-2 (1969), pp. 59-64; Xu Jianzhu, "Zheng Zhilong Yan Siqu Li Dan de Guanxi jiqi Kaifa Taiwan kao" 郑芝龙、颜思齐、李旦的关系及其开发台湾考 Studies on the relations among Zheng Zhilong, Yan Siqu and Li Dan and their contributions towards the opening of Taiwan), *Mingshi Yanjiu Luncong* 明史研究论丛 (Essays on the History of Ming), Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1985, pp. 286-301.
- 57 Sir Ernest M. Satow ed., *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1900, p. 88.
- 58 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, p. 332.
- 59 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, p. 126.
- 60 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, pp. 88, 101, 122, 294-295; vol. 2, pp. 22, 45, 139, 148.
- 61 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, p. 155, 230, 235, 241.
- 62 In a letter dated 10 March 1620, Richard Cocks definitively writes: "This Andrea Dittis is now chosen capten and cheefe comander of all Chinas in Japon, both at Nangasaque, Firando, and else where." See Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 2, p. 309.
- 63 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 2, pp. 27, 33.
- 64 B. Hoetink, "So Bing Kong: Het eerste hoofd der Chineezten te Batavia (1619-1636)" (So Bing Kong: the first chief of the Chinese in Batavia, 1619-1636), *BKL*, 73 (1917), pp. 344-415, p. 355, note 3.
- 65 "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Richard Fursland at Batavia, 31 December 1622," in Anthony Farrington, ed., *The English Factory in Japan*, pp. 913-915. Professor Iwao also mentions this loan in his article. Unfortunately, he mistakes the figure as 60,000 taels, ten times that of the actual loan.
- 66 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cock*, vol. 1, pp. 153, 228, 248, 332, vol. 2, p. 217; Sir Ernest M. Satow ed., *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, p. 167.
- 67 Adapted from Iwao Seiichi, *Shuinsen boeki shi no kenkyu* 朱印船貿易史の研究 (Studies in the history of the vermilion-seal junk trade), revised edition, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1985, pp. 218-228.
- 68 Suganuma Teifu 菅沼貞風, *Hirado boeki shi* 平戸貿易志 (History of Hirado Trade), in Suganuma Teifu, *Dai nippon shogyo shi* 大日本商業史 (History of Japanese Commerce), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1940 reprint, pp. 523-629, p. 597. Suganuma (1865-89) was a native of Hirado. In the book he outlines the overseas expansion of Japanese traders and the transition of their trading activities prior to the *Sakoku* period. As for the general history of overseas trade at Hirado, see Murakami Naojiro 村上直次郎, *Boeki shijo no Hirado* 貿易史上の平戸 (Hirado in commercial history), Tokyo: Nihon gakujutsu fukyukai 日本学術普及會, 1917.
- 69 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, pp. 230, 235; vol. 2, p. 21.
- 70 Nishikawa Joken 西川如見, *Nagasaki yawaso* 長崎夜話草 (Evening Talks of Nagasaki), 5 vols., preface 1720, reprinted in 1896 as part of *Nagasaki sosho* 長崎叢書 (Nagasaki Collectanea), Nagasaki: Nagasaki Kobunsho Shuppankai 長崎古文書出版會, "Tosen hajimete nyutsu no koto" 唐船始入津の事 (On the first arrival of Chinese junks); Tanabe Mokei 田邊茂啓, *Nagasaki jitsuroku daisei* 長崎實録大成 (The Complete Authentic Accounts of Nagasaki), Nagasaki: Nagasaki Bunko Kankokai 長崎文庫刊行會, 1928, p. 359.
- 71 Nagasaki, meaning "long cape," is situated on the island of Kyushu at the southwestern extremity of Japan. Historically, it was also known as Fukaeura, Fukazue, Fukutomiura and Tsurunominato. There are several accounts of the early history of Nagasaki, but it is widely agreed among Japanese historians that the origins of Nagasaki can be traced back to the late 12th century, when a samurai by the name of Nagasaki Kotaro Kasazuna 長崎小太郎重綱 arrived at this port from the village of Nagasaki in Izu, and became the local feudal lord. See Nagasaki Shiyakusho 長崎市役所編 ed., *Nagasaki shi shi* 長崎市史 (History of the City of Nagasaki), 8 vols. Nagasaki: Nagasaki Shiyakusho, 1923-1938. vol. 5, *Meisho Kyuseki bo* 名勝舊蹟部 (volume on Famous Places and Historical Sites), pp. 1-3; Yanai Kenji, Nagasaki, Tokyo: Shibundo 至文堂, 1962. Another well-written academic work by a Japanese historian on the early history of Nagasaki is Koga Jujiro's 古賀十二郎 *Nagasaki kaiko shi* 長崎開港史 (History of the opening of Nagasaki port), Nagasaki: Kenritsu Toshokan 縣立圖書館, 1922. For a brief introduction to the history of Nagasaki in English, see Herbert E. Plutschow, *Historical Nagasaki*. Tokyo: The Japan Times Ltd., 1983.

- 72 *Gaikoku nyutsu ki* 外国入津記 (Account of the arrival of foreign junks), quoted in Hayashi Akira 林焯 comp., *Tsuko ichiran* 通航一覽 (Survey of Foreign Relations), 8 vols., 1853, Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai, reprint 1912-1913, Chapter. 158.
- 73 Both these letters were in fact drafted by the famous Confucianist Hayashi Razan 林羅山. See Tanabe Mokei, *Nagasaki jitsuwoku daisei*, p. 84; Kyoto Shisekikai 京都史迹會編 ed., *Hayashi Razan bunshu* 林羅山文集 (Collected writings of Hayashi Razan), Kyoto: Kobunsha, 1930, vol. 12, p. 130.
- 74 *Ming Shenzong Shilu* 明神宗實錄 (Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty, Shenzong period), vol. 498.
- 75 Murakami Naojiro 村上直次郎 ed. & translated, *Nagasaki Oranda shokan no nikki* 長崎オランダ商館日記 (Diary of the Dutch Factory in Nagasaki), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1956, 3 vols., vol. 1, pp. 107-111, 173, 235, vol. 2, p. 320; Nagazumi Yoko 永積洋子 compiled, *Tosen yushutsunyuhin suryo ichiran 1637-1833* 唐船輸出入品數量一覽 1637-1833年 (List of the commodities imported and exported by Chinese junks, 1637-1833), Tokyo: Sobunsha, 1987, pp. 36-100, 330-349.
- 76 Sources: Iwao Seiichi, "Kinsei nisshi boeki ni kansuru suryoteki kosatsu" 近世日支貿易に関する數量の考察 (An inquiry into the quantities of maritime trade between Japan and China during the early modern period), *Shigaku Zasshi*, 62: 11 (1953), pp. 11-13; Nagazumi Yoko, comp., *Tosen yushutsunyuhin suryo ichiran 1637-1833*, pp. 36-100, 330-349. The data for individual ports during the years 1634-46 is not available, and the figures pertaining to the individual places of origin and the percentages are my own calculation, which correct some of minor mistakes made by Prof. Iwao.
- 77 See the lecture given by Professor Oba Osamu 大庭脩 in Shenyang on 11 August 1979, which was published in China the following year. Oba Osamu, "Ri-Qing maoyi gaiguan" 日清貿易概觀 (A general survey of the trade between Japan and the Qing China), *Shehui kexue jikan*, 1(1980), pp. 89-100.
- 78 For a comprehensive and detailed study on the early history of Taiwan, see Ts'ao Yung-ho 曹永和, "Zaoqi Taiwan de kaifa yu jingying" 早期台湾的开发与经营, *Taipei wenxian* 台北文獻, No. 3 (1963), reprinted in Ts'ao Yung-ho, *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu* 台湾早期历史研究 (Studies on Early History of Taiwan), Taipei: Lianjing chuban gongsi, 1979, pp. 71-156.
- 79 For instance, Lin Daoqian 林道乾, one of the notorious pirates, had his headquarters established in Taiwan in 1563 when chased out by Yu Dayou 俞大猷. See *Ming Shi*, vol. 323.
- 80 Xu Fuyuan 许孚远, "Shutong haijing shu" 疏通海禁疏 (Memorial on lifting the maritime trade ban), in Chen Zilong 陈子龙, Xu Fuyuan 徐孚远 et al. comp., *Ming jingshi wenbian* 明经世文编, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962 reprint, vol. 400, *Jinghetang ji* 敬和堂集 (Collected Works of Xu Fuyuan).
- 81 Chen Di 陈第, *Dongfan ji* 东番志 (Account of the Eastern Barbarians), in Shen Yourong 沈有容, *Minhai zengyan* 闽海赠言 (Parting Notes Jotted in Fujian), vol. 2.
- 82 For a comprehensive account of the event, see W.P. Groeneveldt, *De Nederlanders in China, Eerste stuk: De Eerste Bemoeiingen om den Handel in China en de Vestiging in de Pescadores, 1601-1624, in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 48 (1898).
- 83 Zhang Xie 张燮, *Dongxiyang kao* 东西洋考 (A Treatise on the Eastern and Western Oceans), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, reprint, 1981, pp. 127-128.
- 84 W. P. Groeneveldt, *De Nederlanders in China*, pp. 495-496.
- 85 Nan Juyi 南居益, "Bingbu tixing tiaochen penghu shanhou shiyi cangao" 兵部題行条陈澎湖善后事宜残稿 (An incomplete memorial manuscript on the Penghu crisis kept by the Military Board), in *Mingqing shiliao* 明清史料 (Primary Sources of the Ming and Qing Dynasties), Series B, Book 7, p. 605.
- 86 H. T. Colenbrander and W. Ph. Coolhaas, *Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, The Hague, 1919-1923, Deel 5, pp. 35, 71, 83, 149, 162, 169, 271, 273, 281, 321-322, 489.
- 87 J. E. Heeres ed., *Dagbregister gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter Plaetse als over geheel Nederlands India 1624-1629*, Batavia and The Hague, 1888-1931, 1624-29, pp. 337-338; H. T. Colenbrander and W. Ph. Coolhaas, *Jan Pietersz. Coen*, Deel 5, 10 Feb. 1629, pp. 149-150. 1 mas = 1/10 tael.
- 88 H. T. Colenbrander and W. Ph. Coolhaas, *Jan Pietersz. Coen*, Deel 4, pp. 321-322.
- 89 *Qinding daqing huidian shili* 钦定大清会典实例 (Imperially Compiled Laws and Relations of the Qing Court), 1909, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, vol. 776.
- 90 Horse Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929, vol. 1, pp. 41-49.
- 91 Berthold Laufer, "The Relations of the Chinese to the Philippine Islands," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, 50:2 (1908), Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 248-284; H. Otley Beyer, "Historical Introduction," in E. Arsenio Manuel, *Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language*, Manila: Filipiniana Publications, 1948, pp. ix-xxv; Robert B. Fox, "Chinese Pottery in the Philippines," in Schubert S. C. Liao ed., *Chinese Participation in Philippine Culture and Economy*, Manila: Schubert S. C. Liao, 1964, pp. 96-113; Liu Chi-Tien 刘芝田, *Zhongfei guanxi shi* 中菲关系史 (History of Sino-Philippine Relations), Taipei: Cheng Chung Book Company, 1964, pp. 258-352.
- 92 It is widely accepted that only at the end of the 18th century did a small number of Cantonese start to sojourn in or emigrate to Manila. See Chen Lie-fu 陈列甫, *Feilübin de lishi yu zhongfei guanxi de guoqu yu xianzai* 菲律宾的历史与中菲关系的过去与现在 (The History of the Philippines and China-Philippine Relations: Past and Present), Taipei: Zheng zhong shuju, 1968, p. 129.
- 93 "Relation of the Voyage to Luzon, (June 1570)," in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark, Co., 1903-07, (hereafter cited as Blair and Robertson), vol. 3, p. 101.
- 94 There have been many debates on the origin and meaning of the term *Sangley*. Based upon a Manila manuscript of c. 1590 that contains a colour picture of a Hokkien merchant couple with the title "Sangleys" and two Chinese characters "常来" (*changlai*), the late Professor C. R. Boxer argues that the term means "constantly coming." He even suggests that the term is probably of Tagalog and not of Chinese origin since the Spanish Friar Martin de Rada mentioned it in his accounts of the Ming China as saying "The natives of these islands call China 'Sangley,' and the Chinese merchants themselves call it Tunsua [*Tiong-hoa* in Hokkien]; however its proper name nowadays is Taybin [*Tai-bin* in Hokkien]." On the other hand, Edgar Wickberg contends that the term probably derived from the Chinese term "shang-lü" 商旅, meaning "merchant traveller." Indubitably these two explanations are not convincing. I am rather inclined to believe that the term *Sangley* is derived from the Hokkien dialect word "shengli" 生理, meaning "trade" or "doing business." As a matter of fact, the term *Sangley* or "Shengli" was and still is very popular among Hokkien people. For instance, when talking about the smuggling with the Japanese traders, Zheng Ruozeng pointed out in the 16th century that "Of the people who usually smuggle with the Japanese, a majority are those from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou who do not have their own business" (*xianlai tong wo duo zhang quang wu shengli zhi ren* 向来通倭多漳泉无生理之人). Another piece of evidence in point is a contemporary Spanish account by Juan de Medina, which was published in 1630. According to Juan de Medina, when the Hokkien merchants came to the Philippines for the first time, the natives were surprised by their strange appearance, and asked who they were. "The answer was

HISTÓRIA

- 'Sangley' (or 'merchants'); as one would say, 'We are merchants.' For the relevant references, see C. R. Boxer ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, London: the Hakluyt Society, 1953, p. 260; Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965, p. 9; Zheng Ruozeng, *Chouhai Tubian*, 1561-62, Shanghai: Commercial Press, *Sikuquanshu zhenbenchujū* 四庫全書珍本初集 edition, reprint 1935, vol. 12; Juan de Medina, "History of the Augustinian order in the Filipinas Islands, (1630)," in Blair and Robertson, vol. 23, p. 220; Berthold Laufer, "The relations of the Chinese," p. 268; George Phillips, "Early Spanish trade with Chincheo (Chang-chow)," *The China Review*, 19 (1890), p. 244, note 3; Fuchiwaki Hideo 淵脇英雄, "Shina Hirippin tsusho-jo no 'Sangley' ni tsuite" 支那菲律賓通商とのサングレインに就いて (On 'Sangley' in the China-Philippine trade), *Rekishi to Chiri* 歴史と地理, 33-34 (1934), pp. 336-347.
- 95 When talking about Manila, He Qiaoyuan 何乔远 (1557-1631), a prominent Hokkien historian of the Ming dynasty, points out that "Since the place is adjacent to Fujian, the majority of the Zhangzhou people travelled there." See He Qiaoyuan, *Ming-shan Zang* 名山藏 (A private compiled history of the Ming dynasty), 1640, Taipei: Chengwen shuju reprint, 1971, vol. 62, pt. 3, Entry for "Luzon."
- 96 "Letter to the King by Geronimo de Silva (Manila, 1st August 1621)," in Blair and Robertson, vol. 20, p. 109; "The Sangley insurrection by Pedro de Acuña and others (Manila, 12-23 December 1603)," in Blair and Robertson, vol. 12, pp. 155, 157.
- 97 Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*. In Blair and Robertson, vol. 16, pp. 211-318, especially pp. 290-298; "The Sangley insurrection by Pedro de Acuña and others (Manila, 12-23 December 1603)," in Blair and Robertson, vol. 12, p. 154.
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- 99 "Conquest of the island of Luzon (Manila, 20th April, 1572)," in Blair and Robertson, vol. 3, p. 167; "Letter from the Audiencia to Felipe II by Santiago de Vera and others (Manila, 25th June, 1588)," in Blair and Robertson, vol. 6, p. 316.
- 100 "Relation of the insurrection of the Chinese (Manila, c. March 1640)," in Blair and Robertson, vol. 29, p. 249.
- 101 "Description of the Philippine Islands by Bartolomé de Letona, (Mexico, 1662)," in Blair and Robertson, vol. 36, p. 200.
- 102 Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*, New York, 1969, p. 17.
- 103 Zhang Xie, *Dongxiyang kao*, vol. 7, "Section of Taxation;" *Ming Shenzong shilu* (Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty: Shenzong period), vols. 210, 316.
- 104 Sources: A) Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques (XVI, XVII, XVIII siècles)*, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960, 2 vols., vol. 1, pp. 148-191. B) Blair and Robertson, vol. 3, pp. 74-77, 84-89, 94-95, 103-104, 181-182, 243, 298-299; vol. 4, p. 91; vol. 5, p. 238; vol. 6, pp. 61, 150, 302-303, 316; vol. 7, pp. 34-35, 120; vol. 8, pp. 237, 270; vol. 10, p. 179; vol. 11, p. 111; vol. 12, p. 83; vol. 14, pp. 51, 70, 189-191; vol. 16, pp. 44, 177-178, 297; vol. 18, pp. 38, 41, 66-72, 228-230; vol. 19, p. 69; vol. 20, pp. 32-33, 49-50; vol. 22, pp. 96-97; vol. 23, pp. 94, 193; vol. 24, p. 208; vol. 25, pp. 143-144; vol. 26, pp. 276-277; vol. 29, p. 306; vol. 34, p. 298; vol. 35, p. 177. C) *The Voyage of John Huygen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1885, 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 124. D) Ernest M. Satow ed., *The Voyage of John Saris to Japan*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1900, p. 226. E) "Dampier's Account of the Philippines," in John Pinkerton ed., *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World*, London, 1808, 17 vols., vol. 11, p. 38. F) H. T. Colenbrander and W. Ph. Coolhaas eds., *Jan Pieterszoon Coen; Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië*, 's-Gravenhage, 1919-1953, 7 Deels; Deel 1, pp. 184, 399; Deel 4, p. 726; Deel 7, pp. 55, 673. G) J. A. van der Chijs et al eds., *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands-India, 1624-1682*, 's-Gravenhage/Batavia, 31 Deels; 6th April, 1625; 28th March, 1631.
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- 113 Xu Baoguang 徐葆光, *Zhongshan chuanxinlu* 中山传信录 (Travel Diary of an Embassy to the Ryukyu Islands), c. 1721, vol. 3. The original Chinese record reads: *Ci minren shan chao zhou zhe sanshiliu xing, yi bian wanglai* 賜閩人善操舟者三十六姓,以便往来. For a comprehensive study on this Hokkien community and its contribution to Ryukyuan foreign relations, see Wu Ai-hua 吴嵩华, "Shisi zhi shijiu shiji liuqi jiu mi cun ren yu Liuqiu duiwai guanxi zhi yanjiu" 十四至十九世纪琉球久米村人与琉球对外关系之研究 (A study on the residents of the Kumemura village and their contributions towards Ryukyuan foreign relations from the 14th to 19th centuries), *Journal of History Studies*, Taipei: National Normal University, 19 (1991), pp. 1-125; Xie Bizhen 谢必震, *Zhongguo yu Liuqiu* 中国与琉球 (China and Ryukyu), Xiamen: Xiamen University Press, 1996.
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