An Ethno-archaeological perspective of Maritime Cultural interaction between Southeast China and the West world during the 16th and 17th centuries

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Abstract
The Portuguese and Spanish navigation from Europe to East Asia and America opened the early globalization, one of the most important periods of cultural interaction in human history. The broad and deep maritime cultural exchange and conflict between Eastern Asia and the Western world resulted in this period after the arrival of the first European navigators. In the Southeast China region, a series of tangible and intangible cultural heritages as shipwreck with cargos’ content of different cultures, maritime trading remains, East-West mixed seaport building, and the exchange of agricultural goods have been identified and studied through archaeological and ethnographical methodology. The results show a significant cultural change in eastern Asia resulted from maritime cultural interaction and early globalization since the arrival of Spanish and Portugal ships to the region in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Keywords: China, Spain, Portugal, Maritime

Background: the early contact of Portuguese and Spanish with China
The early contact between Portuguese and Chinese in the southeast coastal region of Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang was full of difficulties due to the policy of Ming Dynasty to ban commerce (Lin Rengchuan, 1987: 32-50; Wu Chunming, 2003: 283-287).

After Vasco da Gama sailed pass the Cape of Good Hope 好望角 in 1498, Portugal quickly controlled the maritime trade of the Indian Ocean, replacing the Arabs. A series of Portuguese trading halls and military fortress were set up along the coasts of the Indian Ocean from 1501 to 1511, such as Cochin 科钦, Cali Carter 卡利卡特, Goa 果阿, Colombo 科伦坡 and Malacca 马六甲. The Portuguese struggled to trade with the Ming Dynasty for almost a century. From 1515 to 1522, the governor of Malacca Jorge d’Alboquerque and F. P. de Andrade sent two ambassadors to the Ming court to no avail. They were relegated to desolate islands like Wuzhou 澳洲 in Zhangzhou of Fujian, Shuangyu 双屿 in Ningbo of Zhejiang where they traded with smugglers at risk of confronting imperial authority (Lin Rengchuan, 1987, P.131-175). The situation changed when the Portuguese were allowed to settle at Nakasaki (Japan) in 1543 and were permitted in 1557 to colonize Macau 澳门, which had connections to Manila 马尼拉.
Timor, Vietnam and Siam. However, they were not permitted to dock in Canton (now Guangzhou) and Quanzhou. The success of Portuguese colonies in Eastern Asia resulted in a long distance maritime trade route between Eastern Asia and Europe connecting Nagasaki, Macau, Malacca, Hormuz, Cape of Good Hope and Lisbon.

The Spanish navigated to East Asia slightly later than the Portuguese, they arrived in East Asia from America and set up a permanent trading base in the Philippines. Their fleet tried to open another Europe-Asia maritime route across the Pacific between 1519 and 1522. During this period, the Portuguese Fernando de Magellan led a Spanish fleet that sailed across the Atlantic, and the Pacific to arrive in the Philippines. His ship sailed west to the Indian Ocean and back to Europe through the Cape of Good Hope and succeeded in the earliest circumnavigation of the world. This pan-Pacific experience set great benefit for the Spanish, but they met similar difficulties with the Ming ban.

After their arrival in the Philippines, the Spanish took almost half a century to conquer the archipelago. They fought the Portuguese to control the Moluccas in 1529, they confronted Philippine aboriginals and established the pan-Pacific trade route to link Asia, America and Europe through the Manila Galleon in 1565. They also sought to expand into Southeast China. Their requests to settle in Amoy (now Xiamen) in 1574, and in Guangdong in 1598 were refused by the Ming Dynasty. In 1626, the Spanish fleet occupied Keelung in Taiwan from where they engaged in smuggling activities until they were defeated by Dutch colonists in 1642. After their unsuccessful colonizing experience in southeastern China, the Spanish carried out indirect maritime trade with Chinese merchants. The Spanish established the Manila Galleon, which sailed across the Pacific to Acapulco, the cargo was transferred to Veracruz, and the goods were sailed to Europe. They developed a series of extension routes linking Manila to Amoy, Macau, Canton, Siam, Borneo and other regional Eastern Asian seaports, connecting them with this early global maritime trade system.
Shipwrecks and early international maritime trade in eastern Asia during 16th and 17th centuries

Although Spain and Portugal had to face the difficulties of the Ming ban, they nonetheless carried out trade with Southeast China. In the last 20 years, underwater archaeological investigation has yielded a series of shipwrecks dated to 16th to 18th centuries identified as the remains of private endeavors of maritime trade from Southeast China.

(1) Nanao shipwreck

The Nanao (南澳) shipwreck is located at the south of Nanao Island (Sun Jian, 2012). The site was discovered in 30 m of water, and was surveyed and excavated in 2000-2013. The wooden wreck remains are 27 m by 7.8 m and had 23 compartments. The shape of hull was identified as local traditional shipbuilding technique of Fujian and Guangdong. More than 30,000 artifacts have been salvaged from the site, including export ceramics, bronze, iron, tin, stone, wooden, bone, lacquer, more than 10 species of vegetation dry food. These contents are dated to the late 16th century.

95% of the artifacts from the site are blue and white from the Zhangzhou and the Jingdezhen kilns. This blue and white porcelain are similar to Swatoware or Clark artifacts. The Zhangzhou kiln (漳州窑) was located next to Wuyu (浯屿) and Moon seaport (月港), harbors famous for their smuggling activities. The Ming ban had forced private merchants to move away from local official harbors such as Canton and Quanzhou and carried out smuggling activities with the Portuguese and Spanish. They sailed out from Wuyu, Suangyu, Nanao or Zhangzhou Moon ports to meet European maritime traders at Macau, Malacca, Nagasaki and Manila. The Zhangzhou kiln which produced Clark ware had specialized in products for European consumption. Preliminary studies show that Clark ware from Nanao shipwreck share great similarities with material recovered from Portuguese, Spanish, and early Dutch shipwrecks like the San Diego and the San Felipe (Fujian Provincial Museum, 1997; Edward Von der Prrten, 2013). This appears to indicate that the Nanao wreck was involved in this type of illicit activities. Most of the content of Nanao was export goods, therefore the ship could have been in its outbound route. There does not seem to be European material on board, but there are artifacts of European influence (Fig.1).
The presence of firearms in ships is probably of European influence, since pre-European era junks have not yielded this kind of material.

(2) Donggu shipwreck

Donggu is another island in the border region of south of Fujian province also involved in smuggling activities during the Ming ban. The shipwreck was discovered in the small bay of Donggu, south of Dongshan, one of camp site of Zheng Chenggong troops during late Ming to early Qing Dynasty (Chen Liqun, 2001; Donggu Underwater Archaeology Team, 2003; Ao Jie and Zhao Jiabin, 2005; Li Bin and Sun Jian, 2005). The underwater survey and excavation on the site uncovered many artifacts as ceramic, bronze, iron, tin, stone and wooden. A coin with inscription of Yongli Tongbao was discovered, which had been casted and used during the regime of Zheng’s family in Taiwan and Fujian (1647-1683). Taking into account the weapons and armor found in the site, the boat could have been part of the military fleet of Zheng’s clan. The ceramic artifacts from the site include bowl, plate, dish and cup of blue and white porcelain, of which most are daily necessities. Most of this porcelain is from the local kilns of Zhangzhou, Dehua and others around Fujian. A few blue and white might be from the Izink kiln in Japan from the 17th century. This shows the close connection between Zheng’s clan with Japan (Li Jianan 2012).

Some artifacts from the shipwreck are interesting for the understanding of maritime cultural contact between Zheng’s clan and European colonists. Many firearms including iron cannons and gunpowder have been identified as imitations from Portuguese or Spanish, some of clear Mediterranean or European influence (Fig.2). The arms trade of Zheng’s clan had been recorded in detail in European documents (William Campbell, 1903; Iwao Seiichi, 1959). The popularization of European firearms in China during 16th and 17th century could be a result of maritime cultural exchange. A bronze tobacco pipe
from the site (Fig.2) – the oldest recorded in China – highlights this interaction, since tobacco originated from the Americas and was introduced in Asia by Europeans.

(3) Other shipwrecks of 16-17 century in southeast China

More than ten further wrecks from the 16th to 17th centuries have been identified in the seas of Southeast China. They are Baijiao 2 白礁二号 and Longwenyu 龙窝屿 (Zhao Jiabin and Wu Chunming, 2010), Laoniujiao 老牛礁, Jiuliang 九梁, Wanjiao 1 碗礁一号 (Zhou Chunshui 2013), Guangao 广澳, Baolintang 宝陵港 (Wu Chunming, 2003, P. 22-24), Yuzhuojiao 1 玉琢礁一号, Langhuajiao 浪花礁一号, Panshiyu 1 盘屿一号, Shiyu 3& 4 石屿三号·四号, Huaguangjiao 4 华光礁四号, in Xisha 西沙 archipelagoes (Zhao Jiabin 2012), and etc. They were identified as the remains of local Junks.

The Baijiao 2 shipwreck is located in Dinghai bay in the estuary of Minjiang. Dinghai had been the key fort defending the provincial capital Fuzhou in Ming and Qing dynasty.
Most of the artifacts from the site are celadon and blue and white, these bowl, plate, pot were identified as products of Pingnan, Wuyishan, Pucheng in north of Fujian province, dated to middle of 17 century. Similar thing had been discovered in Akita, Aomori, Kumamoto counties of Japan, showing the possible maritime cultural contact in this region.

Longwenyu locates 1000 m south of Baijiao 2. A Bronze cannon with inscription of “Guo Xing Fu” (国姓府) was collected from the site (Fig.3, left 1-2). The name Guo Xing is associated with Zheng (Chen Lijun, 2010).

According to historical records, Zheng’s fleet sailed Dinghai bay in 1654-1657 and fought with the the Qing Dynasty (Yang Ying and Chen Bisheng, 1981,P. 7, 79, 138—141, 158—160).

The Guangao shipwreck is also related to Zheng’s family where the bronze seal of Zheng’s subordinate Zhongzhenbo and bronze canons with inscription of “Guo Xing Fu” were salvaged (Chen Lijun, 2010).

(4) Private maritime business groups of Southeast China

After the establishment of the Ming Dynasty in 1368, the Chinese empire carried out maritime tributary trade and enforced the Ming ban that forbade maritime commercial activities. From the Ming and beginning of the Qing Dynasty (1368-1683), maritime trade was controlled by the government. Nevertheless, private merchants counteracted the ban with illicit trade, though facing grave reprieves should they be found. The arrival of the Europeans encouraged and favored the development of these activities. They organized themselves in family groups and armed their junks with firearms in European style to fight the government’s fleet. They were names as pirates by the officials of the Ming Dynasty, and they kept close connections to Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch traders (Lin Rengchuan, 1987, P. 183-200, 204-208; Wu Chunming, 2003, P.283-287).

According to historical documents, more than 15 different families took part in smuggling activities in the Southeastern coast of China in the Ming and Qing dynasties (Lin Rengchuan, P.85-130). Zheng’s family was the largest and strongest; they had been active in the eastern Asian sea between Fujian, Guangdong, Vietnam, Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines. The first generation of this family is Zheng Zhilong.
郑芝龙（1604-1661）出生于福建石井村。他是葡萄牙富商的养子。他在1622年十八岁时迁移到日本长崎，并加入了当地华人商人的李旦家族。郑芝龙娶了一位日本女子，并且发展了自己的海上贸易业务，与葡萄牙人、西班牙人和荷兰人进行贸易。他的儿子郑成功（1624-1662）继承并扩大了这个家族的业务，控制了东亚半个多世纪的海上贸易。

确实，所有这些私人海上贸易集团在东亚与西方世界的文化交流过程中扮演了关键角色。当中国政府不在国际贸易中时。沉船如奈良、东古和其他的出现似乎是这些私人努力的残余。根据历史航海指南的书籍《顺风相送》和《指南正法》（Xiang Da, 1961）等，这些私人商人在明末清初时，集中于东、南中国海。他们的走私贸易路线将地区与外界相连，到欧洲和美洲。

**Maritime cultural heritages in Southeast China resulted from early globalization**

除了沉船外，还有其他因素证明了早期全球化过程中发生的文化交流，无论是有形的还是无形的：建筑、海上居民聚落模式、植物、生活方式、贸易、宗教、文化、科学等。

(1) **European Architecture and change of settlement landscape of China**

在东亚和西欧的互动中，中国最重要的文化变化是欧洲风格建筑的引入，这始于葡萄牙和西班牙。他们在澳门、武元、双屿和基隆的定居点被明朝的官方军队根除，除了澳门。但其他建筑仍存；2004年，超过十二座欧洲风格的建筑被联合国教科文组织列为世界遗产（Wang Guoqiang, 2004）。

澳门最古老的欧洲建筑是圣保罗教堂，建于1555-1562年（图4）。

圣方济各教堂是澳门的另一座早期建筑，建于1587年（图5）。

圣母大教堂建于1622年，位于东王阳山。图书馆和市政厅建于1656年和1784年，具有典型的建筑特征。
Portuguese architecture. Further European influence from the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} century has conferred a distinctive Western landscape in many port cities in China, such as Amoy (Fig. 6).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image}
\caption{The front wall ruins of Sao Paulo Church of Macau (1595)}
\end{figure}

The cultural dissemination of European architecture in the last 500 years has impacted local construction in Taiwan, south of Fujian, and east of Guangdong, which uses red brick of European influence. The red brick building in south of Fujian, east of Guangdong and Taiwan might have been the result of architecture cultural mix of east and west from the 16\textsuperscript{th} century onwards.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textbf{Foreign plant species, change of agriculture and life-style}
\end{enumerate}

The Portuguese and Spanish brought not only a large amount agricultural and industrial product as maritime cargo, but also introduced a series of foreign plant species directly or indirectly into China such as sweet potatoes, potatoes, corn, peppers, tomatoes, pumpkin, peanut, ipomoea, bitter and cigarette. This new products changed the Chinese agricultural system, the diet and their life style.
Fig. 5: St Dominic’s Church of Macau (1587)

Fig. 6: The landscape of European architectures in Amoy, Fujian
Most of these foreign species were imported by the Portuguese and Spanish from South America to Southeast Asia (Philippines, Vietnam and Indonesia), and were introduced to China through maritime trade (Lin Rengchuan, 1987, P371-379). The name of sweet potato in China was Fan Shu (番薯) which means foreign (Fan) potato (Shu). It was first taken to Fujian and Guangdong in 1580, and then it spread to Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Sichuan, Guangxi, Jiangxi, Anhui, Hubei, Hunan, Shandong, Henan, Hebei, Shanxi and Guizhou in the beginning of Qing Dynasty. The corn was another important crop introduced in Fujian and Guangdong in the middle of the 16th century. The peanut was introduced to Haicheng 海澄 county in Fujian in the beginning of the 16th century. It then spread to Zhengjiang and beyond at the end of 16th century. Potatoes, peppers, tomatoes, pumpkin, ipomoea, and bitter were also introduced to China in the middle and late 16th century. The cultivation of all of these foreign crops enriched the Chinese diet.

Tobacco was introduced from America to the Philippines via the Manila Galleon in the middle of 16th century. It was taken into China through the Moon sea port in Fujian at the end of 16th century. It spread to Southwest China and beyond in the middle of 17th century.

(3) Christian missionaries and change of religion, culture and science of modern China

There were two waves of Christian missionaries prior to the maritime arrival of the Europeans in the 16th century. The two waves arrived through the land Silk Road during the Tang (618-907) and Yuan (1271-1368) Dynasties, respectively called Jing Jiao 景教 and Yelikewen Jiao 也里可温教. The arrival of Spanish and Portuguese brought about a
third wave that arrived with the Portuguese and Spanish maritime expansion. Religious beliefs were accompanied by other European knowledge of science and culture that had an effect on Chinese socio-cultural life (Lin Rengchuan, 1987, P. 414-418).

The Catholic Diocese of Macau was established in 1576, which was the first and most important missionary center in the Far East. Matteo Ricci and Jules Aleni were two of the most famous and most productive missionaries in China during 16th and 17th centuries.

Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) was the pioneer missionary of the Jesuits in China (Zhang Xiping, 2002). He arrived at Macau in 1582 and was permitted to go to Guangzhou and Zhaoqing in 1583. He stayed in Zhaoqing for 20 years and then went north to Nanchang, Nanjing, and finally he arrived in Beijing in 1600. He studied Chinese and preached in that language, and he also learned Chinese traditional literature and culture. He preached by way of "reconciliation strategy," making friends with Chinese scholars and officials.

Jules Aleni (1582-1649) was another great missionary of Catholicism who arrived in Macau in 1610 (Jules Aleni, 2011; Pan Feng Chuan, 2006). He was sent to Beijing, Shanghai, Yangzhou and other places to preach, and was active in Shaanxi, Shanxi, Hangzhou and Fuzhou. He had stayed in Fujian for 23 years and set up dozens of churches before he died in 1649. Soon after the works of these missionaries, Catholicism developed quickly in China. There were more than a hundred thousand Catholics in China in the middle of 17th century, many of whom were senior officials of the imperial court of the Ming Dynasty. The dissemination of Catholicism influenced Chinese religious life and philosophy, complying with the original Confucian and Buddhism. The introduction of new knowledge by missionaries also had great influence in China. Matteo Ricci was the most famous academic missionary in China, who specialized on western mathematics, surveying, geography, and surveying. He published more than 10 different Chinese books as 6 volumes *Geometry Theory*《几何原本》, 8 volumes *Mathematics Compare of East and West*《同文算指》, *Survey and Cartography Theory*《测量法义》, *Pythagorean Theorem*《勾股义》, *Similarities and Differences of Measurement*《测量异同》, *Principles of Astronomy*《乾坤体义》. These publications were co-authored by his students Li Zhizao 李之藻 and Xu Guangqi 徐光启 who
had been senior officials of Ming Dynasty (Zhang Xiping, 2002). Other missionaries like Jules Aleni also contributed to the spread of knowledge (Jules Aleni, 2011; Pan Feng Chuan, 2006; Alexander Wylie, 2011). All of these works greatly promoted the development of modern science in China, the mutual understanding of East and West, and advance in the progress of China and eastern Asia.

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Biography

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