

THE WAKO'S ECONOMIC WARFARE AND THE MAKING OF THE EAST ASIAN SEAS' ORDER

GOSPODARSKO RATOVANJE ISTOČNOAZIJSKIH »WAKO« PIRATA I NASTANAK NOVOG TRGOVINSKOG PORETKA U MORIMA ISTOČNE AZIJE

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Summary

This article and the last article¹ on »Uskoks' War Economy« consider why Uskok and Wako piracy played an active part for almost the same period in the late sixteenth century. In the previous article, the author pointed out that the succession states of the Mongol Empire, assuming this world empire to be a common base, formed several empires including the Ming Empire.

First, to understand the context in which Wako appeared, I will present three(macro, mesoscopic, micro) dimensions of the situation. 1.The macro (Eurasian) dimension. The Ming dynasty returned to trade with silver from the Mongol Empire, though this was always denied by the Ming dynasty. It coincided with the significant change of policy. In 1570, the leader of nomadic herders, Altan Qayan, would conclude peace and start trade with the Ming dynasty. This trade, called »Horse Fair,« was the new »shore« trade after the relaxation of the Sea Ban. 2.The mesoscopic (East Asian) dimension. Japan needed to develop its economy and resolve its financial difficulties through trade with China. On a political level, China wanted to retain the integrity of its great nation, and »economically its strength was not equal to its wish.« Historian Arano emphasized two factors in the process of change: »Wako« and »Portals.« As for »the Wako situation,« he pointed out that the last interchange between the areas of the China sea regions, especially traditional public trade, was seized by »the Wako power(the European power, the Japanese power, the Chinese marine merchants),« and therefore an international dispute did not die out in this area. 3. The micro (the East China Seas) dimension. Gakusho Nakajima offers new periodization of the history of the area, dividing it into five segments: ① Tribute, Ryukyu trade period, ② Shuangyu Wako period, ③ Wako, Western trade period, ④ Western trade period, ⑤ Western/ Chinese ship trade period. After 1570, various trade routes such as the tributary system, international trade with foreign merchants, and the Southeastern Asian trade conducted by the Chinese marine commerce were allowed.

Second, the Historiographical Institute of Tokyo University Institute describes the Wako, especially the »Jiajing Wako Raids«: The friction between the government officials and various groups of smugglers, as well as the rivalry among these groups, formed the »substance« or prerequisite of Wako piracy. These frictions developed along the Jiangsu shores and then in Zhejiang (Fujian) when newcomers, including the Portuguese, entered the smuggling network of the Chinese along with the Japanese. I believe this to be the comprehensive definition since it was based on results gathered from the great amount of available Wako studies. I intend to present the trends in the Wako studies of China and Japan. In the Japanese historiography, significant new explanatory models moved further from the Marxist historiography, and they included the Wako phenomenon. There is a study on Wako members unprecedented elsewhere. I introduce several themes or groups, among them, »estuary people« who lived from fishing and water transportation seem to be

important. They joined the Ming forces and were called to suppress Wako but eventually joined them.

Third, we will first concretely detail the change of the trade that was discussed previously. Then we will inspect what kind of trade Wang Zhi, the leader of late Wako, expected, and confirm how the intense struggle over the Sea Ban policy in the form of the »Jiajing Wako Raids« ended. In the following, I introduce the latest study on Wang Zhi in detail. However, the author perceives that the attitude toward the authorities of Wang Zhi was ambiguous. On the other hand, the position toward the authorities of Zheng Chenggong was clear, and he built authorities by himself. Zheng Chenggong or Koxinga was in contrast to Wang Zhi at the point.

Finally, Around 1570, the Ming dynasty changed its commerce policy while Portuguese/Spanish merchants reclaimed the new trade route at the same time. In this way, the trade order of East Asia was entirely reorganized. Nakajima names this new trade order simply the »1570 system.« And around 1570 the second phase of the »long sixteenth century« began.

Keywords: Wako, Ming dynasty, silver use, Tributary system, «Horse Fair», »Mutual Fair«, Portuguese/Spanish merchants, Jiajing Wako Raids, Estuary people, Wang Zhi Zheng, Chenggong (Koxinga)

Ključne riječi: Wako, dinastija Ming, korištenje srebra, sustav pritoka, »Sajam konja«, »Zajednički sajam«, portugalski / španjolski trgovci, Jiajing Wako pohodi, stanovnici estuarija, Wang Zhi Zheng, Chenggong (Koxinga)

INTRODUCTION

The Ming dynasty, founded in 1368, demanded that Japan should suppress the early Wako ravaging East Asia. Wako's raids caused the Sea Ban, yet the raids on China continued; most grievously, under the Jiajing Emperor. This »Japanese« piracy in the sixteenth century was termed the late Wako piracy.

This article and the last article¹ on »Uskok's War Economy« consider why Uskok and Wako piracy played an active part for almost the same period in the late sixteenth century.

In the previous article¹, the author pointed out that the succession states of the Mongol Empire, assuming this world empire to be a common base, formed several empires. We may grasp the character of each empire while considering how the empire controlled the nomadic herders. In the Habsburg Empire, the nomadic Vlachs became the frontiersmen in the army of the empire. On the other hand, in the Ming Empire, the Mongolian nomad remnants threatened the north of the Empire, and a large quantity of silver became necessary for defense against them. That forced the empire to reconsider its Sea Ban policy.

The first part of this paper will give an overview of the silver use by Eurasian nomadic herders from its inception; the history of silver use in the nomadic communities that developed within the Mongolian Empire; and the relationship between the nomadic herders and the marine merchants, which was created through silver trade during the Ming dynasty.

SILVER USE BY EURASIAN NOMADIC HERDERS

When we look at Eurasia and North Africa widely before the appearance of Mongolia, apart from the Chinese world of the east and the European area to the west, silver became the first means of exchange, resulting in the silver standard in the region.

Mongolia encouraged this situation. Silver use was a central Eurasian tradition and it was natural that Mongolia adjusted to it. International commercial powers such as Uygur and the Iranian Muslims, being in symbiosis with each other, insisted on silver use. In addition, a standard value common to all

¹ Isao Koshimura, Uskok's War Economy and The Making of The Early Modern Empire, *Ekonomika i Ekohistorija*, Zagreb, 2016

domains was necessary for Mongolia, which had become a vast empire spreading over gigantic areas. As a result, silver became a »base currency« all over the east and west of Mongolia.²

EURASIAN NOMADIC HERDERS AFTER THE MONGOLIAN EMPIRE

Many facts show that the commerce of Russia with the Asian steppe expanded from the sixteenth century onwards, and international trade around the Asian steppe developed between Russia, China, and the rest of the area. The use of silver and the nomadic herders continued playing an active part in the process.

However, the nomadic herders showed signs of decline in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both commercially and socially. After the conquest of the Khanate of Kazan in 1552 and the Khanate of Astrakhan in 1556 by Russia, nomadism lost its power to intervene in the farming area.

Viewed from a military standpoint, the appearance of large firearms forced the nomadic segments of society, which could not develop large-scale metallurgy facilities for production and maintenance, to change their relationship with the agrarian population. As for the horse-riding people, their mobility became useless because of the large range of firearms such as cannons.³

That »military revolution« was mainly concerned with the investigation of the revolt of nomad herders of Western Eurasia against their empire.⁴ On the other hand, nomadic herders at the eastern end of the Eurasian continent caused the piracy of the East China Sea, which was less explored.

THE MENACE FROM THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH OF THE MING EMPIRE

The Ming dynasty managed trade through the system of the so-called tributary trade. This trade, authorized by the Empire, was combined with the Sea Ban.

The Sea Ban policy was opposed to the commercial system of free trade that operated under the Yuan dynasty, which based a country's economy on agricultural systems⁵. (Refer to Chapter 1 for details.) However, in fact, this contradicted the political/economic conditions of East Asia. As a result, the existence of northern areas of power such as Mongolia created a huge need for military supplies, which imposed a high defense burden on the Ming dynasty.

This military burden required sending a large quantity of silver to the north for maintenance of the military; notably, construction costs of the Great Wall. However, China was not so rich in silver production, and it thus relied on inflow from the outside or on the plundering of domestic silver. The Ming dynasty unified the tax system for payment with silver, which was provided by sale in the market economy. This system was carried out in the region where the silver circulation was prosperous. Consequently, the Ming dynasty seemed to plunder silver from both inside and outside China for the benefit of national finances.

As a result, the amount of the tax was fixed with silver, even though silver was in short supply in the Ming Empire. The remarkable rise of the price of silver produced a decrease in farm prices. Producers were therefore in a miserable situation, and they could not but rely on producing more goods with high production value, including raw silk, in order to escape from this state of affairs.

Incidentally, Japanese trade with Chinese goods had been changing until the early sixteenth century. Prior to that time, Japan traded with the Ming empire in industrial goods (copper, sulfur, a Japanese

² Cf. 杉山正明、『遊牧民から見た世界史』、日経ビジネス文庫、2012年、400ページ (Masaaki Sugiyama, *The World History Looked from Nomadic Herders*, Tokyo, 2012, p.400).

³ Cf. 歴史学研究会編、『講座世界史1：世界史とは何か』、東京大学出版会、1995年、305ページ (Association for the Study of Historiography ed., *Lessons of World History 1: What is the world history?* Tokyo, 1995, P.305).

⁴ Cf.: Alfred Rieber, *The Struggle for the Eurasian Borderlands: From the Rise of Early Modern Empires to the End of the First World War*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp.303-308, pp.373-375.

⁵ Cf. 大阪大学歴史教育研究会、レポート「海域アジアにおける日本人」、2008年12月20日 (Osaka University Association for the History Education, The report »Japanese in Asian Sea Area,« December 20, 2008,) www.geocities.jp/rekikyoo01/pdf/081220b.pdf, P1.

sword from Japan; copper money, ceramics from China) through either legal (trading with ships authorized by the Shogunate) or illegal (Wako) means. From the late sixteenth century, the development of the silver mining ore⁶ in the Iwami silver mine gave global eminence to Japanese silver.

The Ming Empire was not able to resist a desire to purchase cheap silk from Chinese and Japanese smugglers. Thus, the lack of silver that resulted from engagement against the menace from the north caused illegal import from the south. The most important part of the illegal import was related to the smuggling by Wako.

The author will further elaborate on this illegal import, first from the standpoint of the relations among nations, then among social groups, and finally between smugglers and the Empire.

CHAPTER 1. VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF THE ORDER/DISORDER IN THE EAST CHINA SEA

To understand the context in which Wako appeared, the author will present three dimensions of the situation: the macro (Eurasian), the mesoscopic (East Asian), and the micro (East Asian Seas), as in the previous paper.

1. THE »MACRO SITUATION«: THE CHINESE »SUBSYSTEM« AND THE EURASIAN NOMAD HERDERS

A silver standard was created in Eurasia in the thirteenth century. The Ming dynasty was an empire born in east Eurasia after the system collapsed.

Historian Makoto Ueda explains the economic system of the Ming Empire, putting a world system theory in vision. In thirteenth-century Eurasia, an economic policy centering on silver was implemented under the control of the Mongol Empire, and the trade developed on an unprecedented range and scale. However, when the trade developed beyond the level that could be supported by the silver stock of that time, the economy of the Mongol Empire came into confusion.

The Ming dynasty born from this confusion planned its finances, attempting to avoid the use of silver. It was going to build a system that would allow trade to unfold without depending on a monetary economy. The eastern part of the Eurasian continent shifted to the situation; for example, by standing on the side of the sub (lower) systems without the core (world) system. Its trade returned to primitive forms such as the Imperial Chinese tributary system and plunder.⁷

The Ming dynasty had neither the will nor the ability to inherit the core/system of the Yuan dynasty. From the fourteenth century through the fifteenth century, China retreated into the position of a subsystem. The people who played an active part in the sea under the Yuan dynasty struggled to push the trade forward.

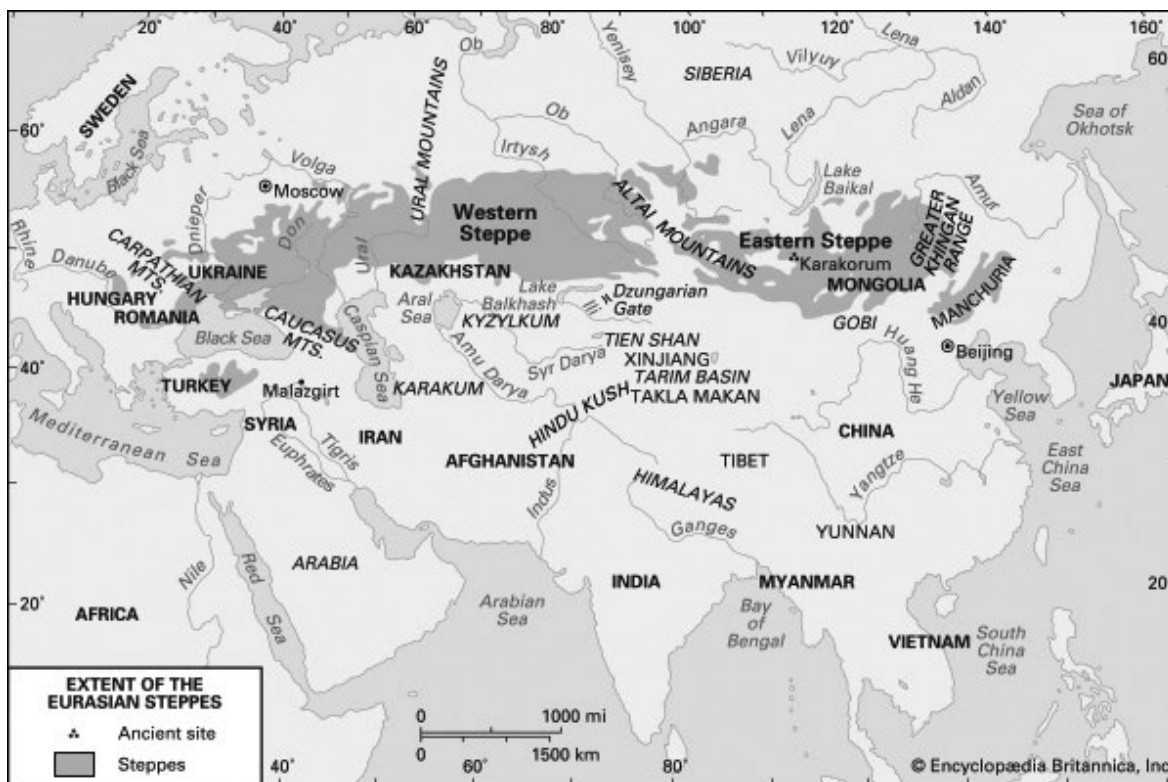
At first, the trade did not use silver. The aim was to exchange goods or to trade in goods. The dynasty did not collect a tax from the people—it directly requested *corvée* and various dues in kind.

It was necessary, as the premise, to keep the people under control at the physical level. The system developed for that purpose was the door mechanism. The dynasty continued to keep people under control, registering them under units called »the door.« It requested labor dues on the basis of the door system. Moreover, this system was the basis for the collection of various goods, such as cereals, that people delivered.

The dynasty came to pay the expenses related to the national defense of its northwestern border in salt. However, in the fifteenth century, as the merchants who traded in military supplies increased in number, some doors that produced the salt were not able to meet merchants' demand and started to

⁶ Cf.: *ibid*

⁷ Cf.: 上田信、『中国の歴史 海と帝国—明清時代』、講談社、2005年、50ページ (Makoto Ueda, 『一明清時代』、講談社、o Kyushu.: Sea and Empire – China of the Ming and the Qing dynasty ried from Kyushu to F.



Map 1. *The Eurasian steppes.* Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.

https://www.bing.com/images/search?view=detailV2&ccid=LmtZidmq&id=75368E766064C368B147E3C0A613224AE9E3CEFB&thid=OIP.LmtZidmqh8Qa3d2Jw8_hAgEsDG&q=The+Eurasian+steppes.&simid=608045415357023523&selectedIndex=0

escape. Meanwhile, in the areas where agricultural production was high, differences between the weak doors and the wealthy doors began to increase. Poor doors that were not able to bear the burden started to escape—especially as national defense expenditures increased.⁸

Under the Ming dynasty, rice tax and corvée started to be gradually paid with silver after the mid-fifteenth century. At first, it was the irregular corvée that was paid with silver. For the corvée, people were to travel to distant places and engage in the construction of dikes. It was convenient to exchange such corvée for silver and to collect the silver. Moreover, for the Ming dynasty, it was more efficient to employ workers on a construction site than to gather farmers from distant places.

In the early sixteenth century, irregular corvée was more or less entirely paid with silver. As for the rice tax, settling it with silver gradually advanced from the mid-fifteenth century. The process was further accelerated when large quantities of silver started to flow into China from Japan in the middle of the sixteenth century. Rice tax was paid now with silver for almost all items and corvée was converted into silver, except the limited part of the maintenance cost of the local infrastructure.⁹

The trading system based on silver and, introduced by the Mongol Empire, went through a process of regeneration. Though the Ming dynasty faced situations such as argyrisms (silver poisoning), trade centering on silver became active, and Southeast Asia entered into »the time of commerce.« Southeast Asia was going to form a new core (world) system, and the European power that handled the silver of the American continent was also involved in this new system.

⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.181.

⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.230.

The Ming dynasty returned to trade with silver from the Mongol Empire, though this was always denied by the Ming dynasty. It coincided with the significant change of policy towards south Wako pirates and north nomadic herders.

Here, we turn to the Eurasian nomadic herders mentioned in the Introduction. Historian Alfred J. Rieber examines the policies applied by Mongol succeeding empires to nomadic herders. In his study, there is a part mentioning Uskok and Vlachs, as well as a section considering nomadic herders of Caucasus. Both groups are related to the previous article, and the analysis of nomadic herders of China, particularly those in the »north,« is significant to this article.

According to several studies, the nomads emerge as more dependent and, hence, more committed than the imperial power in terms of the maintenance of cultural exchange on the frontiers. They much preferred trading to raiding. As long as the nomads accepted Chinese cultural superiority and tributary status, peace was assured. However, stability in the steppe was a precarious thing. Climactic change, the Chinese decision to close or restrict markets, or the breakdown of order »in the fluid and often chaotic frontier zones« could lead to conflict and war.¹⁰

The Mongols often invaded domains of the Ming dynasty, asking for expansion of the trade in the late fifteenth century. In 1550, in particular, they invaded and even surrounded Beijing.

In 1570, their leader, Altan Qayan, would conclude peace and start trade with the Ming dynasty. The two consequently began trading with each other, setting the period and the place. Horses, gold, and silver from Mongolia were traded for silk fabrics, food, and ironwork from China. This trade, called »Horse Fair馬市,« was connected with the »Mutual Fair互市« commerce system: the new »shore« trade after the relaxation of the Sea Ban. In other words, the situation on the land was linked with that of the sea in the 1560s and 1570s. The late Wako appeared at that time.

The new commerce system removed the request for »the political etiquette« from the tributary system.¹¹ Thus, it could ① satisfy the overseas power that desired trade with China; ② level the economic infrastructure of armed forces; ③ soothe the local influential people; and ④ let the Ming dynasty, which needed silver, obtain a custom income.

However, the tributary system carried the possibility of being in operation again if and when the overseas powers started political negotiations with the Ming dynasty.

2. SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS AND WAKO: THE »MESOSCOPIC SITUATION«

Chinese historian Wang Xiangrong, the chairman of the Chinese Association for the Study of Sino-Japanese Relations, emphasized the reciprocity between both countries. Also, he distinguished the late Wako from the early Wako as follows:

The Wako who plundered Korean and northern Chinese coastal areas for provisions and labor power were fundamentally different from the armed, illegal traders of the later period. The late Wako consisted of »the small number of men within the feudal government of Japan who monopolized foreign trade and later forged bonds with private and illegal Chinese merchants along the seacoast of China.«¹² Observing and analyzing from a broader Marxist perspective, Xiangrong made the Sino-Japanese relationship more understandable.

In the late fourteenth century, after the Japanese Northern and Southern imperial houses merged and the military regime of the Muromachi Bakufu was founded, Japanese economic conditions deteriorated. The continuous warfare had destroyed Japan's productive strength and prevented social and economic growth. Also, the collapse of the manorial system compelled the Bakufu and the feudal lords to stop relying on their local domains and begin to implement activities in the commercial sphere. The Shoguns

¹⁰ Cf.: Alfred Rieber, *Ibid.*, p.34.

¹¹ Cf. 上田信、前掲書、253ページ (Makoto Ueda, *Ibid.*, p.253)。

¹² Wang Xiangrong(汪向荣), [Translated by Joshua A. Fogel], *Periodizing the History of Sino-Japanese Relations*, www.chinajapan.org/articles/02.1/02.1.28-41wang.pdf, p.31.

of the Muromachi Bakufu, as well as Buddhist temples and mighty territorial lords, all considered monopolizing foreign trade to reap the vast profits from it. »The largest piece of this profit was in the China trade.«¹³

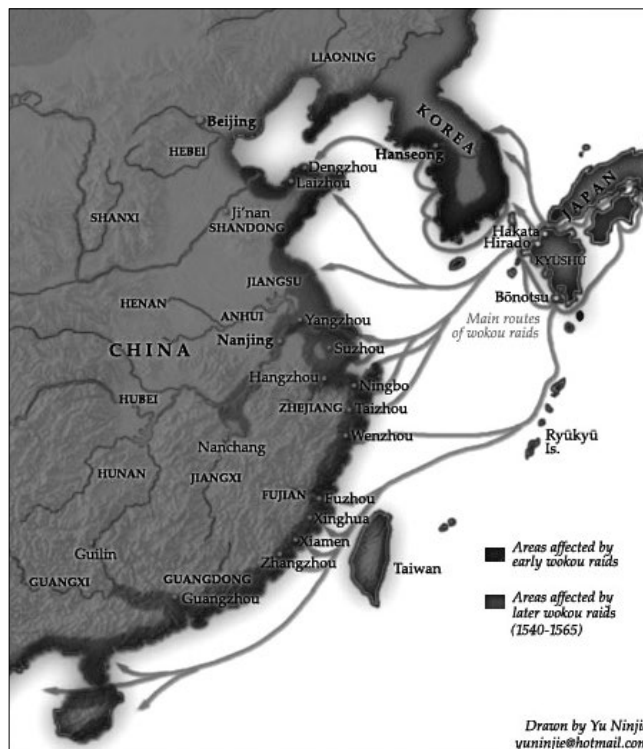
The Ming dynasty that was ruling China at this time, however, not only restricted private trade but also any trade other than tribute-trade. Tribute-trade meant submitting to China and adopting the Chinese calendar.

To obtain the high profit it offered, the Ashikaga Shoguns resolved their financial difficulties and satisfied the living requirements of their high-level feudal lords by accepting all of the conditions China placed on tribute-trade. »This was a stage in the history of the two countries' interactions when Japanese rulers took inferior status on their own.«¹⁴ The subsequent historical development determined that no force might hinder this trade; the Wako activity that brought upheavals along China's southeast coast in the sixteenth century constituted the amalgam of secret Chinese traders and obscure Japanese traders.

Xiangrong did not mention the trade policies or relations between the two countries in detail after this, but he closely observed Hideyoshi's invasion. After Toyotomi Hideyoshi unified Japan by force, he dispatched troops to invade Korea »to disperse domestic opposition and to resolve fiscal difficulties.«¹⁵ He even extended his war into China to obtain land and »trade concessions«¹⁶. From the fourteenth through the seventeenth century—the period of the Ming dynasty—relations between China and Japan were concentrated on three issues: ① tribute-trade, ② Wako activity, and ③ helping the Koreans resist the Japanese.¹⁷ All of them, in fact, followed the emergence of social and economic growth. Japan needed to develop its economy and resolve its financial difficulties through trade with China. On a political level, China wanted to retain the integrity of its great nation, and »economically its strength was not equal to its wish.«¹⁸ Later, during the war against Hideyoshi, peace was only gained when the Japanese agreed to the condition of »accepting infeudation without trade.«¹⁹

A policy of seclusion by the Tokugawa was carried out after Korea dispatched the troops by Hideyoshi. Japanese historian Yasunori Arano made the challenging grasp of Japan's relationship with its East Asian »neighbors.«

Each state of China, Japan, Korea, and Ryukyu (Okinawa) governed international relations by its own Sea Ban and the tributary system, and maintained peace and prosperity in early modern centuries. As Ueda pointed out, China formed a core system by itself in the sixteenth century. In addition,



Map 2. Areas affected by the Wako

¹³ Ibid, p.40.

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Cf. Ibid

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Ibid

the tributary system came to run side by side with private trade since the sixteenth century.

The tradition of this local/global community functioned in step with the changes introduced from the mid-sixteenth century. International order was in place in the early eighteenth century. The changes were as follows: ① The malfunction of international order (comprised of the Ming Empire and surrounding nations since the fifteenth century), ② The activity of late Wako (1540–88), ③ The establishment of the unified government of Hideyoshi (1590), ④ Its Korea/China invasion (1592–98), ⑤ The Ryukyu conquest (1609) of Shimazu, ⑥ Dynasty change from Ming to Qing (1644), and ⑦ The anti-Qing motion (1644–83) of Ming's retainers (1644–83). Such international order ended with the establishment of the hegemony of the Qing dynasty. In the new situation, the power balance and agreement established inside and outside East Asia, and international order in the East Asia in general, became stable for a while.

Arano emphasized two factors in the process of change: »Wako« and »Portals.« As for »the Wako situation,« he pointed out that the last interchange between the areas of the China sea regions, especially traditional public trade, was seized by »the Wako power,« and therefore an international dispute did not die out in this area. »The power of Wako« consists of such elements as the European power or the Japanese who took the interchange between sea areas other than those of the Chinese marine merchants. Figure 1 provides a schematic overview of Japan's political relations with neighboring states and peoples in East Asia during the period. »The Four Portals« are Nagasaki, Tsushima, Satsuma, and Matsumae (see Figure 1). Arano challenged the notion that Japan was uniquely isolated during the Edo period using the concept of »Portals.«

This sharing and occupying of the part of this Chinese trade network was, in a sense, the relativization of the »Sinocentric system« visible in the growth of surrounding nations and the change of Chinese dynasty, along with the decline of trading operations of Ryukyu.

A strong desire for the establishment of trade inside and outside China and discord with the old regime (the Sea Ban in particular) that the Wako Power embodied were the causes of the structural change of this time and an energy source to move towards the establishment of a new international order. A campaign to create the East Asian new order was the main channel of change. The influence of the European power remained rather secondary to the process.²⁰

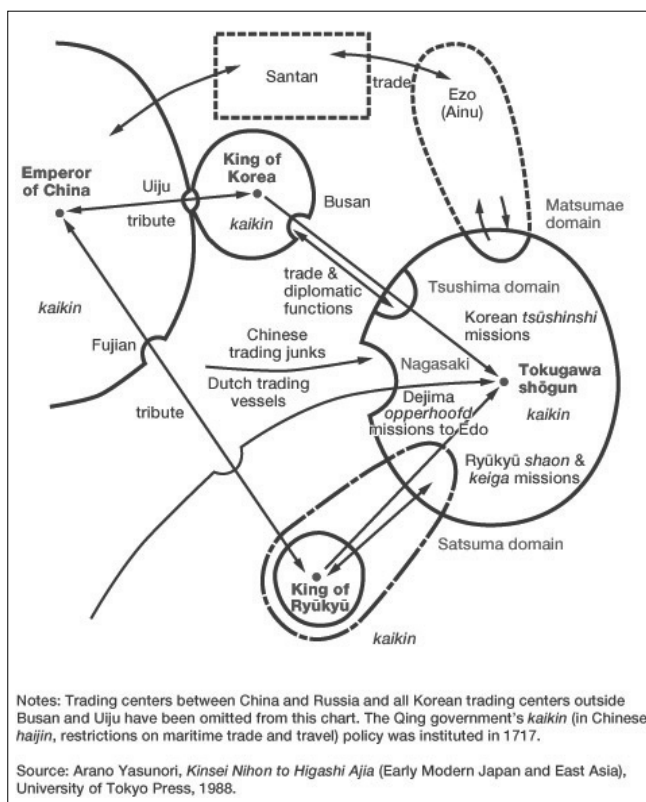


Figure 1. International Relations in East Asia, Mid-17th to Mid-19th Centuries

²⁰ Cf. 荒野泰典、「近世の国際関係と『鎖国・開国』言説: 19世紀のアジアと日本、何がどう変わったのか」、『比較日本学教育研究センター研究年報』、2015年3月10日、7–10ページ (Yasunori Arano, Early Modern International Relations and the Myth of »National Seclusion, Opening of the Country«: How and what did Asia of the 19th century and Japan change? Center for Comparative Japanese Studies Annual Bulletin, 2015-03-10) 、<http://hdl.handle.net/10083/57229>, pp.7-10.

3. SINO-JAPANESE TRADES AND WAKO: THE »MICRO SITUATION«

Here the author will address the »micro situation,« introducing the newest study on the border area known as the East China Seas. Historian Gakusho Nakajima shows a new historical image of the area while analyzing the guns and ceramics (of submerged ships), as well as analyzing the documents. He offers new periodization of the history of the area, dividing it into five segments.²¹

Stage I: Tribute, Ryukyu trade period (1500–1539)

As already mentioned, after the end of fourteenth century, the Ming dynasty strictly prohibited private overseas trading. However, since the mid-fifteenth century, the »Sea Ban/tribute system« had gradually relaxed in the South China Seas. A foreign ship, unrelated to tribute, could also sail into the Gulf of Guangzhou (see Map 2) in order to trade. From the Gulf of Zhangzhou, the illegal export spread to Southeast Asia. In contrast, Chinese merchants had little incentive to visit Japan, as there was a danger of breaking the Sea Ban and Japan did not have particular products needed in China. Sino-Japanese tribute trade was registered only twice in 40 years, except in 1523 when the Ningbo incident occurred (regarding the incident, see Chapter 3 Section1). This type of trade could not satisfy high Japanese demand for »Chinese goods,« and we may state that Japan rather depended on the transit trade of Ryukyu. The Ryukyu-Ming tribute trade had been in a tendency of long-term fall since the mid-fifteenth century, but the increase in smuggling to Ryukyu by Fujian merchants seemed to supplement this.

Ryukyu obtained »Chinese goods« by the tribute trade of Fujian-Naha and smuggling around the Gulf of Zhangzhou-Naha. The merchants of Hakata and Sakai (near Osaka) transferred them to the Japanese islands via South Kyushu.

The South China Sea entered »the times of the trade.«

Stage II: Shuangyu Wako period (1540–1556)

The East China Seas also joined »the times of the trade.« A rapid increase of silver production in the Iwami silver mine in the 1530s provided this opportunity. At first Japanese silver reached the Ming dynasty via the Korean Peninsula. Then, in the 1540s, many Chinese marine merchants breached the Sea Ban in order to obtain Japanese silver and began to make voyages to Kyushu. The Zhoushan Islands were to become the base of their smuggling. Chinese merchants and Portuguese venturers gathered in Shuangyu. Southeast Asians and Japanese also visited, and Japanese silver and articles from the »South Seas« were exchanged for the Chinese products.

The Ming dynasty, not being able to prevent the expansion of smuggling, launched an all-out attack on Shuangyu in 1548 and annihilated it. However, Chinese smugglers spread along the entire southeast coast, unified with Japanese (formal/informal) marine forces, and came to perform large-scale plunder and piracy. That is known as the »late Wako« period. Conversely, Japanese tribute trade ceased in 1549.

Stage III: Wako, Western trade period (1557–66)

1557 was an important turning point in the East/South China Sea area. In the East China Seas, Wang Zhi, the leader of Wako, surrendered to the Ming dynasty in 1557. The coastal defense system was also reinforced in the same year. The Wako of the Gangnam, Zhejiang area, became more peaceful. The main force of the Wako went south into the Fujian, Guangdong area. Yuegang Port of the Zhangzhou gulf became the greatest smuggling base afterwards.

In the early 1560s, the dominant clans of Yuegang Port caused a revolt against the suppression of smuggling carried out by the Ming dynasty (revolt of 24 Yuegang commanders). After having suppressed these uprisings, the dynasty founded a new county, Haicheng, in Yuegang and reinforced the coastal defense in the Gulf of Zhangzhou in 1565.

²¹ 中島楽章、「福建ネットワークと豊臣政権」、『日本史研究』610号、2013年6月、29～32ページ (Gakusho Nakajima, Fujian network and the Toyotomi Government, Journal of Japanese history, No.610, 2013-6, pp.29-32)。

On the other hand, in the South China Seas, Portuguese domiciliation was accepted in Macao in 1557. From Macao, Portuguese liners and venturers visited the Kyushu ports of Hirado or the Bungo prefecture. »Western (Nanban) trade« would get on track afterward. At the same time, and in conjunction with this occurrence, the Society of Jesus increased its propaganda activities and was given publicity. The Omura and Arima clan of Hizen, and the Otomo clan of Bungo in particular, protected the Society of Jesus. In the 1560s, the Portuguese ship came to enter Yokoseura and Fukuda of the Kuchinotsu and Omura territory of the Arima area.

Stage IV: Western trade period (1567–1579)

In the late 1560s, the activity of the late Wako gradually decreased, but it was clear that the Ming dynasty could not maintain the »Sea Ban/tribute system« anymore.

Until the end of the 1560s, the Ming dynasty greatly relieved the Sea Ban and allowed Chinese marine merchants to make a voyage to each port of Southeastern Asia from Zhangzhou (Yuegang). The trade network of Chinese merchants, particularly of Fujian marine dealers, suddenly spread in the South China Seas. It seemed that, in this way, most of the seafaring merchants who previously engaged in smuggling with Japan joined the officially recognized trade in Southeast Asia. Chinese ships did not stop to visit the shores of Kyushu at this time either, but there are considerably few examples of their trade in comparison with the anteroposterior time.

On the other hand, Omura newly opened the port of Nagasaki in 1571, and Macao-Nagasaki trade by Portuguese venturers became the aorta of Japan-Ming trade afterward. In contrast, the transit trade of Ryukyu received a decisive blow by an immediate expansion of the Southeastern Asian trade. Ryukyu kingdom and its national exchanges with Southeast Asia finally stopped in 1570. Ryukyu consequently strengthened dependence on trade with Japan and deepened subsidiarity to the Shimazu clan.

Stage V: Western/Chinese ship trade period (1580–1600)

In the 1570s, Macao-Nagasaki trade by Portugal and Haicheng-Southeast Asia trade by Fujian merchants developed in parallel. However, in the 1580s, aiming to profit from the trade in Japan, the number of Fujian marine dealers who visited a shore had begun to increase in Kyushu again. Directly, or via Luzon from the Gulf of Zhangzhou, they went over to Kyushu and, along with Macao-Nagasaki trade, a trade route linking Fujian, Kyushu, and Luzon grew. The Southeast Asian trade of the Kyushu clans as well as activities and voyages of Japanese merchants and mercenaries to Southeast Asia also intensified. The Ryukyu kingdom that served as the collection and distribution base that linked the East to the South China Seas became the hub that connected Kyushu, Luzon, and Fujian. Thus, around 1570, the dominance of Portugal/Spain on the new route impacted the commerce policy of the Ming dynasty, and the trade order of East Asia was comprehensively reorganized.

Until 1570, the Ming dynasty accepted private trade only under the rules of the tributary system. After 1570, various trade routes such as the tributary system, international trade with foreign merchants, and the Southeastern Asian trade conducted by the Chinese marine commerce were allowed depending on the situation. (Remember 1570.) However, Japanese islands, which were once the base of the Wako, were not incorporated into any of the mentioned trade routes.

Regarding the trade products, Japanese silver was carried from Kyushu to Fujian, Chinese products were transported from Fujian to Luzon, and Philippine products such as gold were carried from Luzon to Kyushu.

CHAPTER 2. THE COAST PEOPLE AND SMUGGLERS IN THE JIAJING PERIOD

At the beginning of this chapter, I will present a study conducted by the Historiographical Institute of Tokyo University. The study analyzed »The Volume Chart of Japanese pirates« in late years, making use of the latest technology. Thus, the Institute describes the Wako, especially the »Jiajing Wako Raids,« as will be detailed below. I believe this to be the most comprehensive definition in existence since it

was based on results gathered from the great amount of available Wako studies. I intend to present the trends in the Wako studies of China and Japan, including, also, the results of the social history in Japan.

1. »Comprehensive description« and the discovery of the new technology

The East Asia Sea's order, established in the early fifteenth century and based on the Sea Ban of the Ming dynasty, gradually deteriorated towards the late sixteenth century. According to the Historiographical Institute, the friction between the government officials and various groups of smugglers, as well as the rivalry among these groups, formed the »substance²²« or prerequisite of Wako piracy. These frictions developed along the Jiangsu shores and then in Zhejiang (Fujian) when newcomers, including the Portuguese, entered the smuggling network of the Chinese along with the Japanese, who were already present in this trade.

Rapid commercialization in the fertile Jiangnan Delta (see Map 2: Yangtze River, between Yangzhou and Suzhou) since the early sixteenth century brought about severe economic disparity and further tensions. The conflict was also fostered by the Wajin (Japanese) and others who arrived from the Japanese islands at the end of the war-torn (Sengoku) period and settled in the urban area and village region of Jiangnan. It developed into a large-scale upheaval, and such economic and social change disturbed the Ming dynasty. This became known as the Wako problem.

A scroll of Wako paintings (see previous article) at the Institute illustrates how Wako fought against the Ming forces and how the Ming forces won.

Since there are no picture documents other than this scroll, its characters have been thought to describe the early Wako. However, in recent years, it has become clear that there was another scroll that looked just like »The Volume Chart of Japanese pirates.« It is called »The Volume Chart of the Ming force against Japanese pirates« and it is held in the Chinese national museum. It is estimated that it was drawn as well as the former scroll during the last years of the Ming dynasty. Both describe the late Wako, because the letters, unknown for a long time, were discovered in »The Volume Chart of Wako« by infrared photography using a high-definition digital camera. Finding similar letters in »The Volume Chart against Japanese pirates,« the nature of the characters of »The Volume Chart of Wako« became more or less evident by the comparison and new technology.

At first, in the pictures of »The Volume Chart of Wako,« letters of »Koji fourth弘治4年« (see Figure 1) rise on the flag, which flutters on the Wako ship that is approaching from far away (see Figure 2). Experts could hardly have noticed the existence of the characters until now, because they were painted over with white coloring. »Koji fourth,« the Japanese name of an era, is the year 1558—the time of the »Jiajing Wako Raids.«

On the other hand, in the picture from »The Volume Chart against Japanese pirates,« the letters of »Japan Koji Third 日本弘治3年« were discovered (see Figure 3). Because those letters had been intensely damaged and covered with water, the Indian ink became

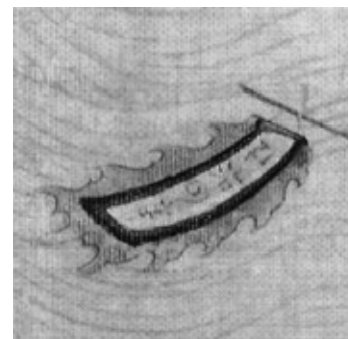


Figure 1. Source: 東京大学史料編纂所編、『描かれた倭寇～「倭寇図巻」と「抗倭図巻」』、吉川弘文館、2014年、72ページ

(Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo (ed.), *Japanese Pirates Drawn on the picture*, Tokyo, 2014, p.72)。



Figure 2. Source: 東京大学史料編纂所編、前掲書、12ページ (Ibid, p.12)。

²² 東京大学史料編纂所編、『描かれた倭寇～「倭寇図巻」と「抗倭図巻」』、吉川弘文館、2014年、4ページ (Historiographical Institute The University of Tokyo (ed.), *Japanese Pirates Drawn on the picture*, Tokyo, 2014, p.4)。

considerably diluted; it was not certain whether there were letters underneath until the picture was photographed with infrared rays. The letters were now visible, and they are written on the highly noticeable flag of an arriving ship.

Judging from the letters mentioned above, the characters of »Wako« and »anti-Wako« referred to the times of the »Jiajing Wako Raids.«

Among other things, Wang Zhi is famous for his escape to Hirado and the events related to his severed head. These are reiterated as the start and end of the »Jiajing Wako raids.« In the third year of Koji, Wang Zhi returned from Japan and was arrested by the Ming dynasty. Then, in the fourth year, he was imprisoned and his head was severed.

The Institute considers that the third and fourth years of Koji symbolize the reduction of the »Jiajing Wako Raids.« Drawing a story of the victory of the Ming army over the Wako was requested for the needs of the Jiangnan area, which was plundered and suffered damage from the Wako. The drawing did not necessarily reflect the actual circumstances of the Wako.²³

Being aware that the charts depicted a story of the subjugation of Wang Zhi, the painters might choose the third and the fourth years of Koji as the years that symbolize Wako raids.²⁴ (It is often considered that the »Jiajing Wako Raids« began in 1553, but opinion seems to be divided on their ending.)

2. Chinese historiography about Wako

The function of the all-out attack by Wako was to assault the port of illegal import on Zhejiang and the Fujian coast, where Commander Zhu Wan allegedly managed the pirates' den. Because of this attack, the smuggler/pirate groups spread and radicalized again, and, after this occurrence, the coastal area of Jiangnan, Zhejiang Fujian, was exposed to intense plundering as one of the main targets. During this time, Wang Zhi pushed his way up the social ladder and became a prominent figure. He was based in Liegang, located between Zhoushan and the mainland. The Ming forces attacked the port in 1553, and Wang Zhi escaped to Hirado.

Since the 1980s, Chinese historiography has examined the entire Wako subject: Chinese communism pushed forward economic reform in the country, and review of the Japanese pirates was necessary from there. At that time, Chinese historiography sorted the early Wako phase with late one, considering the Jiajing period as a turning point and acknowledging an essential gap in both. (This is the point we already considered via study of Wang Xiangrong.) Furthermore, the historiography ceased to approach the late Wako as a topic contaminated by external pressure; rather, it became a domestic issue. Wako were analyzed as an element of the transition of the society and economy of the Ming dynasty, and they were associated with the problem of class struggle, social progress, and capitalism. The issues arising from this new perspective caused an unprecedentedly active debate over the issue of Wako among Chinese historians.

As a result of such research, arguments have developed regarding the national structure of the late Wako, their social organization, the causes for the intensification of their activity, their character, their historical significance, consequences of their actions, etc.

A. National structure of the late Wako and its social organization

Recent researchers have read the phrase »勢豪, 貴家« as »influential families« and consider that these families were the capitalist classes in formation. The researchers read »奸人 (Schemer)« as »maritime

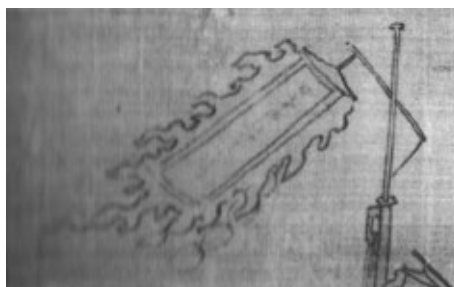


Figure 3. Source: 東京大学史料編纂所編、前掲書、76ページ (*Ibid*, p.76)。

²³ Cf. *Ibid*, p.80.

²⁴ Cf. *Ibid*.

commerce or the people of each layer«: the farmers, craftsmen, and merchants of the southeast shore of China. Also, while they perceive that influential families have cooperated with Wako, especially the early Wako, they recognize that the people of each layer were the rank and file of the late Wako.

These researchers believe that »偽倭 (false Wako)«—the Chinese pirates who conveyed a Japanese appearance—predominated over »真倭 (real Wako)«; that is, the Japanese pirates. In addition, recent studies suggest that the Wako chiefs from China played an important role in the Wako community. They were often in command, and they had the authority and control. Thus, they controlled the activities of the Wako.

B. The reason for the intensification of Wako activities

Recent studies pay attention to several points: in the early sixteenth century China was exposed to the intense development of the commodity economy and remarkable urbanization, while commercial agriculture, private manufacture, and commercial distribution mostly progressed in its southeast coastal regions.

In this process, merchants, farmers of coastal districts, and manufacturers engaged in overseas trading, which immediately developed. However, the Ming dynasty overpowered newly developed private foreign trade using its Sea Ban policy, and it even persecuted the overseas trading merchants. Late Wako therefore represent the struggle against the Sea Ban policy. In addition, poor peasants who suffered from political corruption and the Sea Ban policy, along with soldiers and the people who ran fisheries and the salt business, started to revolt. »The vicious circle« instigated by the Ming dynasty strengthened repression over this ever bigger »倭患 (evil of Japan)«, which, on the other hand, prolonged the revolt.

In other words, Wako piracy was presented as a revolutionary action to promote social progress, against the Sea Ban of the Ming dynasty. After the 1980s, the evaluation of Wako leadership also changed fundamentally. Wang Zhi and others were evaluated as leaders of the people, who had liberal ideas and objected to the Sea Ban.²⁵

The abovementioned understanding of the late Wako (mostly consisting of the Chinese and struggles against the Sea Ban) was presented by Chinese and other historians at the Japan-China joint symposium, organized in 2012 by the Historiographical Institute.²⁶ Chinese historians discussed the topic unrestrained by the limits of the nationalist paradigm. However, they did not question the limits of the Marxist history theory. The discussion on the character of the Late Wako was still easily connected with an idea of class struggle and was used to exemplify a stage of social development in China.²⁷

By contrast, Chinese historian Kwan-wai So of Michigan University described the economic conditions of China: the »increase of population, the massive emigration of the people from farming, the rapid growth of market towns and cities, and the increasing affluence in society or the unhealthy tendency toward extravagance«²⁸ represented a new phase of development whereby »Ming China around the year 1500 had become a relatively more dynamic, sophisticated, and agricultural-commercial handicraft society with a much higher rate of commercial activities in the urban centers, especially in the southeastern part of the empire.«²⁹ Those affected would adversely become good prospects for the smuggling-piracy recruits.

When famine increases in such conditions, a smuggling act leads to pirate activity.

Chu Che (1486–1552), a native of P'u-tien who spent most of his life in Fujian, revealed that, due to famine, smuggling was deteriorating into piracy in the early 1540s. He wrote the following in 1544:

²⁵ Cf.: 大隅和雄・村井章介編中世後期における東アジアの国際関係山川出版社1997年98~101ページ (Kazuo Oosumi and Shosujke Murai(ed.), *International Relations of the East Asia in the late Middle Ages*, Tokyo, pp.98~101)。

²⁶ Cf. 陳履生、「功績の記録と事実の記録：明人『抗倭図巻』研究」、『東京大学史料編纂所研究紀要』、第22号、2012年、218ページ (Chen Lusheng, *The record of the Achievement and the Record of the Fact – Study of »The Volume Chart of the Ming force fighting against Japanese pirates«*, p.218)。

²⁷ Cf. 大隅和雄・村井章介編、前掲書、102ページ (Kazuo Oosumi and Shosuke Murai(ed.), *Ibid.*, p.102).

²⁸ Kwan-wai So, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China during the 16th Century*, Michigan State University Press, 1975, p.131.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

[T]here was a terrible famine in the southern region. Everywhere banditry prevailed. At sea, there were notorious criminals Huang Shih-lung, Huang Shih-kuang, Yii Tzu-pin and others who served as their guides to plunder the prominent families and kidnap people for ransom. The way they inflicted suffering was fierce indeed! In the whole district, the individuals with the surname Teng were the most cunning. [One day] more than two hundred barbarians, all ugly, dark and fierce-looking, were sailing their ships toward the area of the garrison post.³⁰

The study of Chinese history in the United States had already set one foot into the social history by the late 1970s.

3. Japanese historiography concerning Wako

In the Japanese historiography, significant new explanatory models moved further from the Marxist historiography, and they included the Wako phenomenon as well. When trying to explain the change in perspective, one should mention that there are currently two tracks, or two approaches, in Japanese historiography.

One approach is the »modern world system« theory introduced by I. Wallerstein; I am also using this framework. According to Wallerstein, in the world, there are countries that are superior and those that are inferior in politics and economy. The historiography of the twentieth century explained these differences from the viewpoint of »development,« but Marxist historians of Africa and Latin America mainly tried to change such a viewpoint. They insisted on following: the areas that are lagging behind in the process of modernization and development were actually not neglected or left behind—these areas became underdeveloped due to the fact that capitalism in Western Europe developed more rapidly. Wallerstein explains the existing differences in the development of certain areas by the »relationship« between those areas in the same period.³¹

Another track is the »history of the sea.« This track takes F. Braudel's study of the »Mediterranean Sea« as its starting point. Until these recent developments, historians' lectures and research centered on the history of dynasty and nation, while the focus was dominantly on the »land.« In contrast, »the history of the sea« introduced a different viewpoint; an additional perspective. It showed that the »sea« was the stage, or the element, that connected, not blocked, people's activities and actions.

»The history of the sea« was quickly embraced in Japan in the study of Southeastern Asia and Japanese history, especially concerning the sea area around the East China Sea or the Sea of Japan.³² The reception of this »history of the sea« was wide and successful. It reformed how we view the history of our own nation and the history of the Orient in general. History as a discipline came to be seen as more modern. Of these studies, Arano's (already quoted above) contributed to the transformation of the image of »national seclusion« or national exceptionalism, among other things. Arano also paid attention to the significance of the Wako groups, as quoted above.

A. Sea-Horizontal Connection

Here, it is important to mention the Wako study of Shosuke Murai³³. Murai argues that, by attempting to reduce the »so-called Wokou« to one nationality or another, we lose sight of their fundamental character and the nature of their role in East Asian history.

What emerged from Murai's research, above all, was a picture of an ethnically diverse, multinational group of people living not only from piracy but also from trade, fishing, and shipping. It seemed that, by replacing the term »Wokou,« which keeps the focus narrowly on piracy, with the more general »Wajin,«

³⁰ Ibid, pp.48-49.

³¹ Cf. Isao Koshimura, Ibid, 119-120.

³² Cf. 桃木至朗編、*海域アジア史研究入門*、岩波書店、2010年、1~8ページ (Shirou Momoki, Introduction to the Study of Sea Area Asian History, Tokyo, 2010, pp.1-8)。

³³ 村井 章介、*東シナ海と倭人の世界* (Shōsuke Murai, Extrnational Pirate-Traders of East Asia)、www.nippon.com/ja/authordata/murai-shosuke/、[2011.11.15]。

one could gain better insight into this marginal, extranational group as a continuous phenomenon that extended from the fourteenth into the fifteenth century.

This is a »problem submission« by Murai; we should catch the human group across the border and pay attention to the relation of people on the sea.

Explaining the reason behind the sudden expansion of the Wako phenomenon, a young Japanese researcher named Tetsu Shuki pointed to the relationship of the Wako group with Japan, in support of Murai's claim. The »Jiajing Wako Raids« were carried out around Jiangnan but suddenly increased in scale. Some sources tell us that there were around a dozen Wako at the beginning, which soon increased to several hundred, thousand, even tens of thousands. They were called Wako, but numerous sources indicate that they were made up mainly of people from Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Ningbo, and Shaoxing, which were their bases for smuggling. They even »entangled« the Wa (Japan) people. Furthermore, the soldiers that mobilized to suppress Wako joined them eventually, and this was a significant factor in the sudden expansion of Wako. A lot of Chinese coastal people were called Wa, but it is written in the historical materials that the Japanese were indeed called Wako. According to certain sources, the greatest Japanese group of Wako was from Satsuma. The group of Xu Hai based in South Kyushu, according to another view, formed the group including relatively more Japanese, and there was a noticeable participation of »the poor« in this group, whereas the group of Wang Zhi based in North Kyushu, Goto and Hirado, etc. was tied to »the wealthy,« including Hakata merchants. The latter could not plunder openly and directly.³⁴ This problem, of course, requires further attention and a more complex approach.

B. Society: Vertical Insight

The »Jiajing Wako raids« raged around Jiangnan, in particular, from 1552, but they suddenly reduced in scale, in contrast to the Fujian case.

There is a study³⁵ on Wako members unprecedented elsewhere. Below, I introduce several themes or groups:

1. Soldiers who were called to suppress Wako but eventually joined them, dissatisfied with the service in the Imperial army;
2. Spies or traitors who helped Wako preparing for the plunder;
3. Salt smugglers often in revolt who could also be labeled cheats and crooks;
4. Sea-workers, including salt manufacturers, who collaborated with Wako smuggling salt;
5. The sea people whose life was unstable and who lived in poor conditions at the sandbar of the Chang Jiang river mouth.

1. As mentioned above, imperial soldiers from districts were »injected« into the area to quash the sudden expansion of Wako raids and supervise the affairs. They joined Wako and participated in plunder.

2. It is thought that they initially contacted Wako having some problems and experiencing some dissatisfaction in the area concerned. There is a record that Wako paid those people money for the rice taken from the influential person. This shows the collaborative relationship of Wako with the inhabitants.

3. Local scoundrels and crooks from the ranks of (Jiangnan) salt smugglers who were often at the core of revolts. Even prior to Wako arrival in the area, there was a den of salt smugglers in each place in the Jiangnan area. Sources mention that more than 1,000 salt smugglers and people related to them followed more than 100 Wako pirates in a particular battle.

³⁴ 秀城 哲、16世紀「倭寇」を構成する人間集団に関する考察：「倭」と「日本人」の問題を中心に、千葉大学社会文化科学研究科研究プロジェクト報告書第35集『中華世界と流動する「民族」：東アジア社会変動に関する研究』所収、34ページ (Tetsu Shuki, Consideration of a human being group constituting »Japanese pirates« in the 16th Century: Mainly on the problem of »Wa« and »the Japanese« in the research Project Report of the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities: The Chinese world and »the ethnicity« which flow~ Study on East Asia social change.34)

³⁵ 秀城 哲、16世紀『嘉靖大倭寇』を構成する諸勢力について、千葉大学社会文化科学研究 8、2004-02-01、205~206ページ (Tetsu Shuki, The consideration about various power which constitutes »The great Wei-kou in JiaJing« in the 16th century, Chiba University Social science and humanities 8, 2004-02-01, pp.205-6).

4. Among Wako raiders, there were inhabitants living next to salt manufacturers, who were mainly involved in fishing activities (竈戸). There were salt manufacturers-fishermen who would violate rules and join big boats in spite of the Sea Ban, under the pretenses of catching fish in order to restock or carrying fuel for the salt manufacturers.

5. There were also the sea people whose character and way of life was similar to that of ordinary people living by the sea. The people who lived from fishing and water transportation were in some cases called »estuary people (沙民).« Takeshi Yamasaki studies these people and has published an excellent social history focusing on them. As for the inhabitants of the estuary region, according to sources from Chongming Island during the Zhengtong period, they originally came from the districts of Zhejiang and registered on the island or in the same prefecture, but they actually lived in other places. Therefore, Yamasaki called them »Sea-nomads.«³⁶ They did not belong to specific groups, but it is believed that they were the people who handled flat-bottomed boats. After Wako came to the area, these »estuary people« were often in their power. However, another segment of »estuary people« served in the police and the military exactly at the time when Wako attacked the Jiangnan area. (Incidentally, there were Vlachs among the Uskoks, who served in the units of the Ottoman Empire as well). In other words, »estuary people« might receive the opportunity to join the official forces and serve the authorities and those who could join their enemy called Wako.

Furthermore, a valuable article on an important battle officially confirms that »estuary people« joined the Ming forces. They were in the first place fishermen who had to live an instable life and depend on natural conditions. In a particularly unfortunate position, they were forced to plunder to survive.

In the estuary region, the revolts continued even before the appearance of Wako, but instability in the area also resulted in the formation of the following group: while living an honest life in times of peace, they joined the thief corps whenever a dominant leader appeared. When hunted, they joined the Imperial Army in order to receive a reward. When revolts ceased, they returned to their everyday life.

According to Yamasaki—the knight-errant who resided on the Yangtze River and the sea and who lived multiple lives as the official soldier—the honest man and the robber »was the symbol of an essential character of traditional China society.«³⁷ As for the turbulence of the Jiangnan district named Wako, it consisted of a revolt against the Sea Ban policy, increased by Japanese overseas advance but mainly by the traditional factors of the Jiangnan region.

Initially, if the government tried to control the world of anarchy influenced by money and violence, it could instigate revolts. However, the government opted not to decrease control of this area at the time of Wako because the money and force would threaten the order that the government had protected, and also because both might corrupt society and the people's moral qualities.



Figure 4. *Wako set fire to houses and plunder.*
Source: 東京大学史料編纂所編、前掲書、19ページ (Ibid, p.19). Their hair style, clothes, and bearing are of Japanese style.

³⁶ 山崎岳、江海の賊から蘇松の寇へ：ある「嘉靖倭寇前史」によせて、東方學報2007, vol. 81, 260ページ (Takeshi Yamasaki, From Water-side Bandits to »Japanese Pirates«: Another Pre-History of the Jiajing Wokou 嘉靖倭寇, The Toho gakuho. Journal of Oriental studies ((Kyoto)), 2007, No.81, p.260)。

³⁷ Ibid, p.123.

Could there be people similar to Jiangnan Wako in Korea and Japan? The existence of a Wajin world in the sixteenth century would be proved if we could demonstrate it as Murai demonstrated the existence of the early Wako.

In the »World System« (Wallerstein), there also lived such people as described above. The potential people's power pushed up »Jiajing Wako raids« to a great event. However, this revolt did not overturn the power of the Empire, in contrast to Lee's turbulence, which defeated the Ming Empire.

CHAPTER 3. SMUGGLERS' ECONOMIC WARFARE: IN CONTRAST TO KOXINGA'S WAR

In this chapter, we will first concretely detail the change of the trade that was discussed previously. Then we will inspect what kind of trade Wang Zhi, the leader of late Wako, expected, and confirm how the intense struggle over the Sea Ban policy in the form of the »Jiajing Wako Raids« ended. In the following, I introduce the latest study on Wang Zhi in detail. However, the author perceives that the attitude toward the authorities of Wang Zhi was ambiguous. On the other hand, the position toward the authorities of Zheng Chenggong (鄭成功) was clear, and he built authorities by himself. Zheng Chenggong or Koxinga was in contrast to Wang Zhi at the point.

1. From Tributary Trade to Illicit Trade

The Ming dynasty established a particular way to receive each tribute ship: Japan was only allowed to make one tribute every ten years, and the Ming emperor specified the articles for each country. For Japan, these were horses, armor, swords, sulfur, and the like. For Ryukyu, horses were specified, in addition to perfume and spices such as cloves and pepper produced in Southeast Asia. Siam brought elephants, ivory, rhino horn, and peacock tail feathers. In addition to the luxury silk items, tribute goods from one country that another country did not produce were granted by the Ming emperor in turn. Books were also counted among valuable goods, and trade in books was allowed. In the case of Japan, in the Yongle year, silks and some other objects were granted.³⁸

There was an internal disturbance in Japan at the beginning of the Jiajing period. While the countries competed to pay a tribute to the court, a murder occurred. The Ming dynasty allowed the convoy to return but forbade them from paying a tribute. Moreover, the Ming dynasty abolished its trade office (Zhejiang »市船司«).

The murder case also resulted in the termination of official trade between Japan and China. However, illegal trade increased in the 1940s when Japanese silver began to flow into China. The smuggling had, until then, more effect on the traffic with Southeast Asia. China imported products such as sappan wood and pepper produced in Southeast Asia, and exported goods such as ceramics. The smugglers transported the Chinese goods to West Asia and Europe via the port cities of Southeast Asia.³⁹

One smuggling base in Southeast Asia was the Yuegang harbor of Fujian. The sanctuary was in the southeast of Zhangzhou. In the early fifteenth century, the marine merchants of Zhangzhou had already ignored the dynasty's bans and had traded overseas, with Yuegang harbor serving as the base. Wealthy people in the coastal areas were heavily involved in opportunistic money making, and a family who had a bureaucrat appointed within the dynasty administration used illegally large boats to participate in the trade. Many of the Zhangzhou merchants were thus engaged in smuggling. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, who had advanced to the East China Sea through the Indian Ocean, emerged in

³⁸ Cf.: Akira Matsuura, *The Maritime Trade and Marine Merchants/Pirates of the East Asia Seas from the Middle of the 16th Century to the Early 17th Century* in Isao Koshimura ed., *Marine Merchants and Pirates during the 16th and 17th Centuries: Uskok of the Adriatic Sea and Wako of the East China Sea*, Tokyo, 2016, p65.

³⁹ Cf. Makoto Ueda, *Huiwang, The King of Hui*: in Isao Koshimura ed., *Marine Merchants and Pirates during the 16th and 17th Centuries: Uskok of the Adriatic Sea and Wako of the East China Sea*, Tokyo, 2016, p.82.

Yuegang, and the Spanish and the Japanese were positioned there for trade as well. The threat was such that the control by the dynasty led the merchants based in Yuegang to arm themselves. One weakness of Yuegang harbor was its location. It had no direct connection with the valuable Jiangnan region, which was a silk-producing economic center of China and also a massive consumer of foreign products. Consequently, Shuangyugang harbor, located in Jiangnan along the Zhoushan archipelago, started to eclipse Yuegang harbor during the sixteenth century.

The Portuguese entered Shuangyugang harbor first in the 1520s. Soon afterwards, Portuguese traders started to guide Fujian merchants. Merchants of Huizhou who were already using the Jiangnan district for trade also wanted to use Shuangyugang harbor. Furthermore, when Japanese silver began to flow out towards China in earnest from around 1540, the position of Shuangyugang on the sea route between Jiangnan and Japan became attractive for the merchants from China, Portugal, and Japan, and the harbor became an international port.⁴⁰

The first harbormaster of Shuangyugang was the merchant Li Qi of Fujian. Li may seem to have been a Portuguese guide from Fujian coastal trade hubs such as Yuegang harbor on the Zhoushan archipelago close to the Gangnam. However, when trade with Jiangnan increased, merchant groups connected to Huizong merchants stretched around the business network of the Jiangnan area and increased in number.⁴¹

When the abovementioned trade system prevailed, the position of Shanxi or Shaanxi merchants who had so far monopolized salt sales started to fluctuate, and a new merchant group such as the Huizhou merchants was able to enter the market. They accumulated funds while handling goods, they kept small shops in the city, and they specialized in making hand-crafted goods such as cotton cloth. If they managed to accumulate enough wealth, they would establish a salt shop, launch their bases in main cities such as Yangzhou, Hangzhou, Suzhou, and Nanjing (see Map 2), and participate in the general trade and transaction of goods.⁴²

After Li Qi, it was probably the Huizhou-born Xu Dong (Xu Er) who became the next harbormaster. The group of Hu Dong shared the custom dues from transactions with merchants from the same district. Therefore, they were able to quickly obtain the Chinese products required by Portuguese and Japanese traders. An exchange channel of human and material resources, with silver as the currency, had been formed between the sea and the land, and it was through this channel that Wang Zhi, the great chief of the Wako and a main representative of marine merchants, emerged.⁴³

2. Wang Zhi and the Ming Empire: Economic Warfare over the Sea Ban

Wang Zhi was a pioneer in the development of the trade routes that witnessed a sudden increase in the importance of Japanese silver. At one time, a Japanese trading expedition was severely pressured by the Ming dynasty and, following the revolt of Ningbo, had to return home without being able to proceed to Beijing. In Ningbo, Wang Zhi established contact with the Japanese envoy and is said to have traveled to Japan in 1545. That year, three Hakata merchants were guided by Wang Zhi to visit Shuangyugang harbor. After this opportunity, trade between China and Japan developed rapidly.

In 1548, sudden disaster struck. A Zhejiang patrol dispatched troops to wipe out traders of Shuangyugang harbor. In this surprise attack, leading figures such as Li Dong were arrested. Shuangyugang, which had so recently been booming, suddenly went into sharp decline.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.83.

⁴¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.84

⁴² Cf.: 上田信、『中国の歴史 海と帝国—明清時代』、講談社、2005年、194ページ (Makoto Ueda, »The Chinese History: Sea and Empire – China of the Ming and the Qing dynasty«, Tokyo, 2005, p.194).

⁴³ Cf. Makoto Ueda, *The King of Hui*: 84-5

In response to this incident, marine merchants became understandably hostile towards the Ming dynasty. Those based in the Shuangyugang harbor gathered together under Wang Zhi to establish a new base of operations in Liegang. They then recommenced trade with Japan.⁴⁴

Wang Zhi proceeded to Guangdong in 1540 when the »Sea Ban« of the Ming dynasty was slightly relaxed, and he built a ship in order to load it with freight such as sulfur, silk, and cotton. The large cargo ship was capable of traveling to foreign countries such as Japan or Siam. In the golden age of Wako, the length of the ship was considered to be 190 m, which was big enough to accommodate more than 2,000 people.

While his vessel continued to sail in such a capacity for five or six years, he accumulated considerable wealth, showing that he was very much trusted by foreigners.⁴⁵ However, we do not understand the details of his trade activity.

Wang Zhi's power and influence grew until he became a dominant figure in the region in control of the East China Sea. However, in 1553, government forces once again attacked his new base in the Liegang harbor, and he was exiled from coastal China. After leaving the coast of China, Wang Zhi set up residence on the coast of Japan, out of the reach of the Ming dynasty authorities. Goto and Hirado subsequently became Wang Zhi's new bases.

A. Wang Zhi's vision of marine trade

Hu Zongxian, a local Huizhou-born governor, visited Wang Zhi in Fukue, Goto. Wang Zhi suggested to his visitor that Japan was poor in raw silk and cotton cloth, and that trade should be opened up. In 1557, Wang Zhi finally returned to the Zhoushan archipelago and requested that the trade to Hu Zongxian commence. In doing so, he submitted »Shangshu (reporting to the emperor)« to the Ming dynasty.

Through one document Wang Zhi provided a snapshot of the Wako situation at the time. He showed that the armed battle group of Xu Hai (that split with him) executed numerous raids and plunders along the China coast and that their activities flourished. In his closing remarks he refers to his vision of trade and police order in the China seas, stating, »[i]f the emperor permits it, I would crack down on the seas around the coastal areas of Zhejiang, collect customs and manage the trade, enforce the punctuality of the tribute payment and prompt lords of all Japanese islands to suppress Wako.«⁴⁶

This remark is a good indication of the extent of the powers that Wang Zhi wielded in the China seas. That is, it is the trade rights and police powers in the China seas that Wang Zhi wanted to grasp. An official of the Ming dynasty, Hu Zongxian, conducted an operation against Wang Zhi as part of his campaign against piracy. However, after suspicion arose that he was receiving bribes, he decided to hang Wang Zhi for his own protection.

After the death of Wang Zhi in 1567, foreign trade was allowed on the western route towards Vietnam and

明年号	遼東	山東	江南北	浙江	福建	広東	合計
嘉靖 2				1			1
3				1			1
12				1			1
13						1	1
14						1	1
19				1	1		2
21				1			1
24				1			1
27				1	1		2
28					1		1
29				1			1
30			1	1			2
31		1	1	10	1		13
32			27	32	4	1	64
33			56	33		2	91
34		2	57	38	4		101
35		2	33	26	7		68
36			17	1	6	1	25
37				9	12	11	32
38			12	10	25	9	56
39					11	4	15
40				4	17	1	22
41					20		20
42					14	4	18
43					3	2	5
44			1		1	1	3

Table 1. Number of Wako raids 嘉靖35=1557
江南北Jiangnanbei, 浙江Zhejiang, 福建Fujian

⁴⁴ Cf. Ibid, p.86.

⁴⁵ Cf. Akira Matsuura, Ibid, p.70.

⁴⁶ Cai jiuue, Wobianshilue, Appendix to Vol4(translated by Makoto Ueda), See Ibid,87.

Malacca from South China, and on the road from China to Brunei through Taiwan and the Philippines. A part of the vision of Wang Zhi was realized, but trade with Japan was still strictly prohibited.

B. Wang Zhi: The »thief«

Here we will analyze negotiations with Chinese government officials after Wang Zhi's flight into Japan. In Hirado, he maintained overwhelming predominance in Chinese immigrant marine commerce that moved between Japan and China. However, at the Chinese coast, the marine commerce was oppressed by Wako, who were also engaged in robbery. Wang Zhi did not join the plundering in China, but he was involved in business activities with smugglers/pirates from South Kyushu (ばはん) and had contacts with the person from the Chinese government who was part of the Wako leadership.

In China, Zhao Wenhua and Hu Zongxian considered Wang Zhi to be the key person to establish security of the East China Sea. Above all, Hu maintained relations with important political powers of Japan and aimed at relaxing prohibition of the trade, his intention being to obtain financial resources in that way. Therefore, he dispatched his subordinates and requested that Wang Zhi return home. Ultimately, an agreement was reached between the three persons, each with his own expectations. Wang Zhi wanted permission to trade, Hu Zongxian was bent on subjugation of Wako, and Yoshishige Otomo wanted to pay tribute to the court. Wang Zhi went back to China before long with an emissary sent by Otomo, and he surrendered to Hu. However, he was considered to be the guilty party who should take responsibility for the disaster of Jiangnan and Zhejiang. Likewise, he was considered to be the leader of the smugglers. The grudge of the people soon turned to Hu, who invited Wang Zhi to return. Then, Hu changed a policy in order to protect himself, imprisoning Wang Zhi and hunting down and killing Otomo's emissary. The design of the new order in the East Asia sea area that Wang Zhi, Hu, and Otomo shared shattered into pieces due to the grudge and fear that people felt against Wako.

Wang Zhi was soon executed as a rebel, which was not the ending that Hu himself expected. Eventually, he could not explain how was it that he sent a subordinate to Japan to catch Wang Zhi.

Hu lost his position, was imprisoned, and died afterwards. When contacts with Wang Zhi became the problem, his death was inevitable: Hu, who executed Wang Zhi, was driven into ruin by Wang Zhi.

Yamasaki, the historian mentioned above, interprets such a fact as follows: Hu should have obtained the approval of the central power when he recalled Wang Zhi. However, the project was overturned when Hu demanded the pardon of Wang Zhi at the final stage. Such a lack of consistent policy between the emperor and his main bureaucrats resulted in longstanding abuse that led to confusion in each Chinese dynasty. However, if one views this matter in more detail, it is apparent that the emperor had the final say in Zhejiang, Fujian, where Hu had jurisdiction, and the Ming dynasty was going to enforce the principle in criminal law that pardon cannot be given to the chief of the anti-government social group. In other words, the central government removed the group of marine bandits that obtained virtual extra-territoriality under the authority of Hu and acted as a privileged group in the legal sense. This led to the execution of Wang Zhi, who was considered to be the chief of the Chinese immigrant group residing in Japan; irrespective of Wang Zhi's relation to Wako. The diplomatic and trade relationship between the Ming dynasty and Japan was abolished and, by this decision, Nanzhili (南直隸) and Zhejiang remained in the frame of the Sea Ban policy. The collision of the Imperial Army with illegal marine forces in Fujian, Guangdong, continued. By the execution of Wang Zhi, the Sea Ban of the Ming dynasty was reconfirmed in the Jiangnan, Zhejiang districts. The tragedy of the »Jiajing Wako Raids« that caused this policy became entrenched in public memory and history along with Wang Zhi's bad reputation.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Cf.: 山崎岳、船主王直功罪考—『海寇議』とその周辺、『東方学報』2015、vol.90、132~135ページ (Takeshi Yamasaki, Consideration about the Merits and Demerits of the Shipowner Wang Zhi, The Toho gakuho. Journal of Oriental studies ((Kyoto)), 2015, No.90, pp.132-135)。

3. Koxinga: War for the Marine Kingdom

In 1595, in order to end the stalemate in the war between Korea and Japan, a petition was submitted to the Ming dynasty. The person who presented this petition was Tadatoshi Naito: a Christian and a vassal of Yukinaga Konishi, one of the leading feudal lords under Hideyoshi Toyotomi. He sent the request through the channel provided by Yukinaga Konishi.

In the petition, it was proposed that Yukinaga could administer western territories, such as countries consisting of Kyushu and the two islands of Iki and Tsushima, while maintaining permanent friendly relations with Korea and neighboring countries governing the waters under the Ming dynasty. The ambitions of Yukinaga Konishi were very similar to those of Wang Zhi. One of them was to control western areas such as Kyushu and avoid the possibility of causing trouble with the Ming dynasty. Another was to obtain responsibility for maritime management from the Ming dynasty.

While the ambitions of Yukinaga Konishi had been inherited from Wang Zhi, the mediator dispatched from the Ming dynasty to meet him would have been Shen Weijing. Next to him, another key person named Jiawang (later called Shen Jiawang) appeared. Jiawang was probably born in Zhejiang or Fujian as Wako, and he was familiar with Japan. It is possible that he shared the visions of Wang Zhi through his network of ex-Wako members. However, Yukinaga Konishi's visions were ultimately not realized, and the fighting in Korea resumed.

The dream of Wang Zhi—the vision of domination over the Sina waters—that was handed down to Yukinaga Konishi in another form continued even further. The vision was adopted by the Fujian born Zheng Zhilong.⁴⁸ Zheng Zhilong inherited the maritime forces of the Fujian-based marine merchants that had been able to expand the trade activities in the China seas. He was based in Hirado, and he extended the armed operations in 1626, basically absorbing the competition. In 1626, several hundreds of his vessels surrounded and eliminated an entire fleet of Dutch ships. When Xiamen was occupied in 1628, the Ming dynasty appointed him to the position of Coast Guard. Zheng Zhilong, while acquiring credits for expelling the pirates, was promoted in the ranks. He continued to work for the Ming dynasty in order to expel competing forces from the sea, and he was in the process of fully grasping the naval supremacy of the Eastern China Sea. Thus, Zheng Zhilong was able to finally realize the vision of Wang Zhi and the dream of Yukinaga Konishi.

Ships navigating the East China Sea were now not able to sail safely without flying the flag of Zheng Zhilong. To be able to raise this flag, marine merchants had to pay two thousand ryo in silver per ship. Zheng Zhilong's son, Zheng Chenggong, continued to operate this system. Correspondence addressed to his Japanese brother from the same mother gives us accurate information about the maritime traffic tax called Peixiang. According to the correspondence, the rules were as follows: small ships pay 500 ryos and large ships 2,100 ryos in order to receive *zhào pái* (license) for one year. A ship that can raise this can navigate safely, but if there is no *zhào pái* or the deadline has passed, the ship should be captured and confiscated along with the freight. The shipowner and the crew should be arrested.⁴⁹

By operating such a system, Zheng's sea forces were able to receive financial support, then strengthen the fleet and guard the sea. The ships were thereby allowed to collect a toll on merchants for their safety. The system founded by Zheng Zhilong was evolved by Zheng Chenggong. With time, it was no longer within the realm of private marine dealers and was functioning as a regulation of the »public authority.« In a political and legal sense, Zheng's system was different from the systems operated by Wako or Wang Zhi, and it could co-exist with the powers of China, Japan, or the Netherlands. Hence, it »may not be an exaggeration to call it a marine kingdom ruled by the Zhengs.«⁵⁰

The collapse in 1644 of the Ming dynasty that supported this kingdom could be seen as a miscalculation of Zheng Zhilong. His design had to change its form, and it ended as a success due to his son Zheng Chenggong, who had a clear political vision. Because of his consistent political posture, Zheng

⁴⁸ Cf. Makoto Ueda, *Huiwang, The King of Hui*: p.88.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp.89-90.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Chenggong was called Koxinga by the Qing dynasty and by the people. Zheng Chenggong did not talk about his own ambition, but the world which he was going to build could be discerned from his activities.⁵¹

In those days, Chinese immigrant communities formed all over eastern Eurasia, and the merchants of each community that obtained capital assets by trade became community mediators who conducted negotiations with the local government. The East India Company was able to govern the Chinese immigrant community indirectly by letting such a person (a rich merchant) participate in administration as an interpreter or a captain.

As for the idea of the Chenggong's marine kingdom, it appears in the proclamation written in 1656 by the Chinese immigrant resident in Taiwan. Five major merchants were expected to earn money by exporting goods from the Chinese inland. They intended to protect Chinese immigrants living in ports of the China seas as if they were their people. The command of the seas as well as acquisition and maintenance of the arsenal necessary for war with the Qing dynasty guaranteed rule over Dutchmen and Spaniards too.⁵²

Chenggong called the members of each Chinese immigrant community the people of his own kingdom and used them to accomplish his own will, working through the captains of each community. His plan of marine kingdom was to be completed by protecting the Chinese immigrant residents in Manila as if they were his people. Zheng Chenggong started preparations for the so-called Manila expeditions as soon as he concluded his peace treaty with Coyet (the Netherlands' governor-general of Formosa) in 1662. However, Zheng Chenggong died suddenly in June of that year, and the planned expedition to Manila never took place.

EPILOGUE

Once, the historian Chikara Rachi referred to the Vienna revolution of 1848 as »Wild Spree on the Blue Danube.« On the topic of the revolution, he related a memorable detail: people who were bleeding the most in the revolution were wandering people from Eastern Europe, while the bravest soldiers who protected the emperor were the Serbian soldiers who came from the Hapsburg military border⁵³ and not from Austria »proper.«

Among the »Jiajing Wako Raids« riots, people from the lowest strata of society such as »estuary people沙民« or similar groups found themselves among the soldiers of the Ming army or the most radical parts of Wako groups—the same as in Vienna. The fierce struggle developed over trade rights, and massive raids, robberies, and fiery encounters ensued for the profit of the wealthy. Therefore, we would call the piracy of Wako economic warfare.

The turmoil generated by Wako was controlled through reinforcement of the shore defense and revision of an entire trade policy of the Ming Empire. There also emerged marine powers that became politically independent and were led by Zhen Zhilong and Zhen Chenggong. During their clash with the Edo Shogunate and the Qing dynasty, there existed a border or a boundary line between the political powers, which was not a vague and shifting zone.

The existence of the marine kingdom was viewed as a threat by the land administration. If one looks at the consequences of the 1680s, it seems to have become a tacit agreement not to seek hegemony and support political forces in the waters between the opposing land regimes. This can be said of Japan's Tokugawa regime, China's Qing dynasty, and the Java Dutch Government Office, all three of which surrounded the China waters. This implicit agreement established the domains of each government. After the 1860s, each created conditions that enabled transfer to the modern state of affairs.

⁵¹ Cf. *Ibid.*, p.90.

⁵² Cf. *Ibid.*

⁵³ 良知力、向こう岸からの世界史、未来社、1978年 (Chikara Rachi, *World History from the Opposite Bank*, Tokyo, 1978)。

This study has observed two pirate groups called Wako and Uskok. As for the former, people who suffered from the Sea Ban policy in terms of profit and life conditions, mainly smugglers and the poorest in the sea area, played a significant role in their establishment. As for the latter, people whose patterns of life and culture were threatened by the Ottoman invasion and the Christian-Ottoman clash in general, the nomad herders among them, significantly participated in their creation. The first cluster of events appeared in the first half of sixteenth century and the latter became obvious at the end of the century. However, »in the second phase of the long sixteenth century, this parallel outward-looking expansionism reached the point of refraction with major political re-organization, which essentially resulted in the regional consolidation of trade circuits, often intertwined with taxation/redistribution circuits⁵⁴« It is, according to Yamashita's interpretation of the world system theory, around 1570 that this second stage began.

The change of the Japan/Ming trade route in the sixteenth century was a part of the modification/reorganization of the East Asia trade order, both at sea and on land. Mongolian Altan Hahn invaded and attacked almost every year in the North China, at the northern border, in order to expand his trade. He plundered at the same time as Late Wako spread along the southeast shore in the mid-sixteenth century. The sea and land trade experienced a boom in which various nations participated, and it became impossible for the Ming dynasty to control diplomacy and commerce relying on the tribute order.

The Ming dynasty freed Altan Hahn from tribute trade in 1571 following the reduction of the Sea Ban at the end of the 1560s. This allowed border trade with Mongolia along the great wall. Furthermore, Macao-Nagasaki trade began in this year, and Manila City was built as a capital of the Spanish territory in the Philippines. Thus, a route on the Pacific that linked Manila to Mexico was opened, and Spanish galleon ships started to bring large quantities of new continent silver into Manila. An enormous influx of foreign silver from Japan and America thus approached the Chinese market.

Around 1570, the Ming dynasty changed its commerce policy while Portuguese/Spanish merchants reclaimed the new trade route at the same time. In this way, the trade order of East Asia was entirely reorganized. Nakajima, mentioned above, names this new trade order simply the »1570 system.«⁵⁵ In the »Sea Ban/tribute system,« private trade was inseparable from the tribute system. By contrast, in the »1570 system,« various trade practices such as tribute trade, the border trade with foreign merchants, and the Southeastern Asian trade of Chinese marine merchants were admitted depending on their specific relation with the Ming dynasty.

The trade routes existing within the »1570 system« were not recognized only in the Japanese islands, which were a Wako base. The exchange of Japanese silver for Chinese articles was the local trade that had the most significant profit in the East Asia sea area for a long time. Subsequently, a great deal of profit came to the Portuguese Macao-Nagasaki trade and the smuggling of Fujian marine merchants.

The geo-economic status of the Ottoman Empire changed after the defeat of Lepanto (1571). Istanbul »bolted its gate and started to function as the center of the Ottoman redistributive system of staple goods.«⁵⁶ However, in the early 1590s, the Ottoman Empire invaded Sisak and middle Croatia, expecting further expansion. In 1591, the Ottoman invasion of Hungary began. Both sides insisted on exclusive rights to collect taxes in the zone between the Ottoman Empire and Hungary. That was one of the crucial reasons for war. The Ottoman vassal states of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia also revolted against the Ottoman Empire.

The movement of people began at end of the sixteenth century. Above all, the refugees from the Ottoman Empire increasingly settled in the Žumberak-Varaždin-Karlovac military region. The Vlach nomad-herders appeared in the border areas even in previous decades. Some settled in Senj, the base of the pirates in the sixteenth century. The majority of newcomers were semi-nomads who were not able

⁵⁴ Isao Koshimura, *Uskok's War Economy and The Making of The Early Modern Empire*, Ekonomska i Ekohistorija, Zagreb, 2016, p.120.

⁵⁵ 中島楽章、「福建ネットワークと豊臣政権」、『日本史研究』610号、2013年6月、32ページ (Gakushou Nakajima, Fujian network and the Toyotomi Government, *Journal of Japanese history*, No.610, 2013-6, p.32)。

⁵⁶ Isao Koshimura, *ibid.*

to maintain their lifestyle in the Ottoman Empire and were not being able to cope with the military reorganization of the empire.

Meanwhile, the nomads of the Chinese north pressed the Ming Empire for the relaxation of trade restrictions by force. The precondition for such pressure was the fact that commodity economy advanced in China. The dissatisfaction with the Sea Ban in the growing commodity economy was combined with pressures from European powers, reaching its peak with the »Jiajing Wako Raids.« The »nomads of the sea« were subsequently included in the ranks of Wako.

* * *

To delve further into the power/people relations in two analyzed regions of the world, I am planning to compare two historical persons from the same century. One is Stojan Jankovic, who is said to be the last Uskok, and the other is Zheng Chenggong, mentioned in this article. Both played an active part in the seventeenth century, and both became heroes respected and remembered among the people. Both still stepped over the »border« and resisted the power of time. Zheng Chenggong continued to play an active part in the sea, whereas Stojan Jankovic played an active part in the inlands and was not a pirate anymore. In any case, it would be an honor if these studies contribute, even marginally, to comparative study of social history on both ends of the Eurasian continent.

SAŽETAK

Ovaj članak i u ovom časopisu ranije objavljeni članak o »uskočkom ratnom gospodarstvu« razmatraju razloge zašto uskoci i istočnoazijski Wako-pirati igraju važnu ulogu u gotovo istom periodu kasnog šesnaestog stoljeća. U prethodnom je članku autor istaknuo da su zemlje, nastale raspadom i sukcesijom Mongolskog carstva, uzimajući ovo svjetsko carstvo kao zajednički temelj, formirale nekoliko carstava, uključujući Mingovo carstvo.

Prvo, da bi se razumio kontekst u kojemu su se pojavili Wako-pirati, predstaviti ću tri (makro, mezokopsku i mikro) dimenziju situacije. 1. Makro (Euroazijska) dimenzija. Mingova se dinastija vratila u trgovinu srebrom iz Mongolskog carstva, iako je njima to uvijek zabranjivano. To se podudara sa značajnom promjenom politike. 1570. godine je Altan Qayan, vođa nomadskih pastira, zaključio mir i započeo trgovinu s dinastijom Ming. Ova trgovina, nazvana »sajam konja«, bila je nova »obalna« trgovina nakon relaksacije zabrane pomorske trgovine. 2. Mezokopska (istočnoazijska) dimenzija. Japan je trebao razviti svoje gospodarstvo i riješiti financijske poteškoće kroz trgovinu s Kinom. Na političkoj razini, Kina je htjela zadržati integritet svoje velike nacije ali »gospodarska snaga nije bila jednaka kineskim željama«. Povjesničar Arano naglasio je dva čimbenika u procesu promjene: »Wako« i »portali«. Što se tiče »situacije s Wako-piratima«, istaknuo je kako su posljednje razmjene između područja kineskih primorskih regija, posebice tradicionalne javne trgovine, zaustavile »snaga Wako-pirata (europske snage, japanske snage, kineske pomorske trgovce)« i stoga međunarodni spor nije prestao u ovom području. 3. Mikro-dimenzija (istočno-kineska mora). Gakusho Nakajima nudi novu periodizaciju povijesti tog područja, podijelivši ga u pet segmenata: ① Tribute, razdoblje trgovine Ryukyu, ② Suhangyu Wako razdoblje, ③ Wako, razdoblje zapadnoga trgovanja, ④ zapadno trgovinsko razdoblje, ⑤ zapadno / kinesko pomorsko trgovanje. Nakon 1570. godine dopušteni su razni trgovački putovi kao što su sporedni sustav pritoka, međunarodna trgovina s inozemnim trgovcima i trgovina jugoistočnom Azijom kineske pomorske trgovine.

Drugo, Historiografski institut na Sveučilištu Tokyo opisuje Wako-piratstvo, osobito »Jiajing Wako pljačkaške pohode«. Napetosti i sukobi između vladinih dužnosnika i različitih skupina krijumčara, kao i suparništvo među tim skupinama, formirali su »sadržajni preduvjet za Wako-piratstvo«. Te su se napetosti razvijale duž obale pokrajine Jiangsu, a potom i u Zhejiangu (Fujianu) kada su pridošlice, Portugalci zajedno s Japancima, ušli u kinesku krijumčarsku mrežu. Vjerujem da je ovo sveobuhvatna definicija jer se temelji na rezultatima prikupljenim iz velike količine dostupnih studija o Wako-piratstvu. Namjeravam predstaviti trendove u studijama Kine i Japana o njima.

U japanskoj historiografiji značajni novi objašnjeni modeli preselili su se dalje od marksističke historiografije, a uključili su i Wako fenomen. Tu je studija o Wako članovima, kakve nema nigdje drugdje. Uvodim nekoliko tema ili skupina, među njima i »ljude s estuarija« koji su živjeli od ribarenja, te prijevoza čamcima i brodicama. Oni su se pridružili vojnim snagama kraljevstva Ming da suzbiju Wako-pirate, ali su se, umjesto toga, pridružili piratima.

Treće, prvo ćemo konkretno detaljno opisati promjenu trgovine koja je prethodno razmotrena. Zatim ćemo provjeriti kakvu je trgovinu Wang Zhi, vođa zadnje faze Wako- piratstva, očekivao; konačno, utvrdit ćemo kako je završila intenzivna borba na ukidanju zabrane pomorske trgovine kroz »Jiajing Wako pljačkaške pohode«. U nastavku predstavljam najnoviju studiju o carici Wang Zhi. Međutim, autor percipira da je stav prema ovlastima Wang Zhi bio dvosmislen. S druge strane, pozicija prema ovlastima Zheng Chenggonga bila je jasna, jer je sam izborio svoje ovlasti. Zheng Chenggong ili Koxinga ovdje je suprotnost u odnosu na Wang Zhi.

Konačno, oko 1570.godine, dinastija Ming promijenila je svoju trgovinsku politiku, dok su portugalski / španjolski trgovci istodobno osvojili novu trgovačku rutu. Na taj je način trgovinski poredak Istočne Azije potpuno reorganiziran. Nakajima naziva ovaj novi trgovinski poredak jednostavno »sustavom 1570.godine«. Oko 1570-tih godina započinje druga faza »dugog šesnaestog stoljeća«.

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