



**Piracy, Trade and Economy on the South China Sea –  
Symposium and Public Lecture**

**「南中國海海盜活動、貿易與經濟」研討會 / 公開講座**

Date 日期 : 2017.6.17  
Time 時間 : 9:00 am – 5:45 pm  
Venue 地點 : Special Exhibition & Events Gallery, HKMM  
香港海事博物館  
專題展覽及文化活動展廳

## Symposium Schedule 研討會程序

8:30 am – 8:55 am	Registration 註冊
9:00 am – 9:10 am	Welcome Speech 致歡迎辭
9:15 am – 9:45 am	<p><b>Open Market, Natural Disasters, Climate Change, and the Wokou 倭寇 in Yuan China</b> 自由市場、自然災害與氣候變遷：元代倭患問題探微 <b>MA Guang 馬光</b> (Shandong University 山東大學)</p> <p>*Conducted in Mandarin 普通話主講</p>
9:45 am – 10:15 am	<p><b>From Pirate to Maritime Lord: The Zheng Maritime Family Re-examined</b> <b>CHIN, James K. 錢江</b> (Jinan University 暨南大學)</p> <p>*Conducted in English 英語主講</p>
10:15 am – 10:45 am	<p><b>A Study on the Occurrence and Evolution of Shandong Pirates in the Ming Dynasty</b> <b>ZHAO Hong Juan 趙洪娟</b> (Shandong University 山東大學)</p> <p>*Conducted in English 英語主講</p>
10:45 am – 11:00 am	Tea Break 茶點
11:00 am – 11:30 am	<p><b>成舟靖海：嘉慶朝的船政與海防</b> <b>CHOU, Wei-chiang 周維強</b> (National Palace Museum 國立故宮博物院)</p> <p>*Conducted in Mandarin 普通話主講</p>
11:30 am – 12:00 noon	<p><b>清代海盜布興有之活動及其影響</b> <b>CHEN Yu-hsiang 陳鈺祥</b> (National Cheng Kung University 國立成功大學)</p> <p>*Conducted in Mandarin 普通話主講</p>
12:00 noon – 1:15pm	Lunch 午膳
1:15 pm – 2:00 pm	HKMM Tour 海事博物館導賞

2:00 pm – 2:30 pm	<p><b>From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean: Muslim Corsairs and the Ottoman Navy in the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries</b>  從地中海到印度洋：十五、十六世紀回教海盜私掠船與奧斯曼帝國海軍  <b>FUNG Kam Wing 馮錦榮</b> (University of Hong Kong 香港大學)</p> <p>* Conducted in Mandarin 普通話主講</p>
2:30 pm – 3:00 pm	<p><b>澳門開埠之初（1564-1580）葡萄牙人對三次中國海盜活動的應對與處理</b>  <b>TANG Kai Jian 湯開建</b> (University of Macau 澳門大學)</p> <p>*Conducted in Mandarin 普通話主講</p>
3:00 pm – 3:30 pm	<p><b>19 世紀初，東南沿海海盜的“鎮海王”與“南海王”</b>  <b>ZHANG Ya Juan 張雅娟</b> (Zhejiang Gongshang University 浙江工商大學)</p> <p>*Conducted in Mandarin 普通話主講</p>
3:30 pm – 3:45 pm	<b>Tea Break 茶點</b>
3:45 pm – 4:15 pm	<p><b>The South-East China Coast Investigation Commission of 1930: Reflections on Smuggling and Piracy from an Intrepid Customs Officer</b>  <b>1930 年中國東南沿海調查委員會：中國海關稅務司對走私及海盜活動的偵查工作</b>  <b>BRUNERO, Donna Maree 游璿娜</b>  (National University of Singapore 新加坡國立大學)</p> <p>*Conducted in English 英語主講</p>
4:15 pm – 4:45 pm	<p><b>張保仔與疍民文化</b>  <b>ZHOU Yun Zhong 周運中</b> (Xiamen University 廈門大學)</p> <p>*Conduct in Mandarin 普通話主講</p>
4:45 pm – 5:15 pm	<p><b>香港周邊地區與海盜相關之遺蹟與文物</b>  <b>Billy TANG 鄧家宙</b> (Society of Hong Kong History 香港史學會)</p> <p>*Conducted in Cantonese 廣東話主講</p>
5:15 pm – 5:45 pm	<b>Discussion 公眾討論</b>

## Abstracts 論文摘要

### Free Market, Natural Disasters, Climate Change, and the *Wokou* 倭寇 in Yuan China 自由市場、自然災害與氣候變遷：元代倭患問題探微

MA Guang 馬光

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Former scholars have focused almost exclusively on the *Wokou* during the late Ming dynasty 明 (1368–1644), but pay little attention to the serious *Wokou* problem during the Yuan dynasty 元 (1271–1368). As early as 1309 *Wokou* began to raid China, the Yuan government did not close its door and permitted Japanese merchants to conduct trade along the coasts of China freely. In the following years, the coasts of Zhenjiang 浙江, Fujian 福建, and even north China, areas such as Shandong 山東 and Liaodong 遼東, were frequently raided by the *Wokou*. It shows that *Wokou* were not necessarily related to whether there was a maritime trade prohibition or not. The causes of these *Wokou* raids are very complicated, and we need to analyze them from a broader East Asian perspective. The traditional explanations are a politically unstable situation and turmoil in Japan, and weaknesses in the coastal defences in Korea and China. Other crucial factors also include various natural disasters such as droughts, typhoons, epidemics, pestilence and inundations, possibly including the climate changes leading up to the Little Ice Age. These causes have to be taken seriously, in particular, the climate changes.

**Keywords:** *Wokou*, Yuan China, climate change, natural disasters, maritime trade

對中國倭患問題的研究，以往學者多集中關注明代嘉靖大倭患，但對元代倭寇問題卻缺少相應的熱情。事實上，至遲在 1309 年，倭寇就已開始侵擾中國沿海。之後，不但東南沿海慘遭倭患，就連北方的山東、遼東等沿海各地也頻受倭擾。學界多認為倭患與海禁緊密相連，然而，元代允許日商來華貿易，較少實行海禁，但倭寇活動依然猖獗。由此可見，元代倭患與海禁並無必然聯繫。在探討倭患原因時，學界多從中、日和朝鮮半島的政治形勢、海洋政策等角度思考，卻忽視了更深層次的氣候與環境因素。日本頻繁出現的乾旱、颱風、瘟疫、洪水等自然災害是導致日本國內出現動蕩局勢的重要誘因，而氣候變冷則導致日本糧食減產，引發饑荒，進而導致倭寇流向朝鮮半島和中國沿海四處掠奪。如果說自然災害、動蕩的政局等是深層因素，那麼慶元等地官吏的貪污腐敗和勒索無度則是部分倭寇事件的直接導火線。

**關鍵詞：**元代倭寇、中日關係、自然災害、氣候變冷、海洋貿易

## **From Pirate to Maritime Lord: The Zheng Maritime Family Re-examined**

James K. CHIN 錢江

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Throughout its history, Fujian on the Southeast coast of China has stood out from imperial China in many respects, the clandestine maritime trade and piracy activities in particular. The people of south Fujian (better known as Hokkiens) had to rely on the sea for subsistence, which in turn not only fostered the extraordinary seafaring spirit of the Hokkiens, but also promoted the formation of an institutionalized Hokkien maritime trade network and a number of sojourning communities overseas. A typical and interesting case in point is the history of a Hokkien maritime empire in seventeenth-century maritime Asia headed by the Zheng family from a coastal town of south Fujian. Through the efforts of Zheng Zhilong, an influential private maritime merchant-cum-pirate on the south China coast, a small Hokkien family business gradually grew into an influential sea bandit group with different Chinese pirate groups being subdued and annexed, and finally it became the first and foremost maritime empire in the Greater China Seas in the 1640s, when Zheng Chenggong took over the leadership from his father. A complex hierarchical organisation was designed and formed in this Hokkien maritime empire, which possessed a formidable armed forces consisted of more than 410,000 soldiers and 5,000 vessels. Each year a large number of junks under the Zheng family were despatched to trade at emporia of maritime Asia and a close commercial relationship was established between the Zheng family based on the Taiwan Island and local regimes or European companies in Cochin-China, Siam, Cambodia, Patani, Johore, Nagasaki, Manila, Malacca and Batavia. The Zheng maritime empire actually controlled China's maritime trade for more than 15 years during the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century when the Qing court prohibited the maritime trade and traffic of China. Based mainly on the imperial Chinese archival records and contemporary private writings, this article examines the rise and fall of a well-known Hokkien family maritime empire with a focus on its early piracy activities, the institutionalized organisations and maritime trade while discussing the institutionalization and its implications to the formation of a maritime empire, if not an embryonic state, in the Greater China Seas.

## **A Study on the Occurrence and Evolution of Shandong Pirates in Ming Dynasty**

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From the late Yuan Dynasty to the entire Ming Dynasty, China has always been in the risk of Japanese pirates. As the main gateway to China's northern traffic, Shandong Peninsula is the pirates' first intrusion region. After the Yuan Dynasty, the main goal of piracy turned to the southeast coastal area gradually, however, the land of Shandong is still intermittent, which caused great harm to life and property of the people in Shandong coastal areas and it even affected the entire social and economic development of Shandong. This article will discuss the history of Shandong pirates including the reasons for the pirates' appearance and defeated, and the hazards they made to the local people.

The history of Shandong pirates can be divided into three periods, the first period is from the end of the Yuan Dynasty to the beginning of the Ming Dynasty (the seven years of the Hongwu's reign), which is the pirates' rampant time. In this period, the pirates of the coastal invade Shandong in a wider range of harassment once a year. From the eight years to twenty one years of the Hongwu reign, the pirates in Shandong once disappeared for more than ten years. Nevertheless, since the Hongwu twenty-two years the pirates came back again, and until the orthodox period, the Shandong coast become one of the goals of pirates looting once again. However, because the local military and civilian defense was very strict and the invaded pirates were exterminated or escape, during this period, the pirates' invasion to Shandong is not frequent with an average of about seven years or so. Therefore, Shandong pirates can be called "intermittent looting" period.

During the Jiajing period, the southeast coastal areas of the pirates rampant widely, and Shandong did not leave many records of the pirate of this period, however, until the end of Jiajing, with the siege of pirate war in full swing, pirates in Zhejiang, Fujian and other places were difficult to gain a foothold, so some pirates who rushed around came back to Shandong and Jiangsu coastal once again. However, because the number of pirates is so small during this period and they were quickly defeated or exterminated, and then this period is called "pirate rushing around" period.

There are three main reasons for Shandong pirates' appearance and extermination. First, at the end of the Yuan Dynasty, Shandong has become the first target of pirates is due to its geographical location. Second, since Hongwu eight years to twenty one years, the reason why the pirates' extinct in Shandong coastal, it is should first be attributed to the Ming government's Royal House and coastal defense measures. Third, the target transfer of the pirate harassment during this period is also closely related to the crisis of the ruling dynasty of Korea on the Korean Peninsula.

After Hongwu twenty years, the pirates' resurgence in the Shandong coastal areas did have some connections with the establishment of Li's North Korea policy changes before and after. In response to the resurrection of the House Kou, the Ming government to further strengthen the coastal areas of Shandong defense. In response to the resurrection of the pirates in later time, the reason is that the Ming government strengthen Shandong coastal areas defense greatly.

## 成舟靖海：嘉慶朝的船政與海防

CHOU Wei-chiang 周維強

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清嘉慶朝剿捕海盗的成败，與官方經營米艇、同安船等外海船隻的策略關係密切。乾隆末期，水師原使用的趕繒船逐漸不敷使用，因朝廷不願意投注大量經費，官方尚須租用民船來滿足水師防汛的需要。其後，隨著同樣依托民間海船的海盜逐漸勢力壯大，清軍參考研究海盜船隻，並在打造大型新船上痛下決心，以與海盜分庭抗禮。在對抗安南海盜時期，浙江巡撫阮元打造了霆船，充實了水師的實力。然而，安南海盜在石塘洋潰敗後，侯齊添、蔡牽、朱濆、朱渥、張保等海盜集團先後興起，或透過接濟和搶奪，海盜攫取了大量船隻，實力大幅超越沿海水師。為克服船隻的數量和質量差距，水師將領不斷籲請朝廷同意打造大船，並開展了大規模的租購計畫，使得水師得以在海上爭霸中，逐漸挽回劣勢，並贏得最終的勝利。在這場海上爭霸中，凸顯的是民間航海家和民間造船科技的優越性。福建泉州的同安縣，由於地理上的優勢，大量的同安人活躍於海上，或為水師官員或為海洋巨盜，其所造船隻，逐漸成為清中葉帆船的主流，成就了中國帆船的最後輝煌。

關鍵詞：趕繒船、同安梭船、米艇、霆船、水師、海盜



## 清代海盜布興有之活動及其影響

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鴉片戰爭後，隨著五口通商，太平天國及小刀會相繼起事，清政府自顧不暇，無力於領海上打擊海盜，讓整個 19 世紀中葉，造就出全新的「海盜黃金時代」。海盜、水師、護航業等三種武裝集團活躍於江浙洋面，彼此相生相剋，錯綜複雜，打破中國舊有的海洋秩序，演繹出一場詭譎多變的海上紛爭。本文爬梳中外資料，來了解原本僅是單純於沿海搶劫的廣艇海盜，為何能夠成為清朝水師，且同時可以於江浙洋面上從事有巨利可獲的暴力掠奪式護航。此外，布興有雖然只是歷史上微小的人物，卻掀起不小的波瀾，在清政府的眼中，他是「以盜制盜」的絕佳典範，而英美和葡萄牙人則認為他是個狡猾的投機分子，周旋於國際之間。最後，海盜引起的護航業浪潮下，無形之中成為晚清現代化進程中一項重要元素，同時間開啟了洋務運動的帷幕。

### 關鍵詞：

清代、布興有、海盜、水師、廣艇、護航業

**From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean: Muslim Corsairs and the Ottoman Navy in the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries**

**從地中海到印度洋：十五、十六世紀回教海盜私掠船與奧斯曼帝國海軍**

KW FUNG 馮錦榮

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From the mid-fifteenth to the late-sixteenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire tried to sustain her intercontinental shipping by restructuring Islamic trade across the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. The Empire divided the trade zones into four districts: (1) Algiers and Istanbul; (2) Aden and Hormuz; (3) Cambay and Calicut; and (4) Malacca and Canton / Quanzhou. This paper will discuss the privateering of Ottoman seafarers Kemal Reis (1451-1511), Pirî Reis (b. 1465-1470 and d. 1553) and Hayreddin Barbarossa (c. 1478-1546) as well as their later lives as admirals in the Ottoman Navy to sail in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

從公元十五世紀中葉到十六世紀後期，奧斯曼帝國(Ottoman Empire)為了維繫他們的越洋貿易，嘗規劃重整跨越地中海、印度洋以至中國南海遼闊之海洋上的伊斯蘭貿易為四大區間，即(1)阿爾及爾(Algiers)和伊斯坦堡(Istanbul)；(2)亞丁(Aden)和霍爾木茲(Hormuz)；(3)坎貝(Cambay)和卡利卡特(Calicut)；(4)馬六甲(Malacca)和廣州或泉州。本文主要討論奧斯曼帝國航海家兼海軍上將凱馬爾·列伊斯(Kemal Reis, 1451-1511)、皮里·列伊斯(Pirî Reis, 1465-1470 之間出生-1553)和海雷丁·巴巴羅薩(Hayreddin Barbarossa, 約 1478-1546)等三人早年的海上私掠活動及其後出掌奧斯曼帝國海軍艦隊游弋地中海和印度洋的歷史經緯。

**Portuguese Response and Treatment on Three Times of Chinese Pirate Riots during  
Early Opining of Macao (1564-1580)**

**澳門開埠之初 ( 1564-1580 ) 葡萄牙人對三次中國海盜活動的應對與處理**

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When Macao became a settlement of the Portuguese, a high tide of rampant piracy emerged around the costal of Guangdong Province. Out of consideration for various factors, the Portuguese often took the initiative to assist Ming dynasty to wipe out pirates. This article will research on three times of Chinese pirate riots which emerged in the reign of Jiajing, Longqing and Wanli in Ming dynasty, which were mutiny in Zhelin in 1564, the rebellion of Zeng Yiben in 1568-69, the rebellion of Lin Daoqian in 1580. Through the research and analysis, we may safely find out the purpose of these military actions launched by Portuguese: in addition to securing its own security, these acts also followed the consistent policy orientation, which is, obtaining permanent residency by way of pleasing the Ming dynasty.

**Key words:** Macao; Portuguese; mutiny in Zhelin; Zeng Yiben; Lin Daoqian

葡萄牙居留澳門伊始，正值廣東地區海盜匪情風起雲湧之時。葡萄牙人出於諸多因素的考慮，往往主動協助明廷剿滅沿海劇盜。本文就澳門開埠以來葡萄牙人分別在嘉、隆、萬三朝剿滅三股海盜勢力（1564 年柘林叛兵、1568-69 年曾一本、1580 年林道乾）的幾次事件開展研究，通過論述葡萄牙人對以上三次中國海盜活動的應對與處理，可以看出葡萄牙人的剿匪行動除了保障自身安全之外，還應當遵循了葡人一以貫之的通過討好明廷以獲得長期居留權的政策導向。

## 19 世紀初，東南沿海海盜的“鎮海王”與“南海王”

ZHANG Ya Juan 張雅娟

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19 世紀初，正值乾隆末年到嘉慶中期，清廷統治下的東南沿海海域海盜活動達到一個新的高峰，預示著清代海盜黃金時代的到來。在這一階段，以蔡牽為首的“蔡牽幫”和以朱濆為首的“朱濆幫”的實力最強，兩人曾被成為“鎮海王”和“南海王”。

本文在既往學者研究的基礎上，收集整理現階段可見的清代檔案，對蔡牽和朱濆兩人的出身和發展做了進一步的梳理，尤其是對於兩人生卒年份的考證以及蔡牽“豎旗稱王”一事有了一些新發現。

除了對於當時海上量兩大首領做了一些研究之外，本文還對當時委派“剿匪”大臣李長庚的海上活動做了一些補正，總結他在海上與海盜作戰的經歷，以及最後戰敗失利犧牲的過程，並通過他的詩文對他的性格特點進行分析說明。

## **The South-East China Coast Investigation Commission of 1930: Reflections on smuggling and piracy from an intrepid Customs Officer**

### **1930 年中國東南沿海調查委員會：中國海關稅務司對走私及海盜活動的偵查工作**

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While largely forgotten in the present day, the South-East China Coast Investigation Commission (1930) was launched as a result of the events of the 1920s and 1930s, which included the rise of anti-foreign movements, trade boycotts and the threat by the Guomindang to increase tariffs. An initiative of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service (MCS), this investigation placed a Customs Commissioner, Hayley-Bell, to perform a two-month reconnaissance of the South China coast and riverine network in order to get to heart of the piracy problem in Chinese waters and to make a case for exerting greater control over the waters closest to Hong Kong. However, the outcome of the Commission was rather controversial as not all parties involved, such as the British authorities in Hong Kong, were convinced of the magnitude and urgency of the piracy problem. This led to the Commission being mired in the politics between the MCS and the Hong Kong authorities over who was best able to ensure maritime safety. This paper takes a closer reading of this relatively under-studied commission by examining Hayley-Bell's day-to-day reconnaissance to discern how piracy and smuggling along the China coast was understood from a personal and institutional perspective. The end result of this commission was inconclusive, but provides a fascinating glimpse into an attempt to record the maritime travails of the South-east China coast during a time of great change.

「走私是一盤生意。一如所有生意，只要其獲利金額，足以令生意人認為值得冒險去做，他們就會去做，否則，這門生意就會消失。」這是 1930 年代初中國海關稅務司貝湖（Hayley-Bell），在調查當時中國東南沿海的違禁貨物（及船隻）活動後，得出的觀察結論。對於近代中國海關（the Chinese Maritime Customs Service）來說，如何有效控制中國沿海及其水道的貨物及船隻流動，一直是個問題。

本文發掘 1930 年由海關稅務司貝湖負責的「中國東南沿海調查委員會」偵查行動之源起及結果。貝湖考察數月，期間坐上由福建廈門開往香港的船隻，最後寫成數份報告及建議，以資海關處理走私問題，並就海盜活動提出數點觀察。本文認為，這次偵查的起因之一，是 1920 年代華南地區的動盪局勢：排外運動、1926 至 1927 年香港與廣州貿易抵制行動和 1929 年的

關稅加徵。中國海關一眾官員和中國沿海外籍居民，一向都很關心船隻逃避稅項、走私和海盜問題。本文根據西方媒體資料，探討當時人們對華南走私及海盜問題的看法，以及此等看法，如何同時反映於 1920 至 1930 年代的中國海關報告中。

「調查委員會」的職責之一，就是找出中國水域和英屬香港周邊海域海盜為患的癥結，中國海關及英國皇家海軍長期視此為棘手問題。貝湖搜集情報期間，他亦監督屬下登上超過二十艘船隻、沒收貨物、搗破走私巢穴；他亦與中國沿海的外籍居民社群交往，由此可見社會人際連繫對於情報收集，始終係相當重要的一環。本文發掘「調查委員會」的歷史，並明瞭相關人物；中國海關不單只處理海上的違規行為，亦有巡視航運及貿易。

「調查委員會」有助於中國海關預防非法違規活動，可是這亦意味著海上暴力事件更有可能發生，亦很可能令中國海關力有不逮。走私及海盜活動難以打擊，即使是最會「主動犯險」的海關官員，對此都有所顧忌躊躇。「調查委員會」的歷史大抵已被遺忘，但它提供了若干有趣新知，反映當時中國東南沿海的情況，還有許多不為人知，而且不受中國海關控制。

## 張保仔與疍民文化

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古代華南的很多海盜都是依靠海上的疍民力量，據記載，香港大嶼山有山石為生殖崇拜象征物，張保仔非常敬畏，每次出海都要在此占卜。這其實是古代疍民文化的遺存，據記載張保仔本來出身疍民，清代廣東海盜據記載很多出自疍民。大嶼山的原始宗教信仰記載可以追溯到宋代，南宋的大嶼山也是南方土著活動之地，還曾經出現海盜戰亂。

珠江口的群島包括今天珠海南部原來的群島，古代是疍民聚居地，他們源自上古南島語系民族，有非常獨特的文化。廣東沿海的很多地名其實都是源自南島語，而且保存到晚近。

歷代華南地方武裝都和疍民有關係，歷史記載可以早到六朝隋唐。宋元之後的記載也有很多。

歷史上各王朝，對疍民的政策很不相同。明朝初年，曾經把華南的疍民大量編入國家的軍隊，而且刻意消除疍民文化，明朝是廣東加速漢化的時代，所以明朝的廣東很少出現大規模的海盜。而清代的政策則與明朝不同，未能有效控制疍民。清代中期，華南出現很多大規模的海盜武裝，我認為其中一個很重要的原因是清朝初年未能實施有效的疍民管理政策。

從民族文化的角度，思考漢族王朝比如明朝與草原民族王朝比如清朝對待海洋族群的政策差異，進而研究歷史上的華南海盜，是本文的重點，也是我們應該注意繼續深入關注的研究方向。

## 香港周邊與海盜相關之遺蹟與文物

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香港地處華南濱海，雄據珠江出口東岸，秦漢以來已是海上交通要道，亦是唐宋海上絲綢之路的重要泊點，週邊海域，商旅魚貫進出，交通互動極為頻繁。單從《新唐書》所記，朝廷設屯門鎮，「置二千兵」守衛海面治安，當時的繁盛情況可想而知。

明清兩代實施的海禁政策，不但影響沿海居民生計，同時便利盜匪盤據聚集，造成延禍數百年的海盜問題。與此同時，歐洲商人接踵來中國、台灣、日本凡地通商，穿梭於現今的台灣海峽，也為海盜集團提供了行劫的誘因。

由於香港地形為臨海半島，週邊的海灣與島嶼特多，加上陸上有連綿高山屏護，成為海盜逃匿據守的溫床。直到二十世紀初，經過港英政府的強硬打擊，海盜問題才被解決。由於海盜集團長期在香港水域出沒犯案，因此遺下許多的史蹟與傳說。本文將檢視及簡介香港境內尚存與海盜相關之史蹟與文物，藉此回顧海盜的活動以及受影響居民的淒酸情況。



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