

LEONARD BLUSSÉ : *Visible Cities. Canton, Nagasaki and Batavia and the Coming of the Americans*. Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 2008. xii + 132 pages. Illustrations. ISBN-13: 978-0-674-02614-8.

This small volume, based on some Harvard lectures which Leonard Blussé gave in 2005/06, looks at three cities - Canton, Nagasaki and Batavia - and their role in Euro-Asian relations. The idea was not to present detail after detail, but to furnish a well-structured summary of major political, economic and cultural events that can be associated with these places in the period from roughly the early seventeenth century through to the beginning of the Napoleonic wars. The author was particularly interested in trying to link the fate of each port to both regional and global developments, and to outline what they shared in common, as well as how they can be distinguished from each other.

The reason for singling out these three places, rather than, say, Manila and Macau, is rooted in the fact that, seen through the author's looking-glass, they were then the most vibrant meeting points between "East" and "West", especially in terms of trade. Furthermore, the Dutch are perceived as a major player, although their weight and role changed over time - and in each location somewhat differently - as the author explains. Naturally, the overture is set in Batavia. The close relations between this port and the Chinese are sketched in a manner that reminds of the many well-known books and articles which Blussé has published on this vital subject.

伦纳德·布鲁赛：《看得到的城市：广东、长崎和巴达维亚，及美国人的到来》。剑桥，马萨诸塞州，及伦敦：哈佛大学出版社，2008，xii + 132页。插图。ISBN-13: 978-0-674-02614-8.

基于伦纳德·布鲁赛于2005/06年在哈佛大学的讲演，这本短篇幅的书记录了广东、长崎与巴达维亚三个城市，以及它们在亚欧关系中所扮演的角色。该书并不是要呈现一个接一个的细节，而是对从大约十七世纪早期到拿破仑战争开始的这段时期内，与这些地区相关的主要政治、经济和文化事件做一个结构严谨的总结。作者尤其喜欢将每个港口的命运与区域和全球发展联系起来，并概括出他们的共同点及区别。

作者之所以挑选这三个城市而不是马尼拉和澳门是因为，在他眼中，这三个城市在才是当时“东方”和“西方”间最活跃的汇合点，尤其是在贸易方面。此外，荷兰人被视为主要玩家，尽管他们的重要性和角色也随时间和地域的不同而改变——正如作者所解释的那样。故事的序幕自然是在巴达维亚拉开。布鲁赛对此港口与中国人之间紧密关系的描写方式使人想起他以往在这一重要主题上发表的著述及文章。

Among other things it is argued that, back in China, the two provinces of Fujian and Guangdong did not “behave” along the same lines: While the Fujianese were actively involved in the maritime sector, Guangzhou often sat back to receive its foreign clientele. Recently this very essential “dichotomy” between an “expanding” and a rather “passive” branch of Chinese trade, with all its structural implications for the continental “home frontier”, has been described in a major study by Li Qingxin 李庆新, *Mingdai haiwai maoyi zhidu* 明代海外贸易制度 (Beijing 2004). After the conquest of Taiwan through the Qing, but especially in the eighteenth century, the “twin-towered architecture” outlined above emerges even more clearly, one of its facets being that, in Guangzhou, trade was practically controlled by two non-local “groups”, the Manju administrators and the Fujianese merchant elite. One wonders how the local Cantonese felt about this unusual situation and how Macau ties into it.

The Batavia massacre (1740), the growth of direct shipping between Guangzhou and Europe, the rise of country trade, various shifts and changes in local networks, and a general re-orientation of the Chinese towards other horizons inside the Nanyang world, hurt the VOC in many ways. In that sense the South China Sea, or rather maritime Southeast Asia in toto, was marked by instability; everything was in flux, especially from the later half of the eighteenth century onwards. As was just said, to some measure this had to do with the colonial powers, whose impact

该书论述的内容之一是，在当时的中国，福建和广东两省在对外贸易上的行为并不一致：福建人积极投身海上贸易，而广东人则坐等外国客户的到来。中国贸易的这种“扩张型”与“被动型”分支之间的根本“分裂”，及其大陆型“国土边境”的结构含义，都在李庆新的一篇主流论文《明代海外贸易制度》中得到了描述（北京 2004）。在清朝征服台湾之后，尤其是在十八世纪，上文所述的这种“双塔分立结构”就更清楚地显现出来，而其中一个方面就是，广州的贸易受控于两个非本地“集团”：满洲统治者和福建商人精英。而我们不免想知道广东本地人如何看待这一不同寻常的局面，而澳门又与此局面有何关系。

巴达维亚大屠杀（1740）、广州与欧洲直达海运的发展、国家贸易的增加、本地贸易网的各种变化和转变，以及南洋世界范围内中国向其它地区再次拓展的趋向，都在很多方面伤害了VOC。从这个意义上看来，南中国海域，甚至整个东南亚海域都有不稳定的特点；尤其自十八世纪下半叶以后，一切都在不断变化之中。可以说，这在某种程度上与殖民统治势力有关，而殖民势力对这个曾像“准地中海”（布魯賽的书中经常引用Braudel）一般“闭关自

on a “system” that was once a “closed” scenario, almost like a “quasi-Mediterranean” (Braudel is often quoted in Blussé’s book), came from outside that “structure”. Elsewhere I have argued - and I think, Blussé might support the idea - that the South China Sea underwent a process of gradual “de-Mediterranization”, while the East China Sea with Nagasaki as its most important northeastern “terminus” was, for a long period, not so much torn into global rivalries and therefore experienced a slightly different fate.

Indeed, Nagasaki, so it appears, followed its old “rhythm”, at least for some time, and almost with a genetically inherited ability to digest various kinds of foreign “challenges” in a surprisingly smooth and sometimes rather curious way. In short, Japan’s doors were open, and yet they remained closed, as seen through Dutch eyes. I am not sure, however, what the Chinese viewpoint would be, since shipping from Fujian and Zhejiang to Kyushu was considerable, a fact that tends to be underestimated by Western historians. Here one might also think of such “marginal” places like the Ryukyu chain and their possible functions within exchange across the Yellow and East China Seas.

As one moves on in time, Europe’s weight in world politics and its share in international trade increases dramatically. But on the other side, this inevitably contributed to the outbreak of wars and certain unfortunate developments on the old continent, which in turn weakened the Dutch position in Asia - while the British, profiting

守”的“系统”的影响来自这种“结构”外部。我曾其它地方论述过—而且我认为布鲁赛也会支持这种想法：南中国海经历了一个逐步“去地中海化”的过程，而以长崎为其最重要东北“界标”的东中国海，则在很长时间里没有被过多的卷入全球竞争，所以它经历了一个略微不同的命运。

的确，长崎看上去至少在一段时期内仍遵循着它古老的“节奏”，并几乎凭借一种与生俱来的能力，以一种令人惊讶的流畅甚至有时古怪的方式来消化各种外国“挑战”。简言之，在荷兰人眼里，日本的国门是开放的，却也是关闭的。但是，我不确定中国人对此有何看法，因为当时从福建和浙江向九州的海运量也是相当大的，不过这一事实却往往被西方历史学家忽视。有人可能也会由此联想到像琉球群岛这样的“边缘”地带，以及它们在黄海与东中国海的交流中起到的作用。

随着时间的推移，欧洲在世界政治中的重要性与其在国际贸易中所占的份额都大大增加。可在另一方面，这也不可避免的在这个古老大陆上促成了战争的爆发和某些不幸，并削弱了荷兰人在亚洲的地位—但几乎在世界各地都用肮脏伎俩获利的英国人，却因此实现多个额外目标。我们通常

from the foul games they played nearly everywhere, managed to score several extra goals. We are usually less well informed about the role of the Americans, who, expanding their trade to Mauritius and other places, eventually became a major player in the South China Sea as well, often stepping in where Europeans had to “resign”. This already occurs before 1800 and adds to the complexity of the entire Nanyang-scenario - especially in the sense that this part of the world now became even more closely bound to global events, as the book explains. The story ends, more or less, with the Jefferson Embargo Act (1807) and thus at a time, when many cards are shuffled anew, especially around the shores of the South China Sea, where we see fresh structures emerging and new sins being committed, in the early nineteenth century and thereafter.

To round off my comments: While the older sins of the Dutch are somewhat overlooked in Blussé’s account, and the Catholic world is usually placed aside, *Visible Cities* is certainly not a *faux pas*. Based on a multitude of mostly English and Dutch works (and a small amount of other sources), it will go as a delicate assembly of glimpses from the eagle’s perspective, a lecture in “northern” anatomy which X-rays several vital bones inside a fatty substance. Bostonians once thought that selling opium was “fair, honorable, and legitimate” (p. 99); their minds, the author appears to suggest, should have changed by now... This brings me to my final observation: In recent years Blussé has

不甚了解美国人所扮演的角色，然而，将贸易扩展至毛里求斯和其它地区，并最终成为南中国海域重量级玩家的，正是美国人，他们还经常踏入欧洲人必须“让出”的地方。这些事在1800年之前就已发生，并使整个南洋局面变得更为复杂——而如本书所述，该地区如今与全球局势的联系更为紧密。这个故事或多或少的以《杰弗逊港口禁运法令》（1807）结束，而在十九世纪早期和其后的一段时期内，该地区的局面如同一次大规模洗牌，尤其在南中国海沿岸附近，我们可以看到新的结构与新的罪恶。

为对我的评论自圆其说：在布鲁赛的论述中，荷兰人过去的某些罪恶被忽视了，而天主教世界也通常被置于一旁；但尽管如此，《看得到的城市》也决不是一种失礼。本书主要参考了英语和荷兰语文献（以及少量其它信息源），可以作为一种以鸟瞰视角对全局观察所见的精巧汇编，也可作为以X光透视多脂表皮以下重要骨骼的“北方”解剖学讲演。波士顿人曾把销售鸦片视为“合理、可敬、且合法”的行为（p. 99）；本书作者似乎在暗示，他们的这种思想现在应该已经改变了...这便引出我最后的观察总结：近年来，布鲁赛变得很喜欢使用个人注释（本书的此类注释总共有几页之多）。所以，我们不妨参

<p>developed a certain taste for personal remarks (in the present account such glosses probably add up to several pages). Therefore one may advertise his study by referring to p. 69: <i>pinda pinda lekka lekka</i> (“peanut peanut tasty tasty”)...</p> <p>Roderich Ptak, Munich</p>	<p>考第69页的内容来为本书做一个广告： <i>pinda pinda lekka lekka</i>（“花生、花生，好吃、好吃”）。</p> <p>Roderich Ptak, 慕尼黑</p>
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