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MACAU E O COMÉRCIO NO DELTA DO RIO DA PÉROLA
MACAO AND THE PEARL RIVER DELTA TRADE

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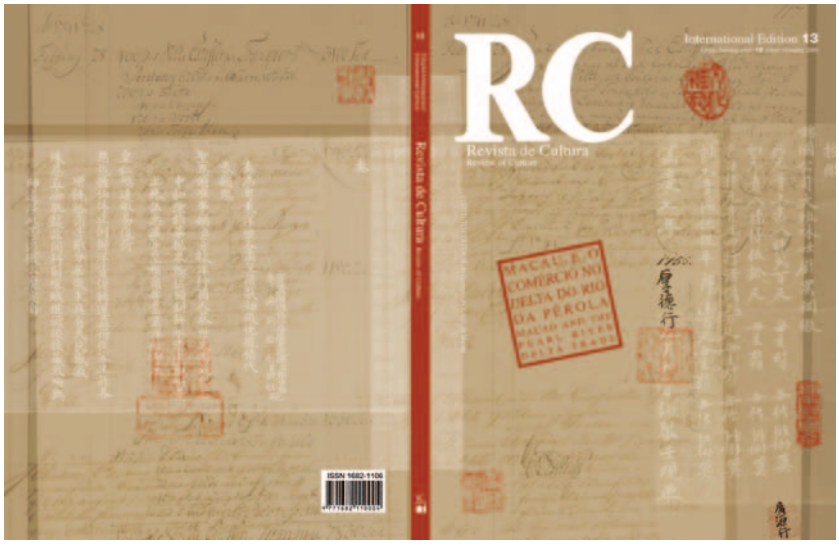

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A NOSSA CAPA
Retomando o tema de edições anteriores, fruto de investigação promovida e subsidiada no seio do Instituto Cultural ao longo de dois anos, *Revista de Cultura* apresenta neste número o percurso de mais uma família de mercadores, ou *hongs*, do delta do rio da Pérola que no século XVIII marcaram a azáfama comercial nesta região. Com este trabalho extenso e exaustivo sobre um dos chamados "pequenos mercadores" da zona de Cantão, a família Ye, entramos, propositadamente, no *detalhe* com o objectivo de, a partir do caso particular, melhor compreendermos a complexidade da actividade mercantil no grande delta na sua globalidade. Os documentos comerciais que servem de fundo à *nossa capa* resultam dessa investigação – fundamentada, essencialmente, nos arquivos das grandes companhias de *trading* do Norte europeu que se movimentavam na Ásia Oriental na centúria de setecentos.
Neste número de *RC*, ao longo de vários artigos, abordamos ainda a vida e a obra de Wu Yushan (Wu Li), nome fundamental da cultura chinesa na transição entre as dinastias Ming e Qing e na história do intercâmbio cultural entre a China e o Ocidente, afinal, uma das vocações do nosso projecto editorial.

OUR COVER
Returning to the theme of previous issues with research subsidised or carried out in the Cultural Affairs Bureau over the last two years, *Review of Culture* looks at another of the *hong* merchant families that had such a marked influence in the Pearl River Delta trade during the 18[th] century.
The Ye family, "small merchants" from the Canton area, is examined in exhaustive detail in order to gain, from this particular example, a broader understanding of the complexities of the trade throughout the Delta. The trade-related documents which inspired this issue's cover came to light through this research, primarily from the archives of the major northern European companies active in East Asia in the seventeen hundreds.
Wu Yushan (Wu Li) is one of the key cultural figures to emerge from the Ming-Qing transition period and his life and contribution to cultural exchange between China and the West are analysed in other articles in this issue, in keeping with the editorial objectives of *Review of Culture*.

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The Ye Merchants of Canton, 1720-1804

葉

Relation	Trade Name	Popular Chinese Name	Chinese
Relative	*Cudgin*	Ye *Cudgin*	叶＿＿
Relative	*Leunqua*	Ye Longguan	叶隆官
Father	*Consentia Giqua*	Ye Yiguan	叶义官
Son	*Tiauqua*	Ye Zhaoguan	叶朝官
Relative?	*Yanqua*	Ye Renguan	叶仁官

PAUL A. VAN DYKE*

From 1720 to 1804 there were five merchants of the Ye family active in Canton: Cudgin, Leunqua, Giqua, Tiauqua and Yanqua. They dealt in all the usual products that Hong merchants handled, including tea, fabrics and silk, but some of them were especially focused on porcelain. Except for the first man, Cudgin, the other four Ye merchants were, for the most part, classed among a group we call "small merchants." The large houses controlled much of the trade so these other men were often left outside of the decision making process of how the trade should be run. The Ye businesses on the whole were considerably less complex than those of the Yan 颜 and Pan 潘 families so they show us a different side of the story.[1]

Leunqua, Giqua and Tiauqua were much less aggressive in their practices than Cudgin and Yanqua. They were more inclined to do the best they could with the capital and resources they had on hand rather than borrow excessive amounts of money from the foreigners. They relied more on attracting patrons by offering good bargains. The three men do not seem to have been inclined to treat the foreigners to lavish dinners or accommodate them with lodging, which shows their thriftiness and sense of keeping expenses to a minimum. Nor do we have any references to these three men keeping their own agents in China's interior or in Southeast Asia, which means they probably did not buy directly from the sources but depended on middlemen to supply the goods they wanted. This is a very different picture from what we have seen in larger houses, so the Ye trade shows us an important side of the commerce that has been given little coverage in the past.

The other men, Cudgin and Yanqua, are two of the very few examples we have from this period of Chinese merchants actually being able to retire from the commerce. Both of these men managed to leave the trade with a sizeable fortune in their hands, which even contemporaries thought to be quite extraordinary at the time. Because their success is unprecedented in the historical literature, it alone warrants us taking a closer look at their lives so we gain a better understanding of the complexities of society and commerce in the delta. The story begins with Cudgin.

CUDGIN

As far as can be determined from the foreign records, Cudgin was the first of the Ye merchants in Canton. Many of the records from the East India companies from the early eighteenth century are either missing or incomplete, and very few Chinese records of the trade have survived. Because of the sparseness of the literature, it can be very difficult to track down the Chinese merchants. In his study on the Hong merchants, W. E. Cheong suggests that the name "Cawsanqua" that appears in 1702 may have been Cudgin. Huang and Pang have also recently compiled a list of merchants' names that they found in the Chinese sources, and they list a merchant by the name of Ye Zhende 叶振德 in Canton in 1697. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether either one of these two men has any connection to Cudgin.[2]

We know that Cudgin retired in 1732, but we do not know how old he was at the time. If he had been in his senior years (or at least in his fifties), which seems likely, then he could very well have been old enough to have been trading in 1697 or 1702. Because we have no references to a name like Cudgin in the years from 1703 to 1719, we have chosen to begin Cudgin's story in 1720. Beginning in that year, we have clear and consistent entries to him from which we can restructure his story.

In 1721/1722, the English East India Company (EIC) supercargoes mention that they contracted with Cudgin and Suqua (Chen Shouguan 陈寿官), and that this was done because these two merchants had been trading with the Ostend Company (later known as the Ostend General India Company, GIC) for the past two years. The English hoped to woo these two merchants away from the Ostenders so that they could disadvantage them in the trade, and of course benefit the EIC in the process. The early Ostend Company records have not survived, so we are not able to cross-reference this entry, but the later GIC records do indeed list Cudgin as one of the merchants with whom the Belgians traded from 1723 to 1726 (see Table A). He shows up in many of the GIC records from this period as Cudgin, Cudgin Quiqua or similar spellings.[3]

A word should be said here about the different ways in which Cudgin is referred to in the foreign records because it has resulted in there being some

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confusion about his identity in both the primary and secondary literature. Because Cudgin later became a mandarin and was sometimes referred to as Quiqua, it has been suggested that the Hong merchant known as "mandarin Quiqua" was also Cudgin. This name, however, appears in the records before Cudgin ascended to that rank, and some of the foreign account books that have survived clearly list mandarin Quiqua and Cudgin separately, so there is no mistaking that they are different persons. There have also been some suggestions that the man known as "Old Quiqua" in the early 1730s (when Cudgin retired) was also Cudgin, but the Danish records show that this man was Chen Kuiguan 陈魁官, with no connection to Cudgin. Because of these ambiguities, some of the references to Cudgin in the historical literature have him mixed up with other persons, so care needs to be taken not to repeat those mistakes.[4]

The 1720s were very precarious years in Canton for trade, which undoubtedly contributed to Cudgin's desire to retire from the business altogether. As was the usual practice at this time, after arriving at Macao in the fall of 1726, the GIC officers went upriver in order to negotiate the terms of the trade with the Canton officials and merchants before the ships arrived. It was important to keep the ships at Macao until all of the terms had been agreed upon as this gave the foreigners greater leverage in negotiating the freedoms that they wanted.

When the GIC officers arrived at Canton, they were not pleased with the news they heard. The *foyen* (governor, but in this case he was also called the viceroy) was demanding a 10 percent tariff on all silver that was landed that year, which was a departure from the way that the trade had been conducted in the past. There were good reasons for wanting to tax silver, but this practice was not common in other ports, so the foreigners were very reluctant to submit to this policy. The GIC supercargo Robert Hewer asked Cudgin and the other merchants to arrange an audience with the viceroy so that he could discuss this new stipulation and present their demands.[5]

While they were waiting for the day of the audience, Hewer secretly met with the merchants Suqua and Hunqua to try to negotiate an alternative in the event that he was not successful with the viceroy. He asked the two men if they would consider going to Amoy to trade. If they were willing do this, Hewer said he would dispatch a couple of the ships to that port instead of Canton. This was actually an old idea that Suqua had been entertaining for several years so it was well known that he had such intentions.[6]

In the meantime, the viceroy caught wind of the connivance. He immediately sent word to Suqua and Hunqua warning them that if he caught them undertaking such a bold venture as diverting the trade to another port, he would have them beaten with a bamboo and he would punish their families while they were gone. These threats put an immediate end to all thoughts of leaving Canton. Hewer now had no alternative but to wait to see what he could arrange with the viceroy.

The audience took place on August 18, and Cudgin, Suqua, Honqua, Cowle, Tinqua and Quicong accompanied Hewer and his officers to the viceroy's palace. There were about "3000 men" standing guard, and one of the chief mandarins took charge of officiating the ceremony. After the greetings and introductions, Hewer presented his demands and stated that he would not order the ships upriver unless he could be assured that the terms would be acceptable. During the meeting, however, Hewer suspected that the linguists, who were translating everything into Chinese for the viceroy, were not telling him everything. Nor were they representing the GIC as requested, so he turned to the merchants for help. Hewer mentions that the merchants "spoke English" (no doubt, Pidgin English), so he was able to speak with them directly, which was a great convenience. He asked the merchants to promise to make sure that the viceroy understood everything they demanded, which they consented to.

On August 22 Cudgin and the other merchants met with the GIC officers to deliver the viceroy's answer. The viceroy had not taken kindly to their request to land all of the silver duty free, but on the contrary announced that 10 percent would be charged on the money and that Cudgin would be held responsible for the total amount. This was not good news for the GIC or the Chinese merchants, but after discussing their alternatives at length, they managed to work out a tentative agreement, and Hewer then ordered the ships to come upriver. Cudgin and Suqua had convinced him that they could work things out with the viceroy, and the two sides finally agreed on prices that they could accept. Hewer was pleased that

he had contracted with them because he considered these two men to be the most capable in Canton, and he thought that Cudgin was the only man who could influence the viceroy.[7]

Despite the heavy extractions, 1726 must have been a very good year for Cudgin as he managed to contract over 85 percent of the business of the three GIC ships (explained below). The total value of his trade listed in the GIC account books comes to over one million taels (see Table A). This was an amazing volume of merchandise as the East India Companies rarely gave the Hong merchants more than 20 to 50 percent of a ship's cargo, so anything above 50 percent was exceptional. Besides the GIC trade, Cudgin is certain to have done business with other foreigners as well. It is thus not surprising to learn that Cudgin was one of the wealthiest merchants in Canton at the time.[8]

After the 1726 season, Cudgin took time off to go to Beijing with the *foyen*.[9] In June 1727 the English mention that Cudgin was absent and that he would not be trading that year. The *foyen* or viceroys' appointments were for only one to three years, and they usually started and ended their office in conjunction with the trading seasons. It was typical for them to leave office during the off-season (February to July) when there were few or no ships in Canton. This was when the next officer usually arrived as well.[10]

When Cudgin returned in 1728, the English mention that because he "does not appear in business", he "has severall Relations to officiate for him". Cudgin was now also "a mandarin". This new title was apparently purchased from the emperor in Beijing, which was a way for the merchants to hedge against hard times. The degree could be forfeited as payment or punishment for anything that went wrong in the trade. A degree, of course, was also a way to improve social standing, and it gave them status among the government officials as well.[11]

One of Cudgin's "Relations" who officiated for him was Leunqua (Ye Longguan 叶隆官), who begins to appear in the records in 1728. Cheong says Leunqua took over Cudgin's business in this year, which seems likely because Cudgin's trade drops off to almost nothing from this time forward. The next year, another relative, Giqua (Ye Yiguan 叶义官), begins to show up in the records. In 1732 one reference states that Cudgin and Leunqua were cousins, but because Cudgin's name was also spelled "Cousin", it is not clear whether this is a mistake in nomenclature or whether it should be taken literally.[12]

When Cudgin returned to Canton, we learn from the English supercargoes that he owned several of the factories. He had been leasing one of these buildings to the GIC, and he supplied the French East India Company (CFI) with a factory in 1727 as well. The EIC also approached him in 1728 to rent one of his factories, so he seems to have had extensive capital tied up in real estate. His ownership of these buildings is a sign of his affluence and status among the merchant community, but we do not know what happened to these factories when he left the trade. Leunqua and Giqua do not seem to have rented factories to the foreigners, so perhaps Cudgin sold them before he left Canton.

Cheong mentions that Cudgin retired to Quanzhou in 1732, so the trade that he conducted in 1733 was probably just to complete what he had contracted the year before (see Schedule and Table B). It is amazing that he was successful at arranging this retirement, as all positions in Canton that were connected to the trade, including pilots, compradors, linguists, and merchants, were usually appointments for life. In the early 1720s this practice was still being formalized, but by the late 1720s it had taken firm hold. Sometimes linguists or compradors would be reassigned to other posts, such as a merchant, but unless that happened, all of them could expect to serve at their jobs until they died or become incapacitated. Throughout the era of the Canton trade, voluntary resignations were not usually an option, and many of these appointments (whether they were wanted or not) came with a mandatory entrance fee.

Keeping the same persons at their posts for long periods helped to build consistency and standardization into the administration. As the operation of the trade became more regularized, it brought greater stability and predictability to profits. It also made it easier for the top officials (who came and went every three years) to manage the trade because the same persons were involved from one year to the next. This was one of the basic foundational elements upon which the trade was controlled.

The consistency helped to build the foreigners' confidence as they became accustomed to dealing with

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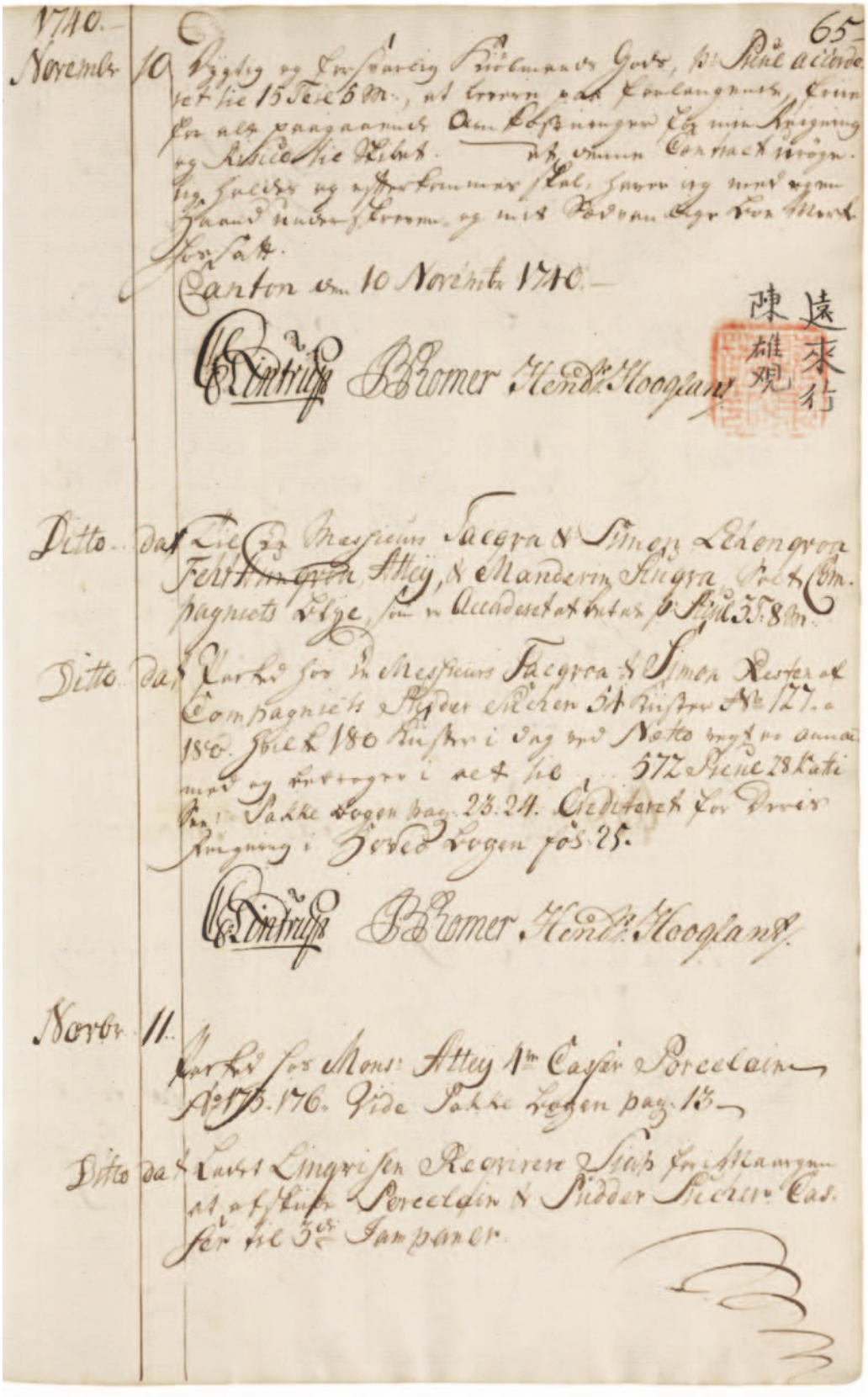


Illustration 1:
Two Tea Contracts, both dated 10 November 1740 for the DAC Ship *Kongen af Danmarc*. The first contract is with Lehonqva of the Duanhe Hang to deliver 200 piculs of 1st grade Songlo tea, and the second contract is with Fet Honqua of the Yuanlai Hang to deliver 100 piculs of 1st grade Songlo tea. (RAC: Ask 1120)

the same people year after year. With greater familiarity and the development of long-term friendships came greater trust. Those factors in turn attracted more investors and traders to China and created a steady flow of revenues to Beijing. Thus, to allay the concerns of ministers in Beijing that the foreigners should be controlled and that the funds going to Beijing would continue, there were good reasons not to allow persons to retire. For all of these reasons, merchants were rarely successful at arranging their departure, and that is why many persons, Chinese and foreign alike, considered the merchants to be nothing but slaves of the government, producing money for the latter, and expendable when they were no longer needed. This situation discouraged other capable Chinese persons from becoming merchants because there was often no way out of those positions. If a merchant was as lucky as Cudgin to arrange his freedom, there were still no guarantees that he would not be recalled when the next official arrived or when a vacancy needed to be filled.[13]

Considering all of the factors above, we cannot help but suspect that the 10 percent duties on silver that Cudgin supposedly paid to the *foyen* (or viceroy) in 1726 and Cudgin's trip to Beijing with that same official at the end of the season probably played a role in arranging his retirement. The purchasing of the mandarin's degree from the emperor (and who knows what other contributions he may have made in Beijing) may have also been part of his strategy. Getting well connected in Beijing was probably the best way to ensure that officials who were sent to Canton in the future would respect his retirement.

Whatever the case may have been, after Cudgin returned from Beijing, he immediately handed the trade over to Leunqua and began distancing himself from the commerce. He did a little trade with the Dutch and the Swedes but nothing like the volume that he had handled in previous years. It was as if he was just winding things down and waiting for the official word to arrive so that he could take his leave. This distancing of himself from the commerce suggests that if he did not have his retirement all worked out before returning to Canton, he at least had it on his immediate agenda to do so.

After he left Canton in 1732, Cudgin shows up briefly again in the English records in 1734 in Amoy, but then we hear nothing more about him after that. It is unfortunate that we do not have any memoirs or records to reconstruct the rest of his life. Cudgin was very fortunate to have been able to retire with great wealth, with other family members continuing in the trade, with a new title as a mandarin, and with apparent good health. In these regards, he was an exemplary individual and businessman who learned to work the system very well to reap the most benefits for his family, himself and his country.[14]

LEUNQUA

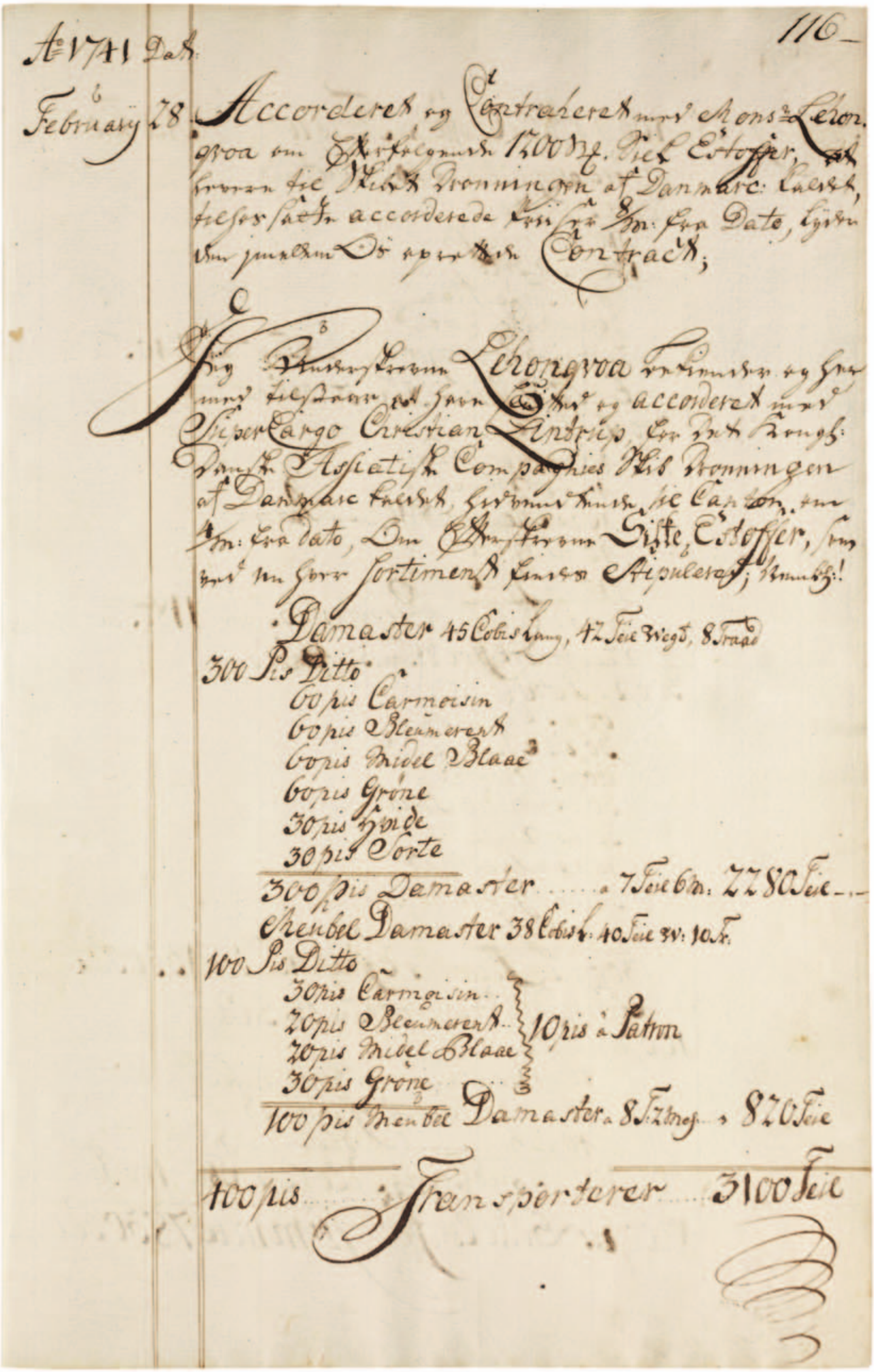
With the aid of Cudgin's experience and connections, Leunqua seems to have done well from the beginning. He shows up regularly in the records from 1728 to the mid-1740s, and the name of his business was the Duanhe Hang 端和行 (see Illustration 1).[15] In the Danish Asiatic Company (DAC) records, Leunqua shows up sometimes as "Tan Leunqua" or "Fan Leunqua" (with various spellings). It is not clear why merchants sometimes appear with names like this that in no way reflect their last name. ("Ye" would be "Yip" in Cantonese, which is not close to "Tan" or "Fan" even in the wildest stretch of the imagination). These types of entries, however, are common in the records, and perhaps are due to the foreigners just not being familiar with the pronunciation of Chinese last names. In everyday business they would usually use first names, so there is some logic to this reasoning. We know from contracts that Leunqua signed that these names are indeed referring to him, despite the way they are spelled.[16]

On one of Leunqua's silk contracts that he made with the DAC there is a curious chop that may shed some light on Leunqua's proper Chinese name. On the right side of the chop are the characters *Ye yin* 叶印, which simply mean this is a Ye chop. On the left side of the chop, however, are two characters that appear to be *Ting Zi* 莛梓 (or something close). These two words do not normally appear on business chops from the Hong merchants, so they could possibly refer to Leunqua's given name (see Illustration 2).

By 1734 Leunqua was supplying silk to the DAC, which he continued to do in later years. In 1735 Leunqua contracted one-fourth of the EIC's silk fabrics, and the English supercargoes pressured him to take a share of their lead and woollens. By 1736 he had

Illustration 2:
Silk Contract dated 28 February 1741 between Lehonqva and the DAC for the Ship *Dronningen af Danmarc*. (RAC: Ask 1120)

MACAO AND THE PEARL RIVER DELTA TRADE


A° 1741 Dat. 116
February 28 Accorderet og Contraheret med Mons. Leron-
qua om [illegible] 1200 [illegible] Estoffer, [illegible]
[illegible] Dronningen af Danmarc [illegible]
[illegible] accorderede [illegible] fra Date, [illegible]
[illegible] Contract;

Jeg Underskrevne Lehongqua [illegible]
[illegible] accorderet med
Super Cargo Christian Lintrup, for det Kongl:
Danske Asiatiske Compagnies Skib Dronningen
af Danmarc [illegible] Canton [illegible]
[illegible] fra dato, [illegible] Silke Estoffer, [illegible]
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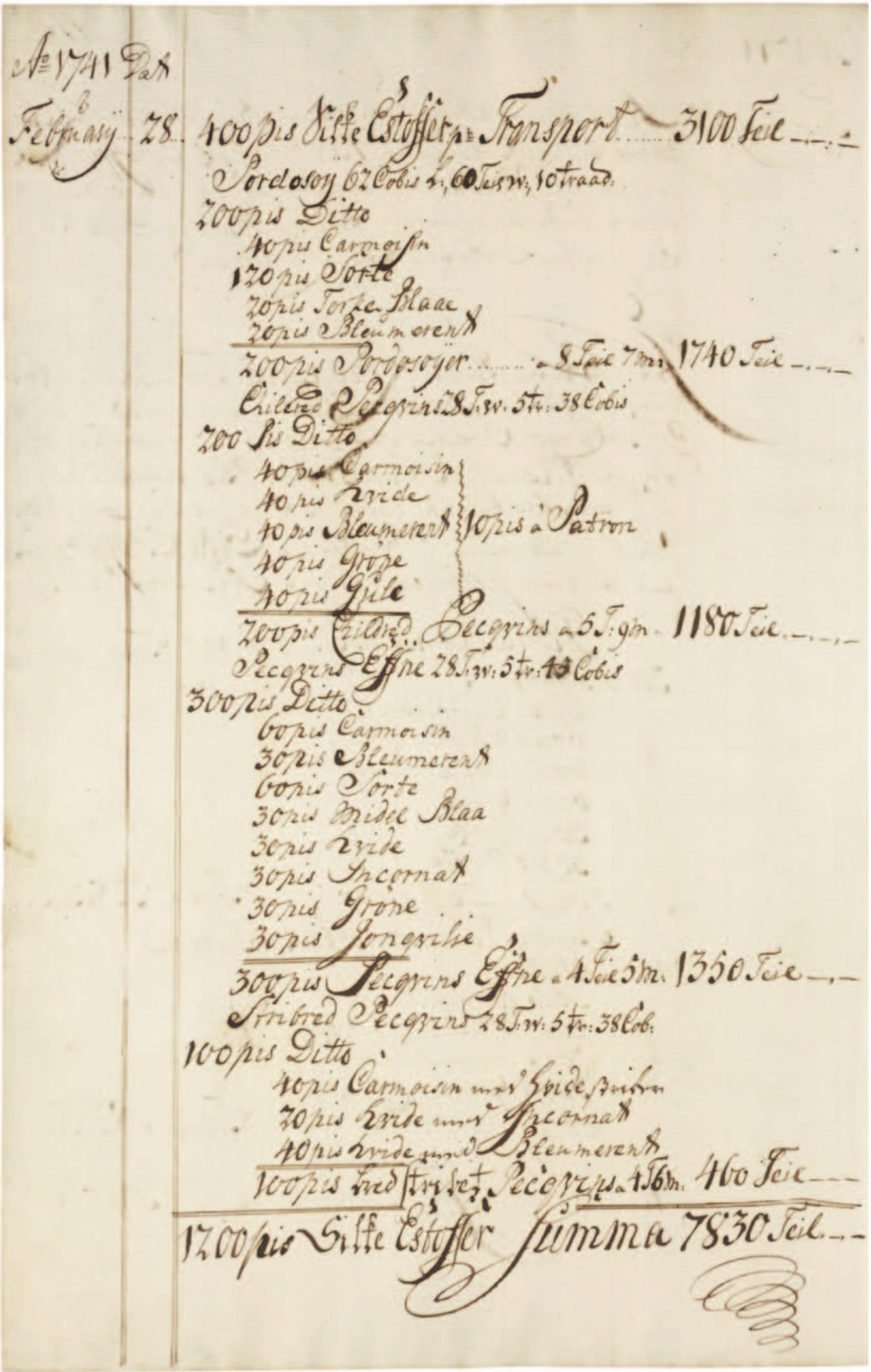
Damaster 45 Cobis lang, 47 Tuie Wegt, 8 Traad
300 Pis Ditto
60 pis Carmoisin
60 pis Bleumeret
60 pis Midel Blaae
60 pis Gröne
30 pis Hvide
30 pis Sorte
300 pis Damaster ... 7 Tuie 6 m. 2280 Tuie
Meubel Damaster 38 Cobis l. 40 Tuie W: 10 T.
100 Pis Ditto
30 pis Carmoisin
20 pis Bleumeret — 10 pis à Patron
20 pis Midel Blaae
30 pis Gröne
100 pis Meubel Damaster [illegible] 820 Tuie
400 pis ... Transporterer ... 3100 Tuie


Ao 1741 Dato
February 28. 400 pis Silke Estoffer pr Transport ...... 3100 Teil
Pordosoy 62 Cobis L: 60 Teis w: 10 traad.
200 pis Ditto
40 pis Carmoisin
120 pis Sorte
20 pis Sorte Blaa
20 pis Bleumerant
200 pis Pordosoyer .... à 8 Teil 7 m. 1740 Teil
Chilbred Pecqrins 28 T. w. 5 tr. 38 Cobis
200 Pis Ditto
40 pis Carmoisin
40 pis Hvide
40 pis Bleumerant } 10 pis à Patron
40 pis Gröne
40 pis Gule
200 pis Chilbred Pecqrins à 5 T. 9 m. 1180 Teil
Pecqrins Effne 28 T. w. 5 tr. 43 Cobis
300 pis Ditto
60 pis Carmoisin
30 pis Bleumerant
60 pis Sorte
30 pis Middel Blaa
30 pis Hvide
30 pis Incarnat
30 pis Gröne
30 pis Jonquille
300 pis Pecqrins Effne à 4 Teil 5 m. 1350 Teil
Stribed Pecqrins 28 T. w. 5 tr. 38 Cob.
100 pis Ditto
40 pis Carmoisin med Hvide
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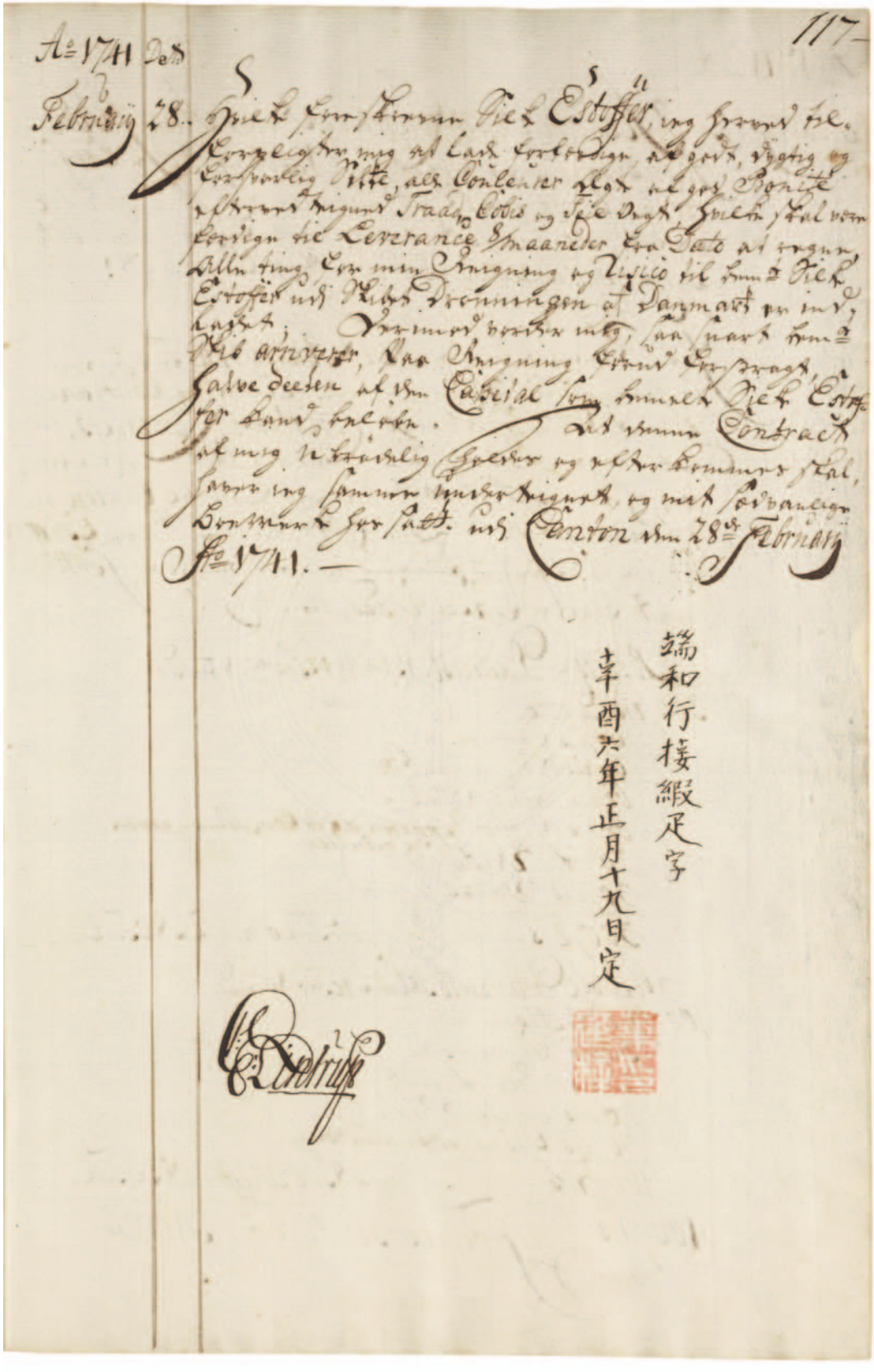
1200 pis Silke Estoffer Summa 7830 Teil



expanded to the point that the English listed him as one of the four principal merchants in Canton with whom they traded. Leunqua continued to do an extensive business with the Danes as well (see Table C).

In the 1730s Leunqua had a writer by the name of Fet Honqua (Chen Xiongguan 陈雄官), who helped him in the trade (see Schedule). Fet was a well-known figure in Canton whom many of the foreigners dealt with. Aside from assisting Leunqua, he also traded on his own out of two different firms: the Yuanlai Hang 远来行 and the Falai Hang 发来行. Illustration 1 shows one of Fet's contracts with the DAC that he made through the Yuanlai Hang.[17]

On 7 December 1738 all of the Europeans (except the French) assembled at Leunqua's house. From there they were escorted in sedan chairs to the palace of the *tsing touc* (governor-general) in the city. They met in a large square to attend a farewell banquet for the departing viceroy. The records do not say specifically, but it is certain that besides the two or three Canton linguists, the Hong merchants (including Leunqua and Giqua) would have attended this event as well. A tragic comedy was performed and then speeches and greetings were exchanged, wishing each other a safe and prosperous journey. Events such as this were very common in Canton, and all prominent foreign and Chinese persons were expected to attend. Observing such protocol was part of their normal responsibilities as Hong merchants.[18]

At the end of the 1738 season, we get another glimpse of the life behind the business of the merchants. Just before the Danish supercargoes were ready to depart and return to Europe on 9 January 1739, the partners Texia and Simon (Yan Deshe 颜德舍 and Huang Ximan 黄锡满) invited them to a farewell luncheon. The English and Swedish supercargoes also attended as did the merchants Pinkey (Zhang Zuguan 张族官), Leunqua and Fet Honqua. These were the same merchants who had handled most of the DAC trade in that year.

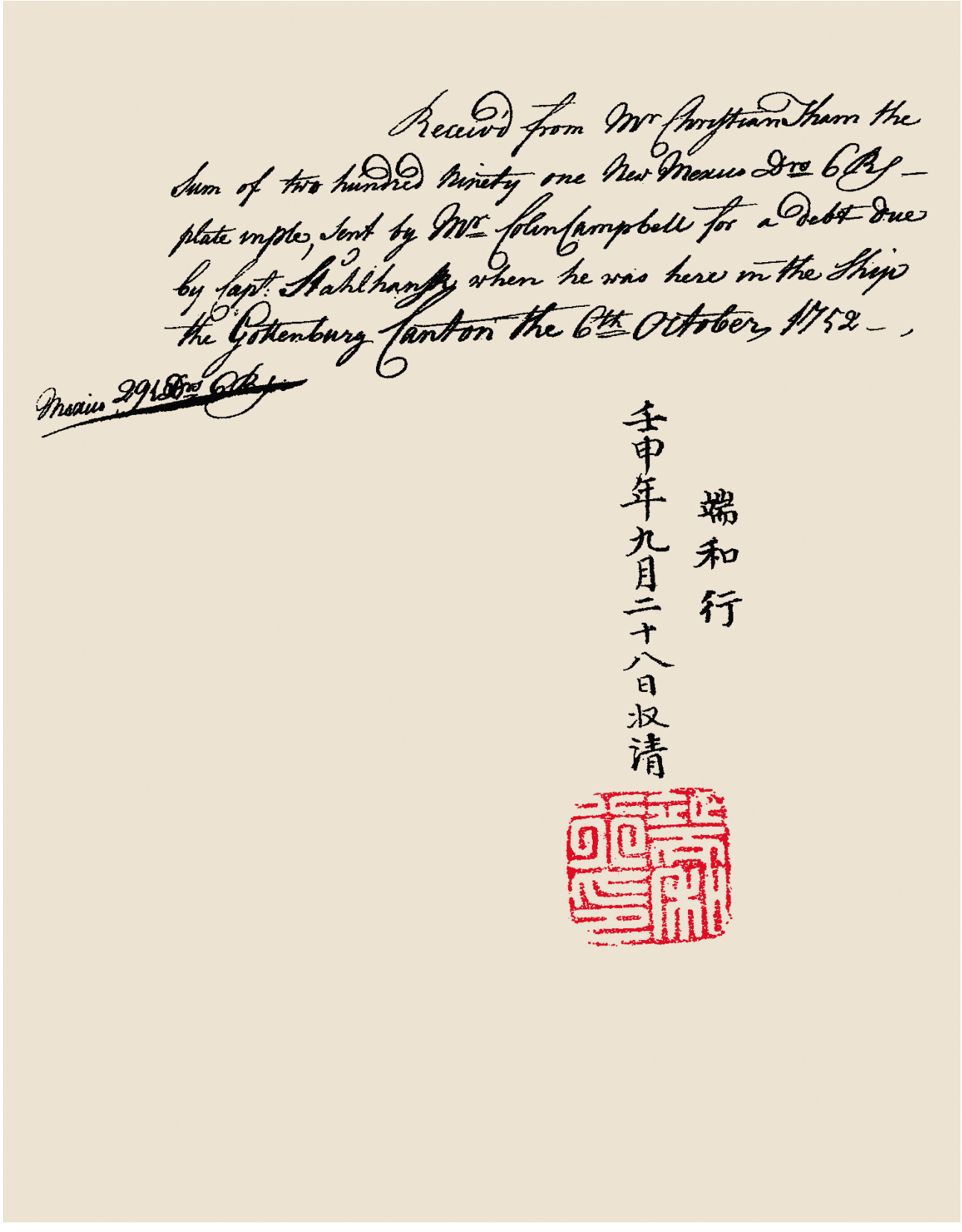
Later that day, at around 7 o'clock in the evening, the same merchants accompanied the Danes in a mandarin's boat and escorted them to Bocca Tigris, where their ship was lying at anchor. They arrived the next morning, and upon the departure of the merchants, the Danes saluted them with the firing of nine cannons. Aside from showing the protocols of the trade, these farewell ceremonies and courtesies show that Leunqua and his partner Fet Honqua were indeed among the privileged class of merchants in Canton.[19]

In 1742 a "Tekqua" is mentioned in the English records as being Leunqua's partner. He was probably the same person as "Tacqua Amoy", who is mentioned in the Danish records as his partner. This person's identity is unknown, but he shows up in the records trading porcelain and tea with Leunqua. Cheong says Leunqua disappears from the English records after this, but his name continues to show up in the Swedish, Danish or Dutch records until at least 1745 (see Schedule). He then disappears from those records as well.[20]

By the early 1740s Leunqua had earned a reputation for himself as one of the respectable merchants in Canton. In 1743, the Dutch list him among the six most prominent merchants (he was fourth on their list). In September of that year the Dutch East India Company (VOC) contracted many varieties of silk with Leunqua for the Japan trade because they considered him the "most capable man." The VOC bought a large volume of products from him in both 1743 and 1744. Because we do not have account books for those years, this trade does not appear in Table B.[21] Some of the Danish journals also have not survived, so the total volume of his trade listed in Table C (68,565 taels) would probably be closer to double that amount if we had all of the figures available.

Up until at least 1750, the directors of the DAC continue to mention Leunqua's name in their instructions to the supercargoes, but these documents were just copied from previous years, so the information they contain was not current. The DAC journals that have survived do not show Leunqua doing business with them after 1745. Leunqua and his Duanhe Hang appear again briefly in the Swedish East India Company (SOIC) records in 1752 and 1753, but it is not clear that he was actually trading then. One of the Swedish officers from the Ship *Gothenburg*, which was in Canton in 1744, owed a debt to the Duanhe Hang. In 1752 the SOIC supercargo Christian Tham paid this debt, which created a receipt that was signed and chopped by the Duanhe Hang (see Illustration 3). In

Illustration 3:
Receipt for 291 Mexican dollars paid to the Duanhe Hang by SOIC Supercargo Christian Tham, on behalf of Captain Stahlhank, who incurred this debt when he was in Canton on the Ship *Gothenburg* in 1744. Tham recorded the date to be 6 October 1752, but the Chinese year corresponds to 3 November 1752. (GL: ÖIJ A406)


Received from Mr Christian Thorn the
Sum of two hundred Ninety one New Mexico Drs 6 Rs —
plate mple, Sent by Mr. Colin Campbell for a Debt due
by Capt. Mahlhamp when he was here in the Ship
the Gottenburg Canton the 6th October 1752 — ,
壬申年九月二十八日收清
端和行

1753 the name "Leongqua" appears again in the records, but there is no reference to any trade or transactions with him.[22]

In 1766 and 1767 there is another "Leonqua" that shows up in the SOIC records, but there is no way of knowing if he is the same person or from a different family. Considering the long silence, it seems more likely that this is referring to someone else. As far as can be determined from the data, Leunqua of the Duanhe Hang ceased doing trade with most of the foreigners after 1745, and disappears from the records after 1753. The English mention in the early 1750s that Giqua took over Leunqua's business, so perhaps Giqua continued the Duanhe Hang or merged it into his other operations. Because of the silence in the records, we unfortunately do not know what became of Leunqua or his business.[23]

CONSENTIA GIQUA

The family relationship between Leunqua and Giqua is not clear. The two were apparently from the same family, but they rarely appear in the records working together. In the 1730s and 1740s they both traded with the DAC, but they kept separate accounts and negotiated all of their business dealings with the Danes separately (see Schedules and Table C). Giqua also traded regularly with the Dutch and Swedes in these decades but not in partnership with Leunqua (see Schedules and Table B). It is possible that the two men kept their Danish, Dutch and Swedish accounts separate and then traded with the EIC together out of the Guangyuan Hang. Cheong suggests that this may have been the case, but the information that has emerged so far is inconsistent and incomplete so the connections are unclear.[24]

Giqua had a very unique name, which makes him easier to track through the records than some of his contemporaries. He was called Giqua Consentia or Consentia Giqua by almost everyone in Canton. Consentia is a Portuguese word meaning "conscientious" (today spelled *consciência*). He seems to have been very proud of this name as he often signed and sealed his contracts with a chop showing this name (see Illustration 4). Sometimes he appears simply as Giqua, and in the 1740s and 1750s there is another merchant with that name, so care must be taken not to confuse them.[25]

The first reference we have to Giqua trading in Canton is from 1729, which is one year after Leunqua began. Like most of the Hong merchants, Giqua traded in a wide variety of products, but he specialized in porcelain. Being one of the licensed porcelain dealers in Canton, Giqua had many smaller shops that exported chinaware under his authority. The normal way that this was carried out was that Giqua would receive a commission from those sales in exchange for being held responsible for paying all of the export duties and taxes. The porcelain shops of course would also have to forward the money for the duties, so as long as the shops were in good standing and paid their bills on time, this was a good way for Giqua to supplement his export trade.

In 1730 we find Giqua trading with the VOC out of the Houde Hang 厚德行. This business name appears again in the 1750s connected to Awue of the Yan family. Illustration 4 shows one of the contracts Awue made through this firm. We know that Awue was connected to Giqua in some of his business transactions. It is possible that Giqua sold the business to him, but Awue could have also been managing it for Giqua.[26] Giqua seems to have maintained a close working relationship with the Yans. In fact, in 1761 he contracted jointly not only with the Yans, but with the Chens and Pans as well (see Illustration 5). In the 1740s Giqua also did some business in partnership with the Hong merchant Suiqua (Cai Ruiqua 蔡瑞官, see Schedule).

It was common for merchants to marry sons and daughters into other merchant families and to place sons in other establishments so they could learn the trade. The commercial connections between the families created shared interests and alliances, which gave the merchants a little more security in their dealings. But the particulars that connected Awue to Giqua in the Houde Hang are not known.[27]

In the 1750s and 1760s, several small porcelain dealers channeled goods through Giqua's Guangyuan Hang. The names of porcelain and lacquerware shops at this time are usually easy to recognize because they often have the character *chang* 昌 attached to them (suggesting richness or prosperity). Some of the names of the boutiques that used Giqua's authority were Tiauquon (Yaochang 徭昌), Soychong (Juchang 聚昌), Neyschong (Yichang 裔昌) and Quonschong (Guangchang 广昌). Sometimes these names appear in the records with the character *dian* 店 after them,

indicating that they are a small shop. One of the larger porcelain dealers, Pinqua (Yang Bingguan 杨丙官), also sold goods through the Guangyuan Hang before he became a Hong merchant in 1782. Also, in 1763 the Dutch bought Congo-pekoe tea from Macao Taiqua, under Giqua's authority. Some of these porcelain shops continued long after the Guangyuan Hang had closed, so being outside of the Co-hong did not necessarily affect a merchant's long-term security.[28]

Even though Giqua was never one of the prominent merchants in Canton, he nonetheless had a large number of people depending on him.[29] Each of the porcelain boutiques had a small crew of their own, and of course there were hundreds of workers involved in the distribution and packing of tea and many other persons involved in the making of silk and other commodities. Most of this merchandise came from China's interior, so there was a massive number of people involved with communicating, ordering and shipping goods from inland to Canton.

Thus, to allay the concerns of ministers in Beijing that the foreigners should be controlled and that the funds going to Beijing would continue, there were good reasons not to allow persons to retire.

As can be seen from the Schedule and Tables B and C, Giqua distributed his wares to almost all of the foreigners in Canton. The charts are lacking data from the French records, and they have no information about the many private traders such as the Muslims and Armenians or the Portuguese and Spanish with whom he would have traded as well. The data are also lacking information from the thousands of records that have now disappeared from the East India companies. If we knew the full extent of his operations, we would undoubtedly have to add several pages to the tables. Considering the volume and the number of people involved, it is easy to see that keeping track of the accounting and the duties were major tasks for even the smallest of the Hong merchants. Thus, the name "small merchant" is a relative term that needs to be put into its proper context. Otherwise, we cannot fully appreciate the skill and expertise that Giqua needed to carry on his extensive commerce.

Cheong mentions that Giqua's "Hong was razed by a fire" in 1756, which presumably refers to the Guangyuan Hang. Giqua seems to have survived the immediate loss from this unfortunate event, but it is not long afterward that we see things beginning to grow worse for his business. Giqua began to lose hold of his share of the English trade, and Cheong says his position continued to weaken.[30]

In the early 1760s, things were not going well for any of the small merchants. After the establishment of the Co-hong in 1760, new policies were introduced that disadvantage the small merchants. The four large houses consulted with the mandarins each year to decide the terms and policies of the trade, to the benefit of themselves and to the detriment of the others. Giqua seems to have suffered considerably from this adverse situation. In February 1763, he tried to entice the Dutch to trade with him by offering them tea at the same price as other merchants but more favourable terms. They were not convinced because his tea was often poor in quality and sometimes adulterated, and he had trouble securing sufficient quantities. These factors are typical characteristics of a tea merchant in financial trouble, and Giqua was not the only one having difficulties.[31]

In early July 1763, the Dutch tell us that Giqua and the other five small merchants met secretly in one of the local temples to devise a means to open up the trade. After discussing the issues, they made a pact together vowing to do whatever they could to break the Co-hong, to start a second Co-hong to compete with the first, or to quit the trade all together. The reference suggests that Tjobqua (Cai Yuguan 蔡玉官) was elected as their spokesperson to discuss the issues with the mandarins. In order to secure their commitment, all six of them drank of a sacrificial concoction made up of the blood from two pigs and two goats, mixed together with some samshew (rice wine). If nothing else, this example shows the intense animosity that had developed between the large and small merchants, with the former constantly trying to manipulate the latter.[32]

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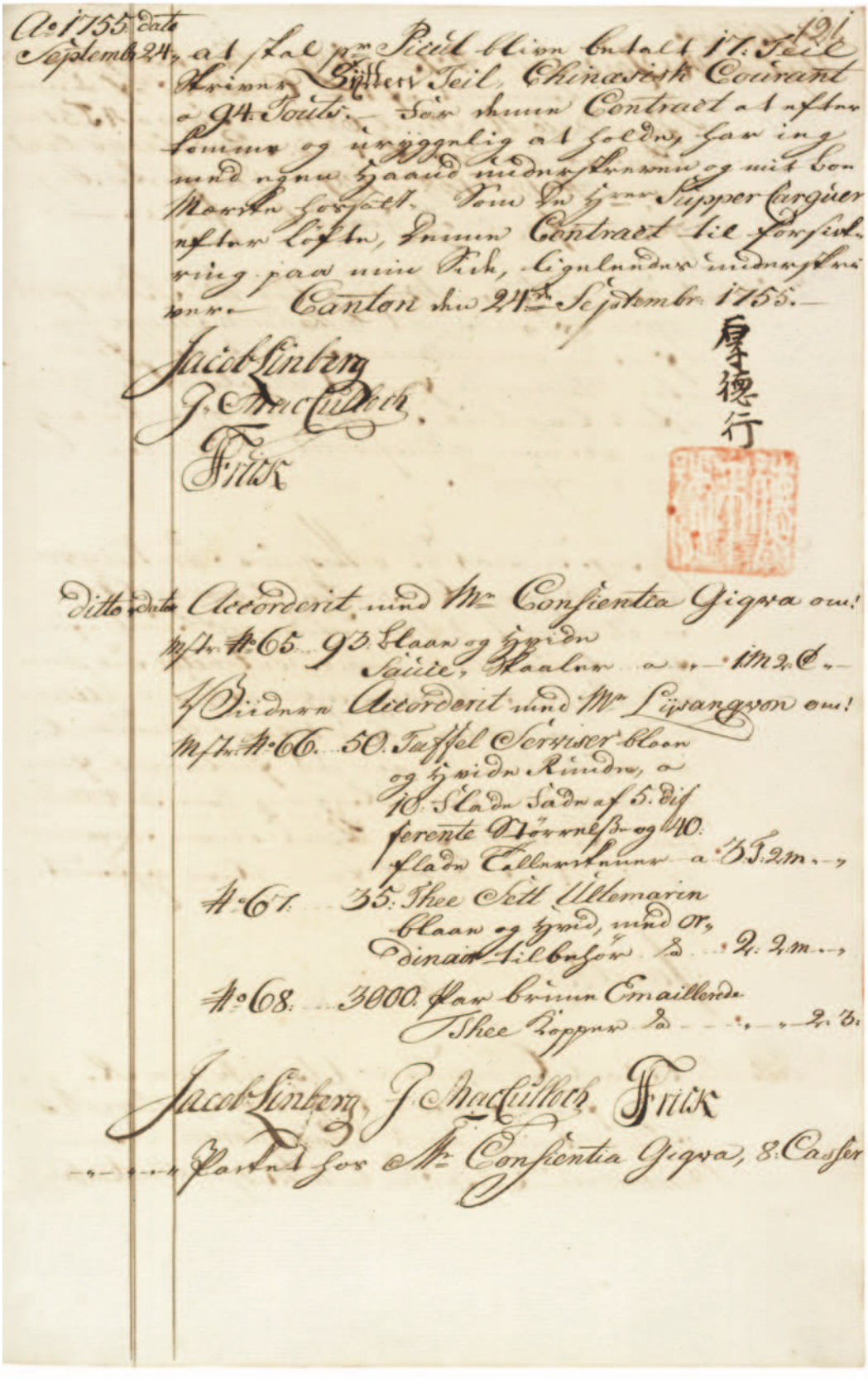

Illustration 4:
Two Tea Contracts, both dated 24 September 1755 for the DAC Ship Dronning Juliana Maria. The first contract is with Consientia Giqva of the Guangyuan Hang and the second is with Avue (of the Yan family) of the Houde Hang. Both contracts are for the delivery of an amount of Bohea tea. (RAC: Ask 1135)

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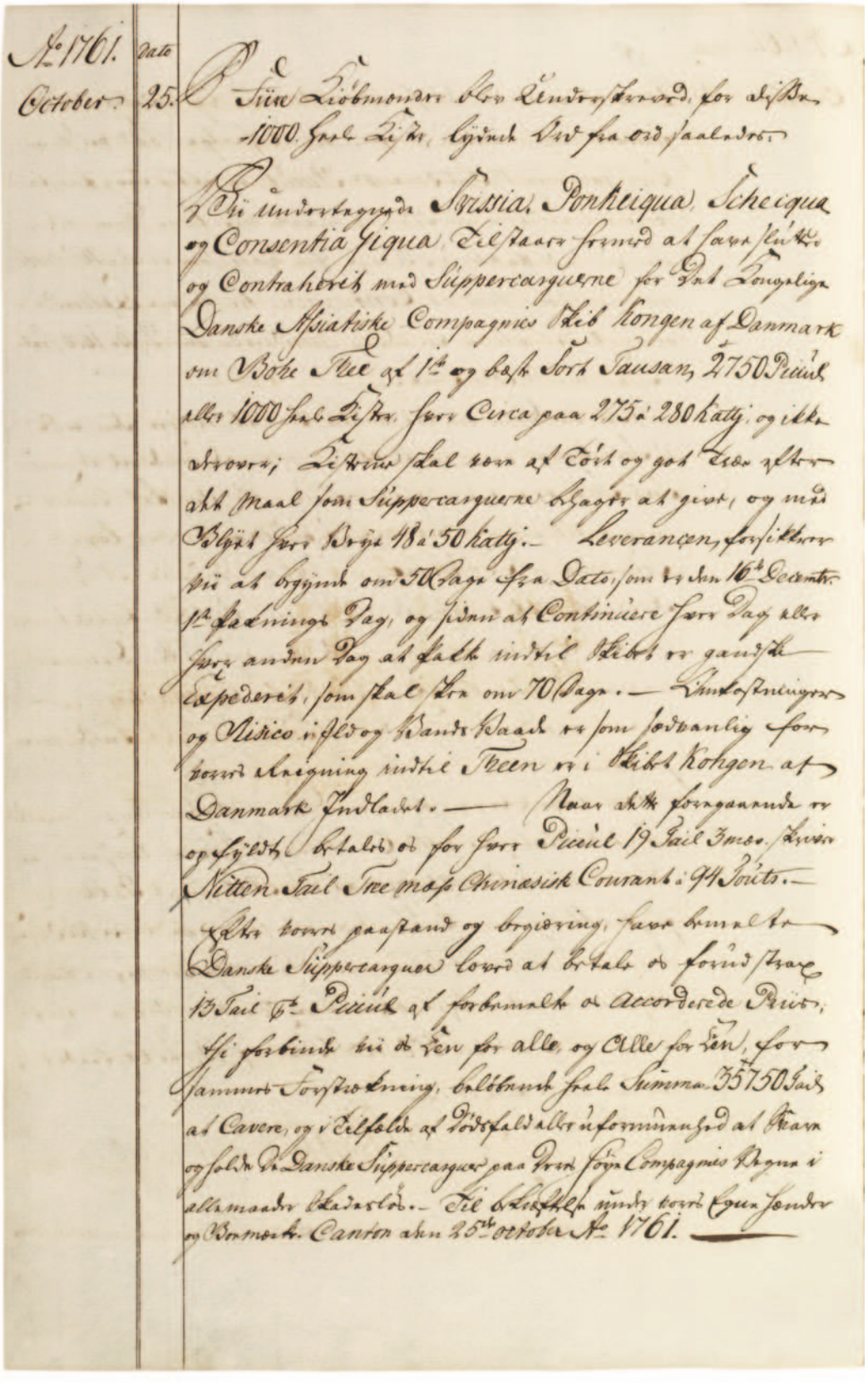

№ 1761. October. Date 25.

Siue Liibmonder blev Lendrestrood for dissse 1000 Sack Siir, lyrich Ved sin ordinaire

Vi undertegnede Syssia, Ponheiqua, Scheiqua og Consentia Jiqua Tilstaaer herved at have sluttet og Contraheret med Supercargueerne for Det Kongelige Danske Asiatiske Compagnies Skib Kongen af Danmark om Boke Thee af 1ste og beste Sort Sausan, 2750 Piculs eller 1000 Sack Vigter, som Circa paa 275 a 280 Katty, og ikke derover; Theerne skal vare af Tørt og godt Blad efter alt Maal som Supercargueerne Skagter at give, og med Blomst som Bryde 18 a 50 Katty. Leverancen, forsikrer vi at begynde om 50 Dage fra Dato, som er den 16de December paafølgende Dag, og fortsee at Continuere som Dag efter Dag eller som anden Dag at Sælge indtil Skibets ordinaire expederes, som skal vare om 70 Dage. — Emballeringen og Risico i Sø og Vands Vaade er som sædvanlig for vores Regning indtil Theen er i Skibet Kongen af Danmark indladet. — Naar alt forgaaende er og skjedt betalt og for vore Piculs 19 Tail 3 mes. 3 viis Nitten Tail Tre mas Chinesisk Courant i 94 Points. — Efter vores paastand og bygdering, have bemeldte Danske Supercarguer lovet at betale os forud vare 13 Tail 6 Pieces af forbemeldte og accorderede Priis, vi forbinde vis a vore for alle, og Alle for een, for sammes Forskrivning, beløbende saa Summa 35750 Sack at Cavere, og i Tilfælde af Vidtfald eller uformuenhed at staae og holde de Danske Supercarguer paa Dreit som Compagnies Regning i allemaader skadesløs. — Til Vitterlighed under vore Egne Sonder og Bomærker. Canton den 25te October Ao 1761.

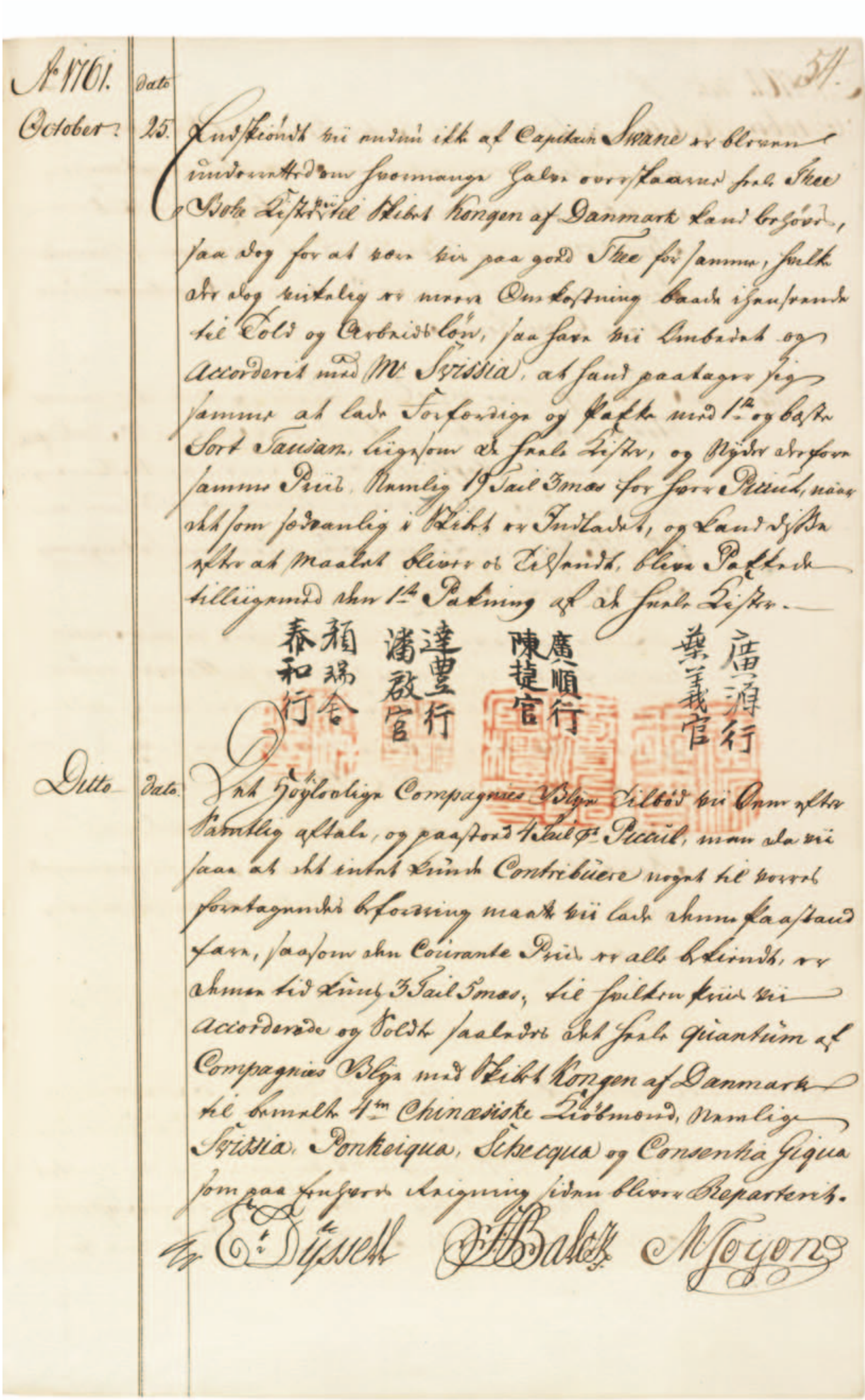

Illustration 5:
Tea Contract dated 25 October 1761 for Bohea tea to be delivered to the DAC Ship *Kongen af Danmark*, with Svissia (Yan Ruishe) of the Taihe Hang, Ponkeiqua (Pan Qiquan) of the Dafeng Hang, Schecqua (Chen Jieguan) of the Guangshun Hang, and Consentia Giqua of the Guangyuan Hang. (RAC: Ask 1146)

In 1764, the Dutch inform us that Giqua was now always pressed for cash. His business seems to have steadily declined after the fire in 1756 so that year may have been a turning point for him. The establishment of the Co-hong made a bad situation worse, but he did not have to deal with it much longer. On 26 April 1765, the Dutch, who were in Macao at the time, were informed that Giqua had died a few days earlier and left behind a large debt.

The commercial connections between the families created shared interests and alliances, which gave the merchants a little more security in their dealings.

According to the agreement that was made when the Co-hong was established in 1760, the Hong merchants Suiqua (Cai Ruiguan), Swetia (Yan Ruishe 颜瑞舍), Theonqua (of the Cai 蔡 family) and Foutia (Zhang Fushe 张富舍) were assigned to stand security for Giqua, so they were each handed a portion of his debt. Swetia died in 1763, so his brother and successor Ingsia (Yan Yingshe 颜瑛舍) assumed his part. Because this arrangement had already been made long before Giqua's death, the Guangyuan Hang was not declared bankrupt or closed. The Co-hong appointed Giqua's son and two writers to continue the business, which they could do much more easily if they did not have the burden of making Giqua's debt payments.[33]

This distributing of merchants' debts to other more healthy houses of course weakened them all, but that was the idea. If they all suffered together, then all of them were supposedly on more equal terms with each other, which in theory was a way to micromanage the health of the Co-hong collective and keep them competitive. This stipulation ensured that Giqua's business would continue, which helped to keep the volume of the trade from diminishing. Aside from giving the foreigners several houses to choose from so that they could negotiate the best prices, this policy also gave them the assurance that the debts would be settled because the merchants who were in good financial standing would be making the payments. All of these factors helped to win the foreigners' trust and prevent interruptions or declines in the volume of trade. Thus, despite the obvious disadvantages to the merchants in distributing these debts, there were good reasons for doing it. One of the positive results is that Giqua's son was able to step in and take over without any interruption, which he could not have done had his father's debt stayed in the Guangyuan Hang.

TIAUQUA AND HUIQUA

The identity of Giqua's son and successor has been a mystery surrounded by much confusion in both the secondary and primary literature. Because of the contradictions in the primary sources and the incorrect information that has been published in the secondary sources, we will take the time here to retrace the stories and resolve the issue of who exactly was Giqua's successor. The problems and contradictions come primarily from confusion in the literature about the identities of three different persons, Teowqua (also spelled Tiauqua), Coqua (or Kooqua) and Huiqua (or Hoyqua).

Cheong mentions that Giqua had "no successor" and that his firm was discontinued in 1766, but Ch'en says Giqua was succeeded by a man named Teowqua. We know that Ch'en is correct (explained below), but Cheong's argument is not without justification. In 1970, Pritchard wrote that Teowqua may have been the same person as Coqua (Chen Keguan 陈科官), who was connected to the Guangshun Hang 广顺行. Cheong also made this connection, which is why he did not recognize him as the successor of the Guangyuan Hang. Pritchard and Cheong confused Teowqua with Coqua because in 1776 the latter name replaces the former name in the EIC records, making it appear as if they might have been the same person. There is some truth to Teowqua being connected to the Guangshun Hang, but as far as we know, he did not trade out of that firm.[34]

Ch'en says that Giqua continued the Guangyuan Hang "until the beginning of 1768, when Teowqua (otherwise spelled Toyqua) took his place." In another place, however, Ch'en shows Teowqua taking over Giqua's position in 1766, which is closer to Giqua's death. According to Ch'en, Teowqua continued the business until his death in 1775, and then the

Guangyuan Hang was closed. Pritchard, Cheong and Ch'en all found their information in the EIC records, so there seems to be some confusion in the entries, but they are not the only sources with contradictions.[35]

The Dutch and Swedish records clarify a few things but also present some additional problems. As stated above, the Dutch tell us that Giqua's son, with the aid of two writers, was appointed to succeed his father. His son was closely connected to the Hong merchant families, and his experience in the trade would have made him a prime candidate to take over the business. In 1768, the Dutch say that they contracted bohea tea with Giqua's successor, and his name was Huiqua. The VOC did indeed trade with Huiqua that year and they bought tea from him, which suggests he must have been connected to the Co-hong. In 1764 and 1768, the Swedish records also show Huiqua (spelled Heyqua or Hoyqua) doing business on Consentia Giqua's behalf. From information in the Dutch and Swedish records we would thus assume that Huiqua was Giqua's son and successor, but then where does Teowqua fit in?[36]

Fortunately, the Danish records provide us with the answer. The following entries have been extracted and translated from the DAC journals.[37]

- 1765, Jul. 17: we have contracted a small amount of bohea tea with Tingva, Consentia Giqua's son.
- 1765, Aug. 3: today Tinqva asked us if we would pay him the 2,749 taels 2 mace that his deceased father Consentia Giqva had loaned to the Ship *Printz Friderich* last year here in Canton.
- 1765, Oct. 10: went to talk with Hoyqva, who handles Tinqva's (the son of the deceased Giqva) trade, about getting some of the rhubarb that he had on hand.
- 1765, Oct. 11: we went to Tinqva's to see the pekoe and Ziou Zioun tea, and his man Houqva boasted that they had a lot, and we found it to be of a good quality.
- 1765, Oct. 26: we have paid Tiauqua, the son of deceased Consent. Giqua, half of the amount that he was owed by the above-mentioned supercargo, dated 26 December 1764. The original principle of 2,370 taels Chinese currency, at 16 percent interest comes to 2,749 taels and 2 mace, so we paid him 1,374 taels 6 mace.
- 1766, Jul. 21: the merchants Ingsia, Schecqua, Samqua, Tiauqua (the son of the deceased Consentia Giqua) and Manqua have all served us fairly well.
- 1769, Nov. 9: we had a dispute with Hoyqua, who is from the mentioned Tiauqua, about whether he had any better tea.

Contracts in the Danish archives clearly show that Tiauqua (also spelled Tinqva) was operating out of the Guangyuan Hang, and he signed his name: 朝官 (Tiauqua in Cantonese, or Zhaoguan in Mandarin, see Illustration 6). No contracts have been found with his last name, but it is obvious from the references above that Tiauqua was indeed Giqua's son. The Dutch mention that Giqua's son was married to the daughter of Chetqua, who was Coqua's older brother. Tiauqua was thus Coqua's nephew, and he was connected to the Guangshun Hang through his marriage with Coqua's niece. Thus, there is some justification for Pritchard and Cheong identifying him with that firm, but he was not the same person as Coqua nor was he a member of the Chen family. In a sense, Huiqua did indeed continue some of Giqua's business, so it is logical for him to show up in the VOC and SOIC records as Giqua's successor. Huiqua, however, was Tiauqua's chief writer, and not the inheritor of the firm. With this new information, we are now able to tell the rest of the story of the Guangyuan Hang.[38]

As was common with many of the Hong merchants, Consentia Giqua's name continues to show up in many of the foreign records long after his death. These entries of course are referring to his business rather than his person. Consentia Giqua is mentioned in the Swedish records in 1768 in connection with the Canton junk trade.[39] In a list of twenty-eight junks that the Swedes compiled, Giqua shows up as the manager of the Fongzun Hang (Fengjin Hang 丰晋行), which had three junks operating out of it (see Table E). Aside from these three, Giqua operated a fourth junk (see below), which seems to have been managed out of the Guangyuan Hang. These four Ye junks sailed regularly every year to Cochin China, Passiack, and Siam. They were jointly financed by Canton's most prominent junk trader, Hongsia (Yan Xiangshe 颜享舍), but Monqua (Cai Wenguan 蔡文官) and Zey Anqua (of the Cai family) also show up in the Swedish records as sponsors of the Ye junks.

Because of the many products that the junks supplied for the export trade in Canton, it was

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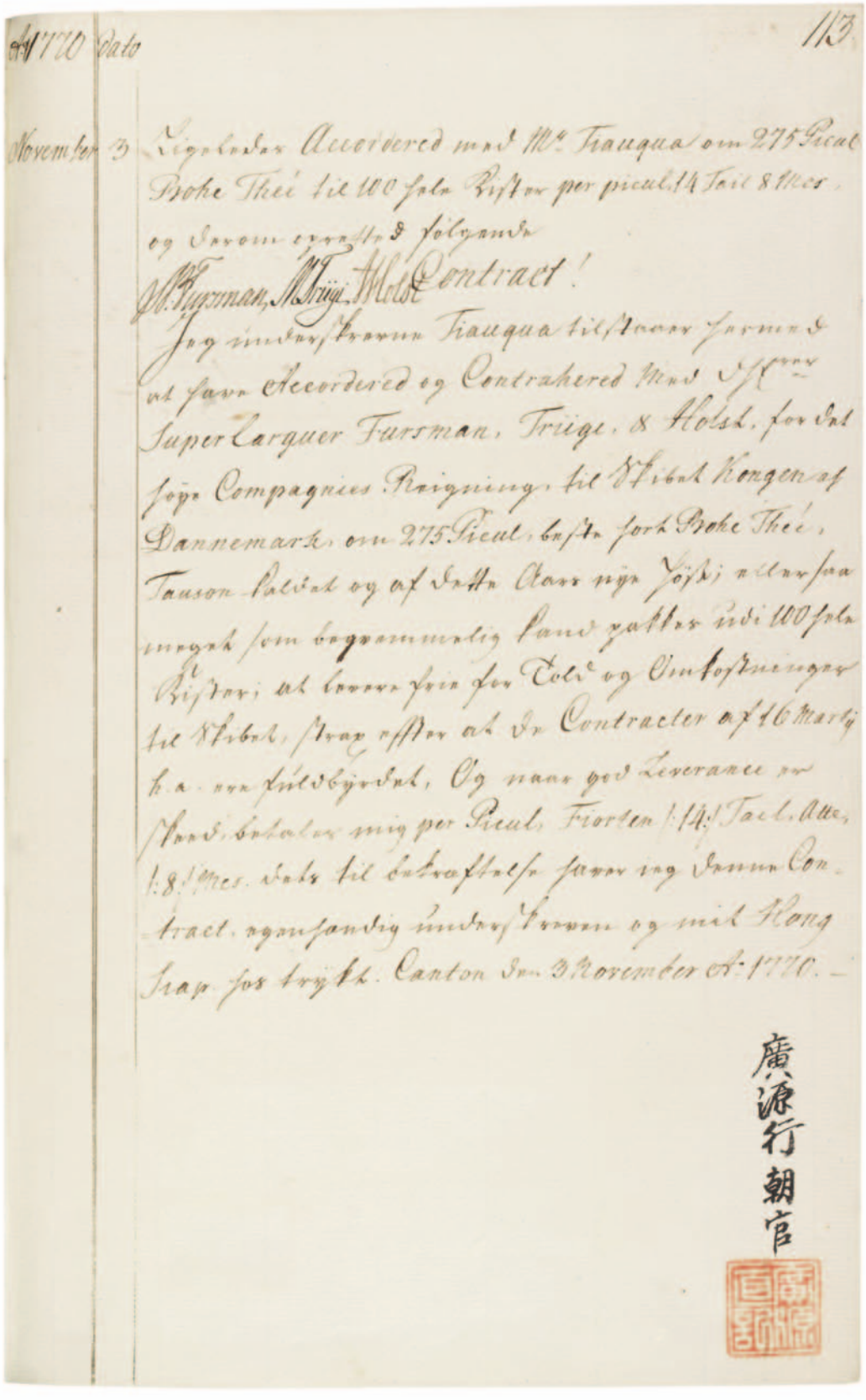


Illustration 6:
Tea Contract dated 3 November 1770 to deliver Bohea tea to the DAC Ship *Kongen af Danmark*, with Tiauqua of the Guangyuan Hang. (RAC: Ask 1167)

important for the Hong merchants to be closely involved in the junk trade to Southeast Asia. Being a major supplier of porcelain, Giqua needed a regular supply of sago in which to pack the chinaware. Giqua also sold tea, which means he needed lead to line the export tea chests and tin to make tea canisters. Because the Canton junk trade went hand in hand with the foreign export trade, it was important for the Ye merchants to be closely involved with it. Huiqua also shows up connected to both the foreign export trade and the junk trade.

Huiqua handled the Guangyuan Hang's trade with the VOC after Giqua's death, but he only traded with the Dutch in two years: 1768 and 1774 (see Table B). In 1768, Consentia Giqua (probably Huiqua) took out a bottomry bond from the Swedish supercargoes in Canton to help finance the Guangyuan Hang's Junk *Quonschyn*, which was bound for Passiack (Cambodia, but another entry says Cochin China). In March of that year, there is an entry in the Swedish records debiting Giqua for 370 taels at 40 percent interest (see Table D).

This distributing of merchants' debts to other more healthy houses of course weakened them all, but that was the idea.

As we now know was very typical in Canton, this loan actually came from several foreigners who pooled their funds together. They were all Swedish officers of the SOIC, but other cases show that it was just as likely for the lenders to include Portuguese, Armenians and various other foreigners in Canton and Macao. The total amount of Giqua's loan was 518 taels, which ordinarily would become due one or two months after the junk arrived at Canton. This would give the owner time to sell the cargo and repay the loan. The junks usually returned by September, so the repayment would be made some time in November. By the end of December, however, the *Quonschyn* had still not arrived, so another entry appears in the Swedish records debiting Hoyqua (Huiqua) for the 370 taels. He or Tiauqua were undoubtedly the ones who took out the loan in the first place because Giqua had now been dead for three years.[40]

In January 1769 news arrived that the *Quonschyn* had been lost, which meant the loan would not be repaid to the Swedes. Consequently, another entry appears in those records deducting 170.2 taels from Hoyqua's loan, which was the amount that the owner of the ledger (Johan Abraham Grill) lost on the transaction. The remainder was deducted from the accounts of each of the other investors. Like the Dutch and Danish records, the Swedish records also show the transactions with Hoyqua and Consentia Giqua as being one and the same.[41]

Tiauqua seems to have taken care of most of the business with the English and Danish companies himself. He shows up many times in those records, but Huiqua is sometimes mentioned as his partner. After Giqua's death, the EIC contracted 2,000 piculs of tea with Tiauqua's house, but under the security of Chetqua. Being Tiauqua's father-in-law, this was a logical thing for Chetqua to do in order to restore the EIC's confidence in the Guangyuan Hang. The other foreigners also contracted with Tiauqua, as they were well aware that the Co-hong had distributed his father's debts to the other merchants. In the late 1760s Tiauqua contracted regularly with the DAC and EIC, but he started running into financial difficulties in the early 1770s. In March 1771 Chetqua died, and his brother Tinqua took over the Guangshun Hang. Aside from losing the support of his father-in-law, things became considerably worse for Tiauqua at the end of this year, as it did for many of the other merchants.[42]

By the start of the 1772 season the Co-hong was disbanded, which led to much uncertainty in the trade. Alliances broke up, and the foreigners were wary of the new competitive environment that rapidly emerged. The fierce competition that sprang up gave the foreigners opportunities to pressure the Chinese merchants into accepting more of their imports as credit towards exports. They usually tried to make this stipulation a prerequisite to being granted loans or cash advances for the following season's contracts as well, and they were quite successful in demanding this. On top of the already unstable environment came more distressful news in 1773, when the imperial court in Beijing requested the Canton merchants to contribute to the military campaign in Sichuan 四川 Province, which of course they had no choice but to oblige.[43]

On top of all these factors were the accumulated debts that the Hong merchants were already carrying from the merchants who had failed in the past. With the closing of the Co-hong, they no longer had the ability to set prices on imports and exports or stipulate the amounts of advances and interest rates. Those controlling policies were never as successful as intended, and as is mentioned above, the small merchants did not necessarily see all of this as good for them. But after the policies ended, we can see more clearly that they did provide some security and a means to protect Hong merchants' profits, because the risk increased immediately thereafter. One merchant after another began to fall into financial difficulties until the Hong merchant collective was in a general crisis by the end of the decade. Unfortunately, Tiauqua was adversely affected by it as well.[44]

In January 1772 the merchant Wayqua (Ni Hongwen 倪宏文), who was said to be connected to Giqua's junk factory the Fengjin Hang, began to fall behind with his payments. He owed the English more than 11,000 taels, and was undoubtedly indebted to others. It is not clear how Tiauqua may have been affected by Wayqua's problems, but it is not long after that we see him falling into trouble too.[45]

In 1773 Tiauqua began to fall behind on his payments to the EIC. He could not liquidate his assets before the English supercargoes went to Macao that year, and had to take out a bond to postpone the payment. He was not required to pay interest on the amount that was owed, which was a courteous thing for the English to do, but even with this favor and the additional time, he still could not settle the account when the supercargoes returned in the fall.[46]

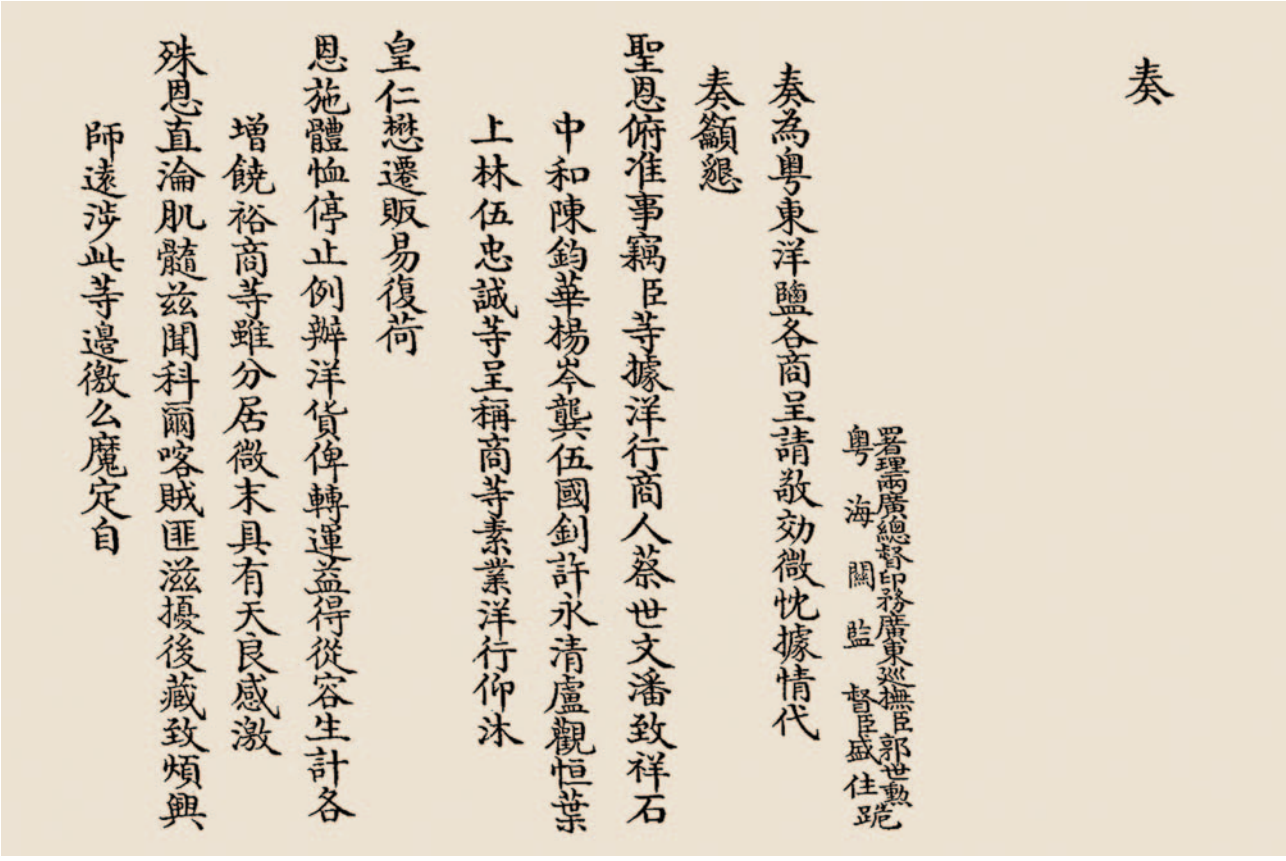
Tiauqua continued to win substantial contracts with the Danes in 1773, which helped him raise the funds to pay the EIC in 1774. He was then granted a new contract with the English and more contracts with the DAC, but he was not given the opportunity to turn the business around.

According to Ch'en, Tiauqua died on 3 July 1775. It may be a mistake, but twelve days later the Danish supercargoes listed all the Hong merchants in Canton, and Tiauqua still appeared fifth on the list. This suggests that the status of the Guangyuan Hang was still uncertain at the time of the entry. The exact date when the business closed is not clear, but it seems to have been sometime in late 1775 or early 1776.

At the end of the 1775 season there were rumours circulating again of the establishment of another Co-hong. These were certain to have been at least partially due to the failure of the Guangyuan Hang, which had been one of the pillars of the trade for many decades. In September 1777 the Danes describe the firm as the "failed house of Consentia Giqua or Tiauqua." Unfortunately, Giqua's business ended up like Leunqua's Duanhe Hang and disappears from the records. Tiauqua's name continues to appear in the DAC records until the end of 1775. Those were transactions arranged before his death, and probably handled by Huiqua.[47]

When the Guangyuan Hang closed, everyone working there had to find new employment, including Huiqua, and we would expect him to show up working in a similar capacity somewhere else. In 1776 a "Hoyqua" appears in the Dutch records as Monqua's writer, which could be a reference to him. Monqua had sponsored one of the Ye junks in 1768 (and probably other years, see Table E), so the two families had some joint business dealings together and Huiqua was also involved with the junks on some level, so they would have been acquainted with each other. In the same year, Huiqua (also spelled Hoyqua, Heyqua and Hayqua) traded tea again with the DAC, but we do not know what firm he was working with.

We shall end our discussion of Huiqua with a brief mention of a very small possibility that he may have been the man who later became the Hong merchant Howqua (Lin Shimao 林时懋). Aside from what is mentioned above, there are a number of references to a person with a name like this. Ch'en says that Howqua (Lin Shimao) traded with the English in 1768, under Monqua's license which coincides with the Dutch references above. Cheong also shows this same Howqua trading as early as 1768, but mentions that he was Poankeequa's (Pai Qiguan 潘启官) writer. The Dutch records show a Howqua acting as Poankeequa's purser in 1772 and 1774; in 1766, a Howqua shows up in the records as Chetqua's writer; and in 1779 and 1781 a Huiqua (again spelled several different ways) appears in the Danish records. This latter man, however, was a silk merchant with whom the Danes had dealt with in the past. Unfortunately, we cannot resolve these conflicting names and references other than to say that there appear to be several persons going by this name, and we must be careful not to


奏

署理兩廣總督印務廣東巡撫臣郭世勳
粵海關監督臣盛住跪

奏為粵東洋鹽各商呈請敬効微忱據情代
奏籲恩

聖恩俯准事竊臣等據洋行商人蔡世文潘致祥石
中和陳鈞華楊岑龔伍國釗許永清盧觀恒葉
上林伍忠誠等呈稱商等素業洋行仰沐
皇仁懋遷販易復荷
恩施體恤停止例辦洋貨俾轉運益得從容生計各
增餼裕商等雖分居微末具有天良感激
殊恩直淪肌髓茲聞科爾喀賊匪滋擾後藏致煩興
師遠涉此等邊徼么魔定自

Illustration 7:
Extract from a document dated Qianlong, 57th year, 4th month, and 3rd day (23 April 1792), from the Governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces showing Yanqua (Ye Shanglin) as one of the ten Hong merchants of the Yang Hang (Shisan Hang). (Xing Yongfu 邢永福 et al., *Qing Gong Guangzhou Shisan Hang Dangan Jingxuan* 清宫广州十三行档案精选 (A Selection of Qing Imperial Documents of the Guangzhou Shisan Hang).
Guangzhou: Guangdong Jingji Chubanshe 广东经济出版社, 2002, pp. 158-159 doc. no. 58).

confuse them with Giqua and Tiauqua's trusted companion.[48]

YANQUA

Close to the time of Tiauqua's death a new Ye merchant appears in the records by the name of Yanqua. Yanqua's proper name is Ye Shanglin 叶上林, but he was more commonly known as Ye Renguan 叶仁官 (or 任官). He had the same last name as Cudgin, Leunqua, Giqua and Tiauqua, and he appears in 1776 conducting some trade with the EIC. The coincidences of time and name suggest that the men may have been related. Illustration 9, however, shows that Yanqua was from Jiangsi Province and not Quanzhou like the other Ye men, so there may have been no direct family connection.[49]

Ch'en and Cheong both mention that prior to 1792 Yanqua had been a clerk in Poankeequa's (Pan Youdu 潘有度) firm, but it is not known exactly when he began that employment. By the mid-1780s Yanqua was doing regular business with both the EIC and DAC through his connections with the licensed merchants. The Danes, however, called him Yimqua rather than Yanqua (see Table C). We know that these two men are the same person because the Danes list Yimqua as one of the four Hong merchants who was newly appointed in 1792, and the other three men match up with their respective names. Illustration 7 shows an extract of a document issued by the governor-general of Canton in 1792 listing Yanqua as one of the Hong merchants that year. Before his appointment, Yanqua conducted some of his trade under the license of the Eryi Hang 而益行, which was owned and operated

by Kinqua (of the Shi 石 family). Ch'en mentions that Yanqua dealt primarily in items that could produce ready cash, and avoided taking imports for which he could not find an agreeable market, so he appears to have been rather careful and shrewd in his dealings.[50]

After becoming a Hong merchant, Yanqua traded out of his own firm, the Yicheng Hang 义成行. He then enjoyed new privileges, but the new position also meant that he now had to take foreign imports in exchange for exports, which was known as "truck". Tying imports to export sales was a very risky business to say the least, but most of the companies would not contract tea unless their imports were credited to their purchases, so now that Yanqua was a fully-fledged Hong merchant, he could no longer refuse those items as he had done in the past.[51]

This was a very precarious time for Yanqua to enter the Hong merchant ranks. In 1787, the Court in Beijing called upon the Canton merchants again to come to the rescue of the national budget and contribute 300,000 taels[52]; the Hong merchant Tsjooqua (Chen Zuguan 陈祖官) died in early 1789 and his son Loqua (Junhua 钧华) was not able to pull the business together, so debts accumulated and the house failed in 1792; in 1791 Pinqua began to fall behind on his payments and was ruined by the end of the next season; in 1792 another plea came from Beijing for money to support the campaign against the Gurkhas, which put the Canton merchants behind by another 300,000 taels; by the early 1790s the long-time merchant Monqua became very discouraged and tried to commit suicide but he survived, and his business declined steadily; at about the same time the house of Yanqua's old partner Kinqua fell deep into debt, and over the course of 1793 and 1794 there was much reshuffling and redistributing of his debts; and by 1796 Monqua was bankrupt, but succeeded in taking his own life, this time putting an end to his misery.

These were hard times for the best of the merchants, but Yanqua seems to have fared better than some of the others. He did not do well in his first two seasons trading as a Hong merchant; he lost a lot on the EIC woollens that he had accepted, and became despondent about handling any more of those fabrics. Yanqua was asked to pay 50,000 taels of Kinqua's debts to the EIC, and was probably carrying some of the debts owed to other foreigners as well. He continued

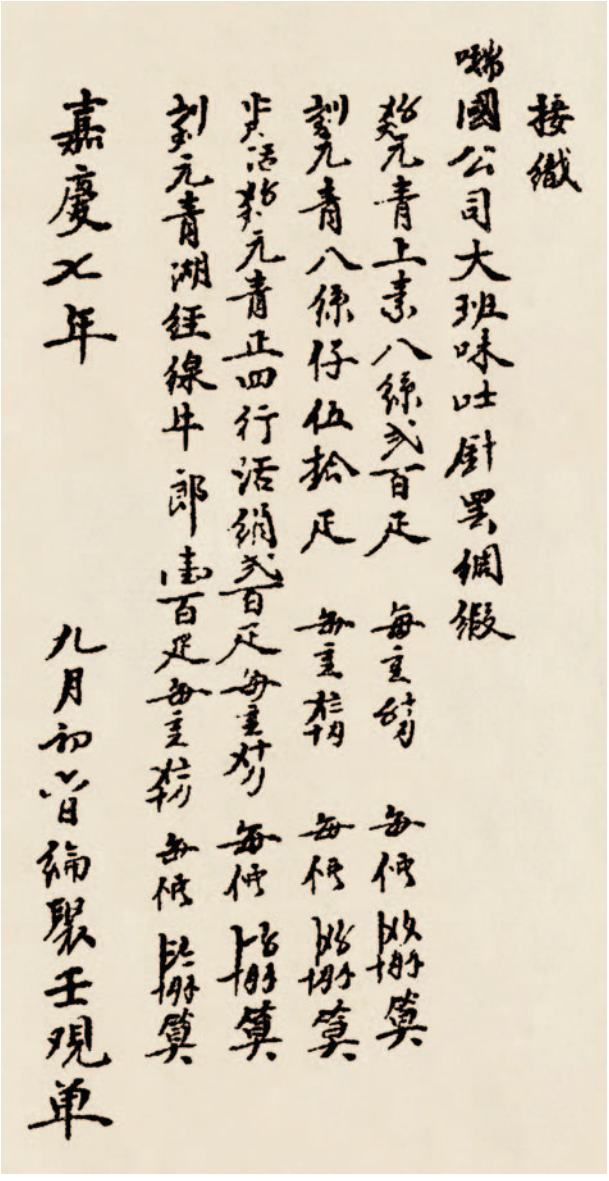


Illustration 8:
Silk Contract dated October 1802 listing several kinds of silk fabrics that Yanqua sold to the SOIC (Kjellberg 156).

to trade small volumes with the Danes, and probably others, but by the mid-1790s he was looking to Poankeequa again for help in getting enough capital to order tea for the next season. Other things that were happening around him at the same time must have been very discouraging because after his appointment he soon began considering ways to withdraw from the trade.[53]

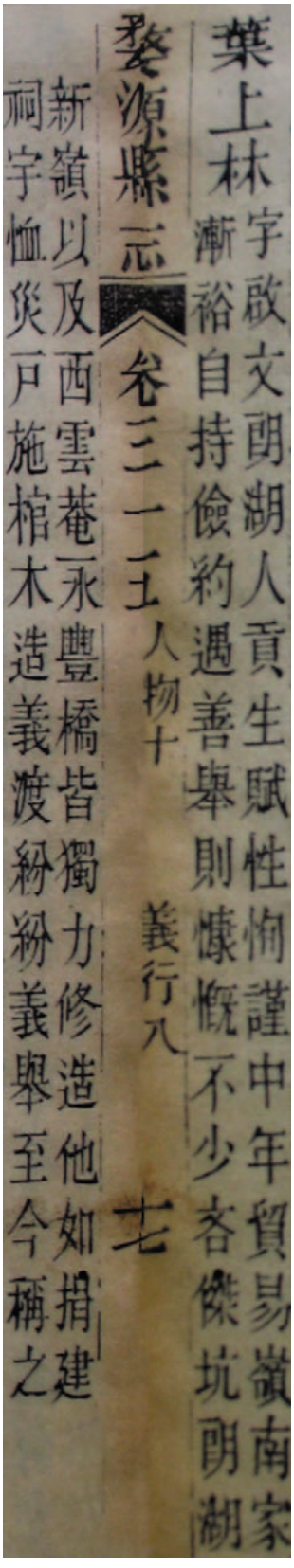
Fortunately, by the late 1790s things began to turn around for Yanqua. He enjoyed a high credit rating

with the EIC in these years, which helped him to gain a firm foothold. One of the advantages of other merchants failing was that someone had to pick up their share, which seems to have helped Yanqua considerably. By the end of the 1797 season the Hong merchant Kiouqua (Wu Qiaoguan 伍乔官) had also failed, which gave Yanqua a boost, doubling his share of the EIC trade. He continued to increase his EIC shares over the next couple of years.

Illustration 8 shows that Yanqua contracted silk with the SOIC in 1802 as well. Most of the Swedish records from the late eighteenth century have not survived, so we do not know how much trade he may have done with that company. In this particular transaction, Yanqua traded the silk under the business name Lunju Hao 纶聚号 and not Yicheng Hang 义成行. Many of the merchants such as Giqua operated more than one business, which was a way to keep better track of different aspects of their business.

Having been very lucky to recover his losses and accumulate a small fortune as well, Yanqua proceeded more diligently with his desires to retire. Unfortunately, we do not have all the particulars relating to the negotiations that he undoubtedly undertook in 1801 and 1802. By the spring of 1803, he was ready to leave the trade, and declined contracting with the EIC. The English managed to convince him to stay on for one more season. He had already dropped his trade with the Danes, and was probably cutting all the others back as well.

Finally, in 1804 Yanqua made his move and became one of the few Hong merchants to retire from active duty. In his study on the merchants, Ch'en found Yanqua to be the only


葉上林字啟文朗湖人貢生賦性恂謹中年貿易嶺南家
漸裕自持儉約遇善舉則慷慨不少吝傑坑朗湖
婺源縣志 卷三十一 人物十 義行八 七
新嶺以及西雲菴永豐橋皆獨力修造他如捐建
祠宇恤災戶施棺木造義渡紛紛義舉至今稱之

one who had been able to arrange retirement since 1760. Yanqua undoubtedly had to pay a huge sum of money to the Chinese authorities to make this happen, for which we have no details. His example, however, encouraged others like Poankeequa II to do the same. But unlike Yanqua, the emperor recalled Poankeequa back to service again.[54]

There are a couple of brief mentions of Yanqua in the records after he left Canton. In February 1808 there is an entry in the EIC records of Yanqua depositing 150,000 Spanish dollars into the company treasury in Canton, but the reasons for this payment are unclear. He may have been called upon to pay a debt of a failed merchant or perhaps was conducting some business. The former answer seems more logical considering that Yanqua was fairly wealthy and had no desire to continue in that profession. In 1814 Yanqua's sons were each compelled to contribute 20,000 taels to the national treasury in order to supplement shortcomings in the budget. Thus, despite Yanqua's removal from the trade, officials did not forgot the retired man and his money.

The Wuyuan County Gazetteer, where Yanqua lived, also mentions him, but without giving a date (see Illustration 9). After retiring from the trade, he apparently returned to his native village of Langhu in Jiangsi Province where he became well known for his philanthropy. The Gazetteer mentions that Yanqua donated money to the needy, helped the less fortunate, and gave financial

Illustration 9:
Extract from the Wuyuan County Gazetteer in Jiangsi Province, showing Ye Shanglin, from the town of Langhu, donating money to various causes.
(supplied by Hu Wenzhong 胡文中).

support to local institutions. It is unfortunate, however, that we do not have anything more specific about Yanqua's life. Was he now happy and was he able to enjoy the fruits of his years of labour in the trade? Or did his fortune cause him more grief than pleasure?

Ch'en mentions that in 1832 the Canton authorities summoned one of Yanqua's sons to become a Hong merchant. By now, however, the family fortune seems to have diminished considerably because this son managed to evade the appointment by feigning insufficient capital to undertake the venture. He also retained his father's distain for the business, and voiced a strong disinterest in the assignment. Thus, this son's part of the family fortune seems to have vanished, and he had no desire to return to the "glory" days of his father.[55]

THE YE TRADE IN SUMMARY: 1720-1804

The figures in Tables A, B and C of the Ye merchants' trade are all that we have available to reconstruct the volume of their business. We do not have good, dependable and consistent data for the GIC or VOC, so it is difficult to assemble total cargo figures for each ship, and therefore those percentages do not appear in the Tables. Table A shows the cargos Cudgin supplied to the GIC. The total figures for each ship were not available, but we were able to assemble all the merchants' accounts listed in the books and add them together to get a rough idea of the volume. These figures are not representative of the actual trade because they often include loans that were given to merchants, advances that were made for future trade, expenses that were paid to them such as factory rents and sampan hire, and other irrelevant figures that were extraneous to the actual sales and purchases of goods.

Despite the irregularities, the totals that we were able to compile give us an idea of the extent of Cudgin's transactions. Keeping in mind that these are just rough calculations, we estimate Cudgin's figures in Table A to represent the following percentages of the total GIC cargos each year: 29 percent in 1724; 70 percent in 1725; and 87 percent in 1726. Unlike other Ye traders, Cudgin was the security merchant for each GIC ship he supplied, which gave him the privilege of the largest share of the cargos. He clearly handled much more volume per ship than his relatives, with none of them coming remotely close to his smallest volume (the *Elisabeth* with 63,406 taels). In this respect Cudgin was in an entirely different class as one of the top merchants in Canton at the time.

Given the large volumes he handled and the close relationship he had developed with the GIC, it seems strange that he did no trade with them in 1730 or 1732. In 1729 the VOC ships began to arrive, and we know that Cudgin did a limited trade with them in mostly porcelain (see Table B). The volumes he supplied to the VOC were very small in comparison to those he had previously done with the GIC, to the point that they were insignificant. Thus switching to the Dutch does not explain his absence from the GIC trade in 1730 and 1732. Perhaps a more logical explanation is that he was simply waiting for permission to retire.[56]

Leunqua and Giqua's entrance into the trade in 1728 and 1729, respectively, happened at a very important and opportune time in the development of Canton's commerce. Because both of them began at about the same time, it probably made it easier for Cudgin to follow through with his desire to leave. If there had been a strong need to keep him in the trade, it is not likely he would have been given permission to retire. With the VOC ships now coming to China, a Danish ship following in 1731, and a Swedish ship in 1732, many new opportunities were opening up for trade. The two latter companies had huge vessels in comparison to the other foreigners, so in terms of volume, one of their ships equalled two of the English or French, and they were half again as large as the Dutch ships. Because all of those companies were fairly consistent at sending ships every year, some of the Hong merchants tried to attach themselves to those companies if possible so they could gain a more regular commerce each year, but Cudgin ignored all of this and continued with his desires to retire.[57]

As the figures in Table C reveal, Leunqua, Giqua, Tiauqua and Yanqua (Yimqua) all catered to the DAC. We do not have figures for the DAC trade from 1773 to 1781, and there are other years where the figures are missing, so the data only represent a fraction of the total number of ships that the Ye traders would have supplied. As can be seen, the average for Leunqua, Giqua and Tiauqua was about 10 percent of the total DAC volume. This was a typical amount for a small merchant to handle. Yanqua's (Yimqua) trade is difficult to ascertain for reasons explained at the bottom of Table C, but it also amounted to no more than about 10 percent.

Security merchants, on the other hand, often handled 20 percent or more. Leunqua and Giqua handled close to that amount for a few ships, but most of them were much less. The figures from at least thirty-nine DAC ships are missing from the data from 1734 to 1799, so the total trade with that company probably was about one-half to two-thirds more than what is shown in Table C.

The VOC figures in Table B are also lacking data from many years, especially 1734 to 1756. Moreover, we do not have reliable and consistent figures of each ship's cargo as we do for the DAC, so it is difficult to allot a percentage to the Ye trade. Except for a couple of years (1758 and 1764), it was not large, with most years being no more than 2 or 3 percent of total Dutch exports. We have not found any references to Tiauqua or Yanqua trading with the VOC, so they do not appear in Table B. Huiqua appears to be the only one from the Guangyuan Hang who continued doing business with the Dutch after Giqua's death, and that amount was not large.

Aside from the loan listed in Table D, the Ye traders do not seem to have borrowed money from the Swedes in the 1760s (the years for which we have data). This is quite remarkable considering that almost all the major merchants in Canton were borrowing both short-term (one to twelve months) and long-term (one year or more) capital from them. The absence of Giqua and Tiauqua in those transactions is itself perhaps a sign that they tried to do the best they could with what they had. If this is true, it would be consistent with their apparent lack of interest in expanding their trade any more than they already had.

Another silent area in the records is factory rents. We know that Cudgin was renting factories to the GIC, EIC and the French in the 1720s, but then when Leunqua and Giqua arrive on the scene, there is no mention of them renting buildings. Perhaps Cudgin sold the properties prior to leaving for Quanzhou. Not having factories to rent out would have hindered the other two from becoming larger players in the trade because it was common for the security merchants to provide lodgings for the foreigners. Greeting the foreigners upon arrival and offering temporary accommodations was good business, and a way to maintain good relationships with them over time. But, except for Cudgin (and possibly Yanqua), the other Ye traders do not seem to have bothered with this formality, and they also do not seem to have formed close relationships with the foreigners as other Chinese had done.

SUMMARY

The Ye traders have provided us with exceptional examples of the operations of the "small merchants" in Canton. Their trade spanned a period of about eighty-four years, which saw incredible changes in the port. In that period, the numbers of foreigners coming to China grew tenfold, from hundreds of persons to thousands. The number of ships coming every year went from about a half a dozen to more than fifty. All of this had an effect on competitiveness and the pressures on the hoppos and governor-generals to keep the trade expanding. This in turn kept the merchants in a whirlwind of changing events, with new and unexpected opportunities and burdens falling upon them at any time along the way.

The risks were high, and for some of the merchants, including Leunqua, Giqua and Tiauqua, the longer they continued in the business, the more likely it was that they would end up broke. Leunqua expanded his trade in the 1730s, but he never reached a level close to what Cudgin had done before him. As far as the records reveal, by the mid-1740s he did little or no business with the EIC, VOC, DAC or SOIC, which suggests that his businesses was in decline. Giqua and Tiauqua tried to minimize the risks to their businesses by avoiding high-interest capital and resisting the temptation of expanding and becoming major players. They also tried very hard to settle their debts as promised but were not always successful. In the end, both the Duanhe Hang and the Guangyuan Hang disappear from the trade.

Ironically, some of the small porcelain shops that channelled goods through the Guangyuan Hang lasted many years beyond Giqua and Tiauqua. Perhaps this is a sign that their business had already outgrown their strategy of keeping things small and simple. Unfortunately, once they had become Hong merchants they could not go back to becoming a small porcelain dealer. With that in mind, they seem to have employed a strategy that was effective in the short term at minimizing risks as much as possible, but then caught up with them in the long-term.

Considering the many ups and downs of the trade, it is hard to imagine that one could employ

effective long-term strategies anyway because the environment was lacking long-term security for the accumulation of capital. The merchants never knew when debts would be handed to them, when local officials would come asking for a contribution, or when Beijing would send a message requesting their aid. As a result, Yanqua's sons were still being plagued with requests for money many years after their father had retired. With all of the negative factors absorbing their working capital, perhaps Giqua and Tiauqua had the right outlook all along. They played out their roles in the best and safest way that they knew how. They do not seem to have ever reached a point where they had enough money to be able to retire, or perhaps they had no wish to retire. It is a pity, however, that their stories end in financial failure because it makes their many years of devoted service seem of little importance.

Giqua probably knew long before it happened that his business was headed for ruin. Because he and Tiauqua were conservative in their dealings, they had fewer options to turn the business around once it began its downward trend. It would have been out of character for them to borrow large sums at high interest or risk taking more foreign imports in order to expand their share of the market. Taking a more aggressive approach to the situation may have helped them pull out of the trap they were in (volumes too small to produce profits sufficient to cover liabilities), but that was not an option in their personal codes of conduct or characters.

Giqua does not seem to have had the stomach for all the conniving, conspiring and compromising that the large players had to employ to push their trade forward. The Dutch mention that towards the end of his days, Giqua was wanting for ready capital, which must have been very frustrating for him. He was not one to go around begging for a contract or using high pressure tactics to woo the foreigners to his house, but rather offered the foreigners a fair deal or provided them with a loan now and then to gain their favor (such as the DAC). He was also one who wanted to honor his obligations, which left him with a dilemma: how to get enough cash to cover liabilities without compromising his beliefs.

He had adopted his name "Consentia", which he stamped on his contracts and was a name that was consistent with his character. Perhaps the legacy that Giqua wanted to leave behind is the name itself. When all was said and done, it did not matter who won or who lost, but rather how one played the game (honestly and conscientiously). We could say the same of Tiauqua as well because their strategies seem to have been very similar. Yes, they fell on hard times and left nothing material behind for posterity, but they did not compromise their dignity, and as a result their reputations continue into the future.

Leunqua was more aggressive than Giqua and Tiauqua, but still conservative compared to Cudgin and Yanqua. All three of them were successful at gaining a market share, but only Cudgin and Yanqua were successful at rapidly gaining a market share and at keeping the profits they made from that trade. Even though their retirements are separated by a good seventy years, Cudgin and Yanqua employed similar strategies. Both of them had a couple of very good years when they greatly expanded their share of the trade; they were both very fortunate to make huge profits in a short time; and they both got out of the business as quickly as they could with those fortunes. In the beginning Yanqua appears to have been very conservative like Giqua and Tiauqua, but he eventually saw the rationale in expanding his market share when others around him were failing. Cudgin employed the additional strategy of becoming a mandarin and seeking the support of acquaintances in Beijing.

Both Cudgin and Yanqua worked for a few years more after they had begun their plans to quit the trade. This period was probably necessary in order to work out the angles and explore the options in arranging their successful retirements. They apparently covered all of the factors that might have opposed them because as far as we know they were not recalled. It is unfortunate that they did not leave behind a "how to" manual for the other merchants to follow, as Cudgin and Yanqua were indeed exceptional men among their contemporaries.

We do not know what became of Cudgin's estate after he died. His inheritors were certain to have encountered periodic "requests" from government officials just as Yanqua's sons had. It is hard to imagine it being any other way. Today there is a life-size image of Yanqua in the Peabody Essex Museum, which is very fortunate to have survived. Other artefacts from Yanqua's fortune and estate are now long gone. Thus in the end, maybe Giqua was right all along: it was how you played the game that really mattered.

A NOTE ABOUT THE CITATIONS

References that have a signature in Chinese characters of the name of the merchants are noted with the bracketed superscript "(s)" such as CR: Ask 2190(s). References that have the name of the business in Chinese characters are listed with a "(b)". References that have the superscript "(s/b)" have either a signature or business name or possibly both (unfortunately, these were not clearly referenced). References that have only a chop and nothing else are noted with the superscript "(c)". In most cases the chops show the business names but not the merchants' personal names. RC

ABBREVIATIONS FOR SOURCES AND ARCHIVES

Ask	Danish Asiatic Company Archive in the National Archives, Copenhagen.
Campbell	Paul Hallberg and Christian Koninckx, eds. *A Passage to China*, by Colin Campbell, Gothenburg: Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, 1996. This source has an index in the back, so the page numbers for various entries of the persons can be found there.
Can	Canton Archive in the National Archives, The Hague. 1.04.20
Ch'en	Ch'en Kuo-tung, Anthony. *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843*. 2 vols. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990.
Cheong	Cheong, Weng Eang. *The Hong Merchants of Canton*. Copenhagen: NIAS-Curzon Press, 1997.
G/12/1-292	Oriental and India Office in the British Library, London. The G/12 series are the EIC Canton Factory Records.
GL	Gothenburg, Landsarkivet [Provincial Archive]. Öijareds säteris arkiv A 406. Seriesignum F III. This source is cited as ÖIJ A406 in this paper.
IC	Ostend General India Company Collection in the Stadsarchief [Municipal Archive], Antwerp.
Irvine	Charles Irvine Archive at the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota.
JFB	James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota. The B 1758 fNe collection contains VOC records from Canton in 1758 and the Charles Irvine Collection contains SOIC Canton records from the 1730s and 1740s with some information from the 1720s as well.
Liang	Liang Jiabin 梁嘉彬. *Guangzhou Shisan Hangkao* 广州十三行考 [Study of the Thirteen Hongs of Canton], 1937. Reprint, Taipei: 1960; Guangdong 广东: Renmin Chuban She 人民出版社, 1999.
Lin	Lintrup family archive number 5893 in the Rigsarkivet [National Archives], Copenhagen.
Morse	Morse, Hosea Ballou. *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834*. 5 vols, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926. Reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966. Numbers such as 1:266 refer to vol. 1, page 266. If only the volume number is given, then the pages can be found in the indexes at the back of volumes 4 and 5.
NAH	National Archives, The Hague.
NM	Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. Godegårdsarkivet Archive F17.
OIO	Oriental and India Office in the British Library, London. The G/12 series are the EIC Canton Diaries.
PMA	Antwerp: Plantin-Maretus Museum (PMA). Number 479 contains a copy of the Grootboek and Packboek for the ships GIC *Arent* and *Elisabeth* in 1724.
RAC	Rigsarkivet [National Archives], Copenhagen
SAA	Stadsarchief [Municipal Archive], Antwerp.
VOC	Dutch East India Company Archive in the National Archives, The Hague. 1.04.02.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

A	amber
An	Ankay tea
B	Bohea tea
Bg	Bing tea
C	Congo tea
Can	short for "Canton"
CFI	French East India Company (Compagnie Française des Indes)
ctn	cotton
D	Damasks
DAC	Danish Asiatic Company (Danske Asiatisk Compagnie)
Db	debt
E	Enquay (Ankay) tea
EIC	English East India Company
F	Fiador (Security Merchant)
FR	Factory Rent

G	gold
ga	galingale
GIC	Ostend General India Company
gn	gorgoran (fabric)
Gt	green tea
H	Hyson tea
HS	Hyson Skin tea
il	illustering (fabric)
K	Kampoy tea
Kz	Keizer tea
la	lakenen (worsted fabric)
ld	lead
ln	linen
LO	layover
lu	illustering (fabric)
mp	mother of pearl
ms	muscus (musk)
Nk	Nankins
Nl	Nanking linen
P	Porcelain
Pk	Peko tea
pj	putchuk
pl	pelangs (fabric)
pp	pepper
pq	Pekings (fabric)
ps	powder sugar
psy	pordesoys (fabric)
pt	perpetts (fabric)
PZZ	Patri Ziou Zioun tea
Q	quicksilver (mercury)
R	rhubarb
Ro	rottinger (rattan or cane)
Rx	radix china
S	Soulong tea
sa	sago
sat	satin
sau	saulane
Sc	Souchon tea
Sl	Songlo tea
SOIC	Swedish East India Company (Svenske Ostindische Compagnie)
tx	textiles
Ty	Tunkay tea
VOC	Dutch East India Company (Verenige Oostindische Compagnie)
w	woollens
z	silk
zr	silk-raw (unprocessed)
zt	silk textiles
ZZ	Ziou Zioun tea

NOTES

1 Paul A. Van Dyke, "The Yan Family: Merchants of Canton, 1734-1780s," *Review of Culture,* International Edition 9 (January 2004): 30-85; Liu Ping 刘平, et al., eds., *Guangzhou Shisan Hang Cangsang* 广州十三行沧桑 [The Thirteen Hongs in Guangzhou] (Guangzhou 广州: Guangdong Ditu Chuban She 广东地图出版社, 2001); and Huang Qichen 黄启臣 and Pang Xinping 庞新平, *Ming-Qing Guangdong Shangren* 明清广东商人 [Guangdong Merchants in the Ming and Ching Dynasties] (Guangzhou: Guangdong Jingji Chuban She, 2001).

2 Cheong Weng Eang, *The Hong Merchants of Canton* (Copenhagen: NIAS-Curzon Press, 1997), 34, 86, 144; and Huang and Pang, *Ming-Qing Guangdong Shangren,* 125.

3 Oriental and India Office in the British Library, London (OIO): G/12/22; Cheong 144-145; and Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834*. 5 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926. Reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966), 1:167.

4 Some of this confusion comes from a journal written by supercargo Colin Campbell of the Swedish East India Company (SOIC) in 1732, which seems to have Cudgin confused with these other two men. The problem with this source is that the original journal was supposedly lost during the voyage home, and Campbell wrote another one after he arrived in Sweden. Of course, it is very difficult to reconstruct what happened every day a year later simply from memory, albeit Campbell seems to have had some notes to guide him as there are extensive quotes and lists of figures in his journal. The researcher will find numerous errors in the dates and events that are mentioned in this source, so it should not be taken verbatim unless cross-referenced with other sources. Paul Hallberg and Christian Koninckx, eds., *A Passage to China*, by Colin Campbell (Gothenburg: Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, 1996), 109 n. 207 and 152 n. 254; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:183-184.

5 The structure of the trade and the relationship between the short-term officials appointed by Beijing and the local participants who worked all their lives in the trade is discussed more thoroughly in Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845* (Hong Kong University Press: forthcoming). This source also presents some of the reasons and rationale behind taxing silver in Canton.

6 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 135; and Stadsarchief (Municipal Archive), Antwerp (SAA): IC 5757.

7 SAA: IC 5757.

8 SAA: IC 5757.

9 Fuyuan 抚院, governor of Guangdong Province.

10 A list of all the major officers involved in the trade in Canton and the terms of their appointments can be found in Jin Guo Ping 金国平 and Wu Zhiliang 吴志良, comps. *Correspondência Oficial Trocada entre as Autoridades de Cantão e os Procuradores do Senado. Fundo das Chapas Sínicas em Português (1749-1847).* 8 vols. (Macao: Macao Foundation, 2000) 8:311-376. The comings and goings of all the upper officers in the trade are clearly recorded in the Dutch records, and some of these are now available in print. Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters 1762* (Macao: Cultural Institute, 2005). Other years will soon follow.

11 OIO: G/12/26-27.

12 Campbell, *A Passage to China*, 152.

13 Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:405-406; and Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, forthcoming.

14 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 45, 48, 184 n. 72.

15 Cheong states that the name of Cudgin's and Leunqua's firm was the *"Kuang-yüan Hong"*, but our references show that Leunqua's business was the Duanhe Hang, so the name of Cudgin's firm is still uncertain. Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 39, 45, 70 n. 64, 81, 86, 145.

16 The Yan family name (Ngan in Cantonese) also appears as "Tan" and "Fan" sometimes. Van Dyke, "The Yan Family," 65.

17 Morse mentions that he contracted silk with the English this year, but Cheong states that some of the supercargoes were hesitant to give him a contract because he had not traded in that commodity before, which was not true. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1:234; Landsarkivet [Provincial Archives], Gothenburg (GL): Öijareds säteris arkiv A406 (hereafter referred to as GL: ÖIJ A406); and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 146.

18 Rigsarkivet [National Archives], Copenhagen (RAC): Ask 1118; National Archives, The Hague (NAH): VOC 2438; and Paul A. Van Dyke, "Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta, 1690-1845", (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2002), 350-351.

19 RAC: Ask 1118.

20 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 146; and NAH: Canton 2, 69.

21 NAH: Canton 2, 69, 70.

22 Gothenburg, Landsarkivet (Provincial Archive) (GL): ÖIJ A406.

23 Cheong mentions that Giqua was connected to Leunqua's firm in 1750 and 1752, but then he cites Giqua's Guangyuan Hang as the name of the business and not Leunqua's Duanhe Hang. Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 146; and RAC: Ask 1121, 1124-1128, 2197-2204; (GL): ÖIJ A406; and Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. Godegårdsarkivet Archive F17 (hereafter referred to as NM: F17); NAH: Canton 5, 70; and RAC: 2195-2196.

24 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 82 n.* and 146.

25 For a few examples of the two Giquas, see RAC: Ask 1121, 1139-1141 where the two Giquas are mentioned and talked about as if they were different persons.

26 Van Dyke, "The Yan Family," 30-85.

27 NAH: Canton 74.

28 NAH: VOC 4387 and Canton 26; and Ch'en Kuo-tung, Anthony, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990), 14, 20, 296.

29 Even after he died, the Dutch refer to Consentia Giqua as a "small merchant", so he never rose above that distinction. NAH: Canton 74.

30 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 147.

31 Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters*, 1763 (Macao: Cultural Institute, forthcoming). Hereafter, these printed *dagregisters* will be referred to as CMD.

32 NAH: Canton 72; and CMD 1763.

33 NAH: Canton 73-74. It is not mentioned in this particular reference, but Suiqua also died in 1761, and his brother and successor Tjobqua (Cai Yuguan) would have assumed that part of the debt.

34 Earl H. Pritchard, *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations 1750-1800*. 1936 (reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 201 and n. 7 on the same page; Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:6, 25, 33-34, 45 and 5:159, 181; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 85-86, 147, 253, 290 n. 17.

35 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 13, 260.

36 NAH: Canton 31, 74, 77.

37 RAC: Ask 1154-1156a, 1165.

38 NAH: Canton 74; and RAC: Ask 1154, 1156a, 1165.

39 For one example of these post-mortem references to merchants, see "Foutia" in CMD 1762, entry on September 19 and note 48. Names often show up in the foreign records ten or even twenty years after the person died and are talked about as if they were still alive.

40 NM: F17; and Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Five.

41 NM: F17; and Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Five.

42 RAC: Ask 1161; and NAH: Canton 74.

43 The amount requested of the Hong merchants by the imperial court was 200,000 taels. Zhuang Guotu, *Tea, Silver, Opium and War: The International Tea Trade and Western Commercial Expansion into China in 1740-1840* (Xiamen: Xiamen University Press, 1993), 40-46; Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 93; Huang and Pang, *Ming-Qing Guangdong Shangren*, 407-409; and Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, forthcoming.

44 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 93; Van Dyke, "The Yan Family"; and Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, forthcoming.

45 Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 84-85; Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l' Occident. Le Commerce à Canton au XVIII Siècle 1719-1833* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), 2:894-900; and Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 185-190, 259-260.

46 RAC: Ask 1168; Morse, *Chronicles*, 5:181; and Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 260-261.

47 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 260-261; and RAC: Ask 1170-1172, 1178.

48 Ch'en cites the EIC factory records as his source for the death of Tiauqua, which corresponds with his disappearance in other records as well. The different Howqua can be found in the following sources: Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 261, 280; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 89; RAC: Ask 1173-1176, 1180, 1182, 1185; and NAH: Canton 29, 37, 39, 81, 85, VOC 4412.

49 There is some conflicting information about Yanqua's origins. On page 39, Ch'en lists Yanqua's geographical origin to be "Chao-an, Fu-chien", and he lists the English factory records as the source. Illustration 9, however, clearly states that he was a "Langhu ren" which is a town in Jiangsi Province. Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 122 n. 44; Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 21, 39, 312-317; and Liang Jiabin 梁嘉彬. *Guangzhou Shisan Hang Kao* 广州 十三行考 [Study of the Thirteen Hongs of Canton] (1937; repr., Taipei: 1960; repr., Guangdong: Renmin Chuban She, 1999), 386.

50 NAH: Canton 40; Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 301, 312-317; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 91. In the 1740s there is another "Yamqua" who shows up in the SOIC supercargo Charles Irvine's papers, but his Chinese name was Cai Yanguan 蔡 炎 官. James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota (JFB): Charles Irvine Papers.

51 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 312-317; and Liang, *Guangzhou Shisan Hang Kao,* 290-292, 386.

52 Zhuang, *Tea, Silver, Opium and War*, 41. The Dutch say that the contribution in 1787 was 400,000 taels and that it was to support the troops in Taiwan. NAH: Canton 93.

53 Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 93, 108, 294-299, 307-311; and Xing Yongfu 邢永福 , et al. *Qing Gong Guangzhou Shisan Hang Dangan Jingxuan* 清宫广州十三行档案精选 [A Selection of Qing Imperial Documents of the Guangzhou Shisan Hang]. Guangzhou: Guangdong Jingji Chuban She 广东经济出版社, 2002), 158-159 doc. no. 58.

54 Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:405-406; Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 307-317; Ann Bolbach White, "The Hong Merchants of Canton" Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1967), 93-94; Liang, *Guangzhou Shisan Hang Kao*, 300-301; and Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 91-92.

55 Morse, *Chronicles*, 3:55, 194; Cheong, *Hong Merchants*, 123 n. 48; and Ch'en, *Insolvency*, 312-317.

56 It is possible that Cudgin was also angry with the GIC supercargos because in 1726 they had a dispute over the weights he was using to weigh the tea, claiming that they prejudiced the company. Cudgin was persuaded "with a great deal of difficulty" to discount the tea one tael per picul. SAA: IC 5757.

57 For the different sizes of the foreigners' ships, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Appendixes.

1) Ye Cudgin 叶 __ __

Trade names: *Cudgin Quayqua, Cudgin Quiqua, Quiqua alias Cudgin, Cudzin, Codgin, Quiqua, Cawzin's Hong, Cudgin Quisa, Quisa, Cudgin alias Quiqua, Cousin, Codsyn, Cosin, Cosen, Cosyne, Quyqua, Codin, Queyqua, Quequa, Jonqua/Janqua or Cudcin, Old Quiqua* (1732), *Amoy Quisa, Kudsjing Jonqua, Jounqua, Jonqua.*

Biographical data		Source
Date first mentioned in the records	1720 (possibly 1702?)	Cheong 144; G/12/22
Date last reported trading in Canton	1733	see sources below
Death		
Years trading in Canton	1720-1733 (possibly earlier)	see sources below

Schedule of Trading Activities in Canton and Sources

Year	Partners	Hong	Co.	Products traded	Sources
1720	.....	.....	GIC	tea	G/12/22
1721	.....	.....	GIC	tea	Cheong 144; G/12/22
1721	.....	.....	EIC	tea	Morse 1:167; G/12/22
1722	.....	.....	GIC	.....	G/12/22
1722	.....	.....	EIC	.....	G/12/22
1723	.....	.....	EIC	P	G/12/21, 24
1723	.....	.....	GIC	Bg	IC 5921bis
1724	.....	.....	GIC	see Table	IC 5684, 5740; PMA 479
1725	.....	.....	GIC	see Table	IC 5690-5692
1726	.....	Chin Ching	GIC	FR	IC 5695, 5710bis, 5740, 5752, 5757
1726	.....	.....	GIC	see Table	IC 5695, 5710bis, 5752, 5757
1727	.....	.....	GIC	gn	IC 5753
1727	.....	.....	.....	went to Peking	G/12/26
1728	Leonqua	.....	.....	now a Mandarin	Cheong 145; G/12/27; Morse 1
1729	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4374
1730	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4375
1731	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4376
1732	.....	.....	SOIC	.....	Campbell
1733	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4378

Family Members

Relation	Aliases	Name	Chinese	Sources
Relative	*Leunqua*	Ye Longguan	叶隆官	Cheong 144-147, 119-120 n.1;
Relative	*Giqua*	Ye Yiguan	叶义官	OIO:G/12/27; Campbell 152
Relative	*Tiauqua*	Ye Zhaoguan	叶朝官	ditto

2) Ye Longguan 叶隆官

TRADE NAMES: *Leunqua, Lehonqua, Le Honqua, Lehonqva, Lehonquoa, Lehunqvoa, Lehonqvoa, Lehonquaos, Lehoncqua, Liunqua, Liungqua, Fan Leunqua, Leonqua, Tan Leunqua, Leongqua.*

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA		SOURCE
Date first mentioned in the records	1728	Cheong 70 n.64
Date last reported trading in Canton	1753	GL:ÖIJ A406
Death		
Years trading in Canton	1728-1753	see sources below

SCHEDULE OF TRADING ACTIVITIES IN CANTON AND SOURCES

YEAR	PARTNERS	HONG	CO.	PRODUCTS TRADED	SOURCE
1728	Cudgin	.....	EIC	.....	Cheong 70 n.64, 145
1732	.....	.....	SOIC	.....	Campbell
1732	.....	.....	EIC?	.....	Morse 1
1734	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2190
1734	.....	.....	EIC?	.....	Morse 1
1735	.....	.....	EIC?	.....	Morse 1
1736	Fatt Honqua	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1116; Lin 5893
1736	.....	.....	EIC	P	Morse 1:255
1737	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1117, 2191
1738	Feth Honcqvoa (writer)	Duanhe	DAC	see Table	Ask 1118(sbc), 2192
1739	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2193
1740	.....	Duanhe	DAC	P,B,Sl,zt,pq,ZZ,	
	.....	Duanhe	DAC	Bg,D,psy	Ask 1119-1120(sbc); Lin 5893
1741	.....	Duanhe	DAC	P,B,Sl,zt,D,psy,pq	Ask 1120(bc)
1741	.....	.....	EIC?	.....	Morse 1
1742	Tacqua Amoy	.....	DAC	B,P	Ask 1121; Lin 5893
1743	.....	.....	VOC	P,zt,ct,pj,Pk,H,Bg,Sl,B	Can 2, 69
1744	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1123, 2194
1744	.....	.....	SOIC	B,zt	JFB:Irvine
1744	.....	.....	VOC	pp,tea	Can 3, 70
1745	.....	.....	DAC	.....	Ask 2196
1752	.....	Duanhe	SOIC	.....	GL:ÖIJ A406(bc)
1753?	.....	.....	SOIC?	.....	GL:ÖIJ A406

ASSOCIATES AND BUSINESSES

ASSOCIATES	YEARS	NAME	CHINESE	SOURCES
Fet Honcqvoa	1730s	Chen Xiongguan	陈雄官	see sources above
Tacqua Amoy	1742			see sources above
BUSINESSES				
Duanhe Hang			端和行	see sources above

3) Ye Yiqua 叶义官 Proper Name: Ye Chunyi 叶纯仪

Trade names: *Consentia/Conscientie/Consciens/Cons./Consiencia/Concientia/Consentz Giqua, Giqua Conscientie/Consciens, Contientia Quicqua, Gieqvoa, Giqva, Gicqua, Giquoa, Gaqua, Gague, Goqua, Geequa, Gequa, Hykoa Conscience, Gekoy, Ghequa, Gekoui.*

Biographical data		Source
Date first mentioned in the records	1729	Cheong 146
Date last reported trading in Canton	1765	see sources below
Death reported on this date	1765, April 26 (he died a few days before)	Can 74
Years trading in Canton	1729-1765	see sources below

Schedule of Trading Activities in Canton and Sources

Year	Partners	Hong	Co.	Products traded	Sources
1729	.....	.....	EIC?	.....	Cheong 146
1729	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4374
1730	.....	Houde	VOC	see Table	VOC 4375[sb]
1731	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4376
1731	.....	.....	EIC?	green tea	Cheong 40
1733	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4378
1737	.....	.....	DAC	B	Ask 1117
1738	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2192
1739	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2193
1740	.....	.....	DAC	P	Ask 1119; Lin 5893
1741	.....	.....	DAC	P	Ask 1120
1742	.....	.....	DAC	P,B	Ask 1121
1742	.....	.....	VOC	P,pp	Can 1
1743	Lam Suiqua (Cai Ruiguan)	.....	VOC	P,pp,la,pt,C,R,G,ms	Can 2, 69
1744	.....	.....	VOC	P,R	Can 2-3, 70
1744	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1123, 2194
1745	Sinqua (Cai Ruiguan)	.....	VOC	P	Can 5
1745	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2195-2196
1746	.....	.....	VOC	P,Pk	Can 5
1746	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1124, 2197-2198
1747	.....	.....	VOC	P	Can 6
1747	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2199
1748	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2200-2201
1749	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2202
1750	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2203-2204
1751	.....	.....	VOC	P	Can 16
1752	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1130-1131[c], 2205-2206
1752	Leonqua	.....	EIC	.....	Cheong 82
1753	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2207-2208; GL:ÖIJ A406[b]

1753	.....	Guangyuan	SOIC	tea,Sc	GL:ÖIJ A406[(b)]
1753	.....	Guangyuan	CFI	tea	GL:ÖIJ A406[(b)]
1754	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2209a
1755	.....	Guangyuan	DAC	see Table	Ask 1135[(s/bc)], 2209b
1756	.....	Guangyuan	DAC	.....	Ask 1136[(s/bc)]
1757	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4381
1757	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2210
1758	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4382
1758	.....	Guangyuan	DAC	see Table	Ask 1139[(s/bc)], 2211
1759	.....	Guangyuan	DAC	see Table	Ask 1141[(s/bc)], 1144[(s/bc)], 2212-2215
1760	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4386
1760	.....	Guangyuan	DAC	see Table	Ask 1143[(s/bc)], 1145[(s/bc)], 2216-2217
1760	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 5:91
1761	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4389
1761	.....	Guangyuan	DAC	see Table	Ask 1146[(s/bc)], 2218
1762	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4394; Can 25
1762	.....	Guangyuan	DAC	see Table	Ask 1148a-1149[(s/bc)], 2221-2222
1763	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4394; Can 26
1763	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Can 224
1763	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2223, 2226; Can 224
1764	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4396; Can 27
1764	.....	Guangyuan	DAC	see Table	Ask 1152-1153a[(s/bc)], 2227-2228
1765	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4397; Can 28
1765	.....	.....	EIC	B	Can 74
1766	.....	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC4399
1766	.....	.....	DAC	B	Can 75
1766	.....	.....	EIC	B	Can 75

Family Members

Relation	Aliases	Name	Chinese	Sources
Son	*Tiauqua*	Ye Zhaoguan	叶朝官	Ask 1154

Associates and Businesses

Associates	Years	Name	Chinese	Sources
Huiqua	1750s-1765			see sources above
Lam Suiqua, Sinqua	1740s	Cai Ruiguan	蔡瑞官	see sources above
Businesses				
Houde Hang			厚德行	see sources above
Guangyuan Hang			广源行	see sources above

4) Ye Zhaoguan 叶朝官

Trade names: *Tiauqua, Tinqua, Tinqva, Touqua,Tiouqua, Tiounqva, Teowqua, Toyqua, Taiqua.*

Biographical data		Source
Date first mentioned in the records	1765	see sources below
Date last reported trading in Canton	1775	see sources below
Death	1775, July 3	Ch'en 261
Years trading in Canton	1765-1775	see sources below

Schedule of Trading Activities in Canton and Sources

Year	Partners	Hong	Co.	Products traded	Sources
1765	Hoyqua	Guangyuan	DAC	see Table	Ask 1154(bc)-1155, 2229-2230
1766	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1156ab, 2231; Can 75
1767	Heyqua	Guangyuan	DAC	see Table	Ask 1160(sbc), 2232-2233
1768	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1162, 2234
1768	Huyqua	.....	VOC	see Table	VOC 4402; Can 77
1769	Hoyqua	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 1165, 2235
1770	.....	Guangyuan	DAC	see Table	Ask 1167(sbc), 2236-2237; Can 79
1770	.....	.....	VOC	.....	Can 79
1772	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2238-2239
1772	.....	.....	EIC	B,Sl,Ty	Morse 5:159
1773	Hoyqua	.....	DAC	R,B,zt,psy,sat,pl,C,z	Ask 1170-1171
1773	.....	.....	EIC	Db	Morse 5:181
1774	.....	.....	DAC	B,ld,Ro,zt,il,pl,psy	Ask 1172
1775	.....	.....	DAC	B,zt,lu,sat,pq,D,ZZ,HS	Ask 1173

Family Members

Relation	Aliases	Name	Chines	Sources
Father	*Consentia Giqua*	Ye Yiguan	叶义官	Ask 1154(bc)-1156ab, 2229-2231

Associates and Businesses

Associates	Years	Name	Chinese	Sources
Hoyqua/Huiqua	1765-1775			see sources above
Business				
Guangyuan Hang			广源行	see sources above

5) Ye Renguan 叶仁官 Proper Name: Ye Shanglin 叶上林

Trade names: Y*anqua, Yimqua, Jemqua?*

Biographical data: There is a life-size statue of Yamqua at Peabody Museum		Source
Date first mentioned in the records	1776	Ch'en 313
Date last reported trading in Canton	1803	see sources below
Death		
Years trading in Canton	1776-1803	see sources below

Schedule of Trading Activities in Canton and Sources

Year	Partners	Hong	Co.	Products traded	Source
1776	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Ch'en 313
1783	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2241
1784	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2242
1784	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Ch'en 313
1785	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2243
1787	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2245
1788	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2246
1792	.....	.....	DAC?	elected Hong merchant	Ask 1207
1792	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 2
1793	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 2:198; Ch'en 314
1794	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 2
1795	.....	.....	EIC	tea,C	Morse 2:260; Ch'en 315
1796	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2250
1796	.....	.....	EIC	w,ctn,tin	Morse 2:268, 282
1797	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 2:298, 301
1798	.....	.....	EIC	tea	Morse 2:317
1799	.....	.....	DAC	see Table	Ask 2252-2253
1799	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 2
1800	.....	.....	EIC	w,B	Morse 2:348
1801	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 2
1802	.....	.....	EIC	B,w	Morse 2:391
1803	.....	.....	EIC	.....	Morse 2:405-407; Ch'en 315

Associates and Businesses

Associates	Years	Name	Chinese	Sources
Coqua?	his writer in 1777?	Chen Keguan	陈科官	NAH: Canton 40
Poankeequa	his writer 1780s-1792	Pan Youdu	潘有度	Cheong 91; Ch'en 312-317
Businesses				
I-ch'eng		Yicheng Hang	义成行	Liang 386; Ch'en 21, 312-317

TABLE A: YE MERCHANTS' TRADE WITH THE GIC 1724-1732 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAELS)

YEAR	NO.	SHIP NAMES	SOURCE	CUDGIN QUAYQUA	
1724	1	Elisabeth	SAA:IC 5684; PMA 479	63,405.677	P,E,B,C,Pk,Kz,z,Gt
1724	1	Arent	SAA:IC 5740; PMA 479	72,214.157	P,E,C,B,Pk,Bg,Gt,psy,gn,pq
1725	1	Marquis de Prié	SAA:IC 5690, 5692	79,022.220	B,C,zt,Pk,Rx,ga
1726	3	Tiger, Leeuw, Arent	SAA:IC 5695	1,072,822.990	P,B,Pk,zt
1727	2	Concordia, Marq de Prie	SAA:IC 5699, 5700		no trade with Cudgin
1730	1	Apollo	SAA:IC 5710		no trade with Cudgin
1732	1	Hertogh van Lorreyman	SAA:IC 5707		no trade with Cudgin

TABLE B: YE MERCHANTS' TRADE WITH THE VOC 1730-1774 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAELS)

YEAR	SHIPS	NAME	SOURCE	YE TRADE	PRODUCTS	MERCHANT
1729	1	Coxhorn	VOC 4374	589.300	P	Kudsjing Jonqua
1730	1	Duifje	VOC 4375	4,630.400	Sc,Bg,Q,C	Consentia Giqua
1730		Duifje	VOC 4375	66.800	Rx	Kudsjing Jonqua
1731	1	Luyduyn	VOC 4376	5,177.520	B	Consentia Giqua
		Luyduyn	VOC 4376	162.484	P	Kudsjing Jonqua
1731	1	Coxhorn	VOC 4376	5,262.350	B	Consentia Giqua
		Coxhorn	VOC 4376	108.192	P	Kudsjing Jonqua
1733	1	Voorduin	VOC 4378	283.220	P	Consentia Giqua
		Voorduin	VOC 4378	31.999	P	Kudsjing Jonqua
1733	1	Luyduin	VOC 4378	192.668	P	Consentia Giqua
		Luyduin	VOC 4378	368.573	P	Kudsjing Jonqua
1757	1		VOC 4381	242.111	P	Consentia Giqua
1758	3		VOC 4382	25,915.255	sa,P,B,C	Consentia Giqua
1760	3		VOC 4386	1,664.734	sa,ln,P	Consentia Giqua
1761	2		VOC 4389	5,617.542	sa,P	Consentia Giqua
1762	3		VOC 4394	7,864.786	P,sa,sc,C	Consentia Giqua
1763	3		VOC 4394	6,982.155	sc,sa	Consentia Giqua
1764	4		VOC 4396	16,359.866	P,S,C,An	Consentia Giqua
1765	4		VOC 4397	581.160	sa,P	Consentia Giqua
1766	4		VOC 4399	171.160	sa	Consentia Giqua
1768	4		VOC 4402	8,423.800	B	Huyqua
1774	4		VOC 4412	2,182.880	C	Heyqua
Totals	41	2,265.34	ave. per ship	92,878.955		

TABLE C: YE MERCHANTS' TRADE WITH THE DAC 1734-1799 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAELS)

YEAR	SHIPS	SHIP NAME	EXPORT CARGOS	YE TRADE	PRODUCTS TRADED	MERCHANT NAME	%
1734	1	Sleswig	77,942.974	10,776.141	ZZ,P,B,Sl,Bg	Lehonqua	0.14
1736	1	Kong af Dan	84,361.910	8,103.834	P,Rx,B	Lehonqua	0.10
1737	1	Sleswig	78,046.260	3,227.184		Lehonqua	0.04
1738	1	Kong af Dan	93,262.348	19,259.810	P,B,Sl,mp	Lehonqua	0.21
1739	1	Sleswig	99,056.964	16,124.613	B,Sl,R	Lehonqua	0.16
1744	1	Christiansb. Slott	93,740.571	11,073.440	B	Lehonqua	0.12
Total	**6**		**526,411.027**	**68,565.022**		**Lehonqua**	**0.13**
1738	1	Kong af Dan	93,262.348	339.150	P	Consentia Giqua	0.00
1739	1	Sleswig	99,056.964	18.826	P	Consentia Giqua	0.00
1744	1	Christiansb. Slott	93,740.571	620.227	P	Consentia Giqua	0.01
1745	1	Kiobenhavn	93,283.847	1,533.208	P,sa	Consentia Giqua	0.02
1746	1	Christiansb. Slott	91,179.677	611.230	P	Consentia Giqua	0.01
1747	1	Kong af Dan	128,207.555	3,488.482	P,B,sa,C	Consentia Giqua	0.03
1748	1	Christiansb. Slott	125,866.099	1,333.564	P,sa	Consentia Giqua	0.01
1748	1	Fyen	147,983.404	8,972.832	P,sa	Consentia Giqua	0.06
1749	1	Dron. af Dan.	135,085.314	22,073.077	P,B,Sl,ps,sa	Consentia Giqua	0.16
1750	1	Fyen	156,159.997	9,561.101	P,B	Consentia Giqua	0.06
1750	1	Cron Printzens	144,375.102	482.078	P	Consentia Giqua	0.00
1752	1	Princesse Lowise	141,055.841	16,711.557	P,sa,B,R,C	Consentia Giqua	0.12
1752	1	Cron Prin af Dan	144,167.328	13,874.944	P,sa,B,R,C	Consentia Giqua	0.10
1753	1	D Sophia Magd	154,752.732	22,724.010	P,sa,B,C,R,Pk,z	Consentia Giqua	0.15
1753	1	D Juliana Maria	154,231.761	11,017.229	P,B,Pk,C,R,ZZ	Consentia Giqua	0.07
1754	1	Princesse Lowise	162,262.902	1,329.295	P,sa,C	Consentia Giqua	0.01
1755	1	D Juliana Maria	180,986.905	20,855.208	P,sa,B,R,HS	Consentia Giqua	0.12
1757	1	Princesse Lowise	137,506.174	12,872.282	P,sa,R,C,B	Consentia Giqua	0.09
1758	1	D Juliana Maria	124,729.194	13,629.012	tu,P,B,HS,H,R	Consentia Giqua	0.11
1759	1	Kong af Dan	139,580.744	13,231.976	P,R,C,Pk,B	Consentia Giqua	0.09
1759	1	Cron Pr af Dan	108,114.096	10,528.231	P,B,C	Consentia Giqua	0.10
1759	1	Princesse Lowise	141,743.357	9,358.655	P,B	Consentia Giqua	0.07
1760	1	Graeve Mottkes	115,782.238	21,129.679	P,sa,C,B,H,Ty	Consentia Giqua	0.18
1760	1	D Juliana Maria	155,966.306	21,877.034	P,sa,C,H,Ty,B	Consentia Giqua	0.14
1761	1	Kong af Dan	135,120.311	37,754.322	C,P,sa,Nk,B,A,R,S,R,ZZ	Consentia Giqua	0.28
1762	1	Pr Fred af Dan	235,800.323	32,894.678	B,P,sa,C,Bx,HS,Nk,R	Consentia Giqua	0.14
1762	1	D Sophia Magd	171,653.923	36,998.462	P,sa,C,B,A,Nk,R	Consentia Giqua	0.22
1763	1	Princesse Lowise	151,834.856	33,972.676	P,sa,B,C,Ty,Sl,R,ZZ,Nk,z	Consentia Giqua	0.22
1763	1	Kong af Dan	158,367.887	18,778.994	P,C,ZZ,R,B	Consentia Giqua	0.12

TABLE C: YE MERCHANTS' TRADE WITH THE DAC 1734-1799 (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAELS)

YEAR	SHIPS	SHIP NAME	EXPORT CARGOS	YE TRADE	PRODUCTS TRADED	MERCHANT NAME	%
1763	1	D Juliana Maria	146,541.363	49,758.923	B,P,sa,C,z,R,Nk,Pk	Consentia Giqua	0.34
1764	1	Cron Pr af Dan	140,660.734	19,516.675	P,B,R,C	Consentia Giqua	0.14
1764	1	Pr Fred af Dan	263,800.278	26,120.123	P,Nk,C,B,Nk,R	Consentia Giqua	0.10
Total	**32**		**4,572,860.131**	**493,967.740**		**Consentia Giqua**	**0.11**
1763	1	Kong af Dan	158,367.887	52.080	A	Tiauqua	0.00
1765	1	D Juliana Maria	157,100.742	19,518.745	B,Nk,H,HS,R	Tiauqua	0.12
1765	1	Cron Pr af Dan	195,377.025	32,373.087	P,B,ZZ,R,S,PZZ	Tiauqua	0.17
1766	1	Fred'borg Slott	203,819.535	7,601.565	P,Nk,HS,C,R	Tiauqua	0.04
1767	1	D Sophia Magd	174,170.662	24,332.560	B,Nk,tx,C,ZZ,R	Tiauqua	0.14
1767	1	Pr Fred af Dan	240,874.719	31,228.806	B,Nk,tx,HS,R,ZZ,C	Tiauqua	0.13
1768	1	Fred'borg Slott	212,081.658	19,599.645	C,H,R,Nk,ZZ	Tiauqua	0.09
1769	1	D Sophia Magd	166,374.221	4,872.031	Nk,B,P	Tiauqua	0.03
1770	1	Fred'borg Slott	168,626.808	8,715.910	B,C	Tiauqua	0.05
1770	1	Kong af Dan	181,621.145	14,139.396	Nk,C,B,tx	Tiauqua	0.08
1772	1	Kong af Dan	166,886.184	7,139.340	B	Tiauqua	0.04
1772	1	Fred'borg Slott	153,585.472	11,209.480	Nk,B,P	Tiauqua	0.07
Total	**12**		**2,178,886.058**	**180,782.645**		**Tiauqua**	**0.08**
Total First Three Merchants			7,278,157.216	743,315.407		Leunqua, Giqua & Tiauqua	
Average per Ship for First Three Merchants (46 ships)*				16,159.031		Leunqua, Giqua & Tiauqua	0.10
1783	2	S Mag & Cron Pr	467,603.721	2,609.100	H,K	Yimqua	0.01
1784	3	Dk & JM & Dis	516,623.501	2,790.000	K	Yimqua	0.01
1785	3	CP & Mars & CA	647,739.972	10,222.895	C	Yimqua	0.02
1787	2	D Jul M & Cron P	544,739.884	23,960.225	K	Yimqua	0.04
1788	2	P Ch A & Mars	540,269.196	19,803.620	K,Ty,C	Yimqua	0.04
1796	2	K af D, Pr Ch A	493,709.728	36,656.646	C,Ty,K	Yimqua	0.07
1799	1	Kong af Dan	211,657.643	21,997.710	B,C,Pk	Yimqua	0.10
Total*	**15**		**3,422,343.645**	**118,040.196**		**Yimqua**	**0.03**
Overall*	**61**		**10,700,500.861**	**861,355.603**		**Ye Merchants**	**0.08**

* The DAC account books are missing for the years 1773-1781. The total number of ships listed above is actually 65, but four of them are listed twice because two Ye merchants supplied cargo to them in the same year (see 1738, 1739, 1744 and 1763). Four ships were therefore subtracted from the totals to make 61 overall and 46 for the first three merchants. Beginning in 1782, the account books give no separate cargos for each ship but rather a total for all ships each year. Consequently, Yimqua's figures are calculated differently from the other three merchants. For example, he may have only supplied cargo to one ship in a specific year, but his percentage of the trade is calculated as a part of all ships that year. The overall average for the Ye traders is thus also distorted because of this change in the way the DAC figures were recorded before and after 1782. This is why I have provided separate totals and averages for the first three merchants. The overall average that the Ye traders supplied to Danish ships would probably be about 10 percent if we could have given individual ship cargos for Yimqua. The data are not complete enough to be more specific.

TABLE D: YE BOTTOMRY BOND WITH THE SWEDISH SUPERCARGOES TO FINANCE JUNK *QUONSCHYN* TO PASSIACK (ALL FIGURES IN CHINESE TAELS)

DATE	JUNK NAMES	DESTINATION	RATE	LT COLUMN	RT COLUMN	SECURED BY	COMENTS
1768.03.12	(for 1768) Quonschyn	Passiack		370.000		Cons. Giqua	
1768.00.00	(entry error?) Fongzun		1.40	370.000	518.000	Giqua	(s/b Quonschyn?)
1768.12.20	Quonschyn			370.000		Hoyqua	
1769.01.10	Quonschyn				170.200	Hoyqua	(borteblefven) missing

TABLE E: CONSENTIA GIQUA'S JUNKS, DESTINATIONS AND SPONSORS (SOURCE: NM:F17)

NO	NAME IN CANTON	NAME IN AMOY	NAME IN MANDARIN	CHINESE	1764	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1772
Destinations												
	Fongzun Hang	*Hongsin Hang*	*Fengjin Hang*	丰晋行								
1	Samjeck	Samjeck	Sanyi	三益	CC	Ca	Ca, Ps	Ps	Ps	Ps	LO	
2	Songzay	Songgia	Songzai	宋仔					Ps			
3	Fongschyn	Hongzun	Fengshun	丰顺		Siam			Ps			
	Kuangshyn Hang		*Guangyuan Hang*	广源行								
1	Quiongschyn								Ps*			
Sponsors												
	Fongzun Hang	*Hongsin Hang*	*Fengjin Hang*	丰晋行								
1	Samjeck	Samjeck	Sanyi	三益	NH	NH	NH	NH	NH	NH		NH
2	Songzay	Songgia	Songzai	宋仔								
3	Fongschyn	Hongzun	Fengshun	丰顺	NH	NH			ZM			
	Kuangshyn Hang		*Guangyuan Hang*	广源行								
1	Quiongschyn								ZA, HQ			

Key

Destinations	**Sponsors**	**Chinese**	**Alias**
Ps=Passiak	HQ=Hoyqua	Giqua's writer	Huiqua
Ca=Cambodia	NH=Ngan Hongsia	颜享舍	
CC=Cochin China	ZA=Zey Anqua	蔡???	Ti Anqua
LO=Layover	ZM=Zey Monqua	蔡文官	
Siam=Thailand			

* In Jan. 1769, Quiongschyn is reported to be "lost at sea".

The Portuguese Merchant Fleet at Macao in the 17th and 18th Centuries

George Bryan Souza*

The inter-regional maritime trade that centered on the Portuguese-controlled colonial port city of Macao on the Guangdong coast of China was an important nexus for China's maritime trade and its economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Portuguese involvement in shipping and maritime trading commercial activity was the primary source of their livelihood and for their survival in China. The Portuguese merchant fleet that was owned, operated and centered its activities at Macao participated in opening, developing, expanding, and maintaining markets. They were active on an annual basis in regional (South China Sea), inter-regional (Indian Ocean) and global markets (via directly and indirectly supplying Chinese goods and commodities to other European colonial port cities in Asia). Conversely, the Portuguese at Macao participated in supplying the Canton market with Southeast Asian, Indian and European goods and commodities that were in demand in China.

This article examines and discusses the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao. It is written primarily from the perspective of the Portuguese community, the ship owners, operators and investors at Macao.[1] A series of political, economic and commercial issues are outlined and engaged by presenting examples to the degree that the historical record and present research permit. The activities of the Portuguese and their merchant fleet at Macao in the eighteenth century are difficult to treat in any detail because much of the direct historical evidence has been lost. Also, in comparison to the more successful and spectacular successes of other European companies and private trading rivals, their activities have been overshadowed. The city of Macao was not outwardly prosperous in the eighteenth century, but its merchant fleet was active and contributed to China's maritime economy.

The rivalry and conflict between European traders and Asian trading networks in the sixteenth and into the eighteenth century was sea borne. Shipping, primarily designed for merchant activity and converted for protection and bellicose confrontation, was the transportation system that permitted the projection of naval power and commercial prowess. The Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao was inextricably involved at different levels in the rivalry, tensions and commercial conflicts between European traders and Asian trading networks.

The time frame that this article deals with is the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the entire eighteenth century, the long eighteenth century, from 1684 to 1792. Although the Qing dynasty began in 1644, it is accepted that it took their armies and administrators much longer to effectively establish political and administrative control over all of south China and its maritime trade. Qing administrators were firmly in control and established regulations over maritime trade, which included Portuguese activities at Macao, by the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Over this next century, China's maritime trade with Europe and Asia expanded. This long eighteenth century ended for China, as it does with this article, with the emergence of tensions in China's administration of its maritime

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trade with English private traders and the English East India and others over the illicit traffic and sale of Indian opium to China.

A series of issues concerning Macao, its ship owners and fleet are presented. The first deals with the question of Macao's typology as a port city or a colonial port city.[2] The second deals with Macao's political economy. It centers on the city's raison d'etre, its internal organization and primary internal decision-making and conflict resolution processes and its influence and control over the same processes in external political and commercial relations. The third is technical in nature and asks fundamental questions relating to shipping and trading, the ship owners, operators, sailors and investors in Macao's merchant fleet, their identification, the ship types, names, numbers, tonnage, and their ports of call. The fourth is economic and outlines the general composition of the goods and commodities traded at Macao. Portuguese trade at Batavia, one of the markets in which Macao's merchant fleet was active over the entire period, will be examined in some detail. The economic relationship of Macao's shipping and maritime trading activities to the discussion of port and hinterland relationships in China's early modern economy is the historiographical context in which the above-mentioned issues are examined.[3]

This article is structured and divided into five sections: 1) Macao; 2) Macao's Political Economy; 3) Ship Owner, Operator and Investor Behavior; 4) The Merchant Fleet; 5) China, Macao and External Markets; and 6) Conclusions.

MACAO—A COLONIAL PORT CITY?

Prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century, Macao was not a densely populated or commercially active Chinese port city. It was by all accounts, rather, a fishing village. Located on a small peninsula which included two small islands, it did not have direct access to any substantial arable or cultivable areas of combustible production, but it did have a good harbor (though not as good as a similar location to its east which became Hong Kong in the nineteenth century). It is on the southwesterly approaches to the Pearl River and, as a result, has good fluvial access to Whampoa, the primary port, and Canton (Guangzhou), the administrative and commercial city and market of Guangdong Province. The Portuguese people who chose to live there knew that they were dependent on the Chinese authorities at Canton for their major supplies of food and for any goods or commodities that they might purchase or market.

China's maritime activities centered on a series of port cities such as Amoy (Xiamen), Ningpo, others (including Shanghai), Canton, and one colonial port city: Macao. Asia's port cities, including Macao, "encapsulate in their evolution and transformation—and, at times, their decline or even total destruction—the historical vicissitudes of maritime Asia, which in themselves are a rough yardstick and, in many ways, an effective paradigm of the relative position of Asia in the world."[4] China's market was in reality a series of sub-regional markets that developed from the entrepreneurial and commercial activities and, the occasional, sub-regional comparative advantages that were available or developable by investors and merchants residing in those port cities. The mid-twentieth century historiography of Chinese port cities suggested that it was the provincial hinterland behind each port that provided the agricultural, textile, and metals production that was exported. Vice-versa, the goods and commodities that were imported into each port city were integrated into internal market circuits of the provincial hinterland behind each port: Amoy (Fujian Province), Ningpo and others (Zhejiang Province), and Canton and Macao (Guangdong Province).[5] More recent and detailed monographs on the production and commercialization of a number of Chinese commodities that were exported, such as tea, porcelain, and sugar, show that the internal market circulation of exported and imported goods was more pervasive and extensive on account of the general availability of fluvial transportation and the internal market commercial communication network between merchants at the ports and in the interior.[6]

Macao was an adjunct of the Canton market on account of its commercial dependence upon that market for its supplies, its demand for goods and, to an unquantifiable degree, its finance, credit and commercial opportunities.[7] Although constrained politically by Chinese authorities, the Portuguese at Macao were able to operate and develop commercial opportunities, such as those relating to opium, via the evasion of Chinese legal restrictions, which their

competitors in other Chinese port cities were unable and/or unwilling to risk at all or to the same level as the Europeans.

In spite of this dependence upon Chinese supplies, and political and administrative vexations by Qing authorities, in 1684, Portuguese communal and crown authority had been effectively established in the port city of Macao for over a century and a quarter. By virtue of the Portuguese crown and communal presence, Macao was a colonial port city. Defined as a gateway "through which European power and influence, economic dominance and technological modernization (to which could be added disease and health care) flowed from overseas to the furthest corners of the continent and as "primate" cities controlling their hinterlands and acting as vital lynchpins in the development of the world economic system," Macao, however, was an atypical colonial port city in Asia.[8]

Why? In the first instance, this definition is more appropriate for the colonial administrations of the nineteenth century, such as the English and Dutch, which successfully transformed themselves from maritime to territory-occupying colonial regimes, and the French, who were largely unsuccessful as a maritime empire in Asia but encountered some success as a colonial territory-occupying regime in Indochina. The Portuguese and the *Estado da Índia* did not participate in this transformation. In the case of the Portuguese in China, it was only in the age of nineteenth century European imperialism that they could re-claim diminished colonial or imperial power privileges, such as extra-territoriality. Neither Goa or Macao became primate cities such as Calcutta or Bombay, Batavia or Colombo (before British occupation) and Hanoi or Saigon. In the second instance, Macao did not control any hinterland of south China. The Portuguese intermediated in the trade that flowed between China and Japan, China and the New World, China and India, China and Europe. This trade was significant to China and to the world economic system. The existence of Macao and the Portuguese participation in and Portuguese crown support of East-West, West-East exchanges, such as the Magellan exchange (the transfer of New World foods and tobacco to China) and the Jesuit missions in China, made Macao a vital lynchpin and an agent for change in China for better or for worse.

MACAO'S POLITICAL ECONOMY

In Europe and Portugal, towns, communities and, by extension, cities "had a special identity based on political and civic privileges" where "neighborhood values predominated" and "local concerns took precedence over more distant ones."[9] Portuguese urban elites "possessed a coherent pattern of values that defined their conduct and their aspirations" with "shared values and shared contexts… as property owners" in some instances bound together via kinship.[10] Cities and elites in Portugal and overseas participated in this general characterization of communal identity and aspired to holding office in their town or municipal council, the *Senado da Câmara*.[11] This aspiration was for these elites a key element in the process of social mobility and control. In Portugal, urban elites "had secured a firm hold on administrative posts;" "elite control of local offices created oligarchic rule, but also usually brought continuity and stability into local politics."[12] Crown-granted charters and the development of a strong legal tradition brought about a determined defense against crown interference in their affairs and sustained their administrative control over municipal financial resources.[13] This pattern of tension and contention between urban elites and crown authority served as the template for the behavior and actions of Portuguese crown administrators and settlers in colonial cities in general and Macao in particular.

Portuguese crown authority was present at Macao, but the colonial ethos was that of the married settler or *casado*. The *casados*, as married men, were heads of households, which included servants and slaves, and their numbers depended upon their and the community's economic well being and the physical space that was available. In general, the *casado* was a *reinol*, a Portuguese-born male, who had been in crown service, retired, and sought to prosper and raise a family. Over the period in question, a migration of *reinois*, very small in number, semi-regular in frequency, did occur. They were incorporated into local society and took residence at Macao. With the paucity of available European women, the progeny of the *casados* produced an important, diverse and multi-racial demographic element within Portuguese colonial society at Macao. Office holding and voting priveleges in municipal and other local institutions, such as the Santa Casa da

Misericórdia (the Holy House of Mercy, an important charitable, lay brotherhood) were the exclusive province of the *casados*.

During this period, the municipal revenues of the city of Macao were obtained almost exclusively through the collection of customs duties on the goods and commodities that were imported into the city. The maritime customs duty rates were established on an annual basis by the *Senado da Câmara*. While the records of these annual deliberations do not stipulate the actual amounts of income received from the maritime customs duties, they are highly instructive and detail important aspects of the fiscal management of the city of Macao. They outline, in particular, a seemingly flexible and an adaptable method of controling the acquisition of new and the re-payment of old obligations, such as the loans from the crown of Siam, the Santa Casa da Misericórdia and the city's inhabitants, obtaining the necessary income to cover expenditures and providing support for social institutions, such as the convent of Santa Clara.

There were three categories of rates, which were determined on the basis of the type of good and commodity. The custom duty rate categories were based upon whether the delivered good or commodity was 1) *grossa* or bulk, 2) *fina* or fine, which meant that it could be weighed in a small balance, and 3) silver. In general, the placement of a good or commodity into one of these three custom duty rate categories was well known and established. Goods or commodities that were *grossa* or bulk items were, for example, pepper, opium, cloves, sandalwood, sappanwood, tin and lead; a good or commodity that was *fina* or fine were items such as coral, amber and, at times, textiles. Silver is a self-evident category that included un-minted bars as well as minted Spanish or European coins.

Table 1 outlines the maritime custom duty rates established by the *Senado da Câmara* at Macao from 1690 to 1741.[14] It demonstrates that the *vereadores* or aldermen of Macao's municipal council would adjust maritime custom duty rates to generate sufficient operating income to cover municipal expenditures and obligations. Since many of these same municipal office holders were ship owners, operators and investors, they sought to ensure the city's functioning at the lowest cost to their commercial interests. For example, when necessity required re-payment of a loan from the inhabitants of Macao to the city to cover expenditures in 1695, the aldermen increased duties on bulk goods from 10 to 12%. Shortly thereafter, they were able to return this rate to its former level. To a limited degree, the fixing and adjusting of these rates may be seen as a barometer of the commercial performance and activities of the city's merchant fleet.

Through a close examination of these reports, evidence also emerges that the aldermen would handle certain goods and commodities on a discretionary basis in relation to market conditions and volumes of commodities that were being imported and the income those quantities were generating for the city. There are a number of examples. In 1701, for instance, European textiles were classified as bulk items and charged a 10% duty; by 1710 the aldermen decided that European textiles could be re-classified as fine goods and the duty reduced to 5%. There were rare instances in which a commodity in a standard category could be selected to pay a rate above the highest rate for that category of good. Such was the case for sandalwood, when the aldermen ordered the payment of a 9% duty in 1727, which was 1% above the 8% standard rate for bulk items. It was more common that the aldermen decided to lower duties on bulk items from selected, specific markets, as was the case of the duty on pepper from Batavia being lowered from 8% to 6% in 1719. This favorable treatment of pepper from Batavia continued for a number of years. The duty on pepper from that colonial port was lowered further to 5% in the early 1720s; this bulk commodity continued to be favored but was returned to a 6% duty in 1727. Other sources of pepper imports, from Banjarmassin among others, received similar favorable treatment from the Macao aldermen. Although it had been lowered earlier to 6%, the import duty rate on Banjarmassin-sourced pepper was raised again to 7% in 1727.

There were similar anomalies in the metals sector. In 1727, possibly in recognition of very large imported quantities, a preferential duty rate of 2% was applied to the bulk commodities of lead and tin. By 1734 these metals had been re-classified as bulk and charged the standard 8%. The aldermen reversed themselves, yet again, in relation to these metals. They lowered the rate from 8% to 4% in 1736 on account of large quantities of lead and tin (via Pegu in the report) being imported from Madras. In the case of tin, the rate fluctuations continued and repeated the same cycle of being classified as bulk and charged at the standard

Table 1. Maritime Custom Duty Rates at Macao, 1690-1741

Year	*Grossa*	*Fina*	Silver
1690	12%	8%	4%
1692	11%	8%	3%
1693	8%	5%	2%
1695	10%	5%	2%
1696	12%	8%	2%
1697/8	10%	10%	2%
1700	12%	12%	2%
1701/03	10%	5%	2%
1704	10%	5%	3%
1705	12%	5%	3%
1706/10	11%	5%	2%
1714	12 1/2%	6%	2 1/2%
1719/26	8%	4%	2%
1727/30	8%	5%	na
1734/6	8%	4%	2 1/2%
1739/41	8%	4%	2 1/2%

rate in 1740 and as a fine commodity and charged 4% in 1747. As to silver, according to the record of 1719, the aldermen sought to stimulate contact with the Philippines on account of the difficulty in finding profitable trade goods and commodities for China in that market. They made an exception in the duty rate for silver from Manila, which was lowered to 1 1/2%. The duration of this exceptional treatment for silver import duties at Macao cannot be determined. However, the duty treatment for silver at 1 1/2% was re-established on a reciprocal basis between Macao and Manila in 1775.

SHIPOWNER, OPERATOR AND INVESTOR BEHAVIOR

It was by ship owning, operating, manning and investing in maritime trading activities at Macao that the Portuguese community and crown made their livelihood and benefited from their presence in China. There are some simple and basic distinctions between ship owning, operating, and investing in maritime trade. While there was a small number of ships in the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao, there was an even smaller number of Portuguese owners of ships. A very

few individuals were owners of multiple vessels. A few vessels were owned individually, and a vessel or two was owned in parts or fractions by multiple owners. There were talented ship captains and/or commercial agents who were employed to operate vessels or represent owners on voyages in which the owners or his/her family were not ready or capable to operate the vessel or accompany the vessel to a specific market. Ship owners could be ship operators and investors in maritime trading activities, but ship operators were not always ship owners or investors.

In the commercial heyday of Macao, everyone in the community, as institutions and as individuals, including the municipal council, the lay brotherhood and the Church, in particular the Jesuits, invested in or financed Portuguese maritime ventures. By 1684, despite a possible exception or two, Portuguese merchants, ship owners and operators were severely de-capitalized, dependent upon freight contracts and attracting investors and finance from external and internal sources—public institutions as well as private individuals. Manning, outfitting, and maintaining the city's merchant fleet was the primary, nearly exclusive, source of gainful employment that was available for the community. De-capitalization had occured through shipping losses, poor investments, the rival commercial policies of other competitors that meant loss of markets and Qing imperial policies aimed at establishing their administrative control that severely limited China's and Macao's maritime trade.[15] With the reversal of that policy, by 1684 and throughout our period, the Portuguese ship owners and operators at Macao attracted support from within the Portuguese community at Macao or other Portuguese communities in Asia. However, not all of the financial or investment funding was from within the Portuguese community but included, among others, Chinese investors at Canton,[16] European private traders and European companies.

The investor in maritime trading activities in the age of sail in Asia, whether European or Asian, operating as a group in a joint-stock company, multi-partnership or as individual entrepreneurs, pursued profit maximization goals via commercial exchange at the available regional and inter-regional port/markets. These investors had alternative port/market options with varied risk/return on investment profit profiles based on the availability of goods at the investors' departing, intermediate and final destination port/markets, and the investors' capitalization and the projected return on the commercial exchange between buyer and seller at the selected ports of call for the vessel(s) in the trading season, normally during one calendar year. In general, the ship owner chose the vessel's route and ports of call, but this was not always the case. There were certain ports of call, such as Timor, that had political as well as economic significance; the crown intervened at Macao for a time in the selection of shipping for that route. The investor would choose to freight goods on or invest in the ship on the basis of the owner's or the operator's reliability and record.

Portuguese crown authority was present at Macao, but the colonial ethos was that of the married settler or casado.

The sailing ship, as a transportation system, imposed operational constraints on the commercial process of investors and ship owners. In order to operate properly, with less risk of shipwreck, and to transit as rapidly as ship design, operating condition and wind power would permit, ships had to be in ballast, properly loaded and packed with dunnage to avoid the shifting of weight which imperiled a ship's handling and operation.[17] A range of commodities—bulk items, generally, with a low cost per unit—were suitable and served this functional purpose, but their selection, negotiation and handling were important elements in the safety of the ships and the investor's investment. The availability in quantity, quality and price and the composition of goods and commodities at port/markets in general and at Macao in particular, therefore, was of paramount interest to regional, inter-regional and global investors in maritime trade.

Macao's survival and recovery, therefore, was dependent upon the commercial success that their merchant fleet could generate via freighting others' goods and in the trading operations that were on

Portuguese merchants' personal accounts. While freight contracts between ship owners and investors were commonplace for merchants in general and the Portuguese in particular in Asia, the signing of such a contract between the Portuguese and indigenous merchants could embroil the Portuguese community at Macao in undesired political and commercial discussions.[18] In the 1680s, when Portuguese ship owners at Macao were accepting goods and commodities from Chinese merchants at Canton, the *Senado da Câmara* of Macao had to intervene and lower a rate that the Chinese merchants complained was excessive.[19]

In the commercial heyday of Macao, everyone in the community, as institutions and as individuals, including the municipal council, the lay brotherhood and the Church, in particular the Jesuits, invested in or financed Portuguese maritime ventures.

In October of 1775 the S*enado da Câmara* of Macao abrogated the powers of individual ship owners to fix the rates for freighting the goods and commodities from any Portuguese investor on any of Macao's merchant fleet. Table 2 outlines the percentage rates that were applied by the *Senado da Câmara* at Macao between all Portuguese merchants on the value of the principal imported and exported goods and commodities in China. The municipal council's order specifically excluded control over the freight rates that Macao's ship owners could negociate with non-Portuguese investors. The announcement of the freight rates between Portuguese citizens on imported and exported goods for the 1776 trading season by the municipal council was, obviously, a politically and economically motivated manuever, the details of which on account of their length will not be discussed. The governor, the crown's local representative, refused to be present, and his letter manifesting his disapproval was mentioned in the municipal council's deliberations.[20]

The commercial decision-making matrix of maritime investors at Macao and rivals along the China coast, in the South China Sea, and in the Indian Ocean extended their annual risk evaluation to their estimation of competing investors' plans at the port/market of departure, the number of vessels, amount of capital and the available goods and commodities. Internal and external market intelligence was received and managed by investors from ships' captains and agents in competing port/markets. This was true at Macao and at other port and colonial port cities in Asia. European and Asian traders, ship owners, captains, supercargoes or agents executed verbal or written instructions from themselves or their investors orienting them as to how to employ the available capital, which goods and commodities to purchase, at what price levels and quantities, in order to maximize return.

THE MERCHANT FLEET

The Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao is estimated at six to eight vessels in 1684. By the late 1710s the number of vessels in this fleet had expanded to thirteen to fifteen ships. Although ships were lost, sold and disincorporated, for most of the rest of the eighteenth century, the number of Portuguese vessels that were owned and operated at Macao remained at or around this number. It is only in the late eighteenth century that the numbers and the cargo capacity of the fleet demonstrated a tendency towards change with the advent of increased opportunities, primarily related to raw cotton and opium from India.

While in the past the Portuguese were not adverse to using vessels of non-European design, it was not a recorded practice over this period. The Portuguese merchant fleet used European-designed vessels that were built by or purchased from Europeans in Asia. In diverse reports, the vessels were described as ships or sloops. Nearly all of the fleet was named for Catholic religious figures; at times, one or more vessels might share the same or similar name, which complicates their identification. Upon loss, sale or disincorporation from active use, a new vessel might be given the same name as an earlier vessel. Coupled to these practices is the absence in Portuguese records of complete and specific

TABLE 2. FREIGHT RATES ON PRINCIPAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS BETWEEN PORTUGUESE MERCHANTS AT MACAO, 1776

RATES ON IMPORTS (PERCENTAGE ON *AD-VALORUM*)

25	20	18	15	12	10	8	6	4	2 1/2
Cotton	Incense	Rice	Pepper		Wax	Cinnamon (Ceylon)	Ivory	Cloves	
Sappan-wood		Sandal-wood (Indian)	Sandal-wood (1st , 2nd)		Textiles (coarse)	Tin	Textiles (fine)	Birds Nest	
Wine		Areca	Saltpeter			Lead			
Cinnamon (Timor)									

RATES ON EXPORTS (PERCENTAGE ON *AD-VALORUM*)

25	20	18	15	12	10	8	6	4	2 1/2
Cinamon (China)	Alum	Tea (bulk)	Sugar	Tea (chest)	Copper (worked)	Zinc	Mercury		Gold (worked)
	Furniture, Rosewood	Anis	Tobacco	Yellow Ink	Eaglewood (2nd, 3rd)	Silk	Eaglewood (1st)		Silver (worked)
	Porcelain (coarse)	Galanga	Rhubarb	Porcelain (blue)	Porcelain (fine) Paper	Saffron			

annual lists of vessels and owners. Consequently, the identification of the exact number of vessels in Macao's merchant fleet and their owners is a difficult process.

With the above-mentioned limitations in the historical evidence from Portuguese sources on Macao's merchant fleet, how then can a survey of its activities be reconstructed? The records left by Portugal's rivals and competitors in Asia provide outstanding sources. Europeans in the colonial port cities that the Portuguese called upon and in the port cities where those Europeans had offices observed Macao's merchant fleet and reported upon its movements and trading activities. The Dutch records are by far the largest single source, with the most variety of information for this type of corroborative evidence,[21] but English, Spanish, French, Swedish, Danish, and Ostend records also contain materials that aid in this research. Reports by Asians on the Portuguese activities are not as readily available.

From 1704 to 1742, Portuguese records at Macao provide data concerning the size and the cargo capacity of some of the vessels in the fleet.[22] These reports were prepared to document the adequacy of the vessels that were involved in voyages to Timor for sandalwood and to support the Portuguese community and colonial position on that island. Normally, at this time, one ship made the trip; the tonnage of the smallest vessel was 60 tons, and the largest of the Macao merchant fleet on this voyage was 240 tons. The VOC shipping

records at Batavia independently reported the same size and cargo capacity of the Portuguese vessels, which stopped at that port on thier way to and from Timor.

At this time, all of the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao was armed with a number of cannon that generally corresponded to the size and capacity of the vessels. There is in the VOC records an observable tendency in the manning of Portuguese merchant vessels from Macao. The tendency is that the crew size correlated with the number of cannon per ship that was reported; the crew to cannon relationship was around four men to one piece of armament. The rare unarmed Portuguese merchant vessels that appear in different VOC shipping reports were very small and in the South China Sea were usually from Siam and Timor.

CHINA, MACAO AND EXTERNAL MARKETS

The Chinese sub-regional market of Guangdong at Canton was consistent and typical in its general structure and composition in comparison with other contemporary global, inter-regional and regional markets. The categories of commodities that were in supply and demand in China were agricultural, textiles and natural dyes for textile production, metals and other commodities. A detailed report on the Chinese goods from Canton that were available at Macao was prepared by a commercially astute Portuguese crown official in 1771; there were twenty-one items exported from China at Macao. The principal export commodities were sugar, tea, tobacco, raw and colored silk and silk piecegoods, zinc, alum and worked copper items. According to the report, there were thirty-three items imported into China via Macao. The principal imported commodities that flowed into the Macao market for sale at Canton were pepper, raw cotton, opium, rice, salt, tin, lead, silver and sappanwood and included the "exotic" China market demand for shark's fin, bird's nest and ivory.[23]

The Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao made a number of the major inter-Asian colonial and port cities their regular annual ports of call. By the late eighteenth century the list of those ports inculded the ports furthest west of China—Mocha and Mauritius—as well as Surat, Malabar, Coromandel, Bengal, the Malay ports (Aceh and others), Timor, Siam, Vietnam (Cochinchina), Batavia and Manila. Batavia was one of the external markets in which the Macao merchant fleet and the Chinese—one of the strongest merchant groups and commercial rivals of the Portugese—were active over this period. Since it is not possible to examine all of the external markets and commodities, nor all of the commercial rivals that the Portuguese confronted, the maritime trade at Batavia in relation to the China market will be discussed.

The maritime trade between foreign traders and the Dutch East India Company at Batavia was overwhelmingly oriented toward the supply and demand of goods and commodities from and for the China market.[24] The Manila market, with its New World silver and its demand for cinnamon and Asian textiles, was an important integral link in and outlet for the VOC's inter-Asian trade, although of a lesser scale and dimension in comparison with the China market.

The total quantity and value figures for sales and purchases are a general indicator of the magnitude of the quantities and the values of the commodities that were available and purchased at Batavia to develop and attend the demand for these commodities in the China, Manila and other inter-regional and global markets. The individual commodity quantity and value figures for individual trading seasons aid general and specific research on the market structure, behavior and demand for these commodities, including opium in the China market.

Based on a sample of fifty-one years over 1684-1764, the total recorded quantity of the principal commodities sold by the VOC to foreign traders at Batavia was 615,589 *picols* (1 *picol* = 133$^{1}/_{3}$ pounds) and 5,965 chests. The Company began to include its sales of opium at Batavia in its sales to foreign traders' reports in the 1750's. From 1757 to 1764, in only seven years, the Company sold 5,965 chests, an annual average of 852 chests of Bengal opium at Batavia. Most of this opium was redistributed in the Indonesian Archipelago by Chinese and Indonesian intermediaries; since the 1720s, however, small amounts of opium were purchased at Batavia by the Portuguese and, possibly, the Chinese for export to China.At present, it is not possible to separate and quantify the amount of opium that was bought at Batavia and exported to China. Consequently, Table 3 shows opium as destined for "Other" markets to signify within the Indonesian Archipelago, although an undetermined, as yet, amount was sold and exported to China. The composition of the individual goods and commodities sold by the VOC to foreign traders was pepper,

TABLE 3. ALLOCATION & ASSIGNATION OF SALES & PURCHASES AT BATAVIA BY REGIONAL & INTER-REGIONAL MARKET, ORIGIN & DESTINATION, 1684-7164

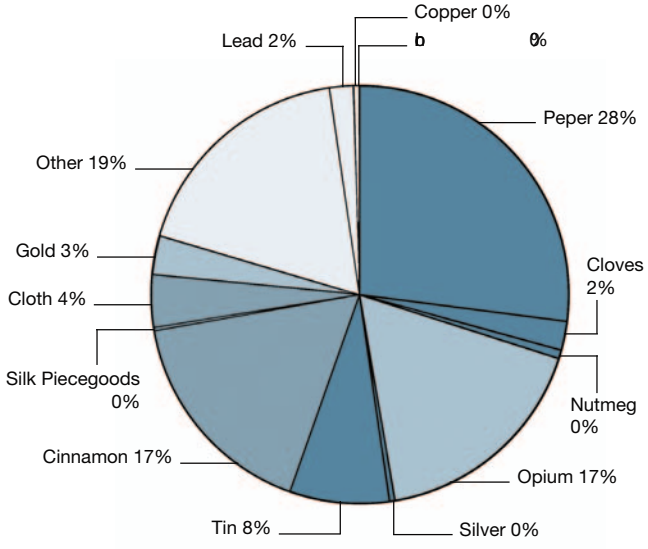
Sales

QUANTITIES
Picols and Chests

Principal Categories	Principal Commodities	Quantities *Picols*	Percentage of Total
China			
	Pepper	468,304	75.34%
	Cloves	1,123	0.18%
	Nutmeg	343	0.06%
	Opium (Chests)	5,965	0.96%
	Tin	64,085	10.31%
Sub-total		539,820	
Manila			
	Cinnamon	17,982	2.89%
Sub-total			
Undetermined			
	Lead	54,085	8.70%
	Iron	9,118	1.47%
	Copper	549	0.09%
Sub-total		63,752	
TOTAL		**621,554**	

VALUES
Rijksdaalder (rsd)

China Manila Other Undetermined



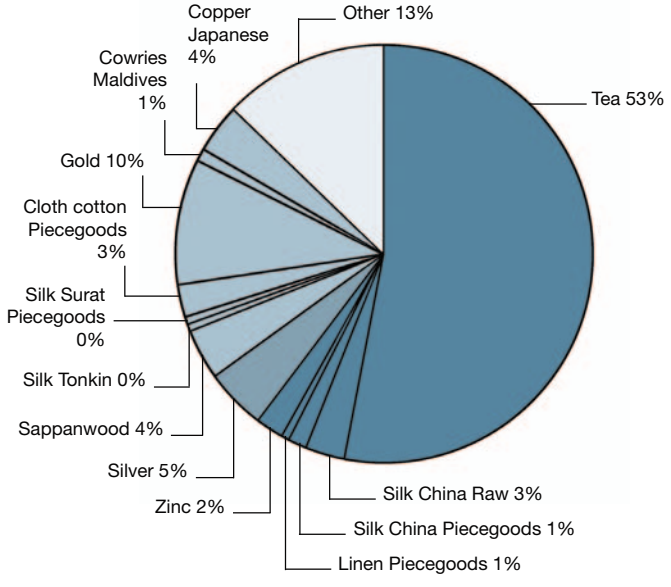
Purchases

QUANTITIES
Picols and Chests

Principal Categories	Principal Commodities	Quantities *Picols*	Percentage of Total
China			
	Tea	65,081	35.62%
	Sappanwood	94,731	51.85%
	Silk	723	0.40%
	Zinc	13,961	7.64%
Sub-total		174,496	
Other			
	Cowries	7,860	4.30%
	Copper	8,204	4.49%
Sub-total		16,064	
TOTAL		**190,560**	

VALUES
Rijksdaalder (rsd)

China Manila Other Undetermined



cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg, silk and cotton (diverse Indian) piecegoods, gold, silver, tin, lead, iron, copper and others. The total recorded value of commodities sold by the VOC was 15,791,901 *rijksdaalders*. This amount is as an indicator of the relative order of magnitude of this sales activity vis-à-vis its equivalent value in other regional (the China and Manila) markets. Based upon the conversion of *rijksdaalders* to Chinese *taels* and Spanish *pesos*, the total recorded value figure of commodities sold by the VOC to foreign traders of 15,791,901 *rijksdaalders* was the equivalent value of 16,623,054 *taels* or 18,950,281 *pesos*.[25]

Over the same period and sample, the total recorded quantity of commodities purchased by the VOC from foreign traders at Batavia was 188,728 *picols*. The individual goods and commodities purchased by the VOC were sappanwood, silk [raw, piecegoods from China, Tonkin, and India (Surat)], cotton [piecegoods], linen [piecegoods], silver, gold, cowries, zinc, copper, and other commodities. The total recorded value of commodities purchased by the VOC was 5,137,375 *rijksdaalders*. Again, this amount is best employed as an indicator of the relative order of magnitude of these purchases vis-à-vis their equivalent value in other regional markets. Based upon the conversion of *rijksdaalders* to Chinese taels and Spanish pesos, the total recorded value figure of commodities purchased by the VOC of 5,137,375 *rijksdaalders* is 5,407,763 *taels* or 6,164,850 *pesos*.

The general supply and demand patterns for the principal commodities involved in the maritime trading activities of foreign traders at Batavia is available by regional and inter-regional market segmentation. While not all of the commodities are assignable, an important number and percentage of the quantities and values of the principal commodities sold and purchased at Batavia may be reliably assigned by markets. Table 3 allocates and distributes the quantities and values of the principal commodities sold and purchased at Batavia by regional and interregional markets.[26] The China market imported from Batavia pepper, cloves, nutmeg, opium, silver, tin and sappanwood. The Manila market imported cinnamon, silk and cotton (diverse Indian) piecegoods. The other markets imported the gold that was sold to foreign traders at Batavia. The China market exported to the Batavia market tea, silk [raw and piecegoods from China], linen [piecegoods], and zinc. The Manila market exported silver. The other markets exported silk [raw and piecegoods from Tonkin, and India (Surat)], cotton [piecegoods], sappanwood, gold, copper, and cowries that were purchased by the VOC from foreign traders at Batavia.

Foreign vessels from thirteen European, American and Asian powers called at Batavia over the period from 1684 to 1792. According to the VOC's shipping and trading reports, six groups—the Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, Armenians, Muslim, and Siamese—actually traded at Batavia. The total number of their ships arriving at Batavia was 1,680. The number and distribution by participant of foreign traders' vessels that actually traded at Batavia is shown in Table 4. It is best employed as an indicator of their presence in the market and to a lesser degree in market trend analysis.

The VOC shipping reports at Batavia provide the cargo capacity of all the arriving and departing foreign vessels by individual ship's tonnage, which permits the calculation of total annual tonnage of cargo capacity of all foreign vessels by trading participants.[27] The tonnage displacement and the frequency of the foreign traders' shipping that actually traded at Batavia over this period is presented in Table 5. Tonnage permits individual trader groups' cargo capacity to be compared to others and versus total group cargo capacity on an annual and total basis. Consequently, tonnage is superior to the numbers of vessels in qualifying, quantifying and comparing the relative annual and total trading position of foreign traders, as individuals or as a group. This ability to differentiate cargo capacity by trading participant is rare and unusual in Asian maritime studies.

Tonnage is also available by market origin. Table 6 presents the tonnage of arriving foreign (European and Asian) shipping to trade at Batavia by market origin, 1707-1792. This information aids in placing Chinese, European and other Asian merchants' efforts in the context of the markets in which they were living and operating and not as isolated agents in those environments. Tonnage by market origin and participant may be further segmented: 1) the China market by geographical location and participants of its sub-regional port city markets and 2) the Manila and other markets by participants. This article confines its discussion to the China market's relationship with the Batavia market.

TABLE 4. THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN (EUROPEAN AND ASIAN) SHIPPING ARRIVALS TO TRADE AT BATAVIA, 1684-1792

Chinese	Portuguese	Spanish	Armenian	Muslim	Siamese	*Total*
1,098	472	75	19	13	3	*1,680*

TABLE 5. THE TONNAGE OF FOREIGN (EUROPEAN AND ASIAN) SHIPPING ARRIVALS TO TRADE AT BATAVIA, 1707-1792

TOTAL TONNAGE BY PARTICIPANT, 1707-1792

Chinese	Portuguese	Spanish	Armenian	Muslim	Siamese	*Total*
138,524	94,335	14,000	2,600	3,650	1,000	*254,109*

ANNUAL TONNAGE BY PARTICIPANT, 1707-1792

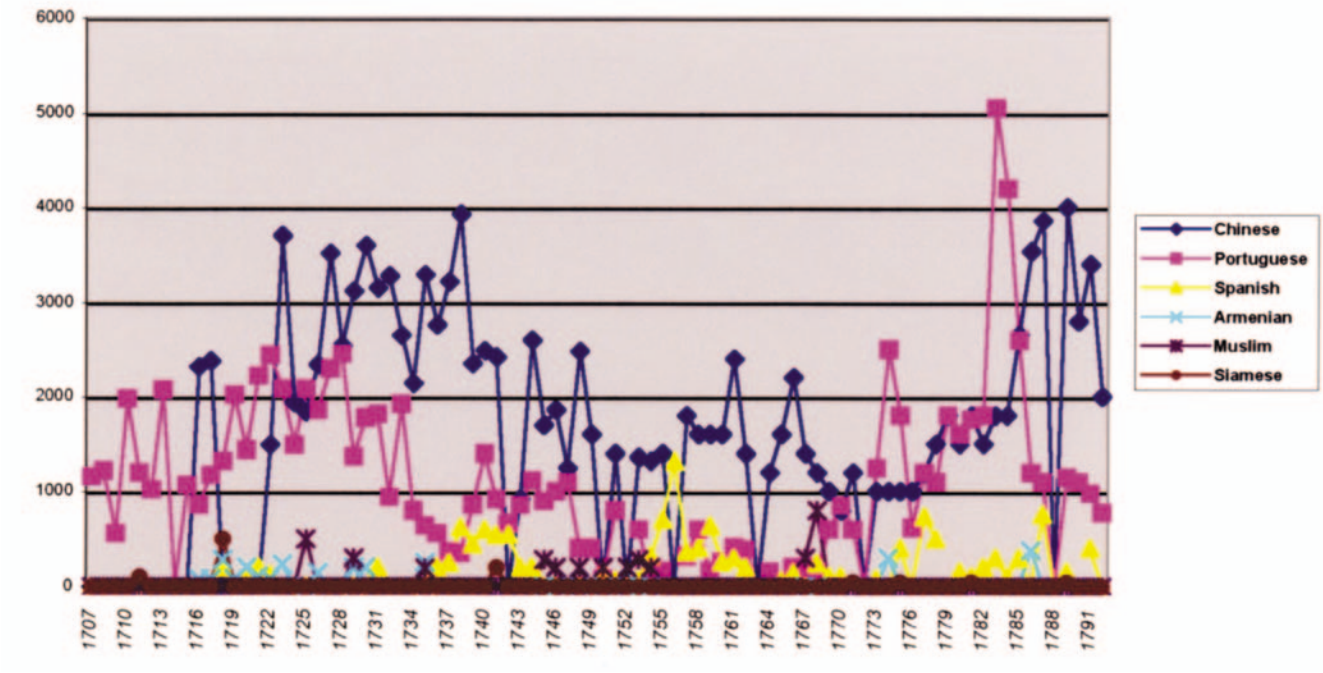


TABLE 6. THE TONNAGE OF FOREIGN (EUROPEAN AND ASIAN) SHIPPING ARRIVALS TO TRADE AT BATAVIA BY MARKET ORIGIN, 1707-1792

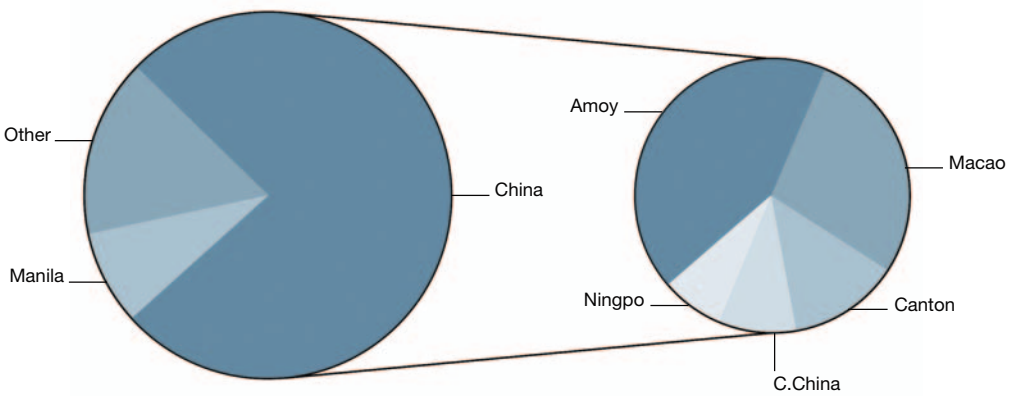
Chinese	Manila	Other (Regional & Inter-Regional)	*Total*
192,274	20,160	41,675	*254,109*

TABLE 7. BATAVIA MARKET SEGMENTATION: CHINA MARKET DETAIL: TONNAGE, ORIGIN & DESTINATION

TOTAL TONNAGE BY PARTICIPANT

Amoy	Ningpo	C. China	Canton	Macao	*Total*
83,226	13,870	16,568	24,860	53,750	*192,274*

TOTAL TONNAGE MARKET ORIGIN AND DESTINATION



ANNUAL TONNAGE BY PARTICIPANT

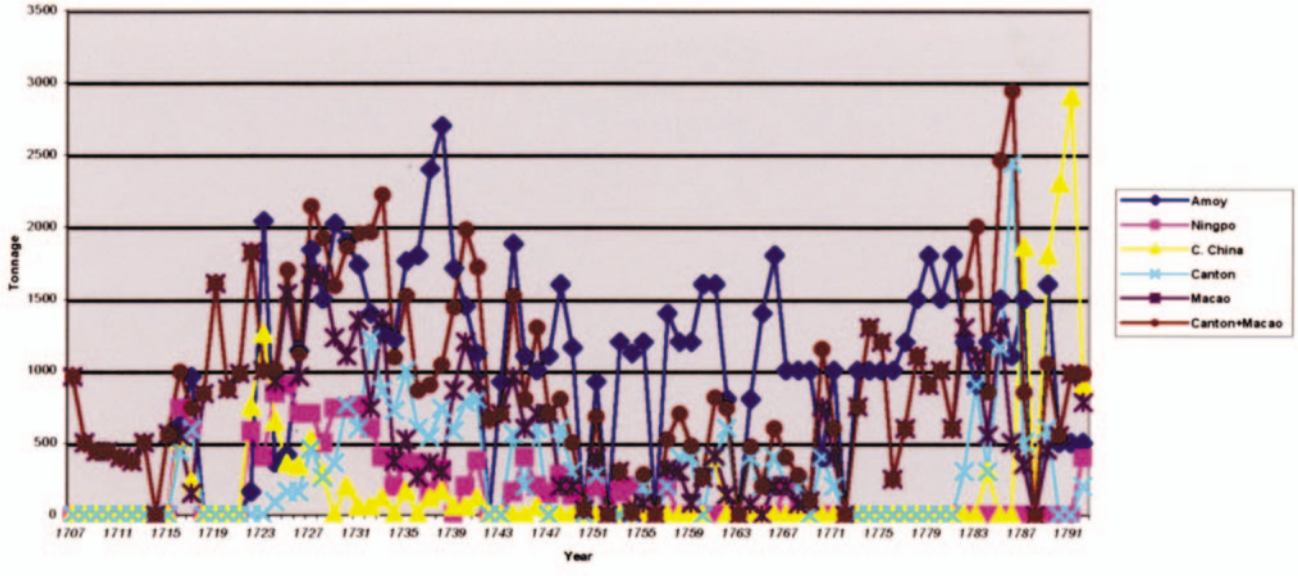


Table 7 details this further segmentation of the participation of the China market at Batavia by geographical location and participants from its sub-regional port city markets. It graphically reinforces, not that it is necessary, the predominant position of China in this market. It highlights the Portuguese merchant

fleet's activities at Batavia and introduces the question of commercial rivalry between the Portuguese and Chinese merchants.

Within this question of rivalry, there is the issue of the relative dominance of direct Amoy (Fujian) shipping and trading interests in the Batavia market. Perhaps, as individuals with the largest number of ships and tonnage trading in the Batavia market, and based on geographical market origin, this dominance could be maintained. However, the combined position of and participation by Canton (Guangdong) and Macao compares favorably and is almost equal to Amoy's shipping tonnage over the entire period. In 1687 and 1719, to be specific, the VOC occasionally registered individual sales and purchase transactions per individual Portuguese ship and trader from Macao, which permits the following observation in regard to the Portuguese shipping and trading activity from Macao at Batavia.[28] Although fewer in number and total tonnage vis-à-vis the Amoy traders, Portuguese ships and traders from Macao, on occasion, were able to concentrate higher quantities and values of goods and commodities in comparison to the Amoy and other Chinese traders and investors. There are insufficient numbers of such records to establish and use in a time series. Consequently, at present, there is no evidence to establish this observation as a long-term tendency. It is possible that over the long term there was, in relative terms, better market intelligence and capitalization involved in and supported by Chinese as well as European investors in the Portuguese shipping activities from the Macao and Canton markets. On the other hand, in both cases, Qing imperial restrictions on maritime trade were in the process of being lifted, and these occurrences may be an exception and not a true tendency. Further research is required to establish whether this was a long-term pattern or a short-term aberration.

With the completion of this examination of the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao and its activities, it is possible to discuss the general conclusions of this study.

CONCLUSIONS

Within the mosaic of China's maritime trade and commercial rivalries, there are a number of interesting implications raised by this examination that concern the economic relationship of Macao's shipping and maritime trading activities to the discussion of China's early modern economy and its port and hinterland relationships during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The first is in two parts: the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao and the ocean-going junks that were owned and operated out of Canton constituted the total sub-regional maritime trading capacity of China's Guangdong market. Dependent upon the goods and commodities that were supplied and demanded at Canton, their composite numbers, sizes, tonnage, ports of call and trading activities constitute a seldom-used method of visualizing this segment of China's maritime trade. Canton's ocean-going fleet, as opposed to its coastal fleet, numbered around thirty junks in the late eighteenth century.[29] In some markets in the South China Sea, as we have seen in the case of Batavia, the Portuguese were commercial rivals and competitors with the Chinese junk owners, operators and investors from Canton, Amoy, Ningpo and other Chinese ports. The second segment of this observation is that the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao constituted the only segment of China's maritime trading structures over this period with a home base in China that regularly and directly commercialized Chinese goods and commodities in the Indian Ocean inter-Asian port markets.

Chinese commodities were in demand in inter-Asian markets. They could and did produce substantial gross profit margins (the difference between cost and realized sale prices). It is difficult to find Portuguese records that calculate their gross profit margins on transactions in specific markets. It is possible, however, to obtain contemporaneous evidence for VOC transactions and calculations with the same commodities that were purchased at the same time, place and price and were sold in the same markets as the Portuguese from Macao. Alum, radix china, and zinc were commodities that were exclusively sourced in China. In the late 1740's, these commodities were sold in Bengal and at Surat by the Portuguese and the VOC. At this time, the VOC calculated that they realized gross profit margins on alum sales from 57 to 131%, from 136 to 157% on radix china, both being directly delivered from China to Surat, and from 43 to 97% on zinc sold at Hougli in Bengal.[30]

The case of opium is a particularly important example.[31] The Portuguese participated in a diverse group of European, Company and private and Asian

traders, in diversifying geographically the inter-regional commercialization of Indian opium in Asia.[32] China was one of the inter-regional markets that received attention. K. Pommeranz and S. Topik have documented that the opium "traffic [to China] grew more than twentyfold between 1729 and 1800."[33] The VOC's and the Batavia market involvement in the commercialization of Indian opium in the Indonesian Archipelago was of fundamental importance. While research is on-going, the expansion in the importation of opium into China in the eighteenth century included Bengal opium acquired at Batavia and it is suggested that the quantities may have increased in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Although fewer in number and total tonnage vis-à-vis the Amoy traders, Portuguese ships and traders from Macao, on occasion, were able to concentrate higher quantities and values of goods and commodities in comparison to the Amoy and other Chinese traders and investors.

Bengal was not the only source of supply nor was the VOC at and from Batavia the exclusive or primary market driver in the expansion of the commercialization of Indian opium to China in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Malwa was the additional source of supply of Indian opium to China. The Portuguese from Goa as well as Macao were among the private trading groups involved in the expansion of the commercialization of Malwa opium to China in the latter half of the eighteenth century.[34]

By 1771 the Portuguese involvement in Indian opium sourced from Bengal and Malwa in the China market at Macao was 800 chests annually. They were procuring Malwa opium on the Malabar coast from 166 to 233 *taels* per chest and Bengal opium from 100 to 133 *taels* per chest; this opium was selling in China from 260 to 750 *taels* per chest.[35] In comparison with other goods and commodities that they were selling in China, the Portuguese were obtaining their largest gross profit margins by far on their Bengal and Malwa opium transactions. From 1784 to 1799 the Portuguese delivered an annual average of 1,359 chests of Indian opium to China. Over a forty-five year period, from 1784 to 1828, Portuguese authorities at Macao quantified their involvement in Indian opium trade as being annually an average of 2,196 chests to China.[36] The importation of opium to China by all participants at the beginning of the nineteenth century is presently estimated at around 4,000 chests annually.

While it may be unnecessary to establish that trading activity in inter-Asian markets was commercially viable, this observation does introduce another implication that emerges from this study, which is an answer to the following question: if strong inter-Asian market demand existed for Chinese and Indian goods and commodities that were supplied and delivered by the Macao merchant fleet, why was there not any greater sign of recovery or prosperity in the Portuguese colonial port city? The answer to this question, again, is in two parts. The first is suggested by the way the ship owning, operating and investing Portuguese *casado* elites at Macao controlled the city's revenue collections by fixing maritime duty rates. The second part of the answer is the suggestion that a significant percentage of the goods and commodities on board Macao's merchant fleet may not have been on the Portuguese ship owners, operators or investor's account but belonged to others. Consequently, the wealth that this trade may have produced may not have stayed in the hands of the shippers that carried the goods to market.

A final implication from this study deals with the overall question of the relative importance of the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao and the commercial and political activities in which it was involved. The numbers, the size of the fleet and the scope of its activities in this instance do indicate the restraints on the Portuguese ability to compete and be rivals to European companies and European and Asian private traders. Over this period, the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao was not directly involved in the global long-distance marketing of Chinese goods

and commodities to Europe and America; they were inter-regional and regional market suppliers and intermediaries in Asian goods. Attempts to compete at the global long-distance level were made by the Portuguese East India Company at Macao during the latter half of the eighteenth century. To the degree that the companies and other private traders were involved in inter-Asian markets with Chinese goods, the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao collectively was not a competitive force with the companies, but its size and numbers compare more favorably if juxtaposed with the private European and Asian merchant's vessels and fleets in individual Indian port cities in the first half of the eighteenth century.

The Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao demonstrated a unique range in its activities in China and the South China Sea. By comparing its activities with those of their Chinese rivals at Batavia and the composition of the goods and commodities in which they were commercially active, we can see that in some aspects, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao entered into the high volume, low margin, rice and salt bulk commodity segment of China's sub-regional Guangdong market. At the very same time, the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao was supplying one-half of the recorded volume of Indian opium to China and proving to be a serious competitor in that commodity vis-à-vis European private traders and the Bengal opium monopoly policy of the English East India Company. Finally, in the true fashion of denizens of albeit an atypical colonial port city, the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao identified a market of opportunity for saltpeter, weapons and metals and intervened in the internal politics of central Vietnam in the 1770s.[37] Although the activities of the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao changed over the eighteenth century, those activities were still fundamentally important to the history of China and China's relations with Europeans. RC

NOTES

1 For a discussion of the ethos of the Portuguese urban elites and their activities at Macao, cf. C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770*, (The Hague, 1948; reprint Oxford, 1968).

2 For a reprint of an article discussing an urban typology that anteceded "port city" or "colonial port city", cf. A. Das Gupta, "The Maritime City," in *Merchants of Maritime India, 1500-1800*, (1994). For the port city, cf. J. Kathirithamby-Wells and J. Villiers, eds., *Southeast Asian Port and Policy: Rise and Demise*, (Singapore, 1990), F. Broeze, ed., *Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, (Honolulu, 1995) and F. Broeze, ed., *Gateways of Asia: Port Cities of Asia in the 13th-20th Centuries*, (Honolulu, 1996); for the colonial city, cf. R. Murphey, "Traditionalism and Colonialism: Changing Urban Roles in Asia," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 29 (1969), 67-84, D. K. Basu, ed., *The Rise and Growth of the Colonial Port Cities in Asia*, (Berkeley, 1985) and R. Ross and G. J. Telkamp, eds., *Colonial Cities: Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context*, (Dordrecht, 1985). For Goa as a port city, cf. M. N. Pearson, "The Port City of Goa: Policy and Practice in the Sixteenth Century," in *Coastal Western India*, (New Delhi, 1981), 67-92.

3 For the maritime trade and port hinterland discussion, cf. I. Banga, *Ports and their Hinterlands in India, 1700-1970*, (New Delhi, 1992), K. S. Mathew, ed., *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans*, (Delhi, 1995), B. Stein and S. Subrahmanyam, eds., *Institutions and Economic Change in South Asia*, (Delhi, 1996), R. Mukheyee and L. Subramanian, eds., P*olitics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World*, (Delhi, 1998), and S. Chaudhury and M. Morineau, eds., *Merchants, Companies and Trade*, (Cambridge, 1999).

4 Cf. F. Broeze, "Introduction: Brides of the Sea," 4, in F. Broeze, ed., *Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, (Honolulu, 1995).

5 For Amoy and the Fujian region, cf. C. Ng, *Trade and Society: The Amoy Network on the China Coast, 1683-1735*, (Singapore, 1983); and E. S. Rawski, *Agricultural Change and the Peasant Economy of South China*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1972); for Ningpo and Shanghai, cf. Shiba Yoshinobu, "Ningpo and Its Hinterland," in G. William Skinner, ed. *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford University Press 1977); and M. Elvin, "Market Towns and Waterways: The County of Shanghai from 1480 to 1910," in: G. W. Skinner, ed., The City in Late Imperial China, (Stanford, 1977), 391-439, 441-73. A recent Ph.D. provides details on the functioning of the port of Canton and the long-distance supply and demand of export and imported goods that also breaks with this earlier characterization of the port hinterland relationship, cf. P. van Dyke, "Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta, 1690-1845," Ph.D. dissertation, 2002.

6 For examples of the literature on Chinese commodities, their distance and connection with Chinese port cities, cf. C. J. A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade*, (The Hague, 1982) for porcelain production and primary kilns; cf. R. Gardella, *Harvesting Mountains: Fujian and the China Tea Trade, 1757-1937*, (Berkeley, 1994) for the tea districts and their distance from Chinese port cities; cf. S. Mazumdar, *Sugar and Society in China: Peasants, Technology, and the World Market*, (Cambridge, MA, 1998) for sugar; and R. B. Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China*, (Cambridge, 1998), for grain and the environment.

7 For Macao, cf. G. B. Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, c. 1630-1754*, (Cambridge, 1986), 33, 62, 143.

8 Cf. Broeze (1995), "Introduction," 4.

9 Cf. H. Kamen, *Early Modern European Society*, (London, 2000), 13-14.

10 Cf. Kamen, (2000), 97; E. Isenmann, "Norms and Values in the European City," and "Socio-political Concepts of Honour Values and Lifestyles," in P. Blickle, ed., *Resistance, Representation and Community*, (Oxford, 1997), part IV, 190-5, 201; and F. Mauro, "La bourgeoisie Portugaise au XVIIe siecle," *XVII Siecle*, (1958).

11 For the classic treatment of the Portuguese municipal council in the tropics with treatment and bibliography on the institution in Portugal, cf. C. R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800*), (Wisconsin, 1965).

12 Cf. Kamen, (2000), 105.

13 Cf. F. Braudel, S. Reynolds, trans. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (New York, 1972) I, 326.

14 For the sources for this table and the discussion that follows on the *Senado da Câmara* deliberations, cf. *Arquivos de Macau*, 3rd series, vols. I:1, 29; 2, 81, 97; 3, 137, 155, 159, 187, 207, 241, 257; II:1, 7, 20, 34, 55, 67, 83, 89, 97, 108; II:3, 133; II:4, 195; II:5, 284, 309, 338, 354, 376; III:1, 16-7, 36, 51-2, 82, 98, 105, 121-2, 159, 174, 183-4, 200, 207, 213, 218, 241, 243; and IV:2, 76.

15 Cf. G. B. Souza, "Commerce and Capital: Portuguese Maritime Losses in the South China Sea, 1600-1754," in A. T. de Matos and L. F. E. Reis Tomaz, eds., *As Relações entre a Índia Portuguesa, a Ásia do Sueste e o Extremo Oriente, Actas do VI Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, (Macau/Lisboa, 1993), 321-48.

16 Cf. W. E. Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton: Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade, 1684-1798*, (London, 1997).

17 Cf. G. B. Souza, "Ballast Goods: Chinese Maritime Trade in Zinc and Sugar in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in R. Ptak and D. Rothermund, eds., *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400-1750*, (Stuttgart, 1990), 291-315.

18 Cf. G. B. Souza, "Portuguese Country Traders in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, c. 1600," *Moyen Orient & Ocean Indien*, 1:1 (1984), 17-28 and reprinted in: Om Prakash, ed., *European Commercial Expansion in Early Modern Asia,* vol. 10, (Ashgate-Varorium, 1997).

19 Cf. Souza, *Survival*, 130-131.

20 Cf. *Arquivos de Macau*, 3rd series, vol. IV:2, 96-100.

21 Cf. G. B. Souza, "Notes on the 'Algemeen Rijksarchief' and its Importance for the Study of Portuguese, Asian and Inter-Asian Maritime Trade," *Itinerario*, 4:2 (1980), 48-56.

22 Cf. *Arquivos de Macau*, 3rd series, vol. II:1, 1, 61, 82, 86, 96; III:1, 35; III:2, 88, 169, 193, 201, 202, 220, 222 and 236.

23 This report is found in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU) in Lisbon, cf. AHU, *Maços de Macau*, 6, doc. 28, 10/11/1771; it has been published, cf. A. M. Martins do Vale, *Os Portugueses em Macau (1750-1800*), (Macao, 1997), appendix 20.

24 J. L. Blusse, S*trange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and Dutch in VOC Batavia*, (Dordrecht, 1986) and J. De Hullu, "Over den Chinaschen Handel der Oost-Indische Compagnie in de Eerste Dertig Jaar van de 18e eeuw," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 73 (1917), 32-151.

25 Throughout this study, the conversion of *rijksdaalders* (rsd) to Chinese *taels* and Spanish *pesos* is: 1 rsd to 3 guilders, 2.85 guilders to 1 *tael*, and 2.5 guilders to 1 *peso* of 8 *reales*.

26 VOC archival reports were used to generate Tables 3-7; a discussion of a portion of this material was presented in my discussion of Batavia's maritime trading activities, cf. Souza (1986), Survival. New and additional archival material has been incorporated, which has been introduced as appendices in an unpublished working paper, cf. G. B. Souza, "Cinnamon, Silver and Opium: Foreign Shipping and Trading Activities at Batavia, 1684-1792," 11th Annual Conference of the World History Association, Seoul, Korea, August 15-18, 2002.

27 P. Chaunu initiated a useful discussion on tonnage with his article, "La tonelade espagnole aux XVIe et XVIIe siecles," in *Le Navire et l'Économie Maritime du XVe au XVIIIe siècles*, (Paris, 1957) For its subsequent incorporation and importance in the seminal studies on the maritime trade of Seville, Manila, Canton and Cadiz, cf. P. and H. Chaunu, S*éville et l'Atlantique*, 8 vols. in 11, (Paris, 1955-60); P. Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques (XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles*), (Paris, 1960); L. Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident: Le commerce a Canton au XVIIIe siècle*, 3 vols., (Paris, 1964); and A. García-Baquero González, *Cádiz y el Atlántico: 1717-1778*, 2 vols., (Cádiz, 1988).

28 For 1687 and 1719, cf. ARA, VOC, 1431, fol. 564-6v.

29 Cf. P. van Dyke (2002), "Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta, 1690-1845," Chapter Two and 458.

30 For the VOC's *rendements* on these items in the Bengal and Surat markets, cf. ARA, VOC 2753, f. 1205-1295 and VOC 2770, f. 972-1048.

31 Cf. G. B. Souza, "Trafficking Indian Opium to China: Portuguese and Chinese Trading Activities, c. 1750 to c. 1830," an unpublished paper presented at the *Drugs and Empires: Narcotics, History and Modern Colonialism, c. 1600 to c. 1947* Conference, University of Strathclyde, April 10-11, 2003.

32 For opium in China, cf. H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834*, 5 vols., (Oxford, 1926-9; reprint Taiwan 1975).

33 Cf. K. Pomeranz and S. Topik, *World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400-the Present*, (1999), 103.

34 For the commercialization of Malwa opium and Portuguese "country trade" involvement, cf. A. Farooqui, *Smuggling as Subversion: Colonialism, Indian Merchants and the Politics of Opium*, (New Delhi, 1998); C. Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India: A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade, 1770-1840*, (New Delhi, 1994); and C. Pinto, "Goa-based Overseas and Coastal Trade (Eighteenth-Nineteenth Centuries)," in T. R. de Souza, ed., *Goa Through the Ages*, 2 vols., (New Delhi, 1990), 176-212.

35 This information is found in the Santos report in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU) in Lisbon, cf. AHU, *Maços de Macau*, 6, doc. 28, 10/11/1771; it has been published, cf. Vale, (1997), appendix 20.

36 Cf. AHU, *Maços de Macau*, 60, doc. 6, 10/11/1771; it has been published, cf. Vale (1997), appendix 11.

37 Cf. P. Y. Manguin, *Les Nguyen, Macau et le Portugal: Aspects Politiques et Commerciaux d'une Relation Privilegiée, 1773-1802*, (Paris, 1978).

A Justiça Qing e os Crimes de Morte em Macau

Liu Jinglian*

Para este estudo sobre os casos de homicídio verificados em Macau durante a dinastia Qing 清 e que envolveram estrangeiros, estabelecemos como limite o ano de 1849, final do governo de João Ferreira do Amaral. Podemos dizer que, na sequência de diversas medidas então adoptadas, se inicia uma nova ordem jurídica no Território.

A dinastia Qing prestou grande atenção ao julgamentos dos casos de homicídio. Deles deviam ser informados, por ofício, todos os superiores dos diversos níveis para a sua revisão. Ao imperador cabia a última palavra. Todas as instituições, desde o governo local – *xian* 县 (distrito), *fu* 府 (prefeitura), *si* 司 (departamento) e *yuan* 院 (ministério) – até à corte imperial[1] deviam conservar todos os ofícios sobre os casos de homicídio. No entanto, com o decorrer do tempo a maioria já desapareceu. Actualmente na Torre do Tombo, em Lisboa, ainda se conservam 29 ofícios sobre homicídios ocorridos em Macau durante a dinastia Qing. No 1.º Arquivo Histórico da China estão os dados relativos ao julgamento de 12 casos[2].

Durante a dinastia Qing, os residentes de Macau, coexistiam em paz e em conjunto contribuíam para o seu desenvolvimento. É certo que entre os residentes, de diversas nacionalidades mas na sua maioria chineses e portugueses, inevitavelmente houve conflitos e disputas por questões de propriedade ou de dívidas. Crimes igualmente foram cometidos, entre os quais homicídios. Em geral, um dos envolvidos era chinês e o outro estrangeiro.

Com base nos documentos que chegaram até aos nossos dias, o presente artigo apresenta uma panorâmica geral e as características dos casos de homicídio ocorridos em Macau com a intervenção de estrangeiros, debruçando-se também sobre a evolução dos princípios que presidiam ao seu julgamento anteriormente a 1849 e analisando as razões que estão na base do Regulamento do 9.º ano do reinado do imperador Qianlong 乾隆.

INTRODUÇÃO

De acordo com os registos históricos, chineses e estrangeiros, durante a dinastia Qing e até ao referido

Detidos chineses, *in* Gaspar da Cruz, *Tratado das Coisas da China*, trad. japonesa de Hiroshi Hino, Tóquio, 1989.

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Ofício (8.01.1793) do magistrado distrital de Xiangshan ao procurador de Macau sobre a entrega de Manuel Dias, suspeito de ser o responsável pela morte de Tang Yazhen.

ano de 1849 ocorreram em Macau 17 casos de homicídio (ver Anexo) envolvendo estrangeiros: em 15 foram intervenientes chineses e portugueses e em dois, chineses e residentes de outras nacionalidades. O facto está estreitamente relacionado com a estrutura da população, em que, como dissemos, chineses e portugueses constituíam a grande maioria.

Destes casos, 15 ocorreram após o 8.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1743), ano em que se verificou a morte de Chen Huiqian 陈辉千 e cujo responsável foi um português, Anselmo, sendo este o mais antigo caso registado em documentos chineses.

Página de rosto da edição de 1805 *Da Qing Lu*.

Macau era então uma cidade muito mais pequena do que é hoje. Num ofício apresentado pelo governo de Macau ao governo de Guangdong 广东 no 23.º ano do reinado de Jiaqing 嘉庆 (1818) refere-se o terreno "extremamente pequeno" arrendado[3], que "se estende, a leste até à Sanbamen 三巴门 (Porta de Santo António) e à Shuikengweimen 水坑尾门 (Porta do Campo), a oeste até ao litoral, a sul até ao Templo de A-Má e a norte até ao Patane"[4]. Entre as Portas de Sanba e de Shuikengwei tinha sido construído um muro fronteiriço, no qual se podia ler: "Estas duas portas conduzem ao campo deserto e são defendidas pelos residentes, que as fecham de noite e as abrem de manhã cedo."[5] Para lá do muro "é a zona onde estrangeiros fazem negócios e onde não podem residir"[6]. Entre este muro fronteiriço e as Portas do Cerco ficavam sete aldeias nas quais de há muito viviam chineses. Até ao 28.º ano do reinado de Daoguang 道光 (1848), os seus residentes sempre pagaram anualmente os seus impostos, em dinheiro e cereais, ao distrito de Xiangshan 香山. Depois desta data, o governo português de Macau passou a cobrar-lhes impostos, estendendo assim o seu poder para além do muro fronteiriço da península de Macau.

Por "portugueses" designam-se aqui não só as pessoas originárias de Portugal, mas também os nascidos em outros territórios asiáticos onde Portugal estava presente, como Goa e Timor; mestiços nascidos em resultado do casamento de portugueses com japonesas, malaias, timorenses, indianas, africanas e chinesas; escravos trazidos pelos portugueses de África e do Sudeste Asiático. Nas obras clássicas chinesas todos são designados por "estrangeiros de Macau".

Da análise dos referidos 17 casos ressalta que em apenas um se pode falar de premeditação – o assassinato do governador João Ferreira do Amaral por Shen Zhiliang 沈志亮 e outros no 29.º ano do reinado de Daoguang (1849). Todos os restantes resultaram ou de agressão, homicídio involuntário ou homicídio em jogo.

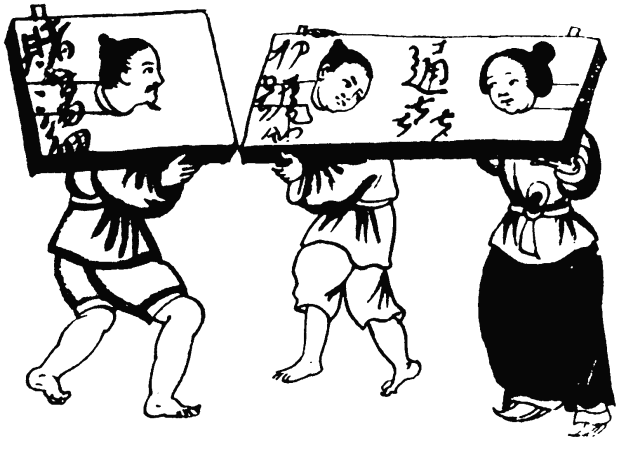
No *Da Qing Lu* 大清律 (Código da Grande Dinastia Qing) estão claramente diferenciados os casos de homicídio eventual e consagrados princípios explícitos sobre a sentença e penas a aplicar. "Quando duas pessoas se agredirem mutuamente, trata-se de um caso de agressão. Aquele que agredir o outro com as mãos, com os pés ou com qualquer objecto metálico e lhe causar a morte, seja esta imediata ou só ocorra mais tarde, será condenado à morte por estrangulamento"; "quem matar ou ferir em jogo ou não intencionalmente será julgado por crime de homicídio ou de ferimento."[7] "Quem matar premeditadamente será decapitado; aquele que ferir outra pessoa de modo a causar-lhe a morte será condenado à morte por estrangulamento e aquele que ferir gravemente mas sem causar a morte da vítima

será condenado a uma pena de exílio para uma região remota."[8] Estas disposições do *Da Qing Lu* mostram que, segundo o princípio de "vida por vida", o responsável por uma morte na sequência de agressão, morte não intencional ou morte em jogo era condenado à morte por estrangulamento, ao passo que o autor de um homício voluntário era decapitado, sendo a cabeça e o corpo abandonados.

O governo Qing considerava os estrangeiros vindos à China como súbditos: "os estrangeiros na China são elementos do nosso povo; se algum cometer um crime, deve ser julgado e sentenciado segundo a nossa lei, como prova de que não são estranhos."[9] Assim, os homicídios ocorridos em Macau com a intervenção de estrangeiros deviam ser tratados de acordo com os mesmos princípios que regiam os casos que envolvessem apenas chineses, quer tivessem ocorrido no interior da China quer em Macau. Mas, a aplicação concreta destes princípios não correspondia integralmente ao que se verificava no interior da China. Isto só se alcançou após o 9.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1744), em resultado de um processo de aperfeiçoamento gradual com a prática.

PERÍODO ANTERIOR AO 8.º ANO DO REINADO DE QIANLONG

Anders Ljungstedt, na sua obra *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China*, refere os princípios que presidiam, anteriormente ao 8.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1743), ao julgamento destes casos. Quando se verificasse um homicídio em Macau "dele eram informados os mandarins locais.



Canga e bastonadas (pág. seguinte), in Beatriz Moncó Rebollo (ed.), Adriano de las Cortes, *Viaje de la China*, Madrid, Alianza Ed., 1992.

Entretanto, o suspeito era detido e encarcerado e as autoridades portuguesas recolhiam os depoimentos e instruíam a causa. Quando chegava o mandarim para examinar o corpo, o procurador entregava-lhe o suspeito. Em seguida, o mandarim interrogava-o, exigindo-lhe a confissão. Antigamente, o mandarim apresentava o seu relatório à repartição prefeitural de Guangzhou 广州, mas agora apresenta-o directamente ao vice-rei de Guangdong e Guangxi 广西, cuja sentença decide o destino do réu. Se for condenado à pena de morte, será escoltado para Guangzhou para ser executado."[10]

No 14.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1749) ocorreu em Macau um caso de violação: Chen Yaer 陈亚二, habitante do distrito de Xiangshan, violou uma mulher chamada Cai Shi 蔡氏, que se suicidou[11]. Os seus familiares deslocaram-se à repartição distrital de Xiangshan para participar a ocorrência. O magistrado distrital enviou então um *wuzuo* 仵作[12] a Macau a fim de examinar o corpo. Concluído o exame e preenchido o respectivo formulário, o suspeito foi detido e conduzido para a sede do distrito de Xiangshan, onde ficou preso. Depois de ter sido interrogado e julgado pelo magistrado distrital e pelo subprefeito de Macau[13], foi entregue, juntamente com confissão, depoimentos, relatório da autópsia e proposta de condenação, à repartição prefeitural de Guangzhou. Uma vez apreciada pelo respectivo desembargador, a causa foi transferida para o governador civil de Guangdong e para o vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guangxi.

Os procedimentos nestes dois casos são basicamente iguais, nomeadamente no que se refere à apresentação da acusação, autópsia, interrogatório e julgamento. Mas, no caso referido por Anders Ljungstedt, dada a implicação de um estrangeiro, verifica-se uma maior intervenção das autoridades portuguesas: na detenção e transferência do suspeito para a repartição distrital de Xiangshan e na instrução do processo. Esta intervenção do governo de Macau dificultava a resolução dos casos, vindo a ser um dos aspectos mais importantes do conflito judicial luso-chinês.

A diferença estava no facto de nos casos deste tipo ocorridos em Macau, o vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guangxi e o governador civil da província de

Guangdong não necessitarem de previamente apresentar memoriais ao imperador. Não era a este que competia aprovar a execução da pena de morte; esta decisão pertencia-lhes e só depois informavam o imperador. Não se sabe, no entanto, a partir de que momento e por que motivo este poder lhes foi conferido.

De facto, segundo a legislação Qing, "para além dos casos em que os condenados à morte, pela natureza do próprio crime, têm de ser executados de imediato, todas outras condenações à morte têm de ser revistas pelo vice-rei e pelo governador civil provincial, devendo a sua apreciação ser apresentada ao imperador, a quem compete a decisão final"[14]. Os que tivessem conspirado contra o Estado ou cometido um crime de traição ou rebeldia eram condenados à morte e imediatamente executados; em todos os outros casos em que a pena de morte era aplicável, o vice-rei e o governador civil provincial deviam apresentar ao imperador um memorial, para que este decidisse. O memorial devia incluir uma breve descrição do caso, os interrogatórios e julgamento e a proposta de sentença. Com o memorial deviam igualmente ser enviados os depoimentos das testemunhas e a confissão do criminoso.

Uma vez recebido na corte, o memorial era sujeito a uma apreciação que concluía por uma de três possibilidades: "aprovado", "envio ao Ministério da Justiça para apreciar e informar o imperador" ou "transferência para o departamento competente". A seguir, a corte submetia à apreciação e decisão do imperador o seu próprio parecer, acompanhado do memorial. Se concordasse com a condenação à morte, o imperador despachava a vermelhão o parecer do Ministério de Justiça[15] e ordenava a imediata execução. Seguidamente, o gabinete imperial reproduzia, também a vermelhão, a ordem imperial na capa do ofício e o Ministério da Justiça enviava-o o mais rapidamente possível à província interessada para que a decisão do imperador fosse cumprida.

Consumada a execução, que tinha lugar em Guangzhou, o vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guangxi devia apresentar um novo memorial ao imperador. Depois de o receber, o imperador emitia novo despacho a vermelhão e enviava-o para o departamento dos assuntos militares e políticos que dele fazia uma cópia para arquivo, sendo o original e o despacho remetidos ao mandarim que tinha apresentado o memorial. Este, por sua vez, devia devolvê-lo, no prazo estabelecido, à corte para ser arquivado junto aos outros memoriais despachados a vermelhão pelo imperador[16].

Se na sua obra, Anders Ljungstedt regista os procedimentos aprovados pelo governo Qing para o julgamento dos casos de homicídio ocorridos em Macau envolvendo estrangeiros, certo é que nos Arquivos não se encontra qualquer caso assim apreciado e decidido.

Em 15 de Janeiro do 9.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1744) foi executado um português responsável pela morte Chen Huiqian. De acordo com os princípios acima mencionados, o vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guangxi, Ce Leng 策愣, devia apresentar um relatório ao imperador sobre a execução,

mas "consultados todos os documentos arquivados relativos a este assunto, não se encontrou qualquer memorial sobre a condenação à morte de um estrangeiro por ter morto em Macau um residente local chinês"[17]. Esta falta não significa, contudo, que anteriormente não tenham ocorrido em Macau casos destes. Na verdade, dois casos estão registados em obras de autores estrangeiros:

No 49.º ano do reinado de Kangxi 康熙 (1710), Manuel Álvares de Oliveira, português e capitão de um navio, matou um chinês e lançou o corpo ao mar dentro de um saco. Não atentou, no entanto, que este tinha a sua marca, pelo que foi facilmente identificado. Perante as provas e para acalmar a situação, o ouvidor Gaspar Martins, teve que prender o criminoso. O então magistrado distrital de Xiangshan, depois de subornado com 120 taéis de prata, interveio em seu favor. Assim, apesar de, segundo a legislação imperial, dever ser condenado à morte em Guangzhou, o governo de Guangdong acedeu a que fosse condenado e executado em Macau. A execução teve lugar em Macau, no Forte do Bom Parto, tendo sido levada a cabo por um algoz chinês com a presença de mandarins, dos pais do condenado e do procurador de Macau[18].

No 51.º ano do reinado de Kangxi (1712), um timorense, João Soares Lisboa, matou um chinês. Condenado à morte, foi amarrado à boca de uma peça da Fortaleza do Monte e reduzido a pedaços. Oito escravos negros foram também punidos com bastonadas antes de serem transportados para Manila a fim de serem vendidos. O dinheiro obtido com a sua venda foi distribuído pelos familiares da vítima e pelos chineses que tinham capturado o criminoso[19]. "De entre as medidas punitivas dos portugueses, a chicotada é aplicada nos casos de crimes leves e o exílio, quando se trata de crimes um pouco mais graves; os condenados à morte são enforcados, queimados ou a amarrados à boca de canhão e despedaçados."[20]

Estes dois casos não estão referenciados em documentos chineses. A explicação talvez resida no facto de não se ter respeitado a legislação do império: a execução teve lugar em Macau e não em Guangzhou e, assim, dela não puderam os mandarins locais informar os seus superiores.

É, pois, certo que anteriormente ao 8.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1743) casos destes ocorreram em Macau e certo é também que deles os mandarins locais tiveram conhecimento. Zhang Rulin 张汝霖, que assumiu o cargo de subprefeito de Macau no 13.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1748), refere na sua obra *Aomen Ji Lue* 澳门纪略 (Monografia de Macau): "Nos primeiros tempos, havia em Macau chineses assalariados por portugueses, assim ganhando a vida. Com o passar do tempo, foram sofrendo maus tratos cada vez mais graves sendo alguns perseguidos até à morte."[21]

Num dos seus memoriais a Qianlong, Ce Leng, vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guangxi, refere a actuação dos mandarins de Guangdong em casos desta natureza:

Umas vezes ocultavam a informação, enganando o superior. Outras vezes, "informavam o superior mas os casos graves tendem a ser atenuados para casos de menor importância. Por exemplo, as mortes ocorridas em consequência de uma briga eram comunicadas como mortes resultantes de ferimentos por negligência, esperando que tudo se resolvesse rapidamente."[22]

Segundo o *Da Qing Lu*, de acordo com as circunstâncias e intenção do agente, os homicídios podem ser: dolosos, por agressão, em jogo, não intencionais e por negligência. Nos primeiros casos, os seus autores eram condenados à morte. No último, que poderia ocorrer devido a uma situação de que o autor se não podia aperceber, este era julgado pelos mandarins locais competentes e o "criminoso deve ser condenado a pagar uma indemnização à família da vítima."[23]

Sucedia também serem estes casos resolvidos em privado, não informando os familiares da vítima as autoridades competentes. "Após um caso de homicídio, pode ser dada secretamente uma certa soma de dinheiro aos pais da vítima"[24]. Se o acordo viesse a ser descoberto, o criminoso seria condenado a uma pena mais severa e os familiares subornados seriam punidos como ladrões, sendo-lhes confiscada a soma recebida e tendo que pagar uma multa. "Mas, este acordo acarreta-lhes desprezo; preferem exigir pública vingança, informando os mandarins locais da ocorrência"[25]. Daqui pode concluir-se não ter sido grande o número de casos assim resolvidos. Depois de ter morto Chen Yalian 陈亚莲 com uma faca, um português, António, "tentou abafar o caso, oferecendo aos familiares da vítima uma compensação de 4 000 taéis. Logo que esta quantia foi paga, alguém denunciou o caso."[26]

Para prevenir que os mandarins locais ocultassem os casos ou que os comunicassem de uma forma

Memorial ao trono de Ce Leng solicitando autorização imperial para mandar fazer o selo oficial do *xiancheng* de Macau para poder exercer o seu cargo com crédito e autoridade.

distorcida, aligeirando os casos graves, há rigorosas disposições no *Da Qing Lu*. "Aquele que não informar os casos relativos a assuntos militares, dinheiro ou cereais, eleição, regime, homicídios, calamidades naturais e outras coisas importantes que devam ser informados, será punido com 80 bastonadas."[27] Os funcionários civis e os oficiais baixavam ainda dois graus na categoria e tudo era registado. O Ministério da Função Pública era informado para referência em posterior promoção ou degradação. "O funcionário que tenha transformado uma condenação à morte em pena de chicotadas, bastonadas, trabalhos forçados ou exílio, será condenado à morte."[28]

Se os funcionários locais de Guangdong arriscavam uma condenação à morte ou uma despromoção, escondendo estes casos de homicídio ou adulterando a lei no seu tratamento é porque era muito difícil respeitar integralmente os princípios definidos e quase impossível concluir os casos nos prazos estabelecidos. No *Da Qing Lu* há disposições rigorosas sobre os prazos para o julgamento e conclusão dos processos relativamente a todos os intervenientes dos diversos níveis: província, município, prefeitura e distrito.

As dificuldades resultavam principalmente da intervenção do governo de Macau na detenção e escolta dos suspeitos. "Os súbditos portugueses em Macau foram proibidos de obedecer aos mandarins por D. Rodrigo da Costa, vice-rei da Índia, e D. João V, rei de Portugal, respectivamente em 1689 e em 1712."[29] O governo de Macau, representante dos interesses de Portugal, acatava estas ordens, não se disponibilizando para fazer a entrega dos criminosos portugueses às autoridades chinesas para serem julgados.

"A nível provincial, o prazo para a conclusão dos casos gerais de homicídio é de seis meses; é de quatro meses nos casos de homicídio com roubo, por questões amorosas ou com violação de túmulo.

Nos casos em que é de seis meses, tem o distrito três meses para dele tratar e escoltar o criminoso à prefeitura ou município; um mês têm a prefeitura ou o município para reverem o caso e escoltarem o criminoso à repartição judicial provincial que igualmente no prazo de um mês deve proceder a uma nova revisão e apresentar o respectivo relatório ao vice-rei e ao governador civil provincial; estes, por sua vez, devem apresentar o memorial ao imperador também dentro de um mês.

Quando o prazo é de quatro meses, dois são para o distrito decidir o caso e escoltar o criminoso à prefeitura ou município, tendo estes 20 dias para o reverem e escoltarem o criminoso à repartição judicial provincial que deve proceder a uma nova revisão e apresentar o respectivo relatório ao vice-rei e ao governador provincial no prazo de 20 dias. Estes devem apresentar o memorial ao imperador também em 20 dias.

Se o suspeito não for capturado, se não forem recolhidas provas suficientes ou se o suspeito adoecer na prisão, os prazos podem ser prolongados."

O distrito era a instituição de base responsável pelo tratamento dos casos de homicídio, iniciando-se

a contagem do prazo de que dispunha – três e dois meses – na data da ocorrência, mas o governo de Macau costumava a dificultar a transferência dos suspeitos, não permitindo, assim, o início do julgamento. Era, pois, difícil a sua conclusão dentro do prazo estabelecido.

Ainda segundo as disposições do governo Qing, se o caso não fosse concluído em tempo, mesmo que o prazo tivesse sido prorrogado, o funcionário responsável seria punido. "Se um caso não for concluído no prazo previsto, o governador civil provincial informará e consultará o ministério competente, podendo ser aquele prazo prorrogado por dois, três ou quatro meses. Se mesmo assim não for concluído, os funcionários responsáveis sofrerão uma repreensão ou outra punição, de acordo com as disposições aplicáveis."[30]

Por outro lado, quem ocultasse um caso ou o informasse, mas aligeirando-o, tinha que ser punido, no mínimo, com bastonadas.

Em qualquer dos casos os funcionários locais de Guangdong arriscavam uma punição. Mas, sabendo que o não cumprimento dos prazos facilmente seria descoberto, preferiam ocultar a informação ou aligeirar o caso, na esperança de não serem descobertos.

O CASO CHEN HUIQIAN E OS NOVOS PRINCÍPIOS

Chen Huiqian era um comerciante chinês de Macau. Um dia, no 8.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1743), de regresso a casa, embriagado, Chen encontrou-se com Anselmo, um português. Discutiram e brigaram. Anselmo, com uma faca, feriu tão gravemente Chen que este viria a morrer pouco depois. Informado, o magistrado distrital de Xiangshan, Wang Zhizheng 王之正, enviou a Macau um perito para examinar o corpo. Este "examinou os golpes, recolheu provas, preencheu o formulário e apresentou o respectivo relatório"[31] e, em seguida, Wang Zhizheng interrogou o suspeito, informou o seu superior, enviando-lhe também a confissão e aquele relatório. Revisto pelos mandarins competentes, o caso foi apresentado ao governador civil de Guangdong e ao vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guanxi, Ce Leng.

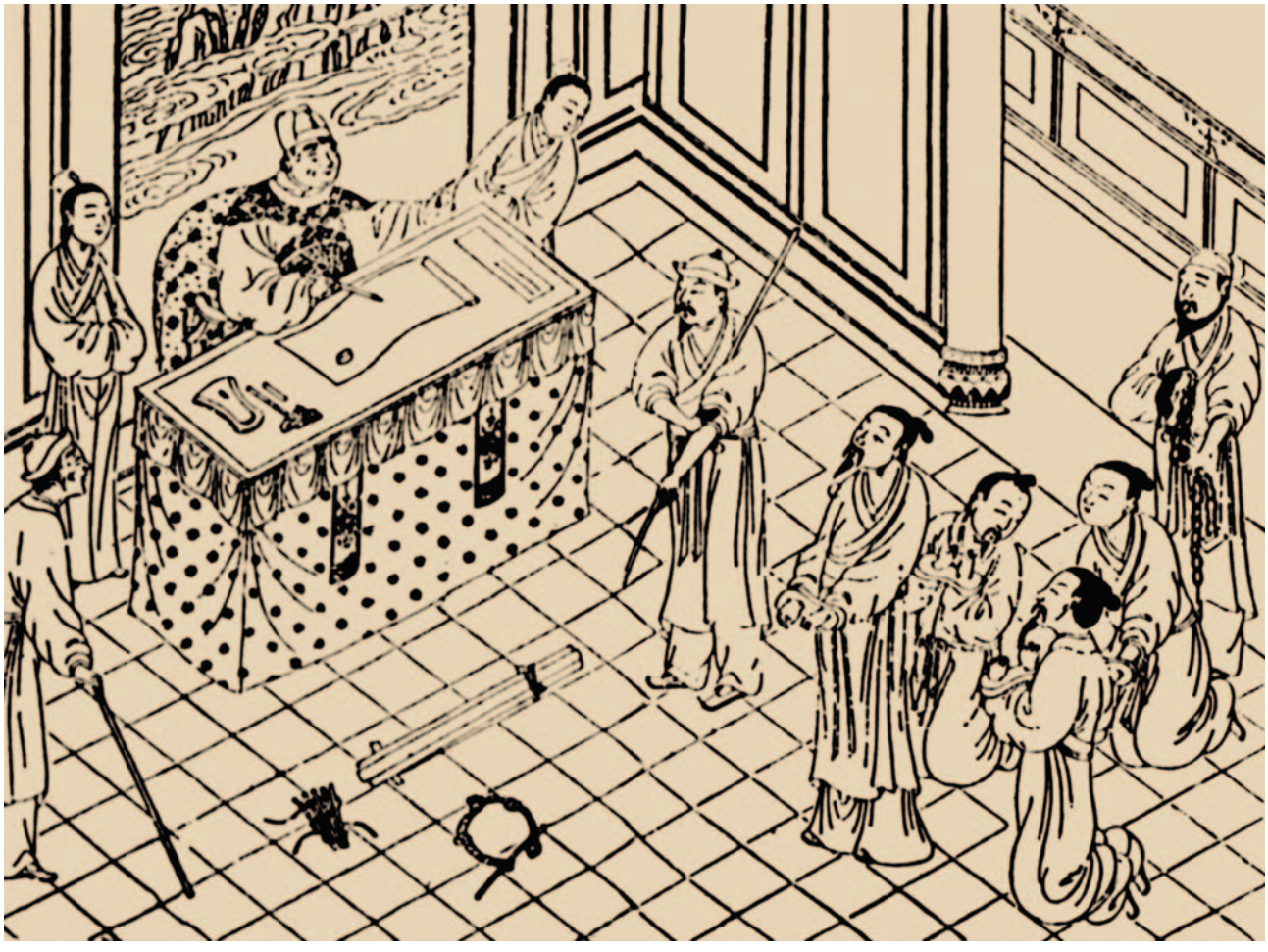
Este, considerado um homem corajoso e perspicaz, apesar de transferido para Guangdong apenas em Janeiro daquele ano conhecia bem o que se passara anteriormente com casos semelhantes. Definiu, então, o princípio *fu shun yi qing, su jie wei bian* 抚顺夷情, 速解为便.[32] Com *fu shun yi qing* pretendia significar que era necessário ter em conta não só os princípios definidos para o julgamento destes casos como também os procedimentos vindos do início do século quanto à transferência dos suspeitos e execução da pena de morte. Com *su jie wei bian* significava ser conveniente resolver o caso com toda a rapidez. Assim, e seguindo este princípio, o português foi conduzido para o distrito de Xiangshan para ser julgado. Condenado à morte, regressou a Macau sob escolta, onde foi encarcerado pelo governo de Macau, ficando a aguardar a execução. Esta teve lugar a 3 de Janeiro do 9.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1744) e a ela assistiram os familiares da vítima, o magistrado distrital de Xiangshan e o subprefeito de Guangzhou. Diferentemente do habitual, foi enforcado e não despedaçado com um tiro de canhão.

De seguida, o subprefeito de Guangzhou enviou um relatório sobre a execução ao desembargador provincial de Guangdong que, por sua vez, informou o vice-rei de Guangdong e Guangxi e o governador civil de Guangdong.

Ao contrário dos seus antecessores, Ce Leng, que gozava dos favores do imperador, apresentou, em 15 de Janeiro, um memorial ao trono.

Neste memorial, Ce Leng refere as especiais dificuldades na escolta dos suspeitos nos casos de homicídio ocorridos em Macau com a intervenção estrangeiros e na execução da pena de morte. Defendendo o princípio de "julgar e condenar segundo a lei e de não culpar um só inocente nem perdoar um só criminoso", especifica "não só ser necessário promover a lei do Estado mas também ter em conta as circunstâncias; era necessário tratar os casos graves com rapidez mas, por outro lado, era preciso ter presente que o temperamento grosseiro dos portugueses de Macau só gradualmente poderia ser transformado".[33] O vice-rei solicita, então, ao imperador uma ordem imperial que permita tratar de modo especial aqueles casos, respeitando-se a lei da China, mas tendo em conta o estatuto especial dos portugueses em Macau.

Recebido o memorial, Qianlong ordenou ao Ministério de Justiça um parecer, que não tardou. Tendo-o aprovado, Qianlong proferiu o respectivo despacho para o vice-rei de Guangdong e Guangxi e para governador civil de Guangdong. Ficava claro o



Detidos perante o mandarim, *in* Gaspar da Cruz, *Tratado das Coisas da China*, trad. japonesa de Hiroshi Hino, Tóquio, 1989.

tratamento a dar de futuro aos casos de homicídio que ocorressem em Macau com a intervenção de estrangeiros .

"No futuro, se houver estrangeiros de Macau envolvidos em homicídios ou em casos de briga e agressão, serão tratados não só segundo a lei do Estado, mas também de acordo com os seguintes princípios:

Se um estrangeiro for passível de condenação à morte por decapitação ou estrangulamento, o magistrado distrital de Xiangshan deve julgar o caso com seriedade e informar da decisão o vice-rei de Guangdong e Guangxi que procederá à sua revisão. Se o julgamento e a revisão coincidirem, o vice-rei ordenará ao magistrado distrital de Xiangshan que execute, juntamente com o governador de Macau, a pena confirmada. No final, deve aquele magistrado apresentar ao seu superior um relatório, confirmando a execução, que de seguida será transferido para o Ministério de Justiça para ser arquivado."

A diferença entre estes princípios agora aprovados e o tratamento anteriormente estipulado para casos semelhantes manifesta-se principalmente no que respeita à transferência dos suspeitos e à execução da pena de morte. Anteriormente "o governo de Macau devia entregar o suspeito ao distrito de Xiangshan para interrogatório e julgamento; uma vez condenado, devia o criminoso ser encarcerado na prisão do governo Qing; o condenado à morte devia ser escoltado para Guangzhou para ser executado." Agora, o governo de Macau deve conduzir o suspeito para a repartição do distrito de Xiangshan para julgamento; efectuado este, o criminoso é-lhe devolvido, sendo responsável pela sua prisão e custódia, e a execução tem lugar em Macau.

Veio, pois, este Regulamento do 9.º ano do reinado de Qianlong clarificar os princípios que deviam presidir ao julgamento destes casos e à execução da pena de morte. De acordo com o estabelecido, é ao vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guangxi que compete a última palavra. Depois de rever o caso e confirmar que o suspeito era o autor do homicídio e devia ser condenado à morte por decapitação ou estrangulamento, cabia-lhe a decisão definitiva, mandando executar a sentença. Executada esta em Macau, devia apresentar um memorial à corte sobre o julgamento e execução, enviando também a confissão para tudo ser arquivado no Ministério de Justiça[34].

Ao tomarem este "Regulamento do 9.º ano do reinado de Qianlong" como base para o julgamento de outros casos, os funcionários locais de Guangdong passaram a designá-lo como "Regulamento para o tratamento do caso em que Anselmo matou o residente Chen Huiqian".

Durante as dinastias Ming 明 e Qing, a lei e o regulamento tinham o mesmo valor. O regulamento era o "complemento da lei geral"[35], tendo na sua base julgamentos e sentenças, ordens imperiais ou práticas convencionais aprovadas. Com o decorrer do tempo, aumentou tanto o número dos regulamentos que o governo teve de criar instituições para analisar e aprovar estes regulamentos.

Para que no futuro o tratamento de casos semelhantes respeitasse este novo regulamento, e para permitir que os "estrangeiros residentes no território chinês arrendado pudessem não só compreender a dignidade da lei estatal da China como também sentir o grandioso favor do imperador"[36], o despacho relativo a este caso de Chen Huiqian foi de imediato comunicado ao governo de Macau através do funcionário local competente e o governo de Guangdong divulgou-o entre toda a população de Guangzhou e Macau, incluindo os estrangeiros que se encontravam na região.[37]

No 13.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1748) ocorreu o caso de Li Tingfu 李廷富 e Jian Yaer 简亚二. Os procedimentos seguidos não foram os mais correctos e os funcionários responsáveis foram censurados pelo imperador. Em Julho do ano seguinte, o vice-rei de Guangdong e Guangxi e o governador civil de Guangdong mandaram gravar em pedra o "Regulamento para o Tratamento dos Assuntos Subsequentes de Macau", reproduzindo o artigo 5.° da sua versão chinesa os princípios definidos no caso de Chen Huiqian.

"No futuro, quando algum estrangeiro residente em Macau cometer um homicídio e tiver que ser condenado à morte por decapitação ou estrangulamento, o caso será tratado nos termos do Regulamento do 9.º ano do reinado de Qianlong. O exame pericial deve ser rigoroso e os interrogatórios devem ser justos; o estrangeiro suspeito deve ser entregue ao magistrado distrital de Xiangshan para ser julgado; depois, será escoltado de regresso a Macau, ficando o governador de Macau responsável pela sua custódia. Entretanto, deve ser apresentado um relatório sobre a ocorrência e julgamento ao vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guangxi e ao governador civil da província de Guangdong para que o revejam segundo as leis do Estado; se considerarem correcto o julgamento e confirmarem a pena, a decisão será comunicada à repartição distrital de Xiangshan, que a executará com a colaboração do governador português de Macau."[38]

As duas versões, a chinesa e a portuguesa, deste regulamento foram gravadas em lápides e colocadas em locais públicos "para que chineses e estrangeiros o conhecessem bem, o respeitassem com seriedade e levassem uma vida honesta, cumprindo o seu dever"[39].

No entanto, a versão portuguesa "colocada numa parede do Leal Senado" difere da versão chinesa. Nela não consta o artigo 12.º, relativo à proibição de propagação do Evangelho[40]. Por outro lado, o conteúdo do artigo 5.º, de acordo com a tradução feita por Anders Ljungstedt, foi resumido: "no caso de um cristão matar um chinês e a investigação o ter comprovado, o seu julgamento far-se-á segundo a fórmula anterior e do assunto será informado o rei de Portugal."[41] Esta "fórmula anterior" é uma afirmação confusa, sem conteúdo concreto, e que tem sido objecto de diferentes interpretações. Por exemplo, Montalto de Jesus considera que "o caso devia ser apresentado ao rei de Portugal em conformidade com o costume antigo", interpretação que se desvia claramente do sentido da versão chinesa. A versão portuguesa é uma concreta manifestação da estratégia do governo de Macau de aparente obediência ao governo Qing.[42] Apesar das diferenças, como o julgamento cabia a funcionários chineses, sempre se realizava segundo a versão chinesa[43].

Os 12 artigos deste Regulamento de 1749 foram também amplamente divulgados na região de Guangzhou. "Os leitores podem verificar que os

Regulamentos e Avisos promulgados pelos chineses para os ocidentais em Guangzhou, pelo menos em meados do século XVIII, não só eram afixados em locais públicos como também eram traduzidos para que os europeus residentes na região os pudessem compreender."[44] Este e outros regulamentos como, por exemplo, os "Cinco Assuntos Relativos à Precaução contra Estrangeiros" eram anualmente republicados e afixados à entrada das casas comerciais estrangeiras, advertindo os estrangeiros para a necessidade de respeitarem a lei da China, cuja violação os sujeitava a uma punição.

Anteriormente ao caso de Chen Huiqian, os princípios que presidiam ao julgamento e à sentença destes casos eram basicamente idênticos aos aplicados no interior da China. No entanto, muitas vezes não eram respeitados, especialmente no que dizia respeito à transferência dos suspeitos e à execução. O governo Qing enfrentou então o problema e nos reinados de Yongzheng 雍正 (1723-1736) e de Qianlong foram introduzidas algumas alterações, numa manifestação do reforço do seu domínio político sobre Macau.

No período anterior a Yongzheng, o domínio de Macau por parte do governo Qing era fraco, fraqueza esta revelada sobretudo na insuficiência dos mandarins responsáveis pela sua administração, o que dificultava a plena aplicação em Macau do regime jurídico do império.

Durante a dinastia Ming estavam instalados em Macau três mandarins de baixa categoria: o *tidiao* 提调 (responsável pela administração de Macau, contactando directamente com o governo de Macau), o *beiwo* 备倭 (comandante das forças antipirataria) e o *xunji* 巡辑 (responsável pelo patrulhamento). Fora de Macau estavam instalados os postos do *Xiangshan zhixian* 香山知县 (magistrado distrital de Xiangshan), do *haidao fushi* 海道副使 (subintendente da defesa costeira), do *haifan tongzhi* 海防同知 (subprefeito da defesa marítima), do *shibo tiju* 市舶提举 (superintendente do comércio marítimo), do *Guanzha bazong* 关闸把总 (chefe de brigada nas Portas do Cerco) e do *Xiangshan canjiang* 香山参将 (comandante das forças armadas fronteiriças de Xiangshan), responsáveis pelos assuntos administrativos, judiciais, fiscais e militares de Macau, respectivamente. "No reinado de Tianqi 天启 (1620--1627), a administração e defesa de Macau eram já bastante completas."[45]

Chineses condenados, *in* Gaspar da Cruz, *Tratado das Coisas da China*, trad. Japonesa de Hiroshi Hino, Tóquio, 1989.

No período inicial da dinastia Qing, o governo preocupou-se com a defesa militar de Macau, onde estavam estacionados, em 1647, 500 soldados, número que duplicou em 1650, com a finalidade de intensificar a vigilância. No entanto, desatendeu à administração de Macau, sendo extintas as instituições administrativas aí instaladas pela dinastia Ming, incluindo os referidos *tidiao*, *beiwo* e *xunji*, permitindo que "subsistisse apenas o Leal Senado"[46]. Macau, situado a 120 *li* 里 da cidade de Xiangshan, ficou directamente sob a jurisdição do governo distrital de Xiangshan.

Esta situação está estreitamente relacionada com a situação política da época. Até ao 12.º ano do reinado de Kangxi (1683), quando Taiwan foi integrada na administração imperial, a dinastia teve que enfrentar guerras contínuas e o pequeno território de Macau não fazia parte da agenda do governo.

Sendo Macau a porta principal para o comércio externo e para os contactos internacionais da China, a

administração de Macau por parte do governo Qing reflectia a sua política para com o exterior. Até ao 50.º ano do reinado de Kangxi (1711), a corte Qing na sua dominação das regiões fronteiriças do Sudeste concentrava os seus esforços na vigilância e controle da gente simples. O imperador Kangxi manifestava-se magnânimo para com os portugueses em Macau considerando-os súbditos e dando-lhes um tratamento privilegiado.

No 43.º ano do reinado de Kangxi (1704), o Papa enviou um legado à China incumbido da aplicação do decreto que proibia aos fiéis as cerimónias em honra de Confúcio e dos antepassados, o que pôs em causa os interesses da dinastia. Kangxi alterou a sua atitude e expulsou o delegado e restringiu as missões. Em 1715, Roma reafirmou a sua posição o que levou Kangxi a proibir as missões.

O facto de numa primeira fase a corte Qing ter desatendido à administração de Macau também tem a ver com a atitude dos portugueses em Macau de respeito e obediência ao governo. É sabido que o governo de Macau apoiou os Ming contra os Qing. Mas, quando o poder Qing se consolidou, os portugueses foram mudando progressivamente de estratégia. Para evitar a sua expulsão, fizeram todos os possíveis para se manifestar respeitosos e obedientes ao governo Qing e para agradar ao imperador.

As grandes mudanças da política externa Qing, iniciadas na fase final do reinado de Kangxi, tornaram-se visíveis em Macau nos reinados de Yongzheng e de Qianlong. Na antiga sociedade da China, a instalação de funcionários e a sua acção individual exerciam grande influência sobre o progresso social. Profundos conhecedores, os vice-reis de Guangdong e de Guangxi, Hao Yulin 郝玉麟 e Ce Leng apresentaram sucessivas recomendações para a instalação de mais funcionários em Macau, tendo em vista o reforço da sua administração.

No 8.º ano do reinado de Yongzheng (1730), Hao Yulin, e o governador civil de Guangdong, Fu Tai 傅泰 deslocaram-se à região litoral de Guangdong para inspeccionarem o sistema de defesa marítima. Terminada a missão, elaboraram um relatório em que defendiam a adopção de algumas medidas para a sua melhoria. Tendo em conta a situação de Macau – "território litoral sob jurisdição do distrito de Xiangshan, situado a mais de 120 *li* da capital distrital, onde vivem chineses e estrangeiros, é difícil de ser administrado pelo mandarim de Xiangshan" –, propuseram a "instalação de um *xiancheng* 县丞 em Qianshan 前山". O *xiancheng* era o assistente do magistrado distrital de Xiangshan, com especial responsabilidade pelos assuntos de Macau, como, por exemplo, "o registo civil dos residentes de Macau e a fiscalização dos comerciantes desonestos, dos malfeitores e das embarcações"[47].

A prática de mais de dez anos veio demonstrar que "o estatuto do *xiancheng* de Xiangshan era demasiado humilde, insuficiente para satisfazer as reais necessidades, o que desfavorecia Macau"[48], pelo que era necessário instalar um funcionário de mais alta categoria. Assim, em Agosto do 8.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1743), o vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guangxi, Ce Leng, e o governador da província de Guangdong, Wang Anguo 王安国, tendo em conta "o reforço da defesa marítima e a pacificação de estrangeiros"[49] e a necessidade de reforço do controlo dos barcos estrangeiros e da administração de Macau, apresentaram um memorial ao trono, solicitando que o subprefeito de Zhaoqing 肇庆 fosse transferido para Qianshan, sob a jurisdição da prefeitura de Guangzhou, transformando-o em subprefeito da defesa marítima de Macau, abreviadamente designado "subprefeito de Macau". Em Novembro, o pedido foi deferido pelo Ministério da Função Pública.

O subprefeito de Macau, de quinta classe, possuía forças militares e estava directamente subordinado ao governo da prefeitura de Guangzhou. "É o responsável pelos assuntos relativos aos estrangeiros em Macau e, simultaneamente, pela inspecção da defesa marítima, publicação das ordens da corte imperial e divulgação das leis e regulamentos do Estado. É ainda responsável pelo registo civil dos chineses e estrangeiros residentes

em Macau e pela fiscalização da entrada e saída dos barcos estrangeiros. Quando descobrir malfeitores que instiguem residentes chineses e estrangeiros a brigarem, que cometam roubos, vendam pessoas ou transportem furtivamente objectos proibidos, deve investigar e tratar os casos com seriedade e torná-los públicos para prevenir a sua repetição."[50]

Com o subprefeito de Macau instalado em Qianshan, o governo Qing decidiu mudar o gabinete do assistente do magistrado distrital de Xiangshan de Qianshan para Macau, porque "estas duas repartições, instaladas em locais diferentes e ambas sob a jurisdição do subprefeito da defesa marítima, poderão tratar melhor os assuntos dos chineses e estrangeiros, especialmente as suas disputas e queixas." Face à resistência colocada pelos portugueses a esta decisão, ameaçando com o abandono de Macau e o regresso à Pátria, o gabinete do assistente do magistrado distrital teve que ser instalado temporariamente na aldeia de Mong-Há, a 18 *li* de Qianshan e a 5 *li* de Macau[51], passando mais tarde, no 5.º ano do reinado de Jiaqing (1800), para as proximidades de Lushitang 芦石塘, na baía norte situada no interior do muro de Macau.[52]

A partir de então, os assuntos de Macau passaram a ser tratados conjuntamente pelo subprefeito de Macau, pelo assistente do magistrado distrital e pelo magistrado do distrito de Xiangshan, os dois primeiros sob a direcção do último.

Assim se reforçou e aperfeiçoou a administração de Macau.

APÓS O 9.º ANO DO REINADO DE QIANLONG

Em 15 dos casos de homídio que temos vindo a analisar as vítimas foram chineses e, em dois, portugueses.

Casos de Vítimas Chinesas

Participação

Nestes casos, os familiares da vítima tinham, em primeiro lugar, de participar a ocorrência ao *dibao* 地保 (chefe de aldeia, regedor) e, depois, acompanhados por este que também devia comunicar o que sabia, ao assistente do magistrado distrital de Xiangshan. Este, por sua vez, devia de imediato apresentar a participação ao seu superior para que o caso fosse registado e se desse início à investigação.

Pelas 19 horas do dia 7 de Novembro do 57.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1792) Tang Yazhen 汤亚珍 foi ferida, com uma faca, por um estrangeiro que usava um chapéu de três bicos e vestia um casaco colorido. Tang voltou apressadamente à loja onde trabalhava e relatou o sucedido ao patrão, Guo Duansheng 郭端盛, que logo informou o *dibao*, Mao Chengke 毛澄客 e, em seguida, o secretário-geral, o capitão-geral e o governador de Macau, exigindo destes a investigação do sucedido e a captura do responsável. Tang Yazhen, não obstante os tratamentos recebidos, veio a falecer na noite do dia 8 pelo que, no dia seguinte, Guo Duansheng foi relatar o sucedido ao assistente do magistrado distrital de Xiangshan. "No mesmo dia, Mao Chengke informou também o assistente do magistrado distrital de Xiangshan"[53], que "logo solicitou à repartição distrital o envio de um perito para examinar o corpo e uma aturada investigação da ocorrência"[54].

Quanto a esta participação tudo era idêntico ao que se verificava no interior da China. "Quem quiser relatar um caso de homicídio deve ir em companhia do *dibao* e de vizinhos interessados e contar detalhadamente a ocorrência e as suas causas." Seguindo a tradição Ming, o governo Qing aplicava em Macau o regime administrativo do registo civil, o *baojia* 保甲. A diferença estava no facto de agora este regime se aplicar apenas nas zonas onde residiam chineses. Enquanto órgão de base, o *baojia* era o responsável pela segurança pública nestas zonas: quando ocorriam casos de perseguição a chineses, tinha que os informar e testemunhar perante o tribunal.

A canga (pág. anterior) e bastonadas, in William Alexander, *The Costume of China*, 1805.

Detenção e investigação

Recebida a informação do assistente, o magistrado distrital de Xiangshan ordenava ao procurador de Macau que procedesse às investigações necessárias e prendesse o criminoso o mais depressa possível. Ao mesmo tempo determinava que lhe preparasse uma residência para se alojar enquanto permanecesse em Macau. No interior da China estes trabalhos cabiam a oficiais inferiores, mas a detenção de portugueses envolvidos em homicídios em Macau cabia ao governo de Macau, dada a especial relação de subordinação entre este e o governo Qing.

O governo Qing exigia que os casos de homicídio fossem concluídos rapidamente. Para tanto, era fundamental prestar especial atenção à participação e à detenção do criminoso. Nos casos de homicídios em Macau, estas eram geralmente rápidas. Recebida a participação por escrito, o magistrado distrital de Xiangshan de imediato se deslocava a Macau para proceder à investigação e à detenção do suspeito, prevenindo a sua fuga e evitando o desaparecimento de provas. O caso de Tang Yazhen assim o comprova: a participação foi recebida a 9; no dia seguinte, o assistente do magistrado distrital de Xiangshan ordenou ao procurador de Macau a descoberta do autor do crime; no dia 12, determinou que lhe fosse preparada uma residência para se alojar quando fosse a Macau para onde partiu ainda nesse dia. No dia 15 a sua investigação estava concluída.

No que respeita à investigação, igualmente tudo se passava como no interior da China. Para manifestar o seu apreço pela vida, o magistrado distrital de Xiangshan deslocava-se a Macau para pessoalmente investigar o caso, enquanto o perito enviado procedia ao exame do corpo, preenchendo e apresentando respectivo *shige* 尸格, isto é, o relatório, uma vez o exame concluído.

As dificuldades maiores residiam na detenção do suspeito. Esta cabia ao governo de Macau, que, no entanto, frequentemente recorria a expedientes dilatórios, não cooperando com a parte chinesa.

Neste caso de Tang Yazhen, o governo de Macau, resistindo à ordem da repartição distrital de Xiangshan para a rápida detenção do português, argumentou, dizendo que "a morte de Tang Yazhen resultara do facto de ela se ter inadvertidamente ferido com uma pequena faca que trazia ao curvar-se para defecar". Xu Dunyuan 许敦元, magistrado distrital de Xiangshan, refutou este absurdo argumento, invocando os resultados da autópsia, os testemunhos do patrão e de familiares e vizinhos da vítima para demonstrar que tal não correspondia à realidade. Referiu também a promessa do procurador de proceder à investigação do crime.

Recorreu então o governo de Macau a um novo expediente. Solicitou que Xu exigisse a Guo Duansheng a identificação das pessoas de quem Tang Yazhen não gostava. Poderia, assim, descobrir mais facilmente o autor do crime. Xu Dunyuan refutou igualmente este ardil, exigindo a rápida entrega do suspeito. Se tal não sucedesse, não só o criminoso seria exemplarmente castigado como também o governo de Macau dificilmente poderia escapar às suas responsabilidades.

Este persistiu na sua atitude de não colaboração e a repartição distrital de Xiangshan viu-se obrigada a enviar alguns funcionários a Macau para apressar a detenção do suspeito. Mas, os funcionários portugueses de Macau "tinham medo de com eles se encontrarem e avisaram o suspeito para se esconder; ninguém se apresentou para tratar do assunto e não houve intérprete que ajudasse à comunicação entre as duas partes"[55]. Os funcionários chineses, inquietos, tiveram que ir, eles próprios, exigir dos funcionários portugueses a imediata entrega do criminoso, gerando-se uma discussão entre as duas partes.

Apesar de todos esforços das autoridades de Guangdong, decorreram 15 dias sem que se verificasse a entrega do suspeito. Esta teimosia indignou o vice-rei de Guangdong e Guangxi, que determinou que "intimassem o governador de Macau a prender o criminoso, a investigar com seriedade a causa dos ferimentos que tinham conduzido àquela morte e a tratar rapidamente do caso. Estamos perante um caso em que um português feriu até à morte uma compatriota nossa pelo que de nenhum modo podem dilatar o seu tratamento."[56] O magistrado distrital transmitiu o espírito destas directivas ao governo de Macau e, a 23 de Novembro, o subprefeito de Macau, Wei Xiezhong 韦协中, emitiu ao governo de Macau um ultimato: "Devia ir hoje a Macau para exigir a vossa responsabilidade, mas decidi dar-vos mais dois dias [...] Neste prazo o criminoso tem de ser escoltado até à repartição distrital de Xiangshan, para ser julgado e condenado."[57]

Por fim, e respeitando este prazo, o governo de Macau acabou por deter o português, o que revela a sua anterior atitude de desprezo pela dignidade do governo.

Escolta, interrogatório e encarceramento

Depois da detenção efectuada pelo governo de Macau, o beleguim da repartição distrital de Xiangshan deslocava-se a Macau, levando o ofício assinado pelo magistrado do distrito. "Logo após a sua chegada, entrega o ofício ao governador de Macau"[58]. Este entregava o suspeito ao beleguim, que o escoltava até à repartição distrital, onde era conjuntamente interrogado pelo magistrado distrital e pelo subprefeito de Macau.

Concluído o interrogatório e registada a confissão, "confiavam o criminoso ao assistente do magistrado distrital, que se responsabilizava pela sua entrega ao governo de Macau para o seu encarceramento seguro. Ao recebê-lo, o governo de Macau tinha de lhe entregar um comprovativo, devidamente selado, da sua recepção e da situação de detenção que ele depois transmitia à repartição distrital, para servir de base ao relatório a apresentar ao superior"[59].

Entretanto, a repartição distrital de Xiangshan devia apresentar à repartição prefeitural de Guangzhou e ao desembargador provincial de Guangdong uma informação com a sua proposta sobre o julgamento e sentença, juntamente com a confissão do criminoso, testemunhos e relatório da autópsia. Depois de examinados, estes documentos eram apresentados ao vice-rei de Guangdong e Guangxi e ao governador de Guangdong para revisão definitiva e deferimento.

A rápida transferência do suspeito para a repartição distrital de Xiangshan para ser interrogado e julgado era fundamental para que tudo se concluísse no prazo estabelecido. O governo de Macau sabia-o muito bem, pelo que costumava a recorrer a diversos expedientes dilatórios.

Em 1803, o príncipe regente de Portugal ordenou ao governo de Macau que não fizesse entrega à parte chinesa dos portugueses que tivessem morto chineses e que os casos fossem tratados pelas autoridades de Macau.

Dois anos depois, na noite de 18 de Junho do 10.º ano do reinado de Jiaqing (1805), um português, de nome António, esfaqueou a marinheira Chen Yalian, que trabalhava para ele. Transportada para Macau, onde foi socorrida, Chen morreu no dia 19. Decorreu mais de um mês sem que o governo de Macau tivesse feito a entrega de António. A 26 de Julho, o magistrado distrital de Xiangshan, Peng Zhaolin 彭昭麟, tomou uma medida resoluta. Por edital suspendeu o comércio

Interrogatório do acusado, in William Alexander, *The Costume of China*, 1805.

com os portugueses de Macau: "Todos os comerciantes e artesãos chineses, incluindo os carpinteiros e pedreiros de alvenaria, têm que suspender o negócio com os portugueses, até o chefe dos portugueses entregar o criminoso"[60].

O governo de Macau cedeu e no dia 28 de Julho a repartição distrital de Xiangshan recebeu um ofício em que aquele "pede que lhe sejam concedidos mais 20 dias para entregar o criminoso e que seja permitido aos comerciantes e residentes chineses continuarem a negociar com os portugueses"[61]. Peng Zhaolin logo respondeu, autorizando apenas o comércio de alimentos; o comércio de outras mercadorias só poderia recomeçar após a entrega do criminoso. A 17 de Agosto, o governo de Macau entregou o suspeito para ser julgado.

Execução

Em 19 de Agosto, o procurador de Macau informou a repartição distrital de Xiangshan que a execução teria lugar no dia seguinte, no Largo do Leal Senado. Peng Zhaolin de imediato comunicou que ela só poderia ter lugar depois da aprovação da sentença pelo vice-rei de Guangdong e Guangxi, a quem competia a última palavra.

Depois de ter aprovado a condenação à morte, o vice-rei determinou que se deslocassem a Macau o desembargador provincial, a repartição prefeitural de Guangzhou, o subprefeito de Macau, o magistrado distrital de Xiangshan e o comandante da brigada de Xiangshan para presenciarem a execução, juntamente com o governo de Macau. A execução esteve a cargo de

um carrasco chinês, tendo sido permitido que um sacerdote rezasse com o condenado pela remissão do seu crime.

Segundo Anders Ljungstedt, este foi o primeiro caso em que a execução esteve a cargo de um carrasco cristão, respeitando-se o decretado, em 1803, pelo príncipe regente de Portugal[62]. Montalto de Jesus igualmente regista o caso na sua obra *Historic Macao*.

Em todos estes casos, desde o caso de Chen Huiqian, no 8.º ano do reinado de Qianlong até ao caso de Yan Yazhao 严亚照 (1826), tanto o vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guangxi como o governador civil da província de Guangdong apresentaram memoriais ao imperador sobre o julgamento, sentença e execução. Estão estes memoriais reunidos no *Ming Qing Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dangan Wenxian Huibian* 明清时期澳门问题档案文献汇编 (Colecção de Arquivos e Documentos das Dinastias Ming e Qing Relativos a Macau), sendo de estranhar a falta de um memorial relativo ao caso de Chen Yalian.

O princípio de serem os homicidas portugueses julgados, sentenciados e executados por chineses foi seguido até ao caso de Yan Yazhao, em 1826. Segundo o memorial apresentado pelo vice-rei de Guangdong e Guangxi, Ruan Yuan 阮元, "o português Manuel feriu o residente chinês Yan Yazhao tão gravemente que este morreu pouco tempo depois. O facto era certo e as provas irrefutáveis, tendo sido o responsável condenado à morte, segundo a lei aplicável e a prática habitual. Para presenciarem a execução deslocaram-se a Macau Gao Tingyao 高廷瑶, alto funcionário da prefeitura de Guangzhou, Cao Yaoqing 曹耀清, coronel da brigada do distrito de Xiangshan, Ma Chengyu 马成玉, comandante do batalhão de Qianshan e Feng Jinen 冯晋恩, subprefeito interino de Macau. De acordo com a ordem do magistrado distrital de Xiangshan, a 5 de Fevereiro desse mesmo ano o governo de Macau conduziu o condenado até ao campo onde teria lugar a execução, onde foi enforcado conforme era habitual."[63]

Casos de Vítimas Portuguesas

No caso de serem portugueses as vítimas e chineses os autores do crime, a participação devia obedecer a princípios diferentes. Era necessário, em primeiro lugar, "informar o chefe dos portugueses ou seja, o procurador de Macau"[64]. Este, concluída a investigação, enviava um ofício com os resultados obtidos ao assistente do magistrado distrital de Xiangshan.

Quanto ao processo, era em tudo idêntico ao dos casos de homicídio ocorridos entre chineses, sendo o condenado executado em Guangzhou. Para o governo de Macau todos os homicidas, fossem portugueses ou chineses, deviam ser executados no local onde o crime tinha sido cometido, isto é, em Macau, posição a que o governo Qing nunca atendeu.

Até ao caso Chen Huiqian, os princípios que presidiam ao julgamento nos casos de homicídio ocorridos em Macau com a intervenção de estrangeiros eram basicamente idênticos aos seguidos no interior da China.

Na sequência deste caso, o Regulamento do 9.º ao do reinado de Qianlong (1744) veio estabelecer novos princípios que tinham em conta a especial situação, nomeadamente as dificuldades na escolta dos suspeitos e na execução da pena. Este Regulamento, que garantia a manutenção nas mãos do governo chinês do poder de decisão judicial destes casos de homicídio envolvendo estrangeiros, ocorridos em Macau, não sofreu alterações fundamentais até à Guerra do Ópio. RC

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Tradução de Huang Huixian 黄徽现.

NOTAS

1 O *zongdu* 总督 (vice-rei) da dinastia Qing costumava a ser chamado *du yuan* 督院 e o *xunfu* 巡抚, de *bu yuan* 部院. Por isso, o *du fu* 督抚 era chamado *yuan* 院.

2 Os casos de Chen Yalian e de Chen Yayou não figuram entre estes.

3 Tian Minyao 田明曜 e Huang Peifang 黄培芳, *Xiangshan Xianzhi* 香山县志 (Crónica do Distrito de Xiangshan*)*, xilografia no 5.º ano do reinado de Guangxu 光绪, vol. 8, "Hai Fang" (Defesa Marítima).

4 Liu Fang 刘芳 e Zhang Wenqin 章文钦, *Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen Dangan Huibian* 清代澳门中文档案汇编 (Documentos Sínicos do IAN/TT referentes a Macau durante a Dinastia Qing), Macau: Fundação Macau, 1999, p. 29.

5 Anders Ljungstedt, *Zaoqi Aomenshi* 早期澳门史 (versão chinesa de *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China*, tradução de Wu Yixiong e outros; revisão de Zhang Wenqin), Editora do Oriente, 1997, p. 33.

6 Liu Fang e Zhang Wenqin, *Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen Dangan Huibian*, p. 38.

7 Shen Zhiqi 沈之奇, Li Jun 李俊 e Huai Xiaofeng 怀效锋, *Da Qing Lu Li Ji Zhu* 大清律例辑注 (Notas ao Código da Grande Dinastia Qing), Editora Jurídica, 2000, pp. 680 e 689.
8 *Ibidem*, p. 650.
9 *Da Qing Lu Ji Zhu, Hua Wai Ren You Fan Lu Shang Zhu* 大清律辑注·华外人有犯律上注 (Notas ao Código da Grande Dinastia Qing: Notas sobre a Violação de Leis pelos Estrangeiros), p. 102.
10 Anders Ljungstedt, *Zaoqi Aomenshi*, p. 98.
11 Wu Zhiliang 吴志良 e outros (dir.), *Ming Qings Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dangan Wenxian Huibian* 明清时期澳门问题档案文献汇编 (Colecção de Documentos das Dinastias Ming e Qing Relativos a Macau), vol. I, Pequim: Editora do Povo, 1999, p. 249.
12 Perito médico-legal. Durante a dinastia Qing, nas diversas prefeituras e distritos, na cidade imperial e no Ministério de Justiça estavam instalados 1 a 3 destes peritos.
13 O subprefeito foi instalado no 8.º ano do reinado de Qianlong. Por isso, só depois desta data o subprefeito se começou a envolver no tratamento destes casos.
14 Shen Zhiqi , Li Jun e Huai Xiaofeng, *Da Qing Lu Li Ji Zhu*, p. 4.
15 Wu Zhiliang e outros (dir.), *Ming Qings Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dangan Wenxian Huibian*, vol. I, p. 251.
16 Zhang Jinfan 张晋藩, *Qing Dai Fazhi Shi* 清代法制史 (História do Sistema Jurídico da Dinastia Qing), Casa de Publicações da China / 1.º Arquivo Histórico da China, pp. 611 e 635; *Ming Qing Dangan Lunwen Xuan Bian: Gugong Ming Qing Dangan Gailun* 明清档案论文选编·故宫明清档案概论 (Teses Escolhidas sobre o Arquivo das Dinastias Ming e Qing: Introdução ao Arquivo das Dinastias Ming e Qing no Palácio Imperial), Editora de Arquivos, 1985, p. 202.
17 Wu Zhiliang e outros (dir.), *Ming Qing Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dangan Wenxian Huibian*, vol. I, p. 198.
18 Beatriz Basto da Silva, *Aomen Biannianshi Shiqishiji* 澳门编年史: 十七世纪 (versão chinesa de *Cronologia da História de Macau: Século XVII*), Macau: Fundação Macau, 1995, p. 80.
19 *Ibidem*, p. 84
20 Zhu Huai 祝淮, *Xin Xiu Xiangshan Xian Zhi* 新修香山县志 (Nova Versão da Crónica do Distrito de Xiangshan), vol. IV, "Hai Fang" 海防 (Defesa Marítima).
21 Yin Guangren 印光任 e Zhang Rulin 张汝霖, *Aomen Ji Lue: Guan Shou Pian* 澳门纪略·官守篇 (Monografia de Macau: Capítulo de Normas de Conduta para os Funcionários)
22 Wu Zhiliang e outros (dir.), *Ming Qing Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dangan*, vol. I, p. 198.
23 Shen Zhiqi, Li Jun e Huai Xiaofeng, *Da Qing Lu Li Ji Zhu*, p. 689.
24 Anders Ljungstedt, *Zaoqi Aomenshi*, p. 98.
25 *Ibidem*, p. 98.
26 C. A. Montalto de Jesus, *Lishi Shangde Aomen* 历史上的澳门 (versão chinesa de *Historic Macao*, tradução de Huang Hongzhao 黄鸿钊 e Li Baoping 李保平), Fundação Macau, 2000, p. 164.
27 Shen Zhiqi, *Da Qing Lu Ji Zhu: Shi Ying Zou Bu Zou* 大清律辑注·事应奏不奏 (Notas sobre as Leis da Grande Dinastia Qing: Sobre os Assuntos que Devem Ser Informados e Não o São), p. 168.
28 Xue Yunsheng 薛允升, Hu Xingqiao 胡星桥 e outros da dinastia Qing, *Du Li Cun Yi Dian Zhu* 读例存疑点注 (Estudo de Dúvidas e Notas de Regulamentos), p. 839.
29 Anders Ljungstedt, *Zaoqi Aomenshi*, p. 79.
30 *Qing Shi Gao Xingfa Zhi San* 清史稿·刑法志三 (Crónica do Código Penal nos Documentos Históricos da Dinastia Qing III).
31 Wu Zhiliang e outros (dir.), *Ming Qing Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dangan Wenxian Huibian*, vol. I, p. 198.
32 Wu Zhiliang e outros (dir.), *Ming Qing Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dangan Wenxian Huibian*, vol. I, p. 199.
33 Wu Zhiliang e outros (dir.), *Ming Qing Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dangan Wenxian Huibian*, vol. I, p. 199.
34 Yin Guangren e Zhang Rulin: *Aomen Ji Lue, Guan Shou Pian.*
35 Xue Yunsheng: *Du Li Cun Yi Dian Zhu,* "Prefácio".
36 Huo Qichang 霍启昌, *Shi Shi Aomen Zai Xiandai Shi Qijian Dui Zhujiang Sanjiaozhou De Yingxiang* 试释澳门在现代史期间对珠江三角洲的影响 (Análise da Influência de Macau sobre o Delta do Rio das Pérolas na Época Moderna), comunicação feita no Seminário sobre a História e Desenvolvimento de Macau, 1999.
37 Anders Ljungstedt, *Zaoqi Aomenshi,* p. 99.
38 Yin Guangren e Zhang Rulin, *Aomen Jilue: Guan Shou Pian*.
39 Bao Yu 暴煜, *Xiangshan Xianchi* 香山县志 (Crónica do Distrito de Xiangshan), vol. 8, "Hao Jing Ao" (Macau).
40 Anders Ljungstedt, *Zaoqi Aomenshi*, p. 129.
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45 Tang Kaijian 汤开建, *Aomen Kaibu Chuqi Shi Yanjiu* 澳门开埠初期史研究 (Estudos da História Inicial de Macau como Porto Franco), Casa de Publicações da China, 1999, p. 197.
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47 *Yongzheng Chao Han Wen Zhu Pi Zouzhe Huibian* 雍正朝汉文朱批奏摺汇编 (Colecção dos Memorais Despachados a Vermelhão no Reinado de Yongzheng), vol. 18.
48 *Aomen Jilue: Guan Shou Pian*.
49 Wu Zhiliang e outros (dir.), *Ming Qing Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dangan Wenxian Huibian*, vol. I, p. 197
50 *Aomen Ji Lue: Guan Shou Pian*.
51 *Aomen Wenti Ming Qing Zhendang Huicui* 澳门问题明清珍档荟萃 (Colecção de Tesouros Documentais das Dinastias Ming e Qing sobre a Questão de Macau), Fundação Macau, 1999, p. 340. No mapa de Macau que o vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guangxi enviou juntamente com um memorial em 13 de Novembro do 13.º ano do reinado de Jiaqing, Qianshanzhai dista 12 *li* das Portas do Cerco; o acampamento militar das Portas do Cerco está a 11 *li* da Porta Sanba e a vila de Qianshan dista 23 *li* da Porta Sanba. Daqui a nossa conclusão.
52 Anders Ljungstedt, *Zaoqi Aomenshi*, p. 130.
53 Liu Fang e Zhang Wenqin, *Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen Dangan Huibian,* vol. I, p. 332, ofício n.º 607.
54 *Ibidem*.
55 *Ibidem*, p. 334, ofício n.º 612.
56 *Ibidem*, p. 335, ofício n.º 613.
57 *Ibidem*, p. 336, ofício n.º 615.
58 *Ibidem*, p. 336, ofício n.º 616.
59 *Aomen Jilue: Guan Shou Pian*.
60 Liu Fang e Zhang Wenqin, *Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen Dangan Huibian* vol. I, p. 339, ofício n.º 625.
61 *Ibidem*, p. 340, ofício n.º 626.
62 Anders Ljungstedt, *Zaoqi Aomenshi*, p. 80.
63 Wu Zhiliang e outros (dir.), *Ming Qing Shiqi Aomen Wenti Dangan Wenxian Huibian*, vol. II, p. 183.
64 Liu Fang e Zhang Wenqin, *Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen Dangan Huibian*, vol. I, p. 331, ofício n.º 605.

HISTÓRIA

ANEXO

	DATA	CASOS
1	25 de Agosto do 49.º ano do reinado de Kangxi (1710)	O capitão português Manuel Álvares de Oliveira matou um chinês, lançando o cadáver ao mar. O magistrado distrital de Xiangshan, subornado com 120 taéis de prata, autorizou que o autor fosse preso e julgado em Macau, onde veio a ser executado por um algoz chinês.
2	51.º ano do reinado de Kangxi (1712)	O timorense João Soares Lisboa matou um chinês. O capitão-geral de Macau ordenou que fosse amarrado à boca de um canhão na Fortaleza do Monte vindo a ser despedaçado com um disparo.
3	18 de Outubro do 8.º ano de reinado de Qianlong (1743)	De regresso a casa, Chen Huiqian, embriagado, brigou com um soldado macaense nome Anselmo, vindo a morrer em consequência das facadas de que foi vítima. Anselmo foi enforcado em Macau.
4	Noite de 9 de Abril do 13.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1748)	Os chineses Li Tingfu e Jian Yaer entraram furtivamente em casa do português José Barros. Foram apanhados e violentamente agredidos por Amaro e António, tendo morte imediata e sendo os seus corpos lançados ao mar. Na manhã de 12 de Novembro uma ordem imperial determinava que o caso fosse adequadamente tratado, mas, em 16 de Dezembro, as autoridades portuguesas desterraram os dois responsáveis, sem conhecimento das autoridades chinesas.
5	Noite de 1 de Março do 33.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1768)	Fang Yagui 方亚贵, indisposta, saiu para comprar uns medicamentos; no caminho encontrou-se com António, português que fazia a ronda, que a deteve e agrediu tão violentamente que teve morte imediato. De acordo com os princípios seguidos no caso de Chen Huiqian, o criminoso foi enforcado no dia 20 de Abril.
6	Noite de 20 de Julho do 34.º anodo reinado de Qianlong (1769)	Du Yaming 杜亚明 foi despedido pelo seu patrão português, de nome Raninger (transliteração chinesa, N.T.), por manifestar pouco empenho no trabalho. Um dia encontraram-se e começaram uma briga. Du foi morto com uma facada pelo português, que foi enforcado a 3 de Setembro.
7	Noite de 21 de Novembro do 37.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1772)	Um inglês, Francis Scott, chamou a sua casa Liu Yalai 刘亚来 para lhe pagar o vencimento. Discutiram e Liu foi esfaqueado pelo inglês em plena rua. A 3 de Fevereiro do 38.º ano do reinado de Qianlong, o criminoso foi enforcado.
8	54.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1789)*	Zhang Yayi 张亚意 e Tan Yacheng 谭亚成 encontraram-se com o português Sebastião e começaram a discutir. Zhang foi morto pelo português, que foi enforcado a 26 de Fevereiro do 55.º ano do reinado de Qianlong.
9	10 de Setembro do 56.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1791)	Um português, de nome Pedro, já embriagado, retirou, sem pagar, três dióspiros de uma banca entregue a um jovem, Luo Yahe 罗亚合. Este, ao exigir o pagamento, foi agredido. Xia Deming 夏得名, Zhao Youguang 赵有光 e outros vendedores que se encontravam próximo do local, ao aperceberem-se do que se passava, avançaram em apoio de Luo Yahe. Xia foi esfaqueado e morreu. O português foi enforcado a 30 de Outubro.
10	7 de Novembro do 57.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1792)	Tang Yazhen, ao sair de uns sanitários públicos, encontrou o português Manuel Dias, já embriagado. Brigaram e Tang foi morta com uma faca, vindo Manuel a ser enforcado em 14 de Dezembro.

ANEXO

	DATA	CASOS
11	57.º ano do reinado de Qianlong (1792)	Um marinheiro de Manila matou três chineses. As autoridades portuguesas de Macau entregaram-no aos mandarins. Julgado, foi condenado à morte. No momento da execução, alguns chineses envolveram-se numa discussão com funcionários portugueses, tendo o governador de Macau ordenado aos seus soldados que se contivessem, evitando quaisquer conflitos.
12	18 de Junho do 10.º ano do reinado de Jiaqing (1805)	Num barco, Chen Yalian foi gravemente esfaqueado por um português, de nome António. Transportado para Macau, acabou por morrer. O caso foi resolvido por acordo com os familiares da vítima, mas veio a ser conhecido. O governo de Macau executou o criminoso, por sua própria decisão, em 20 de Agosto.
13	5 de Janeiro do 6.º ano do reinado de Daoguang (1826)	Yan Yazhao foi visitar a família do governador de Macau. Bebeu com Manuel e embriagou-se. Depois, foram divertir-se para a encosta do Monte da Guia e começaram a discutir. Yan foi gravemente ferido com uma faca e morreu. O criminoso foi enforcado em 5 de Fevereiro.
14	5 de Fevereiro do 6.º ano do reinado de Daoguang (1826)	Após a execução de Manuel, a mulher da vítima, incitada por Deng Yadie 邓亚爕 e outros, foi a casa do governador de Macau para lhe exigir o pagamento do enterro do marido. O governador não acedeu e gerou-se uma discussão. Deng Yadie e os outros partiram alguns objectos. Deng foi gravemente ferido pelo soldado português Luo Ni Mo (Transliteração chinesa – N. T.) e morreu pouco tempo depois. O criminoso recusou a canga, acabando por ser fuzilado.
15	10.º ano do reinado de Daoguang (1830)	Em 27 de Maio, o procurador de Macau, António Pereira, protestou junto do magistrado distrital de Xiangshan e do subprefeito de Macau, expressando a sua insatisfação pela negligência evidencida pela autoridades Qing na prisão do responsável pela morte de um timorense.
16	Cerca do 22.º ano do reinado de Daoguang (1842)	Conluiados com o criado negro Yu Gu (transliteração chinesa – N.T.), Chen Yayou 陈亚友 e outros assaltaram a casa da portuguesa Lou Ling Xi Ya (transliteração chinesa - N. T.), patroa de Yu Gu, e mataram-na bem como mais 3 pessoas.
17	5 de Julho do 29.º ano do reinado de Daoguang (1849)	O governador de Macau, João Ferreira Amaral, foi assassinado por Shen Zhiliang e outros chineses. Shen foi condenado à morte por decapitação. A sua cabeça foi exibida publicamente. Um cúmplice, Guo Yaan 郭亚安, foi condenado a trabalhos forçados no exército.

* Segundo a *Qingdai Aomen Zhongwen Dangan Huibian*, p. 331, em 23 de Novembro do 54.º ano do reinado de Qianlong, o magistrado distrital de Xiangshan, Peng Zhu 彭翥, enviou um ofício ao presidente do Senado de Macau, exigindo que apressasse a entrega de Sebastião. Mas, no volume VIII de *Ming Qing Shi Liao* 明清史料 (Materiais Históricos das Dinastias Ming e Qing), obra do ano do *gengzi*, consta um memorial ao trono do vice-rei de Guangdong e de Guangxi, Fu Kangan 福康安, em que se afirma: "Segundo informação de Peng Zhu, magistrado distrital de Xiangshan, na noite de 6 de Fevereiro do 55.º ano do reinado de Qianlong, Zhang Yayi foi gravemente ferido em casa do seu patrão [...] morreu de imediato." Muito possivelmente, Peng Zhu só interrogou o suspeito depois de esgotado o prazo estabelecido, pelo que alterou a data da ocorrência para evitar um inquérito.

"Bamboo and Rock Scroll" (ink brush on paper, 40.4 x 26.5 cm), painted by Wu Li during his sojourn in Macao. Tianjin Municipal Art Museum collection.

The Life and Works of Wu Yushan

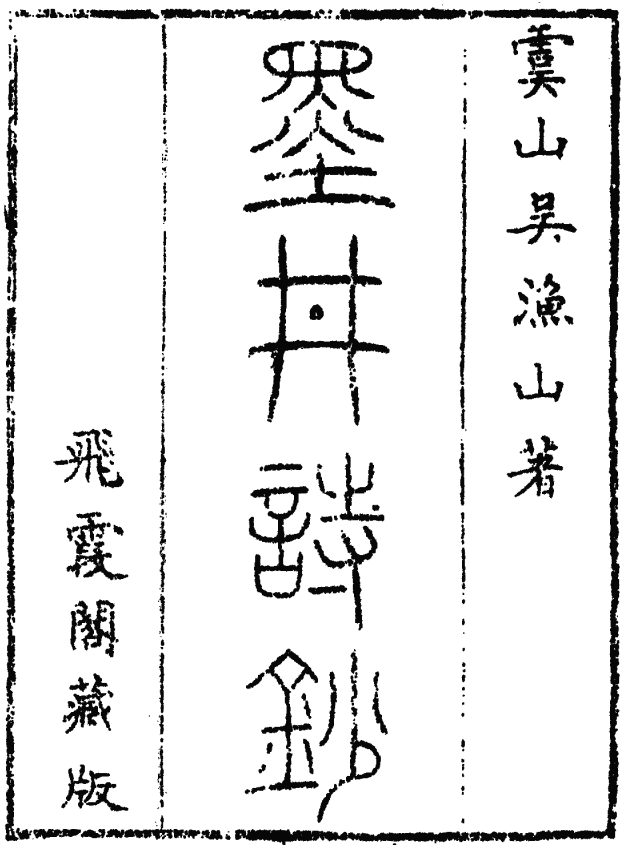
Zhang Wenqin*

THE LIFE OF WU YUSHAN

Wu Yushan 吴渔山 (1632-1718), a prominent cultural figure during the transition from the Ming 明 to Qing 清 dynasties, occupies an important position in Chinese cultural history and the history of cultural exchange between China and the western world.

Wu Na 吴讷 traces the family line of Wu Yushan in the "Preface to the Wu Family Tree" [*Wu Shi Pu Tu Xu* 吴氏谱图序]: "Changshu 常熟, a county under the administration of Wucheng 吴城, is about 50 km from Suzhou 苏州, the prefectural seat. According to my ancestors, the Wu clan had always lived there until Yuan 元 troops invaded China and ravaged the county. Members of the clan then scattered to escape the war, and records of the family tree were lost as a result. Cheng-an 诚庵, my great-grandfather, finding the hardships too difficult to sustain, moved from the east end of the county seat to settle by Esq. Yan's homestead near Literature Bridge [文学桥 Wenxue qiao] in Ziyou Lane 子遊巷, and has lived there ever since. Nothing earlier, however, can be traced."[1] Literature Bridge is also known as Yan Yan Bridge, after Esq. Yan whose full name was Yan Yan 言偃; Ziyou 子遊 was his courtesy name. Esq. Yan's homestead was therefore called Ziyou's homestead. A Confucian scholar of considerable prestige, Esq. Yan promoted education and culture in the Suzhou area and was widely recognized for his literary achievements.

Wu Na, who took Min-de 敏德 as his courtesy name, could read the *Five Classics* [*Wu Jing* 五经] at the age of seven. As he grew older, he became more and more erudite. During the reign of Emperor Yongle 永乐 he was recommended to Nanjing 南京, where he was highly appreciated by the Crown Prince, Zhu



The front cover of *Selected Poems by Mo Jing*, published by Lu Daohuai in 1719.

Gaochi 朱高炽. During the reign of Emperor Hongxi 洪熙, he was appointed Investigating Censor, and supervised the provinces of Jiangsu 江苏, Zhejiang 浙江, and Guizhou 贵州, where he enjoyed great prestige and popularity. During the reign of Emperor Xuande 宣德, he was promoted to Assistant Censor-in-Chief in Nanjing before taking full charge of the daily affairs of the Censorate in the capacity of Deputy Censor-in-Chief. During his tenure of office, he always considered the overall situation before making any decision. In his old age,

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"Bamboo and Rock Scroll" (ink brush on paper, 95 x 33.6 cm), painted by Wu Li during his sojourn in Macao. Nanjing Museum collection.

he retired to his hometown. He is the author of *Additional Notations to a Variety of Books* [*Qun Shu Bu Zhu* 群书补注], *Stylistics of Essays* [*Wen Zhang Bian Ti* 文章辨体], *Highlights of the Si An* [*Si An Wen Cui* 思庵文粹], *A Comparative Study of Legal Cases* [*Tang Yin Bi Shi* 棠阴此事], *Xiang Xing Yao Lan* 详刑要览, and collections of poetry and prose. After he passed away at 82, he was given the posthumous title of Duke Wen-ke 御史文恪, and was worshipped alongside the sages in the Ziyou Temple. Wu Chun 吴淳, Na's grandson, who was also known as Houbo 厚伯, was an imperial scholar during the reign of Emperor Zhengtong 正统. He was promoted to the position of Censor and was authorized to supervise the state monopoly on salt production in the Huai-Yang 淮扬 area. Chun was famed for his competence and honesty as an official. Wu Tang 吴堂, Na's great-grandson, who took Zisheng 子升 as his courtesy name, was an imperial scholar during the years of Emperor Hongzhi 弘治, and was promoted from the position of county magistrate to that of Investigating Censor. During the early years of Emperor Zhengde 正德, he served as the Deputy President of the Supreme Court. He offended the Emperor and his entrusted official Jiang Bin 江彬 because Tang opposed the policy of frontier expansion. Demoted to serve as the Prefect of Heqing 鹤庆 in Yunnan province 云南, he was known for his benevolent administration.

Yushan, an eleventh-generation descendent of Wu Na, was born on August 1, 1632. His father Shijie 士杰 married Wang Ruren 王孺人, a young woman from his hometown, and had three sons. Yushan, the youngest of the three, was called Qili 蟛历 in childhood before he changed his name to Li 历 and adopted the courtesy name "Yushan." He also took "Mojing Dao Ren" 墨井道人, or "the Ink-well Daoist," as his penname because near his home there was a well where Yan Yan used to wash his brushes. By the time Yushan was born, his family had already fallen into decline. His father, forced to transport grain to Hebei 河北 along the Grand Canal for the Ming Court, died there. At that time, Yushan was still in his infancy. Wang Ruren, widowed, brought up her three sons by herself instead of remarrying.

In 1644, after the Ming Dynasty was overthrown by Li Zicheng 李自成 and his peasant army, Manchu troops, taking advantage of Li's arrogance, moved

through the Shanhaiguan Pass and made Beijing 北京 their capital. The Qing conquerors, in the process of establishing their rule, implemented harsh policies such as land enclosure and hair-shaving, cruelly suppressed and persecuted the Han, and devastated Han economy and culture, causing unprecedented havoc. The drastic measures, however, met tenacious resistance from the Han 汉; the most valiant fighters were the people in the Jiangnan 江南 region, especially those in Yangzhou 扬州, Jiading 嘉定 and Jiangyin 江阴. In Changshu there was also an armed struggle against the Qing rulers led by Yan Shi 严栻.

Yushan's fatherless family was caught in the whirlwind of dynastic change. Qian Qianyi 钱谦益, Yushan's poetry teacher, wrote in his "Ode to Wang Ruren, a Mother of Integrity" [*Wu Jie Mu Wang Ru Ren Zan* 吴节母王孺人赞], "During the era when blood reddened the earth, she kept her integrity and loyalty to the Ming" (in *Mu Zhai You Xue Ji* 牧斋有学集, vol. 43). One can imagine the hardships she had to endure. Yushan cherished his mother's care and love all his life.

During the reigns of Emperors Shunzhi 顺治 and Kangxi 康熙, while the anti-Qing movement was still going strong in a number of places, there emerged a quite influential class, the Ming loyalists, who preserved their integrity, deepened their learning, and left behind many colourful cultural and artistic masterworks. Yushan, having been born into a celebrated family and experienced the anguish of losing his country in his youth, was filled with a deep love for his country and family. In his masterful poem "On My Sorrow" [*Xie You* 写忧] , which has been read by generation after generation, he writes: "For the past ten years I have been drifting, my eyes not yet dry from weeping at the West Terrace. Desolate new houses stand everywhere, but who now looks after the old caps and robes? Poems remain at the riverside though the spring tide has ebbed, and geese fly north of the Great Wall though it is still frosted with snow. As the dust of war has not yet settled, who has the heart to take up the old fishing rod?" (in *On My Sorrow and Other Poems* [*Xie You Ji* 写忧集]), vol. 1. All other unreferenced quotations in this essay are from the same source).

Most of Yushan's mentors and friends in Jiangnan were Ming loyalists. Apart from his poetry teacher Qian Qianyi, Yushan also studied Confucianism with Chen Hu 陈瑚, painting with Wang Shimin 王时敏 and Wang Jian 王鉴, and

"Bamboo and Rock Scroll" (ink brush on paper, 117.2 x 41 cm), painted by Wu Li during his sojourn in Macao. Nanjing Museum collection.

Chinese zither with Chen Min 陈岷. All four of these men were loyalists. It was under the influence of these elders that Yushan became a loyalist himself during the bloody years of the dynastic transition. He maintained this loyalist integrity all his life.

Through his teachers' guidance and his own hard work, Yushan came to acquire all the refinements of traditional Chinese culture. He excelled at calligraphy, painting, music, and poetry. Wang Shimin marvelled at his paintings, calling them "superb in skill, de ep in thought, and beyond imagination."[2] Qian Qianyi praised his poems as "clear in thought, seasoned in style, detailed in description, like paintings."[3]

Since Yushan, a staunch Ming loyalist, vowed in his youth never to hold an official position, he could not enjoy the food subsidies the government provided to students, nor could he expect to ever earn a government salary. His family, which included his widowed mother and his wife and children, led a destitute life, often without enough clothes and food. To support his family, Yushan dedicated himself to painting. The poem inscribed on his painting "Crossing Baisha Lake in the Rain" [*Mao Yu Guo Bai Sha Hu* 冒雨过白沙湖] reads: "A cold day, it rains heavily as I hurry home on a boat, alone. The distant village on the lake in the east is shrouded in wet evening smoke.

"Mountains and Rivers in Imitation of the Old Masters" (no. 1 of 10, ink brush on paper, 23.2 x 28 cm), painted by Wu Li. Beijing Palace Museum collection.

My loved ones must be waiting for me by the wooden door."[4] The poem, though written by Gao Qi 高启 in the early Ming Dynasty, can be regarded as an accurate description of Yushan's early years as a struggling artist.

With the change of dynasty, most of the gentry took pride in the study and mastery of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. Many Ming loyalists, whether in Jiangnan, Southern Yunnan, or the Lingnan 岭南 region, became Buddhist monks or close friends of eminent monks. Quite a number of Yushan's friends in Jiangnan were intimately involved with Buddhists and Taoists; for example, in his "Biography of Liu Rushi" [*Liu Rushi Bie Zhuan* 柳如是别传], Chen Yin-ke 陈寅恪 refers to Qian Qianyi as "the Poet of the Caodong Sect." Wu Weiye 吴伟业 calls Wang Shimin "the old hermit of Xitian."[5] Wang Jian used to wear a yellow cap and Taoist robe, and in his will even asked to be buried in a Taoist costume.[6] Chen Hu, himself a great Neo-Confucian who taught the classics, changed his faith during the dynastic transition. He often visited high monks, and his teachings took on a Buddhist flavour.

Yushan's mother passed away in 1662, leaving her son bereaved. Shortly afterwards, Yushan's wife died too. Feeling the impermanence of life, and disappointed with the world, Yushan was on the point of becoming a monk. In the following decade, he visited Buddhist temples and befriended monks. In the summer of 1664, he and Chen Hu stayed in the Xingfu Monastery 兴福寺 on Yushan Hill 虞山 after Yushan's trip to Wuxing 吴兴. In 1665, when visiting Wuxing again he called with Chen Hu at a number of Buddhist sites in the vicinity, such as Tiansheng Temple 天圣寺, Daochang Hill 道场山, and White Bird Temple 白雀寺 on Bianshan Hill 弁山. On Yaofeng Hill 尧峰 outside Suzhou, where there are a number of temples and monasteries, we can still trace the footprints left by Yushan and his good friend Xu Zhijian 许之渐; and in the Nianxiao Studio 拈笑斋 at Jinming Temple 金明寺 in Xiushui 秀水, Zhejiang Province, we can still see the poems written by Yushan and Chen Fan 陈帆, a friend from his hometown, when they called on Monk Denggong 灯公. However, Yushan's best cleric friend during this period was Morong 默容, at Xingfu Temple 兴福庵 in Suzhou.

Xingfu Temple, also known as Jifu Temple 集福庵 in older days, is situated in the Jiayufang 嘉鱼坊 area

The front cover of *Mo Jing Collection*, published by Li Duo in 1909.

in the northwest corner of the city of Suzhou. First built during the reign of Emperor Jiading 嘉定 in the Southern Song Dynasty, it was reconstructed during the reign of Emperor Xuande in the Ming Dynasty. Later it became the villa of one Esquire Ye 叶氏. In 1655, a monk called Zhengyan 证研 bought the property and restored it to a temple. Morong, the first disciple of Zhengyan, was a close friend of Yushan, Xu Zhijian and Chen Min. He studied painting with Yushan and later tried his hand at poetry. Whenever Yushan visited Suzhou, he would call at the temple; this is why Morong acquired so many of Yushan's paintings. In 1666, Yushan painted for Morong ten pieces entitled "Mountains and Rivers in Imitation of the Old Masters" [*Fang Gu Shan Shui Ce* 仿古山水册]. In the following year, Yushan painted "The Snow Mountain" [*Xue Shan Tu* 雪山图], on which Wang Shimin inscribed, "The Snow Mountain, simple and

aloof, reflects the essence of Wang Wei 王维 and well matches the character of Morong."[7]

While serving as censor in the early years of Emperor Kangxi, Xu Zhijian wrote the preface to "An Introduction to Catholicism" [*Tian Xue ZhuanGai* 天学传概] by Li Zubai 李祖白, and was implicated in the case that Yang Guangxian 杨光先 brought against Johannes Adam Schall von Bell. As a result, he was removed from office. In 1670, as Adam Schall's case was righted, Zhijian was ordered by the Emperor back to the capital. He took Yushan along. In 1671, Morong died of exhaustion as he tried to help Zhengyan build the Tripitaka Pavilion in Xingfu temple, despite his poor health. On their way back from the capital, Yushan and Zhijian learned the sad news, which sank Yushan into deep sorrow. In 1674, Yushan painted "In Memory of Xingfu Temple" [*Xing Fu An Gan Jiu Tu* 兴福庵感旧图], and in the poem inscribed on it, he expressed his deep sadness on losing his friend Morong. In the following year, Yushan inscribed "Mountains and Rivers in Imitation of the Old Masters" for Shengyu 圣予, Morong's student, and painted "Pines and Gullies" [*Jian He Cang Song Tu* 涧壑苍松图] as a gift for the 60th birthday of Zhengyan, Morong's teacher. From Zhengyan, Morong and Shengyu, we can see that Yushan made three generations of cleric friends at Xingfu Temple. In a poem, Yushan describes his relationship with the monks this way: "I've spent half of my three vagabond years in temples."[8]

In 1676, Yushan wrote, in the postscript to his painting "Mist-shrouded Mountains after Rain" [*Yu San Yan Luan Tu* 雨散烟峦图], "I have achieved nothing. Whenever I start painting, the thought of becoming a hermit comes to my mind. But if I cannot support my family through painting, where can I get the money to buy a hill and build a thatched hut there like Huang Gongwang 黄公望?" (see *Postscripts to Paintings by Mo Jing* [*Mo Jing Hua Ba* 墨井画跋], op. 17, vol. 5). The idea of living as a recluse can be traced back to his early years. During the decade of contact with monks, Yushan called himself "the Peach Stream Hermit" [*Taoxi Jushi* 桃溪居士] and this alias appears frequently on his paintings. Had Morong not died so early, Yushan might have become a real monk instead of remaining as a lay Buddhist. Like other Ming loyalists who sought escape in Buddhism, he would have spent his life accompanied by morning chimes and evening drums, reading Buddhist sutras in the dim light, rather than turning to the newly imported Catholicism for spiritual consolation.

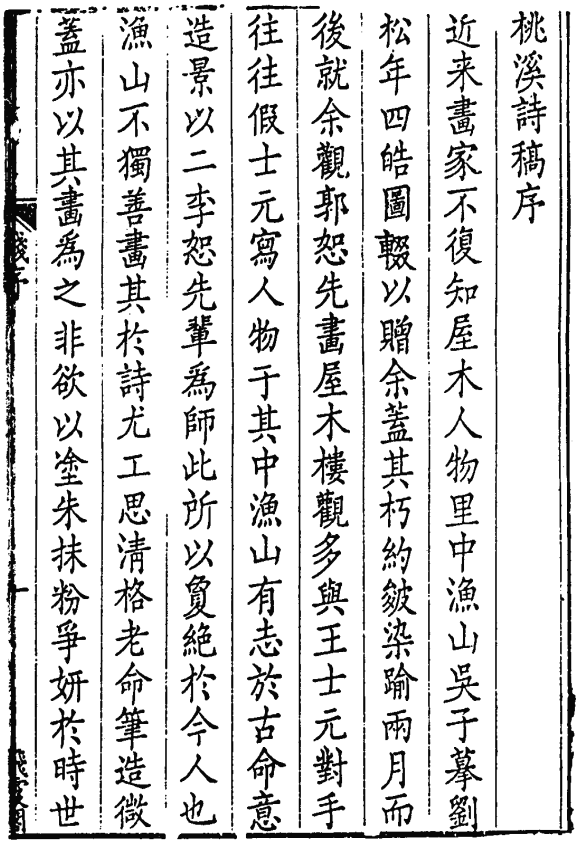
When Matteo Ricci tried to carry out his mission in Shaozhou 韶州, a Jiangnan scholar by the name of Qu Taisu 瞿太素, also called Rukui 汝夔, persuaded him to give up his Catholic cap and robe for a Confucian one, so that Catholicism could be better adapted to the cultural environment in China. In 1605, baptized by Joannes de Rocha, Taisu became the first Catholic brother in Changshu. In 1623, Taisu's son Shigu 式谷, whose religious name was Matthew, invited Giulio Aleni to Changshu. This event marks the beginning of missionary work in the county. Shigu's cousin Shisi 式耜 was also baptized by Aleni. Judging from the facts that the Qu's were a prominent family in Changshu, that Ziyou's Homestead, adjacent to Yushan's ancestral home, had served as a Catholic church since the late Ming Dynasty, and that Yushan was baptized as a child, we can presume that Yushan's family had been converted to Catholicism in the late Ming, and may have been influenced by the Qu family.

Though Yushan was baptised as a child, as a young man he preferred the company of Buddhist monks. It was only in his 40s that he came to pay attention to Catholicism. In 1672, He Shizhen 何世贞 of Yushan Hill wrote a book entitled *In Defence of Catholicism* [*Chong Zheng Bi Bian* 崇正必辩]; on the title page of the second volume are inscribed these words: "read by Wu Yushan and Tang Tianshi 唐天石." This shows that Yushan was in contact with Catholics by that time. *In Defence of Catholicism* was written in response to the attack against Catholicism mounted by Yang Guangxian. In the preface to the book, Mr. He wrote: "Yang Guangxian argues, in *Warding Off Heresy* [*Bie Xie Lun* 辟邪论], that with Buddha at heart, one cannot take God anymore."[9] According to Mr. He, Catholicism was the orthodox doctrine whereas Buddhism is not. Yushan must have been influenced by this argument.

Yushan's early contact with western missionaries can be traced in his "Ode to the Late Father Zhou" [*Song Xian Shi Zhou Duo* 颂先师周铎], in which he writes: "Five decades of hard work has brought enlightenment to the Orient, and seven years of kindness has comforted my soul" (in *São Paulo and Other Poems* [*San Ba Ji* 三巴集], vol. 2). Chen Yuan 陈垣

explains these lines this way: "This missionary must have been in China for fifty years and died at the age of seventy. He must have landed in China during the years of Emperor Chongzhen or Shunzhi... [and] Yushan must have studied with him for seven years."[10] We can presume that Yushan first met Father Zhou in 1674, because he left for Macao in 1680. In other words, Father Zhou was Yushan's first Catholic mentor.

In August, 1676, Yushan presented his painting "Spring on the Lake" [*Hu Tian Chun Se Tu* 湖天春色图] to Chouhan 帱函 of Taicang 太仓. In the inscription he writes: "As the esteemed Chouhan leads a secluded life by the Lou River 娄水, I've had no opportunity to see him even though I've cherished such a wish for a long time. My dream finally came true when I called at his home with Rougemont in spring".[11] Rougemont's full name, according to "The Chronicles of Wu Yushan" [*Wu Yu Shan Xian Sheng Nian Pu* 吴渔山先生年谱], compiled by Chen Yuan, was Francisco de Rougemont; he was a Belgian Jesuit. He came to China with his compatriot Philippe Couplet in 1659 and was engaged in missionary work in Jiangnan for a long time. It was Rougemont who greatly promoted the spread of Catholicism in Changshu in the early Qing period. Yushan, acting as his secular assistant, went to Taicang with Rougemont to visit church members. In September of the same year Rougemont died of illness in Taicang, and was buried in the Catholic graveyard at the northern foot of Yushan Hill.


桃溪詩稿序
近来畫家不復知屋木人物里中漁山吳子摹劉
松年四皓圖輟以贈余蓋其朽約皴染踰兩月而
後就余觀郭恕先畫屋木樓觀多與王士元對手
往往假士元寫人物于其中漁山有志於古命意
造景以二李恕先輩爲師此所以夐絶於今人也
漁山不獨善畫其於詩尤工思清格老命筆造微
蓋亦以其畫爲之非欲以塗朱抹粉爭妍於時世

The preface to *Selected Poems by Mo Jing*, published by Lu Daohuai in 1719.

After the death of Rougemont, Couplet became Yushan's Catholic mentor. For a long time, Couplet carried out missionary work in Jiangnan, Jiangxi 江西, Fujian 福建, Huguang 湖广 and Zhejiang. In 1680, Couplet, who had been appointed vice provincial exchequer of the Society of Jesus in China, was dispatched to Rome to recruit more missionaries and to seek permission to conduct masses in Chinese. He took five Chinese men along, including Yushan, whose religious name was Simão Xavier da Cunha, with the purpose of convincing the Vatican that these men were competent to serve as priests.

Couplet and his party arrived at Macao sometime between December 1680 and January 1681.[12] But Giandomenico Gabiani, the new Vice-Provincial Governor of the Society of Jesus in China, only allowed the two youngest of the five Chinese to proceed to Rome. Yushan was not lucky enough to be chosen. In November 1681, Couplet boarded a Dutch ship near Macao for Europe with Shen Fuzong 沈福宗 and another young Chinese (both of whom spoke Latin), leaving Yushan behind at the São Paulo College.

At the time, Macao was the centre of Catholicism in the Far East. São Paulo College, attached to the Church of the Society of Jesus in Macao, was a seminary established in 1594, and dedicated to the training of missionaries who were to go to China, Japan, Vietnam and Korea. According to Lu Xiyan, who went to Macao with Couplet and Yushan, "Scholars in robes come and go through the Catholic Church. They read and discuss the Holy Book, study natural sciences, philosophy, theology, and other basics such as Latin and Chinese."[13]

When Yushan began to study theology, he was already about fifty. He ate and slept on the first floor of the São Paulo Church, and his classmates were

"Mountains and Rivers in Imitation of the Old Masters" (no. 3 of 10, ink brush on paper, 23.2 x 28 cm), painted by Wu Li. Beijing Palace Museum collection.

mostly in their teens. Compared with those youngsters, Yushan had more difficulties in his study. The Bible, most of the teaching materials used by the seminary, and the Masses said in the church, were all in Latin. Despite his age, Yushan dedicated himself to the study of Latin, theology and classical western culture, which were completely different from anything he had studied in traditional Chinese culture. He recorded his difficulties in *Postscripts to Paintings by Mo Jing* (op. 41): "In my twenty-plus years of painting, I have always striven to improve myself. But like a boat rowing against the rapids, I've not made any advance... The study of theology is more difficult than learning to paint."

To make progress in his study of theology, Yushan worked day and night. After classes in the evening, he conversed with foreign priests and brothers under the lamplight to improve his Latin. "Under the dim light, we converse in our native languages. When we cannot make sense of each other, we try to communicate in writing. I write characters and he writes words, but it is even more confusing as he has to read vertically and I horizontally."[14] Yushan often read until midnight, and even vowed to burn his beloved brushes, break his ink-slab, and give up painting and poetry writing. Through his study of theology at São Paulo Church in Macao, Yushan was

completely converted from Confucianism to Catholicism. He became a staunch believer and a brother of the Society of Jesus in 1682, a decisive step and turning point in his life.

In 1683, after returning from Macao to Jiangnan, Yushan started his career as a Catholic missionary, shuttling between Suzhou, Changshu, Nanjing and Shanghai, and served as a father of the Catholic Church in Suzhou for some time. Gregorio Lopez (Luo Wenzao 罗文藻), who in 1685 became the first Chinese to be ordained as a Bishop, became his most respected teacher. In 1688 in Nanjing, Bishop Lopez officially ordained as priests Yushan, Wan Qiyuan 万其渊 and Liu Yunde 刘蕴德皖 he first time a Chinese bishop had ever ordained Chinese priests.

Yushan had conducted missionary work in Shanghai for about ten years before he was ordained. Despite his advanced age and poor health, he persisted in the study of Latin and theology. In 1690, when he was 59, he wrote a response to some poems by Messrs. Shen 沈 and Fan 范, two gentlemen from Suzhou: "I have spent long years studying Latin scripts without much success. The manuals, old and new, look like Greek to me;" and "as it takes time to cultivate oneself, I shut myself in my study like a prisoner in his cell... because I wish to guide my flock through Catholicism."[15] These words reflect his determination to master of Latin so that he could enlighten laymen with the word of God. By that time, Yushan no longer had any contact with Buddhist monks. When he learned that Tang Bin 汤斌, the Governor of Jiangning 江宁, had ordered the destruction of some temples that had been engaged in some evildoing, he was very gratified: "Glad to see the government destroy these temples, and no more monks knocking at my door."[16]

While doing religious work in Shanghai, Yushan stayed in the old Catholic Church (the *Jing Yi Tang* 敬一堂) founded by Francesco Brancati, an Italian missionary, in the late Chongzhen period, where there were already four priests. After Yang Guangxian instigated the persecution of Catholic missionaries, members of this Church had been left without any priest for a number of years. Seeing some of the members losing their faith, Yushan was very sad. In his poem "Shepherd" [*Mu Yang Ci* 牧羊词], he laments, "How many fat sheep are there left in the flock? I see so many lean ones! The grass is dying out and the shepherd has arrived too late to look after them." But instead of losing heart, he writes, "Knowing which sheep under my care are sick, I guide them by singing tirelessly even though I must be on constant guard against the wolves. I wish I could tend my flock forever, even if I have to go to the southeast in the morning and northwest in the evening" (see *Three Remainders* [*San Yu Ji* 三馀集]). As most of the church's members lived in Pudong 浦东, Yushan often crossed the Huangpu River 黄浦江 to attend to their needs; shuttling between Pudong and Puxi 浦西 day and night, he seemed to forget his tiredness and old age.

From 1695 to 1708, Yushan stayed at the East Church in Jiading, as its abbot. This church, built by Sun Yuanhua 孙元化, a student of Xu Guangqi 徐光启 during the reign of Emperor Tianqi 天启, housed such western missionaries as Álvaro Semedo and Lazzaro Cattaneo and later served as Yushan's missionary base in Jiading.

By the time Yushan came to Jiading, the church was rundown, and whole sections of it were occupied its neighbours. In 1695, Yushan wrote The Dilapidated Church" [*Po Tang Yin* 破堂吟]: "There are cracks in the leaning walls. The yard is piled with broken tiles like fallen leaves and trees are weighed down by heavy vines and other plants. As moss grows along the shadowed path, few visitors come here for enlightenment."[17] The east section of the church, where Yushan made his home, was extremely hot, as the setting sun blazed directly upon it. But Yushan, having given up worldly concerns, bore these hardships with equanimity. "Unconcerned by these difficulties, Yushan made the best use he could of the facility and tended his flock, rain or shine."[18]

Influenced by Rougemont, Yushan cherished a deep respect for St. Francisco Xavier, taking Simão Xavier as his religious name. Born into Spanish nobility, Francisco Xavier became one of the earliest followers of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, while studying in Paris in 1534. In 1540, he was dispatched by King João III of Portugal as the envoy of Pope Paul III, and did missionary work successively in India, Malacca and Japan. In 1551 and 1552, Xavier landed twice at Sanchoan Island 上川岛 in Guangdong 广东, but was unable to obtain permission to go to the mainland; finally, in 1552, he died of illness on the island. In his poem "St. Francisco Xavier" [*Sheng Fang Ji Ge Sha Wu Lue* 圣方济各・沙勿略, Yushan

eulogizes, "Xavier, a specially chosen pillar of Catholicism, followed the word of God and experienced untold hardships... He was not only a pillar of the Church, but also a kind Father of Asia."[19] Yushan, following Xavier's example for decades, lived a very simple life. In 1696, at a ceremony celebrating the founding of the Franciscan Order in Jiading, Yushan admonished the brothers and sisters in his flock to learn from Xavier, the paragon of missionaries, who had sailed such a long distance to evangelize the Orient.[20]

In 1701, celebrating his seventieth birthday in Jiading, Yushan composed four poems to express his feelings. In these poems, he not only records his difficulties in religious study, his humble and poor priesthood, and his pride in transcending this mortal world, but also a sense of nostalgia for his hometown, children and grandchildren. His third poem, for example, reads, "If my two sons could serve God as I wish, Catholicism could be carried on in my family;" and in the fourth he says, "Having lost most of my teeth, I have difficulty chewing sugarcane; but I know its taste already" (see "Catholic Poems" in *São Paulo and Other Poems*). After thirty years of religious study, cultivation, and preaching, Yushan finally completed his great shift from Confucianism to Catholicism.

Around 1709, Yushan returned to Shanghai to spend the remainder of his life. In 1710, on his painting "Rain in the Country" [*Nong Cun Xi Yu Tu* 农村喜雨图] he inscribed a poem and a postscript, in which he said: "Though an old man, I'm still in the service of God. The good rain in the country is surely a favour and gift from the Creator who remembers his flocks" (see *Postscripts to Paintings by Mo Jing*, op. 37). Judging from this invocation of the Creator, we can conclude that in the latter part of his life, Yushan was still dedicated to the service of God, and used his poems, paintings, and postscripts as tools to spread the Word.

"Early Summer in the Country—in Imitation of Shi Danian" 赵大年 (colour on paper, 18.7 x 28 cm), painted by Wu Li around age 40. Beijing Palace Museum collection.

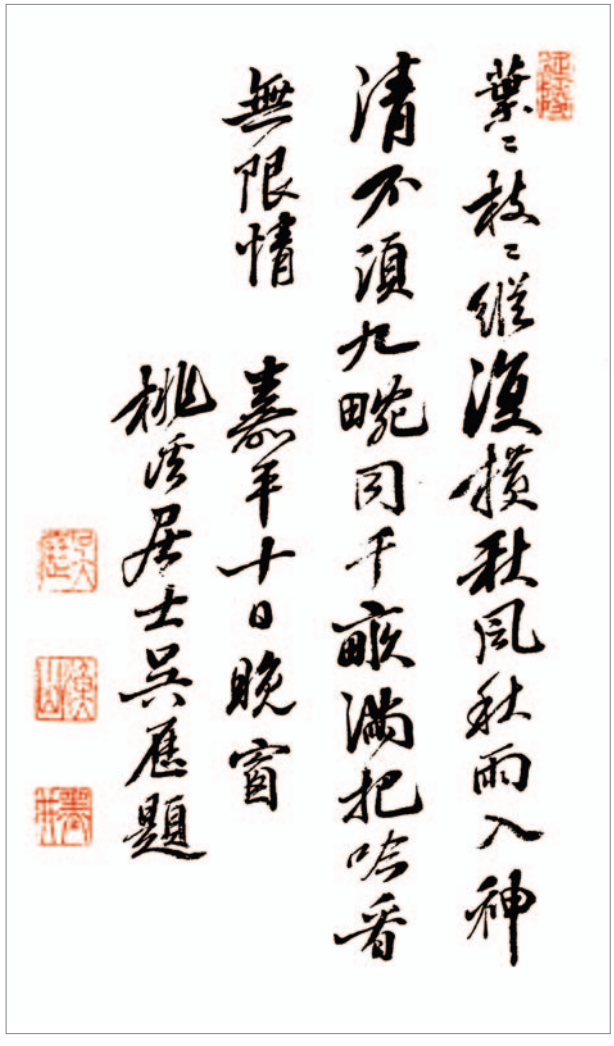
Around 1712, Yushan wrote a letter to Wang Shigu 王石谷, a man of the same town, same age, same church, and who had studied under the same painting teacher as Yushan. But Shigu, fond of worldly pursuits, did not have much faith in God even in his old age. Yushan, as a friend and priest, admonished Shigu to examine himself, redeem his sins, take communion, and accept God's grace so that he could enter heaven as a devout believer. Yushan reminded him of the importance of this admonition and asked him "not to take his advice as nagging" (see *Addenda to Painting Postscripts*). Yushan's advice apparently worked: Shigu eventually became a devout believer.

On February 24, 1718, Yushan passed away in Shanghai at the age of 87. He was buried in the Catholic graveyard outside the South Gate, with a tombstone erected by Manuel Mendes, a foreign missionary, on which is inscribed, "The tomb of Mr. Wu Yushan, Catholic priest."

YUSHAN'S WORKS AND THEIR BASIC CONTENT

Regarding Yushan's early works, Chen Yuan says, in his *Origins of the Mo Jing Collection* [*Mo Jing Ji Yuan Liu Kao* 墨井集源流考], that the poems that Yushan composed before the age of thirty are collected in *The Peach Stream Collection* [*Taoxi Ji* 桃溪集]. In 1660, Qian Qianyi wrote his "Preface to the Peach Stream Poems, [*Taoxi Shigao Xu* 桃溪诗稿序] and in 1668 Tang Yuzhao 唐宇昭 also authored a preface for *The Peach Stream Collection*. In 1664 and 1665, when Yushan visited Wuxing with Chen Hu, the two friends composed many poems for each other on the road. Chen Hu collected some of Yushan's poems into a volume entitled *Travels* [*Cong You Ji* 从遊集], and wrote a preface for it. After his mother passed away in 1662, Yushan visited Wuxing frequently and wrote *On My Sorrow and Other Poems*, which was prefaced by Yu Huai 余怀. *The Peach Stream Collection, On My Sorrow and Other Poems*, and *Travels* have since been combined into *The Collected Poems of Mo Jing* [*Mo Jing Cao Tang Shi* 墨井草堂诗] with a preface by Chen Yuqi 陈玉璂.[21]

According to Jiang Guangxi 蒋光熙 in the second volume of his *Selected Works of Donghu* [*Dong Hu Cong Ji* 东湖丛记], during the reign of Emperor Daoguang 道光, Grand Scribe Sun Yuanxiang 孙原湘



A poem by Wu Yushan on a painting.

acquired two volumes of Yushan's manuscripts, namely *The Peach Stream Collection* and *Travels*, prefaced by Tang Yuzhao. But today no trace survives of these two volumes. Only *On My Sorrow and Other Poems* is available in scribed copy at the Nankai University Library in Tianjin 天津. With the help of my friend Prof. Li Qingxin 李庆新, I had the opportunity to read the whole manuscript. The poems in the manuscript are almost identical to those printed in the two-volume *Selected Poems by Mo Jing* [*Mo Jing Shi Chao* 墨井诗钞] by Lu Daohuai 陆道淮. Only the titles of a few poems, and the preface written by Yu Huai, are slightly different in the Lu Daohuai edition. According to Chen Yuan, in his *Chronicles of Wu Yushan* (vol. 1), Yu Huai wrote this preface in

1665. But in the original preface to *On My Sorrow and Other Poems*, we found the sentence, "Wu Yushan is a Catholic brother." And quite a few of the poems are composed after 1665, the latest ones having been written when Yushan was engaged in religious work in Jiading. Yu Huai, who died in 1695, still had the chance to read them. So this preface must have been written sometime before 1695. Thus the original collection, which included poems written by Yushan from his early to late years, was probably made during Yushan's time in Jiading. *On My Sorrow and Other Poems* takes its title from the first poem in the collection. And the "sorrow" in this title refers not to Yushan's sorrow over the death of his mother, but to that he felt at the loss of his country—a state of mind quite fitting to the ardent loyalist that Yushan was. At the end of *Selected Poems by Mo Jing*, there is a postscript written by Lu Daohuai, who states, "the two volumes of *Selected Poems by Mo Jing* and the one volume of *Postscripts to Paintings* were given to me by my teacher Yushan in Shanghai." In other words, the poems in *On My Sorrow and Other Poems* (also known as *Selected Poems by Mo Jing*) were chosen by Yushan himself in his old age, and Lu Daohuai simply had them published. Another edition of *Selected Poems by Mo Jing* (in two volumes), printed by Gu Xiang 顾湘 of Changshu as part of the *"Little Rock Villa" Series* [*Xiao Shi Shan Fang Cong Shu* 小石山房丛书] during the reign of Emperor Daoguang, was based on Lu's edition, while *Selected Poems by Mo Jing*, the second volume of *Mo Jing Collection*, printed in 1909 by Li Duo 李杕, was based on Gu's edition.

During Yushan's sojourn in Macao, he wrote many poems, which are now collected in *São Paulo and Other Poems*, prefaced by Song Shiyin 宋实颖 and You Tong 尤侗. The thirty miscellaneous poems composed in Macao that are included in the first part of the book, and the eighty-two Catholic poems that comprise the second part, must also have been selected by Yushan himself. Chen Xun 陈薰 includes *São Paulo and Other Poems* and "Macao" by Lu Xiyan as appendices in his *Key to the World of Catholicism: An Introduction* [*Kai Tian Bao Yao: Xing Xue Xing Mi* 开天宝钥·性学醒迷], which was printed in 1705, meaning that by that time these two books were already available in their own right. In 1719, one year after Yushan's death, Lu Daohuai asked Zhang Pengchong 张鹏翀 of Jiading to edit *Selected Poems by Mo Jing* before he had it printed. Zhang put the thirty miscellaneous poems in different section and deleted all 82 Catholic poems because by that time the Qing court had already started moving towards a total ban on Catholicism in China. When Li Duo printed the *Mo Jing Collection* in 1909, he included eighty of the Catholic poems taken from the Xujiahui Library in Shanghai 上海 in the third volume of *São Paulo and Other Poems*, but deleted the two poems in which Yushan expressed tender thoughts for his dead wife. He did this out of the belief that Yushan, a man who converted to Catholicism in his old age, should not cherish such worldly feelings even though he had stayed away from women since his wife's death. During the Republican era, Chen Yuan re-inserted these two poems into *São Paulo and Other Poems*, thus making it complete. However, when working on his compilation, Chen Yuan found that two of the poems entitled "Self Accounts" [*Zi Shu Yuan Yun Er Shou* 自述附原韵二首] had actually been written by a friend of Yushan rather than by the priest himself, so he removed them and put them instead into the collection entitled *Occasional Poems* [*Jiao You Shi Lu* 交遊诗录]. That is why in the current edition we still see only eighty Catholic poems. Li Duo's edition of *São Paulo and Other Poems* includes four poems entitled "Seventy," which were not written in Macao.

Three Remainders originates in a scribed copy kept at the Xujiahui Library. Chen Yuan says, in *The Origins of the Mo Jing Collection*, "I believe *Three Remainders* refers to the poems not collected in the three original volumes, namely, *Peach Stream*, *On My Sorrow and Other Poems*, and *Travels*. The title may not have been given by Yushan himself."[22] The poems in *Three Remainders* were written by Yushan while he was doing religious work in Shanghai and Jiading, much later than the poems collected in *São Paulo and Other Poems*. According to the "Biography of Wang Su" in *The History of the Three Kingdoms* 三国志·魏·王肃传, the phrase "three remainders" or *san yu* refers to "remainders of the winter, remainders of the night, and remainders of the rain" The title indicates that Yushan composed the poems in the time that remained to him after he finished his religious work. In 1937, Father Xu Zongze had the poems published in volume 26 no. 8 of *Shengjiao Magazine* 圣教杂志. In 1967 in Hong Kong, Professor Fang Hao 方豪 discovered the *Poems by Mo Jing, the Ink-well Taoist* [*Mo Jing Dao Ren Shi Gao* 墨井道人诗稿], in Yushan's

"Mountains and Rivers"(no. 7 of 12, ink brush on paper, 18 x 20 cm), painted by Wu Li in 1708, at age 77.
Beijing Palace Museum collection.

own handwriting, which includes the eighty-nine poems collected in *Three Remainders* and the thirty miscellaneous poems that were composed in Macao and collected in *São Paulo and Other Poems*. After comparing them with other available editions, Professor Fang wrote two papers—"A Revised Edition of *Three Remainders* by Wu Yushan" [*Wu Yushan Xian Sheng San Yu Ji Jiao Shi* 吴渔山先生《三余集》校释] and "A Revised Edition of *São Paulo and Other Poems* by Wu Yushan" [*Wu Yushan Xian Sheng San Ba Ji Jiao Shi* 吴渔山先生三巴集》校释][23]—correcting some of the mistakes detected in the earlier printed editions. The handwritten manuscripts were later acquired by the Hong Kong Museum of Art, and Tan Zhicheng 谭志成, its curator, included photocopies of the manuscripts in his book *The Six Masters of the Early Qing Dynasty and Wu Li* [*Qing Chu Liu Jia Yu Wu Li* 清初六家与吴历].[24]

As mentioned earlier, *Postscripts to Paintings by Mo Jing*, also selected by Yushan late in his life, is included by Lu Daohuai in *Selected Poems by Mo Jing* in a new section entitled "Sixty-Six Postscripts to

Paintings" [*Hua Ba Liu Shi Liu Ze* 画跋六十六则]; but in point of fact there are sixty-nine postscripts in this section. During the reign of Emperor Daoguang, Yang Fuji 杨复吉 of Zhenze 震泽 included them in the *Sequel to the "Books of the Qing" Series* [*Zhao Dai Cong Shu Xu Ji* 昭代丛书续集]. Gu Xiang changed the title to *Postscripts by Mo Jing* when he included them in Volume 15 of the *"Little Rock Villa" Series*. Li Duo used Gu's version when he published *Mo Jing Collection* during the reign of Emperor Xuantong, with only slight differences in order. During the Republican era, Ma Keming 马克明 included them under the title of *Selected Essays on Painting* [*Lun Hua Jin Yao* 论画辑要], published by the Commercial Press.

In his essay "In Commemoration of Yushan's Ordination 250 Years Ago" [*Wu Yushan Jin Duo Er Bai Wu Shi Nian Ji Nian* 吴渔山晋铎二百五十年纪念], Chen Yuan states, "Besides *Three Remainders*, Yushan's poems and postscripts are also found in other painting collections. I myself have collected one volume of *Supplement to the Poems* [*Shi Chao Bu* 诗钞补] and another volume of *Supplement to the Painting Postscripts* [*Hua Ba Bu* 画跋补]."[25] It is a pity that these volumes have not been published. In the past half century, however, Yushan's paintings and calligraphy have been published both inside and outside China. Since the 1980s, the Cultural Relics Publishing House has published twenty-four volumes of *A Catalogue of Ancient Chinese Calligraphy and Paintings* [*Zhongguo Gu Dai Shu Hua Tu Mu* 中国古代书画图目], which include most of Yushan's paintings and many of his poems and postscripts on paintings. I have also managed to publish one volume of *Supplement to the Poems* [*Shi Chao Bu Yi* 诗钞补遗] and another volume of *Supplement to the Painting Postscripts* [*Hua Ba Bu Yi* 画跋补遗].

Yushan studied music with Chen Min in his youth, and was well-versed in the traditional music of China. After he became a brother of the Society of Jesus, he was exposed to Masses in Latin and to western sacred music. He realized that if Catholicism were to be spread in China, Masses would have to be conducted in Chinese, and hymns composed in traditional Chinese style. Yushan's *Catholic Sacred Music* [*Tian Yue Zheng Yin Pu* 天乐正音谱] is one such pioneering effort. The songs, based on both southern- and northern-style tunes popular in China, are divided into nine categories and twenty chapters, in imitation of ancient Chinese songbooks. They include "Mass Music" [*Mi Sa Yin Yue* 弥撒音乐], "Ode to the Holy Mother" [*Cheng Song Sheng Mu Yue Zhang* 称颂圣母乐章], "Give Thanks to the Lord" [*Jing Xie Tian Zhu Jun Tian yue* 敬谢天主钧天乐], "On Sin" [*Yu Zui Yue Zhang* 喻罪乐章], "Lamenting This Secular World" [*Bei Si Shi Yue Zhang* 悲思世乐章], "Guard Against Pride" [*Jing Ao Yue Zhang* 警傲乐章], "Guard Against Lust" [*Jie Xin Yue Zhang* 戒心乐章], "In Praise of the Ten Commandments" [*Yong Gui Cheng* 咏规程], "Lamenting the Pride of Satan" [*Bei Mo Ao* 悲魔傲], and "Moses to His Followers" [*Mei se (Mo Xi) Yu Zhong Yue Zhang* 每瑟(摩西)谕众乐章]. Prof. Fang Hao borrowed these songs from the Xujiahui Library through Father Xu Zongze, and he and Zheng Qian 郑骞 edited them for publication in 1950. After a careful re-editing in 1958, they were included in *Works Selected by Fang Hao at Sixty* [*Fang Hao Liu Shi Zi Ding Gao* 方豪六十自定稿].

When Yushan was doing religious work in Jiading, Zhao Lun 赵仑, a church member, compiled *A Sequel to Services and Daily Speeches* [*Xu Kou Duo Ri Chao* 续口铎日抄]. The book was so named because at the end of the Ming Dynasty, Li Jiubiao 李九标 of Futang 福唐 had recorded Giulio Aleni's words in a volume called *Services and Daily Speeches* [*Kou Duo Ri Chao* 口铎日抄]. The records start from August 15, 1696, with the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and end on Dec. 25, 1697, with Nativity of the Lord. The book exists in manuscript form at the Xujiahui Library. When Li Duo printed *The Mo Jing Collection*, he changed the title to *Services and Daily Speeches by Mr. Wu Yushan*, and included it in the fifth volume.

In the records of the Shanghai Library, it states that there is a manuscript version of *Couplets for the Holy Days* [*Zhou Nian Zhan Li Bian Dui Lian Ju* 周年瞻礼匾对联句], authored by Yushan, appended to *São Paulo and Other Poems*. "A List of Holy Days" [*Zhan Li Dan* 瞻礼单], published in Zhao Lun's *A Sequel to Services and Daily Speeches*, won great attention from Yushan and the priest in Shanghai, and we suspect that Yushan's work must be similar to Zhao Lun's. Unfortunately, however, the author searched all of Shanghai for this manuscript, but was unable to find it. Professors Wang Xi 汪熙 and Chen Jiang 陈绛 of Fudan University have also asked their

library for it, but were told that although the library originally had the manuscript, the librarians were unable locate it. Though disappointed by this news, we hope the manuscript will be located and published as soon as possible, giving us a complete view of Yushan's works.

Now that we have discussed Yushan's works and their publication, let us take a closer look at their basic content.

Poetry is a reflection of the poet's mind. After the fall of the Ming Dynasty, many loyalists wrote poems to express their aspirations and laments. In Yushan's early poems collected in *On My Sorrow and Other Poems*, we can see many such examples. For instance, the first couplet in "On My Sorrow" alludes to "weeping at the West Terrace," a popular figure among Ming loyalists because in 1290, Xie Ao 谢翱 a Song loyalist, made offerings to the soul of Wen Tianxiang 文天祥, a Song prime minister, at the West Terrace where Yan Ziling 严子陵 of the Han Dynasty used to go fishing, and wrote an essay entitled "Weeping at the West Terrace" [*Xi Tai Tong Ku Ji* 西台恸哭记] to express his grief over the fall of the Song court. The Song and Ming loyalists shared the same sentiment over the loss of their countries. There are three poems under the title "On Reading 'Weeping at the West Terrace'" [*Du Xi Tai Tong Ku Ji* 读西台恸哭记], in the same vein as "On My Sorrow."

In "A Sick Horse" [*Bing Ma* 病马], Yushan writes, "The horse is sick in the depths of autumn, though its hair and bones are different from those of the others. The grass grows verdant on the battlefield, and the valiant soldier can but sing a song of lament over the bones of his comrades. Exhausted, how many years can the horse go on whinnying? Tears of blood drip onto the grass, for it cannot repay the kindness of its master." As a young loyalist, Yushan once thought of joining the armed struggle against the Qing rulers in an attempt to restore the Ming, but finally abandoned this plan as his widowed mother depended on his support, and the anti-Qing movement was not going well. In 1650, when Yushan was 19, Qu Shisi was beheaded by the Qing troops in Guilin 桂林. In 1659, when he was 28, Zheng Chenggong 郑成功, also known as Koxinga, besieged Nanjing but was quickly forced to withdraw. After that point, the Ming restoration movement lost steam. The horse and soldier described in the poem are a true reflection of Yushan's state of mind, as he could not find any way to serve his beloved country.

In 1654, the remains of Qu Shisi were brought back from Guilin and buried on Yushan Hill in Changshu. The young Yushan wrote a passionate poem entitled "Lamenting Prime Minister Qu, Earl of Lin'gui" [*Ku Lin Gui Bo Qu Xiang Guo* 哭临桂伯瞿相国]: "You are left with deep regret as you failed in your attempt in Guilin, and your ancestral home is desolate with wild grass... Cherishing a deep love and respect for my dead friend, I have yet to tread a long path lined with leafless poplars." When Lu Daohuai published *Selected Poems by Mo Jing*, he attempted to cover up Yushan's ties to the southern Ming by changing the title of this poem to "Lamenting a Dead Friend" [*Ku You* 哭友], changing the reference to "Guilin" 桂林 (meaning "sweet osmanthus grove," is also the name of the city where Qu was executed) to read "guizhi" 桂枝 (meaning "sweet osmanthus bough"), and changing the phrase "wild grass" (蔓草 or *man cao*) to read "poems" (诗草, *shi cao*). For 300 years, readers of Yushan's poetry have been fooled by this editorial sleight-of-hand into believing that Yushan was lamenting a poor scholar who failed to pass the imperial examinations. The titles of other poems were also changed: for example, "Seeing Zhu Shunshui Off to Japan" [*Song Zhu Shun Shui Zhi Ri Ben* 送朱舜水之日本] was changed to "Seeing a Friend Off" [*Song You* 送友]; and "Seeing Off Tang Maohong, a Provincial Graduate, to Penghu Island" [*Zeng Tang Mao Hong Xiao Lian Zhi Peng Hu* 赠唐茂弘孝廉之彭湖] was changed to "Seeing Off Tang Maohong, a Provincial Graduate" [*Zeng Tang Mao Hong Xiao Lian* 赠唐茂弘孝廉]. Only with the discovery of *On My Sorrow and Other Poems* were we able to detect these changes.

Integrity is of vital importance in this world. It was the lifeblood of the Ming loyalists. Yushan not only upheld his sense of integrity throughout his life, but also praised this quality in his poems. Yushan was a master at painting bamboo; it is featured in dozens of his works. Bamboo, regarded as one of "the three friends in winter," is a symbol of integrity, and symbolizes the ethos of integrity among the Ming loyalists. In his postscripts to paintings, Yushan often praises bamboo: "The change of climate brings frost, which has destroyed

"Deep Forest away from Secular Dust" (colour on paper, 142.5 x 48 cm), painted by Wu Li in 1673, at age 42. Guangdong Provincial Museum collection.

"A Quiet Dawn in Autumn" (ink brush on paper, 95.6 x 24.1 cm), painted by Wu Li in 1695, at age 64. Nanjing Museum collection.

many plants. Only the bamboo is still green;" "The integrity of bamboo is even more prominent [when it grows] in the cracks of rocks;" "When painting bamboo, one should focus on its integrity, which is rendered more prominent in an environment of frost and snow;" "To capture the noble character of bamboo, one should paint it in an environment of wind, rain, frost or snow" (see *Postscripts to Paintings by Mo Jing*, ops. 50, 52, 53, and 54). Judging from these postscripts and the poems quoted above, we know why Yushan the man is still so highly regarded hundreds of years after his death.

Yushan took integrity and moral cultivation as lifelong pursuits. Known early in life as "Wu the Moralist," he was widely respected. Leading a transcendent life of seclusion, untainted by fame and wealth, his ideals are reflected in his simple landscape paintings and the poems inscribed upon them. In the poem inscribed on the painting entitled "Sleeping in the Snow" [*Wo Xue Tu* 卧雪图], painted for Morong, he writes: "Icicles tumble down the ravines and snowflakes fall against the window panes. I'd rather lie frozen in a thatched hut in the mountains than to ask favours from prefect or magistrate." In the poem inscribed on "Landscape" [*Shan Shui Tu* 山水图], he writes: "Living in a boat, the hermit moves at his will, without having to ask for anything in this world. Reading on a distant lake, he resents the green mountain close at hand" (see *Supplement to the Poems*).

In the early Qing Dynasty, Wang Wei, who worshipped Buddha and was a vegetarian, and Huang Gongwang, who exchanged his secular robes for those of a Taoist priest, were held in high esteem by the literati. Ming loyalists, having experienced such drastic changes in the world, often became hermits, leading a secluded life in the mountains and forests. Many of them took Buddhism or Taoism to be their lifelong companions. Yushan was no exception. Now that we have briefly discussed his Buddhist-related poems, let us examine his poems related to Taoism. During the reign of Emperor Shunzhi, there was a man by the name of Zhang Chunpei 张春培, from Yushan's hometown, who lived by Yushan Hill and practiced medicine to help the poor. In the autumn of 1659, several pieces of Chinese ganoderma (a kind of mushroom-like plant) appeared out of nowhere in his thatched home. Because the plant was regarded as an auspicious sign, Yushan immediately painted them in "Ganoderma in Cenwei's Home" [*Cen Wei Ju Chan Zhi Tu* 岑蔚居产芝图]. And in the accompanying poem, he writes: "Only on the ten fairy islands does there grow ganoderma that does not wither for a thousand years. Cenwei's home, a place of virtue and earth-essence, produces it too. The glowing purple caps eliminate our secular thoughts of dynastic change. That such an auspicious plant should appear in his home is an indication that the master of the house must have touched Heaven with his great virtue. I can say nothing but wish him a long, long life." Similar poems include the one inscribed on "Ganoderma Collection" [*Ti Cai Zhi Tu* 题采芝图], which goes, "The rising stream covers the bridge with blue water, and the returning clouds fill the valley with greenness. The ganoderma collector sings in his thatched hut." In "Poems Inscribed On Paintings" [*Ti Hua Shi* 题画诗], op. 16, he writes: "Clouds spread at dawn across autumn-tinged mountains; treetops echo the gurgling green stream. In a secluded place one can collect ganoderma and meet the immortals" (see *On My Sorrow and Other Poems*). Later Yushan became more focused on Catholicism. After he became a Catholic brother, he

Poems in "running hand" script by Wu Li
(ink brush on paper, 28 x 27 cm). Li Qiaofeng 李乔峰 collection.

tried his to rid himself of the influence of traditional Chinese culture that was in conflict with the teachings of Catholicism, and started to criticize the elements of Buddhism, Taoism and superstition he found in his poems.

During the transition between the Ming and Qing dynasties, Neo-Confucianism was very popular. For example, Yushan's teacher Chen Hu, a pure-minded Neo-Confucianist and Ming loyalist, adopting the neo-Confucianist ethic of "serving the country and helping the poor," dedicated himself to good causes. Yushan, an underprivileged, fatherless youth who had lived so long among the poor, experienced plenty of hardships himself. Though he could not serve his country like his teacher, he was full of sympathy for his compatriots. This sympathy was often reflected in his poems. In a poem he sent to Xu Zhijian in 1674, Yushan writes:

"Born in Suzhou Prefecture, I started early in life making a living far from my home. I worked hard all year round and never had a chance to relax. Returning home this year, I learned to plant crops on White Cloud Island. But when a devastating storm struck in spring, my hometown was completely submerged by floods. Families drifted among the duckweeds, and milling rods were left idle. Homes were turned into boats and boats floated on the treetops... For fear of being taxed as usual, my compatriots busied themselves draining the floodwaters until midnight. I had a good mind to leave my hometown again, but the weather did not permit... I was depressed as my home had been destroyed by the storm. Had I been able to predict such a calamity, I would have bought a fishing boat for my home. But can one live all his life on a boat?" (from *Supplements to the Poems*)

Yushan, having had a hard life far from home, returned home to learn farming, but was caught in an unexpected storm that destroyed his house. But he was more concerned for his compatriots, who had lost their livelihood, who were afraid they would not be granted any tax relief in view of the disaster, and who thus had to work until midnight in order to drain the floodwaters. His concern for others far exceeds the concern expressed by Du Fu 杜甫 for the homeless, in his poem entitled "My Thatched Hut Wrecked by Autumn Wind" [*Mao Wu Wei Qiu Feng Suo Po Ge* 茅屋为秋风所破歌].

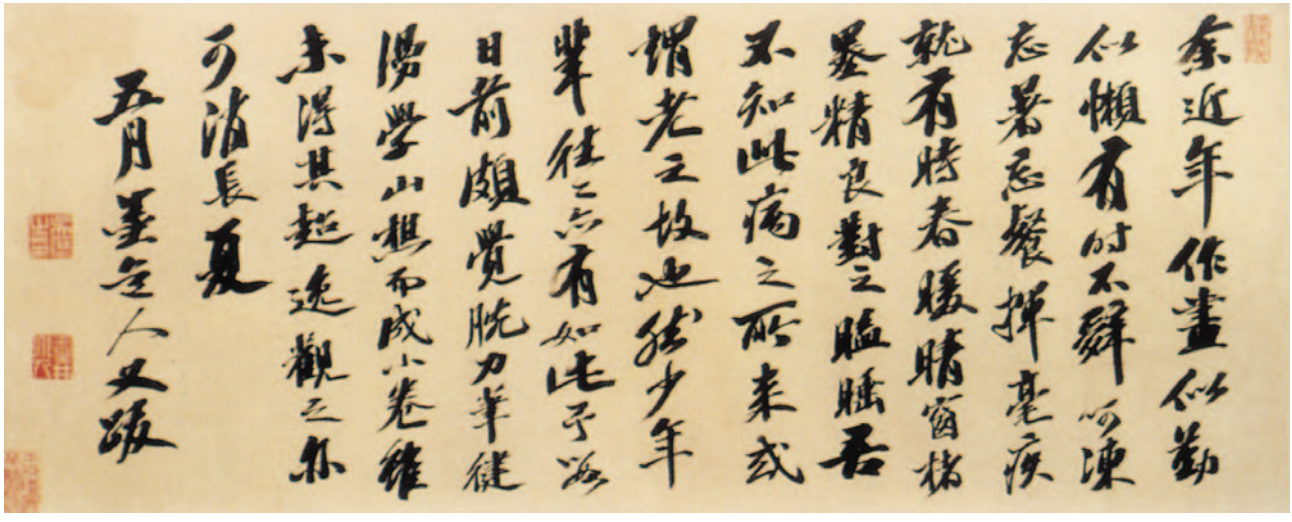
Yushan's care and concern for ordinary people remained unchanged throughout his life. Such care and concern can be seen in his poems on farming as well as on fishing. In his "On the Fisherman" [*Yu Fu Yin* 渔父吟] he writes:

"He mends the fishing net until his eyes become blurred. He casts his net tirelessly for small fish and shrimp. In his younger days, his catch served the monarch; but as he grows old, can he give up? Casting his net, he often mistakes the sky for water. And in a drunken stupor, he sleeps with the dragon on the river. His hair and beard have turned greyish-white, and he fears the early arrival of autumn. His friend has given up fishing for herding, but flock-tending is even harder than fishing. Selling his catch in town, he is glad to see a believer buying his fish." (from *Three Remainders*)

Here Yushan has given a realistic description of the hard life of a fisherman. In the poem, "friend" and "believer" refer to Yushan himself. In other words, he has placed himself in the same position as the fisherman, and implies that a Catholic priest must work even harder than the poor fisherman. On the days when believers are not allowed to eat the flesh of warm-blooded animals, he buys fish (which is not prohibited by the Church) instead. This poem demonstrates the harmonious relationship between Yushan and the fisherman.

In his later years, Yushan, as a Catholic priest, travelled tirelessly among the towns and villages of Pudong and Puxi to spread the Gospel. We can trace the footprints of this hardworking shepherd in such poems as "Ten Years in Shanghai" [*Shi Nian Hai Shang* 十年海上], "Inscription for the Wang Family's Listening-to-Pines Hall" [*Ti Wang Shi Ting Song Tang* 题王氏听松堂], "Going to the Village" [*Cun Xing* 村行], and "Crossing the Huangpu River" [*Du Pu* 渡浦], collected in *Three Remainders*. From the descriptions of Masses and sermons said by Yushan and the records of his daily conversations in *A Sequel to Service and Daily Speeches*, we can have some general idea of his selfless conduct and his achievements in Catholicism.

In his poem entitled "Lamentable" [*Ke Tan* 可叹], he writes: "People are more concerned with their property and rank rather than faith. Death takes away those whose hair has not yet turned white. Since life is so uncertain, non-believers will surely burn in the



A postscript on a painting by Yushan in 1706, at age 75.

hell. Their long journey on the road astray only ages them. It makes me sick that those trapped by Confucianism even dare to question the authenticity of Catholicism, instead of following the Holy Spirit!... As they do not believe in Him, they remain sinners all their life. Having preached tirelessly for a decade, I wish the ignorant would convert to Catholicism so they may have an eternal afterlife" (see *Three Remainders*). There is a story about this poem in *A Sequel to Service and Daily Speeches*:

"In August 1696, when Yushan was visiting the church at Luoxi 罗溪, he met "a Mr. Shen" 申某, a non-believer, at the dinner table. Huan Shi 桓式, Zhao Lun's nephew, asked him to join the Church, saying, "You are a Confucianist, but according to my observation, not all Confucians are good." "I just want to add that not all Catholics are good either," came the reply. Upon hearing this, Yushan said, "I am trying to persuade you to join the Church, rather than asking you to follow any particular man... Our life, like a sampan on the sea, will sink when struck by a storm. Temporary happiness means nothing. Instead of becoming consumed by regret in your old age, why not find a place where you can rest your soul?" I (Zhao Lun) added that "Huan Shi's observation that not all Confucians are good is not entirely correct. First of all, it's a sin to doubt other people... I used to follow Confucius myself. When I was young, I learned poetry and read the *Four Books* [*Si Shu* 四书], the *Five Classics* and mountains of annotated editions of them. As I grew older, I tried my luck at various examinations and thought I was on the right path. But when I began to seek [an understanding of] the origin and value of life, I could not find an answer no matter how hard I tried. Confucius himself said little about these matters. That is why I converted to Catholicism, and since my conversion, I feel enlightened and have become a completely new man..." During my speech, Yushan nodded repeatedly in approval and composed "Lamentable" shortly afterwards."

From this story we can conclude that Yushan and his disciple Zhao Lun believed that Confucius and Mencius ignored such important questions as the origin of life, since they said so little about it. Followers of Confucius thus aimed only to gain fame and wealth with their skills in poetry, and never thought of mending their ways. Even more outrageously, they ridiculed the orthodoxy of Catholicism. In the debate about the superiority of Catholicism over Confucianism, Zhao Lun used his own experience of conversion from Confucian to Christian as an example to convince non-Christians. His experience was very similar to that of Yushan.

The phrase "Tian xue" 天学, literally "the study of God," was used to refer to Catholicism in the late Ming and early Qing. The term "Tian xue shi" 天学诗, "Catholic poems," was invented by Yushan. While preaching in Jiading, he told Zhao Lun that compared to other kinds of poetry, the composition of Catholic

poems was far more difficult (see *A Sequel to Service and Daily Speeches*). The "Catholic poems" Yushan speaks of are of two kinds: those based on the teachings of Catholicism, which can be called Catholic poems in the strict sense, and those about Catholic culture in the West composed by Catholic priests in the style of classical Chinese poetry, which are Catholic poems in the broad sense. Although the origin of Catholic poems can be traced to the late Ming Dynasty, Yushan was the most dedicated and prolific of Catholic poets, and tried to express in his poetry the teachings of Catholicism and his understanding of them.

Yushan's Catholic poems, about 100 in total, are primarily collected in the sections called "Catholic Poems" in *São Paulo and Other Poems*, "Miscellaneous Poems Composed in Macao," and *Three Remainders*. They describe Yushan's difficult but happy life at the São Paulo College, and sing praises of the Catholic Church, especially the Society of Jesus, and his predecessors Francisco Xavier, Ignatius Loyola, Francisco de Borja, and Stanislaus Kostka. Some of the poems also give expression to Yushan's memory of Father Zhou, Philippe Couplet, and other Catholic priests. "In Memory of Bishop Gregorio Lopez" [*Ku Siu Jia Luo Xian Sheng* 哭司教罗先生] records such religious events as Masses, consecrations, processions, Christmas, the Crucifixion, and so forth. Other poems reflect Yushan's devout dedication to Catholicism and his understanding of the Trinity, Nativity, heaven and hell, and other Catholic doctrines. These poems were composed either while he was studying theology at São Paulo College in Macao or while he was preaching in Shanghai and Jiading. His dedication to composing poetry despite his hard life, ill health and old age is clearly an expression of his devotion to the Church. Influenced by the Chinese literary tradition of "writing poetry to express one's feelings," Yushan took every opportunity to write, either to encourage his fellow believers or to promote God's holy word.

When Yushan says that composing Catholic poems is more difficult than other kinds of poetry, he means that the difficulty lies in combining the traditional Chinese poetic form with Catholicism, so deeply rooted in Western culture. This difficulty is caused, in the final analysis, by the differences between Chinese and Western cultures. Yushan, however, successfully brought the two cultures together with his extraordinary literary abilities, because he acquired both a profound knowledge of Chinese culture and a deep understanding of Catholicism, which are unmatched by his Chinese contemporaries. This is why his Catholic poems could reach such unprecedented heights of literary achievement.

During the transition between the Ming and Qing dynasties, Macao was a centre of cultural exchange between China and the West. When Yushan studied religion there, he made careful observations of the differences between Chinese and Western cultures: "western rites and customs are entirely different from our own. For example, in China, when we receive guests, we put on our caps and robes, but here they remove theirs. The same is true with the written word and painting. Chinese characters are composed of strokes, whereas theirs words are formed of letters. We write vertically, and they horizontally. When we paint, we pay attention to essence rather than form, but they to shape and shadow. We put our signatures on the upper part of the painting, they on the lower part. Such differences are too numerous to be counted" (see *Postscripts to Paintings by Mo Jing*, op. 59). Chinese paintings, especially those painted by Yushan and other intellectuals, emphasized essence and vibrancy rather than form and shape, whereas Western painting stresses the use of colour, chiaroscuro, and perspective. Even the artist's signature belongs on different parts of the painting. From his observations, we can see that Yushan has not only noticed the differences between Chinese and Western languages and social customs, but also was the earliest Chinese artist to compare the different characteristics of Chinese and Western painting.

In addition, in his poems Yushan also makes note of new things like telescopes, alarm clocks, microscopes, the Western calendar, snuff, wine, and other kinds of technical know-how that were imported into China through Macao.

CONCLUSION

Wu Yushan was a celebrated cultural figure during the Ming-Qing transition. Born into a prominent family, he was a Ming loyalist, and a famous painter and poet. Like other Ming loyalists of the era, Yushan maintained his integrity throughout his life,

along with a strong of responsibility for the preservation and promotion of Chinese civilization. Dedicated to the causes he loved, he made outstanding achievements in literature and art despite the harsh conditions under which he lived.

In his conclusion to *The Chronicles of Wu Yushan*, Chen Yuan states, "Many Chinese literati became Matteo Ricci's followers after he came to China. But Yushan was the first scholar who actually became a priest." Among Ricci's followers in the late Ming, the most prominent was Xu Guangqi. In Xu's time, however, intellectual believers could seek the complements between Catholicism and Confucianism, because they claimed "we must understand the West before we can surpass it." By Yushan's time, the Rites Controversy had grown much bitterer. As a result, there was no room for gentry believers to seek compromises between Catholicism and Confucianism, because the conflicts and differences between Catholicism, representing Western culture, and Confucianism, representing traditional Chinese culture, had grown too sharp. In the end, they had to make a choice: to follow Catholicism or Confucianism.

Yushan came to his belief in Catholicism in middle age, well after he turned forty. After many years of studying theology and preaching, he underwent a sea change in his belief system, from Confucianism to Catholicism, at about the age of seventy. His Catholic poems, though they take the literary form of classical Chinese poetry, are expressive of Catholic teachings. His *Catholic Mass Songs*, based on the folk tunes popular in China, were written and sung in Chinese. After a long period of observation and study, he compared western social customs, language, art and science with those of Chinese culture. From this we can conclude that Wu Yushan and Xu Guangqi were representative of the cultural exchange between China and the West at different times during the Ming-Qing transition. RC

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Translated by Guo Yidun 郭颐顿.

NOTES

1 See Shao Songnian 邵松年, *Hai Yu Wen Zheng* 海虞文征, vol. 2.
2 See "Inscription for Wu Yushan's Imitations of Song and Yuan Paintings" [*Jiao You Wen Lu: Ti Wu Yu Shan Lin Song Yuan Hua Suo Ben* 交遊文录・题吴渔山临宋元画缩本], in *On Socializing*, Appendix II.
3 See *Qian Qianyi's* 钱谦益 *Taoxi Shigao Xu* 桃溪诗稿序 *("*Preface to the Peach Stream Poems" in *Xu Ba Zhuan Ji: Tao Xi Shi Gao Xu* 序跋传记·桃溪诗稿序 (Prefaces, Postscripts and Biographies).
4 See "Inscription on the Ink Bamboo Painting," in *Hua Ba Bu Yi: Ti Mo Zhu Tu* 画跋补遗·题墨竹图 (Supplement to the Painting Postscripts), vol. 6.
5 See *He Wang Tai Chang Xi Tian Za Xing"* 和王太常西田杂兴 ("In Response to Wang Taichang") in *Wu Mei Cun Quan Ji* 吴梅村全集 (Complete Works of Wu Meicun), vol. 5, p. 1.
6 See Cai Xingyi 蔡星仪, "Wang Jian," in *Zhongguo Li Dai Hua Jia Da Guan: Qing* 中国历代画家大观·清 (A Complete Dictionary of Chinese Painters: Qing Dynasty), vol. 1.
7 See *Zhongguo Gu Dai Shu Hua Tu Mu* 中国古代书画图目 (A Catalogue of Ancient Chinese Paintings), vol. 1, p. 28.
8 See *Zhu Shulou Ciyun Hua Yin* 著书楼次韵话隐 in *Xie You Ji* 写忧集 (On My Sorrow and Other Poems).
9 See Xu Zongze 徐宗泽, *Ming Qing Jian Ye Su hui Shi yi Zhu Ti Yao* 明清间耶稣会士译著提要 (A Guide to Translations by Jesuits in the Ming and Qing Dynasties), p. 238.
10 See *Chen Yuan Shi Xue Lun Zhu Xuan* 陈垣史学论著选 (Selected Historical Essays by Chen Yuan), p. 409.
11 See *Zhongguo Hui Hua Quan Ji* 中国绘画全集 (Complete Paintings by Chinese Artists: Qing Dynasty), vol. 24, p. 181.
12 See Lu Xiyan 陆希言, *Aomen Ji* 澳门记 ("Macau"), in *On Socializing*, op. cit.
13 See Lu Xiyan, *Aomen* ("Macau"), in *On Socializing*, op. cit.
14 See *Aozhong Za Yong* 澳中杂咏("Miscellaneous Poems Composed in Macao"), in *San Ba Ji* 三巴集 (São Paulo and Other Poems), op. 26.
15 See *Ci Yun Za Shi Si Shou* 次韵杂诗七首 ("Seven Miscellaneous Poems"), op. 3 and 4.
16 See *San Yu Ji* 三馀集 (Three Remainders), vol. 3.
17 See *Shi Chao Bu Yi* 诗钞补遗 (Supplement to the Poems), vol. 4.
18 See *Chen Yuan, Shi Xue Lun Zhu Xuan* (Selected Historical Essays by Chen Yuan), p. 412.
19 See *Sheng Xue Xi* 圣学诗 ("Catholic Poems"), in *San Ba Ji* (São Paulo and Other Poems).
20 See *Xu Kou Duo Ri Chao* 续口铎日抄 (A Sequel to Services and Daily Speeches).
21 See Chen Yuan, *Wu Yushan Xian Sheng Nian Pu* 吴渔山先生年谱 (The Chronicles of Wu Yushan), vol. 2, Appendix, p. 55.
22 See Chen Yuan, *Wu Yushan Xian Sheng Nian Pu* (The Chronicles of Wu Yushan), vol. 2, Appendix, p. 56.
23 These were published in *Xian Dai Xue Yuan* 现代学苑 (Modern Intellectuals)(Dec. 1967) and *Guo Li Zhong Yang Tu Shu Guan Guan Kan* 国立中央图书馆馆刊 (Journal of the National Central Library)(Jan. 1968), respectively.
24 Published by the Hong Kong Urban Council, pp. 352-361.
25 See Zhou Kangxie 周康燮, ed., *Wu Yu Shan Yan Jiu Lun Ji* 吴渔山研究论集 (Selected Research Papers on Wu Yushan), p. 57.

Wu Yushan and His Pursuit of Faith in the Great Dynastic Transition

Gu Weimin*

A LOYALIST'S FAMILY BACKGROUND AND POLITICAL PASSIONS

Wu Yushan was born at a time when the Ming dynasty was falling to the rising Manchus. During that era of great change, loyalists as well as traitors came to the fore. Everyone, consciously or unconsciously, expressed his position towards the transition by his attitude to life. Wu Yushan was no exception.

Wu Li 吴历, who took "Yushan" as his style name, was born in 1632. When he was twelve years old, Qing troops invaded through the Shanhaiguan Pass 山海关 and put an end to the Ming dynasty. Thus, as a teenager, Wu experienced the devastating anguish of losing his beloved country. Yushan was a descendant (eleven generations removed) of Wu Na 吴讷, a Deputy Censor-in-Chief in the Ming dynasty who was given the posthumous title of Duke Wen-ke 御史文恪, and whose biography can be found in *The History of Ming Dynasty* [*Ming Shi* 明史].Therefore we can safely say that Yushan was born into an eminent Ming family. Wu Na's grandson Wu Chun 吴淳 became an imperial scholar in 1448; Wu Na's great-grandson Wu Tang 吴堂 achieved the same status in 1499. However, by the time of Yushan's father, Wu Shijie 吴士杰, the Wu family had declined. Wu Shijie died in Hebei 河北 while serving the Ming court during the early reign of Emperor Chongzhen 崇祯. Wang Ruren 王孺人, his widow, brought up their three bereaved sons all by herself, through terrible hardship. The eldest son was Qitai 启泰, the second Qiyong 启雍, and the youngest Qili 启历—Yushan's original name.[1] Despite the decline in his family, we can see little evidence of it in Yushan's extant poems. Instead, he took great pride in his family background and maintained his loyalist integrity throughout his life. Among his friends there were many loyalists. According to the work of Prof. Zhang Wenqin 章文钦 of Sun Yat-sen University, Yushan's loyalist friends included Zhang Chunpei 张春培, who lived in a thatched hut by Yushan Hill 虞山 and practiced medicine to help the poor; one descendant of Yan Na 严讷, who was Prime Minister during the reign of Emperor Jiajing 嘉靖; Yan Shi 严栻, who led the armed struggle against Qing rulers in Changshu 常熟 and became a Buddhist monk after it failed; Chen Fan 陈帆, who was as famous as Yushan in the fields of calligraphy, painting and poetry; and Mao Zijin 毛子晋, who studied poetry with Yushan under the same teacher, Qian Qianyi 钱谦益.[2] Qian was another of Yushan's loyalist friends. Though he served as an official in both the Ming and Qing dynasties, in his old age, Qian became very remorseful about this fact. To redeem the error of his ways, he plotted with his students Qu Shisi 瞿式耜 and Zheng Chenggong 郑成功, also known as Koxinga, to restore the Ming, and even considered going into exile with Koxinga after the latter failed in his attempt to recapture Nanjing 南京. As Chen Yinke 陈寅恪 points out, "The surrender to the Qing conquerors, forced upon Qian who was of a weak and timid disposition, remained a blemish for him throughout his life. It is unreasonable, however,

"Mountains and Rivers, in Imitation of Huang Gongwang 黄公望" (colour on paper, 21 x 14.9 cm), painted by Wu Li in 1661, at age 30. Shanghai Museum collection.

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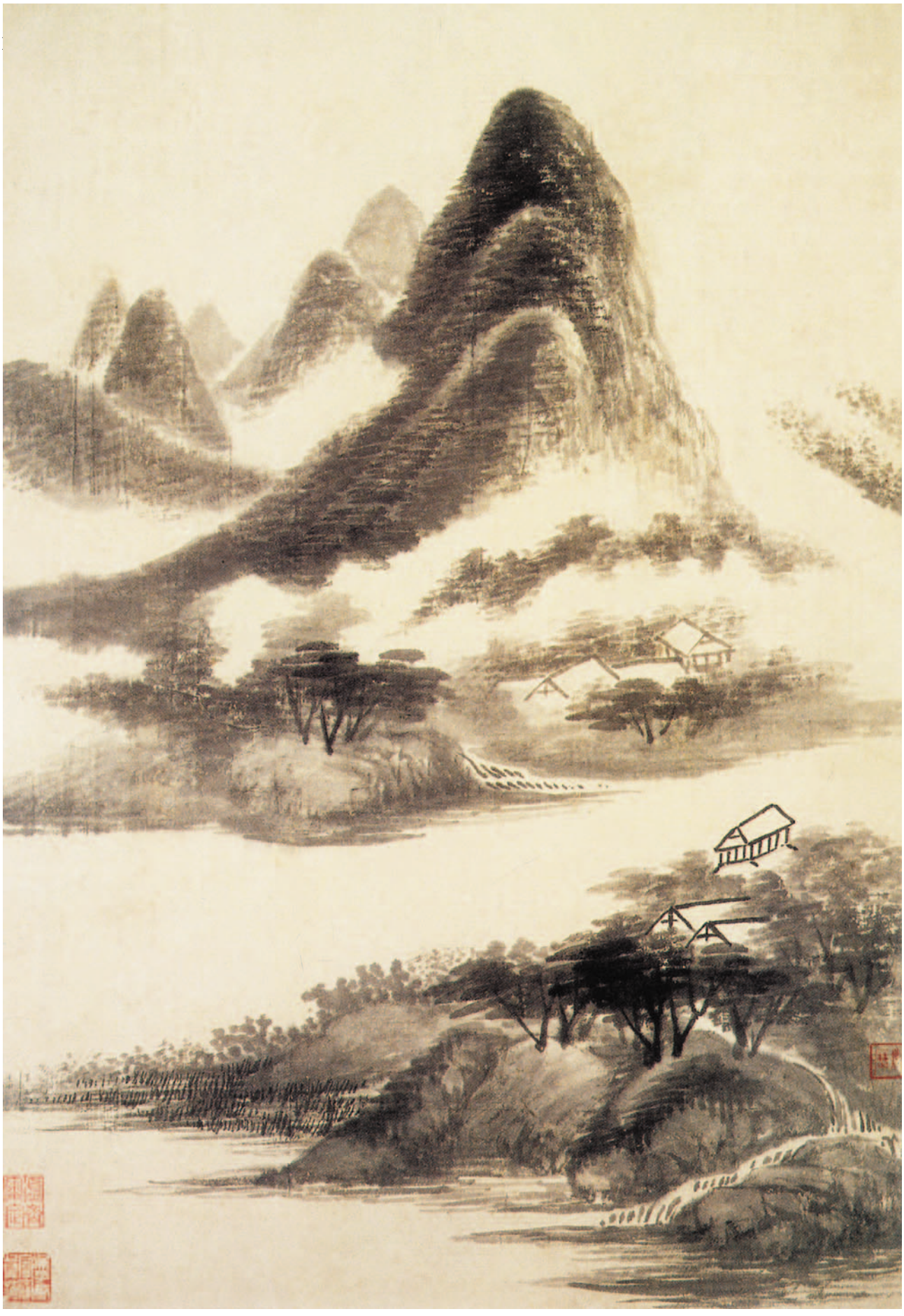


to say that he did it of his own free will" (*Biography of Liu Rushi* [*Liu Rushi Bie Zhuan* 柳如是别传]: 1024).

Yushan's deep grief over the loss of his country is a recurrent theme in his poems. When the remains of Qu Shisi, who had resisted the Qing rulers and been beheaded for it in Guilin 桂林, were brought back and buried on Yushan Hill, the 23-year-old Yushan wrote a passionate poem entitled "Lamenting Prime Minister Qu, Earl of Lin'gui" [*Ku Lin Gui Bo Qu Xiangguo* 哭临桂伯瞿相国]. This poem echoed an essay written by the Song loyalist Xie Ao 谢翱 entitled "Weeping at the West Terrace"[*Xi Tai Tong Ku Ji* 西台恸哭记]. Xie wrote the essay while offering a sacrifice to Wen Tianxiang 文天祥, a Song prime minister, at the West Terrace where Yan Ziling 严子陵 used to go fishing. Xie invokes the memory of Yan Zhenqing 严正卿, a minister of the Tang 唐 Dynasty, to allude to Wen Tianxiang. His melancholy prose expresses Xie's great grief, through sentences like, "I only remember your words at parting. Whenever I am moved, I shall search for you in my dreams, in the mountains, rivers, waterside pavilions, clouds, and grass. When I come across a place that reminds me of where we parted, I shall pace restlessly, searching for you. Although I am sad, I dare not weep." Yushan wrote something very similar to express his feelings over the loss of the Ming Dynasty:

"For the past ten years I have been drifting, my eyes not yet dry from weeping at the West Terrace. Desolate new houses stand everywhere, but who now looks after the old caps and robes? Poems remain at the riverside though the spring tide has ebbed, and geese fly north of the Great Wall though it is still frosted with snow. As the dust of war has not yet settled, who has the heart to take up the old fishing rod?

Looking at Yashan 嗜山, I cannot help but shed tears. Who has offered a hand to rescue those drowning at sea? When I sing the requiem, I beat the time with a piece of bamboo against the rock, until both have crumbled to pieces." [3]

In this poem, "old caps and robes" refers to the Ming loyalists' attachment to the Han-styled official robes worn in the previous dynasty, whereas the imagery in the next two lines describes the iron heels of the Manchu troops trampling upon the loyalists in Jiangnan 江南 (literally, "south of the river"). "The dust of war" invokes the anti-Qing movement in the years of Southern Ming and the tragic massacres that took place in Yangzhou 扬州 and Jiading 嘉定. Yashan was the last stronghold of the Southern Song 南宋 against the Yuan 元 invaders; it was here that Lu Xiufu 陆秀夫 drowned at sea with the young Emperor on his back when the Song army was defeated in 1279. This poem is a clear allusion to the fall of the Ming dynasty. What is surprising is that the poem, so full of anti-Qing innuendoes, passed the severe censorship of the Manchu rulers and has survived until today! This stroke of luck makes it possible for us, hundreds of years later, to understand Wu Yushan's grief and indignation.

Though it is sometimes presumed that Yushan would have given anything to restore the Ming, this author believes there is no need to overemphasize the extent to which Yushan was "ashamed to serve two dynasties;" it is especially pointlezss to search for groundless evidence to illustrate his political resistance. Nonetheless, it is an indisputable fact that Yushan hated the Qing rulers. This is evidenced in such poems as "For No Reason" [*Wu Duan Ci Yun* 无端次韵] and "On Reading 'Weeping at the West Terrace'" [*Du Xi Tai Tong Ku Ji* 读西台恸哭记]. He also portrayed a number of famous men of resistance in his paintings "Figures from The Historical Records" [*Shi Ji Ren Wu Gu Shi Ce* 史记人物故事册]—figures such as Qu Yuan 屈原, Jing Ke 荆轲, and Zhang Liang 张良—in a way that revealed his admiration of them. This choice of motif in the paintings reflects the artist 's personal values and orientation. However, he also fully understood that it was impossible to change the situation. His indignation and helplessness are reflected in his poem "A Sick Horse" [*Bing Ma* 病马], which reads, "The horse is sick in the depths of autumn though its hair and bones are still different from those of the others. The grass grows verdant on the battlefield, and the valiant soldier can but sing a song of lament over the bones of his comrades. Exhausted, how many years can the horse go on whinnying? Tears of blood drip onto the grass, for it cannot repay the kindness of its master." As a scholar, Yushan could not do much to save his beloved country, nor was he even able to provide for his hungry family. In his *Postscripts to Paintings by Mo Jing* [*Mo Jing Ti Ba* 墨井题跋], he

"Mountains and Rivers, in Imitation of the Old Masters" (No. 8 of 10, colour on paper, 46 x 30.4 cm), painted by Wu Li in 1666, at age 35. Nanjing Museum collection.

clearly indicates that he indulges in painting in order to "escape the world": "The loyalists in the Jin and Song dynasties drank to escape the hardships of this world, and at the end of the Yuan Dynasty, the gentry immersed themselves in painting to distance themselves from officialdom and fame. Many of them led carefree lives in the forests, and ultimately died there." Statements like this indicate Wu Yushan's intention to turn from a loyalist into a hermit.[4]

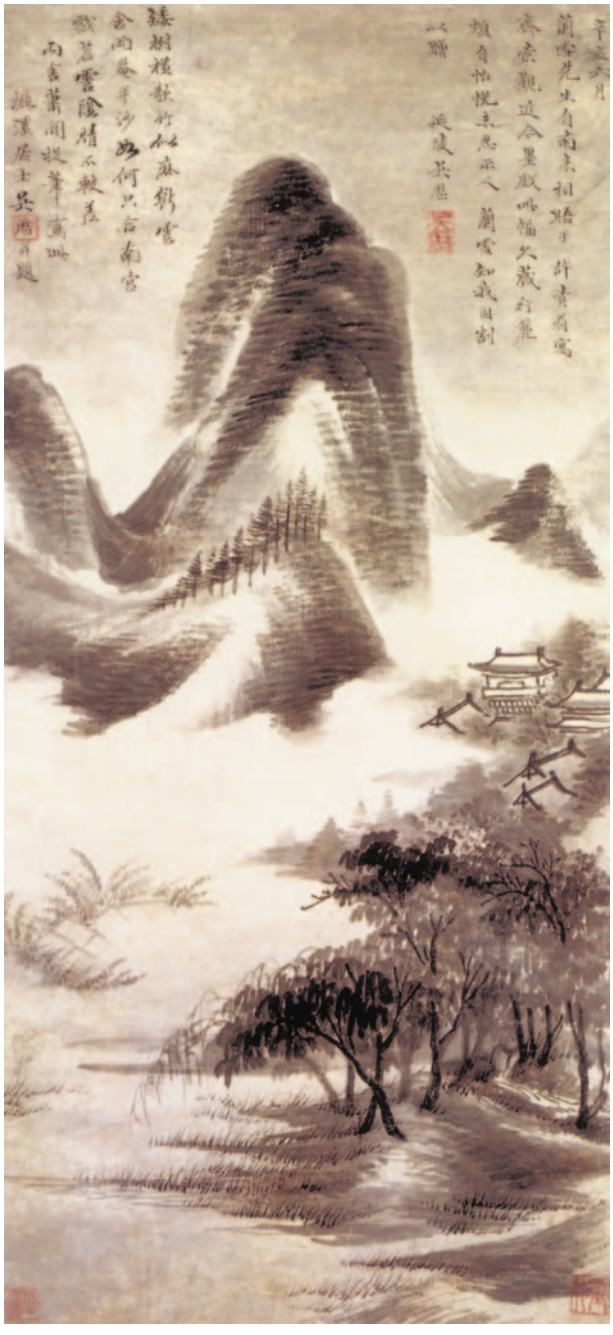
A PROUD AND UNAPPROACHABLE DISPOSITION

Wu Yushan is one of the six famous painters of the early Qing. His paintings reflect his position as a member of the gentry. Yu Jianhua 俞剑华, a distinguished modern art historian, sings high praises of Yushan in *The History of Chinese Painting* [*Zhongguo Hui Hua Shi* 中国绘画史]:

"Though Yushan's style was based on that of the Yuan masters represented by Huang Gongwang 黄公望, his bold vision, vigorous strokes, and layers of mountains carry a deep meaning that is all his own, unmatched by the "four Wangs" (Wang Shimin 王时敏, Wang Jian 王鉴, Wang Hui 王翬 and Wang Yuanqi 王原祁), simply because he was too proud and aloof to follow the trends. He was further distanced from other gentry after he became a Catholic in his old age. He had few students, and only a few of his paintings survive. However, true art, with a life and value of its own, does not require the help of any outside force for survival. Later authors have arbitrarily said that Yushan's paintings are tinged with western techniques, simply because he converted to a western religion. But in point of fact, Yushan's paintings are quite typically Chinese. Had he enriched his paintings with western techniques, he may have made even greater artistic achievements. It is a pity that Yushan never made any remarks in this respect" (Yu Jianhua, *The History of Chinese Painting*, Shanghai Bookstore, 1995, p. 179)

This author fully agrees with Mr. Yu's assertion that not only was Yushan's artistic achievement greater than that of the four Wangs, but also that Yushan never used western techniques in his paintings. Despite the fact that the Society of Jesus, of which Yushan was a member in his old age, promoted Baroque art (featuring sinuosity of line and form, and the portrayal of spiritual ecstasy), and that Jesuits in China such as Giuseppe Castiglione and Denis Attiret were dedicated to the assimilation of Chinese and western painting styles, Yushan's paintings remained uninfluenced. But this author does not agree with Mr. Yu's conclusion that adopting western techniques would have enriched Yushan's art. Yushan's paintings, though typical of the Chinese gentry style, have their own distinct characteristics and lasting value.

The history of Chinese painting can be traced to the "Eight Diagrams" [*Ba Gua* 八卦] painted by Fu Xi 伏羲, who used very simple lines to express changes in the universe. The Taoist and Buddhist philosophies that later become the basis for the development of landscape, flower and bird painting also originated in quiet observation, seeking the internal rhythms and resemblances in the universe. The quality most valued in Chinese art, especially in paintings by literati, is what is known as "spiritual resemblance." The essence of this quality, which is the expression of subjective emotions, carries very strong individualistic characteristics. Although the Six Canons—the principles of painting developed by Xie He 谢赫 during the Wei 魏 and Jin 晋 period—stress "conformation with objects in order to portray their likeness" and the "application of colours according to the characteristics of the objects," the ultimate goal is "to make the objects vibrate with life." This is even more the case in the field of philosophy than in that of painting. Dong Qichang 董其昌, a great Ming artist, believed that making the object vibrate with life was the highest subjective spiritual goal a painter could possibly reach, after he had rid himself of interference from his environment. Such ability is something an artist is born with; it cannot be acquired. A good artist should be able to capture this essential spirit of an object and discard all extraneous elements—such as the pursuit of verisimilitude and contrast of colour between idea and substance—before he can express his individual character. Only in this way can he free himself of the shackles of conventional thinking and create paintings that can be passed down from one generation to another. For example, Kun Can 髡残 and Shi Tao 石涛, both eminent monks born under unlucky stars in the early Qing period, experienced the grief of losing their country and were made homeless as a result; but instead of painting their suffering directly, they tried to portray their inner world



"Mountains and Rivers, in Imitation of Mi Fu 米芾" (62.3 x 28.7), painted by Wu Li in 1671, at age 40. Beijing Palace Museum collection.

by choosing implicit motifs, painting distorted figures, and writing inscriptions that were obscure, ironic, unrestrained, or detached. Over the past 2,000 years, these canons have gelled into an indestructible tradition that is still in use today.

Another characteristic of the paintings by Chinese gentry was their combination of poetry, calligraphy and painting, and the fusion of personality with painting. As one of the authors of the original preface to the *Selected Poems by Mo Jing* [*Mo Jing Shi Chao* 墨井诗钞] says: "Poetry and paintings are closely related. Poems are paintings in sound and paintings are silent poems. Poems contain paintings and paintings reflect poems. It is very difficult to see one who excels both at painting and poetry composition." Fang Hao 方豪, a historian, states that in the history of Catholicism in China since the Ming Dynasty, there has only been one all-around artist—namely Wu Yushan—who has had the talent to compose poetry, play the zither, write good calligraphy, and paint well too.[5] Father Li Wenyu 李问渔, in "The Deeds of Wu Yushan" [*Wu Yushan Xing Zhuang* 吴渔山行状], compares Yushan to the Tang dynasty artist Yu Shinan 虞世南: "Emperor Taizong 太宗 of the Tang Dynasty often praised Yu Shinan, a loyal and unremitting artist, for his five supreme attainments in morality, loyalty, elegant prose, erudition, and calligraphy. Yushan was also talented in music, poetry, calligraphy and painting. Later he studied religion and became a priest. For three decades, he tended his flock in Shanghai 上海 and Jiading. His efforts were unmatched by his vulgar contemporaries. Isn't it appropriate for us to count this as his fifth attainment? His teachers were all famous at the time. He studied poetry with Qian Qianyi, painting with Wang Shimin, and music with Chen Min 陈岷, and made great progress... He was especially good at painting and excelled at landscape in particular."[6]

Both *The Biography of Mo Jing, the Ink-well Taoist* [*Mo Jing Dao Ren Zhuan* 墨井道人传], written by Zhang Yunzhang 张云章, a lay Buddhist at Pucun Village 朴村 in Jiading, and "The Deeds of Wu Yushan" by Father Li are based upon the claim that one of the reasons Yushan was so dedicated to painting was that "he wanted to support his mother with its proceeds. Since his paintings were so good, people bought them like hotcakes." Poverty was surely a factor that drove Yushan to perfect his painting skills. Yet it was not only a commercial pursuit: Yushan was also passionate about the art of painting itself. For example, when imitating paintings by the ancient masters, he became so preoccupied that he forgot to eat and sleep.

"Mountains and Rivers in Ink Brush" (No. 12 of 12, ink brush on paper, 18 x 20 cm), painted by Wu Li in 1708, at age 77. Beijing Palace Museum collection.

Shimin, proud to have such a diligent student, gave Yushan access to all the Song and Yuan masterpieces in his collection. "Yushan studied them day and night, and tried his best to capture the essence of the masters in his imitation." His devotion clearly set him apart from those who painted only for a living.

Tang Yuzhao 唐宇昭, author of the preface to *The Peach Stream Collection* [*Taoxi Ji* 桃溪集], believed that Yushan was influenced by the ancient masters not only in calligraphy, painting, and poetry composition, but also his attitudes and comportment. Let us take a look at the following passage from the preface:

"For a long time, although I had heard of Yushan, I had never seen his paintings. When I finally saw them, I thought they were no inferior to the works of the great masters of the Song and Yuan dynasties. Likewise, I saw Yushan's paintings before I met him. When I finally met him, I knew that he was just like the great sages of the arts such as Wang Xizhi 王羲之 and Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 of the Jin Dynasty. Finally, I met Yushan before I read his poems. When I read them, I

found them to be on a par with those by Li Bai 李白 and Du Fu 杜甫 of the Great Tang period. The reason I met Yushan, saw his paintings, and read his poems at different times was because he is such a modest person that he never brags about his talents in painting and poetry. This made me think that he was different from any of his contemporaries. Then I started to ask for his paintings, which are on different themes, including landscapes, birds, flowers, and human figures. He always obliged me and never showed any sign of fatigue. Then I begin to ask for his poems, which are uncollected on loose pieces of paper. I remember he only showed me one collection, which included the poems that Qian Qianyi appreciated so much. The range of styles in Yushan's paintings indicates his versatility as a painter. Reflecting back upon his personality, I think he is rather simple, even foolish! That is why I say that Yushan is different from any of his contemporaries."

Both Qian Qianyi and Chen Hu 陈瑚 praised Yushan's poems for being "clear in thought and seasoned in style." Today, when we read his *Three Remainders* [*San Yu Ji* 三馀集], *Selected Poems by Mo Jing*, and *São Paulo and Other Poems* [*San Ba Ji* 三巴集], we feel their elegance, distinction, and righteous indignation. Some of the poems reveal his grief at losing his beloved country, similar to the poetry of Xin Qiji 辛弃疾; others eulogize the tranquillity of nature, in the tradition of Wang Wei 王维. His poems are both solemn and graceful. As for his love of calligraphy, the following story may indicate how devoted he could become:

"As to calligraphy, Yushan loves best the work of Su Dongpo 苏东坡. Once, on a visit to Wuxing 吴兴, he asked to be received by the prefect. As the prefect was engaged at the moment, Yushan wandered into a nearby monk's place, where he was fascinated to see "Record of the Old Tippler's Pavilion" [*Zui Weng Ting Ji* 醉翁亭记] in Dongpo's handwriting. He immediately returned to the inn where he was staying, bought some brushes and paper, and copied the handwriting for three days straight without showing any sign of exhaustion. The prefect and his men searched everywhere for him, but in vain, and the innkeeper did not know his whereabouts either. After he managed to imitate Dongpo's style successfully, Yushan left happily without even saying goodbye to the prefect."[7]

Wu Yushan, Yun Shouping 恽寿平, Wang Shimin, Wang Jian, Wang Hui and Wang Yuanqi are known as the six master painters of the early Qing Dynasty. Though Yushan's achievements in painting are outside the scope of this paper, we may note in passing a comment by Bi Long 毕泷, in his work A *Catalogue of Famous Paintings* [*Xu Zhai Ming Hua Lu* 虚斋名画录], here quoted from Chen Yuan 陈垣:

"Wang Hui's paintings, especially those done in imitation of the Song and Yuan masters between his 30s and 50s, are superb. The paintings he did between the ages of 50 and 80, however, lost their innate spirit because during this period he was too preoccupied with socializing. On the contrary, since Yushan returned from Macao in his old age, he put what he saw there into his paintings, which not only give us a sense of boundlessness and simplicity but also capture the essence of the ancient masters. The scroll entitled 'Rain in the Village' [*Nong Cun Xi Yu Tu* 农村喜雨图], a masterpiece of his later life, is outstanding both in painting and calligraphy. That I have it in my collection makes me feel not only lucky but also convinced that consecrated things travel far even without feet." (Bi Long, in the dead of winter, 1785.[8])

Bi Long wrote the above in defence of Yushan against the criticisms lodged by Zhang Geng 张庚 in his *A Catalogue of Qing Paintings* [*Guo Chao Hua Zheng Lu* 国朝画征录]. After his return from religious study in Macao, Yushan had not only converted to Catholicism, he had actually become a Catholic priest. During this period, he painted little. As to the influence of religious thought and feeling on his painting, and whether or not his paintings truly "not only give us a sense of boundlessness and simplicity but also capture the essence of the ancient masters," let us leave these questions to the art historians.

PURSUIT OF FAITH

Many of Yushan's contemporaries were intellectuals loyal to the fallen Ming dynasty. There was nothing particularly unusual about this phenomenon. What was unique about Yushan was his conversion to Catholicism as an intellectual. This is what interests us here.

Let us first take a look at his character. As a child, Yushan was carefree and unreserved. This was probably due to the early death of his father and the decline of his once-eminent family. Born with this character, Yushan kept a distance from the secular world, and

even held a critical attitude toward it. According to *The Biography of Mo Jing, the Ink-well Taoist*, "Yushan showed little interest in the secular world and remained apart from it all his life." "The Deeds of Wu Yushan" describes him as "a quiet, self-controlled man who did not mix with the vulgar." People with such a personality are often inclined to become Buddhists or even Buddhist monks. In his early part of life, Yushan had a lot of contact with Buddhist monks. Both Chen Yuan and Zhang Wenqin have examined the relationships that Yushan formed with these monks.[9] For instance, Morong 默容, Shengyu 圣予 and Zhengyan 证研, all monks at the Xingfu Temple 兴福庵, forged close friendships with Yushan. Morong often kept a clean bed ready for Yushan. This was why he acquired so many of Yushan's paintings. "Morong appreciated Yushan as a person but liked his paintings too."[10] Yet despite his close contact with these monks, Yushan never converted to Buddhism.

Some evidence indicates that Yushan began to think seriously about his faith after the death of his beloved mother. In 1660, when Yushan was 29, he asked his teacher Que An 确庵 (namely, Chen Hu) to write in advance an epitaph for his mother. For some reason, Chen failed to accomplish it in time. According to *The Works of Que-an* [*Que An Wen Gao* 确庵文稿], "Wu Yushan, a student of mine, is not only good at music and poetry, but also excels at calligraphy and painting. In the summer of 1660, he asked me to write an epitaph extolling the virtues of his mother, saying that 'since my father died early, I was brought up by my mother who has worked very hard over the past 40 years. As she is getting old, may I ask you to write an epitaph for her so that she may live forever?' I promised to do so, but failed to accomplish it in time for some reason."[11] Qian Qianyi, Yushan's poetry teacher, wrote an epitaph for Yushan's mother that same year (see *On Erudition* [*You Xue Ji* 有学集], op. 42). Yushan's mother, who was 66 at the time, died two years later at age 68. Chen Hu, in the epitaph he wrote after Yushan's mother passed away, records Yushan's deep grief:

"In the spring, Yushan told me in tears: 'my mother has followed my father to the other world. And in ten days I'll bury her inside the grave of my father. Would you kindly write an epitaph for her?' I did as requested because Yushan is a filial son who wants the future generations to remember the virtue of his beloved mother."[12]

From the above passage, we get a picture of Yushan as a typical filial son in the Chinese tradition. Shortly afterwards, Yushan began to think seriously about the question of life and death, and to explore the meaning of life. According to the doctrine of Christianity, bodily death does not mean the end of life, but a change of life form. For their belief in Jesus, Christians are rewarded with resurrection and eternal afterlife in heaven. This mystic explanation might have touched Yushan. Father Li writes an important passage in "The Deeds":

"After his marriage, Yushan had two sons. The death of his mother devastated him. Since he had no interest in seeking office, he became curious about the meaning of life. A man is not born without a reason, and he does not die without a reason either. But he could not arrive at an answer, no matter how hard he sought it. Before long, he learned about Catholicism and befriended some priests, who taught him the doctrines of Catholicism. As a result, Yushan became more enlightened and decided to be baptized (Mr. Gao 高氏 states in his *Chronicles of Religious Mission* [*Chuan Jiao Zhi* 传教志] that Yushan became a lay brother after his mother's death, but unfortunately he does not specify the year). After his wife passed away, Yushan joined the Society of Jesus and took the three vows."[13]

It is evident from this passage that it was his interest death and the afterlife that led him to Catholicism. Apart from this, however, there were other external reasons related to Catholic activities in the Jiangnan area during the Ming-Qing transition. First, the Jesuits had been operating frequently in Changshu, Yushan's hometown, and its neighbouring areas, where there were many well-known Chinese Catholics, including Xu Guangqi 徐光启 in Shanghai, Sun Yuanhua 孙元化 in Jiading, and Qu Taisu 瞿太素 and Qu Shisi in Changshu. According to Chen Yuan, "Giulio Aleni arrived in Changshu in 1632. Though he did not stay long, his preaching was very effective. Nine years later, Yushan, a great artist, was born there. This is no coincidence."[14] Ever since Wu Na had moved from the east end of the county seat to settle by Esquire Yan's Homestead in Ziyou Lane [Ziyou Xiang 子遊巷], near Literature Bridge [Wenxue qiao 文学桥] the Wu family had always lived there. Esq. Yan's Homestead served as a Catholic church in the late Ming dynasty. In 1724, when Western religion was banned in China, the church was restored to its original use. East of

"Mountains and Rivers in Ink Brush" (No. 9 of 12, ink brush on paper, 18 x 20 cm), painted by Wu Li in 1708, at age 77. Beijing Palace Museum collection.

Esquire Yan's house was the Ink Well. To the west lay Jing Fu Hall [Jing Fu Tang 井福堂], which Yushan called Gui Quan Hall [Gui Quan Tang 归全堂]. Yushan's home lay to the west of the church.[15] Bishop Gregorio Lopez (Luo Wenzao 罗文藻), who later ordained Yushan into the priesthood, wrote in a letter dated Oct. 3, 1688 to the Evangelization of Peoples, in which he stated that Yushan had been baptized as a child. From this evidence we can imagine that Catholicism had been an influence on Yushan since his childhood. Secondly, quite a few of Yushan's gentry friends had connections to Catholicism. Father Fang Hao reveals in his famous essay "The Religious Faith of Wang Shigu" [*Wang Shigu Zhi Zong Jiao Xin Yang* 王石谷之宗教信仰] that in a letter to Shigu, Yushan admonished the latter to examine himself, redeem his sins, take communion, and accept the grace of God so that he could enter heaven as a devout believer.[16] Clearly, Shigu 石谷had also been baptized, but his faith had grown weaker as he became preoccupied with fame and socializing. Another of Yushan's friends who had connections to Catholicism was Xu Zhijian 许之渐

of Wujin 武进. An imperial Censor, Xu was removed from office in 1665 for his involvement in the Johannes Adam Schall von Bell case. Yang Guangxian 杨光先 lodged a false charge against Xu, accusing him of writing a preface to *An Introduction to Catholicism* [*Tian Xue Zhuan Gai* 天学传概] by Li Zubai 李祖白, a student of Schall von Bell and an official at the Office of Astronomy, even though Yang knew that the preface was not authored by Xu. In the book, Zubai claimed that Fu Xi, widely regarded as the first ancestor of the Chinese people, was a descendant of Adam. He wrote that "[our] Chinese ancestors are the descendants of Jews,"[17] a statement that Yang attacked as being heterodox. Xu, however, took the blame upon himself, for he did not want to have other people involved in the case. As a result, he was removed from his office and sent back to his hometown.[18] Xu and Yushan consequently become close friends. They "drank and wrote together, and socialized with local officials and gentry;" "treated each other like brothers, travelled together, and wrote poems for each other, which accumulated into many volumes." Though Xu Zhijian was not a Catholic (he became a Buddhist monk in his old age), he had sympathy for Catholicism. That is why he and Yushan became so close. Third, Yushan also had personal contact with European missionaries. According to Chen Yuan, in the edition of *São Paulo and Other Poems* edited by Father Li, there is a poem entitled "Ode to the Late Father Zhou" [*Song Xian Shu Zhou Duo* 颂先师周铎], which provides us with evidence that Yushan's Catholic mentor was one Father Zhou, whose name, however, is not listed in Aloys Pfister's *Biographies of Jesuit Missionaries in China* [*Ming Qing Jian Ru Hua Ye Su Hui Shi Lie Zhuan* 明清间入华耶稣会士列传]. The poem goes as follows:

"I met you at Rongcheng 茸城 where you were hiding. You've come all the way to China to preach... Five decades of hard work has brought enlightenment to the Orient, and seven years of kindness has comforted my soul. If we meet in China sometime in future, I'll still treat you as my respected teacher."[19]

According to Chen Yuan, Rongcheng refers to Huating 华亭, hometown of Madam Xu (granddaughter of Xu Guangqi) and her son Xu Zuanzeng 许缵曾. When the Qing court banned Western religion in the early years of the reign of Emperor Kangxi 康熙, many missionaries sought protection under Madam Xu. This is what Yushan meant by "hiding in Rongcheng." The missionary mentioned must have been preaching in China for five decades and Yushan must have been in close contact with him for seven years. From this poem Chen Yuan presumes that Yushan first met Father Zhou around 1675.[20] In the inscription on his painting "Spring on the Lake" [*Hu Yian Chun Se Tu* 湖天春色图], Yushan mentions "Rougemont," whose full name was Francisco de Rougemont, a Belgian Jesuit missionary. Unfortunately, Rougemont died on Nov. 4 of the same year and was buried outside the Northern Gate of Changshu. Around that time, Yushan stopped calling on Buddhist temples. Fang Hao says that "that is worthy of our attention." Philippe Couplet, another well-known Belgian Jesuit, took the 50-year old Yushan to Macao in 1681.

RELIGIOUS STUDY IN MACAO

Among the early Jesuits in China, Philippe Couplet was one who tried to localize Catholicism. Since his arrival in 1656, Couplet had preached in Songjiang 松江, Shanghai, Jiading, Suzhou 苏州, Zhenjiang 镇江, and Chongming 崇明, in the Jiangnan area. By that time, Nicolas Trigault and Ludovicus Buglio were already translating some of the religious canon into Chinese in preparation for localizing the Church. One of the purposes for Couplet's trip to Rome, via Macao, was to show the Pope these documents, which included the *Masses* [*Mi Sa Jing Dian* 弥撒经典] in Chinese, translated by Ludovicus Buglio.[21] Yushan, already fifty years old, decided to follow Couplet to Europe for religious study. After reaching Macao, however, he was prevented from continuing his travels. Father Li recorded this event in "The Deeds":

"Upon his arrival at Macao, Yushan was put up in the Jesuit Church (also known as São Paulo Church). The Father of the church, upon learning of Yushan's intention, asked him to study there at the church instead of going all the way to Europe. Yushan agreed and gave up his plan to go west, while Couplet proceeded to Rome. In the following year, he entered the Society, and studied its rules, Latin, theology, and

"Bare Trees and Pavilion, in Imitation of Ni Zan 倪瓚" (ink brush on paper, 34.8 x 28.1), painted by Wu Li in 1678, at age 47. Shanghai Museum collection.

"White Clouds and Green Mountains" (colour on silk, 26 x 117 cm), painted by Wu Li in 1668, at age 37.

other subjects. After two years of study, he professed the three vows."[22]

By the time Yushan arrived in Macao, the city had already enjoyed a century of prosperity. When the Portuguese first arrived in 1557, Macao was a desolate island, populated only by a few fishermen living off the sea. After the Portuguese got permission to settle there, they enclosed their settlement with bamboo fences and built houses around the church. Gradually this settlement developed into their civil, military and religious centre. By the time the Dutch invaded in 1622, Macao had already grown into a well-fortified city, with strongholds on the hilltop and batteries along the coast. These strongholds and batteries were connected by a strong city wall built of cement and crushed shells. The Portuguese lived inside the city, known as the "Cidade do Nome de Deus de Macao na China," whereas the Chinese lived in a village called "Mong-Ha" outside the city walls. The city was characterized by a Mediterranean architectural style, whereas the village boasted traditional Chinese houses, bamboo groves and Buddhist temples.[23] Beginning in 1573, when Pope Gregory XIII issued "*Super Specula Ecclesiae*," declaring Macao a diocese with jurisdiction over China, Japan and Korea, the city developed into a Jesuit base in the Far East. The São Paulo Church, where Yushan stayed during his sojourn in Macao, was designed by the Italian Jesuit Carlos Spinola and built between 1603 and 1638. Its façade, totally European in style, was based on the churches in Milan and Genoa of the second half of the 16th century, with Chinese-style details and symbolic decorations. On the façade, there are not only sculptures featuring the Holy Spirit, Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the founder of the Society of Jesus, but also Chinese hieroglyphs and mystical animals. Carlos Marreiros, a Macanese architect, calls it "a symbol of East-West exchange and Portuguese universal evangelization."[24] In Yushan's writings we can see his first impression of the exotic customs prevalent in Macao. He describes the Western rites and customs, language, paintings and signatures as follows:

"Macao is also known as Hao Jing 濠镜, where I have seen some western social customs that are entirely different from our own. For example, in China, when we receive guests, we put on our caps and robes, but here they remove theirs. The same is true with the written word and painting. Chinese characters are composed of strokes, whereas theirs words are formed of letters. We write vertically, and they horizontally. When we paint, we pay attention to essence rather than form, but they to shape and shadow. We put our signatures on the upper part of the painting, they on the lower part. Such differences are too numerous to be counted."[25]

He also noticed differences between Portuguese and Chinese in their lifestyles, occupations, clothes, and appearance:

"In Macao there are no paddy fields. Instead there is a lot of sand and stone. As the land is infertile, the locals don't farm, but rather engage in trade. There are no mulberry trees around and the women have never even heard of silkworms. Some people cover

their bodies with red and purple flowers, revealing only their eyes. When someone dies, the rest wear black clothes in mourning. Men wear long hair that reaches their shoulders, and big hats which they remove upon meeting others. Their furred jackets are rather short, with narrow sleeves. And there are four rows of buttons on the mid- front part of their apparel. They wear leather shoes and carry two swords, one long and the other short, tucked under their belts. The one who carries a rattan stick in hand, however, is an officer."[26]

It is highly possible that the Jesuit Church where Yushan stayed was actually the São Paulo College next to the São Paulo Church. He repeatedly mentions his observation of the ocean's waves from its first floor: "On the first floor I can hear the thunderous waves even on a windless day. And flocks of seagulls, chasing the waves, fly into my paintings." In the following passage, written while meditating and watching the sea, Yushan expresses his transcendent state of mind:

"I am studying religion at São Paulo at the age of fifty. Living on its first floor, I have watched the ocean's waves for five months. Comparing fifty years of worldly affairs with watching the sea, I cannot tell whether today is better than yesterday. I don't know whether the sea is more dangerous than the secular world. Thus I put all this into my painting in the hopes that someone wiser might teach me."[27]

According to Fang Hao, the above inscription was written on a painting for made for a senior religious personality on the day following Couplet's departure for Europe. Obviously it is a reflection of his feelings. Faced with the surging and treacherous sea, Yushan became detached from the secular world, and his thoughts travelled to the distant shores of the eternal ocean.

In the archives of the Society of Jesus, Yushan's name was first mentioned in 1683 as Simão Xavier da Cunha, "who is a healthy new brother, with one year of membership." This evidence indicates that Yushan entered the Society in 1682. In "Miscellaneous Poems Composed in Macao" [*Aozhong Za Yong* 澳中杂咏] collected in *São Paulo and Other Poems*, there are several poems recording Yushan's religious study in Macao. One of them describes his study at the São Paulo College: "The religious teachers are all foreigners and the students all teenagers. The preparatory and college-level classes are held either early in the morning or late in the afternoon."

Chen Yuan believes that Yushan had studied Latin with Rougemont and Couplet before he came to Macao. In Macao, he again took up Latin, which he describes as incomprehensible:

"Under the dim light, we converse in our native languages. When we cannot make sense of each other, we try to communicate in writing. I write characters and he writes words, but it is even more confusing as he has to read vertically and I horizontally."

Of all the Jesuits in China, Yushan admired St. Francisco Xavier the most. That he took Simão Xavier as his religious name is an indication of his respect. Chen Yuan believes that this view was influenced by Rougemont, who himself held Xavier to be his most respected mentor. Yushan often asked people to take Xavier as a role model. In *São Paulo and Other Poems*, edited by Father Li, Yushan praises Xavier as "a specially chosen pillar of Catholicism who followed the word of God and experienced untold hardships... Like a torch, he sheds light on us. He is not only a pillar of the Church, but also a kind Father of Asia."[28]

PRIESTHOOD IN OLD AGE

On Aug. 1, 1688, Gregorio Lopez, a Chinese bishop, ordained Yushan, Liu Yunde 刘蕴德 and Wan Qiyuan 万其渊 into the priesthood—the first group of Chinese priests ever to be ordained by a Chinese bishop.[29] According to a document discovered by Fr. Augustine de San-Pascual in Rome, which was published in 1925 by Mons. Reynaud in the January-

February issue of *Newsletters from Ningbo* [*Ning Bo Tong Xun* 宁波通讯], after the ceremony, Bishop Lopez told the three new priests:

"There is some similarity between your promotion to the priesthood and my appointment as bishop, because we are all Chinese. We are so honoured simply because we are brothers, despite the fact that you are Jesuits and I am a Dominican. Were we born in the West, we would only be qualified to serve as doorkeepers for the church."[30]

The above passage is sufficient enough to demonstrate Bishop Lopez's modesty. Yushan's explanation of why he was made a priest is more straightforward: "Why did the Pope appoint me priest? He is afraid that should western missionaries perish in China, there would be no one to preach their teachings here."[31]

As "perish" is a euphemism for being martyred for their religion, we can imagine the harsh situation Catholics found themselves in during that period. By the time Yushan embraced Catholicism, the Catholic Church was undergoing a very difficult period in China. Firstly, in the forty years from 1644 to 1684, Manchu troops were trying to unify China from north to south. To cut off contact between the Southern Ming and its supporters overseas, and to suppress Koxinga's anti-Qing forces on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, the Qing court instituted a strict ban on all sea travel. All along the coast, from Shandong 山东 in the north to Guangdong 广东 in the south, everyone was ordered to withdraw at least fifteen kilometres inland. No one was allowed to fish in the sea. Under this policy, not only were Chinese subjects forbidden to go to sea, but Western missionaries were also forbidden to go inland. Secondly, beginning in 1664, the conservative forces represented by Yang Guangxian started to persecute missionaries in Beijing 北京 on the pretext of the "calendar case." As a result, Johannes Adam Schall von Bell and Ferdinand Verbiest were imprisoned, and many Chinese at the Office of Astronomy were put to death. The persecution then spread to other parts of the country and did not subside until Emperor Kangxi took power in 1667. But for a long time afterwards, local officials still harboured suspicions of and even disgust for Catholics. Thirdly, deep-rooted conflicts within the Church made it impossible for the missionaries in China to effectively localize their work. In the first hundred years after the European geographic "discoveries," the expansion of Catholicism overseas, especially in the Far East, took place under the protection of the *Padroado*. Over the years, the Vatican came to realize the problems with this policy. In particular, the Portuguese king's right to nominate bishops directly interfered with the internal affairs of the Church. In 1622, the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples was established to deal with this matter. Alexandre de Rhodes, a Jesuit expelled from Vietnam in 1645, was the first to propose that bishops should be dispatched by the Congregation in the name of the Vicar Apostolic, and that bishops should be directly under the jurisdiction of the Congregation and the Pope so as to bypass interference Portugal and Spain under the *Padroado*. In 1658, Pope Alexandre VII appointed three Vicars for the Far East.[32] In a directive issued the following year, he encouraged missionaries to retain as many Chinese customs and

"The Pen River, in Imitation of Bai Juyi 白居易" (ink brush on paper, 30 x 207.3 cm).

cultural traditions as possible, because their mission was to bring faith, not nation, to China.[33] These measures met with strong resistance from Portugal and Spain.

In July 1673, the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples promoted Bishop Gregorio Lopez to the position of Vicar because, during the period in which the Qing court had banned both sea travel and Western religion, he had demonstrated his ability to administer almost every aspect of the project of spreading the Gospel in China. However, the Portuguese authorities in Macao opposed the appointment, and even the Dominican Order (of which Lopez was a member) in the Philippines treated him as an enemy. Though Pope Clement X officially announced the appointment in January 1674, it was not until eleven years later, in April 1685, that Lopez finally accepted it.[34] Bishop Lopez paid a great deal of attention to the training of local priests. The appointment of Yushan and two others as priests three years later is proof of his way of thinking. But he did not nominate a Chinese to be his successor, for fear of triggering internal conflicts. Finally an Italian was chosen to succeed him. In a letter, he remarked sadly, "Every country is trying to gain something for itself."

The above facts give us a glimpse into the hardships experienced by Chinese priests in the Church. The Church promoted Chinese missionaries as a result of the ban on sea travel and Western religion, but never intended to give them any real power.

Yushan's faith and zeal in Catholicism, however, were not dampened by these injustices. Throughout the thirty years of his priesthood (he was ordained at age 57 and died at 87), he was totally dedicated to the Church. In *Biographies of Jesuit Missionaries in China*, Aloys Pfister writes:

"After Yushan became a priest, he bought back most of the calligraphic works, paintings, and poems he had created before he took to Catholicism, and burned those that had the taint of superstition. To compensate for the bad effects that his poems and paintings might have produced, he dedicated himself to the writing of songs in praise of the Holy Father and the Virgin Mother, and other works that he believed might inspire his fellow believers. Despite his old age, he always travelled on foot when visiting church members. When persuading non-believers to join the church, he was always full of zeal. His daily talk was also largely about Catholicism."[35]

To spread the Gospel, Yushan often moved between Shanghai, Jiading, Changshu and Suzhou, where there were thousands of lay brothers but few Chinese priests. However, he stayed in Shanghai and Jiading the longest. When Bishop Lopez travelled to Shanghai and Hangzhou 杭州 on an inspection tour in 1690, he was very satisfied with Yushan's work. In a letter to the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, he wrote: "In my two-month stay in Shanghai, accompanied by two priests, I visited a number of churches including the one headed by Yushan, who is deeply loved by his flock."[36] One year later, Bishop Lopez passed away in Nanjing. When the sad news reached Shanghai, Yushan refused to believe it. After the obituary came in the mail, however, he immediately wrote "In Memory of Bishop Gregorio Lopez," to express his deep grief. After the death of the bishop, it

was probably Yushan who took charge of religious affairs in the region. Every spring and autumn, he would visit churches and church members, and perform religious duties. Sometimes he was accompanied by laymen. At that time, grass-root churches, known as chapels, were scattered around the Jiangnan region, which was crisscrossed by rivers. *The History of Missionary Work in Jiangnan* [*Jiang Nan Chuan Jiao Shi* 江南传教史] describes such chapels like these:

"Every chapel has a common house specially built for the congregation. In the hall there is a curtain-framed altar with a tea table on each side. On the altar are usually placed a crucifix, a portrait of Jesus or the Virgin Mary, and four to six crudely made candleholders. The walls are covered by curtains. Over the tea tables there are two pictures of angels, one featuring a guardian angel guiding a Chinese child, the other the Archangel Michael defeating Lucifer in the War of Heavens. Beside the hall are the priest's quarters, partitioned into two sections; the inner half serves as the bedroom, and the front half as the dining room."[37]

By this time Yushan was already in his 70s. Though he was very weak and as thin as a bamboo stalk, he was still busy tending his flock. He visited church members rain or shine, wearing a straw hat and a pair of cloth shoes. Sometimes he hid himself in a fishing boat, sometimes he walked along country paths, and other times he had to evade government persecution and informants who treated Catholics as enemies. Sometimes he would rest in a secret chapel for a few days without daring to venture out for fear of bringing trouble to his fellow believers. In the evenings he performed religious duties, ministered to the sick, and administered the last rites to the dying. His life of tending his flock was, as he put it in his poem, "even harder than fishing."

When Father Li edited the *Mo Jing Collection* [*Mo Jing Ji* 墨井集], he included in it *A Sequel to Services and Daily Speeches* [*Xu Kou Duo Ri Chao* 续口铎日抄] by Zhao Lun 赵仑. This is an important record of Yushan's life as a priest in Jiading from 1696 to 1697. As the Rites Controversy grew bitter, fewer and fewer people showed any interest in the church. In his poem "In Memory of Bishop Gregorio Lopez," Yushan laments this fact. One of his poems says that worms grow fat eating the pages of the Testaments, as no one reads them anymore. To consolidate the faith of his flock, Yushan set up a branch of the Franciscan Order and put up banners in the church asking members to "take St. Francisco Xavier as a role model, make the best of everything, preach benevolently and persuade others rationally." The branch, headed by Yushan, had six members, namely, Zhao Lun, Zhu Wanjiu 朱畹九, Zhu Yuanrong 朱园荣, Zhang Qingchen 张青臣, Zhang Jiushang 张九上, and Yang Shengsheng 杨圣生. Their philosophy was "to persuade as many people as possible to worship God, and to spread the Gospel no matter how long it may take..."[38] This demonstrates Yushan's zeal and persistence in his religious work.

In the eyes of local believers, Yushan, an itinerant priest of advanced age, was an ascetic, pure and simple:

"After landing, Father Yushan declined to use the sedan, and walked to the house instead. At dinner, the courteous host invited Yushan to be seated at a different table where there was better food. Yushan beckoned me to sit with him and share his meal because he thought I was different from the rest of the group. My impression is that he is a courteous, gentle, and modest person.

After Mass the following day, Yushan was invited to the countryside. On his way, he got out of the sedan to call on Zhang Zian 张子安. Seeing that I was waiting on him, he said, "let's go on foot." This shows he has not taken to comfort and pleasure.

After the Sabbath, Catholics are allowed to eat meat. At dinner, however, Yushan ate only half of his usual meal, and drank only half a cup of wine. He did not touch the chicken or mutton, saying that his tooth ached. Though he insisted on having a simple meal, he did not want to displease the others."[39]

In the same book, Zhao Lun records a conversation between Yushan and a Mr. Shen 申某, a non-believer, which can serve as testimony to his faith:

"Mr. Shen, a non-believer, was at the dinner table. Huan Shi 桓式, Zhao Lun's nephew, asked him to join the Church, saying, "You are a Confucianist, but according to my observation, not all Confucians are good." "I just want to add that not all Catholics are good either,"came the reply. Upon hearing this, Yushan said, "I am trying to persuade you to join the Church, rather than asking you to follow any particular man... Our life, like a sampan on the sea, will sink when struck by a storm. Temporary happiness means nothing. Instead of becoming consumed by regret in your old age, why not find a place where you can rest your soul?" Mr. Shen became silent."[40]

Clearly, Yushan treats the Church and religion as two separate things. He knows that "not all Catholics are good," but is convinced that Christianity is the ultimate "resting place" of human faith. Confucianism does not give him such a sense of belonging; that is why he turned to Catholicism, and why he regarded it as a place where he could rest his soul. Ma Xiangbo 马相伯, a contemporary Catholic closely connected with the Society of Jesus, wrote something very similar in the preface to the *Mo Jing Collection*: "Man can control neither his birth nor his death. Those who have faith in God may go to Heaven in the afterlife. If one does not believe in God, where can he find a place to rest his soul? That is why it can be said that a person may have more self-respect when he is a believer."[41]

THE TORCH OF CHRISTIANITY WILL SHINE FOREVER

Chen Yuan has said something very important about Yushan's entry into the Society of Jesus:

"Mathew Ricci won many gentry followers after he came to China. But Yushan was the first intellectual who actually became a priest. Though Zhong Mingren 钟鸣仁 and Huang Mingsha 黄明沙 were ordained before him, they were not members of the gentry. Ever since the time of Wu Na, the Wu family had carried on the tradition of learning. That is why in the archives of the Society of Jesus, Yushan is called the "learned brother" who is an expert in Chinese literature."[42]

The above comment provides us with an important observation: earlier Chinese brothers like You Wenhui 遊文辉, Huang Mingsha, and Qiu Lianghou 邱良厚—all of whom were Chinese born in Macao—were of low social status and came from humble families. Even Zhong Baxiang 钟巴相, the first Chinese brother from a merchant family in Guangdong, was no match for Yushan in terms of his family background. As far as social status is concerned, the family origins of these earlier priests excluded them from the mainstream Chinese elite tradition. By contrast, Yushan's entry into the Society of Jesus not only proves the success of the Jesuits in their policy of education and their dissemination of knowledge, but also demonstrates Yushan's remarkably individualistic character. As Chen Yuan goes on to say,"though Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao 李之藻 were known as pillars of the Church, Yushan, who later became a Catholic priest, is even more important."

Yushan was, doubtlessly, a great intellectual. His pursuit of Catholicism indicates that his capacity for rational thought and his erudition in Chinese culture, though not in direct conflict with his faith, still could not accommodate such faith. In his preface to the Mo Jing Collection, Ma Xiangbo quotes St. Thomas Aquinas as saying: "The torch of Christianity will shine forever on those who follow the word of God˘ Rational nature results in grace, which does not destroy nature, but perfects it."[43] While nature endows humanity with the ability to think rationally and create artistically, it does not extinguish humanity's attachment to the mysteries of religion. When editing *Mo Jing Collections* Father Li discovered that many of Yushan's old friends and biographers regarded his conversion to Catholicism as wrong. Not knowing how to explain his pursuit of faith, they would often write something perfunctory, like "in his old age, Yushan went overseas and his whereabouts are unknown as a result." But Father Li believes:

"Compared to other pursuits such as chess, calligraphy, painting and music, Yushan cherished religion the most. When he learned about it, he decided to follow it. When he found it difficult to follow it at home, he left home and studied it in a far-away place. But chronicles such as Suzhou and Qinchuan 琴川, in an attempt to avoid these facts, say simply that Yushan "went overseas in his old age and his whereabouts are unknown as a result." Are Yushan's biographers really not aware of the facts? They deliberately avoid mentioning them for they believe that Yushan was foolish! But I think they are the fools, not Yushan. Yushan believed that one should serve God diligently and maintain one's integrity toward life. That is why he converted to Catholicism, which he saw as the orthodox religion, and treated fame and wealth as superficial and worldly pursuits. Zeng Wenzheng 曾文正 writes: "The difference between a man of virtue and a man of wickedness lies in the fact that the former is courageous enough to correct his mistakes." Yushan was a man who corrected his mistakes."[44]

Today, some three centuries after his death, people are still deeply impressed by Yushan's indefatigable and courageous spirit in his pursuit of truth. RC

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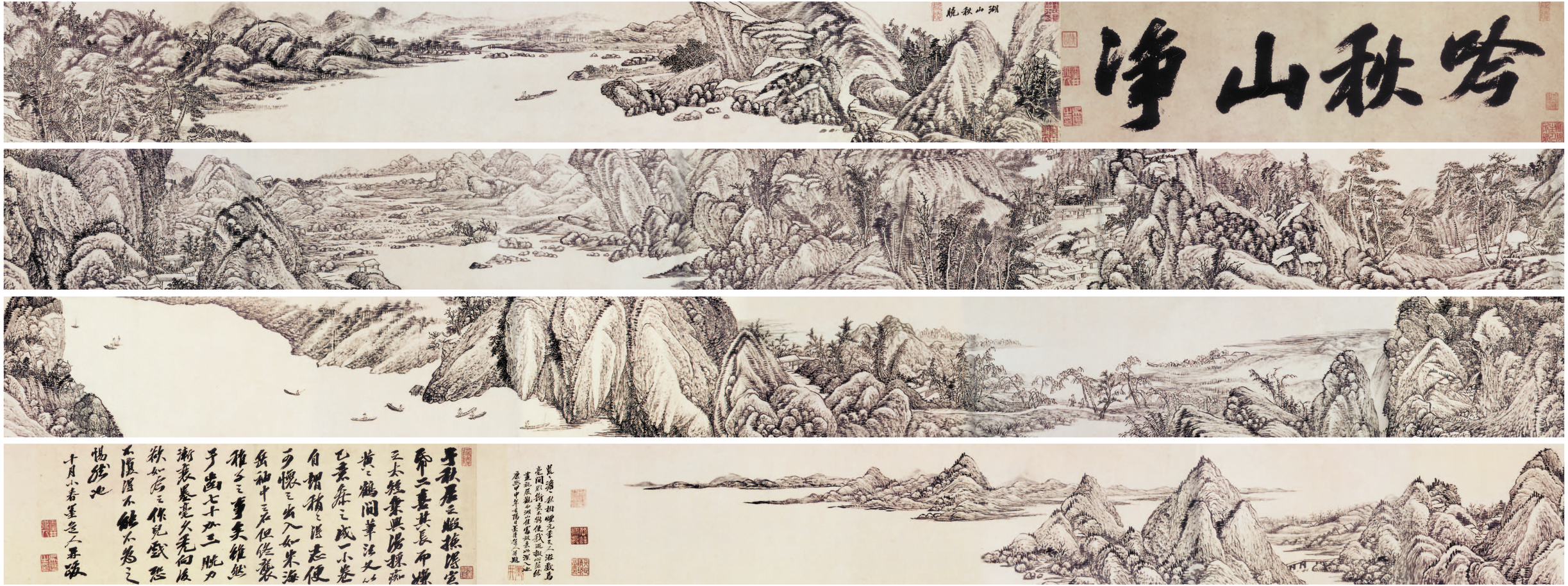
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Introduction to “An Autumn Dawn on Lakes and Hills” by Wu Yushan

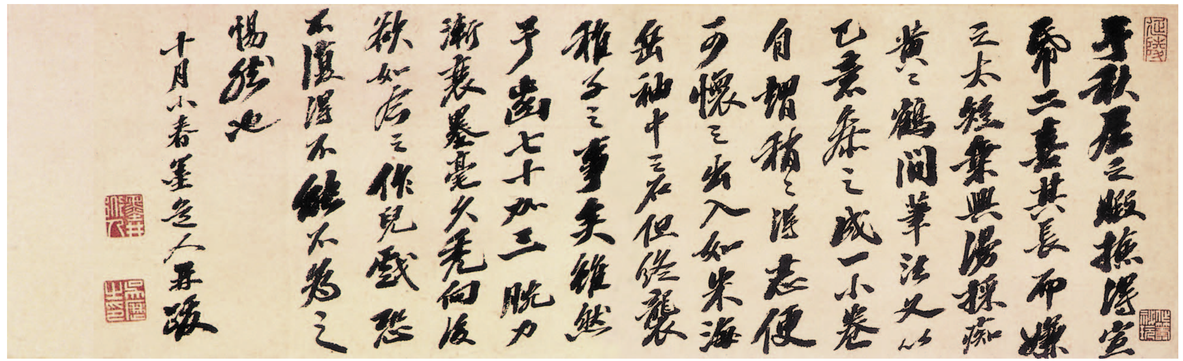
Huang Xiaofeng*

“An Autumn Dawn on Lakes and Hills” [*Hushan Qiuxiao Tu* 湖山秋晓图] (20 x 844 cm) by Wu Li 吴历, styled Yushan 渔山, is currently part of the Hong Kong Museum of Art collection. At the head of this long scroll is the title “Autumn Hills” [*Yin Qiushan Jing* 吟秋山净]. At the end of the painting is a postscript written by the painter himself: “The great master painters of the late Yuan 元 dynasty did a lot of freehand paintings on the theme of quiet woods enshrouded in autumn mist. But it is hard for me to imitate their style because their meanings linger on, even though they have long since stopped painting. After finishing this scroll, however, I find it rather to my liking, especially the lakes and hills, which have deep meanings of their own. Painted and inscribed by Mo Jing 墨井, the Ink-well Taoist, on the Double Ninth Festival in 1704.” In another postscript on the same painting, Yushan writes: “In the autumn this year, I got two pieces of *xuan* 宣 paper. I love it because it is so long and hate it because it is too short. In a good mood, I started painting this scroll by imitating Huang Gongwang 黄公望 and Wang Meng 王蒙, two early masters. Of course I put my own ideas into the painting too. It is quite successful and I think I can carry it proudly with me, like Mi Fu 米芾 carrying his stones. But painting, in the final analysis, is a childish pursuit, nothing more than a hobby. I am now 73 years old and my arms get weaker every day. My painting skills have deteriorated for lack of practice. I know that if I don’t paint now, I might never be able to produce such good paintings in the future.”

From his postscripts we can conclude that this painting is a successful imitation of the Yuan masters. The “lakes and hills” featured in the works of the great masters imbue his painting with “deep meanings.” If Yushan had not personally visited such wonderful places, how could he portray them so beautifully in this scroll? As to his self-knowledge, that he might never produce such good work in the future, Yushan writes: “My knowledge of traditional Chinese culture is getting rusty as I have lived away from the secular world for so long. Sometimes when I am in the mood, I try to translate my past experiences into paintings; but often I miss the best part and thus cannot surpass the ancients” (see op. 34 in *Postscripts to Paintings by Mo Jing* [*Mo Jing Ti Ba* 墨井题跋]). From this description we can imagine how dedicated he was when he painted this scroll. Song Xiangyin 宋湘尹 writes, in the preface to *São Paulo and Other Poems* [*San Ba Ji* 三巴集], “In Heaven dwell the Catholic saints. After seeing the nine fairy islands, Yushan wrote poems to eulogize them. He became more open-minded and embraced more things in his heart. His poems are a reflection of his true feelings.” The Macao experience, deep in Yushan’s heart, had a great influence on his later paintings. This much is evident in paintings like “An Autumn Dawn on Lakes and Hills.”

Sometime around 1684, Yushan returned to Jiangnan 江南 from his sojourn at the St. Paul’s College in Macao (a line in his “Catholic Poems” [*Shengxue Shi* 圣学诗] reads, “I have studied at the College for four years”), and started his career as a preacher. On the Double Ninth Festival in 1704, some twenty years later, he recalled with sadness the moment at the Fishing Terrace 钓台 where he parted with his two sons. Lu Xiyan 陆希言, who went to Macao with Philippe Couplet and Yushan, wrote, in his “Record of Macao” [*Aomen Ji* 澳门记]: “I followed Mr. Couplet to Macao in the winter of 1680. Upon reaching Qianshan 前山, we found that the land ahead looked like a lotus leaf floating on water, with the border gate as its stem... With its curving coastline, Macao looks just like a landscape painting.” Yushan records his first impression of Xiangshan 香山 and Macao like this: “Li Shangyin 李商隐 often regrets that he has never seen or visited a fairy island. He records this regret in one of his poems: ‘I hear that there are fairylands outside of China. But even in these lands one cannot predict one’s fate, just as Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty, who vowed to live to a ripe old age with his favourite concubine Yang, couldn’t predict his.’ As we approached the Jiuzhou Islands 九州, I found that they are situated very close to each other, like nine green snails on the sea. Seen from a distant boat, amidst high surf and dense mist, these islets look very indistinct, like gulls drifting on the sea” (see op. 60 in *Postscripts to Paintings by Mo Jing*). From this description we can conclude that Yushan reached Macao by boat along the coast of Xiangshan, via Lingdingyang 零丁洋. Similar lines abound in his “Miscellaneous Poems Composed in Macao” [*Aozhong Za Yong* 澳中杂咏]; for example, “After passing the Border Gate in Guangdong, we saw before us the hill of Macao, in the shape of a lotus flower;” “Ilha Verde, surrounded by lush trees that seem to generate their own wind, lies between Macao and the mainland.” On top of the hill by the Border Gate, he writes: “On this hill I look for a quiet spot; my clogs are caked with mud. The road down by the Gate has hidden itself in clouds because it cannot bear to make me homesick!”

Looking at “An Autumn Dawn on Lakes and Hills,” brings to mind lying on a boat sailing slowly along the coast from the beginning of the scroll towards its end where the sea meets the sky. Along the way, there are undulating hills such as the Tangjia Bay 唐家湾, Incense Burner Bay 香炉湾, North Ridge 北岭板障山, Lotus Stalk Sandbar 莲茎沙堤, Lotus Peak 莲峰山, Guia Hill 松山 or 东望洋, and, on the opposite side, Taipa 大潭, the Jiu Ao Islets 九澳诸岛, and Hengqin Island 横琴岛 across the Mirror Sea 镜海. Now take a closer look at the human figures on the scroll. On the sandbar, a gentleman walks with a stick, followed by a page carrying his zither. The boats and barracks in the upper right hand corner must be the Autumn Wind Corner [*Qiufeng Jiao* 秋风角], where troops were stationed in the past. The island in the upper left hand corner must be Ilha Verde. Guia Hill, known in those days as Macao Hill, is surrounded by the sea, on which you can see several fishing boats; the fisherman on one of these boats wears a cone-shaped bamboo hat, while another sports a western-style felt hat. This detail indicates that Chinese and westerners are fishing together! Yushan writes, in his Impressions of Macao, “Have I painted nature in my pictures? A painting skilfully executed is nature. The world’s mountains and rivers can be found here in Macao.” Who could imagine that this artist’s deep love of Macao would be reflected in a long scroll painted twenty years after he left the city! In this work, although he deliberately mimics the styles of Huang Gongwang and Wang Meng, Yushan has also expressed his own ideas The scroll, painted from memory, is as perfect as nature! Yushan recorded his experiences of Macao in his *Postscripts to Paintings by Mo Jing*.”In Macao there are many old banyan trees whose branches reach down to the ground to take root, and whose dense foliage provides miles of shade... When I feel hot, I sit or lie down in the shade of banyan trees and sketch them the way I sketch pines and cypresses.” In his “Arriving from Afar to St. Paul’s to Study the Way” [*Yuan Cong Xue Dao Dao San Ba* 远从学道到三巴], he records his determination to devote himself to Catholicism: “I’ve decided to destroy my ink-slab, abandon my old learning, and give up painting and writing poetry.” However, we can still find lines like the following in his “Catholic Poems”: “As I paint quietly before the green hills, I can see emerald clouds drifting amidst the hilltops and a crescent moon hanging above the pines. I can also hear a fisherman singing on his boat at night.” Yushan is a scholar as he has always been. And the themes and images of southern China reflected in the poems he composed before he left Macao recur now and again in his later poems and paintings.



On his painting entitled “Water Gushing in Rocks Amidst Old Trees and Verdant Bamboo” [*Shuihuo Shirun Shulao Jun You* 水活石润树老筠], Yushan inscribed, “In the late Yuan dynasty, gentry immersed themselves in paintings in order to distance themselves from officialdom and fame. Many of them lived carefree, casual lives in deep forests, and ultimately died there.” Yushan was 73 in 1704. Despite the fact that his arms got weaker every day, he still created “An Autumn Dawn on Lakes and Hills” based on his memory of the beautiful scenery of Xiangshan and Macao. This effort was not what he described as “a childish pursuit;” rather, it was a great project. If he did not take the chance to paint then, he might have never again been able to capture such beauty. The dreamlike lakes and hills, brimming with meaning for Yushan, are vividly depicted, just like those created by Ming 明 loyalists. Qian Qianyi 钱谦益 praised Yushan’s poems for being “clear in thought, seasoned in style, and detailed in description.” Chen Hu 陈瑚, his teacher, used to say that “Yushan was born at the wrong time.” And according to his friend Tang Yuzhao 唐宇昭, “Yushan is entirely different from his contemporaries.” Yushan retained the integrity of a Ming loyalist throughout his life. I believe that on that Double Ninth Festival in 1704, when he painted this scroll, he must have been thinking of the heartbreak and misery of the fall of the Ming Dynasty some sixty years earlier. RC

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Matriarchy at the Edge
The Mythic Cult of Nu Wa in Macao

Christina Miu Bing Cheng*

INTRODUCTION

The mythological repertoires of early Chinese culture and civilization are contained in a number of classical texts. These texts are invaluable sources for understanding the power of mythological narratives, which both re-enact and confound the history of China, and which crucially foster cultural cohesion and a sense of collective identity. As Anne Birrell argues, mythological narratives are sacred narratives, chiefly because 'they relate acts of the deities in addition to other episodes, and they embody the most deeply felt spiritual values of a nation' (Birrell 2000: 7). In Macao—the former Portuguese enclave at the edge of south China—there is a small temple consecrated to Nu Wa 女娲. This were-snake Daoist goddess has been an influential deity since antiquity, and played a pivotal role in Chinese mythical history. She represents the cosmogony,[1] or creation myth, of Chinese culture. Bits and pieces of Nu Wa's portrayal as the primeval creator-goddess and saviour of human life are narrated in various time-honoured classics: a Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) text, the *Lie Zi* 列子 (Master Lie), and two Han-dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) texts, *Feng Su Tong Yi* 风俗通义 (The Comprehensive Interpretation of Customs), and the *Huai Nan Zi* 淮南子 (Master Huai Nan). Apart from her matriarchal image as the Earth Mother, she is depicted as a beautiful but wrathful goddess in a Ming 明 dynasty (1368-1644) mythological narrative, *Feng Shen Yan Yi* 封神演义 (Creation of the Gods). Moreover, Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (1717-1763) opens his masterpiece, *Hong Lou Meng* 红楼梦 (The Dream of the Red Chamber), with a decisive reference to Nu Wa as the repairer of the sky.

In Macao, amidst an assortment of other divinities, this archaic goddess does not offer the more coveted "mainstream" services associated with the sea. Instead, she represents another layer in the spirit world by providing "subsidiary" divine assistance. Given that the cult of Nu Wa still retains its hold, even today, the pertinent questions now are: why is Nu Wa honoured at the periphery of China and how is the Chinese pantheistic spirit exemplified in her "divine abode"? What is the significance of the Nu Wa myth and her evolving status in the spiritual hierarchy? How are Chinese literary texts made to serve as a vehicle to consolidate myth-making? And what are the differences and similarities between the creation myths of the East

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RELIGIÃO

and the West? While using an etiological approach to trace the origins and explanations of the Nu Wa myth, this paper also undertakes a broader exegesis, combining the disciplines of the classics, history, literature, religion, art, folklore, anthropology and psychology, to further the discussion.

THE TEMPLE OF NU WA

After the founding of Macao as a Portuguese settlement in 1557, it became a bastion of Catholicism and was believed to have more churches and chapels for its size than anywhere else in the world. It was, however, also permeated with a rich ambience of the polymorphism of Buddhism and Daoism. An autochthonous Chinese religion, Daoism has been called the religion of the masses, and is described as the most popular religious tradition in China (Welch 1958: 140). It is into Daoism that most of the mythological characters of ancient China were incorporated. And Nu Wa was appropriated as the supreme deity in the Daoist divine hierarchy. Among some eighty Chinese temples in Macao,[2] there is a tiny one dedicated to Nu Wa.[3] This insignificant temple truly does not seem a decent way to honour such a prominent divinity.

The humble Nu Wa Temple is located at the junction of Rua das Estalagens [*Cao duei jie* 草堆街] and Travessa dos Algibebes [*Gao wei jie* 高尾街]. It was built in 1888 and its main entrance once faced the Rua de S. Paulo, which led to the impressive façade of the Church of the Mother of God, better known as the Ruins of St. Paul's. Just as a fire destroyed the Church of the Mother of God in 1835 and left it as the "Ruins," so did a fire break out in a cloth shop adjacent to the temple in the winter of 1914. The fire reduced the temple's main hall and rear hall to rubble. Only the side hall was narrowly unscathed. After the disaster, the temple was not re-built; the government made use of the land to widen the Rua das Estalagens, while the side hall was restored and a new entrance added. This is the two-storey structure that stands today, while the present "public" courtyard was originally the site of the main hall. Given its excellent location in the town centre, the temple's courtyard is almost always occupied by vendors selling food and clothes. Passers-by can easily miss this unique piece of Macao's heritage.

The entrance of the Temple of Nu Wa.

Although the temple was much smaller after the renovation, the image of Lu Zu 吕祖 was newly enshrined.[4] Hence the subordinate name of the temple, Ling Yan Guan 灵岩观, [the Temple of the Spirit Rock], was added on the lintel just below the three bigger Chinese characters: Nu Wa Miao 女娲庙 [the Temple of Nu Wa]. One may ask why a male deity was added to share this "sacred space" with a female divinity. Lu Zu, also known as Lu Dongbin 吕洞宾 (755-805), is a historical figure. He is popularly dubbed Lu Chunyang 吕纯阳, meaning "pure essence of the masculine force." He is believed to have attained immortality at the age of fifty and was deified as one of the Daoist Eight Immortals. It is said he acquired the mysteries of alchemy and the magic formula of the elixir of life. He generally carries a sword across his back and holds a fly-whisk as his attribute. The fly-whisk alludes to his ability to fly at will through the air

and to walk on the clouds.[5] Folklore even makes the exaggerated claim that he has a flying phallus. He has long been worshipped as a deity of fertility. Perhaps because both Lu Zu and Nu Wa are associated with fertility, they have been put in the same temple.

On the right side of the entrance, four big Chinese characters "悦城龙母," or "Yuecheng Dragon Mother," are vertically inscribed on a stone pilaster. It is clear from this that the temple is also dedicated to the Dragon Mother of Yuecheng 悦城. The cult of the Dragon Mother is believed to have begun in Yuecheng, Deqing 德庆 county, Guangdong 广东 province, around the first century A.D. Legend maintains that a living maiden with the surname Wen 温 emerged as a shaman in the Qin 秦 dynasty (221-206 B.C.) and was later worshipped as a deity associated with the sea and fertility. Nu Wa thus has to share her "divine abode" with Lu Zu and the Dragon Mother.

Wei Tuo, the defender of the Buddhist faith and protector of monasteries.

As the Chinese (at least in the instance of the lived experience of Macao) seem to advocate the spirit of pantheism through religious inclusion, compromise and syncretism, a plethora of deities is honoured in Nu Wa's divine abode. When one enters the ground floor, there is a staircase leading to the first floor where two images of Nu Wa are enshrined on the main altar. One depicts her as Repairer of Heaven, and the other as Mother Goddess. The modest altar also provides spaces for the Yuecheng Dragon Mother and Lu Zu, as well as Guan Yin 观音, the Buddhist Bodhisattva of Mercy; Guan Gong 关公, the God of War; Zhong Kui 钟馗, the Slayer of Devils; and Zheng Yin 郑隐 and Ge Hong 葛洪, both healing spirits. In addition, scattered around are several small altars dedicated to the Buddhist tutelary deities—Wei Tuo 韦陀, defender of the Buddhist faith and protector of monasteries, and Di Zang Wang 地藏王, King of the Subterranean Kingdom—as well as to the Buddhist Trinity: Past, Present and Future.[6]

Similar to the ancient Greek theory of euhemerism,[7] the Chinese are inclined to espouse the practice of raising historical characters to "godhood." This temple indiscriminately enshrines multitudinous mortals who have, over time, euhemeristically become represented as Daoist immortals. They are Jiang Ziya 姜子牙, the God of Chinese gods; Bao Gong 包公, the God of Justice; Tian Hou 天后, the Daoist Empress of Heaven; Bei Di 北帝, also known as Xuan Tian Shang Di 玄天上帝, the Lord of the Black [Pavilion of] Heaven; Cai Bo Xing Jun 财帛星君 the God of Wealth; Wen Chang 文昌, the God of Literature; Jin Hua Furen 金花夫人, the Patroness of Child-Bearing and Fecundity; and Tai Sui 太岁, the God of the Annual Cycle. Moreover, the mythological child-god Na Zha 哪吒 and the trio of Fortune, Affluence and Longevity (福禄寿 *fulushou*) are also honoured. Two animal deities are also enshrined here—the Monkey King Sun Wukong 孙悟空, and the Pig Fairy Zhu Bajie 猪八戒.

Like most Chinese temples in Macao, the Temple of Nu Wa transgresses religious boundaries to enshrine a whole gamut of popular deities from Daoism, Buddhism and Chinese folk religion. It thus offers a potpourri of beliefs to meet worshippers' various quotidian requirements. This sacred space is another example that illustrates the religious syncretism that has been central to the religious life of the Chinese since the Ming dynasty.[8]

THE WERE-SNAKE NU WA

In Chinese mythology Nu Wa has been the Great Goddess of matriarchal society since antiquity. She is a Mother Goddess, personifying Mother Earth and the source of all human life. There are myriads of "mythemes"[9] constitutive of embodied meaning in the Nu Wa myth. Legend claims that her father was Shui Jingzi 水精子, the Spirit of Water. She belonged to a tribe in northern China with the surname Ying 嬴, meaning "snail." She was formed like a human being except that, instead of having legs, she had a tail and glided over the earth. She had a long head with two fleshy horns, and her body resembled that of a snail (蜗, *wo*); hence she was called Nu Wa (meaning "snail-maid"), and was worshiped as a snail goddess (蜗牛神 *woniushen*) (Werner 1932: 334; see also Wang 1977: 400). In the visual arts, Nu Wa has long been portrayed with the head of a human and the body of a snake, and is commonly considered a were-snake deity. The snake-like Nu Wa reminds us of the Aztec Goddess of the Earth and Mother of gods and men, Coatlicue, who is often shown wearing her characteristic skirt of writhing snakes. The two mother goddesses from different hemispheres are inseparably linked with the snake.

Legend has it that Nu Wa was born three months after her brother Fu Xi 伏羲 (2953-2838 B.C.). Fu Xi was the first legendary sovereign of the Hunting Age of the early nomadic tribes who settled in ancient China. He is credited with many cultural inventions and is regarded as the founder of Chinese civilization. Another account maintains that Fu Xi was from a tribe in central China bearing the surname Feng 风, meaning wind, and the tribal tattoo was a large dragon. The literal meaning of his name "Fu Xi" indicates that he had a prostrate and curvy body, like that of a snake. Obviously, both Nu Wa and Fu Xi had snake-like bodies, and perhaps because of their physical resemblance, legend maintains that Nu Wa was both sister and wife of Fu Xi. They are taken as the first divine married couple.

Similarly, in early Persian mythology, Yima, a solar deity and god of fertility, married his sister (Leeming 1994: 225). Moreover, the theme of incestuous marriage between siblings cannot fail to recall the offspring of Adam and Eve, who, Christians believe, procreated the whole human race. Incest, being a violation of exogamy, was among the taboos of many

Guan Gong, the God of War.

tribal societies, and remains a major crime in most present-day communities. According to Michael Grant, however, out of fifty representative mythologies of the world, no less than thirty-nine include incest among their subject matter (Grant 1963: 230). Carl Jung even contends that incest in itself symbolizes the longing for union with the essence of one's own self, or, in other words, for individuation. This hypothesis may explain why the gods of antiquity very frequently engendered offspring through incestuous relations. In this way, the epic of Nu Wa/Fu Xi relationship falls in line with other ancient mythologies.

Despite their own incestuous marriage, it is believed that Nu Wa called Fu Xi's attention to the need to prohibit marriage between members of the same family and between people with the same surname. Fu Xi instituted the laws of marriage, providing first for betrothal through go-betweens,

making rules for ceremony and gifts, and forbidding pre-marital relations. As a result, Nu Wa and Fu Xi are regarded as the God and Goddess of Marriage.

Both of them are often represented as partly human and partly supernatural; when they are represented together, the lower parts of their bodies are shown in the form of entwined serpents' tails. This representation symbolizes mating. In tombs of the Han 汉 dynasty, there are archaeological findings showing Nu Wa and Fu Xi with human heads and interlacing snake tails. Such a portrayal is readily reminiscent of the cult of the Naga (in Sanskrit, "Naga" is a male snake or serpent, and "Nagini" a female). In the Buddhism practiced in south and southeast Asia—particularly in India and Cambodia—the snake is almost a saintly motif. Legend has it that when the Buddha was in his sixth week of meditation after his Enlightenment, a serpent king (king of the Nagas) named Mucilinda sheltered him during a great storm and a torrential rain that lasted for seven days. The serpent king surrounded him with the coils of his body and outspread his seven heads to form a protective hood like an umbrella. This notable episode has become a favourite subject in the Buddhist visual arts. The Naga cult appears to be popular in China too, and the snake is worshipped as a form of divine spirit. It comes to represent immortality because of its ability to shed its old skin and emerge renewed, regenerated and reborn.

In world mythology, the snake is believed to control the sources of water and is hence a kind of water god; it is worshipped among the fertility gods in the hope of assuring a successful growing season for crops (Rosenberg 1999: 330). The snake is believed to embody knowledge, wisdom[10] and the power to heal. It is also a phallic symbol associated with the earth goddess in fertility rites. It is regarded as a benevolent "genie of the ground" and a friend of human beings (Frédéric 1995: 91, 277). It is even worshipped by some as a god (Hall 1995: 285). In Mesoamerican civilization, the snake is perhaps the most enduring

icon. The Mayas worshipped the mythic plumed-serpent (or feathered-snake) god, Kukulcan, known to the later Toltecs and Aztecs as Quetzalcoatl. Moreover, the image of a snake (together with an eagle perching on a cactus) is even represented on the present-day Mexican flag, thus showing the positive iconography of the snake.

By contrast, in Christian culture, the snake is a demonic animal. In the Bible, the snake is the craftiest of all God's creatures, and the chief agent in the scene of the Temptation (Genesis 3: 1-7). It is believed that the snake persuaded Eve to eat the fruit of "the tree of the knowledge of good and evil." Eve ate the forbidden fruit and gave some to Adam, who ate it too. Hence, the snake was condemned: "...the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan which deceiveth the whole world..." (Revelation 12: 9). As we can see, the words "dragon," "serpent," "Devil, and "Satan" are interchangeable in Christian culture; the snake is a symbol of evil and a Biblical synonym for Satan. These semantic entanglements virtually blur the exact distinctions among these words. The iconographic meaning of the snake vividly espouses opposed interpretations in varying traditions, and the same animal in different cultural contexts is endowed with contrasting semiotics.

THE CREATOR OF THE COSMOS AND HUMAN BEINGS

A creation myth is a cosmogony, a narrative that describes the original ordering of the universe and reveals the great struggle to survive in chaos. Virtually all cultures have cosmogonic myths, because human beings are preoccupied with their own origins and those of the world in which they live. In Chinese mythical history, there were two authoritative versions of creation,[11] namely, the myths of Pan Gu 盘古—literally "Coiled Antiquity"[12]—and of Nu Wa. While Pan Gu was worshipped as the Ancestor God (祖神 *zushen*) among different ethnic minorities in the south-western part of China, Nu Wa was regarded as the Mother Goddess (*mushen* 母神) in the northern regions, and was mainly worshipped by the Han Chinese (Wang 1977: 583-4). Even today, the cult of Nu Wa enjoys huge popularity in central-northern provinces of Henan 河南, Hebei 河北 and Shaanxi 陕西 (Yang 1997: 144-162).

The Chinese creation myth holds that Pan Gu was a divine cosmic giant. Each day for 18,000 years he grew ten feet taller. He created order out of a huge egg containing chaos by separating the sky from the earth. With a great chisel and a huge mallet, he carved out the mountains, valleys, rivers, and oceans. During his 18,000 years of life he made the sun, moon, and stars. As his death created a vacuum within which pain and sin were able to flourish, his corpse gave shape and substance to the universe. The parasites (or mites) on his body, impregnated by the wind that had been generated by his breath, became the black-haired people.[13]

The Pan Gu creation myth, which represents the cosmological human body, is stunningly similar to that of other ancient mythologies. For instance, in the mythology of northern Europe, the sea, the earth and the sky were created from parts of the primeval giant Ymir's body after he was slain by Odin, the

The Daoist goddess Nu Wa.

Bei Di, the Lord of the Black [Pavilion of] Heaven.

Scandinavian god of war (Shapiro 1979: 214). In the Vedic tradition, the "Primal Man" Purusha (or Purusa) was a cosmic giant who created the universe. His head became the sky, his feet the earth, his navel the air, and his limbs produced mortals (Coulter & Turner 2000: 392). The resemblance of the Pan Gu myth to these creation myths reveals some sort of intertextuality and suggests that it was probably Indo-European in origin. It might have been adapted from Central Asian sources, due to increased cross-cultural contacts among people from south-western China and Central Asia in the third century A.D.

Unlike the somewhat unappealing male-dominated myth of Pan Gu, the female-dominated creation story of Nu Wa[14] clearly indicates that human beings are not on a level with parasites. The myth of Nu Wa is briefly mentioned in an Eastern-Han dynasty (25-220 A.D.) text, *Shuo Wen Jie Zi* 说文解字 (Talking about Texts and Explaining Words), compiled by Xu Shen 许慎 (d. 120 A.D.?). This text relates that Nu Wa was a "holy maiden in antiquity, who created and impregnated all things" [古之神圣女, 化万物者也 *gu zhi shen sheng nü, hua wan wu zhe ye*] (Xu 1997: 623). These ten words neatly encapsulate the idea that the cosmos was established and all living things took shape through Nu Wa's creation.[15] She is the matriarchal primogenitrix *par excellence*.

In *Feng Su Tong Yi*, another Eastern-Han dynasty text compiled by Ying Shao 应劭 (c. 140-206 A.D.), there is a comparatively more detailed description, which indicates that Nu Wa created human beings so as to enrich and beautify the world. She is specifically portrayed as the Earth Mother [地母 *dimu*], or the Creatrix of humankind:

> "Legend has it that at the very beginning when heaven and earth first took shape, there were no human beings. Nu Wa patted and modelled yellow clay in order to create human beings. The task was very tedious and her strength could not tolerate the burden. So she pulled a rope through the mud, lifted it up, and each drop of clay that fell off became a human being. Therefore, the rich and the noble were those moulded from yellow clay, whereas the poor and the ordinary were those made by pulling the rope through the mud."[16]

This fragment explains not only the primeval creation of humankind, but is also redolent of other connotations. First, it explains the origins of social hierarchy. The humans made of yellow clay became the ruling class of rich and noble people, while the mud produced the underclass of poor and servile people. Secondly, it tacitly embraces the Chinese concept of predestination—that is, the idea that the fate of human beings was preordained from the moment they were created. In the Christian creation myth, however, the first man and woman, Adam and Eve, betrayed God by eating the forbidden fruit, and were expelled from the Garden of Eden—an episode that perhaps suggests the first couple's uncompromising challenge to a predestined fate. Thirdly, the reference to the yellow clay on the banks of the Yellow River is key to the Chinese creation myth. The Yellow River, on which life and culture have depended, was the cradle of Chinese civilization. The association of the Nu Wa myth with theYellow River thus enhances the

nationalistic spirit (in a modern sense) of the Chinese, and strengthens a sense of ethnic solidarity.

Creation stories involving the idea that the first man was formed from dust, soil or clay are found in other religions, notably Babylonian. Similarly, Ovid (43 B.C.-17 or 18 A.D.), retelling a Greek myth in *Metamorphoses*, describes the Titan Prometheus fashioning the first figure of a man from clay in the image of the gods:

> Then man was made, perhaps from seed divine
> Formed by the great Creator, so to found
> A better world, perhaps the new-made earth,
> So lately parted from the ethereal heavens,
> Kept still some essence of the kindred sky—
> Earth that Prometheus moulded, mixed with water,
> In likeness of the gods that govern the world—
> And while the other creatures on all fours
> Look downwards, man was made to hold his head
> Erect in majesty and see the sky,
> And raise his eyes to the bright stars above.
> Thus earth, once crude and featureless, now changed
> Put on the unknown form of humankind.
> (*Metamorphoses* 1: 76-88)

In the same vein, the Bible relates, "The Lord God took some soil from the ground and formed a man out of it; he breathed life-giving breath into his nostrils and the man began to live" (Genesis 2: 7). Apart from this similarity—that the first man was made of clay—the Chinese creation myth embodies different elements from that of the Christian. In the *Bible*:

> "God created human beings, making them to be like himself. He created them male and female, blessed them and said, "Have many children, so that your descendants will live all over the earth and bring it under their control"(*Genesis* 1: 27-28).

In Christianity, there was only one single Creator/God; but in Chinese mythology there were two cosmic creators, namely Pan Gu and Nu Wa. The Christian creation myth conforms to the *patriarchal* idea of God the Father, whereas the Chinese creation myth also espouses the *matriarchal* concept of the Mother Goddess, in addition to the divine cosmic giant. While the Christian god created only a man and a woman, Nu Wa created human beings in groups—nobles and commoners. Contrary to the Greek god and the Christian God who made man in their images, Nu Wa did not create humanity in her likeness. Unlike Adam and Eve's disgraceful Fall, which predestined their descendants to a condition of original sin, the people made by Nu Wa did not fall from her grace and were not punished. Most especially, Nu Wa created only the Chinese people, whereas the Greek and Christian creation myths seem to apply to all humanity.

In the Bible, Eve was the mother of all human beings (Genesis 3: 20), but it was she who brought forth the Fall of humankind. In quite a different vein, Nu Wa was the Mother Goddess and Guardian Goddess of the people and the country, and a great matriarch in the epics of Chinese culture.

Zhong Kui, the Slayer of Devils.

REPAIRER OF HEAVEN AND GUARDIAN OF HUMAN LIFE

Chinese mythology holds that in antiquity, the sky and the earth were in utter chaos. There were torrential rain and infernal fires, and human beings were in great danger. Nu Wa then came to the rescue. She tamed unbridled nature, restored the cosmic order, and effected stability on earth. This episode can be traced to the *Huai Nan Zi*, compiled by Liu An 刘安 (c. 170-122 B.C.) in 139 B.C. (during the Western Han dynasty):

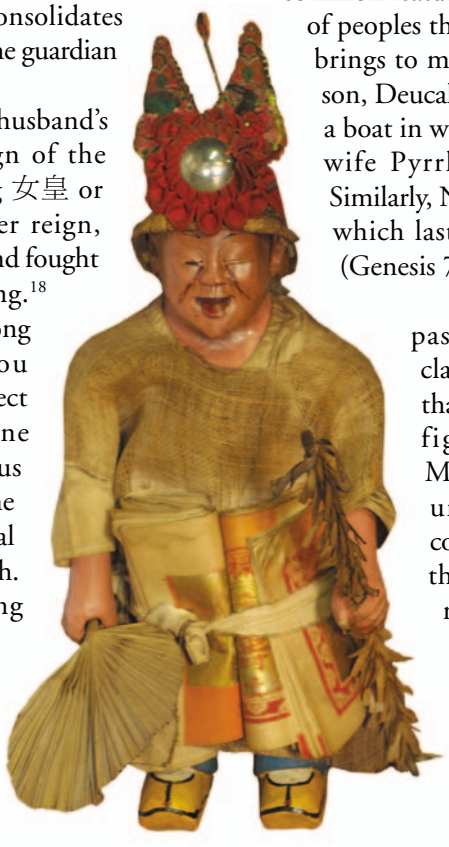
> "In antiquity, the four extremities [the four corners of the earth] were in decline, the nine continents were cracked, the sky did not cover the entire earth and the earth did not fully support the sky, fires blazed unextinguished, waters flooded unchecked, fierce beasts ate the people, and birds of prey seized the old and the weak. Nu Wa therefore melted stones of five colours to repair the azure sky, cut the feet of the celestial tortoise to set upright the four extremities, slaughtered the black dragon to rescue the people of Ji province, gathered ashes to fill up the flooding waters, and rescued the land."[17]

This fragment undoubtedly consolidates her role as the repairer of the sky and the guardian goddess of human life.

Meanwhile, after her brother/husband's death, Nu Wa reigned as sovereign of the kingdom under the title Nu Huang 女皇 or "Empress." Towards the end of her reign, however, Gong Gong 共工 rebelled and fought with Zhuan Xu 颛顼 to become king.[18] Demonic and ambitious as Gong Gong was, he violently shook Buzhou Mountain 不周山 (literally, "imperfect mountain"), seized one of the nine heavenly columns and broke it, thus creating an enormous black hole in the celestial vault, from whence torrential rain poured down and flooded the earth. After committing this crime, Gong Gong fled, but was caught and killed by Nu Wa. She then returned to build a scaffolding to support the heavens, and saved humanity from destruction. The episode plainly suggests that the cosmic order was disrupted by male violence, and that disorder was restored by female benevolence. Hence, Nu Wa's matriarchal importance is emphasized. Consider this excerpt from *Lie Zi*, a Daoist classic, compiled by Lie Yukou 列御寇 during the Warring States Period:[19]

> "In former times, Nu Wa melted five-coloured stones to repair the hole in the sky, and cut off the feet of the celestial tortoise to set upright the four extremities of the earth. Later Gong Gong and Zhuan Xu fought to become king. He (Gong Gong) wrathfully shook Buzhou Mountain, broke the pillar in the sky, tore the strings that tied the earth; so the sky leaned towards the northwest, where the sun, the moon and the stars were positioned; the water could not flow to the south-eastern part of the earth, and therefore the stagnant waters flooded."[20]

The above two fragments simultaneously emphasize that ancient China suffered from severe floods. The chaos of the deluge forms part of many creation myths. Though destructive, water is also the source of new birth, and represents the desire for a new beginning. Accounts of a great flood appear to be common features in the mythology and folk-history of peoples throughout the world. The flood story brings to mind the Greek myth of Prometheus' son, Deucalion, who escaped a flood by building a boat in which he floated for nine days with his wife Pyrrha (*Metamorphoses* 1: 348-415). Similarly, Noah built an ark to escape the deluge, which lasted for one hundred and fifty days (Genesis 7, 8: 1-19).



Although these two fragmentary passages are short, and drawn from classical texts, they succinctly illustrate that Nu Wa was the archetypal saviour figure in the catastrophe myth. Moreover, her role as a divine smith is underlined, since she smelted the cosmic five-coloured stones and restored the sky. One may wonder how many magic stones were required to repair the sky, and how big they were. In *Hong Lou Meng*,[21] the author Cao Xueqin appropriated the Nu Wa myth and provided a mathematical hermeneutics at the very beginning of the novel:

> "Long ago, when the goddess Nu-wa was repairing the sky, she melted down a great quantity of rock and, on the Incredible Crags of the Great Fable Mountains, moulded the amalgam into three hundred and six thousand, five hundred and one large building blocks, each measuring seventy-two feet by a hundred and forty-four feet square. She used three hundred and six thousand five hundred of these blocks in the course of her building operations, leaving a single odd block unused, which lay, all on its own, at the foot of Greensickness Peak in the aforementioned mountains."[22] (Hawkes 1973: 47)

In this excerpt, the cult of Nu Wa and the cult of the stone are closely interwoven. The narrative not only pinpoints the size and number of stones Nu Wa used,[23] it also reveals the Chinese passion for stone (and metonymically for jade). Stone has long been regarded as possessing supernatural powers in aniconic form,[24] as an antidote to malign and inauspicious influences. It is this single unused stone left by Nu Wa that constitutes the story line of *Hong Lou Meng,* which is also known as *The Story of the Stone* [*Shi Tou Ji* 石头记].

NU WA'S ENTICING CHARM

Nu Wa was re-invented in another mythological repertoire and incorporated as one of the most fascinating characters in *Feng Shen Yan Yi*. This classical novel was developed over centuries as a folk tale, and first appeared in book form in the late Ming dynasty.[25] In the novel, the real world and the fantastic world are presented in a harmonious and holistic manner. It combines fictionalized historical romance and popular mythological tales based on the fall of the Shang 商 dynasty (1766-1121 B.C.) and the rise of the Zhou 周 dynasty (1122-221 B.C.). During the fictitious battles between evil spirits and divine beings that were involved in the transition of power, Nu Wa appears three times to intervene. The novel comes to the end with Jiang Ziya's canonization of three hundred and sixty-five mortals (a reference to the 365 days in a year) in the Daoist pantheon under a celestial hierarchy, and with Emperor Wu's 武 confirmation of the official titles granted to his subordinate feudal lords.[26]

At the outset of this fictional narrative, Nu Wa's supreme status as the sovereign of the cosmos was recapitulated by Shang Rong 商容, the Prime Minister of Emperor Zhou 纣 (1154-1121 B.C.):

> "Goddess Nu Wa has been a great goddess since ancient times, and possesses saintly virtues. When the enraged demon Gong Gong knocked his head against Buzhou Mountain, the northwest section of Heaven collapsed and the earth sank in the southeast. At this critical moment, Nu Wa came to the rescue and mended Heaven with multi-coloured stones she had obtained and refined from a mountain." (Gu 1992: 3)

Although Nu Wa's greatness was emphasized, she was "demoted" to the position of guardian angel for Zhaoge 朝歌 (present-day Anyang 安阳, in Henan province), the capital of the Shang dynasty), and was honoured merely as a "proper goddess" [*zheng shen* 正神].

Under the advice of the Prime Minister, Emperor Zhou made a pilgrimage to worship Nu Wa and held a ceremony at her temple on her birthday, the 15th day of the third lunar month. Suddenly a whirlwind blew up, "rolling back the curtain and exposing the image of the goddess to all. She was dazzlingly beautiful, much more so than flowers, more than the fairy in the moon palace, and certainly more than any woman in the world. She looked quite alive, smiling sweetly at the king and staring at him with joy in her eyes"(Gu 1992: 4). The ancient prototype of the snake-like Nu Wa was embellished as a heavenly beauty in this scene. Emperor Zhou was immediately besotted

by her bewitching beauty, as none of his concubines was as attractive as the goddess' image. As an expression of his immense admiration and infatuated love for her, the licentious Emperor then wrote the following poem in praise of her on the wall near her image:

> The scene is splendid with phoenixes and dragons,
> But the clay and golden colours are only deftly applied.
> Curving brows like winding hills in jade green,
> Dancing sleeves aflutter, clothed in radiant dew.
>
> As pear blossoms soaked with raindrops compete with beauty,
> Charming as peonies enveloped in mist.
> This sweet beauty can ever walk with graceful movements,
> I'll bring her along to Chang Le Palace to serve me.[27]

This flirtatious poem becomes the peripeteia and the main cause of the fall of the Shang dynasty. It also foregrounds a whole sequence of fantastic battles between the evil and the divine in *Feng Shen Yan Yi*.

On her birthday, before Emperor Zhou arrived, Nu Wa had already left her temple to pay respects to the triadic group San Huang 三皇, or the Three Emperors: Fu Xi, Shen Nong 神农, and Huang Di 黃帝.[28] Once the archetypal creatrix and saviour of humankind, Nu Wa now became a figure inferior to the three patriarchal deities, and was "degraded" by scribal prejudice. After she returned, she found the poem and was furious. She felt hugely insulted, because the provocative poem blatantly expressed the Emperor's sexual desire towards her, and by expressing such desire, he committed the sin of blasphemy. Such blasphemy on the part of a mortal towards a "proper goddess" can be seen as symbolic rape, which symbolically violates her virginity and defiles her saintly image. Emperor Zhou's visit to the Nu Wa Temple was a key episode, which gave rise to a theme of sin-and-punishment.

AVENGING GODDESS

Just like the Hindu God Shiva and his consort Parvati, who appear in both gentle and terrifying images,[29] Nu Wa manifests her angry form as an avenging goddess as the plot of her story unfolds. She uses the magic "Demon-Summoning Banner" to call forth three sprites from a golden gourd. She commands them to transform themselves into beauties, enter the palace and distract Emperor Zhou from state affairs, but not to harm the ordinary people (they actually killed many commoners). She promises to reward them with a state of immortality, making them "legitimate immortals" if they help destroy the Shang dynasty. The three sprites gladly accept the "mission," and fly away.

Meanwhile, one of the three sprites, the Vixen Demon, kills the innocent beauty Su Daji 苏妲己,[30] who had been sent by her father to serve Emperor Zhou, and takes on her physical shape. The enticing vixen-Daji seduces the Emperor with her unsurpassed charm and becomes the most patronized concubine in the court. She fulfills her duty to annihilate the continuity of the Shang dynasty with exceptionally cold-hearted craftiness. The historical Daji was thus appropriated in the Nu Wa myth, and served as the medium through which Nu Wa could wreak vengeance on the Emperor. Metaphorically, Daji represents the manifestation of the destructive, wrathful and demonic aspect of Nu Wa.

At the denouement, the capital Zhaoge was besieged and Emperor Zhou was defeated. Nu Wa then stepped in to fulfil her role as the ultimate saviour, and to show poetic justice. She broke her promise to grant the three wicked sprites a state of legitimate immortality, and killed them all. In this way, the sprites were "victimized" to illustrate Nu Wa's avenging wrath. After she had initiated the whole sequence of destructive episodes for her revenge, through Daji, she also wreaked havoc on many innocents. Nu Wa's killing of the three sprites was an act to restore the divine order, as well as a gesture to get rid of the vicious manifestation of her own self, and to regain her saintly status as proper goddess.

THE MYTH-SYMBOL COMPLEX

Myths are considered narrative projections of a given cultural group's sense of its sacred past and its relationship with the surrounding world and universe. Anthropologists emphasize that the myth-symbol complex is salient in social and cultural processes. In particular, they argue, human behaviour and experience are guided by systems of significant symbols, which contribute towards governing people's beliefs and life-styles. Hence, ethnic myths, religious symbols,

traditional values and collective memories are indispensable for the continuity of collective cultural identity. "By a collective cultural identity," Anthony D. Smith maintains, "is meant those feelings and values in respect of a sense of continuity, shared memories and a sense of common destiny of a given unit of population which has had common experiences and cultural attributes" (Smith 1990: 179). For Smith, myths and symbols are cultural attributes, which in turn have been woven into ethno-history. The enduring role of ethno-history, as the arguments run, does not only sustain a sense of individual meaningfulness, it also assures collective dignity, appeals to collective posterity, and ensures collective immortality (Smith 1990: 180-83). As such, the mythic figure Nu Wa honoured in peripheral Macao helps inspire a collective cultural identity, and more especially reveals cultural responses to the issues that unite the Chinese at the "edge" with the "centre."

The functions of myths are to illuminate the heroism of the human condition, and to dispense with realistic detail and experiment with the supernatural. As myths are seen as symbols of human experience, Sigmund Freud and his followers interpret them as an expression of the individual's unconscious wishes, fears and drives. More broadly, Carl Jung and his followers view myths as the expression of a universal, collective unconscious. When comparing the stories of famous myths and Freud's dream-symbols, Michael Grant contends that mythology, like dreams, seem a royal road to our understanding of unconscious processes. This is on the grounds that myths contain thinly disguised representations of certain fundamental unconscious fantasies common to all humankind (Grant 1963: 230). Grant is of the opinion that the myth-symbol and dream-symbol are the keys to our comprehension of the unconscious.

We may therefore understand the unconscious of an ingrained part of Chinese culture through its myth-symbol complex. The myth of Nu Wa was seemingly created as an entertaining series of stories, but its underlying structures embodied a more serious purpose. These structures invariably appealed to a broad audience, which has enabled the myth to survive for thousands of years. The serious purpose of the Nu Wa myth is to satisfy the human need for roots—that is, to explain the origins of the Chinese people. While Nu Wa binds the ages together and embodies a "primordial" value in popular consciousness, she also comes to reflect a nostalgic longing for myths and memories in the distant past. Notably, she represents an important mythic theme: matriarchal dominance, which is an unconscious reaction to the patriarchy of Chinese society.

CONCLUSION

Chinese mythology contains a treasure trove of mythic themes, motifs and archetypes, which are vital to the survival of its culture. Although a written record of the Nu Wa myth appeared for the first time during the Han dynasty, it had actually been transmitted from an earlier period. In the preceding Qin dynasty, Qin Shi Huang 秦始皇, China's first emperor, burned a colossal number of books as a measure of political and cultural control. Consequently, there was an irreparable loss of literary texts, and many old myths were only passed down orally. It was not until the Han dynasty that scholars revised and recorded them anew.

The Nu Wa myth embraces "mythemes" from non-orthodox histories, legends, folklore and fiction, not to mention the fact that it confounds real history. Even though the fragments of mythic stories are disjointed and brief, in the words of Anne Birrell, they are "a rare survival of primitive authenticity" (Birrell 2000: 14). Moreover, these fragmentary pieces of writing enable the Nu Wa myth to enter and establish itself in traditional currency. Literary texts are thus made to serve as a vehicle to consolidate the autochthonous Chinese myth-symbol complex, which constitutes a crucial part of the common people's religious life.

Nu Wa has been constructed as the archetypal figure in the supernatural reality of initial events, and her story is in keeping with the consistent pattern of the "creation myth." As she rescued the world from the catastrophes of raging fires and flooding waters, she is the saviour and heroine in the "catastrophe myth." Apart from being the inaugurator of the social institution of marriage, she also embodies the "fertility myth," which is a response to the need for human procreation, social stability and economic cultivation. The mythic elements of Nu Wa on the one hand illustrate ancient China's relationship with the primal cosmos, and on the other hand convey a process of continuity that helps assert a collective identity for the Chinese people.

The "degrading" transformation of Nu Wa from the supreme goddess to the consort of Fu Xi may speak to the gradual social change from matriarchy to patriarchy that occurred in ancient China. In the Nu Wa Temple in Macao, however, her somewhat subordinate status as Fu Xi's wife is not in evidence. She is still honoured as Repairer of Heaven and the Mother Goddess, thus retaining her matriarchal greatness. In the heyday of Macao, Nu Wa was popularly venerated and the temple well patronized. What then was her divine intervention? Formerly there were many prostitutes in Macao, especially in Rua da Felicidade [*Fulong xin jie* 福隆新街]—Macao's "red light" district. It is gathered that prostitutes used to go to pray to this matriarchal deity for protection from venereal diseases and gynaecological problems (Tang 1994: 208). They would naturally pray for a return to "normal" life, and to find "proper" husbands. Hence, Nu Wa has come to be a quasi-patroness of prostitutes in Macao. In this respect, her role is similar to that of Ishtar, the great Babylonian goddess of love, sex, and fertility.[31] As the goddess of fertility and bestower of children, she is mostly honoured by barren women who would pray for children, and in particular for male heirs to continue the family line. Given the myth that she repaired the heavens, broken-hearted worshippers may beseech her to repair their *qing tian* 情天 (literally, "love heaven"). By and large, she is mainly worshipped as the goddess of marriage and of match-making (媒神 *meishen*) in Macao. It is plain to see Nu Wa's divine roles have been re-shaped and modified in response to the interests and preoccupations of the people there.

After a glorious beginning, the Nu Wa Temple has fallen into a state of neglect. The cult of Nu Wa has also seen a gradual decline and lost its lustre amidst rapid socio-cultural changes. The decline of a cult, as C. K. Yang argues, is partly due to its failure to continue developing magical and mythological lore in order to sustain its existence. Also, when ethico-political values gradually lose their urgency and importance, a cult may enter a crisis period and might finally be replaced by another, newer, cult (Yang 1970: 172-3). In Macao, Nu Wa is greatly overshadowed by the dominant divine virgin trio—the Virgin Mary (the Christian Mother of God), Tian Hou (the Daoist Empress of Heaven) and Guan Yin (the Buddhist Bodhisattva of Mercy).[32] Just as Tian Hou is the patron goddess of fishermen, sailors and maritime merchants, Guan Yin is associated with saving mariners from shipwreck. Both goddesses, moreover, share similarities with the Virgin Mary, who is sometimes apostrophized as the "Star of the Sea" and "Haven of the Shipwrecked." The three divinities offer the more urgent and coveted "mainstream" services associated with safety at sea in peninsular Macao, whereas Nu Wa only provides "subsidiary" assistance in connection with gynaecological matters and marriage. Macao obviously needs emerging cults to guard its seascape and protect its position at the estuary of the Pearl River. Despite the decline of the cult of Nu Wa in Macao, it still possesses the elemental grandeur of myths and epics. While the Temple of Nu Wa represents the cultural heritage of Macao, the matriarchal Great Goddess helps foster cultural cohesion and constitutes one of the epics of Chinese culture at the edge. RC

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NOTES

1 The term "cosmogony" is derived from the Greek word *kosmos*, meaning order, genesis, and birth.

2 According to the Heritage Preservation Department at the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Macao SAR, this figure excludes altars and niches, which are often found along streets or at the entrances to houses.

3 Unlike other temples in Macao, the Nu Wa Temple is open only from 8 am to 3 pm daily.

4 In Macao, there are celebrations on Lu Zu's birthday, which falls on the 14th day of the fourth lunar month.

5 The fly-whisk represents obedience to the Buddhist law and a symbol of the compassion of Avalokitesvara towards all beings. However, it transgresses religious boundaries, for it is also a typical attribute of the Daoist Lu Zu.

6 The Buddhist trinity are in fact the manifestations of Lord Buddha. The Buddha of the Past is Amitabha, the Buddha of the Present the historical Buddha, Gautama Siddhartha, better known as Sakyamuni (c. 563-483 B.C.), and the Buddha of the Future is Maitreya.

7 The term "euhemerism" comes from Euhemerus, a Greek mythographer and philosopher of the 4th century B.C. He advocated a theory that the gods of mythology were merely deified mortals.

8 On the eclectic complexity of Chinese religious culture and euhemerised Daoist deities, see Cheng 2003.

9 Levi-Strauss' term "mytheme", meaning the synthesis of the relational units in a myth, is borrowed from the linguistic concepts of "phoneme" and "morpheme." See Levi-Strauss 1972: 169-194.

10 The snake is the attribute of Minerva, the Greek Goddess of Wisdom.

11 The Chinese have three basic creation myths. The other is the myth of Yin and Yang, who were two gods that emerged out of chaos and represent complementary essences in the universe. This myth first appears in *Huai Nan Zi*, compiled by Liu An in 139 B.C.

12 Two pieces of the Pan Gu myth were originally compiled by Xu Zheng 徐整, who lived in southwestern China around 222-280 A. D. They were in *San Wu Li Ji* 三五历记 (Historical Records of the Three Sovereign Divinities and the Five Gods) and *Wu Yun Linien Ji* 五运历年纪 (A Chronicle of the Five Cycles of Time). On the Chinese creation myth, see Wang 1977: 485-527.

13 For an English version of the Pan Gu myth, see Rosenberg 1999: 328-9. See also Leeming 1994: 49-50.

14 Although Wang Xiaolian 王孝廉 maintained that the myth of Nu Wa preceded that of Pan Gu, Donna Rosenberg argues that by the time the creation story of Nu Wa emerged, the myth of Pan Gu already existed, at least in an oral form. See Wang 1977: 486, 677. See also Rosenberg 1999: 324.

15 The cult of Nu Wa enjoyed great popularity in central China during the Han dynasty. Apart from the classical literary sources, there are also abundant fragmentary episodes derived later in popular culture and folklore among different ethnic groups in various parts of China. Despite varying degrees of storytelling, the uniformity of her role is emphasized. See Yang 1997, Chapter 1.

16 俗说天地开辟, 未有人民, 女娲抟黄土为人, 剧务, 力不暇供, 乃引绳糸亙泥中, 举以为人。故富贵者黄土人也, 贫贱凡庸者糸亙人也。(Ying, 1980: 449)

17 往古之时, 四极废, 九州裂, 天不兼覆, 地不周载, 火爁焱而不灭, 水浩洋而不息, 猛兽食颛民, 鸷鸟攫老弱, 于是女娲锻五色石以补苍天, 断鳌足以立四极, 杀黑龙以济冀州, 积芦灰以止淫水。(Liu 1926: 39)

18 Gong Gong was a primeval mythical water god, who had a human face, the body of a snake and red hair, and rode on two dragons. Zhuan Xu was a tribal chief in antiquity.

19 The *Lie Zi* was highly prized by the Tang dynasty Emperor Xuan Zong 玄宗, who included it in the imperial examination in 742 A. D. However, it soon became controversial whether or not it was an authentic text by Lie Yukou. Since it embodied philosophical thoughts typical of the Wei 魏 and Jin 晋 periods (220-265 and 265-316 A.D., respectively), some argued that it could well have been written between the third and fourth centuries A.D. See Lie 1987, Preface.

20 昔者女娲氏锻五色石以补其阙; 断鳌之足以立四极. 其后共工氏与颛顼争为帝,怒而触不周之山, 折天柱, 绝地维; 故天倾西北, 日月辰星就焉; 地不满东南, 故百川水潦归焉。(Lie 1987: 115).

21 The first printed edition of *Hong Lou Meng* was published in January 1792.

22 却说那女娲皇炼石补天之时, 于大荒山无稽崖炼成高十二丈, 见方二十四丈大的顽石三万六千五百零一块; 那娲皇只用了三万六千五百块, 单单剩下一块未用, 弃在青埂峰下。(Cao 2001: 1)

23 One may miss the cosmic implications of these numbers in English translation. According to Wang Xiaolian, the numbers in the Chinese version—12, 24, 365—symbolize 12 months, 24 seasonal changes, and 365 days of the year. See Wang 1977: 696.

24 The term "aniconic form" refers to a representation through sign and symbol without any figural image.

25 In a study on *Feng Shen Yan Yi*, Wan Pinpin discovered that it was first published probably between 1567 and 1619, and certainly not later than 1623. In 1965, Liu Cunyan 柳存烟 published his doctoral dissertation on the authorship question and argued that a Daoist named Lu Xixing 陆西星 was the most plausible author. See Wan 1987: 2-3.

26 See the 1987 edition of *Feng Shen Yan Yi*. For the English translation, see Gu 1992.

27 凤鸾宝帐景非常
尽是泥金巧样妆
曲曲远山飞翠色
翩翩舞袖映霞裳

梨花带雨争娇艳
芍药笼烟骋媚妆
但得妖娆能举动
取回长乐侍君王

28 Fu Xi (2953-2838 B.C.) is venerated as the God of Hunting, Shen Nong (2838-2698 B.C.) as the God of Agriculture, and Huang Di (2698-2598 B.C.) as the God of Architecture. This ancestral triad may rightly begin any account of the primordial myths of China, and their myths have been arranged in such a way as to explain the development of early Chinese civilization. On the Three Emperors, see MacCulloch 1964, Vol. III, Chapter II.

29 In Hinduism, Shiva and his consort Parvati embrace a duality in their manifestations. As a fearsome destroyer of life and angry avenger, Shiva represents a destructive force, but he is also the re-creator and a benign herdsman of souls. Parvati (the Mountain Goddess) is his *sakti* (female energy or energizing power) and his calm, benevolent wife. She is an aspect of the great mother-goddess Devi, but can also manifest a demonic form as Durga or Kali, who becomes the fierce goddess of war and personifies the destructive aspect of divine power.

30 Su Daji, the historical concubine of Emperor Zhou, is believed to have caused the downfall of the Shang dynasty.

31 Ishtar (her Akkadian name) was called Inanna by the Sumerians, and venerated as the Mother Goddess. However, she was also a War Goddess, often referred to as "the Lady of Battles."

32 On the three deities venerated as sea goddesses in Macao, see Cheng 1999, Chapter 4 ("The Rendezvous of a Virgin Trio").

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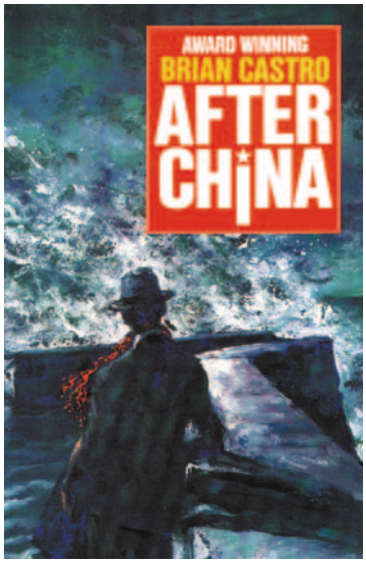

The Power of the Story in Postcolonial Fiction

The Novels of Brian Castro and Mia Couto

David Brookshaw*

It was a Brazilian novelist, Guimarães Rosa, who, in the early 1960s, introduced the term 'estória' as opposed to 'história' to describe his short fiction. Rosa's 'estória' was designed to be more evocative of two features that in due course absorbed the interest of a later generation of postcolonial literary theorists in the anglophone world – namely orality and the oral origins of literary fiction, and from there the idea of a story being told rather than written down. It is significant that one of the authors discussed in this paper, the Mozambican Mia Couto, has, on occasion, adopted the term 'estória', thus revealing a debt to Guimarães Rosa.

Stories and storytelling as an art and a tradition are etched into postcolonial literary theory, partly because, in pre-literate societies, they are seen as the bedrock of an authentic national culture in contradistinction to that imposed by the recently departed colonizer. However, the emphasis on oral tradition as defining an emergent literature leads to a type of essentialism that satisfies a largely Western readership in its quest for 'novelty' as much as, if not more than it does cultural nationalists in the former colonies themselves. What is sometimes overlooked are the social and political implications of stories, and in particular conflicting stories, for these suggest very often a challenge to essentialism and generalisation, a resistance to compartmentalisation, and perhaps above all, resistance to a story imposed from above.

For Richard Kearney, stories serve to give shape and meaning to otherwise chaotic and dispersed events, and in what he terms 'our (...) postmodern era of fragmentation and fracture', serve to give both individuals and communities 'one of our most viable forms of *identity*'[1]. Stories, for Kearney, are therefore integral to building a sense of national cohesion. Michael Jackson, for his part, differentiates between stories that somehow become canonical, and therefore tend to reinforce the boundaries of the group to which the story belongs, and storytelling that 'also questions, blurs, transgresses, and even abolishes these boundaries'[2]. Both Kearney and Jackson seem to be

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pinpointing two apparently contradictory aspects of storytelling: it can be a narrative of communal cohesion on the one hand often taking the form of a myth of origin or similar such aetiology, and an expression of individual or personal difference on the other, for example an autobiographical account, or a succession of stories expressing multiple viewpoints. Whether the contradiction is so great is a question that I hope to answer in this article with reference to two fiction writers: the Mozambican Mia Couto and Brian Castro from Australia.

Couto and Castro, for all their undoubted differences, have one common characteristic which may be illustrative of a similar position with regard to the matter of individual or indeed national identity. There is an element of self-invention in both their personae that indicates an attraction to a sense of ambiguity: the Australian, with his quintessential Iberian family name, and equally typical Anglo-Saxon forename was, he has often repeated, born on a ferry between Macao and Hong Kong, thus evoking a type of cultural 'inbetweenness'. He is a man of complex Eurasian origins, being the son of a Shanghai Portuguese father, with obvious links to Macao, but who fled to Hong Kong in 1949, and an Anglo-Chinese mother. Brought up in Hong Kong, he was dispatched to Australia in 1961 for his secondary education, and although he has travelled in Europe, he has spent most of his life in the country to which he was originally sent as a boy, and where he is widely ackowledged as an innovative writer. Like Castro, Mia Couto is a product of Portuguese colonial activity, being a first-generation Mozambican of Portuguese parentage. His sobriquet, Mia, which has led to some potentially embarrassing gender confusion, derives from a childhood nickname given to him because of his attachment to a pet cat. Born and brought up in the port city of Beira, Couto's medical studies were interrupted by Mozambican independence in 1975. His support for the new Marxist Frelimo government saw him become director of the Mozambican State News Agency as well as, in due course, editor of a weekly magazine and newspaper. He now works as an environmental biologist, and is Mozambique's most internationally acclaimed writer.

Both Castro and Couto began to publish at the same time. Castro's first novel, *Birds of Passage*, came out in 1983, precisely the same year that Couto's first collection of poems, *Raiz do Orvalho* was published in Maputo. Since then, both have continued to publish steadily, Castro producing some seven novels and a book of essays to date, Couto diverse collections of short stories and five novels. Both authors reflect in their work the profound social transitions that their countries have undergone, in Castro's case over the last four decades, in that of Couto over the first quarter of a century of independence. The fact that both, to some extent, write from the margins, Couto as a white Mozambican, Castro as an Asian Australian, explains their commitment to plurality. Mozambique, in common with many African countries whose borders were arbitrarily created by colonial powers in the nineteenth century, is an ethnic and cultural patchwork. However, under the late Portuguese colonialism of Salazar and Caetano, the colony was incorporated into a discourse of identity that tied it to the mother country's 'Lusotropicalist' assimilationist ideal[3]. During the first fifteen years of independence, another centralizing discourse took over based on class-based Marxism. As Couto himself put it in an interview: "Há um Estado que partiu à procura de uma nação cuja maior riqueza é a sua diversidade, que tem várias nações e culturas dentro de si" (There is a State that set out to seek a nation whose greatest wealth is its diversity, and which contains within itself various nations)[4].

Ever since the peace accord of 1992, after which the last vestiges of this Marxist ideal were ditched and the Mozambican government adopted free market policies and a commitment to a parliamentary democracy, a type of reductive Mozambican nationalism has emerged along with a new African urban elite, which while not so blatantly drawn along racial lines as Mugabe's variant in neighbouring Zimbabwe, is nevertheless a very real presence. As a writer, Couto is, of course, primarily true to himself, but in interviews as well as through his fiction, he has often evoked a sense of Mozambican national identity in formation, and we must not forget that in 1975 he committed himself to a revolutionary party that delivered his country into independence. But over the years, as the utopian dream has died, political corruption set in while the country has become more and more dependent on foreign aid. In this new context, he has increasingly become the proponent of a non-dirigiste sense of identity, or as one critic has

termed him, a 'postmodern nationalist'[5]. His Mozambique is based on multiplicity, on a hybridity that, through use of language in particular, but also the treatment of such issues as gender and patriarchy, and traditional rural culture versus urban cultural amnesia, implicitly questions the manipulations of power emanating from the centre. He has become, to some extent, the literary voice of those who have been left behind in the new culture of greed and wealth accumulation. On the other hand, he is a writer who is inextricably linked to the development of Mozambican literature. Indeed, for many in the Portuguese-speaking world, Mia Couto is synonymous with the literary identity of his country.

For his part, Castro's critique of homogeneity and essentialist inscriptions of national or ethnic identity derives from his desire not to be labelled: even though he has lived for most of his life in one country, he takes pride in his cosmopolitan origins, with its roots in East Asia and Europe, or as he puts it in more abstract terms, "... a *moving out* towards a sophistication, a *civitas* – a state of being, distinct from the shallow 'civility' seen as the preserve of homogeneous societies which almost always exhibit high degrees of racism"[6]. At the same time, he is a product of a postcolonial migratory influx into Australia that has witnessed the emergence of a generation of writers who have reflected the growing presence of new diasporas that have called into question traditional assumptions of national identity based on the country's Anglo-Celtic tradition.

On the other hand, the quality and originality of both Couto's and Castro's work derives from the fact that they are writing from a minority position – Castro as the outsider who has become an insider (even though he might well deny it), Couto as the insider who, in a certain way, has become an outsider (in that, like the Nigerians Achebe and Soyinka before him, he has adopted a critically independent perspective within his country's latest political incarnation). Additionally, Couto and Castro are people in between, belonging to two or more cultures, and it is perhaps this, more than anything, that translates into a reluctance to see identity as anything other than provisional, a manifestation of process rather than stasis.

Jackson sees a link between storytelling and journeying through the etymology of the word 'experience' and its Latin association with movement and experimentation[7]. Inherent in stories is movement, adaptability, and unexpected change, what Iain Chambers defines as the characteristics of migrancy as opposed to travel. Travel, according to Chambers, involves a point of departure and a point of return and suggests a fixed itinerary, while migrancy 'calls for a dwelling in language, in histories, in identities that are constantly subject to mutation. Always in transit, the promise of a homecoming – completing the story, domesticating the detour – becomes an impossibility'[8]. The idea of moving through space and time relates in turn to the contrast Ann Game draws between spatialized time – that is a linear chronology 'marked by discrete moments' – and temporalized time, in which past, present and future melt into each other in a type of sensuous communion[9]. The breaking down of barriers between space and time is also about breaking down frontiers between binary opposites: past/present, memory/forgetting, which is why, for both Couto and Castro, there is no such thing as a pure authentic past. The past is fictionalized because our memories are selective, imperfect, and inevitably inflected by our loss of memory. Memory and forgetting are therefore inextricably linked, which makes forgetting the mother of invention. Disinheritance is part of what Castro terms a 'creolizing of forgetting and memory'[10], a source of creativity and imagination, continuous re-invention. For Couto, memories only reach us through a process in which they are re-elaborated: "O sonho é a porta por onde nos chegam as memórias' (Dreams are the door through which memory reaches us)[11], like Castro, indicating a close link between memory (or its absence) and imagination.

It is now time to turn to two novels that have been chosen because they highlight some of the issues mentioned above. The coincidence of their central symbols of location, a coastal hotel built on the site of an old jail in Castro's *After China*, and an ancient Portuguese fortress overlooking the Indian Ocean, used as a prison in colonial times and thereafter converted into an old people's refuge in Couto's *Under the Frangipani*[12], suggests a borderland, where the binaries of colonial past and postcolonial present meet and mingle, reflecting the creative possibilities of hybridity and of identity as being fluid and restless, like the ocean which these edifices overlook. Both novels involve romantic relationships between two main outcast

characters, the culmination of which is to somehow demonstrate some form of reconciliation between past and present.

The award-winning *After China*, Castro's fourth novel, was first published in 1992. You Bok Mun, a Chinese architect, partially educated in France, victim of a failed marriage following the death of his sickly child back in China and then of the excesses of the Cultural Revolution, has been rehabilitated in the new China of Deng Xiao Ping and commissioned to design a seaside hotel in Australia somewhere in the vicinity of Sydney. It is unclear whether You is a political refugee, but perhaps the most crucial point is that he is a type of nomad, whose cosmopolitan educational experience is anathema to the political certainties and enforced conformity of Mao's China of the 1960s and 70s. You is perhaps Castro via another route. The hotel is a symbol of his deracination: it mixes architectural genres, it is described as if it were a ship with its balconies like a deck and its submarine bar, it appears to list during the storm that all but destroys it, and is evacuated as if it were sinking. Indeed, as You struggles down the flooded passages to open the valves that will allow the accumulated sewage to flow out into the ocean, we are faced with a description that recalls a scene from the film of the Titanic. The hotel's labyrinthine structure, built so that it appears to have no centre which one can return to or depart from, metaphorizes You's rootlessness, but also the excitement and imagination of his youth. There is a sense, then, in which the hotel, in its stylistic pastiche and unconsciousness of both space and time, is some sort of homage to cultural disinheritance, an example of Castro's already mentioned 'creolizing of forgetting and memory'. But perhaps too it is a symbol of a new, alternative Australia in construction: significantly, it is built on the site of an old prison, a metaphorical link to the country's deep past as a penal colony.

You's romantic attachment is a writer, a single mother who is terminally ill. Through the interweaving of their dialogue, we learn that she was brought up in the area of the hotel, and that she had a child by an Asian poet who later abandoned her. Her giving birth to a child of mixed descent had shamed her father, who had attempted to conceal the fact by an elaborate tissue of stories. This child, Serena, whose name is the English rendition of that of the architect's own deceased daughter, will become a vehicle for You's own integration into Australia after her mother's death, while also assuaging his guilt for the neglect of his own family in China. At the same time, it is understood that he will become a type of surrogate father who may, in time, make Serena aware of one side of her ancestral culture.

Couto and Castro, for all their undoubted differences, have one common characteristic which may be illustrative of a similar position with regard to the matter of individual or indeed national identity.

The love affair between writer and architect is developed through the medium of storytelling. He recounts his life, mingled with stories from ancient China, while she writes him into her posthumous book. Their stories thus demonstrate the intimate link between writing and orality that is also a hallmark of Couto's work. But perhaps more important is the notion of a story that has no end, a narration that, like You's hotel, is in a permanent process of transience and therefore outside our enslavement to time – that is, the constricting notion spatialized time. As the writer tells You, 'When I listen to your stories, time no longer seems to matter'[13], while You's inscription into her final book has given him a sense of acceptance, of belonging to a narrative. More to the point, she has helped reconcile him with his past by incorporating it into an ongoing present: "There was no longer a future, no longer a possibility whose unknown had to be understood. So he had quite comfortably turned his back and settled for this self to which he had finally come, from which he would constantly remake himself. No longer alone. This had been her gift to him: the present moment"[14].

If Castro's hotel is, in some sense, a microcosm for an emerging multicultural Australia, Couto's fortress, which is the location for his 1997 novel, *Under the Frangipani*, symbolizes Mozambique during the

peace process, between the end of the civil war and the establishment of a parliamentary democracy. As in Castro's novel, there is a romance, although this is tangential to the main action, which revolves around an investigation into the murder of the director of the old people's home situated in the fort, Vastsome Excellency. Leading the investigation is Izidine Naíta, a young detective from the city, who is charged with taking statements from the inmates of the home, a motley collection of elderly outcasts. Rather like You, in Castro's novel, Izidine is an outsider, but in a very different way. Belonging to the generation of Mozambicans who emerged in the wake of independence, he was educated abroad, no doubt in a country that the Marxist revolutionaries of the 1970s and early 80s considered an ally. He has lost his African roots, and is unequipped to deal with the ambiguities and riddles that form the basis of the old folks' statements. The intermediary between him and the inmates is the nurse, Marta who, like Izidine, has been educated in Portuguese, and to some extent is also an outcast, except that, rather like You, she suffered the excesses of the Marxist government's revolutionary zeal in the late 1970s when she was sent off to a re-education camp as part of Operation Production, a punishment for her supposedly loose morals. It is Marta who encourages Izidine to listen not just to the linear accounts of the old people in the fort but to the messages that lie buried beneath, the internal logic that is contradicted by the raving and rambling quality of their statements in the rigid, bureaucratic perception of the young detective: "Her advice to the policeman was quite simply that he should sit and wait quietly. This was not his world, he had to respect it. He should leave everything as it was, including silences and absences"[15].

Couto's novel, like Castro's, seems to work on two levels. There are the witness accounts of the old folk, each of whom claims to have had good reason to kill the director of the home given his mistreatment of them as individuals. Yet these stories are in many ways red herrings, fantasies that suggest a wider moral truth rather than help the detective in his investigation. Nor are we sure that the traditions that the old people claim to defend are authentic. When they insist that Izidine put on a woman's dress to be integrated into their community through some arcane ritual, it is clear that they are seeking to make fun of him. Couto seems to suggest that there is no authentic oral culture: there are certain rituals by which stories may be told, but the substance is an adaptation to a present moment. No story will therefore ever be told in the same way twice. A story may have a cathartic intention akin to psychoanalysis in that it may help to discharge a conscience which is inevitably rooted in some past misdemeanour, but it is nevertheless of the present moment: one of the residents of the home is a witch who no longer believes, if indeed she ever did, in the powers attributed to her. But her guilt derives from her having agreed, as a young girl, to become her father's mistress, a factor that led to his suicide. Her consolation now is to transform herself at night into water before resuming her human shape in the morning, for as she explains: "I'm spared the trouble of dreaming. For water has no past. As far as a river is concerned, all that matters is today, like a wave on a permanent crest"[16].

Couto and Castro are people in between, belonging to two or more cultures, and it is perhaps this, more than anything, that translates into a reluctance to see identity as anything other than provisional, a manifestation of process rather than stasis.

It now remains for us to establish what Couto is trying to achieve at the macro level of the novel. Like Castro in Australia, and many postcolonial writers, Couto has set out to explore and exorcize the ghosts of the past which still haunt Mozambique, and therefore to effect some sort of reconciliation with that past. In *Under the Frangipani*, there is, of course, a 'real' ghost, the spirit of Ermelindo Mucanga, which descends into the body of Izidine. Mucanga was a carpenter during colonial times and had helped construct the wooden quay at which political prisoners were unloaded by the Portuguese. When he died, he was buried under the

frangipani tree that overlooks the ocean on one of the fort's grassy ramparts. It is significant, then, that Mucanga, a colonial collaborator, should redeem himself by helping to save Izidine from those dispatched from the city to kill him for having found out the truth about the director's murder: namely that he was killed by order from above in order to cover up his activities as an illegal arms dealer, who was siphoning off arms from the state to sell to the highest bidder.

Like Castro in Australia, and many postcolonial writers, Couto has set out to explore and exorcize the ghosts of the past which still haunt Mozambique, and therefore to effect some sort of reconciliation with that past.

Diametrically opposed to Mucanga, the African who, like so many had to, collaborated with the Portuguese, is another ghost from the colonial past in the form of the colonizer who stayed behind, as so few did. Domingos Mourão is the only white inmate. Having chosen not to join the exodus of settlers in 1975, Domingos has become Africanized by his Mozambican companions as Xidimingo. He is a character with whom Couto could in many ways identify as a man between two worlds or without a world, and in this sense his predicament is that of Castro's Chinese migrant[17]. His favourite pastime is to sit under the frangipani gazing out to sea, dreaming of the possibility of returning to his native land, while acknowledging that if he did return, he would no longer recognise the Portugal he once knew. At the same time, he also acknowledges that he has put down roots in Mozambique, even though the Africa he migrated to as a colonial no longer exists. When he disappears into the African earth at the end of the novel along with the other elderly inmates, it seems to synthesise his belonging to the land he chose to stay in as well as the passing of an age and a new beginning.

Both *After China* and *Under the Frangipani* end with an apocalyptic storm. In both novels, this storm has been portended in one of the stories narrated during the course of the novel: the foundational myth of Macao resulting from the calming of a storm by the Chinese goddess, A-Ma, in the Australian novel, and the *wamulambo*, or storm snake in the African narrative. But both storms also portend a new beginning: You, in Castro's novel, is inspired by his lover's posthumous book to return and rebuild the hotel, while for Couto, two victims of the extremes of independence come together when past and present are fused and a future of hope hinted at.

The importance of storytelling in these two novels, and indeed in others by the same writers, lies embedded in their more general interest in and evocation of postcolonial hybridity, and their interpretation of what hybridity really involves. One such manifestation of hybridity, for example, is the inter-relationship between the spoken and the written word. Izidine writes down the testimonies of the different protagonists in Couto's novel. In Castro's novel, the writer reproduces in her final book the stories told her by her architect lover. Yet we are told that he too keeps a notebook with him. For Ann Game, in her reading of Bachelard's 'phenomenology of space', the act of reading combines both writing and listening, or as Bachelard puts it, 'resonance and reverberation'[18]. In applying this idea to the centrality of storytelling in Couto and Castro, there is a breaking down of binaries and a blurring of borders between storyteller and listener, author and reader. Indeed, in the act of reading out loud, the reader re-vocalizes the written word, demonstrating not only the dependency of the written word on a foundation of orality, but its opposite. The democratic overcoming of binary oppositions upon which societies are structured suggests a particular type of hybridity being voiced by these two authors. If we accept Jan Nederveen Pieterse's notion of a *continuum of hybridities*, beginning at the 'top' with an assimilationist variant that is controlled and manipulated by the centre and which 'adopts the canon and mimics the hegemony' (Lusotropicalism belongs to this variant), and at the other extreme, a 'destabilizing hybridity that blurs the canon, reverses the current, subverts the centre'[19], then it is clear that both Brian Castro and Mia Couto belong to the latter. RC

NOTES

1 Richard Kearney, *On Stories*, p. 4.
2 Michael Jackson, *The Politics of Storytelling*, p. 25.
3 Lusotropicalism was a term first coined by the Brazilian social historian Gilberto Freyre to explain the apparent facility with which the Portuguese had succeeded in integrating in tropical environments and assimilating local populations into a broadly lusophone cultural structure. The basis of this was race mixture (the facility with which Portuguese males had mixed with females from other ethnic groups), and the assumption of cultural practices by native populations, including Roman Catholicism. Freyre's ideas were appropriated by the Salazar regime in Portugal as it sought to justify the continuing Portuguese presence in Africa in the 1950s and 60s.
4 From an interview given to the Lisbon daily *Público* (www.publico.pt/cmf/escritores/62-MiaCouto/Mocambique.htm).
5 See Phillip Rothwell, *A Postmodern Nationalist: Truth, Orality, and Gender in the Work of Mia Couto.*
6 Brian Castro, *Looking for Estrellita*, p. 220.
7 Jackson, *The Politics of Storytelling*, p. 31.
8 Iain Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*, p. 5.
9 Ann Game, 'Time, Space, Memory, with reference to Bachelard', in Featherstone, Lash & Robertson (eds.), *Global Modernities*, p. 194.
10 Castro, *Looking for Estrellita*, p. 226.
11 Interview with *Público* (see note 4).
12 The title of the original Portuguese is *Na Varanda do Frangipani* (Lisboa, Editorial Caminho, 1997). All references and quotes are from the English translation.
13 *After China*, p. 82.
14 *After China*, p. 143.
15 *Under the Frangipani*, p. 37.
16 *Under the Frangipani*, p. 80.
17 In a statement made to Patrick Chabal, Couto described the drama faced by his own parents after 1975: "Os meus pais, depois da independência, foram por quarto vezes para Portugal, para voltar definitivamente e só à quinta é que ficaram definitivamente em Portugal. Eu creio que eles pertencem àquela gente que já não tem mundo, porque entretanto Portugal já não é aquele Portugal que eles deixaram, e Moçambique também não é aquilo que eles tinham encontrado e onde sabiam viver, portanto eles pertencem a uma terra de ninguém" (After independence, my parents went back to Portugal four times with the intention of staying for good, and only on the fifth occasion did they really stay in Portugal. I think they belong to those people who no longer have a world, because Portugal is no longer the Portugal they left, and Mozambique is also not the place they found and the place they learned to live in, so they belong to a no-man's land), *Vozes Moçambicanas*, p. 284.
18 'Time, Space, Memory, with reference to Bachelard', p. 199.
19 Jan Nederveen Pieterse, 'Globalization as Hybridization', p. 56.

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RESUMOS

Os Ye, Mercadores de Cantão, 1720-1804

Os Ye, mercadores de Cantão, constituem um significativo exemplo daquele grupo de comerciantes habitualmente designado por "pequenos mercadores". Conhece-se muito pouco destas pequenas casas comerciais, pelo que este artigo, ao retratar as actividades dos Ye, procura alargar a nossa compreensão do comércio no seu todo. Os Ye estiveram activamente envolvidos no comércio entre 1720 e 1804, período caracterizado por forte crescimento e expansão. Dois deles, Cudgin e Yanqua, conseguiram enriquecer e retirar-se da sua actividade com as suas fortunas intactas. O seu sucesso, sem precedentes à época, é considerado ainda hoje com um caso exemplar. Diferentemente, os outros três membros da família, Leunqua, Giqua e Tianqua, tendo adoptado estratégias diferentes, acabaram em completa ruína. Não conseguiram controlar o seu crescente endividamento que acabou por lhes absorver todo o capital e os levar à falência. Este exemplo dos Ye permite-nos, assim, uma visão única dos sucessos e fracassos dos "pequenos mercadores", a qual, por sua vez, nos ajuda a compreender melhor a complexidade do contexto e o modo do seu funcionamento.
[Autor: Paul A. Van Dyke, pp. 6-47]

A Frota Mercante Portuguesa em Macau nos séculos XVII e XVIII

Este artigo examina e debate a presença da frota mercante portuguesa em Macau, com especial ênfase no último quartel do XVII e todo o século XVIII. É escrito sob a perspectiva da comunidade portuguesa, armadores, empresários e investidores em Macau. Assim, são abordados uma série de assuntos políticos, económicos e comerciais. Todavia, as actividades dos portugueses e da sua frota mercante nesta época são difíceis de analisar em detalhe, uma vez que se perderam muitas das provas históricas directas. O maior e mais espectacular sucesso de outras companhias europeias e de outros operadores privados concorrentes contribuem também para a dificuldade deste estudo pois, de certa forma, ensombram a actividade dos portugueses. Para o mundo exterior, no século XVIII, a cidade de Macau não era propriamente tida como um centro de prosperidade. Todavia, a sua frota mercante era bastante activa e contribuía efectivamente para a economia marítima da China. Neste contexto, é de realçar que a frota mercante portuguesa em Macau constituía à época o único elemento da estrutura do comércio marítimo da China com base em solo chinês e que regular e directamente comercializava bens e mercadorias no Oceano Índico e na malha de portos asiáticos.
[Autor: George Bryan Souza, pp. 48-64]

A Justiça Qing e os Crimes de Morte em Macau

Os homicídios ocorridos em Macau com a intervenção de estrangeiros (especialmente quando um destes era o presumível culpado) estão na base dos mais graves conflitos entre as autoridades de Macau e as autoridades imperiais. Se estas os consideravam como súbditos e, portanto, sujeitos às leis chinesas, as primeiras recusavam a sua entrega por tal não lhes ser permitido pelas leis de Deus e do Reino.
Este artigo, através da análise de alguns dos casos concretos de que há registo, procura traçar a evolução da legislação Qing até finais da 1.ª metade do século XIX, evolução que corresponde a uma política de feição mais centralizadora e, por outro, mais severa em relação aos estrangeiros que viviam no interior do Império. O limite temporal estabelecido compreende-se à luz das medidas adoptadas por Ferreira do Amaral e que se traduziram numa alteração profunda do estatuto político de Macau, arrancando-o do contexto da ordem imperial.
[Autor: Liu Jinglian, pp. 65-83]

Vida e Obra de Wu Yushan

Wu Yushan (Wu Li) é uma figura de reconhecida importância no panorama cultural chinês durante a transição entre as dinastias Ming e Qing. Nascido no seio de uma família nobre, fiel aos Ming, Wu tornou-se famoso como pintor e poeta. Tal como outros seus contemporâneos, manteve-se ao longo de toda a sua vida íntegro na sua lealdade aos Ming, demonstrando um apurado sentido de responsabilidade na preservação e promoção da cultura chinesa. Dedicado às causas que amava, apesar das difíceis condições de vida, Wu desenvolveu uma notável produção literária e artística. No seu tempo, a Questão dos Ritos atravessava um momento particularmente difícil. Não existia muito espaço para os nobres convertidos procurarem compromissos entre Catolicismo e Confucionismo, porque os conflitos e as diferenças entre as doutrinas – uma representando a cultura ocidental, a outra a cultura chinesa – tinham-se tornado demasiado nítidos. Impunha-se uma escolha: ser-se católico ou confucionista. Wu Yushan conheceu o Catolicismo na meia-idade, já depois dos 40 anos. Prolongados anos de estudos teológicos e de pregação operaram uma tremenda transformação no seu credo religioso, acabando por abandonar o Confucionismo e abraçar o Catolicismo, já com 70 anos. Os seus poemas católicos, respeitando embora as formas da poesia clássica chinesa, exprimem plenamente os ensinamentos da sua nova religião.
[Autor: Zhang Wenqin, pp. 84-105]

Wu Yushan e a Demanda da Fé durante a Transição Dinástica

Este artigo refere-se ao mundo interior de Wu Yushan e à sua demanda da Fé durante o período de transição da dinastia Ming para a dinastia Qing; à história da sua família, sempre leal aos Ming; ao seu orgulhoso e reservado carácter, típico da nobreza chinesa e ao seu extraordinário talento. O autor examina também o seu caminho para a Fé através das relações de amizade que Wu manteve com os missionários Ocidentais e a sua conversão ao Catolicismo, antes de se tornar padre. O artigo conclui que Wu Yushan, que era simultaneamente um típico nobre chinês e um seguidor do Catolicismo, constitui um excelente exemplo de fusão da fé religiosa com as culturas locais.
[Autor: Gu Weimin, pp. 106-124]

O Matriarcado no Limite. O Culto Mítico de Nu Wa em Macau

O repertório mitológico das primevas cultura e civilização chinesas encontra-se num sem número de textos clássicos. Estes textos são fontes de enorme valor para a compreensão do poder das narrativas

mitológicas, que reconstituem e se confundem com a História da China e que são cruciais para a promoção da coesão cultural e do sentido de identidade colectiva. De entre a multiplicidade de templos chineses de Macau, existe um, muito pequeno, consagrado à Deusa Taoista Nu Wa. A influência da mulher-serpente Nu Wa remonta à Antiguidade, sendo-lhe atribuído um papel *pivot* na história mitológica chinesa. Referências a esta divindade surgem nos mais prestigiados escritos clássicos remontando ao período dos Estados Beligerantes (475-221 a.C.) e à dinastia Han (206 a.C.-220), que a retratam como a Deusa criadora e garante da vida humana. Para além da sua imagem de matriarca como Mãe da Terra, ela é ainda descrita na novela mitológica *Feng Shen Yan* (Criação dos Deuses) da dinastia Ming (1368-1644) como uma Deusa encantadora, mas vingativa. Também Cao Xueqin (1717-1763) abre a sua obra-prima, *Hung Lou Meng* (O Sonho do Pavilhão Vermelho), com uma referência decisiva a Nu Wa, apresentando-a como a restauradora do céu. Este ensaio é um trabalho de investigação sobre o significado do mito de Nu Wa, a sua ascensão na hierarquia espiritual e o espírito de panteísmo expresso na sua "residência divina" em Macau. Discute ainda a forma como os textos literários chineses servem de veículo à consolidação do mito, quais as diferenças e semelhanças entre os mitos da criação do Oriente e do Ocidente e porque é que Nu Wa, nos dias de hoje, ainda mantém a sua influência e goza de alguma popularidade neste "limite" da China.
[Autor: Christina Miu Bing Cheng, pp. 127-142]

O Poder da História na Ficção Pós-Colonial. Os Romances de Brian Castro e Mia Couto

O poder da narração de histórias e a sua associação com a voz dos povos marginalizados, noções de pluralidade e hibridismo, surgem muitas vezes como tema e preocupação característicos da narrativa pós-colonial. Este artigo centra-se no tratamento dado à narração de histórias por dois romancistas que deram já um contributo significativo à literatura dos seus respectivos países.
Mia Couto, que escreve em português, é o romancista moçambicano de maior renome na actualidade. Brian Castro, de origens lusitanas longínquas, escreve em inglês e é hoje considerado um dos romancistas mais inovadores na Austrália. De uma certa forma, ambos são produtos ancestrais da expansão colonial portuguesa: Couto é moçambicano de origem europeia, Castro um australiano com uma complexa ascendência luso-eurásica. Ambos estão perfeitamente conscientes do peso histórico que carregam nos ombros e ambos usam a narração de histórias como uma metáfora para outorgarem uma qualquer forma de poder àqueles que não se revêem nas correntes dominantes da política e da cultura. A diferença entre os dois reside no facto de que Mia Couto o faz para reflectir as diferentes vozes de uma nação emergente e Brian Castro para questionar os valores culturais tradicionais homogeneizados do seu país de adopção. Apesar do artigo fazer referência aos diversos trabalhos destes dois escritores, é dedicada particular atenção aos livros *A Varanda do Frangipani* de Mia Couto e *After China* de Brian Castro.
[Autor: David Brookshaw, pp. 143-149]

ABSTRACTS

The Ye Merchants of Canton, 1720-1804

The Ye merchants in Canton are exceptional examples of the class of traders known as the 'small merchants'. Much less is known about these smaller houses than the larger ones so this study seeks to broaden our understanding of the trade in general by retracing the operations of the Ye men. They were actively involved in the commerce from about 1720 to 1804, which is a period characterized by incredible growth and expansion. Two of the Ye men, Cudgin and Yanqua, managed to become quite wealthy and retired successfully from the trade, with their fortunes intact. Their successes were unprecedented in the history of the trade at the time, regarded even by contemporaries as exemplary. In contrast, the three other Ye men, Leunqua, Giqua and Tiauqua, employed different strategies, which ended in failure. They could not keep up with their ever-increasing debt-loads, which eventually absorbed all of their working capital and led to their demise. The examples of the Ye merchants, thus, provide a unique insight into the successes and failures of the 'small merchants', which in turn helps us to understand better the complexities of the environment and how it operated.
[Author: Paul A. Van Dyke, pp. 6-47]

The Portuguese Merchant Fleet at Macao in the 17th and 18th Centuries

This article examines and discusses the Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao, primarily, over the last quarter of the seventeenth and the entire eighteenth century. It is written from the perspective of the Portuguese community, the ship owners, operators and investors at Macao. A series of political, economic and commercial issues are outlined and engaged. The activities of the Portuguese and their merchant fleet at Macao are difficult to treat in any detail given the loss of much of the direct historical evidence and the fact that their activities have been overshadowed in comparison with the greater, more spectacular successes of the European Companies and other private trading rivals. The city of Macao was not outwardly prosperous in the eighteenth century but its merchant fleet was active and contributed to China's maritime economy. The Portuguese merchant fleet at Macao constituted the only segment of China's maritime trading structures over this period with a home base in China that regularly and directly commercialized Chinese goods and commodities in the Indian Ocean inter-Asian port markets.
[Author: George Bryan Souza, pp. 48-64]

RESUMOS

Qing Justice and Homicides in Macao

Homicides in Macao involving a foreigner (particularly if this was the presumed perpetrator) were a cause for serious conflict between the Macao and imperial authorities. While the latter regarded any suspect as being subject to Chinese law, the former would refuse to hand over accused since this would contravene the laws of God and Motherland.
By looking at some specific cases, this paper seeks to track developments in Qing legislation up to the end of the first half of the 19th century, which corresponded to a more centralised law-making policy on the one hand and, on the other, a more severe approach to foreigners living on Chinese soil. The cut-off is determined in the light of measures adopted by Ferreira do Amaral which resulted in a profound shift in Macao's political status, removing it from the imperial structure.
[Author: Liu Jinglian, pp. 65-83]

The Life and Works of Wu Yushan

Wu Yushan [Wu Li] was an outstanding cultural figure of the Ming-Qing transition period. Born into a prominent family, he was a Ming loyalist, a renowned painter and a poet. Like other Ming loyalists of the era, Yushan maintained his integrity throughout his life, along with a strong of responsibility for the preservation and promotion of Chinese civilization. Dedicated to the causes he loved, his achievements in the fields of literature and art were exceptional despite the harsh conditions under which he lived. By Wu's time, the Rites Controversy had become much more bitter and as a result there was no room for gentry believers to seek compromises between Catholicism and Confucianism: the conflicts and differences between Catholicism, representing Western culture, and Confucianism, representing traditional Chinese culture, had grown too sharp. In the end, they had to make a choice: to follow Catholicism or Confucianism. Wu Yushan came to his belief in Catholicism in middle age, well after he turned forty. After many years of studying theology and preaching, he underwent a profound change in his belief system, from Confucianism to Catholicism, at about the age of seventy. His Catholic poems, though they take the literary form of classical Chinese poetry, are expressive of Catholic teachings.
[Author: Zhang Wenqin, pp. 84-105]

Wu Yushan and His Pursuit of Faith in the Great Dynastic Transition

This paper discusses the inner world of Wu Yushan and his pursuit of faith during the dynastic transition from Ming to Qing, his Ming loyalist family background, his proud and unapproachable disposition, typical of the traditional Chinese gentry; and his outstanding talent. The author also examines Wu's pursuit of faith by tracing his exchanges and friendship with Western missionaries and his conversion to Catholicism before training for the priesthood. The paper concludes that Wu Yushan, who was at once a typical member of the traditional Chinese gentry and a Catholic, is an excellent example of the fusion of religious faith and native culture.
[Author: Gu Weimin, pp. 106-124]

Matriarchy at the Edge. The Mythic Cult of Nu Wa in Macao

The mythological repertoires of early Chinese culture and civilization are contained in a number of classical texts. These texts are invaluable sources to understand the power of mythological narratives, which re-enact and confound with the history of China, and which crucially foster cultural cohesion and a sense of collective identity. Among a multiplicity of Chinese temples in Macau, there is a tiny one consecrated to the Daoist goddess Nu Wa. The were-snake Nu Wa has been an influential deity since antiquity and played a pivotal role in Chinese mythical history. Bits and pieces of Nu Wa's portrayal as the primeval creator goddess and preserver of human life are narrated in time-honoured classics, dating back to the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) and the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.). Apart from her matriarchal image as the Earth Mother, she is depicted as a charming but avenging goddess in a Ming-dynasty (1368-1644) mythological novel, *Feng Shen Yan* (Creation of the Gods). Also, Cao Xueqin (1717-1763) opens his masterpiece, *Hung Lou Meng* (The Dream of the Red Chamber), with a decisive reference to Nu Wa as the repairer of the sky. This paper investigates the significance of the Nu Wa myth, her evolving status in the spiritual hierarchy, and the spirit of pantheism exemplified in her "divine abode" in Macao. It also discusses how Chinese literary texts help serve as a vehicle to consolidate myth making; what the differences and similarities of the creation myths are between the East and the West; and why Nu Wa still retains its hold, even today, and enjoys certain popularity at "the edge" of China.
[Author: Christina Miu Bing Cheng, pp. 127-142]

The Power of the Story in Postcolonial Fiction. The Novels of Brian Castro and Mia Couto

The power of storytelling, and its association with the voice of marginalized peoples, notions of plurality and hybridity, is often seen as a characteristic theme and preoccupation of the postcolonial narrative. This article focuses on the treatment given to storytelling by two novelists who have made significant contributions to literature in their respective countries. Mia Couto, who writes in Portuguese, is Mozambique's most widely known contemporary writer. Brian Castro, of distant Portuguese descent, but who writes in English, is one of Australia's most innovative novelists of the present day. Both are, to some extent, ancestral products of Portuguese colonial expansion, Couto being a Mozambican of European origin, Castro an Australian of complex Portuguese Eurasian ancestry. Both are supremely conscious of the weight of history upon them, and use storytelling as a metaphor for giving some sort of empowerment to those who are not part of the political and cultural mainstream. The difference between them is that Couto does this in order to reflect the different voices of a newly emergent nation, Castro does so in order to question the traditionally homogeneous cultural values of the country of his adoption. While the article refers to diverse works by these two writers, particular attention is paid to Couto's *Under the Frangipani* and Castro's *After China.*
[Author: David Brookshaw, pp. 143-149]

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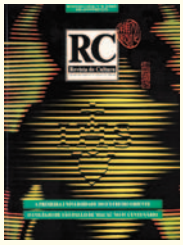

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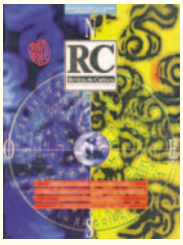

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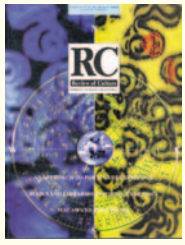

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