RC

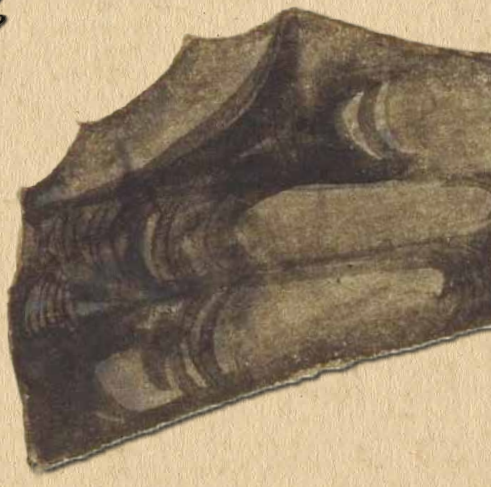
Revista de Cultura

Review of Culture

International Edition 71

Edição Internacional 2023

INSTITUTO CULTURAL do Governo da Região Administrativa Especial de Macau



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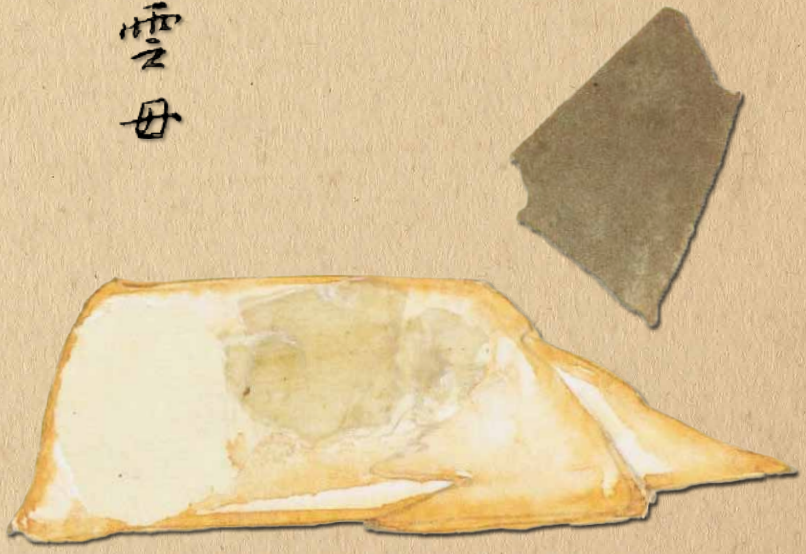

REVISTA DE CULTURA · REVIEW OF CULTURE
Edição Internacional · International Edition 71
2023

EDIÇÃO
Publisher
INSTITUTO CULTURAL
DO GOVERNO DA REGIÃO ADMINISTRATIVA ESPECIAL DE MACAU
Cultural Affairs Bureau
Government of the Macao Special Administrative Region
Praça do Tap Seac, Edifício do Instituto Cultural, Macau, China
Tel: (853) 2836 6866
Website: www.icm.gov.mo

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IMPRESSÃO
Printed by
Tipografia Welfare Lda.
ISSN 1682-1106

PREÇO
Price
MOP 150

RC é uma revista académica comprometida com a troca de opiniões e diferentes pontos de vista no que concerne à história e à cultura de Macau. Fundada em 1987, a RC incentiva os estudos nesta área, ao mesmo tempo que examina o profundo impacto das características tradicionais chinesas e explora a singularidade de Macau, região onde se funde a cultura chinesa e a ocidental, com o objectivo final de promover o intercâmbio entre o Oriente e o Ocidente.

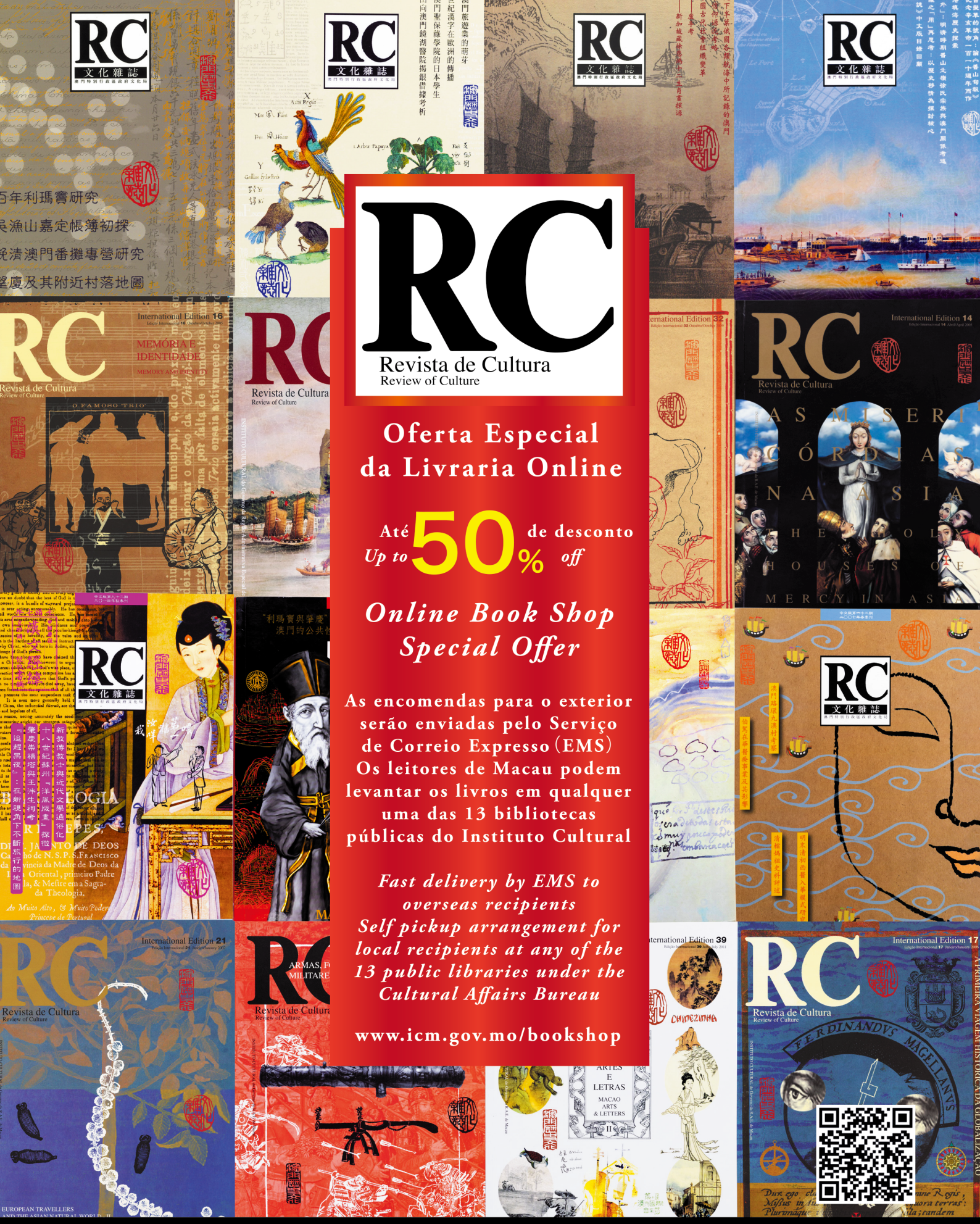
A RC recebe diversas contribuições e as opiniões e posições defendidas e expressas nos artigos, são da inteira responsabilidade dos autores e não se podem confundir com a diversidade e o pluralismo da linha editorial da RC nem tão pouco reflectem a perspectiva da revista ou dos seus membros.

Recomendamos que os leitores consultem ambas as edições, a chinesa e a internacional, pois cobrem uma ampla variedade de tópicos com artigos distintos.

RC is an academic journal committed to exchanging views and opinions in relation to history and culture. Founded in 1987, *RC* has been encouraging the studies on the history and culture of Macao, while also examining the profound impact of traditional Chinese culture and exploring the uniqueness of Macao and its history in the compatibility of Chinese and Western cultures, with the ultimate goal to promote the interchange between the East and the West.

RC welcomes contributions from different perspectives for the purpose of academic exchange. Opinions expressed in the articles belong to the authors and do not represent the point of view of *RC*.

RC is published in Chinese and International editions which cover a wide variety of topics. We highly recommend both editions to you for both reference and collection purposes.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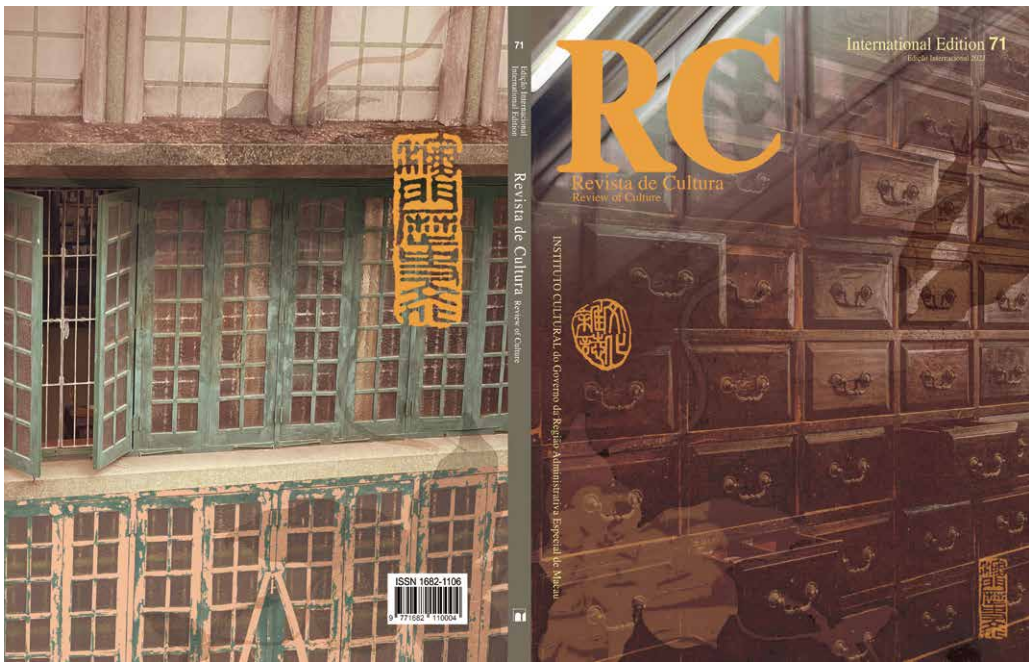

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O presente número de *Revista de Cultura* abre com um dossier de cinco artigos focado na teoria, princípio e filosofia da Medicina Tradicional Chinesa, um conjunto de trabalhos resultantes das Conferências da Primavera no Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau em Lisboa em 2022.

Ana Cristina Alves, que coordena o dossier, compila estudos que interligam a Sinologia e a Medicina Tradicional Chinesa; pensamento chinês e o sentido da Filosofia da Paisagem; Integração do diagnóstico e regulamentação da Medicina Tradicional Chinesa pela Organização Mundial de Saúde e a apresentação científica e os benefícios terapêuticos de três espécies de Ginseng. A culminar o dossier apresenta ainda um inovador programa de cooperação entre a China e Portugal intitulado Scimat, que delinea métodos de aproximação multidisciplinar e intercultural entre o Oriente e o Ocidente no campo científico e filosófico, para uma abordagem interdisciplinar no ensino.

No seguinte capítulo sobre Estudos de Macau, as obras de Henrique de Senna Fernandes e Timothy Mo, *A Trança Feiticeira* e *O Rei Macaco*, respectivamente, são objecto de crítica literária, numa análise comparativa sociológica e antropológica da comunidade macaense.

A fechar esta edição, no campo historiográfico, um detalhado estudo sobre a fundação do Sistema de Cantão no séc. XVII, de implementação de normas de conivência e regulamentação do comércio na região.

This issue of *Review of Culture* starts with a dossier of five articles focussing on the theory, principle and philosophy of Traditional Chinese Medicine. These works are the outcomes of the Spring Conferences 2022 of the Macau Scientific and Cultural Centre in Lisbon.

Ana Cristina Alves, who co-ordinated this dossier, brings together studies that link Sinology and Traditional Chinese Medicine; Chinese thought and the meaning of Landscape philosophy; the integration of diagnosis and regulation of Traditional Chinese Medicine by the World Health Organization, and the scientific presentation and beneficial therapeutic effects of three species of Ginseng. The dossier ends with an innovative co-operation programme between China and Portugal called Scimat, which outlines methods of multidisciplinary and intercultural rapprochement between the East and the West in scientific and philosophical fields, for creating an interdisciplinary approach in the educational field.

In the section on Macao Studies, the works of Henrique de Senna Fernandes and Timothy Mo, *The Bewitching Braid* and *The Monkey King*, respectively, are the subject of literary criticism, in a comparative sociological and anthropological analysis of the Macanese community.

This edition closes, in the historiographical field, with a detailed study of the founding of the Canton System in the 17th century, the implementation of norms of connivance and regulation of trade in the region.

SUMÁRIO Contents

Introduction

Ana Cristina Alves*, Carmen Amado Mendes**

This special column on Traditional Chinese Medicine is a collaboration between the *Review of Culture* and the Macau Scientific and Cultural Centre in Lisbon. It contains five papers that focus on Traditional Chinese Medicine. The authors are scholars from several universities in Portugal and China, and each of them sheds light on contemporary topics regarding the theory, principles and philosophy of Chinese Medicine.

Currently, the topic of healthy living has gained considerable significance. A healthy lifestyle appears to fill the cultural void existing in both the East and the West, leading to intercultural encounters and to the search for philosophies where the body and well-being prevail, as it happens in Chinese civilisation through Traditional Chinese Medicine.

These papers originate from the programme of Spring Conferences organised by the Macau Scientific and Cultural Centre in 2022, where Traditional Chinese Medicine specialists shared their thoughts about the field in Macao, China and other Asian countries. Since the speakers were from different countries, the conference presentations were given in various languages, but mainly in Portuguese and English.

This column starts with "Chinese Health Culture in the Studies of Macao's Contemporary Sinology" by Dr. Ana Cristina Alves. In this essay, the intersection of knowledge concerns China in the 21st century, particularly Macao, and is related to a philosophy for health in which emotional intelligence plays a key role. The relationship between Sinology and Traditional Chinese Medicine in Macao's history and contemporary times is analysed by studying the works of Luís Gonzaga Gomes, Leonel Barros, Cecília Jorge and Beltrão Coelho, with a conclusion of Macao's contribution to the construction of a philosophy for health at the level of education, in partnership with the Chinese silk road of health.

The second paper "Conivência ou Observação? Repensar a Filosofia da Paisagem e a sua Dimensão Terapêutica com François Jullien e o Pensamento Chinês" by Paulo Borges, focuses on how philosopher François Jullien rethinks the meaning of the Philosophy of the Landscape and how this experience opens the way for a health therapy based on a holistic experience of integrity, distanced from a Western European paradigm of subject–object visual separation. The beneficial effect of connecting through *Qi* — the vital breath energy, and immersion in the landscape, has a

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similar therapeutic effect to the breathing exercises of traditional Chinese culture and particularly Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM).

The third paper, titled "WHO ICD-11 Implications for TCM Diagnosis Experience of the Traditional Chinese Medicine School of Lisbon" by José Faro and Ana Varela, deals with traditional medicine, particularly TCM and its relation to the World Health Organization (WHO). Since the eleventh revision of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-11), the WHO started to seek a better integration for TCM diagnosis and its acceptance by the national health systems. The authors analyse how important the syndrome differentiation is to TCM diagnosis and treatment, also its impact on clinical practice, research and appropriate use of the ICD-11's codes which function as, according to Faro and Varela, 'the common informational language of diagnosis in different areas of health and the reference for WHO's national health and insurance systems guidelines.' In their conclusion, the authors point out the need for unified criteria for syndromes, symptoms and signs, by TCM practitioners.

The fourth paper is written by Simon Ming Yuen Lee and Ai-hua Lin, titled "Scientific Insights into Ginseng", provides a careful presentation of three species of Ginseng, and the phylogenetic relations among Asian Ginseng (*Panax ginseng*), American Ginseng (*Panax quinquefolium L.*) and Chinese Ginseng (*Panax notoginseng*). The last-mentioned is only cultivated in Wenshan Prefecture in Yunnan Province. The paper itemises the benefits of *Panax notoginseng* (Sanqi Ginseng), which is popular in China and is used in TCM, food production and pharmaceutical, for its huge impact on cardiovascular diseases. The authors also present the discovery of ginsenosides, which has a wide range of therapeutic effects and they conclude with an appeal for the need to preserve this unique plant, which is being endangered by long-term domestic cultivation.

The last paper comes from a presentation of a new programme — *Science Matters* (Scimat), titled "The Scimat Program: A China–Portugal Project" by Maria Burguete. This Project is a cooperation between Portugal and China, represented by Maria Burguete in Portugal and Lui Lam in China. The Scimat Project started in 2007, holds several International Science Matters Conferences and constitutes the Science Matters Series of publications in a second stage. The project presents an entirely new way of thinking, based on innovation, interconnection and adaptability, to different cultural perspectives in this ever-changing world. This programme provides the students with a new way of thinking through adaptation and understanding of the importance of a multidisciplinary approach to the world and the opening to many scientific fields, a prime example being TCM, which provides a unified perspective for the disciplines of the Humanities and Arts, and Social and Medical Sciences.

The topics discussed in this special column converge on the need for an intercultural approach where the West meets the East in scientific fields, such as Medical Sciences, Pharmacy and Chemistry, bringing great success to both medical treatment and philosophical approaches. Nowadays, in terms of promoting Traditional Chinese Medicine as a well-developed cultural construction of Chinese soft power with strong roots in Chinese history and civilisation, no place is left behind, neither Macao nor Hong Kong. RC

Chinese Health Culture in the Studies of Macao's Contemporary Sinology

Ana Cristina Alves*

ABSTRACT: This paper will focus on the intersection of knowledge systems in the 21st-century China, with emphasis on the case of the Macao Special Administrative Region. It discusses the philosophy of health in which emotional intelligence plays a key role. The relationship between Sinology and Traditional Chinese Medicine in Macao's history and contemporary times will be analysed by studying the works by Luís Gonzaga Gomes, Leonel Barros, Cecília Jorge and Beltrão Coelho. The paper will conclude with the presentation of the contribution of this territory to the construction of a philosophy of health applied to education in partnership with the Chinese silk road of health.

KEYWORDS: Macao; Traditional Chinese Medicine; History; Contemporaneity.

1. THE INTERSECTION OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

A recently published intriguing book by Maria Burguete and Jean-Patrick Connerade, *Conhecimento e Sociedade através da Ciência Humana e Universidades*, includes a presentation for the creation of a course in a higher education institution.[1] Maria Burguete designed the course, which covers the History of Sciences and the cross-creativity of different domains of knowledge, including not only the pure sciences but also humanities, medical sciences, arts, and, last but not least, philosophy, the 'mother of all sciences'. The author challenges us to think from a new paradigm perspective, I quote from her summary:

> ***It provides a unified perspective for all the disciplines in the Humanities (including Arts), Social and Medical Sciences, leading to […] the most interesting and important discipline of the 21st century.***[2]

Its adoption will depend on two key components: the capacity of adaptation to the changing circumstances and the understanding of the significant shift in modern society towards a knowledge society.

This adaptability will depend on how each aspirant to the new paradigm's cognitive, emotional, and temperamental inclinations develops, where creative adaptation, the capacity of knowledge

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Fig. 1: A scene of Traditional Chinese Medicine in Chinese Pharmacy, 2023. Photo by Lou Heng Ian, Natalie.

acquisition, social responsibility, as well as multidisciplinary integration, will be at play.

The major subject of the current study is the intersection of philosophy and well-being in Macao's Sinology, which focuses on a new ethical and aesthetic path. As it has always been the case in Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), where interdisciplinarity has never ceased to rule, health is now perceived and articulated philosophically.

2. PHILOSOPHY FOR HEALTH

While examining the connection between Chinese philosophy and health culture, "Evidência da Medicina Tradicional na Saúde Humana" by Ana Varela and José Faro should be emphasised. According to the authors, TCM is a scientific and humanistic culture: 'It is not a simple natural science, nor a simple humanistic science, but a synthesis of the two.'[3] This idea is largely due to the harmonic fusion of the two philosophical disciplines, each of which plays a crucial role.

TCM is relevant to a philosophical conception that must be presented and analysed carefully so that this type of science with Chinese characteristics can be understood by westerners. In a conscious interdisciplinary action, the crossing of knowledge that constructs a new type with clear multidisciplinary features may be born. As the authors rightly note, the holistic and personalised approach in TCM gives rise to a medical practice which is different from the Western medical practice. This development has led to a gap and a separation from the human sciences and culture, as well as a great deal of 'funnelled expertise'[4]. On the other hand, TCM develops firmly an anchor in philosophy, basing its theoretical system on 'three main theories: the theory of monism, or primal *qi* 氣 [qì]; The theory of *Yin-Yang*; and the theory of Five Phases'[5] to conclude that the microcosm and the macrocosm are thus inextricably linked. Regardless of the unexplained philosophical positions adopted by the authors, who define *qi* as energy[6] and the Five Elements 五行 [wǔxíng] as five dynamisms or phases, the essential basis of Chinese philosophy, including the philosophy of health, has been correctly identified, as well as the cognitive operations on the ground of scientific thought, which are defined by excluding an Aristotelian formalism[7]. Since they are dialectical, in constant transformation and interaction, interpreted by mature thinking, integrated into a holistic paradigm and developed in a type of 'differential diagnosis that is the base of the therapeutic strategy in acupuncture, herbal medicine, *tuina* massage, diet, therapeutic *chi kung* and *tai chi*, and lifestyle counselling'[8].

From what has been said, we can infer that this kind of scientific knowledge is dependent on philosophy because it offers effective existential diagnoses and treatments, which we can refer to as wisdom. This wisdom encourages people to adopt a particular lifestyle that has significant repercussions for those who follow it.

3. EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

For the understanding of Chinese philosophy, as well as the related TCM, it is essential to grasp that more than intellectual or discursive intelligence, the notion of Heart, in a possible translation, the 'heart-mind', has always been valued in China. We could give the present translation of 'Emotional Intelligence', a

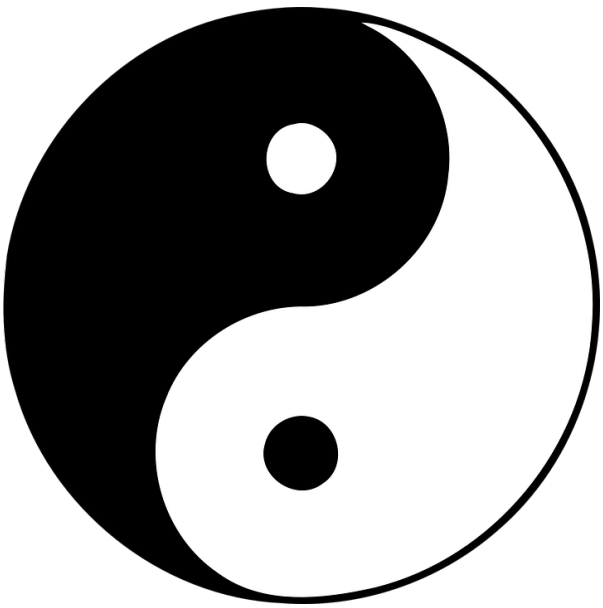

Fig. 2: *Taiji* (太極), the supreme ultimate. Source: https://pixabay.com/vectors/yang-yin-chinese-religious-38737/

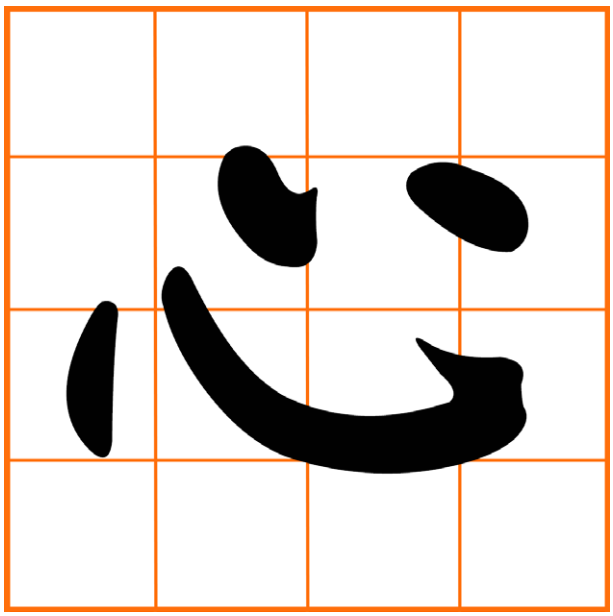

Fig. 3: *Xin* (心), the "heart-mind" that commands emotional intelligence. Image by Lou Heng Ian, Natalie.

concept that has been discovered and worked out in the West as has been pointed out by Matilde Saldanha de Matos in her article "Inteligência Emocional — Prioridades de Uma Sociedade em Mudança". On the one hand, the author argues that what distinguishes human beings from robots is precisely this affective intelligence in an era of artificial intelligence; on the other hand, experience in society has shown us that the most successful people are not those with greater intellectual capacities, but those who are aware of their emotions and are sensitive to those of others, using them to the benefit of communication.

Thus, a high intelligence quotient (IQ) is less socially relevant than a high emotional quotient (EQ). According to the data provided by Matilde Matos, 'EQ represents 80% of what is needed for a person to become successful, against the other 20% that is given to IQ'[9].

Moreover, according to Goleman's Model, the full realisation of emotional intelligence also depends on the operation of five domains: 1) self-awareness; 2) self-regulation; 3) social skill; 4) empathic recognition and 5) motivation[10]. Needless to add that all these domains will develop basing on attention and care for impulses, emotions, feelings and values that arise.

From the Chinese point of view, emotional intelligence is not only the art of translating emotions but rather the very core of traditional philosophical thought, bringing together various philosophical paths, since it is in the 'heart-mind' that all cognitive processes and communications will develop, in the diverse fields of knowledge, including TCM with its preventive and curative methods and its vocation for mapping out an existential philosophy or lifestyle which engages all those concerned.

Emotions arise spontaneously, as the Taoists defend, and are rooted in the heart. Knowing how to read them will be the basis for the success of the wise man, as is pointed out in the proverbial story told by Zhuangzi 莊子, the second greatest Taoist philosopher, as well as by Liezi 列子. In the story 'Three in the morning, four in the evening 朝三暮四

[zhāosān mùsì]'[11], a monkey keeper used to feed the animals very well because he loved them very much. As time went by and the monkeys grew more and more, the owner was out of money. Cuts in rations were necessary, which left the animals dissatisfied. By then, the owner proposed to give them three chestnuts in the morning and four in the evening. Faced with their reactions, he negotiated the opposite, giving four nuts in the morning and three at supper. The proposal was received enthusiastically. In practical terms, the owner had a high emotional quotient or a developed emotional intelligence because he could understand what the monkeys wished.

Emotions are the heart that is Buddha in the Buddhist way, which, through meditations and silent reading of affections compassionately, approaches all beings in need of help. It is also in feelings and emotions that the main Confucian and Neo-Confucian virtues of Benevolence 仁 [rén] and Filial Piety 孝 [xiào] are rooted, for those who do not care for their neighbours or those who do not love their relatives naturally place themselves at the margins of the community, of which the family is the milestone.

4. SINOLOGY AND MEDICINE IN MACAO'S HISTORY

There is an actual history of medicine in Macao as well as a mythological one. Let us start with the imaginary one. Among the Eight Immortals, *Baxian* 八仙 [bāxiān], we know that there is one especially devoted to medicine and to helping the poor. He is Li Tieguai 李鐵拐 [Lǐ Tiěguǎi], which literally means 'iron crutch'. He lived during the Tang dynasty and reportedly acquired the path of immortality from Laozi 老子. After becoming a Taoist master, he embarked on many spiritual journeys, leaving his body behind. On a seven-day journey to the Mount Hua for a meeting of immortals, he stayed longer than planned, so his disciple was thinking that he would not return and burned his body which was tall and handsome. When he returned, as he had to continue on his path to immortality, he had no choice but to choose the body of a beggar to live in. From then on, he had an ugly, defective body and a ragged appearance. His symbols are the crutch of the dead, which was made of bamboo and later changed into an iron one, as well as the gourd where he made the immortality pills to save people. This travelling doctor represents the beggars[12].

Is there any temple specially dedicated to the Eight Immortals in Macao? No, there is not, yet they are never forgotten, as Leonel Barros declares in "Templos, Lendas e Rituais — Macau", because there is a belief that they live among the stars, more precisely in the constellation of Big Dipper at the feet of Jade Emperor 玉皇大帝 [yùhuáng dàdì], therefore 'the fishing junks masts display flags stamped with seven stars in honour of the Goddess A-Ma'[13].

Also, the God of Longevity, *Shou Xinggong* 壽星公 [shòuxīnggōng], is much venerated in Macao. According to Leonel Barros, he appears to be related to the terrapin and the turtle[14]. More often we find him, as Cecília Jorge explains in her book *Deuses e Divindades*, belonging to the group of the three-star deities. Leonel Barros adds, he is the spirit of the polar star or the middle constellation, 'one of the most popular deities in religious pictorial representations among the Chinese from the Macao region'.[15]

The deity, which occupies such an important place in the mind of the Chinese and many people in Macao, has a relevant symbology, not limited to the praise of the long-lived amphibian. The polar star spirit sometimes is portrayed with a huge and high forehead where he stores the vital energy *qi*[16], with a peach of longevity in his hand and he is attended by one or more children, who ensure the perpetuation of the lifeline, and sometimes by bats of prosperity, since longevity is not only connected to fertility but also dignity, which is why the three stars deities usually form a group, where besides the bat representing

Fig. 4: The God of Longevity (壽星公 *shouxinggong*), Qing dynasty, Kangxi period (1662–1722). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

prosperity, we can also observe the deer 鹿 [lù], a symbol of perfect homophony of dignity 祿 [lù], an important dimension of positions and honours, which cannot be reduced to material wealth.

The deer forms part of an interesting medical symbolism. From the point of view of traditional Chinese pharmacopoeia, it offers the possibility of manufacturing a tonic from his antlers to increase male potency. It can be found in popular Chinese pharmacies.

The medical symbolism contains a rich source of ancestral wisdom, transmitted by the pharmaceutic or 'China Master' in teas good for all kinds of ailments, very bitter syrups, oils effective in combatting rheumatism, dizziness, and muscular pain, powders that relieve itches, ointments, and balms, where the prescriptions are kept as top secret, as explained by Leonel Barros in *Tradições Populares — Macau*: 'every receipt prescribed today is handed down from generation to generation and remains as secret as the famous formula of Coca-Cola'[17].

One of the most interesting examples of a TCM prescription is reported by Luís Gonzaga Gomes in *Curiosidades de Macau Antiga*, which we read in the second edition of the book published in 1996, but the first edition dates back to 1952.

In this work, we learned that on the inauguration date of the Hospital Kiang Wu in 1873, founded for the benefit of the underprivileged Chinese community, which had doctors specialised both in Western medicine and TCM, Gonzaga Gomes mentions, for example, it had the collaboration of the father of the Republic of China — Dr. Sun Yat-sen when he was in Macao, where he performed several operations by using Western medicine, in which he graduated.

The author of *Curiosidades de Macau Antiga* also presents an excellent TCM prescription for ophthalmological use in the chapter entitled the ophthalmologist Ung-Tch'ông-Sèak, who in pinyin is called Wu Songshi 吳松石 [Wú Sōngshí], also known by the nickname of Postman Tch'ông or Sōng, since that was his profession before he became a well-known ophthalmologist in Macao.

The postman's luck changed after delivering a letter at Portas do Cerco. As the weather was too hot, after having his job done, he decided to go for a walk in the no-man's land, where he accidentally found a prescription that would make him famous. The prescription was written in a piece of paper hidden between the teeth of a skull, which he took pity on and decided to bury because he saw it was abandoned lying there out in the open.

Now, as kindness pays off, he found a formula that would bring him peace and a good life. He had an office set up in the old Rua do Mastro (nowadays

named Rua de Camilo Pessanha), and he even received a mortar of the finest porcelain while he was preparing a grave to bury the skull, according to Gonzaga Gomes:

> ***The elements he needed to acquire for an experiment were: pearl, agate, coralline, phoenix saliva, jade, unicorn nail, the seeds of the flower of the tree of long life and the stamens of the flower of immortality. To these ingredients should be added the earth covering the corpses, which due to the diversity of its five colours would make the ointment more attractive. The last characters of the prescription recommended that all these elements should be pulverised in a mortar of delicate porcelain[…]***[18]

Let us now move from the magical sphere to that of reality, while maintaining respect for the significant amount we do not know in the scientific field and for the mysterious dimension that can contribute so much to the enlargement of our mental world, helping with physical cures.

As noted by Cecília Jorge and Beltrão Coelho in *Medicina Chinesa, Em Busca do Equilíbrio Perdido*, health is one of the major concerns in both Mainland China and the Macao Special Administrative Region:

> ***Health, physical well-being and perhaps longevity (which the ancient generically referred to as immortality) are concerns present in all the spiritual and social life of the Chinese.***[19]

To ensure physical and spiritual well-being, they developed an extraordinary attention to dietetics and herbology, a preventive and therapeutic method involving nutritions and balance of oxygen in the body, linked to the philosophical notion of *qi* or vital breath and vital energy[20], and also of Primordial Energy, or *yuanqi* 元氣 [yuánqì]. Therefore, more than working on the muscles, Eastern gymnastics aims to establish a deep relationship with the vital breath, which guarantees an interconnection between the individual microcosmic level and the general macrocosmic dimension. Gymnastics appeared as *qigong* 氣功 [qìgōng], a nomenclature that can be translated as the 'cultivation of vital breath', developed in natural space, having emerged in the mountains in close connection with the meditation of human in search for immortality, and later with the Buddhists and Taoist Masters.

Moreover, Cecília Jorge and Beltrão Coelho inform us that it is quite possible that meditation was perfected during the sixth century and is related to the Indian Buddhist monk Bodhidharma or Da Mo 達摩, the father of the Chinese and Japanese Zen Buddhism, which means 'meditation'. It was only much later that the *Taiji* 太極 [tàijí] or *Taijiquan* 太極拳 [tàijíquán] would appear in the modern age as a gymnastics which in Macao is called T'ai Kek Kun, an expression may be translated as 'immeasurable greatness'[21], T'ai Kek in Macao led to the development of five major styles[22].

More recently, from the 1920s onwards, of a style that synthesis all others, the *yi quan* 意拳 [yìquán][23], created by Wang Xiangzhai 王薌齋, who lived between 1885 and 1963, where one seeks to reconcile gymnastics and fighting in isolated movements, alternating tension and relaxation of the body, deep concentration and breath control, providing an excellent counterpoint to sedentary and monotonous city lives.[24]

From my point of view, the most important thing to remember is that these arts transmitted from generation to generation undergo adaptations, leading to the development of a style that fits the practitioners[25], to obtain a balance for everyone in society that includes many random and repressing factors, where people have little freedom of action, and the freedom they have is to be directed to the search of a healthy life, which seems more within the reach of

each being responsible for his/her destiny, thus being able to choose the type (and the style) of respiratory gymnastics to exercise, the diet to follow and the preventive prescriptions for diseases and illnesses that will put them on the path to a long life and possible immortality. A healthy lifestyle also helps people age more slowly, which is obviously quite appealing to people who are getting older. It helps middle-aged and older people on their paths of physical and spiritual improvement, in addition to acquiring, as an advantage of no less value, the filling of a culture void, caused by the loss of traditional philosophical references. This phenomenon is not exclusive to China, but has global dimensions, and may well contribute to explaining the most recent choice, which has generated great unanimity, to focus on the theme of global health, a direction that was already taken before the COVID-19 pandemic broke out: today the main concerns seem to be for our health along with that of the planet.

Chinese existential wisdom passed down over the centuries in its traditional medicine. It now seems to respond better to the worries not only of the Chinese but of a large part of humanity, which sees in the philosophical principles engaged in this tradition (as well as other oriental traditions) the answer to overcoming the global, environmental and individual crisis.

Thus, the holistic view and the search for a symbiosis between human and nature, the key to the success of TCM in preventive perspective, could become an effective promise in terms of health — replacing the dehumanised practice of Western atomistic and analytical medicine which focused too much on the laboratory and artificial biochemistry — for an attempt to return to mother earth and the herbal medicine. Alternatively, both Eastern and Western medicine may be combined innovatively. We already know that in Chinese hospitals, such as Kiang Wu Hospital in Macao, we find doctors practising both kinds of medicine. What some may not be aware of is that, according to the data collected by Cecília Jorge and Beltrão Coelho[26], since 1979, the World Health Organisation (WHO), in partnership with scientists from The Chinese University of Hong Kong, have been carrying out constant research into the Chinese Pharmacopoeia to develop new medical products of mineral and animal origin, and have also created a database in English with treatises resulting from traditional Chinese wisdom.

What possibly captivates the most, concerning this *Tao* of Traditional Chinese Medicine, is the fact that its philosophical principles go far beyond the scientific sphere and can be followed in daily life by all those who wish to keep healthy through the practice of a balanced diet, physical exercise, and meditation, never losing sight of the key body equilibrium of a healthy mind.

The fundamental of this is something that does not seem too difficult to accomplish, namely attention to the vital breath via respiration as well as concentration on the balance of our two basic energies: *yang* 陽 [yáng], which is positive, masculine and warm, and *yin* 陰 [yīn] which is negative, feminine and cold. Additionally, the relationship between the five dynamic phases of our organism and the cosmos lets us recall the core elements: Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal and Water.

Achieving harmony between them, which relies on the equilibrium of cosmic energies through a balanced diet and gymnastics, without forgetting to pay attention to the rhythms of nature and their relationship to each of us in terms of rest and activity, is undoubtedly the best beginning to start the journey to longevity with the help of *qi*, or vital energy, the *jing* 精 [jīng], the essence inherited from our parents, residing in the kidneys, although there is also an acquired *jing*, which enters the blood via food, being fundamental in terms of sexual, reproductive and developmental capacity in addition to do *shen* 神 [shén], the materialised spirit, regulator of

Fig. 5a: *Qi* (氣), the vital breath. Image by Lou Heng Ian, Natalie.

intellectual capacities, when it fails we lose cognitive power and zest for life. It is these three treasures and the way we deal with them that will determine our lifeline.

Although they are not observable in the form of laboratory data, we understand their importance well from an intuitive and existential point of view, since we owe a lot to the way we deal with our vital energy, heredity and this materialised spirit in the body, which is always with us in sickness and in health. In short, today we can count those who do not consider prevention is better than cure. But this is only possible for a person pursuing a Western lifestyle, if there is a change of perspective regarding the way of life we have been practising, reversing course and returning to our own body and nature, towards the empirical and intuitive world we have moved away from.

5. HEALTH SINOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY MACAO

In "A Integração da Medicina Tradicional Chinesa nas Políticas Públicas Portuguesas no Quadro das Relações Portugal China" by Melissa Tita, Carlos Jalali and Teresa Carvalho, Traditional Chinese Medicine is presented as a 'millenary treasure'[27] and 'soft power' with an important part to play in transcultural and intercultural dialogue, which is why it has entered diplomatic agendas and government programmes as a measured strategy to convey the values of Chinese civilisation and culture throughout the world, via a new political proposal, the flagship of the government of President Xi Jinping, leading China since 2013, epitomised in the motto 'One Belt, One Road' (OBOR). Theses bring together an ideology, which encompasses such principles as globalisation, society of knowledge and network transmission. It is conveyed by the New Silk Road and at the end of the pandemic period, a new principle of ecological socialism was added. All these ideas pass through the New Maritime and Land Silk Road, as well as the current Macao Platform, which transformed into a bridge between China and the Portuguese-speaking Countries, as pointed out by the President of the International Institute of Macau (IIM) — Dr. Jorge Rangel, in his article "Macau — Uma Reinterpretação do Legado Luso, Vinte Anos após a Transição". The author refers to Macao's historical tradition as a trading post with the Portuguese-speaking world and also to the creation by China of the Forum for Economic and Trade Co-operation between China and Portuguese-speaking Countries in Macao in 2003, along with the recognition of the Historic Centre of Macao by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2005 and the more recent creation of the Guangdong–Hong Kong–Macao Greater Bay Area, which consists of nine cities in the Pearl River Delta as well as the two Special Administrative Regions of Macao and Hong Kong. According to Rangel's remark:

> ***It was the Portuguese Legacy, cultural and human, that to a large extent justified the creation of China's second Special Administrative Region with the characteristics it has.***[28]

Resulting from this legacy, in the accurate words of the IIM President confirming what we have just seen, is the possibility of a 'multifaceted cooperation'[29]. We

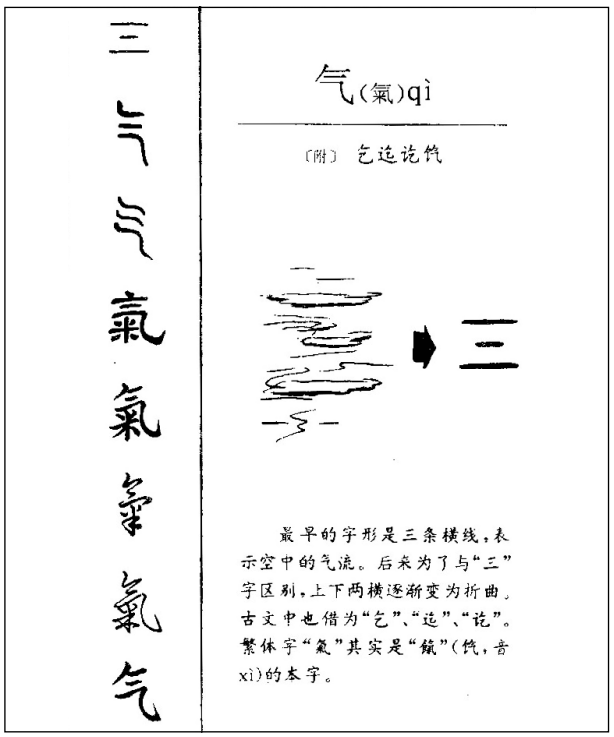

Fig. 5b: *Qi* (氣), the vital breath etymology. Source: https://www.yw11.com/zidian/10954/

know that this multifaceted cooperation, supported by China's strong 'soft power' is one of the strategies favoured by Xi Jinping's presidency, which is the reason why Macao has come to occupy a prominent place as a cultural platform, where the values of various civilisations flow in and out, and become an anchorage, and a vessel for the traditional arts, sciences, philosophies and other cultural dimensions of China.

As Tita, Jalali and Carvalho remind us, the expansion of a culture and its way of life, as previously indicated, that are different, for instance, in terms of medicine, from Western scientific methods, constitutes the extension of Chinese soft power in a concrete way. Consequently, it is clear that there is much for the West to gain from a cultural exchange at the level of TCM, specifically with regards to certain procedures like acupuncture, herbal medicine, *tuina* massage, Chinese dietetics, *Taijiquan*, and *qigong*.

For instance, Li Ying from the Physical Educational Department of Dalian Foreign Language University tells us in "A Study on the Overseas Development of Health Qigong Culture under the Background of 'One Belt and One Road' Strategy" that the latter physical practice with preventive purposes, which is part of the strategy, has experienced rapid international development since the establishment of the International Health Qigong Federation (IHQF) in 2012, with over 32 countries and regions joining and establishing local associations, including the United States, the United Kingdom, Portugal, Canada, Germany, France, Brazil, Japan.[30] Li also highlights the significance of the health *qigong* culture in popularising *qigong* as an international sports culture[31]. While the age group of 45 to 65, in particular among women, continued to be the most receptive[32], it is not surprising, as Li also noted, that health issues tend to increase as people age. However, this does not diminish the value of health *qigong* culture as an excellent bridge between China and Western countries. It is hoped that health and sports can become popular among young people in other cultures. Martial arts, for example, has been rather attractive to Western youth.

Li adds that local associations in Western countries should develop written materials in their native language in order to make health *qigong* culture a success in their own countries. Otherwise, there is no possibility of advance development, and it will be restricted to basic techniques without the necessary theoretical framework to fully understand them. Finally, the author concludes his article with a strong defence of *qigong* that could contribute a lot in international terms to China's image[33]. Li claims that it functions on two levels — the sporting and the cultural fronts — and is a great platform for learning about and exchanging ideas with Western nations:

> ***If Acupuncture, Opera, Kung fu, Confucius and Chinese wine are the 'five faces' of Chinese***

> ***culture, the Health Qigong, in accordance with the health trend, could be the 'sixth face' of the Chinese culture to the world. The reason is that no matter how different countries are in politics, economy and culture, the pursuit of health is the common goal.***[34]

Back to OBOR, it can contribute a lot to the elevation and affirmation of China as a great power not only in economic terms, but also culturally, in the international scenario, where Macao has a pivotal role to play, and specifically as a cultural connection for the transmission of TCM between Portugal and China.

The construction of the Traditional Chinese Medicine Science and Industrial Park in 2011 to foster cooperation between Guangdong and Macao is a noteworthy example of the popularity of TCM in Macao[35].

Tita, Jalali, and Carvalho summarise the reasons for building this Park as follows: 'the purposes of the industrial park from its creation to the present day, concentrate around the construction of an International Quality Control Base for Traditional Chinese Medicine and an "International Health Industry Exchange Platform"'[36]. The authors conclude, supported by solid biographical references, with praise for Macao's health system, which they consider to be among the most developed ones in Asia[37]. Along with the development of TCM in the territory, it has already made a significant impact on Macao's economy and the territory's perception of this Chinese cultural practice that has been called TCM Renaissance[38] with expansion and development through some of Macao's most important institutions, such as the Faculty of Traditional Chinese Medicine at the Macau University of Science and Technology. The institute was established in 2000 and offers bachelor's, master's and doctorate degrees in TCM. It is a strong support to the State Key Laboratory of Quality Research in Chinese Medicine (SKL–QRCM)[39], for instance in the verification of plants used in TCM. The World Health Organisation (WHO) Collaborating Center for Traditional Chinese Medicine was established in 2015 with support from the WHO and China, and is noteworthy for its dissemination and promotion of TCM. As a result, Macao has not only established itself as the verifier of TCM but also actively participates in scientific research in this area with the unwavering support of the WHO, the SAR government of Macao, and the central government of Beijing[40].

CONCLUSION: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF HEALTH

Nowadays, as Anabela Rodrigues Santiago notes in "A Rota da Seda da Saúde e o seu Papel no Âmbito da Governança Global em Saúde", health care is China's top priority as it strives to become a great scientific power. In fact, President Xi Jinping established the Silk Road to Health in 2015, and made it part of the OBOR policy which is based on the motto of the 'Chinese Dream' that was reiterated in 2017[41].

Contemporarily, China keeps an eye on the health of its people and has even designed the Healthy China 2030 plan, which was launched in 2016 with specific work plans until 2030[42], including the quest to foster healthy living among the population, paying special attention to health services, security, industry, policies and supports and the development of universal health care, in addition to primary care, promotion of health insurance, regulation of essential medicines and implementation of reforms in public hospitals.

However, it should be remembered that this special attention to health by Mainland China and Macao is not different from what is happening in the rest of our globalised world. The world's attention focuses on international scientific cooperation, as the WHO has been emphasising, as well as on health-related industries, the production of vaccines and medication, food safety, and developing complementary relations between

Western Medicine and Traditional Chinese Medicine.

Today, global care is directed towards health, making it a part of all policies, transforming politicians and national governments into instruments in the service of a more ecological and healthier order. People then refer to global health governance, which presupposes mechanisms that go beyond national spheres, implying international solutions taken in a network and calling for an interdisciplinary approach, which commits multiple sectors at national and global levels, including and prioritising health in people's main social dimensions: economic, educational, medical in stricto sensus, housing and socio-community.

In this sense, we only distance ourselves from the ancient history of Chinese emperors seeking immortality, because we extend the concern with longevity and immortality of the imperial court and privileged literate mandarins to all social strata of China and the rest of the world.

It is only fair that we desire to live longer and better and that this privilege should not belong exclusively to the upper realms of our society. Thus, a better world in the 21st century naturally implies greater equity in the distribution of health care, in Chinese and global health routes, that blends dream and reality, committing all those who wish and compromise to travel through it from Mainland China to Macao, across Africa, the West and around the world. RC

NOTES

1 This is a course in development as referred to at an event that took place on 28–30 October 2019 at Nova School of Business and Economics, which organised the VII International Science Matters Conference.

2 Maria Burguete, "Science Matters: Um Mundo em Mudança," in *Conhecimento e Sociedade através da Ciência Humana e Universidades*, eds. Maria Burguete and Jean-Patrick Connerade (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Bento da Rocha Cabral and Scimat, 2021), 38.

3 Ana Varela and José Faro, "Evidência da Medicina Tradicional na Saúde Humana," in *Conhecimento e Sociedade através da Ciência Humana e Universidades*, ed. Maria Burguete and Jean-Patrick Connerade (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Bento da Rocha Cabral e Scimat, 2021), 225.

4 Varela and Faro, "Evidência," 230.

5 Varela and Faro, "Evidência," 237.

6 Varela and Faro, "Evidência," 237.

7 Varela and Faro, "Evidência," 238.

8 Varela and Faro, "Evidência," 239.

9 Matilde Saldanha de Matos, "Inteligência Emocional — Prioridades de uma sociedade em Mudança," in *Conhecimento e Sociedade através da Ciência Humana e Universidades*, eds. Maria Burguete and Jean-Patrick Connerade (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Bento da Rocha Cabral e Scimat, 2021), 254.

10 Matos, "Inteligência Emocional," 252.

11 A possible correspondence for this Chinese proverb in the positive version will be 'as you like it', but in a more current and negative version, it means being someone who is always changing his mind. Cf. *Proverbes Chinois Annotés* (Beijing: Editions en Langues Étrangères, 1984), 85.

12 Cf. T. C. Lai, *The Eight Immortals* (Hong Kong: Swindon Book Company, 1972), 21–23.

13 Leonel Barros, *Templos, Lendas e Rituais: Macau* (Macao: Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses, 2003), 84.

14 Barros, *Templos, Lendas e Rituais*, 88.

15 Cecília Jorge and Beltrão Coelho, *Medicina Chinesa, Em Busca do Equilíbrio Perdido* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, Círculo de Leitores, 1988), 134.

16 Jorge and Coelho, *Medicina Chinesa*, 134.

17 Leonel Barros, *Tradições Populares: Macau* (Macao: Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses, 2004), 33–34.

18 Luís Gonzaga Gomes, *Curiosidades de Macau Antiga* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1996), 168.

19 Jorge and Coelho, *Medicina Chinesa*, 133.

20 Cf. Jorge and Coelho, *Medicina Chinesa*, 49. '*Qi* is the matter that is in the process of becoming essence or the energy that is approaching materialisation'.

21 Jorge and Coelho, *Medicina Chinesa*, 136.

22 Jorge and Coelho, *Medicina Chinesa*, 138.

23 Jorge and Coelho, *Medicina Chinesa*, 152.

24 The aims of various types of breathing gymnastics are distinct from *Kung-fu*/*Gongfu*, translated as the 'art of the fist', or according to the generic term in Chinese, martial arts. Jorge and Coelho, *Medicina Chinesa*, 145.

25 Jorge and Coelho, *Medicina Chinesa*, 137.

26 Jorge and Coelho, *Medicina Chinesa*, 40.

27 Melissa Tita, Carlos Jalali and Teresa Carvalho, "A Integração da Medicina Tradicional Chinesa nas Políticas Públicas

Portuguesas no Quadro das Relações Portugal China," in *Diálogos Interculturais Portugal-China 2*, Vol. 1, *Rotas e Raízes de um diálogo distante*, eds. Carlos Morais et al (Macao: Instituto Internacional de Macau e Instituto Confúcio da Universidade de Aveiro, 2021), 233.

28 Jorge A. H. Rangel, "Macau — Uma Reinterpretação do Legado Luso, Vinte Anos após a Transição," in *Diálogos Interculturais Portugal-China 2*, Vol. 1, *Rotas e Raízes de um diálogo distante*, eds. Carlos Morais et al (Macao: Instituto Internacional de Macau e Instituto Confúcio da Universidade de Aveiro, 2021), 98.

29 Rangel, "Macau — Uma Reinterpretação," 102.

30 Li Ying, "A Study on the Overseas Development of Health Qigong Culture under the Background of 'One Belt and One Road' Strategy," in *Diálogos Interculturais Portugal-China 2*, Vol. 1, *Rotas e Raízes de um diálogo distante*, eds. Carlos Morais et al (Macao: Instituto Internacional de Macau e Instituto Confúcio da Universidade de Aveiro, 2021), 250.

31 Li, "A Study on the Overseas Development of Health Qigong Culture," 250.

32 Li, "A Study on the Overseas Development of Health Qigong Culture," 251.

33 Li, "A Study on the Overseas Development of Health Qigong Culture," 253.

34 Li, "A Study on the Overseas Development of Health Qigong Culture," 253.

35 Tita, Jalali and Carvalho, "A Integração," 238.

36 Tita, Jalali and Carvalho, "A Integração," 238.

37 At the time of the article's elaboration, based on data in 2017, Macao had five hospitals and 708 primary care units, of which 194 provide TCM treatment. Tita, Jalali and Carvalho, "A Integração," 239.

38 Tita, Jalali and Carvalho, "A Integração," 239.

39 Tita, Jalali and Carvalho, "A Integração," 239.

40 Tita, Jalali and Carvalho, "A Integração," 240.

41 Anabela Rodrigues Santiago, "A Rota da Seda da Saúde e o seu Papel no Âmbito da Governança Global em Saúde," *Rotas a Oriente: Revista de Estudos Sino-Portugueses,* no. 1 (Oct. 2021): 114.

42 Santiago, "A Rota da Seda da Saúde," 111.

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Conivência ou Observação? Repensar a Filosofia da Paisagem e a sua Dimensão Terapêutica com François Jullien e o Pensamento Chinês

Paulo Borges*

RESUMO: O objectivo deste estudo é mostrar como, a partir do pensamento chinês, François Jullien repensa o sentido da filosofia da Paisagem, abrindo fecundas perspectivas para mostrar o sentido terapêutico de uma sua experiência mais conivente e menos separativa, ou seja, menos dependente do paradigma europeu–ocidental da separação visual sujeito–objecto. Como veremos, trata-se do sentido amplo da dimensão curativa de uma relação mais conectada com a natureza e o cosmos a partir da paisagem mais imediata, o que é coerente com a etimologia, em várias famílias linguísticas, das palavras que expressam a *saúde*, que remetem para uma experiência holística de integridade, inteireza ou totalidade. A imersão na paisagem e no sopro-energia vital (*Qi*) que nela circula, tem assim um efeito terapêutico semelhante ao dos exercícios dinâmicos e respiratórios tão cultivados e prezados na cultura chinesa tradicional, como o Tai Chi Chuan e o Chi Kung.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: François Jullien; Paisagem; Conivência; Terapia; Sopro-energia.

François Jullien desenvolve um profundo trabalho de compreensão da matriz do pensamento europeu, que lhe exige o maior *expatriamento* possível das suas coordenadas (Jullien 2012b, 15–21), a fim de explorar os seus maiores termos de contraste, o que o conduz à heterotopia ou lugar outro do pensamento chinês (Foucault 1966, 6–7; Chartier e Marchaisse 2005). A partir daqui revela-se-lhe o impensado das '*escolhas implícitas*' ou dos 'preconceitos (*parti pris*)' que determinaram o desenvolvimento da filosofia europeia, como outros tantos 'ângulos de visão' e 'sulcos' que, cegos para si mesmos, condicionam, todavia, tudo o que lhes surge como maior 'evidência' (Jullien 2014, 14). Note-se, contudo, que esta enfatização das diferenças e contrastes entre a tradição chinesa e a tradição europeia tem suscitado várias críticas, entre as quais as de William Franke, o qual, a partir da tradição apofática da filosofia e da literatura

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ocidentais, suaviza e questiona os contrastes apontados na hermenêutica de Jullien (Franke 2018). O mesmo se verifica com autores alemães, como Heiner Roetz e Fabian Heubel.

Seja como for, o objectivo deste estudo é mostrar como, a partir do pensamento chinês, Jullien repensa o sentido da filosofia da Paisagem, abrindo fecundas perspectivas para mostrar o sentido terapêutico de uma sua experiência mais conivente e menos separativa, ou seja, menos dependente do paradigma europeu–-ocidental da separação visual sujeito–objecto. Como veremos, trata-se do sentido amplo da dimensão curativa de uma relação mais conectada com a natureza e o cosmos a partir da paisagem mais imediata, o que aliás é coerente com a etimologia, em várias famílias linguísticas, das palavras que expressam a *saúde*, que remetem para uma experiência holística de integridade, inteireza ou totalidade. É precisamente isso que indica a raiz indo–europeia sal ou sol da palavra *saúde* (Vallet 2007, 232–234).

Num livro de 2014, *Vivre de Paysage ou L'impensé de la Raison*, Jullien aplicou a sua hermenêutica genealógica e comparativa à questão da paisagem e considerou que desde a invenção da palavra (porventura em flamengo, *landschap*, e em francês, em 1549, *paysage*), a sua definição não progrediu. Se no dicionário de Furetière (1690) é definida como 'o território que se estende até onde a vista pode levar', no mais recente *le Robert* é 'a parte de um país que a natureza apresenta a um observador'. Esta definição reitera a experiência da paisagem como um objecto visual, enquanto a 'extensão' ou 'parte' visível de um país que dele se destaca na medida em que a visão a recorta (Jullien 2014, 14–15). Isto, segundo o autor, revela três 'preconceitos' no pensamento ocidental da paisagem, bem conhecidos, mas, por isso mesmo, não '*sondados*': 1) a concepção da paisagem 'à sombra da relação *parte–todo*', que a configura à partida como algo 'reduzido e amputado' de um mais amplo espaço que a excede e integra; 2) a concepção da paisagem

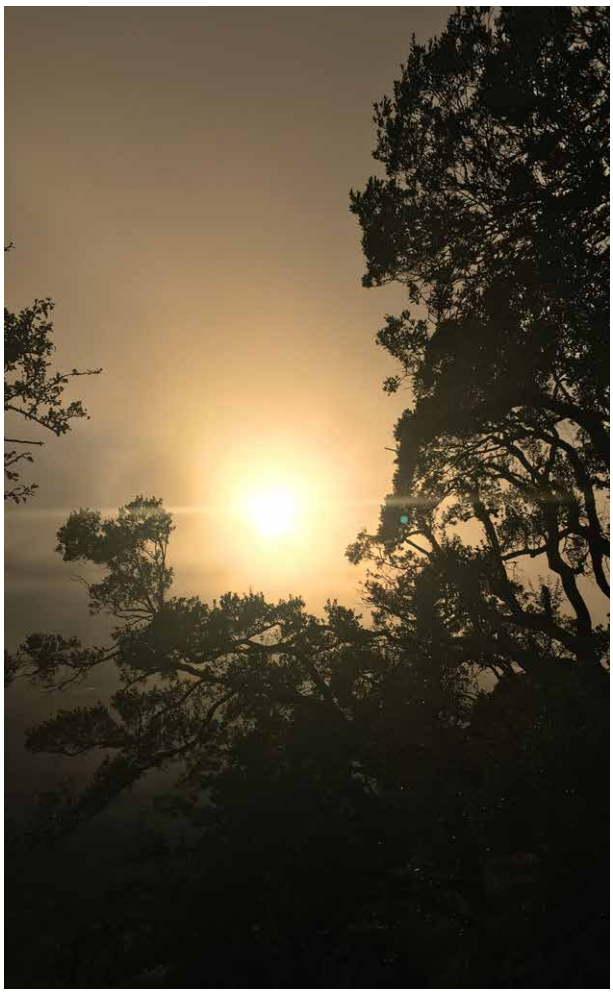

Fig. 1: Mata do Buçaco. Portugal, 2019. Fotografia do autor.

'sob o primado da *percepção visual*', como o que se oferece a um 'ponto de vista', o que a sujeita desde logo ao monopólio da *evidência* do visual, ou seja, da evidência da própria *evidência*, não se questionando o suposto de não haver acesso à paisagem senão por via da 'prospecção', do olhar o que se antepara ou fica diante, desenhando um 'horizonte' (*horismos*), um limite; 3) a concepção da paisagem na dependência da 'relação *sujeito–objecto*' que ao mesmo tempo funda o conhecimento científico do qual a Europa colhe o seu poder: de um lado há o 'observador', do outro a 'natureza' e 'os dois estão à parte um do

outro, instituídos em face a face'. A questão é se o 'pensamento da paisagem', mais do que criticar e negar o 'par infernal' sujeito–objecto — o que é ainda permanecer dele refém ao mantê-lo como referência condicionante — pode esperar o seu apagamento (Jullien 2014, 20–21).

Segundo Jullien, esta tripla preconcepção da paisagem faz dela, em primeiro lugar, uma extensão parcial e homogénea, em cuja mensurabilidade abstracta se apaga o incomensurável da sua '*individuação*', sem a qual, todavia não há experiência da paisagem (Jullien 2014, 21–24). Em segundo lugar, a paisagem converte-se num objecto passivo sujeito à iniciativa do observador que dele dispõe como agente 'segundo o seu ponto de vista', o que manifesta o 'massivo pré-juízo' ocidental que confere à percepção visual o primado na relação com o mundo, fundado na inquestionada 'escolha grega' da visão como o 'sentido superior', em termos sensíveis ou inteligíveis, como é patente na abertura da *Metafísica* de Aristóteles que exalta a 'visão' por ser de todos os sentidos o que mais permite quer distinguir, quer conhecer, o que é correlato (Aristóteles 1974, 2). A paisagem reduz-se assim ao '*aspectual*', ao 'aspecto' (*species*) exterior que se oferece especificamente aos olhos, o que a mantém na superfície dos seus traços visuais e nos mantém exteriores a ela. A visão mostra-se o sentido mais separativo e menos ambiental, que justamente nos faz '*sair do ambiente*', distanciando-se do objecto da percepção que fixa no seu lugar próprio, no seu 'quanto-a-si' (*kath'hauto*, em grego), distinguindo-o e determinando-o pela atribuição de predicados. Neste sentido a visão é 'a via que leva à ontologia', conduzindo à 'via da "essência"', a da resposta à questão 'o que é que é?' pela identificação da 'quididade', perdendo nisso a '*pregnância*', a 'dimensão de "ambiência"' que é precisamente, segundo Jullien, o que mais originariamente 'promove' uma paisagem (Jullien 2014, 24–26). Por fim, a terceira consequência do triplo pressuposto enunciado, intimamente decorrente da segunda, é que a paisagem emerge no contexto Pós-Renascença da invenção científica da '*objectividade*' pela qual o humano e o mundo se imaginam e pensam separados em compartimentos estanques, que se confrontam frente a frente: a 'natureza' de um lado, 'apresentando' a paisagem como um 'objecto', e, do outro, um 'observador' colocando-se como 'sujeito' de liberdade. A paisagem emerge em função da suposta '*exterioridade do espectador*', sujeita à geometrização de um espaço homogéneo, sem singularizações topográficas ou simbólicas, e submissa às leis da óptica: a um sujeito que se retira em 'ponto de vista' responde o mundo em 'ponto de fuga' (Jullien 2014, 27–28). Segundo Jullien, contra isto reagiu o romantismo, dando voz ao 'recalcado desta grande montagem

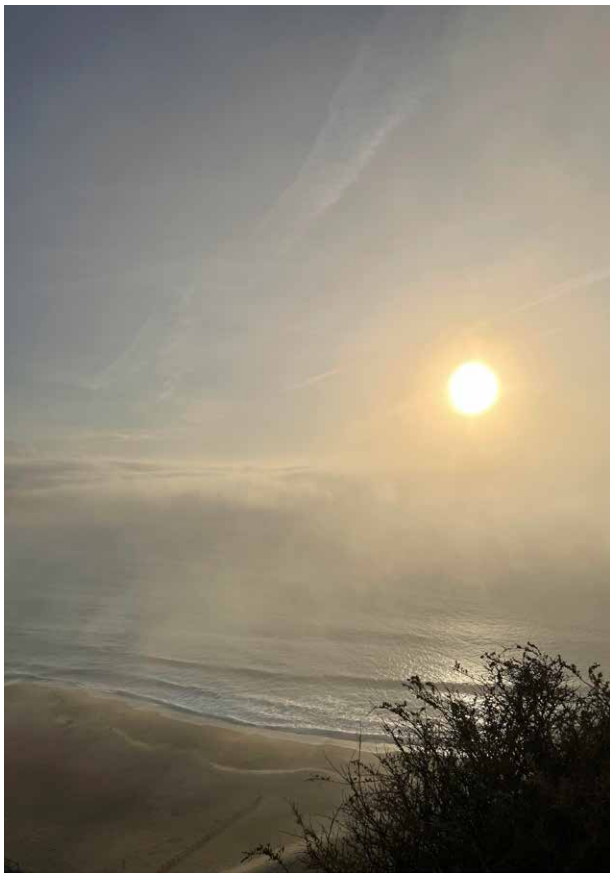

Fig. 2: Sítio da Nazaré. Portugal, 2021. Fotografia do autor.

teórica', mas invertendo apenas os seus termos, ao procurar reconduzir a paisagem à intimidade do sujeito sob o signo da sensibilidade ou da imaginação, sem por isso mesmo superar a clivagem instaurada entre subjectivo e objectivo e mantendo-se numa transição sempre insatisfatória entre um e outro (Jullien 2014, 29–30). Esta insatisfação é precisamente o mais subtil e menos aparente sintoma mórbido cuja superação, na via aberta pela sabedoria chinesa, passa, não por tratamentos externos, apenas paliativos, mas por uma profunda mutação do próprio modo de percepção do real e de experienciar a relação entre si e o mundo.

Jullien mostra haver um impensado na própria experiência da paisagem que parece contradizer o referido quadro teórico europeu–ocidental, gerador da cisão mórbida entre sujeito e objecto, e que radica na diferença entre ter a vista de algo, por exemplo um objecto arquitectónico como Notre-Dame, observada de uma das pontes próximas sobre o Sena, e abrir-se a uma paisagem. Na visão de Notre-Dame capta-se um *objecto*, algo lançado contra a visão do sujeito, que a detém e se lhe impõe, fazendo com que nele se fixe e que toda a envolvência se reduza a um mero adorno. Há visão porque há focalização. Todavia, para que haja paisagem é necessário que nada se imponha como hegemónico e monopolize o olhar. A paisagem é por natureza variada e supõe a 'desconcentração — des-fixação — do olhar', a sua circulação. É só quando o olhar *passeia* que a paisagem aparece. A paisagem aparece com a distância e o afastamento, que dilui o objecto numa tessitura de fenómenos que se entrelaçam e correspondem, fazendo com que o olhar se converta da anterior detenção num objecto para ir e vir numa errância que circula *entre* múltiplas polaridades (Jullien 2014, 30–32). Por isso, segundo o autor, não se pode descrever, mas apenas *evocar* uma paisagem, o que implica convocá-la como uma companhia afectiva e desobjectivada na relação com a qual nos perdemos de todos os traços meramente aspectuais (Jullien 2014, 34).

A experiência de olhar uma paisagem é menos a de observar um objecto, detendo-se ante a sua presença obstacular, do que a de se abrir receptivamente a ela, deixando-a expandir-se. A experiência de olhar uma paisagem é menos a de projectar o olhar no exterior, buscando uma informação ou aquisição — 'como na caça', em que o objecto se converte num objectivo — do que a de receber pelo olhar a afluência do mundo pela qual nos deixamos atravessar e invadir, deixando que a atenção nela mergulhe e se afunde (Jullien 2014, 34–35). No olhar uma paisagem — por contraste com a predação cognitiva do sujeito caçador de objectos (Corbí 2007, 295–298) — há uma experiência de abandono, um deixar-se ir que não apreende senão de forma difusa e que não é de todo o modo de 'atenção deliberada e voluntária' do 'observador' em busca de conhecimento (Jullien 2014, 34–35). Na experiência da paisagem, os olhos deixam de ser os agentes da visão, que observam procurando determinar as coisas e descrever objectos, convertendo-se antes em meios ou limiares pelos quais simplesmente se olha, mas não para 'alguma coisa'. Sem deixar de ser atento, o olhar 'faz-se evasivo', no que Jullien designa como 'atenção flutuante' ou 'disponível'. Mais do que observar, há então um contemplar, onde os olhos são 'menos agentes do que mediadores' através dos quais a paisagem pode em nós 'se afundar' (Jullien 2014, 37). *Contemplar* designa aqui um regime de consciência descentrado do sujeito e da sua perspectiva sempre vectorial e afunilada pelo seu interesse num objecto e/ou num objectivo. Nele o sujeito apaga-se no auto-desvelamento da realidade circundante. Esta experiência é afim ao que, na linguagem técnica dos exercícios meditativos, se designa hoje como 'consciência aberta', 'consciência sem escolha' ou meditação 'sem objecto' (Mingyur Rinpoche e Swanson 2009, 139; Bourgeault 2016, 2, 7, 99). Uma abertura terapêutica da consciência que passa do confinamento mental, intencional, selectivo e objectivante — considerado incontornável na fenomenologia ocidental dominante — para uma

abertura sem contornos que acolhe a metamorfose de tudo o que se apresenta.

Jullien conclui assim com uma definição de paisagem alternativa à comum: 'Há "paisagem" quando subrepticiamente se opera esta conversão do olhar'. Não a da metafísica, que o visa voltar do exterior sensível para o interior inteligível, mas a da metamorfose pela qual o olhar deixa de buscar 'identificações ou informações', lançando-se predatoriamente sobre o mundo para captar ou capturar objectos, como outras tantas presas que o alimentam e confirmam, para se deixar antes 'absorver' e imergir na 'rede de oposições--correlações' das coisas do mundo. Nisso desfaz-se o sujeito da iniciativa e do monopólio hegemónico, dando lugar a um olhar que, em vez de se satisfazer e esgotar na fugacidade da observação, não cessa de 'evoluir' entre as coisas, 'levado pelas suas polaridades' e 'esquecendo-se na sua profusão' (Jullien 2014, 37–38).

Aplicando ao tema da paisagem a sua filosofia acerca dos diferentes modos de entrar no pensar (Jullien 2012a), Jullien considera que se a Europa *entrou* na experiência da paisagem de modo dual e subjectivo–objectivante, a China oferece o recurso de uma 'entrada completamente diferente', alheia ao 'semantismo da extensão, da visão e do recorte'. Os termos antigos e ainda modernos para dizer a paisagem são *shan shui* (山水) e *shan chuan* (山川), respectivamente 'montanha(s)-água(s)' e 'montanha(s)--rio(s)'. Em vez de 'uma porção de país oferecida à visão de um observador', a paisagem é pensada como uma 'correlação entre opostos', o que tende para o alto e o que tende para o baixo, o vertical e o horizontal, o imóvel e o movente, a permanência e a variância, o que tem forma e relevo e o informe que se casa com as formas, o opaco e o transparente, o massivo e o disperso, o que se vê diante e o que se escuta de diversos lados (Jullien 2014, 39–40). Na verdade, em vez de 'paisagem', 'termo unitário', a China diz um 'jogo de interacções sem fim' entre contrários que se acompanham e pelos quais o mundo matricialmente se concebe e organiza. Não há, como na Europa, o reino do 'Sujeito' dominando territorialmente o mundo a partir do seu ponto de vista individual e 'aí desenvolvendo livremente, tal Deus, a sua iniciativa', num mundo *objectado* passivamente diante do seu olhar. Alheia a isto, a China diz a polaridade essencial pela qual o mundo se desenvolve tensionalmente e da qual o humano não se destaca, permanecendo inserido e '*imerso*' numa relação que é originariamente do mundo consigo mesmo (Jullien 2014, 40–41). Não sendo a natureza senão este processo-mundo de interacção contínua entre polaridades (Jullien 1989), é impossível a instanciação de uma 'natureza', de uma 'paisagem' e de um 'observador' que em função da sua posição e do seu ponto de vista delimite um horizonte onde projecte a sua parcialidade (Jullien 2014, 41–42). A experiência de si, no Ocidente identificado com o 'eu-sujeito', não é a de estar diante de um mundo de si destacado como 'vista' ou 'espectáculo', mas antes a de nunca se haver estado senão plenamente integrado (Jullien 2014, 44–45) nesse 'espaço entre o Céu e a Terra' que Laozi (老子) diz ser como um 'fole' onde circula o sopro da vida (Lao Tse 2010, 87).

Entre as muitas consequências desta experiência diferente, destacamos que na China a paisagem jamais é meramente local, como a parte visível de um país ou um canto do mundo, manifestando antes, no próprio íntimo da sua 'configuração singular', '*a operação do mundo* na sua totalidade'. No jogo da sua individuação polar e tensional, a paisagem é sempre 'cósmica', pois nela se encontra tudo o que é inerente ao jogo do mundo: as 'montanha(s)-água(s)' ou 'montanha(s)--rio(s)', o estável e o fluido, o vertical e o horizontal, o massivo e o disperso e todas as demais polaridades que referimos (Jullien 2014, 45–46). É que, em vez da 'lógica de composição', como a que faz que um todo se veja composto por partes, que François Jullien considera presidir ao modo europeu de compreender a realidade, o pensamento chinês procede por uma lógica de 'aparelhamento' (*appariement*), em que

os opostos não surgem senão correspondendo-se, numa '*coerência por acasalamento*' (Jullien 2014, 47–48). Exemplo eloquente disto é que, para dizer 'coisa', não há em chinês um termo unitário, como a *causa* ou *res* latinas, usando-se antes o binómio 'este-oeste', *dong xi* (東西), que expressa horizontalmente o afastamento tensional que faz advir as 'coisas', tal como 'montanha(s)/água(s)', o correspondente chinês do europeu 'paisagem', o expressa na sua verticalidade física. São as mesmas correlações pelas quais o mundo se gera que se expressam no célebre *yin*/*yang* (陰/陽), as vertentes sombria e luminosa da mesma montanha, ou no Céu/Terra, o aparelhamento global onde os demais pares de opostos se inscrevem (Jullien 2014, 49–51). Outra consequência disto é que a 'paisagem' europeia pode assumir um sentido figurado e abstracto — paisagem espiritual, cultural, social, política — supondo sempre um observador a visionar algo de fora, enquanto que o 'montanha(s)/água(s)' dificilmente se afasta da sua abarcante concretude (Jullien 2014, 52).

Se na Europa a noção de paisagem surgiu em relação com a pintura, o mesmo aconteceu na China, mas um milénio antes, como se houvesse aí um acordo natural entre pintura e paisagem que não tivesse de se libertar dos entraves europeus a essa evolução, devidos à pintura europeia haver começado por ser uma pintura de personagens. Segundo o juízo retrospectivo do letrado Su Dongpo (蘇東坡), do século XI, sobre a pintura chinesa, há um campo considerado inferior que se ocupa de tudo o que tem uma 'forma constante' (*chang xing*), o que inclui 'homens, animais, palácios e utensílios', que não exige do pintor senão uma mera competência técnica para o reproduzir 'formalmente', enquanto que o outro campo, que integra tudo o que não tem 'forma constante', como 'montanhas, rochedos, bambus, árvores, águas, vagas, vapores, nuvens', é visto como superior porque exige do artista captar e figurar o menos evidente e mais subtil 'princípio de *coerência interna* que os faz advir' (*chang li*) e que remete para uma outra ordem de

Fig. 3: Santuário Dewachen, Aldeia Galega da Merceana. Portugal, 2022. Fotografia do autor.

'*constância*', ao nível do processo interno de mutação contínua e não da forma individual exterior e reificada (Jullien 2014, 63–65). Desde as primeiras teorias pictóricas chinesas, no século V, que o 'primeiro princípio' e 'principal exigência da pintura' é que por via dela se alcance '*desenvolvimento* e *vitalidade*', equivalentes a 'sopro-energia', por um lado, e 'ressonância interna', por outro, formando a polaridade de onde procedem 'vida e movimento' (*sheng dong*). Não se faz aparecer esta 'tensão animadora' vital figurando personagens ou rostos, que são vistos como unidades isoladas endurecidas e cristalizadas, por falta de alteridade e polaridade, à superfície do processo

do mundo. Por contraste, é na paisagem enquanto aparelhamento tensional de montanhas-águas e rochedos-nuvens, considerados sem forma fixa e em transformação incessante, que se pode surpreender a expressão por excelência de uma vitalidade inesgotável (Jullien 2014, 66–67).

Num mundo que, como veremos, não é constituído, mesmo na sua fisicalidade, senão por 'sopro' e 'energia' (*Qi*), o que os letrados chineses buscam é essa polaridade tensional designada como montanhas-águas onde podem refontalizar o seu maior bem, a 'sua vida'. Isto contrasta, segundo François Jullien, com os 'dois grandes absolutos' que ocuparam longo tempo a Europa, a 'Verdade' e a 'Liberdade', conjecturando que possa ser o desinvestimento deles que faz com que os europeus hoje se interessem tanto pela paisagem (Jullien 2014, 84). Na China é quando se está fisicamente privado do contacto directo com a paisagem que a pintura surge como recurso, não porém como meio de a representar, reproduzindo o que nela é aspectual, segundo a 'escolha grega' da *mimêsis*, 'tornada clássica na Europa', mas como recurso — claramente terapêutico — para fazer surgir a sua vitalidade e nela se engolfar. Na verdade, não se trata na China de 'ver' a pintura, como 'espectador', mas antes de se 'afundar' e 'perder' nas suas polaridades tensionais (Jullien 2014, 85–86). O que se busca e preza na paisagem ou na sua pintura não é o prazer estético da beleza, ao modo ocidental, mas, como diz o pintor Guo Xi (século XI), no *Tratado da Paisagem*, o encontrar nela não algo que se contempla de longe ou se atravessa, mas antes um espaço onde se passeia e que se habita, a pregnância de uma ambiência envolvente que faz com que alguém aí plenamente se sinta 'no seu *elemento*' (Jullien 2014, 85–87), recuperando uma experiência mais *sã* da vida, no sentido de mais plena e gratificante. Recorde-se aquela expressão — 'no seu *elemento*' — numa carta de Nietzsche a Overbeck a propósito da sua experiência de encontrar no vale alpino de Engadine um meio íntimo e vital (Jullien 2014, 219; Nietzsche 1966, 1004). É aliás esta experiência, de não somente se viver diante de uma paisagem, ou mesmo numa paisagem, mas de se *viver de uma paisagem* (Jullien 2014, 117), que dá o título ao livro de François Jullien: *Vivre de Paysage*. Note-se que esta influência de uma citação de Nietzsche no título do livro de Jullien nutre mais um argumento para se relativizar a dicotomia radical sustentada pelo autor francês entre a imersão chinesa na paisagem e a sua objectivação na Europa.

Fig. 4: Sistelo. Portugal, 2021. Fotografia do autor.

A experiência da paisagem não se reduz assim ao 'perceptivo', promovendo-se em 'lugar de trocas que o tornam *intensivo*' (Jullien 2014, 87) e '*afectivo*', à

medida que se apaga a fronteira entre interior e exterior e estes se desvelam pólos tensionais e mutuamente permeáveis cuja substancialidade se dissolve no avultar da experiência do 'entre' (Jullien 2014, 87 e 89–90) e de uma 'cooriginaridade (*cooriginarité*)' eu-mundo. O autor considera que isto 'permaneceu estranhamente desconhecido' no pensamento europeu da paisagem, ou pelo menos, se foi vivido, não terá sido pensado, o que nos parece um juízo francamente exagerado. Sem ir mais longe, basta pensar na tematização da experiência da paisagem num poeta-pensador como Teixeira de Pascoaes, no qual o sentimento de identidade dimana não só de si, mas de tudo o que o envolve, num fundo de indistinção que é uma 'intimidade' que a tudo unifica e identifica (Pascoaes 1965, 128–129; Borges e Natário 2022).

Seja como for, o *entre* próprio da experiência da paisagem, ou, em chinês, de 'montanha(s)/água(s)', inclui uma subtilização da fisicalidade do mundo que se liberta da limitação do visível e do tangível sem se converter num além transcendente da concretude sensível, como na metafísica ocidental. Há assim na paisagem um 'espírito' que se desprende, por emanação e exalação subtil, do que nela é físico, sem, no entanto, dele se separar, constituindo o que Jullien designa como 'fenómeno de *aura*' (Jullien 2014, 115–117). Ao invés do dualismo ocidental, que entificou, separou e isolou o físico e o espiritual, a China experiencia na paisagem o *entre* que os conecta, precisamente porque o espírito não é aqui uma substância distinta, compreendida ao modo espiritualista ou intelectualista, mas, a exemplo do espírito do vinho ou de um perfume, a decantação e *quintessenciação* do físico e do sensível no que dele emana e se evade. A paisagem é o lugar de uma '*emanência*' e o autor considera ser porventura também por isso que se recorre tanto a ela na nossa modernidade, como 'compensação' e 'expressão', sob o disfarce do 'literário', 'do recalcado desse grande dualismo sobre o qual prosperou a ciência ocidental' (Jullien 2014, 117–119) (nesta perspectiva, o interesse actual pela paisagem proviria de uma inconsciente motivação terapêutica). Numa proposta de definição alternativa, Jullien considera 'haver paisagem' não só quando o perceptivo é indissociavelmente afectivo, mas também quando se abole a cisão do físico e do espiritual e este se desprende do primeiro. A paisagem 'eleva-nos ao espiritual, mas *na natureza*, no seio do mundo e da sua percepção' (Jullien 2014, 119). Há nela uma transcendência, mas não como fuga para um 'qualquer outro mundo' e antes como o que se desprende e emana da imanência. Há nela o 'espiritual', mas não como o 'Ser' oposto ao fluxo do devir e antes como o 'processual'. É neste sentido que a paisagem é uma contínua '*revelação*', enquanto desdobramento fenomenal do espiritual no físico, 'alargamento ou excedência do mundo no seio do mundo' e 'abertura ao infinito no seio (do seio) do finito' (Jullien 2014, 120). O que a paisagem revela — ou seja, manifesta na mesma medida em que oculta — é precisamente o processo de visibilização do invisível e de invisibilização do visível, a transição contínua de um para o outro, a transcendência da imanência e a imanência da transcendência. Neste sentido, que é uma experiência, a paisagem suscita a relativização e transcensão do aparente contraste ou contraposição entre estas categorias.

Tudo isto se condensa afinal no termo mais elementar a partir do qual o pensamento chinês aborda o que chamamos 'real' e que diz simultaneamente 'isso de onde procedem materialmente os seres e as coisas e o fluxo que os atravessa e mantém em desenvolvimento': isso é o *Qi*, onde se desfaz a oposição entre 'matéria' e 'espírito' e cuja grafia primitiva evocava a forma de uma nuvem para depois se conceber e escrever como 'o vapor que se ergue do arroz que se coze', sugerindo a 'transição do perceptível ao imperceptível' (Jullien 2014, 120–121). Como escreve Zhang Zai, o '*sopro-energia*' (*Qi*) desenvolve-se '*em Grande Vazio original*', evoluindo sem cessar como '*a mola do vazio e do cheio*, *do movimento e do repouso*', na origem '*do yin*

e do yang', polaridades que se incitam mutuamente formando '*o curso contínuo de inumeráveis existentes*' e '*a fusão-concentração das montanhas e das águas*' (Jullien 2014, 121–122). Ou seja, a paisagem emerge da circulação do sopro cósmico que origina tudo e circula igualmente no íntimo de cada vivente, numa transição contínua e recíproca entre o físico e o espiritual e o Céu e a Terra que entremostra a 'vacuidade' originária (Jullien 2014, 125–126) (a estética de Zhang Zai insere-se naturalmente na matriz daoísta–budista da cultura chinesa, que assume a 'vacuidade' como a matriz indiferenciada de toda a diferenciação). Por isso nela transparece o 'fundo sem fundo' e o 'fluxo' simultaneamente 'matricial e material' donde emerge o mundo em sua 'contínua transformação' (Jullien 2014, 127), o que faz da paisagem um 'aqui, mas atravessado de além' ou, numa expressão mais conforme ao espírito do pensamento chinês, a 'via' (*tao*) pela qual 'a profundidade sem fundo do invisível nos devém, no seu desenvolvimento, eminentemente sensível' (Jullien 2014, 129). A 'aura' da paisagem, tão difícil de pensar, mesmo após Walter Benjamin (Benjamin 2006, 211–213), diz-se precisamente como o 'vago', esse 'evasivo' e 'nebuloso' que não se deixa classificar, nem como visível, nem como invisível, nem como físico, nem como espiritual, diluindo todas as fronteiras no desvelamento desse *entre* que não pertence a nenhum domínio categorial e Jullien considera ser o que mais repugna ao pensamento do 'distinto', do 'Ser', da 'essência' e da 'determinação' pelo qual optou massivamente o Ocidente (Jullien 2014, 132–133). Por contraste, segundo François Cheng, o propósito da poesia e da pintura chinesas foi precisamente o de 'perseguir o mistério nascido da troca incessante entre as entidades vivas'. É neste '*entre* fecundo', no 'oco dos interstícios', no 'reino do intervalo', que se manifesta o Tao (Cheng 2009, 14, 16). É por isso que a paisagem é 'a mediação fiável para aceder à sabedoria' (Jullien 2014, 137).

Também aqui nos parece oportuno apontar algumas afinidades entre a leitura de Jullien da experiência da paisagem na China e alguns desenvolvimentos do pensamento e da literatura portugueses no início do século XX. Fernando Pessoa, ao caracterizar o que designa como a 'nova poesia portuguesa' — a que vem de Antero de Quental e se prolonga até Teixeira de Pascoaes e aos poetas saudosistas seus contemporâneos — considera que a razão da sua 'estranha e nítida originalidade' é a interpenetração da alma e da natureza, do subjectivo e do objectivo, naquilo que designa como uma simultânea '*espiritualização da Natureza*' e '*materialização do Espírito*' (Pessoa 1986, 1179). Esta 'comunhão' na totalidade leva-a a '*encontrar em tudo um além*' (Pessoa 1986, 1176) e conduz à sua formulação como '*transcendentalismo panteísta*'. Este configura uma metafísica e ontologia paradoxais em que, mediante uma lógica não-aristotélica — não do terceiro excluído, mas do terceiro incluído — os tradicionais conceitos dicotómicos perdem os limites da discernibilidade e indefinem-se, sendo exemplo disso a visão de que 'a matéria é espiritual e o espírito material', o que se considera apontar para uma transcensão integradora de 'todos os sistemas' (Pessoa 1986, 1189).

Se Jullien relaciona a 'aura' da paisagem com o 'vago' e indistinto que, na estética chinesa, nela transparece, Pessoa também caracteriza a 'nova poesia portuguesa' como tendo uma ideação simultaneamente '*vaga*', '*subtil*' e '*complexa*'. Para o poeta português, 'ideação *vaga*' não é 'ideação *confusa*, ou confusamente *expressa*', mas 'uma ideação que tem o que é vago ou indefinido por constante objecto e assunto' (Pessoa 1986, 1174–1176). Isto prende-se com a sua subtileza e complexidade, residindo esta no já referido desvelar em tudo um '*além*', que é menos o de um transcendente do que o de uma *trans-imanência*, enquanto deslocalização e excesso simultâneos do visível no invisível e do invisível no visível. Fundamentando a interpretação pessoana, já Pascoaes havia destacado o 'mistério' afim à comunhão entre a alma humana e

a da natureza (Pascoaes 1988, 80–82), bem como o '*vago nubloso*', expresso no sentimento-palavra '*remoto*' (Pascoaes 1987, 169), entre outros traços distintivos da poesia saudosista.

Regressando a Jullien, se a modernidade ocidental emergiu sob o signo da nostalgia literária (e, acrescentamos, terapêutica) de uma reparadora 'comunhão com a natureza', exaltada pelo '*pathos*' romântico — o que o filósofo francês vê como 'a expressão de um recalcado' pela razão científica europeia cujo triunfo assentou na cisão entre a objectividade da natureza e a subjectividade da consciência e do sentimento — a China manter-se-ia numa outra relação com o mundo, alternativa ao conhecimento, que seria a da '*conivência*' (Jullien 2015, 107–114). Esta relação, encoberta pela razão e a partir daí 'operando na sombra', seria a de 'um acordo tácito com as coisas' que permanece impensado, pois move-se num mais fundo plano subliminal, aquém do trabalho relacional da própria razão ocidental. Se o contrário do *conhecimento* é a ignorância, o seu contraditório seria essa *conivência* que o acompanha, embora ambos estejam de costas voltadas, pois o conhecimento separa da natureza que instaura como objecto (veja-se em Kant a sua determinação como 'o objecto total de toda a experiência possível') (Jullien 2014, 223), enquanto a conivência se mantém '*na aderência*' e na secreta cumplicidade sugerida pela sua etimologia latina: *connivere* significa estar de acordo 'piscando os olhos' (Jullien 2014, 211–213). Este acordo conivente é o de um 'saber sombrio', do ponto de vista das cartesianas ideias claras e distintas, que permanece integrado num meio envolvente e, se 'não destaca um "eu" do "mundo"', não se abstrai jamais de uma 'paisagem', no sentido da sua experiência chinesa. Por isso é um saber informulável, que permanece aquém de toda a 'exposição–explicação', mais afim, como recorda o jovem Nietzsche a propósito da etimologia grega da palavra *sábio* (Nietzsche 1974, 38), a um saborear vivenciável, como o da criança no seio ou colo materno (Jullien 2014, 214) ou como na meditação taoísta da respiração embrionária em que se volta a respirar como um embrião no útero cósmico (Cohen, Kenneth in Miles-Yépez, Netanel [ed.] 2015, 145). A experiência da conivência entre o humano e o cosmos, por via da paisagem, tem assim uma função terapêutica equivalente à da reintegração da consciência na circulação do '*sopro-energia*' (*Qi*) por via dos movimentos e exercícios respiratórios tão apreciados e cultivados na cultura chinesa tradicional, como por exemplo o Tai Chi Chuan (太極拳) e o Chi

Fig. 5: Santuário Dewachen, Aldeia Galega da Merceana. Portugal, 2022. Fotografia do autor.

Kung (氣功). O fundamento disto reside na concepção chinesa de que o 'poder vitalizante' do *Qi* circula igualmente no ser humano e no mundo natural, sendo do seu cultivo, mediante os referidos exercícios, que depende a *saúde* no sentido da nutrição essencial e do desenvolvimento integral do ser humano, em termos físicos, intelectuais, morais, estéticos e espirituais (Jullien 2005, 77–87). A experiência da paisagem como transição e transformação, e não como um objecto perante um sujeito, assume também o efeito terapêutico de desreificar um e outro, ampliando no sujeito humano o sentimento de si para além dos limites da percepção convencional, onde uma subjectividade confinada na crença na separação entre si e o mundo tende a uma disposição psíquica mais angustiada, ansiosa e preocupada.

Se as primeiras culturas são mais '*conviventes*' e as posteriores mais '*conhecedoras*' e se, com o advento da escolarização, da escrita e do saber disciplinar, os objectos de conhecimento se multiplicam e isolam, devendo ser relacionados pela mesma razão que os cindiu, encobrindo a 'relação conivente' à medida que o sujeito do conhecimento conquista a sua autonomia, a conivência de fundo entre o humano e o não-humano, entre o humano e o mundo, não desaparece todavia, subsistindo silenciosa, tal um lençol de águas subterrâneas 'pronto a reaflorar': 'a paisagem é este reafloramento' e é pela imersão nela que o mesmo indivíduo que progride enquanto sujeito de conhecimento pode regredir enquanto conivente (Jullien 2014, 214). A nova e derradeira definição de paisagem que Jullien propõe é a de haver paisagem quando o conhecimento se inverte em conivência pela mutação da relação de observação e de objectivação 'em acordo e comunicação tácita' com o mundo (Jullien 2014, 215; Jullien 2015, 111–112) e um '*lugar* (*lieu*) subitamente devém um "vínculo" (*lien*)' (Jullien 2014, 216), ao mesmo tempo que se transita de 'uma dependência local' para 'uma pertença global' (Jullien 2014, 217).

Shitao, no século XVIII, falou de uma 'coparição' (*coenfantement*) do eu e da 'paisagem', na qual cada um 'mete o outro no mundo' (*tuo tai*), dando-se à luz reciprocamente: 'a paisagem gera-se em mim e eu gero-me na paisagem' (Jullien 2014, 233). Na paisagem aflora a '*co-implicação originária* do "mundo" e do "eu"' (Jullien 2014, 234), sendo para a plena experiência disso que existem os quiosques chineses, imersos na natureza, a meio das encostas das montanhas, circulares, hexagonais ou octogonais, permitindo voltar-se em todas as direcções (cf. a liberdade, altitude e amplitude do voo da ave Pang na abertura do *Zhuang Zi*) e experienciar a paisagem não como um *objecto* diante de si, mas como uma ambiência na qual se está imerso. Sem mobília, abertos, são lugares onde se repousa, se bebe chá e se lê poesia, esquecendo-se 'a distinção das ordens e dos objectos, dos critérios e das qualificações, da perda e do sucesso' (Jullien 2014, 241). São lugares onde se experiencia a conivência com a paisagem que emerge quando nos desprendemos 'do mundo comum, das previsões e das ambições, dos objectivos e das obrigações'. Aí retira-se a separação fictícia entre si e o mundo (Jullien 2014, 241) e está-se entre, ou seja, sem localização possível (Jullien 2014, 243). Algo aí se *realiza*, mas não se pode dizer o 'quê', pois passa-se, 'por impregnação difusa e decantação', do conhecimento à conivência (Jullien 2014, 239–240). Em termos últimos, contudo, o *quiosque* é uma experiência não local, que se pode encontrar em qualquer lugar da paisagem, desde que interiormente se lhe aceda, do mesmo modo que a paisagem emerge em todo o lugar onde possamos encontrar um *quiosque* (Jullien 2014, 243), ou seja, não um ponto de reclusão e fuga, mas de plena imersão no processo do mundo. E isso, como fica implícito ao longo de todo este estudo, é a mais profunda terapia, no sentido de restabelecer uma relação sã e não separativa entre a humanidade, a natureza e a realidade, tão urgentemente necessária neste momento de crise civilizacional global. RC

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WHO ICD-11 Implications for TCM Diagnosis Experience of the Traditional Chinese Medicine School of Lisbon

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ABSTRACT: Traditional medicine is an integral part of health services in many countries around the world and has an increasing importance in the close and long-term response to many health conditions. The WHO, by including a chapter on TCM in the 11th revision of the International Classification of Diseases, not only draws attention to its impacts on the health of the population, but also seeks a better integration of its diagnosis, research and regulations in national health systems. Syndrome differentiation is a critical component in TCM diagnosis and treatment. It also has impacts on clinical practice, research and the appropriate use of the ICD-11's codes. This article aims to present: 1. The ICD-11 and its purpose; 2. Syndrome's concept and characteristics in TCM, its mutation and transformation dynamics; 3. The clinical practice of TCM and the methodology of syndrome differentiation; 4. The 25-year experience of the Traditional Chinese Medicine School of Lisbon in TCM diagnosis with syndrome differentiation and the implications of the ICD-11. In the conclusion of their analysis, the authors point out the need for a standardised system with unified criteria for the nomenclature of the general status syndromes and the *zang fu* (臟腑) syndromes with the indication of their symptoms and signs, so as to improve the practice of diagnosis, the research and use of the ICD-11 by TCM practitioners.

KEYWORDS: Chinese medicine; TCM diagnosis; Syndrome differentiation; TCM ICD-11.

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INTRODUCTION

Initially, the International Statistical Causes of Diseases (ICD) was a document created to give a standardised nomenclature of causes of death for a number of countries. Since its first revision in 1900, the ICD has expanded its application from a narrow focus on causes of death to a broader scope of causes of illness conditions, and from an emphasis on statistical presentation and analysis to administrative uses such as hospital records indexing and medical billing.[1]

When the World Health Organization (WHO) took over its publication in 1948, the first WHO Centre for Classification of Diseases in London was formed and the ICD has evolved and grown in complexity as a reflection of changes in medical sciences, technology, society, and different applications of the classification, including the divergent classification interests of the statistical and nonstatistical communities. So, the eleventh revision of the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-11) is now the common informational language of diagnosis in different areas of health and the reference for WHO's national health and insurance systems guidelines.

On 25 May 2019, the Member States of the WHO adopted the ICD-11, which came into force on 1 January 2022.[2]

The ICD-11 includes for the first time a supplementary chapter, Chapter 26, which refers to 150 disorders and 196 syndromes that have originally been described in works of traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) which are commonly used in China, Japan, Korea, and all continents of the world.[3]

This landmark work (ICD-11) on TCM is in line with the *WHO Traditional Medicine Strategy: (2014–2023)*, which encourages the Member States to regulate, promote research and integrate traditional medicine practice into their health systems.[4]

The inclusion of TCM in the ICD-11 by the WHO recognises: 1. TCM's contribution to global health care; 2. The current needs of populations regarding TCM.[5]

Currently, TCM is used in 183 countries and regions around the world. According to the WHO, 103 of its Member States have approved the practice of acupuncture and moxibustion, 29 Member States have enacted special statutes on traditional medicine, and 18 Member States have included acupuncture and moxibustion treatment in their health insurance provisions.[6]

In 2016, there were 3,966 TCM hospitals, 452,000 TCM practitioners and 42,528 TCM clinics in China. In the same year, in China, 910 million TCM outpatient consultations and 26,915,000 inpatient treatments were made.[7]

TCM is one of the oldest non-conventional and most widely and uninterruptedly practised traditional medicine systems in the world.[8] Differential diagnosis is the basis for prescribing treatment in TCM's therapeutic modalities. Acupuncture, herbal medicine, *tai chi* (太極) and *chi kung* (氣功) therapy, massage, osteopathy and Chinese dietetics, which are used today throughout the world, have been used in East Asia for over 3,000 years.

Currently, with the specialisation and individualisation of conventional medicine and the impacts of TCM worldwide, there is an increasing interest from international health systems, the practitioners and researchers want to make clear the information and registration of this most determining process of their clinical practice — the differential diagnosis. This interest became visible in the recent update of the ICD-11.

Despite the dominance of conventional medicine in disease treatment today, experiences show that the inclusion of TCM in treatment and healthcare can improve clinical practice outcomes for patients.[9] TCM also includes a coherent system of health promotion and prevention of disease based on the TCM diagnosis which goes beyond the field of health intervention of conventional medicine and encompasses all human

health conditions.

It is important that TCM practitioners and researchers are aware of the challenges involved in this WHO initiative and work together to address them. The Traditional Chinese Medicine School of Lisbon (ESMTC), with 25 years of experience in teaching and applying TCM diagnosis, presents an example to show how this tool can be used in both clinical diagnosis and research in the epidemiology of TCM.

1. ORIGIN OF DIFFERENTIAL DIAGNOSIS

Posthumous Papers of the Shen Residency written by Dr. Zhou Zhi Han in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644 A.D.) and *Yimen Banghe* (《醫門棒喝》Warnings for Doctors) written by Dr. Zhang Nan (章楠) in the Qing dynasty (1644–1911 A.D.) are the first two works that use the term 'treatment discussion' based on the global differentiation of syndromes.[10]

However, according to these authors, the system of syndrome differentiation has been well established since very early years in the history of traditional Chinese medicine diagnosis. It has its beginning in the classic *Huang Di Nei Jing* (《黃帝內經》Yellow Emperor's Inner Canon) and the writings of Dr. Zhang Zhongjing (張仲景), and has been developed throughout different dynasties until the present day. The main milestones, according to these authors, are as follows:[11]

- In the Eastern Zhou dynasty (770–221 B.C.), *Huang Di Nei Jing* established the foundations of the theoretical system of syndrome differentiation.
- In the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 A.D.), Zhang Zhongjing established the syndrome differentiation system in the classics *Shanghan Lun* (《傷寒論》Treatise on Febrile Diseases Caused by Cold) and *Jin Gui Yao Lue* (《金匱要略》Essential Prescriptions from the Golden Cabinet).
- From the Jin and Tang dynasties to the Northern Song dynasty (265–1127 A.D.), the syndrome differentiation according to *zang fu* theory was developed. During the Song, Jin and Yuan dynasties (960–1368 A.D.), the pulse analysis associated with syndrome differentiation was widely and deeply developed.
- In the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368–1911 A.D.), the syndrome differentiation according to the eight principles was perfected, and the syndrome differentiation based on the theory of the four layers *wei* (衛), *qi* (氣), *ying* (營) and *xue* (血) and the theory of the three burners was established.

Since the 1950s, the treatment based on the differentiation of syndromes has definitely been established as the unique concept, the regulation and the basic characteristic of the diagnosis and treatment of TCM disorders.[12]

In Portugal, according to Article 3 of Law 45/2003 of 22 August — Lei do Enquadramento Base das Terapêuticas não Convencionais (Law for the Basic Framework of Non-Conventional Therapies), 'non-conventional therapies' are considered to be those that have a different philosophical basis from that of conventional medicine and apply specific diagnostic and therapeutic procedures.

As said, syndrome differentiation is one of the most important concepts in the practice of TCM which consists of a series of diagnostic procedures. Syndrome differentiation is different from conventional diagnostic methodologies. It is a comprehensive analysis of clinical information obtained by the four main TCM diagnostic procedures: observation, listening, questioning, and palpation that includes pulse analyses.[13] It is used to guide the choice of TCM treatments ranging from acupuncture to herbal formulae, diet, *tui na*, *chi kung* and *tai chi*. Thus, the complete TCM process is known as *bian zheng lun zhi* (辨證論治 disease identification as the basis for determining treatment) — 'treatment based on

syndrome differentiation'. Therefore, a correct TCM syndrome differentiation is the most important principle that guides the prescription of TCM treatments for both health promotion and disease therapy.

Despite its antiquity, TCM differential diagnosis has a high level of theoretical and scientific consistency. In light of this, it is possible to integrate biomedical diagnosis into modern clinical practice.[14]

It has also been shown that TCM differential diagnosis can be an asset for modern clinical and pharmacological research. However, the differential diagnosis of TCM needs the maturation of dialectical cognitive skills that take a long time to learn.[15] Nevertheless, it is necessary to take advantage of its additional values.

2. SYNDROME'S CONCEPT AND CHARACTERISTICS IN TCM — MUTATION AND TRANSFORMATION DYNAMICS

2.1 SYNDROME'S CONCEPT

The term 'syndrome', which derives from the Greek words 'contest', 'affluence' and 'to occur together', refers to a set of signs and symptoms that define the clinical manifestations of one or several diseases or clinical conditions.

The concept of syndrome was proposed by Wang in 1977 to designate the conclusion of the differential diagnosis performed by the four diagnostic methods of TCM under the guidance of its theoretical system.[16] The concept of syndrome encompasses the causal factors of an imbalance or disease, identifies its location and nature, reveals the pathogenesis and developmental trend, and suggests the direction of treatment.[17]

2.2 SYNDROME'S CONCEPT IN TCM

The concept of syndrome in TCM implies:

- Specificity: Different syndromes have different symptoms and signs.
- Transmissibility: In the process of disease and life development, syndromes change according to etiologic and pathogenic changes, and the tendency of the struggle between vital energy and pathogenic factors.
- Inter-relationship: Syndromes do not appear alone, but combine with other syndromes, reflecting the inter-relationship between etiological factors and diseases.
- Appearance: In the process of pathogenetic changes of a disease or imbalance, appear sometimes manifestations that are not consistent with the pathogenesis, but false phenomena.

The concept of syndrome in TCM includes a nomenclature and a structure that can be characterised as follows:

The nomenclature has a set of symptoms and signs for a given syndrome. Until 1987, it varied according to the different schools of TCM. Since 1987, there has been a constant effort to unify and standardise the criteria of the nomenclature and define the symptoms and signs that make up each syndrome.

The structure of TCM syndromes reveals that each syndrome has its own specific manifestations and each syndrome regularly combines three levels of sub-syndromes in its structure.

The first level or general status of a syndrome corresponds to the theory of the eight principles (*yin*/*yang*; hot/cold; internal/external; deficiency/excess), and to the theory of *qi*, blood (*xue*) and organic liquids (*jinye*). The second level includes references to the general status and the organs involved in the disorder: general status syndrome and organ (*zang fu*) syndrome (Fig. 1). In internal pathology, this second level corresponds to the *zang fu* theory; in external pathology, according to the theories of the six levels, the four layers and the three burners (*san jiao* 三焦), it corresponds to the inter-relationship between the general status, the organs, and the external pathogenic factors. The third level concerns the combination of syndromes according to the *zang fu* theory in internal pathology. In external pathology, conforming to its theories, the combination

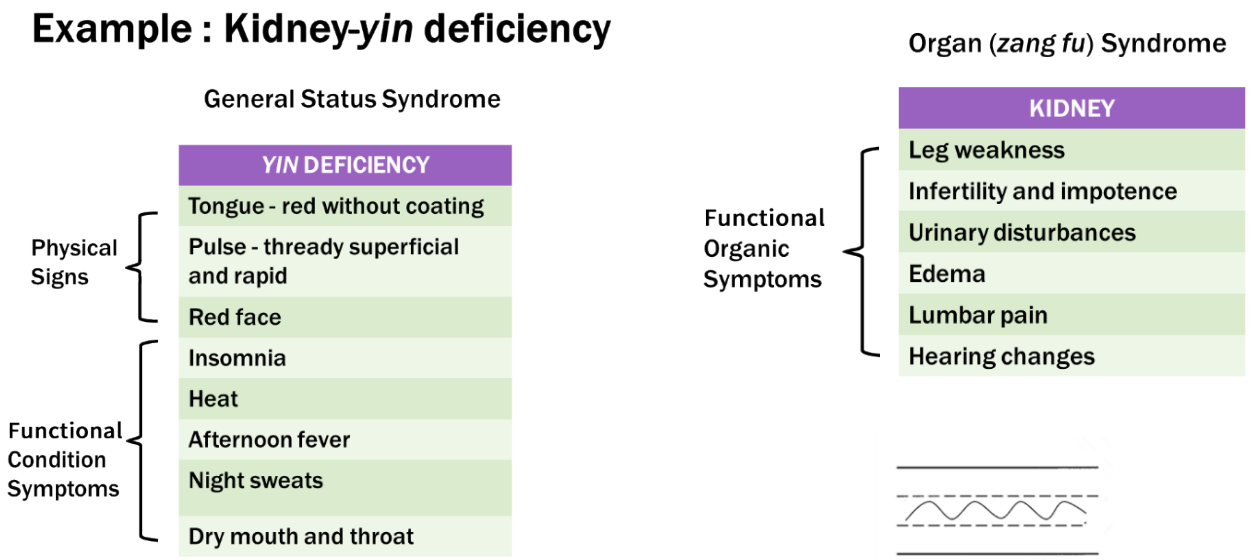

Fig. 1: The general status and organ syndromes in kidney-*yin* deficiency syndrome. Figure created by the authors.

of syndromes is referred to as concurrent (appearing simultaneously in two or more levels — *he bing* 合病) or transmuting (evolving from one to another level, layer or burner — *bing bing* 並病).

2.3 THE FORMATION OF A SYNDROME

The formation of a syndrome is influenced by different interrelated and constantly changing factors identified below:

- The constitution of a person is defined as an integrated, relatively stable and natural individual morphosis. The physiological functions and psychological conditions are formed on the basis of innate and acquired endowments in the life process, determining the susceptibility to some pathogenic factors as well as a tendency towards pathogenic modes.
- The seven primordial emotions, but mainly about how the human being reacts to them and how he feels 'in his skin'.
- The habits of daily life: diet, exercise, addictions and medication.
- The exposure to the six external pathogenic factors (wind, cold, heat, dampness, dryness and summer heat).
- The professional, family, climatic, geographic and cultural environments.

2.4 THE DYNAMIC CHANGE AND TRANSFORMATION OF SYNDROMES

'The dynamic change of a syndrome is its basic characteristic. The stability and standardisation of a syndrome are relative while its totality is eternal and its movement and development are absolute.'[18]

The dynamic change and manifestation of a syndrome are expressed in its occurrence and transformation. We can say that the 'occurrence' is the initial picture obtained after the diagnostic process. It shows the dynamic view of the patient's current imbalance and the context in which it occurs. This initial picture gives us information about the general characteristics — 'gradual', 'simultaneous', 'complex', 'primary', 'secondary', or 'a result of a sudden attack' — of the present syndrome.

'Transformation' is the thing that comes next, the 'movie' that follows. It can be discovered

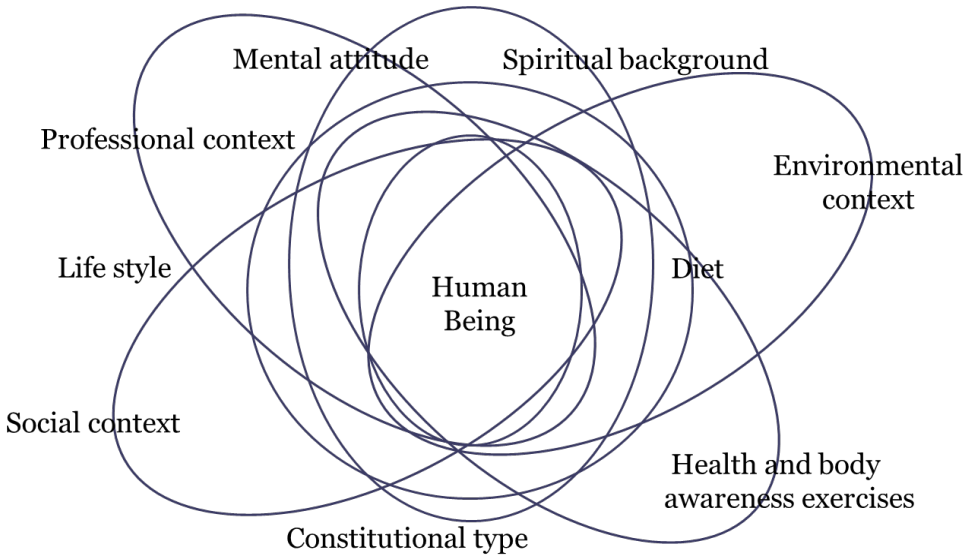

Fig. 2: Integrated and relational human being. Figure created by the authors.

by deepening the diagnostic process and analysing the change related to location, nature and differentiation as stated in different TCM theories and research.

3. TCM CLINICAL PRACTICE AND THE METHODOLOGY OF SYNDROME DIFFERENTIATION

TCM has always regarded clinical practice as its core. TCM comes from clinical practice and returns to the clinic to test its truth.

The syndrome identification and treatment in TCM are consistent with patient-oriented medicine, which means a medicine based on the physiological characteristics of the patient. The mentioned identification and treatment are also consistent with an evidence in TCM based medicine as explained in points 3.1 and 3.2.

Historically, the theoretical system of TCM is an open and remarkable multi-disciplinary system integrating different knowledge of ancient sciences like astronomy, geography, meteorology, philosophy and military. For this reason, TCM's theory is multi-perspective.[19] As the Chinese sayings go, 'the sea admits hundreds of rivers for its capacity to hold (海納百川，有容乃大)', 'the stones of those hills may be used to polish gems (它山之石，可以攻玉)'.[20] In modern times, TCM's theories and its treatments like acupuncture, herbal medicine, *tui na*, dietetics, therapeutic *chi kung* and *tai chi* are studied by multidisciplinary research teams comprising not only Chinese and Western medical experts, but also experts in psychology, psychosomatics, chemistry, physics, mathematics, agronomy, astronomy, and so on.

So TCM clinical practice is open to the patient's context and human progress in different fields, yet it must be based on the evidence of its theoretical system so as to bring the best results and benefits for the patient, as explained in the following paragraphs.

3.1 SYNDROME DIFFERENTIATION

To identify a syndrome, it is fundamental to consider the human being in its contextual relationship (Fig. 2) and know how to effectuate a context-based clinical practice. A context-based clinical practice requires professionals who can listen to their patients

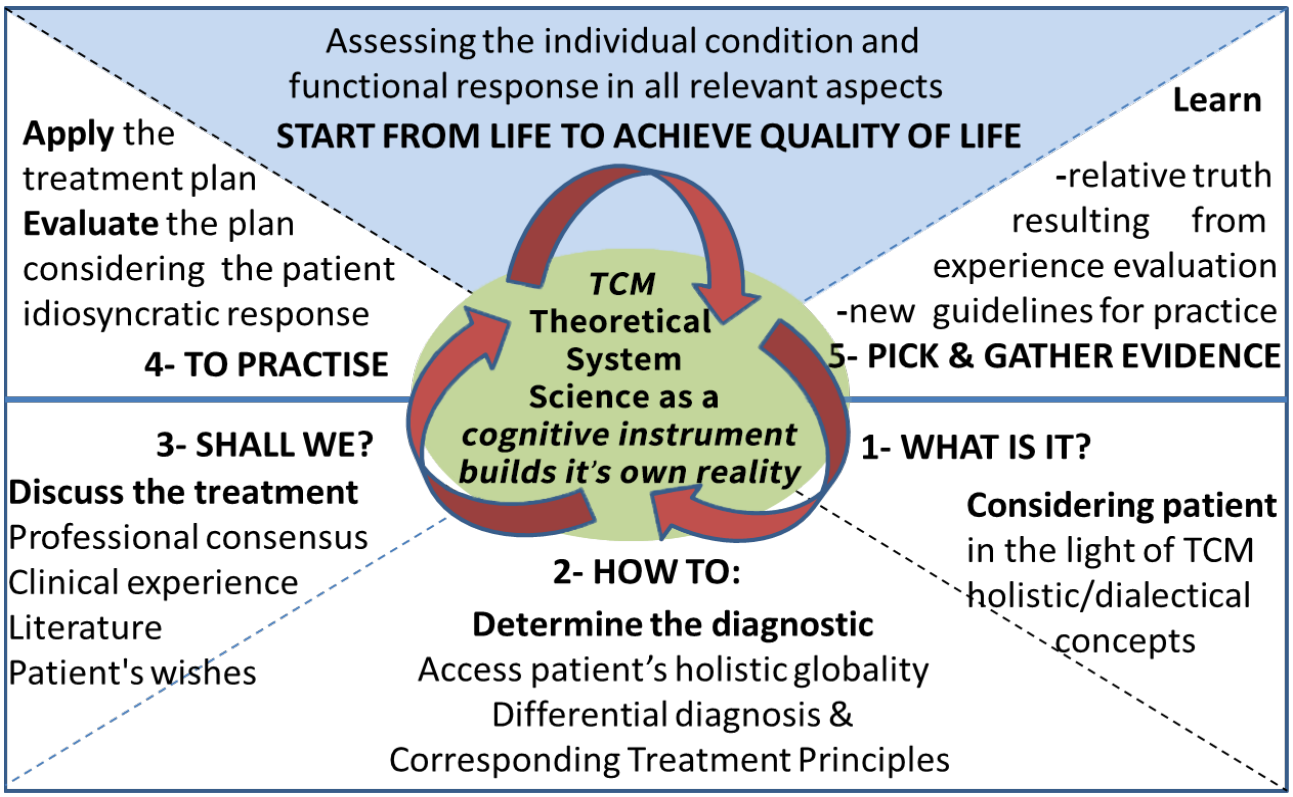

Fig. 3: The structure of evidence in TCM clinical process. *Knowledge & Society through Science Matters & Universities*, 2020, 225.

and welcome uncertainty.[21] This will result in suitable and patient-oriented care, in which evidence has a place and a part of the accountability for the care provided. It is important to note that TCM professionals cannot do this alone, but need to do it with patients and other parties involved.

In another way, clinical evidence in TCM does not concern an absolutely ideal truth, but only a relatively proper truth within a well-structured dialectical paradigm. In this case, the TCM paradigm always refers to a particular clinical context. For this reason, TCM's scientific evidence only aims to provide relatively appropriate truths, always adaptable during treatment evolution, so as to ensure a dynamic and timely adjustment to the clinical context of the patient and, as such, being able to help the current patient to transform his own reality and the individualised pathologic dynamism of his disease.[22]

There is another characteristic of TCM evidence: it is based on a high level of focused awareness and an empathetic relationship with the patient. This means that TCM evidence is mainly related to the context and the patient's reality, which also means a continuous process of evaluation, according to mutual learning and the improvement of the patient's condition achieved together.[23]

3.2 KNOWING HOW TO USE TCM SYNDROME'S CONCEPTS AND METHODS

TCM practitioners must know how to use the methods and theories of TCM — the eight principles; the theory of *qi*, blood and organic liquids; the theory of *zang fu*; the theory of the six meridians; the theory

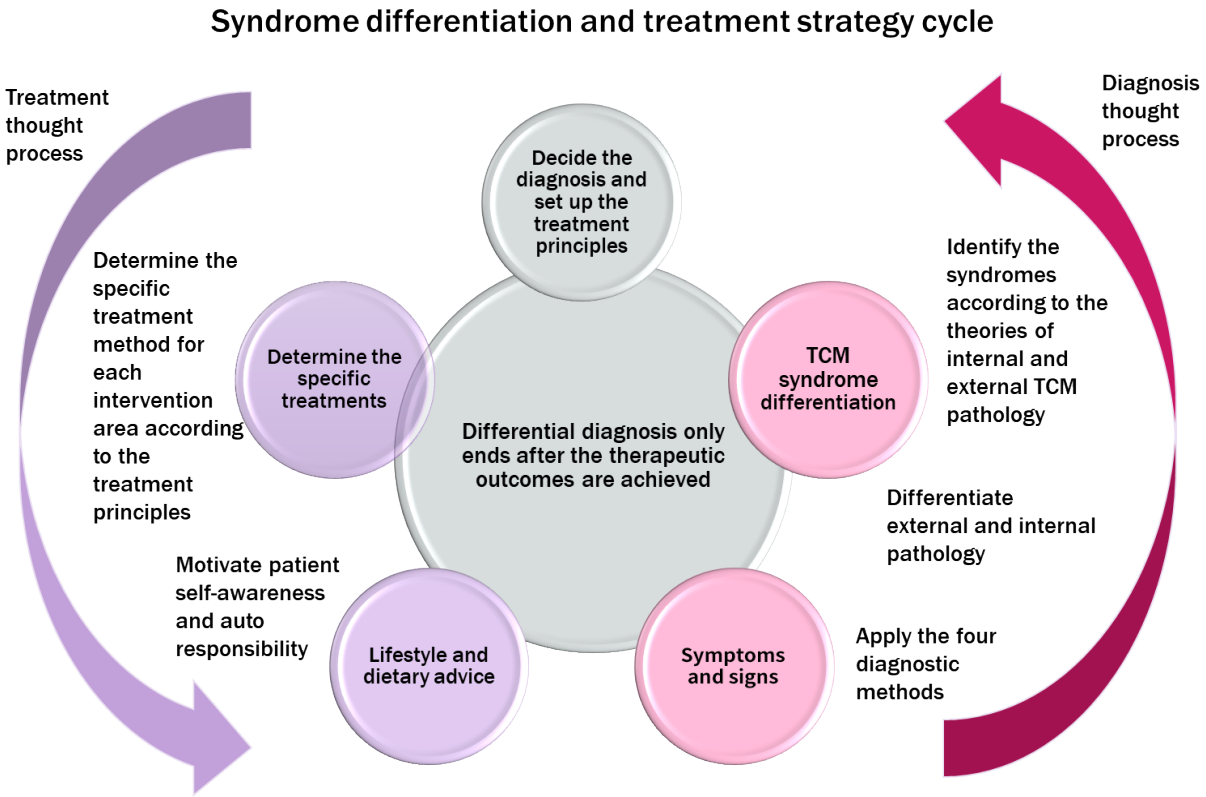

Fig. 4: Syndrome differentiation and treatment strategy cycle. Figure created by the authors.

of the four layers, the theory of the three heaters; the theory of meridians and collaterals; aetiology, and others — in order to evaluate the functional state of the human being in a given moment and context of the patient.

Knowing how to apply is different from just knowing the concepts. There is a huge gap between theories and practice. Training accurate clinical perception (observation, hearing and palpation) and TCM complex thinking skills is a long process that needs self-determined students and clinical teachers ready to welcome them into the heart of their own practice, in a long and meticulous step-by-step process of interaction. Dialectical thinking, namely, not so common in daily life, must be fully developed so as to reveal TCM's specific clinical reality, never still or isolated, but always changing and contextualised.

3.3 THE COURSE OF IDENTIFICATION OF SYNDROMES AND DETERMINATION OF TREATMENT

Differential diagnosis and treatment principles in TCM comprise two different but interrelated specific methods of thinking that will guide the whole diagnostic and therapeutic decision process. This process can be seen as a circle (Fig. 4) consisting of different phases or steps represented in the outer circle. Those steps influence each other and the latter steps start only after the previous therapeutic outcomes have been assessed.

The phase of collecting symptoms and signs that belong to the diagnostic thought process refers to the assessment of clinical signs and symptoms by a correct application of the four diagnostic methods: the visual examination, the smelling and listening

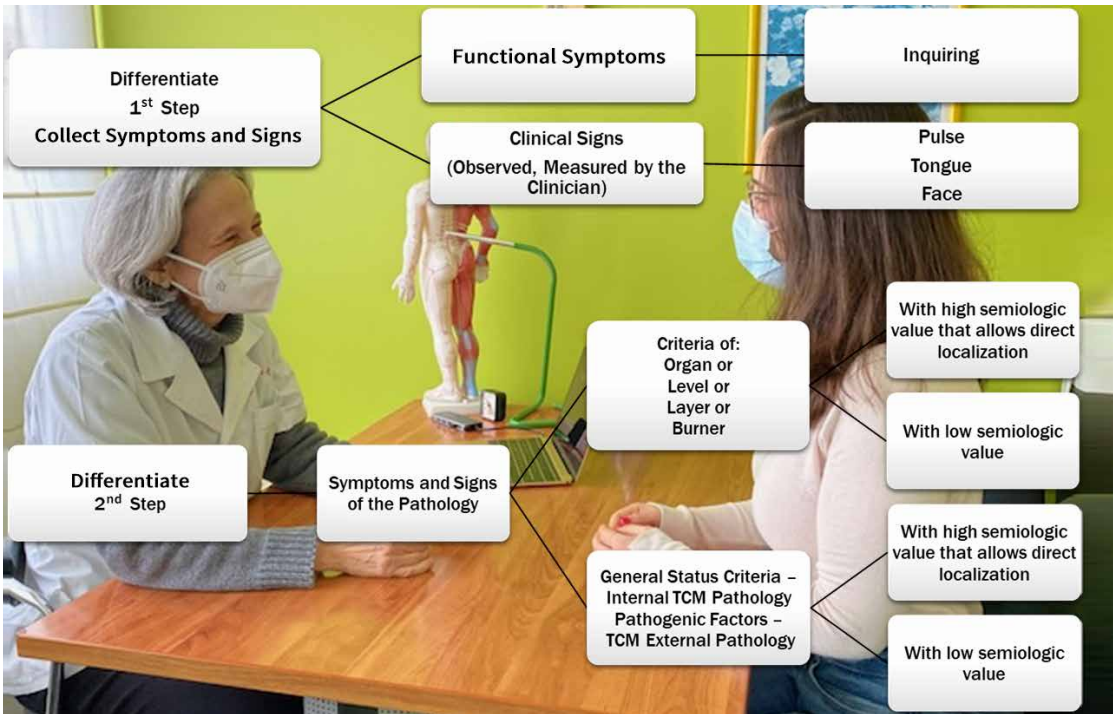

Fig. 5: Step 1 and step 2 of syndrome differentiation (diagnosis thought process). Figure created by the authors.

examination, the inquiring examination, and the palpation examination.[24]

After the examination step, it is important to analyse the fundamental aspects of the signs and symptoms in order to distinguish those in general criteria and those in organ criteria, layers, levels or burners, according to the principles of syndrome identification of TCM external and internal theories (Fig. 5).

To conclude the diagnostic phase, it is important to distinguish the symptoms and signs of the highest semiological value from those of the lowest value with respect to both general condition and organ criteria. It is also essential to take into consideration the intrinsic evolution of a syndrome within one organ, level, layer or burner and its extrinsic evolution (evolution that passes to another organ or level). As a matter of this, in this complex and dynamic development, it is crucial to differentiate primary syndromes from secondary syndromes, superficial syndromes from fundamental syndromes, and chronic syndromes from acute syndromes, in order to design an appropriate therapeutic strategy.

The next phases related to treatment decisions are governed by the treatment thought process. The content of this process is extremely rich since it includes the theories, principles, methods and a compilation of medicinal agents, protocols and systems from different areas of TCM intervention.

The first step begins with the selection of TCM intervention based on the treatment principles that is established by the diagnostic process and the patient's context and motivation. Usually, according to the established treatment prinples, the selection of intervention includes a strategy of combination of the following treatments: acupuncture, herbal medicine, *tui na* and therapeutic *tai chi* and *chi kung*. For example, in a case of liver *qi* depression and liver blood deficiency accompanying by muscular

pain and cold limbs, we can regulate the liver *qi* depression with acupuncture, tonify the liver blood with herbal medicine, move *qi* and blood and regulate *jing luo* (經絡) with *tui na*.

The second step is the selection of treatment methods within a specific area. If it is in the area of herbal medicine, the selection should include a formula, patented or new, with its dose frequency and administration plan according to the principles of treatment.

The third step has to do with daily life and dietary advice. Based on the verified needs in the light of the diagnosis and the general determined therapeutic principles, it is important to give the patients guidelines on their lifestyle, exercise and diet to enable them not only to improve the treatment effects, but also to prevent relapses or worsening of the condition observed. It is also vital to give the patient a self-awareness of his health and make him autonomous in the direction of a healthy lifestyle according to his constitution and life context.

Syndrome differentiation finishes only when the first results of treatment are assessed. The process of syndrome differentiation is a gradual understanding of the disease and health condition of the patient and his reaction to it.

4. TRADITIONAL CHINESE MEDICINE SCHOOL OF LISBON'S EXPERIENCE IN TCM SYNDROME DIFFERENTIATION DIAGNOSIS AND THE ICD-11'S IMPLICATIONS

In order to get access to the common therapeutic principles that direct clinical interventions, the primary research goals in TCM clinical diagnosis aim to attain a plateau of theoretical patient description with clinical relevance. In which direction should we conduct the interrogation and data collection in general? Towards the nearest, most accessible and comprehensive zone of clinically relevant diagnostic formulation.

This zone corresponds to the first level of combination of the most basic concepts of traditional Chinese medicine and naturally generates most of the aforementioned basic syndromes, which thus assume a status of theoretical priority in diagnosis, since these syndromes are antecedents in the logical-deductive chain that leads from the most general and abstract concepts to the first and basic clinically relevant syndromes.

The first group of basic concepts are those included in the 'eight diagnostic rules' (*yin*/*yang*; hot/cold; internal/external and deficiency/excess). The pair 'internal/external' is used to define two types of syndromes which correspond to different sub-areas of TCM theory, with each of them evoked in specific clinical conditions: those related to the internal (lifestyle) or external (environmental) factors in the etiopathogenetic origin of the syndrome in their presence.

The present article aims to focuse on internal syndromes and its clinical and theoretical environments. After the TCM internal pathology has been recognised, the pair 'emptiness/fullness' becomes the key to the combination of basic concepts in next level — this pair of contraries is applied to '*yin*/*yang*' and to the three constituents present in every part of human body that have direct systemic impacts: *qi* (the dynamic energy), blood and body fluids. Not every possible combination among these concepts is relevant to clinical theories of internal pathology. Emptiness is applied to *yin*, *yang*, *qi*, and blood; fullness is applied to body fluids and a special condition of *qi* or blood called stagnation; hot or cold comes from the first level of concepts (the eight rules) and joins the combination of concepts in this level. Here we have the first-level clinically relevant syndromes, related to the referred general status criteria, designated by some as general syndromes.

The next level is the combination of the previously relevant combinations with the five organs and viscera, whose imbalances are always related to one or more general syndromes, showing the intrinsic systemic orientation of TCM. Once the symptoms and signs of organ/viscera imbalance are diagnosed, a

complete picture of basic syndromes can be attained: internal or external, general status syndrome or organ/viscera syndrome with their specific signs and symptoms. In a unified and coherent vision, currently, we just call syndrome. This level connects directly with the concepts used to define TCM's therapeutic principles and applicable strategies, and it is critical for phytotherapy.

When we arrive at this point, it becomes possible to prescribe suitable acupuncture, *tui na*, phytotherapy or TCM diet, etc. However, there is still a further step which is related to the assessment of the patient's idiosyncrasies within his syndrome's framework. There are two options to deal with these particularities. One is to take them into consideration for the treatment strategy without changing the syndrome's name. The other one is to find a more precise syndrome designation, usually by dividing one basic syndrome into different sub-types or by combining different basic syndromes present in the patient's body under one unique designation. On one hand, this incursion out of the basic syndromes allows more accurate syndrome designations. On the other hand, it creates a centrifugal cloud of designations that is difficult to master, adding unnecessary complexity and harming communication between different schools and orientations within TCM.

From our point of view, it is necessary to refocus the taxonomic classification of syndromes on clinical reality, specifically on the basic concepts and syndromes that are critical for moving from diagnosis to therapeutic principles.

Therefore, it would be desirable to have a classification that does not start, academically, with syndromes that represent all possible combinations of the general concepts, because some of them are inapplicable for guiding clinical practice. Syndromes that are considered to be clinically operational in the ICD-11 should serve as the classification's focal point and guide relevant research: they come more directly from the clinically relevant combinations of basic concepts in internal diagnosis (eight rules of diagnosis, *yin*, *yang*, *qi*, blood, organic fluids, organs and viscera); they enable the generation of other syndromes by allowing the division of those syndromes into more specific syndromes or by allowing the aggregation of those syndromes into compound syndromes; they are constantly present in clinical reality and conceptually suitable to connect to common therapeutic principles.

Moreover, this taxonomy could also be the guidelines for the diagnostic investigation of each patient, because the investigation has the priority to clarify the patient's position within the framework of these basic syndromes. From this point onward, if necessary, we would move on to syndromes with their own designations, or to composite syndromes, aggregating two or more basic syndromes under a single designation.

As a result, the ICD-11's exhaustive presentation of all syndromes that might result from the combination of fundamental Chinese medicinal concepts has the drawback of introducing a significant number of syndromes that are neither present nor relevant in clinical practice into the classification, nor allow the linkage between the diagnosis and normal therapeutic principles, namely those contained in the herbal formulae of traditional Chinese medicine. The 'Occam's razor' is an applicable concept to the construction and formulation of theories in general. It was expressed by the mediaeval thinker through the Latin expression '*inutilia truncat*' (eliminate what is useless). In our opinion, it also applies to the TCM part of the ICD-11.

With the focus on fundamental syndromes with clinical significance, the classification itself should be able to suggest the key components in the typical TCM diagnostic roadmap: 1. Make a diagnosis with the application of the eight rules, ascertain if the situation is based on an internal or external nature and confirm

if there is a deficiency or excess of the basic factors — *yin*, *yang*, *qi*, blood and body fluids, thus being able to define what we call general status syndromes; 2. Explore the signs and symptoms of the five organs to ascertain which are unbalanced in conjunction with the general imbalance diagnosed in the previous procedure; 3. Verify if viscera is involved in the designation of the basic syndromes under TCM's convention; 4. Establish which basic syndrome(s) is/are present; 5. Verify if there are specific characteristics that justify the use of composite or analytic designations.

In order to compare research results and create a standardised guideline for each syndrome's main symptoms, it is very urgent to define the symptoms that have the highest semiologic values (the greatest statistical probability) for each basic syndrome.

In fact, only a classification dedicated to the clinically relevant basic syndromes and the specification of their reference symptoms can completely eliminate the possibilities of error or choices by mere chance within the ICD-11.

Currently, the best available bases (with greater reliability and values) for this classification of syndromes are the various studies of standardisation of syndromes that are carried out by groups of universities and hospitals in the People's Republic of China. The reason is that these studies are based on extensive statistical research.

For a better use of the ICD-11 in the diagnostic process, it is important to mention the development plan for standardisation of TCM (2011–2020) as pointed out by Wang and others in 2016.[25] The development plan has already been published and could be transformed and explained at an international level. It could upgrade and uniformise the criteria followed by the Traditional Chinese Medicine School of Lisbon and bring orderly development for TCM standardisation around the world. Table 1 gives an example of the reorganisation of the current ICD-11 syndrome divisions according to their levels.

From 1994 until the present, the ESMTC has developed in its clinic centre a diagnostic teaching methodology based on specific criteria for TCM syndrome differentiation's standardisation created by a group of Chinese universities and transmitted by Nguyen and others in Madrid in 1988.[26]

This system presents 33 basic syndromes, in which 15 are for deficient conditions and 18 are for excessive conditions. In addition, this system has a consistent structure and nomenclature that include specific and distinct signs and symptoms for each syndrome and a clear criterion for distinguishing higher and lower semiological symptoms and signs.

Note that only some of the possible combinations between general status syndromes and organ/viscera syndromes are considered in this system, as shown in Table 2. According to TCM's basic theories, the specific functions of organs and viscera create special links between each one of them and different factors that define the general status. The result is that the imbalance of an organ usually connects to specific general status imbalances, and vice versa, as can be seen in common TCM clinical practice.

The diagnosis of these basic syndromes allowed the school clinic to recognise and diagnose a large number of other syndromes that are derived from these main ones. This prolonged and uninterrupted clinical experience, accompanied by constant adjustment from theory to practice and from practice to theory, has allowed the ESMTC to apply, for over 25 years, an efficient and complete diagnostic system based on 33 well-defined basic deficiency and excess syndromes from the 35 referred (Table 2). As a consequence of this methodology, it has been possible for hundreds of Portuguese TCM specialists to utilise a clear syndrome differentiation nomenclature in clinical trials and compare the results from different research projects so as to obtain better communication and experiential exchanges.

With this methodology, a teacher of the ESMTC

Table 1: Example of reorganisation of the ICD-11 syndrome divisions according to their levels

ICD-11-Traditional Medicine Patterns (TM1) — Organ System Patterns (TM1) ***Liver SF 50–59* and *SF 5A–5Z***		
1st Level General Status Syndromes	2nd Level Basic Syndromes (TM1)	3rd Level Combined Syndromes and Subtype Syndromes
Zang fu		
Deficiency Syndromes	**Commonly seen**	
Yin deficiency	SF50 Liver *yin* deficiency	SF5H Liver and kidney *yin* deficiency
Blood deficiency	SF54 Liver blood deficiency	SF5J Disharmony of liver and spleen systems
		SF5K Disharmony of liver and stomach systems
	Not commonly seen	
Qi deficiency	SF53 Liver *qi* deficiency	
Yang deficiency	SF5D Gallbladder *qi* deficiency	
	SF51 Liver *yang* deficiency	
		SF56 Liver wind stirring the interior
Excess Syndromes	**Commonly seen**	SF59 Liver heat stirring wind
Qi stagnation	SF57 Liver *qi* stagnation	SF5L Liver fire invading the stomach system
Fire	SF58 Liver fire flaming upward	SF5M Liver fire invading the lung system
Phglegm-heat		SF5A Liver-gallbladder dampness-heat
Excess heat	SF5F Gallbladder heat	SF5E Gallbladder depression with phlegm harassment
	Not so commonly seen	
Excess cold	SF5G Gallbladder cold	
Jing luo	SF5C Liver meridian cold stagnation	
	SF5B Liver meridian dampness-heat	

Table created by the authors.

wrote a master's thesis titled *Epidemiological Profile of Demand of Users of Traditional Chinese Medicine in the Greater Lisbon Region*.[27] This thesis of the Nova University of Lisbon, based on 478 cases of the clinical centre of the ESMTC, could present a differentiation of syndromes among the 33 referred basic syndromes and classify them in the ICD-11. This thesis could also correlate the syndromes described in the chapter of Traditional Medicine with the chapters about Western medicinal concepts (Chapters 1 to 25) in the ICD-11 advocated by the WHO in 2019.[28]

CONCLUSION

The emergence of new technologies and the transition to the digital age have led to the development of various digital platforms that use TCM diseases' designations and traditional TCM syndromes from the ICD-11 for medical reporting.

Table 2: General status and 33 basic TCM syndromes out of the 35 adapted from Nguyen and others in 1988

TCM General Status Syndromes	TCM Basic Syndromes	
Deficiency Syndromes	**Deficiency Syndromes**	**Excess Syndromes**
		Blood stasis in the Heart
Qi deficiency	Heart *Qi* deficiency	*Qi* stagnation in the Liver
Yang deficiency	Lung *Qi* deficiency	Food stasis in the Stomach
Blood deficiency	Spleen *Qi* deficiency	Excess Heat in the Heart
Yin deficiency	Heart *Yang* deficiency	Excess Heat in the Lung
	Spleen *Yang* deficiency	Excess Heat (Fire) in the Liver
	Kidney *Yang* deficiency	Excess Heat in the Stomach
Excess Syndromes	Small Intestine *Yang* deficiency	Excess Heat in the Blood
	Heart Blood deficiency	Excess Cold in the Lung
Qi stagnation	Liver Blood deficiency	Excess Cold in the Stomach
Blood stagnation	Heart *Yin* deficiency	Dampness in the Spleen
Food stagnation	Lung *Yin* deficiency	Phlegm in the Lung
Excess heat	Liver *Yin* deficiency	Phlegm in the Heart
Excess cold	Stomach *Yin* deficiency	Phlegm-Heat in the Lung
Damp-phlegm	Kidney *Yin* deficiency	Phlegm-Heat in the Gallblader
Damp-phlegm-heat	Large Intestine *Yin* deficiency	Dampness-Heat in the Small Intestine
		Dampness-Heat in the Large Intestine
		Dampness-Heat in the Bladder

Table created by the authors.

In this article, after presenting the most important bases of the diagnostic process that leads to syndrome differentiation and coinsidering the use of the ICD-11 for proper recording, the following measures are suggested:

- The development of an internationally standardised criteria system for the nomenclature and the definition of the general status syndromes and *zang fu* syndromes and their respective symptoms and signs.
- The improvement of TCM diagnostic practice based on this standardisation.
- The presentation of the ICD-11 patterns according to traditional medicinal standards, using a dynamic taxonomy that can support TCM's own differential diagnosis and teaching process.

These measures can also serve to standardise the diagnostic procedure for TCM pattern differentiation

in research. Moreover, it could also facilitate the standardisation between TCM differential diagnosis and Western systemic pathologies defined in the ICD-11. All these standardisation should start in clinical practice and return to it, using the means and methods of validation being considered the most appropriate. RC

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Scientific Insights into Ginseng

Simon Ming Yuen Lee*, Ai-Hua Lin**

ABSTRACT: The global ginseng market, including *Panax ginseng* (Asian ginseng), *Panax quinquefolium L*. (American ginseng) and *Panax notoginseng* (Sanqi ginseng), was estimated to be worth over 2000 million US Dollars. Although these three ginseng species have very close phylogenetic relationships, interestingly, their biological functions and therapeutic uses are quite different. Unlike Asian ginseng and American ginseng, the root of *P. notoginseng*, named *Sanqi* or *Tienchi* in Chinese, can only be cultivated in a highly specific mountainous area constituting about 8300 hectares in Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China, and thus is less well known worldwide. Nevertheless, Sanqi ginseng is very popular in China and is commonly used in foods and pharmaceutical products for management of trauma and ischaemic cardiovascular health problems. A recent biomedical research on Sanqi ginseng provides a strong scientific rationale supporting the historical uses of Sanqi ginseng in the prevention and treatment of cardiovascular diseases. Moreover, the discovery of a family of major bioactive ingredients, named ginsenosides, present in these ginseng species which have diverse biological activities, provides insight into why these ginsengs exhibit very different therapeutic effects. However, long-term domestic cultivation has rendered Sanqi ginseng highly vulnerable to diseases and pathogen infections. The issue of ensuring a sustainable supply of Sanqi ginseng and preserving this unique medicinal plant urgently requires our attention.

KEYWORDS: Ginseng; *Panax notoginseng*; *Sanqi*; Cardiovascular disease; Yunnan.

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Fig. 1: Morphology of *Panax notoginseng* collected from a cultivated field in Wenshan (文山), Yunnan Province, China. *Panax notoginseng* is called *Sanqi* (三七) in Chinese, which refers to its unique appearance of 'seven leaves and three branches'. Photo by the authors.

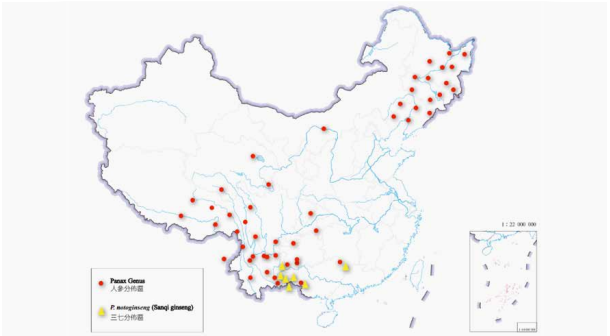


Fig. 2: Geographical distribution of *Panax genus* and *Panax notoginseng* in China. The inset map is modified by the authors based on a map numbered GS(2016)2884 from the *Biaozhun ditu fuwu xitong* (標準地圖服務系統 System of Standard Map Service) of the National Administration of Surveying, Mapping and Geoinformation of China. Source: http://bzdt.ch.mnr.gov.cn/

1. *PANAX NOTOGINSENG*: FOLK TALES IN CHINA

1.1 A BRIEF COMPARISON OF *PANAX NOTOGINSENG* WITH OTHER COMMON *PANAX GINSENG* SPECIES

Panax notoginseng is a highly valued ginseng species in the genus Panax, the family of Araliaceae.[1] The root and rhizome of *P. notoginseng* are famous *Chinese materia medica*, named *Sanqi* (三七) or *Tienchi* (田七) in Chinese, which is commonly used in the treatment of trauma and ischaemic cardiovascular diseases. *Panax notoginseng*, together with *Panax ginseng C. A. Meyer* (*P. ginseng*) and *Panax quinquefolius L.* (*P. quinquefolius*) which are commonly called Asian ginseng and American ginseng, respectively, constitute an important medicinal genus in East Asia. The global ginseng market, including *P. ginseng*, *P. quinquefolius* and *P. notoginseng*, was estimated to be worth over 2000 million US Dollars.[2]

Among these three ginseng species, *P. ginseng* is the most well known and popular worldwide. *P. ginseng* has been consumed for over 1600 years and is widely distributed in China, Russia, Korea and Japan. The flesh and dried root of ginseng are strong tonic and adaptogen that have beneficial effects on blood pressure and heart function. Besides, they can alleviate neurasthenia, physical weakness, stomachic, diuretic and euphoric problems. It is believed that wild *P. notoginseng* has been consumed for over 3000 years in Asia and cultivation of it has been practised for about 400 years in China. Many Chinese physicians have hailed *P. notoginseng* as 'the sacred plant of the South' and 'the golden immortal'. Unlike *P. ginseng* and *P. quinquefolius*, which are widely distributed across continents in the Northern Hemisphere, *P. notoginseng* is mainly cultivated in mountainous areas at an altitude of 1200–2000 metre around 23.5°N and 104°E; about 8300 hectares of the cultivated area is present in Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).[3] Yunnan is located in southwestern China and has been well preserved due to its famous cultural diversity (25 ethnic minority groups) as well as unique biodiversity and natural geography where some sites are classified as UNESCO cultural heritage.

P. ginseng (Asian ginseng), *P. quinquefolium L.* (American ginseng) and *P. notoginseng* (Sanqi ginseng) are all herbaceous plants belonging to the same genus according to taxonomic classification, and their flowers and stems have a very similar appearance; interestingly, however, their biological functions and therapeutic uses are quite different (Table 1). *P. ginseng* is commonly used to promote vitality and aid recovery from weakness

after illness. According to traditional Chinese medicine philosophy, *P. quinquefolium L.* is mainly used to nourish *yin* energy, clear away heat and also replenish vital energy; however, it seems to be less effective than *P. ginseng*. The dried root of *P. notoginseng* is mainly used as food and in Chinese medicine to resolve blood stasis, promote blood circulation and stop wound bleeding. For example, *P. notoginseng*-based *Xuesaitong* injection is one of the most popular Chinese medicines prescribed in China for the prevention and treatment of ischaemic cardiovascular diseases.[4] The scientific basis for the differential biological effects of these three phylogenetically closely related ginseng species will be elaborated upon in this article.

Table 1: Comparison of *P. notoginseng* with two major ginseng species

English Name	Chinese Name	Traditional Indication
Panax ginseng **(Asian Ginseng)**	人參 (*ren shen*)	Revitalise and aid recovery from weakness after illness.
Panax quinquefolium L. **(American ginseng)**	西洋參 (*xi yang shen*)	Nourish *yin* energy and clear away heat; replenish vital energy (but less effective than Asian ginseng).
Panax notoginseng **(Sanqi ginseng)**	三七 (*san qi*)	Stop bleeding, dissolve blood stasis, and relieve pain.

Source: Wan et al., *Journal of Pharmaceutical and Biomedical Analysis*, Volume 41, April 2006, 274–279.

1.2 *P. NOTOGINSENG* HAS LONG BEEN USED AS A TRADITIONAL FOOD AND MEDICINAL CUISINE IN CHINA

P. notoginseng is ubiquitous in daily life in China. In Chinese herbal pharmacies in Macao, the raw dried root of *P. notoginseng* can be easily found and purchased, it is commonly used for preparing soup or decoctions in the home (Fig. 3). A soup containing with chicken stew or steamed pigeon has traditionally been prepared as a tonic remedy in Yunnan Province and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region of China.[5] '*P. notoginseng* steam pot chicken' has long been a popular tonic in Yanshan, Yunnan Province, China. This delicious meal is prepared by stuffing the *P. notoginseng* roots inside a cleaned chicken, followed by soaking it in water and steaming it for a few hours. The natural flavour and fresh scent of the stewed chicken remain and the soup is light and sweet. In addition, many varieties of over-the-counter (OTC) pharmaceutical products containing *P. notoginseng* as the major active ingredient, such as atopical medicinal oils for bruises and injuries, can be found in pharmacies (Western drug stores) in Macao (Fig. 4), while some *P. notoginseng* pharmaceutical products can only be prescribed by a physician or obtained in hospital.

1.3 USE OF *P. NOTOGINSENG* IN REGISTERED PHARMACEUTICAL PRODUCTS

P. notoginseng is the main active ingredient in several hundred proprietary Chinese medicine and pharmaceutical products in China. A search on the official website of the National Medical Products Administration by using the keyword '*Panax notoginseng*' yielded 596 hits in the prescription drug category, 19 in the non-prescription Chinese medicinal

Fig. 3: Raw dried roots of *P. notoginseng* in Chinese herbal pharmacies in Macao, China. Photo by the authors.

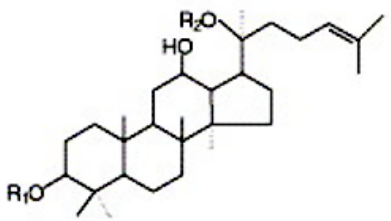
Fig. 4: Different OTC medicinal oil and pharmaceutical products of *P. notoginseng* available in pharmacies in Macao, China. Photo by the authors.

Table 2: The number of different registered ginseng products according to the National Medical Products Administration

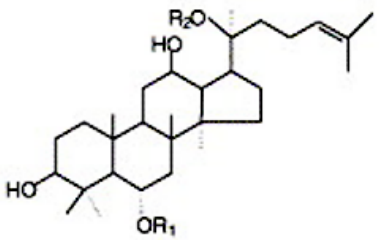
	Number of registered products		
Search keywords	***P. notoginseng (Sanqi)***	***P. ginseng***	***P. quinquefolium L.***
Domestic drugs	596	791	17
Non-prescription Chinese medicine products	19	36	5
Health foods	171	468	811

Source: Data retrieved and collated from the official website of the National Medical Products Administration. https://www.nmpa.gov.cn/

product category, and 171 in the registered health dietary supplement category (Table 2). Notable examples of registered *P. notoginseng* pharmaceutical products in China include *Panax notoginseng* tablets, *Panax notoginseng* Dangshen tablets, *Panax notoginseng* honey essence oral liquid, *Panax notoginseng* hemostasis tablets, *Panax notoginseng* hemostasis capsules, *Panax notoginseng* medicinal tablets, *Panax notoginseng* triol saponin, *Panax notoginseng* flower granules, *Panax notoginseng* honey essence, *Panax notoginseng* capsules, *Panax notoginseng* Ning San for blood disorders, indomethacin *Panax notoginseng* ice tablets, etc. Pharmaceutical products containing *P. notoginseng* are mostly used to improve blood circulation, resolve blood stasis, or relieve swelling and pain. *P. notoginseng* is often used in combination with other Chinese medicinal plants to enhance the therapeutic effect. In addition to typical bulk tablets,



20S-Protopanaxadiol (R_1=R_2=H)



20S-Protopanaxatriol (R_1=R_2=H)

Saponin	R1	R2	M.W.
Rb1	-glc(2-1)glc	-glc(6-1)glc	1108
Rb2	-glc(2-1)glc	-glc(6-1)arap	1078
Rb3	-glc(2-1)glc	-glc(6-1)xyl	1078
Rc	-glc(2-1)glc	-glc(6-1)araf	1078
Rd	-glc(2-1)glc	-glc	946

Saponin	R_1	R_2	M.W.
Re	-glc(2-1)rha	-glc	946
Rg1	-glc	-glc	800
Rf	-glc(2-1)glc	-H	800
R1	-glc(2-1)xyl	-glc	932

Glc= β-D-glucose
Arap= α-L-arabinose (pyranose)
Araf= α-L-arabinose (furanose)
Xyl= β-D-xylose
Rha= α-L-rhamnose
M.W. = Molecular Weight

Fig. 5: Comparison of anti-vascular inflammatory effects of PDS-ginsenosides and PTS-ginsenosides by measuring the expressions of adhesion molecules, including ICAM-1 and VCAM-1, on TNF-activated human coronary artery endothelial cells (HCAECs) at which PDS was more potent than PTS. *Chinese Medicine*, Volume 6, 2011, Article 37. Figure created by the authors.

other forms of products containing *P. notoginseng* as the principal component include granules, delayed-release capsules and suppositories. Although *P. notoginseng* is less well known than *P. ginseng* and *P. quinquefolius* worldwide, it has a comparable market share to *P. ginseng* in China.

1.4 A FEW EXAMPLES OF PHARMACEUTICAL PRODUCTS CONTAINING *P. NOTOGINSENG* WITH OVER A CENTURY OF DOCUMENTED USE

1.4.1 *YUNNAN BAIYAO* (雲南白藥)

Yunnan Baiyao (雲南白藥) can relieve pain and reduce oedema. It was created in 1902 by Dr. Qu Huanzhang, a Yunnanese folk doctor, and was originally known as *Qu Huanzhang Baibao Dan* (曲煥章百寶丹). *Yunnan Baiyao* was referred to as a 'Chinese treasure and sacred remedy for injuries' over a century ago. Yunnan Baiyao Group Co., Ltd. was established on May 3, 1993; its predecessor was Yunnan Baiyao Factory, established in June 1971. Initially, *Yunnan Baiyao* was only offered in powder form but in recent years, with developments in pharmaceutical technology, other forms of *Yunnan Baiyao* have become available, including capsule, tincture, ointment and aerosol forms. In addition, *Yunnan Baiyao* has been listed as a class A drug in China, whereby the prescription, dosage and manufacturing methods are classified and protected as state secrets.

1.4.2 *PIEN TZE HUANG* (片仔癀 *PIAN ZI HUANG*)

Since the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1522–1566), a Chinese medicine formula called *Pien Tze Huang* (片仔癀 *Pian Zi Huang*) has been widely used to treat blood diseases. *Pien Tze Huang* can be used to treat viral hepatitis, carbuncles and furuncles, swelling and poisoning, bruising and injuries, and a variety of inflammatory conditions. Similar to *Yunnan Baiyao*,

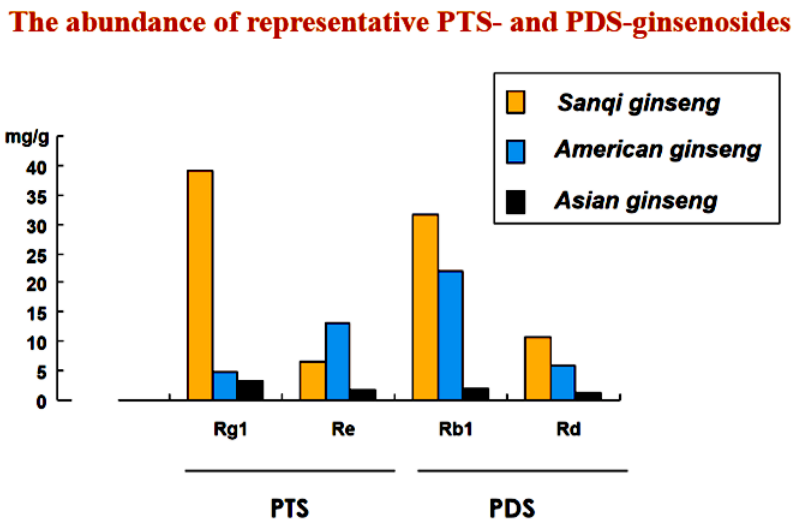


Fig. 6: Comparison of abundance of representative saponins (ginsenosides), PTS (Rg1 and Re) and PDS (Rb1 and Rd), in different ginseng species. *Journal of Pharmaceutical and Biomedical Analysis*, Volume 41, April 2006.

Pien Tze Huang is one of the four Chinese medicinal formulas listed as class A drugs.

2. IDENTIFICATION OF BIOACTIVE COMPONENTS AND PHARMACOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF *P. NOTOGINSENG*

2.1 GINSENOSIDES EXHIBITED HIGH DIVERSITY IN VASCULAR REACTIVITY AMONG DIFFERENT CARDIOVASCULAR DISEASE CONDITIONS IN RECENT PHARMACOLOGICAL STUDIES

Historically, Chinese healers have highly regarded *P. notoginseng* for promoting health and treating many different human diseases. *P. notoginseng* can stop bleeding, promote blood circulation, and relieve pain. According to Li Shizhen's *Ben Cao Gang Mu* (《本草綱目》 *Compendium of Materia Medica*) from the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1590s). From a contemporary biomedical perspective, questions arise such as does 'stopping bleeding' imply that *P. notoginseng* can accelerate wound hemostasis? Does 'dispersing blood' suggest that *P. notoginseng* can dissolve blood clots? Does 'relieving pain' refer to anti-pain or anti-inflammation effects? And what is the bioactive constituent and mechanism of pharmacological activity of *P. notoginseng* according to recent biomedical studies?

The main active ingredient of *P. notoginseng* and other ginseng species is a group of small molecules called ginsenosides, which consist of a triterpenoid skeleton and a glycosyl group.[6] Our group has optimised a methodology for the extraction and isolation of a dozen ginsenosides from *P. notoginseng*, and has also successfully developed pressurised liquid extraction and high-performance liquid chromatography methods for simultaneous determination of nine saponins in different ginseng species. The ginsenosides isolated from *P. notoginseng* and other ginseng species can be divided into two main types according to their skeleton structure: 20-S protopanaxadiol saponin (PDS) and 20S-protopanaxatriol saponin (PTS). Examples of PDS include Rb1 and Rd, while PTS include notoginsenoside R1, ginsenoside Rg1 and Re.

In general, these ginsenosides have shown very different vascular reactivity among different

cardiovascular disease conditions such as atherosclerosis, hypertension, platelet aggregation, angiogenesis imbalance, and vascular ageing. Interestingly, PTS and PDS, as two different major structural skeletons of ginsenoside, exhibit major differences in potency (e.g., weak to strong anti-inflammatory effect) (Fig. 5) and even exert opposing effects (e.g., anti-angiogenesis vs. pro-angiogenesis) based on many published scientific investigations.

2.2 RECENT SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE OF THE EFFECTS OF *P. NOTOGINSENG* ON CARDIOVASCULAR DISEASES

Cardiovascular diseases are the leading cause of death worldwide, killing 17.9 million people each year.[7] Cardiovascular diseases include coronary heart disease, atherosclerosis (AS),[8] cerebrovascular illness, and rheumatic heart disease, among other disorders. AS is a chronic vascular inflammatory condition of the blood arteries which is the major cause of heart diseases and acute myocardial infarction worldwide. In addition, AS is a multifactorial illness characterised by the accumulation of lipid and fibrous elements in the inner wall of the aorta. By recruiting inflammatory cells and releasing cytokines, inflammatory processes play a critical role in the pathological development of AS, leading to plaque rupture, thrombosis and, ultimately, acute cardiovascular events. High saturated fat diets, smoking, hypertension and hyperglycaemia are all common risk factors for coronary artery endothelial diastole, loss of anti-thrombotic properties, and activation of endothelial cells, resulting in chronic vascular inflammation and eventually AS.

Moreover, in our previous study, the anti-atherogenic effect of *P. notoginseng* saponins (PNS) was examined in an atherogenic model of transgenic animals, specifically apolipoprotein E (apo-E)-deficient mice.[9] PNS dissolved in drinking water was administered orally to two treatment groups at doses of 4.0 and 12.0 mg/day/mouse, respectively. After eight weeks, atherosclerosis in the entire aortic area was assessed by using an enface method. Compared with the control group, both the low and high-dose PNS-treated groups showed a significant decrease in atherosclerotic lesions, by 61.4% and 66.2%, respectively ($P < 0.01$). In brief, PNS exerts antiatherogenic activity, at least in part through its lipid-lowering and anti-vascular inflammatory effects. We further investigated the effects of three different saponin fractions (e.g., total saponins, PNS; PDS; and PTS), and two major representative individual ginsenosides, from *P. notoginseng* on the endothelial inflammatory response in vitro and in vivo. Our data demonstrated potential anti-atherogenic effects of the saponin fractions (e.g., PNS, PDS and PTS) and selected individual ginsenosides (e.g., Rg1 and Rb1) in multiple experimental models (Fig. 5).

The initiation of vascular inflammation and rupture of the natural barrier occurs at the vascular endothelium and represents a key pathological phase of atherosclerosis. Inflammatory monocytes migrate from the circulation into the sub-endothelium and take up lipids and produce foam cells in the early phases of vascular inflammation. Adhesion molecules expressed in the vascular endothelial surface, such as intercellular adhesion molecule-1 and vascular cell adhesion molecule-1, play a key role in attracting and mediating monocytes and neutrophils, prompting them to roll along the vascular surface and stick to activated endothelium cells.[10] Monocyte chemoattractant protein-1 (MCP-1) promotes the infiltration of monocytes into the subintima of the aorta wall and the differentiation of the adherent monocytes into macrophages, resulting in an innate immunological response associated with endothelial activation. A phenotypic shift in vascular smooth muscle cells caused by a persistent chronic inflammatory response in the artery wall leads to plaque growth, increased vascular stress and, eventually, an increase in the risk of blood vessel rupture and plaque dissociation.

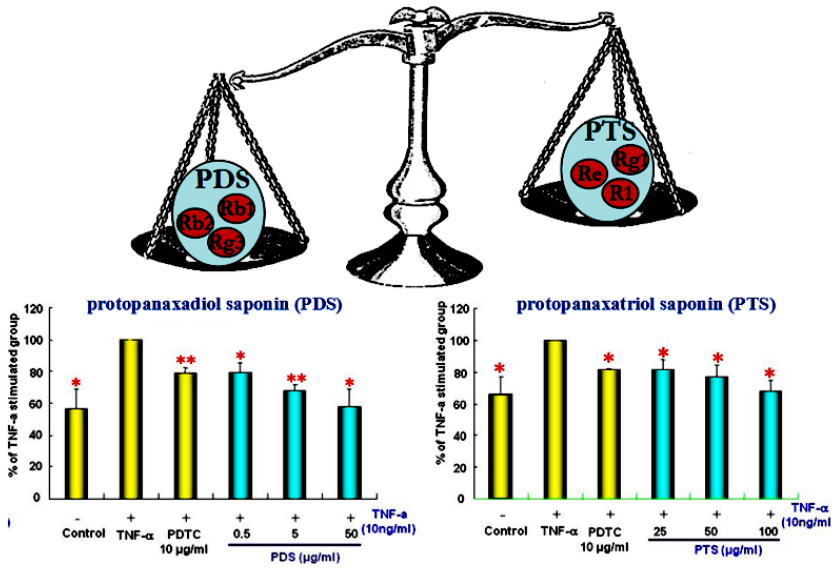


Fig. 7: Opposite angiogenesis effects of PTS-ginsenosides and PDS-ginsenosides. Data from *Phytotherapy Research*, Volume 23, 2009, 677–686 and *Chinese Journal of Integrative Medicine*, Volume 22, June 2016, 420–429. Figure created by the authors.

As mentioned above, three saponin fractions (PNS, PDS and PTS) and two representative components (Rg1 and Rb1) were systematically evaluated and compared in our previous study, in terms of their ability to inhibit monocyte adherence in vitro and the expression of adhesion molecules. PNS, PDS and PTS exhibited differential potencies concerning the inhibition of monocyte adherence to activated endothelial cells in vitro, as well as the mRNA and cell membrane expression of adhesion molecules, including ICAM-1 and VCAM-1, on TNF-activated human coronary artery endothelial cells (HCAECs) in vitro.[11] One of the most important findings was that, among all tested components, PDS was the most effective ginsenoside against TNF-induced monocyte adherence and the expression of adhesion molecules (Fig. 5). The findings provide a scientific rationale for the use of *P. notoginseng* to prevent and treat cardiovascular diseases. Moreover, they provide insight into the potentially unique therapeutic effects of *P. notoginseng* on blood vessels and circulation, which are not obvious in other ginseng species. The different therapeutic effects of *P. notoginseng*, *P. ginseng* and *P. quinquefolius L.* could be attributed to their different chemical compositions (e.g., the ratio of PDS to PTS and abundance of individual ginsenosides) (Fig. 7).

3. GREEN SOLUTIONS FOR A SUSTAINABLE SUPPLY OF *P. NOTOGINSENG*

P. ginseng and *P. quinquefolius L.* are widely distributed across continents in the Northern Hemisphere, while *P. notoginseng* is only cultivated in restricted mountainous areas, in Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China. Long-term domestication has made the *P. notoginseng* population highly genetically homogeneous in a small growing area, resulting in susceptibility to environmental stress and diseases. The entire worldwide supply of commercial *P. notoginseng* is derived solely from cultivation in this small growth area which produces a limited amount of *P. notoginseng* (e.g., about 7.03 million kg of fresh *P. notoginseng* was harvested in late 2005).[12]

The mass cultivation of *P. notoginseng* is severely

Fig. 8: Representative beautiful landscape of Yunnan Province. Source: She Tu Wang (攝圖網): *Dongchuan Hong Tudi* (東川紅土地). https://699pic.com/tupian-500195991.html

hindered by root-rot diseases, which impact both crop yields and farmers. To understand why *P. notoginseng* is vulnerable to pathogen attack, we generated a whole-genome map of *P. notoginseng* and performed data mining on the genome.[13] Approximately 88.89% of the 2.25 Gb of assembled sequences could be unambiguously assigned to 12 chromosomes with a contig N50 of 220.89 kb, thus providing a superior genome assembly. This may shed light on the decrease of disease-resistance genes, which may underlie the poor disease resistance of most *P. notoginseng* cultivars. This study provides insight into the disease resistance of *P. notoginseng*, which could be improved or enhanced by incorporating lost disease-resistance genes into the plant genome using various genetic engineering tools.

The recent advances in synthetic biology technology have rendered the biosynthesis of selected plant secondary metabolites in different microorganisms feasible, by fabricating all the biosynthetic genes involved in the biosynthesis of the target metabolite molecule into a host organism, such as algae or yeast. Synthetic biology is a promising alternative solution for sustainable production and supply of valuable chemicals. Understanding the genes encoding the biosynthesis enzymes involved in the biosynthesis pathway of the various ginsenosides in *P. notoginseng* is crucial for the design and implementation of engineered biosynthesis. Thus, we established a global transcriptome dataset on *P. notoginseng* via RNA-seq analysis.[14] A family of dammarenediol synthase genes encoding the enzymes responsible for the biosynthesis of dammarane group saponins, which are the major bioactive ingredients, was annotated. These biosynthesis gene sequences will serve as important reference genetic markers for improving the breeding and cultivation of *P. notoginseng*.

The root of *P. notoginseng* is the major vegetative part consumed. The flower of *P. notoginseng* (FS) is also commonly consumed as a tea in China. To fully utilise the other vegetative parts of *P. notoginseng*, we studied the chemical composition and biological activities of its flower.[15] Surprisingly, FS was found to be a rich source of ginsenosides and contain a higher level of saponins, particularly PDS-type ginsenosides, than the root. However, detailed pharmacological studies have rarely been conducted on the flower of *P. notoginseng*. Therefore, we performed a study on ginsenosides extracted from the FS and then examined them in the context of a rat myocardial infraction (MI) model. Our results demonstrated that compared to the MI group, FS (25–50 mg/kg/day) induced an approximately 3-fold upregulation of VEGF mRNA expression, and a concomitant increase in blood vessel density in the peri-infarct area of the heart, at 2 weeks post-treatment. Moreover, TUNEL analysis indicated a reduction in the mean apoptotic nuclei per field of the peri-infarct myocardium upon FS treatment. In vitro experiments showed that FS can enhance VEGF-induced migration of HUVECs and activate VEGF-A mRNA transcription, resulting in pro-angiogenic effects. FS administration partially restored vascular insufficiency in zebrafish and enhanced vascular density in myocardial infarction rat heart tissue, suggesting that it is a potent pro-angiogenic agent for ischaemic heart diseases. Overall, our results suggest

Fig. 9: Collection of cultivated coffee beans by Yunnan ethnic minorities. Source: Maja Wallengren, *Spilling the Beans*. http://www.spilling-the-beans.net/coffee-of-the-day-medium-roast-from-chinas-yunnan-province/

that the purified ginsenoside preparation from the flowers of *P. notoginseng* may serve as an alternative preventive and therapeutic agent for cardiovascular diseases.

To identify alternative plant species to *P. notoginseng*, we reviewed the historical uses and cultivation of *P. notoginseng* and analysed the traditional uses, major chemical components, modern pharmacological studies, distribution and morphological characteristics of phylogenetic hemostatic herbs in the Panax genus. *Panax japonicus C. A. Meyer (Zhujieshen)* and *P. japonicus var. major (Zhuzishen)*, which are phylogenetically related Chinese materia medica with similar chemical and pharmacological properties to *P. notoginseng*, have been identified as candidate hemostatic species (based on traditional Chinese medicine theory) and potential substitutes for *P. notoginseng*. In addition, another possible solution is to identify alternative geographical locations to grow *P. notoginseng*, which is currently only cultivated in restricted areas in Yunnan Province, China. Yunnan has a unique red soil enriched in iron oxide, which is also suitable for growing coffee plants (Fig. 8). These unique soil conditions have made Yunnan the dominant coffee production area in China since a trial plantation project of imported coffee started two decades ago (Fig. 9). The feasibility of growing *P. notoginseng* in other countries has not been studied before and merits exploration.

CONCLUSION

P. notoginseng, as a blood-invigorating medicinal plant, plays an important role in traditional Chinese medicine treatment protocols. *P. notoginseng* has been widely used as a medicine by households in China and is a major ingredient in several hundred proprietary Chinese medicine and pharmaceutical products, particularly for the management of cardiovascular diseases. The traditional uses, major chemical components, and results of modern pharmacological studies of *P. notoginseng* have been reviewed in this article. Current scientific evidence strongly echoes the ancient wisdom of our ancestors and supports the use of *P. notoginseng* for treating cardiovascular diseases. Compared to other famous ginseng species like *P. ginseng* and *P. quinquefolius*, *P. notoginseng* is relatively less well known outside China. Although *P. notoginseng* has many valuable properties, for more extensive use of this plant, worldwide additional research on sustainable production and supply is required to improve pathogen resistance in agriculture, utilising the whole plant (flower and leaves), identifying other potential cultivation sites (e.g., Brazil) and substitute Panax species like *Zhujieshen* (竹節參) and *Zhuzishen* (珠子參). RC

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The Scimat Program: A China–Portugal Project

Maria Burguete*

ABSTRACT: The key to success can be seen as adaptability because, nowadays, individuals will face challenges that require skills to adapt to new situations through innovation and change. Therefore, a deeper understanding of different cultural perspectives through training and education in several fields of knowledge can be achieved through Science Matters (Scimat) courses. Science Matters courses are a cooperation project between Portugal and China. The Scimat Project started in 2007 with a series of International Science Matters Conferences. This is a new multidiscipline approach and a new paradigm, providing a unified perspective for the connection among disciplines in arts and humanities, social and medical sciences.

KEYWORDS: Interdisciplinarity; Transdisciplinarity; Knowledge; Science Matters.

INTRODUCTION

For more than two centuries, universities throughout the world have relied on academic disciplines as platforms for generating new knowledge. Indeed, this situation led to the emergence of fantastic new fields of knowledge such as biochemistry, which resulted from the fusion of biology and chemistry; neurochemistry, which emerged from the fusion of neurology and chemistry; neuroarthistory which resulted from the fusion of neurology, arts and history; artificial life which resulted from the synthesis and simulation of living systems or in another two words, complex systems. The closer we get to the future, the more disciplines we will have in a complete symbiosis pointing to interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity.

All honest humans' quests for knowledge are efforts to understand nature, which includes both human and non-human systems, the objects of study in science. Thus, broadly speaking, all these quests are in the scientific domain, though the methods and tools used may be different. For example, literary people mainly use their bodily sensors and brain as information processors, while natural scientists may use measuring instruments and computers. Yet, all these activities could be viewed from a unified perspective: they are scientific developments at varying stages of maturity and have a lot to learn from each other.

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That 'everything in nature is part of science' was well recognised by Leonardo da Vinci, Aristotle and many others. Yet, only recently, with the advent of modern science and experiences gathered in the study of complex systems and other disciplines, that we know how human-related disciplines can be studied scientifically.

Science Matters (Scimat) is a new discipline that treats all human-related matters as part of science. Scimat is about all human-dependent knowledge, wherein humans (the material system of *Homo Sapiens*) are studied scientifically from the perspective of complex systems. Therefore, the emergence of new fields of multidisciplinary knowledge such as Science Matters, a new multidiscipline that provides a unified perspective for all disciplines in the humanities (including arts), social and medical sciences, will supply the content for one of the most interesting and important disciplines in the 21st century.

In this article, the very nature of science will be revealed, followed by an analysis of the 'two cultures' raised by C. P. Snow. Moreover, it will present the demarcation of everything in nature according to human and non-human systems with a brief introduction of complex systems, one of which is the human system. The motivation and concept of Scimat, as well as the three major implications of Scimat will also be introduced.

1. DEVELOPMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

The fragmentation of knowledge into different disciplines is a relatively recent phenomenon which started only a few hundred years ago. As knowledge knows no separation boundaries, the highest degree conferred by universities is still called 'Doctor of Philosophy', but not 'Doctor of Chemistry' (for example), wherein philosophy means 'wisdom' — all kinds of wisdom. This means that there is a material basis underlying the unified intrinsic nature of knowledge.

Knowledge about our universe could be divided into two groups: those unrelated and those related to humans. For instance, Newton's laws of mechanics are *human-independent*. Sooner or later, they would be discovered by any other civilisations; examples of *human-dependent* knowledge are literature and dance: an extraterrestrial intelligence might not dance like us, because it could have three, not two legs.

Human-independent knowledge is commonly called 'natural sciences' while *human-dependent* knowledge is called humanities and social sciences. However, this classification is inappropriate. On one hand, humans are a material system consisting of atoms — the atoms that constitute the system are studied in natural sciences. Consequently, all *human-dependent* knowledge is part of natural sciences, since the objects studied in natural sciences are all material systems.

On the other hand, science is about the study of nature and a mean to understand it in a unified way. Nature consists of everything in the universe — all material systems, humans and non-humans. Therefore, science and natural sciences are thus identical to each other. From this we can conclude: physical sciences include not just physics, but chemistry, biology, and so on. In other words: everything in nature is part of science.

2. THE NATURE OF THE TWO CULTURES

In May 1959, Charles Percy Snow gave the lecture The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution at the Senate House in Cambridge. Forty years later, this lecture was republished by Cambridge University Press in 1998 under the title *The Two Cultures*. The lecture essentially contains three themes:

1. The distinction and non-communication between the scientific culture and the literary culture in the West;
2. The importance of the scientific revolution;
3. The urgency for rich countries to help poor countries.

This lecture generated tremendous interest and discussion around the world. It was the 'two cultures' theme that caused the most controversies and debates. Consequently, for example, how things fall under the influence of gravity can be predicted and measured with high accuracy. This branch of study is now called natural sciences, which involve mostly non-living systems, even though living systems (such as humans and other simpler biological bodies) are not excluded. However, the so-called 'natural sciences' are actually sciences of simple systems while all *human-dependent* studies, such as the humanities or social sciences are about complex systems since, in fact, human being is the most complex system in the universe. As study deepened, specialisation became essential, and we were left with two distinct groups: the writers in the literature profession and what Snow called 'scientists' for those working in 'natural sciences'. Finally, we end up with 'two cultures' — with a gap in between.

3. THE SCIENCE MATTERS COURSES

As an attempt to fill the gap in between, a non-profit association with the four founding partners: Maria Burguete, João Miguel Pais, José Amaral and Raúl Sardinha, and members from a diverse background of interdisciplinarity, started the Science Matters courses for the first time in 2015 at the Institute Bento da Rocha Cabral under the following programmes — 'Introduction', 'Knowledge, Nature, Science and Scimat', 'Science and Scimat, again', 'History', 'Arts', 'Philosophy' and 'How to do good research and to write a scientific article in English'.

The Science Matters courses, covering all topics across humanities, social sciences and medical sciences, aim to help individuals to develop skills that will open new opportunities. This is a great opportunity for university students, students who are about to enter universities as well as the general public, as they are given for free, and they will question situations and statements which we take it for granted, but actually need to be replaced by other approaches that will take us to the 'real' world.

Science Matters courses can be viewed as a rally point to raise the scientific level of humanities and thus to make the world most likely a better and more peaceful place. It is the foundation that lies behind the synthesis of humanities and science. A successful example is Christopher Langton, author of *Artificial Life V: Proceedings of the Fifth International Workshop on the Synthesis and Simulation of Living Systems*. Langton, born in 1948, is an American computer scientist and one of the founders of the field of artificial life. He made numerous contributions to the field and developed several key concepts and suggested that artificial life must not simply become a one-way bridge, borrowing biological principles to enhance our engineering efforts in the construction of life-as-it-could-be. *Artificial Life V* includes retrospective and prospective looks at both artificial and natural lives with the aim of refining the methods and approaches previously discovered into viable, practical tools for the pursuit of science and engineering goals.

4. SCIMAT'S AIM AND VECTORS

Nowadays, we are dealing with a society of knowledge and Science Matters is exactly a representation of a society of knowledge, as we can look at the composition of the International Science Matters Committee with broadest representation possible that contains members from different fields from science to literature, arts and medical sciences.

A Luso–Chinese project inspired by the idea of Science Matters and developed by Maria Burguete (Portugal) and Lui Lam (China) established the philosophy of Science Matters through four vectors:

1. International Conferences of Science Matters (2007 to 2019);
2. The establishment of International Science Matters Committee to advocate the Scimat concept;
3. Science Matters courses since 2015;

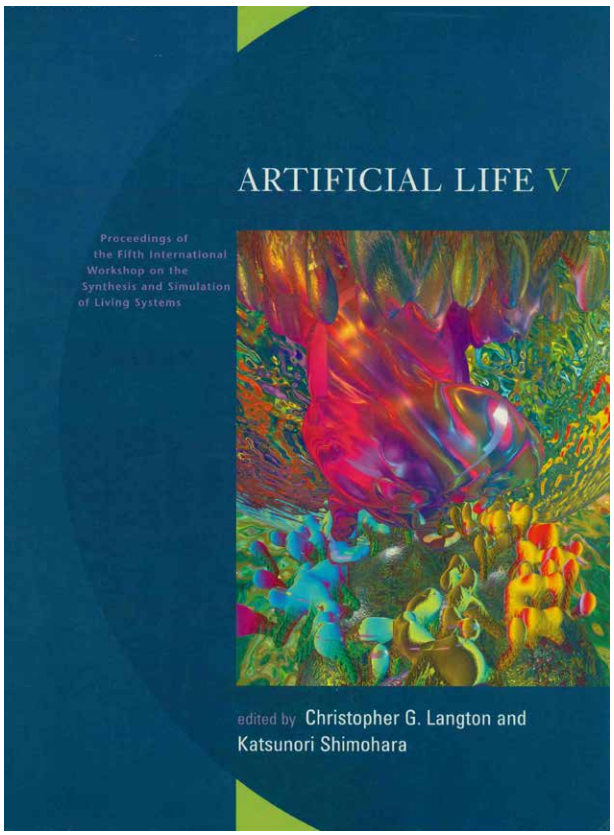

Fig. 1: Book cover of *Artificial Life V: Proceedings of the Fifth International Workshop on the Synthesis and Simulation of Living Systems*, edited by Christopher G. Langton and Katsunori Shimohara, 1997.

4. Editorial projects whose final aim is the publication of a trilingual collection of *Science Matters* series.

There is no doubt that via the four vectors mentioned above, we can see the study of human condition in its various aspects — biological, physical, cultural, social and psychological — can make mankind better prepared to face the real world, a world where change is permanent. Science Matters's perspective is related to the European approach supported by Edgar Morin where the education of the future is based on seven branches of knowledge, namely mistake and illusion, useful knowledge, human condition, earth identity, facing uncertainty, teaching comprehension and the ethics of mankind.

Looking at this approach, we can realise that the European approach of Edgar Morin is much more concerned with ethics and human condition than the American view, mostly supported by bioscience, humanities and communication.

Scientists and scholars will need not only the skills to understand biological systems, but also the skills for using information effectively for the benefit of mankind. Therefore, computational skills are becoming increasingly critical. Above all, interdisciplinary skills are fundamental. Expanded interactions will be required among different branches of science (e.g., biology, computer sciences, physics, mathematics, statistics, chemistry and engineering), between basic and clinical sciences, and among life sciences, social sciences and humanities. Such interactions will be needed at three levels: at the individual level — scientist and scholars will need to be able to bring issues, concerns and capabilities of different disciplines to their specific research; at the collaborative level — researchers will need to be able to participate effectively in interdisciplinary collaborations; and at the disciplinary level — new disciplines like Science Matters will need to emerge at the interfaces between traditional disciplines.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF INTERDISCIPLINARITY

In a recent article published in 2015 by John Hopkins University Press, Harvey Graff addressed that historical case studies offered insights into the future of interdisciplinary scholarship. Curiously, this theme is more often invoked than examined. Therefore, *Undisciplining Knowledge* written by Graff can be considered as a good contribution to the limited existing titles on this topic. Graff's approach adopts an integrated historical, social and contextual framework, which explores in chronological order the development of six pairs of interdisciplines, which are genetic biology and sociology, humanities and communication, social relations and operations research, cognitive science and new histories (emphasising social and cultural factors),

materials science and cultural studies, and bioscience and literacy studies, respectively. In short, Harvey Graff provides a new conceptual framework for considering interdisciplinarity, knowledge production and institutionalisation.

Fifty years ago, novelist C. P. Snow brought up a similar question of the two cultures, but researchers took little notice at the time as he mainly laid the blame on artists and writers for their ignorance of science.[1] In 2014, professor Anne Glover also made a statement to stress the importance of science:

> ***I would also like to convey that science is a fundamental part of our culture in Europe, it's exciting, it's full of opportunity and also fun…We can remind ourselves that Europe, through science, engineering, technology and philosophy, invented the modern world and it's also in our power to invent the future.***[2]

Today, the digital age pervades the artistic culture of our times. Its technologies are used everywhere, from music to graphic arts, and even in literature. In fact, the internet and personal computers have liberated the creative spirit of many modern artists. The only problem is that these advances are not attributed to scientific research, their origin.

Basically, researchers respond to public indifference or hostility by arguing that science is relevant to European citizens in terms of 'value added', where 'value' is the financial return which should, in the future, fund our knowledge society's expensive welfare. If one follows this line, science must be skilful because it is good for the economy. That may be true, but it is far from enough. How can we be sure that the future is better than the past?

Economics, quite rightly, will not colour its judgements about culture. In fact, culture is based on values. Does science fit within this intellectual framework? Since the 1950s, the European and global systems of higher education have been facing structural changes. Until the 1990s, major issues regarding the finance and steering of higher education institutions did not rank high on the political agenda of nearly all Western industrial nations. However, for the past 20 years, we could observe considerable pressure to change them with regards to governance regimes. The driving forces were the rapid massification of higher education, the academisation with changes in the occupational structure, the chronic shortage of public funding as well as the growing pressure on institutions to fulfil better the demands of knowledge-based economies.[3] Reform efforts, as mentioned by Alan Scott in 2010, paradoxically introduced in the name of autonomy, and better reading of academic degrees, were aiming to increase efficiency and guarantee improvements in the quality and quantity of the core tasks of research and teaching. Perceptions underwent continuous revisions with regard to the driving forces affecting the patterns of higher education systems, reflecting the absence of a deep discussion about the true meaning of universities and their social functions.

In 1998, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) became an ardent advocate for the substitution of the term of 'higher education' by 'tertiary education' in the international higher education policy arena where the name 'university' was almost vanished. It also stresses several stages of learning. After 12 years of schooling, students may enrol in a third stage of education prior to embarking on regular employment. I think that 'Bologna' is a significant case study. From the political anguish of the then French minister of education, Claude Allegre, an agreement for internal use was signed with three other ministers of education — the ministers of education of Italy, Germany and the United Kingdom — at the celebration of the 800th anniversary of the Sorbonne in 1998. Later, followed by the bureaucratic intervention of the European Union, that agreement became a fire that crossed its own borders and spread throughout

Europe. Political institutions, not universities (although they gave their acquiescence), took the lead in what was known by the 'Bologna Process'.

The current transformations of the role of universities are, above all, determined by the decline of the national cultural mission that has so far provided its *raison d'etre*. Moreover, the process of economic globalisation brought with it the relative decline of the nation state as the principal instance of the reproduction of capital and knowledge around the world. In turn, and because of this, universities are either becoming transnational bureaucratic enterprises, or linked to transnational government bodies such as the European Union or operated independently by analogy with a transnational enterprise.

It is now part of the common perception that the world is changing rapidly and unpredictably as a result of globalisation. The rapid interdependence of political forces, the interpenetration of cultures and mass populations of education are sources for questioning today's institutions. The diverse and heterogeneous society of the new Millennium, characterised by internal social crises, prolonged democratic crises, environmental crises, unsustainable practices, as well as the threats to institutions by globalisation, poses questions on what role universities should play in today's society.

The place that universities occupy in the society is no longer clear, as well as the exact nature of the society. Intellectuals cannot afford to ignore the change taking place in the universities' institutional structures. As a result, one may ask whether prevalent university managerial models are still justified. We must not forget that European universities gave birth to the humanism of the Renaissance, drove the Reformation, led the raise of the empirical science, promoted the emergence of critical history and contributed to the birth of one of the most important institutional models of the modern world — the research-based university — as a pillar of the creation of new knowledge.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion is that a new humanism will be required in the 21st century to avoid regressive forces emerging under various disguises, ranging from economic to political and religious pressures. The 'open society' is our inheritance, but we must fight to preserve it, or its advantages could all too easily disappear.

The expansion of universities goes beyond their old cores as elite institutions is embodied in a continuously growing number of students which can be seen as a manifestation of knowledge extension claims. Such demand permeated in societies is fueled by knowledge-based economies and job markets. Universities have become accessible to people from multiple social backgrounds, providing the opportunity for social groups which were previously excluded from university education. We may also list in the positive side the increase of access to diversity, pluralism and other complex elements embedded in culture. From this perspective, the enlarged access can be interpreted as the democratisation of universities.

An institution remains functional only if it vitally embodies its inherent idea. Should its spirit evaporate, an institution will be petrified into something merely mechanical like a soulless organism reduced to dead matter. And universities cannot even continue to form whole once the unifying bonds of their corporate consciousness dissolve. The functions a university fulfils for society must preserve an inner connection with the goals, motives and actions of its members.

Finally, a quote from Newman's transcript in discourse five of his book, titled *The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated*, where he expressed the following belief:

> ***It is a great point then to enlarge the range of studies which a University professes, even for the sake of the students; and, though they cannot pursue every subject which is open***

> ***to them, they will be the gainers by living among those and under those who represent the whole circle. This I conceive to be the advantage of a seat of universal learning… An assemblage of learned men, zealous for their own sciences, and rivals of each other, are brought, by familiar intercourse and for the sake of intellectual peace, to adjust together the claims and relations of their respective subjects of investigation. They learn to respect, to consult, to aid each other.***[4]

In a world where material acquisition and consumption are becoming the dominant ethos, there is an urgent need to bring spirituality to the core of humans' endeavour. We are at verge of a change in the model of civilisation, which can hardly be built from the old paradigm of a system that has reached its limits.[5] In this respect, universities will have a central role in leading the creation and promotion of a new thinking susceptible to support the creation of new knowledge more effective in its social uses. To achieve this goal, universities must become more consciously and intentionally active in anticipating, shaping, intervening and guiding these changes towards a better world. RC

NOTES

1 C. P. Snow and Stefan Collini, *The Two Cultures*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, 1959; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1–21. Citations refer to the Cambridge University Press edition.

2 "Chief Scientific Adviser," European Comission, archived November 1, 2014, https://ec.europa.eu/archives/commission_2010-2014/president/chief-scientific-adviser/.

3 Peter Maassen, "System Diversity in European Higher Education," in *Higher Education Research and Policy*, ed. Marek Kwiek and Andrzej Kurkiewicz (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), 1:79–97.

4 John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated* (Gutenberg ebook, 2008), 101, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/24526/24526-pdf.pdf.

5 Global University Network for Innovation (GUNi), *Higher Education in the World 3: Higher Education: New Challenges and Emerging Roles for Human and Social Development*, 3rd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), xvi–xvii.

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The Macanese in *The Bewitching Braid* and *The Monkey King*

Christina Miu Bing Cheng*

ABSTRACT: At the crossroads of the East and the West, the Macanese are an 'emergent' mixed-race minority in Macao. They epitomise an in-between group in the liminal space between two dominant peoples — the Portuguese and the Chinese, and constitute another level of identity in colonial representation. In *The Bewitching Braid*, Henrique de Senna Fernandes presents a deep chasm between the Macanese and the Chinese by employing familiar colonialist tropes and Orientalist clichés. Adozindo is a Don Juan, swanning around and symbolising the leisure class. Against unpromising odds, he condescendingly marries A-Leng, an illiterate water seller. Constructed as a sensuous siren with slavish submissiveness, she personifies the fantasy of Oriental femininity. In Timothy Mo's *The Monkey King*, the dichotomy between the putative superiority of the Macanese and the supposed inferiority of the Chinese is ridiculed and reversed. Abiding by a matrilocal marriage, the straitened Wallace Nolasco is married to May Ling into the wealthy house of Poon in Hong Kong. In spite of surviving racial discrimination and humiliating tribulations in the domestic battle, he is figuratively devoured by the Chinese through the metaphor of cultural anthropophagy. In the end, he is virtually entrapped in the loss of Macanese identity and Portuguese nationality.

KEYWORDS: Portuguese Pan-racialism; Leisure class; Binary contradictions; Paradigm shift; Cultural anthropophagy.

INTRODUCION

The Portuguese Empire — the first European maritime power and once the largest global commercial force — was able to establish direct relations with Ming China, and the oceangoing Portuguese were officially allowed to settle in Macao in 1557 for trade and for evangelisation. This speck of land was under Portuguese administration until its return to the People's Republic of China in 1999. During its 442-year history as a Portuguese settlement, Macao has procreated a racially mixed minority known as the Macanese — the hybrid Portuguese of Macao.[1]

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These descendants from mixed parentage offer a rich repertoire for literary creations. This paper discusses the portrayals of the Macanese in Henrique de Senna Fernandes' *The Bewitching Braid* and Timothy Mo's *The Monkey King*. The two authors delineate discordant impressions of the Macanese and describe their contrasting experiences in hybridised spaces. One may ask how the Macanese are described in these two novels, how they situate and identify themselves between the two dominant classes, what their relationships are with the Chinese in Macao and Hong Kong, and what their specific cultural inventions are following centuries of mixed marriage of their progenitors.

1. AN EMERGENT MINORITY

Portuguese maritime supremacy was a precursor to modernity, and heralded the penetration into South America, Africa, and Asia in the Age of Discoveries. The Kingdom of Portugal espoused highly distinctive ideologies in its colonial enterprises. Apart from the *Pax Lusitânia* ideology of ecumenicalism to share spiritual values and universal brotherhood, it staunchly upheld the ideology of Pan-racialism — an assimilationist policy that tolerated mixed unions of different races during its intensive exploration, expansion, and conquest.

While other colonising powers introduced racial segregation to demarcate the superior dominating race from the inferior dominated race, Portugal showed an unrelenting attempt to extol intermarriage as the benign consummation of Pan-racialism. It was from this unwavering ideology that Portuguese men were encouraged to 'love women of all colours'.[2] Racial amalgamation thereupon developed into the unique and decisive pattern of the Portuguese presence in the 'discovered' lands.

It was in stark contrast to racial supremacism that strove for racial purity against racial anarchy, the pan-racial vision all but projected diverse hybrid progenies as one aspect of Portugal's colonial legacies. As a direct result of the toleration and celebration of racial fusion, Macao had gradually evolved into an ethnic melting pot with intercultural diversity and emerged as a Eurasian ecumene for the Macanese people. In reality, the coming into being of this interracial class was due to the fact that Portuguese women were scarce overseas. In the words of Austin Coates:

> ***There were no Portuguese women in Macao and very few anywhere in Asia. Men therefore followed the custom set in the older settlements of marrying Asian girls, provided they were Christians, or became so on marriage. In the first ten years of Macao's existence, due to a total lack of Chinese Christians, wives ranked as a significant item in the list of imports.***[3]

In view of a shortage of Portuguese women in Macao, early settlers sought wives primarily from Malacca, Japan (Nagasaki), India (Goa), Indonesia (Timor), and occasionally from Mozambique and Angola. Later, some abandoned Chinese infant girls were brought up as Christians to serve as 'a new supply for marriages'.[4] As an emergent minority, the Macanese straddle two leading powers and do not quite belong to either one. They situate themselves in a liminal position and drift in a peripheral state between the coloniser and the colonised. Basically, they represent a nascent class in colonial discourse.

It is noteworthy that not everyone born in Macao is identified as Macanese, but only those who are born of cross-ethnic couples, principally of Portuguese-Asian ancestry.[5] Another determining criterion is that nearly all Macanese embrace Catholicism. Some refer to themselves as 'pure Macanese' on the grounds that they are born of Portuguese parentage in Macao. The Macanese would obliquely call themselves *Filhos da Terra* (sons of the earth/soil). In Chinese, they are known as *tusheng puren* (土生葡人 locally born Portuguese), or *tusheng zai* (土生仔 locally born children).

Leonel Alves (1921–1982), a Macanese legislator and lawyer, captures several characteristics of the locally born Portuguese in the following sonnet:

Filho de Macau

Cabelos que se tornam sempre escuros,
Olhos chineses e nariz ariano,
Costas orientais, e peito lusitano,
Braços e pernas finos mas seguros.

Mentalidade mista. Tem dextreza
No manejo de objectos não pesados,
Tem gosto por Pop Songs mas ouve fados;[6]
Coração chinês e alma portuguesa.

Casa com a chinesa por instinto,
Vive de arroz e come bacalhau,
Bebe café, não chá, e vinho tinto.

É muito bondoso quando não é mau,
Por interesse escolhe o seu recinto
Eis o autêntico filho de Macau.[7]

[Translation by author]

'Son of Macao'

Hair that always turns dark,
Chinese eyes and Aryan nose,
Oriental backs, and Lusitanian chest,
Thin but steady arms and legs.

Mixed mind-sets. He has dexterity
When handling objects without weight,
He likes Pop Songs but listens to fados*;*
Chinese heart and Portuguese soul.

He marries the Chinese by instinct,
He lives on rice and eats dried and salted codfish,
He drinks coffee, not tea, and red wine.

He is very good-natured when not bad-tempered,
Out of interest, he chooses his habitation
Here is the authentic son of Macao.

The idiosyncrasies and essential qualities of the Macanese are recapitulated as having mixed physiognomy/physicality, and accommodating habits of the East and the West. The in-between Macanese are, in Homi K. Bhabha's phrase, 'white, but not quite'[8], since they lose certain distinctive European 'white' features, and make up a further classification of identity in colonial representation.

2. RACIAL BIGOTRY

Very often, the Macanese are treated with prejudice not only by the Chinese, but also by the 'pure' Portuguese. Such racial prejudice, as observed by João de Pina-Cabral, operated to the extent that a traditional Portuguese family preferred a daughter to remain single rather than marry a Macanese whose claims to Portugueseness were slighter. Over time, a process of self-alienation developed as a new social stratification, characterised by a small and relatively closed Macanese community.[9]

In like manner, race snobbery was no less in British Hong Kong. No sooner had the 'Barren Rock' been ceded to Britain than there was a flourishing Portuguese/Macanese presence. Similar to other non-British communities, the Portuguese/Macanese community was not welcome in British recreational clubs under the British colonial system. By countering racial bigotry, the inauguration of *Club Lusitano*[10] in 1866 specifically helped the diasporic community reshape their public identities within unequal, racialised, and biased systems beyond the coloniser-colonised dichotomy.[11]

Quite different from Portuguese Macao's much longer colonial history, British Hong Kong had only

Fig. 1: Book cover of Henrique de Senna Fernandes' *A Trança Feiticeira*, 1993.

156 years (1841–1997) as a British possession, and there are not many Chinese-British mixed-blood people, not to mention that they failed to come into existence as a minority group. Besides, intermarriage among British men and Asian women was discouraged, if not actively prevented. As pointed out by Lee Khoon Choy, '[I]n Hong Kong, virtually until the end of World War II, the British looked down on Asians and severely frowned upon mixed marriages.'[12]

In the condition of cross-ethnic marriages, Eurasian heritage once spoke not of a blending of two cultures, but rather, of a shameful match of the white and the non-white. John Pope Hennessy (1834–1891), the eighth governor of Hong Kong, is a case in point — he married a young Eurasian wife, the daughter of a British father and a Malay mother. On account of this, the long-entrenched colonial British elites and local officials disliked him, as '[m]ixed marriages for chief colonial officers were almost unheard of at that time.'[13]

3. A SUPERIOR OR INFERIOR DICHOTOMY

Insofar as racial bigotry prevails among interracial unions, Henrique de Senna Fernandes (1923–2010), on the other hand, appears to herald a mixed marriage in *A Trança Feiticeira* (*The Bewitching Braid*).[14] A lawyer by profession, the author received public plaudits for his cultural endeavours. In 2001 he was awarded the Medalha de Mérito Cultural (Medal of Cultural Merit) from the Macao SAR Government, and in 2006 he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Macau.

Senna Fernandes, a Macanese himself, was well placed to narrate the characters of mixed racial origins in Macao. His literary writings in Portuguese largely focus on the interaction among the Portuguese/Macanese and the Chinese on a socio-cultural level. His short stories were collected in *Nam Van*: *Contos de Macau* (1997) and *Mong-Há* (1998). His two novels — *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé* (1992) and *A Trança Feiticeira* (1993) — were turned into films under the same name in 1992 and 1996 respectively.

With a parallel to some other colonialist literary works, which differentiate two dissonant worlds of the colonisers and the natives, Senna Fernandes follows the same path and tells a story based on a superior/inferior dichotomy in *The Bewitching Braid*. Set against the war-scarred backdrop during the Pacific War in the 1930s, he depicts a leisure class,[15] and recounts the cross-ethnic liaison of Adozindo and A-Leng. While the hero is a spoiled Macanese from a privileged family in the Christian City,[16] the heroine is an uneducated Chinese from the disreputable quarter of Cheok Chai Un (Bairro da Horta da Mitra, 雀仔園 *quezai yuan*; meaning the Garden of Birds).

Fig. 2: A scene of Cheok Chai Un (Bairro da Horta da Mitra). Photo by the author.

The author relentlessly maps out binary contradictions between the two protagonists. Considered even below the rank of a servant, the water seller A-Leng is from the lowest social echelon, an orphan adopted by an old woman whom she calls granny. She is described with a cluster of Asian facial stereotypes, 'Her almond-shaped eyes, gently curved upwards to a point, made her oval face, with its high cheekbones, irresistibly attractive. When she smiled, two dimples in her cheeks gave her an impish air.'[17] What is special about her is that she has a thick, sparkling braid of hair cascading down her back.

A-Leng's daily routine is to put a wooden pole over her shoulder and carry two buckets of water tied with a piece of rope on each end of the pole, walking barefoot to her customers. In bygone days, there were very few facilities for raw water storage to ensure the quality and safety of drinkable water supply for the city. Severe saline tides forced many residents to flock to surrounding hillsides, nearby water fountains, and wells in search of less salty spring water to drink.[18] Under these circumstances, water sellers came into being as a working class.

In a poor community of washerwomen, hawkers, rickshaw pullers, coolies, A-Leng makes a living by selling water to the nearby better-offs. She is the 'princess' of the poverty-stricken Cheok Chai Un, and the heiress of her godmother — the Queen-Bee. This capable matriarch holds sway over the well, which provides a major source of minimal wages for the water sellers.

On the other side of the coin, Adozindo is a good-looking scion, who has inherited green eyes from his Dutch great-grandmother and brown hair from his Portuguese grandfather. Having curly and wavy hair, a straight nose, the most perfectly proportioned ears, round cheekbones, shapely lips, and a magnificent row of teeth, he is flatteringly nicknamed the 'Handsome Adozindo'.

At the age of 18, he goes to work at his father's shipping agency, which he, as the only son, is destined to inherit one day. For most of the time, however, he is swanning around. He is narcissistic and proud of every aspect of his physical appearance in the mirror. In fact, he is 'more interested in the mirror than the accounts or getting the work done.'[19] Other than going fishing, his main hobby is to flirt and seduce women; he is a trifler and an irresistible womaniser.

Adozindo lives with his parents in an elegant house on the Estrada da Victória above the scenic Praia Grande. The house is adorned with fans, a telephone, a refrigerator, sofas and soft beds on shiny floors. Inside his carpeted study room, it is tidy and perfumed, and stacked with books. In marked contrast, A-Leng lives in a foul-smelling and miserable hovel, where she and her granny eat, sleep, and work. They have merely a collection of worm-eaten furniture with a bamboo seat. Their bed is made of boards laid across long narrow benches and covered with a worn mat, faded to a brown colour from long use and sweat.

The dandy is always dressed up to the nines, with well-polished shoes, whereas the barefoot water seller wears only a simple Chinese tunic and occasionally wears her clogs. He has completed his secondary education and can read 'works in Portuguese, English and French',[20] She has no 'time or money to go to school' and is illiterate.[21] The two leading characters are narrated by a trying set of binary contradictions and disjunctive delineations, which trenchantly brings to light an irreconcilable gap of a leisure/higher-class Macanese and a plebeian/lower-class Chinese.

4. A SPECIMEN FOR COLLECTION

It is a pleasant autumn morning, the debonair Adozindo, now in his late 20s, goes fishing and takes a short cut into the Cheok Chai Un quarter. He catches sight of 22-year-old A-Leng, who has a splendid braid coiled over her breast. His voyeuristic gaze is suddenly punished by a splash of water, wetting his shiny shoes and properly pressed trousers.

Reputed as a ladies' man and proud of being the greatest conqueror of women in town, the Handsome Adozindo is treated for the first time in such an embarrassing way by a low-class Chinese. Despite his wounded pride, he is enthralled by her glowing hair. He has an idea for revenge on her and 'the only fitting lesson would be to seduce her, apply the due corrective and then, when she'd been used, cast her off as refuse.'[22] He plans to include her as a specimen in his collection, apart from his latest conquest — Lucrécia, an opulent Eurasian widow 'in her prime, whose beauty and grace wouldn't shame any man.'[23]

Lucrécia owns a magnificent house at Baixo Monte with a big garden, which is contrasted with A-Leng's hovel. The ground floor is decorated with a double staircase leading to the sumptuously carpeted sitting- and dining-rooms on the first floor. The veranda, supported by Corinthian columns, overlooks the sea at the Praia Grande and the Guia lighthouse. Her dress is '[a] work of art in the Parisian style', which she has bought at the Paradis des Dames,[24] while A-Leng customarily wears a plain Chinese tunic.

When Adozindo meets Lucrécia for dinner at her home, the food is served with fine Japanese porcelain, silver cutlery, and exquisite crystal glasses. The tablecloth and the napkins are glowingly white. The food is European in style, including chicken giblet soup, a freshly caught seabream, French wine, and desserts. In short, the idle-rich's ostentatious exuberance is in striking contrast to the water seller's utter poverty.

The dallying Macanese has no difficulty in winning the heart of the pretty water seller, who

invites him to Cheok Chak Un one night and prepares supper for him. A-Leng only makes tea and cooks red crabs in a black bean sauce on a steaming earthenware, using bowls and chopsticks. When compared with the lavish dinner at Lucrécia's resplendent dining-room, an unbridgeable divide between Lucrécia and A-Leng is incongruously created and emphasised.

In her shanty house, Adozindo is frantically besotted by her beautiful, radiant Chinese face with a healthy mouth half-open in a bashful smile, and a sparkling and submissive glint in her slanting eyelids. Particularly, he is mesmerisingly aroused by the curve of her waist, the dancing roundness of her buttocks, and her slender shapely body with curvaceous hips.

The water seller's racial, facial, and physical attributes readily allude to an epidermal fetishism that fosters Adozindo's furtive fascination and desire to collect her as a specimen. Reified as an object of desire, she personifies the fantasy of Oriental femininity. The idea of desirability comes to be the idea of temptation. A-Leng is objectified in a sexualised way; her body is meant for the male gaze and is a temptation for lusty conquest.

5. A FETISHISTIC BRAID

Above all, the philanderer is captivated by her gleaming braid 'in a sensuous black coil'.[25] The outlandish black braid is not just exotic, but it is fetishistic. Fetishisation is often mistaken for appreciation or attraction. Fetishisation is all but objectification. Swaying sensually and driving him crazy to caress it, that bewitching braid is an aphrodisiac:

> ***Adozindo plunged into the blackness of her braid and its careful arrangement began to loosen, the very same bewitching braid that had been his perdition and that he could at last claim to as being very much his. He kissed it, smelt it, dug his hands into its abundant tresses of thick, strong threads that now possessed the magical smoothness of velvet.***[26]

That night, A-Leng gives herself to Adozindo, 'She didn't conceal her nakedness, and even found it quite natural in the presence of the man who had made a woman of her.'[27] Sensualised as an Oriental siren, and symbolising the seductive East, she is illustrated as a temptress of male desire. What is more, she possesses the female instinct to receive him like 'a young wife' and to satisfy him 'by making him king'.[28] She is expressly stereotyped as a compliant and sensuous object for sexual consumption. Her sexual subservience and servile submissiveness are nonetheless clichéd to fit into a male-driven fantasy, as well as making up a popular Orientalist trope that is often found in colonialist literary writings.

After his victory, the hyper-sexualised playboy dismisses the idea of casting off the conquered water seller like refuse as planned. Rather, he decides to get rid of Lucrécia, chiefly because she is bossy.[29] That is to say, the widow lacks A-Leng's bashful acquiescence and slavish docility as the feminine ideal in the Orientalist discourse. For his materialistic father, the spendthrift and indulgent son is 'under the spell of this rustic, barefoot siren' and it is a 'colossal act of folly' not to marry Lucrécia, who would 'open up magnificent opportunities' for him.[30]

As if cursed by sorcery, Adozindo is intoxicatingly bewitched by her dazzling braid. He breaks away from his father and forsakes a comfortable life in 'paradise'. At the same time, A-Leng is scorned and banished by the Queen-Bee from her hovel, as she has shamed Cheok Chai Un for her dalliance with a 'foreign devil'. Needless to say, they both come to be outcasts in their respective communities. It is an ordinary storyline of a mismatch.

Adozindo begins rounds of job hunting, but fails and suffers from frustration and affliction. Exemplifying the leisure class, he stands aloft and sarcastically makes disdainful and caustic remarks about the Chinese, who are engaging in dirty hard work:

> ***He envied the Chinese who could accept humbler jobs such as coolies, street-sweepers, bricklayers or carpenters, for no one batted an eyelid. But he, as a Macanese born and bred, was barred from descending to such lowly occupations, even if he were dying of hunger. He couldn't even work as a mechanic or an electrician. It would cause a scandal of gigantic proportions, he would be a laughing-stock, a figure of fun.***[31]

With that in mind, the arrogant coxcomb refuses to do 'lowly occupations, even if he were dying of hunger', but feels bitter about the inferior Chinese, who can accept a life of toil. The narration puts the Macanese on top of the Chinese in a binary relationship, and reinforces the great divide of the two ethnic classes, let alone exposing the Macanese's contemptuous attitudes towards the Chinese.

In the liminal situation of mixed socio-cultural references, the Macanese are generally inclined to attach to the Portuguese, and more insistent on their Portugueseness than on their Chineseness. According to R. A. Zepp:

> ***In Macau's early years, when the Portuguese upper class looked down on the Chinese as second class citizens, the Macanese naturally identified with the Portuguese, that is, they tried to consider themselves more Portuguese than Chinese. Up to the present day, they have maintained an intense patriotism towards Portugal.***[32]

Even while identifying with the Portuguese, the Macanese, in this novel, are as yet thought to be below the status of the ruling class. They in turn cast a slight on the Chinese as third-class citizens in this Portuguese-ruled city. Be that as it may, in order to earn a living Adozindo cannot acquire an employment either from the Portuguese or the Macanese. He has, without any option, to work for the Chinese as the story continues.

6. THE STINKY FOOT AND THE BEANPOLE

Adozindo's flirtation with women bears a resemblance to Francisco do Mota Frontaria, the Macanese protagonist in *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, an earlier novel by Senna Fernandes. Set at the dawn of the twentieth century, the author tells a tale of the Macanese leisure class. They are idlers, hedonists, triflers, and flâneurs, who saunter and stroll around, enjoying the pleasure and leisure in this hybridised haven.

Francisco habitually swindles money from his aunt Beatriz, and indulges in gambling, drinking, and smoking. The lascivious rascal is also a brothel frequenter on the Rua da Felicidade — a notorious red-light district. Senna Fernandes' Macanese characters — Adozindo and Francisco — are all but inflamed with insatiable lust for women.

Basked in a recalcitrant spirit to fool around, Francisco intends to make fun of the affluent Saturnino family. Senhor Saturnino has three unattractive daughters — Felicidade, Pulcritude, and Esperança — all unmarried, and a son. The father is anxiously eager to fetch candidates for marrying them off, to the extent that he is extremely enthusiastic to invite young men to enter into his house and have a glass of *Vinho do Porto*. The Port wine hence serves a 'bait' to entice suitors.

An unrestrained trickster himself, Francisco gambles with his friends by challenging social mores in the Christian City. He plans to stop Saturnino from inviting people to drink Port wine at his house for good, 'Aposto que lhe vou tirar para sempre a mania do vinho do Porto' (I bet I'll take the Port wine craze out of him forever).[33]

He successfully courts Pulchritude and pretends to marry her. On the wedding day, he does not turn

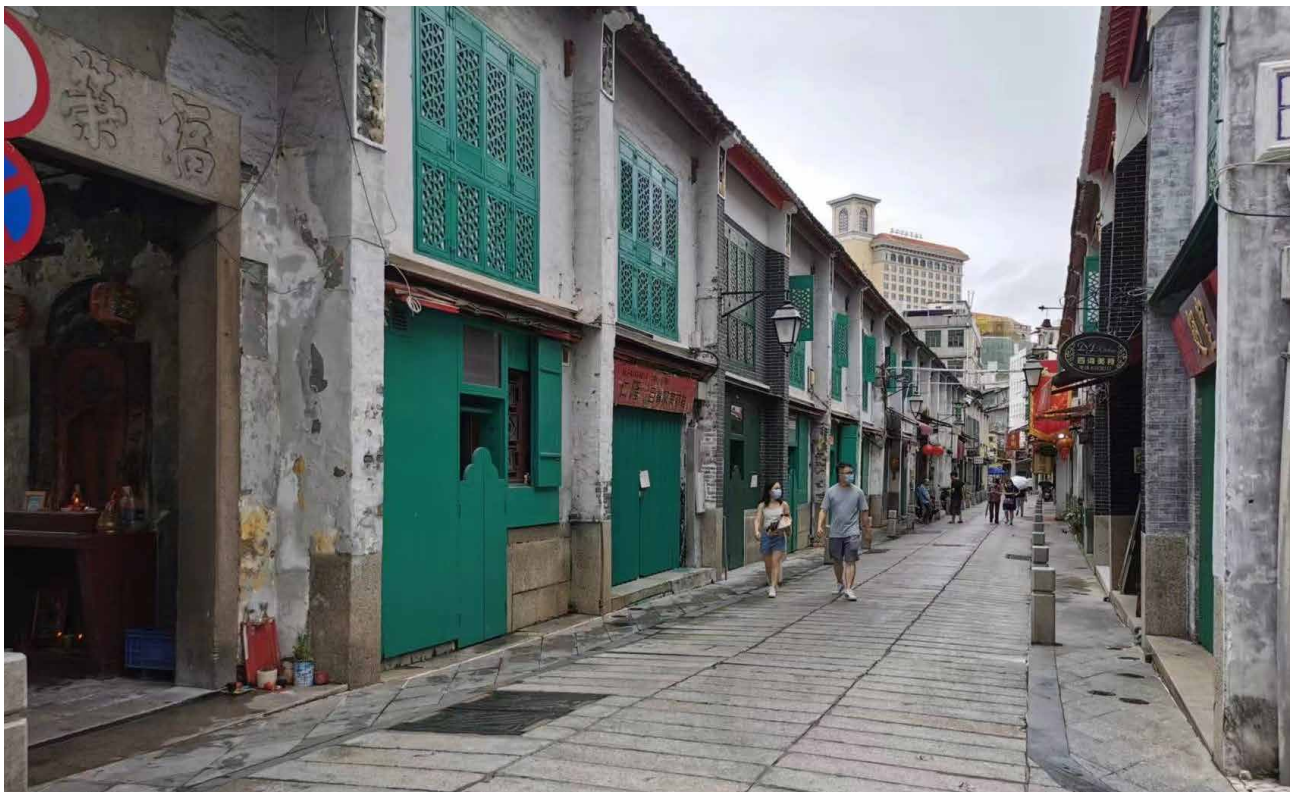

Fig. 3: Rua da Felicidade. Photo by the author.

up until very late. Carried by an ornate palanquin, the reveller appears in a clown-like costume, like taking part in a hilarious carnival. In front of the whole congregation, he startlingly announces that he does not want to get married, and scoffs at Saturnino for offering Port wine, 'O seu vinho do Porto é delicioso […] mas também desta vez não serviu' (Your Port wine is delicious […] but this time it did not work).[34]

The prankster is beaten badly afterwards by a gang hired by Pulchritude's brother. As the family is made a laughing-stock after the insulting mock-wedding episode, they retreat to Shanghai. Soon after, Francisco becomes a pariah, ostracised by his party-going friends. Worse still, he contracts some kind of disease and is scornfully dubbed '*Chico Pé Fêde*' (Stinky Foot Francisco).[35] The invalid is reduced to the life of a vagrant.

In a raining, freezing winter night, the ailing vagrant comes across the squint-eyed Victorina Cidalisa Padilla Vidal. He hurtles a few years back in time and has a clear flashback. She is the tall, thin lady who refused to dance with him at a party. In revenge, he gives her a rather offensive nickname, the '*Varapau-de-Osso*' (Beanpole of Bone),[36] alluding to her skinny and shapeless figure.

As the plot unfolds, the Beanpole takes the Stinky Foot home, ignoring the opposition of her family and spiteful gossip around the city. She nurses him with Samaritan care, and he recovers from his rotten feet and undergoes regeneration. The author obviously lauds the transformation of the indulgent Macanese after his torturous journey through suffering and hardship. The novel ends happily — they get married and have three children, and live happily ever after.

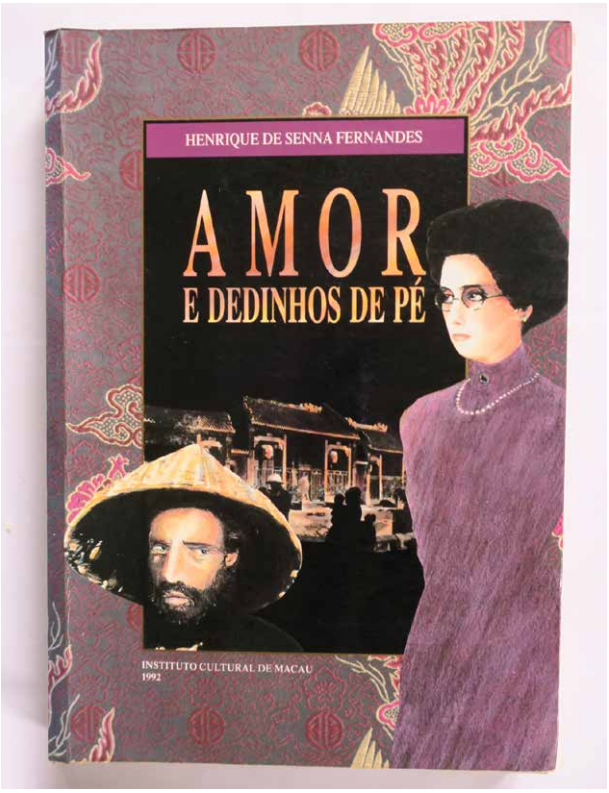

Fig. 4: Book cover of Henrique de Senna Fernandes' *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, 1992.

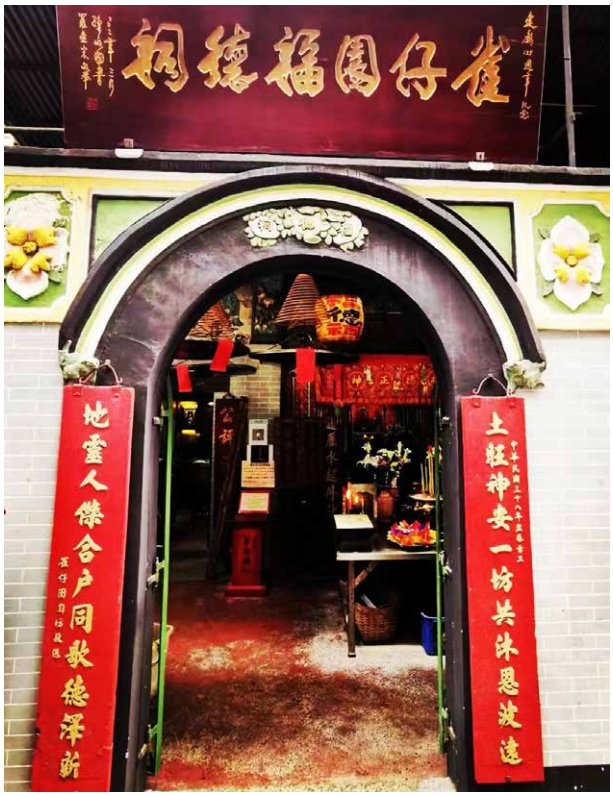

Fig. 5: The Temple of the Earth God in Cheok Chai Un. Photo by the author.

Senna Fernandes has a penchant for happy endings in his writings.

7. ANOTHER HAPPY ENDING

The Bewitching Braid also ends joyfully. After having survived a difficult life for three months without a chance to make ends meet, Adozindo eventually finds a job in a Chinese shipping company on a dilapidated old pier in the Inner Harbour, and A-Leng works for her friend in a joss-sticks shop. When she is pregnant with their first child, he condescendingly descends 'to a lower level' to marry her in a church.[37] Portrayed as a 'saviour', the Macanese rescues the wretched Chinese from her ghetto. The two central figures from separate social groups are united by God's representative on Earth, even with the revealing gap of their culture and religion.

In earlier times, A-Leng used to pray and supplicate blessings at the Tou Tei Temple (*tudi miao* 土地廟), or the Temple of the Earth God, in Cheok Chai Un.[38] Tou Tei (*Tudi* 土地), also known as *Fude Zhengshen* (福德正神), or the Proper God of Fortune and Virtue, is a tutelary deity in the Daoist spirit world. On the annual festival celebrating Tou Tei's birthday, which falls on the second day of the second lunar month, she would excitedly watch all the Chinese operas performed in his honour. Yet, she is now 'barred from burning joss-sticks and worshipping at the Tou Tei Temple.'[39] She is condemned as a traitor to the Earth God and Cheok Chai Un.

Just as Cio-Cio-San in *Madame Butterfly* abandons her faith and is secretly converted to Christianity before marrying an American, A-Leng is baptised with a Christian name Ana prior to marrying a Macanese.

Fig. 6: Igreja de São Lázaro. Photo by the author.

Subsequent to switching to a new religion, Ana becomes pious and routinely attends the morning mass at Igreja de São Lázaro. Furthermore, she goes to Igreja de Santo António and prays for the miracle-making Saint Anthony to intercede, even the simplest wishes. This is a defining moment for her to give up her faith in Daoism and to embrace Catholicism — a path to Westernisation and an access to the Macanese community.

With her success in climbing the ladder of upward social mobility, A-Leng, first and foremost, has to learn to use Western cutlery and table manners. She tries to drink a bit of wine, coffee with milk, and eat bread with butter. Aside from playing the Chinese game Mahjong, she picks up the rules of poker. Importantly, she is obliged to relinquish the habit of walking barefoot or wearing clogs, but has to adjust walking on high-heels. In a nutshell, the westernised Ana breaks off her own belief, customs and habits, and has to adapt to new cultural practices.

Immediately after the barefoot water seller goes through this significant rite of passage: moving from her debased background to a higher social status, '[s]he envied her old companions for being able to walk barefoot, free of the torture of shoes, feeling the coolness of the ground.' Her 'purely childish nostalgia'[40] sounds satirically ill-disposed and slighting towards her erstwhile water-selling friends, who remain stuck in the down-and-out quarter, earning meagre wages to feed hungry mouths.

Adozindo is a doppelgänger of the licentious Francisco. After having been weaned off a comfortable life and enduring painful experiences, he undergoes

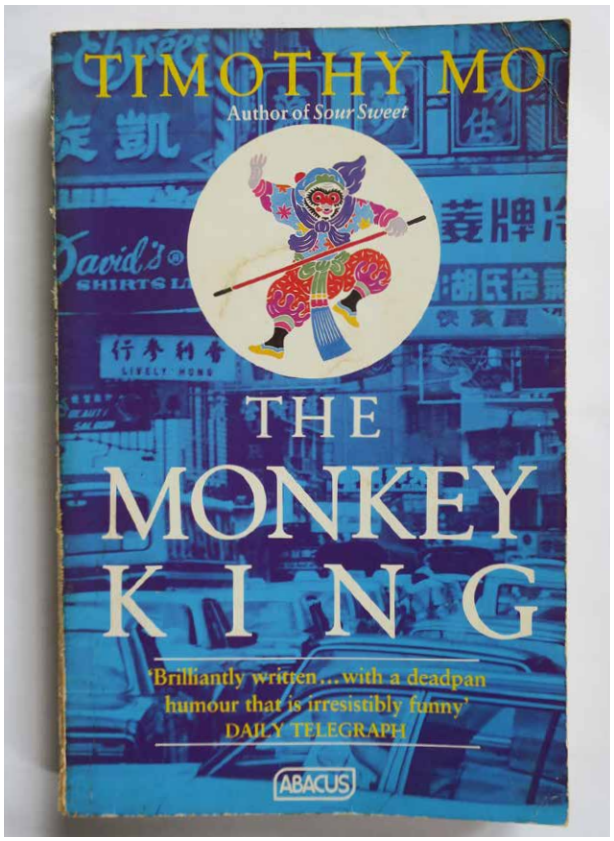

Fig. 7: Book cover of Timothy Mo's *The Monkey King*, 1990.

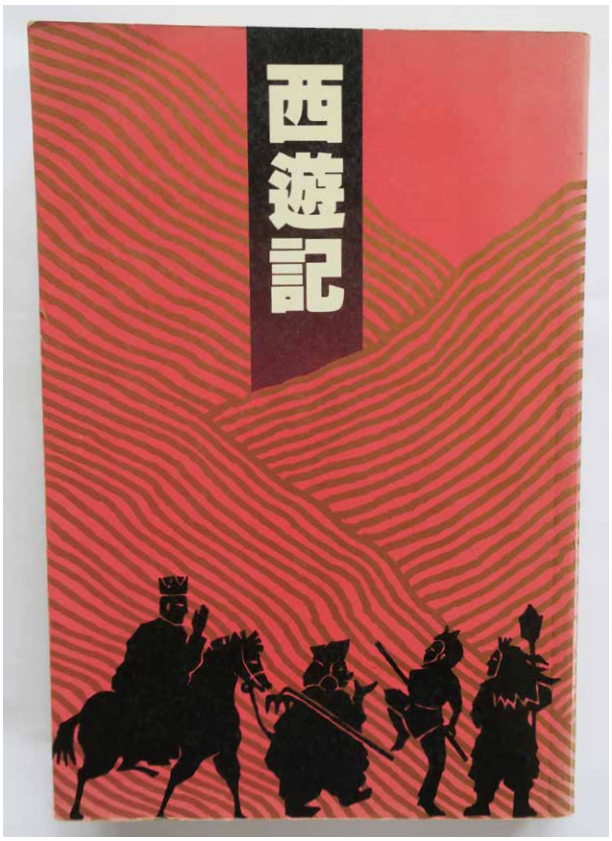

Fig. 8: Book cover of Wu Cheng'en's *Xiyou Ji*, 1994.

transformation and reinvigoration. He becomes home loving, and does not go to clubs, bars and parties anymore. With new friends from the pier in the Inner Harbour, he stops contacting his rotten companions who desert him in his hour of affliction. Surprisingly, he even squelches his lust for women, and spends his time instead in the Municipal Library to quench his thirst for knowledge and culture.

After eight years of estrangement, Adozindo is reunited with his father. Similarly, A-Leng is reconciled with the Queen-Bee, who is at last pleased to have a 'foreign son-in-law'. At the denouement, they have four children and live happily in a leased big house on the Rampa dos Artilheiros. In addition to employing the archetypical images of an East-West romance in colonial ideology and Orientalist essentialism, the author delivers a panegyric on the water seller's assimilation and integration into the Macanese community and achieves a Cinderella-like happy ending.

8. A PARADIGM SHIFT

Senna Fernandes' depiction of a superior Macanese marrying an inferior Chinese is derided through a paradigm shift of role-inversion. Timothy Mo disparagingly delineates the predicament of an impecunious Macanese in *The Monkey King*, which was first published in 1978, winning the Geoffrey Faber Memorial Prize in 1979. The novel makes apparent use of intertextuality[41] with *Xiyou Ji* (《西遊記》, Journey to the West) by Wu Cheng'en, first published in 1592, in which the fun-loving, omnipotent Monkey King is a well-liked character.

Born to a Cantonese father and an English mother in Hong Kong, Timothy Mo moved to Britain in his early teens. He worked as a journalist before becoming a novelist. With his Anglo-Chinese parentage, his literary writings are mainly concerned with cultural clashes between the East and the West, and a hybrid world of bi-cultural diversity and the quandary of mixed-race progenies. His other novels are: *Sour Sweet* (1982), *An Insular Possession* (1986), *The Redundancy of Courage* (1991), *Brownout on Breadfruit Boulevard* (1995), and *Renegade or Halo2* (1999).

Set in the 1950s in Macao and Hong Kong, the story centres on a quick-witted and mischievous Macanese — Wallace Nolasco, the eponymous hero. Subsequent to many centuries of mixed marriage by his progenitors, Wallace loses most of the distinctive European features of his 'shadowy buccaneer ancestors' and can speak 'impeccable Cantonese'.[42] He is small and has 'the blue-black hair and flattened nose of any Cantonese'.[43] By and large, he has been Sinicised a great deal; what remains of his connection with Portuguese antecedents is his surname — Nolasco, which gives him a sense of retaining Portuguese national identity.

In Macao, Wallace regularly meets with ethnic prejudice from the Chinese:

> ***On the whole Wallace avoided intimate dealings with the Chinese. Despite a childhood spent cheek by jaundiced jowl with the Cantonese in Macau, he still found the race arrogant and devious. Worse, they revelled in the confusion of the foreigner: turning blank faces to the barbarian and sneering behind his back.***[44]

In order to stifle such opprobrium associated with mixed ancestry as a foreign barbarian, Wallace cuts 'the [Chinese] neighbours at every opportunity' and is keen on demarcation.[45] Under the overlapping socio-cultural context, he consciously turns away from the Chinese and does not want to identify with them.

In a strange twist of fate, he is instructed by his widowed father to marry May Ling, a scrawny, sallow Chinese girl, just 20, from the wealthy Poon family in Hong Kong. He is obliged to accept the arranged marriage, even though the bride is not his own ideal choice. This is because the Nolasco family in Macao is on the wane and he has to submit to a bleak reality by making a compromise 'out of necessity as well as filial piety'.[46]

Before the marriage takes place, Wallace's father dies penniless and Mr Poon, his would-be father-in-law, pays 'for the simple funeral'.[47] Mr Nolasco senior leaves neither a legacy nor a house for him. On the other hand, Mr Poon owns a four-storey mansion built in the latter part of the 1880s at Robinson Path above the bustling Western District in Hong Kong.[48] The East (represented by Mr Poon) is no longer in a weak condition of poverty and dependence, but the West (represented by the half-Westerner Wallace) is pauperised and reliant on the affluence of the East. Such a paradigm shift is a sheer mockery of the Orientalist perception in colonial discourse.

For Mr Poon, it would have been an impossibility to marry off May Ling, the daughter of the second concubine, into a respectable Chinese family. Besides, it would have been a major loss of face to set sights on someone lower in the Chinese community. Out of the dilemma, the shrewd Mr Poon has achieved a creative solution in securing a Macanese son-in-law:

> ***It would be possible to economise on the initial capital outlay of the dowry to balance out defrayments on an additional mouth. Wallace might also have his uses in certain business projects Mr Poon had in mind. And while not a celestial, Wallace was not a real faan guai lo, a foreign devil.***[49]

What Mr Poon has in mind is to subsume a hybrid 'foreign devil' through 'formal induction into the household'.[50] That is, he plans to institute a matrilocal marriage, known in Chinese culture as *ruzhui* (入贅). In accordance with this specific nuptial custom, Wallace is married into May Ling's family, and follows the rule of a matrilocal residence to live with her in the Poon household in Hong Kong. He is hence inducted as a member of the Poon clan. His offspring is coerced to adopt the surname Poon, and will become Mr Poon's direct descendants, *inter alia*, Wallace's agnatic bond with the house of Nolasco is to be severed.

As opposed to the more common patrilocal marriage, some well-off Chinese families of high social status, or those without an heir for the continuity of a family line, would induct a son-in-law rather than marry off a daughter. In traditional Chinese society, the matrilocal arrangement of *ruzhui* would be considered a disgrace, for the reason that the agnatic kinship is disrupted through the renunciation of one's ancestral surname.

The Chinese system in surname practice is characterised by patrilineality, in which the Chinese are largely coerced to carry the paternal surnames. To the contrary, the Portuguese system allows a flexible margin for the use of surnames, and the Portuguese can have three to four surnames, comprising parents and grandparents on both sides.[51] In light of these differences, an amazing, if not a humiliating, compromise agreement is reached for Wallace to have his offspring's surname changed to the maternal side for the proliferation of the Poon clan.

9. CULTURAL ANTHROPOPHAGY

Oswald de Andrade (1890–1954), a Brazilian poet/novelist and polemicist and one of the founders of Brazilian Modernism, advocated the idea of cultural anthropophagy[52] in the 1920s. It was a form of cultural resistance to counter the '*fait accompli*' of the Portuguese presence in Brazil — a Portuguese colony from 1500 to 1822. Alongside anti-colonial sentiments, it was essentially an '*a posteriori*' ideology to appropriate the colonialist domination by figuratively devouring the intruders. The satiric allusion grew into a pivotal force of swallowing up foreign stimuli and recycling them as a renewed vigour towards cultural independence. Thereby, the vogue of metaphoric anthropophagy speaks for cultural assimilation and cultural interchange.

The anthropophagic phenomenon of the absorption of the 'barbarian Other' is neatly exemplified in *The Monkey King*. As the story progresses, Wallace moves to the Poon mansion in Hong Kong. Allegorically, he seems to be entering into an imperceptible 'cage' and falls prey to Mr Poon's intriguing induction. At the start, Mr Poon has been 'aggressively benevolent towards his son-in-law',[53] and shows him a gold fob watch, which he says will be his gift. Wallace weighs the watch in his palm and is moved to tears. Mr Poon, however, loses no time in pulling it out of his hand, and reiterates that it is 'safe and sound in my drawer. These day very unsafe to carry this sort of thing around. These fellow robbing you with big knifes [*sic*].' [54] Wallace in no way possesses the watch.

The Macanese protagonist is marginalised and relegated almost to the very bottom of the household pecking order. He even becomes the enemy of the servants, who often conspire to make life difficult for him, simply because they are 'unhappy about having a Portuguese in the household'.[55] His Macaneseness is the very source of dislike.

It is Wallace's first Lunar New Year at Robinson Path. As his paltry inheritance from Macao is almost exhausted, he expects to receive a sizable amount of lucky money from senior relatives. The joke is that he receives a red packet rolling out 'a brown button with four holes', and another one containing the smallest denomination of 'a one cent bill'[56] (it became obsolete in 1995). To his discomfiture, there are only 20 Hong Kong dollars from all the red packets. Beneath the

stinging humour, the 'foreign barbarian' is demeaned and humiliated.

Though Wallace tries to endure racial discrimination and domestic tyranny with stoicism, there is still an invisible battle going on between Mr Poon and him. For the patriarchal and rich Mr Poon, the impoverished and dependant Macanese is a parasite in the family. For Wallace, the miserly father-in-law should not keep silent about his much-needed dowry, which is part of the contractual obligations.

Wallace, moreover, finds himself confronted by Mr Poon's intensified estrangement, as May Ling shows no sign of pregnancy — both of them fail in their primary duty to produce descendants for the continuity of the Poon family lineage. In order to take on an efficacious revenge, he decides that 'Mr Poon could expect no grandsons from him in the immediate future.'[57] The Macanese uncomfortably becomes 'a licensed eccentric' in the Chinese household.[58]

There comes a silver lining when Mr Poon offers him a job. Employment does not only erase his image as a parasite, but also gives him a sense of purpose in life. Meanwhile, he cultivates a close intimacy with May Ling, who turns from not an ideal choice to 'being good little wife'.[59] By some quirk of fate, he is caught as 'the victim of an obscure guilt' for a spate of misfortunes,[60] and the couple is sent to a retreat in the rural New Territories. With entrepreneurial acumen and May Ling's support, he starts up a boating lake in a village for tourists. The commercial success brings him an opportunity for self-construction and self-fulfilment. In the countryside, he undergoes a passage of renewal.

After many years of 'exile' in the New Territories, the shrivelled Mr Poon summons them back to look after his business and trusts Wallace with unprecedented responsibilities. Echoing the Monkey King in *Xiyou Ji*, from which intertextuality is found, Wallace has gone through a purgatory journey with canny tactics. He overcomes all sorts of tribulations and survives hardship, humility, and hypocritical treatment. Finally, he dramatically retrieves the gold fob watch that he has long desired to have. Most of all, he gains control of Mr Poon's business after his death. He thought he is the ultimate victor in the power struggle with the scheming patriarch.

10. THE POSTHUMOUS VICTOR

Timothy Mo seemingly applauds the chameleon adaptability of Wallace and his eventual triumph in controlling Mr Poon's business. Nevertheless, the author inadvertently discloses a subversive stance and presents an alternate scenario — the Macanese is the total loser in the crafty domestic wrestling, and is entirely defeated without realising it. Mr Poon is the invincible winner even though he is dead. The posthumous victor does not merely win a beautiful battle; he gives the loser the illusion of winning.

No matter how clever Wallace is, he is likened to slipping into a cultural 'trap' of *ruzhui*. Straight after Mr Poon's death, he receives a stipend of two thousand dollars a year, 'on condition he used the family surname [Poon] in his business dealings.'[61] The very condition on the will cogently unveils the dotard's overt intention to incorporate Wallace's commercial skills in the Poon family. It is also his contrivance to 'swallow up' his son-in-law, and strip him of his Macaneseness. Wallace is in the midst of an identity crisis.

Before long, a son is born to the couple, 'If anything, it looked like Mr Poon, reincarnated.'[62] The 'reincarnation of Mr Poon' metonymically suggests that the new-born is atavistically sinicised. A new member is added to the Poon's genealogical posterity, but not to the Nolasco's. The baby boy is destined to observe the filial duty of venerating the Poon forbearers in the rituals of ancestor worship — a vital cult behaviour of the whole Chinese socio-cultural system.

In this way, Wallace forfeits the continuity of the Nolasco lineage, and, not least, he fails to realise a botanical metaphor to grow the Nolasco family tree.

His son is named 'Cheung Ching, "Runner through the Universe"'.[63] Poon Cheung Ching loses his only Portugueseness by forsaking the surname Nolasco, and is thoroughly assimilated into the Chinese community — in name and in appearance. When Mr Poon subsumes Wallace and his son for total unity and oneness in the house of Poon, the mixed-blood 'foreign barbarians' equally restore a unity from a peripheral state of 'betweenness' to the dominant 'centre' — the Chinese world.

Not only does Mr Poon effectively cut off Wallace's national bond with Portugal, but even breaks apart his agnatic tie with the son. Both the father and the son are symbolically devoured through the trope of cultural anthropophagy, in that they are dispossessed of their Macanese identity and Portuguese nationality. Intertextuality is further demonstrated: just the same as the Monkey King in *Xiyou Ji* cannot break away from the Buddha's almighty control, the eponymous title character is completely unable to escape Mr Poon's cannibalistic intrigues.

The intermarriage in *The Monkey King* likely fails to extol the Portuguese colonial ideology of Pan-racialism, but rather is exploited by the Chinese in the process of Sinicisation through the marriage practice of *ruzhui*. The Chinese cordial mastication of 'the hybrid Portuguese of Macao' signifies cultural assimilation, which becomes an ambivalent resolution within a peculiar condition of cultural asymmetry.

11. THE MACANESE CREOLE DIALECT AND CUISINE

It could be surmised that Adozindo can speak Cantonese, bearing in mind that he has no problem conversing with the water seller and working in the Chinese shipping company. Likewise, Wallace is able to communicate in 'impeccable Cantonese'. Even though most of the Macanese can articulate the spoken Cantonese language, yet not many of them can read and write Chinese characters.

With regard to their liminal language abilities, it brings to mind Philip, a Macanese in *Mission to Cathay* (1966) by Madeleine A. Polland (1918–2005), an Irish writer. Polland narrativises Matteo Ricci's (1552–1610) proselytising mission to China. At the outset, she decries Philip's linguistic incompetence.

Having arrived in Macao, the Italian Jesuit priest aspires to learn 'the language of the officials' (*guanhua* 官話, also called 'Mandarin language') in order to engage in a dialogue with the elite and officials in the Middle Kingdom. He looks upon Philip as teacher and interpreter, but to his great disappointment, he soon finds out that he has been teaching him the vulgar expressions 'of the coolies and the shopkeepers'.[64] In other words, Philip only speaks the Cantonese jargon of the working people of low social class, but not even the polished, refined version of the Cantonese language.

R. A. Zepp has argued that the Macanese are without a true mother tongue, since 'they will learn to speak a street Chinese without ever achieving total mastery over its reading or writing […], they may learn to read and write Portuguese in school without acquiring a good command of the spoken language.'[65] Straddling two dominant linguistic spheres in Macao, they are thus found lacking proficiency in either.

As a marker of one's nationality, Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935), a Portuguese poet/writer and literary critic, puts emphasis on language — *A minha pátria é a língua portuguesa* (My homeland is the Portuguese language). Speaking one's own language is considered a way of asserting one's identity, and resonates with Simon During's aphorism, 'A choice of language is a choice of identity'.[66] Along these lines, the Macanese have chosen a unique dialect to mark their identity.

In the amidst of two main languages and influenced by the influx of immigrants from other Portuguese colonies in Asia, the Macanese have invented a distinctive creole dialect known as *Patuá*, or *Maquista*. It is a mixture of Portuguese language with lexical and syntactical characteristics derived from

Fig. 9: The bronze statue of José dos Santos Ferreira. Photo by the author.

Malay, Sinhala, and Cantonese, as well as sprinkling with English, Dutch, and Japanese.

According to Alan Baxter, a linguist and an expert on Portuguese-based creoles, the roots of this dialect extend from the sixteenth century when Portuguese traders and their camp followers did business with Africans, Indians, and Malays. The Cantonese contributions to *Patuá* came much later.[67] *Patuá* is *de facto* a unique mingling of a variety of languages amid the progress of Macao's colonial history.

Once a vibrant oral tradition widely spoken in everyday domestic settings by women and servants, *Patuá* was gradually in decline as a result of the Portuguese and the Chinese languages were befittingly taught in schools around the 1850s. Nowadays, the creole dialect is spoken by very few people in Macao and in the Macanese diaspora, but mostly kept alive in songs and jokes by various cultural groups.

Patuá is euphemistically called by its speakers as *dóci língu di Macau* (sweet language of Macao) and *dóci papiaçam* (sweet speech) by poets. José dos Santos Ferreira (1919–1993), a Macanese poet and playwright, is perhaps the last person of distinction to write in the 'sweet speech'. He left behind 18 books of poetry, prose, plays, and operettas in *Patuá*. Affectionately addressed as Adé,[68] he enjoyed high esteem in the Macanese circle. With public adulation, a bronze statue of Adé was unveiled by the last Governor of Macao, Vasco Rocha Vieira, on 5 October 1999 at the Art Garden.

Miguel de Senna Fernandes, the son of Henrique de Senna Fernandes, and President of Associação dos Macaenses (The Macanese Association), is a present-day Don Quixote trying to revive the waning *Patuá*. A practicing lawyer, he is also a playwright and has staged plays in *Patuá* at the annual Macao Arts Festival for a number of years.

In any event, not everyone from the Macanese community showed favourable attitude towards *Patuá*. Colonel Henrique Alberto de Barros Botelho (1906–1999), the former President of Club Lusitano and a prominent solicitor in Hong Kong, repeatedly derided the creole dialect as 'degraded pidgin'. He even refused to attend performances in *Patuá*.[69]

Through time, the Macanese have invented creole culinary arts — Macanese cuisine.[70] It has taken in countless influences over distance and time, and reflects the rhetoric of assimilation of disparate cultures. A fusion of European, Asian, and African cookery with eclectic ingredients, it exhibits a palatable mixture of diverse culinary specialties, and is now an 'indigenous' gourmet draw.

This culinary creation definitely holds indelible cultural importance for the Macanese. By introducing Macanese food, the Macanese clearly encode an affirmation of their ethnic identity. In addition to its gastronomic allure, as pointed out by Cecília Jorge, Macanese cuisine serves as a link of the Macanese diaspora, and it is the most evident and visible signs of the Macanese collective identity.[71] That their creole dialect and cuisine are exclusive cultural innovations

in coloniality further reveal the internal processes of a creolising continuum in post-coloniality.

CONCLUSION

In the wake of the confluence of manifold cultural flows along with the Portuguese ideological toleration of racial amalgamation for centuries, Macao has begotten a nascent minority of Portuguese-Asian ancestry — the Macanese. To paraphrase Homi K. Bhabha, these hybrid progenies are 'a *problematic* colonial representation'.[72] They live in an interface surrounded by two presiding powers, and drift in a liminal state between two dissimilar cultures.

The Macanese have become a favourite for characterisation in literary works about Macao. Senna Fernandes' *The Bewitching Braid* juxtaposes a flirtatious Macanese with a submissive Chinese woman — a cliché falling in line with the Orientalist formula of an East–West romance. Embracing the otherwise fairy-tale storyline, the conflicting structure at once endorses power relations, let alone it evokes the most common archetypes in colonialist literature. To that end, the author illustrates a hierarchical relationship between the two ethnic groups, and bespeaks the putative superiority of the Macanese and the supposed inferiority of the native Chinese in the Portuguese-ruled territory.

In a different vein, Timothy Mo's *The Monkey King* is a caricature of the binary polarities between the East and the West, and at the same time, it dissolves the colonial stereotype of the West over the East paradigm. In this respect, it demonstrates a reversal in the Orientalist frames, and reverberates around the Bakhtinian carnivalistic hermeneutics in literature.[73] Specifically, it brings into view a cannibalistic metaphor, through which the principal Macanese character is culturally absorbed by the Chinese, and his son likewise loses the national tie with Portugal.

By the time Macao was to reunite with China, it was estimated that there were roughly 12,000 Macanese.[74] Shortly, thousands of apprehensive Macanese left, with many settling in Portugal, but afterwards a steady number returned. Throughout their long history, countless Macanese have in fact moved elsewhere in search of better employment opportunities, education, and for other reasons. The Macanese diaspora feasibly outnumbers the Macanese population in Macao.

For the purpose of bringing the dispersed Macanese together, the first Macanese diaspora gathering — *Encontro Macaenses* (Macanese Meeting) — was organised in 1993. Ever since, it has been held every three years, aiming at perpetuating remembrances of, and connections to, their 'home'. The Macanese from abroad are invited back for a week of planned events.[75] These 'homecomings' are intended to boost nostalgic sentiments of their roots, and help assert their Macanese identity and social networks.

Facing a hazy future, some local Macanese have experienced a certain degree of anxiety and fear of loss of identity. They felt rootless and stressed owing to their betweenness. Accordingly, an association — *Macau Sempre* (Macao Always) — was inaugurated in 1996 in order to stave off their frustration, and emphasise their 'roots' in Macao. In a word, both *Encontro Macaenses* and *Macau Sempre* are meant to revive their sense of belonging to Macao.[76]

Though small a group, the Macanese have left lasting vestiges in politics and culture. Contemporary Macanese of note are: Jorge Rangel, an influential Macanese leader (serving as Acting Governor many times); Anabela Ritchie, the former President of Macao's Legislative Assembly (the first woman to hold the position); and Carlos Marreiros, the former President of the Cultural Affairs Bureau, an acclaimed architect and ardent cultural conservationist, to name a few. With their in-between endowments, they contribute greatly to the well-being of Macao, and tellingly constitute an indispensable link grafting the West with the East. RC

NOTES

1 On the Macanese, see Ana Maria Amaro, *Filhos da Terra* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1988).
2 Perry Anderson, "Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonialism," *New Left Review*, no. 16 (July/August 1962): Part II, 88–123.
3 Austin Coates, *A Macao Narrative* (Hong Kong: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1978), 34.
4 Coates, *A Macao Narrative*, 34.
5 There are some disputes about the exact classification of the Macanese. It is argued that the definition of the Macanese should also include Chinese Christian converts, who have assimilated into the Macanese community, even though they had no ancestry from the Portuguese. See Carlos Marreiros, "Alliances for the Future," *Review of Culture*, English edition, no. 20 (1994): 162–172.
6 *Fado* (fate) is a musical symbol of Portuguese culture and tradition. It is a style of melancholic singing, characterised by mournful tunes and lyrics about despairing belief in a futile destiny. This music genre goes back to the 1820s, and was orally transmitted. Today, *fado* is regarded as simply a form of song, which can be about anything, but must follow a certain traditional structure.
7 Leonel Alves, "Filho de Macau," in *Trovas Macaenses*, eds. João C. Reis and Maria Helena A. Reis, vol. 3 (Macao: Mar-Oceano Editora, 1992), 153.
8 This phrase refers to Homi K. Bhabha's argument on the desire of colonial mimicry, which is the representation of difference. Individuals of mixed-race resemble white men but betray their coloured descent by some striking features. They are '*almost the same but not quite* […]. *Almost the same but not white*'. See Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28 (April 1984): 130.
9 João de Pina-Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, "Personal Identity and Ethnic Ambiguity: Naming practices among the Eurasians of Macao," *Social Anthropology* 2, (June 1994): 121–122.
10 Club Lusitano was first established on Shelley Street in Hong Kong. Soon after, it turned out to be a favourite venue for Hong Kong's small but active Portuguese community for all important official, cultural, and family ceremonies. The present 27-storey Club Lusitano Building on Ice House Street was completed in 2002, designed by Comendador Gustavo da Rosa, a Macanese architect.
11 On the discrimination against the Macanese in Hong Kong, one may consider the work of Catherine S. Chan, *The Macanese Diaspora in British Hong Kong: A Century of Transimperial Drifting* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021).
12 Lee Khoon Choy, *Pioneers of Modern China: Understanding the Inscrutable Chinese* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd., 2005), 513.
13 P. Kevin MacKeown, "British Governor who gave Locals a Voice," *South China Morning Post*, 3 June 2020, B11.
14 *A Trança Feiticeira* was translated into Chinese by Yu Huijuan 喻慧娟 as *Dabianzi de Youhuo* 大辮子的誘惑 (1996), and into English by David Brookshaw as *The Bewitching Braid* (2004).
15 People of the leisure class display their superior status by their expressed disdain for all forms of productive work, especially any type of manual labour. They seek self-respect from peers in competition for honour through the reputable possession of wealth. The concept of the leisure class was theorised by Thorstein Veblen, the Norwegian-American economist and sociologist in his book, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan, 1899).
16 Macao has been euphemistically called the Christian City, which originally denoted an area at the heart of peninsular Macao where most Westerners once settled. Being declared as part of the Historic Centre of Macao by the UNESCO in 2005, this neighbourhood displays the most comprehensive array of European architecture.
17 Henrique de Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, trans. David Brookshaw (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 14.
18 Macao is surrounded by the South China Sea to the east and south, and freshwater resources are always scarce. Moreover, its location on the Pearl River Estuary makes it vulnerable to the threat of saline intrusion, and drinking water is high in salinity levels owing to salt tides that often plague the Pearl River Delta watercourses.
19 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 11.
20 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 143.
21 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 35.
22 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 25.
23 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 57.
24 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 58.
25 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 47.
26 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 49.
27 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 49.
28 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 51.
29 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 54.
30 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 78.
31 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 97.
32 R. A. Zepp, "Interface of Chinese and Portuguese Cultures," in *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture*, ed. R. D. Cremer, 2nd ed. (Hong Kong: API Press Ltd., 1991), 160.
33 Henrique de Senna Fernandes, *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992), 52.
34 Senna Fernandes, *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, 56.
35 Senna Fernandes, *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, 100.
36 Senna Fernandes, *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, 109.
37 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 142.
38 There are three main Tou Tei Temples in Macao: located respectively at Rua do Patane (沙梨頭), Praia do Manduco (下環街), and Cheok Chai Un. These three temples have been designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2017.

39 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 95.
40 Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, 136.
41 Coined by Julia Kristeva (b. 1941), a Bulgarian-French philosopher, literary critic, and feminist, the notion of intertextuality refers to the combining of past writings into original, new pieces of text.
42 Timothy Mo, *The Monkey King* (London: Abacus, 1990), 3.
43 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 4.
44 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 3.
45 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 4.
46 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 8.
47 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 8.
48 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 5.
49 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 8.
50 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 8.
51 On naming practices between the Chinese and the Portuguese, see Pina-Cabral and Lourenço, "Personal Identity and Ethnic Ambiguity," 115–132.
52 The term 'anthropophagy' simply means 'cannibalism'. Anthropophagy is a formation of two pre-existing words: eaters/of human beings. On the advocacy of cultural anthropophagy, see Luis Fellipe Garcia, "Only Anthropophagy unites us — Oswald de Andrade's Decolonial Project," *Cultural Studies* 34, no. 1(2020): 122–142.
53 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 9.
54 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 10.
55 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 11.
56 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 32.
57 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 58.
58 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 84.
59 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 119.
60 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 152.
61 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 199.
62 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 210.
63 Mo, *The Monkey King*, 211.
64 Madeleine A. Polland, *Mission to Cathay* (Surrey: The World's Work Ltd., 1966), 23.
65 Zepp, "Interface of Chinese and Portuguese Cultures," 160–161.
66 Simon During, "Postmodernism or Post-colonialism today," *Textual Practice* 1, no.1 (Spring 1987): 43.
67 Alan Baxter, quoted in Andrew Jacobs, "An all-of-the-above Ethnic Mix tries to hang on as Macao Grows: Rich but Fading Fusion in Macao," *International Herald Tribune*, 9 February 2011.
68 The photographic biography of Adé was published in Carlos Marreiros, *Adé dos Santos Ferreira: Fotografia* (Macao: Fundação Macau, 1994).
69 Jason Wordie, "Speaking Volumes," *Post Magazine*, 13 February 2022, 7.
70 On Macanese cuisine, see Annabel Doling, *Macau on a Plate: A Culinary Journey* (Hong Kong: Roundhouse Publications (Asia) Ltd, 1996). See also Annabel Jackson, *The Making of Macau's Fusion Cuisine: From Family Table to World Stage* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2020).
71 Cecília Jorge, "Macanese Cooking — A Journey Across Generations," *Post Magazine*, 20 February 2022, 41.
72 Homi K. Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1(Autumn 1985): 156.
73 The Bakhtinian carnivalistic theories in literature are examined in Christina Miu Bing Cheng, "Bakhtinian Carnivalisation in Austin Coates' *City of Broken Promises*," *Review of Culture*, International Edition, no. 68 (2022): 84–101.
74 David Brookshaw, ed./trans., *Visions of China: Stories from Macau* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2002),12.
75 On the homecomings of the Macanese diaspora, see Mariana Pinto Leitão Pereira, *The Macanese Encontros: Remembrance in Diaspora 'Homecomings'* (Macao: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2019).
76 Margarida Cheung Vieira has conducted research on Macanese identities after 1999 in "Changing Macanese Identities in the Post-Handover Era" (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2018).

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Leanqua and Anqua — The Founding of the Canton System (1685–1720)

Paul A. Van Dyke*

ABSTRACT: Leanqua and Anqua were prominent merchants in China who were unknowingly two of the founding fathers of what later became known as the Canton System 'yikou tongshang' (一口通商). The Qing government opened China to foreign trade in 1684, but it took several decades of experimenting with different policies before a common set of regulations emerged. The two partners operated in the period from 1685 to 1720, so they experienced at first hand all of the difficulties during these early years of the development. They were involved in both the Chinese junk trade to Southeast Asia and the foreign trade at Canton. They had very extensive connections with suppliers in China's interior and they regularly dealt with prominent merchants throughout Southeast Asia, including Java, Malaysia, and Siam. They also developed close relations with officers of the Dutch, English, and French East India companies.

The commerce in Canton evolved from being a rather corrupt, uncertain, and irregular trade in the late seventeenth century, to a stable, trustworthy, and consistently administered commerce in the 1720s. There were always problems with corruption among government officials and employees, but those connivances were minimised to the point that they did not hinder the growth of the trade. Leanqua and Anqua's story provides detailed examples and insights into how this transformation came about.

KEYWORDS: China trade; Hong merchant; Canton System; Leanqua; Anqua.

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INTRODUCTION

After China opened her doors to foreign commerce in 1684, Indian, European, and other foreign ships began to arrive to try their luck in the trade. By this time, the Portuguese and Spaniards had been carrying on a regular trade with China for more than one hundred years, from their bases in Macao and Manila. Chinese junks had also been sailing to Southeast Asia every year, many of which were from Fujian Province. But now the trade was opened to everyone except the Russians and Japanese, who had separate agreements with China to trade in other ports.

News spread quickly and almost immediately foreign ships began arriving in China. They frequented various ports, including Canton, Amoy (Xiamen), Chusan (Zhoushan), and Ningbo. Of course, they wanted to find the place that would offer them the best terms. Canton quickly emerged as one of the more favourable ports to carry on business, which led to many Fujian merchants moving there.

Leanqua and Anqua were two of the new arrivals from Fujian who established themselves at Canton in the late seventeenth century. They had been involved in the junk trade to Southeast Asia, and had extensive connections with inland suppliers. They had also been trading with the Dutch in Batavia. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the two partners were among the most prominent merchants in Canton.[1]

Before I begin their story, I need to clarify some confusion concerning Anqua's identity. In the English East India Company's (EIC) records, there are numerous entries to an Anqua in Canton and another Anqua in Amoy. Sometimes the men appear as though they might be the same person. Several historians, including Morse, Dermigny, Cheong, and Peng, have suggested that this might be the case and have treated the two men as if they were one and the same.[2]

I have already clarified this matter in another study so I simply state here that these two men were separate people. After I finished researching and writing the story of Amoy Anqua, it became clear that he could not be the same person as the Anqua in Canton, because they show up in both places at the same time.[3] In order not to confuse the two men, I refer to this other man as 'Amoy Anqua'. All other entries below to Anqua refer to Leanqua's partner in Canton.

Anqua and Leanqua were from Quanzhou.[4] Leanqua signed his name Lianguan (連官) and Anqua (晏官) or Anguan (安官). No signatures have been found showing their family names, but there are some clues in the French records. They wrote several letters to the government in Pondicherry and signed their names in French. Leanqua's transliterated name appears as Ou Lun Kouan or Ou Lien Koüan. Lun Kouan and Lien Koüan would refer to his given name (Leanqua), and Ou refers to his surname. Anqua's full name was recorded as Tçai Ngan Koüan, with Ngan Koüan being his given name (Anqua) and Tçai being his surname.[5] Ou and Tçai (in French pronunciation) could refer to a couple of different family names, but the transliterations at least help to narrow the possibilities.

Leanqua and Anqua became very famous merchants and were well known throughout China, Asia, and Europe. They interacted with the top merchants in Siam and Malaysia, and they had extensive connections with the officers of the Dutch, French, and English East India companies. They had many dealings with the Dutch at Batavia, the Portuguese in Macao, and they corresponded with the British government in Madras. They were also involved with senior government officials in Canton and Amoy, and their fame and affairs even became known to the emperor in Beijing.

All of these activities inside and outside of China suggest that Leanqua and Anqua should show up somewhere in the Chinese records. I have spent several years searching the gazetteers and other documents looking for the two men, but without success. Perhaps one day their identity will be revealed. Consequently, all

Fig. 1: A View of the Dutch Fort at Batavia. Anonymous. Courtesy of Bonhams. Source: https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/26770/lot/591/

of the information discussed below comes exclusively from the foreign records and archives. This outcome in itself is testimony to their international fame.

Besides trade with foreigners, Leanqua and Anqua also owned their own junks, and traded extensively throughout Southeast Asia. Their junks visited Johore and Batavia, and they had numerous dealings with the king of Siam. The name of their firm was the Fengyuan Hang (豐源行).[6]

It is not until 1698 that the first reference to them begin to appear, and then from 1702 onwards, there are many entries about them. There is some discussion about Anqua's previous dealings with the Dutch in Batavia so I begin with his story.

1. BATAVIA ENVOYS AND AGENTS (1685–1691)

In 1698, the Frenchman Bouvet mentioned that Anqua had previously gone to Batavia on a mission for the governor general in Canton to encourage trade with the Dutch.[7] In 1702, Anqua also told the French supercargoes in Canton that he had been sent to Batavia by the governor general on a trade mission.[8] Unfortunately, no one mentioned exactly what year Anqua made the trip.

I searched through the Dutch records from Batavia and discovered that 1689 was the last year prior to 1698 that a trade mission had been sent there from the governor general in Canton.[9] Thus, that is the most likely year that Anqua would have been sent there. The name 'Anqua', however, does not appear in the Dutch records. But I think there is an explanation.

Chinese merchants always had several given names. Perhaps Anqua was his nickname or trade name and not his official name. When operating in an official capacity such as an envoy he would most likely have used his official birth name. The 'An' in Anqua would have been part of his official name, but probably not the 'qua'.[10] That was an honorary suffix 'guan' (官) that was attached to one of the characters in the given name, which then became his trade name. Consequently, if Anqua used his official name, which is likely, then it is impossible to clearly identify him in the Dutch records. Nevertheless, there are similarities between the Chinese agents mentioned in those

documents and the information that Anqua gave to the Frenchmen concerning his mission there.

According to the Batavia *dagregisters* (daily diaries), after the China trade was opened to other foreigners in 1684, the governor general in Canton sent an agent to Batavia each year. As historian John E. Wills, Jr. has shown, the Dutch traded on the coast of China every year from 1683 to 1690. This was a special arrangement granted to them by the emperor.[11]

What has not been made clear, however, is that the governor general sent a trade mission to Batavia with envoys and agents. In 1685, the governor general requested and was granted permission from the Dutch government to send a trading junk to Batavia.[12] In addition to Batavia, a trading junk from Canton was also sent to the Dutch port of Malacca in 1687, 1688, and 1689.[13]

In 1688, two Canton merchants, Lin Qifeng (林奇逢) (spelled Licifoeng, alias Lilauya) and Tsuy Kinki, delivered the governor general's letters to the Dutch government.[14] Canton merchants also sent messages to the Dutch at Batavia via the Portuguese ships at Macao.[15] A couple of ships from Macao, and numerous Chinese junks, visited Batavia every year, which means the Dutch had the means to carry on a regular correspondence with Chinese officials and merchants. They were generally fairly well informed of changes that took place in the Chinese administration in Canton.

Lin was a prominent merchant in Canton and was well known to the Dutch. Anqua would surely have known him as well. Lin had been involved in exchanges with the Chinese government in 1676, and he was a member of the Qing embassy to Batavia in 1679.[16] Lin and Tsuy were sent to Batavia in 1688 to negotiate the trade in the upcoming season.

Translations of the letters from the governor general and the details about the negotiations with these merchant-envoys are preserved in the National Archives in The Hague and the Arsip Nasional in Jakarta.[17] Wills has done the most extensive study on the relationship at this time between the Qing government and the Dutch. He shows that many of the transactions before 1684 were concerned with the Qing regime recapturing Taiwan from the Zheng clan.[18]

Once the Qing administration gained control of Taiwan, the negotiations with the Dutch became more commercial oriented but with some loose connections to the tribute trade.[19] The Dutch were caught in this transitional period between the Ming and Qing administrations, which partially accounts for this rather strange arrangement that emerged between them and the Chinese officials in Canton. The Maritime Trade Commission of the Ming Dynasty was replaced by the Qing Maritime Customs, which operated completely separate from the tribute trade. However, it took a few years for the new structure to take shape and become fully implemented and operational.[20]

The Dutch often referred to the governor general as the Pouij or Johnsock (with various spellings). These were transliterations of the Chinese words 'buyuan' (部院) and 'zongdu' (總督), respectively. The Dutch made transliterations of the names from both Cantonese and Fujianese pronunciations, depending on the situation at the time, so it can be confusing to determine to which officials they were actually referring.

Eventually, the names Sontuck, Tituck, Sontu, Tsungtu, Tsongtock, Chuntuck, Jontuck, or simply, John Tuck, become universally used by all foreigners trading at Canton to refer to the governor general (transliterations of zongdu). Those names appear frequently in Portuguese, Spanish, French, English, Danish, Dutch, Swedish, and Flemish trade records.[21] They also referred to him as the 'viceroy'. The Dutch, however, seem to be among the only foreigners who also called him Pouij. This was actually the department or office and not the person, and should not be confused with his palace, which was called the Liangguang Butang (兩廣部堂) (Fig. 2).

On 10 March 1689, the Dutch made a contract with the 'Zontok Pouÿ Vice Roÿ der Provintien Canton en Quansi' (the governor general of Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces, which in Chinese is Liangguang Zongdu Buyuan 兩廣總督部院). The Chinese agent Onglauya was the person sent to Batavia to work out the particulars.

This man's activities were very similar to what Anqua had mentioned to the French. The Lin mentioned above could not be Anqua because he died in 1689. There were several men in Onglauya's entourage, including Tsurie Lauya, Liafung, Tsuikinho, and Touykinki. All of them were commissioned by governor general Wu Xingzuo (吳興祚) (1685–1689) in Canton.[22] Any of them could have been Anqua, but I think Onglauya is the closest match.

In this contract, the Dutch agreed to supply the governor general with 4,000 piculs of Japanese copper. In exchange, the Dutch would receive silk and other products. The fourth page of the contract states that the Dutch ship *Martensdijk* would deliver the copper to the 'Canton Islands' (islands near Macao). They would stop at this rendezvous point on the return trip from Japan. These arrangements were made directly with governor general Wu, but Anqua and his fellow agents were the persons who actually carried them out.[23]

Much of this activity between the Dutch and the governor general came to an end after Wu left office. The governors' general were usually changed every three years, but sometimes more frequently, and other times they might stay in office longer, depending on the emperor's preferences. At the end of 1689, governor general Shi Lin (石琳) took over the position and the missions to Batavia ended. In early 1690, Onglauya wrote to the Dutch explaining that their trade in Canton had now turned for the worse owing to the change in that office.[24]

The trade between Canton and Batavia continued for another year. The Dutch sent a couple of letters to Shi Lin and he allowed one junk to go to Batavia in 1690, which was the culmination of the agreements that were made in the previous year. Anqua was probably involved with that trade. In 1691, however, all of these exchanges ended.[25] The Canton junks also stopped going to Malacca after 1689.[26] Thus, as far as I could tell from the Dutch records, 1689 and 1690 would have been the most likely years for Anqua to have gone to Batavia.

2. THE EARLY YEARS OF THE CHINA TRADE (1685–1701)

As these examples show, in the early years of the Qing Maritime Customs, the governors general were directly involved in the trade. Examples below will also show that the customs superintendents (Hoppos, 'hubu' 戶部 or 'jiandu' 監督) also benefitted from the commerce. The extent to which they profited from the exchanges is unknown, but they likely earned a substantial side income from trade. The Canton junks that sailed to Batavia from 1685 to 1690 were in fact called the Sontock's (zongdu, governor general's) junks.[27] The governor in Amoy also sent letters to the Dutch at this time.[28] As I have shown in another study, government officials in Amoy and Chusan also received kickbacks from the trade each year.[29]

Besides exactions from senior officials, local merchants had another threat they had to deal with from time to time. Sometimes a man arrived from another province claiming to have permission from the emperor to trade with foreigners. These persons might be granted the privilege by the emperor, or one of his sons, in exchange for a large payment. These outside licensed men were known as 'emperor's' or 'king's' merchants (皇商).[30]

From 1685 to the 1720s, senior government officials in Canton such as the governor general, governor, and Hoppo might also grant special permission to a friend or a favourite relative to trade with foreigners.[31] Fortunately, there were only a few years when these outside men attempted to interfere

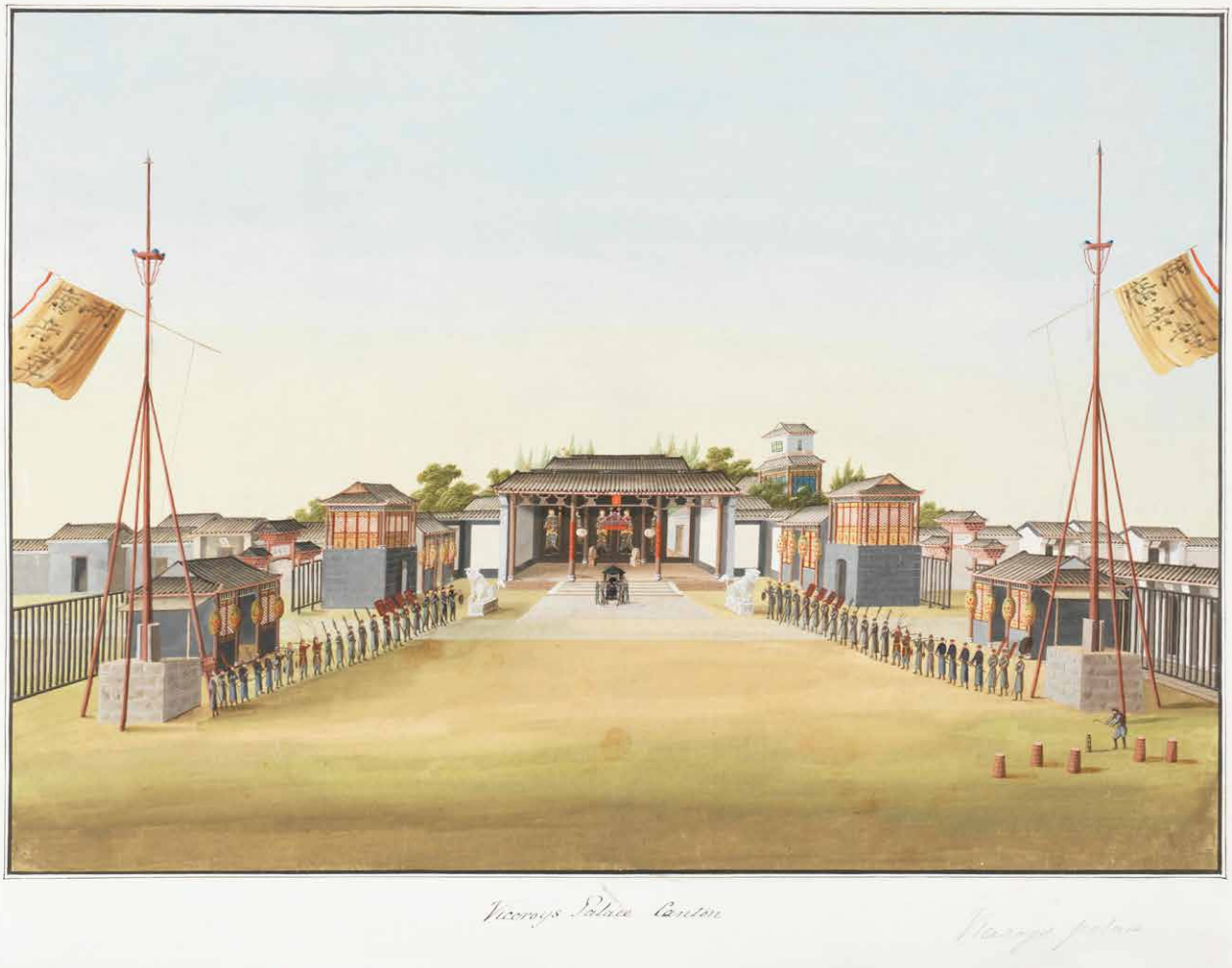

Fig. 2: Viceroy's Palace Canton. Anonymous. Courtesy of Bonhams. Source: https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/20024/lot/337/

with Leanqua and Anqua's business. Merchants and officials in Canton were much better at handling these outsiders than was the case in other ports like Amoy and Chusan.[32]

Before continuing the discussion of the two partners, there is one entry in the Portuguese records from 1689 that deserves some explanation, because it is very likely a reference to Leanqua. The man discussed is called 'Linqua' by the Portuguese.[33] As historian George Bryan Souza has shown, the circumstances surrounding this man are very similar to what we know about Leanqua.[34]

In November 1689, Linqua and his partner Guia arrived at Macao from Canton. They hired two Portuguese ships owned by the Macao merchant Pero Vaz de Siqueira to carry merchandise from Batavia to Macao. However, because Chinese junks paid much less in duties than Portuguese ships, the two men asked the Macao Senate to make an exception in their policies and charge the lower duties on these two cargoes. Otherwise, they said they would ship the cargoes on Chinese junks. If that happened, the two Portuguese ships would return to Macao empty, and then the government would receive no duties whatsoever. The Macao Senate agreed to their terms and the goods were shipped on the Portuguese vessels and charged at the lower rate.[35]

Leanqua and Anqua were closely involved in the trade at Batavia and Macao. When Leanqua died in 1720, foreigners described him as an old man. He was probably at least in his 50s or 60s, at the time, if not 70s or 80s. Thus, if he was at least 55 when he died, he would have been 24 years old in 1689.

In a letter that Leanqua wrote to the French (in French), dated 15 November 1713, he said that he had been 'doing this business' (trading at Batavia

with his junk *LinYu*) 'for more than ten years'.[36] He also mentioned that he had built the vessel 'in the manner of the Europeans' at his own expense, with permission from the Mandarins.[37] He mentioned that he supported his wife and children from this trade, which shows that he did indeed have a family.[38]

From these references, we can assume that Leanqua had probably been trading with Batavia for many years before building his own junk in 1702. He had money to pay for the vessel, and was obviously already well acquainted with the business. While it is impossible to be conclusive, these brief entries support the idea that the Linqua of 1689 may have been Leanqua. At some point, he joined into partnership with Anqua.

3. THE RISE OF LEANQUA AND ANQUA (1702–1710)

In 1702, Leanqua and Anqua traded with both the French and British in Canton.[39] Those Europeans had been there in earlier years, as well, but the records are incomplete. From 1699 to 1701 several merchants are mentioned including Sheamea, Hun Shun Quin, Munqua, Tinqua and more than a dozen other names, but there is no mention of trade with Leanqua and Anqua. Perhaps they were focusing more on their junk trade to Southeast Asia at this time, and their trade with Batavia and Macao.

In 1702, the French described Leanqua and Anqua as 'both honest people'. They handled a large volume of trade that year so they were clearly already well established.[40] The French were anxious to find out more about the production of silk and porcelain in China. They asked the partners if they could help obtain permission to send two persons to the production areas near Suzhou and Nanjing. The partners replied that it should not be a problem, because China was now a very open country with people coming from many nations. They also offered to help sponsor the journey.[41]

Leanqua and Anqua arranged a meeting with governor general Shi Lin, so the French officers could ask for permission to make the trip. The Frenchmen argued that their trade would likely increase considerably if they could bring back knowledge of the great diversity and quality of the items that China produced. Shi Lin heard their arguments, read their request twice, and then 'folded it, put it in his pocket, and spoke no more of it'.[42] That was the end of the discussion.

As we know from history, French missionary François-Xavier d'Entrecolles eventually did make a trip to Jingdezhen in 1712. He produced an extensive report of Chinese porcelain production there.[43] What is less known, however, is ten years earlier French officers had attempted to make a trip there, but without success.

In these early decades of the trade there were sometimes two Hoppos in office at the same time, but they were always ranked, first and second.[44] The French wanted to make an impression and consulted with Anqua as to the proper presents to give to the men. Anqua was given the task of presenting the gifts, but to everyone's surprise, the two Hoppos refused them. They later explained that the French had come a long way to China, and had waited a long time for their goods, so they did not want to burden them further with presents.[45]

In 1702, the partners accepted the British imports in exchange for raw silk, silk manufactures, and other products.[46] There was a lot of competition that year. Besides Leanqua and Anqua, the British contracted with Chu Tonqua, Lee Hanqua, Lee Kinqua, Caw Sanqua, Quo Henqua, Hue Ketchea, Tim Laiqua and Falai.[47] The French also traded with a man named Co-kouan.[48]

A competitive environment kept prices up for European imports and down for Chinese exports, which was good for trade. It is important to point this out, because that is not what happened at other ports like Amoy and Chusan. Canton administrators

were, for the most part, generally good at ensuring no monopolies developed in the trade. They were well aware of the importance of maintaining competition between merchants.[49]

There were several French and English ships trading at Canton in 1703 as well, but few details have survived.[50] In August 1704, Leanqua met the English supercargoes at Macao after their ships arrived. The Hoppo at Canton heard of their arrival and as was customary in these early years, he went downriver to measure the ships and negotiate the terms of trade. The English were concerned about rumours that had been circulating of disruptions in the trade at Canton and asked Leanqua whether they should go upriver or go to another port. Leanqua answered affirmatively 'by all means … go up the river'.[51]

After measuring the three English ships at Macao, Leanqua brought up the subject of a junk that had been plundered by the private English captain Hamilton. In 1703, Hamilton conducted considerable trade with Leanqua (spelled Linqua), Anqua and Hemshaw. Hamilton had planned to go to Amoy, but owing to inclement weather and the need for repairs, he put into Macao instead. While at anchor there, he enquired into the possibility of trading at Canton.[52]

After coming to terms with the Hoppo and the merchants, Hamilton's imports were sent upriver, and his exports shipped downriver, while the ship was being repaired. At some point in the exchanges, Hamilton learned that the three Chinese merchants had presumably 'paid to the *Hapoa* [Hoppo] 4,000 *Tayels* for the Monopilisation of my Cargo, and that no Merchant durst have any Commerce with me but they'.[53] The Hoppo also demanded the same amount from the French this year.[54] Hamilton complained about this manipulation of his trade, but to no avail.

In the end, Hamilton received his cargo and returned to his ship at Macao in January 1704. Leanqua and his two associates were well aware that Hamilton was unhappy with the way things had turned out. Hamilton mentioned in his journal that two of the merchants 'came to *Maccao*, under Pretence of clearing Accounts fairly'. He 'invited them on board to dine … but they would not do me that Honour'. Before the two merchants left again for Canton, Hamilton complained to them again about his trade being manipulated. He also complained that he had not received everything that he had been promised, which amounted to '1,800 *Tayels*'. The two men replied 'that they would give no more, and the Balance they would keep, for fear they should lose on my [Hamilton's] imported Cargo'.[55]

The next day, Hamilton 'sent them my Account, wherein I shewed [showed] that they and the *Hapoa* [Hoppo] had cheated me of 12,000 *Tayels*, and that I should not fail to make Reprisals when I met with any Effects of theirs'.[56] Hamilton sailed his ship *Lucky Hour* towards Southeast Asia with the intention of intercepting a junk so he could recover the money he claimed that he had lost. He had previously visited Atche and Johore, and he was well aware that junks from Canton arrived at the latter port every year. Hamilton also owned other ships that were trading in those ports so he was well aware that Leanqua sent vessels there as well.[57]

Upon approaching Johore in early April, Hamilton attacked a Chinese junk at anchor which he suspected had come from Canton. With the aid of a couple of Portuguese from Macao, who could speak and read Chinese, they examined the shipping papers aboard the junk and determined that part of the cargo belonged to Leanqua. Hamilton wasted no time in confiscating goods to the amount he claimed was owed to him.[58]

Hamilton then set off for Batavia where he arrived on 5 May 1704. The Dutch recorded his ship *Lucky Hour* (*Geluckige Uur*) to be 600 tons, with 30 cannons, and a crew of 100 men (35 Europeans and 65 Lascars).[59] The Chinese junk would probably have had a comparable crew size, but those vessels generally

only had a few cannons aboard and were no match for a well-armed European ship. It is thus not surprising that Hamilton had no difficulty overpowering the vessel.[60]

In a report that Hamilton gave to the English supercargoes in Batavia on 23 June 1704, he claimed to have taken cargo from the junk 'to the amount of about 6,000 Dollars' (ca. 4,320 taels). In his journal, Hamilton mentioned that he captured '80 Chests of Copper, and 200 Peculs of Toothenague'. The tutenague, he claimed, was the same product that he had purchased in Canton and that had not been delivered to him. He claimed that he could prove the slabs belonged to him because they had 'my own Mark on them'.[61]

When the English supercargoes arrived from Batavia to Macao in August, they talked to Leanqua about Hamilton's exploits. Leanqua claimed that the value of the goods Hamilton had stolen from his junk amounted to 11,000 taels (ca. 15,278 Spanish dollars). Leanqua claimed to have written proof that Hamilton had been treated fairly, and had not been cheated as he claimed.[62] Leanqua brought this matter up to the English supercargoes in hopes that they would help him to recover his losses. He also suggested that if the Mandarins in Canton found out about the matter, it could raise problems with the English trade there.

As far as the records reveal, Leanqua never recovered his money. As a general rule, Chinese officials did not concern themselves in offenses to Chinese citizens that happened outside of China. Leanqua was of course well aware of this so his best hope at recovering his loss was to plead to the English supercargoes for help. But because this was a private matter between Leanqua and Hamilton, they refused to become involved and, as far as the records reveal, that was the end of it.[63]

In the meantime, the English were very skeptical about going upriver in 1704, owing to rumours that were circulating in Macao then an 'Emperour's Merchant' had recently arrived at Canton from Beijing. For 'a sum of money' (42,000 taels), this man had convinced the emperor's son to grant 'him a patent to trade with all Europeans in Canton, exclusive of all other Merchants'.[64]

Leanqua reassured the English supercargoes that this man had no goods to trade and no capital or credit to invest. In such a financial state, it was not in the best interests of the Hoppo (who would not be able to extract anything from him), or in the interest of the trade in general (for the sake of increasing the emperor's duties), to allow this man a substantial portion of the trade. Moreover, Leanqua argued that this intruder may have had permission from a prince, but he did not have permission from the emperor. Leanqua gave the impression that permission from a son was not the same as permission from the father.[65]

On 13 September 1704, 'Leanqua and his partners came to the factory' to negotiate a contract. 'On the 15th the contract for wrought silks was concluded with Leanqua, Empshaw, Anqua, Hiqua, & Pinqua'. Because the matter of the emperor's merchant had not yet been settled, Leanqua and his associates requested that the British keep the contract confidential until further notice. He was still uncertain whether the emperor's merchant would be allowed to trade under a license from the prince, and if so, to what extent.[66]

On 18 October, Hoppo An Tai (安泰) left for Saukien to meet with governor general Guo Shilong (郭世隆) to discuss the matter of the emperor's merchant. They concluded that because 'the Emperor's merchant was incapable of dispatching the ships' and because Leanqua and his partners had agreed to pay the governor general 'a valuable consideration' for allowing them the trade of the three English ships at Whampoa (*Kent*, *Eaton*, and *Streatham*), that Leanqua and his associates should be granted the privilege of that commerce. Leanqua later confessed that they had to pay the governor general 5,000 taels for the privilege of the English trade that year.[67]

Although Hamilton may have had a different understanding of how the trade was conducted in

1703, the payment to the Hoppo that he claimed Leanqua had made, was probably done under similar circumstances. If Leanqua had not paid the Hoppo the 4,000 taels (as stated) for the privilege of the trade with Hamilton, then that officer would have held up his trade until someone else came up with the money. This outcome would potentially cause further delays for Hamilton, and he would still have to bear the expense of the license, by paying higher prices for the goods he purchased.

Officials might not have been allowed to engage in direct trade at this time, but they had other means of privately taxing the commerce. Hamilton obviously did not understand the situation at the time. If no one had been willing to pay the Hoppo for the privilege of Hamilton's trade, then he might have had to leave without a cargo.

Before the trade was completed in 1704, the English supercargoes suffered a couple of setbacks. 'The Linguists brôt a monstrous account of fees to be paid the Hoppo's Officers before the *Eaton* can be dispatched'. They found the fees to be 40 taels higher than what ship *Fleetwood* had to pay. They were unsuccessful at reducing the fees.[68] And there were problems with some of the silks they ordered.

> ***On the 18th Dec. they [the English supercargoes] received another parcel of Silks from Leanqua, in which they found, notwithstanding all the care they had taken, that the Weavers had greatly mistaken the shoot of the colours, they therefore gave notice that unless this was altered in the remainder they would not receive them. Leanqua now complained that, since the arrival of the Manilla Ship, the Weavers had neglected the Kent's Investment and had sold the Manilla Ship some of the Kent's Silks, though he had advanced them money on that account. On the other hand the Weavers complained that Leanqua and Company had bound them down so hard, that they could not make the Silks of the fineness required by the Supercargoes. Added to this, several of the Weavers employed by Leanqua & Co. were broken, and had ran away with the money advanced them.***[69]

The 'Manilla Ship' is probably a reference to a Spanish ship. They often traded at Macao, and infrequently sent ships upriver to Whampoa. Regardless of where they anchored, they had to go to Canton to purchase their wares. Unlike other European traders, the Spaniards traded mostly in silk, and exported little or no tea. Chinese merchants and shopkeepers were often eager to accommodate the Spaniards, because they paid for everything with silver dollars.[70] Thus, it is not surprising to see the weavers neglecting the English after the arrival of the 'Manilla Ship'.

The silks were finally shipped on December 30, but then another problem arose. Within the lot were some yellow fabrics, which was one of the imperial colours and forbidden to export. Leanqua had to bribe the customs officer with 100 taels to enable the fabrics to pass inspection.[71] In the end, the ships were all loaded and sailed away, with the foreign traders being more or less contented with the results.

No information has survived about Leanqua and Anqua in the years from 1705 to 1709. As Morse has pointed out, there is a gap in the EIC records from 1705 to 1711.[72] But there are references to the two men in 1710 and later years.

It is important to point out a change that took place in the British trade at this time. Before 1709, there were actually two British companies that traded in China, namely the English (Old) Company and the London (New) Company.[73] In that year, the two companies merged. I will simply refer to those nationals as British, English, or the company, without distinguishing between the two companies. I do not have sufficient information to clarify which company each ship, captain, and supercargo

belonged to. From 1709 onwards, I refer to the British company as the EIC.[74]

We know that the English intended to engage Leanqua in 1705 because at the end of the 1704 season they left a letter with him to be handed to the supercargoes of the next season.[75] We also have a letter in 1710 from Leanqua and Anqua to the EIC directors, which is copied below. In the letter, the two men admitted that they had 'done most or all the English business in this Port [Canton] for this four or five years past'. Thus, even though we have no specific data from those years, we know they continued to be the main suppliers of the British ships up to 1710. I copy the letter below in its entirety, but the spelling and language can be a bit cumbersome to understand.

> ***To the Honourable Managers for Affairs of the R^l Hon^ble United English East India Company Honourable S^rs***
>
> ***By M^r Nicholas Sup__Cargoe of Ship Loyall Cooke who arrived here 20^th In. we receiv'd Nine hundred and thirty Tale; being the Ballance of the Respondentia Bond Lett to Mess^rs Hille, &c. on your Accounts and have delivered him up the Bond for y^e same. M^r Nicholas wholy employed us in the Investing your Cargoe upon this Ship Loyall Cooke, which we doubt not but twill be well approved by you, and that the goodness will demonstrate it self by the sale at your ##ndle. We also hope that our soe early dispatch of the Ship will be esteemd as an acceptable peice of Service to your [i]n which we must doe M^r Nicholas that justice, he has added very considerable thereto, by his industry and dilligence, together with his long experience in this Country.***
>
> ***As we have done most or all the English business in this Port for this four or five years past, we think it an incombant Duty upon us to acquant Your Honours by what ways and means the Trade may be carryed on for the Credit of your Nation, Security and little expence to your selves, Six years agoe the H___ [Hoppo] of this place obliged the English to pay him a new duty of four PCent upon all their Trade Imported and Exported, which is very considerable more then the Emperors Customs, especialey upon a Europe Cargoe, this unreasonable Duty has bin continued ever since which they now demand as their due, and so likely t[o] continue till Your Hon^rs think fitt to be at the charge of about thirty or fourty Thousand Tale (three [o]r four of it in curiositys) to have the same represented to the Emperor, when doubtless a Grant may be procured for the English to pay so much on a Ship and no more, and we give your Honours this Assurance nothing shall be wanting on our part to effect the same.***
>
> ***We have by M^r Nicholas taken the Liberty to send Your Honours a small Present as P[er] inclosed List which comes to beg your acceptance of from.***
>
> ***Honour'd S^rs Your most Obd^t hum^ble Serv.***
>
> ***Leinqua 晏 連***
>
> ***Canton 20^th November 1710 Anqua 官 官***
>
> **Letter from Leinqua and Anqua Merchants of Canton**
>
> **Rec'd by the Loyall Cooke the 8^th August 1711**
>
> **Read in Court the 10^th [of August 1711]**[76]

As we have seen from other studies, Hong merchants sometimes attempted to take matters into their own hands in order to bring about changes to the trade. In this letter, they are trying to undermine the Hoppo's attempts to tax the trade. This was very risky business, because if they got caught, it could raise

serious problems with that official. Similar attempts were made by the merchant Tan Hunqua in the late 1720s and early 1730s, where he sent several letters to British and Dutch directors in Europe in order to change the way their trade was being conducted in Canton. After the Hoppo found out about those correspondences, he accused Hunqua of trying to monopolise the trade for personal benefit and threatened his life if any more letters were sent. This led to Hunqua being expelled from the trade for several years, arrested off and on, and having a lawsuit filed against him. Other similar attempts were made by Chinese merchants in the 1760s and 1770s.[77] Thus, Leanqua and Anqua entered into dangerous territory by sending this letter to Europe.

If nothing else, the letter shows the frustrations that Canton merchants had when new impositions were introduced into the trade. The partners clearly felt it was worth the risk of getting caught, if they could somehow bring about a change to the new taxes. In order to understand their situation better, and to correct some misunderstandings that have been circulating in the secondary literature about these taxes, I summarise their introduction (or re-introduction) here.[78]

4. THE RE-INTRODUCTION OF THE *AD VALOREM* TAX

In earlier years, a 6 percent *ad valorem* tax had been applied to exports. In order to encourage more foreign ships at Guangzhou, in 1686 the Kangxi emperor reduced the quota on the duties from Guangdong Province by 20 percent. In 1698, another reduction in duties was granted, amounting to 30,285 taels.[79] As another study has shown, this second reduction appears to have included the removal of the 6 percent *ad valorem* tax that was introduced earlier.[80]

After more foreign ships began to go to Guangzhou in the early years of the eighteenth century it was deemed time to re-introduce the *ad valorem* tax. After the British ships arrived at Macao in August 1702, they opened negotiations with officials in Canton concerning the terms of the trade. The Hoppo then stated that this year there would be an *ad valorem* tax of 3 percent on exports.[81]

This new tax created many protests from foreigners and Chinese merchants alike. In order to ensure that the tax would be introduced as planned, two Chinese guards were positioned in front of the British factory to prevent anyone from engaging the English supercargoes. They stood guard for more than two months, from mid-September to 1 December, while the negotiations continued. In order to provide further incentives, the Hoppo threatened to charge them 5 percent *ad valorem* instead of 3 percent. This tactic made the 3 percent tax look more acceptable, and eventually everyone succumbed. The *ad valorem* tax was effectively re-introduced that year.[82]

In 1704, the *ad valorem* tax was raised to 4 percent.[83] In the letter above from 1710, Leanqua and Anqua asked the British to help get this tax removed, which they had been paying for the past six years. There were rumours circulating that the emperor had not sanctioned the tax, and so if the British could just write a letter to the Imperial Court in Beijing, it might have the desired effect of removing the tax, which did not happen.

In 1711, another rumour began circulating that the Hoppo was willing to remove the 4 percent tax in exchange for a payment of 10,000 taels. According to one entry, the Hoppo was to place a stone 'in the customhouse, declaring the duty to be unsanctioned by the Emperor'.[84] None of these rumors appear to have had any merit. The *ad valorem* tax had been previously written into the Guangdong tariff book so it obviously had the emperor's approval. It could not be arbitrarily removed with a one-off payment to the Hoppo.[85]

Leanqua and Anqua were unsuccessful at getting the tax removed. In fact, at some point around 1720 it was raised to 6 percent *ad valorem*. In early 1723, the British asked for it to be removed, but again, to no avail.[86]

5. THE HEIGHT OF LEANQUA AND ANQUA'S TRADE (1711–1717)

The next entries to Leanqua and Anqua in the EIC records do not appear until 1716. However, there are a few earlier entries to them in the British free merchant John Scattergood's papers. There are also some entries to them in French sources.

In 1711, the two men supplied over 76,000 taels worth of merchandise to the private English ship *Bussorah*. They accepted a parcel of pearls in exchange for quicksilver and vermillion. Most of the goods the partners supplied to the English were paid for with silver coin. Scattergood also purchased 30 bars of gold worth 74,900 taels from Leanqua and Anqua.[87] Gold was illegal to be exported, but was a means to generate quick capital. Many of the top merchants in Canton were involved in these illicit transactions.[88]

The French arrived in Canton from Peru in late February 1711, and opened negotiations with Leanqua and Anqua. The two men's status with the French had increased considerably from being described as 'honest people' in 1702 to now being referred to as 'the most famous merchants of the city'.[89] Unfortunately, no figures survive from the French trade this year.

The British ships *Streatham* and *Herne* arrived at Macao in mid-July 1712. They opened discussions with the Hoppo and he recommended that they deal with Leanqua and Anqua. In fact, the British stated that they were 'compelled to deal with them and no other' merchants. This statement suggests that the Hoppos were probably still charging merchants for the rights to trade with ships.[90]

In reality, however, what usually happened was that one Chinese firm was allowed to supply the largest share of the merchandise for a ship in exchange for accepting responsibility for those foreigners while they were in China. If anything went wrong, that merchant would be held responsible to solve the problems. As we see from the examples above, there were many other merchants supplying cargoes to foreign ships, but they did not have as large a share. This practice later developed into what became known as the 'security merchant system', whereby every ship had a merchant who stood security for all of the men aboard and all exchanges with that vessel.[91]

In a letter sent to the directors in London, the officers of the *Herne* complained grievously about Leanqua and Anqua, but no specifics were provided.[92] Another source says that Leanqua and Anqua 'traded with the Money of the Mandarins, which they held at Interest'.[93] If this statement is true, then the two men were apparently borrowing money from the Mandarins in order to finance their operations. These types of connivances and conflicts of interest between government officials and merchants continue to show up in the records until the 1730s.[94]

A famine struck South China in 1713. When John Scattergood arrived on the ship *Amity*, he described the situation in Canton as follows:

> ***ye poor people was up in a mutiny and were for robbing all ye Hounghs [Hongs]. The Maderins giving them Rice and makeing all ye Merch^ts^. contributing their quotas kept them quiet*** [95]

'Contributing their quotas' undoubtedly meant that each of the licensed merchants was required to give a certain amount of rice to relieve the poor, which would keep them from raiding the hongs. Part of the problem with insufficient rice at this time was owing to merchants exporting the grain for profit. As is shown below, the Kangxi emperor later banned the export of rice, and in late 1716, forbade Chinese from carrying on trade with Southeast Asia. There were other reasons for initiating this embargo, but stopping the export of rice was clearly one of the leading factors.[96]

In August 1713, Leanqua and Anqua purchased cotton, lead, putchuck, rosum alloes and gogull from the ship *Amity*, and supplied it with tutenague,

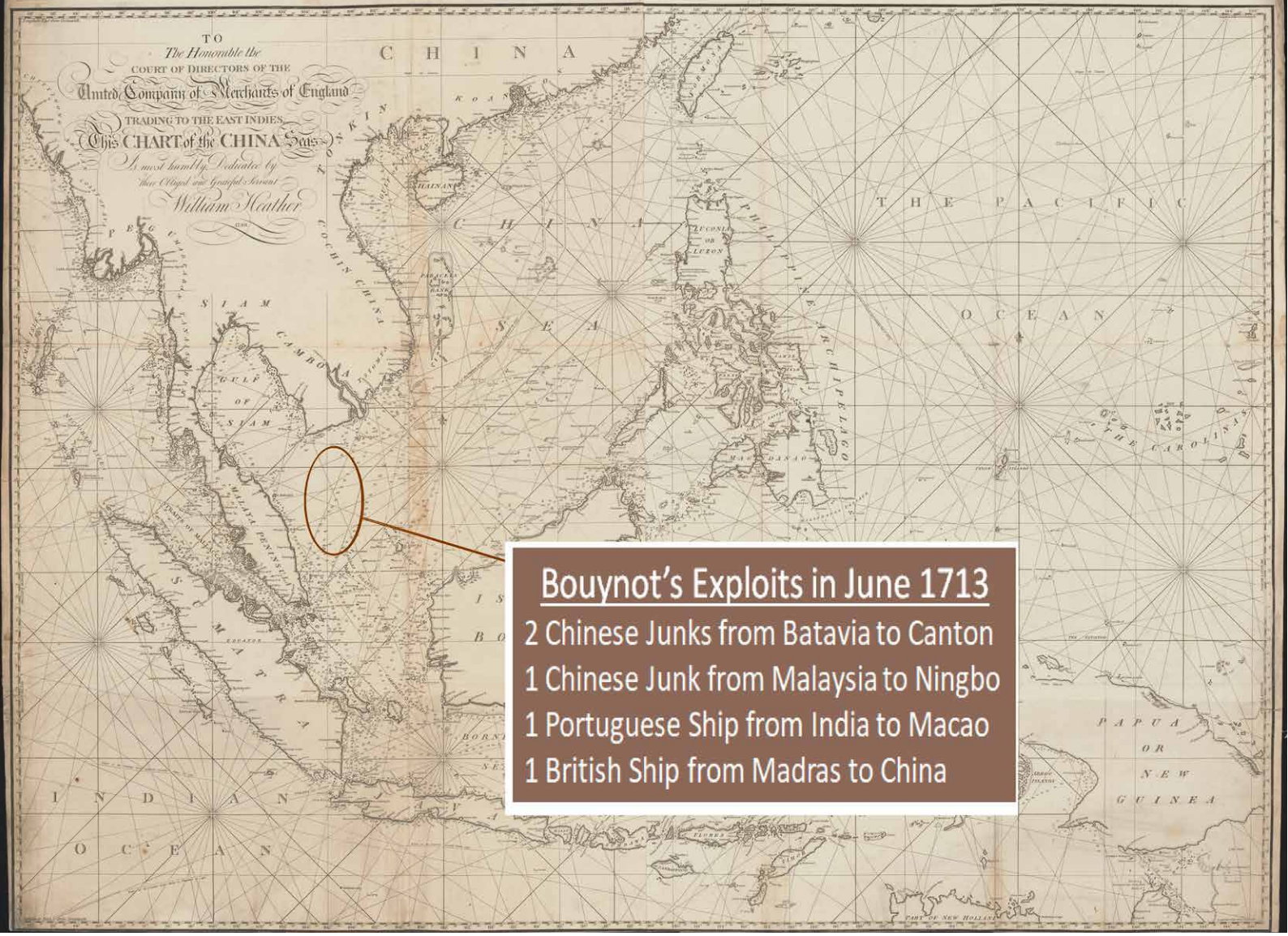

Fig. 3: Map of "The Chart of the China Seas", by William Heather. In Après de Mannevillette, Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas-Denis d', Wellesley, Richard Wellesley, Stephenson, John, Heather, William, Horsburgh, James, Heather and Williams and Robert Laurie and James Whittle, *The Country Trade East-India pilot, for the Navigation of the East-Indies and Oriental Seas, within the Limits of the East-India Company. Extending from the Cape of Good Hope to China, New Holland and New Zeeland, with the Red Sea, Gulf of Persia, Bay of Bengal, and China Seas.* London: Robert Laurie and James Whittle, 1799. Source: http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-373100400

quicksilver, alum, china root and camphor. Anqua also purchased a parcel of pearls worth 1,322 taels.[97] Leanqua and Anqua were now the most prominent merchants at Canton. In a letter addressed to Beauvoir, the author (probably John Scattergood) stated that:

> ***your old freinds Linquah & Anquah are brave and hearty still, and carry on almost all y^e^ business, but I think they do not ply us fair in some things; you will hear Capt. Newton rail at them and Capt. Hudson & Fenwick praise them as much . . . In short Linquah & Anquah does all y^e^ Grand [trade] and Comshaw Chounquah and Pinkee all y^e^ Less [trade].***[98]

As we see from these examples, not everyone was pleased with Leanqua and Anqua. The two partners now dominated the trade at Canton, for better or for worse. Notice that in all of these later exchanges, there is no mention of an emperor's merchant or anyone of the like. Men with special licenses showed up in Canton again in the 1720s, but they were unable to make serious inroads into the trade owing to the local merchants dominating the commerce, with the support of the Hoppos. This fact put Canton on a very different track from Amoy and Chusan, which continued to experience great disruptions in commerce from one year to the next, owing to the intrusions from the Mandarins and outside men.[99]

6. LEANQUA AND ANQUA'S JUNK TRADE TO SOUTHEAST ASIA

In June 1713, Leanqua and Anqua became victims of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714), which placed them squarely in the arena of international politics. On 26 February 1713, the French Naval Commodore Henri Bouynot, of the warship *Saint Louis*, arrived in Manila from Peru.[100] He had two other ships in his fleet, *l'Éclair*, captain J. de Boisloré, and *François*, captain Le Coq.[101] On 12 April, the ships left Manila in search of enemy vessels to capture.[102] In the sea between Pulo Aur, on the southeast coast of Malaysia, and Pulo Condore, off the southern coast of Cochin China (Vietnam), Bouynot captured and plundered a British ship from Madras, a Portuguese ship from Macao, a Chinese junk from Ningbo, and two Chinese junks returning to Canton from Batavia (Fig. 3). He took the captured vessels to Manila, where they were sold.[103] Bouynot had attacked ships in Asia in 1704 as well so he was acquainted with this type of warfare for profit (which other persons referred to as piracy).[104]

Even though France was not at war with China and had no cause to attack Chinese junks, Bouynot could justify his aggression by claiming that they were freighting goods for the Portuguese, Spanish, English, or Dutch. The two junks that he captured from Batavia were owned by Leanqua and Anqua. In one of Leanqua's letters to the governor of Pondicherry, he mentioned that he was personally aboard the junk when it was attacked. He said that they were boarded by 'several hundred thieves' and that they were sailing under a Dutch flag. The cargo, however, was owned by Chinese in Batavia and Canton.[105]

Many of the junks that sailed between Canton and Batavia were indeed commissioned by the Batavia government and displayed a Dutch flag.[106] Part of the cargoes that were sent to Batavia was usually consigned to the Dutch, but the rest of the merchandise was the property of Chinese. On the return trip to Canton, however, the cargoes were more likely to be owned entirely by Chinese.[107] Because they were allowed to fly a Dutch flag, the junks sailed under protection of the Dutch East India Company (VOC).[108] Unfortunately, in this case the Dutch flag was more of a threat than a benefit.

Bouynot could easily justify capturing the vessels simply because of the flag. Leanqua and Anqua had very good relations with the French supercargoes in Canton, so, needless to say, this attack on their vessels was a major affront to them.

News of Bouynot's exploits spread rapidly across Asia, with many protests being sent to the French presidency in Pondicherry. Bouynot left Manila on 30 December 1713 and arrived at Malacca on 26 January 1714. Fig. 4a–b is the Dutch translation of the letter he sent to the Dutch governor Willem Moerman. It simply explains that they were sailing under the authority of the French Crown, and gives a brief account of their voyage from France, to South America and Manila. It mentions that they were now bound to Pondicherry. There is no mention of his exploits in Asia, but the Dutch knew what he had done.[109]

When Bouynot arrived in Pondicherry, he faced serious criticism. An investigation was carried out into his naval exploits, and Bouynot was found to be operating completely outside of his authority. He was arrested, 'taken out of the command, & goes home [im]Prisoned . . . & about fourty Europeans, English, Dutch, & French ran away from two French men of Warr'.[110] He now had only two ships in his fleet, one of which was the *Saint Louis*.

After Bouynot's arrest, the crew deserted, probably out of fear that they might be charged with piracy. Bouynot, however, never made it back to Europe to stand trial. He died in Bengal in September 1714.[111] He left behind a huge problem for the French presidency to resolve.

The British presidency at Madras, Portuguese government in Macao and Goa, and the Chinese

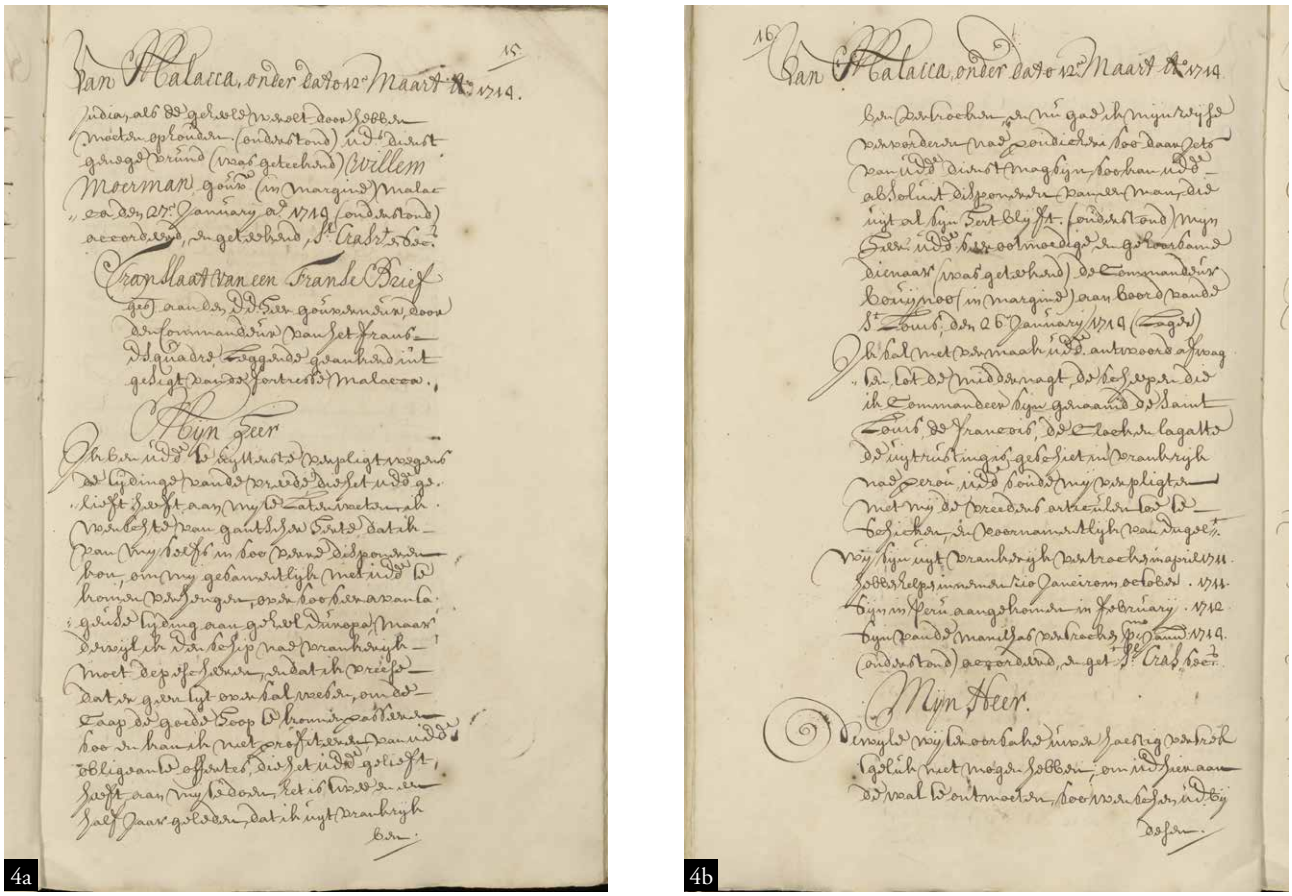

Fig. 4a–b: Dutch translation of Commodore Bouynot's letter to Governor Willem Moerman at Malacca, 26 January 1714. Courtesy of National Archives, The Hague. VOC 1854, Malacca, pp. 15–16.

merchants in China, all launched protests against the French, and demanded retribution for their loss.[112] The Dutch in Batavia and Malacca were also made aware of the attacks. However, because the cargo on the captured junks and ships did not belong to the Dutch, they did not become directly involved in the affair.[113]

The attack was an enormous setback for the French trade in China, because not only did the governors general of the respective provinces find out about the attack, but the affair was also reported to the emperor in Beijing.[114] Rumours began circulating that greatly exaggerated the extent of Bouynot's plundering. One account stated that he had 'taken and plunder'd about 9 Jounks belonging to this place [Canton] Amoy and Limpo [Ningbo] and almost ruined Macco [Macao] by taking a Rich Porteguese ship belong to y^{t} place & they are afread they have taken y^{t} Lisbon Frigate'.[115]

These rumours spread confusion and fears about the effects the attack would have on the China trade, and of course, many people now viewed the French as nothing but pirates. It took a long time for Chinese to forget about Bouynot's exploits. In 1718, the Kangxi emperor warned officials in Guangdong Province to be alert to all foreign aggressors, but especially to watch out for the French, who he considered to be the cruelest of all the Europeans trading in Asia.[116] Bouynot did indeed have an impact on the situation in eastern waters but perhaps not the one he was expecting.

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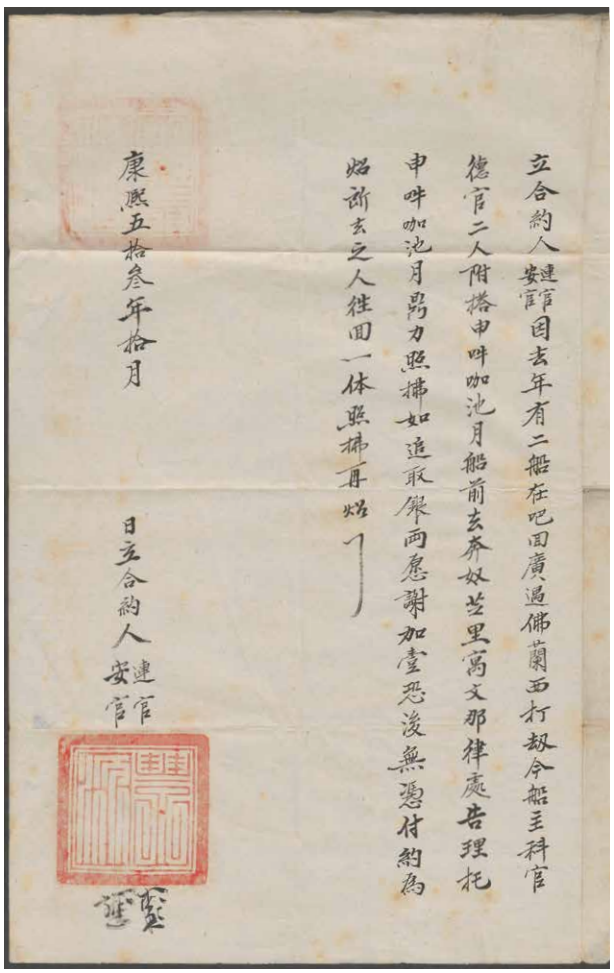


Fig. 5: Letter from Leanqua and Anqua to John Scattergood declaring that the French (佛蘭西) had attacked and captured their two junks, dated Kangxi year 53, 10th month (November/December 1714). Courtesy of The National Archives, London. C 106/170.

The British governor Edward Harrison at Fort St George in Madras supported Leanqua and Anqua's case against the French. The two men put together a Statement of Loss with a complete list of the cargo that was stolen from them. The names of the two vessels were *Linyu* (林玉) and *Pétçao*.[117] *Linyu* was a junk of 7,000 to 8,000 piculs capacity, making it equivalent to what a 900-ton French ship would normally carry.[118] *Pétçao* was a much smaller vessel.

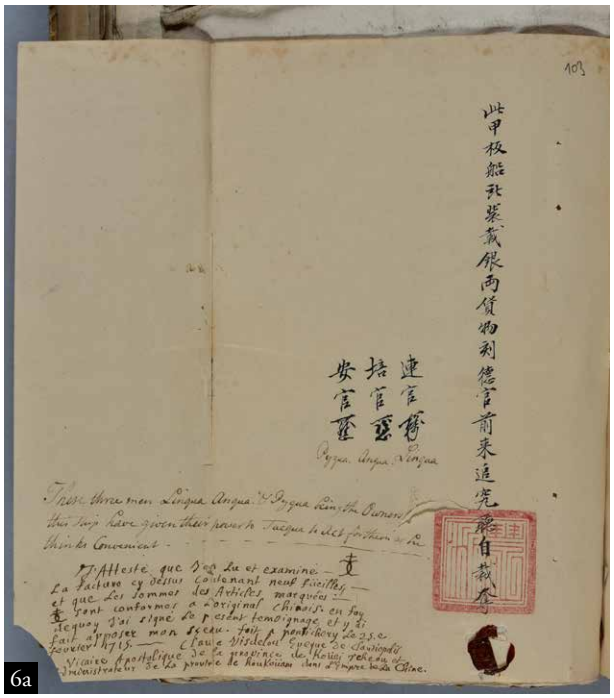
The Statement of Loss from Leanqua and Anqua were written in French, with the aid of Missionaire Apostolique R. P. Gouille, who was in Canton at the time. Every item that was stolen from the two junks was listed in detail, in English, French, Portuguese and Chinese so there were no misunderstandings. It was probably translated into English and Portuguese in order to gain those nationals' support. Fig. 5 is a declaration in Chinese stating briefly that the French had plundered their two junks. It is signed by Leanqua and Anqua and stamped with the chop of the Fengyuan Hang.

The final draft of the plundered cargo was sent to the Franciscan Claude Visdelou Eveque de Claudiopolus Vicaire Apostolique in Pondicherry. Visdelou had previously lived in China, and had learned Chinese. He put the mark of the Franciscan Order of Friars Minor Capuchin ⚚ next to every entry signifying that the translations corresponded with the original Chinese.

Fig. 6a–b shows the first and last pages of the Statement of Loss, with signatures. The document is 26 pages in length, and shows every item in four languages. Leanqua, Anqua, a third joint-owner of the junks Ou Pei Koüan (培官, also spelled Pyqua), and captain Tchin Tekoüan (德官) of junk *Linyu*, signed the documents and stamped it with the chop of the Fengyuan Hang. Unfortunately, they only signed their given names, and not their surnames, so we are unable to trace the men in the Chinese records.

The captain of junk *Pétçao*, Tchin Kokoüan, is also mentioned in the documents, as are all of the other Chinese investors in Canton. None of these other men signed their names in Chinese.[119] All of these documents were submitted to the French colonial government in Pondicherry. They are now held in the Archives Nationales d'Outre-mer in Aix-en-Provence, France.[120]

The value of the goods that were stolen from Leanqua and Anqua's two junks came to 86,825 taels for *Linyu* and 17,909 taels for *Pétçao*, which made a total of 104,734 taels (ca. $145,464).[121] At this time, it was possible to build a moderately sized house in



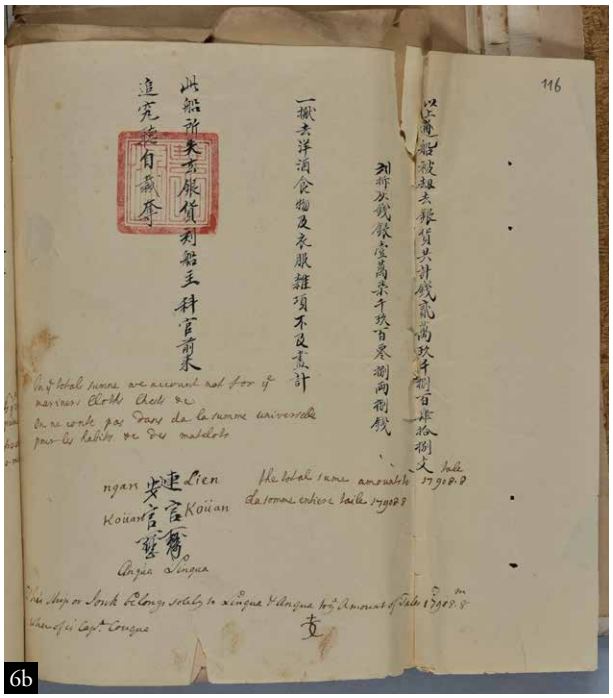


Fig. 6a–b: First and last page of Leanqua and Anqua's Statement of Loss sent to the French in Pondicherry, February 25, 1715. Courtesy of Archives Nationales d'Outre-mer (ANOM), Aix-en-Provence, C/2/276, ff. 103 and 116.

Canton or purchase a good sized ship for $10,000 so this loss was equivalent to having fourteen houses or ships burned up in flames.[122]

If some of this money was borrowed from the Mandarins, as is suggested above, then Leanqua and Anqua would have had to make interest payments on the loans. By the end of February 1715, twenty months had passed since their junks were plundered, which means a lot of accumulated interest. Thus, even if Leanqua and Anqua would have been paid back in 1715, they would likely still have been losers from this attack owing to the outstanding interest owed.

I have found no entry in the French records that shows Leanqua and Anqua actually being paid. Unfortunately, I have found no Chinese records that discuss these matters either. Fig. 7 is a letter sent to John Scattergood dated 1 February 1716, which mentions that they were still waiting for 'restitution'. In the letter, Leanqua and Anqua also thanked Scattergood for taking care of the Chinese 'passengers'. These men were probably sailors who had been displaced after the attacks, and found their way back to China aboard one of Scattergood's ships. Because Leanqua was aboard the junk when it was captured, he was probably also one of the passengers.

The French trade does not seem to have suffered from this event, as one might expect. In 1716, there were six French ships trading at Canton, and two at Amoy.[123] Those financial records have not survived so we do not know which Chinese merchants supplied the cargoes. But we do know that the British were much concerned in 1716 about Leanqua and Anqua gaining control over the largest share of the foreign trade.[124] The French had the largest number of ships in port at this time so we can assume that the two partners were probably supplying a good part of their cargoes.

I have found no other letters from Leanqua and Anqua complaining about their plundered junks so the

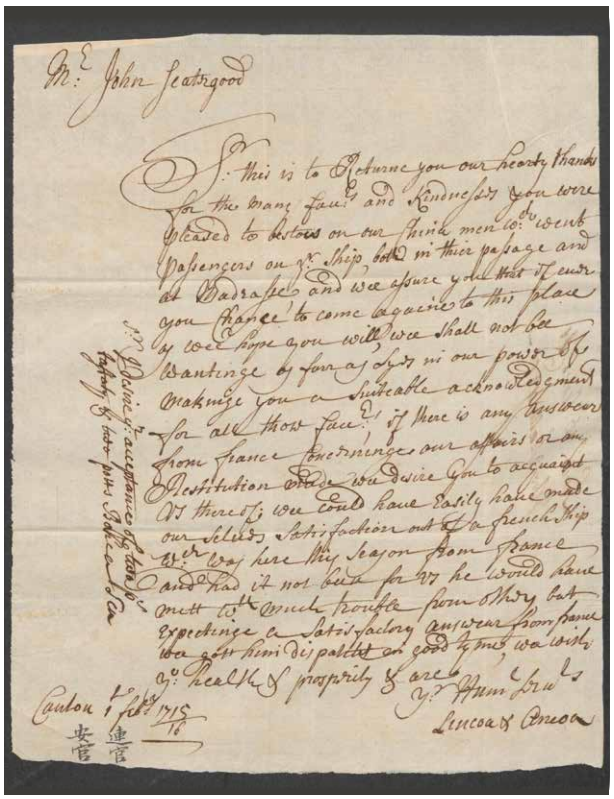


Fig. 7: Letter from Leanqua and Anqua to John Scattergood thanking him for taking care of their Chinese 'passengers' and declaring that they have not yet received any 'restitution' from the French for the loss they have suffered, February 1, 1715. Courtesy of The National Archives, London. C 106/170.

outcome of the matter is unclear. If they were not paid outright for their loss, they would have most likely found other ways to recapture some of their money such as paying less for French imports and charging more for exports. There would likely have been some way for the partners to extract extra money from the trade to make up for the items stolen.

The records in 1714 have a few more details about Leanqua and Anqua's trade. The partners purchased cotton, lead, rosum alloes, and putchuck from Scattergood that year. They also informed Scattergood that the Armenians in Macao had acquired 'a good quantity of quicksilver, tutenaugh and some gold for Madras', which would be sent to India on one of the Portuguese ships.[125] This knowledge was important to have, because if too many of those items arrived at Madras at the same time, then the market would become saturated, and prices would fall. In addition to those products, Scattergood also purchased Japanese copper, sugar candy, and 150 shoes of gold from the two men.

While Leanqua and Anqua were waiting to be paid for their losses from 1713, another incident occurred in Amoy that brought them back into the international spotlight. Besides showing the vast extent of their commercial network, this event also shows that the Canton trade did not operate in isolation, because whatever occurred in one Chinese port could have a dramatic impact on the trade of other ports.

At some point around August 1714, the private English ship *Anne* arrived at Amoy. John Jones was the captain, and John Raworth and Richard Bourchier were the supercargoes. They experienced many difficulties. By this time, Amoy had been receiving foreign ships for more than twenty years, but it was nonetheless still a very chaotic place to do business. Every year, the captains and supercargoes had to renegotiate the terms with local officials. The fees and privileges could change drastically from one year to the next. Foreigners could not rely on previous arrangements or protocols, as was now the case in Canton.

Part of the reason for this uncertainty was the frequent change in senior officials, who often held their offices for one to three years. Another source of uncertainty was the unpredictable arrival of emperor's merchants, which seemed to plague Amoy and Chusan. Those men might show up with no advanced warning and demand a share of the trade. When that happened, of course, all previous arrangements were either negated or put on hold. It often took many months at Amoy to come to terms with officials and merchants and then it took many more months before they could actually receive their cargo.

Raworth and Bourchier did their best to move things forward, but ended up having to layover an

Fig. 8: Map of "The Chart of the China Seas", by William Heather. In Après de Mannevillette, Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas-Denis d', Wellesley, Richard Wellesley, Stephenson, John, Heather, William, Horsburgh, James, Heather and Williams and Robert Laurie and James Whittle, *The Country Trade East-India pilot, for the Navigation of the East-Indies and Oriental Seas, within the Limits of the East-India Company, Extending from the Cape of Good Hope to China, New Holland and New Zeeland, with the Red Sea, Gulf of Persia, Bay of Bengal, and China Seas.* London: Robert Laurie and James Whittle, 1799. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-373100400

entire year at Amoy in order to get enough merchandise to fill their hull. There was much pressure placed on them by the Amoy merchants and officials to accept merchandise that they had been delivered, even if they did not order or want the items. After more than 15 months of haggling, both sides were completely fed up with each other and the discussions ended in a stalemate. According to British accounts, the *Anne* was eventually expelled from the port with only a partial cargo.

The *Anne* moved to Amoy's outer harbour in January 1716, and prepared to leave. But in a last-ditch attempt to make things right and to get the remainder of their cargo, Captain Jones captured a fully laden junk that was anchored nearby. It was bound for Batavia. He then sent word to the Amoy merchants that he would release the junk as soon as he had received the goods he had paid for.

This move had just the opposite effect they had hoped for and brought the Chinese navy into the picture. War junks were sent out to destroy the *Anne* and recapture the junk. Before getting trapped in port, Jones set sail with the captured junk as hostage. The crew consisted of 100 men, some of whom jumped overboard when the junk was captured. Most of the Chinese crew remained on board and were forced to put her under sail in convoy with the *Anne*.[126]

They sailed all the way to Johore, where Captain Jones released 70 of the men. The remaining 22 Chinese seamen proceeded with the junk to India. The 70 men were seized by the Malays and sold at Johore as slaves for $10 per head (Fig. 8). But they were later 'redeemed at that price by the master of a junk' that belonged to Leanqua and Anqua in Canton. The men were then transported to Batavia in order to seek passage home from there.[127]

Additionally, the *Anne* and the junk arrived at Madras on 14 February 1716.[128] Of course, Jones, Raworth, and Bourchier, were well aware that they would have to answer to the EIC for this act of violence done to the Chinese. They handed over the junk, its cargo, and the rest of the Chinese crew, to Governor Harrison. Guards were placed on the vessel so that no one or thing could enter or leave without permission. A detailed inventory was made of the contents.[129]

Jones, Raworth, and Bourchier met several times with the Madras Council to give an account of their actions. They submitted an official report of the circumstances surrounding their trade at Amoy. All of this discussion, of course, was intended to justify their aggressive actions, and to show that they had been treated unjustly.[130]

The outcome of their 20-month adventure to Amoy, from July 1714 to February 1716, was a 15 percent loss on their principle investment. This calculation does not take into account the capture of the junk, but only what the merchandise aboard the *Anne* produced after its sale. The venture was a complete disaster, which they claimed 'was Wholly owing to those land Pyrats, the Mandarines of Amoy'.[131] Rather than earn a profit, everyone who invested in the voyage suffered loss, and that does not take into account the 20 months of costs and interest that could have been earned on their investments.

As might be expected, this incident created a huge uproar in Amoy and Canton. Rumours began circulating that 'several Chinamen were put to the sward [sword], and wounded at seizing the Junk'. The loss to the Chinese was estimated at 80,000 taels.[132] Other rumours circulated throughout the foreign community and the Portuguese in Macao claiming that the capture of the junk had reached 'the Emperour's Ears at Pecking' and that Chinese would now try to 'make reprizall on all' British.[133] The British supercargo Edward Fenwick, who was in Canton in October 1716, mentioned that 'if there is not immediate care taken to make this matter up, I believe it will be very dangerous for any English to come hither, either Company's or private ships'.[134]

Being the most prominent merchants in the foreign trade, Leanqua and Anqua were put in charge of recovering the money for the Amoy merchants.[135] Governor Harrison sent the following letter to the two men, in hopes of settling the matter peaceably. It was written at Fort St George, but addressed to Leanqua and Anqua.

> ***Fort St George May 1716***
> ***You will undoubtedly have heard of the hard treatment our Ship Anne mett with at Amoy from some of the Merchants supported by the Hythong, who had placed them of so much money that they were utterly disabled from fullfilling their agreement, & notwithstanding our people found means, by applying to the Vice Roy of the province, to procure an order for full satisfaction to be made us; which order cost us above 1000 Tales; far from paying due regard thereto, they forced our Supra Cargo's off the shoar, stop'd all boats with provisions from going aboard the ship, & order'd them immediately to be gone out of the Harbour, tho they had then about 20,000 Tales owing them, besides infinite other damages by loss of their Monsoon, and improper goods forc'd upon them at unheard of prices.***[136]

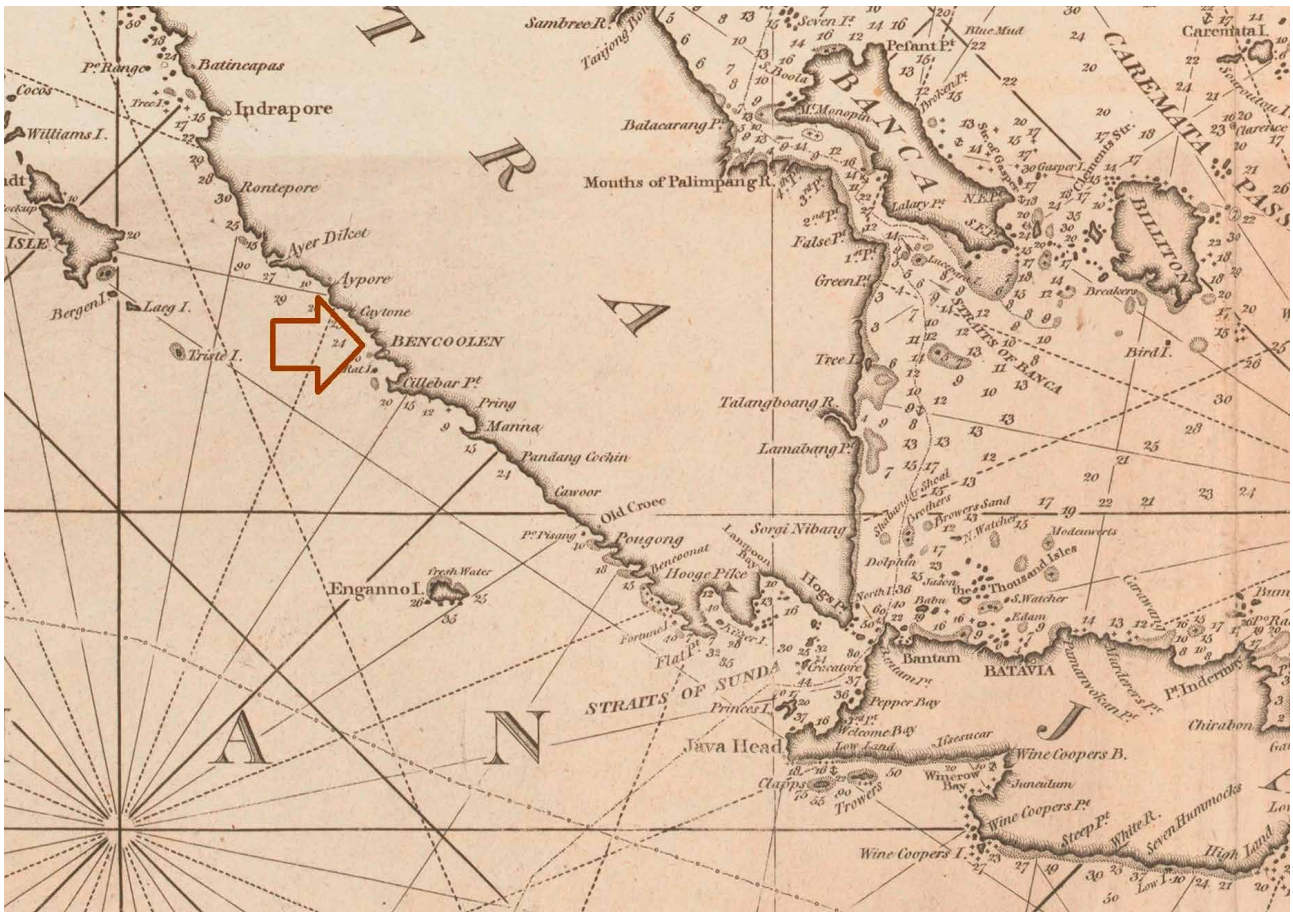


Fig. 9: Map of "The Chart of the China Seas", by William Heather. In Après de Mannevillette, Jean-Baptiste-Nicolas-Denis d', Wellesley, Richard Wellesley, Stephenson, John, Heather, William, Horsburgh, James, Heather and Williams and Robert Laurie and James Whittle, *The Country Trade East-India pilot, for the Navigation of the East-Indies and Oriental Seas, within the Limits of the East-India Company, Extending from the Cape of Good Hope to China, New Holland and New Zeeland, with the Red Sea, Gulf of Persia, Bay of Bengal, and China Seas*. London: Robert Laurie and James Whittle, 1799. Accessed February 26, 2022. http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-373100400

Of course, the entire incident was blamed on the ill treatment of the Mandarins. Governor Harrison then continued, saying, 'I would have sent back the junk & her cargo to you if it had been practicable; but most of the goods, & especially the Tea, would have been spoiled besides many other hazards & inconveniences'.[137] It was thus decided that the best action to take was to sell the cargo and junk at public outcry, which was done under the management of the EIC. They did not think that the tea would bring any amount in India, so it was shipped to England to be sold there in the Company's auction. An account was kept of all the sales, and the Company would decide later who would receive the proceeds.[138]

As for the Chinese who arrived in the junk, Governor Harrison wrote the following.

> ***I would have sent the Chinese, taken in the Junk, by this ship if the Macao Captain would have carried them; I must therefore find some conveyance for them to Malacca or Jehore. The accompanying petition in the China Language you may produce, to satisfy everybody that they are alive and well treated here.***[139]

The Chinese were later transported to Bencoolen (Fig. 9), and from there, they presumably found passage back to Canton.[140] Governor Harrison commissioned Edmé Bongré, a Frenchman from Pondicherry to go to China and meet with Leanqua and Anqua. He had lived many years in Canton and had learned Chinese. Bongré was instructed to make an account of the cargo and value of the junk so that they could determine the losses.

The letter above was delivered to Leanqua and Anqua by Bongré. Harrison requested the Chinese merchants to provide Bongré with all the particulars so that he could return to Madras with the information and then the council would decide what to do with the proceeds from the junk and cargo.[141] In Bongré's instructions, Harrison felt that 'if the matter have been hid from the Emperor, I believe the Business might be accomodated by the agency of Linqua and Anqua who are of the Chinchu [Quanzhou] country'.[142] Quanzhou was in Fujian Province, so Harrison thought that connection would help the two men deal with the Mandarins and merchants there.

The incident, however, was reported to the emperor. The British supercargoes in Canton later reported that

> ***The Emperor, upon this first notice [of the capture of the junk by the English], despatched a messenger to Amoy, with a commission to enquire into the cause of it. Thus he came to a knowledge of the whole matter; and finding his own people the first aggressors, he disgraced several Mandareens, and imprisoned one more immediately connected with the native Merchants, who withheld the remains of the investment due and contracted for, and seized all his Estate.***[143]

Thus, as far as the emperor was concerned, the foreigners did this act because they had been mistreated and pushed to extremes. This is a clear sign of the importance that the Imperial Court now placed on the foreign commerce. Officials in Canton had already known this to be the case, which probably accounts for things turning out much differently there.

Bongré carried out his own investigation, independent from all the others. He stayed in the French factory in Canton, away from the British. Even though the English supercargoes often went to the French factory to meet with him, Bongré did not release anything to them about his investigation.[144] Whether this distancing was done according to Bongré's own design, or according to instructions given to him by Governor Harrison, is unclear. His objective approach, however, probably produced a more unbiased report.

Bongré returned to Madras at the end of May 1717 and reported that the Mandarins had reported to the Court in Beijing that the capture of the junk was a 'Pyratical action, performed by Pyrates, not under the protection of any nation'. The Amoy merchants, however, testified 'that the Junk was not taken by Pyrats, but by English Merchants in reprisal for gross injuries done them on shore, for which they could have no redress from the Mandarins, to whom they applied for Justice'.[145] Bongré asked Leanqua and Anqua to help settle the matter with the Mandarins at Amoy so that they could put this affair behind them.[146]

In the meantime, in June 1717 three letters were sent to Governor Harrison, 'one from the King of Siam Vizier, another from the Bercalong of Siam (superintendent of trade), & a third from Leanqua & Anqua China Merchants at Canton'. The first two letters clarified that the junk that was captured was in fact owned by the king of Siam, and that being the case, he demanded to be reimbursed in full for the loss of the vessel and its cargo. Harrison suspected that this was just a ploy to regain the money, because he learned that 'the Bercalong of Siam is a relation of the said Tytucks [in Amoy] from whom He must have receiv'd the particular Invoice of the Junks Cargo'.[147] The EIC

was trading regularly with Siam at this time, which the Chinese in Amoy would have been aware of.

The EIC finally settled the matter by offering the Bercalong of Siam, in June 1717, the 1,200 pagodas that they had received from the sale of the junk. They argued that the matter of the cargo had already been settled by the Chinese emperor, by charging the Mandarins for the loss. The Bercalong responded by saying that the junk was worth 4,000 pagodas and that he would accept nothing less. In June 1719, the EIC finally agreed to give him what he was asking for the junk, so that their trade there would not be interrupted.

As for the lost cargo, it was sold at auction for 11,515 pagodas. When we add the 1,200 pagodas received for the junk, the total comes to 12,715 pagodas.[148] In August 1720 — four and a half years after the capture of the junk — the owners of the ship *Anne* petitioned the Court in Madras for the remaining balance from the sale of the junk and cargo. The Court agreed to pay the owners whatever balance was remaining, but I have not found an entry showing the exact amount.[149] All of the costs and the extra amount given to the Bercalong of Siam would have been deducted from the balance so the final payment was probably about half of what was realised from the auction. The original amount that they claimed the Amoy merchant owed to them was 26,070 pagodas.[150] Thus, despite capturing the junk, all of the investors of the *Anne*'s voyage from 1714 to 1716 were losers. As for the merchants at Amoy, they presumably were paid by the Mandarins for the loss of their cargo, but of course, there is no way to confirm this.

In 1717, Leanqua and Anqua continued to dominate the trade in Canton. The British reported that 'Linqua & Anqua have of late provided most part of the Cargoes for our Europe Ships' and 'aim at engrossing the whole trade of the English at Canton'. These complaints led to the EIC directors issuing more instructions to the supercargoes to do what they could to keep the two men from monopolising the commerce.[151]

Other British ships continued to go to Amoy, despite the disaster with the *Anne*. They were instructed, if the topic of the captured junk should arise, to just tell the merchants and Mandarins that the matter was being managed by the council at Madras and that they had every intention of carrying on a fair and peaceful trade with China. This excuse seems to have worked, because English ships continued to go there.[152]

7. THE END OF A LONG PARTNERSHIP AND DECLINE OF LEANQUA (1718–1720)

While Leanqua and Anqua had clearly maintained their dominance of the trade up to 1717, there were other factors at play now that turned their fate towards the worse. For some reason, Anqua disappears from the records after 1717. Leanqua's name is now often spelled Linqua. The man named Amoy Anqua was now trading in Canton as well, but he posed no threat to Leanqua's business.[153]

In late 1716, the Kangxi emperor placed an embargo on the trade with Southeast Asia, which effectively stopped Chinese junks from going there. From 1717 to 1722, the junks were not allowed to leave China.[154] This gave a much needed boost to the Portuguese merchants in Macao, who often went to the same places as the junks and traded in the same products. Now they had no competition from the junks.

According to historian Gang Zhao, the embargo was not officially removed until 1729.[155] The trade with foreigners in Chinese ports was not affected by this stoppage, only the Chinese junks. We know that Leanqua and Anqua owned several junks, and conducted trade each year to Batavia and other places in Southeast Asia, so they were certain to have been impacted by this embargo. There is not a lot of information about Leanqua after 1717. He traded with a number of foreign ships in 1719.[156] He was now an old man and no longer ranked as a prominent merchant in Canton. After his

partner Anqua disappeared from the trade, Leanqua's business seems to have deteriorated rapidly.

By the mid-1710s, Canton had clearly emerged as the preferred port of commerce in China. This standing encouraged more merchants from Fujian Province to move there. Tan Hunqua begins to show up in the records in 1713, Tan Suqua in 1716, Cudgin in 1720, and many other men in the years that followed.[157] Competition was now fierce in Canton, and the new men very quickly began grabbing some of Leanqua's market shares.

In an undated letter from circa 1719, the author (probably John Scattergood), made the following comment.

> ***Thank God have gott allmost all we left behind us last year except a little from Linqua y^e^ Hong losses their creditt prodigiously every body y^t^ [that] have delt w^th^ them this year complains very much and swears they will not have any dealings more w^th^ them, especially now old Linqua is a goeing to retire to Chinsu [Quanzhou] and leaving their business to Chouqua & Emsha.***[158]

This entry refers to Leanqua's house in the plural ('their creditt' and 'not have any dealings more w^th^ them'). We can logically assume that he had a number of people working in his house, which would be normal for such a large operator. We know that Chouqua had worked in his house in the past, but the connection to Emsha is unclear.

In another letter from 1719, the author (probably also John Scattergood) mentions that

> ***Old Linqua decays apace in Age and Creditt for everybody y^t^ [that] has delt w^th^ him this year complains very much. He gives out he designes to retire to Chinsu [Quanzhou] y^e^ next year and leave his Hung to Emsha & Chouqua.***[159]

Unfortunately, Leanqua does not seem to have worked out his retirement as planned. When the British arrived in Canton on 28 August 1720, they learned that 'Linqua the great Merchant of this place died the same day'.[160]

The foundations of the Canton system were now firmly in place. Officials were now banned from having any direct involvement in the trade, and those who were caught doing so, were prosecuted.[161] The payments to officials for the 'privilege' of trading with each ship were also done away with.

Of course, officials found other ways to exact payments from merchants. They continued to receive 'gifts' and 'donations' from merchants. While those payments might appear to be given voluntarily, they were usually coerced from the merchants. They would lose their 'privilege' in the future if they did not submit to the exactions.

Nevertheless, the trade was now very stable which set Canton apart from other Chinese ports. Those other places continued to have endless problems with connivances, with senior officials demanding payments, and with outside men claiming they had been granted special privileges to the commerce.[162]

8. LEANQUA'S SUCCESSORS

What do we know about Leanqua's successors? Emsha had been in business from at least 1703. His name was spelled variously, and is the same person as the Hemshaw and Empshaw mentioned above. He shows up in the records off and on from 1703 to 1721, and then disappears.[163]

Chouqua's alias was Pinky or Pinkee Winkee. When the name Chouqua is used, it is difficult to follow him, because there were several other merchants with names similar to this. Thus, for the most part, we can only track him when he is referred to as Pinky. His Chinese name was Zhang Zuguan (張族官) and he traded out of the Suicheng Hang (遂成行). I have written his story covering the years from 1721

to 1756.[164] When I did that research, however, I was unaware that he had been previously working with Leanqua. After that story was published, some earlier references to Pinky emerged.

In 1711, a Pinke Winkee alias Choqua (or Chouquah) shows up in the Scattergood papers.[165] His name appears regularly thereafter under various spellings including Pinquy, Pinkee, Pinkie, and in 1714 as 'Pinkee Winkee alias Chouqua'.[166] Thus, we can now show that Pinky was active in the trade from 1711 to 1756 and had close ties to Leanqua and Anqua. In the early years, Pinky operated as a clerk for Leanqua and Anqua, handling trade for them while at the same time carrying on some of his own business.[167] There were other Zhang (張) merchants who were involved in the trade after Pinky disappears, but it is unclear whether they were related to him.[168]

The last reference I have to Leanqua and Anqua is from 1727. On April 22 of that year the EIC ship *Prince Augustus* arrived at Batavia. On April 28, the British supercargoes 'found a Person who was formerly one of Linqua & Anqua's head Servants'.[169] Leanqua and Anqua had been involved in the trade at Batavia for decades so it is not surprising to find one of their former employees there.

The British asked this man to write a letter for them in Chinese to the Hong merchant Suqua (Chen Shouguan 陳壽觀, the Tan Suqua mentioned above). The letter was written and sent to Macao by a Portuguese ship. These British officers wanted Suqua to go to Amoy instead of Canton, as they were unhappy with the new impositions that were now in place in the latter port. Because ships were now arriving regularly, Qing officials decided to add an additional 10 percent surtax to the trade. The British hoped to avoid paying this tax by going to Amoy.

Suqua received the letter, but declined to go to Amoy out of 'fear of having his houses & other effects seized by the great Mandarines here [Canton]'.[170] Canton was now the centre of the foreign trade, and in order for it to remain the centre, government officials took the drastic measure of threatening the merchants with retaliation against their properties and their families if they tried to leave. As Suqua's response shows, the threats were effective.[171]

The 10 percent surtax was later removed by the Qianlong emperor in 1736, and then all voyages to other Chinese ports ceased.[172] After 1736, all of the foreign ships went to Canton. This was their decision and not the result of changes in Chinese policy. The only exception to that rule was a few Spanish ships from Manila that continued to visit Amoy, off and on. When the English attempted to open another port to trade in the mid-1750s, the Qianlong emperor responded quickly and forcefully. In 1757, he designated Canton to be the only port open to foreign commerce.

CONCLUSION

It was not until recently that I had obtained enough information about Leanqua and Anqua to write their story. While they have been mentioned in a number of history books in the past, only bits and pieces of their story have been told. Moreover, because all previous accounts of Anqua mixed up his story with that of Amoy Anqua, the outcome has been confusing.

All of the information about Leanqua and Anqua comes from foreign sources. The EIC records in the British Library and the records from Fort St George in India were especially helpful. The Dutch records at Jakarta and the National Archives in The Hague and the French records in the Archives Nationales d'Outremer at Aix-en-Provence and Archives Nationales in Paris were equally rich in detail. Private records from John Scattergood's collection in The National Archives in London and Captain Alexander Hamilton's published journal, helped to fill in some of the gaps in their story. There were also a few useful entries in the Portuguese records at Macao.

Scholars familiar with the Ostend General India Company will note correctly that those ships traded at

Canton as well, from 1715 to 1733. The records from 1715 to 1719, however, have not survived. I checked the records at the Stadsarchief in Antwerp and the Universiteits Bibliotheck in Ghent, which cover the years from 1720 to 1733, and found no references to Leanqua or Anqua. I had hoped that the Flemish supercargoes, who had been to Canton prior to 1720, might have mentioned the two men, but that was not the case.

No single collection gives a clear picture of Leanqua and Anqua. All of the records needed to be consulted to put their story together, which has taken many years. Once the data had been assembled, it became clear that the two men were going to provide us with a lively account of maritime trade in the early eighteenth century.

After the Qing Maritime Customs was established in 1684, government officials in Guangzhou continued to have a hand in the trade, as they had done before. Anqua was sent to Batavia by one of the governors general in order to encourage the Dutch to do more trade with Guangzhou. Some of the junks that were sent to Java were actually called by the Dutch, the Sontock's junk. The governor's general sent agents to Batavia, and communicated directly with the Dutch government via written correspondences.

These envoys disappeared after 1690, and shortly thereafter the letters between the Dutch government and the governors general also come to an end. These changes are probably the result of the Qing government tightening control over the trade, and removing areas where there were conflicts of interest. Government officials such as the Hoppos continued to benefit from the trade, but those exactions became more subtle and indirect. Leanqua and Anqua had to purchase the rights to trade, from the Hoppos, for each of the French and British ships that arrived at Canton. The Hoppos could easily disguise those payments as 'presents' or something of the like so that it did not look like they were benefiting from the commerce.

The emperor reduced the quota on duties collected from Guangdong Province in 1698, in an attempt to encourage more trade. That initiative paid off, because shortly thereafter more foreign ships chose to go to Canton rather than Amoy, Chusan, or Ningbo. With the increase in the trade of 1702, the Hoppo re-introduced an *ad valorem* tax of 3 percent on exports. In 1704, the tax was raised to 4 percent. At some point around 1720 it was increased to 6 percent. But it should also be noted that this was only done, after the trade had grown, and could support it. Another 10 percent tax was added in 1726, but then later removed in 1736. In these early years, Qing officials experimented with different forms of taxation to find out what policies worked best and could be sustained in the long term.

The emperor's merchants and other such persons who acquired special licenses from the imperial family, or from senior government officials, popped up in Canton from time to time, but they never had much control or influence. As long as the officials in Canton, and especially the Hoppos, were benefitting from the local merchants, there were no incentives to allow these outsiders a part of the trade. Moreover, foreigners also did not want to deal with men who had no capital or experience in business, so for the sake of encouraging ships to return, it was best to keep those special license holders at a distance. This practice set Canton apart from other ports, where those outside men were more successful.

Leanqua and Anqua suffered two attacks on their junks. In early 1704, Captain Hamilton left China with grievances against the partners, whom he thought had cheated him. In order to make things right, he attacked one of their junks at Johore, and forcibly extracted cargo from the vessel to the amount he thought he was owed. As far as the Qing government was concerned, this happened outside of China and was a private matter, so Leanqua had no recourse other than to plead with the foreigners for justice.

In the attack on Leanqua and Anqua's two junks

in 1713 by French commander Bouynot, the Chinese government did become concerned, perhaps because a junk from Ningbo had also been robbed. But it is interesting to note that even though the French were very much afraid that this event would cause problems in their trade with China, it actually had little impact. There were likely some angry words exchanged between the two parties, but then as time wore on, the matter just disappeared. Collecting more imperial revenues was more important than getting justice for Leanqua and Anqua. So in the end, the government did not come to their aid. Bouynot's attack darkened the French reputation in China, but not to the point that their trade was affected.

In early 1716, the English Captain Jones captured and ran away with a fully laden junk from Amoy that was bound to Batavia. Leanqua and Anqua were put in charge of settling the matter with the British, who were now also very much afraid that their trade with China would come to an end. Qing officials were much alarmed at this bold act of piracy in one of their harbours. But after investigating the matter, officials in Amoy were blamed, rather than the English traders. The maintenance of the foreign trade was now very important to the imperial court. The merchants, Mandarins, and Leanqua and Anqua, again had no support from government to help reclaim their money.

Except for the last incident, we do not know how the other two offences were settled. Leanqua and Anqua probably found ways to get at least some of their money back. Their only course of action was to plead with the foreign offenders for retribution, which was a very long drawn out ordeal with little prospect of success. This was the case because once the foreigners discovered that their trade in China was not interrupted, there was no incentive to correct the wrongs that had been done in the past.

In late 1716, an embargo was place on the Chinese junk trade to Southeast Asia. After that happened, Leanqua and Anqua, and all of the other junk traders, had to depend solely on the trade that they could muster together in their home ports. This led to Chinese merchants from Fujian moving to Canton instead to engage in the trade with foreigners. The increased competition is one of the factors that contributed to Leanqua's rapid decline thereafter. After 1717, Anqua disappears from the records. Leanqua continued for a few more years, but without much success.

In 1719 Leanqua expressed his desire to retire to Quanzhou. For some reason, that did not happen, perhaps because he was now suffering financial difficulties. In August 1720, his dream of retiring came to an end when he died in Canton. Before his death, he designated Pinky (Chouqua) and Emsha to be his successor. By this time Tan Suqua had emerged as the dominant merchant in Canton, and took over Leanqua and Anqua's former position as the number one trading house. Pinky and Emsha may have inherited Leanqua's trade, but it was now so much reduced that it could not come close to competing with Suqua.

Taking all of these factors together, Leanqua and Anqua have given us some well-documented reasons for Canton's emergence as the centre of the trade in the early eighteenth century. There were many problems that had to be overcome, but officials in Canton consistently honored the rights of the local merchants over the rights of emperor's merchants and other persons who showed up with special licences. That fact is important for creating a stable environment and avoiding the chaos that occurred in Amoy and Chusan. Qing officials also adjusted the duties on the trade so that they did not discourage, but rather encouraged, foreigners to return. While there were many angry complaints about new taxes, and how they were being applied, foreigners nonetheless continued to return to Canton.

In some regards, it is difficult to say that Leanqua and Anqua's story ends on a positive note. The real tragedy of their story is not so much how it ended but rather that we do not know their names. Their ancestors today probably have no idea that they

even existed, which is perhaps a worse outcome than going bankrupt.

On the bright side, the two men enjoyed quite a few years of wealth, fame and glory. Their memories were sure to have survived for many years after their deaths. The fact that the British supercargoes ran into one of their former employees in Batavia in 1727 is a clear example of their continued legacy. The EIC officers not only remembered Leanqua and Anqua, but also trusted their former employee to write a letter for them to Suqua.

Leanqua and Anqua were among the most prominent men in Canton, and they became widely known and respected across Asia and Europe, as two of the greatest merchants and international negotiators of their time. They handled affairs for many of the top officials in Canton and Amoy, and were likely involved in correspondences with Beijing. Their names are now recorded in many documents, in several countries. That outcome in itself is very impressive for two merchants, who just wanted to carry on their business. They stumbled into international conflicts, not by choice but by fate. They pulled through those difficulties remarkably well and in so doing, helped to put the Canton trade on track for the great expansion that would occur decades later. RC

NOTES

1 For the development of the trade in these early years, see Paul A. Van Dyke, "From the Open Seas to the Guangzhou System," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian Commercial History* (Chicago: Oxford University Press, 2020) https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.013.623; Zhao Gang, *The Qing Opening to the Ocean. Chinese Maritime Policies, 1684–1757* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013); and Angela Schottenhammer, "Characteristics of Qing China's Maritime Trade Politics, Shunzhi Through Qianlong Reigns," in *Trading Networks in Early Modern East Asia*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 101–143.

2 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: 135 n. 1, 150 and 2: 1; Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident. Le Commerce a Canton au XVIII Siècle 1719–1833*, 3 vols. and Album (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), 1: 324; Weng Eang Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton. Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade, 1684–1798* (Copenhagen: NIAS-Curzon Press, 1997), 34–35, 59, 68 n. 32; Peng Zeyi, *Guangzhou yanghuo shisan hang* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2020), 13. See also Ng Chin-Keong, Trade and Society. *The Amoy Network on the China Coast 1683–1735* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1983), 178.

3 Paul A. Van Dyke, "Amoy Anqua (1696–1723) and the China Trade before the Rise of the Canton System," *Review of Culture*, International Edition 66 (2021), 96–111.

4 "Linqua and Anqua who are of the Chinchu [Quanzhou] country". British Library (BL): India Office Records (IOR) G/12/8, p. 1317; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 1: 152.

5 Aix-en-Provence, Archives Nationales d'Outre-mer (ANOM): C.1.9, letter dated 1715.02.25, ff. 81–82, C/2/276, ff. 89v, 94r.

6 ANOM: C/2/276, ff. 103r, 116r. Thanks to Professor Huang Chao for helping me decipher the name on the stamp (*yinzhang* 印章).

7 'Comme l'a affirmé en France le P. Bouvet, qu'il y a quatre ans, qu'Ankoua, un de nos marchands de Canton, fut envoyé à Batavia par le *tsongto*, le *titou*, et quelques autres mandarins avec de bonnes lettres pour sollicitier les Hollandais à venir àf Canton pour y faire commerce, et pour leur offrir l'assistance et la protection de ce mandarin'. Claudius Madrolle, ed. *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine. La Compagnie de la Chine 1698–1719* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1901), 152–153.

8 'An Koua raconta comment, il avoit esté envoyé à Batavia par le tsongto et le titou'. Madrolle, Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine, 167. See also 152–153.

9 Cheong mentions that Anqua went to Batavia in 1694, and stayed there for two years but then returned to Canton empty handed. He cites Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*, 152–153 as his source. Madrolle discusses Anqua's trip to Batavia, but there is nothing about it happening in 1694. Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, 34, 68 n. 31.

10 For examples of the different official names, trade names, and nicknames, used by Chinese merchants in Canton, see the appendixes in Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*. Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011) (hereafter MCM 1); and Paul A. Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*. Vol. 2 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University

Press, 2016) (hereafter MCM 2).

11 John E. Wills, Jr., Pepper, *Guns and Parleys. The Dutch East India Company and China, 1622–1681* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 194.

12 National Archives, The Hague (NAH): VOC 1407, 1685.11.23, ff. 3247r–v.

13 NAH: VOC 1438, 1687.03.10, f. 799r, VOC 1440, 1688.01.29, f. 2347v, VOC 1462, 1689.04.28, f. 174r.

14 Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI), Batavia Castle *dagregisters* (DR) 2503, 1688.01.30, f. 32; NAH: VOC 1453, letter dated 1688.02.24, pp. 259–262. Cheong has suggested that Leanqua (Linqua) might have been the same person as Lin Qifeng (he spelled the name Lin Ch'i-feng). We know this could not be the case because that man died in 1689, and Leanqua died in 1720. Cheong, *Hong Merchants of Canton*, 32.

15 ANRI: DR 2503, 1688.01.13, ff. 32–33.

16 Wills, *Pepper, Guns and Parleys*, 158–159, 179.

17 NAH: VOC 1407, ff. 2818–2819, 2826, 2830.

18 Wills, *Pepper, Guns and Parleys*; John E. Wills, Jr., *Embassies and Illusions, Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-hsi, 1666–1687* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); John E. Wills, Jr., *1688: A Global History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001); John E. Wills, Jr., ed., *China and Maritime Europe 1500–1800. Trade, Settlement, Diplomacy, and Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

19 Wills, *Pepper, Guns and Parleys*, 158–203; *Wills, Embassies and Illusions*, 173.

20 Zhao, *The Qing Opening to the Ocean*, 116.

21 For examples, see Morse, *Chronicles*, 4: index entries under 'viceroy'; and Van Dyke, MCM 1 and MCM 2: index entries under 'governor general'.

22 W. Ph. Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Deel V: 1686–1697 ('s-Gravenhage: Verkrijgbaar Bij Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), 316; and ANRI: DR 2504, 1689.04.25, f. 254.

23 ANRI: DR 2504, the contract is dated 1689.03.10 but it is placed under the date 1689.04.25, pp. 254–361. For more information about the carrying out of these contracts with the governor general in Canton, see related letters in NAH: Japan nos. 1532–1539.

24 All of these communications between the Dutch and governor general Wu Xingzuo's agents are summarised in Wills' two books *Pepper, Guns and Parleys* and *Embassies and Illusions*. Some of the letters have been transcribed and printed in Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven*, Deel V, 157, 174, 219–221, 269, 316, and 361. Lilauya's death in early 1689 is mentioned on pages 269 and 316. Onglauya's contract with the Dutch in 1689 and governor general Wu's letter (both written in Dutch) can be seen in ANRI: DR 2504, pp. 256–261.

25 ANRI: DR 2507, 1691.01.16, p. 18, 1691.06.20, p. 284.

26 NAH: VOC 1462, 1689.04.28, f. 174r.

27 ANRI: DR 2504, 1689.06.25, pp. 400–408.

28 ANRI: DR 2504, 1689.06.25, pp. 400–408.

29 Van Dyke, "Amoy Anqua," 104–107.

30 Van Dyke, "Amoy Anqua," 96–111. Amoy Anqua continued trading after 1703, and up to 1723, but he never recovered from the debts he had accumulated owing to the Mandarins and/or special license holders taking away his profits.

31 The man who arrived at Amoy in 1702 to partake in the trade was called both a 'king's' and 'emperor's' merchant. BL: IOR G/12/14, pp. 84–85. In this year, the trade of the locally licensed merchants at Chusan was suddenly interrupted as well when the emperor's second and fourth sons arrived with special permission to trade with the British ships. And then another man emerged, named Inqua, who was called the 'General's Merchant'. BL: IOR G/12/6, pp. 898–899, 907. In 1709, one of the main reasons the British gave for staying away from Amoy in the previous two years was that they were forced to trade with the emperor's merchants. BL: IOR G/12/14, 1709.01.10, p. 118.

32 For a more detailed account of the developments in this early period, see Van Dyke, "From the Open Seas to the Guangzhou System". For an example of a local merchant in Amoy being ruined by these outside intruders, see Van Dyke, "Amoy Anqua," 96–111.

33 *Arquivos de Macau* (Fevereiro 1964) (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1964), series III, vol. I, n.º 1, pp. 23–24.

34 George Bryan Souza, *The Survival of Empire. Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630–1754* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 130–131.

35 *Arquivos de Macau*, series III, vol. I, n.º 1, pp. 23–24; Souza, *The Survival of Empire*, 130–131; Cheong, Hong Merchants of Canton, 31–32.

36 'il y a déjà plus de dix ans que je fais ce commerce'. Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*, LVI–LX. The quote is on page LVII.

37 'moy LlN YU j'ai fait faire un vaisseau à mes depens à la manière des Europeans. J'ay receu la permission des mandarins'. Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*, LVII.

38 'ce que j'ay gagné j'entretiens ma femme et mes enfans'. Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*, LVII.

39 Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*; BL: IOR G/12/5–6, G/12/16, L/MAR/A/CXXIII.

40 'tous deux honnetes gens, autant que les Chinois peuvent l'estre'. Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*, 166.

41 'Le *tsongto* lut le *Tietze* par deux fois, le plia, le mit dans sa poche, et n'en parla plus'. Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*, 167.

42 'Le *tsongto* lut le *Tietze* par deux fois, le plia, le mit dans sa poche, et n'en parla plus'. Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*, 167.

43 Jean-Baptiste du Halde, *Description Geographique Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de L'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*. 4 vols. (Paris: P.G. le Mercier, 1835. Reprint, The Hague: Henry Scheurleer, 1836), 2: 213–246.

44 Huang Chao and Paul A. Van Dyke, "The Hoppo's Books and the Guangdong Maritime Customs 1685–1842," *Journal*

of Asian History 55, no. 1 (2021): 89–119.
45 Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*, 191–192.
46 BL: IOR G/12/6, 1702.09.26, p. 868.
47 BL: IOR G/12/6, pp. 878–880.
48 Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*, 192.
49 Van Dyke, "Amoy Anqua," 96–111.
50 ANOM: C.1.18, extract dated 1703.12.15, f. 99.
51 BL: IOR G/12/7, p. 1025.
52 Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alexander Hamilton from the year 1688–1723*. 2 vols. (London: 1739), 2: 219–225.
53 Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies*, 2: 228–229; Morse, *Chronicles*, 1: 102–103; Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident*, 1: 323.
54 BL: IOR G/12/7, 1704.09.20, p. 1031.
55 Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indie*s, 2: 233–234.
56 Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies*, 2: 233–234.
57 Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies*, 2: 98–159, 208; NAH: VOC 1677 pp. 47, 307.
58 Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies*, 2: 234; Morse, Chronicles, 1: 104.
59 ANRI: DR 2525, 1704.05.05, pp. 214–215; NAH: VOC 1677, Malacca, pp. 47, 307, VOC 1691, Malacca, p. 21, and VOC 1683, p. 1349. Citing Hamilton's journal, Morse mentioned that his ship was 'large' with '40 guns' and 'a crew of 150'. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1: 102. Morse did not mention the page number, and I could not find this entry in Hamilton's journal. My failure to find, however, it is probably owing to that journal having a very confusing narrative that continually bounces around from the year 1688 to 1723. It is impossible to establish clearly which ship he is in each year, because he rarely mentions their names.
60 Hamilton also owned ship *Francis*, which visited Malacca and Johore about the same time that Hamilton was there. The Dutch in Batavia and Malacca referred to Hamilton's ship by two different names, the *Geluckige Uur* (Lucky Hour) and *Vinte Gorre* (Twenty Hats?), respectfully. However, they appear to be the same ship. They had the same number of cannons aboard, the same size crew, and both were said to be 600 tons. Except for the names, the narratives of Hamilton's voyage appear to be the same in both the Malacca and Batavia records. ANRI: DR 2525, 1704.05.05, pp. 214–215; NAH: VOC 1677, Malacca, pp. 47, 307, VOC 1691, Malacca, p. 21, and VOC 1683, p. 1349. As detailed as Hamilton's *A New Account of the East-Indies is*, he amazingly avoids mentioning the name of his ship.
61 Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies*, 2: 233–234; BL: IOR G/12/7, pp. 1024–1025. This affair was also reported to the Court of Directors in London. BL: IOR B/48, 1706.03.29, p. 151.
62 Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies*, 2: 233–234; BL: IOR G/12/7, pp. 1024–1025.
63 BL: IOR G/12/7, pp. 1024–1025.
64 BL: IOR G/12/7, p. 1025.
65 BL: IOR G/12/7, pp. 1025–1026.
66 BL: IOR G/12/7, pp. 1026–1027.
67 BL: IOR G/12/7, pp. 1026–1027; Morse, *Chronicles*, 1: 102–103; Peng, *Guangzhou yanghuo shisan hang*, 16.
68 BL: IOR G/12/7, 1704.12.11, pp. 1046–1047.
69 BL: IOR G/12/7, 1704.12.13, p. 1047.
70 Paul A. Van Dyke, "200 Years of Spanish Shipping in Canton and Macao (1640–1840)," *Review of Culture* (International Edition) 69 (2022): 79–111.
71 BL: IOR G/12/7, 1704.12.30, p. 1049.
72 Morse, *Chronicles*, 1: 146.
73 For a couple references to the two companies operating in China in the early 1700s, see BL: IOR G/12/6, pp. 854–855.
74 For more about the merging of the old and new companies, see K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978. Reprint, New Delhi: S. Chand & Co. Ltd., 1978), 434–437.
75 BL: IOR G/12/7, p. 1052.
76 BL: IOR E/1/2, Miscellaneous Letters Received 1710, "Letter 117 Linqua and Anqua, merchants at Canton to the Court relating to the duties imposed by the Hoppo on foreign trade," pp. 214–215. Thanks to Richard Morel of the British Library for bringing this letter to my attention.
77 These correspondences between Hong merchants and European directors are reproduced in Van Dyke, MCM 1: Plates 06.01 to 06.04; and MCM 2: 70–71, and Plate 01.11.
78 There is a lot of confusion in the secondary literature about these *ad valorem* taxes. The primary sources sometimes also contradict themselves. Nevertheless, we now have sufficient data available to sort out what happened. See Morse, *Chronicles*, 1: 106; Earl H. Pritchard, *Anglo-Chinese Relations During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 85–89; Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident*, 1: 317–319; Dilip Kumar Basu, "Asian Merchants and Western Trade: A Comparative Study of Calcutta and Canton 1800–1840" (PhD diss., Dept. of History, University of California, Berkeley, 1975), 320; Cheong, *Hongs Merchants of Canton*, 101, 194–198; Peng, *Guangzhou yanghuo shisan hang*, 16; Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony, *Qingdai qianqi de yuehaiguan yu shisan hang* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2014), 74–76.
79 *Qing shi lu Guangdong shi liao*. 6 vols. (Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng chubanshe, 1995), 1: 1686.03.03, p. 193, 1698.05.28, p. 214; Fu Lo-Shu, ed., *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations (1644–1820)*. 2 vols. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1966), 1: 86, 110.
80 Huang and Van Dyke, "The Hoppo's Books," 89–119.
81 BL: IOR G/12/6, p. 869. Hai Shou 海壽 was the Hoppo in 1702. Liang Tingnan, *Yuehaiguan zhi* (1839. Reprint. Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2002), 124.
82 BL: IOR G/12/6, pp. 869, 877–879.
83 Morse, *Chronicles*, 1: 142–143. The original entries appear to have come from BL: IOR G/12/7, pp. 1046–1047. However, that file seems to contain paraphrases of the original documents. The entries in Morse's book show the 4 percent *ad valorem* tax, whereas the entries in G/12/7 do not. But much

of the wording is the same as in Morse.

84 "A Succinct Historical Narrative of the East-India Company's Endeavours to Form Settlements and to Extend and Encourage Trade in the East, and of the Causes by which Those Endeavours have been Frustrated," *The Asiatic Journal* (March 1822): 209–220. See 214.

85 Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preuischer Kulturbesitz: "The Hoppo-Book of Canton" (1753). See Hirth's comments in the introduction. Accessed September 24, 2017. http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/we rkansicht?PPN=PPN3346157598&PHYSID=PHYS_0001&DMDID=.

86 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1723.05.27, p. 1417, G/12/21, 1723.05.23, p. 21. Without providing a reference, Basu states that the tax was raised to 6 percent in 1720. Basu, "Asian Merchants and Western Trade," 320. Morse mentions that the surtax was raised to 6 percent in 1708, but he did not provide a source, and that does not agree with the letter above or other sources. 'In 1708 a surtax of 6 per cent. Was added'. Morse, *Chronicles*, 1: 106. See also p. 81 'the legal rate of Chinese customs duty, according to the official tariff, was . . . at the general rate of 6 per cent *ad valorem*'. On pp. 158 and 175, however, Morse acknowledged that the tax was 4 percent in 1718, and had risen to 6 percent by 1723. We know that the tax was still at 4 percent in 1718, because the British petitioned the Hoppo for its removal that year. BL: IOR G/12/8, 1718.07.17, p. 1350.

87 London, The National Archives (TNA): C/106/171 Scattergood v Raworth. This collection has many different types of documents, with no titles and no page numbers. For the references mentioned here, see the account book for 1711.

88 For examples of gold being smuggling out of Canton, see Van Dyke, MCM 1 and MCM 2: index entries under 'gold'.

89 'les plus fameux marchands de la ville'. Archives Nationales, Paris (ANP): 4JJ 129.3.3 ter Journal de le Vaisseaux Solide, p. 34.

90 "A Succinct Historical Narrative," 214; and "Endeavours of the East India Company to Settle and Prosecute Trade in China," in *Report, Relative to the Trade with the East Indies and China, from the Select Committee of the House of Lords* (1829), 360–411. See 380.

91 Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005. Reprint, 2007), 11–12.

92 *Records of Fort St George. Despatches from England 1713–1714* (Madras: Government Press, 1927), p. 3 par. 12.

93 "Endeavours of the East India Company to Settle and Prosecute Trade in China," 380.

94 See the conflict between Tan Hunqua and Tan Suqua in Van Dyke, MCM 1: Chapters 5 and 6.

95 TNA: C/106/171, undated letter from autumn 1713.

96 *Qing shi lu Guangdong shi liao*, 1: 248–249, 255; Zhao, *The Qing Opening to the Ocean*, 153–156; Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company* (Providence: Foris Publications, 1988), 132. For examples of the Hong merchants encouraging rice imports in the 1780s and later, see 'rice' in the indexes of Van Dyke, MCM 1, MCM 2, and Paul A. Van Dyke and Maria Kar-wing Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories 1760–1822: Reading History in Art* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), 38.

97 TNA: C/106/171, account book for 1713.

98 TNA: C/106/170, letter addressed to Beauvoir, unsigned and undated, but it would be from 1713/1714. In another letter dated 6 March 1714, a tough negotiating Indian merchant named Rustome, was described as 'another Canton Anquah ... and 10 times worse', which further suggests that Anqua was considered to be a tough negotiator. TNA: C/106/171, letter addressed to Mr. Phipps, dated 1714.05.06.

99 Van Dyke, "Amoy Anqua," 96–111.

100 ANRI: DR 2540, 1714.04.06, ff. 384–387. Bouynot left France in April 1711, arrived at Rio de Janeiro in October 1711, and arrived in Peru in February 1712. NAH: VOC 1854, Malacca, first book, letter dated 26 January 1714, pp. 15–16, which is reproduced in Fig. 4a–b.

101 In the Dutch records, the *l'Éclair* is referred to as '*de Klock*' or '*de Clock*' because it was a Dutch-built vessel, and that was its former name (see Fig. 4b). Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*, LVI–LX. The French vessel, *François d'Argouge*, captain Pierre Buisson, was in Manila from 24 May 1713 to 18 October 1714 so it did not partake in the attack. Denis Nardin, "La France et les Philipines sous l'Ancien Régime," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 63, n.º 230 (1976) : 5–43. See page 9. The names of the ships in Bouynot's fleet are listed in Fig. 4a–b, as well.

102 Nardin, "La France et les Philipines sous l'Ancien Régime," 9.

103 Nardin mentioned that Bouynot arrived back in Manila on 10 August 1713 with the captured ships, which included 'no less than one Portuguese, one English, one Chinese, and one Dutch' ('il ramène en ce port, le 10 août, pas moins de quatre prises — 1 Portugais, 1 Anglais, 1 Chinois, 1 Hollandais'). Nardin, "La France et les Philipines sous l'Ancien Régime," 9. The Dutch ship is possibly a reference to a Chinese junk from Canton, which was returning from Batavia. Nardin's source is not clear about the total number of ships captured, which should be five rather than four. As far as I have been able to confirm, there were no Dutch ships among them. For the Portuguese ship, see Manuel Teixeira, *Macau no séc. XVIII* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional de Macau, 1984), 121.

104 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor; Or Mogul India 1653–1708*, trans. William Irvine. 4 vols. (London: John Murray, 1908), 4: 104–105.

105 'centaines de voleurs'. ANOM: C/1/9, letter dated 1715.02.25, ff. 81–82.

106 ANRI: DR 2540, 1714.01.02, ff. 3–5; NAH: VOC 1854, Malacca, 1713.12.28, pp. 39–42; W. Ph. Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Deel VI: 1698–1713 ('s-Gravenhage: Verkrijgbaar Bij Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), 48, 103, 185, 229, 284, 338, 464, 473, 485, 595, 661, 842, 914, 924.

107 In 1714, the Dutch mentioned that the junk cargoes that Bouynet captured were owned by Chinese in Batavia. ANRI:

DR 2540, 1714.04.06, ff. 384. However, as is shown in the discussion below, these Batavia-based Chinese were loading the junks for Leanqua and Anqua in Canton.

108 For an example of a Canton junk flying a Dutch flag, see Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, Plate. 9.

109 W. Ph. Coolhaas, *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Deel VII: 1713–1725 ('s-Gravenhage: Verkrijgbaar Bij Martinus Nijhoff, 1979), 68–69.

110 *Records of Fort St George. Despatches to England 1714–1718* (Madras: Government Press, 1929), p. 5 par. 28.

111 Nardin, "La France et les Philipines sous l'Ancien Régime," 9; Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, 4: 462, 507.

112 *Records of Fort St George. Despatches to England 1714–1718*, p. 5 par. 28, p. 9 par. 50; *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1714* (Madras: Government Press, 1929), 120; *Arquivos de Macau* (Setembro 1964) (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1964), series III, vol. II, n.º 3, p. 160; Macao Archives: MO/AH/LS/333, 1713.10.18, p. 40; ANOM: C/2/276 ff. 50–116.

113 ANRI: DR 2540, 1714.01.02, ff. 3–5; NAH: VOC 1854, Malacca, 1713.12.28, pp. 39–42.

114 ANOM: C/2/276, ff. 50–116.

115 TNA: C/106/170, letter addressed to Beauvoir, unsigned and undated, but it would be from 1713/1714. The Dutch in Malacca also heard that Bouynot's fleet plundered nine Chinese vessels, as well as several European's ships. NAH: VOC 1854, Malacca, 1713.12.28, pp. 39–42.

116 *Qing shi lu Guangdong shi liao*, 1: 258–259, 1718.03.09; Fu, *A Documentary Chronicle*, 1: 125–126.

117 *Pétçao* is called a 'shanshishan tongchuan' 杉貰杉通船, which is the type of vessel rather than its name. I have not found the characters for *Pétçao*. ANOM: C/2/276, f. 111r.

118 ANOM: C/2/276, f. 110r. The French ships that traded at Canton in the 1760s were around 900 tons capacity, and they carried an average of 7,245 piculs each. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade*, 147.

119 The transliterated names of the other Chinese merchants in Canton who had invested in these two voyages were 'Limpt Tching, Hoey Hing, Ou Sin, Hui Yong, Chines Tching, Le hing yang y venly Linsie hou Kouo hoho y en Jayhing Long, Tching King et autres'. ANOM: C/2/276, translation of Chinese letter dated 1713.09.17, f. 84r. A copy is also in ANOM: C.1.9, f. 59, and see also ff. 81–82. A list of the items stolen can also be seen in Madrolle, *Les Premiers Voyages Français a la Chine*, LVIII.

120 All of these documents are now held in ANOM: C/2/276, ff. 50–116. There are copies of some of these documents in ANOM: C.1.9, ff. 57–84.

121 ANOM: C/2/276, f. 109v and 116r.

122 Van Dyke and Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories 1760–1822*, 68 n. 10, 75. There were many ships sold in Macao in the eighteenth century for anywhere from a couple thousand dollars to $15,000, depending on their age, size, and condition.

123 BL: IOR G/12/8, letter dated 1717.06.12, p. 1334 says 'there were six French ships with them [at Whampoa], and two more very rich, at Amoy . . . It is believed that those French ships at Wampoo, have not less than 2,400,000 Tales in Silver'. See also Susan E. Schopp, *Sino-French Trade at Canton, 1698–1842* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2020).

124 'The Court having been informed that Linqua & Anqua, aimed at engrossing the whole trade with Europeans at Canton, and thereby to charge their own prices-ordered the supercargoes to do all in their power to thwart the design'. BL: IOR G/12/8, 1716.12.07, p. 1340.

125 TNA: C/106/171, account book for 1714.

126 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1716.10.10, pp. 1313–1314. See also Morse, *Chronicles*, 1: 150–153; and Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident*, 1: 277–278.

127 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1716.10.10, pp. 1313–1314. See also Morse, *Chronicles*, 1: 150–153; and Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident*, 1: 277–278.

128 *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1716* (Madras: Government Press, 1929), 22. A reference from December 1717 states that the junk arrived at Madras on 16 February 1715, but this is incorrect. BL: IOR G/12/8, 1717/12/11, p. 1346.

129 *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1716*, 138.

130 *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1716*, 138.

131 *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1716*, 138.

132 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1716.06.24, p. 1327; and TNA: C/106/170, letter written by Ed. Fenwick to John Scattergood dated 1716.10.10.

133 TNA: C/106/170, letter written by Ed. Fenwick to John Scattergood dated 1716.10.10.

134 TNA: C/106/170, letter written by Ed. Fenwick to John Scattergood dated 1716.10.10.

135 BL: IOR G/12/8, p. 1316, 1716.10.18, p. 1329; *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1716,* 66–67; *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1717* (Madras: Government Press, 1929), 88–89.

136 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1716.05, pp. 1317–1318.

137 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1716.05, p. 1318.

138 BL: IOR G/12/8, pp. 1309–1310.

139 BL: IOR G/12/8, p. 1317.

140 *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1718* (Madras: Government Press, 1929), 1718.11.06–08, pp. 195–196. We know that these men are not the Chinese 'passengers' referred to in the letter above from Leanqua (Lincoa) and Anqua (Ancoa), because that document is dated in Canton, 1 February 1716. The Chinese on the Amoy junk did not arrive at Madras until two weeks after this letter was written.

141 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1716.05, pp. 1318–1319; Peng, *Guangzhou yanghuo shisan hang*, 13–14.

142 BL: IOR G/12/8, p. 1317.

143 BL: IOR G/12/8, p. 1315.

144 BL: IOR G/12/8, p. 1316; Morse, Chronicles, 1: 152–153.
145 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1717.05.28, p. 1319.
146 *Records of Fort St George. Despatches to England 1714–1718*, 115.
147 *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1717*, 1717.06.03, pp. 88–89; *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1719* (Madras: Government Press, 1930), 1719.06.12, p. 81.
148 For a breakdown of the proceeds from the auction and the related costs connected to the junk and cargo, see *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1716*, 195.
149 *Records of Fort St George. Diary and Consultation Book of 1720* (Madras: Government Press, 1930), 133.
150 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1717.12.04, p. 1345.
151 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1717.12.04, p. 1344.
152 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1717.12.11, pp. 1347–1348.
153 Van Dyke, "Amoy Anqua," 107–109.
154 Blussé, *Strange Company*, 132.
155 Zhao, *The Qing Opening to the Ocean*, 153–168; Blussé, *Strange Company*, 132.
156 TNA: C/106/171, account book for 1719.
157 For the stories of these new men, see their respective chapters in Van Dyke, MCM 1.
158 TNA: C/106/171, letter addressed to Brother Elihu in the letter book for 1719.
159 TNA: C/106/171, letter addressed to Brother Fenwick in the letter book for 1719.
160 BL: IOR G/12/8, 1720.08.28, p. 1372.
161 For example, see the controversy in the early 1730s between the Hong merchants Tan Hunqua and Tan Suqua, where Hoppo Zu Binggui 祖秉圭 was accused of pocketing money from the trade. Van Dyke, MCM 1: Chapters 5 and 6.
162 Van Dyke, "Amoy Anqua," 104–107.
163 BL: IOR G/12/22, 1721.10.19, page numbers are hard to read, but it seems to be p. 25.
164 Van Dyke, MCM 1: Chapter 12.
165 TNA: C/106/171, account book for 1711.
166 TNA: C/106/171, account book for 1714.
167 TNA: C/106/171, account book for 1714, clearly states that Chouqua was Linqua and Anqua's servant.
168 Van Dyke, MCM 1: Chapter 12.
169 BL: IOR G/12/26, 1727.04.28, p. 1.
170 BL: IOR G/12/26, 1727.06.14, p. 5.
171 These threats against the merchants' families are also what kept them from going abroad and opening up direct trade with India, Europe, and the Americas. As long as the Hong merchants stayed in Canton, they had no fears of their properties being confiscated or their families being arrested and punished. Van Dyke, MCM 2: 12–13.
172 Huang and Van Dyke, "The Hoppo's Books," 101.

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RESUMOS

Introdução

Este número especial nasceu de uma colaboração entre a *Revista de Cultura* e o Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau. Conta com cinco artigos sobre a Medicina Tradicional Chinesa em conexão com um tema de grande relevância nos tempos presentes: uma vida saudável.
(Ana Cristina Alves, Carmen Amado Mendes, pp. 6–7)

A Cultura Chinesa para a Saúde na Sinologia de Macau Contemporâneo

No presente artigo, pretende-se abordar o cruzamento de saberes no século XXI, situado na China, na Região Administrativa Especial de Macau, e centrado numa filosofia para a saúde, na qual a inteligência emocional desempenha um papel fundamental. Será analisada a relação entre sinologia e Medicina Tradicional Chinesa na história de Macau e na contemporaneidade, através das obras de Luís Gonzaga Gomes, Leonel Barros e Cecília Jorge, em co-autoria com Beltrão Coelho, concluindo com o contributo deste território para a construção de uma filosofia da saúde ao nível da educação em parceria com a Rota da Seda da Saúde chinesa.
(Ana Cristina Alves, pp. 8–19)

Conivência ou Observação? Repensar a Filosofia da Paisagem e a sua Dimensão Terapêutica com François Jullien e o Pensamento Chinês

O objectivo deste estudo é mostrar como, a partir do pensamento chinês, François Jullien repensa o sentido da filosofia da Paisagem, abrindo fecundas perspectivas para mostrar o sentido terapêutico de uma sua experiência mais conivente e menos separativa, ou seja, menos dependente do paradigma europeu–-ocidental da separação visual sujeito–-objecto. Como veremos, trata-se do sentido amplo da dimensão curativa de uma relação mais conectada com a natureza e o cosmos a partir da paisagem mais imediata, o que é coerente com a etimologia, em várias famílias linguísticas, das palavras que expressam a saúde, que remetem para uma experiência holística de integridade, inteireza ou totalidade. A imersão na paisagem e no sopro-energia vital (*Qi*) que nela circula, tem assim um efeito terapêutico semelhante ao dos exercícios dinâmicos e respiratórios tão cultivados e prezados na cultura chinesa tradicional, como o Tai Chi Chuan e o Chi Kung.
(Paulo Borges, pp. 20–31)

Implicações da CID-11 da OMS na Experiência de Diagnóstico da MTC da Escola de Medicina Tradicional Chinesa de Lisboa

A Medicina Tradicional Chinesa é parte integral do sistema de saúde de muitos países e tem importância crescente na resposta próxima e prolongada a muitas condições de saúde. A OMS, ao incluir na 11ª revisão da Classificação Internacional de Doenças um capítulo sobre Medicina Tradicional Chinesa (MTC) chama não só a atenção para o seu impacto sobre a saúde das populações como também procura uma melhor integração do seu diagnóstico, investigação e regulação nos sistemas nacionais de saúde. A diferenciação de síndromes é uma componente crítica no diagnóstico e tratamento da MTC com impacto na prática clínica, na investigação e na utilização adequada dos códigos da CID-11. O presente artigo tem como objectivos apresentar: 1. A CID-11 e a sua finalidade; 2. O conceito e as características da síndrome na MTC, a sua mutação e dinâmica de transformação; 3. A prática clínica da MTC e a metodologia da diferenciação de síndromes; 4. A experiência de 25 anos da Escola de Medicina Tradicional Chinesa de Lisboa com a diferenciação de síndromes no diagnóstico da MTC e as implicações na CID-11. Ao concluir a sua análise os autores apontam para a necessidade de ser estabelecido um sistema padrão com critérios unificados para a nomenclatura das síndromes de estado geral e das síndromes dos órgãos e

vísceras, com indicação dos respectivos sintomas e sinais, para melhoria da prática do diagnóstico, da investigação e da utilização da CID-11 pela MTC.
(José Faro, Ana Varela, pp. 32–47)

Percepções Científicas sobre o Ginseng

O mercado global de ginseng, incluindo *Panax ginseng* (ginseng asiático), *Panax quinquefolium L.* (ginseng americano), e *Panax notoginseng* (Sanqi ginseng ou ginseng chinês), está estimado em mais de dois mil milhões de dólares americanos. Embora estas três espécies de ginseng tenham relações filogenéticas muito próximas, curiosamente, as suas funções biológicas e usos terapêuticos são bastante diferenciados. Ao contrário do ginseng asiático e do ginseng americano, a raiz de *P. notoginseng*, chamada *Sanqi* ou *Tienchi* em chinês, só pode ser cultivada numa área montanhosa extremamente específica, constituindo cerca de 8.300 hectares da prefeitura de Wenshan, província de Yunnan, China, sendo por isso menos conhecida a nível mundial. Não obstante, o Sanqi ginseng é bastante popular na China, e é normalmente utilizado em alimentos e produtos farmacêuticos para a gestão de traumas e de doença cardiovascular isquémica. A recente investigação biomédica sobre *P. notoginseng* fornece uma forte fundamentação científica que apoia a utilização histórica de *P. notoginseng* na prevenção e tratamento de doenças cardiovasculares. Além disso, a descoberta de uma família de ingredientes bioactivos importantes, chamados ginsenósidos, presentes nestas espécies de ginseng, que têm diversas actividades biológicas, fornece uma visão sobre a razão pela qual estes ginsengs exibem efeitos terapêuticos tão distintos. No entanto, o cultivo doméstico a longo prazo tornou o Sanqi ginseng altamente vulnerável a doenças e infecções patogénicas. A questão sobre assegurar um fornecimento sustentável de Sanqi ginseng e de preservar esta planta medicinal excepcional requer a nossa atenção urgente.
(Simon Ming Yuen Lee, Ai-Hua Lin, pp. 48–59)

O Programa Scimat: Um Projecto China–Portugal

A chave para o sucesso pode ser visualizada como adaptabilidade. De facto, actualmente somos confrontados com desafios que requerem novas valências capazes de se adaptarem a novas situações, seja através da inovação seja através da capacidade de mudança.

Deste modo, uma compreensão mais profunda das diferentes perspectivas culturais através do treino e formação em diferentes campos do conhecimento pode ser adquirida através dos cursos *Science Matters*. Os cursos *Science Matters* resultam de um projecto de cooperação entre Portugal e a China representado por Maria Burguete e Lui Lam respectivamente. O Projecto Scimat teve o seu início em 2007 com a realização das Conferências Internacionais. Trata-se de uma nova abordagem multidisciplinar e de um novo paradigma, que oferece uma perspectiva unificada para a ligação entre as disciplinas das artes e humanidades e das ciências sociais e médicas.
(Maria Burguete, pp. 60–67)

Os Macaenses em *A Trança Feiticeira* e *O Rei Macaco*

Na encruzilhada do Oriente com o Ocidente, os macaenses são uma minoria mestiça 'emergente' em Macau. Eles sintetizam um grupo intermediário no espaço liminar entre dois povos dominantes — os portugueses e os chineses, e constituem outro nível de identidade na representação colonial. Em *A Trança Feiticeira*, Henrique de Senna Fernandes apresenta um profundo abismo entre os macaenses e os chineses, empregando tropos colonialistas familiares e clichês orientalistas. Adozindo é um Don Juan, esvoaçando e simbolizando a classe ociosa. Contra probabilidades

pouco promissoras, casa-se condescendentemente com A-Leng, uma vendedora de água, analfabeta. Construída como uma sereia sensual, servil e submissa, personifica a fantasia da feminilidade oriental. Em *O Rei Macaco*, de Timothy Mo, a dicotomia entre a suposta superioridade dos macaenses e a suposta inferioridade dos chineses é ridicularizada e invertida. Respeitando um casamento matrilocal, o constrangido Wallace Nolasco é casado com May Ling na rica casa de Poon em Hong Kong. Apesar de sobreviver à discriminação racial e às tribulações humilhantes na batalha doméstica é, figurativamente, devorado pelos chineses através da metáfora da antropofagia cultural. No final, vê-se praticamente envolvido na perda da identidade macaense e da nacionalidade portuguesa.

(Christina Miu Bing Cheng, pp. 68–89)

Leanqua e Anqua — A Fundação do Sistema de Cantão (1685–1720)

Leanqua e Anqua eram comerciantes proeminentes na China e, inconscientemente, foram fundamentais na fundação do que mais tarde ficou conhecido como o Sistema de Cantão 'yikou tongshang' (一口通商). O governo Qing abriu a China ao comércio exterior em 1684, mas somente após várias décadas de experiência de diferentes políticas conseguiu que surgisse um conjunto comum de regulamentos. Os dois sócios operaram no período de 1685 a 1720, pelo que viveram, em primeira mão, todas as dificuldades destes primeiros anos de desenvolvimento. Estavam envolvidos tanto no comércio de juncos chineses para o Sudeste Asiático quanto no comércio exterior em Cantão. Tinham fortes conexões com fornecedores no interior da China e negociavam regularmente com comerciantes proeminentes em todo o Sudeste Asiático, incluindo Java, Malásia e Sião. Também desenvolveram relações estreitas com os directores das companhias holandesa, inglesa e francesa das Índias Orientais.

O comércio em Cantão evoluiu de um comércio bastante corrupto, incerto e irregular no final do século XVII para um comércio estável, confiável e administrado de forma consistente na década de 1720. Sempre existiu corrupção entre governantes e funcionários, mas as conivências foram minimizadas a ponto de não atrapalharem o crescimento do comércio. A história de Leanqua e Anqua fornece exemplos detalhados e percepções sobre como essa transformação ocorreu.

(Paul A. Van Dyke, pp. 90–125)

ABSTRACTS

Introduction

This special column is a collaboration between *Review of Culture* and the Macao Scientific and Cultural Centre and contains five papers focusing on Traditional Chinese Medicine and a topic of high significance: healthy living.
(Ana Cristina Alves, Carmen Amado Mendes, pp. 6–7)

Chinese Health Culture in the Studies of Macao's Contemporary Sinology

This paper focuses on the intersection of knowledge systems in the 21st-century China, with emphasis on the case of the Macao Special Administrative Region. It discusses the philosophy of health in which emotional intelligence plays a key role. The relationship between Sinology and Traditional Chinese Medicine in Macao's history and contemporary times will be analysed by studying the works by Luís Gonzaga Gomes, Leonel Barros, Cecília Jorge and Beltrão Coelho. The article is concluded with the presentation of the contribution of this territory to the construction of a philosophy of health applied to education in partnership with the Chinese silk road of health.
(Ana Cristina Alves, pp. 8–19)

Connivance or Observation? Rethinking the Philosophy of Landscape and Its Therapeutic Dimension with François Jullien and Chinese Thought

The aim of this study is to show how, within the context of Chinese thought, François Jullien rethinks the meaning of the philosophy of Landscape, opening fruitful perspectives to reveal the therapeutic sense of a more conniving and less discrete experience of it, that is, less dependent on the European–Western paradigm of subject–object visual separation. As we will see, this is about the broad sense of the healing dimension of a more closely connected relationship with nature and the cosmos by means of the most immediate landscape, which is coherent with the etymology, in several linguistic families, of the words that express health, which refer to a holistic experience of integrity, wholeness or totality. Immersion in the landscape and in the vital breath-energy (*Qi*) which circulates in it, has thus a therapeutic effect similar to that of the dynamic and breathing exercises so cultivated and valued in traditional Chinese culture, such as *Tai Chi Chuan* and *Chi Kung*.
(Paulo Borges, pp. 20–31)

WHO ICD-11 Implications for TCM Diagnosis Experience of the Traditional Chinese Medicine School of Lisbon

Traditional medicine is an integral part of health services in many countries around the world and has an increasing importance in the close and long-term response to many health conditions. The WHO, by including a chapter on TCM in the 11th revision of the International Classification of Diseases, not only draws attention to its impacts on the health of the population, but also seeks a better integration of its diagnosis, research and regulations in national health systems. Syndrome differentiation is a critical component in TCM diagnosis and treatment. It also has impacts on clinical practice, research and the appropriate use of the ICD-11's codes. This article aims to present: 1. The ICD-11 and its purpose; 2. Syndrome's concept and characteristics in TCM, its mutation and transformation dynamics; 3. The clinical practice of TCM and the methodology of syndrome differentiation; 4. The 25-year experience of the Traditional Chinese Medicine School of Lisbon in TCM diagnosis with syndrome differentiation and the implications of the ICD-11. In the conclusion of their analysis, the authors point out the need for a standardised system with unified criteria for the nomenclature of the general status syndromes and the *zang fu* (臟腑) syndromes with the indication of their symptoms and signs, so as to improve the practice of diagnosis,

the research and use of the ICD-11 by TCM practitioners.
(José Faro, Ana Varela, pp. 32–47)

Scientific Insights into Ginseng

The global ginseng market, including *Panax ginseng* (Asian ginseng), *Panax quinquefolium L.* (American ginseng) and *Panax notoginseng* (Sanqi ginseng), was estimated to be worth over 2000 million US Dollars. Although these three ginseng species have very close phylogenetic relationships, interestingly, their biological functions and therapeutic uses are quite different. Unlike Asian ginseng and American ginseng, the root of *P. notoginseng*, named *Sanqi* or *Tienchi* in Chinese, can only be cultivated in a highly specific mountainous area constituting about 8300 hectares in Wenshan Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China, and thus is less well known worldwide. Nevertheless, Sanqi ginseng is very popular in China and is commonly used in foods and pharmaceutical products for management of trauma and ischaemic cardiovascular health problems. A recent biomedical research on Sanqi ginseng provides a strong scientific rationale supporting the historical uses of Sanqi ginseng in the prevention and treatment of cardiovascular diseases. Moreover, the discovery of a family of major bioactive ingredients, named ginsenosides, present in these ginseng species which have diverse biological activities, provides insight into why these ginsengs exhibit very different therapeutic effects. However, long-term domestic cultivation has rendered Sanqi ginseng highly vulnerable to diseases and pathogen infections. The issue of ensuring a sustainable supply of Sanqi ginseng and preserving this unique medicinal plant urgently requires our attention.
(Simon Ming Yuen Lee, Ai-Hua Lin, pp. 48–59)

The Scimat Program: A China–Portugal Project

The key to success can be seen as adaptability because, nowadays, individuals will face challenges that require skills to adapt to new situations through innovation and change. Therefore, a deeper understanding of different cultural perspectives through training and education in several fields of knowledge can be achieved through Science Matters (Scimat) courses. Science Matters courses are a cooperation project between Portugal and China. The Scimat Project started in 2007 with a series of International Science Matters (Scimat) Conferences. This is a new multidiscipline approach and a new paradigm, providing a unified perspective for the connection between disciplines in arts and humanities, social and medical sciences.
(Maria Burguete, pp. 60–67)

The Macanese in *The Bewitching Braid* and *The Monkey King*

At the crossroads of the East and the West, the Macanese are an 'emergent' mixed-race minority in Macao. They epitomise an in-between group in the liminal space between two dominant peoples — the Portuguese and the Chinese, and constitute another level of identity in colonial representation. In *The Bewitching Braid*, Henrique de Senna Fernandes presents a deep chasm between the Macanese and the Chinese by employing familiar colonialist tropes and Orientalist clichés. Adozindo is a Don Juan, swanning around and symbolising the leisure class. Against unpromising odds, he condescendingly marries A-Leng, an illiterate water seller. Constructed as a sensuous siren with slavish submissiveness, she personifies the fantasy of Oriental femininity. In Timothy Mo's *The Monkey King*, the dichotomy between the putative superiority of the Macanese and the supposed inferiority of the Chinese is ridiculed and reversed. Abiding by a matrilocal marriage, the straitened Wallace Nolasco is married to May Ling into the wealthy house of Poon in Hong Kong. In spite of surviving

racial discrimination and humiliating tribulations in the domestic battle, he is figuratively devoured by the Chinese through the metaphor of cultural anthropophagy. In the end, he is virtually entrapped in the loss of Macanese identity and Portuguese nationality.

(Christina Miu Bing Cheng, pp. 68–89)

Leanqua and Anqua — The Founding of the Canton System (1685–1720)

Leanqua and Anqua were prominent merchants in China who were unknowingly two of the founding fathers of what later became known as the Canton System 'yikou tongshang' (一口通商). The Qing government opened China to foreign trade in 1684, but it took several decades of experimenting with different policies before a common set of regulations emerged. The two partners operated in the period from 1685 to 1720, so they experienced at first hand all of the difficulties during these early years of the development. They were involved in both the Chinese junk trade to Southeast Asia and the foreign trade at Canton. They had very extensive connections with suppliers in China's interior and they regularly dealt with prominent merchants throughout Southeast Asia, including Java, Malaysia, and Siam. They also developed close relations with officers of the Dutch, English, and French East India companies.

The commerce in Canton evolved from being a rather corrupt, uncertain, and irregular trade in the late seventeenth century, to a stable, trustworthy, and consistently administered commerce in the 1720s. There were always problems with corruption among government officials and employees, but those connivances were minimised to the point that they did not hinder the growth of the trade. Leanqua and Anqua's story provides detailed examples and insights into how this transformation came about.

(Paul A. Van Dyke, pp. 90–125)

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A *Revista de Cultura* implementou em 2022, primeiramente em modo experimental, a avaliação pelos pares de todos os artigos submetidos e publicados e adoptou este método a partir de 2023. Aceitam-se artigos escritos em inglês ou português.

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   - contain abstracts in English and Portuguese between 150 and 250 words each and a maximum of five key words
   - contain endnotes and bibliography (in individual email attachments)
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   - contain endnotes and bibliography (in individual email attachments)
4. Book Review: insight and opinion on works about Macao or on writings by local author. It should be between 1,000 and 1,500 words.

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ISSN 1682-1106