

# Between Linguistic Walls and the Third Space

## The *Jurubaças*' Identity and Their Role in Sino-Portuguese Negotiations after the 1622 Dutch Attack

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*"The whole world is a dream and death the interpreter"*  
Yiddish proverb

### THE 1622 DUTCH ATTACK

Portugal's wealth was the envy of many European nations. The English and Dutch attempted many times to break the Luso-Asian spice trade monopoly. In fact, the Dutch attacked Macao on several occasions in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The greatest assault was on June 21, 1622, when a Dutch military force of 800 met defeat at the hands of around 150 Eurasians and Portuguese.<sup>1</sup> In response to this attack, the Portuguese in Macao strengthened the city's defensive fortifications, in defiance of local Chinese officials. It was in the aftermath of this conflict that interpreters called *jurubaças* played a crucial role in Sino-Portuguese relations.

### THIRD SPACE THEORY AND SINO-PORTUGUESE INTERPRETERS

Third Space Theory aptly works to analyze the *jurubaças*' cultural and linguistic hybridity. It is in the sharing of a common environment by two distinct

cultures where the Third Space is found. Homi K. Bhabha, the post-colonial theorist of comparative literature, argues that the Third Space opens up a new interpretation of intercultural communications: "The intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys this mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily revealed as an integrated, open, expanding code."<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the concept of the Third Space redefines, reshapes, and readjusts the roles of the Western and non-Western worlds by arguing for the reconceptualization and reinterpretation of history from a non-polarized standpoint: West versus non-West. Regarding Homi Bhabha's concept of the Third Space, Michael Muller points out the flexibility of hybrid identities: "Within this hybrid third space, the old assumptions of the colonizers and the colonized are open to question, challenge, reinterpretation, and refutation."<sup>3</sup> Likewise, Serge Gruzinski posits the problems in understanding the hybridization process within a binary framework of colonizer/colonized: "Our confusion is not due solely to the complexity of the social and historical world. An understanding of mestizo processes runs up against intellectual habits which favor monolithic ensembles over 'in-between' spaces."<sup>4</sup> It is in these "in-between" spaces that I intend to explore the identity of the *jurubaças* as cultural and linguistic hybrids.

Such in-between spaces are also apparent in Macanese literature. Scholar David Brookshaw's

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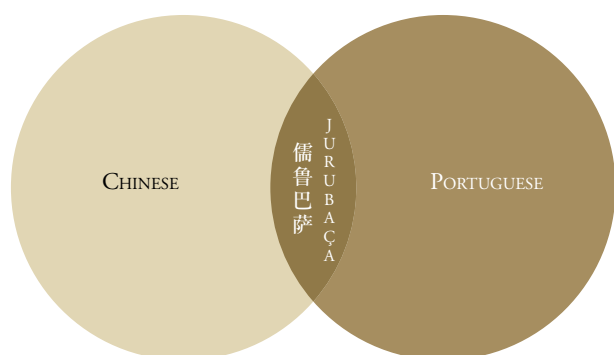
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literary analysis of *A Trança Feiticeira*, a novel about the interethnic relationship between a Chinese woman (A-Leng) and a Macanese man (Adozindo), illustrates the intercultural condition:

She [A-Leng] ... enters what Homi Bhabha would call the Third Space, that cultural borderland of Macao, which defies notions of cultural purity. It is indeed, through A-Leng that Fernandes demonstrates the dynamics of hybrid cultures in the way they operate through a series of compromises and contradictions.<sup>5</sup>

Interestingly, Homi Bhabha himself is a multilingual Parsee. Parsees are Zoroastrians living in India, who are known for their multilingual skills; traditionally the Parsees were linguistic negotiators between the British, the Hindus, and the Muslims in pre-Gandhian India.<sup>6</sup> To a certain degree, Bhabha's ancestors performed the same role of linguistic mediators as did the *jurubaças* in the Far East.

FIGURA 1. THIRD SPACE THEORY



The side-by-side coexistence of diverse cultures evokes the Third Space, the realm of the *jurubaças* and the Macanese. Geoffrey Gunn draws similar parallels between the *jurubaças* and Macanese: "The Portuguese were obliged to resort to go-betweens in their dealings with alien cultures and alien languages.... It was undoubtedly the Macanese, heir to both cultural traditions, who served as an essential link between the two communities [Portuguese and Chinese]."<sup>7</sup> Hence, the Macanese and *jurubaças*, utilizing the *duas línguas*,<sup>8</sup> were intercultural chameleons blending into the ever-changing linguistic landscape of the peninsula. They inhabited the in-between space<sup>9</sup> of these two

distinct cultural worlds. I contend that the theoretical framework of the Third Space will bring new insights to the understudied topic of cultural interpreters in the Far East.

## THE DOCUMENTED HISTORY OF THE JURUBAÇAS

*Jurubaça* was a term for "interpreter" in the Far East, specifically in Macao. The term is prevalent in mid-16<sup>th</sup> through 18<sup>th</sup>-century documents.<sup>10</sup> According to the *Grande Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*, a *jurubaça* was an "*Antigo intérprete da Malásia e do Extremo Oriente*," an ancient interpreter in Malaysia and the Far East.<sup>11</sup> The word derives from the Malay *jurubassa* (*juru bahasa*), which translates as a person who is adept at languages.<sup>12</sup> There are many variations or possible misspellings of the word *jurubaças*. In some documents it appears as *irubaça*, *juresbaças*, *jerobaça*, *gerobaça*, *jurubassas*, *jurrerbaças*, and *jurumbaças*. As manifested in the aforementioned terms, the Chinese-Portuguese interpreter shows up most prominently in documents between 1524 and 1690.

The earliest document utilizing the word *iurubaças* dates from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The document is a letter written by Cristóvão Vieira. There are competing arguments about who exactly Cristóvão Vieira was: one author claims that Vieira was a *perseo lusitanizado* (a Persian who had adopted Portuguese ways),<sup>13</sup> while others contend that Cristóvão Vieira's *moço* (servant) shared the same name as his master Cristóvão Vieira, and that it was he who was the Persian from Ormuz.<sup>14</sup> However, what is known is that Vieira was a member of Tomé Pires' entourage to China in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. The *Carta* mentions the composition of the retinue: "Eu Cristóvão Vieira, e doze moços servidores, cinco *irubaças*."<sup>15</sup> Thus according to the author of the *Carta*, there were five interpreters and twelve servants on the mission to China. Moreover, according to one Portuguese scholar, Vieira's account provides information on the social class of the members of the Tomé Pires expedition, and on what happened to the main *jurubaça* and the servants of the entourage: "The testimonies of the survivors clearly distinguish the social class of the interpreters, who died in Peking, the Chinese servants who were considered traitors and given to Mandarins and the *jurubaça-grande* who died of disease."<sup>16</sup> The

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first documented account of a *jurubaça* recorded a tragic ending for the interpreter.

The other surviving captive of the expedition was Vasco Calvo. In fact, Calvo was a Portuguese mariner who had been captured on shore in Canton during the conflicts of 1521.<sup>17</sup> He was not immediately executed because he was able to convince Chinese officials that he was a member of the Tomé Pires' embassy. It was from a Cantonese cell that he wrote a letter which dates from 1536 and notes the presence of *jurubaças*: "De huma maneira ou doutra que, senhor, vierem, tanto que esse porto chegarem, logo fação os jurubaças."<sup>18</sup> Vasco Calvo's letter states the inevitable arrival of a faction of *jurubaças*. Interestingly, these two 16<sup>th</sup>-century documents were written by Portuguese prisoners in Canton. From the available records, it can be stated that the term *jurubaças* predates the permanent settlement of Macao around 1557.

A 1550 document states that in the Moluccas a *jurubaça* named Francisco de Figueiredo assisted in the translation of testimonies.<sup>19</sup> This account concurs with the scholar Geoffrey Gunn's work, which postulates that the realm of the *jurubaças* stretched beyond Macao's borders. The reference appears in a letter written by the Christian King of Ternate, Dom Manuel, and addressed to Dom João III.<sup>20</sup> Apparently the interpreter Francisco de Figueiredo, a prominent figure, was the *patrão da ribeira de Malaca*.<sup>21</sup> However, most of the documents that mention the *jurubaças* associate them with Macao.

The accounts of *jurubaças* dating from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century differ drastically from those of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The *jurubaças* emerged from mere Sino-Portuguese interpreters—products of the changing world economic relations of the 16<sup>th</sup> century—to agents of the city, highly trained and wielding enough influence by the 17<sup>th</sup> century to have laws regulating their role. After the 1622 Dutch attack, Macao restructured its government. From 1557 until about 1623, defending Macao against hostile ships was the duty of the *capitão-mór da viagem do Japão*.<sup>22</sup> Likewise, on land the captain-major's main priority was fortifying the city. However, the captain's absence left the city vulnerable to attack. Despite Macao's great success in repelling the 1622 attack, the *Senado da Câmara* relieved the captain-major of the responsibility of protecting the city.<sup>23</sup> The new position of captain-general (Governor) was then created, which specifically took control of Macao's entire defense. The first Governor was Dom Francisco Mascarenhas.

After assuming office in 1623, he began strengthening the city's existing forts and building new ones. This led to conflict with local Chinese officials who opposed the construction—exemplified by the case of the city wall in the *campos dos Patanes*.<sup>24</sup> But the government's expansion continued with its creation of *Línguas da Cidade*, or city interpreters.<sup>25</sup> The primary role of the city interpreters was to assist Macao's *procurador da cidade* in communicating with Chinese officials.<sup>26</sup>

The 1620s saw the writing of two extremely important documents (*Certidão autentica de Antonio Lobo, e Simão Coelho Línguas da Cidade, e de Miguel Pinto and the Regimento do Língua da Cidade e dos Jurubaças menores e Escrivaens*)<sup>27</sup> which led to the institutionalization of the *jurubaças*—an unprecedented event in other Portuguese settlements in the Far East during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Official recognition by *Senado da Câmara* (the city's Municipal Council) differentiated Macao's interpreters from other interpreters in the Portuguese-speaking world. Dejanirah Couto points out the uniqueness of Macao's interpreters: "The *línguas* of Macao were invested with a series of responsibilities that we do not see elsewhere: they were in charge of the census and surveillance of the Chinese population in the city."<sup>28</sup> The unique duties of the *jurubaças* situated them between the Portuguese authorities and an ever-increasing Chinese population. Thus, the interpreters became more susceptible to attack when Sino-Portuguese communications broke down. Nevertheless, these two documents highlight the changing role of interpreters as they maneuvered between the demands and requests of Macao's *Senado da Câmara* and those of the local Mandarins.

The Portuguese route to the South China Sea began in Goa, expanded to Malacca, and finally ended in Macao. By the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the *jurubaças* were an integral part of the crew on voyages in the Far East. The 17<sup>th</sup>-century document titled *Breve Relação da jornada q. fez a corte de Pekim O Senhor Manuel de Saldanha Embaxador Extraordinario del Rey de Portugal ao Emperador da China* lists the details of the entourage of Ambassador Manuel de Saldanha's voyage on May 14, 1667. The document provides a list of the crewmembers' occupations: "Hum Veador, Hum Camareiro, Dous Reposteiros [e] Dous Iurubaças da Língua Sinica."<sup>29</sup> This unique document specifies the number of *jurubaças* and their expertise as *jurubaças*



*Certidão autentica  
de Antonio Lobo, e Simão  
Coelho Linguas da Cidade, e  
de Miguel Pinto.*

*A cerca dos muros que se  
desfizerão, que impunthão falsa-  
mente aos J. da Comp. de  
JESUS.*

*Certifico eu Antonio Lobo Castelão, ce-  
zado, e Morador Nesta Cidade de Macao, e Lingua da  
Mesma Cidade, aqui, e em Cantão, e Xanquin Bante  
de Jutão, e Rey, e do Chayen Desembargador da Corte  
com Alçada Mór enviado por el Rey da China a esta  
Provincia de Cantão, e do Archasua Justica Mór da  
Provincia. E Indheasu Deador Mór da fazenda da  
Mesma Provincia; e diante de todos os Mays Mandarins  
com J. de Portuguezes, e de J. de Negocios, que sempre me  
achey presente em todo o discurso q' houve, a cerca de des-  
trahir o pedregal de Muro de Campo dos Patangues; e fui Lin-  
gua Nesta particular desde principio até ao acabar de  
tudo de concluir, achandose sempre presente J. de Portugue-  
zes, e de J. de Negocios, desta Cidade, e da Mesma Ci-  
dade Chygo, com o Povo, e Capitão General Dom Francisco  
Mascarenhas; para este Negocio, e achandose entre si  
o Sr. J. de Rodriguez de Companhia de JESUS presente  
pelo a Cidade o pedregal a J. Superior para com J. de  
Portuguezes tratar o Mesmo Negocio com o prazimento  
do Mesmo Capitão General, e se achou a tudo alleo e fim.  
pelo.*



of the Chinese language. In addition, the document provides information on the wages and cost for clothing and food of the two *iurubaças*, José da Costa and Morais, during the voyage.<sup>30</sup>

Two documents from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century point out the imminent dangers faced by interpreters, especially the perils of traveling to Canton. One document, dated 1688, details a case in which a *jurubaça* (here spelled *gerubaço*) was arrested in retaliation for Macao merchants' failure to deliver merchandise—possibly tea or slaves—to their Chinese buyers, and their attempts to prevent the Dutch from entering Macao to trade. The *jurubaça* was put in chains and paraded in front of the *Senado*,<sup>31</sup> and was later used as a bargaining chip by the Mandarin of the *casa branca*.<sup>32</sup> The other case is from a 1690 document that details the *Senado da Câmara*'s deliberation on the imprisonment of a particular *jurubaça* (here spelled *Jerobaça*) named João Gomes in Canton: “Estão os Negócios da prisão do Jerobaça, João Gomes a requerimento do China Miki.”<sup>33</sup>

The *Senado da Câmara* convened to discuss the issue of the incarcerated interpreter and the legal suit against four prominent residents of Macao.<sup>34</sup> Apparently, a misunderstanding between Gomes and Miki had prompted the latter to file a suit in the *Tribunal da Aitão*.<sup>35</sup> Faced with the prospect of losing the city's food supply, the *Senado da Câmara* was forced to pay 2,400 taels to the Mandarin Hian-xan.<sup>36</sup> Macao's lack of resources and its inability to be self-sufficient put the city at the mercy of the Mandarins, and gave Chinese officials extra leveraging power in their negotiations with the Portuguese. The documented history of the *jurubaças* points out the prominent role these interpreters played in Macao's history. Unfortunately, in many of the accounts either execution or incarceration was the tragic outcome for many interpreters when Sino-Portuguese relations soured.

#### “CERTIDÃO AUTENTICA DE ANTONIO LOBO, E SIMÃO COELHO LINGUAS DA CIDADE, E DE MIGUEL PINTO”

It is thus clear that *jurubaças* played an important role in Macao's history. Unfortunately, few documents have survived that describe in detail the activities

of the *jurubaças*. However, two previously unedited documents, dated 1626 and 1627, are now available to scholars. A careful analysis of both is essential to understanding the *jurubaças* and Macao after the 1622 Dutch attack.

The first is entitled “Certidão autentica de Antonio Lobo, e Simão Coelho Linguas da Cidade, e de Miguel Pinto” (1626).<sup>37</sup> It provides an important description of how the *jurubaças* operated in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. One of the consequences of the 1622 Dutch attack during the tenure of Macao's first Captain-General, Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas (1623-1626), was the construction of a massive city wall that would encircle Macao for more than two centuries.<sup>38</sup> One part of this wall—at the section near the *Campos dos Patanes*<sup>39</sup>—made some Chinese officials apprehensive about their ability to control Macao in the future as this district was heavily populated by Chinese.<sup>40</sup> The Chinese authorities were determined to have the wall dismantled. Soon there were heated discussions between the representatives of Macao and the Chinese officials. Sworn affidavits to be sent on to Portuguese authorities were later drawn up regarding these encounters. The *jurubaças* played an important interpreting role during these negotiations, and in swearing to the truthfulness of the statements of each side.

The 1626 document reveals that two interpreters were nominated as Macao's *Linguas da Cidade*.<sup>41</sup> One, António Lobo by name, was identified as a “Casta China,” married and a resident of the city of Macao. He had served as an interpreter in Macao, Canton and Nanking (Nanquin) for the *tutão*<sup>42</sup> and numerous other Chinese officials. The other interpreter was Simão Coelho, also married and a resident of Macao. Both men swore under oath that they had been present in Canton during all the discussions concerning the tearing down of the wall at *Campo dos Patanes*. In addition, António Lobo, who wrote up the main account of the negotiations, listed the people involved in the discussions. They included six of the chief Portuguese citizens of Macao, named by that city and selected by the people and by Captain-General de Mascarenhas for this task. Also, present at the negotiations was the Jesuit João Rodrigues, who attended with the approval of his Jesuit superiors and the Captain-General.<sup>43</sup> Finally, there was Miguel Pinto, identified as one “very fluent in the Chinese language and letters.”<sup>44</sup> Pinto had been

<sup>30</sup>“Certidão Autentica de Antonio Lobo, e Simão Coelho Linguas da Cidade, e de Miguel Pinto”, 1626.

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selected by the Captain-General and the City of Macao to verify everything the interpreters had said to the Mandarins and what the Mandarins had said to the interpreters.<sup>45</sup> In some respects, Pinto served to counter the power and influence of the *jurubaças*, since he was charged with overseeing all the *jurubaças'* interactions with the Mandarins.

Both interpreters testified that they and the above-mentioned group went to Canton to meet with the *Anchesu-Mor* of the Province, a representative of the *tutão*. The *Anchesu-Mor* informed the Portuguese that they had to tear down the portion of the wall in question, since it had been built against the will of the Emperor of China and his magistrates. But Father João Rodrigues replied, via the two interpreters, that under no circumstances would the Portuguese tear down the wall. He emphasized that the wall had been built to protect the lives of the citizens of Macao and to defend the lands of the Emperor of China against the Dutch.<sup>46</sup> Rodrigues presented such forceful arguments on behalf of the Portuguese that the Chinese official became infuriated with him. He accused the Jesuits of plotting against the Chinese authorities by advising the Portuguese not to obey the Mandarins. The Portuguese priest made amends and suggested that they all go to the *tutão* and have him hear the case personally, since the Portuguese did not wish to obey the Mandarin's order to tear down the wall.<sup>47</sup>

The *jurubaça* António Lobo further reported that as the Portuguese started off to see the *tutão*, the *Anchesu-Mor* ordered them to return and appear before him. But the Portuguese, fearing that Rodrigues would respond too forcefully to the Anchesu (as he had done the first time) and that the Chinese official would become even more enraged, decided amongst themselves that the priest should not accompany them, but rather remain on board the boat.<sup>48</sup> The *Anchesu-Mor* attempted to intimidate the Portuguese into submission by suggesting the possible consequences of not complying with his order. It seems that he employed tactics intended to instil terror in the Portuguese, such as showing them various instruments of torture and the heads of decapitated Chinese. He also made it clear to the Portuguese that if they refused to tear down the wall, there would be an increase of ten thousand taels in rent (*de foro*) on the houses and people of Macao for each year that the wall remained standing.<sup>49</sup>

After consulting with the *Quevees*<sup>50</sup> or Chinese merchant brokers (the trading partners of the Portuguese), who controlled almost all of the capital of Macao, the Portuguese representatives realized they had no alternative other than war with China, and gave in to the demands of the *Anchesu-Mor*. They signed a document that obliged the city to tear down the wall and pay the ten thousand taels surcharge each year. They then returned to the boat, where Rodrigues, upon hearing what had transpired, told them that having acquiesced in such matters yet again would cost them their lives. But after they gave their reasons to the priest, they said Rodrigues was satisfied that it was a done deal and that there was nothing more to do.<sup>51</sup>

The *jurubaça* António Lobo further reported that, after their audience with the *Anchesu-Mor*, the Portuguese contingent went to see the *tutão* in order to put the final touches on the negotiations. Again and for the same reason, they decided not to have the Jesuit Father accompany them to see the *tutão*. They made the same concessions to the *tutão* that they had made to the *Anchesu-Mor*, obligating the Portuguese to tear down the wall if the Emperor of China ordered them to do so, since they were occupying his lands. Moreover, the *tutão* ordered the Portuguese to bring the Jesuit priest before him to confirm that the Portuguese were telling the truth. However, on two separate occasions, Rodrigues excused himself from this audience with the *tutão* on the grounds of poor health. Finally the *tutão* ordered that the Jesuit be placed in a litter and brought before him. When Rodrigues was asked if the Portuguese had told the truth, he responded that they were Christians whose laws required truthfulness, that they had already made their promise to his Lordship and that they had spoken the truth and would fulfill their obligations.<sup>52</sup> With this, the *tutão* was satisfied.<sup>53</sup>

The interpreter, António Lobo, further emphasized to the *tutão* that the accusation that Rodrigues and other Jesuits had bribed the Mandarins to order the city wall destroyed—as a way of taking revenge on Mascarenhas for having taken the Monte de São Paulo by force—was completely false.<sup>54</sup> Lobo emphasized that in addition to not knowing anything of such an evil deed against the common good of a city of Christians, he knew for certain that nothing like this had happened. In the presence of the Mandarins the priest had always defended Mascarenhas in the matter of the city wall, which was destroyed by order of the

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Emperor of China in the face of the many accusations made at his court against the city of Macao.<sup>55</sup>

António Lobo further testified that on several occasions the *tutão* spoke ill of both Captain-General Mascarenhas and Rodrigues in front of all the Portuguese, and that Miguel Pinto had staunchly defended Mascarenhas, stating that he was a great *fidalgó* sent by the King of Portugal to Macao to aid China against the Dutch.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, the Captain-General had no evil intent towards China, and he disliked having to build the wall, but did so only to prevent the Dutch from entering the city. The *tutão* being obstinate in his opinions about Captain-General, Gaspar Homem came to the aid of the priest, saying that he need not defend the Captain-General further, since the *tutão* was against him.<sup>57</sup>

António Lobo further testified that Rodrigues, in all these matters as well as in others, was honest and sincerely trying in every way possible to assure the welfare and preservation of the city. He insisted that the Chinese officials should look at what had been accomplished and not restrict the city so, which would force the Captain-General to break with them. For, he argued, if war were to break out—as in effect it did—when the Captain General took up arms against the Chinese, there would be great danger of destroying everything. But according to Lobo, the Mandarins did not understand that the Jesuit was simply telling the truth, and was not threatening them.<sup>58</sup>

Lobo further reported that peace was thus concluded, and that the *tutão* in his way wanted to reward the Portuguese with presents of silver plates and clusters as a sign of peace. In addition, the *tutão* wanted to give the Jesuits a Chinese official's robe as a token of respect (*dignidade*).<sup>59</sup> But the priest, through the interpreter (Lobo) and in front of all the Portuguese, informed the *tutão* that he was a member of a religious order who in no way could receive such an honor. He vowed that in all matters he would always serve everyone and would offer good advice in accordance with his religious vows. On hearing this, the *tutão* and his court were edified and amazed, as were all the Portuguese who were present.<sup>60</sup>

At the conclusion of his part of the affidavit, Lobo swore on the Holy Gospels and as a good Christian that all the above was true and he signed the document in Macao on September 20, 1626. As part of the same affidavit, Miguel Pinto confirmed all that António

Lobo had reported, swore on the Holy Gospels, and signed the document in Macao on the same date. Finally, the second *jurubaça*, Simão Coelho, did the same, emphasizing that he had accompanied António Lobo and Miguel Pinto to Canton and that all that had been recorded above was true.<sup>61</sup> The originals of the interpreters' testimonies were verified by Lourenço da Costa, a knight in the Order of Avis, *Ouvidor* and *Juiz das Justificações e Regidos* of Macao. Then Afonso Garces, the *Escrivão da Ouvidoria* of Macao, gave his approval, and the final version of the document was dated November 9, 1626.<sup>62</sup>

This document highlights how the *jurubaças* functioned as key interlocutors in these encounters between Chinese officials and the Portuguese. However, the boundaries of the *jurubaça's* duties and obligations were not clearly defined. A year later, the *Certidão autentica de Antonio Lobo e Simão Coelho Linguas da Cidade, e de Miguel Pinto* was followed by a *Regimento* (or "standing instructions") that defined specific roles for the city's interpreters and scribes. The occasion for this new document (*Regimento*) seems to have been the promotion of Simão Coelho, who, as mentioned above in the 1626 document, had served as one of Macao's *jurubaças*. In the opening lines of the *Regimento*, Coelho is described as "a lingua principal"—one rank higher than that he had held in 1626.<sup>63</sup> But later in the same document, Coelho is promoted to the yet higher rank of "Head of the Jurubaças," in order to have more prestige in the eyes of the Chinese.<sup>64</sup>

"REGIMENTO DO LINGUA DA CIDADE,  
E DOS JURUBAÇAS MENORES,  
E ESCRIVAENS"

As mentioned earlier, the institutionalization of *jurubaças* that was made official by the *Regimento do Lingua da Cidade e dos Jurubaças menores, e Escrivaens* was strictly a Macao phenomenon.<sup>65</sup> The interpreters throughout the Far East had never before had a legal text detailing their duties and obligations. The 1627 *Regimento* established the duties and obligations of the city's interpreters (*jurubaças*) and scribes (*escrivaens*) who worked for the *Senado da Câmara*. The document called for the employment of three *jurubaças*. These interpreters were divided into two types, *lingua principal* and *jurubaças menores*. The document also called for two scribes—a principal and his subordinate.<sup>66</sup>

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Macao's most important interpreter was the *lingua principal*, whose responsibility it was to handle all the business between the Portuguese and the Mandarins of China or the Chinese of Macao. This position was given to Simão Coelho, who was married (*casado*) and a native of China. The Governor-General and *Senado da Câmara* had great confidence in Coelho because of his experience, his previous service record, and his prudence. They expected Coelho to fulfill his duties as interpreter because of the loyalty he owed to Macao as a Christian and resident of that city. He was also being rewarded for the mission he had undertaken earlier on behalf of Macao, that of accompanying Portuguese artillerymen to Peking to combat the threat of the Manchus. The *Regimento* pointed out that he was highly regarded by the Mandarins. Little else is known about Coelho's life except that his father, Miguel Monteiro, was described as a "homen honrado e letrado" who had served "well and faithfully" as a scribe (*escrivão*) of Macao.<sup>67</sup> However, Miguel and Simão's brother (who is not named) were seized by the Mandarins because of their service to Macao, and died in prison in Canton.<sup>68</sup>

The first step in the process of becoming an official *lingua de Cidade* was to take an oath on the Holy Gospels and swear allegiance to Macao. Simão Coelho was not only named principal interpreter but also given the title of *cabeça dos jurubaças de terra*.<sup>69</sup> This interpreter's duty was to represent the city in its relations with the Mandarins and the Chinese. The *Regimento* called for all correspondence between Macao and the Chinese—messages, orders, government documents, and everything else—to be sorted so the city officials could respond to them. The interpreter was to bring to their attention the correspondence that he deemed important or suitable for business. The first procedure the interpreter had to follow with respect to Sino-Portuguese correspondence was to consult with the *procurador*, a member of Macao's municipal council.<sup>70</sup> This was mainly so that the question of what to write could be decided before the meeting with the full *Senado*. Jointly, the interpreter and *procurador* were to present these issues to the city's administrators.

The *lingua da cabeça dos Jurubaças* was thus the face and tongue of Macao's *Senado da Câmara* in Sino-Portuguese negotiations—and, to a certain degree, a representative and extension of the city itself. For this reason, the main interpreter had to be a *pessoa limpia* (honest person) and speak to the Mandarins with

*palavras honradas* (correct honorific forms of address according to Chinese tradition).<sup>71</sup> Also for this reason, the head interpreter was required to keep his home clean whenever hosting the Mandarins as guests.<sup>72</sup> The requirements of having a tidy and presentable home and speaking courteously according to custom were of utmost importance when receiving high-level officials such as the *Aitão*, the Mandarin Admiral from *Ancão*,<sup>73</sup> and others of similar or higher status. Moreover, as a sign of courtesy, a *lanquero* (possibly a table or chair) was a necessary object for the city to have in order to seat the Mandarin when discussing business.<sup>74</sup> The *Regimento* called for severe punishment if the interpreter performed incompetently or failed to comply with the *Regimento*. The city could punish the interpreter according to his deeds, or even remove him from office.

The section of the *Regimento* dealing with interpreters concludes by listing the names of the good and bad *jurubaças* that the city could count on and employ if it became necessary. These included Ventura Nerete, António Lobo (of the 1626 city wall controversy), Pederade, Ignácio Coelho, Horácio, and Cardoso.<sup>75</sup> Nothing else is mentioned in the *Regimento* about these *linguas* who could be called upon to mediate Sino-Portuguese relations. And, with the exception of António Lobo, their names do not show up in any other known documents.

The *Regimento* provides significant details on the role of the scribes in Macao. In terms of Sino-Portuguese correspondence, the *lingua principal* was required to submit the *chapas* he had received to Macao's *procurador*. A *chapa* was a document written in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, such as an official letter, an ordinance, or a license that was given to Asians for a safe passage through the Lusophone world.<sup>76</sup> Boxer provides a more specific definition for a *chapa*: "*Choppe*, originally a seal-impression. It came in time to refer to a Chinese document [chopped] with the seal of a Chinese official."<sup>77</sup> The scribes represented the city via the *jurubaças* who carried the *chapas* to and from Canton.

The regulations for the scribes are detailed in the second part of the *Regimento*, the "Regimento do escrivão." Similar to the classification of the *jurubaças*, the city had a principal scribe and a minor scribe. In the *Regimento*, the archivist Leão is named as principal scribe.<sup>78</sup> Described as a *letrado* born in Hamcheu, the



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principal scribe was in charge of replying to all of the *chapas* sent by the Mandarins and of authoring all business correspondence between Macao and the Chinese.<sup>79</sup> However, the head scribe was to have a second scribe as an assistant.

The two requirements for becoming a scribe in Macao were, first, to declare oneself a Christian, and second, to have the ability to write correspondence to the tribunals (whether major or minor), the *tutão*, and the Chinese Court. The relationship with the court was essential for the preservation of Macao, since the city's survival depended heavily on its commercial relations with the Chinese.<sup>80</sup> The scribes were made aware that even the slightest misunderstanding or problem with either the Mandarins or the *quevees* could hurt the city's economic well-being.

The 1627 document reiterates the importance of the scribe's position for Macao, and the fact that not everyone could perform the job of a scribe because the Mandarins had scribes who were more knowledgeable, practical, and well-paid.<sup>81</sup> Interestingly, the document provides information on the pay of some of the Mandarins' scribes: "200 taels of good silver."<sup>82</sup> This also caused problems for Macao's ability to attract scribes. To solve this problem, the *Regimento* reaffirms that the loyalty of the scribes was important and that the city had to pay them well and treat them with respect, especially on trips to Canton where Macao's interests were at stake.

The scribes were required to maintain, in a registry book, all the *chapas* that had been sent, together with reports discussing the issues they raised. Interestingly, the *Regimento* also called for the scribes to record the social customs between Macao and the Chinese. In addition, the names of the Mandarins and the correct forms for greeting officials from different regions were recorded. The assistant scribe could accompany the *jurubaças* on business trips to Canton. In addition, the *jurubaça* could perform the work of the scribes if necessary and if he could do so faithfully.

"REGIMENTO DO LINGUA DA CIDADE,  
E DOS JURUBAÇAS MENORES,  
E ESCRIVAENS" AND THE THIRD SPACE

This 1627 legal document was unique in its positioning of *jurubaças* within the Sino-Portuguese world. The *Regimento do Lingua* did three things: (1)

it situated the *jurubaças* in the "third space" by making them cultural-linguistic mediators between the Middle Kingdom and Portugal's *Cidade do Santo Nome de Deus de Macau*; (2) it established the duties, obligations, and proper conduct of the interpreters; and (3) it revealed Macao's dire position in terms of recruiting future *jurubaças* and procuring foodstuffs.

The document accorded the *jurubaças* a privileged position. Their privileges were granted in the name of the King of Portugal.<sup>83</sup> Most of the interpreters mentioned in the document were natives of China.<sup>84</sup> The *Regimento* made the Christian faith one of the requirements for *jurubaças*.<sup>85</sup> Thus, the early cultural interactions between Chinese and Portuguese engendered a new identity, visible in the characteristics of the *jurubaças*. The Third Space perspective negates the polarizing categories of "Chinese" and "Portuguese," which are insufficient to explain the emerging identity of the *jurubaças*. The *jurubaças* were products of linguistic hybridity, belonging completely neither to the Western or Eastern worlds, but to the emerging Macanese world.

The description of the important position of "cabeça dos Jurubaças de terra" in the 1627 document fails to indicate whether travel to Canton was a requirement for the head *jurubaça*. However, the *Regimento* does state that the two *jurubaças menores* were to travel to Canton on ordinary business or to deliver official documents to Chinese authorities.<sup>86</sup> Maintaining the peace between Macao's citizens and the Mandarins was an important part of a minor interpreter's responsibility. In addition, while traveling to China, part of the interpreter's job was to procure foodstuffs such as fish, meat, and chicken. This reveals Macao's greatest problem throughout its history—the inability to produce enough food for its inhabitants.<sup>87</sup>

The leading authority on the interpreters in Macao, Jorge Flores, points out the problems an interpreter might face when traveling to the interior of China: "The interpreter accompanying the Portuguese to Canton ran considerable risks."<sup>88</sup> The risks were primarily those of being captured and/or executed. Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century there were many examples of *jurubaças* being imprisoned in Canton, such as the above-mentioned case of João Gomes who was taken prisoner in 1690 as a result of a financial misunderstanding with Miki, identified as the



# Regimento do Lingua da Cidade, e dos Turubacas menores, e Esurwaens.

Esta Nota Cid. por Assento, q' disse se  
faz, Em Lingua principal d'ella, á cargo d'ellas  
todas os Negocios, Isentey, e os Mandarins, e Chinapés da  
Mesma Cid., q' seja Simad Castello aqui creado, e Na-  
tural da China, assim se confiar d'elle, pela Exp. q' tem  
de seus serviços, e prud. q' fará ade serviço d' toda a fide-  
lidade, q' deve á Cidade como Expc, e Membro, q' d'ella se,  
como também por Majornada q' fez q' ordem da Mei-  
ma Cid. ao Pichim d' os Arguthings, serviço á dita  
Cidade bem, e fielmente d' satisfacão d' os Senhores da  
Corte, de Mado, q' o Conselho Real de Guerra Re. Geo-  
rges de Official del Rey, com q' tem Autoridade diante  
d' os Mandarins, e Na. Corte d' os Mays Portuguezes, Na-  
gouten. Eua. Provias Real para Esta Cidade, em que  
o Rey Re. da Privilegiado de Nacim. da China, e  
como tays devem ser (parracidos), e tratados por seus  
serviços d' os Magistrados, e suplicando juntamente a  
que Geo. poy Mignet Montuim Comem Extrado, e  
letrado por Escrivão desta Cidade, e pello servir bem,  
e fielmente, os Mandarins, e p' renderad á elle, e á  
seus irmãos, os quays ambos por servirem Esta Cidade  
Morrerão No tronco d' El Cantao. E para que saiba  
a forma em que ha de servir Esta Cidade, e o como  
a Cidade se levará com elle, fiedamos a presente  
Regimento, o qual guardará bem, e fielmente, como  
delle se depura

P. m.



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“capitão do Sião.”<sup>89</sup> The deaths of the “first *jurubaças*” in Canton, mentioned earlier, illustrate the perils of the journey to the interior of Ming China.<sup>90</sup> A case in point are the deaths of Simão Coelho’s father and brother, who died in a Cantonese prison.<sup>91</sup> Macao’s *jurubaças* ran great personal risks.

In addition, the *Regimento* highlights the precariousness of Macao’s relationship with Ming China, in terms of self-sufficiency and the recruitment of interpreters. As a maritime-oriented *feitoria*, Portuguese Macao did not produce enough food. The city suffered a great famine in 1640, and throughout its history relied heavily on food imported from China. Moreover, the *jurubaças* were instructed, if necessary, to buy young children (*meninos*) from willing parents on behalf of the city of Macao in order to supply the city with future *jurubaças*.<sup>92</sup> The issue of Portuguese kidnapping or buying children (*muitsai*) had been a constant thorn in the side of Sino-Portuguese relations ever since the Fernão Pires de Andrade expedition.<sup>93</sup> Most of the members of the first official Portuguese embassy to China had been detained and executed due to reports of Portuguese raiding the coast for children.<sup>94</sup> But the need for future *jurubaças* was great, and this need forced many *jurubaças menores* to acquire children who could be taught the art of interpreting.

THE *JURUBAÇAS*’ SALARY

Recruiting *jurubaças* was a problem for city officials in Macao. The position required a decent salary. The *jurubaças* were paid twice a year, once in January and again in August.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, the money collected from each ship that came into Macao and needed the assistance of interpreters was divided among the head *jurubaça*, the two minor *jurubaças* and the two scribes.<sup>96</sup> The *jurubaças* were paid five or ten *Pardaos* according to the size of the each ship.<sup>97</sup> The possibility of corruption was obvious, and the *jurubaças* were asked to be honest and not to misrepresent the size of the ships in order to make more money, for this would be detrimental to the city.<sup>98</sup> *Jurubaças* who attended the trade fair were paid 50 taels.<sup>99</sup> They were expected to be loyal to the city, but in practice this was not always the case. In the

1630s, a *jurubaça* named Paulo Noretty changed his allegiance from Macao’s *Senado da Câmara* to Canton’s Mandarins.<sup>100</sup>

INTERPRETING ON BOTH SIDES  
OF THE LINGUISTIC WALL

Notwithstanding the Chinese officials’ distrust of *jurubaças*, there is a case in which a former *jurubaça* named Paulo Noretty was employed by the Chinese to serve as official interpreter between them and the English.<sup>101</sup> In 1636, an English trade mission under John Weddel arrived in Macao to initiate trade relations between England and Portugal’s Far East trading posts. A member of this fleet was the famous English traveler, Peter Mundy.<sup>102</sup> The Portuguese decided that it was not in their best interests to trade with the English.<sup>103</sup> Weddel then traveled to Canton to penetrate the lucrative Chinese market. The English anchored near a fort.<sup>104</sup> After a few days, the Chinese attacked the English ships and seized the supercargo and other members of the crew.<sup>105</sup> Chinese officials sent Li Yerong, also known as Paulo Noretty, a former Macao interpreter, to negotiate the ransom for the Englishmen.<sup>106</sup> This incident illustrates two points: first, the cultural adaptability of the *jurubaças*, who were able to interpret for officials on both sides of the linguistic wall whether in Macao or Canton; and second, how *jurubaças* were positioned interculturally—although in this case it was between the Chinese and the English. The institution of the *jurubaças* was prevalent until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## CONCLUSION

“Macao mainly has two cultural origins: the Portuguese and the Chinese. The culture of Macao appears to be neither purely Chinese nor strictly Portuguese. On the contrary, Macao is often regarded as a place at the margin of either cultural world.”<sup>107</sup>

Arthur H. Chen’s observation above encapsulates the story of Macao. This article has shown that Third Space Theory helps delineate the hybridity of this emerging cultural zone via Sino-Portuguese interpreters. Seventeenth-century documents such as the *Certidão autentica de Antonio Lobo, e Simão Coelho Linguas da Cidade, e de Miguel Pinto* and the *Regimento do Lingua da Cidade e dos Jurubaças menores e Escrivaens* provide

<sup>89</sup>“Regimento do Língua da Cidade e dos Jurubaças menores e Escrivaens”.

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insight into the evolution of the role interpreters in Macao. The controversy involving the construction of the city wall highlights the key role the *jurubaças* played in Macao's Sino-Portuguese interactions. These documents distinguish Macao's intercultural mediators as interpreters of the state, as opposed to "interpreters of circumstance." Moreover, the documents attempted to

circumscribe the power and influence of the *jurubaças*, and institutionalized them in the *Senado da Câmara*. However, the positioning of the interpreters between the two distinct entities, Macao's *Senado da Câmara* and Chinese officialdom, was what gave the interpreters their identity as *jurubaças* and their power to influence relations between the Portuguese and the Chinese. **RC**

## NOTES

- 1 Steve Shipp, *Macau, China: a Political History of the Portuguese Colony's Transition to Chinese Rule*, p. 44. Charles R. Boxer has the best account of the Dutch attack. See Boxer, *Estudos para a História de Macau. Séculos XVI a XVIII*, pp. 19-102.
- 2 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 54.
- 3 Michael J. Muller, "Participatory Design: The Third Space in HCI," online article.
- 4 Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization = La Pensée Métilse*, p. 22.
- 5 Henrique de Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, pp. ix-x.
- 6 Ken Gewertz, "Telling tales out of, and in, class: Bhabha studies culture and genre with a moral squint".
- 7 Geoffrey Gunn, *First Globalization: The Eurasian Exchange, 1500 to 1800*, p. 47.
- 8 By *duas línguas* I mean Portuguese and Chinese (mainly Cantonese).
- 9 Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind*, p. 22.
- 10 This section intends to trace the documented history of the *jurubaças*.
- 11 A. de Moraes Silva, *Grande Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*, II, p. 180.
- 12 Jorge Manuel Flores, "Comunicação e informação, saber e poder: os *jurubaças* e o uso do português em Macau na primeira metade do século XVII," p. 116.
- 13 Rui Manuel Loureiro, ed., *Cartas dos Cativos de Cantão: Cristóvão Vieira e Vasco Calvo (1524?)*, p. 39.
- 14 Ibid., p. 32.
- 15 Ibid., p. 39.
- 16 "Os testemunhos que ficaram dos sobreviventes do cativo fazem claramente a distinção social entre os *línguas*, mortos em Pequim, enquanto os seus servidores—naturalmente chineses— foram dados aos mandarins como escravos por serem considerados traidores, e o *jurubaça-grande*, que morreu de doença." João Pedro Ferro, "Os Contactos Linguísticos e a Expansão da Língua Portuguesa," p. 381. Ferro cites *Cartas dos Cativos de Cantão* in Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Notícias da China e do Tibete* (Lisbon, 1989), pp. 25-26.
- 17 Clive Willis, ed., *China and Macau*, p. xx.
- 18 Rui Manuel Loureiro, ed., *Cartas dos Cativos de Cantão*, p. 95.
- 19 João Pedro Ferro, "Os Contactos Linguísticos," p. 382. Ferro cites *Insulíndia*, II, 28 as the original source.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Captain-Major of the great *Nao de Trato* to Japan (1555-1640).
- 23 The official order came from Goa, *Estado da Índia*, Portugal's capital in the Far East.
- 24 *Certidão autentica de Antonio Lobo, e Simão Coelho Línguas da Cidade, e de Miguel Pinto* (20 September 1626). Biblioteca da Ajuda, [cited hereafter as BA], Jesuítas na Ásia [cited hereafter as JA], Códice 49-V-6, fols. 255-258v.
- 25 By institutionalized, I mean the city officially proclaimed that the *jurubaças* formed part of the Senate.
- 26 Charles R. Boxer *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800*, p. 45.
- 27 The documents *Certidão autentica de Antonio Lobo, e Simão Coelho Línguas da Cidade, e de Miguel Pinto* and *Regimento do Língua da Cidade e dos Jurubaças menores e Escrivaens* are from the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Jesuítas na Ásia collection, obtained from the Macao Historical Archives in September 2006.
- 28 Dejanirah Couto, "The Role of Interpreters, or Línguas, in the Portuguese Empire During the 16<sup>th</sup> Century," p. 8. Couto cites Boxer's "Casados and Cabotagem in the Estado da Índia, 16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> Centuries," *II Seminário de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História e de Cartografia Antiga, 1985), p. 133.
- 29 "Breve Relação da jornada q. fez a corte de Pekim O Senhor Manuel de Saldanha Embaxador Extraordinario del Rey de Portugal ao Emperador da China, e Tartaria: Começando do Primeiro dia em que se embarcou em Cantão." 14 Mayo 1667 *Arquivos de Macau*. 2.<sup>a</sup> Série, Vol. 1. N.º 1 (Jan. 1941), pp. 27-36.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 "Termo, e assento feito em Junta de Homens bons, sobre o Mandarim da Caza-branca haver prendido o Gerubaço em sua Caza á vista do Senado, que a ser chamado tinha ido á dita sua Caza." (1688) *Arquivos de Macau*. 2.<sup>a</sup> Série, Vol. 1. N.º 5 (Set.-Out. 1941), p. 271.
- 32 The *casa branca* was known as *tsotang* or, in Portuguese documents, *Ansião or Anção*. See Charles R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics*, p. 51. The *tsotang* was the home of the local mandarin in Macao. Geoffrey Gunn, *Encountering Macau: Portuguese city-state on the periphery of China, 1557-1999*, p. 37.
- 33 "Termo do assento tomado em Junta de Homens bons, sobre a chamada de quatro Moradores para Cantão, sobre a prisão de Jerobaça João Gomes." (1690) *Arquivos de Macau*. 1.<sup>a</sup> Série, Vol. 3, N.º III (Fev. 1964), p. 27.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 According to José Maria Braga, during the Ming Dynasty *Aitão* (from the Chinese word *Hai Tao*) referred to the customs official who dealt with Portuguese merchants. See Braga "Interpreters and Translators in Old Macao, pp. 1-11.
- 36 "Termo do assento tomado em Junta de Homens bons, sobre a chamada de quatro Moradores para Cantão, sobre a prisão de Jerobaça João Gomes." (1690) *Arquivos de Macau*. 1.<sup>a</sup> Série, Vol. 3, N.º III (Fev. 1964), p. 35.



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- 37 The following is a paraphrase of the document.
- 38 Charles R. Boxer, *Estudos para a História de Macau*, p. 219. A useful summary of Mascarenhas' governorship is found in *ibid.*, pp. 218-220.
- 39 The Campos dos Patanes faces the Inner Harbor. Today, this area encompasses Luís de Camões Garden and Grotto, which is on the street Rua do Patane. See Cesar Guillen-Núñez, *Macau*, p. 20. *Patane* is also the name of one of Macao's seven hills. See Steve Shipp, *Macau, China*, p. 19.
- 40 See the map in Charles R. Boxer, *Estudos para a História de Macau*, pp. 26-27.
- 41 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fols. 255-258v.
- 42 The *Tutão* was the *Governador da Comarca*. He was also an *antigo dignitário da corte da China*. António de Moraes Silva, *Grande Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*, XI, p. 364.
- 43 This seems to be the same Jesuit João Rodrigues who is described by Boxer as "one of the greatest Japanologues who have ever lived." Charles R. Boxer, *Estudos para a História de Macau*, p. 114.
- 44 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 256.
- 45 *Ibid.*
- 46 *Ibid.*
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 256.
- 49 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 256v.
- 50 According to Boxer, the word *Queves* is based on the Cantonese word *King-ki*, which means broker. Charles R. Boxer, *Estudos para a História de Macau*, p. 218. The Cantonese *Queves* (an alternate spelling) provided Portuguese merchants with capital. See George Bryan Souza *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754*, p. 62. See also Jorge Manuel Flores, "O Tempo da Euforia", pp. 204-205 and 213, n133.
- 51 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 256v.
- 52 *Ibid.*
- 53 *Ibid.*
- 54 According to Marco de Avalo, writing in the latter part of the 1630s, Mascarenhas had requisitioned the citadel on the Monte de São Paulo that was being occupied by some Jesuits. See Charles R. Boxer, *Macau na Época da Restauração*, pp. 84-85.
- 55 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 257.
- 56 *Ibid.*
- 57 *Ibid.*
- 58 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fols. 257-257v.
- 59 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 257v.
- 60 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 257v.
- 61 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 257.
- 62 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 258v. Boxer, in translating another document, renders "escrivão da Ouvidoria" as "Notarial Secretary." See Charles R. Boxer, *Macau na Época da Restauração*, p. 192. Garces was a citizen of Macao at the time of the Restoration in the early 1640's. See *Ibid.*, pp. 193 and 205.
- 63 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 457v.
- 64 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 458.
- 65 The following is a paraphrase of the *Regimento da Língua da Cidade e dos Jurubacas menores e Escrivaens*. BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fols. 457v-463.
- 66 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fols. 457v-458.
- 67 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 457v.
- 68 *Ibid.*
- 69 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 458.
- 70 For the role of the Procurador, see Jorge Manuel Flores, "De Surgidouro a Cidade", p. 247.
- 71 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 459.
- 72 *Ibid.*
- 73 According to Boxer, *Ancão*, also written as *Anção* or *Anssão*, is the Portuguese spelling for Heungshan, the district capital of the delta on which Macao is located. The name means Fragrant Hill; today, the city is called Zhongshan. Charles R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550-1770*, p. 276.
- 74 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 459.
- 75 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 460.
- 76 António de Moraes Silva, *Grande Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* III, p. 30.
- 77 Charles R. Boxer, *Macau na Época da Restauração*, p. 217.
- 78 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 459.
- 79 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 459.
- 80 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 461v.
- 81 *Ibid.*
- 82 *Ibid.*
- 83 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 457v.
- 84 Born in China.
- 85 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 458.
- 86 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 459.
- 87 *Ibid.*
- 88 "O intérprete que acompanhasse os Portugueses a Cantão corria riscos consideráveis." Jorge Manuel Flores, "Comunicação e informação, saber e poder", p. 109.
- 89 "Termo do assento tornado em Junta de Homens bons, sobre chamada de quatro Moradores para Cantão, sobre a prisão de Jerobaça João Gomes." (1690) *Arquivos de Macau*. 1.<sup>a</sup> Série, Vol. 3, N.º III (Fev. 1964), pp. 27-28.
- 90 *Cartas dos Cativos de Cantão*, p. 39.
- 91 BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 457v.
- 92 *Ibid.*
- 93 Charles R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550-1770*, pp. 220-241.
- 94 *Ibid.*, 223. It was rumored throughout China that the Portuguese ate the kidnapped children.
- 95 The following is a paraphrase found in BA, JA, Códice 49-V-6, fol. 460.
- 96 *Ibid.*
- 97 *Ibid.*
- 98 *Ibid.*
- 99 *Ibid.*
- 100 *Fei Macao 400 Years*.
- 101 *Ibid.*
- 102 Boxer reprints Mundy's account of his experience in Macao, and mentions Noretty. See Charles R. Boxer, *Macau na Época da Restauração*, pp. 51-75.
- 103 T'ien-Tsê Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644*, pp. 132-133.
- 104 *Ibid.*, p. 134.
- 105 *Ibid.*, p. 135.
- 106 Fei Chengkang, *Macao 400 Years*.
- 107 Arthur H. Chen, "Macao as Metropolis: Heritage and Preservation Towards the Future" p. 124.

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