

From Siam to Guangdong and Macao:

A Note on the Mongoose in Ming and Qing Sources

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I

The *Aomen jilue* 澳門記略 (1751; now *AMJL*), a text familiar to all those working on the history of Macao, contains various lists of animals, among which one finds a short description of the mongoose, or *menggui*. The term in question is phonetically related to a number of South Indian expressions for the same animal and is either written as 蒙貴, or with radical 94 (both characters). The second version also occurs in the *AMJL* version used here. This is what the *AMJL* has to say:¹

The *menggui* resembles a cat, but is larger. It has high legs and a hairy tail.² There are three types: yellow, white and black ones. They are good in catching rats, and they [even] kill the *haishu* 海鼠, which can reach one hundred *jin* 斤 (a little less than fifty kilograms), by making them blind [during a fight]. The children of the foreigners [in Macao] carry them in their arms, when getting up after sleeping.

The *AMJL* is the longest pre-19th-century Chinese-language book dedicated to Macao and its inhabitants.

Earlier Chinese descriptions of that city are usually much shorter or form part of other works. Some of this material also entered the *AMJL* in the form of quotations; this includes certain observations ultimately drawn from Chinese Jesuit accounts. The sections on plants and animals in *AMJL* are no exception; among the sources used for these sections one finds a variety of well-known *lishi dili* 歷史地理 records (quasi ethnographic accounts), *lei shu* 類書 compilations (similar to encyclopaedias), poems, and other categories.

One work closely related to the *AMJL* is Qu Dajun's 屈大均 famous *Guangdong xinyu* 廣東新語 (preface 1700).³ This text also carries an entry on the *menggui*. It very much resembles the description found in *AMJL*, and was probably used by the authors of the latter, but has more details: (1) The *menggui* raised in Xianluo 暹羅 (the area of modern Thailand) were excellent rat catchers. (2) People in Macao knew how to distinguish different types of *menggui*. (3) These animals were traded in Guangdong (or Guangzhou).

Qu Dajun also adds that foreigners in Macao 'esteem domestic animals, but look down upon humans; they value the *menggui* no less than [their own] children'. Similar observations are made in regard to 'foreign dogs' (*fan gou* 番狗) of which it is said they were kept as treasured pets and treated better than domestic 'slaves'.⁴ The intention behind these rather unusual descriptions is not clear. We know that Qu Dajun collected first-hand evidence in Macao, but whether he wanted to provide an 'exotic'

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曹西洋亦時有之鴨如小鵝有冠綏毛羽斑斑然有鳥無足腹下生長皮如筋纏於樹枝以立毛五采名無對鳥一鳥名厄馬最大長頸高足翼翎美麗不能飛足若牛蹠善奔走馬不能及卵可作杯器即今蕃舶所市龍卵也又有巨鳥其吻能解百毒一吻值金錢五十駱駝鳥首高於乘馬之人行時張翼大如棚腹熱能化鐵

獸之屬爲象爲犀爲獅象有識人言者命負物至某處往輒不爽又象極大一牙重至二百斤犀角照之有血暈四周圓整注沸酒有香蕃人謂牙爲白暗犀爲黑暗有黑熊黑緩白亮白獺有小白牛大如犬斑衣有肉峰如橐駝有小鹿長僅二寸許雙角嶄然狗以小者爲貴有黑者有黃色者蕃人與之同寢食其稍大而長毛褸褸深目短喙如獅子者尤獷醜又有般第狗晝潛於水夜臥地以黑者爲貴能嚙樹木其利如刀獾獺似貓而大高足而結尾有黃白黑三種善捕鼠海鼠大至百斤者嚙其目而斃之蕃人子女臥起抱持又貓有肉翅如蝙蝠能飛宋太宗有桃花犬明時大內貓犬皆有官名食俸此類是已有獸如貓名亞爾加里亞尾有汗得之爲奇香有乳羊頂生兩乳下垂又山產異羊一尾重十斤獨角獸大如馬毛色黃頭有角長四五寸其銳能觸大獅若誤觸樹則角不能出反爲獅斃角色明作飲器能解百毒有獸似羊腹內生一石可療百病名曰把羅爾有海馬其牙堅白瑩淨文理細如絲髮可爲念珠等物

蟲之屬有蜘蛛名曰大懶毒辣凡螫人受其毒即如風狂中人氣血比年必發療其疾以其人本性所喜音樂解之有蛇大而無目盤旋樹間凡獸經其旁聞氣即縛之樹間而食海蝦蟆與石同色飢則潛身石內鼻吐紅綫如小蚯蚓以餌小魚

鱗介之屬曰仁魚嘗負一兒登岸髻偶傷兒兒死魚亦觸石死取海豚者嘗取仁魚爲招每呼仁魚入網即入海豚亦與之俱俟豚入盡後呼仁魚出而網海豚曰刺瓦而多魚鱗堅尾修利爪鋸牙其行甚遲小

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image, or was simply puzzled—or even annoyed—by European attitudes towards animals, would still need to be investigated.

Be this as it may, in the context of the present article it is important to note that Qu Dajun associated the *menggui* with Macao, Guangzhou and the area of modern Thailand. It is the purpose of my observations to briefly comment on this rather unexpected constellation, especially its complex ‘philological’ dimensions.

To begin with, the shipment of animals from Southeast Asian and other locations to China is a *longue durée* phenomenon that can be traced back to very early times. Chinese records contain many references to such imports and also to the ‘production’ of animals in foreign countries. Xianluo and other regions now forming part of Thailand are noted, for example, for their elephants, monkeys and tropical birds.

The *menggui* is rarely mentioned in the context of Southeast Asia, but it occurs in a number of Ming and Qing sources with descriptive elements reminiscent of those included in *AMJL* and *Guangdong xinyu*. Examples are found in one of the *Guangdong tongzhi* 广东通志 editions, in *Tong ya* 通雅 (finished in 1636, printed in 1666), *Nan Yue biji* 南越笔记 (1780), and so on.⁵

However, the most important source in that regard is Huang Zhong’s 黄衷 *Hai yu* 海语 (1536). This book contains a long chapter on ‘Thailand’ and various other entries, among which there is one on the *menggui* (one of the earlier references with radical 94, both characters).⁶ If Huang is correct, then the *menggui* was also called *mengju* (second character 俱), or *munjkaey* in modern Cantonese. Although the latter is phonetically close to the English term ‘mongoose’—and its earlier South Indian forms—the combination *mengju* is rarely encountered in other works (if at all).

Much of what Huang has to offer in his account is again similar to the descriptive elements found in *AMJL* and *Guangdong xinyu*. This concerns, for example, the high legs of the *menggui*, the hairy tail, and the fact that there were three ‘types’: yellow, white and black ones. But the sequence is different: ‘There are white, black and yellow ones; and those, who resemble the *li* 狸 (normally a “wild cat”), very much like a *mao* 猫 (an “ordinary” cat), but larger... [The *menggui*] is better in catching mice than cats.’

The last passage in particular calls for further comments: In some later editions/texts (quoting from *Hai yu*) the expression *li* becomes 驪, which makes

no sense. There are also different interpretations in regard to the character *ku* 酷 (here ‘very much’) and the following line (in later works *ku* is often missing). Finally, ‘and those’ could be left out; in that case all three types—the white, black and yellow *menggui*—would be similar to wild cats.⁷

The text continues: ‘[*Menggui* animals] occur in all countries, those from Xianluo are [really] excellent. Maritime merchants take them to Guangzhou. When ordinary cats see [a *menggui*], they stand aside. Rich people give ten gold pieces for one [animal].’ Again, two or three observations should be added: ‘Ordinary’ could be changed into an adverb, but that may not matter very much. The expression for merchant sometimes appears as *you* 佑; *gu* 估 should be better. *Xie* (*xia*, *jie*) 挟 (after *you/gu*) remains untranslated.

The most interesting point in the quotation above certainly pertains to the fact that the best *menggui* came from ‘Thailand’. This should be one of the earliest extant Chinese passages (or the earliest passage?) linking the *menggui* to that region. But this is not all. The next entry in *Hai yu* (after *menggui*) deals with a creature called *haishu*: ‘It is as large as a pig, attains a weight of one hundred *jin*, has red eyes and fears cats.’ Furthermore, it happened once that a *menggui* bit a *haishu*’s eye, after which the latter died. Clearly, the last part reminds one of the entry translated from *AMJL*, above. Considering all the different descriptive elements encountered in *Hai yu*, it thus seems that Huang Zhong’s account formed the basis for the relevant passages in *AMJL* and *Guangdong xinyu*. The identity of the *haishu*, one may add, remains unclear.⁸

The other point that deserves our attention is the extraordinary price paid for good quality *menggui* animals in Guangzhou. It is not impossible that Qu Dajun, author of the *Guangdong xinyu*, transferred the image of a highly-valued creature to Macao. But whether the local Portuguese were really as fond of these animals as Qu Dajun suggests, we shall of course never know. The image that can be derived from other contemporary sources—in both Macao and Guangzhou—remains very vague.

II

Notwithstanding, the above suggests that Xianluo would occasionally export *menggui* animals to Guangzhou and/or Macao, where these animals were

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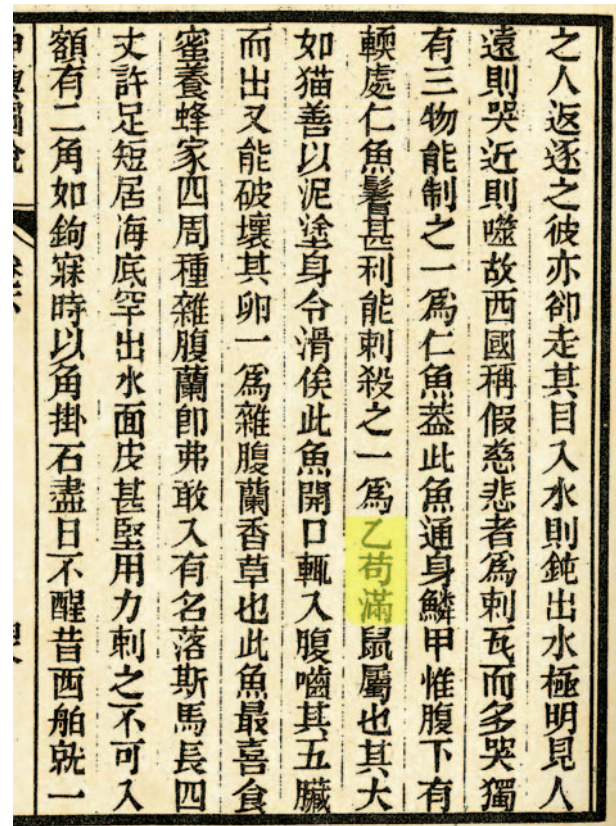
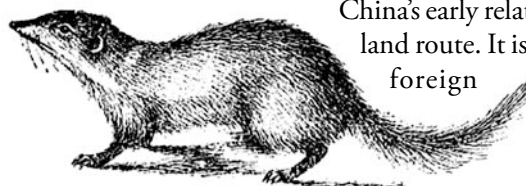
kept to catch rats, or simply as pets. Evidently such exports, whether regular or occasional, had started long before the foundation of Macao, because the *Haiyu* dates from 1536. Other Chinese accounts of the late medieval and early modern periods associate the *menggui* with the area of modern Vietnam. Examples are found in *Huanyu tongzhi* 寰宇通志 (1456) and *Da Ming yitong zhi* 大明一统志 (1461), where the *menggui* appears as a 'local product' of Annam.⁹ Zhang Xie 张燮, author of the *Dongxiyang kao* 东西洋考 (1617/18), mentions it in his chapter on Jiaozhi 交址 (different orthographs for second character), which is essentially the same geographical region.¹⁰

The association of the *menggui* with the area of modern Vietnam goes back to very ancient times. This takes us to the *Er ya* 尔雅 (Han period or earlier) and Guo Pu's 郭璞 (276-324) famous comment on that book. The *Er ya* refers to a creature called *mengsong* 蒙頔, and not *menggui*. But the first is commonly identified with the latter. Of the *mengsong*, Guo Pu says the following: it resembles the *wei* 雌 (possibly *Rhinopithecus roxellanae*, the golden snub-nosed monkey), but is smaller and purple-black in colour; one can train it to catch mice, in which it surpasses ordinary *mao* (cats/wild cats);¹¹ the *mengsong* occurs in Jiuzhen 九真 and Rinan 日南. These two sites, it is well known, were in the area of modern northern Vietnam and administered by China.

Two of Guo Pu's observations call for comments: (1) If the term *mengsong* does indeed stand for some kind of mongoose, then this should be one of the earliest Chinese references to the 'domestication' of these animals—as mice catchers. (2) The dark colour of the *mengsong* could point to *Herpestes javanicus* (small Indian mongoose) or *H. urva* (crab-eating mongoose). The head of the first in particular is sometimes described as being reddish; therefore, one also finds the names *hongjiameng* 红颊獾 / *honglianmeng* 红脸獾 in modern Chinese (also see the last section, here). However, this deviates considerably from the colours given by Huang Zhong, Qu Dajun and in the *AMJL*.

While the colour problem remains a puzzle, it is quite likely that the term *mengsong* was gradually substituted by the term *menggui* in later periods,

Herpestes urva, from Gao Feng et al.,
Hainan dao de niao shou (1983).



The term *yigouman* in Verbiest's *Kunyu tushuo*, Baibu congshu edition.

especially in Song and Ming literature, and therefore had almost disappeared from everyday language in Huang Zhong's times.¹² A similar development applies to at least three other early expressions, which may have stood for some kind of mongoose as well, but later only survived in academic writing: (1) The first is *bidushu* 辟毒鼠, literally 'a rat that avoids/escapes poison'. It first occurs in a fragmentary work of the 3rd century, the *Wei lue* 魏略, which is known through the *Sanguo zhi* 三国志. (2) The second expression, *nouteshu* (route-'rat' 耨特鼠; first character also *ru* 耨, second also *chi* 池 or *shi* 时), can be found in the context of Tang sources. (3) A similar name was *huonoushe* 活耨蛇 (second character also *ru* 耨, third character *di* 地). This creature with a *qing* 青 (blue / green?) colour, and resembling a rat in shape, was good at catching mice. It is mentioned, for example, as a tribute item presented by an embassy from Bosi (Bosi 青: usually Persia) in 638.¹³

All these three terms can be associated with China's early relations to Central and West Asia, via the land route. It is possible that they presented different foreign words ultimately derived from one

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or several languages spoken in North India and/or Iran, quite in contrast to the expression *menggui*, which can be related to the linguistic scenarios of Southeast Asia and South India—and thus to the sea route. For the present note, the ‘northern link’ is of no importance at all, because none of the three expressions in question appear in the context of the Siam-Guangdong-Macao link.¹⁴

Another term that must be taken into consideration is the compound *baishu* 白鼠, ‘white rat’. This term occurs in the Siam chapters of several *lishi dili* records. Examples from the Ming period are found in the works by Ma Huan 马欢 (conventionally dated 1433), Gong Zhen 巩珍 (1434), Huang Xingzeng 黄省曾 (1520), Zheng Xiao 郑晓 (1564), Luo Yuejiong 罗曰褰 (1591), Zhang Xie (1617/18), and so on. In these and other works the *baishu* is not described, but listed as one of the animals or products of Xianluo.¹⁵ Usually the term has been translated literally, without explanation, but given the colour—as well as the attribute ‘white’ mentioned by Huang Zhong—it could be that this Siamese *baishu* was in fact a white *menggui*.¹⁶

While it is impossible to determine the nature of these *baishu*, there can be no doubt that yet another expression, namely *yigouman* 乙狗满, does refer to the mongoose. This term occurs in Giulio Aleni’s (Ai Rulüe 艾儒略) *Zhifang waiji* 职方外纪 (1623).¹⁷ It seems to be a phonetic rendering of *ichneumon*, a word already found in Greek antiquity. In *Zhifang waiji* it occurs in a section on ‘sea creatures’. The authors of *AMJL*, not knowing what it meant, have also listed it in their section on marine animals.¹⁸ Hence, they refer to the mongoose under two different names, *menggui* and *yigouman*, without realizing that both terms stood for the same (or at least a very similar) creature.

Finally, there is the *Flora sinensis* (1656) by Miguel Boym (Bu Mige 卜弥格). Boym was a Polish Jesuit who stayed on Hainan Island and on the Chinese mainland.¹⁹ His *Flora sinensis* (in Latin) contains several descriptions of animals and some illustrations; this also includes a note on the *sum xu*, or *songshu* 松鼠, normally a ‘squirrel’. According to Boym the *songshu* was tamed and kept as a mice hunter, hence it probably had nothing to do with an ordinary squirrel.²⁰ Rather, it is very likely that, once again, a mongoose was meant.

Boym knew some Chinese and had access to Li Shizhen’s 李时珍 famous *Bencao gangmu* 本草纲目 (1596), which lists the *mengsong* and repeats Guo

Pu’s early comments on this animal. It is possible that Boym, who was very interested in Chinese medicine and various *bencao* issues, had studied these notes and simply changed the name from *mengsong* to *songshu*.²¹

Be this as it may, there are two new elements in Boym’s text: (1) The Chinese, he says, adorn this animal with silver, (2) and it costs eight to nine scutes. The second element is a reminder of the high prices mentioned in *Hai yu*. It could be that Boym saw these animals in Macao, perhaps even in the houses of rich Portuguese merchants. But whether the price he gives refers to that location, or to Guangzhou (as in *Hai yu*), or rather to some market on Hainan or in the interior of southwestern China, where Boym spent much time, cannot be told. The first element raises different questions. Iconographical material of the early modern period suggests that red squirrels (!) were adorned with a collar of small bells. One such illustration can be found in Ulisse Aldrovandi’s writings. However, this

The *songshu* in Boym’s *Flora sinensis*. Courtesy Harald Fischer Verlag, Erlangen, Germany.



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comes out of the European context.²² It could be that Boym had a vague notion of such adornments and that he had combined these elements with what he had learned from Li Shizhen's work and personally seen in China. This would then be a further explanation for the 'symbiosis' of the *songsu* and *mengsong*.

III

What does the preceding section tell us? – (1) The *menggui*, or mongoose, was not only associated with Siam, but also with the area of modern Vietnam. (2) The term *baishu*, found in several Ming descriptions of Xianluo, may stand for a white *menggui*. (3) There are several older terms: *mengsong*—evidently a reddish/black/dark creature and good mouse hunter—as well as some expressions (*bidushu*, *nouteshu*, *huonoushe*, etc.), which can be brought into connection with China's contacts to West and Central Asia; once again these expressions point to mongooses. (4) The 'Jesuit' transcription *yigouman*—for *ichneumon*—entered the *AMJL*, but was not understood as an alternative name for *menggui*. (5) Boym's notion of the *songsu* is likely to stand for the mongoose.

The existence of several terms for one animal or similar species is not an exceptional case in Chinese traditional writing. Such constellations have always led to confusion and usually later writers have tried to 'solve' the riddle by quoting earlier texts as authoritative sources, without disentangling the many philological problems connected therewith. One case is Fang Yizhi's *Tongya*, already referred to in an earlier note, above.²³ It carries an entry on the *mengsong*, where this animal is first equated with the *huonoudi* 活獬地 and then identified as a mouse catcher. The next part quotes from Guo Pu's comment. This is followed by additional observations: The *Guangzhi* 广志 (*Guangdong tongzhi*, or Guangdong chronicles in a broader sense?), says Fang, calls these creatures *menggui* (with rad. 94); there are black, white and yellow ones (in this sequence); the best ones originate from Xianluo and catch mice. Thereafter the text turns to cats (which in still other sources are mixed up with the *menggui*),²⁴ tribute missions (Tang period), and other issues.

In terms of textual chronology, some of Fang Yizhi's observations can be placed between the *Haiyu* (1536) and the *Guangdong xinyu* (1700) / *AMJL* (1751). This is also true for another work by Fang, the

Wuli xiaoshi 物理小识 (early 17th century). It contains a description of Xiangshan'ao 香山澳 (*ao* with rad. 46), i.e., the region to which Macao belonged. There 'one finds small dogs, similar to monkeys, and capable of catching mice, these are the *mengsong*'.²⁵ The passage is followed by some confusing references to Li Shizhen's *Bencao gangmu*. However, the more interesting part lies in the fact that Wang combined the *mengsong* with monkeys and dogs. This clearly reminds one of Qu Dajun's later work, where the entry on the *menggui* is followed by an entry on 'dogs' and another one on 'foreign dogs'.

But this is not all. *Menggui* animals and 'short dogs' (*duan gou* 短狗) appear, one after the other, without explanations, in a work by Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711); this also relates to Macao. Furthermore, according to Qu Dajun, Macao's 'foreign dogs are very small; their hair is like that of lions (毛若狮子) and they are worth more than ten gold pieces'.²⁶ One may be tempted, here, to say that the 'link' between dogs and *menggui* animals was carried over from one text to the next, with certain modifications, and that the high price, originally found in *Haiyu*, was transferred to the dog section in Qu Dajun's *Guangdong xinyu*. Finally, the association of dogs with lions in Qu's text reminds one of the sequence *shizimao baishu* 狮子猫白鼠, which can be encountered, for example, in several early *lishi dili* works, starting with Ma Huan.²⁷

While the last point may be far-fetched, the above quotations suggest that some authors had difficulties in identifying or classifying the animals they were referring to. Perhaps indeed, they had never seen these creatures, or had only seen some, and therefore preferred to rely on earlier textual evidence, which they simply 'formatted' in different ways. In sum, by late Ming and early Qing times the story of the *menggui* became a complex philological problem—a topic bordering on the 'semantics' of cats, dogs, weasel-like creatures, and even monkeys. This makes it very difficult to establish a clear picture.

In spite of these textual uncertainties, I am still inclined to think that the term *menggui*, in the context of Macao, should refer to imported (or domestically raised) mongooses, occasionally kept as pets in the households of the rich. In ancient Egypt and India mongooses were famous, especially for their ability to kill poisonous snakes. In early modern India one finds

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Herpestes auropunctatus, from Gao Feng et al., *Hainan dao de niao shou* (1983).

these animals in several stories and religious contexts; even Garcia da Orta (1563) knew of them and their exceptional qualities.²⁸

The early Portuguese, when sailing to Macao, came through India and Melaka. Later they were also in touch with different ports along the coasts of modern Thailand and Vietnam.²⁹ Therefore, it has always been suggested that they brought various Asian traditions to Macao; this may have included the habit of keeping mongooses at home, albeit not primarily for chasing snakes, but for protecting themselves against rats and mice. Other Europeans also observed mongooses in the contexts of India and Southeast Asia. It is no surprise, then, that one finds various references to these creatures in conventional encyclopaedias and handbooks of the colonial period.³⁰

In more recent times the mongoose became the topic of many scholarly articles and several beautiful tales. Other aspects concern the culinary side; there are occasional references to mongooses being eaten in South China and elsewhere. The Internet also carries hundreds of pages related to these animals and the stories surrounding them. Surprisingly, many electronic pages are linked to Thailand; this includes videos showing long fights between the mongoose and the cobra.

Before concluding these glosses, we shall briefly return to the zoological aspect of the problem. Above we had encountered reddish/dark animals (*mengsong*), as well as white, yellow and black ones (*menggui*). According to modern taxonomy, mongooses belong to the order *Carnivora*. One of its families are the *Herpestidae*, under which one finds the subfamily *Herpestinae* with the genus *Herpestes*. One of its species is *H. javanicus*, the small Indian mongoose (earlier called *H. auropunctatus*, etc.; in English also 'Asian mongoose', 'Javanese

mongoose', etc.). Some works associate up to twelve subspecies with *H. javanicus*, other works list these as separate species, including *H. auropunctatus*.

Certain animals under the *Herpestidae* resemble civets and other animals now conventionally placed under the *Viverridae*. Several of the latter also appear in modern works on China's fauna; this includes *Paradoxurus hermaphroditus* ('Asian palm civet', also 'toddy cat') and *Paguma larvata* ('masked palm civet', also 'Himalayan palm civet'). But occasionally the *Herpestidae* and *Viverridae* form one family as well, as for example in recent handbooks on the fauna of Hainan.³¹ Needless to add, such terminological divergences have contributed to much confusion. The coexistence of several modern Chinese names for similar creatures, or even for the same species, and



Paguma larvata hainana, from Gao Feng et al., *Hainan dao de niao shou* (1983).

certain name elements derived from ancient texts, have further aggravated these problems. *Viverra zibetha* ('[large] Indian civet') is now usually called *dalingmao* 大灵猫, *P. hermaphroditus* is known as *yezimao* 椰子猫, *P. larvata* often appears with a local subspecies, i.e., *P. l. hainana*, or *guozili* 果子狸 in Chinese. *Herpestes javanicus* normally goes as *hongjiameng* 红颊獾 or *honglianmeng* 红脸獾, but one also finds other terms such as *rili* 日狸, *zhuli* 竹狸, and *shupishu* 树皮鼠. *Herpestes urva* (the 'crab-eating mongoose') appears as *shixiemeng* 食蟹獾 in modern scientific literature; its other names are *shanhuan* 山獾, *shihuan* 石獾, *zhudongli* 竹筒狸, *sunli* 笋狸, *shuihuan* 水獾 and *baimei* 白狴.


The origins of many Chinese popular names listed above have never been explained in full. However, in



Viverra zibetha, from Gao Feng et al., *Hainan dao de niao shou* (1983).

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a general sense, what these names tell us, is this: the elements *mao* and *li* (cat/wild cat) appear in several terms; besides these syllables one also finds *meng*, *shu* (rat/rodent), and other characters. Given that many of the creatures in question are similar in form and size (there are hundreds of images on the net to verify this), they were easily mixed up and often wrongly identified. Certainly, *H. javanicus* and *H. urva* (found in parts of India, Southeast Asia and China's deep South) are the most likely candidates for the *menggui/mengsong*, but the white and yellow varieties remain difficult to explain. Perhaps it was the broad white line along the head and neck of *H. urva* which made the difference, but that is far-fetched, and above all, there is no clear solution for the yellow *menggui*.

In view of such zoological 'inconsistencies', the conclusion offered here must remain vague: Macao, we all know from Japanese biombo art, was involved in the shipment of animals to Nagasaki. Chinese junks also carried birds, horses, and so on. It is very likely, therefore, that 'Siamese' mongooses reached Macao and Guangzhou in Ming and early Qing times—not regularly, but now and then, in small quantities, perhaps on the order of rich and extravagant merchants. Why, however, the ones from Siam enjoyed the reputation of being the best, and how exactly these creatures were kept, trained and treated in these early days—that, I am afraid, may never be fully disclosed. 

NOTES

- 1 For different editions of the *AMJL*, see, for example, Zhang Shitai 张世泰, Feng Weixun 冯伟勋, Ni Junming 倪俊明, *Guancang Guangdong difangzhi mulu* 馆藏广东地方志目录 (Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng Zhongshan tushuguan guan lishi wenxian bu, 1986), pp. 193-194. Also see Zhang Wenqin 章文钦 "Aomen jilüe" yanjiu 澳门记略研究, in his *Aomen yu Zhonghua lishi wenhua* 澳门与中华历史文化, ser. Haohai congkan (Macao: Aomen jijinhui, 1995), pp. 139-177, and Zhao Chunchen 赵春晨, 'Guanyu "Aomen jilüe" Qianlong yuankan ben de jige wenti' 关于澳门记略乾隆原刊本的几个问题, in Huang Xiaofeng 黄晓峰, Deng Siping 邓思平 and Liu Yuelian 刘月莲 (eds.), *Shou jie Aomen lishi wenhua guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 首届澳门历史文化国际学术研讨会论文集 (Macao: Aomen wenhua yanjiuhui, 1995), pp. 139-141. – Excerpts of the *AMJL* are in Zhongguo di yi lishi dang'anguan 中国第一历史档案馆, Aomen jijinhui 澳门基金会, Ji'nan daxue guji yanjiusuo 暨南大学古籍研究所 (eds.), *Ming Qing shiqi Aomen wenti dang'an wenxian huibian* 明清时期澳门问题档案文献汇编, 6 vols. (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999), especially VI, pp. 280 et seq., in Zhang Haipeng 张海鹏 (ed.), *Zhong Pu guanxishi ziliao ji* 中葡关系资料集, 2 vols. (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1999), especially I, pp. 88 et seq. – Translations and annotated versions: Luís Gonzaga Gomes (tr.), *Ou-Mun Kei-Leok. Monografia de Macau* (Macao: Quinzena de Macau, 1979; originally 1950), especially p. 238; Yin Guangren 印光任 and Zhang Rulin 张汝霖 (authors), Zhao Chunchen (ed.), *Aomen jilüe jiaozhu* 澳门记略校注 (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992; this text was used here), especially p. 163; Yin Guangren, Zhang Rulin (authors), Zhao Chunchen (comm.), Jin Guoping (tr., notes), Rui Manuel Loureiro (revision), *Aomen jilüe. Monografia Abreviada de Macau (Versão Anotada)* (Macao: Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau, 2009), p. 220 and p. 276 n. 503. – For a translation of the *menggui* segment in *AMJL* and a related study, see Roderich Ptak, 'Notizen zum Mungo (*Herpestes javanicus*)', in same (ed.), *Tiere im alten China. Studien zur Kulturgeschichte*, ser. Maritime Asia 20 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009).
- 2 Jin Guoping's translation: 'rabos enrolados'.

- 3 There are several modern editions. One is in Ou Chu 欧初 and Wang Guanchen 王惯忱 (eds.), *Qu Dajun quanji* 屈大均全集, 8 vols. (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1996), IV. Here I used the Zhonghua shuju version (Hong Kong, 1975). – Several segments deal with Macao. See, for example, Roderich Ptak, 'Notes on the Kuang-tung hsin-yü', *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões* 15.1/2 (1981), pp. 136-148; Jin Guoping's translation of *AMJL* (as in n. 1), pp. 327-330. – For Qu Dajun and his text also see, for example, Zhao Liren 赵立人, "Guangdong xinyu" de chengshu niandai yu shisan hang' 广东新语的成书年代与十三行, *Guangdong shehui kexue* 广东社会科学 (1/1989), pp. 61-63; Wu Jianxin 吴建新, "Guangdong xinyu" chengshu nianqi zaitan' 广东新语成书年谱再谈, *Guangdong shehui kexue* (3/1989), pp. 79-88; Wang Zongyan 汪宗衍, *Qu Wengshan xiansheng nianpu* 屈翁山先生年谱 (Macao: Yujin shuwu, 1970); Tang Kaijian 汤开建, 'Qu Dajun e Macau', *Revista de Cultura* 32 (1997), pp. 87-104. – On animals described in *Guangdong xinyu* and *AMJL*, see, for example, Roderich Ptak, 'The Avifauna of Macau: A Note on the *Aomen jilüe*', *Monumenta Serica* 57 (2009), pp. 193-230.
- 4 Qu Dajun 屈大均, *Guangdong xinyu* 广东新语, j. 21, p. 540.
- 5 *Guangdong tongzhi* 广东通志, j. 52, quoted by Fang Yizhi 方以智, *Tong ya* 通雅 (Siku quanshu ed., vol. 857; hereafter SKQS), j. 46, 12b-13a (p. 865); Qu Dajun, *Guangdong xinyu*, j. 21, p. 540; Li Tiaoyuan 李调元, *Nan Yue biji* 南越笔记, Hanhai, 4 vols. (Baibu congshu jicheng ed. 37.11), III, j. 9, 8a-b (there, also on imported *yang mao* 洋猫, possibly identical with the *menggui*).
- 6 Huang Zhong 黄衷, *Hai yu* 海语, Lingnan yishu (Baibu congshu jicheng ed. 93.3), j. 2, 3b. So far, little has been written on the *Hai yu*. A general study is Duan Lisheng's 段立生 'Huang Zhong ji qi "Hai yu" 黄衷及其海语, in Duan's *Taiguo shi sanlun* 泰国史散论 (Nanning: Guangxi renmin chubanshe, 1993; originally 1984). Non-Chinese work includes Donatella Guida's 'Ming Images of the Nanyang: Some Stories from *Haiyu* (Words on the Sea) [1536]', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale* 54.3 (1994), pp. 389-399; also see Guida's *Nei mari del sud. Il viaggio nel Sud-Est Asiatico tra realtà e immaginazione: storiografia e letteratura nella Cina Ming e*

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- Qing* (Rome: Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2007), especially pp. 75-76, 171-173.
- 7 The distinction between *mao* and *li* is important. Generally on this: Shing Müller, 'Über die *mao*-Katzen im alten China', in Ptak (ed.), *Tiere im alten China*, pp. 49-76.
 - 8 *Haishu* can be used for *haican* 海参 (sea cucumber), but this makes no sense here. – The Portuguese translations of *AMJL* offer no explanation.
 - 9 Chen Xun 陈循 et al., *Huanyu tongzhi* 寰宇通志, 10 vols. (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1968), X, j. 118, 5a; Li Xian 李贤 et al., *Da Ming yitong zhi* 大明一统志, 10 vols. (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1965), X, j. 90, p. 5527.
 - 10 Zhang Xie 张燮 (author), Xie Fang 谢方 (ed.), *Dongxiyang kao* 东西洋考, ser. *Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan* 中外交通史籍丛刊, hereafter ZWJT (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 18. Zhang Xie cites the *Da Ming yitong zhi* and a verse from Lin Bi's 林弼 (1324-1381) *Lin Dengzhou ji* 林登州集 (see electronic SKQS version, j. 7; prepared in Hong Kong), which refers to a *menggui* in the residence of a high official.
 - 11 Guo Pu 郭璞 is quoted in many later works. See, for example, Xu Jian 徐坚 et al., *Chuxue ji* 初学记 (c. 700), 3 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), III, j. 29, p. 721: Here, however, *wei* is replaced by *bou* 猴 (monkey). Another example is in Yan Congjian 严从简 (author) Yu Sili 余思黎 (ed.), *Shuyu zhou ci lu* 殊域周咨录, ser. ZWJT (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), p. 241. – There are two characters for *mao*: 猫 and 貓. In early times they may have stood for non-domesticated cats. More in Müller, 'Über die *mao*-Katzen'. – For further references to the *wei* and *mengsong*, also see Ptak 'Notizen'.
 - 12 The term was nevertheless preserved in contemporary written sources of these periods and even in Qing texts. Examples are in the works by Fang Yizhi. Also see Ptak, 'Notizen'.
 - 13 For all three terms, see Ptak, 'Notizen', and sources cited there. Also see Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley etc.: University of California Press, 1963), p. 91, and Hans Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World 589-1276*, ser. *Handbook of Oriental Studies / Handbuch der Orientalistik* (Leiden etc.: Brill, 2005), p. 353.
 - 14 In Ming and Qing times, when the 'northern terms' were no longer in vogue, several authors suggested that these expressions (or some of them) should be linked to the combinations *mengsong* and *menggui*, but no clear explanations are offered. For some examples, see Ptak, 'Notizen', and part III, here. – For South India, see the entries in the old sources cited in n. 30, below.
 - 15 See Ma Huan 马欢 (author), Wan Ming 万明 (ed.), *Ming chaoben 'Yingya shenglan' jiaozhu* 明钞本瀛涯胜览校注 (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 2005), p. 35; J. V. G. Mills (tr., ed.), *Ying-yai sheng-lan. The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores [1433]*, ser. Hakluyt Society Extra Series 42 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1970), p. 107; Gong Zhen 巩珍 (author), Xiang Da Da 向达 (ed.) *Xiyang fanguo zhi* 西洋番国志, ser. ZWJT (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 14; Huang Xingzeng (author; sometimes also Huang Shengceng 黄省曾), Xie Fang 谢方 (ed.), *Xiyang chaogong dianlu*, ser. ZWJT (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 59; Klaus Sonnendecker, *Huang Xingzeng. Verzeichnis der Akteneinträge zu Audienzen und Tributen vom Westlichen Meer (Xiyang chaogong dianlu)* (Berlin, 2005; Dr. phil. dissertation; www.diss-fu-berlin.de/2007/527/sonnendecker-gesamt-pdf; accessed 2009), p. 97 n. 423; Zheng Xiao 郑晓, *Huang Ming siyi kao* 黄明四夷考, ser. Siku jinhui shu congkan, shibu, 46 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1998), j. shang, 45a (p. 711); Luo Yuejiong 罗曰驥 (author), Yu Sili (ed.), *Xian bin lu* 咸宾录, ser. ZWJT (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), j. 6, p. 150; Zhang Xie, *Dongxiyang kao*, p. 39. – Translations of individual country segments include the ones in Guida's work, for example in her *Nei mari del sud*.
 - 16 For a different view, see Zhang Zhijie 张之杰, *Yan qiao ji. Kexue yu meishu de jiaohui* 盐桥集. 科学与艺术的教会 (Taipei: Zhang Zhijie chubanshe, 2006), p. 254. Zhang believes the term (as used by Ma Huan) simply refers to the kind of mice now used in scientific experiments. Charles R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacan...* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1959), p. 196, cites a document according to which similar creatures were brought to Japan. Any connection? Also see Sonnendecker, previous note. – Immediately preceding the expression *baishu* 白鼠, Ma Huan's text contains the sequence *shizi mao* 狮子猫. There are different interpretations of these characters: imported lions *plus* ordinary cats, only civets, only Siamese cats, etc. (also see, for example, Müller, 'Über die *mao*-Katzen', p. 72: on *shimao*, with quotations from Song sources). In some Ming texts / editions the sequence is altered. One wonders whether there is any link between *mao* and *shu* in all these cases.
 - 17 Ai Rulüe 艾儒略 (author), Xie Fang (ed.), *Zhifang waiji jiaoshi* 职方外纪校释, ser. ZWJT (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), p. 150; Giulio Aleni (author), Paolo De Troia (tr., ed.), *Geografia dei paesi stranieri alla Cina, Zhifang waiji, fuori testo Mappa dei diecimila paesi Wanguo quantu* 万国全图, ser. Centro Giulio Aleni, Opera Omnia, vol. 1 (Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, Centro Giulio Aleni, 2009), p. 188. The term was later taken over into Ferdinand Verbiest's *Kunyu tushuo* 坤輿图说 (first edition 1672).
 - 18 See Jin Guoping's translation, p. 221, and the most useful explanation in n. 519 on p. 277, there. – There are several works on the *ichneumon* and the symbolism surrounding it. See, for example, E. Brunner-Traut, 'Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse (1965), S. 123-163.
 - 19 Much has been written on Boym. Recently a copy of the *Flora Sinensis*, held by the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg (sign. 2° Nat. 30), has been made available electronically, in the form of a CD-R (Erlangen: Harald Fischer Verlag, 2002), with an introduction and detailed bibliography by Hartmut Walravens. – The full title of Boym's work is: *Flora Sinensis; fructus floresque humillime porrigens serenissimo et potentissimo Principi ac Domino Leopoldo Ignatio, Hungariae Regi florentissimo...emissa in publicum a R. P. Michaelae Boym, s. j., Majestati suae una cum felicissimi anni appreciatione oblata anno salutis 1656, Viennae Austriae*. – A recent monograph on Boym is Edward Kajdanski's *Michala Boyma, Opisanie swiata* (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Volumen, 2009). For a recent Chinese study with many references, see: Zhang Xiping 张西平, 'Zhongguo wenhua zaoqi zai Ouzhou de chuanbo – Lun Polan Hanxuejia Bumige de xueshu gongxian' 中国文化早期在欧洲的传播 – 论汉学家卜弥格的学术贡献, in Zhuhai shiwei xuanchuanbu 珠海市委宣传部 and other institutions (eds.), *Zhuhai, Aomen yu jindai Zhong Xi wenhua jiaoliu – 'Shou jie Zhu Ao wenhua luntan' lunwen ji* 珠海, 澳门与近代中西文化交流 – 首届珠澳文化论坛论文集, ser. Aomen yanjiu congshu (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2010), pp. 228-249.
 - 20 Walravens, 'Michael Boym und die Flora Sinensis', p. 7, n. 4, also believes that the *songshu* in this case may not have been a squirrel. – For a detailed analysis of this section (including the Latin text and an English translation), see Chiara Bocci, 'The Animal Section in Boym's (1612-1659) *Flora Sinensis*: Portentous Creatures, Healing Stones, Venoms, and Other Curiosities', to appear in *Monumenta Serica*.
 - 21 Details and further references in Bocci, 'The Animal Section', and Ptak, 'Notizen', pp. 92-93. – For Boym's interest in Chinese medicine, also see, for example, Edward Kajdanski, 'Michael Boym's "Medicus Sinicus"', *T'oung Pao* 73.4-5 (1987), pp. 161-189.
 - 22 Bocci, 'The Animal Section', draws attention to that. See Biancastella Antonino, *Animali e creature mostruose di Ulisse Aldrovandi* (Milano: Federico Motta Editore, 2004), p. 6.

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- 23 See n. 5.
- 24 There are two important (later) works on cats: Wang Chudong 王初桐, *Mao cheng* (also: *sheng*) 猫乘 (preface 1798), j. 5 (Congshu jicheng chubian xubian ed., vol. 1119), and Huang Han 黄汉, *Mao yuan* 猫苑 (prefaces 1852, 1853), Biji xiaoshuo daguan (here: Shanghai jinbu shuju ed.). – On the second work see Sylvie Pasquet, ‘Un lettré “naturaliste” du XIX siècle, Huang Han et son encyclopédie des chats’, *Anthropozoologica* 18 (1993), S. 67-77. – Also see Martina Siebert, *Pulu, ‘Abhandlungen und Auflistungen’ zu materieller Kultur und Naturkunde im traditionellen China*, ser. Opera Sinologica 17 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), p. 126 n. 222, p. 222, 243 n. 443. – Note: Huang Han (j. shang, 2b) treats the *menggui* as one kind of cat. Such ‘classifications’ go back to very early times, for example to Duan Chengshi’s 段成式 *Yuyang zazhi* 酉阳杂俎 (c. 875), Xuejin taoyuan, 6 vols. (Baibu congshu jicheng ed. 46.22), *xuji*, j. 8, 4b. Also see my ‘Notizen’. In other cases, the *menggui* is vaguely linked to ‘foreign cats’ (*yang mao* 洋猫); see, for example, n. 5, here.
- 25 Fang Yizhi, *Wuli xiaoshi* 物理小识 (SKQS, vol. 867), j. 10, 14a.
- 26 Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (author), Ge Siren 靳斯仁 (ed.), *Chi bei ou tan* 池北偶谈, ser. Qingdai shiliao biji congkan, 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), II, p. 517. – Qu Dajun, *Guangdong xinyu*, j. 21, p. 540, above.
- 27 See above, especially n. 16.
- 28 Garcia da Orta, *Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas da Índia*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987; facs. of 1891 ed., by Conde de Ficalho), II, pp. 181 et seq., note on pp. 188 et seq.; H. E. Hinton and A. M. Sarah Dunn, *Mongoose. Their Natural History and Behaviour* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd Ltd., 1967), especially pp. 81-90 (mongooses in India and ancient Egypt).
- 29 For the relations between Macao and the areas of modern Thailand and Vietnam, see for example, George B. Souza, *The Survival of Empire. Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), various sections; Tereza Sena, ‘Connections between Malacca, Macau and Siam: An Approach towards a Comparative Study’, *Portuguese Studies Review* 9.1-2 (2001), pp. 84-139; Isabel A. Tavares Mourão, *Portugueses em Terras do Dai-Viêt (Cochinchina e Tun Kim), 1615-1660*, ser. Memória do Oriente (Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente/Fundação Oriente, 2005), especially pp. 225 et seq.; Roderich Ptak, ‘Trade between Macau and Southeast Asia in Ming Times’, *Monumenta Serica* 54 (2006), pp. 465-489.
- 30 See, for example, A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive* (Rpt. London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), pp. 596-597. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário luso-asiático*, 2 vols. (Coimbra: Imprensa de Universidade, 1921), II, pp. 31, 250.
- 31 See Gao Feng 高锋 et al. (eds.), *Hainan dao de niao shou* 海南岛的鸟兽 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1983), pp. 332 et seq.; Shi Haitao 史海涛, Meng Jiliu 蒙激流 et al. (eds.), *Hainan luxi beizhui dongwu jiansuo* 海南陆栖脊椎动物检索 (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), pp. 202-203, 268-269. – For the historical context, see, for example, Guo Fu 郭鄂 et al., *Zhongguo gudai dongwuxue shi* 中国古代动物学史 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1999), p. 103.