

MACAU AND SINO-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS, CA. 1513/1514 TO CA. 1900 A  
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

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**MACAU AND SINO-PORTUGUESE RELATIONS,  
CA. 1513/1514 TO CA. 1900  
A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY**

RODERICH PTAK

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**Abbreviations**

<i>BM</i>	<i>Bibliografia Macaense.</i>
CNCDP	Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.
FM	Fundação Macau (Aomen jijinhui 澳門基金會; Macau Foundation).
FO	Fundação Oriente (Dongfang jijinhui 東方基金會; Orient Foundation).
ICM	Instituto Cultural de Macau (Aomen wenhua sishu 澳門文化司署).
IPOR	Instituto Português do Oriente (Dongfang Putaoya xuehui 東方葡萄牙學會; Portuguese Institute of the Orient).
<i>RC</i>	<i>Revista de Cultura.</i>
VOC	Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie

## 1. Introduction

During the last two decades, the history of Macau and Sino-Portuguese relations has become an attractive field of study for scholars in China and the Western world. Many relevant publications have appeared since then, in Chinese, Portuguese, and other European languages. It is the purpose of this review article to survey the more important books and articles in these languages published in the period ca. 1980 to 1995/1996 – in exceptional cases up to 1997 – and to point out where new achievements have been made.

Presently research on Macau is mainly conducted in Portugal, Macau, and the People's Republic of China. In China, most activities are concentrated in Guangzhou, especially in the Guangdong Provincial Academy of Social Sciences and the Zhongshan University, but other places, for example Nanjing and some northern universities, have also contributed to the field. However, the institutional side of mainland Chinese writing on Macau's past is not very organized. Publication usually depends on individual efforts and interests. There is no book series and no publishing house exclusively specializing in this field. Some journals, for example the magazines *Gang Ao jingji* 港澳经济 and *Gang Ao jiage xinxi* 港澳价格信息, mainly deal with Hong Kong and Macau, but periodicals of this type highlight contemporary issues related to economic matters and rarely present "purely" historical topics. Moreover, they do not qualify as academic periodicals.

Mainland Chinese scholarship on Macau's past, as on other topics related to Sino-Western contacts and the presence of Western powers in imperial China, is often very one-sided. Nationalistic tendencies can easily be detected in many publications.<sup>1</sup> From a technical viewpoint, a major deficiency lies in the fact that mainland scholars usually base themselves primarily on Chinese sources. A few English secondary works and some primary materials are cited as well, but Portuguese materials are rarely used. Till now, only a few exceptions can be listed where mainland scholars have made an effort to overcome language barriers and cultural prejudices. It is hoped, however, that future research will eventually lead to a less biased approach. Several scholars with a mainland Chinese background visited Portugal during the last years to acquaint themselves with Portuguese archival materials and Western methodology, and it is to be expected, therefore, that these scholars will improve the present status of Macau studies back in China.

Research in Portugal is mainly undertaken by scholars residing in Lisbon. Several institutions actively support publishing on Macau; this includes the

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<sup>1</sup> Roderich Ptak (R. P.), "Manipulating History: Modern Mainland Chinese Images of Early Qing Macau," in *Mare Liberum* 14 (1997), pp. 63-84.

Fundação Oriente (Dongfang jijinhui 東方基金會; Orient Foundation; hereafter, FO) and the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses (hereafter, CNCDP). Other institutions, for example the Gulbenkian Foundation, the Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, and the Academia Portuguesa da História are also involved. As Macau formed part of the old *Estado da Índia*, which once extended from East Africa to the Far East, research on Macau is not strictly separated from research on other sites of Portuguese activities. Therefore, many Portuguese historians writing on Macau, have also contributed to other fields, such as the history of Portuguese entrepreneurship in Southeast Asia, or the history of Jesuit missionary activities in Japan, and so on. In terms of methodology, Portuguese research on Sino-Portuguese topics is by and large conducted within a predominantly European setting. There is, at present (1997), no sinological institution in Lisbon or any other Portuguese university that might provide the framework needed to deal with the history of Macau's hinterland and other sinological matters, although Chinese language courses are offered by various institutions.

In spite of these deficiencies, excellent accounts on various historical topics have been produced, and many of these works take very balanced views. There are now several young scholars in Portugal who will carry on research in this direction, and one can be certain that more encouraging studies will appear in the near future. Many of these scholars were trained by Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz and A. Teodoro de Matos, both teaching at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. There are strong affiliations with different institutions in Paris, which has led to a number of publications in French, not so much on the Far East, but on other parts of the former *Estado da Índia*.

Historical research in Macau presents an entirely different picture. Local scholars of Chinese background usually approach historical problems from a Chinese perspective. The Fundação Macau (Aomen jijinhui 澳門基金會; Macau Foundation; hereafter, FM) is the most important institution to support this group. Over the last few years it has issued a number of important monographs, not only by local Chinese, but occasionally also by mainland authors. The problem of local Chinese writers is, like on the mainland, that very few are capable of handling Portuguese primary materials. Other scholars involved in local research are working at or in cooperation with the University of Macau. Although these scholars have mostly supported research on contemporary issues, some of their publications also touch historical questions. One journal, *Hou Keng (Hao jing)* 濠鏡 (subtitles: *Aomen shehui kexue xuehui xuebao* 澳門社會科學學會學報, *Revista da Associação de Ciências Sociais de Macau, Journal of the Macau Society of Social Sciences*), has carried several historical studies. On the whole, the publications of writers organized in circles such as these, are usually more close in tone to mainland scholarship than the publications now promoted by the FM. The

first issue of *Hou Keng* (1986), it must be remembered, does not only contain a keynote address by Joaquim Pinto Machado (then governor of Macau), but also by mainland China's "representative," O Cheng Ping (Ke Zhengping 柯正平).

The FM has also turned out some Portuguese language publications but these are less important on its agenda than works in Chinese. Other institutions involved in local research on historical questions are the Instituto Cultural de Macau (Aomen wenhua sishu 澳門文化司署; hereafter, ICM) and the Instituto Português do Oriente (Dongfang Putaoya xuehui 東方葡萄牙學會; Portuguese Institute of the Orient; hereafter, IPOR). In 1992, the second institution started a series, called *Memória do Oriente*, which, by now, has grown into a small collection of extremely valuable monographs, all in Portuguese. The best known institution, however, still is the ICM. It promotes various kinds of cultural activities and publishes in different languages, including English and Japanese. One of the remarkable things it has been able to accomplish so far, is the regular publication of a fine journal, called *Revista de Cultura* (hereafter, *RC*). Most issues appeared in Portuguese and Chinese (the latter as *Wenhua zazhi* 文化雜誌), some also in English (as *Review of Culture*), while others, for example number 13/14 (prepared by Jorge Manuel Flores), are multilingual. The range of topics covered by this beautifully illustrated periodical is rather broad. Many articles do not go beyond the journalistic level, but some must be considered scholarly contributions to the field. Not all articles deal with Macau or the Portuguese presence on the China coast; a number of essays present Luso-Japanese topics, topics related to Southeast Asia, and so on. In the following notes, the focus will be on the most recent Portuguese issues of this journal. Other than the *RC*, the ICM has also published a number of useful monographs, again not exclusively dedicated to Macau, but also to other areas of Portuguese influence.

In spite of its small size, Macau has a long tradition in the field of publishing. The first Western newspapers printed in the East were released in Macau, and the number of periodicals that have appeared since then, is astonishingly large. Similar observations can be made with respect to Macau's printing houses. Of course, most periodicals and printers only operated for short periods, but till today, Macau has maintained a highly diversified publishing scene, including many government and private institutions which put out their own reports and magazines.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, at times, historical research in Macau emerges from rather

<sup>2</sup> José Maria Braga, "The Beginnings of Printing in Macao," in *Stvdia* 12 (1963), pp. 29-137; Manuel Teixeira, *A imprensa periódica portuguesa no Extremo-Oriente* (Macau: Notícias de Macau, 1965); Henrique Rola da Silva, *Imprensa chinesa de Macau. Envolvimento histórico* (Macau: Gabinete de Comunicação Social, 1991); the same, *Informação portuguesa de Macau* (Macau: Gabinete de Comunicação Social, 1991); Hartmut Walravens, "Frühdruck in Macao," in *Buchhandelsgeschichte* 2 (1994): B 66-B 73. – The first Portuguese newspaper, the *Abelha*

unexpected places. Beatriz Basto da Silva, who is on the *Assembleia legislativa*, has brought out a chronology of Macau in several volumes (see section 8, below); this was published by the Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude, just to mention one example. Another example is the bilingual journal *Administração. Revista de Administração Pública de Macau (Xingzheng. Aomen zhengfu zazhi 行政.澳門政府雜誌)*. This is now directed by Jorge Bruxo and published by the Serviço de Administração e Função Pública, and although most of its articles deal with contemporary matters, readers will occasionally find general contributions on historical problems.

During the last few years, publishing in Macau has evolved into a highly diversified “industry.” This partly owes to the fact that enormous funds were channelled into cultural activities and the education sector. Most foundations are concerned about the future and hope that Macau will retain its own identity after 1999. For that purpose funds have also become available for historical research and studies concerned with Macau’s Sino-Portuguese heritage. But among scholars and supporting institutions, opinions on certain matters tend to diverge. This has led to both healthy competition and unwanted rivalries. To some extent the story of the latter is reflected in local newspapers, and even in the Lisbon press; future historians will have to disentangle this scenario and its “backward” links to mainland Chinese pressure groups.

## 2. Handbooks

A bibliographical account of research on Macau should begin with the most elementary publications, i.e., handbooks and bibliographical tools. For many years, practically the only handbooks existing on Macau were simple tourist guides and books designed for the general reader. Some additional surveys and pamphlets, mostly for readers with business interests, can be added.<sup>3</sup> It is only in the last fifteen years that a number of works which qualify as manuals or almanacs for a more learned audience started to appear. Five Chinese titles might be considered to fall in this category:

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*da China*, was reprinted in a facsimile edition, entitled *Abelha da China, 1822-1823*, with prefaces by Rodolfo Azedo, librarian at the Universidade de Macau, and the rector (Macau: Universidade de Macau and FM, 1994). – For modern developments, see, for example, Peter Haberzettl and R. P., “Die portugiesischsprachige Presse in Macau: Ein Bericht über den Stand Ende 1991,” in *Internationales Asienforum* 24.1-2 (1993), pp. 139-159.

<sup>3</sup> By statistical bureaus, for example, the Direcção de Serviços da Estatística e Censos in Macau, the London-based Economist Intelligence Unit, the Statistisches Bundesamt in Wiesbaden, and so on. – There are, of course, many Western encyclopaedic works with short notes on Macau, certain events related to this city, or important personalities associated with it, for example the *Dicionário de história dos descobrimentos portugueses*, directed by Luís de Albuquerque, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994), but these works cannot be listed here.

- (1) Wong Hon Keong (Huang Hanqiang) 黃漢強 (ed.), *Aomen jingji nianjian* 澳門經濟年鑑 (Macau: Aomen Huaqiao bao, 1983);
- (2) Aomen ribao 澳門日報 (ed.), *Aomen shouce* 澳門手冊 (Macau: Aomen ribao, 1988);
- (3) “Gang Ao da baike quanshu” bianweihui 港澳大百科全書編委會 (ed.), *Gang Ao da baike quanshu* 港澳大百科全書 (*Encyclopedia of Hong Kong & Macau*) (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 1993);
- (4) Huang Hanqiang and Wu Zhiliang 吳志良 (eds.), *Aomen zonglan* 澳門總覽 (*Panorama de Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994);
- (5) Huang Hongzhao 黃鴻釗 and Ren Tianshi 任天石 (eds.), *Gang Ao daquan* 港澳大全 (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1995).

Items (1), (2) and (4) were revised in later editions. The first of these works contains a brief outline of Macau’s history. What is more important, however, is that it also carries a large number of summaries on the development of individual industrial and commercial branches in Macau. These summaries are useful as starting points for research on economic questions, including historical topics related to the present century. The *Aomen jingji nianjian* is also bolstered with statistics, some taken from official government publications, others based on “alternative” sources. The character of this work is somewhat similar to modern *nianjian* 年鑑 appearing on the mainland. The second work is more rudimentary. Like the first, it may be consulted on economic and government-related matters, but carries less details. The third title contains about 200 pages on Macau, including portraits of important local firms and institutions, short biographies of contemporary personalities, but disappointingly little on historical persons (we shall return to biographies further below). Moreover, there are many errors, particularly where Western names are indicated. The fourth book is of a higher standard. It has ca. 550 pages, contains a survey of Macau’s history, profiles of government and other institutions and various chapters on economic issues. There are also biographies, similar to the ones found in no. (3), and chapters on cultural issues such as Macau’s literature, press and educational services. Several chapters are highly informative – for example on non-Western religions, or Macau’s Chinese literature – and do in fact constitute rare surveys of these issues. Item no. (5) is shorter and less well organized. Since some of the contributors to the Macau section are the same as in the other handbooks, a lot of information is repeated. On the whole, all five titles must be used with care, because they were composed from a purely Chinese viewpoint, upgrading China’s and downgrading Portugal’s achievements in Macau. The “tricky” part about these five books is that they have begun and will continue to influence research on Macau’s recent past, not only in the East, but unfortunately also in the English-speaking world. Portuguese scholars, it may be added, are not too inter-

ested in contemporary history and have not yet turned out any similar handbooks. Fortunately, some items collected in these Chinese works can be easily cross-checked against other sources of information such as various "Who is Who" works from Hong Kong also containing biographies of eminent businessmen and other personalities active in the Macau region.

There are two other handbooks worth mentioning here: (1) Elfed Vaughan Roberts, Sum Ngai Ling and Peter Bradshaw (eds.), *Historical Dictionary of Hong Kong & Macau* (Metuchen, N.J., and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1992; Asian Historical Dictionaries 10); (2) Peter Habertzettl and R. P., *Macau: Geographie, Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Kultur. Ein Handbuch* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995; South China and Maritime Asia 3). The first work contains about 70 pages on Macau, including a short dictionary, partly but not exclusively on historical matters. On the whole, the information collected therein is very limited. The second book (ca. 230 pages) is alphabetically arranged, carries more entries on history, and contains a classified bibliography of ca. 350 Western and Chinese titles and an index.

### 3. Bibliographical Tools

Bibliographical research on Macau has also advanced since the 1980s. Luís Gonzaga Gomes' important *Bibliografia Macaense* (hereafter, *BM*), originally published in the *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões*, a journal rarely found outside of Macau and Portugal, was reprinted by the ICM in 1987. This source with roughly two thousand entries remains the most essential bibliographical guide for older published works, through to the early 1970s, relating to the history and all other aspects of Macau. It also lists most old newspapers, journals and government statistics. It is, of course, not complete and contains certain inaccuracies, but nothing better has been put out so far. Richard Louis Edmonds' *Macau* (Oxford [etc.]: CLIO Press, 1989; World Bibliographical Series 105) is much shorter. It contains a well-written introduction and about 380 annotated entries. Though useful, readers will only find a selection of important titles in this book. Many Portuguese, French and German works are not listed. As in the case of Gomes' bibliography, Chinese titles also fall behind. Another, more important tool is the *Boletim Bibliográfico de Macau* (*Aomen tushu mulu* 澳門圖書目錄), published by the ICM. It began appearing in 1988. There are some special numbers listing Western and Chinese monographs or articles of a specific period. Indices and short descriptions help the reader to use this important and well-made tool, which, next to Gomes' *Bibliografia*, has become essential for all work on Macau's history.

Other bibliographical tools include a number of special bibliographies and bio-bibliographies. In 1987, for example, the ICM, together with the Biblioteca



Nacional de Macau and the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino published the *Exposição Fotobibliográfica / Photobibliographical Exposition: Luís Gonzaga Gomes* (also with Chinese title). This contains a list of all publications by Gonzaga Gomes (1907–1976), one of Macau’s most important historians. Another example, also prepared by the ICM and the Biblioteca Nacional de Macau, is *Portugal e o Japão / Portugal and Japan. Nos 60 anos da morte de Wenceslau de Moraes / On the 60th Anniversary of Wenceslau de Moraes’ Death* (also with Japanese title), printed in 1989. It lists about 180 titles on Wenceslau de Moraes (there are different spellings of his name!) and Luso-Japanese relations, many of which deal with Macau.<sup>4</sup> A third example refers to the initial years of Sino-Portuguese relations and early Macau: R. P., “Portuguese Trade Along the China Coast and in Macau during the Ming Period: A Bibliography of Useful Secondary Works in Western Languages,” in *Ming Qing yanjiu* 明清研究 (1994), pp. 145-169. This is a selective check list mainly addressing beginners who wish to get acquainted with the subject. Finally, there are bibliographies with information that may only be of marginal use to the historian of Macau. This includes, for example, works on linguistic and literary aspects such as Maria Isabel Tomás’ work *Os crioulos portugueses do Oriente. Uma bibliografia* (Macau: ICM, 1992; Documentos e ensaios 2), pp. 179-196 (on Hong Kong and Macau), and Deng Junjie’s 鄧駿捷 *Aomen Huawen wenxue yanjiu ziliao mulu chubian* 澳門華文文學研究資料目錄初編 (1976.9–1994.12) (*Bibliografia da literatura chinesa de Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1996; Haohai congkan), with ca. 780 entries.<sup>5</sup> What ought to be written in the future, is a special guide to research on the last century, which is much more complicated in terms of bibliography and documentation.

Information on important books and articles may also be found in general bibliographies covering the entire *Estado da Índia*, such as Daya da Silva’s *The Portuguese in Asia. An Annotated Bibliography of Studies on Portuguese Colo-*

<sup>4</sup> Many studies and books have appeared on this man since then (for example in *RC* 17 [1993] and 27/28 [1996]), the most recent works being Jorge Dias (introduction and notes), *Mensagens de Honsu e de Shikoku: a correspondência de Wenceslau de Moraes para Vicente Almeida D’Eça* (Macau: IPOR, 1998; Memória do Oriente 11). In 1993 there also appeared another collection edited by Dias, a monograph by Helmut Feldmann (both in cooperation with the ICM), a collection called *Cartas do Extremo Oriente*, edited by Daniel Pires (Lisbon: FO, 1993), and, again by Pires, *Fotobiografia de Wenceslau de Moraes* (Lisbon: FO, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> Several issues of the *RC* contain articles on literature in and on Macau, recently for example nos. 25 (1995) and 29 (1996). This includes Portuguese, Macanese, and Chinese works. Recent literary developments in Macau, it seems to me, would merit more attention by scholars in French-, German-, and English-speaking countries. – Linguists may also consult an older bibliography: John E. Reinecke *et al.*, *A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1975; Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication 14), pp. 107-109; more is in Habertzettl and R. P., *Macau: Geographie, Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Kultur*, pp. 137-142, 208-210.

*nial History in Asia, c. 1498–1800* (Zug: IDC, 1987; Bibliotheca Asiatica 22). Finally, several recent essays attempt to survey the present state of historical studies on Macau. The following is a selection of such articles: Rui Manuel Loureiro, “Extremo Oriente,” in Artur Teodoro de Matos and Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz (eds.), *Vinte anos de historiografia ultramarina portuguesa, 1972–1992* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1993), pp. 149–163; two short articles by Zhang Hai-peng and Loureiro in *RC* 27/28 (1996); and a number of articles in Wu Zhi-liang’s *Dong Xi jiaohui kan Aomen* 東西校匯看澳門 (Macau: FM, 1996; Haohai congkan), as well as an article by the author in *Administração* 32 (1996), pp. 371–392.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4. Archival Sources: Collections and Catalogues

Several Portuguese libraries and archives carry Portuguese as well as Chinese documents on Macau’s past. Many documents have been published; this mostly concerns texts in Portuguese and other Western languages. Indeed, collections with relevant documentary materials on Macau abound and cannot be listed in full. The *Arquivos de Macau*, however, must be mentioned, as the largest published collection of its kind.<sup>7</sup> Another work, recently begun, is called *Colecção de fontes documentais para a história das relações entre Portugal e a China*. This collection of nicely-printed hardcover volumes, prepared under the guidance of António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, began in 1996. It is published by the Centro de Estudos das Relações Luso-Chinesas (under the FM) and the Universidade de Macau. If publication will move ahead as speedily as it has begun, a total of eight to ten volumes is likely to appear until the year 2000 or 2001. There are two useful sides to this collection: first, each volume has a specific focus (vol. 1 carries documents related to Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto and his Chinese counterpart Qi Ying 耆英, 1843–1846; vols. 2 and 3 contain materials on the “Treaty of Sino-Portuguese Trade and Friendship”; vol. 4 covers the negotiations prior to the treaty of 1887; two extra vols., to appear in 1998, will contain material related to Portugal’s neutral role during the Opium War and the Taiping

<sup>6</sup> Similar articles looking at research on Portuguese Asia in its totality, or at least its earlier phases, are, for example, the other articles in *Vinte anos*, furthermore Sanjay Subrahmanyam’s “Introduction” to *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies* (special issue: *The Portuguese and the Pacific II*, of which Subrahmanyam and Kenneth McPherson are the guest editors) 2 (1995), pp. 5–12, and Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz’ “Le renouveau des études luso-orientales au Portugal,” in Geneviève Bouchon *et al.*, *Nouvelles orientations de la recherche sur l’histoire de l’Asie portugaise* (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 1996), pp. 15–23.

<sup>7</sup> By the Arquivo Histórico de Macau (Macau: Imprensa Nacional), first series 1929/1930, second series 1941, third series 1964 to 1975, fourth series as *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico de Macau*, published by the ICM since 1981.

Movement); second, some Chinese documents are presented in Portuguese translations (for example texts drawn from local chronicles). All translations were made by Jin Guoping 金國平 and Zhang Zhengchun 張正春. Scholars working on nineteenth-century Macau will inevitably have to consult this collection. The same applies to another collection that began in 1992. This is the *Aomen zhuan-dang* 澳門專檔, prepared by Huang Fuqing 黃福慶, Zhuang Shuhua 莊樹華, and others. It forms part of the series *Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao huibian* 中國近代史資料匯編 and is published by the Academia Sinica. So far, four volumes have appeared (till 1997). The earliest documents contained therein, pertain to the Xianfeng period (1851–1861). All texts are photographic reprints. Western texts were not included. Scholars who are able to read both Portuguese and Chinese documents may find in this work and in the one by Vasconcelos de Saldanha two excellent and conveniently arranged collections that will greatly facilitate research on the last century.

A work difficult to classify is the collection, or rather periodical, *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* 大西洋國, *Arquivos e Anais do Extremo-Oriente Português*. It is associated with João Feliciano Marques Pereira, who was involved in many local activities in Macau during the second half of the nineteenth century and wrote various works on the city and its inhabitants. The collection contains a mixture of contemporary observations, in the style of newspaper articles, documents and research notes. There is now a compact (not always legible) facsimile edition in three thick volumes (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude de Macau and FM, 1995). One volume contains weekly news (1863–1866), the other two (1899 to 1900) carry articles and some documents. There are prefaces by Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves. The *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* collection has been used extensively, especially by historians dealing with the nineteenth century, and will certainly remain a major source for that period.

For earlier periods one may now also consult a number of useful library and archival catalogues, which supplement older catalogues. New catalogues include the following works:

- (1) Isaú Santos, *Macau e o Oriente nos Arquivos Nacionais Torro do Tombo* (Macau: ICM, 1995). By and large, this work is chronologically arranged, listing 1516 documents available in Lisbon's most important historical archive, the Torro do Tombo. The items listed are mostly official letters, with their respective dates and code numbers, senders and addressees. There are one or two explanatory lines on the contents of each document. The earliest pieces date from the sixteenth century, the latest from around 1900. Not all items deal with Macau.
- (2) A similar work is Isaú Santos' *Macau e o Oriente no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* (Macau: ICM, 1997) in two volumes.

- (3) The same editor, with the assistance of Lau Fong (Liu Fang 劉芳), has also put out a catalogue of Chinese documents available in the Torro do Tombo. This work, entitled *Chapas sínicas. Macau e o Oriente nos Arquivos Nacionais Torro do Tombo* (Macau: ICM, 1997), indicates 1567 Chinese texts (so-called *chapas sínicas*) from the period 1693 to 1886, with very brief notes, much in the same way as the *Macau e o Oriente* catalogue. There are various classified indices greatly facilitating the use of these catalogues. The latter work, it may be added, also appeared in a Chinese version (same editors, place and publisher). Its title runs *Hanwen wenshu. Putaoya guoli Dongbota dang'anguan guicang Aomen ji Dongfang dang'an wenxian* 漢文文書·葡萄牙國立東波塔檔案館度藏澳門及東方檔案文獻。
- (4) Earlier, Isau Santos, together with Vasco Gomes, also published a work entitled *Relações entre Macau e Sião. Documentos para a sua história existentes no Arquivo Histórico de Macau* (Macau: ICM and FO, 1993). This work will be useful for special studies on the relations between Macau and Siam. It lists both published and unpublished materials, including some secondary sources. The earliest documents relate to the critical years around 1640. Dutch and other sources, however, are not indicated.<sup>8</sup>

There are also a number of smaller catalogues designed for a general audience. One such work is called *Macau e o Oriente na Torre do Tombo, séculos XVI a XIX* (Lisbon/Macau, 1992). This beautifully printed work is a bilingual Portuguese-Chinese edition. It was made to accompany an exhibition of ca. ninety documents. Another work with short Chinese explanations (and, as in the first case, with a Chinese title as well) is the *Catálogo da exposição bibliográfica "Os Jesuítas na Ásia"* (Macau: ICM, Arquivo Histórico, Biblioteca Central, 1991); it has a preface by Benjamin Videira Pires. Finally, there are several general survey articles on archival materials and special articles on individual archives. The collection *Shou jie Aomen lishi wenhua guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 首屆澳門歷史文化國際學術研討會論文集, a conference volume edited by Huang Xiaofeng 黃曉峰, Deng Siping 鄧思平 and Liu Yuelian 劉月蓮 (Macau: Aomen wenhua yanjiuhui, 1995), contains six or seven short contributions of this kind.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Manuel Teixeira's monumental *Portugal na Tailândia* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1983) also contains many useful data on the relations between Macau and Siam but suffers from the same shortcomings. – Dutch materials: The archives of the VOC contain many documents referring to the Portuguese and Macau. Neither Chinese nor Portuguese Macau specialists have really made use of these valuable materials. This is not the place to go into further details; all I can say here is that the different *dag(h)registers* (Batavia, Formosa, Deshima), the *Generale missiven*, and other works can be profitably exploited by historians, as George Bryan Souza and John Wills have demonstrated (their works will be mentioned below).

<sup>9</sup> There is a Portuguese version of this collection; but most contributions were originally written in Chinese, so it is not really necessary to work with the Portuguese text.

Another work is Isabel Cid's "Documentação sobre Macau e a China existente na Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora," in *RC* 10 (1990), pp. 31-42. Recently, the same author also published a catalogue with a very similar title: *Macau e o Oriente na Biblioteca pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora (séculos XVI a XIX)* (Macau/Lisbon: ICM, Arquivos Nacionais/Torro de Tombo, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivos Distrital de Évora, 1996).<sup>10</sup>

A different genre of modern history writing is made up by general anthologies. These often address the non-specialized reader. Various anthologies on Macau exist. They range from the size of small booklets to works of several hundred pages. In some cases the original language of the texts and documents cited is adjusted to the current language. One rather recent work, similar to a "Macau reader," is a collection in two volumes by Carlos Pinto Santos and Orlando Neves. Its title runs *De longe à China. Macau na historiografia e na literatura portuguesas* (Macau: ICM, 1988). The collection begins with Damião de Góis, Fernão Mendes Pinto, and Luís Vaz de Camões; it ends with Venceslau de Moraes and others. In 1988 the ICM also released a second anthology: *Instrução para o Bispo de Pequim e outros documentos para a história de Macau*. This work, originally published in 1943, mostly contains texts related to missionary and Church history. Another anthology is a special issue of the *RC* (no. 31, 1997) which contains a selection of well-known texts from the sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

Although epigraphic material is not too important for the Macau historian, at least two works reproducing inscriptions should be listed here: (1) Manuel Teixeira, *A Gruta de Camões em Macau* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1977); (2) the same, "A voz das pedras de Macau," in *Boletim do Instituto "Luís de Camões"* 12.3-4 and 13.1-4 (1978-1979), pp. 5-324 (printed in one volume). Teixeira and others have also issued various brochures and articles with references to or full-length reproductions of Chinese inscriptions found in public sites, especially temples, as for example in the famous Ma Kok Miu 媽閣廟,

<sup>10</sup> Historians dealing with Macau may also consider that Portugal's activities in the Far East were intertwined with the activities of Spanish missionaries and traders. Although this leads away from the topic of the present essay, it is useful to look at Spanish archival materials. Excellent introductory essays on a variety of bibliographical themes are in Francisco de Solano, Florentino Rodao and Luis E. Torges (eds.), *El Extremo Oriente Ibérico. Investigaciones históricas: metodología y estado de la cuestión* (Madrid: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional and Centro de Estudios Históricos, Departamento de Histórica de América, CSIC, 1989).

<sup>11</sup> A further, highly "impressionistic" work, obviously written for educational purposes, is António Aresta's and Celina Veiga de Oliveira's *Arquivos do Entendimento. Uma visão cultural da história de Macau* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude, FM, Instituto Politécnico de Macau, 1996), which also contains a kind of documentary annex.

dedicated to the Chinese Goddess of Seafarers, Tianfei 天妃 (Tianhou 天后, Mazu 媽祖, etc.).<sup>12</sup> Though useful, publications of this type mainly address the non-professional audience. Scientific surveys of Macau's Chinese epigraphical sources still need to be done.<sup>13</sup>

### 5. Geography and Archaeology

Studying Macau's past may require consulting related fields, for example cartography, geography, archaeology, Macau's demographical development, genealogical studies, various biographical collections, books on sociology and institutions, and so on. I shall proceed here by briefly listing some representative items I found useful when dealing with these issues.

The most recent survey on Macau's geography is a monograph by Huang Jiushun 黃就順 *et al.*, entitled *Aomen dili* 澳門地理 (*Geografia de Macau*) (Macau: FM and Zhongguo youyi chuban gongsi, 1993; Aomen congshu). This book surpasses the old study by Carrington da Costa and Lemos de Sousa (*BM*, no. 451), although it does not adequately review the history of Macau's land reclamation, which is largely a phenomenon of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (for this, see section 14, below). Research on these later periods may also require the identification of certain place names, for example of streets and individual buildings. For this task, Manuel Teixeira's *Toponímia de Macau* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1979–1981), 2 vols., provides a useful aid. Relevant infor-

<sup>12</sup> This touches the literature on Chinese popular cults and legends which cannot be considered adequately here. Suffice it to say that Macau is actively promoting research on the Tianfei cult. Besides the classic monograph *Maso shinkō no kenkyū* 媽祖信仰の研究, by Li Xianzhang 李獻璋 (Tokyo: Taisan bunbutsu-sha, 1979), other studies on this deity include Zhang Wenqin's 章文欽 "O culto das divindades protectoras da navegação marítima em Macau e o intercâmbio cultural sino-ocidental," in *RC* 29 (1996), pp. 243-259. Among Zhang's publications on the Macau branch of Tianfei worship are also some articles in his *Aomen yu Zhonghua lishi wenhua* 澳門與中華歷史文化 (Macau: FM, 1995; Haohai congkan). Further studies, notably by Gerd Wädow, include his monograph *T'ien-fei hsien-sheng lu*. "Die Aufzeichnungen von der manifestierten Heiligkeit der Himmelsprinzessin." *Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXIX (Sankt Augustin / Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1992; ); as well as *idem.*, "O significado dos títulos da 'Princesa Celestial' no sistema de culto do estado chinês," in *RC* 29 (1996), pp. 191-205 (also published in Chinese as "Lun Tianfei chenghao zai guojia chongbai zhong de yiyi" 論天妃稱號在國家崇拜中的意義 [On the Significance of the Titles of the 'Heavenly Princess' in the Chinese State Cult System], in *O-hu yuekan* 鵝湖月刊 [Legein Monthly] 265 [1997/7], pp. 31-39). More can be unearthed from the well-known bibliography of Lawrence G. Thompson, *Chinese Religions: Publications in Western Languages 1981 through 1990*. (Los Angeles: Ethnographics Press, University of Southern California, 1993; AAS Monograph No. 47).

<sup>13</sup> For inscriptions and other cultural monuments in nearby Zhuhai 珠海, see, for example, *Zhuhai shi wenwuzhi* 珠海市文物志, ed. by Zhuhai shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 珠海市文物管理委員會 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1994).

mation can also be found in João Guedes, "Toponímia: pelas ruas da história," in *Macau*, 2. ser., no. 27 (1994), pp. 6-34, and other smaller works. Modern street indices of Macau are contained in some of the Chinese handbooks quoted above. Present-day and historical place names related to the area of nearby Zhuhai 珠海 and the offshore islands around the territory of Macau can be checked in several modern Chinese dictionaries, including works specializing on Guangdong.<sup>14</sup>

Old maps have been collected, for example, in *Cartografia náutica de Macau através dos tempos*, ed. by the Serviços de Marinha (Macau: Obra Social dos Serviços de Marinha, 1986), and in *Macau, a cidade e o porto* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1997), a catalogue made to accompany a Macau exhibition in the Mosteiro de Jerónimos. The coordinators of this work were Joaquim Romero Magalhães, João Carlos Garcia, and Jorge Manuel Flores. Another beautiful work with maps, in this case of East Asia in its entirety, is Alfredo Pinheiro Marques' *A cartographia portuguesa do Japão (séculos XVI-XVII). Catálogo das cartas portuguesas* (Lisbon: FO, CNCDP, Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, n.d.; preface 1996); the English title of this bilingual book runs *The Portuguese Cartography of Japan (XVI-XVII Centuries). A Catalogue of Portuguese Charts*.<sup>15</sup> There also exist a number of short studies, on individual problems and maps, for example, Rui d'Ávila [de Fontes Alferes] Lourido's "A Portuguese Seventeenth-Century Map of the South China Coast," in *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies* 1 (1994), pp. 240-271.

On archaeological issues concerning the pre-Portuguese period, the best and certainly also most finely-printed work is Tang Chung's (Deng Cong) 鄧聰 and Cheng Wai-ming's (Zheng Weiming) 鄭煒明 *Aomen heisha 澳門黑沙 (Relatório das escavações arqueológicas de Hac Sá, Coloane, Macau)* (Hong Kong: FM and The Chinese University Press, 1996; Centre for Chinese Archaeology and Art, Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong; Tianye kaogu baogao zhuan kan 1), with prefaces by Chang Kwang-chih (Zhang Guangzhi) 張光直 and others. The larger part of this book is in Chinese, one chapter is

<sup>14</sup> For example in *Guangdong sheng jingu diming cidian* 广东省今古地名词典, ed. by Guangdong sheng jingu diming cidian bianzuan weiyuanhui 广东省今古地名词典编纂委员会 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1991); *Guangdong sheng haiyu dimingzhi* 广东省海域地名志, ed. by Guangdong sheng diming weiyuanhui bangongshi 广东省地名委员会办公室 (Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng ditu chubanshe, 1989).

<sup>15</sup> Alfredo Pinheiro Marques, a Portuguese historian of cartography related to Portugal's discoveries, also reedited Armando Cortesão's and Avelino Teixeira de Mota's famous *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, 7 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1988; originally 1960). This collection contains a large number of maps showing the South China Sea and the China coast. Another work that just came out is the beautifully illustrated catalogue *Cartografia de Macau ... Séculos XVI e XVII*, edited by Luís Filipe Barreto (Lisbon: Missão de Macau em Lisboa and Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 1997).

in English. There are many references to other archaeological sites around the Pearl River estuary. This makes it easy to compare the local Coloane scenario with nearby areas.

### 6. Demography, Sociology, Biography

There is no modern Western monograph surveying the demographic development of Macau from its beginning to the present day. Historians, therefore, must go back to older studies (for example, *BM*, no. 1693), or books containing a mixture of data and observations on Macau's demographic, ethnic, and socio-cultural dimensions. The latter include, for example, Almerindo Lessa's *A história e os homens da primeira república democrática do Oriente. Biologia e sociologia de uma ilha cívica* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1974; based on an earlier French work, see *BM*, no. 868), and, by the same author, *Macau: Ensaios de Antropologia portuguesa dos trópicos* (Lisbon: Administração de Macau, FO, Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical and IPOR, 1996). Both books are excellently illustrated but somewhat difficult to use. There is also a fairly recent article by Lessa in no. 23 (1995) of the English edition of *RC*. Other studies related to demographic, sociological and ethnic questions have been published by Ana Maria Amaro. These works also touch various aspects of local customs and popular culture (older titles in *BM*, nos. 26-35). Unfortunately, they are not easy to find outside Macau and Lisbon. One recent work that demonstrates the expertise of this author is her *Macau: O final dum ciclo de esperança* (Lisbon: Universidade Tecnica de Lisboa, Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas, 1996). Some of Ana Maria Amaro's works contain valuable reflections on the so-called Macanese, an important group of Macau's population.<sup>16</sup> The same may be said of a recent survey on this group, namely João de Pina Cabral's and Nelson Lourenço's *Em terra de tufões. Dinâmicas de etnicidade macaense* (Macau: ICM, 1993; Documentos e Ensaios 6).

Demographic data pertaining to individual periods can be found, for example, in: (1) R. P., "The Demography of Old Macau, 1555-1640," in *Ming Studies* 15 (Fall 1982), pp. 27-35; (2) in the important monograph by George Bryan Souza: *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; also translated into Portuguese, Lisbon 1991), which contains demographic data mainly on the seventeenth century; (3) and in António M.M. do Vale's article "A população de Macau na segunda metade do século XVIII," in *Povos e Culturas* 5 (1996), pp. 241-254. The last article produces detailed data for the second half of

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, her general account *Filhos da Terra* (Macau: ICM, 1988) and her "Alguns aspectos tradicionais da sociedade macaense," in *Povos e Culturas* 5 (1996; special number called *Portugal e Oriente: passado e presente*), pp. 317-346.



the eighteenth century, especially for the years 1774 and 1791, and demonstrates the richness of information that still awaits to be extracted from the sources.

As opposed to Western historians, Chinese specialists have turned out a much larger number of studies on Macau's population structure. But most of these works are related to present-day Macau and Macau's future developments. One title however, a kind of survey, should be mentioned here because it tries to place the past in the present context: Cheang Tin Cheong 鄭天祥 (Zheng Tianxiang) *et al.*, *Aomen renkou* 澳門人口 (*População de Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen congshu). This book is based on a number of earlier articles, some by the same authors, for example: Zheng Tianxiang, "Aomen renkou sibai nian bianhua chutan" 澳門人口四百年變化初探 (A demografia em Macau ao longo dos 4 séculos), *Hou Keng* 3 (1988), pp. 65-68. Much more historical work, it seems, could be done on Macau's population. Especially the nineteenth century experienced waves of immigration from China, not only of Cantonese but also of Hakka groups. Questions related to these and other issues can be linked to institutional, linguistic, and ethnical developments. The composition of the Chinese community, in particular, would need to be analyzed in greater detail.

One group of people residing in Macau are the so-called Macanese. To date the most comprehensive work on this group is the voluminous *Famílias macaenses* by Jorge Forjaz (Macau: FO, ICM and IPOR, 1996). This collection comprises three volumes with over one thousand pages each. It is a vast demographic and genealogical inquiry tracing the ancestry of thousands of Macanese. Entries are ordered alphabetically, and in the case of each person, essential data are given, such as birthdays, marriages, etc. Some entries on prominent personalities also include brief biographies. The material for this enormous collection was derived from correspondence with the Macanese community and extensive research in various archives, including parish registers which provided important information on christenings and other matters. By and large, most entries refer to the last century. For earlier times, most sources have perished, so the eighteenth century is not covered in full. The *Famílias macaenses* is an extraordinary work and will be an obligatory source book for everyone working on local Macau history during the days of the opium trade and thereafter.

The historian of Macau can choose between several collections of biographies. One type of biographical collection, i.e., short biographies mostly of contemporary Chinese personalities residing in Macau, or of persons living there under the late Qing, is included in the three Chinese handbooks listed above: *Gang Ao da baike quanshu*, *Aomen zonglan* and *Gang Ao daquan*. To this type of collection one may add various modern "Who is Who" works published in Hong Kong. A second type of collection are the biographies included in a number of volumes compiled by Father Manuel Teixeira. All these were published

before 1990 but are still useful and therefore will be listed here: *Macau e a sua diocese*. Vol. 2: *Bispos e governadores do bispado de Macau* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1940); *Macau e a sua diocese*. Vol. 7: *Padres da diocese de Macau* (Macau: Tipografia da Missão do Padroado, 1967); *Galeria de mulheres ilustres em Macau* (Macau: Centro de Informação e Turismo, Imprensa Nacional, 1975); *Os ouvidores em Macau* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1976); *Marinheiros ilustres relacionados com Macau* (Macau: Centro de Estudos Marítimos, 1988); *Os médicos em Macau* (see *BM*, no. 1702); *Galeria de Macaenses ilustres do século XIX* (*BM*, no. 1680). A third type of collection with some entries directly or indirectly linked to old Macau would be the various standard biographical dictionaries too familiar to the Western sinologist to be listed here in detail, namely the collections by Goodrich and Fang, Hummel, Boormann, Pfister, and others. Finally, there are various biographical tools related to Guangdong or, on the local level, to Zhuhai. These works also include persons associated with Macau.<sup>17</sup>

Biographies of individuals relevant to Macau abound, although some of the more prominent personalities would merit additional research. Two or three biobibliographies were already cited above. Recent work on individuals may be found, for example, in various issues of the *RC*. Two issues (no. 22 [1994], English ed.; no. 24 [1995], Portuguese ed.) are on women in Macau, a subject not very well explored till today (although Ana Maria Amaro and others have presented interesting books and articles on it). Other studies were published or are about to appear on João Maria Ferreira do Amaral, Miguel de Arriaga, António Albuquerque Coelho, and some early traveller-merchants. A few “samples” will be listed in the sections below.

## 7. Institutions

Those wishing to get acquainted with Macau’s traditional civil, military, and Church institutions may still find it useful to look up Charles Ralph Boxer’s survey in his *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luanda, 1510–1800* (Madison and Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), and then to proceed to Souza’s *Survival* (see above), which contains short descriptions of institutions in its second chapter. A more comprehensive view can now be found in António Manuel Hespanha’s *Panorama da história institucional e jurídica de Macau* (Macau: FM, 1995; also in Chinese,

<sup>17</sup> See, for example: Pan Mingshen 潘銘燊, *Guangdong difangzhi zhuanji suoyin* 廣東地方志傳記索引, 2 vols. (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1989); *Zhuhai renwu zhuan* 珠海人物傳, ed. by Zhuhai shi zhengxie wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui 珠海市政协文史資料委員會, 2 vols. (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1992–1993); *Zhuhai shi renwuzhi* 珠海市人物志, ed. by Zhuhai shi difangzhi bangongshi 珠海市地方志辦公室 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1993).

1996). Additional information is available in general works, for example in Jonathan Porter's *Macau: The Imaginary City* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996; *New Perspectives on Asian Studies*); among other things this study contains a brief overview of the local administration in neighbouring Xiangshan 香山.<sup>18</sup> Two recent Chinese monographs may also be consulted. The first book, Wu Zhiliang's *Aomen zhengzhi* 澳門政制 (*Sistema político de Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1995; *Aomen congshu*), describes Macau's traditional and modern instruments of rule and the position of Chinese officials in the Portuguese colony. It also lists Chinese officials who took up residence in Macau between 1731 and 1911. However, whether Macau should be classified as another kind of "foreign quarter" (*fan fang* 蕃坊) comparable to earlier "quarters" of a seemingly similar nature, as Wu has suggested, is not certain at all. Earlier, the same author published a brochure called *Aomen zhengzhi zhidu, yange, xianzhuang he zhanwang* 澳門政治制度,沿革,現狀和展望 (Macau: Aomen gonggong xingzheng guanli xuehui, 1993), which discusses the present situation. Some of the information contained therein overlaps with the Chinese handbooks mentioned above. There are also similarities to a number of recent surveys on legal institutions that will not be introduced in the present essay.

For military and security matters, the most comprehensive work still is Manuel Teixeira's *Os militares em Macau* (Macau: Comando Territorial Independente, 1976). Teixeira has also written on individual institutions, nearly all relevant titles being listed in the *BM*.<sup>19</sup> One additional title is his *A polícia de Macau* (Macau: Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1991; a revised version of an earlier work, published in 1970). On fortresses, Jorge Graça's *Fortifications of Macau. Their Design and History* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Turismo, 1984; available in an older Portuguese version as well) is usually considered fundamental. Another much more recent book with notes on Macau's names, borderline, fortresses, early churches, and other topics is Philip Kwok's (Guo Yongliang) 郭永亮 *Aomen Xianggang zhi zaoqi guanxi* 澳門香港之早期關係 (*Macao and the Birth of Hong Kong*) (Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1990; Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo shiliao congkan / Collection of Historical Materials, 9). There is a second work of a similar nature

<sup>18</sup> General surveys of the *Estado da Índia* also contain valuable information on institutions. Sanjay Subrahmanyam's *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500–1700* (London and New York: Longman, 1993), provides necessary background information and indicates many titles in its bibliography. Some older studies on Macau may also be of some use, for example the articles collected in Luís Gonzaga Gomes, *Macau, um município com história*, ed. by António Aresta and Celina Veiga de Oliveira (Macau: Leal Senado de Macau, 1997).

<sup>19</sup> For example, his "O hopo em Macau," in *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau* 66 (1968), pp. 379–413.

but practically without indication of sources: Li Pengzhu 李鵬翥, *Aomen gujin* 澳門古今 (Hong Kong and Macau: Sanlian shudian and Aomen xingguang chubanshe, 1986). This book contains a *potpourri* of more than two hundred short entries, or rather mini-essays, on individual buildings, monuments, events, and other things related to Macau.<sup>20</sup>

Charitable, medical and similar institutions are fully covered in Manuel Teixeira's *A medicina em Macau* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1975–1976), 4 vols. This work partly overlaps with the same author's *Os médicos em Macau* (see above). Another older study, still quoted today, is José Caetano Soares' *Macau e a assistência* (*BM*, no. 1606).<sup>21</sup> The city's education system is described in Manuel Teixeira's *A educação em Macau* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Cultura, 1981). Part one of this book deals with public institutions, the second part introduces institutions run by the Catholic Church. The earliest entries refer to the eighteenth century. There also exist some works on Macau's higher education. Recently an older article was put out as a trilingual Portuguese–Chinese–English brochure to celebrate the fourth centenary of the University College of St. Paul: Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, S.J., *Macau, primeira universidade ocidental do Extremo-Oriente. Macau, the First Western University in the Far East. Aomen, Yuandong di yi suo Xifang daxue* 澳門遠東第一所西方大學 (Macau: FM and Universidade de Macau, 1994). Other, more recent articles on the University College are collected in *RC 30* (1997).

Macau is famous for its magnificent churches and temples. Again it is Manuel Teixeira, Ana Maria Amaro, and other famous authors who have produced a large number of learned and popular articles on this *sujet*. Only some general works will be cited here: (1) Teixeira, *Pagodes de Macau* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Cultura, 1982); (2) the *Arts of Asia* issue for January/February 1977; (3) a long article by Wong Shiu Kwan (*BM*, no. 1805); (4) a trilingual work by Maria Regina Valente, *Igrejas de Macau. Churches of Macau. Aomen de jiaotang* 澳門的教堂 (Macau: ICM, 1993; Coleção Macaense 4); and (5) Gonçalo Couceiro's book *A igreja de S. Paulo* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1997), which is the most recent monograph on the St. Paul's complex.

<sup>20</sup> Other, more recent books of a similar nature are: Vong Tak Hong (Huang Dehong) 黃德鴻, *Aomen xinyu* 澳門新語 (*Crónicas de Macau*) (Macau: Aomen chengren jiaoyu xuehui / Associação de Educação de Adultos em Macau, 1996); Tang Si 唐思, *Aomen fengwuzhi* 澳門風物志 (Macau: FM, 1994; Haohai congkan); Tao Lian 陶煉, Yang Ma 楊麻 and Zhang Chunmei 張春梅, *Xianhua Aomen* 閑話澳門 (Nanchang: Baihua zhou wenyi chubanshe, 1995; Xianhua Gang Ao Tai congshu). The title of Huang's book reminds of Qu Dajun's 屈大均 famous *Guangdong xinyu* 廣東新語.

<sup>21</sup> As far as I know, Ana Maria Amaro's voluminous doctoral dissertation, "Medicina popular de Macau, um processo de adaptação cultural" (Lisboa: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1988) was not published.

Maria de Lourdes Rodrigues Costa's *História da arquitectura em Macau* (Macau: ICM, 1997; Documentos e ensaios 13) may also be mentioned here. This book surveys the city's structure, ground plan and architecture.

Concluding this section, it must be emphasized that my jottings do not extend to the history of the Catholic missions in China, the logistics of which very much depended on Macau.<sup>22</sup> The role of the Jesuits, Franciscans, and others in Beijing and elsewhere is a different subject that follows its own academic tradition.

### 8. Historical Surveys

A large number of monographs and articles on Macau's history have appeared during the last two decades. In the following paragraphs I shall first introduce important surveys and then proceed to works mainly dedicated to one specific topic or period.

For this purpose I shall assume that Macau's history and the history of Sino-Portuguese relations can be divided into six different periods:<sup>23</sup> (1) The first period is the one prior to the foundation of Macau; this period was characterized by Portuguese efforts to establish formal relations with China and by private trade off the coasts of central Guangdong, Fujian, and Zhejiang (Tunmen 屯門 or Tamão; Shuangyugang 雙嶼港 or Liampó; Shangchuan 上川 or São João; Langbaijiao 浪白滯 or Lampacau). (2) The second period begins with the foundation of Macau in the mid-1550s and ends with a series of crises in the late 1630s and early 1640s. These years were marked by the abrupt end of Macau's trade with Japan, the Dutch conquest of Malacca, the end of the Iberian dual monarchy, a temporary interruption of the Macau-Manila trade, and the Manchu takeover in China. (3) The third time segment was rather short and constituted one of the bleakest periods in Macau's history. It runs from the 1640s to the early 1680s. During these four decades Macau's external trade declined, mainly due to pressure from China and several disasters in Southeast Asia. (4) After the collapse of the Zheng 鄭 clan in the early 1680s, Qing China revived its foreign trade sector. Macau's position improved, but the Portuguese fell behind their European competitors. This was the time when tea became popular in Northwest Europe. (5) At

<sup>22</sup> For a summary, see Manuel Teixeira's article published in *Boletim Eclesial. Órgão oficial e mensal da Diocese de Macau* 85 (1990) 1013, pp. 47-56; German translation by Joachim Piepke, "Die Kirche in Macau. Geschichte und Gegenwart," in *China Heute* x (1991), Nr. 6 (58), pp. 160-164.

<sup>23</sup> For a summary of the periods 2 to 6, see R. P., "Wirtschaftlicher und demographischer Wandel in Macau: Stadien einer Entwicklung," paper read at the annual conference of the Förderverein/Forschungsstiftung für vergleichende europäische Überseegeschichte, and to appear in the proceedings edited by Horst Gründer and others. Also to be published in Roman Malek (Hrsg.), *Macau* (forthcoming, Sankt Augustin – Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1999).

around 1800, Chinese opium imports began to rise. The Opium War left Macau untouched; however, Hong Kong was founded and Macau sought to catch up with the rapidly developing economy of its new rival. This led to several spectacular decisions under Governor Ferreira do Amaral (gov. 1846–1849). (6) Nearly four decades after Ferreira do Amaral's death, Qing China recognized Portugal's sovereignty over Macau (1887/1888). Trade in the second half of the nineteenth century was mainly in contract workers emigrating to America and Southeast Asia, *via* Macau and other ports along the China coast. When this trade ebbed off, Macau's economy gradually entered a new period. Small scale industries began to emerge. It is here, somewhere towards the end of the nineteenth century, that the sixth cycle can be assumed to have ended. Alternatively, one could also take the years 1911/1912 to mark the end of this period, as in these two years the monarchies of both Portugal and China were replaced by new forms of government. Later cycles, between the two World Wars and the present period, cannot be considered here.

The most rudimentary form of a survey history is a simple chronology summarizing all important events on an annual or quasi-annual basis. The most recent, reliable and detailed work of this kind is Beatriz Basto da Silva's *Cronologia da história de Macau*. So far (1997), four volumes have appeared. The first volume covers the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação, 1992), the second is on the eighteenth, the third on the nineteenth century and the fourth on the first five decades of the twentieth century (Direcção de Serviços de Educação e Juventude, 1993, 1995, 1997, respectively). The fifth volume is soon to appear. There is also a Chinese version of this chronology, *Aomen biannian shi* 澳門編年史, published by the FO. These volumes are much superior to Luís Gonzaga Gomes' well-known *Efeméridas da história de Macau* (BM, no. 664), and other similar books. Older chronologies also include Manuel Teixeira's short *Macau no séc. XVI* and *Macau no séc. XVII* (both Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Cultura, 1981 and 1982, respectively), and his rather voluminous *Macau no séc. XVIII* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1984).

The earliest English language survey history of Macau was a book by Anders Ljungstedt (1739–1835), knight of the Swedish Royal Order Wasa. It was originally published by James Munroe & Co. (Boston, 1836) with the author's name spelled as Andrew Ljungstedt. This work is mentioned here because there is a recent reprint, prepared by Viking Hong Kong Publications (Hong Kong, 1992). Its full title runs: *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Missions in China, with A Supplementary Chapter, Description of Canton*. This book follows the history of Sino-Portuguese relations and the history of Macau to the early nineteenth century. It became one of the important sources for later surveys.

Of the many later Western works belonging to the same category, several items are now easily found outside of Portugal. One work is C.A. Jesus de Montalto's *Historic Macao* (BM, nos. 802 and 803). It was originally published in 1902 and then revised for later editions. In 1984 Oxford University Press (Hong Kong) issued a reprint of the revised version. There is also a recent Portuguese translation (Macau, 1990). Generally speaking, Montalto de Jesus' survey is well-written, but at times rather one-sided. Chinese authors, notably Wu Zhiliang, have expressed their dislike for it.<sup>24</sup> However, it still is an influential source, especially for research on the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

One of the latest English surveys of Macau is Edward C. Gunn's *Encountering Macau. A Portuguese City-State on the Periphery of China, 1557-1999* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996; Transitions: Asia and Asian America). Gunn appended a select bibliography to his book. It is almost exclusively made up of secondary works and there is very little in Chinese. The presentation of the early periods is rather short. The last two centuries are reviewed under certain aspects, providing little that is new. Nevertheless, there are definitely more details on these periods than in Austin Coates' famous *A Macao Narrative* (Hong Kong [etc.]: Heinemann Educational Books [Asia] Ltd., 1978; translated into Portuguese in 1991), which is a nicely-written, though highly "impressionistic" work, mainly looking at the early times of Macau. Another English survey of ca. 125 pages plus appendices (the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration, the Basic Law, the Organic Statute, etc.), exclusively based on English sources, just came out: Steve Shipp, *Macau, China: A Political History of the Portuguese Colony's Transition to Chinese Rule* (Jefferson, N. Carolina, and London: McFarland & Co., Inc., 1997).

Two more English books are often quoted. They cannot be classified as "typical" historical accounts because they mix "pure" history with art history and other elements of Macau's past, but they are elegantly written, nicely printed, and pleasant to look at. The first work, Cesar Guillen-Nuñez' *Macau* (Hong Kong [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1984; Images of Asia), contains less than a hundred pages; this is a book for beginners. The second work, Porter's *Macau: The Imaginary City* (see above), is arranged according to topics, seen through Anglo-American glasses; more precisely, it consists of a series of loosely linked "images" without following a strict chronological order. Certain things, however, are valuable because they are not easily encountered elsewhere, for example a brief description of the administration in nearby Xiangshan.

Fei Chengkang's 费成康 *Macao 400 Years* (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui ke-xueyuan chubanshe, 1996), translated into English by Wang Yintong 王寅通, was

<sup>24</sup> See his *Dong Xi jiaohui kan Aomen*, pp. 75-77.

originally published in Chinese under the title *Aomen sibai nian* 澳門四百年 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988). This is one of many mainland historical surveys of Macau with all the defaults and idiosyncrasies that one expects. Although Fei Chengkang's views are less offensive than those of certain other mainland historians, neither the English nor the Chinese version conceal the author's anti-Portuguese sentiments. The preface, by Chen Xulu 陈旭麓, sets the tone: it opens with a patriotic poem where the poet Wen Yiduo 闻一多 expresses his wish that Macau be "returned" to China. But there are also some good points. Fei Chengkang briefly summarizes the history of the Macau region and its adjacent hinterland prior to the foundation of Macau. He also integrates a large number of Chinese sources into his account – much more skillfully, I think, than earlier Chinese historical surveys.

We have now entered the terrain of Chinese surveys.<sup>25</sup> The next book to consider under this category is a short account, called *Aomen shi* 澳門史, by Huang Hongzhao 黃鴻釗, professor in Nanjing. It is extremely biased and, typical for many mainland works, has a chapter on "The Administration of Macau by the Chinese Government in Ming and Qing Times." Strangely, the cover of this book shows the proud monument of João Maria Ferreira do Amaral, the only monument ever erected for a local governor. Marxist historians have always criticized Ferreira do Amaral (by contrast, Father Teixeira called him the "libertador de Macau"),<sup>26</sup> so one wonders why his image was used to decorate Huang's book. Perhaps the Hong Kong publisher, the famous Shangwu yinshuguan, who put out Huang's work in 1987, thought that such an arrangement would help to "counterbalance" the distorted contents of the book. A little later, the same author published a very similar account, called *Aomen shi gangyao* 澳門史綱要 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1991). This paperback has a neutral cover (grey!) but is even more radical in tone.

Other mainland surveys on Macau include the following works: (1) Huang Wenkuan 黃文寬, *Aomen shi gouchen* 澳門史鉤沈 (Macau: Aomen xingguang chubanshe, 1987); (2) Yuan Bangjian 元邦建 and Yuan Guixiu 袁桂秀, *Aomen shilüe* 澳門史略 (Hong Kong: Zhongliu chubanshe, 1988); (3) Huang Qichen 黃啓臣, *Aomen lishi (zi yuangu – 1840 nian)* 澳門歷史(自遠古 – 1840 年), and Deng Kaisong 鄧開頌, *Aomen lishi (1840–1949 nian)* 澳門歷史(1840–1849 年) (both Macau: Aomen lishi xuehui, 1995). The first item is a *melange* of historical notes, partly in chronological order, and mainly on Ming China's relations to the Portuguese. The choice of words is very "special." In one case the author says of

<sup>25</sup> Reprints of old Chinese surveys, for example Zhou Jinglian's 周景濂 *Zhong Pu waijiao shi* 中葡外交史 (originally 1936; now Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1991), will not be considered here.

<sup>26</sup> Teixeira, *Os militares em Macau*, p. 401.



the Portuguese, “if happy, they behaved like humans, when angry, they turned into beasts” (p. 32). These words are from the *Aomen jilüe* 澳門紀略 (see below), the point of interest being that Huang Wenkuan does not bother to indicate his source, nor to put down any quotation marks. One wonders how a Portuguese might feel upon reading such statements. The second book is a chronological account beginning with the times of Vasco da Gama and ending with the Sino-Portuguese joint declaration. It is more thorough and may be of some use to those specializing in the nineteenth and twentieth century, but it is, once again, an extremely one-sided affair. A map showing all the acts of Portuguese “aggression,” several “charming” chapter titles, and other details will greatly “please” its Western readership.

The third item, in two volumes, both by well-known Macau specialists presently working in Guangzhou, is more detailed and differently organized than the works by Huang Wenkuan and Yuan/Yuan, moreover, there are separate Chinese and English tables of contents. Although printed in Macau, Huang Qichen’s volume in particular is flavoured with hidden anti-Portuguese sentiments. Another observation is that certain segments duplicate earlier writings. Volume one, for example, carries a chapter on “The Sovereignty Exercised by the Chinese Government over Macau in Ming and Qing Times,” which also forms part of an essay published by Huang in mainland China – an essay in which he claims that Macau was under China’s control until 1887/88.<sup>27</sup> The segment on religion also seems to echo earlier views in that it first discusses Buddhism and then Christianity; such an arrangement reverts the conventional order and may already be found in a slim monograph co-authored by Huang in 1994 (its title is *Aomen zongjiao* 澳門宗教 [*Religiões de Macau*], the first author being Zheng Weiming 鄭煒明; it appeared in the FM series *Aomen congshu*).<sup>28</sup> The second volume, by Deng, begins with the opium crisis. Much space is devoted to Lin Zexu 林則徐; Miguel de Arriaga’s role “lags behind.” There then follow chapters on the government of Ferreira do Amaral, Sino-Portuguese treaties, and the trade in opium and contract workers. Especially the last two topics have been extensively treated by Deng Kaisong in other publications. The final parts of volume two are not strictly chronological. Among other things they cover the following topics: (1) gambling, prostitution and opium consumption; (2) the activities of well-known Chinese personalities in and vis-à-vis Macau (Kang Youwei 康有為, Sun Yat-Sen,

<sup>27</sup> Huang Qichen, “Ming Qing shiqi Zhongguo zhengfu dui Aomen zhuquan de xingshi” 明清时期中国对澳门主权的行使, in Zhongshan daxue, Gang Ao yanjiu zhongxin 中山大学, 港澳研究中心 (ed.), *Gang Ao luncong* 港澳论丛, vol. 1 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1992), pp. 203-226; see my “Manipulating History,” p. 74.

<sup>28</sup> This book in turn reminds of the segments on Macau’s religions found in the above-mentioned *Aomen zonglan*.

and others); (3) the structure of the Macau government; (4) and recent cultural and religious affairs. Taking together both volumes, it is clear that they are based on earlier works, including the book by Fei Chengkang and, to some extent, on a collection of materials published by Deng Kaisong and Huang Qichen in 1991 to which I shall proceed in the next paragraph.

One of the weak sides of all Chinese historical surveys is that they do not adequately treat the period from the second half of the seventeenth century to the mid- or late eighteenth century. This concerns all aspects of Macau's life, especially the economy. Deng Kaisong's and Huang Qichen's collection *Aomen gangshi ziliao huibian* 澳门港史资料汇编 (1553-1840) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1991) is a case in point. This work, rather a source book than a general chronological survey, carries valuable statistical and other data related to the early periods, the late Qing, and even more recent times, but the Shunzhi, Kangxi, Yongzheng, and early Qianlong reigns are not fully covered. From private conversation with Deng Kaisong the present writer knows that Guangdong People's Press shortened the original manuscript of the book, much to the dislike of Deng who had put enormous efforts in compiling it; perhaps, then, the early Qing parts and other periods were thus compressed in a fruitless way.<sup>29</sup>

The only Chinese surveys to really fill the "early Qing gap" are Fei Chengkang's *Aomen sibai nian*, which contains some pages on this period, and Huang Qichen's and Zheng Weiming's *Aomen jingji sibai nian* 澳門經濟四百年 (*An Economic History of Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994). The second work carries a preface by the famous scholar Quan Hansheng 全漢昇 and must also be credited as the first Chinese language monograph presenting the economic history of Macau in its entirety. The internal arrangement of the book demonstrates that Huang Qichen is willing to improve his own writing, obviously because he has now acquainted himself with Quan Hansheng's numerous works and the important monograph by George Bryan Souza – on the Ming and early Qing periods – which was already introduced and will again be referred to later on. There nevertheless remain a few spots that are unacceptable from a Western viewpoint.

The last Chinese work to be considered in the category of survey studies is Jiang Bingzheng's 姜秉正 *Aomen wenti shimo* 澳门问题始末 (Beijing: Falü chubanshe, 1992). Like the previous two titles, it shows a certain trend to focus on one major issue, in this case judicial matters, treaties, and the so-called "Macau

<sup>29</sup> Deng Kaisong, together with Yang Renfei 杨仁飞, who has been publishing on various Sino-Foreign topics, including trade between China and Sweden, also produced a very short English *rapport* called "The Historical Role Played by the Portuguese in China Before the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," in Francis A. Dutra and João Camilo dos Santos (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on the Portuguese and the Pacific, University of California, Santa Barbara, October 1993* (Santa Barbara: Center for Portuguese Studies, University of California, 1995), pp. 425-451.

question.” There are a few general segments at the outset, on Macau’s natural environment, demographic development, traffic, and so on. This is followed by a survey of early Sino-Portuguese encounters, the foundation of Macau, and other chronologically arranged topics. The main part is dedicated to the various agreements signed between both sides and the political history surrounding them. The tone of the presentation is clear and calls for no additional comments.

Surprisingly, there are almost no recent Portuguese historical surveys of Macau (if one leaves aside such books as Aresta’s and Veiga de Oliveira’s *Arquivos do entendimento*). Gonçalo Mesquita’s *História de Macau* (Macau: ICM, 1996) is the only major work that has begun to appear and may qualify as a survey work. Volume 1, part 1, covers the period till ca. 1557; volume 1, part 2 (printed as a separate book) ends in the late sixteenth century. By and large, the approach is a traditional one. Only some references are given, many more recent works, it seems, could have been consulted. This work, nevertheless, may be of value for the general reader. For the learned reader, a more authoritative account is now under preparation. This project, *Os Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, is directed by A.H. Oliveira e Marques, one of the most prominent historians in Portugal. The project involves the FO and will comprise several volumes covering not only Macau but also the history of other former Portuguese possessions. Some sections will be looking at political and institutional developments, others will mainly deal with economic questions. Several chapters have already been completed. The authors are all specialists in their respective fields, so one is eagerly awaiting publication of their contributions. There can be no doubt, several contributions to these volumes will be state-of-the-art articles.

### 9. Before to the 1550s

The early period of Sino-Portuguese contacts is fairly well studied. The conventional starting-point for these contacts is the voyage by Jorge Álvares on which there are three older works that are always cited, namely by (1) Luís Keil, (2) Artur Basílio da Sá, and (3) José Maria Braga. The first work, published in 1933, was reprinted in a trilingual edition by the ICM, with a preface by João de Deus Ramos. The Portuguese title follows the original version: *Jorge Álvares, o primeiro Português que foi à China (1513)* (Macau: ICM, 1990). The other two titles are less easily accessible: (2) *Jorge Álvares, quadros da sua biografia no Oriente* (1955), and (3) *China Landfall 1513. Jorge Álvares’ Voyage to China. A Compilation of Some Relevant Material* (see entries in *BM*, nos. 204 and 1487).

Those wishing to examine Álvares’ voyage in the greater context of early Portuguese efforts to open trade with Ming China may of course refer to a whole array of “classical” studies – such as the works by Henri Cordier, Chang T’ien-tse, Ronald Bishop Smith, and so on – or, alternatively, they may try to follow a

new road, by looking up João Paulo Oliveira e Costa's "A coroa portuguesa e a China (1508–1531) – do sonho manuelino ao realismo joanino." This well-researched article appeared in *Stvdia* 50 (1991), pp. 121–156, but if possible, readers ought to consult the revised version (with additional documentary evidence), published in *Estudos do relacionamento luso-chinês, séculos XVI–XIX*, a book recently edited by António Vasconcelos de Saldanha and Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves (Macau: IPOR, 1996; Memória do Oriente 6; for the article, see pp. 11–84, there). Oliveira e Costa's approach differs from "conventional" surveys in that it examines the political concepts behind the first ventures to China. These concepts can be related to the changing framework of early Portuguese expansion. Some of the initial China voyages should thus be treated as elements within a complex whole, rather than a chain of isolated events.<sup>30</sup>

Oliveira e Costa's study is also useful because it mentions most recent Western books and articles on individual travellers going to China. This includes works on Giovanni da Empoli, Fernão Peres de Andrade, and other famous men. Hence, these titles, by Ronald Bishop Smith and others, do not need to be repeated here.<sup>31</sup> One of the most controversial persons in the initial years of Sino-Portuguese contacts was Simão de Andrade. His true or alleged misdeeds are mentioned in Portuguese and Chinese sources alike. There is now a special study on Simão de Andrade who, prior to coming to Malacca and China, spent a long time in India. This study, entitled "Simão de Andrade, fidalgo da Índia, capitão de Chaul," in *Mare Liberum* 9 (1995), pp. 99–116, is also by Oliveira e Costa and demonstrates the same expertise and quality as the other works by this writer.

By far the most famous character in early Sino-Portuguese contacts was Tomé Pires. A modern monograph on this man and his mission to the Ming court would be welcomed. Presently, historians must still rely on the "standard" works by Armando Cortesão, Luís Gonzaga Gomes (see, *BM*, especially nos. 441, 679 and 1328), and Paul Pelliot.<sup>32</sup> Pelliot's lengthy article, "Le Hōja et le Sayyid Hūsein de l'Histoire des Ming," in *T'oung Pao* 38 (1948), pp. 81–290, essentially a well-annotated partial translation of the *Mingshi*-chapter on the Portuguese, is

<sup>30</sup> For this view readers may now also consult João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Victor Luís Gaspar Roderigues, *Portugal y Oriente: el proyecto indiano del Rey Juan* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992; Colección Portugal y el mundo).

<sup>31</sup> One additional work would be Marco Spallanzani, *Giovanni da Empoli, mercante navigatore fiorentino* (Florence: Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, 1984).

<sup>32</sup> Cortesão's *Primeira embaixada europeia à China. O boticário e embaixador Tomé Pires e a sua "Suma Oriental"* was reprinted in a Sino-Portuguese bilingual edition (Macau: ICM, 1990), with a preface by Benjamin Videira Pires.

in a class of its own.<sup>33</sup> One of the things indicated by Pelliot is that Pires' unsuccessful journey to China must be seen together with the efforts of the exiled Malacca rulers to stir anti-Portuguese sentiments among the Ming. Regarding Malacca and Chinese reports on this Islamic polity, readers may now also profit from a new survey by Geoff Wade entitled "Melaka in Ming Dynasty Texts." This article, in the *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 70.1 (1997), pp. 31-69, cites important primary materials and some relevant secondary works (see especially parts 5 and 6).

Tomé Pires, needless to add, is also known for his *Suma Oriental*, one of most influential sources on early sixteenth century maritime trade in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean. Armando Cortesão's classic editions of this text (in Portuguese and English) are based on a manuscript from Paris. A second manuscript, found in Lisbon, has now become available in the form of a book: Rui Manuel Loureiro (ed.), *O manuscrito de Lisboa da "Suma Oriental" de Tomé Pires (Contribuição para uma edição crítica)* (Macau: IPOR, 1996; Memória do Oriente 7). The edition is well-made, with many philological annotations useful for further textual and historical research. It also contains a short preface by Juan Gil and a brief chapter on Pires' life.

In 1994, the same author submitted a doctoral dissertation to the Faculdade de Letras of the Universidade de Lisboa in which he discusses a large number of sixteenth century Portuguese texts on China. This work, *A China na cultura portuguesa do século XVI – notícias, imagens e vivências*, I was told, will appear soon. It is a comprehensive study of interest to all those who are working on images and views. Some of the materials treated in Loureiro's thesis were also presented in a number of shorter studies. This includes, for example, "A China de Fernão Mendes Pinto entre a realidade e a imaginação," in the above-mentioned collection *Estudos*, by Vasconcelos de Saldanha and Santos Alves (pp. 137-177),<sup>34</sup> a small booklet called *Cartas dos cativos de Cantão: Cristóvão Vieira e Vasco Calvo (1524?)* (Macau: ICM, 1992), an article on the same subject, "A visão da China nas cartas dos cativos de Cantão (1534-1536)," in *Estudos Orientais* 3 (1992), pp. 279-295, and other, similar studies such as his "A imagem da

<sup>33</sup> There are two annotated Chinese versions of the *Mingshi* 明史 -chapter on the "Folangji" 佛郎機: Zhang Weihua 張維華, *Mingshi Ouzhou si guo zhuan zhushi* 明史歐洲四國傳注釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982; originally 1934), pp. 1-56; Dai Yixuan 戴裔煊, "Mingshi Folangji zhuan" jianzheng "明史佛郎機傳"箋正 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1984). The second book is full of anti-Portuguese polemics.

<sup>34</sup> The *Peregrinação* of which there are several new translations, forms the subject of many more scholarly articles, mainly written by scholars working on literature. One example is António Manuel de Andrade Moniz, "A Peregrinação de Fernão Mendes Pinto na China," in *Estudos Orientais* 3 (1992), pp. 269-277. Mention should also be made here of the works by Rebecca Catz which, however, have not always found acceptance by Portuguese scholars.

China na cultura dos descobrimentos portugueses,” in *RC* 13 (1995), pp. 19-26. Loureiro also wrote the introduction to a special issue of *RC* (no. 31, 1997), which collects early texts – or visions – of China.<sup>35</sup>

The letters sent by Vieira and Calvo bring us back to the times immediately following the failure of Pires’ embassy when some Portuguese were imprisoned in Guangzhou. The information they were able to channel to Malacca was also presented and analysed in other studies such as the old work by Donald Ferguson (*BM*, no. 569) and, more recently, in Raffaella d’Intino’s *Enformação das cousas da China. Textos do século XVI* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional and Casa da Moeda, 1989). This work overlaps with Boxer’s *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (*BM*, no. 188) and a recent modernized version of Galiete Pereira’s *Algumas cousas sabidas da China*, edited by Rui Manuel Loureiro (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1992).

Portuguese trade to China prior to the foundation of Macau can be segmented in the following way: (a) during the first few years contacts were peaceful and located in the Pearl River estuary, (b) the early 1520s, i.e., phase two, saw some violent encounters and the end of Pires’ mission; these two periods were already covered above; (c) phase three, to which I am going to turn below, was marked by private Portuguese trade, mostly along the coasts of Zhejiang and Fujian; (d) in phase four the Portuguese came back to the central Guangdong area. With certain variations the above segmentation would probably be acceptable to most authors working on the early sixteenth century. Recent surveys trying to outline the characteristics of these early years include the following articles: (1) João de Deus Ramos, “Portugal, China e Macau: os primeiros tempos,” in *Estudos* 3 (1992), pp. 325-330; (2) the same, “Relações de Portugal com a China anteriores ao estabelecimento de Macau,” first published in *Nação e Defesa* 53 (1990; not seen) and reprinted in the author’s collection of essays *Estudos luso-orientais (séculos XIII-XIX)* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1996; Subsídios para a História Portuguesa 28), pp. 29-45; (3) a general note by the present author, “Early Sino-Portuguese Relations up to the Foundation of Macau,” in *Mare Liberum* 4 (1992), pp. 289-297;<sup>36</sup> (4) and Ng Chin Keong’s “Trade, the Sea Prohibition and the ‘Fo-lang-chi’, 1513–1550,” in Dutra and Santos, *The Portuguese and the Pacific* (see n. 29), pp. 381-424. The contribution of John E.

<sup>35</sup> There are also some Chinese articles on Portuguese views of China, for example Wu Zhiliang’s “16 shiji Putaoya de Zhongguo guan” 16 世紀葡萄牙的中國觀, in his *Dong Xi jiaohui kan Aomen* (see above), pp. 149-170. The opposite view, Chinese images of the early Portuguese, form the theme of several studies as well, notably by K.C. Fok; these will be mentioned below (section 10).

<sup>36</sup> With some unwanted modifications also in George D. Winus (ed.), *Portugal, the Pathfinder. Journeys from the Medieval toward the Modern World, 1300 – ca. 1600* (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995; Portuguese Series 2), pp. 269-289.

Wills, Jr., (“Relations with maritime Europeans, 1514–1662”) to *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8: *The Ming Dynasty*, Part 2 (Cambridge 1998), pp. 333–375, has to be added to this list, although, strictly speaking, Wills’ article also covers other topics of later periods.

The mid-sixteenth century was a difficult period for China’s coastal provinces. Private sea trade was still prohibited, but demand for imports grew and Japan gradually emerged as an important market. This constellation led to smuggling, piracy and even coastal warfare in Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Fujian. Dozens of sinological studies examine these events and some of them also include references to the Portuguese who participated in the activities of so-called Wokou 倭寇 groups and who, at the same time, also “discovered” Japan. Unfortunately, Portuguese sources on this period (equivalent with [c], above) are scanty – the important ones were presented in the books by Boxer, Intino, Loureiro and a number of older accounts – but references in Chinese works abound. Formerly, the monographs by Bodo Wiethoff, *Die chinesische Seeverbotspolitik und der private Überseehandel von 1368 bis 1567* (Hamburg: Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e.V. and other institutions, 1963), and So Kwan-wai, *Japanese Piracy in Ming China During the 16th Century* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1975), were considered as authoritative Western studies in this field. Since then many more books and articles have been completed, including: (1) several unpublished doctoral dissertations, for example by Roland Louis Higgins (these are quoted in the following titles); (2) James Geiss’ “The Chia-ching Reign, 1522–1566,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7: *The Ming Dynasty*, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 440-510; (2) Jurgis Elisonas’ “The Inseparable Trinity: Japan’s Relations with China and Korea,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4: *Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 235-300, with references to all major Japanese studies; (4) and the present author’s “Sino-Japanese Maritime Trade, c. 1500: Merchants, Ports and Networks,” in Roberto Carneiro and A. Teodoro de Matos (eds.), *O século cristão do Japão. Actas do Colóquio Internacional Comemorativo dos 450 anos de amizade Portugal–Japão (1543–1993) (Lisboa, 2 a 5 de Novembro de 1993)* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa ..., 1994), pp. 281-311.<sup>37</sup> All these works refer to the Portuguese and their activities in this period. At least two more English surveys came out thereafter which also refer to Wokou activities: (1)

<sup>37</sup> Also see R. P., “Piracy Along the Coasts of Southern India and Ming-China: Comparative Notes on Two Sixteenth Century Cases,” in Artur Teodoro de Matos and Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz (eds.), *As relações entre a Índia portuguesa, a Ásia do Sueste e o Extremo-Oriente. Actas do VI Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa (Macau, 22 a 26 de Outubro de 1991)* (Lisbon / Macau, 1993), pp. 255-273.

Dian Murray: "Silver, Ships and Smuggling: China's International Trade of the Ming and Qing Dynasties," in *Ming Qing yanjiu* (1994), pp. 91-143, and (2) Nie Dening, "Chinese Merchants and their Maritime Activities und the Ban on Maritime Trade in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1567)," in the same journal (1997), pp. 69-92.

Portuguese contacts to individual Wokou groups converged in a number of small ports along the coasts of Zhejiang and Fujian. Some offshore islands were also involved in clandestine trade. The geographic context, therefore, is of relevance. Earlier studies such as Albert Kammerer's *La découverte de la Chine par les Portugais* (*BM*, no. 822) which tries to locate all important trading sites, formed the basis for many later articles on the same subject. Two articles are particularly useful because they present earlier work in a systematic way and, at the same time, cite additional cartographic evidence:

- (1) Stephen Zengxin Zhang 張增信 (Chang Tseng-hsin), "Shiliu shiji qianqi Putaoyaren zai Zhongguo yanhai de maoyi judian" 十六世紀前期葡萄牙人在中國沿海的貿易據點, in *Zhongguo haiyang fazhanshi lunwenji bianji weiyuanhui* 中國海洋發展史論文集編輯委員會 (ed.), *Zhongguo haiyang fazhanshi lunwen ji* 中國海洋發展史論文集, vol. 2 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan sanmin zhuyi yanjiusuo, 1986), pp. 75-104, also in Zhang's *Ming ji Dongnan Zhongguo de haishang huodong* 明季東南中國的海上活動 (*Maritime Activities on the South-East Coast of China in the Latter Part of the Ming Dynasty*) (Taipei: China Committee for Publication Aid and Prize Award, 1988), part 2; and
- (2) Jin Guoping and Zhang Zhenchun, "Liampó reexaminado à luz de fontes chinesas," in Vasconcelos de Saldanha's and Santos Alves' *Estudos* (see above), pp. 85-135.

The first article, by Zhang, discusses all major trading places, the second paper only deals with Shuangxugang (or Shuangyugang), the Liampó of Portuguese sources, which was eventually wiped out by Zhu Wan 朱紈, a man whose biography and activities have been scrutinized in many works, for example in the books by Wiethoff and So Kwan-wai cited above.<sup>38</sup>

Zhu Wan's rigorous policy and other factors made the Portuguese leave Zhejiang and Fujian in search for new trading opportunities in the central Guangdong

<sup>38</sup> Earlier, Zhang Bincun 張彬村 (Chang Pin-Tsun), "Shiliu shiji Zhoushan qundao de zousi maoyi" 十六世紀舟山群島的走私貿易, *Zhongguo haiyang fazhanshi lunwen ji* (vol. 1), ed. by Zhongguo haiyang fazhanshi lunwenji bianji weiyuanhui 中國海洋發展史論文集編輯委員會 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan sanmin zhuyi yanjiusuo, 1984), pp. 71-95, also provided a thorough view on this scenario. Another interesting, but outdated article, is Lin Tien-wei (Lin Tianwei 林天蔚), "An Enquiry into the Portuguese Stay in Hong Kong During the Sixteenth Century," in *Chinese Culture* 25.4 (1984), pp. 65-101 (with some maps and geographical issues).



area. This was followed by the famous agreement of Leonel de Sousa and eventually by the founding of Macau in the mid-1550s. A large number of older studies deal with these events, notably José Maria Braga's *The Western Pioneers*, still an indispensable monograph (see, *BM*, no 247; also see nos. 611, 674, 701, 1677, etc.).<sup>39</sup> One old work, originally an M.A. thesis presented to the University of Chicago in 1958, was only published very recently, in a bilingual English/Portuguese edition, and with a preface by Luís Filipe Bareto and Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves: W. Robert Usellis, *As origens de Macau. The Origin of Macao* (Macau: Museu Marítimo de Macau, 1995). Till today, this short account is considered an excellent summary of Macau's founding years. Another work is Rui Manuel Loureiro's *Em busca das origens de Macau* (Lisbon: Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1994; also Macau: Museu Marítimo de Macau, 1997). Like Manuel Teixeira's *Primórdios de Macau* (Macau: ICM, 1990), which also looks at the first two or three decades of Macau's history, it takes a broader view. There is a detailed introduction by Loureiro and an appendix with the text of twelve important documents (from 1555 to 1571) and useful annotations.

Readers wishing to expose themselves to a radical mainland Chinese *tour de force* on the same period may find pleasure in looking up Dai Yixuan's 戴裔煊 *Guanyu Aomen lishi shang suowei ganzou haidao wenti* 關於澳門歷史上所謂趕走海盜問題 (Macau: Aomen xingguang chubanshe, 1987; originally in *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* of 1957). Dai's essay is a frontal attack on all conventional views found in respectable Western works. It puts in doubt the hypothesis that Macau was given to the Portuguese in reward for the military assistance they offered against pirates hiding on the Guangdong coast. Similar doubts were voiced by earlier writers; what hurts, is the arrogant diction of Dai's article. The real pirates, he thinks, were the Portuguese – a notion elaborated by some later iron-ricer-bowl fanatics creeping behind their “master's” rattling tail.

The legal implications of Macau's establishment can, of course, also be studied against the background of political and legal practice in the *Estado da Índia*. António Vasconcelos de Saldanha has been working on this topic. He has just published his voluminous *Iustum Imperium. Dos tratados como fundamento do Império dos Portugueses no Oriente* (Macau: IPOR, 1997), an important book showing the implications of Portuguese diplomacy and treaties in the context of legal history and the history of European expansion, in general. One aspect of Macau's history and status relates to the payment of an annual rent (originally perhaps a “gift?”), the so-called *foro do chão*. This is discussed in many works,

<sup>39</sup> Nos. 674 and 701 were newly published in Luís Gonzaga Gomes, *Macau, um município com história* (see above, n. 18); no. 611 was republished by the ICM in 1988.

including some studies by Benjamin Videira Pires (*BM*, nos. 1273, 1274).<sup>40</sup> Another, very different book dwelling on the issue of Macau's difficult-to-define status, is Francisco Gonçalves Pereira's *Portugal, a China e a questão de Macau* (Macau: IPOR, 1995; Memória do Oriente 4). It begins with the establishment of Macau and ends with the joint declaration and might also be entered in the survey category of the present note.

### 10. From the Foundation of Macau to ca. 1640

The period from the mid-1550s to ca. 1640 marks Macau's golden age. Some of the works cited in the preceding section deal with the initial years of this era. One important contribution summarizing the internal workings of early Macau's society and much of the competition between different groups, is an essay by Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves: "The First Decade of Sino-Portuguese Diplomatic Relations Following the Foundation of Macau," in Dutra and Santos, *The Portuguese and the Pacific*, pp. 305-313 (see note 29). An extended version of this article is under preparation and will probably be published as a monograph by the FM.

During these years the Portuguese were able to greatly profit from their position as the major carriers in direct trade between Guangzhou and Japan. Silver and silk were essential exchange commodities during this trade cycle. A large number of works discuss the silk-and-silver problem and that includes many titles which also look at the role of the Spanish, Fujianese, Japanese, and Dutch, all of whom participated in this trade. Convenient starting points for any further study on these questions are the following works, in chronological order: (1) William S. Atwell, "International Bullion Flows and the Late Ming Economy," in *Past and Present* 95 (1982), pp. 68-90; (2) Souza, *Survival* (already quoted above); and (3) Brian Moloughney and Xia Weizhong, "Silver and the Fall of the Ming: A Reassessment," in *Papers on Far Eastern History* (September 1989), pp. 52-78. The second title is particularly useful because it successfully combines statistical data from various archival and printed sources (including Dutch documents). These data are placed in the larger context of Macau's role in East and Southeast Asian trade, not only to Japan but also to other destinations. All three works indicate various special studies, for example by Iwao Seiichi 岩生成一, Kobata Atsushi 小葉田淳, Katô Eiichi, Michael Cooper, Charles Ralph Boxer, Quan Hansheng 全漢昇, and so on. Most of these works are well-known and are not listed here.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Also see the same author's collection *Os extremos conciliam-se. Transculturização em Macau* (Macau: ICM, 1988), pp. 113-125.

<sup>41</sup> Other works on silk and silver include, for example, John Villiers, "Silk and Silver: Macau, Manila and Trade in the China Seas in the Sixteenth Century," in *Journal of the Hong Kong*

After 1600, Macau was challenged by the Dutch. Scholars dealing with this period, particularly with commerce and trade, might find it appropriate, therefore, to consult certain standard works on Portugal's former enemies. Although this is not really the place to list relevant literature on the Dutch, at least three titles may be cited: (1) Robert LeRoy Innes' study "The Door Ajar. Japan's Foreign Trade in the Seventeenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1980), and (2) W.Z. Mulder's *Hollanders in Hirado, 1597-1641* (Harlem: Fibula - Van Dishoeck, n.d.); (3) Leonard Blussé, "Brief Encounter at Macau," in *Modern Asian Studies* 22.3 (1988), pp. 647-664. The first two titles look at the main site of Luso-Dutch commercial competition, namely, Japan, which was Macau's chief trading partner. The article by Blussé goes through the first Luso-Dutch clash in Macau. Various works by Boxer could be added to this list, and many more works on the Dutch in Taiwan and Vietnam.<sup>42</sup>

Another work related to war and competition on the high seas and thereby also to the decline of Macau's trade in the mid-seventeenth century, is George Bryan Souza's "Commerce and Capital: Portuguese Maritime Losses in the South China Sea, 1600-1754," in Matos and Thomaz, *Relações*, pp. 321-348. This paper, based on dozens of Dutch and Iberian archival materials, tabulates Portuguese shipping losses and investigates the impact of these disasters on the commercial position of the Portuguese in East and Southeast Asia.

Recent studies on Macau's foreign relations also include special works on the trade in "rare commodities," on Macau's "back links" to China, and on the Macau-Manila connection.<sup>43</sup> For the latter, the old article by Benjamin Videira

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*Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 20 (1988), pp. 66-80, and R. P., "An Outline of Macao's Economic Development, circa 1557-1640," in Tileman Grimm *et al.* (eds.), *Collected Papers of the XXIX Congress of Chinese Studies, 10th to 15th September 1984* (Tübingen: Attempto Verlag, 1988; Werkhefte der Universität Tübingen, Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften 4), pp. 169-181. - Dozens of special studies and surveys, including many Japanese works, also look at the Philippines, Vietnam and the rest of Southeast Asia; this, however, has not really to do with Macau "proper." - Finally, William Atwell's "Ming China and the emerging world economy, c. 1470-1650," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8: *The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644*, Part 2 (Cambridge 1998), pp. 376-416, may also be consulted.

<sup>42</sup> One rather new and relatively unknown work is Yves Gerard, *Voyages et aventures du Capitaine Ripon aux Grandes Indes. Journal inédit d'un mercenaire (1617-1627)*, with a post-script by Gérard A. Jaëger (Thonon-les-Bains: L'Albaron, Société Présence du Livre, 1990), pp. 89-93 (narration of the Dutch attack on Macau in 1622, and a short description of the city).

<sup>43</sup> For example, Jorge Manuel Flores, "Macau e o comércio da Baía de Cantão (séculos XVI e XVII)," in Matos and Thomaz, *As relações*, pp. 21-47. - Most studies on commodities also look at the early sixteenth century; see, for example, Ji Zong'an 紀宗案, "Aomen yu lishi shang de xiangliao maoyi" 澳門與歷史上的香料貿易, in Huang Xiaofeng *et al.*, *Shou jie*, pp. 117-121; R. P., "The Transportation of Sandalwood from Timor to China and Macao, c. 1350-1600," in R. P. (ed.), *Portuguese Asia; Aspects in History and Economic History. Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1987; Beiträge zur Südasiens-

Pires, "A viagem de comércio Macau-Manila nos séculos XVI à XIX," in *Boletim do Instituto "Luís de Camões"* 5.1-2 (1971), pp. 5-100, reprinted as a monograph by the Centro de Estudos Marítimos (Macau, 1987), and the well-known work by Pierre Chauvu are still indispensable. Both also deal with Luso-Spanish contacts under the Qing.<sup>44</sup>

One "curious" aspect of the late sixteenth century is that Spanish nobles and clergymen thought of ways how to conquer coastal lands in Asia. Different proposals were made, and all kinds of pretexts were invented to go ahead with these plans. One project (with several variations) which never came true featured a large-scale attack on China. It was hoped to take parts of the coastal provinces in a *conquista*-type move. Japanese, local Filipinos and a handful of Portuguese soldiers were to assist in this venture that was, for some time at least, hotly debated in Spanish circles. Macau's authorities vaguely knew about these absurdities but do not seem to have taken them all that serious. Nevertheless, the idea was around, and several scholars, who have also been working on the Spanish settlements on Taiwan and Spanish missionary activities in Japan and China, have dealt with the issue.<sup>45</sup>

Other older works on Macau's foreign relations and trade that will always be quoted are Boxer's classical studies *The Great Ship from Amacon* and his *Fidalgos in the Far East* (see *BM*, nos. 171, 174). Both books appeared in Portuguese translation, the first one was also republished by the ICM in 1988. The FO is currently also involved in translating Boxer's œuvre under the general title *Obra*

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forschung, Südasien-Institut, Universität Heidelberg 117), pp. 87-109; and R. P., "Almíscar, calambac e azougue no comércio Macau-Japão e no comércio da Ásia Oriental (cerca 1555-1640)," paper presented to an international symposium in Macau (Universidade de Macau and FM), October 1997, and to appear in the proceedings. - On the Macau-Manila link, see Rui d'Ávila de Fontes Alferes Lourido, "A rota marítima da seda e da prata: Macau-Manila, das origens à 1640" (*mestrado* thesis: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1995).

<sup>44</sup> Similar works with a longer view, in this case, on Macau's relations to Vietnam, are, for example: Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua diocese*. Vol. 15: *Relações comerciais de Macau com o Vietnam* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1977), and George Bryan Souza, "Portuguese Society in Macao and Luso-Vietnamese Relations, 1511-1571," in *Boletim do Instituto "Luís de Camões"* 15.1-2 (1981), pp. 68-114. Both make use of an important earlier work by Pierre-Yves Manguin: *Les Portugais sur les côtes du Viêt-nam et du Campā. Étude sur les routes maritimes et les relations commerciales, d'après les sources portugaises (XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1972; Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient 81).

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, Carlos L. de la Veiga, "Un proyecto utópico: la conquista de China por España" (Ph.D. diss., Universidad de Sevilla, 1972), summarized in *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 14/18 (1979/1982); some articles in *Hispania* and *Historia*, etc. For a recent survey on the Spanish in the Far East at that time, see, for example, Juan Gil, *Hidalgos y samurais. España y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Alianza, 1991). For an early study on invasion projects, see, for example, Léon Bourdon (*BM*, no. 150).

*completa de Charles Ralph Boxer* (Lisbon 1991ff.). Moreover, there are several volumes with his articles in the Variorum Reprints series.<sup>46</sup> A third book still used by economic historians dealing with the pre-1640 period is Chang T'ientsê's *Sino-Portuguese Trade* (*BM*, no. 378) of which there is now a Portuguese version as well. A final observation concerns Boxer's *Great Ship*. The contents of this book which summarizes Macau's trade, especially to Japan, on a year-by-year basis, partly overlaps with an earlier Japanese classic by Okamoto Yoshitomo 岡本郎知. Unfortunately this book, as so many other Japanese works, is rarely read by Western historians: *Jūroku seiki Nichi-Ōkōtsū-shi no kenkyū* 十六世紀日歐交通史の研究 (Tokyo Rōkkō Shōbō, 1942; reissued 1974).

Returning to the Chinese materials again, it may be said that Chinese primary sources are not too important for the study of Macau's foreign trade relations in the period till 1640. As a result, nothing spectacular has been contributed to this field by recent Chinese scholarship.<sup>47</sup> However, Chinese sources are frequently quoted in discussions of Ming China's policy towards Macau and in works dealing with Chinese views of the other, in this case the Portuguese. Most surveys listed in section 8 (above) also contain chapters on the pre-1640 period. Western studies on China's policy towards the Portuguese and Chinese views of the other include the following titles: (1) K.C. Fok (Fok Kai Cheong, i.e., Huo Qichang 霍啓昌): "The Macao Formula: A Study of Chinese Management of Westerners from the Mid-Sixteenth Century to the Opium War" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawaii, 1978); (2) several articles by the same author in which he repeats or elaborates the ideas laid down in his dissertation, for example his "The Ming Debate on How to Accommodate the Portuguese and the Emergence of the Macao Formula: The Portuguese Settlements and Early Chinese Reactions," in *RC* 13/14 (1991), pp. 328-344, and his "Early Ming Images of the Portuguese," in R. P. (ed.), *Portuguese Asia* (see n. 43, above), pp. 143-155 (also in *RC* 23 [1995]; both studies deal with late Ming and early Qing texts on the pre-Macau period and Macau's golden age); and (3) Stefania Stafutti, "Portogallo e Portoghesi nelle fonti cinesi de XVI e XVII secolo," in *Cina* 19 (1984), pp. 29-51.

Finally, dozens of older articles, especially by Charles Ralph Boxer, are devoted to special topics of the pre-1640 period. All these studies are listed in the *BM* and other bibliographies. Here I shall only review some new contributions by other authors writing on a wide variety of themes. The first study is an article by Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves in the collection *Estudos*, edited together with

<sup>46</sup> The one likely to be used by Macau specialists is *Portuguese Merchants and Missionaries in Feudal Japan, 1543-1640* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986; Collected Studies Series 232).

<sup>47</sup> Huang Qichen and Deng Kaisong, "O desenvolvimento do comércio externo de Macau na dinastia Ming," in *RC* 16 (1988), pp. 25-32, would be a typical survey contribution by mainland Chinese authors.

Vasconcelos de Saldanha (see above). This paper, called “Natureza do primeiro ciclo de diplomacia luso-chinesa (séculos XVI a XVIII)” (pp. 179-218), surveys all important Portuguese missions sent to China *via* Macau (the last mission is the one by Gouveia). Among other things, it tries to work out how these missions operated and what role Macau played. A clear distinction is made between embassies sent to the central court in the Chinese capital and embassies at local level. The policy implications are clear: there was a regional component in Sino-Portuguese politics, and another, more far-reaching dimension linking Macau to the imperial bureaucracy in Beijing.

A completely different issue is the history of Mong Há 望夏 (Wangxia). Mong Há, originally a small village on the northern half of the Macau peninsula, appears to have been founded under the Ming. Before being incorporated in the city of Macau – under the Qing – it constituted a separate hamlet. Not much has been written on Mong Há, but a few interesting notes are contained in the book by Philip Kwok, *Aomen Xianggang*, pp. 2-5 (see above), and in Ana Maria Amaro’s article “Os primeiros contactos dos Portugueses com Macau segundo o Chôk Pou da família Sam,” in *Estudos Orientais* 3 (1992), pp. 297-306.<sup>48</sup>

The administrative organization of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Macau is covered by the books indicated in section 7. To this set of sources one has to add at least one new study, namely, Manuela Blanco Velez’ article “A primeira capitania geral de Macau, 1623–1626,” in Matos and Thomaz, *As relações*, pp. 7-20. Velez’ paper is based on a large number of Portuguese materials and discusses the internal structure of Macau’s government, in particular the functions of the so-called captain-general (not to be confused with the captain-majors). It demonstrates that investigations of “micro-problems” can be very stimulating, indeed.

As was said, the end of Macau’s golden years were marked by several disasters. However, the singularly most touching event for Portugal was the tragic end of the Portuguese goodwill mission to Japan in 1640. In 1933, Charles Ralph Boxer treated this highly emotional topic in a major study (*BM*, no. 165). A more thorough work was later produced by Benjamin Videira Pires. His book, *Embaxada mártir* (Macau: Centro de Informação e Turismo, 1965), collects all relevant evidence. It was reprinted by the ICM in 1988 and, till today, is considered the most authoritative Western account on this subject.

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<sup>48</sup> Genealogies of Chinese families have rarely been used by Macau historians. Guangdong archives hold various family records and I would not be surprised if these contained news on old Macau.

### 11. From ca. 1640 to the Early 1680s

The Manchu conquest of China caused a long-lasting process of destabilization that threw much of East and Southeast Asia into economic confusion, thereby also aggravating the situation in Macau, which was hit by a decline in trade, slumping returns, emigration and poverty. Background studies surveying the Ming–Qing transitional period are Lynn A. Struve’s *The Southern Ming 1644–1662* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984) and her contribution to the *Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 7: *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*, Part 1, pp. 641–725. For a condensed and very structured view, readers may also refer to William S. Atwell’s “Some Observations on the ‘Seventeenth Century Crisis’ in China and Japan,” in *Journal of Asian Studies* 45.2 (February 1986), pp. 223–244. Though useful, these works contain little on Macau. The same applies to many Chinese accounts of the Southern Ming, Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功, and the famous evacuation order which brought disaster to China’s coastal towns. A rather unusual, but not entirely unacceptable way of approaching these themes – and thereby also mid-seventeenth century Macau and its position in international politics – is to read John E. Wills, Jr.’s book *Pepper, Guns, and Parleys: The Dutch East India Company and China, 1622–1681* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974; Harvard East Asian Series 75). This work looks at the situation from the Dutch perspective, but also has certain things to offer on the Portuguese. Even more so another account by the same author: *Embassies and Illusions: Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K’ang-hsi, 1666–1687* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984). The Portuguese embassies were led by Manoel (Manuel) de Saldanha and Bento Pereira de Faria. In part they were intended to relieve Macau’s problems. This was urgently needed because Macau’s peace and fortune were disturbed by Qing blockades. Several earlier studies deal with the same topics, in particular the embassies, but Wills’ presentation is superior. The author combines three different sets of sources – Portuguese archival materials, Dutch archival materials, and Chinese printed works – and he addresses all the different problems Macau was facing in the transitional years.<sup>49</sup> Later works on Sino-Portuguese contacts and politics in the mid-seventeenth century include an article by Isaú Santos, “A embaixada de Manuel de Saldanha à China, em 1667–1670,” in Matos and Thomaz, *As relações*, pp. 405–436, and the above-mentioned study by Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves, “Natureza,” which takes a broader approach by placing the two embassies in the greater context of Sino-Portuguese diplomatic history.

<sup>49</sup> An earlier study, António da Silva Rego’s “Macau entre duas crises (1640–1688),” in *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História* 24.2 (1967), pp. 65–88, also surveys the same period. It is still quoted.

The transitional period was also important for the history of Christianity in China. Leading clergymen, residing in the Manchu capital or serving the Southern Ming, like the Polish Jesuit Michael Boym, have been the subject of many encouraging investigations.<sup>50</sup> These men were in constant touch with Macau. Those in Beijing, as Johann Adam Schall von Bell, assisted the Portuguese in their struggle for survival.<sup>51</sup> Much has been written on all this, but, as I said above, missionary history is a different academic field. Suffice it to say that, recently, Portuguese authors also contributed to our understanding of Church history. One example is the book *Ásia extrema: entra nella a Fé, promulga-se a ley de Deos pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus. Primeira Parta, Livro I*, which was edited by Horácio P. Araújo (Lisbon: FO, 1995). The *Cartas ânuas da China de António Gouveia* and a facsimile edition of Antonio Gouvea's *Innocentia victrix*, both prepared by the same editor, are in the press.

Macau's foreign policy during the years of crisis did not only involve China, but also Japan. Boxer has investigated all the essentials (*BM*, especially nos. 162, 165, 167, 169, 179). Some of these works were later reprinted. Two important titles on Macau's vain efforts to revive the old Japan connection, even after the massacre of 1640, were later republished by University Publications of America, Washington D.C., in 1979: (1) *A Portuguese Embassy to Japan (1644–1647) ...* (originally 1928) and (2) *The Embassy of Captain Gonçalo de Siqueira de Souza to Japan in 1644–7 ...* (originally 1938), both bound in one volume. Another important work is Boxer's *Seventeenth Century Macau in Contemporary Documents and Illustrations* (Hong Kong: Heinemann [Asia], 1984; this goes back to *BM*, no. 178). It contains translations of important sources depicting Macau in ca. 1635 to 1645, especially of the city's daily life and economic troubles. Interesting notes may also be found in Acácio Fernando de Sousa's article "Do Japão a Macau: o comércio em tempo de proibições," in *RC* 17 (1993), pp. 35–39. This paper shows that Macau managed to maintain clandestine relations to Japan during the 1670s.

Glimpses of Macau's trade during the mid-seventeenth century can be gained from Wills' *Embassies and Illusions* and some of the other works quoted above,

<sup>50</sup> See a.o. R. Chabrié, *Michel Boym, jésuite polonais et la fin des Ming en Chine (1646–1662)* (Paris, 1933); Boleslaw Szcześniak, "The Writings of Michael Boym," in *Monumenta Serica* xiv (1949–1955), pp. 481–538.

<sup>51</sup> See Alfons Văth S.J., *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J. Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking 1592–1666. Ein Lebens- und Zeitbild von Alfons Văth S.J. Unter Mitwirkung von Louis Van Hee S.J. Neue Auflage mit einem Nachtrag und Index.* Monumenta Serica Monograph Series xxv (Sankt Augustin / Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1991; Roman Malek, s.v.d. (ed.), *Western Learning and Christianity in China. The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666).* Monumenta Serica Monograph Series xxxv/1–2 (Sankt Augustin / Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1998).



as was already indicated. Much more information, however, is contained in Souza's *Survival*. Among other things, Souza shows that Portuguese merchants were not at all unsuccessful in their search for alternative markets to replace the lost Macau–Japan link – in spite of the miserable situation prevailing in Macau. One important commercial link connected Macau to Makassar and Timor. Other areas of Portuguese activities were Bantem, Banjarmasin, Siam, Vietnam, and Dutch Malacca. Later, some country traders even sailed to Batavia. The Macau–Makassar–Timor link was mainly based on the trade in sandalwood. This has also been described in R. P.'s "Der Handel zwischen Macau und Makassar, 1640–1667," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 139.1 (1989), pp. 208–226.<sup>52</sup> For the other markets, the works mentioned in sections 4 and 10 (and notes 43 and 44), above, may be consulted (especially the works by Teixeira, Santos and Manguin on Vietnam and Siam, and by Videira Pires on the Phillipines, etc.). Souza's "Commerce and Capital" (on shipping losses) is also important because it helps us to understand why Portuguese trade suffered during these years.

With the exception of Huang Qichen's and Zheng Weiming's *Aomen jingji sibai nian*, Chinese surveys have little to tell on mid-seventeenth-century Macau. But Chinese scholars have produced several interesting studies on Wu Li 吳歷 (or Wu Yushan 吳漁山), a leading Qing scholar and painter who spent some time in Macau at around 1680 and who is closely associated with Macau's local history. Two very recent essays on Wu Li may be found in Zhang Wenqin's *Aomen yu Zhonghua lishi wenhua* (see n. 12, above). A comprehensive work on Wu Li is Jonathan Chaves' *Singing of the Source: Nature and God in the Poetry of the Chinese Painter Wu Li* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993). Older studies include biographies, at least one *nianpu* 年譜, and articles on various special subjects.<sup>53</sup> Other Chinese men of letters staying in Macau under the early Qing might also be subjected to biographic and literary inquiry.<sup>54</sup> Macau's Chinese literature begins with these men.

<sup>52</sup> Charles Ralph Boxer's *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo: A Portuguese Merchant-Adventurer in South East Asia, 1624–1667* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967; *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 52), may be cited here as a fine example of entrepreneurial history.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. also Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, "Wu Yü-shan 吳漁山. In Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of his Ordination to the Priesthood in the Society of Jesus. Adapted to English by Eugene Feifel," in *Monumenta Serica* III (1938), pp. 130–170, 3 figs.

<sup>54</sup> An early study on Qing scholars in Macau is Li Dechao's 李德超 "Aomen Sanba si yanjiu" 澳門三巴寺研究 (Ph.D. diss., Zhuli daxue, Zhongguo lishi yanjiusuo, 1982). Many more Chinese works have appeared since then.

## 12. From the 1680s to the Late Eighteenth Century

The “mid-seventeenth century crisis” ended with the conquest of Taiwan in the 1680s and the relaxation of Qing prohibitions on maritime trade, leading to a rapid growth in international shipping. Macau also profited from China’s new policy, although, by now, it had definitely fallen back behind its competitors. From ca. 1700 onwards, a growing number of English, French, Dutch and Scandinavian vessels, in some years even ships belonging to the Ostend Company, entered Guangzhou to pick up Chinese tea. At the same time Fujianese junks sailed to various destinations in Southeast Asia, especially Batavia. With the exception of a few years in the early eighteenth century, when China had, once again, decreed a temporary ban on Chinese shipping, Portuguese merchants were never able to fully recover their former position as the number one carrier for the central Guangdong market, the principle reason being inadequate capital and manpower.

The Guangzhou trade in the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century was to a large extent determined by the activities of Northwest Europeans. Sources on these activities often refer to Macau because many European merchants had the habit of lodging there between the shopping seasons in China. Apart from being a trading port, Macau thus assumed the function of a “service center,” offering refuge and relaxation to all those who were unable to hold out in Guangzhou all the year.

Literature on the Guangzhou trade system and the different trading companies abounds and cannot be discussed in detail. Generally, however, the old survey by Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l’Occident. Le commerce à Canton au XVIIIe siècle, 1719–1833*, 3 vols. and album (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964), may still be considered as an authoritative account offering background information and an excellent introduction to the various trading groups and their role in Sino-European trade. Readers wishing to obtain more recent results on the structure of French, Scandinavian and Ostend trading – the importance of which has often been downplayed in English secondary literature – may find it useful to consult the works by Ph. Haudrère, O. Feldbaek, E. Gøbel, C. Koninckx, B. Johansson, K. Degryse, J. Parmentier, and other experts. The activities of the Dutch are discussed in the studies by K. Glamann, L. Blussé, and C.J.A. Jörg, to name but a few. For the Chinese end, the most recent comprehensive survey in English is Wang Eang Cheong’s *The Hong Merchants of Canton. Chinese Merchants in Sino-Western Trade, 1684–1798* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997; Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series 70). Important accounts looking at the Fujianese (and Siamese) are the well-known studies by Ng Chin-Keong and S. Viraphol, a book edited by E. Vermeer, and a monograph by J. Cushman, although this mostly concerns later periods. Another useful book on Qing China

and the maritime world was written by J.K. Leonard. Important Chinese publications with relevant data on the Fujianese include, for example, Lin Renchuan's 林仁川 *Ming mo Qing chu siren haishang maoyi* 明末清初私人海上贸易 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1987) and Chen Xiyu's 陈希育 *Zhongguo fanchuan yu haiwai maoyi* 中国帆船与海外贸易 (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chubanshe, 1991).

Turning to the Portuguese and Macau's foreign connections, it is once again Souza's *Survival* that covers much of the trade history related to this fourth period. Another, more recent work furnishing useful data and some statistics is Benjamin Videira Pires's *A vida marítima de Macau no século XVIII* (Macau: ICM and Museu Marítimo de Macau, 1993). The topic of this book reminds of Videira Pires' long article "A viagem de comércio" (above) which highlights the Macau-Manila link. On Macau's relations to Vietnam and Siam, the following works may be consulted: Pierre-Yves Manguin, *Les Nguyen, Macau e le Portugal. Aspects politiques et commerciaux d'une relation privilégiée en Mer de Chine (1773-1802)* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1984; Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient 134); Leonor de Seabra, "As relações entre Macau e o Sião (séculos XVIII-XIX)" (*mestrado* thesis, Universidade de Macau, 1994);<sup>55</sup> and the titles listed above, in note 44. Another interesting topic relates to the project of establishing links between Macau and Brazil. Relevant facts are collected in António da Silva Rego's "Relações directas entre Macau e o Brasil," in *RC* 22 (1995), pp. 7-30 (more on Macau and Brazil in the English ed. of *RC* 22[1994]).

Macau's chief export items during the late seventeenth and through most of the eighteenth century were tea, sugar, zinc, and *radix China*. The tea trade is taken up in many earlier works and my "Die Rolle der Chinesen, Portugiesen und Holländer im Teehandel zwischen China und Südostasien (ca. 1600-1750)," in *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1994/1), pp. 89-106.<sup>56</sup> On sugar and zinc, valuable information is contained in Souza's "Ballast Goods: Chinese Maritime Trade in Zinc and Sugar in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," which quotes many Dutch documents. This article appeared in R. P. and Dietmar Rothermund (eds.), *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400-1750* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991; Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, Südasiens-Institut, Universität Heidelberg 141), pp. 291-315.

Macau's foreign trade sector is also treated in A.M. Martins do Vale's *Os Portugueses em Macau (1750-1800): degredados, ignorantes e ambiciosos ou fiéis*

<sup>55</sup> Other work by Seabra on the same topic includes, for example, an article in Huang Xiaofeng *et al.*, *Shou jie*, pp. 81-99.

<sup>56</sup> A nearly identical Portuguese version in *RC* 18 (1994), pp. 11-26.

*vassalos d'El Rei?* (Macau: IPOR, 1997; *Memória do Oriente* 9). However, the scope of this book is not restricted to trade history. It deals with various other topics as well, giving a broad survey of Macau's institutions, financial affairs, and sociological structure during the second half of the eighteenth century. It is a fine guide indeed, as Artur Teodoro de Matos has pointed out in his preface, to a variety of themes, including Macau's relations to the Manchu state. There is also a detailed and extremely useful statistical annex, which will be appreciated by future researchers. For the early years of the eighteenth century – and in fact the later years of the preceding century – we have to turn to another survey. This study, written by Jorge Manuel Flores, still awaits publication (the author was kind enough to provide a manuscript version). It is to appear in A.H. de Oliveira Marques' *Os Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*. Macau in the days of Kangxi will then be adequately covered to the delight of all specialists in the field.

Eighteenth-century Macau was faced with various internal problems. These were effected by China's efforts to implement tighter controls over Macau's Chinese population, by Chinese attempts at regulating Macau's external trade, by criminal incidences leading to dispute over the question whether culprits should be subjected to Chinese or Portuguese law, and, more generally, by immigration from neighbouring Guangdong, especially in the later part of the century. Details on these issues are mostly reported in Portuguese archival materials and published primary sources. One important source is José de Jesus Maria's *Ásia Sínica e Japónica* (*BM*, no. 159; reprinted by the ICM in 1988). Written in the mid-1740s, it surveys contemporary as well as earlier developments. Many events have also been examined in Teixeira's *Macau no séc. XVIII* (above). Others are dealt with by K.C. Fok in his unpublished "The Macao Formula" (see section 10, above), in older surveys of Macau's history,<sup>57</sup> and a small number of scholarly essays, such as Fok's "The Macau Formula at Work – An 18th Century Qing Expert's View on Macau" (contained in Vasconcelos de Saldanha and Santos Alves, *Estudos*, pp. 219-234), which discusses the opinions of Zhang Zhentao 張甄陶. A very different paper is Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes' "Mendicidade e 'maus costumes' em Macau e Goa na segunda metade do século XVIII" (in Matos and Thomaz, *As relações*, pp. 65-82); it deals with various sociological phenomena of the late eighteenth century, citing an astonishingly large number of documentary materials.

One of the most interesting and controversial figures in early eighteenth-century Macau was António Albuquerque Coelho, known through older accounts by Boxer (*BM*, nos. 155 and 171) and others. There is now a new study on Coelho, namely, Paulo Miguel Martins' "António de Albuquerque Coelho (1682-1745).

<sup>57</sup> For example, by Eudore Colomban (*BM*, nos. 405 and 407; later reprints of 407), Almerindo Lessa, Montalto de Jesus (all above).

Contributos para a sua biographia” (*mestrado* thesis: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1997). Since Coelho also served in Timor, his biography extends to that part of the world as well. Martins is likely to continue research on this man, as he told me in late 1997. Generally, the documentation for these and other kinds of studies is rich and merits many more investigations.

Important Chinese primary texts on eighteenth-century Macau have also attracted the attention of scholars, as Fok’s studies show. The most important work is the *Aomen jilüe* by Yin Guangren 印光任 and Zhang Rulin 張汝霖. Essentially a description of Macau and other non-Chinese places, it is based on both original data collected by the authors and information drawn from earlier sources. There are several Chinese editions of the *Aomen jilüe* and a full Portuguese translation which, however, would need to be revised and properly annotated. The best Chinese edition is the one by Zhao Chunchen 趙春晨 (ed.), *Aomen jilüe jiaozhu* 澳門紀略校注 (Macau: ICM, 1992; *Aomen wenhua congshu* 4).<sup>58</sup>

Parts of the *Aomen jilüe* can be compared to (or are taken from) descriptions contained in the *Guangdong xinyu* 廣東新語 by Qu Dajun 屈大均 and in various editions of the *Xiangshan xianzhi* 香山縣志. Both the *Guangdong xinyu* and *Xiangshan xianzhi* carry similar (and some additional) information on Macau. Later editions of the *Xiangshan xianzhi*, in particular, would deserve a thorough investigation.<sup>59</sup> Other sources recently discussed in the context of Macau studies

<sup>58</sup> For different editions, see Zhang Shitai 張世泰, Feng Weixun 馮偉勛, and 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. More in Zhang Wenqin, “‘Aomen jilüe’ yanjiu” “澳門紀略”研究, in his *Aomen yu Zhonghua lishi wenhua* (see n. 12, above), pp. 139-177 (chapter 1 of that essay), and in Zhao Chunchen, “Guanyu ‘Aomen jilüe’ Qianlong yuankan ben de jige wenti” 關於“澳門紀略”乾隆原刊本的幾個問題, in Huang Xiaofeng et al., *Shou jie*, pp. 139-141. The translation, by Luís Gonzaga Gomes (*BM*, no. 685), was republished in 1979. The *Aomen jilüe* contains several illustrations and a Luso-Chinese vocabulary. Both were investigated in special studies. See, for example, R. P., “Die Stadt Macau nach den Illustrationen zum *Ao-men chi-lüeh*, einer alten chinesischen Lokalchronik,” in Dietrich Briesemeister, Hans Flasche, and Karl-Hermann Körner (eds.), *Aufsätze zur portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 19 (1984-1987) (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1988; Portugiesische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, erste Reihe: Aufsätze 19), pp. 277-309.

<sup>59</sup> See R. P., “Notes on the Kuang-tung hsin-yü,” in *Boletim do “Instituto Luís de Camões”* 15.1-2 (1981), pp. 136-148 (an improved Portuguese version of this paper was prepared through the CNCDP but, so far, has remained unpublished). On the *Guangdong xinyu* and Qu Dajun also see Zhao Liren 趙立人, “‘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”成书年期再探, *ibid.* (3/1989), pp. 79-88; “Qu Dajun ziliao ji” 屈大均资料集, compiled by the Jinian Qu Dajun shishi erbaijiushi zhounian dahui choubeizu 纪念屈大均逝世二百九十周年大会筹备组 (n.p., n.d.); Wang Zongyan 汪宗衍, *Qu Wengshan xiansheng nianpu* 屈翁山先生年譜 (Macau: Yujin shuwu, 1970); Tang Kaijian, “Qu Dajun e Macau,” in *RC* 32 (1997), pp. 87-104. On the

are Xie Qinggao's 謝清高 *Hailu* 海錄 and the (*Huang Qing*) *Zhi gong tu* (皇清) 職貢圖. Xie was out at sea in the late eighteenth century and then settled in Macau. Obviously, he was one of the better-informed Chinese to report on foreign countries.<sup>60</sup> The second work, prepared in the middle of the eighteenth century, has gone through different editions. It contains descriptions of foreign countries and illustrations showing foreigners. Sinologists have often made use of this work; for the parts on the Portuguese, readers may now check Xu Xin's 徐新 essay "Qianlong 'Zhi gong tu' he Aomen" 乾隆“職貢圖”和澳門. It appeared in his *Aomen de shiye* 澳門的視野 (*Macau in Cultural Perspective*) (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen luncong), pp. 11-22, and in Huang Xiaofeng *et al.*, *Shou jie*, pp. 142-146.

Unpublished eighteenth-century Chinese documents in Portuguese archives have been catalogued by Isaú Santos and Lao Fong (Liu Fang), as indicated above, but investigations of these texts are rare. Two articles can be mentioned here: (1) Pu Hsin-hsien, "Resumen del comercio internacional de Macau en el siglo XVIII según los documentos en chino del Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo," in *Actas do Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos* (Lisbon, 1961), vol. 5, pt. 2, pp. 195-205; (2) R. P., "Chinese Documents in Portuguese Archives: Jottings on Three Texts Found in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (to appear soon).<sup>61</sup>

The above-mentioned tensions between Macau and China as well as other considerations led to several diplomatic embassies in the course of the eighteenth century. These were mostly examined by Western scholars because the larger part of the documentation is in Western languages. The following embassies can be singled out: (1) by Francisco Cardoso, (2) by Alexandre Metello de Sousa e Menezes, (3) by Francisco Pacheco de Sampaio, (4) by Alexandre de Gouveia. There was also an embassy sent by the Kangxi emperor to Portugal. Older works on the men and the missions they led need not to be mentioned here. Recent investigation supersedes these works and includes the following titles: (1) João de Deus Ramos, "A embaixada de Alexandre Metelo de Sousa e Menezes: negociações com a China do século XVIII," in the author's collection *Estudos luso-orientais* (see above, section 9), pp. 47-66 (originally in *Política Internacional*

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*Xiangshan xianzhi*, see, for example, Zhang Shitai *et al.*, *Guancang*, pp. 93-94, and Li Mo 李默, *Guangdong fangzhi yaolu* 广东方志要录 (Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bangongshi, n.d. [preface 1987]), pp. 71-77.

<sup>60</sup> See Zhang Wenqin's "Xie Qinggao yu Putaoya" 謝清高與葡萄牙, in his *Aomen yu Zhonghua lishi wenhua* (see n. 12, above), pp. 69-77, and in *RC* 23 (1995), pp. 19-26.

<sup>61</sup> Together with António Graça de Abreu and Zhang Weimin 張維民, the present author was also involved in a small project leading to the translation of some Chinese documents, including a few pieces from the eighteenth century (project run by the FO).

2.1. [1990], not seen); (2) *idem*, *História das relações diplomáticas entre Portugal e a China*. Vol. 1: *O Padre António de Magalhães, S.J., e a embaixada de Kangxi a D. João V (1721–1725)* (Macau: ICM, 1991; Documentos e ensaios 1); (3) *idem*, “A missão do Padre Francisco Cardoso, S.J., enviado do Vice-Rei da Índia ao Imperador Kangxi (1709–1711),” in Matos and Thomaz, *As relações*, pp. 83–93; (4) António Graça de Abreu, “O P<sup>e</sup>. Bernardo de Almeida, D. Fr. Alexandre de Gouveia, e a embaixada de Lorde Macartney (1793),” in *RC* 32 (1997), pp. 35–46.<sup>62</sup> More work, it is hoped, will be achieved by both authors who have published various other articles on eighteenth-century subjects.<sup>63</sup>

### 13. From the Late Eighteenth Century to the Late 1840s

The period of ca. fifty years, that we shall look at next, was marked by swift changes and many crises. Despite its small size, the city of Macau, sandwiched between two giants, China and Britain, survived these difficult times, due to its diplomatic efforts and good fortune. The closing years of the eighteenth century began with a series of pirate attacks on commercial vessels and coastal villages in Macau’s neighbourhood. These attacks continued well into the first decade of the nineteenth century. Compelled to react, the Portuguese offered military assistance to regular Qing forces in an attempt to clear the Pearl River estuary from these marauding groups, and of course to please the mandarins in Xiangshan and Guangzhou.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, Macau was also threatened by the British. Earlier, British diplomatic efforts (notably the Macartney mission) to obtain a trading post along the China coast had failed. Such a post was urgently needed because the volume of Sino-British trade was rapidly increasing. The Napoleonic wars provided Britain with a pretext for taking over Macau by claiming it had to protect the city against a possible French seizure. The real intention was, of course, to occupy the Portuguese colony and turn it into a Brit-

<sup>62</sup> Several old works, for example by Eduardo Brazão (*BM*, nos. 269, 276, 277, 280, 281) and Beatriz Basto da Silva (in *RC* 2, 1987), may be read in conjunction with these studies. – The Macartney embassy is documented through various travel accounts by its members. The only German member of the group, Johann Christian Hüttner, famous for his translations of relevant English materials, also left some notes of his own including a few pages on Macau. This *rapport* was not very widely circulated but has now become available in a new edition: *Nachricht von der britischen Gesandtschaftsreise nach China, 1792–94*, edited with introduction and notes by Sabine Dabringhaus (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1996; *Fremde Kulturen in alten Berichten* 1); on Macau, see especially pp. 183–187.

<sup>63</sup> See Ramos’ collection. Abreu is preparing a thesis on Alexandre de Gouveia. Also see his “Macau, o arrábido mafraense Frei Hilário de Santa Rosa e o seu fantástico plano para a conquista da China,” in *Boletim Cultural* 92 of the Câmara Municipal de Mafra (published 1993), pp. 197–207.

ish port. However, thanks to the *ouvidor* Miguel de Arriaga and other circumstances, Macau also mastered this dangerous crisis.

When English opium imports to Guangzhou soared, tension between Britain and China grew. Once again, Macau managed to stay neutral. Lin Zexu came “patrolling” the city, but even during the Opium War no shot was fired on Portuguese soil. Shortly afterwards, a new situation emerged with the rapid rise of Hong Kong and Britain’s policy of binding China through formal contracts. The Portuguese, afraid to fall behind, decided to restructure Macau, hoping to attract more trade and secure the city’s status. Several drastic measures were taken: Macau was turned into a free port, superfluous Chinese government offices were closed, the local infrastructure was modernized, and the urban area gradually expanded to encompass the northern section of the peninsula. When Governor João Maria Ferreira do Amaral, who had effected these changes, died at the hands of Chinese criminals (1849), Macau had assumed a different shape, although economic progress was to remain slow.

All conventional historical surveys narrate these events with certain variations in detail and tone, the only real annoyance being the bias of modern mainland Chinese accounts. The role of Miguel de Arriaga is usually downplayed or not mentioned at all, Portugal’s assistance in fighting pirates does not receive the kind of positive echo one might expect, Lin Zexu’s “inspection tour” is greatly inflated, and the murderers of Amaral are presented as patriotic heroes to the extent that they have almost become revolutionary immortals. Fortunately, there is now a much more balanced account, which surveys the entire period; this is Ângela Guimarães’ *Uma relação especial: Macau e as relações luso-chinesas (1780–1944)* (Lisbon: Edição Cies, 1996). Guimarães’ book follows modern standards and therefore is an excellent starting point to get acquainted with the rich documentation on the issues addressed above.

Special literature on the first issue – Chinese pirates and Sino-Portuguese moves against them – includes Dian H. Murray’s *Pirates of the South-China Coast, 1790–1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987). Murray’s book has become a standard account in the English-speaking world, although the author did not fully exploit the available Portuguese documentation. This deficiency is made up for by Vítor Luís Gaspar Rodrigues whose “A acção ‘concertada’ dos autoridades de Macau, China e Goa na luta contra os ‘piratas’ dos mares do sul da China em finais do século XVIII, princípios do século XIX” (in Matos and Thomaz, *Relações*, pp. 275–307) cites additional sources. Rodrigues concludes that Murray has underestimated the role of the Portuguese.<sup>64</sup> His article

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<sup>64</sup> Some earlier studies and reports on pirates are indicated in the *BM* (see nos. 21, 50, 51, 256). Another modern study is B.J. Lofland’s “Piracy: A Selective Historical Account” (with Chi-



was also published in Vasconcelos de Saldanha's and Santos Alves' collection *Estudos*, pp. 237-277.

Britain's efforts to swallow Macau are summarized in Austin Coates' *Macao and the British, 1637-1842: Prelude to Hong Kong* (Hong Kong [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1988; first published in 1966 under a slightly different title). A recent article by António Graça de Abreu takes up the same topic: "Macao, Miguel de Arriaga, and the Chinese: A Note on the Failed British Occupation of Macao in 1808," in Sabine Dabringhaus and R. P., with the assistance of Richard Teschke (eds.), *China and Her Neighbours: Borders, Visions of the Other, Foreign Policy; 10th to 19th Century* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997; South China and Maritime Asia 6), pp. 183-198.<sup>65</sup> A broader view on Portuguese Asia during the Napoleonic era is given by Ernestina Carreira in her "Moçambique, Goa e Macau durante as Guerras Napoleónicas 1801-1810" (in Matos and Thomaz, *Relações*, pp. 217-234). For additional details on the biography of Miguel de Arriaga and his role in Macau's internal politics one still has to consult an old monograph by Manuel Teixeira (*BM*, no. 1703) or to look through the handbooks listed above. Arriaga was both a courageous man and a genius in diplomatic affairs who knew well how to keep Macau at a distance from both the Chinese and the English. There can be no doubt that he was the most important *ouvidor* and certainly one of the best diplomats Macau ever had. Therefore, a modern book on his life is very much in need.

Much has been written on the opium trade and the Opium War, but neither standard English accounts nor Chinese works ever made an effort to present the role of the Portuguese during this crisis from a Portuguese perspective. The first and hitherto only modern monograph to fill this gap is Alfredo Gomes Dias' *Macau e a I Guerra do Ópio* (Macau: IPOR, 1993; *Memória do Oriente* 2). Dias' book mainly looks at the events between 1839 and 1842. It also contains a documentary annex and a chronology. The bibliography lists many sources, but it does not mention Chinese works, nor does it list James M. Polachek's *The Inner*

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nese summary and subtitle), *Aomen yanjiu* 澳門研究. *Boletim de Estudos de Macau. Journal of Macau Studies* 3 (1995), pp. 36-57.

<sup>65</sup> An old but very interesting article not listed in the *BM*, is M.C.B. Maybon, "Les Anglais à Macao en 1802 et en 1808," in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 6 (1906), pp. 301-321. Another theme related to the British presence in Macau is the old Protestant cemetery. On this, see, for example, Lindsay and May Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery. Protestant Burials in Macao*, ed. by Bernard Mellor (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996). This leads to biography, once again. The painter George Chinnery and many more famous persons staying in Macau must be remembered here. Their lives and activities have been covered or touched in countless works on Sino-British relations and the days of the opium trade. The latest works on Chinnery, for example, appeared in 1995 (one by the FO, one by the FM).

*Opium War*, which probably came out too late to be included (1992). The general idea of Gomes Dias' account is that Macau had no other choice than to stay neutral during the crisis. As in the case of the 1800s, when Admiral Drury and others threatened to turn Macau into a British port, staying afloat and on top of the crisis called for a well-measured amount of "subservience" towards China and Britain. Somehow this policy worked out, in spite of later claims that Portugal had given up its *de facto* control over Macau. The Chinese view on all this, especially on the city's role in the opium crisis, is best represented by a collection of essays published in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of Lin Zexu's "inspection tour." Lin came to Macau on 3 September 1839, staying there for a few hours only. The signal he set was clear: Britain was to keep its hands off Macau. The title of the collection published by Chen Shurong 陳樹榮 and Huang Hanqiang 黃漢強 with the assistance of Deng Kaisong 鄧開頌 and Yang Renfei 楊仁飛 is *Lin Zexu yu Aomen* 林則徐與澳門 (Macau: Aomen "Jinian Lin Zexu xun-yue Aomen yibai wushi nian xueshu yantaohui" choubenhui, 1990).

As in the case of Miguel de Arriaga, a modern monograph on João Maria Ferreira do Amaral and his government in Macau remains to be written. Teresa Lopes da Silva has been working on Ferreira do Amaral and it is hoped that, one day, the results will be published. Till then, it is old works to which the reader must resort (especially *BM*, nos. 25, 983, 1366), as well as biographical collections (Teixeira, *Os militares* and *Marinheiros ilustres*, etc.), and some general articles (for example João Aguiar's "Quem era João Maria?," in *Macau*, 2nd. ser., 3 [1992], pp. 104-111). On Ferreira do Amaral's death, João Guedes, *As seitas. Histórias do crime e da política em Macau* (Macau: Livros do Oriente, 1991), pp. 37-42, provides interesting information; among other things, Guedes shows how the murder was planned. Chinese primary sources are important in this context because they shed light on the assassins. Information can be taken, for example, from the *Qing shilu* 清實錄 and local chronicles.<sup>66</sup>

Ferreira do Amaral's untimely end caused Vicente Nicolau Mesquita to lead a spectacular surprise attack against a nearby Chinese fortress. This is narrated in the works by Teixeira and other older publications (for example *BM*, nos. 629, 983, 1734). But there were also some long-term effects: the installation of the only public monument ever put up in Macau for a local governor was the one for

<sup>66</sup> See Guangdong sheng difang shizhi bianweihui bangongshi 广东省地方志编委会办公室 and Guangzhou shi difangzhi bianweihui bangongshi 广州市地方志编委会办公室 (eds.), *Qing shilu Guangdong shiliao* 清实录广东史料, 6 vols. (Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng ditu chubanshe, 1995), vol. 4, p. 434; Tian Mingyao 田明曜 and Chen Li 陳澧, *Chongxiu Xiangshan xianzhi* 重修香山縣志 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1968 [preface 1879]; Xinxiu fangzhi congkan 123, Guangdong fangzhi 3), j. 15, pp. 18-19. On the assassins, also see, for example, the modern works *Zhuhai shi renwuzhi*, pp. 4-6; *Zhuhai renwu zhuan*, vol. 2, pp. 7-9; *Zhuhai shi wenwuzhi*, pp. 77 (all quoted above, in n. 13 and 17).

Ferreira do Amaral, as was already said above. This led to political dissent between the Macau administration, local Chinese groups, and government institutions back in China. Not too long ago, the monument was removed and shipped to Lisbon. Thus ended another cycle of Macau's past.<sup>67</sup>

#### 14. From the Late 1840s to the Late Nineteenth Century

Ferreira do Amaral's policy, though well-intended, did not put Macau on a path of secure growth. What Macau traded in during the second half of the eighteenth century, was consumer goods, some opium and – worse than that – contract workers. Waves of immigrants from China, driven by poverty and fear, flooded Macau's streets. Government authorities and charitable institutions were unable to adequately take care of all these newcomers. The situation was complicated by the fact that clever businessmen in Guangdong, Fujian, Hong Kong, Macau and elsewhere channelled thousands of Chinese to the New World and Southeast Asia where they were served as contract workers. Humane considerations were constantly ignored – by the Chinese themselves, and by others.

In the 1870s or so, the shipment of coolies from different ports, including Macau, gradually started to ebb off. Towards the end of this trade cycle, many workers left in Macau began searching for alternative job opportunities. Now, small-scale industries began to emerge and the city's economy slowly transformed from being exclusively dependent on reexport to a mixed structure combining trade with local production and a rudimentary service sector. New waves of immigrants which would flood Macau in the years to come, when China fell prey to contending warlord factions, could thus be accommodated – for some time at least.

The second half of the nineteenth century was also important because the two islands of Taipa and Coloane were gradually integrated into the colony's territory. Moreover, China signed a treaty confirming Portugal's sovereignty over Macau. But the treaty of 1887/1888 had two shortcomings: first, it did not define the city's borderline with China – this led to endless negotiations in the early twentieth century and to much trouble in the waters adjacent to Macau – and second, it stipulated that Macau should not be given to any third party without China's explicit consent. The last point has been interpreted as a factor limiting Portugal's sovereignty over Macau. In the 1880s, Lisbon's monarchy was weak, in military, financial, and other respects, therefore limiting Portugal's ability to assert herself. Besides, several initiatives were made to purchase Macau. It was

<sup>67</sup> On this, see Peter Haberzettl and R. P., "Ferreira do Amaral oder wie man Geschichte in Kisten verpackt," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 147.2 (1997), pp. 461-479.

also purported that France had plans to exchange a stretch of African territory against Portugal's Far Eastern outpost. Thus, behind the scenes, there began a complicated *jeu diplomatique*, involving nearly all major European nations, including Russia.

The "surface story" of these events is summarized in many old surveys of Macau's past. It is only in recent years that more details have emerged. The first modern Portuguese account to look at some background issues, notably the treaty policy, is Lourenço Maria da Conceição's *1862-1887, Macau entre dois tratados com a China* (Macau: ICM, 1988). Fortunately, there are now many more works that have greatly advanced our knowledge about the complicated diplomatic history of this period and the years following the treaty of 1887/1888. One long article is António Vasconcelos de Saldanha's "'Aproximar Portugal e a China num entendimento amistoso': as ofensivas diplomáticas chinesas para a compra de Macau; contributo para o estudo das missões do Zongli Yamen ao Ocidente (1868-1891)," in Vasconcelos de Saldanha and Santos Alves, *Estudos*, pp. 279-397. It cites relevant Western literature on late Qing institutions, on Robert Hart and other persons appearing on the diplomatic stage, and also makes use of many original sources, including some of the documents found in the collection *Aomen zhuandang*.<sup>68</sup>

A different work that merits a few lines in the context of Manchu-Portuguese relations is the *Memória* of the Viscount of Santarém, written in 1845. This treatise is the first major work trying to review the complicated legal status of Macau in the light of past and contemporary evidence. It also formed an important source of information for the negotiations following in the later part of the century. Vasconcelos de Saldanha has made this work the topic of an independent inquiry named *A "Memória sobre o estabelecimento dos Portugueses em Macau" do Visconde de Santarém (1845). Os primórdios da discussão da legitimidade de presença dos Portugueses em Macau* (Macau: IPOR, 1995; *Memória do Oriente* 5).

Some of the issues discussed in the above studies are also addressed or repeated in the same author's voluminous *Estudos sobre as relações luso-chinesas* (Lisbon: Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas and ICM, 1996). In addition to the aforementioned themes the following issues are presented: Portugal's way of dealing with traditional Chinese attitudes towards foreign trade; Macau's position in Portugal's policy towards China during the mid-nineteenth century; and the interpretation of the treaty of 1887. The last three parts of the

<sup>68</sup> Chinese works on Robert Hart and other men abound. There is not enough place to list all these titles. One typical study is Huang Qichen 黄启臣, "Hede yu 'Zhong Pu hehao tongshang tiaoyue'" 赫德与“中葡和好通商条约,” in *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大学学报 (3/1991), pp. 81-88.

book deal with topics related to the early twentieth century and more recent times: the issue of Macau's border in the negotiations of 1909, the "Macau question" in the Washington Conference (1921/1922) and in the context of the United Nations.<sup>69</sup>

The sad story of the coolie trade was investigated by many writers. One standard work, Robert L. Irick's *Ch'ing Policy toward the Coolie Trade, 1847-1878* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1982), still makes good reading. The Portuguese side of the problem, however, has never been treated in a satisfactory way. There are various old pamphlets, articles, treatises, and so forth (see, for example, *BM*, nos. 1192, 1433); there is also a new account, Beatriz Basto da Silva's *Emigração de cules. Dossier Macau 1851-1894* (Macau: FO, 1994), but, so far, no one has succeeded in combining the available Macau documentation with the Chinese documentation. Chinese contributions relevant to Macau include, for example, Deng Kaisong's 邓开颂 "Aomen de kuli maoyi ji qi dui shijie jingji de yingxiang" 澳门的苦力贸易及其对世界经济的影响, in *Guangdong shehui kexue* (1/1988), pp. 54-61 (a similar article by Deng was published in *Nanjing daxue xuebao* 南京大学学报 [1/1990], pp. 58-68), or Wu Jianxiong's 吳劍雄 *Shijiu shiji qianwang Guba de Huagong (1847-1874)* 十九世紀前往古巴的華工 (1847-1874) (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1988; *Sanmin zhuyi yanjiusuo, zhuanti xuankan* 78), but these do not say too much about relevant Portuguese sources. One additional deficiency of many studies is that they are not always inclined to place the Macau-based coolie trade in a greater historical perspective. In other words, China was always "exporting" manpower, and Macau was just one little stepping stone in a long human tragedy.<sup>70</sup>

Other topics related to the mid- and second half of the nineteenth century include the Sino-French and Sino-American treaties of 1844 and their relevance to Macau,<sup>71</sup> the activities of Sun Yat-Sen in Macau, and various local projects to modernize the city's infrastructure. Sun Yat-Sen's life has become a legend of its

<sup>69</sup> Some of the questions discussed were also made public elsewhere. On the border talks, see, for example, *Administração* 30 (1995). For a partial Chinese translation, see Sa Andong 薩安東 (the author's Chinese name), *Putaoya zai Hua waijiao zhengce, yibasiyi - yibawusi* 葡萄牙在華外交政策, 一八四一 - 一八五四 (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos das Relações Luso-Chinesas, FM, 1997); the translation was done by Jin Guoping who has assisted Saldanha in other ways and who has published various other translations as well. - Saldanha's *Estudos* also contains a number of Qing texts in Portuguese translation (see especially pp. 372-396); some of these texts are also in his *Colecção de fontes documentais para a história das relações entre Portugal e a China* (see section 4, above).

<sup>70</sup> Some older works by Manuel Teixeira listed in Basto da Silva's book can be looked up in this context.

<sup>71</sup> Two essays by Zhang Wenqin in his *Aomen yu Zhonghua lishi wenhua* (see above) appear to be the latest Macau contributions on this.

own and therefore sells well; few people ever thought of critically reviewing his attitude towards the Portuguese, in particular after he had assumed power in Guangdong. Recent publications follow old conventions. By and large, this may also be said of Chen Shurong's "Sun Zhongshan yu Aomen" 孙中山与澳门, in *Guangdong shehui kexue* (4/1990), pp. 28-36, of Xu Xin's more recent articles in his *Aomen de shiye*, of a book published by the ICM in a Portuguese and a separate Chinese version (1987), and of another book by Sheng Yonghua 盛永华, Zhao Wenfang 赵文房, and Zhang Lei 張磊, *Sun Zhongshan yu Aomen* 孙中山与澳门 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), plus many more essays.

The issue of remodelling Macau's infrastructure is, of course, related to the "old" problem of catching up with Hong Kong. Towards the end of the nineteenth century plans were made to expand Macau's harbour facilities. Adolpho Loureiro has left an account of this (*BM*, no. 909). Planning was then abandoned and taken up again, until finally a new port was built in the 1920s. All this is discussed in Peter Habertzettl and R. P., "Macao and Its Harbour: Projects Planned and Projects Realized (1883-1927)," in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 78 (1991), pp. 297-316. See also, by the same authors, "Macau (1920-1930): Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Politik," in *Monumenta Serica* XLI (1993), pp. 249-281.

Two or three further observations deserve to be mentioned. First, work on the history of Taipa and Coloane is in progress. One result is Julio César Costa's *Subsídios para a história do Município das Ilhas*, vol. 1: 1689-1928 (Macau: Câmara Municipal das Ilhas, Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1993), which is essentially a chronologically arranged collection of facts based on the *Boletim Oficial* and other publications. Next, the nineteenth century offers various anecdotes and many local events that can easily be reconstructed. João Guedes recently put together some of these "stories," flavoured with a good deal of "pepper," in his *Laboratório constitucional* (Macau: IPOR, 1995; Memória do Oriente). Finally, one may also consider non-Portuguese descriptions of Macau, usually by visitors or people residing there for some time. The more relevant ones should be collected more systematically and brought out in the form of new editions. One step in this direction is a short note by Denys Lombard, "O Conde de Beauvoir e Macau (Fevereiro de 1867)," in *RC* 23 (1995), pp. 96-112.

## 15. Final Remarks

A summary such as this one inevitably has its weak points. Some titles might have been mentioned in lieu of others, others were forgotten, still others inadequately placed. At the end of the exercise one might take a look at the direction of future research, but this has been indicated in the course of my presentation. Generally, the early years of Sino-Portuguese relations and the history of Macau

are better understood than later periods; the nineteenth century in particular would deserve more attention. While approaches based on models and theories have become possible in the context of the seventeenth century, we are far from applying grand ideas to the later cycles. Much more groundwork has to be accomplished – editing of sources, translations, and so on – before historians will be able to move on. By and large, this also applies to the history of Portuguese Asia *in toto* and to the history of Guangdong.

Chinese and Portuguese ways of looking at Macau's past differ, because of language barriers and other reasons. Nevertheless a good deal of open-mindedness is visible, mostly on the part of our Portuguese colleagues. Macau is trying to incorporate these different views and, at present, keeps on bringing out an astonishingly large number of books and magazines. Past events have thus become an "industry." The idea behind such an endeavour is clear: it is a gigantic attempt at creating a new historical identity fit to accommodate conflicting trends and views. It is my understanding, however, that old idiosyncracies, nourished by ideologies, are far from disappearing in the Chinese camp. Reading between the lines of Chinese secondary works reveals a thick layer of emotional imbalance. The Macau readership – largely composed of persons who do not know Portuguese but only Chinese, of persons who are recent immigrants and rarely care for the city's multicultural heritage – will, sooner or later, be confronted with these products and "inhale" the strange flavours with which they are coated. The outcome of this process is uncertain.