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JIN GUOPING (author / translator) – *Xi li dong jian. Zhong Pu zaoqi jiechu zhuixi (O Ocidente ao encontro do Oriente)* [Series: Haohai congtan] Macau: Aomen jijinhui (Fundação Macau), 2001. i + ii + ii + iv + 320 pages. ISBN 99937-1-007-5.

This book contains an introduction by Wu Zhiliang, ten scholarly studies by Jin Guoping, a collection of Chinese translations from important texts on early Sino-Portuguese contacts (these translations were also prepared by Jin), a short appendix with illustrations (old maps), and a postscript, again by Jin. The table of contents is in Chinese and Portuguese.

Jin Guoping and Wu Zhiliang were involved in a number of joint projects leading to the publication of important books and articles. Furthermore, Wu says that Jin was his Portuguese language teacher. These observations may explain the enthusiastic tone of the preface, which remarks that Chinese scholarship on Macau and Luso-Chinese relations has greatly improved over the last few years and that, in terms of quality, it could surpass Western scholarship at any time. In this context attention is drawn to the many collections of Chinese source materials which have come out during the last two years.

Of the ten articles by Jin Guoping five deal with pre-Macau times and five with diverse issues related to later periods. Most articles carry long quotations from Portuguese documents and primary sources. Many of these translations are also presented, often at full length, in the second section of the book. It may be added here, that Jin is a very active translator whose works include a fully annotated Chinese version of Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação*.

(1) Below I shall go through the ten articles one by one. The first paper deals with the so-called Xicaowan incident in the early 1520s. The background is described, then the clash itself. This is followed by a discussion of certain details, for example the location, military strategies, and so forth. Among other texts, a famous letter by Martin Afonso de Melo gets quoted (dated 1523; also see part 2 of the book, p. 177 et seq.), which states that China was much stronger than the Portuguese had originally anticipated. Here one could tie in recent research on King D. Manuel's foreign policy – a fine contribution to this theme being J. P. Oliveira e Costa's «A coroa portuguesa e a China (1508-1531)...», in J. M. dos Santos Alves' and A. Vasconcelos de Saldanha's *Estudos de história do relacionamento luso-chinês...* (Macau 1995) –, but Jin is more interested in «technical» issues and small «philological» points. He suggests, for example, that the initial military encounter must have occurred in the area of Liyumen (Lei Yue Mun), i.e., near modern Xiwanhe (Sai Wan Ho) and Xiaoxiwan (Siu Sai Wan), both on Hong Kong Island. Another toponym – Xicaowan (Sai Tso Wan; the first character, with radical 140, is normally read *qian* in Mandarin, but *xi* in names) – can also be associated with that same area. Later, further locations were involved as well, especially a place called Shaozhou. Of the last name various orthographs are found in Chinese local chronicles, which is mentioned on p. 15, where some of these sources are briefly referred to.

On the whole, this is a well-structured paper which profited from several earlier studies, especially from a contribution by Lin Tianwei and Xiao Guojian (Western readers may consult *Chinese Culture* 25.4, 1984). Two points may be added here (these are again of interest to Western readers): First, the relevant *Ming shilu* passages quoted by Jin, can

now be found in a special English study by Geoff Wade, published in Alves' *Portugal e a China. Conferências nos encontros de história luso-chinesa* (Lisbon, 2000); second, more information on the pepper trade between South China and Sumatra (see pp. 14 and 15 of Jin's article) is available in several Portuguese studies, also by Alves.

(2) The next article discusses the possible location of «Tumon» (Tamão, Tunmen, etc.). It summarizes earlier proposals found in Western and Chinese studies and then presents a selection of first hand accounts and other materials on that site. This includes references to nautical works and maps. Chinese readers will be particularly grateful for the fact that relevant passages from the *Ásia (Déc. III)*, the *Lendas da Índia* and the *Crónica do... Rei D. Manuel* were translated into Chinese. They will certainly also benefit from the rich bibliographical information in the footnotes, which list all major studies on Tamão, be they in Chinese, Japanese or Western languages. The article concludes by saying that in cases where Portuguese works «classify» Tamão as an «island», Lantau is meant, whereas in cases where it is called «port» («anchorage», etc.), it should be identified with Tunmenao.

(3) The third paper deals with early references to Lantao and Hong Kong, mainly encountered on maps. There are minor overlappings with the previous paper. This concerns the toponyms «Lantao Falso» and «Lantao Verdadeiro», to mention one example. One interesting aspect is the phonetical relation between «Lantao» and several names with an «n» initial. As in the previous articles, a large number of both Portuguese and Chinese sources were used. Among the latter one finds the anonymous *Zhinan zhengfa*, the *Yue da ji*, and other texts. Some maps taken from the last work are also found in the appendix of Jin's book. One or two fairly recent studies could be added to the notes, for example Stephen Tseng-hsin Chang's «The Portuguese Maritime Discoveries along the South-East Coast of China in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century: A Cartographic View, 1513-1550», in *The Portolan* 41 (1998), but this does not matter very much.

(4) The fourth article presents an old problem: «Chincheo» in Portuguese sources. This is another very complex paper on a difficult theme. Since it would be too complicated to review all the philological details here, I shall only summarize the author's most important findings (see especially p. 73 of his book): (a) According to Jin, the name «Chincheo» (and its variant forms) is a phonetical transcription of Zhangzhou. (b) When referring to a province, Fujian is meant. (c) As an «island», «Chincheo» stands for Wuyu (also read Wuxu; near modern Xiamen or Amoy). (d) As a port or anchorage, it must be equated with the ports and inlets between Yuegang and Anpinggang (Anhai), including Xiamen (readers may also look up Bodo Wiethoff's *Die chinesische Seeverbotspolitik...* [Hamburg 1963], which gives the geographical coordinates for these places). (e) «Chincheo» as a river represents the Jiulongjiang and its mouth, again near Xiamen. (f) The «Chincheos» are the Min people, especially those from the two prefectures of Zhangzhou and Quanzhou. – Needless to add, this article also quotes from Ming geographical sources. At the side, it is concerned with trade and commerce as well, but it differs from Lin Renchuan's accounts and the many special works on Fujian's economic history. Finally, Chinese readers will find the two chapters on «Chincheo» in the *Crónica...* (Mascarenhas' voyage) and «Chincheo» in the *Peregrinação* particularly helpful.

(5) The fifth article examines Nan'ao, an island located near the border between Fujian and Guangdong. Information on Nan'ao is contained in various local chronicles, but apparently no independent *fangzhi* from the Ming period has survived (the *Nan'ao xiaoji*, in 12 *juan*, is probably lost?). Thus, the earliest extant monograph should be the *Nan'ao zhi* of the Qianlong period (also published under the Daoguang emperor), which is quoted in Jin's notes. This paper is divided into three sections. Section 1 looks at «Lamão» in Portuguese nautical works, section 2 discusses the relevant passages in Pinto's *Peregrinação*, section 3 presents such texts as the *Yue da ji*. Again, this is a contribution exclusively dealing with geographical questions. For Nan'ao's position in China's foreign trade, other

sources may be consulted, for example a recent article by Lin Renchuan in *Hai jiao shi yanjiu* 31 (1/1997; quoted by Jin), which also summarizes the situation under the Qing.

(6) As far as I know, there is no special Western study on Nan'ao. The same may be said in regard to the next topic – the role of Zhang Rulin during the late 1740s. This does of course relate to the famous story of Li Tingfu and Jian Ya'er, recently also discussed by Zhang Wenqin and Tang Kaijian (see p. 83 n. 1). Chinese and Portuguese documents on this case abound and may be found in several collections. English translations of representative pieces are included in *Sinica Lusitana*, vol. 1, and the old collection by Fu Lo-shu.

One of the key questions linked to the affair of Li and Jian and its political consequences concerns Zhang Rulin's position: Did he accept bribes and, more generally, how did he get along with his Chinese superiors at the one end and the Macau-Portuguese authorities at the other end? According to Jin, Zhang did not only receive money, he also bent China's laws. This was of direct concern for Macau's own jurisdiction. António Martins do Vale, in his *Os Portugueses em Macau (1750-1800)* (Macau 1997), and others considered these points, but only very briefly. – As was said, a thorough Western study of the relevant facts has never been published. Many details, I am afraid, will remain controversial, mainly due to the nature of the sources and the different approaches chosen in the literature. However, it is essential to remember that the decisions then taken in China and Macau can be interpreted in terms of a delicate triangular constellation: the interests of China's central government had to be weighed against those of the local administration in Xiangshan and Guangzhou and those of Macau.

(7) The seventh study is a short philological note on the term *weiliduo*. Jin sees a phonetical link between the Chinese form and the Portuguese expression *vereador* (*fiscal*). This office holder, who functioned as a kind of middleman between the Macau Senate and the Chinese side, is frequently encountered in Qing documents. The article also deals with the terms *mandarim de segundo grao* (*grau*), *procurador*, *cidade* and their Chinese equivalents. Finally, it is made clear that the «title» *yimu* (similar to *toumu*) was at no time conferred on the Portuguese by China's government. In this context attention is drawn to Tang Kaijian's important collection *Aomen kai bu chuqishi yanjiu* (Beijing 1999), which also deals with the *yimu* problem, arriving at identical conclusions.

(8) The next piece examines a number of Chinese names and terms found in Giulio Aleni's famous *Zhifang waiji*. One purpose of this paper is to complement the philological explanations in the modern Zhonghua shuju edition of that text (published in 1996). The terms and names discussed are all based on Portuguese (or other «Latin») forms. There is one case, however, where questions could be raised (although I have no better solution to offer): phonetically, *yaerjialiya* (p. 117) may not directly represent the *almiscareiro* or *Moschus moschiferus*.

(9) The ninth paper is not committed to «small» issues, but takes a broad approach. It looks at various Portuguese and Spanish projects to subdue China militarily. The first proposals in that direction were already voiced in the early sixteenth century, for example in the famous letters by Cristóvão Vieira and Vasco Calvo, known to English and Portuguese readers through Donald Ferguson's translation and the many studies by Rui Manuel Loureiro and others. Chinese versions of both letters appear in the appendix of Jin's book (the one by Vieira begins with the 27th segment; segments 1 to 26 are in Jin Guoping's *Zhong Pu guanxi shidi kaozheng* [Macau 2000]; a full translation is also in Zhang Haipeng's well-known collection).

On a general level, Vieira's and Calvo's proposals to attack China can be related to the early stages of Portugal's expansion, which was still fuelled by the spirit of the Cruzades, at least in part. But there was also another dimension. Both men were detained in Guangzhou and certainly hoped to get free one day. By pointing out how «weak» China was as a military power, they intended to attract Goa's attention, thinking that Portuguese troops might arrive and intervene in their favour. How realistic, then, were their pro-

posals? – Clearly, the question of stereotypes is an import facet to be considered here. Recently, this was also discussed by Francisco Roque de Oliveira in his «A China em três leituras europeias do século XVI. Das notícias de Cantão de 1534 e 1536 ao ‘país visitado’ em 1590», *Garcia de Orta, Geografia* 15.2 (1996). The answer may be that a «set» of images existed in the minds of many contemporaries and that Vieira and Calvo made skilful use of these psychological dimensions.

The second part of the paper examines various proposals made towards the end of the sixteenth century, mainly by the Spanish in Manila. This concerns Alonso Sanchez, Francisco Cabral, José de Acosta, and others. Jin prepared long translations of the more important documents related to their plans and he included these texts in his presentation. For the same topic, Western readers may now consult the recent works by Manel Ollé, notably his *La invención de China...* (Wiesbaden 2000).

Evidently, the projects of this period can be related to Spain's global ambitions which also had an impact on geo-political thinking in Portugal and Goa. Jin summarizes the key facts and discusses the role of the Jesuits in this unusual constellation. Yet, several aspects connected therewith still require careful thinking: For instance, to what extent did Spanish and Portuguese Church groups compete for the China «market», or did persons like Alonso Sanchez simply hope to attract more money and missionaries from Europe when pointing out that China could be «conquered»? Furthermore, could there be a link between Spanish conquista projects and rivalries within China, especially between the provinces of Fujian and Guangdong? Finally, this was a time when Japan began to emerge as a political «player». Although Hideyoshi's campaigns only started later, tension between Manila and the Japanese was already felt much earlier. It is indeed possible that these and other factors contributed to the birth of Spanish conquista plans as a kind of preventive measure.

The third section of this paper looks at military proposals made after 1640. Jin mentions two cases: Jorge Pinto Azevedo and Bishop D. Hilário de Santa Rosa. He translates the relevant sections of a text published by A. Teodoro de Matos in *Povos e culturas* 5 (1996) and then briefly turns to the bishop, whose biography would merit a major study (also see, for example, António Graça de Abreu, «Macau, o arrábido mafrense Frei Hilário de Santa Rosa e o seu fantástico plano para a conquista da China», *Boletim Cultural '92 da Câmara Municipal de Mafra* [1993]; Manuel Teixeira, *Macau no século XVIII* [Macau 1984], and *Macau e a sua diocese*. Vol. 2: *Bispos e governadores do Bispado de Macau* [Macau 1940]). – Again, in the case of D. Hilário, it would be essential to find out whether his proposals were «serious» or whether he just brought up the idea as a kind of rhetoric device to attract attention. Be this as it may, one of the general conclusions offered by Jin is, that the Church was much too realistic to believe in the possibility of ever being able to administer China after a possible defeat.

(10) The last paper summarizes the rise and decline of Portugal's empire. This includes a discussion of the term *império*, a chronological survey of the major steps of Portuguese expansion, and several notes on related matters. Almerindo Lessa is referred to in the text and notes, and there is a brief presentation of key institutions (such as the *capitanias* and *misericórdias*) and their functions in the «imperial» context. One section of the essay is remarkably similar to the introductory part of the previous piece (pp. 120 et seq., pp. 165 et seq.). The last paragraphs link the past with the present, mainly by listing major twentieth century events. The concluding lines, following the date of 20 December 1999, are self-explicatory: «Asia has become the Asia of the Asians. In the twenty-first century Asia will rise anew.»

The second part of the book, circa 135 pages in all, contains translations of various texts and documents. Some of these were already mentioned above. The other texts (mostly in the form of extracts) are from Duarte Barbosa's *Livro do que viu e ouviu no Oriente*, a letter by Martin Afonso de Melo (1521), from Barros' and Couto's *Décadas da*

Ásia, Castanheda's *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia*, Correia's *Lendas da Índia*, Gois' *Crónica*, Bocarro's *Década XIII*, and from Schurhammer (Xaverius' letters).

It is not common to find such a collection of materials in Chinese works. Most texts offered here are of direct concern for the articles in the first part of Jin's book. Thus, taken together, Chinese readers will certainly see in this publication a useful instrument for further research – an *ensemble* at least, which brings together scholarly expertise and the skills of an experienced translator. In regard to the essays it may be said that they move from the early times of Sino-Portuguese contacts to later periods, and from special to general. Perhaps the first pieces are stronger and better in quality than the later ones, which could mirror the fact that Jin Guoping – judging from his other publications – seems to feel more comfortable with sixteenth and early seventeenth century themes. On the whole, this book is an interesting collection, which will be of value for the Macau specialist, mainly in the Chinese speaking world, and for sinologists dealing with the history of coastal China.

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HORÁCIO PEIXOTO DE ARAÚJO, *Os Jesuítas no Império da China. O Primeiro Século (1582-1680)*, Macau, Instituto Português do Oriente, 2000, 485 páginas.

Além da introdução, a presente obra apresenta-se dividida em duas partes. A primeira, intitulada «Contextualização Histórica da Missão Jesuíta na China (1582-1680)», consta de três capítulos que versam temas como «O Padroado Português do Oriente», «A Companhia de Jesus e a Missionação da China» e «A Questão dos Ritos Chineses». A segunda, totalmente dedicada ao padre António Gouveia (1592-1677), está dividida em dois capítulos, apresentando o «Perfil Humano» e o «Percurso Bibliográfico» do eminente jesuíta português.

Apesar do destaque que lhe foi dado na segunda parte e da suma importância que lhe foi atribuída em toda a obra, o padre António de Gouveia não aparece mencionado no título. Estranha-se esta omissão, porque, com esta referência, ter-se-ia desfeito a incontável ambiguidade existente entre o título adoptado e o conteúdo da obra. Na realidade, esta não é uma história dos jesuítas na China de 1582 a 1680, mas sim a história dos jesuítas na China, vista, essencialmente, através dos escritos do padre Gouveia e, de modo particular, da *Ásia Extrema*.

A publicação e divulgação dos escritos deste inaciano português seiscentista tem sido uma das tarefas a que Peixoto de Araújo se tem empenhadamente dedicado. Neste capítulo os seus méritos são, absolutamente, indiscutíveis e o seu afã digno dos maiores encómios.

O presente volume surge, portanto, na continuidade deste trabalho, sendo apresentado como um novo contributo para o preenchimento da inaceitável carência de estudos portugueses sobre os missionários que serviram o Padroado no Extremo Oriente. E para que não subsistissem quaisquer dúvidas sobre este propósito, o Autor, além da sua própria afirmação (p.11), citou C. R. Boxer (p. 10), mas a repetição dessa mesma citação, ainda que não integralmente, na p. 19, servindo de mote ao trabalho, parece-nos desnecessária e, por conseguinte, excessiva.

Por outro lado, a denúncia de Boxer, vinda a público em 1948, sobre a inexistência de estudos feitos por autores portugueses sobre a gesta missionária do Padroado no Extremo Oriente, embora mantenha a sua pertinência, já não tem a acuidade que teve até aos