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adquirida em Macau por mercadores chineses, que se encarregavam da distribuição pelo território imperial, com a intervenção de uma vasta rede de colaboradores, da qual faziam parte importantes funcionários das administrações portuguesa e chinesa. O governo da dinastia Qing assumiu a gravidade do problema do consumo do ópio a partir de 1729, data da primeira legislação proibitiva. As autoridades portuguesas de Macau tentaram repetidamente controlar a intervenção de outras potências europeias neste lucrativo tráfico. Porém, os ingleses, e sobretudo a sua Companhia das Índias Orientais, começaram a assumir-se como fortes competidores nos negócios de ópio a partir de 1780. Desde então, e até à eclosão da Guerra do Ópio entre a China e a Inglaterra, vive-se na região de Macau uma complexa situação, marcada pela forte concorrência entre portugueses e ingleses na luta pelo controle do tráfico de ópio, tendo como pano de fundo as sucessivas proibições decretadas pelas autoridades imperiais chinesas.

[Autor: Guo Weidong [郭卫东], pp. 153-163]

Educação e Mudança na Comunidade Portuguesa de Macau

Este documento foca a diversidade de projectos educacionais implementados em Macau, particularmente aqueles que visavam a comunidade portuguesa, de modo a compreender até que ponto eles reflectem o contexto social, e os processos histórico e cultural através dos quais foram criados. A investigação dos modelos de educação em Macau e os contextos sociais em que emergiram levanta quatro questões importantes:

a) Faz sentido falar-se de um único sistema educativo em Macau? b) Podemos falar de um modelo local de educação colonial e, se sim, com que extensão? c) Qual é a relação entre os amplos objectivos de vários projectos educativos, a língua de aprendizagem e o perfil curricular? d) Que factores e cenários influenciaram as políticas educativas em Macau? Com que extensão as relações entre comunidades diferentes determinaram o sucesso ou a falência de certas políticas educativas? A tentativa de responder a estas questões leva-nos a explorar a existência de vários sistemas educativos desenvolvidos pela

população portuguesa em Macau, que tomou forma em resposta à mudança das necessidades económicas, políticas e culturais da região. O documento cobre o desenvolvimento da educação desde a chegada dos portugueses a Macau em 1557 até meados do século XX, tomando particular atenção ao período entre o estabelecimento do tratado dos portos em 1842 e a tentativa de Portugal formalizar o estatuto colonial e provincial de Macau em finais do século XIX. Daqui ressalta a sugestão da necessidade de considerar três perspectivas diferentes em relação aos objectivos e aos alvos da educação, irradiando de três grupos de interesse diferentes, envolvidos no processo educativo em Macau:

a) educação religiosa, promovida pelas ordens religiosas e pela Igreja Católica local; b) educação local, orientada para a resolução das necessidades da diáspora portuguesa local trabalhando ao abrigo do tratado dos portos, e c) educação metropolitana, baseada em padrões provinciais ou organizativos da educação no vasto império colonial português.

[Autor: Rui Almeida Simões, pp. 164-175]

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Macao Mixed Architecture and Urbanization

Macao's architecture and urbanization is a mix of Portuguese and other Western influences in a Chinese environment. Other European influences were also felt, in particular Italian and Spanish during the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, through the force of religion. French tendencies were also strongly seen during the nineteenth century, driven by the fashion of the time and a tendency to be *à la mode*. Since the very beginning of Macao, other mixed archetypes and sensibilities were brought by the Portuguese from faraway Brazil and Morocco, or from Goa and Ceylon. In these places they learnt and developed tropical African and oriental skills and techniques, and the use of new materials and autochthonous knowledge of climate

and spatial approaches never seen before in Europe. There were also, more or less direct cultural interchanges through contact between the people of Macao and those from Malacca, the Philippines, India, Java, Japan and so on. Last but not least, the Chinese approach to architecture is pervasively present in this western-looking architecture and urbanization, from the building process and materials to ornamental details and spatial organisation, according to the rigid structure of the Chinese family and household – the traditional lifestyle and *fengshui* principles. These same principles can be found in the process of consolidation of urban structures into more definitive urban spatial patterns. This fusion of architecture and urbanization, enriched by time and space and by multicultural influences, generated

a fascinating and specific architectural culture of Macao that the author refers to as Macao mixed architecture and urbanization (MMAU). This paper describes how Macao has evolved over the last four and a half centuries through its architecture and urban structures and explains the work of architectural preservation done in the territory over the last two decades and a half, giving examples of successes and failures. [Author: Carlos Marreiros, pp. 6-41]

Development of the Urban Fabric of Macao: Urbanism and Urbanity

This study of the urban development of the city of Macao was initiated in 1998 under a research grant from the Cultural Institute of Macao. Its main objectives

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were: 1) To refrain from reproducing and presenting prescriptive or remedial measures for the growth or beautification of the city; 2) To offer constructive criticism on the errors made by the various administrations that managed the city's urban management policy over the past few years; 3) To present simple solutions to enable the institutions responsible for the management of the territory to implement planning strategies that are progressive and up to date. The research dealt with various aspects of urbanism, namely the city's urban growth; and the procedures, standards and criteria applied by the countless Portuguese administrations that managed the territory. Although the author is at times critical, in view of some of the current administrative and political difficulties, and especially of the need to implement simple urban management mechanisms, his opinion reflects that fact that he is an architect and works in this field. The Portuguese imposed their presence in Macao over a period of 500 years as the administrative and political power, but they always kept their distance from the Chinese community, either for linguistic reasons or lack of political will, even though there was a certain complicity between the two communities in the areas of trade and commerce; they 'reconciled secretly', unbeknownst to Lisbon and Beijing. Because of its geography, landscape and architecture, Macao is still a place of contrasts, in spite of its aggressive urban skyline, visible from the opposite side of the river. The city was deliberately destroyed, as if lulled to sleep on a tranquil evening. Now, with its concrete towers, it has become unrecognizable and has lost its character, as if it were rushing to keep pace with Hong Kong and trying to make up for lost time. The area encompassed by Rua Central and Rua da Felicidade, which includes Largo do Senado, is the very heart and soul of the city during the day and at night. It is where goldsmiths, jewelers, dressmakers, tailors, barbers, money-changers, pawnbrokers, neon, food, smells, noises, customs and traditions come together in an unmistakable urban discipline, one whose characteristics and scale define cities.

Though cities are all different from one another, they have some very common areas, since their growth must be rigorously planned to ensure that their urban identity is respected. In order for these common areas to survive, cities, preferably their urban management authorities, must possess the tools and mechanisms necessary to curb excesses of construction and the destruction of green spaces and architectural heritage. One such tool is a permanent action plan that would be updated over time, define the urbanistic policy for the city's growth, and support not only the major economic players, which contribute to development and investment, but every resident of the city, even those who have little economic power but are the cultural soul of the city and are usually systematically marginalized by those in power. The implementation of these city-management mechanisms should be entrusted to public institutions that are in close contact with the population, in other words, municipalities, as is generally the case in Europe today, where local authorities are social partners of great importance.

[Author: João Vicente Massapina, pp. 42-57]

Discourse on the City: Identity Formation and Urban Change in Contemporary Macao

When urban residents talk about changes in the physical environment of the city that surrounds them, what else are they talking about? The discourse on the city has long been a way for city-dwellers to comment on the social, political and economic changes that drive urban change. During the transition period leading up to the handover in 1999, urban change and the discourse about it was ubiquitous in Macao. This paper explores these changes, and these discourses, with an eye to understanding their relationship to another major theme of 1990s Macao: the state's attempt to instill among Macao residents a sense of belonging to their city and collective cultural identity, in an era of transition and uncertainty. The paper

(a preliminary report on research conducted between 1997 and 1999) defines and adopts an ethnographic approach to the urban environment, by focusing not only on how the city might be "read" as text, nor simply on the "invisible hand" of money politics that shaped the cityscape, but also on the way that people spoke about, interacted with, and moved around this environment. Through a detailed analysis of two case studies—the heritage preservation initiative, on the one hand, and the new residential districts in northern Macao, on the other—it becomes clear that, contrary to popular belief, urban change could be complementary rather than antithetical to an emergent, place-based sense of belonging that may cross-cut, but not erase, lines of nationality, ethnicity and language.

[Author: Cathryn Hope Clayton, pp. 58-81]

The Portuguese Chromosome: Reflections on the Formation of Macao's Identity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Research into and interpretation of Macao's past as a platform for discussion of the city's existing or potential role in relations between China and the West at the dawn of the third millennium inevitably lead to a quest for the city's structural nature and its most deeply rooted signs of identity. This process, however, implies a series of approaches. A study of Macao's origins, an area that has seen significant progress in recent years, is one possible means, while another involves an analysis of the Chinese "stratum" of the city. This would mean multiple aspects, from a detailed scrutiny of what Macao was before it became Macao to what the Chinese said and decided about this "southern ulcer" which has thrived since the middle of the sixteenth century. The present article will follow a third path, focusing on the city's Portuguese "stratum" as one of the central elements in defining Macao's identity. This implies a relatively detailed knowledge of the face of

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Portuguese Macao during its first two hundred years, while resisting the temptation to repeat the commonplaces about the “City of the Name of God”. Macao’s “Portuguese chromosome” can be observed in the city’s original structure, in the people that brought it to life, in the institutions that governed it and in the political and trade strategies adopted by its leading figures. The author will not go into Macao’s cultural importance or the extraordinary power of the Church in all walks of the city’s life during that time, as the subject of this paper is the local oligarchy, seen in all its multiple dimensions. That is the world worthy to explore in further studies.

[Author: Jorge Manuel Flores, pp. 82-95]

The Sweet Smell of Time: The Work of José Catela

No biography is available of the photographer known as Catela. We know that José Catela was born in Portugal and died in Macao, his adopted home. He married a Macanese woman in Macao, and his children inherited his photographic assets. Since he was a photographer, he covered public events throughout the city. One of his personal projects was the documentation of the customs and traditions of the Chinese who lived in Macao in the late 1930s and 1940s. This important documentation is now in the collections of the Macao Foundation and is the subject of an album entitled *Macau: Memórias Reveladas* (Macao: Memories Revealed), published jointly by the Macao Foundation for Cooperation and Development and the Macao Museum of Art, which presented an exhibition of Catela’s works. José Catela’s substantial photographic record is of fundamental importance to understanding the legacy of the past, the way in which a significant part of the Chinese community, of more popular extraction, lived in Macao during the above-mentioned period, its habits, customs and general culture. The photos included with the article attest to the ethno-anthropological importance of Catela’s work.

[Author: António Conceição Júnior, pp. 96-113]

A Passage through India: Jesuit Missionaries en Route to East Asia, 1570-1700

Over the course of the early modern period, hundreds of young European men were sent by the Society of Jesus to staff its colleges and mission stations in the East Indies. For those who embarked for the East, the heathen lands where Francis Xavier had preached the gospel loomed large in the imagination, especially Japan and China. Yet due to the scale of the Society’s commitments both within and without the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, not all who had pleaded with their European superiors to sail to Asia quickly made their way to the mission territories of their choice. Rather, many of these eager priests and brothers were set to work in the order’s colonial colleges in India, performing the same teaching and pastoral duties that they had done back in Europe. Here visions of missionary glory and spiritual adventure clashed with the Society of Jesus’ need to staff its residences with preachers, confessors, and instructors. Instead of sailing East to follow in the footsteps of the Apostle of the Orient, many missionary hopefuls languished in Goa, Cochin, or elsewhere awaiting their chance to “win souls.” Beyond the problems that this practice caused these young men, it severely affected the order’s East Asian missions, depriving them of dearly needed manpower. To the superiors of the Japanese and Chinese provinces, India—and not the perilous conditions found on early modern ships—presented the most serious obstacle to the effective staffing of their missions. In Goa, they claimed, there was only disease, disorder, and distraction, a hybrid society that combined the worst elements of both Europe and Asia. To remedy the situation, they repeatedly suggested ways for the missionaries assigned to their territories to avoid India, or at least to pass through the Jesuit colleges there swiftly on their way to Macao. This article examines the struggles between the Jesuits in East and South Asia as they fought for the manpower resources that would enable them to carry out their ambitious apostolic projects in the East.

[Author: Liam M. Brockey, pp. 114-125]

The Western Missionaries and Macao during the Period of Emperor Kangxi

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, Macao became the center of Catholicism in the East, but the situation of Roman Catholic missionaries in Macao was at the mercy of political and economic trends in China and Portugal. Using documents from the Chinese imperial government, the involvement of missionaries in China and Macao can be analyzed from the Chinese perspective. When Emperor Kangxi was just a boy, the imperial Board of Rites opposed innovations introduced by Adam Schall von Bell and others, especially in the calendar, and sought to execute the missionaries and demolish their churches. As a result, nearly all the missionaries were restricted to Guangdong Province, and it was even uncertain that the Portuguese would be permitted to stay in Macao. The ban on maritime trade that was imposed from 1656 to 1684 to subdue a rebellion in Taiwan was another setback for the missionaries and for Macao. Emperor Kangxi, however, became keenly interested in learning Western science and technology, and he welcomed talented missionaries into China. But the Rites Controversy provoked a new crisis. In 1704 Pope Clement XI issued an encyclical forbidding Catholics to participate in ceremonies honoring Confucius or their ancestors, or even to use the Chinese names for God. All this was unacceptable to Kangxi. The Portuguese desperately tried to prevent a rupture by promoting diplomacy with both the Pope and the Emperor. The King of Portugal even ordered the officials in Macao to imprison the Pope’s envoy to prevent him from announcing the ban on the Chinese rites. Eventually, Kangxi expelled all missionaries except those who agreed to permit the Chinese rites, but he continued to welcome missionaries skilled in arts and sciences to Beijing. These entered China through Macao, which continued to be an important religious and trading center during the later years of Kangxi’s reign.

[Author: Liu Xiaomeng [刘小萌], pp. 126-135]

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'Otherness' in *The Travels* of Peter Mundy (1637): A Contribution to the Study of Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Far East

In 1637, the fleet commanded by the British interloper John Weddell arrived in Macao, marking the beginning of Anglo-Portuguese relations in the Far East. On board one of the ships was Peter Mundy. During his stay in the city, Mundy described the way of life of its Chinese, Portuguese and Japanese inhabitants, as well as the influence of those communities on the cosmopolitan culture of the enclave. Mundy's description is an essential and unique source of information for the study of, among others, the diplomatic, economic, cultural and religious aspects of Macao's history and of Anglo-Portuguese relations in the Far East. The frequent and essential descriptions of people give great anthropological value to this document, which may be read in conjunction with other contemporary descriptions, namely those by António Bocarro (1635) and Marco D'Avalos (1638). As a depiction of a microcosm viewed through the eyes of the narrator, the journal has a sincerity that at times transforms it into a historical source par excellence, one with special value and status since it is an outsider's view (though the author was European) of the daily reality of Macao in the first half of the seventeenth century. Exoticism, that is, 'the aesthetics of diversity', pervades the description, which is marked by constant surprise, a sense of unfamiliarity and diversity. All these dimensions contribute to the depiction of the final days of the city's 'golden' era and are examined in this article.

[Author: Rogério Miguel Puga, pp. 136-152]

The Role of the Opium Trade in the History of Macao

Opium, a substance produced from latex extracted from certain species of poppies, possesses analgesic and anti-diarrhoeal properties. It is used in various pharmaceuticals and as a narcotic drug. However, excessive consumption of the drug leads to physical and psychological dependency. Opium had been known to

China since ancient times and was mentioned in various classical Chinese texts, but the Portuguese were the ones who promoted its widespread use in the southern regions of the country. In the mid-sixteenth century, after they had settled in Macao, the Portuguese began to transport small quantities of opium from the regions where it was produced, particularly India, to the coast of China. By the late seventeenth century, about fifty tons of the substance, destined for China, were passing through Macao each year, an indication that the use of the drug was firmly implanted. Other European powers, such as Britain and the Netherlands, often used the port of Macao as an entrepôt for their lucrative opium trade. Chinese merchants acquired the valuable merchandise in Macao and distributed it throughout the imperial territory through a vast network of collaborators, among whom were important Portuguese and Chinese officials. The government of the Qing dynasty decided to take action to counter the serious problem in 1729, the year it introduced the first legislation prohibiting the drug. Portuguese authorities in Macao tried repeatedly to control the activities of other European powers in the lucrative trade. Nevertheless, in 1780 the British, and in particular the East India Company, began to establish themselves as strong competitors. From that time until the eruption of the Opium War between China and Britain, the situation in Macao was complicated: the Portuguese and the British fought for control of the opium trade, while the imperial Chinese authorities continually issued decrees banning the substance. [Author: Guo Weidong [郭卫东], pp. 153-163]

Education and Change in Macao's Portuguese Community

This paper focuses on the diversity of educational projects implemented in Macao, especially those aimed at the local Portuguese community, in order to understand to what extent they reflect the social contexts and the historical and cultural processes through which they were created. The investigation of patterns of education in Macao and

the social contexts in which they emerged raises four important questions: 1) Does it make sense to speak of a single educational system in Macao? 2) Can we speak of a pattern of local colonial education, and if so, to what extent? 3) What is the relationship between the broader aims of various educational endeavours, the language of instruction, and curriculum design? 4) What factors and environments influenced educational policies in Macao? To what extent did the relations between different communities determine the success or failure of certain educational policies? The attempt to answer these questions leads us to explore the existence of several educational systems developed for the Portuguese population in Macao, that took shape in response to the changing economic, political, and cultural needs of the region. The paper covers the development of education from the arrival of the Portuguese in Macao in 1557 through the mid-twentieth century, paying closer attention to the period between the establishment of the treaty ports in 1842 and Portugal's attempt to formalize Macao's colonial and provincial status in the late nineteenth century. From this emerges the suggestion that we need to consider three different perspectives on the goals and targets of education, stemming from three different interest groups engaged in the educational endeavor in Macao: 1) religious education, promoted both by the religious orders and the local Catholic church; 2) vocational and commercial education, designed to meet the needs of the Portuguese and Eurasians living in Macao and the treaty ports; and 3) metropolitan education, based on the provincial or organizational patterns of education in the wider Portuguese colonial empire.

[Author: Rui Almeida Simões, pp.164-175]

NOTA DO EDITOR

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