

NOTES

1 Esta sigla, adoptada pelos chineses, corresponde ao som das quatro primeiras letras do alfabeto fonético chinês classificado

como *zhuyin fuhao* 注音符号 (significa símbolo fonético) sendo representadas pelos símbolos ㄅ ㄆ ㄇ ㄉ nessa ordem.

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# Macao: The Multicultural Face of China

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“It was in Macao that the Chinese and Western worlds first came face to face on a permanent basis, sometimes with violence, at others with admiration, often with misunderstanding. Writers from both civilizations have recorded their impressions of one another’s curious customs, incredible inventions, peculiar foods, and presumptuous claims to control the tiny piece of the South China coast.”  
 Donald Pittis and Susan Henders, *Macao: Mysterious Decay and Romance*

In 2011, the President of the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Macao SAR, Guilherme Ung Vai Meng, stressed at a press conference celebrating the promotion of a mega-cultural show on the occasion of the celebrations of the 12<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the SAR that Macao was ‘a city of open culture’, ‘a city that has Latin characteristics, presenting a miscegenation of Western and Eastern characteristics’, manifest

‘in buildings, cuisine, local customs, language and religion’.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, according to Rocha (1996), it is ‘the only geographical and political space in Asia that adopted a Latin language as the official language’.<sup>2</sup>

The questioning of the relationships between language, culture and multiculturalism in Macao is closely linked to the different identities, representations and social contexts present in the territory, arising from the ‘cultural or civilizational meetings’ (Nelson, 1976; 1981) that took place over the course of its history: ‘A place in the map is also a place in history’ (Rich, 1986, p. 212). The encounter between Portugal and China starts with the arrival of the explorer Jorge Álvares at the Isle of Linting, in 1513. Since then, a dual political, economic and cultural system has developed, along with the interaction of Chinese and Western cultures. The culture and the Chinese territory have been documented by many historians, cartographers and

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## EDIÇÃO

## EDITION

missionaries from Portugal, leaving a solid trail in the Portuguese literature and historiography; in parallel, officials and scholars from the Qing government who often visited Macao also left their testimony recorded in a vast literary production.

According to Barreto (2008), the Portuguese expansion in the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries entailed an acculturation that displays in intercultural relations; material culture relationships, meaning the world of exchanges and transfers of plants and animals, of products and techniques of consumption and taste; and in relationships of intellectual culture, meaning horizons of values and knowledge, reflections about the actions, words and things. These dimensions, whilst independent, have combined to configure a unique culture in Macao. According to this perspective, the influence of Portuguese culture in Macao interacted with that of the Chinese for the formation of a particular and distinctive culture that was born from experiences and from material and ideals exchange. This acculturation process occurred during the expansion

and has not occurred only in one direction, but it has been mutual and has carried in itself the power of successive acculturations throughout the various points where it was experienced.

The literary production in the Portuguese language in the Macao peninsula must have been one of the first manifestations of this intermingling. In fact, being a multi-ethnic territory since its formation, throughout its history Macao was a geographical-cultural reference that served as a backdrop for the production of numerous fictional, historical and ethnographical texts in Portuguese. The intent of this article is most certainly not to produce a History of Literature or to present an exhaustive list of authors who have lived or have been in the city and written about it and about its people, but solely to recall some of the most remarkable and/or significant writers of the past and some of the most interesting or important from the present, as well as the influence of their language and culture in the identity configuration of Macao as a Latin city in China.

Perhaps the Portuguese literary presence in the Far East and the literary history of the fascination for distant Macao goes back to the journeys of the Portuguese adventurer and explorer Fernão Mendes Pinto who, over 21 years, travelled through the coasts of Burma, Zion, the archipelago of Sunda, the Moluccas, China and Japan. He arrived in Macao in 1555. One of his letters, written in Macao on 20 November of that year was sent to Father Baltasar Dias, Rector of the Company of Jesus in Goa, and it is the first document written in Portuguese in the city. Luis Filipe Barreto, in his book *Macao: Poder e Saber* (Macao: Power and Knowledge), refers to it as the 'birth certificate of Macao'.<sup>3</sup>

The celebrated tradition of the sojourn of the cinquecentist Camões in the town, considered one of the greatest figures of Portuguese literature and one of the greatest poets of the West, is part of the mythology of Macao, which in turn and by itself is a literary topic—refer to the example of Dutch writer J. Slauerhoff, who in 1932 published the novel *O Reino Proibido* (*The Forbidden Kingdom*)<sup>4</sup> where Camões and the city emerge as main characters. But this intertextual history goes on: Slauerhoff based parts of his novel on the information abstract that he found in *Macao Histórico* (*Historic Macao*), by Montalto de Jesus,<sup>5</sup> a Macanese writer and historian, born and educated in

Hong Kong. He himself was the main character of an episode which seems fictional, as his '*edição maldita*' (cursed edition), when put up for sale in Macao, was seized and confiscated from those who already had one copy to be destroyed by fire in an *auto-de-fé*,<sup>6</sup> in 1926.<sup>7</sup>

These and other examples prove the global appeal of Macao which is embodied in a number of writings in Portuguese by those who have been there or those who have become close to that land only through fiction. That is the case of Garrett, another great character of Portuguese culture and politics, who also has used this topic and accredited it as an essential poetic value in his lyric narrative poem 'Camões', dated from 1825. Also Saramago, the Portuguese writer who won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1998, in his book *Memorial do Convento* (*Baltasar and Blimunda*), exhibits the eastern maritime imaginary of Macao, referring to it as 'the land of many blessedness',<sup>8</sup> and in *Cadernos de Lanzarote* (*Lanzarote Diaries*) can be found the description of the writer's encounter with the city in 1997, which was his gateway to the East which he had never visited before.

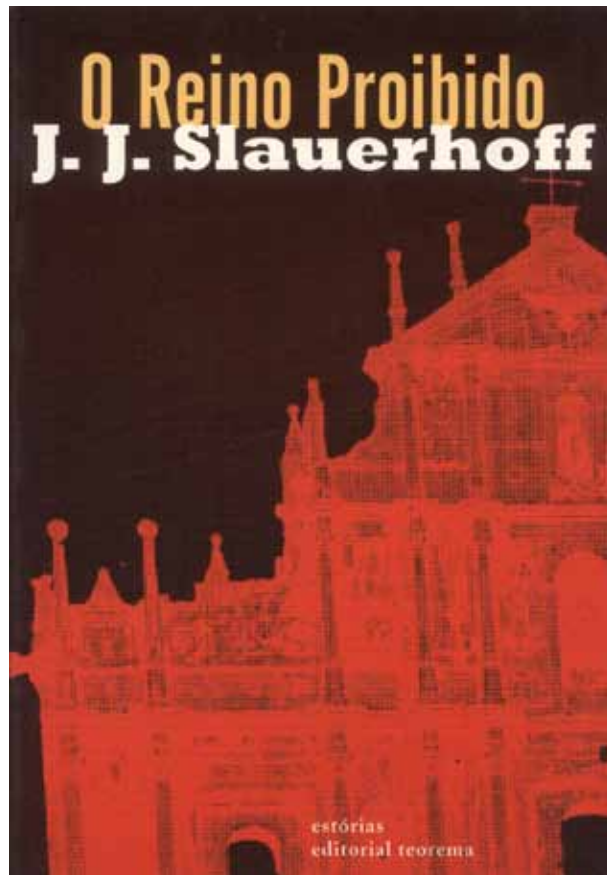
Between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, there are portrayals of the City of the Name of God of China in memorials, reports and letters of Jesuits, and not only in chronicles, diaries and essays. The short visit to Macao of the Romantic poet and greatest representative of the Lusitanian bucolic poetry from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Manuel Maria Barbosa du Bocage, estimated to have taken place between October 1789 and March 1790, is to be found in the writer's work in elegies dedicated to the Macanese ladies<sup>9</sup> and in some sonnets (although the poet was not particularly seduced by the city, as one of them witnessed<sup>10</sup>). The short stay of Wenceslau de Moraes in Macao, one of the most important Easternised European writers, generated the texts included in his well-known book *Traços do Extremo Oriente*<sup>11</sup> (*Traces of the Far East*). Three of the greatest authors of the Portuguese literature from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Alexandre Herculano, Eça de Queirós and Camilo Castelo Branco,<sup>12</sup> (the first two with intervention texts and the latter with a chronicle) also wrote texts that refer to Macao.

The troubled relationship with Macao and the Chinese culture of the symbolist Camilo Pessanha determined a unique approach in the handling of some *topoi*, manifest in his poetry and prose. Moreover, this author also resumes Camões' legendary stay in Macao and the issue of the exiled poet. Dialogism, tradition

and ideology converge in those texts of Pessanha that, although written almost a century ago, have not lost their stylishness. The intertextuality goes on (along with the historiographical meta-fiction), with António Rebordão Navarro writing Pessanha's biography, later reinvented in the novel *As Portas do Cerco* (*The Border Gate*), in 1992. Manuel da Silva Mendes was a contemporary of Pessanha and collaborated in several newspapers (*A Vida Nova*, *Jornal de Macao*, *Pátria*—[*The New Life*, *Newspaper of Macao*, *Homeland*]) and contemporary magazines (*O Oriente*, *Revista de Macao* [The East, Magazine of Macao]). His most representative chronicles about the city were collected by Graciete Batalha in *Macao, Impressões e Recordações* (*Macao, Impressions and Memorabilia*), published in 1979.

The novel, the short story and poetry having Macao as background are common—especially from the 20<sup>th</sup> century on—among Portuguese and Macanese writers such as Emílio de San Bruno (considered by some as a precursor to the Portuguese crime novel),<sup>13</sup> Francisco de Carvalho e Rego (also with a crime novel),<sup>14</sup> Ruy Santelmo, Luis Gonzaga Gomes, Maria Anna Tamagnini, Ernesto Leal, Miguel Torga, Joaquim Paço d'Arcos, Maria Ondina Braga and Estima de Oliveira. There is a chapter dedicated to Ferreira de Castro's stay in the city in the 1940s in the book *A Volta ao Mundo* (*Around the World*).

For a long time Macanese literature was perceived as part of Portuguese literature, because most authors wrote in Portuguese.<sup>15</sup> However, Deolinda da Conceição, José dos Santos Ferreira and Henrique de Senna Fernandes are the big names of Macanese literature and, having been born and lived in the city, their writings are in some way the personification of Macao in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Senna Fernandes, whose main titles are *Nam Van: Contos de Macao* (*Nam Van: Tales of Macao*), *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé* (*Love and Toes*) and *A Trança Feiticeira* (*The Bewitching Braid*) saw the latter two novels adapted to the cinema. In addition to the theme of the old Macao, the central themes of his literary work are women and love. His books often deal with the complex relationships between the three communities present in Macao (the Chinese, Portuguese and Macanese) and a love relationship between a Chinese girl and a Macanese or Portuguese boy. In some way, the interactions described in his books have parallels with his love life, because the





## EDIÇÃO

## EDITION



writer loved and married a Chinese woman, defying the conventions of a city which at his time was very conservative.

Macao's situation as a starting point for Macanese generations who have left their homeland in search of better opportunities has resulted in travel writing and autobiographical narratives, the latter particularly relevant to an assessment of the sensitivity of the Macanese in relation to their past and the evocation of their homeland through memory. This category may include books published in the United States, such as those by Felipe B. Nery<sup>16</sup> and Edith Jorge Martini,<sup>17</sup> written in English (Brookshaw, 2010).

The names of some Portuguese writers born in Macao should be noted, such as Maria Pacheco Borges with *Chinesinha* (Little Chinese Girl) (1974); Leonel Alves with *Por Caminhos Solitários* (On Solitary Paths) (1983); and Cecília Jorge with *Sabe Comer com Pauzinhos?* (Do you Know how to Eat with Chopsticks?) (1987). More recently Carlos Marreiros and Carolina de Jesus wrote poetry. A further reference to popular literature in patois, a dialect spoken in Macao for four centuries, based on the Portuguese language of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (second half) and the 17<sup>th</sup> century: the poet and prose writer José dos Santos Ferreira, known as Adé, is its greatest representative. His works *Poéma di Macau* (Poems from Macao) (1983) and *Macau, Jardim Abençoado* (Macao, Blessed Garden) (1988) are exponents of the almost extinct Maquista language.

Altino do Tojal, Alice Vieira, António Torrado, Eugénio de Andrade, João Aguiar, Rodrigo Leal de Carvalho, Fernanda Dias, Manuel Couto Viana—the extensive list could go on—are some other examples that contest the historical fiction patent in the rhymes of José Jorge Letria: 'Here in Macao there are no intellectuals, / only pirates, clerics and soldiers'.<sup>18</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that given the historical circumstances that Macao lived through in the 1980s and 1990s, in trying to leave a literary legacy in Portuguese that could strengthen the language position, the long period of residence in Macao turned some individuals into published writers whilst others arrived in the territory already as acclaimed writers in Portugal.<sup>19</sup>

On the Chinese side, the presence of Macao in the literature goes back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This is witnessed by the famous dramatist Tang Xianzu 汤显祖 from the Ming dynasty, who devotes four poems to the city and one episode of his famous play, *Mudan Ting* 牡丹亭 (*The Peony Pavilion*) set in Macao. The Chinese academic Fei Chengkang 费成康 situates the poet's visit to Macao in 1591 and mentions that these poems, the oldest from the Chinese literature and poetry about Macao, reflect the life style of the Portuguese residents and of the international port of this city. Both situations are echoed in the titles: 'meeting with western merchants in the Xiangshan bay' (the name then given to Macao) in which he expresses

admiration for the products brought by Westerners, and 'listen to the interpreters of Xiangshan', which refers to Chinese translators working in Jiuzhou mountain, close to Macao.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, the poet Feng Gongliang 冯公亮 praises, in turn, the commercial prosperity of the city.

Following the interaction between the Chinese and Portuguese cultures over 300 years results in a vast poetic production by officers and intellectuals from Mainland China who travelled to Macao; this poetry is assembled in two volumes by Zhang Wenqin 张文钦, who has collected 554 poems from 129 poets of this period. The poetry of Wu Li 吴历 (or Simão Xavier da Cunha, an 18<sup>th</sup>-century Jesuit poet and painter, 1632-1718) and Li Xialing 李遐龄 (1766-1823), for example, reflect the cultural differences that co-existed in the city and contemplate them. The first describes in his poems the bustle of Chinese who trade between Macao and the current Zhuhai at the time that the Qing government forbade maritime trade.

Wu Li also refers to his life at St. Paul's College, especially the topics related to the cultural differences; he states that in China you sleep until the rooster crows and in Macao it is the chime that sets the time (Hao, 2011). In another poem he states the difficulty of learning the Western religion and the communication complexities arising from language differences and writing (ibid.). Li Xialing portrays in one of his writings the meeting with a Portuguese girl of eight, admiring



Wu Li.



## EDIÇÃO

## EDITION

her grace and intelligence. In 1718 Liang Di 梁迪 dedicated a poem to the organ, describing its sound: the music of St. Paul's Cathedral is compared to the bird singing, to the sound of a waterfall and to the clatter of horses (idem).

Those literary descriptions of the life and the social interaction in Macao at that time point to a prosperous life bursting with people of different ethnic groups seeming to appreciate each other. But it will not always be like that—the picture will change, especially after the Opium War, and the literary representations of Macao will accompany that change.

In 1887, following the Luso-Chinese Treaty of that year, Chen Zhengwen 陈徵文 writes a poem about the occupation and administration of Macao by Portugal, condemning the Portuguese presence in the territory and regretting that the Emperor's orders and Confucian teachings do not reach Macao. Also, Qiu Fengjia 邱逢甲 (1864-1912) referred to the same topic at the time of the transfer of Taiwan to Japan by the Qing government, denouncing the government's inability to protect his land and his people. Another poem, from Yang Yinglin 杨应麟, laments an episode which occurred in 1907, related to the expulsion of Chinese families from their homes due to the construction of a road, carried out by the Portuguese. Cai Qiu 蔡球 denounces taxes imposed on Chinese and Liu Sufen 刘燻芬 applauds the assassination of Governor Ferreira do Amaral, in 1849 (ibid.). Other aspects of 19<sup>th</sup> century Macao society are addressed in poetry: Liang Qiaohan 梁乔汉 (1851-?) denounces the miserable living conditions of rickshaw drivers, prostitution and gambling. Other poems recount religious practices and Catholic traditions (one linking the Virgin Mary to the goddess Guanyin).

The political, economic and social changes which take place in the region are echoed in the poetry and in the period of the Republic in Mainland China (1911-1949); the description of Macao and concerns with China are still present in the poet's writings. Zhang Wenqin collected these poems in two volumes, in which 84 poets and 656 poems of that period are represented.<sup>21</sup>

In 1925, the poet and patriot Wen Yiduo 闻一多 (1899-1946), reflecting the *zeitgeist*, writes a long poem, 'The Song of Seven Sons', that expresses the wish of Macao's reintegration into China—this poem will later be sung by the young Rong Yunlin to celebrate

the handover in 1999.<sup>22</sup> Tao Li 陶里 and Zhuang Wenying 庄文永 point out that although the poet Wen was not born in Macao, he clearly reflected the nationalist sentiments of many Chinese of the territory. The poem is also considered a landmark of the new poetry of Macao. The political concern for the nation's life also troubled Chen Haiying 陈海瀛 (1883-?) who wrote a text in which the Camões Garden is a motive to reflect about this same topic. Following the same line of thought, Xian Yuqing 冼玉清 (1895-1965), a Macao born poet, writes about how gambling, prostitution and disease destroy entire families.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, modern life and its consequences are topics of Siyang Jian 江思扬 and Gao Ge 高戈. The story and the novel emerged in this period; between 1968 and 1995 Lu Mao 鲁茂 wrote about youth, love and life of the Macanese, and the novelist Zhou Tong 周桐 wrote thirteen novels between 1970 and 1990 (Hao, 2011). In another genre, essayists like Ding Bing 丁兵, Li Pengzhou 李鹏翥 and Xu Min 徐敏 also write about the city, its history, its problems and practices. Zheng Weiming 郑炜明, in his article 'Literatura chinesa de Macau entre os anos oitenta e os princípios da década de noventa' (Macao Chinese Literature between the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s),<sup>23</sup> presents an extensive framework of Chinese literature in the transitional period of Macao, evaluating literary productions exclusively produced in the Chinese language.

The Association of Macau Writers (Macao Pen Club) was created in January 1987. Since the 1980s the literary field of the SAR has witnessed the publication of several anthologies of poetry and prose and fictional works in which Macao marks its presence, as *Wan mu chun* 万木春 (Full Spring) of Chang Zheng 长争, *Aixin shu* 爱心树 (Tree of Love) and *Yun he yue* 云和月 (Cloud and Moon) of Lin Zhouying 林中英, *Cuo ai* 错爱 (Wrong Love) of Zhou Tong, *Aomen xiaoshu xuan* 澳门小说选 (Macao Fiction Anthology) (compiled by Yi Gang 毅刚) and *Xin wu* 心雾 (Fog in the Heart) a collection of mini-tales of Zheng Weiming and other local story-tellers, to name just a few. In January 1985 the first collection of literary works was edited—*Aomen wenxue chuanguo congshu* 澳门文学创作丛书 (Collection of Literary Productions of Macao)—compiled in five volumes by Dr. Yun Weili 云惟利 (under the pseudonym Yun Li 云力). The poetic collections *Lingding yang* 伶仃洋 (Lingding Sea)



of Han Mu 韩牧, *Da mo ji* 大漠集 (Endless Desert) of Yun Li, the collective anthologies *Shuangzi xie* 双子叶 (Sheets in Pairs) and *Sanxian* 三弦 (Three Musical Chords), poetry and prose, respectively, are part of the collections mentioned above.

The turn of the century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century sees the publication of works such as *Aomen xinshi xuan* 澳门新诗选 (Anthology of New Macao Poems), only with Chinese poets, organised by the poet Zheng Weiming,<sup>24</sup> the *Antologia de Poetas de Macau* (Anthology of Poets Macau) (whose selection and organisation was due to Jorge Arrimar and Yao Jingming 姚京明)<sup>25</sup> and *Aomen xiandai shi xuan* 澳门现代诗选 (Anthology of Macao's Contemporary Poetry) in 2007 (organised by Professor Li Guanding 李观鼎).<sup>26</sup>

ASM (Association of Stories in Macao), a non-profit NGO founded in 2005, has published several volumes in the genres of poetry, fiction, theory, life writing and pedagogy. The brief of this organisation is to promote writing and other artistic expressions in and about Macao, and many of ASM's titles are first volumes of poetry or fiction by young Macao authors. An important part of ASM's ongoing activity is poetry translation by Macao poets, involving the English, Chinese and Portuguese languages.

Recently, the journalist Paulo Barbosa, in an article about the contemporary poetry of Macao,<sup>27</sup> focuses on young members of the ASM and the

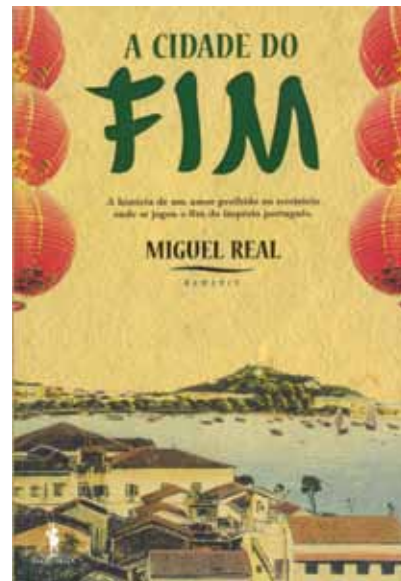
common points among them: crossroads of cultures and languages (the English and Chinese as dominant languages of expression) and texts that illustrate the specificities of the territory. *Just the coin's worth of blue*, a poetic anthology published by ASM in 2010, presents 15 new poets and only one of them writes in Portuguese. As Brookshaw stresses (Brookshaw, 2010), after the handover literary activity in Portuguese decreased dramatically. With the end of Portuguese rule, the circumstances for the movement of literature in Portuguese ceased to exist. In Macao there is no language with which everyone can identify except Chinese, but even that is complex, since the language used by the majority of the population, Cantonese, is not the official language of the People's Republic of China. On the other hand, for a large number of people studying English it is a factor reflected in the literature.

Chris Song Zijiang 宋子江, assistant professor at the University of Macao, translator of classic Chinese poets and a poet as well, sees differences and similarities in eastern and western ways of writing, which are intertwined in places such as Macao. Concerning the common features of the poetry made in Macao, Chris Song mentions that in Macao 'there is Portuguese poetry, which is an important part of the history of the territory. There is also Chinese poetry, written by persons born in Macao. There is also some poetry written by people who have been in Macao. This includes people who write in Chinese and people who



## EDIÇÃO

## EDITION



write in English'.<sup>28</sup> Menn Chow (Chow Man San 周万生), another poet of the ASM, also highlights the multilingual characteristic of new poets of Macao, stating that the majority of them know at least two languages. He adds that Macao is a complex place, where English is increasingly spoken and not Chinese or Portuguese, which are the two official languages. English became more popular than Portuguese for commercial reasons, also given the influence of Hong Kong, and it seems that Mandarin and Portuguese are foreign to local people—i.e., they are the official languages, but people use another language to communicate.

The poets themselves attribute to the nomad stay in the territory the fact that many Chinese and Portuguese poets don't become known and they call for a greater settling, maintaining that the poetry made in Macao has its own characteristics that makes it different from that created in Mainland China: 'The identity of Macao ... needs to be further analyzed, not only in poetry, but also in other literary forms.'<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, it is possible to highlight several examples of the dynamic of literary creation in this city that has long been established as a source of continuing inspiration for poets and fictionists. Among others, we point out the literary contest in Portuguese, Chinese and English promoted by the Macao Literary Festival, The Script Road,<sup>30</sup> that publishes a book annually with versions in Chinese, Portuguese and English, bringing together the tales of Macao written by authors

invited to the festival and the literary contest winners. Among others, we highlight some recent publications in Portuguese such as *As Alucinações de Ao Ge* (Ao Ge Hallucinations), from the novelist Lio Chi Heng 廖子馨, written in and about Macao, translated into French (2003)<sup>31</sup> and Portuguese and adapted for the screen (Diago, directed by Zhang Chi 张弛 in 2010). Its Macanese main character embodies the conflict of two linguistic and cultural affiliations and is obsessively surrounded by the shadow of his city. In the poetry of Rui Rocha, *A Oriente do Silêncio* (In the East of Silence)<sup>32</sup> (2012), east and west poetic traditions converge. Also published in this year was the Portuguese translation of the French Antoine Volodine book, *Macau*, which the author describes as 'a dream trip through Macao'. From 2013, *A Cidade do Fim* (The City of the End) from Miguel Real, tells the story of a Portuguese teacher who applies for a place at the Lyceum Infante D. Henrique in Macao, 'eventually staying most of his life in this city, divided into two seemingly watertight communities—the white and the Chinese—that learned to cross and gather the best of customs of both, creating a social atmosphere truly unique.'<sup>33</sup> *Missão Impossível* (Mission Impossible), a book intended for children and youth, was edited in 2014 by the Jorge Álvares Foundation, written by Isabel Alçada and Ana Maria Magalhães (who signed other titles such as *Uma Aventura em Macau* [An Adventure in Macao] and *Tufão nos Mares da China*

[Typhoon in China Seas]; the two authors also wrote *Os Descobrimientos Portugueses. Viagens e Aventuras* [The Portuguese Discoveries: Travel and Adventure], the latter co-authored with Luis de Albuquerque and translated into Chinese).

Salman Rushdie, one of the greatest contemporary writers, describes how literature can be put at the service of the interests of a community in *Imaginary Homelands. Essays and Criticism 1981-1991* (1992). He defends that literature has the power to speak many voices, about everything, even conflict, in all possible manners, in a secret space occupied by smart intellects of writers and readers. Norton (2004) defends as well that multicultural literature can widen the knowledge of the individuals on the world and on parallel cultures, exposing them to the differences and similarities between their culture and the other groups. The literary oeuvres often represent contrasts and different

world views and thus they can help the individuals to understand their own cultural heritages and those of others (Padak, Rasinski & Logan; 1990).

Considering literature as a source of cultural diversity is not a difficult exercise of the imagination. However, Salman Rushdie (1992, p. 92) reinforces the idea that literature must be understood as firmly planted in history: 'For each text, a context', he writes. The whole work of art emerges from a social and political context and from a society that responds in aesthetic and ethical form. The outlined literary production in Macao and about Macao, by authors of Portuguese nationality and of Chinese nationality, and by Macanese people since the 16<sup>th</sup> century to the present day illustrates, in some way, this need to represent, understand and make known the otherness of a complex territory where the Other was and is a constant presence. **RC**

## NOTES

- 1 *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, 9.12.2011.
- 2 In 2002 Timor also adopted the Portuguese as an official language, but within a completely different linguistic-cultural pattern.
- 3 Luis Filipe Barreto, *Macao: Poder e Saber*. Lisbon: Ed. Presença, 2006.
- 4 J. J. Slauerhoff, *O Reino Proibido*; translated from Dutch by Patrícia Couto e Arie Pos. Lisbon: Editorial Teorema, 1997.
- 5 C. A. Montalto de Jesus, *Macau Histórico*. Macao: Livros do Oriente, 1990.
- 6 'Act of faith', the ritual of public penance of condemned heretics and apostates that took place when the Spanish Inquisition, Portuguese Inquisition or the Mexican Inquisition had decided their punishment and burned them in a fire.
- 7 The seizure and destruction of the book, in Macao in 1926, by judicial decision, was due to the publication of the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, released in Macao, in which the author included three final chapters regarding the situation of Macao (very critical to the governance of the Territory), advocating a 'Self-determination of Macao', under the supervision of the League of Nations.
- 8 José Saramago, *Memorial do Convento* (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 1982), p. 42: 'Chegou há dias a nau de Macau que se esperava, tendo partido daqui há vinte meses, onde isso vai, ainda Sete-Sóis andava na guerra, e fez feliz jornada apesar de ser larga a viagem, que fica Macau muito para lá de Goa, terra de tantas bem-aventuranças, a China, que excede a todas as outras nos regalos e riqueza, e os géneros todos quanto pode ser baratos, e tem de mais o favorável e sadio do clima, tanto que de todo se ignoram achaques e doenças, por isso não há nela médicos nem cirurgões, e morre cada um só de velho e desamparado da natureza, que não nos pode garantir sempre'. (The expected carrack from Macao arrived a few days ago, having departed from here twenty months ago. That's far away now! Baltasar was still in the war and he made a joyful journey, although the trip was long, Macao is far beyond Goa, the land of many blessedness, China, which exceeds all the others in treat and wealth, and where all the goods can be cheap, and furthermore it has the most favorable and healthy weather, and for that it ignores ailments and diseases, that's why there are no doctors and surgeons on it, and each one dies of old age and helpless from nature, that cannot always guarantee us) My translation.
- 9 Cf. ode 'A esperança' [Hope], that Bocage wrote at the end of 1789, in tribute to Maria Saldanha de Noronha and Meneses, who would have supported in his brief stay in Macao. The daughters of Maria de Saldanha were also flattered in a sonnet, published in *Rhymes*, t. 1, which makes it likely that this lady from the Macanese society must have contributed greatly to Bocage's return to Lisbon.
- 10 Sonnet no. 196 in Bocage, *Obras Completas*, Vol. 1, *Sonetos*. Porto: Edições Caixotim, 2004.
- 11 Wenceslau de Moraes, *Traços do Extremo Oriente*. Lisbon: Livraria Barateira, 1946.
- 12 'Madame de Paiva', in Camilo Castelo Branco, *Boémia do Espírito*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Porto: Lello & Irmão Editores, 1959.
- 13 *O Caso da Rua Volong* [The Case of Volong Street].
- 14 *O Caso do Tesouro do Templo de Á-Má* [The Case of Ah-Ma Temple's Treasure].
- 15 Some argue that the term Macanese literature does not apply, because Macanese is essentially the thematic, not the authorship.
- 16 *Filho de Macau (A Son of Macao): An Autobiography*. New York: Vantage Press, 1988; *The Transitions*. Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2006 2006.
- 17 *The Wind Amongst the Ruins: A Childhood in Macao*, New York: Vantage Press 1993.
- 18 Own translation. Cf. Letria, José Jorge, *Oriente da Mágica: Pranto de Luís Vaz*. Macao: Livros do Oriente, 1992.
- 19 Some other authors and books published after 1900: Álvaro de Melo Machado, *Coisas de Macao*, 1913; Maria Anna Tamagnini, *Flor do Lótus*, 1925; Emílio de San Bruno, *O Caso da rua Volong e Scenas da vida colonial*, 1928; Manuel da Silva Mendes, *Excerptos da Filosofia Taoísta*, 1931; Jaime Correia do Inso, *O Caminho do Oriente*, 1931;



- Visões da China*, 1932; *China*, 1935; *Cenas da Cidade Macao*, 1941; António de Santa Clara, *Cartas do Extremo Oriente*, 1938; José Joaquim Monteiro, *Minha Viagem para Macau*, 1939; António de Andrade e Silva, *Eu Estive em Macau durante a Guerra*, 1946; Francisco de Carvalho e Rego, *O Caso do Tesouro do Templo de A-Amá*, 1949; *Cartas da China*, 1949; *Macao*, 1950, *Lendas e Contos da Velha China*, 1950; *Mui Fú*, 1951; Danilo Barreiros, *A Paixão Chinesa de Wenceslao de Moraes*, 1955; *O Testamento de Camilo Pessanha*, 1961; Ernesto Leal, *O Homem que Comia Névoa*, 1964; Joaquim Paço D'Arcos, *Memórias da minha vida e do meu tempo*, 1970, 1973, 1976; Vasco Callixto, *Viagem a Macau*, 1978; Manuel da Silva Mendes, *Macao Impressões e Recordações*, 1979; Benjamim Videira Pires, *O Espelho do Mar*, 1986; Maria do Rosário Almeida, *Chu Kong*, 1987; Pedro Fragoso de Malos, *Cartas de um Comandante no Extremo Oriente*, 1987; Altino do Tojal, *Histórias de Macau*, 1987; Alberto Estima de Oliveira, *O Diálogo do Silêncio*, 1988; Ana Maria Amaro, *Filhos da Terra*, 1988; Alice Vieira, *As mãos de Lam Seng*, 1988; Luis Andrade de Sá, *A História na Bagagem*, 1989; Jorge Arrimar, *Fonte do Lilau*, 1990; R. Beltrão Coelho, *Macao; Retalhos*, 1990; Graciete Batalha, *Bom Dia S'tora*, 1991; Henrique Rola da Silva, *A Mulher de Jededias*, 1991; António Rebordão Navarro, *Estados Gerais*, 1991; *As Portas do Cerco*, 1992; José Jorge Letria, *Oriente da Mágica*, 1992; Fernanda Dias, *Horas de Papel (Poemas de Macau)*, 1992; *Rio de Erhu*, 1999; João de Aguiar, *O Comedor de Pérolas*, 1992; *O Dragão de Fumo*, 1998; João Rui Azeredo, *Poemacau*, 1992; Orlando Neves, *Histórias de Espanto e Exemplo*, 1993; António Augusto Menano, *Inominável Segredo*, 1993; *Qual o Começo de Tudo Isto?*, 1996; Rodrigo Leal de Carvalho, *Requiem por Irina Ostrakoff*, 1993; *Ao Serviço de Sua Majestade*, 1996; *A IV Cruzada*, 1996; Josué da Silva, *Amor Oriente*, 1993; *A Incrível Saga do Bom Si Mân*, 1997; José de Carvalho e Rego, *Figuras d'outros Tempos*, 1994; Ninélio Barreira, *Ou-Mun, Coisas e Tipos de Macau*, 1994; Alexandre Pinheiro Torres, *Sou Toda Sua, Meu Guapo Cavaleiro*, 1994; *Trocar de Século*, 1995; Ana Maria Magalhães e Isabel Alçada, *Uma Aventura em Macau*, 1995; Carlos Morais José, *A Morte são Quatro Noites*, 1996; Isabel Henrique de Jesus, *A Rapariga do Chapéu com Asas de Helicóptero*, 1996; João Manuel Amoreira, *Beco do Engano*, 1996; Fernando Sales Lopes, *Pescador de Margem*, 1997; Carlos Frota, *Dos Rios e Suas Margens*, 1998; João de Pina Cabral, *Erros Velhos*, 1998; Sophia de Mello Breyner, *Navegações*, s/d.
- 20 Tang Xianzu and Macao, [http://en.cnki.com.cn/Article\\_en/CJFDTOTAL-GXZS200105014.htm](http://en.cnki.com.cn/Article_en/CJFDTOTAL-GXZS200105014.htm).
- 21 Zhang Wenqin, *Aomen Shici Jianzhu (Min Qin Juan, Wan Qing Juan)* 澳门诗词笺注 (明清卷·晚清卷) (Annotated volumes of Poems about Macao: Ming and Qing dynasties, Late Qing dynasty). Zhuhai and Macao: Zhuhai Chubanshe; Cultural Affairs Bureau of Macao SAR Government, 2003; *Aomen Shici Jianzhu (Ming Guo Juan, Shang, and Xia)* 澳门诗词笺注 (民国卷上、下) (Annotated volumes of Poems about Macao: Republic of China era 1 and 2). Zhuhai and Macao: Zhuhai Chubanshe; Cultural Affairs Bureau of Macao SAR Government.
- 22 In the poem 'Song of Seven Sons', written by Chinese poet and scholar Wen Yiduo 闻一多, Macao was described as one of the seven places along China's coast ceded to foreign powers, and the poem expresses how the Chinese people longed for their return to the motherland. More than 70 years later, Wen's poem became the lyrics for the song welcoming the return of Macao to the Mainland in 1999.
- 23 In *Administração. Revista da Administração Pública de Macau*, no. 29, Vol. VIII, 1995, pp. 501-523.
- 24 Zheng Wenming 郑伟明, *Aomen xinshi xuan* 澳门新诗选 (Anthology of New Macao Poems). Macao: Fundação Macau, 1995.
- 25 Jorge Arrimar and Yao Jingming (org.), *Antologia de Poetas de Macau*. Macao: Instituto Camões/Instituto Cultural de Macau/Instituto Português do Oriente, 1999.
- 26 *Aomen xiandai shi xuan* 澳门现代诗选 (Anthology of Macao's Contemporary Poetry). Macao: Fundação Macau, 2007.
- 27 Published on 10 June, 2010 in the newspaper *Ponto Final*, <http://pontofinalmacao.wordpress.com/2010/06/10/quem-sao-os-novos-poetas-de-macao/>
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 <http://thescriptroad.org/>
- 31 Liao Zixin, *Les hallucinations d'Ao Ge*. Trans. Françoise Naour. Paris: Bleu de Chine.
- 32 Rui Rocha, *A Oriente do Silêncio*. Lisbon: Esfera do Caos, 2012
- 33 My translation from the Portuguese: 'acabando por permanecer quase toda a vida nessa cidade que, dividida em duas comunidades aparentemente estanques – a branca e a chinesa –, soube cruzar e reunir o melhor dos costumes de ambas, gerando uma atmosfera social deveras singular', <https://pontofinalmacao.wordpress.com/2013/10/09/romance-de-miguel-real-sobre-macao-chega-as-livrarias/>

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## Global Books Anthology

## Gervais Jassaud's Limited Edition Books with Anglophone Authors

BARBARA MONTEFALCONE\*



"C'est à moi, disait le livre, de réunir les cultures et à vous de faire partager l'étonnement de leurs rencontres"  
(from *Collector of Dusk*, 2014. Colophon)

For over thirty years Gervais Jassaud has produced beautiful limited edition books with artists and writers from all over the world. France, England, Italy, Belgium, in addition to Canada, United States, Brazil, Chile, Korea and China are among the countries covered by what he likes to define as his 'Global Books'.

Nevertheless, in 1969, when Jassaud first started producing limited edition books combining the work of poets and visual artists, his approach was not yet a 'global' one. Being Francophone he was naturally

drawn to read and enjoy the poetry of authors whose language he could understand and appreciate in all its nuances. Thus, the first Collectif Génération books that came out included texts by French (Christian Prigent, Alain Duault), Belgian (Jean-Pierre Verheggen, Daniel Peeters) and Canadian (Nicole Brossard, François Charron) authors.

Yet, as early as 1972, thanks to an anthology of American poets edited by Serge Fauchereau, which he purchased at the Gilbert and Joseph bookshop in the Saint-Germain-des-Près neighborhood in Paris, and through the seminal French journal *Tel Quel*, Jassaud slowly started reading and enjoying Anglophone poetry. It is thanks to *Tel Quel* in particular that he first encountered the poetry of the New York School and the work of John Ashbery, with whom he would later produce *Haibun* (1990). Apart from his value as a poet, John Ashbery was particularly interesting as a literary figure to Jassaud because of his constant contacts and exchanges with France: he represented a first example

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