

18 Francisco Videira Pires, *Padre Benjamim Videira Pires, Meu Irmão*, p. 53.
 19 Nem todos os números de R&P incluem editoriais, sendo em alguns períodos, como é o caso dos anos de 1960 e 1961, frequentemente substituídos por textos de outra natureza como, por exemplo, contos, alguns da autoria de BVP ou por este adaptados.
 20 R&P, 1960: 449; 1960: 481; 1960: 497. A obra *A Mulher Venceu* foi publicada por Edições Religião e Pátria (Macau: 1956).
 21 R&P, 1955: 362; 1955: 437.
 22 *Ibidem*, 1955: 169.
 23 *Ibidem*, 1965: 710; 1966: 322.
 24 *Ibidem*, 1956: 556.
 25 *Ibidem*, 1957: 193; 1959: 358; 1959: 19; 1959: 22.
 26 É muito curioso o editorial intitulado “Fevereiro português” onde, a propósito das habituais temperaturas gélidas do segundo mês do ano e da grande instabilidade e variação de temperaturas nessa época em que habitualmente se inicia o ano lunar (Ano Novo chinês), citando ditos populares das Beiras e de Trás-os-Montes, mas também factos e dizeres de Macau e de Hong Kong, referindo que “em Macau, onde impera a sabedoria dos mandarins, há também 10 dias antes do Ano Novo Chinês, ‘o grande frio’ (*tai-hón*) e, 15 dias antes deste ‘o pequeno frio’ (*sio hón*)” (1957: 121). Este recurso à sabedoria popular está também presente na poesia, por exemplo, em “Abril português” (*ibidem*, 1957: 302).
 27 *Ibidem*, 1955: 509; 1956: 529; 1959: 355.
 28 Editora Apostolado da Imprensa do Porto, 1963.
 29 Como nos dá conta Luís Gonzaga Gomes em *Bibliografia Macaense* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1987).
 30 “Os protestantes e a confissão”, R&P, 1960: 21.
 31 *Ibidem*, 1964: n.º 10: 14; 1964: n.º14: 25.
 32 Editorial de 31 de Janeiro de 1964.
 33 Vide nota de rodapé n.º 36.
 34 R&P, 1969: 165; 1969: 642.
 35 *Ibidem*, 1959: 647.
 36 Por exemplo, sobre Ferreira de Castro afirma estarmos perante “um grande romancista inato da vida real. Literariamente não se pode considerar um mestre ou um artista, na prosa...carrega demasiado, às vezes, as cores do quadro das injustiças humanas e, esquecido da sua missão de romancista (observar e viver) arvora-se em doutrinador [...] não é religioso ou católico, nem manifesta preocupações morais nos seus livros, Estes níveis mais altos e eternos da humanidade não os atingiu o seu espírito demasiado preso ao barro. (*ibidem*, 1955: 111).
 37 *Ibidem*, 1956: 265.
 38 Artigo inserido na secção juvenil, *ibidem*, 1960: 345.
 39 *Ibidem*, 1960: 350.
 40 *Ibidem*, 1960: 18.
 41 Condensado da Revista *Brotéria*, vol. 61, n.º 5 e do *Notícias de Portugal*, Ano IX. n.º 451 e publicado em R&P, 1956: 34.
 42 R&P, 1959: 129; 1959: 17; 1959: 611.
 43 *Ibidem*, 1957: 224.
 44 *Ibidem*, 1959: 311, 327, 403.
 45 *Ibidem*, 1967: 34; 1965: 34 e 1959: 230, respectivamente.
 46 *Ibidem*, 1956: 535.
 47 *Ibidem*, 1957: 343.
 48 *Ibidem*, 1955: 271.
 49 Trata-se de um artigo não assinado (*ibidem*, 1965: 675).
 50 Aliás o artigo começa com a referência de que o poema “A Mensagem” apresentado ao júri do então Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, órgão oficial do Governo de Lisboa para questões de publicidade,

cultura e informação, apenas mereceu uma simples menção honrosa (*ibidem*, 1960: 18).
 51 *Ibidem*, 1957: 36.
 52 *Ibidem*, 1959: 87; 1965: 656 e 743.
 53 *Ibidem*, 1957: 125.
 54 *Ibidem*, 1967: 34; 1957: 36 e 1965: 524.
 55 *Jardins Suspensos* (1955), *Descobrimentos: Poesias* (1958), *Espelho do Mar* (1986) e *Palavras-Poemas* (1994). Quanto aos poemas temos, por exemplo, 1957: 78; 1957: 121.
 56 Como por exemplo: João de Deus: R&P, 1959: 243; Pe. Moreira das Neves: *ibidem*, 1959: 262; Pedro Homem de Melo: *ibidem* 1957: 26, 1966: 1086; Ruy d’Avintes, *ibidem*, 1956: 278; Fernando Pessoa: *ibidem*, 1956: 375, 1965: 92; José Régio: *ibidem*, 1956: 491; Guerra Junqueiro, *ibidem*, 1959: 216; Miguel Torga, *ibidem*, 1959: 3966: 384; Eugénio de Castro, *ibidem*, 1959: 86 e 19.
 57 *Ibidem*, 1955: 1115; 1955: 1062; 1956: 5; 1956: 815; 1956: 1005; 1965: 209, 241, entre outros.
 58 *Ibidem*, 1966: 165.
 59 Ai Tsing ou Ai Qing visitou Macau em 1988 a convite do Instituto Cultural de Macau. Chegou a ser ventilado o seu nome como candidato a um Prémio Nobel.
 60 Outro artigo sobre o património de Macau: “A antiga ermida do Bom Jesus, na Penha”, R&P, 1966: 623.
 61 *Ibidem*, 1966: 426.
 62 Este artigo (*ibidem*, 1956: 794) foi precedido de um outro sobre o mesmo quadro datado de 1955: 779.
 63 *Ibidem*, 1968: 6; 1965: 121; 1957: 298; 1965: 482, respectivamente.
 64 *Ibidem*, 1965: 720.
 65 *Ibidem*, 1965: 130.
 66 Como, por exemplo, *ibidem*, 1955: 224.
 67 Editorial, *ibidem*, 1967: 2.
 68 *Ibidem*, 1957: 36.
 69 *Ibidem*, 1965: 165.
 70 *Ibidem*, 1960: 435.
 71 *Ibidem*, 1956 : 708; 1960: 470; 1960: 499.
 72 Por exemplo: *ibidem*, 1964: 29; 1965: 177.
 73 *Ibidem*, 1967: 457.
 74 *Ibidem*, 1965: 154, 361, 405, 435.
 75 *Ibidem*, 1959: 3, 21 e 31.
 76 *Ibidem*, 1959: 5.
 77 *Ibidem*, 1956: 607, 626, 678; 771.
 78 Por exemplo, *ibidem*, 1965: 51.
 79 *Ibidem*, 1965: 50.
 80 *Ibidem*, 1960: 354.
 81 *Ibidem*, 1956: 146; 1957: 245, 271; 1958: 135; 1959: 485, 501.
 82 *Ibidem*, 1959: 52.
 83 *Ibidem*, 1957: 151; 1960: 370; 1955: 584; 1955: 1011.
 84 *Ibidem*, 1957: 151.
 85 *Ibidem*, 1966: 205.
 86 *Ibidem*, 1959: 210, 227, 261, 276, 297, 371, 389; 1959: 419; 1965: 186 e 229.
 87 *Ibidem*, 1956: 242; 1956: 278; 1956: 582, respectivamente.
 88 Publicada em vários números de R&P, em 1966 e 1967, com diferentes títulos: “A vida marítima de Macau (1700-1800)” e “A vida marítima de Macau no século XVII”.
 89 Revista n.º 22 do ano de 1964.
 90 Documento publicado por C. R. Boxer no *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau*, Abril de 1937: 726-740.
 91 R&P, 1960: 499.
 92 *Ibidem*, 1965: 73.

Categorizing the Early Literature of Macao and the Role of Tang Xianzu

CAI JIEHUA* AND RODERICH PTAK**



INTRODUCTION

In recent years scholars in Macao, Hong Kong and other locations undertook serious efforts to define the field of ‘Macao Literature’, or *Aomen wenxue* 澳门文学. Literature in this context refers to poetry, novels, short stories and texts written for dramatic

performances (and not to historical documents and works definitely beyond the boundaries of belletristic production). By now, the Macao specialist encounters several major studies on this theme and there are sizeable collections as well as ‘secondary’ works which provide a full account of the entire field, usually in the form of an outline history that sketches the development of ‘Macao Literature’ in a broad sense. These works consider certain genres and themes, and in some cases they build on a large body of earlier works.¹

In spite of careful scholarly investigation, one cannot but concede that debates on what ‘Macao Literature’ as a category should be, or should stand for, are a fairly recent phenomenon. Moreover, only two or three decades prior to the change of administration in Macao from Portuguese to Chinese rule, local authorities and institutions began to seriously promote public interest in the fact that old Macao was not totally devoid of literary production, indeed, that it could look back to its own traditions, and that it might be rewarding to systematically explore

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Tang Xianzu.

the possibilities of moving towards new literary and artistic horizons. Meanwhile hundreds of beautiful works, especially of poetry, have become available in Macao, and they are all related, in one way or the other, to the category of *Aomen wenxue*. But only some of these activities, including the creation of the *Aomen wenxue jiang* 澳门文学奖 (Macao Literature Award), or the circulation of local news, for example in regard to the Macao Literature Museum project 澳门文学馆, received proper attention in non-Chinese media.²

Be that as it may, following conventional approaches, most scholars dealing with Macao's cultural past would certainly agree that one can identify two prominent starting points for the emergence of 'Macao Literature'. These are the *Lusiadas* by Luís Vaz de Camões (1524/25-1579/80) and some references and verses in the work of Tang Xianzu 汤显祖 (1550-1616).³ That implies a double approach: Camões wrote in Portuguese, Tang Xianzu in Chinese. Almost certainly the latter had never heard of the former, and Camões may or may not have been in Macao, but to many speakers of Portuguese, the *Lusiadas* remain the most important work in Portuguese literary writing, while Tang Xianzu, although one of China's leading playwrights, is not necessarily seen as the main literary figure of his period.⁴

As we move on in time, we encounter comparable situations. There are many more famous Ming and early Qing authors who are listed in the context of 'Macao Literature', as for example Wu Li 吴历 (1632-1718) and Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630-1696), and there is also Fernão Mendes Pinto (born between 1509 and 1514, died 1583), to mention just one example from the Portuguese side.⁵ The works of all these men have been analysed in a multitude of books and articles—however not so much within the narrow context of 'Macao Literature', but rather from larger perspectives such as Chinese poetry, Portuguese travelogues, and so forth.⁶ Hence, if statistics mattered, the conclusion could be that the concept of 'Macao Literature' may not be that significant at all; rather, it should be more appropriate to assign the works in question to established literary classes, and not to 'freshly-defined' categories.

This stirs up another issue—and indeed takes us to the starting point of the discussion that will follow below: After all, how is one to define 'Macao

Literature'? How do early works in two completely different languages fit into such a category? Furthermore and most important: Can we relate the term 'Macao Literature' to other literary classes? What are the options? Which are the categories that have inspired Chinese scholars to articulate variegated views on these questions? Finally, how does the example of Tang Xianzu fit into such a panorama?

To begin with, perhaps one can compare the problem of simultaneously 'existing' literary strata or classes to the issue of taxonomy in biology. Scholars hold different opinions regarding certain details, but there is a generally accepted hierarchy defined by a set of criteria gradually developed over time. The results are well-known: we can subordinate species to genera, subfamilies, families, etc. Usually biologists lead debates over such categorisations before they decide on minor re-adjustments. No doubt, within the total arrangement of assumed literary classes, we encounter similar constellations. Simply put, where is the place of 'Macao Literature'? Or should we give up such a 'species' altogether in favor of other options?

The present article discusses this issue in a very general way. The first few paragraphs will look at some essential problems and the current terminology. In the course of these notes we shall introduce several new aspects—as a kind of provocative measure that may stir fresh debates on the 'semantics' involved in the total process. The final part will look at the case of Tang Xianzu, and this will be followed by a brief conclusion with some references to Camões. The general idea is not to discuss individual works or to reconsider, for example, the 'inner journey' attributed to the wonderful writings of Wu Li; on the contrary, in lieu of screening literary master pieces by bringing in line biographical and other relevant data, we shall focus on the issue of early 'Macao Literature' as a category.

Finally, as we all know, in the field of humanities and social sciences categorisations often depend on views. Some scholars would go even further, believing there are no completely objective criteria for constructing mental entities and larger frameworks. The inevitable result is that one finds all kinds of hybrid forms at various levels of the analysis. In other words, the *differentiae*, if such a term is acceptable, remain debatable; the suggestions presented here add up to nothing more than a marginal commentary. This will

provide room for future discussions, which is what this paper intends.

TERMINOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EUROPEAN AND CHINESE CATEGORIES

Literature produced in and about Macao is usually either in Chinese or Portuguese, as was said. ‘Hong Kong Literature’, perhaps a comparable case, is in Chinese or English. This bilingualism is not evident from such terms as *Aomen wenzue* or *Xianggang wenzue* 香港文学, because both associate a specific location—and not a language—with the general expression for literature. Strictly speaking, that also applies to *Zhongguo wenzue* 中国文学, *Lingnan wenzue* 岭南文学, and so on. Certainly, we all know the last two terms refer to products in Chinese, but from a purely linguistic point of view, they address a location first, while the implicit dimension of language only takes on a subordinated function. By contrast, combinations like ‘English Literature’ or ‘German poetry’ link an adjective to a noun, and the adjectives in these and similar combinations point to a particular language first, and not necessarily to a location, because ‘German’ can of course also refer to works from Austria, Switzerland, etc. In these cases, the location, so it seems, is not a dominant, but rather a subordinated element, while language, as a kind of semantic marker, ranges at a superior level. If that is accepted, then *Riben wenzue* 日本文学 and ‘Japanese Literature’ are not quite identical, although, conventionally, one term is taken to represent the other, whereas, semantically, an expression like ‘Macao Literature’ should not be too different from its Chinese counterpart *Aomen wenzue*.

However, that is not all. In the case of Macao, the linguistic question becomes quite complex if one also considers literary works produced in Macanese, i.e., in the local Patois (also Patua) or Creole language which contains Portuguese, Chinese, Malay and other elements. The early history of that language and the circumstances under which it gradually came into being and how it developed over time, remain largely unknown.⁷ But from texts and documents of later periods, especially from the 19th century onwards, we can tell that this language was the native tongue of several thousand citizens then resident in Macao.



Wu Li.

In more recent times, many speakers of the local Patois migrated to Hong Kong, Shanghai and various Portuguese-speaking regions worldwide, as well as to North America and other destinations.⁸ The present status of the Macanese-speaking community is a theme beyond the scope of these notes, and spoken Macanese largely has become a phenomenon of the past, but the fact that a substantial number of literary pieces in that language (or dialect?) are available in printed form is definitely of relevance. Moreover, the existence of such works points to an earlier stage of literary production, characterised by oral traditions. Presumably, the first poems and songs in Macanese date back to the formative period of the Macanese community, which began in the late 16th century.

Besides speakers of Macanese / Portuguese and Chinese, we also find other resident groups in old and / or modern Macao. These include female servants from the Philippines and Indonesia. To what extent their presence impacted on Macao's literary scene and cultural ‘superstructure’ more generally, is a question that one ought to discuss within a larger context; it

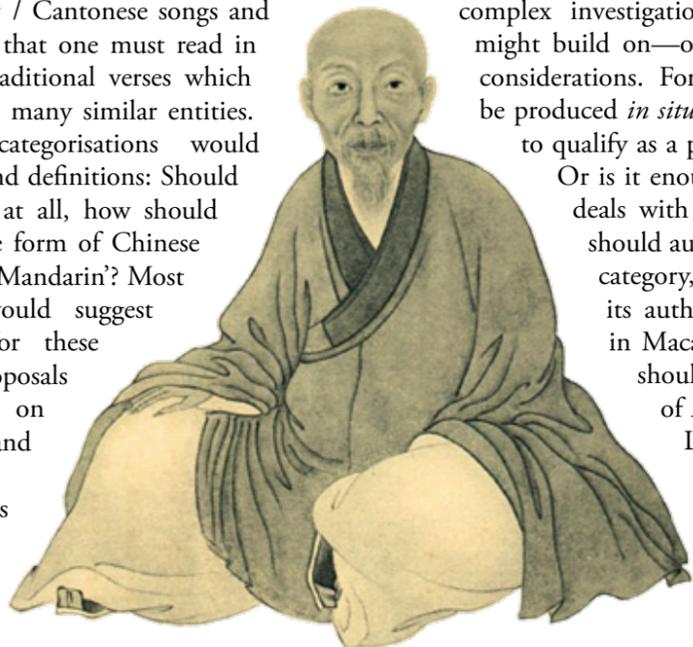


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does not concern the early stages of Macao's history, so we may leave that point out of the present note, but research with a focus on late 20th century and later literary products should definitely not ignore that question. The case is slightly different with products in English and other European languages. Especially from the late 18th century onwards one finds a small number of English, Scandinavian, French and other European merchants in Macao. Among these temporary residents were several artists and individuals who have left short descriptions, diaries, and so on.⁹ If historians abstain from imposing linguistic limits, then the works of these men and women should perhaps be considered as well. However, as in the previous case, the chapter of literary products in European languages other than Portuguese does not really belong to the initial stages of Macao.

Summarising the above, one may say that a category like 'Macao Literature', largely defined through a small location, may not only comprise Chinese and Portuguese works, but also works in Macanese and other languages—depending on views and expectations. Furthermore, the development of that literature was, to some extent, conditioned on the gradual emergence and perhaps even disappearance of linguistic communities. In addition, if one considers both literary and oral traditions, the Chinese contribution to Macao's literary scene could be divided into linguistic subcategories—for example, Yue yu 粤语 / Cantonese songs and plays, modern poetry that one must read in *putonghua* 普通话, traditional verses which rhyme differently, and many similar entities. Clearly, linguistic categorisations would require precise rules and definitions: Should one consider dialects at all, how should one rank, say, the Yue form of Chinese in regard to standard 'Mandarin'? Most certainly, scholars would suggest different solutions for these questions and their proposals would again depend on personal preferences and current conventions.

The above shows that it would be difficult to invent an appropriate



Qu Dajun.

English (Portuguese or other European) label for the term *Aomen wenxue*—a label in which the locational element Aomen / Macao would be substituted by an adjective, in analogy to 'Chinese Literature', 'English Literature', and so on. The combination 'Macanese Literature' evokes works in 'Macanese', and only in that language / dialect; therefore, this term cannot be used for literary works in other tongues. The conclusion is that, with regard to Macao, the starting point for literary categorisations is not quite the same in China and Europe: Chinese scholars have no problems with creating a category like *Aomen wenxue*, which, from a purely functional point of view, may range on the same level as, say, *Riben wenxue* or *Zhongguo wenxue*. Scholars writing in European languages find themselves compelled to use the term 'Macao Literature', which is not in one 'class' with the categories 'Japanese Literature' or 'Chinese Literature', for, as was said, in the Macao case the focus is on a location, while in the other cases it is on languages. These incompatibilities, one may add as a footnote, may also explain the curious observation that most modern works on 'Macao Literature' are in Chinese, and not in European languages.

FROM 'MACAO LITERATURE' TO OTHER CATEGORIES

Considering the above, categories such as *Xianggang wenxue* and *Aomen wenxue* call for complex investigations on what these terms might build on—other than purely linguistic considerations. For instance, should a work be produced *in situ*, i.e., in Macao itself, so as to qualify as a piece of 'Macao Literature'? Or is it enough to state that because it deals with Macao in some way, one should automatically assign it to that category, irrespective of whether its author ever spent a long time in Macao or not? In other words, should one narrow the semantics of *Aomen wenxue* and 'Macao Literature' to a de facto status of *Aomen de wenxue* 澳门的文学 and 'Literature of / from Macao'? Or

is the implicit element *guanyu* 关于 / 'about' more significant? Or are both dimensions of equal relevance?

Besides the need of finding a consensus on these essential points, another issue seems even more relevant: Can one identify certain elements that are 'typical' for all or at least for some works within the 'Macao class'? More simply, where are the borderlines between related categories? How should one treat a work by an author resident in Macao, but choosing, say, Singapore as an imaginative setting for his poems, plays and novels? Should these products be double-listed, in the context of 'Macao Literature' and 'Singapore Literature'? Furthermore, if an author writes in Chinese, these products may also form parts of generic categories like 'Chinese Drama' or 'Chinese Poetry', which comprise products prepared in different locations. Still more generally: Can one construct an implicit ranking system that defines which 'taxonomic' criteria should come first and which might rank second?

These questions are likely to remain without final answers. The matter becomes even more delicate if one considers the ongoing debate on such terms as *Haipai wenxue* 海派文学 (roughly, Shanghai Literature) or *Jingpai wenxue* 京派文学 (Beijing Literature), and thereby opens a flood-gate to the difficult terrain of multiple hierarchies. The reasons are evident: Similar to other 'local' categories, the Chinese strata of *Aomen wenxue*—or the total phenomenon as such—may form one subordinated segment under the roof of *Zhongguo wenxue*. But would *Aomen wenxue* then really stand on the same level as the literary products from or about Shanghai, Beijing and other major regions? How should one reconcile the issue of a multi-linguistic past with the issue of *Zhongguo wenxue*? Should we open such terms as *Shanghai wenxue* 上海文学, *Yunnan wenxue* 云南文学 to also include non-Chinese works? If so, *Aomen wenxue* would simply be one of several mixed local categories. Alternatively, would it make sense to define the Chinese layer of *Aomen wenxue* as a subordinated layer of *Lingnan wenxue*? Concomitantly, should we leave aside the Portuguese and Macanese strata, or assign these two elements to other entities, so as to preserve an overwhelmingly Chinese hierarchy?¹⁰

If *Aomen wenxue* would form one element of *Lingnan wenxue*, under *Zhongguo wenxue*, then of course there should be certain elements shared by all three, besides the language. Or at least *Aomen wenxue*

should have certain things in common with the next higher level, i.e., *Lingnan wenxue*. In that case one would also need to raise a further question: What is the measurable weight of those elements uniquely found with *Aomen wenxue* and those also visible within the categories *Lingnan wenxue*, *Zhongguo wenxue*, etc.? Should one emphasise the common denominators or stress the 'individual' characteristics? If the special elements would prove insignificant, then defining a 'subspecies' under a 'species' would perhaps be superfluous, and indeed quite artificial.

Other 'fashionable' categories in Chinese literary studies include such terms as *xiangtu wenxue* 乡土文学 ('native-soil literature', 'nativist literature', 'rural literature', etc.) and *chengshi wenxue* 城市文学 ('urban literature', 'city literature', etc.). Today Macao is a major urban site with only very few open spaces left that are not covered with high-rise buildings. In the olden days, the northern part of the peninsula was a rural area, and the surrounding islands, including Taipa 氹仔 and Coloane 路环, were partly uncultivated land, with only small villages at best. Can we apply the category of 'urban literature' to such a setting? Is there a point in time when 'Macao Literature', if that term remains valid, 'transformed' qualitatively so as to become one entity under the general heading of 'urban literature'? Without doubt, locally produced works in Portuguese / Macanese are not really commensurate with the criteria governing 'ordinary' *xiangtu wenxue* products. But some of the Macao-Chinese families with ancient roots in the former villages may look back to oral traditions that might come close to *xiangtu wenxue*. If so, is there more than one kind of *xiangtu wenxue* in Macao, or are there several kinds of *chengshi wenxue*? Alternatively, would it be better to leave these micro-categories aside, because they could cause too much confusion, or lead to an inflation of unwanted sentiments?

MARITIME LITERATURE, XIANGSHAN LITERATURE AND FURTHER TERMS

Another concept currently debated among academics in China and in the public is the issue of *haiyang wenhua* 海洋文化, or 'maritime culture'. Several scholars have proposed defining *haiyang wenxue* 海洋文学 (maritime literature), *haiyang lishi* 海洋历史 (maritime history), *haiyang jiaoyu* 海洋

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教育 (maritime education) and similar categories as elements associated with or subordinated to the first term. These ideas derive, in part at least, from the perception of China's past. British, Japanese and American aggression had a devastating effect on the Qing empire and the political constellation in the first part of the 20th century. To ensure that similar events will not darken the future, and to be prepared for long-term competition within a globalised context, far-sighted politicians have opted to strengthen China's coastal regions and to revitalise public interest in China's maritime heritage. This links to the famous voyages of Zheng He 郑和, now usually seen as a well-planned effort to spread peace and harmony. Moreover, the 21st century has been labelled a new age dominated by maritime relations via the oceans. The idea is also around that one ought to reshape the maritime corridor linking China via the Indian Ocean to Africa and the Near East by promoting mutual friendship and cultural exchange—in continuation of trade and traffic along the so-called 'Maritime Silk Route', quite in contrast to the situation brought about by Anglo-American dominance over Asia's coastal spaces and the high seas.

These maxims and proposals have inspired specialists to connect the concepts of *haiyang wenhua*

and *haiyang wenxue* to various sites along China's coastal provinces. One such 'platform' is Zhuhai, in part identical with the old county of Xiangshan 香山.¹¹ Efforts were made to wrap up Xiangshan and Macao in one 'intellectual' package, and some institutions correctly pointed out, already since the 1980s, that both locations would depend on each other in many ways. Such discussions came to include a broad catalogue of topics and themes, some drawn from local history, others related to contemporary culture. One possible conclusion is that both sites should have a joint literary heritage and that Zhuhai's or Xiangshan's own literary production—which one may call *Xiangshan wenxue* 香山文学—might form one part of China's *haiyang wenxue*, together with 'Macao Literature'.¹²

There is no doubt that Macao always was (and continues to be) a multicultural place, a location where people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds met to conduct trade and become involved in cultural exchange. The county of Xiangshan, which predates the arrival of the Portuguese to these zones, can look back on a long history of international connections as well. This transpires from Ming sources.¹³ Presumably early Xiangshan and some of the remote offshore communities under its control can also claim some multicultural traits or were at least open towards the

maritime world. Hence, if we associate multiculturalism with early Macao, and with *Aomen wenxue*, then we may include Xiangshan in the same category and refer to a compound entity: *Zhu Ao wenxue* 珠澳文学. However, this is a purely hypothetical issue; to date that expression is rarely found in internet sources and the idea may not appeal to everyone.

Besides inventing such a 'taxonomic' class, one must of course find an appropriate solution for the concept of multiculturalism. It has become fashionable to play with this term and there are all kinds of models and theories to rely on. Again, this involves variegated views and conventions. Here one could even think of linking Macao's multiculturalism and literature to the debate on *fanfang* 番坊, or foreign quarters—a discussion that started several decades ago. *Fanfang*, as a kind of diaspora, we all know, existed in Quanzhou 泉州, Guangzhou 广州, on Hainan and in other locations, usually near the coast, but there is disagreement on how these urban compounds operated, and on the kind of cultural exchange they conducted. Some scholars believe that early Macao was a special case of the *fanfang* model, others reject such a suggestion.¹⁴ If one thinks that Macao should enter the *fanfang* category, then early 'Macao Literature', as part of this territory's 'superstructure', may go as a kind of *fanfang wenxue* 番坊文学. Indeed, perhaps there existed similar literary traditions, manifest in oral form, in Quanzhou under the Song and Yuan, or in early Guangzhou. 'Macao Literature' would then be one of several *fanfang wenxue* cases.

But there is more to say. The generic question—how to define 'Macao Literature'—is a reminder of a further term, namely of *li'an wenxue* 离岸文学, or 'offshore literature'. At first sight one may feel tempted to apply this term to Macao's total literary production. But that would raise questions because, strictly speaking, Macao is not an offshore place—the core area of the city is built on a peninsula, as was said—although we know from history that many nearby sites now connected to the central Guangdong mainland, especially in the Zhongshan 中山 region, once formed small islands separated by canals and open water spaces. However, in this particular case the 'offshore' element usually implies a different meaning. Many authors resident in Macao have published their works in Hong Kong and other locations, especially in the period prior to the 1980s,

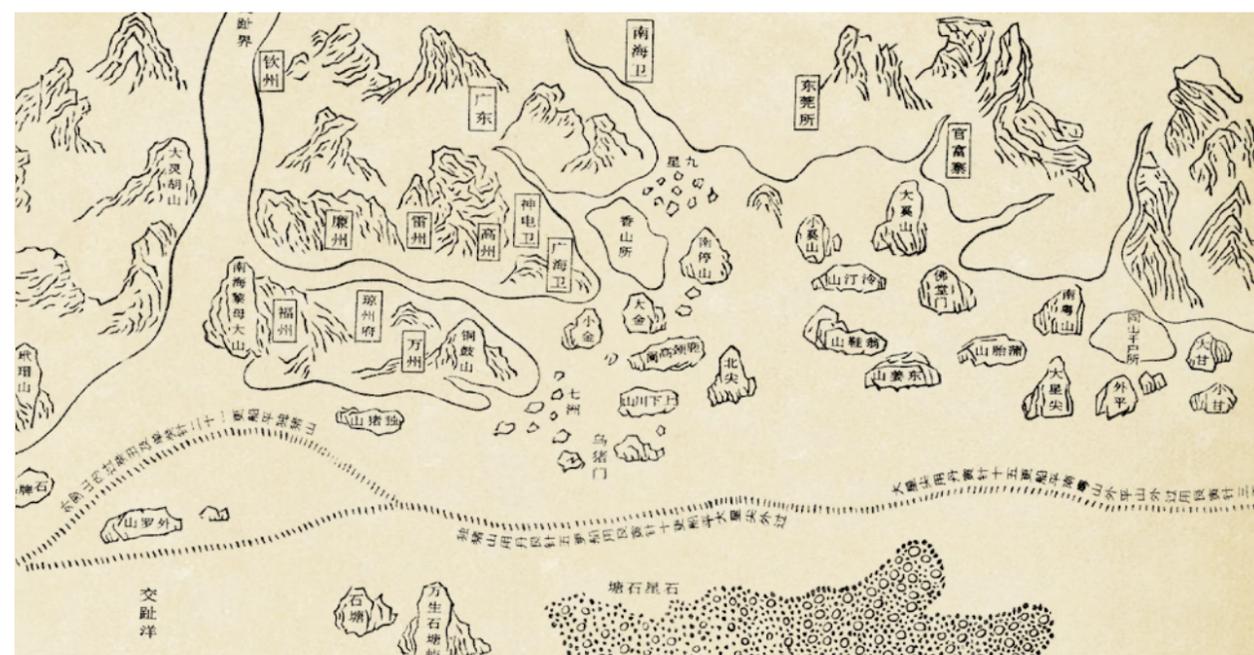
when there were very few opportunities to bring out poems, stories, plays and other pieces in Macao itself, and it is mostly to this material, published 'abroad', that the term 'offshore literature' refers. Also, by 'offshore literature' scholars usually mean Chinese works written in the 20th century.¹⁵ The term is rarely extended to Portuguese, Macanese and further non-Chinese texts printed outside Macao. However, if one argues that 'Macao Literature' should include works in different languages, then the category *li'an wenxue* may be seen as a broad multi-lingual and / or multi-locational annex of *Aomen wenxue*, i.e., as an annex with global dimensions because authors living in Macao continue to bring out some of their products in distant places. Finally, *li'an wenxue*, projected back to earlier times, might then even qualify as one element under the category *fanfang wenxue*, and these categories in turn could be seen as branches of China's *haiyang wenxue*.¹⁶

'MACAO LITERATURE': POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONCERNS

Several of the categories outlined in the previous chapters are surrounded by an explicit or implicit dichotomy between two different elements, which one may see as exclusive components, or as fulfilling complementary functions: this concerns the idea of *in situ* works or works with 'local roots' (*gensheng wenxue* 根生文学) versus the idea of an imported or 'implanted' literature (*zhiru wenxue* 植入文学)—or to put it in different terms, simply 'local literature' (*bentu wenxue* 本土文学) versus 'visitors' literature' or 'sojourners' literature' (*keju wenxue* 客居文学). There can be no doubt: Macanese language products should mostly belong to the *gensheng* or *bentu* group, but it is unclear how one should treat the other forms, especially the early products.

From here we can gradually move to a related arena, the political world: the current image of 'Macao Literature' seems largely determined by a continental dimension. Chinese scholars, when screening such concepts as 'local literature', 'visitors' literature' and 'offshore literature'—and whether or not they should be applicable to Macao—usually envisage a strong link between the literary output of that place and the literary production in the rest of China. In other words: Macao, as a literary stage, can be analysed from

Section from the so-called Zheng He Map (Zheng He hanghai tu 郑和航海图)(15th century) showing Xiangshan in the centre.



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the perspective of Beijing, Lingnan / Guangdong or the subordinated level of Xiangshan / Zhuhai. Clearly, there is nothing wrong with such an approach because, quite evidently, this suits current concerns.

Of course, in theory one can also look at Macao from the sea. In historical times, coastal locations surrounding a clearly-defined maritime space communicated with each other across the oceans. The sea was an open terrain which made it possible for 'opposite' shores to enter into direct commercial and cultural exchange over long distances and through long periods of time. Now and then specific ports were more closely linked to other ports, via the oceans, than they were connected, via inland routes, to different sites in the continental 'hinterland'. If one sees in Macao a city more intimately tied to other maritime centres—commercially, politically, culturally—than to, say, Guangzhou and Xiangshan, then it should be possible to develop an alternative model for Macao's literature and its course through history. Depending on the criteria used for such an approach, it may also become necessary to define a 'mixed stage': Perhaps there was a period in which continental influence dominated Macao's local literary scenario—an age to which a continental view should then apply—and another period characterised by maritime predominance.

Historians have developed various models with a distinct maritime component that may serve to identify longue durée phenomena and transformation processes. One such item is the 'Mediterranean' approach linked to the name of Fernand Braudel. In analogy to this model, overridden by Eurocentric dimensions, one can of course invent a kind of Nanhai 南海 matrix, i.e., a major category that tries to bring the total area of that sea and its surrounding coasts under one roof. The purpose would be to find out whether and to what extent the ports and islands belonging to the Nanhai can be seen as one 'integrated structure', i.e., as an entity characterised by the exchange of material elements, as well as ideas, including literature, across the sea.¹⁷

Clearly, from a Chinese point of view, such an approach bears the danger of certain abuses: One abuse lies in the temptation to disconnect coastal China from its hinterland, by arguing that locations like ancient Macao and ancient Quanzhou were mostly tied to other maritime sites, therefore they should be treated in a purely maritime context. Similarly, if one would support such an argument, Macao's literature

would have to be seen as one element within a highly complex matrix that could be labelled *Nanhai wenxue* 南海文学, or an Asian version of a 'Mediterranean Literature' model.¹⁸ The question is: How far should one go with this, where should the line be drawn to find an acceptable compromise?

Of course, to date such categories are of no relevance in debates on literary classes. Moreover, if they would be important, it should not be too difficult to move around current political fears. One key assumption is that an overall maritime matrix, into which one might embed Macao and its literature, would certainly, indeed almost automatically, bear a very strong Chinese dimension. This comes with the nature of the Nanhai, its long history and present setting, particularly in the northern half, where Chinese influence has always been strong, at least since the times of the Han and Wu dynasties. In fact, one could even try to lift a category such as *Nanhai wenxue* to the rank of *Lingnan wenxue*, or at least treat it as being a kind of *diqu wenxue* 地区文学 (regional literature), under a special form of *diqu wenhua* 地区文化 (regional culture), practically on the same level as other, similar classes. In this case, the implicit concepts of *bentu / gensheng* and *zhiru / keju* might apply to a larger whole, and certain strata of Macao's literature would form one item of several similar items within a broader setting.

Finally, from a current Chinese point of view it should also be essential to consider certain general criteria suggested by Marxist theory. The different literary categories listed above cannot be considered *per se*, i.e., as isolated entities completely separated from social reality, or from the socio-economic conditions under which they came into being. Simply put, there is no 'Macao Literature' without Macao society, and no *fanfang wenxue* without the observable material and social patterns characteristic for a *fanfang*. However, and quite surprisingly, discussions on how to define *Aomen wenxue* rarely consider the socio-economic basis of Macao in adequate ways. On the contrary, at times the impression prevails that such debates are inspired by a conventional *l'ars pour l'ars* approach. This may be acceptable in the academic world of Europe, but it is not easily reconciled with conventional expectations in China. Hence, no matter which of the above-mentioned categories one wishes to use as a framework for the case of Macao, an

essential decision has to be made right from the start, namely whether one should filter literary products from or about that city through a 'purely' literary sieve, or whether one may rather try to see literature as a process largely determined by social forces.

The last point alludes to another difficult issue that needs a theoretical foundation. One may wish to apply the categories described in the previous paragraphs to the total development of literature in and about Macao—from its beginnings through to our own times. This bears the danger of undue simplifications, especially by downgrading or even neglecting the diachronic axis in favor of creating an inflated static panorama. Above we have already referred to the possibility of identifying certain stages marked by qualitative changes. In other words, the 'growth' of *Aomen wenxue*, depending on the criteria used for its analysis, may not emerge as a chain of similar elements, or a coherent line through time; rather, one should expect that such a development went through distinctive periods, perhaps through various ups and downs, each with its own characteristics. From a Marxist perspective—if one wishes to use such a matrix—these characteristics are likely to mirror a variety of socio-economic shifts and changes. If that is accepted, we may need agreement on the general course of Macao's history and social development—and certainly also on the evolution of those areas to which Macao was tied. Alternatively, we may neglect or downgrade these forces, thus trying to examine Macao's literature in its own light, or by linking it to the literary categories of other areas without considering the societies of these locations. Such an approach may lead to a model for the periodisation of 'Macao Literature' not necessarily in line with the periodisation of Macao's history. In other words, in the end there could be an (unwanted) gap between the perception of the city's socio-economic dimensions and the perception of its superstructure. Clearly, not everyone would be satisfied with such an outcome.

THE ASSUMED BEGINNINGS AND TANG XIANZU

The above shows that the category *Aomen wenxue*—and some related terms—still need a careful analysis. Much has been written on them, but there is no commonly accepted model, and there is not even

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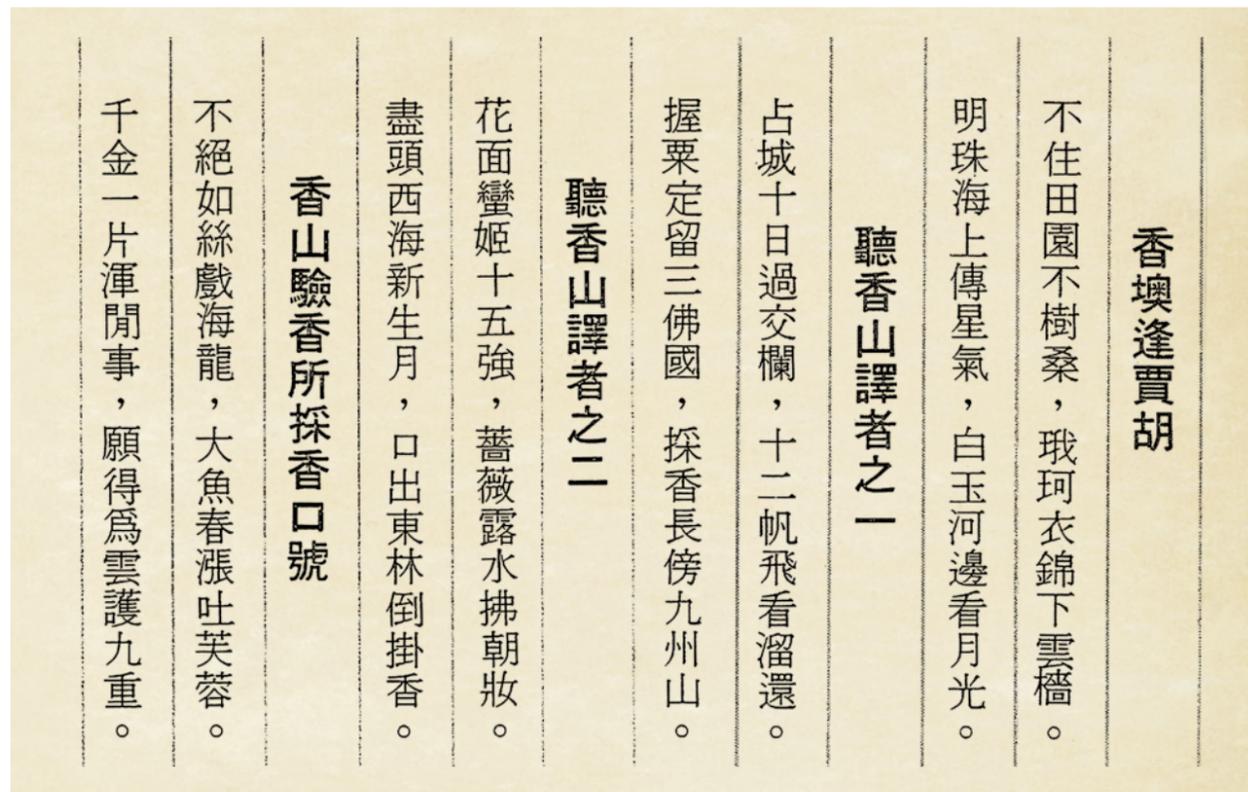
a generally agreed-upon matrix for the development of Macao's history, or the socio-economic dynamics associated with this city's path through time. In view of such uncertainties it is difficult, indeed, to find an appropriate answer to the questions of what *Aomen wenxue* may stand for, and whether it is useful, after all, to maintain such a category.

Clearly then, examining the beginnings of literature associated with early Macao, means that one will travel through swampy terrain. As was said, whether Camões set foot on the peninsula, we shall probably never know (although there are good reasons to assume he did stay there); regarding Tang Xianzu and Macao, there are some details, but not too many, and to what extent this poet was really familiar with the Portuguese remains a matter of debate; finally, the presumed roots of Macanese literature rest in the clouds as well; even drawing a clear picture of the early Macanese language has proved extremely difficult. These conditions have led to remarkable suggestions. In a modern Macao almanac one finds a chronologically arranged table with the names of Chinese writers producing poems and other texts in or about Macao. Tang Xianzu is not on the list—the earliest name belongs to a person of the 14th century, namely Zhao Yanfang 赵彦方, a native of Zhejiang province. Evidently Zhao is mentioned because his later family members appear in the context of Wangxia (Mongha) 望厦, a village in the northern section of the peninsula. Another view is that Macao Literature should start with Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236-1283) of the Song-Yuan transition period. This author mentions a location related to the larger area of Xiangshan / Macao, hence the proposal to consider him in the context of *Aomen wenxue*. Clearly, in both cases—Zhao Yanfang and Wen Tianxiang—the implicit idea is that one should embed urban Macao in a larger geographical entity, vaguely identical with Xiangshan county or the Zhongshan area, and thus push back in time the beginnings of that region's literary 'performance' to the earliest possible date.¹⁹ Scholars supporting this view, naturally, might be inclined to qualify *Aomen wenxue* as one element, perhaps even as the key item, within the *Xiangshan wenxue* category, or some kind of *Zhu Ao wenxue* matrix.

However, most authors working on Macao have remained faithful to the Tang Xianzu option, often citing, for example, a collection of Macao

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Four poems by Tang Xianzu 汤显祖, reprinted in (Li) Yigang (李) 毅刚, *Aomen sibai nian shixuan* 澳门四百年诗选 (1990).

poetry compiled in 1990, equipped with a preface by Qin Mu 秦牧 (1919-1992), and adorned by several calligraphies, among whom one finds, *in primo loco*, a patriotic piece by Ma Wanqi 马万祺, dated 1973.²⁰ This arrangement and the introductory pages suggest a political message: scholars and writers ought to 'synchronise' Macao's political past, present and future with the production of art and literature. There can be no doubt, many Chinese specialists, whether in Macao or other locations, have tried to follow that path, but from a Marxist point of view—again, if one chooses such an option—they may still need to undertake more serious efforts to explain the early stages of 'Macao Literature'.

Let us now look at Tang Xianzu more closely. In 1591 this man was demoted to Xuwen 徐闻. While travelling through Guangdong, he also visited Xiangshan and, as is commonly thought, the Macao peninsula. Tang was not a man from the far South; to him places like Hainan, opposite of Xuwen or the Leizhou 雷州 region, offered fascinating natural

and other phenomena, some of which appear in his poems. Typically for these verses, they carry a strong exotic flavor, not too different from the writings of earlier poets, who had reached these locations under the Tang and Song dynasties. Other than poetry, Tang Xianzu produced several famous plays in which one also finds references to the Xiangshan area. Here we shall briefly comment on the poems first.

One piece, called 'Xiang'ao feng jia hu' 香塢逢賈胡 (Meeting Foreign Traders in Xiang'ao), reads:²¹

不住田園不樹桑，
明珠海上傳星氣，
玳珂衣錦下雲檣。

Not living in fields and gardens, not planting
mulberry trees,
Wearing jade and colorful clothes, they
descend from the lofty masts.
Pearls from the sea glitter like twinkling stars,
White jades by the riverbank shine like the
mellow moonlight.

The sea full of pearls may remind readers of the Hormuz area, the Gulf of Manar near Sri Lanka, or the Sulu zone, all known for their wealth in pearl production, while the combination *baiyu he*, according to Tang Kaijian 汤开建, could be an allusion to the Kingdom of Khotan where there flowed a river of that name.²² Such images stood for long distances, wealth and precious goods used in trade between far-away locations; moreover, the boundless nature of space appears in an 'antithetical' package that combines the coastal periphery with the land-locked wilderness of Central Asia. But there is a second dimension behind these descriptions, especially if we link the combination *Xiang'ao*, in the title of these lines, not only to the county town of Xiangshan, but also to the name Xiangshan'ao 香山澳, normally related to Macao, or the curved bay near that place. The glittering pearls might then bring to mind the shining *hao* 蚝, or oysters, in the shallow waters around Macao, from which derives another well-known name for that place—Haojing'ao 濠镜澳.²³

The sequence *xia yunqiang* (in line 2), evidently linked to the big ships of richly attired merchants, is less easy to explain. Christina Cheng suggests 'they arrive here by the great carracks', Tang Kaijian believes they take to the sea, thus indicating an opposite movement.²⁴ The first line seems clearer: Generally, the place is devoid of agricultural land, which is true for the southern half of Macao, but there are rich people, especially the local merchants. One layer of the textual arrangement—precious stones and glittering pearls, the character *yun* (clouds) and the allusion to the distant river—may also be read as a vague hint to conventional fairy-tales such as the ones associated with the distant Kunlun Mountains 昆仑; however, that would take us to another world.²⁵

In a different quatrain, 'Ting Xiangshan yizhe' 听香山译者 (Listening to a translator in Xiangshan), the author mentions further locations: Champa, Gelam (an island near the western shore of Kalimantan; both these appear in the first line), Sri Vijaya and Pulau Sembilan off the Malaysian west coast (in the third and fourth lines), and a place called Liuhuan 溜还 (in line two). If this setting, certainly inspired by one of the early Ming accounts composed in connection with the voyages of Zheng He, is to reflect a meaningful geographical order, then Liuhuan could refer to a site near Java or Sumatra, because the name for Srivijaya—

Sanfoqi 三佛国—usually has to do with Palembang; but if no order is intended, then Liuhuan, especially the syllable *liu*, may derive from Liushan 溜山, then a current designation of the Maldivic and Laccadive Islands, off the Kerala coast.²⁶ Clearly, whether Tang Xianzu really knew what he was describing, is another question; his primary interest in mentioning these names certainly was to align Xiangshan and / or Macao with the exotic world beyond the horizons of the nearby sea.

There is a sequel to this poem which, among other things, mixes the impressions of distant locations with female beauty and exquisite luxury products. However, one must be careful here: the term *huamian* (in the first line: 花面蛮姬十五强) seems to stem from the name Huamian guo 花面国, i.e., 'Country of Tattooed Faces', according to some specialists the Batak region on Sumatra. Whether Ming scholars would really admire young branded ladies, is doubtful;

Macao lady, from *Aomen jilue* 澳门记略, Biji xiaoshuo daguan edition.

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Srivijaya / Sanfoqi, from *Sancai tuhui* 三才图会, early 17th century.

in all likelihood Tang Xianzu did not fully understand the implications of the combination he used and simply thought the expression would describe a ‘finely adorned face’, which he then used for the pretty girls of which he heard while in Xiangshan / Macao.²⁷ He certainly knew *qiangwei lu* 蔷薇露, rose dew—a precious commodity traded since antiquity—but whether he had a clear idea about the ‘upside-hanging down [birds]’, or *daogua* [niao] 倒挂[鸟], remains another open issue (lines 2 and 4 of same poem). Up until today, scholars disagree on the identity of this creature, which is unlikely to stand for paradise birds from New Guinea and the adjacent islands, as some writers have thought.²⁸

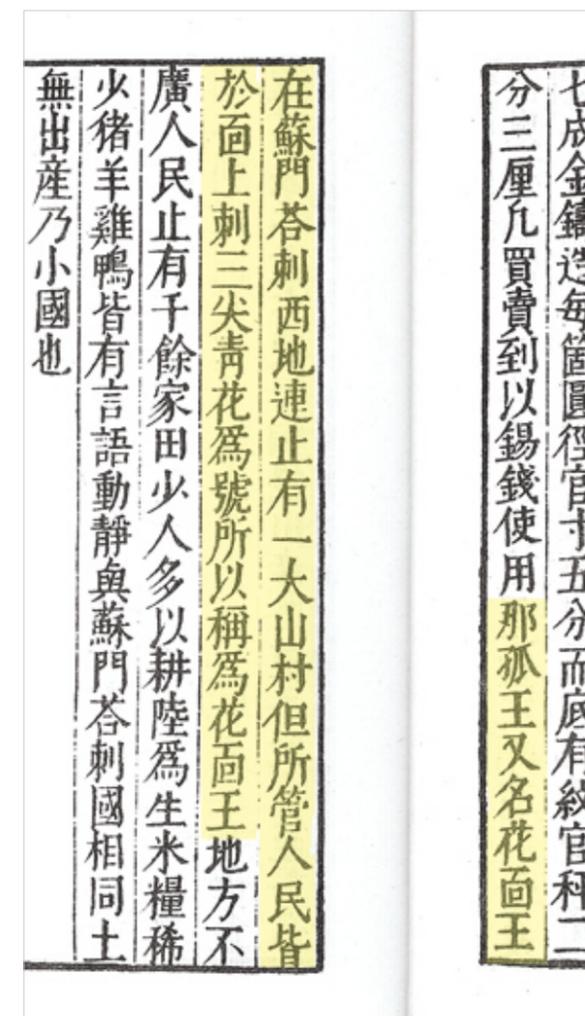
There is a fourth stanza, on which Tang Kaijian furnishes interesting comments. He states these lines would refer to an extremely costly substance

then commonly called *longxianxiang* 龙涎香, i.e., ambergris, which is an animal product frequently mentioned in Chinese medicine and *bencao* 本草 texts. Several historians have pointed out that Beijing’s imperial agents ordered small quantities of ambergris from the early Portuguese. The emperor had no suitable heir; ‘dragon spittle perfume’, they believed, might be a remedy for such a malaise. Some scholars drew curious conclusions from this constellation: Macao, they argued, owed its birth to the imperial bedchamber. But that is not all. The poem in question also contains the combination [a]furong [阿]芙蓉, one of many words for opium. Moreover, in its title one finds the expression *Xiangshan yanxiangsuo* 香山验香所—perhaps a reference to a ‘drug inspection post’ in Xiangshan and thus a modest hint to hidden vices. One may add, in those early days opium came

from various locations and, like ambergris, was mostly used in medicine.²⁹

Besides referring to Xiangshan’ao in the poems quoted above, Tang Xianzu also tells his readers—in a different piece—that he had met European missionaries in Zhaoqing 肇庆. But he is very brief here, and the verses in question are not directly related to Macao.³⁰ Without doubt, in regard to the latter place, Tang’s famous play *Mudan ting* 牡丹亭, or ‘Peony Pavilion’, is more important, because it contains several lines that have to do with this city. These mention the Church of St. Paul (São Paulo) and also address the wealth of Macao and its merchants.³¹ Scene 21 of this lengthy drama is particularly

Text segment from *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯胜览 (early 15th century), describing the Huamian Kingdom.



noteworthy. In the words of Christina Cheng, it is even ‘of pivotal significance in testifying to an East-West encounter among the Chinese and foreigners in Macao; and in weaving the Portuguese enclave with imperial China, thus constructing an “East meets West” scenario’.³²

Cheng offers very detailed explanations for her observations and it also transpires from the discussion that Tang Xianzu was not satisfied with the political circumstances of his times. Other authors have arrived at similar conclusions. Even the poems quoted above seem to contain critical tones, camouflaged in multiple ways. For instance, in ‘Ting Xiangshan yizhe’, the term *donglin* 东林 appears in an antithetical position to Xihai 西海. It is possible that this was intended as a form of protest, because the line in question—at the surface a description related to the *huamian* lady—may very well contain some kind of hidden criticism.³³

The above illustrates several points: First, Tang Xianzu’s verses and some sections of his play are full of exotic elements. But there are not too many ‘direct’ descriptions of Xiangshan’s / Macao’s landscape and setting; the author prefers to briefly mention the rich merchants and beautiful young ladies. Furthermore, in his verses he often alludes to the ‘outside world’

Daogua bird (daoguaniao 倒挂鸟), from *Gugong niao pu* 故宫鸟谱 (18th century, now in the Palace Museum, Taiwan).



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by making use of stereotype images drawn from earlier material. The ‘Other’, presented as a complex package of colorful terms and names, includes Macao / Xiangshan. In all likelihood our poet would not have been able to identify the different locations he mentions, and the attributes associated with them. The impression prevails that he re-arranges in elegant words what he had read in earlier ethnographic texts. Among other things this brings to mind the poems inserted in some of the *Xingcha shenglan* editions and, more broadly, the so-called *zhuzhi ci* 竹枝词 or ‘bamboo songs’, which were particularly en vogue under the Qing.³⁴

Then, what are the conclusions one can draw from the above? Evidently, Xiangshan / Macao were seen as gates to distant worlds. Secondly, the quatrains

fulfill the same functions as certain other verses by Tang, which portray China’s periphery, especially Hainan; in all these cases the author refers to various *mirabilia*.³⁵ Through such constellations he expresses personal interest in the ‘Other’, but also criticises the political conditions ‘at home’, in the imperial capital. Third, although he addresses some elements within the complex socio-economic structure of Xiangshan / Macao, this theme is not of primary concern; it is only depicted ‘at random’. That also applies to the play. Notwithstanding, there is a certain dichotomy in *Mudan ting*, as Christina Cheng has shown, not only in the sense of ‘East meets West’, but also in the form of divergent mentalities between China’s North and South, and thus between essential differences in local behavior. Again, Xiangshan / Macao, as a stage, serves to display disparities within China herself.

Finally, perhaps the place names in the poems above were deliberately chosen to remind educated readers of the expeditions directed by Zheng He, when the Ming dynasty was at the height of its power and not yet weakened by internal problems. Moreover, while Tang Xianzu was sojourning in Guangdong, the Japanese invaded Korea and eventually compelled China to intervene in favor of the latter. Hence we could also see in these poems a contemporary effort to criticise the present through the past, in partly disguised form. By contrast, in *Mudan ting* political criticism is more direct, as Tang Kaijian has pointed out, to mention just one modern comment.³⁶

Given these observations, the question arises, whether one should assign the relevant parts of *Mudan ting* and the four poems to the *Aomen wenxue* category. Tang Xianzu had a Chinese identity and was a Chinese author. His use of ‘exotic’ elements is nothing new. We know of other Ming plays staging ‘barbarians’ for various purposes.³⁷ Foreigners are also found in hundreds of poems, as was said. Indeed, one could almost substitute Xiangshan / Macao for other locations with comparable functions, and the main thrust of Tang’s argument would not be disturbed. Finally, there is the question of whether the pieces in question furnish enough socio-cultural elements to mirror essential characteristics of Macao’s society in the late 16th century. Alternatively, we may leave that dimension aside.

and at best they stayed in Macao, or Xiangshan, for a limited period of time. Hence, if one wishes to maintain the *Aomen wenxue* category, one must allow for divergent, indeed opposite approaches.

However, just as there is not very much in Tang Xianzu’s works that might point to a systematic and conscious effort of really examining Macao in its own light, there is also very little one may draw on to define the *Lusitadas* as a ‘typical’ piece of Macao literature. Here, then, we are back to the first part of this article: what exactly is the ‘Macaoness’ of these texts? Even if we assume that, as some authors have suggested with great enthusiasm, Camões really lived in Macao, the few Nanhai-related passages in his work remain loyal to a larger matrix. He certainly did not compose his *cantos* because he wanted to be a Macao-author or because he thought of creating a literary monument for a small city at the periphery of Portugal’s maritime empire; on the contrary, he very much remained a son of a huge

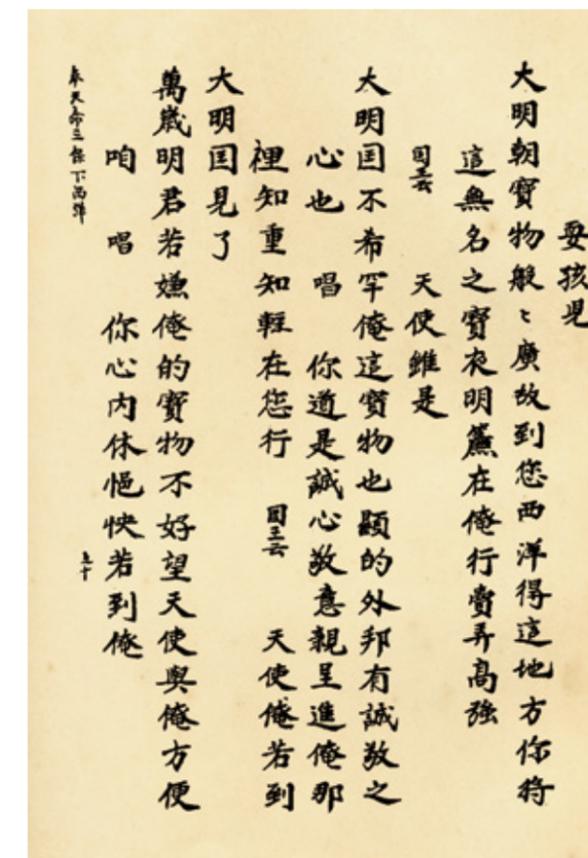
From an illustrated edition of *Mudan ting* 牡丹亭.



Page from *Aomen jilue* 澳门记略, with various poems cited.



Text segment from the Ming play *Xia Xiyang* 下西洋, staging various foreigners.



CONCLUSION

As was mentioned, another important author associated with the beginnings of Macao is Luís Vaz de Camões. Chinese scholars and authors from Anglophone countries have not always commented positively on the heroic verses of this man, who was much inspired by Greek traditions. But Camões knew the sea, he travelled through the maritime world, he experienced the dangers emerging from nature, and he was able to compare different civilisations and people encountered on the perilous route to India and the Far East. None of the early Chinese authors linked to Macao were in a comparable position. They all came from the ‘mainland’ and were never or rarely exposed to the hardships of long sea voyages; in short, they probably differed from such a strong character as Camões. Quite often they hailed from rich families

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multi-cultural entity that stretched from the Atlantic to Japan—and no less than that. Put differently, Tang Xianzu uses several locations to screen the ‘domestic stage’ and to voice criticism; Camões relies on the oceans, the maritime scenery and the East to praise the grandeur of Portugal, the discoveries, and Vasco da Gama. Both authors may be described as patriotic, both are very much embedded in their own ‘national’ backgrounds, and both employ different techniques, but there is a common denominator: they take advantage of distant settings, the past, and numerous exotic elements to reflect on the ‘self’.

While Camões ascended to the pantheon of literary immortals, Tang Xianzu was not extolled in the same way, and not with the same degree of intensity. There is no *Gruta do Tang* in Macao and no heroic dimension, not in China or anywhere else.³⁸ Also, while in terms of functions and use, some scholars have compared the *Lusiadas* to the late Ming novel *Sanbao taijian Xiyang ji tongsu yanyi* 三宝太监西洋记通俗演义 (preface 1597), vaguely associating both pieces, and even other works, with the genre of travel literature, that of course cannot apply to Tang Xianzu’s *oeuvre*.³⁹ Hence, the common denominator somewhat forcefully outlined above, is a very general element, which certainly bears no ‘Macao-specific’ trait.

Finally, Camões was a man of the sea, supposedly with a clear perception of ‘reality’. If for ideological or other reasons one deems it necessary to define a link between the socio-economic conditions of a location and its depiction in literature, then the question arises, to what extent this author’s work might reflect the situation in Asia, or at least in the maritime world around the South China Sea? Could it be that Tang Xianzu, when referring to Xiangshan, Hainan and

other such places, was much more disconnected from ‘real life’ than his Lusophone ‘counterpart’? It seems that, once again, as already explained above, these concerns, when taken seriously, may cause dissent and much headache.

Given all these thoughts and obstacles, as well as the issue of ‘literary species’ and hierarchies, it appears difficult to uncritically confirm the notion that *Aomen wenxue* or ‘Macao Literature’ should, at all costs, start with Camões, Tang Xianzu and other early authors. Yes, they all have to do with Macao, but the threads tying them to this port remain thin and weak. It should be definitely easier to assign such men to more familiar categories. The final word on this matter, it seems to us, has not been spoken. However, perhaps there is an elegant way out. Some years ago, when trying to develop a cultural panorama for Macao, Christina Cheng compared the essential characteristics of that city to the role of the ancient Roman god Janus, the guardian of passages and doors, beginnings and ends. In that context, she also mentioned Camões, but evidently felt no need to get too specific about literary destinations, classifications, theories, and hierarchies.⁴⁰ It may indeed be helpful to leave such matters aside—and not to overstress the cases of Tang Xianzu, Pinto and other contemporary or near-to-contemporary authors whom one might find hovering in similar positions. The political horizons are not always clear, mixing facts and fancy bears risks, and dissecting the cultural superstructure of early Macao, naturally, will always provoke debates. In that sense, the notes above may tell us something about the limits of such discussions, but whether they are helpful and whether one may ever find a satisfactory solution broadly accepted in the academic world is rather doubtful. **RC**

LITERATURE

NOTES

- To date, the celebrated work by Zheng Weiming 郑炜明 (2012), based on earlier research by the same author, is perhaps the most representative introduction to the history of ‘Macao Literature’. Other surveys include: Liu Denghan 刘登翰 (1998) and Li Dechao 李德超 (1988), who deals with Chinese works. There are, of course, more specialised studies as well, for example Lü Zhipeng 吕志鹏 (2011). Already in the 1990s the Aomen jijinhui 澳门基金会 (Fundação Macau or Macao Foundation) started a book series called Hao hai congkan 濠海丛刊. This series includes one of the first major bibliographical items: Deng Junjie 邓骏捷 (1996). Meanwhile, there is an *Aomen wenxue congshu* 澳门文学丛书 (by Zuoja chubanshe, 2014). In this context, Li Pengzhu 李鹏翥, an author himself and well-known in Macao, is quoted of having said that *Aomen wenxue* is a branch of the literature in China. See the internet entry of 28 August 2014 (<http://culture.people.com.cn/n/2014/0828/c87423-25557745.html>; accessed 05-09-2015), on the inaugural ceremony for the start of the *Aomen wenxue congshu*. For the museum, see, for example, *Aomen ribao* 澳门日报, 27 October 2014 (http://www.macaodaily.com/html/2014-10/27/content_946431.htm; accessed 15-09-2015).
- For a Chinese translation of Camões, see Zhang Weimin 张维民 (1995). One representative collection of Tang Xianzu’s works: Xu Shuofang 徐朔方 (1998).
- Only two recent monographs on Camões shall be listed here: Eduardo Ribeiro (2012a) and (2012b). Ribeiro provides fresh ideas, refuting earlier scepticism with interesting arguments. – For a recent survey in Chinese, see Zheng Weiming (2012), pp. 158-162, and notes.
- Representative collections: Zhang Wenqin 章文钦 (2007); Ou Chu 欧初 / Wang Guanchen 王贯忱 (1996). – Jin Guoping 金国平 prepared an excellent Chinese translation of the *Peregrinação*. See Pinto ... / Fei’ernan Mendesi Pingtuo 费尔南·门德斯·平托, etc. (1999).
- Here we list only some important bibliographical tools, traditional biographies, and ‘Western’ studies: (1) Tang Xianzu: Xu Shuofang (1980) and (1993); Chen Meiyun 陈美云 (1997); Idema (2003). (2) Wu Li: Chaves (1993); Lin Xiaoping (2001); The Macau Ricci Institute (2006). (3) Qu Dajun: Wang Zongyan 汪宗衍 (1970); Tang Kaijian 汤开建 (1997). – There are several recent dissertations on these authors. One example: Dong Jiuxiong 董就雄 (2004). Also recently (on 1 and 2): Cheng (2013). Finally, there is a new journal called *Tang Xianzu yanjiu jikan* 汤显祖研究集刊, which started in 2015.
- Many scholars have accepted the views in Batalha (1974) and other publications by the same author. Batalha is also known for her glossary or lexicon of Macanese.
- For a recent study of the Macanese community, especially in its later stages, see the excellent monograph by Dias (2014). Dias quotes extensively from the voluminous work by Forjaz (1996), archival records and consular sources, as well as from a multitude of secondary works.
- A good starting point for examining the presence of English and other European artists and writers in Macao are the relevant entries in: Universidade de Macau, etc. (2010-2011). Many of these entries are by Rogério M. Puga.
- On Macao-works in Chinese as a branch of *Lingnan wenxue* (澳门之中国文学, 实可视岭南文学之支脉), see, for example, Zhang Jianhua 张剑桦 (2009), where Li Dechao, Huang Xiaofeng 黄晓峰 and others get cited.
- See the articles in Lin Youneng 林有能 et al. (2009). The publication of this collection received support from various institutions; it highlights Zhuhai’s past and present within the category of ‘maritime culture’. Most notably, it opens with an essay on Lingnan culture 岭南文化, written by the celebrated scholar Ye Xian’en 叶显恩. Clearly, this suggests a strong link between the local Xiangshan level and the superior geographic framework of Lingnan. – For an earlier and very concise account of Xiangshan culture 香山文化, see, for example, Wang Yuanming 王远明 (2006).
- Important intellectuals are listed in Xiangshan and Guangdong chronicles. Of the chronicles from Xiangshan, called *Xiangshan xianzhi* 香山县志, the earliest extant version is by Deng Qian 邓迁 and Huang Zuo 黄佐 (1548). Later works date from 1673, 1750, 1828, etc. – Huang Shaochang 黄绍昌 and Liu Xiaofen 刘熹芬 (both late Qing) collected ‘Xiangshan poetry’ in their *Xiangshan shilue* 香山诗略. This anthology, first printed in 1937, contains hundreds of poems from the long period Tang to Qing. A very small number deals with Macao. See, for example, *Aomen ribao*, 19 November 1987 (<http://www.macaodata.com/macabook/macaserial/hjwtxb/html/021.htm>; accessed 28-09-2015). – There is also a local journal called *Xiangshan wenxue* 香山文学, which in 2014 came out with its fortieth issue and may be seen as a representative forum for the promotion of local literature.
- There are not too many surveys of Zhuhai’s / Xiangshan’s history. One useful item is: Huang Xiaodong 黄晓东 (2011). – For Xiangshan and its external contacts under the Ming, prior to Macao, also see Ptak (2010).
- Some suggestions and references to early studies in Ptak (2001). Several Chinese works by Jin Guoping and Wu Zhiliang 吴志良 deal with the *fanfang* theme in the context of Macao.
- One early example is the collection by Ling Tun 凌钝 (1995). – For a discussion also see Zhang Jianhua (2009), part 2 (4).
- The exclusive circulation of original works through the internet, a point not discussed here, may complicate the issue even further. The inclusion of such works in our debate would have implications for the dimensions of space and time and might require a modified approach to the issue of categories.
- See, for example, Ptak (2011b) and (2013).
- Guida (2007) seems close to the idea of a *Nanhai wenxue* category.
- Huang Hanqiang 黄汉强 et al. (1994), p. 266; Zhang Jianhua (2009), part 1 (discussion on Wen Tianxiang). – There are countless studies on Wen Tianxiang. One English book is Brown (1986). For a recent Chinese work, see Yu Zhaopeng 余兆鹏 / Yu Hui 余晖 (2008). – Note: Later Macao almanacs provide modified and enlarged accounts of Macao’s literature. See, for example, Wu Zhiliang / Yang Yunzhong 杨允中 (2005), pp. 408 et seq.
- For this representative collection: (Li) Yigang (李毅刚) (1990), pp. 3-5. On Qin Mu and Macao, see, for example, ‘Qin Mu yu Aomen wenxue de yinyuan’ 秦牧与澳门文学的因缘, originally in *Aomen ribao*, 3 August 1994 (<http://www.macaodata.com/macabook/macaserial/hjwtxb/html/028.htm>; accessed 04-10-2015).
- See, for example, the collection cited in the previous note. – For an English translation, see Cheng (2013), p. 31. Here, lines three and four follow that version.
- Tang Kaijian (1998), pp. 77-78.
- A similar name is Haijing’ao 海镜澳. There are many more poetical names for Macao not listed here.
- Cheng (2013); Tang Kaijian (1998), p. 76
- For a very detailed study on the Kunlun: Frühauf (2000).
- For traditional Chinese toponyms and ethnonyms: Chen Jiarong 陈佳荣 et al. (1986). Two famous texts related to Zheng He: Ma Huan 马欢 (2005) and Fei Xin 费信 (1954). English translations: Ma Huan / Mills (1970) and Fei Hsin / Mills / Ptak (1996). – For the Maldives and Laccadives: Ptak (1987). – Judging from the characters used for

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- Gelam (Jiaolan 交栏), the source of Tang's poem should be an early edition of Fei Xin's work. This text also says, with a fair wind one could reach Gelam from Champa within ten days and nights. See the English translation, p. 41. More in Tang Kaijian (1998), p. 73.
- 27 Possibly these were the young Asian consorts and / or daughters of Portuguese men, because we know from later reports that there were only very few European women in Macao. – For Huamian guo, see, for example, Ma Huan / Mills (1970), especially pp. 61, 116, 121, and Fei Xin / Mills / Ptak (1996), pp. 32, 59. An English work on tattooes (albeit in different contexts): Reed (2000). – For this line of Tang's poem see also Cheng (2013), p. 32, and Tang Kaijian (1998), p. 74. – More generally, several Chinese poems mention beautiful women in the context of Macao; this might be a topic for further investigation.
- 28 For *daogua* birds (and their 'technique' of emitting fragrance): Wang Ting 王頹 (2005). A critical study: Röder (2009). Later *daoguo* birds were also associated with Macao. See Ptak (2011a), pp. 87-88, plus sources there.
- 29 Tang Kaijian (1998), pp. 74-76. – Other relevant articles: Jin Guoping / Wu Zhiliang (2007a) and (2007b). – A recent study on ambergris in the context of Asian maritime trade: Borschberg (2005).
- 30 Some details are controversial. See, for example, Tang Kaijian (1998), pp. 70-72; Cheng (2013), pp. 32-35.
- 31 Li Dechao (1982) discusses many Chinese poems related to this church.

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- 32 Cheng (2013), p. 43. – For a translation of *Mudan ting*: Birch / Swatek (2002). Much earlier, Vincenz Hundhausen provided a German version of this play. A French version: Lévy (1998). There are many more partial adaptations not listed here.
- 33 However, the famous Donglin movement, again a familiar topic examined by many modern authors, only began in the early 17th century and this raises the question as to when and why Tang's wrote his poem.
- 34 Different kinds / 'subgenres' of *zhuzhi ci* exist. One recent study with translations: Schaab-Hanke (2012). – An example related to Macao, by You Tong 尤侗 (1618-1704), in Ptak (1986a). Some of You Tong's verses also appear in the famous *Aomen jilüe* 澳门记略 of the mid-18th century. Jin Guoping made an excellent translation of this work; see Yin Guangren 印光任 / Zhang Rulin 张汝霖, etc. (2009). – Of the late Qing *zhuzhi ci* on Macao those by Wang Zhaoyong 汪兆鏞 are particularly well-known.
- 35 On Tang Xianzu and Hainan, see, for example, Yao Pinwen 姚品文 / Long Xiangyang 龙祥洋 (2003).
- 36 Tang Kaijian (1998), especially pp. 80-83.
- 37 Two examples: Kersting (1986) and Ptak (1986b), the part on *Xia Xiyang* 下西洋.
- 38 Teixeira (1977) remains an indispensable tool for research on the famous Camões grotto.
- 39 Examples: Lombard (1993) and Finlay (1992).
- 40 Cheng (1999), especially pp. 12 et seq.

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Macau em *Os Dores*, de Henrique de Senna Fernandes

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INTRODUÇÃO

Em 2010, após o desaparecimento de Henrique de Senna Fernandes, várias foram as iniciativas realizadas para homenagear o escritor macaense que fez de Macau o mote para a sua escrita e se assumiu plenamente como *filho da terra*.

Os seus contos e romances dão-nos a conhecer um Território, que apelida de *mátria*, onde se

movimentam personagens que nos levam a percorrer o Macau geográfico e social do século xx.

Macau, caso único a nível mundial no que respeita ao seu estatuto de território chinês sob administração portuguesa e uma pequena cidade onde imperava, maioritariamente, tudo o que dizia respeito ao Oriente, desde a língua, aos costumes e a todo um conjunto de princípios e valores, foi, ao longo de mais de quatrocentos anos, marcado pela cultura ocidental, nomeadamente a portuguesa.

Esta situação, em que as duas culturas mais influentes vivem lado a lado mas não convivem efectivamente, define a própria geografia da cidade dividindo-a, se não em várias cidades, pelo menos em duas, a “cidade chinesa” e a “cidade cristã”.

Podemos dizer que se trata de coexistência de duas cidades: “uma cidade em que os portugueses se sentem em casa e em que os chineses estão de visita e a outra metade em que os portugueses e os macaenses se sentem fora do lugar, num ambiente estranho e são vistos como pessoas de fora ...”.¹

Esta divisão está bem presente no romance *Os Dores*, onde as personagens vão penetrando em espaços que não sentem como seus, onde são vistos como estranhos e deslocados, sendo, igualmente, visível no ritmo de vida e nas vivências de cada uma destas cidades. Por exemplo, numa referência ao Carnaval, o

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