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RC é uma revista de Cultura e, domínio do Espírito, é Livre. Avassalada ao encontro universal das culturas, servente da identidade cultural de Macau, agente de mais íntima relação entre o Oriente e o Ocidente, particularmente entre a China e Portugal. RC propõe-se publicar todos os textos interessantes aos objectivos confessados, pelo puro critério da qualidade. Assim, as opiniões e as doutrinas, expressas ou professas nos textos assinados, ou implícitas nas imagens de autoria, são da responsabilidade dos seus autores, e nem na parte, nem no todo, podem confundir-se com a orientação da RC. A Direcção da revista reserva-se o direito de não publicar, nem devolver, textos não solicitados.

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RC is a cultural magazine published quarterly in two versions—Chinese and International (Portuguese/English)—whose purpose is to reflect the unique identity of Macao. The magazine also seeks to promote freedom of expression and through the articles published we hope to stimulate ideas and discussion of topics related to Western/Eastern cultural interchange, especially between China and Portugal.

RC publishes articles covering an extensive range of topics expressing a diversity of views. However, RC is not responsible for ideas and opinions voiced in these articles and thus they cannot be taken as editorial opinion. In addition, we reserve the right to withhold any unsolicited text from publication and the right not to return any unsolicited text.



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A NOSSA CAPA

Voltamos ao tema Património nesta última edição de 2002, o primeiro ano de publicação da edição internacional de Revista de Cultura. Nesta segunda parte do tema inaugurado no número precedente trazemos novas abordagens sobre a questão, desta vez numa perspectiva de futuro: *visões*. Visões apresentadas no decurso de uma conferência internacional que o Instituto Cultural promoveu em Setembro último, à luz da candidatura de doze monumentos de Macau e suas zonas envolventes a Património da Humanidade. Uma das lições a extrair remete-nos para a necessidade de olhar o desenvolvimento do Património numa perspectiva de re-utilização e autenticidade, projectando o futuro da Cidade e do seu tecido urbano a partir de uma identidade cultural – estruturalmente indefinida ou em definição, mas que resulta de um legado histórico ímpar, de encontros interculturais. A outra lição – implícita no design de Victor Hugo Marreiros – ensina-nos que a preservação e dinamização do Património, no entendimento moderno, é um processo que deve ser feito a partir da mobilização e consciencialização sociais por forma a defender aquilo que lhe é realmente intrínseco: os Cidadãos, a sua verdade.

OUR COVER

We complete the first year of publication of Review of Culture international edition by returning to the theme of Heritage. Part II approaches the questions raised in the previous issue from a different perspective by looking at the future, and introducing the differing visions for the future broached at the “Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision” international conference organised by the Cultural Institute last September. The meeting took place within the context of an application to UNESCO to list twelve monuments and buffer zones in the Macao S.A.R. as World Heritage. One of the lessons that emerged from the meeting was the need to view heritage development in terms of re-use and authenticity, weaving the city’s future urban fabric out of cultural identity. Regardless of whether this identity is structurally undefined or still being defined, it is the result of an unequalled historic legacy of intercultural encounter. The other lesson, implicit in Victor Hugo Marreiros’ design, is that a contemporary understanding of Heritage conservation and promotion involves stimulating and enhancing social awareness. This process can protect what lies at the heart of heritage: citizens and their inherent identity.

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Editorial

Haverá poucas cidades ou regiões no mundo que possam ambicionar os tempos de dinamismo económico-social que se desenham para Macau neste final do ano 2002, quando se celebra o terceiro aniversário da implantação da RAEM.

Passado um período de transição de 12 anos, em que a RPC e Portugal concertaram esforços no sentido de uma transferência de poderes tranquila e na afirmação da autonomia de Macau, no contexto da grande China, eis que a Cidade vê abrirem-se novos e aliciantes horizontes.

A um tempo, Macau vislumbra fortes perspectivas de crescimento económico e urbanístico, na sequência da liberalização da sua principal indústria, o jogo; e uma clara possibilidade de obter a ambicionada “certificação” internacional do seu valioso legado histórico-arquitectónico, por via da candidatura de 12 monumentos e zonas envolventes a Património da Humanidade da Unesco – decisão que será tomada entre 2004/2005 (ver lista nas páginas seguintes).

Numa leitura apressada – ou, se quisermos precisar, datada –, os dois projectos apresentar-se-iam incompatíveis, ou mesmo antagónicos, devido à natureza iminentemente economicista de um e cultural do outro. Mas não são.

Pelo contrário, há um nítido caminho de convergência entre ambos os processos que apontam para um mesmo modelo de desenvolvimento: uma cidade tendencialmente mais aberta e cosmopolita, que reinvente a sua história de entreposto Oriente/Ocidente como visão do seu próprio futuro.

Um caminho feito de complementaridades, em que as novas intervenções urbanas não “sacrifiquem” os percursos patrimoniais nem a preservação “trave” o crescimento; antes, se “sirvam” uma da outra para um desenvolvimento urbano sustentado, moderno e cultural, conferindo maior qualidade de vida aos Cidadãos – aos que nela residem e aos que a visitam.

Esta perspectiva está a ganhar cada vez maior consistência em Macau. E na exacta medida aumenta também a consciência dos desafios que as duas oportunidades colocam e da necessidade de uma discussão alargada – por um lado, restrita, científica e multidisciplinar, recorrendo a valias de dentro e de fora,

com vista a divisar as políticas tecnicamente mais adequadas, e, por outro, aberta e generalizada, de forma a ganhar a adesão da sociedade a este modelo de desenvolvimento.

Como agente directamente envolvido na problemática do Património, o Instituto Cultural assume grande responsabilidade na promoção deste debate e, em Setembro passado, realizou uma conferência internacional sob o tema “A Conservação do Património Urbano: Uma Visão de Macau”.

Antes de passarmos a enumerar as principais conclusões dos trabalhos (ver artigo do Dr. David Lung, p. 12), podemos tirar duas ilações irrefutáveis: o assunto desperta muita curiosidade nas pessoas em geral, como atesta a elevada afluência de público às várias sessões da conferência, e um interesse invulgar entre os especialistas de preservação do património, arquitectura e urbanismo – seduzidos pela singularidade e riqueza do nosso legado arquitectónico.

Macau é, reconhecidamente, um “case study” na área do património e do urbanismo, pela sua valia histórica e cultural que resulta num “unique blend of Asian and Latin cultures”, como referiu o japonês Yasuyuki Aoshima, director e delegado da Unesco em Pequim (que reconheceu, no discurso inaugural, o empenho das autoridades de Macau nas políticas de preservação e dinamização do património urbano).

As análises e os estudos que apresentamos nesta edição* – segunda parte do tema “Património e Urbanismo em Macau”, iniciado no número anterior de *RC* – bem como as opiniões veiculadas pelos congressistas, vindos da China, do Sudeste Asiático, da Europa e da América do Norte, defendem como legítima e justa a ambição de Macau vir a engrossar a lista de 730 propriedades actualmente classificadas como património mundial. Assim o passado de Macau ganha futuro. **RC**

*Os artigos sob o tema de capa “Património e Urbanismo em Macau II” baseiam-se nas comunicações apresentadas na referida conferência, revistas e editadas pelos autores expressamente para publicação na *RC* (que seleccionou 5 das 11 comunicações em conformidade com os critérios editoriais da revista). Todos os textos serão, no entanto, brevemente publicados pelo Instituto Cultural em *Actas da Conferência ‘Conservação do Património Urbano: Uma Visão de Macau’*.

Editorial

Few cities or regions in the world could boast of the dynamic socio-economic development seen in Macao in late 2002, as we approach the 3rd anniversary of the establishment of the Macao S.A.R.

Following on from a twelve-year transition period during which the People's Republic of China and Portugal worked together to achieve a smooth handover underpinned by autonomy for Macao within a greater China, the city can now look to a future with tantalizing new horizons.

Macao is forecast to enjoy strong economic and urban expansion now that the gaming sector, its prime industry, has been liberalized. At the same time, it stands in an excellent position to gain the highly sought-after international "certification" of inscription in UNESCO's World Heritage List for its precious architectural heritage: a decision concerning the twelve-monument and buffer zone application is scheduled to be taken in 2004/2005 (see list on following pages).

If we take a superficial, or perhaps traditional, view, these two projects may seem incompatible, or even at odds with each other: one deeply rooted in economic interests, the other arising from cultural concerns. On the contrary, there is a clear convergence in both projects: together they point to a single development model for an increasingly open cosmopolitan city able to reinvent its historic past as an *entrepôt* serving East and West and use it as a vision for its own future.

Of course, the separate routes towards convergence should complement one another in a process marked by new urban projects that can cherish heritage, and conservation efforts that can nurture growth. Rather, each should be able to take advantage of what the other offers in working towards sustained urban development that takes into account contemporary and cultural concerns and foster a higher standard of living for residents and visitors alike.

This increasingly solid prospect for Macao is accompanied by a heightened awareness of the challenges presented by both opportunities and the need for extensive debate. This should occur, on the

one hand, in restricted multidisciplinary academic circles with a view to ascertaining the most technically appropriate policies and, on the other hand, in open forums with a view to gaining support for this development model from the public at large.

The Cultural Institute, as the Macao government body directly involved in heritage issues, must take a leading role in nurturing this debate. Last September, it organized an international conference on "The Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision".

Before turning to the main conclusions drawn from the sessions, presented by Dr. David Lung on p. 12, we can draw the following irrefutable inferences: this is an issue that generates immense interest amongst the general public, as was reflected in the high rate of attendance at the various conference sessions, and particular interest from specialists working in the fields of heritage conservation, architecture and urban planning who have been enchanted by the wealth of Macao's unique architectural legacy.

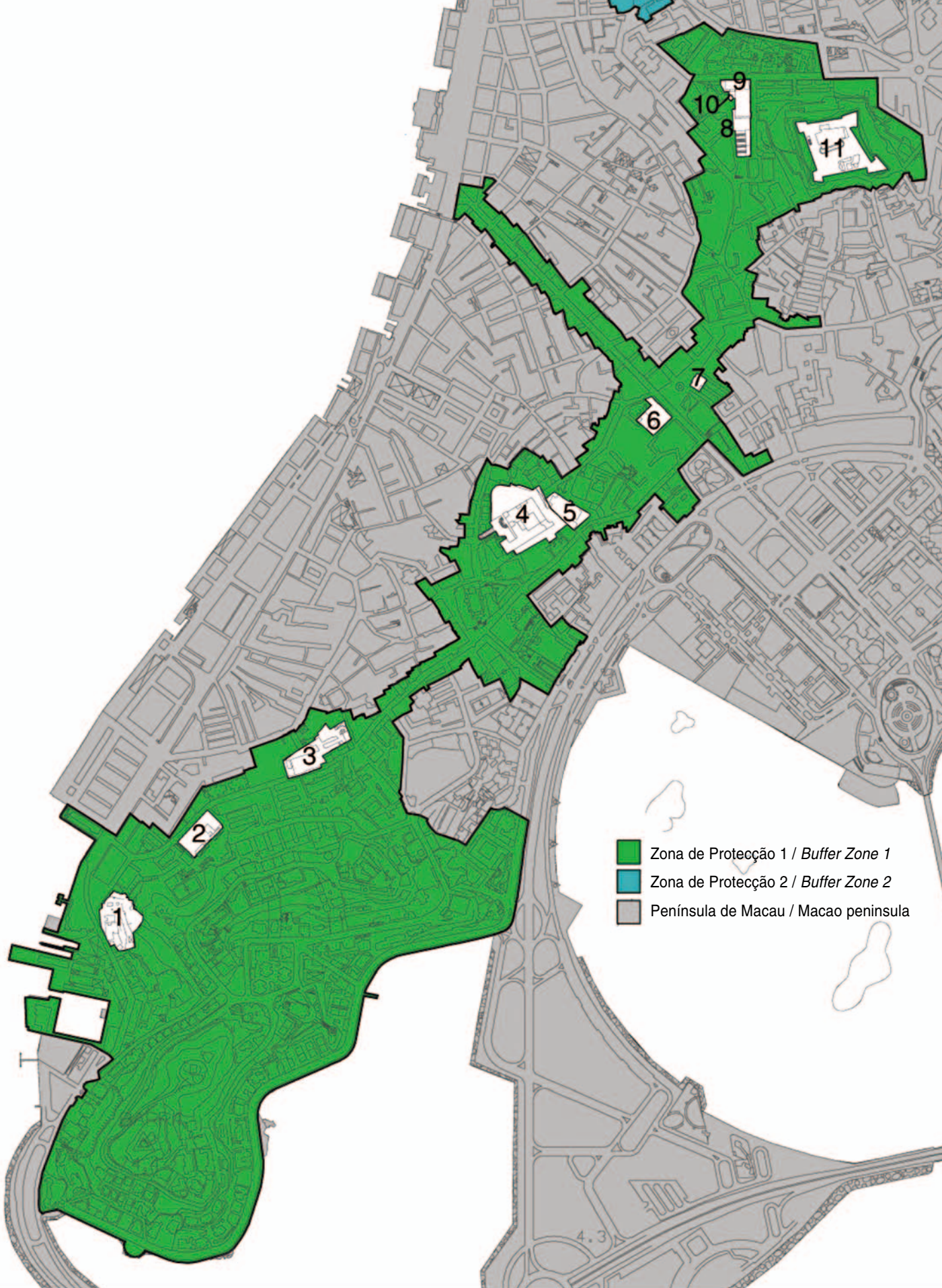
Macao's historic and cultural significance make it a true "case study" in the field of heritage and urban planning. Yasuyuki Aoshima, Director and Representative of UNESCO's Beijing office, described it as a "unique blend of Asian and Latin cultures" in his Opening Speech at the conference in which he also paid tribute to the efforts made by the Macao authorities in implementing conservation policies and stimulate built heritage.

The authors of the analyses and studies presented in this issue*, and the conference participants from China, Southeast Asia, Europe and North America were in agreement as to the legitimacy of Macao's desire to join the list of 730 items currently classified as World Heritage. That is how Macao's past can have a future. **RC**

* The Articles contained in the second part of *RC*'s "Heritage and Urban Planning in Macao" are in effect five of the eleven papers presented to the above-mentioned conference, revised and edited by the authors with the express purpose of publishing them in *RC*, and selected in accordance with the review's editorial criteria. The Cultural Institute will publish all eleven papers shortly in *The Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision Conference Proceedings*.

**MONUMENTOS E EDIFÍCIOS INTEGRANTES DA CANDIDATURA DE MACAU
A PATRIMÓNIO MUNDIAL. SUA LOCALIZAÇÃO E ZONAS DE PROTECÇÃO.
MONUMENTS AND BUILDINGS IN MACAO'S APPLICATION TO UNESCO
FOR INCLUSION ON THE WORLD HERITAGE LIST. LOCATION AND BUFFER ZONES.**

Nome / Name	Data de construção / Date of construction	Classificação / Classification
1 Templo de A-Má <i>A-Ma Temple</i>	Construção / <i>Construction</i> : 1488 Expansão / <i>Expansion</i> : 1605	Monumento / <i>Monument</i>
2 Quartel dos Mouros <i>Moorish Barracks</i>	1874	Edifício de interesse arquitectónico / <i>Building of architectural interest</i>
3 Casa do Mandarim <i>Mandarin's House</i>	1881	Edifício de interesse arquitectónico / <i>Building of architectural interest</i>
4 Igreja e Seminário de S. José <i>St. Joseph's Seminary and Church</i>	Igreja / <i>Church</i> : 1746-1758 Seminário / <i>Seminary</i> : 1728	Igreja: Monumento; Seminário: Edifício de interesse arquitectónico <i>Church: Monument; Seminary: Building of architectural interest</i>
5 Teatro D. Pedro V <i>Dom Pedro V Theatre</i>	1860	Edifício de interesse arquitectónico / <i>Building of architectural interest</i>
6 Edifício do Leal Senado <i>Leal Senado</i>	1784	Monumento / <i>Monument</i>
7 Santa Casa da Misericórdia <i>Holy House of Mercy</i>	Primeira estrutura de 1569; Renovação no século XVIII <i>First structure built in 1569; Renovated in the 18th century</i>	Monumento / <i>Monument</i>
8 Ruínas de S. Paulo <i>Ruins of St. Paul's</i>	Fachada concluída em 1637-1640 <i>Facade completed in 1637-1640</i>	Monumento / <i>Monument</i>
9 Templo de Na Tcha <i>Na Tcha Temple</i>	Construção: 1888, renovado em 1901 <i>Built in 1888; Renovated in 1901</i>	Monumento / <i>Monument</i>
10 Troço das Antigas Muralhas <i>Section of the Old City Walls</i>	c.1632	Monumento / <i>Monument</i>
11 Fortaleza do Monte <i>Mount Fortress</i>	1617-1626	Monumento / <i>Monument</i>
12 Fortaleza da Guia (incluindo Capela e Farol da Guia) <i>Guia Fortress (including Guia Chapel and Guia Lighthouse)</i>	Fortaleza / <i>Fortress</i> : 1622-1638 Capela / <i>Chapel</i> : 1626 Farol / <i>Lighthouse</i> : 1864	Monumento / <i>Monument</i>



珠海市
Zhuhai

關前
Portas do Cerco

青洲
Ilha Verde

景沙灣新填海區
NATAP

筷子基南灣
Bacia Sul do Palane

水塘
Reservatório

內港
Porto Interior

港樓碼頭
Terminal Marítimo

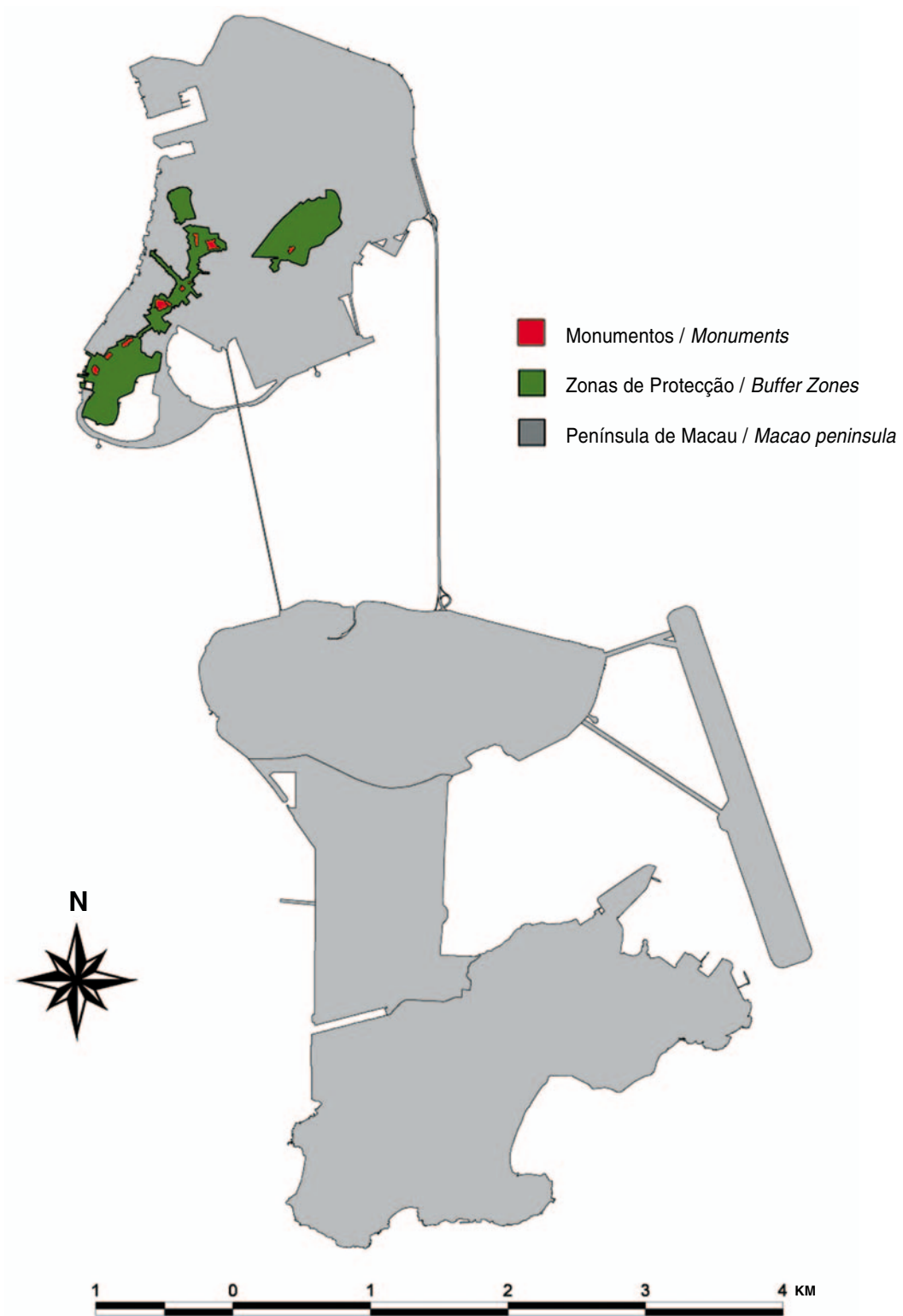
外港
Porto Exterior

新江橋
Ponte

- Monumentos / Monuments
- Zona de Protecção 1 / Buffer Zone 1
- Zona de Protecção 2 / Buffer Zone 2
- Zona de Protecção 3 / Buffer Zone 3
- Península de Macau / Macao peninsula



和門
Portas do Entendimento







The Future of Macao's Past: An Epilogue

DAVID LUNG*

INTRODUCTION

"We want to make sure that Macao's application for UNESCO World Heritage listing is not just to boost Macao's image, but to have real and positive effects on the community in the long run."

Dr. Daniel C. W. Tse
Chairman of the *Macao Vision* Conference Academic Committee
(Quotation from his Opening Address for the *Macao Vision* International Conference)

The Government of the Macao Special Administrative Region has made it clear that it is determined to strengthen its efforts in conserving its cultural heritage and to be on a par with other world cities. The question is how to do it and what approaches should be taken. This leads to the questions raised by Dr. Tse in his Opening Address:

1. What can we do with our heritage in light of the exciting developments we face in this new era of Macao?

* SBS, MBE, HKIA, RIBA, JP. Professor; Registered Architect, Founder and Director of the Architectural Conservation Programme, University of Hong Kong, received his master degrees from The University of Oregon in Architecture and in Asian Studies. He is appointed by the HKSAR Government to serve on the Board of Directors of the Urban Renewal Authority where he chairs the Planning, Development and Conservation Committee, mapping out guidelines for urban design and conservation. Professor Lung also has been advising the Government on policies and strategies relating to heritage protection in Hong Kong since being appointed to the Antiquities Advisory Board in 1989 and has been the Chair since 1991. He is also a member of the Culture and Heritage Commission.

SBS, MBE, HKIA, RIBA, JP. Professor, arquitecto registado, fundador e director do Programa de Conservação de Arquitectura da Universidade de Hong Kong. Mestrado em Arquitectura e em Estudos Asiáticos pela Universidade do Oregon. Nomeado pelo Governo da RAEHK como membro do Conselho de Administração da Autoridade de Renovação Urbana, na qual é Presidente da Comissão de Planeamento, Desenvolvimento e Conservação, emitindo directrizes para o design e conservação urbanos. O Professor Lung também tem sido conselheiro do Governo nas políticas e estratégias relacionadas com a protecção da herança em Hong Kong, desde que foi nomeado para o Conselho de Antiguidades em 1989, e para Presidente em 1991. Também é membro da Comissão de Cultura e Herança.

Previous page: General view of St. Paul's Ruins, early 20th century. Part of the walls of the former College of Mater Dei is still visible. Arquivo Histórico de Macau (Macao Historic Archives).

2. How do we make extra mileage out of it?
3. How can it bring enrichment to our community life?

4. How do we share our rich cultural heritage with the rest of the world?

This conference Epilogue summarises the views and expert opinions expressed in the Conference, which has been described by Chief Executive of the Macao Special Administrative Region, Mr. Edmund Ho, as a reference for Macao's long-term planning and urban development. Although it concludes the three-day conference held in Macao, it marks an opening chapter in Macao's heritage conservation, as aptly put by T. S. Eliot in the last verses of *Four Quartets*, *Little Gidding* (1943):

*What we call the beginning is often the end.
And to make an end is to make a beginning.
The end is where we start from.*

It is from this end of the conference that I begin my Epilogue. In writing, I have a single purpose in mind: how best this summation of views can help lay the foundation for conserving Macao's heritage as well as for planning its future. I have, therefore, taken the liberty of summarizing views expressed in the conference according to three main aspects, namely,

1. cultural significance;
2. conservation and urban development;
3. economic value of heritage conservation.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

The essential ingredient needed for a city to excel and become a world city is the attitude of its citizens towards culture and heritage. A government should therefore consider the funding given to develop facilities in the city a long-term investment to enhance the level of cultural sophistication of its citizens. The ultimate benefit of a culturally sophisticated city is the sense of pride and belonging

PATRIMÓNIO II

developed among its citizens, which is the critical element that holds an urban society together and sustains it into the future.¹

Macao already has a cultural system of its own through its historical development under the former Portuguese administration. Macao's unique blend of the East and the West—the Cantonese roots and the Portuguese legacy—defines its cultural character in the broad sense. The historical process is what shapes the cultural characteristics and heritage in the forms of architecture, the built environment, customs, traditions and cuisine, all of which are the cultural assets that define cultural identity.

The cultural mission and vision of Macao, therefore, is to remain a place of exchange between the orient and occident (*significance*), whose dominating mainstay is its authentic, sustainable and well-managed cultural heritage (*role of culture*). This cultural heritage, supported by the modern entertainment, tourism and convention industries (*overall development strategy*) under the “one country, two systems” principle, will serve to enhance the quality of life of the local community (*ensuring sustainability*).²

The question is thus not about forming a specific new culture, but to recognize what Macao already has, and to further develop and refine it for its own sustainable future. This can be achieved by no other means than the education of the public, all half a million people of Macao, and, in particular, the younger generation who will be Macao's future leaders: politicians, community and business leaders, and professionals. They are the people who will make decisions that will affect the future cultural identity of Macao, so they should be made aware of Macao's history and cultural heritage through education, and learn to appreciate and treasure them.

CONSERVATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Macao has the potential to establish itself in the world as a great cosmopolitan city, especially once the new gaming industries are in place and running. This is largely due to the government and the community's readiness to accept new ideas and new trends, and, more importantly, the local people's willingness to open themselves to outsiders—international investors, expatriate workers and foreign tourists—and accept

them as members of the Macao community. This ‘open-door’ policy has to be maintained in order to sustain the image and characteristics of Macao as a cosmopolitan city.

Macao has many unique historic buildings and sites, and almost each and every one of them possesses great cultural significance and distinct character. Hence, every effort has to be made to cater for the long-term management of these heritage buildings and sites. In addition to the overall conservation plan executed by the Cultural Institute's Cultural Heritage Department, the specific requirements of each site are met through individual site management regimes. This issue will become more pronounced should certain places in Macao be declared UNESCO World Heritage Sites. In this respect, UNESCO has a framework of guidelines that are intended to protect designated World Heritage Sites from over-exploitation and to assist managers in fulfilling their role by understanding what makes the site significant and protecting it from the numerous threats. Based on these guidelines, specific conservation plans can be refined for individual buildings and sites.³

It is equally necessary to have regular public consultations to encourage citizens' participation in and commitment to the conservation effort. These are measures that help to ensure good conservation practice. In addition, Macao has to train its own people to meet this challenge, and at the same time, invite overseas experts to assist. Tertiary institutions in Macao have a key role to play in offering not only research and technical assistance for Macao's heritage conservation, but also, and more importantly, providing professional training in the field of heritage conservation.⁴

On a macro level, there needs to be a tie-in between the overall conservation and management policy for all heritage buildings and sites in Macao and the plethora of plans for the future development of the city. In the planning process, mechanisms such as ‘cultural impact assessment’ (CIA) have to be implemented in order to provide for a fair and equitable, transparent and legal instrument whereby all the stakeholders are able to follow and arrive at a common goal.⁵ The new city and the old city need to be examined in an integrated and holistic manner. At times, when conservation effort comes to a standstill because the redevelopment of a historic site becomes a critical issue, the ‘transfer of development rights’ (TDR)

HERITAGE II

mechanism can be employed. Historic cities like Hoi An (Vietnam) and Bath (U.K.) are good examples of how comprehensive conservation of the whole city or conservation area has been implemented.⁶

It is understandable that given the current economic situation, there is a need to place more attention on the competing demand for land, creating opportunities for more employment and higher profit for landowners. It is therefore not surprising that developers may prefer to give priority to redevelopment and new construction rather than conservation. For individual owners of heritage buildings and sites, it is probably not their preferred option to invest in conservation and adaptive reuse of their properties. Although such an attitude is shortsighted, it is accepted by the community in general. Given such a situation, the government should seize the opportunity to take a bold step forward before things become irreversible, and act as the promoter of conservation projects not only as an opportunity to educate the public but also as a means to prepare for a sustainable cultural future.

The development of Macao will be focused on the economy, and, in particular as a service provider for the gaming and tourism industries. The nature of such economic development, if left unchecked, may result in a society increasingly dominated by speculators and opportunists who see Macao as no more than a transitional place where money is quickly made and freely spent. Such a negative societal development would severely undermine Macao's ambition to become a world city in culture and cultural heritage. Fortunately, this matter has been recognised, and the next issue will be how to prevent this situation from emerging.

ECONOMIC VALUE OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION

The idea of using heritage as a venue for good business is nothing new in Macao. Sixty percent of Macao's retail revenue comes from shops located in the conservation zones. Such successful examples can demonstrate to the public the economic value that heritage conservation can bring. The highly successful pedestrianisation of Largo de Senado, in terms of the increased business brought to shop owners and the enrichment of the physical and socio-economic

environment, is an exemplary case of demonstrating to the community the benefits of conservation.⁷

In considering the protection of heritage buildings and sites, economic viability often comes up as the prime motivation. For the die-hard fundamental conservationists, who prefer to turn historic buildings into monuments and museums, to entertain the idea of reaping economic returns from conservation is akin to committing a sin. However, not every old building can be qualified as a monument or is suitable for turning into a museum. Besides being a dead-end approach to conservation, monuments and museums are, more often than not, expensive public liabilities that have to be sustained with continuous governmental funding (which is, after all, the taxpayers' money, lest we forget). Precedents have proven that successful conservation projects are very often those that are also economically self-sustainable.

The mindset of local people tended to be that once old buildings lack the desired modern facilities, they should be replaced without any consideration of rehabilitation. Subsequently, many old buildings have been demolished rather than given a new lease of life through adaptive reuse. The crux of the problem is the lack of understanding and appreciation of the benefits of adaptive reuse. The following cases illustrate the importance of how local public will has contributed to the success of adaptive-reuse conservation projects.

Case 1: Phuket. The local community—residents, merchants and the municipalities—collectively agreed that Phuket's old town area should be renewed through conservation. This strong public will in support of conservation resulted in the renovation and renewal of many popular tourist spots, and has since boosted Phuket's tourist industry.⁸

Case 2: Penang. This is a case of a bottom-up approach in conservation, in which local residents have been directly involved in drafting the plan for the conservation of the old town. The progress of the project, which is currently half completed, is continuously driven by the residents, who are the direct stakeholders. Today, the revived old town has attracted many visitors, who not only experience a well-conserved traditional setting, but a strong sense of community spirit as well.⁹

As the two cases have shown, the greatest economic benefit in conservation projects is revenue through *tourism*. More conserved heritage buildings

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and sites means more cultural activities and facilities, which will in turn attract more tourists. Tourism is becoming the world's number one industry. The 'cultural industries' (as North Americans love to call them) create employment and have major job-creation impacts.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

After listening to the comments and opinions from conference participants, it is my opinion that if Macao strives to become a world city, the government will need to continue its spending on heritage conservation. The primary social objective of such a venture is to improve the quality of life of Macao's residents as well as to raise the level of public awareness of their own heritage. This will help to foster a strong sense of pride and understanding among the people of Macao. Without a visionary government, it will take many more generations of people before society will come to recognize the uniqueness of its heritage and identify with its own culture.¹⁰

What is now important for the Macao SAR Government to do is, in my opinion, to find ways to digest and implement the multitude of suggestions given in various public forums, such as this conference.

In this respect, I would offer the following remarks in concluding this Epilogue:

1. It would be desirable for Macao's different government administrative departments to work closely together towards matters relating to cultural heritage and its conservation.

2. It would be desirable to generate and arouse a greater interest in cultural heritage-related issues among the different sectors and communities in Macao.

3. It would be desirable to set up a statutory agency to advise the highest authority on cultural heritage issues and to oversee the overall direction in developing and protecting Macao's cultural heritage.

4. It would be desirable to keep a close monitoring on the development of the UNESCO World Heritage Nomination and to refine a conservation policy and site-specific conservation plans for future maintenance and protection of the nominated sites.

5. It would be desirable to establish a mechanism whereby a certain percentage of the revenue generated from tourism would be reserved as a sinking fund or foundation to support heritage conservation work.

I would like to end this Epilogue with a famous quotation from T. S. Eliot's *Tradition and the Individual Talent* (1920): "Tradition . . . cannot be inherited, and if you want it, you must obtain it by great labour." **RC**

NOTES

- 1 I have addressed the point 'why cities need cultural development' on many occasions, and particularly in a paper entitled "Why Do Great Cities Spend Resources on Developing Arts, Cultural and Recreational Facilities and Programmes?" presented in *4 Asia-Pacific City Development Forum*, held in Taipei, organised by Taipei Municipal Government on November 1&2, 2001.
- 2 See: Ferdinand Lamarca, "Cultural Significance and Vision of Macao: Are They Compatible? If Not, How to Make Them Compatible?" in *The Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision Conference Kit* (Macao: Cultural Institute, 2002), 64-65.
- 3 See: Herbert Stovel, "Approaches to Managing Urban Transformation for Historic Cities," in *The Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision Conference Kit* (Macao: Cultural Institute, 2002), 84.
- 4 See: Amita Baig, "The Politics of Cultural Significance in *The Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision Conference Kit* (Macao: Cultural Institute, 2002), 77.
- 5 In one of the workshop sessions, rapporteur Raymond Chan Wai Kin, a MSc (Conservation) student at The University of Hong Kong, made the following remark: "The CIA is an important tool in the consultation process. It reveals the socially and culturally

significant context of a conservation project and allows the authority to make an inventory of the social needs and requirements, and a justification of their action. A CIA should be prepared by specialists and documented as part of the public document for displays."

- 6 For TDR, see: Harold Kalman, "Adaptive Re-use: Learning from Vancouver," in *The Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision Conference Kit* (Macao: Cultural Institute, 2002), 158.
- 7 See: Christopher Pound, "Lessons from World Heritage Experience," in *The Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision Conference Kit* (Macao: Cultural Institute, 2002), 108.
- 8 Case quoted from Yongtanit Pimonsathean, "Current Issues Concerning Adaptive Re-use in the Conservation of Urban Cultural Heritage," in *The Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision Conference Kit* (Macao: Cultural Institute, 2002), 131-138.
- 9 Case quoted from Laurence Loh, "New Use – New Fit," in *The Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision Conference Kit* (Macao: Cultural Institute, 2002), 140-147.
- 10 See: Yongtanit Pimonsathean, "Current Issues Concerning Adaptive Re-use in the Conservation of Urban Cultural Heritage," in *The Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision Conference Kit* (Macao: Cultural Institute, 2002), 135-136.



The Management of World Heritage Cities

Evolving Concepts, New Strategies

RICHARD A. ENGELHARDT*

Over the past three decades, countries across Asia have experienced unprecedented economic prosperity brought about by a strategy emphasizing capital investment in infrastructure and labour to promote urban renewal, heavy industry, agro-business and tourism. However this strategy ever has exacted a heavy toll on the environmental and cultural heritage resources of the countries of the region. While the damage to environmental resources has for some time been recognized, more recently it has been recognized that this strategy has also led to an alarming depletion of the common stock of “cultural capital.” Particularly threatened are the cultural assets which constitute our urban heritage – the cores of historic, but still vibrant, cities and towns.

Globalisation, and in particular urbanization, have made it obvious that it is necessary to urgently take concerted, strategic action on a worldwide basis to protect our world’s resources in a way which will assure that these basic resources will be sustainable over the longest possible term. This constitutes nothing less than a new conservation paradigm, integrating heritage conservation with development. Our heritage resources are no longer seen as quaint museum pieces or dilapidated, slightly scary old buildings. Instead we now realize that our built heritage of buildings, public spaces, gardens, homes, hospitals, theatres – even casinos – are all cultural *assets*, to be protected and developed, used and replenished as we build a future life incorporating the best of what we have learned from the past.

It is this exercise – to give heritage a life in the future of the city – that Macao is now engaged in its bid for World Heritage status.

INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The first step in this process is ensure that effective legal frameworks are set up for the protection of the cultural and environmental resources. As a model against which all national legislation is measured, there is the *1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*.

The World Heritage Convention has been adopted by all but 2 Asian states, and gives international protection to more than 160 of the region’s most well known and outstanding heritage properties.

Although the World Heritage Convention is universally accepted as an instrument to protect monumental heritage, the vernacular heritage – which is the heritage of the common people and of everyday life and which is at high risk of disappearing before the juggernaut of development, can also be protected following the principles and procedures set out in the World Heritage Convention.

Increasingly it is becoming understood that monuments form only a small part of the total heritage of a culture. Consider the enormous amount of accrued knowledge and skills which is held locally in heritage – in homes and shops, in traditional trades and arts, in rituals, festivals and the calendar of everyday life. All of this must be rescued from extinction if we mean to safeguard our cultural heritage.

Culture is the one resource which is uniformly distributed over the face of the globe. It is the only resource to which every woman and man has equal access. If we therefore waste, squander, even destroy, our local cultural resources, what hope is there for sustained, equitable economic and social development?

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View from Leal Senado Square c. 1830-35. Ink and sepia on paper (undated). Col. TB.
George Chinnery

For truly sustainable long-term economic and social development, we must turn our attention to issues of resource sustainability and public participation and empowerment. The conservation of society's cultural capital is therefore a matter of urgent concern for all who are concerned with human development.

This is the essential message of the *Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development* and of the *Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development* which took place in Stockholm in 1998.

Since the Stockholm meeting, UNESCO has made a concerted effort to encourage governments to integrate heritage conservation into regional and national development planning.

At the same time, there has been a growing recognition that moveable and non-physical cultural properties and intangible cultural practices are an inextricable part of the heritage.

This has recently been reflected in the adoption by the UNESCO General Conference of the *2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity*,

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and the call by UNESCO Member States for the drafting of an international instrument, modelled on the World Heritage Convention, which would protect the intangible cultural heritage of humankind.

Indeed, the World Heritage Convention itself has undergone a rather dramatic shift in its traditional orientation, with the adoption in 1992 of what has become known as the “global strategy” to encourage greater equity in the recognition, and hence protection, which the Convention extends to all cultures.

Since that time new categories of sites have been increasing added to the World Heritage List including: sites of commercial industrial heritage, including factories, railroads and canals; villages and towns remarkable for their domestic vernacular architecture; migration and pilgrimage routes, as well as rural cultural landscapes, showing the interaction between humans and nature and underscoring the fact that there is no fundamental distinction between the action needed to protect nature and the action needed to protect culture.

What this means is that we are now operating within a new context – a new understanding of what constitutes our heritage – and that there is now the need for a very marked shift in the way we manage our cultural and natural resources for conservation and sustainable development.

This is an important consideration for all historic cities and towns aspiring to be included on the prestigious UNESCO World Heritage List.

It is most encouraging that we see this paradigm shift in heritage nominations being received from States Parties in the Asia-Pacific region, where in the past few years historic towns have dominated the region’s World Heritage nominations.

NEW TYPES OF HERITAGE BRING NEW MANAGEMENT CHALLENGES

The nomination of Macao to the UNESCO World Heritage List has been possible because of these changes in our global perception of what constitutes the most important parts of our common heritage. But it is not easy to conserve the heritage of a living, densely-populated, fast-developing urban

area such as Macao. The effort requires commitment, cooperation and a common vision shared by all stakeholders.

First of all, even more than the preservation of buildings, the preservation of the urban morphology and the revitalization of public space has become the most important conservation issue for developers, politicians, and the public alike. Without the preservation of the original structural skeleton of the town, the historic urban fabric will be unreadable and all other conservation efforts will be incomprehensible to the residents and visitors alike.

Urban sites include historic industrial and commercial properties which must also come under protection, for what is a city if it is not a place of production and exchange of factories and markets.

And then there is the archaeology of the city. Traces of the evolution and growth of the city are recorded in the land, but this record can be easily erased by thoughtless redevelopment. Historic coastlines and ancient ports can be obliterated by land reclamation. And everywhere the historic street-, sky- and sea-scapes which give character to our towns are blocked by ill-placed and poorly planned skyscrapers.

But how will we cope with all of these suddenly and vastly expanded conservation needs? Here is where politicians and planners need to learn new skills in community development and recognize that the survival of the evolved traditional patterns of use of a city provides the blueprint for an integrated conservation strategy. The city’s economic base, the inhabitants’ craft and other skills, the community’s social and religious calendar all articulate to make up the framework of heritage to preserve and on which to base future development.

With the conservation emphasis changing from monuments to living historic towns, there is a concomitant need to go beyond central administration of heritage toward engendering community stewardship in the care and careful use of cultural resources.

This paradigm shift in the approach to heritage conservation takes culture beyond the realm of a small elite to make it a matter of general concern of the population at large and a tool for promoting employment and small business opportunities based

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on the conservation and managed development of the heritage resources of a town or a neighbourhood.

Not only does the sustainable development of the heritage imply local action; cultural heritage conservation itself depends upon the commitment and involvement of local communities. Policy makers as well as heritage professionals – archaeologists, architects, conservators – must recognize that for conservation to be effectively implemented and socially acceptable, populations living in or near heritage sites must be given a leading role in the development of policy, as well as in the management of the heritage sites.

So where, in this new paradigm, is there a role for the conservation professional? For government regulatory agencies? To answer these questions, let's first look more carefully and critically at what community management of heritage resources entails.

COMMUNITY-BASED MANAGEMENT OF THE HERITAGE

The first thing to understand is that conservation policies need to promote local community stewardship of the heritage as well as provide socio-economic benefits for local communities.

So, the most fundamental thing which must be accomplished is to make a direct link between the safeguarding of the heritage and socio-economic development.

Last year the UNESCO Institute of Statistics issued a report on the trade in cultural goods and services over the past decade. This report makes it very clear that in spite of the widespread distribution of cultural resources and assets, cultural enterprises are very much underdeveloped throughout the Asia-Pacific region; cultural goods have limited circulation in our region; and cultural services are still, by-and-large, an elite preserve or marketed to the export sector through tourism.

There is therefore vast scope for the development of cultural enterprises, particularly in the poorest communities, where the fight against poverty will be won or lost. In fact, cultural enterprises are one of the very few economic sectors which have not yet been seriously tapped in the development effort.

Furthermore, cultural enterprises tend to be rural-based, favour women as producers, require relatively little capital investment, and generate high employment rates – all factors which make them an ideal development strategy for what today remain the poorer regions of development.

But, you might ask, what does this all have to do with the conservation of archaeological sites or old buildings, or with community management of the heritage?

To be effective in the fight against poverty, the availability and use of cultural resources must be as widespread as possible. Cultural enterprises, however, depend on the existence of cultural resources for their development. Therefore we must ensure that each community's heritage of physical and non-physical cultural resources is protected, safeguarded and even enhanced. Heritage conservation therefore cannot be limited to an elite activity restricted to few selected sites, art forms, or individuals.

Heritage conservation must be broad-based and anchored in the institutions of the local community. Only through community stewardship of the heritage, can it be ensured that the heritage will be protected everywhere, and that its protection will be sustained over the long-term. The sustained, universal stewardship of the heritage is a pre-requisite for culture as the basis for development. This goal may seem utopian, but I think not. If we make the analogy again with the environmental movement, we see that such a paradigm shift in public attitude and action can be effected in a relatively short period of 10-20 years. But to succeed in this, we have to make it an explicit goal with a concrete and well-defined action plan.

For example,

- We need to bring about a complete 180-degree mind shift in the tourism industry. Instead of conceptualizing the industry's relationship with culture as a relationship between merchant and product, the fundamental purpose of the tourism industry needs to be realigned so that tourism becomes the *agent* for the safeguarding and development of the world's – and a community's – cultural assets.
- We need to address the development of cultural enterprises in a serious manner so that cultural enterprises constitute a significant portion of a community's economic activity. We can achieve

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this by encouraging their rapid expansion through small business incubators which have been used so successfully to support the development of software and ICT businesses.

- We need to make full use of our historic built stock, adapting it for reuse, rather than throwing away the considerable investment made in our cities by our forebears and replacing it with ever more expensive and expendable substitutes.

And to ensure that our actions do not harm heritage resources and therefore prejudice their future use,

- We need to conduct cultural impact assessments before embarking on any development project, and to make mandatory mitigating measures if these are found to be necessary to protect the affected cultural resources, both physical and intangible.

Obviously, to achieve such an ambitious agenda it is not possible to rely solely on the economic force of grass-roots capitalism. Not all of our goals, in fact, are economic ones.

Given the fact that cultural resources are a common public good, their safeguarding is an ethical imperative as well as an economic imperative. Therefore providing accurate public information about the existence and condition of cultural resources, and assuring universal access to cultural knowledge and skills is a management issue of the highest political, social and ethical priority.

So is the matter of providing effective mechanisms for resolving conflict between stakeholders and interest groups with regard to access to and the use of heritage and other cultural resources.

In addition to mobilizing traditional institutions for heritage conservation, such as temple trusts, we also need to examine the possibility that old institutions need to be transformed or new social institutions created to address the new and urgent needs for heritage conservation at the community level.

STRUCTURING AN EFFECTIVE AND TECHNICALLY-CORRECT GRASS-ROOTS APPROACH

In the Asia-Pacific region, UNESCO has been assisting our partners, both governmental and non-governmental to meet these new heritage management challenges of the 21st century.

Because we firmly believe that heritage conservation, if it is to be successful, must be anchored in the community, and because we see that this has become the weakest link in the chain of conservation, UNESCO has put considerable effort into developing the capacity of local government and community based institutions to successfully manage their heritage resources for both conservation and development.

We call this programme LEAP which is short for “Integrated community development and culture heritage preservation in through local effort.” In this programme, local communities are encouraged to “leap” forward into the 21st century using their local cultural assets as a springboard through a process whereby local actors are encouraged to assume an active stewardship over the heritage and are empowered develop that heritage in a responsible, profitable and sustainable manner.

The programme does not intend to replace existing professional and institutional efforts at heritage conservation. The LEAP programme aims to complement and extend those efforts by moving heritage conservation beyond the exclusive sphere of a high technology, elite specialization to become the concern – indeed the responsibility – of every man, woman and child. In other words, we want to transform heritage conservation into a grass-roots movement which will return the heritage to the communities which created it and which rely on this heritage as the foundation for their future development.

The basic objective of strategies to empower local communities in heritage conservation is to ensure participation of the indigenous populations and local communities living within or adjacent to heritage sites in the management and conservation of their sites in a manner that provides them with economic and social benefits, while safeguarding the site and maintaining social and cultural traditions. This calls for the preservation of heritage as a development activity that brings economic opportunities, helps to alleviate poverty, creates jobs, and generates income based on traditional technologies and know-how.

- The first objective therefore is to empower individuals and local communities as a whole to understand and advocate the long-term conservation of the heritage in their communities.

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For this purpose, traditional community leaders are mobilized and traditional consensus-building mechanisms are used within the community to arrive at a shared vision and a common goal.

- The second objective of empowerment is to enable the local communities to play a leading role in actual hands-on conservation and preservation work, such as monitoring the condition of the site or taking part in preventive conservation and on-going maintenance and restoration projects.
- The third part of the empowerment equation is to develop the means through which local communities can benefit financially from the enhanced conservation of the heritage while at the same time maintaining their social and spiritual traditions intact.

Activities here involve a wide-variety of income-generating and self-employment opportunities, such as giving support to the expansion and mass-marketing of traditional handicraft industries.

The strategic approach used in the implementation of UNESCO's regional programme to integrate heritage conservation into community development involves initiating a variety of community participatory activities which act as the catalyst for local community interest groups to assess the unique characteristics, strengths and economic potential of the elements making up their physical as well as intangible cultural heritage, and then to design a community action plan to self-develop these elements in a way which is both profitable and sustainable. Activities vary from site to site, depending upon circumstance and need, and are continually evolving.

However, we have identified an emerging pattern to this strategy and have modeled this into a framework which we call the *LEAP 10 Step Action Programme*.

STEP 1 The first step in the process is to encourage activities which engender a stewardship ethic and community participation in historic conservation.

These include developing the technique of "envisioning" among the communities as a means to self-identify their needs and expectations of the future and of how heritage might contribute to community development.

Hands-on workshops have also been found useful to familiarize everyone with the practical problems of conservation and simple solutions to these

problems. These workshops are then followed-up with on-site inspection of heritage sites where workshop participants identify for themselves maintenance and conservation issues and are asked to brainstorm together to come up with possible and practical solutions to these problems.

STEP 2 The next programme activity involves the mobilization of the local government departments around the use of heritage conservation for development.

Site managers and local leaders are encouraged to develop zoning and environmental management plans for both preservation and development of heritage sites.

This includes training in the use of basic site management tools, such as survey maps and computer-aided geographical and data information systems. This empowerment of the legitimate local authorities, who are typically ignored in the conservation process, is an all-important step to ensure that heritage conservation will truly be imbedded in local politics and community development plans.

STEP 3 The identification of pilot projects within the community is the next step. This is done on the basis of community-based participatory research work to identify the locally significant sites and heritage properties for protection and possibly, adaptive re-use.

This step includes training in assessing the economic potential of heritage properties and proposals for their uses and support to local organizations for demonstration projects in adaptive re-use.

STEP 4 Because they have disappeared in many places, research, development and training in low-cost, traditionally-appropriate and historically-accurate techniques for building maintenance is a key part of most LEAP projects.

Easy-to-use, fully-illustrated heritage homeowners' manuals and accompanying videos are prepared for each location to communicate appropriate repair techniques and to maintain standards throughout the community.

The manuals are written, illustrated and produced locally in cooperation with traditional experts, the community schools and local construction contractors.

The techniques explained in the manuals are demonstrated through a series of hands-on on-site workshops for building owners and for local contractors

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in order to implicate them too in the process of heritage conservation and to reassure them that conservation work can also be a profitable business. This training is conducted emphasizing the appropriateness, economy and ease of using traditional materials, as well as dealing with issues of supply and stockpile of traditional materials.

STEP 5 A return to traditional materials necessitates a re-invigoration of and economic support for traditional building and associated trades in the local community to produce those materials which are necessary for the authentic restoration and maintenance of historic buildings.

These businesses often still exist but in rump form, because of drop-off in the demand for their products as they were replaced by modern industrial materials. With support and a surer flow of orders, these businesses can once again be made to flourish locally and, taking advantage of modern transportation infrastructure, many can even develop into successful local suppliers of construction materials.

STEP 6 Not everyone in the community can be or wants to be a builder, and in any case, buildings are dead shells without activities taking place within them, so a sixth LEAP programme action is to promote and offer training to enhance traditional artisanal skills among the local community and also to promote the continuation and development of intangible cultural activities and performing arts which have potential market-appeal and can be developed into professions which offer full and part-time employment to members of the community.

STEP 7 Virtually every community with which we have worked identifies tourism as one way to develop the heritage as an economic resource. This is an important way to integrate young adults into the heritage conservation efforts through developing employment opportunities where they serve as the interpreters of the local heritage.

In order that the local communities can develop a tourism which is special and therefore attractive to visitors, while at the same time respectful of local culture and profitable for local residents, a seventh LEAP action is to provide training for and promotion of community-based, tourism-industry related occupations grounded in the accurate interpretation of the unique local culture, history and the environment.

As tourism and other business develop, there is the demand for additional training at the local level.

STEP 8 An eighth LEAP action assists in curriculum development for both formal and non-formal education in local history, heritage conservation and small business management skills in the culture industries. Here is another area in which collaboration with other actors in the education sector as well as with local business promotion associations such as Rotary, Lions and Chambers of Commerce has proven successful and has scope for much further development.

STEP 9 There is also the need to set up revolving loans and low-interest credit schemes for conservation, maintenance and business development. Sometimes this can be achieved through the establishment of local community market cooperatives. Other times, agriculture or rural development banks will loan to modernize traditional industries which have market potential.

Financing business development is an action that is beyond the scope of UNESCO, but within the framework of the LEAP programme, small business incubators are being established. In these small business incubators individuals and groups who are interested in developing a culture-based enterprise are helped to identify the financing opportunities available to them and taught how successfully to get access to and take advantage of these opportunities.

STEP 10 Finally, in order to learn from one another's experiences, a final LEAP action is to link communities and individuals together through practical seminars, a newsletter, and an email discussion groups for the exchange of technical and other relevant information.

Once a year a workshop is held for all LEAP site project managers, hosted by one of the local communities participating in the programme. The subject matter of the workshop is selected by the managers themselves.

The strategy of this programme is to create activities which are *sustainable* – sustainable so that they bring lasting economic benefits to the communities which engage in them and which do not, therefore, require continued assistance and financial support from outside sources.

The results of these activities must also be *replicable*. The aim is to engender kinds of strategies and activities which, with site-specific modifications,

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can be applied elsewhere. In doing so, a roster of potential activities can be developed for communities to use which can both foster the safeguarding of their traditional heritage, while improving their economic circumstances.

Finally, the strategies and activities developed by this project should result in a *multiplier-effect*. It is intended that national authorities will see the value of promoting community-based activities with regard to the preservation and safeguarding of their traditional heritage, and in doing so, embed these strategies into their national policy.

SUSTAINING PROFESSIONAL ON-SITE MANAGEMENT

Whether the sites in question are vernacular villages, historic urban cores, industrial sites or cultural landscapes they all are facing the same problem – how to assure that the conservation of the heritage of their homeland is a *sustainable* long-term undertaking.

This is essentially a management issue and so it is instructive to analyse the management problems which have been encountered while attempting to promote the LEAP strategy.

Sites have been found to share the common problems of:

- Integrating conservation concepts into the local community's already-established plans for development which often have been drawn up with help from external development agencies. This is one area where much more teamwork between the heritage conservation and economic development agencies is needed. UNESCO is currently working with the World Bank to develop guidelines for conducting culture impact assessment to be implemented as part of the planning process for infrastructure development and other major construction.
- Translating heritage conservation into economic benefits which compete successfully with contending interests. Here the establishment of small business incubators and easily-accessed micro-credit schemes will be essential.
- Sustaining the political leadership and enthusiasm responsible for seeing projects through to fruition. As the turnover in the elected political leadership tends to be rather too fast for results in heritage

conservation to be seen and appreciated easily, it is essential that traditional community leaders be implicated in the process from its earliest stages and be active participants in conservation projects.

- Meeting the accelerating demand for technical advice and professional assistance. At each LEAP site there is the need for continual briefing and training workshops for other government departments and for other communities who are not yet involved in the process but would like to be.

This now brings us back to the need to re-invent and augment the role of the heritage conservation professional, and to dramatically increase the amount of professional services which can be provided to meet the growing demand for technical and managerial expertise at the grass-roots level.

There are four key, interlocking issues:

- increase in the quantity and timeliness of professional service available,
- upgrading of the quality of expertise provided,
- better grass-roots penetration of the conservation professional, and
- ability of the profession to affect the policy planning process.

UNESCO-ICCROM ASIAN INSTITUTE FOR CONSERVATION MANAGEMENT

Recently, in November 2001, UNESCO and ICCROM, at the request of the World Heritage Committee, jointly convened meeting of heritage professionals from across the Asian region to discuss how best to address these issues.

It was decided that UNESCO would establish and ICCROM would provide technical guidance to a regional network of universities and other heritage training institutions to conduct research and offer training in conservation management of heritage resources. To be supported by the establishment of UNESCO Chairs in Culture Resource Management at each participating institution, the new network will be known as the *Asian Academy for Conservation Management of Cultural Heritage*.

This new "virtual" academy will have a variety of functions, all aimed at upgrading the professional capacity for culture heritage conservation and management in the Asian region.

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- Each participating institution which is also a degree-granting institution such as a university, will offer a post-graduate degree(s) in one field of conservation management. Students from other participating institutions will be able to cross-register.

In addition to formal post-graduate degrees, the institutions will jointly offer extra-mural diploma courses for in-service professionals in various fields of conservation and management. These courses of study will be available on-line as well as through other modes of distance education.

- Both the degree and diploma programmes will be augmented by field schools, organized by the participating institutions on a rotational basis, and located at either inscribed or tentative list World Heritage sites.
 - The field schools will be linked to on-going research projects conducted by individual faculty members of one of the Academy's participating institutions, or by a research consortium from several institutions.
 - Another activity of the Academy will be the conduct of short certificate courses in specific conservation techniques (such as for, example, the use of lime mortar and plaster). These will be aimed at working professionals such as building contractors, contract archaeologists, etc.
 - The Academy will also license individuals as competent to conduct certain forms of cultural work such as the conduct of cultural impact assessments; or visitor interpretation. These may be linked to specific localities or sites.
 - There will be seminars for professionals in fields related to heritage conservation, such as urban planners, to update them on the state-of-the-art of the conservation profession.
- Special short intensive seminars for decision-makers – targeting especially mayors of World Heritage towns and such persons.
 - There will also be a publications programme attached to the Academy and an extensive website.
 - The UNESCO Chair holders seated in each participating institution will constitute the Board of Directors of the Academy and will set its curriculum and research agenda.

The focus of the new networked Academy which UNESCO and ICCROM are now putting into place will be on both individual professional training and institutional capacity building.

We foresee that the Academy will play a key role in establishing and monitoring regional standards of best conservation practice, as well as in research and teaching.

The Academy network is now in the formation process. The building blocks of the network are UNESCO Chairs in Culture Resource Management, which UNESCO is establishing at major universities around the Asian region, including here in Macao at the Institute for Tourism, as well as others in China at Southeast University, Tsinghua University and the University of Hong Kong.

These universities will be the frontline of the Academy, delivering instruction, developing curricula and guiding research.

The most basic guideline is that we must act from a basic understanding that historic preservation is a process linking the past to the future, linking conservation to development. This will be the key to success in Macao's valiant and admirable effort to preserve the unique multi-cultural heritage of this community. For it is not monuments and building that ultimately embody our heritage. Our heritage is an accumulation of memories of how best to do things to make our lives as happy, as prosperous, as comfortable, as *cultural* as they can be. Keep these memories alive and culture will thrive. **RC**



Lei Tak Seng. *Impression of Macao* (from *Macao's Cultural Heritage Art Exhibition Catalogue*. Macao: Cultural Institute, 2002).



Macao's Cultural Significance and Vision

Are They,
or Can They Be,
Compatible?

FERDINAND J. LAMARCA*

“A nation is alive when its culture is alive.”

Maxim posted at the door of the Kabul Museum

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After Macao was handed back by Portugal to China on December 20, 1999, many significant changes happened. Most important of these was the breaking of the gambling monopoly tycoon Stanley Ho had held for 40 years. The end of the monopoly has paved the way for the investment of vast sums of money by two Las Vegas-based gambling giants, and the new company of Mr. Stanley Ho. The investments mean new culture, new city-scope, new people, a new mode of economy and operation.

Mr. Ho plans to “...invest \$4.7 billion in Macao’s casino industry over the next five years, building a deluxe hotel near the current Lisboa hotel and a ‘supreme private club’ for high stakes games (as well as) an amusement park near Praia Grande Bay and a cultural village...” (*South China Morning Post*, February 2, 2002, p. 2). The Galaxy Casino Co. Ltd., the second winning company, plans to put up the new US\$800 million Venetian Resort on a 93-hectare site which is likely to be finished by 2005 (*Hong Kong Mail*, February 4, 2002, p. 3). On the other hand, Wynn Resorts, the third winning bidder, will put up a Macao-style casino with the quality of Las Vegas (*South China Morning Post*, *ibid.*).

The question now is whether these new developments will have an adverse impact on the way of life of the people and the cultural significance of the place.

This paper first attempts to look into the cultural heritage significance of Macao and its vision. It then proceeds to analyze the compatibility of the vision of the place with its cultural heritage significance.

By way of methodology, the model developed by UNESCO in its project “Culture Heritage Management and Tourism: *Models for Cooperation among Stakeholders*” is used to analyze the compatibility of Macao’s cultural significance and its vision.

CULTURAL HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

Cultural heritage is the living memory of the people of their culture. It is expressed in many forms, both tangible – monuments, landscapes, objects and intangible – languages, know-how, the performing arts, music, etc. (Matsuura, *The World Heritage Newsletter*, March-April 2002). But what is cultural significance?

Cultural heritage significance is an assertion of the cultural identity of a place, which distinguishes it

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Bhaktapur, Nepal
The capital city of Nepal during the medieval period preserved in its integrity. The walled town is famous for its monuments, traditional style, craftsmanship and unparalleled historic assemblage. World Heritage Site since 1979.



Kandy, Sri Lanka
A sacred Buddhist site. It is famous for its Buddhist monasteries and temples, including the renowned temple of the Holy Tooth. World Heritage Site since 1988.

from other places and which gives it a unique characteristic (*Asserting an Identity*, 1997). For heritage sites that have been inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List, it is the statement used to justify their inscription. Similarly, it will be the statement that will justify the inclusion of candidates, like Macao, in the list.

The cultural significance of Bhaktapur, Nepal, is its being the capital city of Nepal during the medieval period and the fact that it is preserved in its integrity. The walled town is famous for its monuments, traditional style, craftsmanship and unparalleled historic assemblage. Time has changed a lot but the place seems to be where it was centuries ago. Thus, the ambience is such that it transports visitors back in time as they step into the territory. It has been a World Heritage Site since 1979 (*Bhaktapur Municipality*, September 2001).

Ha Hoe, South Korea, a candidate, is a typical Korean rural village which has long been the home of traditional Confucian culture. The town is famous for its splendid old temples, stone pagodas, imposing houses of the nobility and the traditional thatched roofed, stone and mud houses of farmers. It is a candidate to the Heritage List (www.unescobkk.org/culture/impact/future.htm).

Kandy, Sri Lanka is sacred Buddhist site and is famous for its Buddhist monasteries and temples,

including the renowned temple of the Holy Tooth. Kandy sits in a river valley nestled in a spectacular mountainous landscape. The place became a heritage site in 1988 (*ibid.*).

Hoi An Ancient Town, Viet Nam is an important port town dating from the 15th to the 19th century preserved in its integrity. Inscribed in 1987, it is the only old town in Viet Nam kept mostly intact. Most houses there are of traditional architecture from the 17th to 19th century and situated along traditional narrow roads. Many annual festivals as well as the traditional way of life of the people, their religions, customs and cuisine have been preserved (*Case Study of Hoi An*, 2000).

Lijiang, China is a network of traditional villages at the eastern end of the silk trade route... the ancient last stop for caravans before heading up for the Himalayas. Inscribed in 1985, it is a beautiful historic town dating from the Song Dynasty. Today the town is a well-preserved domestic tourist destination situated in a spectacular location at the foot of the Jade Dragon Snow Mountain. Many old customs have survived, including the music and rituals of the Naxi people who have a unique culture blending Chinese, Tibetan and indigenous traditions (www.unescobkk.org/culture/norad-tourism/workshop).

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Ha Hoe, South Korea

A typical Korean rural village which has long been the home of traditional Confucian culture.
A candidate to the Heritage List.



Hoi An, Vietnam

Important port town from the 15th to the 19th century in Southeast Asia preserved in its integrity.
Inscribed in 1987, it is the only old town in Viet Nam kept mostly intact.
World Heritage site.

Melaka, Malaysia, a candidate to the Heritage List, was a trading post for British and the Portuguese due to its strategic location on the Euro-Asian mercantile route. It is characterized by traditional temples, traditional houses and shop-houses and a coexistence of diverse styles, reflecting the multi-ethnic population of Malays, Babas and Nyonyas (Chinese and local), Chitty (Indian and local), Portuguese descendants, Chinese, Indians and Arabs making Melaka a center of diverse cultural activities. It is a candidate to the Heritage List (www.unescobkk.org/culture/impact/future.htm).

Historic Town of Vigan is “the last surviving colonial trading post in Southeast Asia.” Established in the 16th century, the place is the best-preserved example of a planned Spanish colonial city in Asia, and reflects a unique fusion of Asian building design and construction with European colonial architecture and planning (*Medina, Lamarca and Goulart*, October 2001, p.1). It became a World Heritage site in 1999.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MACAO

What is the cultural significance of Macao? From the text of the invitation program for this conference, one statement captured it succinctly for this paper writer – “an international trading port and a cultural

melting pot between the East and the West since the 16th century.”

Macao is a tiny island in the vast Southeast Asia that has nurtured the mutual influence of two cultures, that of the Portuguese and that of the Chinese, making possible a rich European and Asian blend of cultural heritage. The resulting style of architecture reflects traditional Chinese architecture and that of southern European. Structures with mixed architectural elements are many. Thus, the unique culture of Macao was created through co-existence and mutual absorption (*21st Macau City Planning Guideline Study, 1999-2020*, p. 12).

VISION

Vision is a statement of an attractive, ambitious but achievable future. It is an expression of what people want their community to become several years from now (*Development Academy of the Philippines, 1999*).

Shown below as an example is the vision statement of the Historic Town of Vigan. This was forged by a multi-sectoral group in a workshop facilitated by the archbishop of the place way back in 1995.

“Vigan as bustling center of tourism, commerce and trade, will have a community that deeply treasures

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Lijiang, China

A network of traditional villages at the eastern end of the silk trade route... the ancient last stop for caravans before heading up for the Himalayas. Inscribed in 1985, it is a beautiful historic town dating from the Song Dynasty.



Melaka, Malaysia

Trading post for British and the Portuguese due to its strategic location on the Euro-Asian mercantile route. It is a candidate to the Heritage List.

our rich cultural and historical heritage and a people who are god-fearing, self-reliant and empowered led by transformed leaders who are credible, decisive, proactive and development-oriented” (Medina, Lamarca and Goulart, October 2001, p. 1).

This is what the people of Vigan have wanted their place to be since 1995. Their dream is very attractive and ambitious. But it has been achievable. Vigan is now a city, a vibrant and bustling center of tourism, commerce and trade.

CONSISTENCY OF VISION AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

For the vision of the place to be relevant, it has to be consistent and compatible with its cultural significance. There are four components in analyzing the appropriateness and consistency of the vision with its cultural significance as developed at the UNESCO-sponsored conference in Lijiang, China in October 2001 entitled “Culture Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Cooperation among Stakeholders.” They are as follows:

1. statement of cultural significance;
 2. over-all development strategy;
 3. role of culture in the development strategy;
- and

4. measures for ensuring sustainability of the strategy.

Using the vision statement of Vigan as an example, the statement of cultural significance is this – “the last surviving colonial trading post in Southeast Asia.”

The line in the vision that says “bustling center of tourism, commerce and trade” is compatible with the cultural significance. From 1995 up to the present and beyond, Vigan has wished to see itself as it was in the past, but now at a much more vibrant level, where goods and commodities continue to be exchanged productively and profitably.

Second, the over-all development strategy is the “promotion of tourism, commerce and industry as tools for economic empowerment.”

Third, the role of culture in the development strategy is that it is “...the center around which tourism, industry and commerce revolve.”

Fourth, the measures for ensuring sustainability and success of the strategy are the following: 1) god-fearing, self-sufficient and empowered people; and 2) credible, decisive, pro-active and development-oriented leaders.

This example clearly shows that culture becomes the center in the over-all development strategy. In more specific terms, culture is the **mainstay** of tourism.

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Historic Town of Vigan, Philippines
The last surviving colonial trading post in Southeast Asia. Established in the 16th century, the place is the best-preserved example of a planned Spanish colonial city in Asia. It became a World Heritage site in 1999.

Tourists come to the place, foremost, to see the living heritage of the place. On the other hand, tourism becomes an effective tool for culture heritage conservation. This is the model developed in the international conference “Culture Heritage Management and Tourism: Models of Cooperation Among Stakeholders.”

THE VISION OF MACAO

The vision of Macao is culled from documents of the Macao City Government such as the *21st Century Macau City Planning Guideline Study 1999-2020, Asserting an Identity* and from statements of high-ranking officials of the government and a gambling tycoon as published in dailies.

According to Mr. Stanley Ho, the gambling tycoon who lost the monopoly but who has remained one of the three key players in the industry, Macao shall become the “...**place of exchanges between the Orient and the Occident.**” The strategy with which to realize this is investment in gaming-related projects as well as in cultural undertakings and tourism in general (*South China Morning Post*, February 19, 2002, p. 2). While Mr. Ho envisions the construction of a deluxe hotel and high-stakes club, he also desires the establishment of a “cultural village” depicting Chinese

and Latin lifestyles in the early 19th century in Macao’s old quarter in the Inner Harbor.

Mr. Francis Tam Pak-yuen, Secretary for Economy and Finance and Head of the Casino Tender Commission, on the other hand, envisions Macao to be “**an international convention center and holiday resort**” (*South China Morning Post*, February 9, 2002, p. 1).

The *21st Century Macau City Planning Guideline Study* has the following vision for Macau:

- International tourist leisure resort... whose dominating mainstay should be modern entertainment and tourist services led by the gambling industry;
- A definite stop-over point for travelers from the mainland and overseas through multi-faceted tourism...;
- Showcase of development of China in the 21st Century under the principle of “one country, two systems”; and
- City specializing in external business, trades and transportation in the South China Economic Ring.

Finally, Ms. Heidi Ho, President of the Cultural Institute of Macao has this grand vision for Macao – **A City of Culture.**

The Institute explains this vision in terms of the following:

Heritage management as a sustainable resource associated with the general cultural benefit of the local community and the quality of progress of the tourism industry.

To preserve the cultural heritage of the place, the Cultural Institute of Macao was established in 1982. In 1984 and 1992, two decrees were issued concerning the creation of the “Committee for the Defense of the Architectural, Environmental and Cultural Heritage of Macau.”

To attract tourists, the government has developed a homepage, CD-ROMs, a City Guide and other brochures about the cultural heritage of the place. Second, it has introduced the Culture Heritage Tours of Macao. Third, it has vigorously supported academic research on the history and cultural heritage of the city.

To enhance the awareness of citizens as to the value of their heritage, the government seeks to educate the citizens on the city’s cultural heritage

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Macao

“An international trading port and a cultural melting pot between the East and the West since the 16th century.”

Photo by Wong Ho Sang, 1998 (IC Archives).

through informative exhibitions, seminars, educational games and competitions, among others.

All these strategies have been crafted with the end view of making Macao a City of Culture.

ATTEMPTS AT FORMULATING A VISION

From the statements gathered, this paper writer formulated some statements for comment by the

participants of this conference, and for possible input to the succeeding workshop. They are as follows:

1. Place of exchanges between the Orient and the Occident fueled by investments in gaming-related endeavors as well as in sustainable cultural undertakings under the “one country, two systems” principle, for the general benefit of the local community;

2. Place of exchanges between the Orient and the Occident whose dominating mainstay should be

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modern entertainment and tourist services led by gambling industry, supported by its sustainably managed cultural heritage under the “one country, two systems” principle, for the welfare of the local community;

3. An international convention center and holiday resort propped up by investments in gaming-related endeavors as well as in cultural undertakings under the “one country, two systems” principle; and

4. A stop-over point for travelers from the mainland and overseas, whose dominating mainstay should be modern entertainment and tourist services led by gambling industry, supported by its rich cultural heritage under the “one country, two systems” principle.

ARE MACAO'S VISION AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE COMPATIBLE?

The paper writer now proceeds to analyze the compatibility of Macao's vision with its cultural significance using the UNESCO framework. Two statements of vision will be used for analysis. The first vision is as follows:

Place of exchanges between the Orient and the Occident fueled by investments in gaming-related endeavors as well as in cultural undertakings under the “one country, two systems” principle for the general benefit of the local community.

First, the statement of cultural significance of Macao is this – “an international trade port and cultural melting pot between the East and the West since the 16th century.”

In the proposed vision, the line “place of exchanges between the Orient and the Occident,” appears to be consistent with its cultural significance because Macao still envisions itself as place where enhanced trade and commerce, tourism and culture shall flourish.

Second, the “promotion of investments in **both** gaming-related endeavors as well as in sustainable cultural undertakings” becomes the overall strategy for further economic empowerment.

Third, concerning its role in the development strategy, the promotion of culture heritage is co-equal tool for economic development.

Fourth, the measures for ensuring sustainability and success of the strategy are the “... support of the

Central government” (*China Daily*, February 18, 2002, p.1) and the “adequate administrative autonomy of Macao based on the ‘one country, two systems’ principle.”

Parenthetically, for completeness and greater clarity, there are vision statements that include the clientele and the effect of development strategies on them. This paper writer did this.

The clientele in this case is the local community of Macao and the impact of the promotion of investments in both gaming-related endeavors as well as in sustainable cultural undertakings is their **total development**.

This issue becomes very relevant in the light of the experiences of other heritage sites, like Bhaktapur and Hoi An where tourism has benefited only a few (UNESCO, *Summaries of Case Studies*, 2000). Accordingly, Macao dreams, or should dream, that it is the local community that will benefit more from development.

The second vision of Macao below is again analyzed in terms of its compatibility with its cultural significance using the UNESCO framework.

“Place of exchanges between the Orient and the Occident whose dominating mainstay should be modern entertainment and tourist services led by gambling industry, supported by its sustainably managed cultural heritage under the “one country, two systems” principle, for the welfare of the local community”.

As in the previous analysis, the line “place of exchanges between the Orient and the Occident,” appears to be consistent with its cultural significance.

Second, the “the promotion of modern entertainment and tourist services led by gambling industry” becomes the overall strategy for further economic empowerment.

Third, concerning its role in the development strategy, “the promotion of cultural heritage is consigned to the ‘backstage’ in the drama of economic development.”

Does this not draw Macao away from its cultural significance? But from all indications, this is the development strategy that the government is bent on adapting!

Fourth, the measures for ensuring sustainability and success of the strategy are the “... support of the Central government” (*China Daily*, February 18, 2002,

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p.1) and the “adequate administrative autonomy of Macao based on the ‘one country, two systems’ principle.” It is similar with the first vision.

CONCLUSION

None of the two possible visions of Macao presented above can make cultural heritage the primary consideration for tourism or the center around which tourism revolves. At best, as with the first vision, culture can hope to be co-equal or a partner of modern entertainment in attracting tourists.

At worst, culture can be relegated to the backstage of economic development where the mainstay is the gambling industry.

Therefore, the challenge for Macao SAR Government, especially, the Macao Cultural Institute is to muster all its efforts in promoting the cultural heritage of the place as a partner of equal significance of the gambling industry in attracting tourists.

UNESCO, to the mind of this paper writer, will demand no less if the place wishes to be inscribed in the World Heritage List. **RC**

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Approaches to Managing Urban Transformation for Historic Cities

HERBERT STOVEL*

PURPOSE

This paper is intended to look at the ways in which we define and examine management performance for historic cities, in the context of the current World Heritage nomination submitted by Macao. It attempts to identify relevant indicators of management performance by reviewing considerations important in a number of complementary perspectives available for appreciating and understanding transformation in historic cities.

INTRODUCTION

Part of the evaluation process for a World Heritage nomination for Macao will be an assessment of the adequacy of the management and legal measures in place to protect and sustain its “outstanding universal value”.

As readers may understand, inscription of a site on the World Heritage List involves demonstrating two main things:

1. the qualities of a site, that is, those that give it “outstanding universal value”, as debated in the discussions yesterday morning in looking at Macao’s cultural significance, and its identity, looked at together with the modifying conditions of authenticity and integrity, and,

2. the need to demonstrate that the State Party is committed to protection.

While evidence of commitment to protection has been an inscription requirement for World Heritage since 1978, this concern has been taken much more seriously in the last decade – certainly for cultural properties – than in the first fifteen years of the Convention’s active life. In the case of Macao, establishing management adequacy presents unusual challenges. It is my understanding that the World Heritage nomination for Macao consists of twelve separate monuments or monument zones within the historic urban core. It won’t be enough for the World Heritage Committee to see management adequacy demonstrated at each of the twelve sites; rather, ICOMOS and the Committee would normally be looking for evidence that the management approach to the nomination ensures that the separate properties are managed according to common standards, and shared objectives. Hence they will be looking at the nature of the overall management system in place for the urban core within which the nominated zones exist.

Concerns involved in strengthening management for World Heritage sites should also be relevant to those seeking to improve general management of Macao’s heritage, for the benefit of its citizens, irrespective of the success of the World Heritage nomination. A number of the papers in this meeting look at ways in which these improvements can be achieved. For example, Ferdinand Lamarca yesterday introduced us to the concept of a “vision” as a management tool helping define where a city may want to be in future – a sort of “destination” concept, and he also showed us the importance of including concern for heritage within that vision statement. I would add to what Fernando said, and suggest that it is also important to include words in the vision statement which say something about *how* to arrive at the destination, a characterization of the nature of appropriate strategies for change.

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At any rate, in the World Heritage context, with increasing interest in rigorous application by the Committee of the commitment to “protection”, have come varying interpretations of what requirements must be met to satisfy this commitment. In the most recent Committee meeting (Budapest, Hungary, June 2002)), a number of States Parties insisted that these requirements could only be met through the existence of a “management plan”.

This is becoming a difficult area in operation of the Convention, one frequently misunderstood and misinterpreted. There are a number of problems with an exclusive insistence on management plans, particularly in a World Heritage context, as an indicator verifying protection adequacy for cultural heritage properties.

First, it is important to recognize that this is not a formal requirement of the Committee’s *Operational Guidelines* (that is, by the procedural document which guides the Committee toward practical implementation of the World Heritage Convention) for cultural heritage properties. The *Operational Guidelines*, for cultural heritage properties, state that “*Each property nominated should have adequate legal and/or traditional protection and management mechanisms to ensure the conservation of the nominated cultural properties or cultural landscapes. The existence of protective legislation at the national, provincial or municipal level and/or a well-established contractual or traditional protection as well as of adequate management and/or planning control mechanisms is therefore essential Assurances of the effective implementation of these laws and/or contractual and/or traditional protection as well as of these management mechanisms are also expected.*” (Article 24.b.ii)

More importantly, suggesting that the adequacy of management can be verified by demonstrating the existence of a management plan, without reference to the actual impact or effectiveness of management measures within the plan is obviously misplaced. The mere existence of particular planning instruments such as management plans provides no qualitative assessment whatsoever of the effectiveness of related conservation measures. Measuring the state of conservation of a site and its environment, and the effectiveness of conservation policies, strategies and actions requires efforts to define in advance what is important to treat in protecting the site’s essential

heritage character. What will be judged important will vary from site to site and will require a process of examination of values and circumstances that will produce a checklist of significant factors to look at, defined uniquely for each particular site. All of these factors will be carefully defined within an effective management system, which may or may not include a management plan.

Thirdly, it is clear that while the application of formal management instruments, such as the management plan, may be entirely appropriate in some cases, e.g., for sites in the hands of a single management authority, in most cases, where management responsibility is dispersed, the appropriate management approach will include an array of co-ordination mechanisms attempting to align action around perceptions of shared objectives.

This paper attempts to demonstrate the need to look beyond the mere presence of formal management instruments or controls as indicators of management effectiveness, to the need to understand historically the truly significant transformational indicators and characteristics important in decision-making for an historic city’s heritage values to remain intact.

PARELLEL INITIATIVES: MONITORING ANALYSIS FOR WORLD HERITAGE

The results of efforts to focus on the characteristics of effective site management converge with the conclusions emerging from recent explorations of monitoring for the benefit of World Heritage sites. While the UNESCO World Heritage Secretariat began to look at the need for monitoring systems in the middle 1980s, only since the early 1990s have discussions begun to look systematically at the nature of desirable monitoring tools and indicators for measuring changes to the so-called “state of conservation” of inscribed properties. (ICCROM with support from ICOMOS has begun to codify these systems in a “Monitoring Reference Manual” for World Cultural Heritage sites, to be made available early in 2003). In the last several years, a number of international meetings on the development of indicators for historic cities, have clarified that the key methodological questions here have less to do with “how” to monitor (for example, what indicators to use), than with “what” to

monitor: what are the key subjects or themes which need to be examined closely, and for which indicators need to be developed?

IDENTIFYING KEY THEMES AND ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED BY MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

Hence if we can agree that it is important in assessing management adequacy to ensure that management plans, formal management instruments or other management mechanisms are designed to respond to key themes or issues needing priority treatment, and for which we can attempt to establish useful indicators for monitoring management effectiveness, then we can begin to ask how we can best identify such themes and issues. One starting point might be the recent history of conservation activity within historic cities and lessons gleaned from successful approaches to urban conservation.

OVERVIEW OF RESULTS OF RECENT CONSERVATION EFFORTS FOR HISTORIC CITIES

An overview of efforts to safeguard historic cities over the last thirty-five years does not provide great confidence in the overall effectiveness of the many measures introduced for protecting urban heritage. This period – the era of modern conservation we might say – which began with the creation of ICOMOS, ICCROM, and the UNESCO instruments focussed on cultural heritage (the UNESCO International Campaigns of the 1960s, and the 1972 World Heritage Convention) has seen a range of very serious efforts to strengthen capacity for urban conservation. Several hundred international and regional meetings have resulted in resolutions, declarations, recommendations, charters and meeting reports which have identified principles intended to guide decision-making towards greater respect for the heritage values of historic cities. These meetings and the efforts of those responsible for management of historic cities have also resulted in the development of many innovative approaches to heritage management in historic cities: historic building inventory and classification systems, master plans and conservation plans intended to guide use and development in

heritage sensitive directions, systems of grants and incentives tied to careful treatment of historic buildings.

While these measures have undoubtedly strengthened efforts to retain historic buildings and street patterns in many particular contexts, at the same time, we can recognize that they have proved inadequate in other contexts. In the end, we can realize that it is not the charters or the conservation tools *per se*, that ensure conservation, it is political will. For example, while most historic towns, cities and villages in Italy for example have retained their historic cores in meaningful ways, in neighbouring Greece, most historic centres subject to tourism or other development pressures have rapidly lost their historic qualities. If we stand back to assess the overall effectiveness of our collective efforts, it is difficult not to recognise that in many regions, we continue to be at risk of slowly losing the battle for retention of the heritage values of our historic cities. For every success – for every Rome, for every Santiago de Compostela, for every Vigan, for every Malacca – there are many examples of slow but inexorable failure.

THE SITUATION IN ASIA

This seems particularly true in Asia. There are many examples of Asian historic cities overwhelmed by the forces of contemporary change and development, and this often in spite of considerable efforts to promote conservation. Probably no historic city in the world has received more international missions, supported more expert analysis or received more expert recommendations than the Kathmandu Valley, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1979. Yet the rate of loss, particularly in the Kathmandu City part of the complex seven component inscription is such that the World Heritage Committee, in response to out-of-control development in many sectors of the inscribed site, must now content itself with discussions aimed at reducing the size of the inscribed zone. In effect, the Committee has recognized the limited capacity of the present government and Nepalese civic society to enact measures which will protect all of its World Heritage values.

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This negative drift is confirmed in a paper prepared by the World Heritage Centre following the Suzhou (China) Conference of April, 1998 (“International Conference for the Mayors of Historic Cities in China and the European Union”). On page 3, the paper notes that *“if the monuments or groups of buildings are not directly threatened by pollution (e.g. Taj Mahal), then [they are] are at risk with ill-planned roads or railways to be constructed cutting across cultural sites (e.g., Hue, Viet Nam; Kyongju, Republic of Korea; Bagan, Myanmar, etc); or, through underground parking or subway tracks being planned for construction without any prior archaeological research (e.g., Esfahan, Iran). Public works for utilities extension and widening of inner-city roads have also led to demolitions of entire ensembles of historic building and irreversibly changing the urban historic morphology, (eg. in some historic cities in China), while unauthorized demolitions and reconstructions of historic buildings and construction of new ill-designed buildings incongruous to the spirit of the place (e.g., Kathmandu Valley, Nepal and elsewhere) have also caused damages beyond repair.”*

The same paper goes on to note on page four that *“the realities of Asian cities are determined by the need to accommodate for the even faster pace than in the past, of rural to urban migration, and to find urgent solutions to the deteriorating urban environment marked by insalubrious housing, insufficient supply of safe running water and inadequate sanitation systems, unemployment, under-employment, rampant urban poverty giving rise to crime...”*

The Nara Seminar on the “Development and the Integrity of Historic Cities” of March, 1999 similarly identified a number of major issues which have an “adverse effect on the conservation and maintenance of the historic fabric” in conserving *“the special historic character of historic cities in Asia:*

- *degradation in the quality of life of the inhabitants resulting from excessive pressures due to rapid urbanisation*
- *depopulation of small and secondary cities weakening their social and economic viability*
- *changes in the way of life which have led to new requirements in housing and services*
- *focus on the conservation of single monuments*
- *over-emphasis on the catering for the demands of tourism*

– *neglect of the inter-relationships between the historic areas, the wider urban context and the rural hinterland.”*

ALTERNATIVE FRAMEWORKS FOR REVIEWING MANAGEMENT EFFECTIVENESS

If then, an historic retrospective directed at the evolution of contemporary conservation practice does not seem to yield proven practices effective in urban management, then we will have to look elsewhere to find alternative means of understanding – and therefore guiding – urban transformation towards greater respect for heritage values.

Several alternative perspectives may be useful in carrying out this search:

- Many of the historic cities we persevere to save with our modern instruments and methods arrived as objects of preservation interest after several centuries – even millennia – of evolution during which those conservation instruments were absent. What can we understand of the forces guiding changes during those past centuries that we can build into present practice?
- Many contemporary historic cities are immensely satisfying for visitors in their ability to continually change and mutate without impairing their heritage values. What appear to be the key factors being respected in guiding change over time in such successes, at least as seen from the viewpoint of external visitors?
- Cities change as the result of hundreds and thousands of decisions made inside and outside of formal and informal decision-making frameworks. In essence, conservation success appears to have more to do with the ability of historic cities to manage these processes of “dynamic” change, than the effectiveness of the “static” protective instruments (lists, inventories, prohibitions, supports and incentives) normally employed within the conservation community. It is worth asking to what extent we can identify and describe the nature of the dynamic development processes which best contribute toward realisation of conservation objectives.
- Many contemporary historic cities, concerned about developing sensible and ethical approaches

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to city development, which offer quality of life to their citizens and optimize use of available resources, now commit themselves to management visions which can support retention of historic resources. Examples would be cities which may choose to adopt policies promoting “sustainability”, “ecological soundness”, “liveability” or “risk sensitivity” etc.

Let’s look at each of these four perspectives in turn.

FIRST, learning from historic transformational impulses in cities.

Analysis of a number of the forces which have encouraged sympathetic change in historic cities over time may offer useful insights.

We all recognize that some historic cities appear to go through centuries, even millennia of change and arrive in today’s world, their heritage values intact. It is attractive to try to understand the nature of these processes in ways which would allow us to extract lessons useful in urban conservation. I say “attractive” but probably futile, in the light of the our radically changed circumstances – given rapidly increasing rates of technological and industrial change, given rapid urbanisation, given escalating patterns of consumption, given globalisation and so on – all of which seem to call out today for artificial controls or limits on development, to save what time has conferred on us.

Let’s look nevertheless at some of the forces influencing change over time in historic cities:

- For most of history, limited rates of technological change have ensured that successive generations did not work or build in forms, materials or methods substantially different from those of preceding generations. Only in this century have we moved from full dependence on artisanal production and use of traditional building materials to widespread industrial production, and felt impelled to invent artificial conservation instruments to retain both evidence and use of earlier technologies.
- A second relevant force may be strong economic pressures to recycle within earlier historical eras, favouring the husbanding of physical heritage materials. While in today’s world, new buildings

in urban contexts generally are constructed following the complete removal of the older structure, in earlier times, the relative difficulty and cost of finding and transporting materials stimulated efforts to retain or re-use these materials in one way or another. A close look at ancient Rome for example, shows the widespread practice of using older buildings as “quarries” of raw material for installation in new buildings. Demolition occurs but without any self-conscious effort to conserve, and selected materials are re-integrated into the evolving urban fabric.

- A commitment to the retention of surviving materials frequently implied retention and re-use of appropriate ancient forms again evident in many historic cities. If I may continue to use my home city of Rome as an example, (and Prof. Christina Cheng earlier described Macao as the Rome of the East, so perhaps the comparisons are not so far-fetched), it is possible to recognize that the plan form of today’s Piazza Navona echoes the plan of the Roman era stadium that preceded it. The network of streets around the Campo dei Fiori echoes the plan and surviving vestiges of the Teatro dei Pompeii. The structure of many a Roman temple underlies or is imbedded within a Renaissance Church. The three-nave form of the Christian church echoes the Basilican Law courts of Roman times. And so on.

Cities that have retained tangible traces of their past in their archives and in the memories of citizens are able to meaningfully recover vanished patterns and structures. Nowhere is this more evident than in the current rebuilding of Berlin. The *Financial Times* of Aug. 3, 2002 reports that “*the historic face of the city is re-emerging after the years of gloom*”. In nearby Potsdam, “*one of the town’s famous canals – covered since the war - had been redug...and the gateway to the Town Palace, detonated in 1960, had been re-erected*”. The report continued that “*the rest is to follow, which will mean relaying the roads...removing an ugly skyscraper...and [rebuilding] the Garrison Church...the spiritual centre of Prussia, which fell victim to the reigning ideology as late as 1968.*” While some would question the resulting authenticity of efforts to reconstruct lost Berlin, as in many other Eastern and Central capitals, it is not

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difficult to accept the arguments made for the need for new symbols of lost – and now re-acquired – statehood.

While we can't afford to romanticize any of these observations, they can suggest some criteria useful in assessing contemporary management effectiveness in historic cities.

In summary, what might be some of the areas in which urban conservation indicators might usefully be established in relation to this evolutionary perspective?

1. *A well managed historic city will maintain and strengthen its craft traditions.*

Assessment should look at the degree to which traditional craftsmanship and related support systems have been sustained and made available to strengthen maintenance of the existing and a base for contemporary expression

2. *A well managed historic city will ensure contemporary planning efforts which reflect traditional patterns and layouts.*

Assessment should look at the degree to which contemporary planning and design is based on efforts to understand and to meaningfully re-employ existing urban forms, building vestiges and patterns

SECOND, learning from qualities which make historic cities attractive and appealing to residents and visitors.

Those who move through and experience historic cities are drawn to a range of qualities. These qualities have something to do with the integrity of the visitor experience and equally, something to do with their sense of confidence in the provisions made for the security of the site.

In the former case, these qualities have to do with the quality of communication between visitor and site. People search out contact with the real, the genuine; they search for believable, and credible testimonies of the stories or messages they find important; they seek ways to be in touch with the movement of time through the physical space of the city.

In the latter case, these qualities have to do with perceptions concerning the internal health of a site. People are attracted by evidence of the essential wellness, the good condition of a site, by evidence of commitment of citizens to care for the site, by the security of

confidence in the likely survival of what they see and experience.

The World Heritage Committee has developed a mechanism to try to bring perception of both concerns into their analysis in a consistent and systematic way. The Committee uses the concept of “qualifying conditions” to address this issue. “Qualifying conditions” are factors important in analysing the genuineness, the intactness, the wholeness of its core values: what the Convention calls “Outstanding Universal Value”. Two of these “qualifying conditions” have been explicitly recognized during the life of the Convention: for cultural heritage, the “test of authenticity”, and for natural heritage, the “conditions of integrity”. (The *Operational Guidelines* state in Article 24, b, i, that cultural nominations must “*meet the test of authenticity in design, material, workmanship or setting and in the case of cultural landscapes their distinctive character and components*”).

Authenticity, defined as a measure of the degree to which the attributes of cultural heritage sites can be understood to genuinely, credibly, truthfully express the heritage values expressed by the attributes, may be seen in this way as a “qualifying condition”, a concept focussed not on the selection of values themselves, but on the clarity of communication of these values. *Integrity*, in similar fashion, may be understood as an indicator of the degree to which site conditions are appropriate for the protection of defined heritage values – again, a “qualifying condition”, a measure of the intactness of the environment necessary to support the core values.

How can we apply these “qualifying conditions” to understanding the health and conservation of our historic urban environments? Understanding *authenticity* as related to attributes of design, material, workmanship and setting (as in the existing *Operational Guidelines*), and extending this to include the concepts of tradition, and use (as in the proposed new *Operational Guidelines*, as derived from the Nara Document of 1994) suggests a range of useful questions. Will this proposed change maintain authenticity of setting? Of design (understood in urban terms as street layout and patterns)? Of function? Etc. If we begin to add in concern for *integrity* – for the intactness of surviving physical remains, for wholeness (for the integrity of the systems that sustain cities), we are given other important questions to ask. To what extent do proposed changes maintain intact relations between urban functions, layout and structures?

The use of “integrity” as an operational concept useful for historic cities was explored in an Asian context during the meeting organised in Nara in March 1999, “Development and the Integrity of Historic Cities”. The seminar noted that the following factors together contribute to the “integrity” of the historic city (taken from page 2 of the World Heritage Committee report):

- *“intangible human activities linked to supporting physical features*
- *coherence of the historic area relating on the fusion of the components*
- *recognition that cities consist of a number of historical overlays*
- *recognition of significance which will vary from generation to generation*
- *links between socio-economic development, community welfare, and the conservation of historic character .”*

It now seems likely that the next edition of the *Operational Guidelines* will for the first time define “conditions of integrity” appropriate for cultural heritage.

These two concepts, authenticity and integrity, provide useful indicators of what spaces/ structures/ functions/ traditions etc. to keep or modify in historic cities and also of what might constitute respectful treatment of the urban fabric, layout and systems. Applying authenticity analysis to an historic city moves our attention well beyond the material or design elements to concern for dynamic qualities such as tradition and function. Bringing our attention to integrity also encourages us to examine the intactness of systems that support and sustain urban life. However, taken together these two concepts may not be enough to give a fully clear picture of the key indicators for maintaining the essential “character” or “sense of place” of an historic city.

A number of recent discussions have focussed on a third “qualifying condition”, one that may be of particular importance for historic cities – that of *continuity*. Christopher Pound, who is also contributing to this meeting, argues convincingly that continuity is indeed the key factor to focus on in sustaining historic urban character, in papers he has presented in other contexts. In a city like Rome, inscribed on the World Heritage List in the 1980s, the sense of continuity – a sense of timelessness – appears to be the factor most seized upon by visitors as giving meaning to their

observations. The ability to move through the “Eternal City” and to experience its many interwoven layers in every corner of the Centro Storico causes even lay observers to question the efforts of Mussolini in the 1930s to disinter the Roman Fora (now exposed flanking the Via dei Fori Imperiali) or the buried antiquities of the Largo Argentina, exposing interesting archaeological remains, but removing these spaces from the living use of citizens. While these romantic efforts to reclaim lost glories were common in the 30s – witness the excavations of the Greek agora in Athens, or of the historic centre in Kos in this period – and in all cases could only be accomplished by demolition of historic quarters of considerable significance, they seem to provide a somewhat empty testimony today, when viewed alongside the infinitely more complex and rewarding layers of adjacent neighbourhoods.

In summary, what might be some of the areas in relation to perceptions of the qualities of historic cities, for which indicators might usefully be established?

3. *The attributes of a well managed historic city will authentically reflect its significant heritage values.*

AUTHENTICITY: Assessment here looks at the degree to which the attributes (design, material, setting, workmanship, function, traditions) of the historic city may be seen to reflect the significant heritage values of the historic city

4. *A well managed historic city will maintain and strengthen the integrity of its components, its systems and the relationship between them.*

INTEGRITY: Assessment here looks at the degree to which wholeness and intactness of the historic city and its operating systems may be seen to be present

5. *A well managed historic city will maintain and strengthen its sources of continuity.*

CONTINUITY: Assessment here will look at the degree to which continuity of form, layout, living traditions and patterns of use are present in the historic city

THIRD, learning from the dynamic development processes which shape contemporary historic cities.

Some of the most interesting and effective urban conservation programmes developed in the last several decades have concentrated on integrating

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concern for preservation of elements of urban heritage within overall economic development schemes.

Among the best known of these schemes are the so-called Main Street (or downtown revitalisation) programmes of North America. These programmes are designed to involve communities of business people and merchants in organised self-help action to improve the attractiveness of their commercial enterprises through development of marketing, design and economic development opportunities. These schemes have been enormously successful over twenty-five years in North America, exerting a positive influence in well over a thousand historic small towns and neighbourhoods. Here, ultimately historic buildings, storefronts and signs are seen as design assets in strengthening consistency and quality of business image and appeal. The shared effort underlying Main Street programme accomplishments ultimately reinvigorates civic pride in the identity and history of the community, and long-term support for community heritage as a key development resource.

Main Street programmes are organised around four key action points: organisation (bringing various communities to act together around shared objectives), economic development, design and marketing. The latter three are all subservient possible physical focuses for the shared efforts brought about by successful community organisation.

A second example is the emphasis to be found in Europe since the 1975 Amsterdam Charter (an agreement of European countries around means to strengthen architectural conservation) on *integrated approaches to urban conservation*. While initially interpreted in fairly mechanical terms as concerned with *integrated structures* in municipal planning (that is, creating a Heritage Conservation unit within municipal government for example), today integrated approaches are understood to imply *integrated processes*, ensuring decision-making builds in widespread involvement of all community interests in defining heritage values and appropriate levels and forms of care.

In both – and many more similar examples – the key ingredient in effective strategies has been the development of a bottom-up approach, building support at the grass root level for heritage conservation, support which ultimately generates the political will

and the economic will to bring about achievement of conservation goals.

In summary, what might be some of the areas in relation to dynamic processes for integrating urban heritage in development for which indicators might usefully be established?

6. ***A well managed historic city will ensure community participation in decision-making.*** Assessment involves looking at the degree of involvement of the community in defining heritage values and in determining forms of appropriate care
7. ***A well managed historic city will support self-help strategies for its improvement.*** Assessment involves looking at the degree to which planning promotes use of self-help policies and strategies in achieving conservation goals.
8. ***A well managed historic city will ensure its defined heritage values serve as the key reference in evaluating development options.*** Assessment involves looking at the degree to which the values of the historic city serve as a core criterion in evaluating development options

FOURTH, learning from contemporary visions for city growth sensitive to heritage concerns.

Cities have been encouraged to explore alternative visions for their future development in the face of the many escalating pressures and forces confronting contemporary planners and managers: too-rapid urbanisation, uncontrolled suburban spread, increasing environmental degradation, increasing poverty and growing income gaps between rich and poor, just to name a few. Let's look at a few of the primary concerns addressed within these various vision formulations.

The Rio Summit of 1992 on Sustainable Development resulted in adoption of Agenda 21, a set of principles for sustainable development subsequently adopted by national governments and promoted within national, regional and local governments. While for the most part, these principles are concerned with limiting resource consumption, many deal directly with organisation for sustainability. For example, Agenda 21 promotes decentralized decision-making – moving authority from national to local levels – as a key means to ensuring that decision-making takes into account local perceptions and priorities, often more in tune

with the resource implications and consequences of political decisions. Hence Agenda 21 states clearly that the most sustainable forms of local government are those where decision-making has been moved most closely to those most affected by the decisions. This applies strongly to those concerned with heritage decision-making as well.

Other international organisations have also promoted alternative visions of national or civic growth highlighting certain key objectives to be sustained in supporting equitable growth. The World Bank has exposed two broad thrusts in policies developed over the last five years, touching heritage conservation and economic development: heritage conservation as an instrument of *social inclusion*, and heritage conservation as an instrument of *poverty alleviation*. Currently World Bank programmes supporting heritage conservation (and there are many) are organised around the ability of programme officers to demonstrate benefits in terms of these social objectives.

Finally, the many floods occurring this year in the late summer in Eastern Europe and across Asia, particularly in China, have demonstrated the inadequacy of current measures for risk preparedness in many sites on the World Heritage List. Many sites, given the high nature of intrinsic internal risk relative to known local hazards (e.g., fire, earthquake, flood, fire) deserve greater commitment within management regimes to efforts to reduce sources and consequences of risk, and to explore the capacity of traditional construction technologies and practices to reduce risk.

All of these visions or components of visions in one way or another focus on promoting the quality of life of the citizens of the historic city. Effective integration of heritage conservation goals in long-term city development requires demonstrating the importance of placing concern for heritage within quality of life statements or visions defined for historic cities.

In summary, what might be some of the areas in relation to alternative visions for city growth for which indicators might usefully be established?

9. *A well managed historic city will have mechanisms in place to strengthen decision-making at local levels.*

Assessment involves looking at the degree to which decision-making has been moved to the local level (and therefore the degree to which local

heritage interest has been strengthened and local ownership assured)

10. *A well managed historic city will promote heritage conservation as an instrument of social inclusion.*

Assessment involves looking at the degree to which conservation policy and programmes promote social and cultural respect, mutual respect and sustained co-existence.

11. *A well managed historic city will optimize retention of programme and project profits within the local community.*

Assessment involves looking at the degree to which development profits are retained within individuals and institutions within the local community

12. *A well managed historic city will ensure high levels of risk preparedness in its institutions and municipal agencies.*

Assessment involves looking at the degree to which management regimes incorporate policies, strategies and programmes for improving risk preparedness

CONCLUSION

The above dozen subject focuses are merely illustrative of possible subject areas for review for historic cities in assessing management effectiveness qualitatively, and indeed there could be many more. As well, the precise choice of subjects to be assessed will depend on the particular qualities of the historic city and the political, economic and social circumstances in which it is proposed to realize heritage objectives. Each community needs to debate its choice of the areas in which indicators are to be established, in the context of their particular circumstances, in building up effective management systems which will preserve their particular heritage values.

In the end, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the modern instruments invented by the public sector to protect urban heritage values have not proved fully adequate in the face of the economic, social and political forces confronting historic cities today. The efforts by the World Heritage Committee to verify management effectiveness are intended to promote use of mechanisms which can better protect the values of heritage cities from the negative impact of the many

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relentless external contemporary pressures now in place. This intention is not easy to bring to realisation. Even where historic centres survive, their values apparently intact, they often do so as oases surrounded by featureless and meaningless outlying areas serving more directly the needs of business, residents and industry. Heritage can become something set aside from community development instead of something at its core, and heritage advocates may find themselves promoting retention of values and fabric which appear irrelevant to the needs of most in society. The only way forward is to make the heritage debate public and to make the issues, the stakes and the options of high public relevance. With strong public awareness, comes support, and ultimately the political will necessary to sustain heritage goals. At this point, the management mechanisms will be relevant to the heritage goals defined.

When the Macao World Heritage nomination goes forward, scrutiny of the nomination will certainly

involve efforts by ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee to verify the effectiveness of the management instruments in place. This paper encourages the organisers of this Conference, the citizens of Macao, and the professionals and administrators entrusted with the care of Macao, irrespective of the World Heritage nomination process now underway, to take up these questions for the better long term protection of the city's qualities: to constructively examine the management mechanisms in place, and to verify and debate choices of indicators which could give a clear picture about the effectiveness of management activity. To earn a place on the World Heritage List, or indeed simply to sustain its many heritage values for the benefit of its citizens, Macao needs to bring the attention of its citizens to the underlying forces and qualities which comprise its essential character, and to involve them in efforts to ensure that the city's planning and legal instruments are fully focussed on maintaining this character. **RC**

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Current Issues Concerning Adaptive Re-use in the Conservation of Urban Cultural Heritage

YONGTANIT PIMONSATHEAN *



Fig. 1 - Ma Kok Miu (Barra Temple) in Macao (10 September 2002). All pictures in this article were taken by the author.

INTRODUCTION

It is commonly understood that adaptive re-use helps extend the life of historic buildings and prevents them from becoming forsaken and derelict. It preserves buildings by changing outdated functions into new

uses to meet contemporary demand. However, not all historic buildings require adaptive re-use to prolong their life. There are at least two types of buildings for which adaptive re-use is not suitable. One of these is religious buildings, particularly those located in a long-established region or town, such as Ma Kok Miu (Barra Temple) in Macao, a temple classified as one of the most significant local monuments. It is very culturally and historically meaningful since its name is linked to the origin of the word “Macao”.¹ In this case, the temple retains its function as a religious place and a symbolic venue for traditional festivals and thus there is no point in introducing any new usage to Ma Kok Miu.

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The other type consists of buildings that require high authentic value. Authenticity is a complex term in which design, materials, workmanship and setting should be taken into account. Recently, authenticity in the socio-cultural context has become an additional consideration in World Heritage sites.² New use in adaptive re-use schemes may require physical alterations that would devalue any aspect of authenticity. In this regard, the method of restoration is much more important than applying adaptive re-use to the building.

Leaving aside the case of religious buildings and those in need of a high degree of authenticity, adaptive re-use can be applied to historic buildings as a tool to keep them alive. Adaptive re-use has at least three advantages in the realm of conservation. It can “recycle” the building in order to regain contemporary economic value.³ Adding economic value is a good reason for conservationists to cite in the preservation of old buildings since artistic and historic value alone may not be sufficient to convince the decision-makers.

Since adaptive re-use prevents historic buildings from being torn down, it can also find favour with economists. Given that the existing structure remains, the cost of new construction is not needed and this saving is one of the main motives behind conservation.⁴ In many cases, new economic activities (like boutique hotels, restaurants or retail shops) can generate income that covers the cost of restoring a historic building. In some cases, new activities (such as museums or libraries) do not cover restoration and maintenance costs but they do provide an indispensable social benefit to the community.

Similarly, environmentalists support the idea of adaptive re-use. As new construction is not required, natural resources used in manufacturing construction materials are not exploited and thus adaptive re-use also promotes conservation of the environment⁵.

Although adaptive re-use seems to be a physically, economically, and environmentally sound approach for any conservation programme, it often gives rise to debate concerning its impact on cultural aspects. Adaptive re-use deals with the conversion of economic activities that will undoubtedly impact on the way of life of residents as well as visitors and users. There are three issues that need to be considered in applying



Fig. 2 - Example of passive new use in Phuket, Thailand (2001). A Sino-Portuguese building, originally built as a charity hospital, was converted to the office of the Chinese Hokkian Association.

adaptive re-use in the conservation of Asian cities. The three issues are a) appropriate new uses, b) legal limits, and c) the impact of gentrification.

APPROPRIATE NEW USES

There are many recommendations on possible new usage for old structures. Highfield⁶ lists possible new uses as including the retail trade, offices, industry (both light and heavy), warehouses, hotels or guest houses, residential units or dormitories, facilities for religious or social activities, welfare housing (especially for aged citizens), health centres, museums, theatres, and even discotheques. Yaomans suggests three groups of activities for adaptive re-use schemes in Liverpool⁷, namely residential, commercial, and mixed residential/commercial/ industrial uses. Tiesdell⁸ has pointed out that new uses should be related to three groups of activities, i.e. cultural tourism, housing, and commerce/ industry.

When taking financial return into consideration, appropriate new uses can be classified into two categories: active use, and passive use. Active use means a new activity that generates sufficient income to cover restoration and maintenance costs in the adaptive re-use programme. Examples of active uses are hotels, restaurants, retail shops, and department stores. Unlike active use, passive use does not generate substantial income to cover restoration and maintenance costs but



Figs. 3/4 - Conversion of storeroom to Thai massage school in Tah Tian community, Bangkok (2002).

it brings social benefits to the community. Examples of passive uses are museums, libraries, welfare housing units, galleries, and other social activity buildings.

No matter what the new uses might be, one of the most important aspects is the analysis of demand for new activities. Demand for new activities arises from at least two interrelated factors. The first factor is the need to overhaul the outdated condition of an historic building or environment. Vacant sites, empty buildings and unused upper floors are signs of inner city decay.⁹ This can be associated with an on-going decline in the population¹⁰ in which case it may be quite difficult to introduce a new function into an old building since the area may no longer be attractive. Moreover, this kind of historic building may, if poorly managed or left intact, be occupied by a lower income group, instead of providing improved economic activities, thus leading to a worse environment and under-priced properties.

To recreate the attractiveness of the old area, it is essential to have government intervention. The second factor in analysing new types of activities is thus government policy. Often the government solves the problem of inner city decay via the provision of new infrastructure and public services. The issue is what kind of infrastructure and services should be provided. In most cases, governments tend to regard the historic area as a potential tourist attraction. Here again Tiesdell¹¹ has suggested two considerations for adaptive



re-use in a prospective tourism promotion area: a) the area should be proven to be suffering from economic and industrial decay, leading to out migration and abandonment, and b) the area should have tourism development potential. Tourism development potential could be guided mainly by the government's provision of public infrastructure and private investment incentives.

However, if the decision from the government places too much emphasis on tourism development, seen as excessive open space development, rigid regulations on building use and relocation of some activities, the area will lose its charm and existing fabric. In this case, the government may encounter conflict with existing residents. The case of the Stone Town of Zanzibar¹² is an example of residents excluded from the decision-making process, resulting in an unfair sharing of benefit in the conservation programme. In the Rattanakosin conservation area in Bangkok, the top-down conservation committee offered only a physical improvement master plan with a number of

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Fig. 5 - Restoration work at the Mandarin's House, Macao (10 September 2002).

relocation schemes for existing communities in order to provide open spaces. Adaptive re-use is not mentioned in the plan because the policy is more in the style of an “open museum”. This has resulted in serial rejections by the relevant communities over the last two decades. Community voices in recent work in Rattanakosin¹³ have highlighted the fact that community participation is needed in decision-making and in implementing the work plan. It is unfortunate that the current conservation committee comprises only senior scholars and elites without including a chair for a community representative.

With regard to this, analysis of new uses depends heavily on the understanding of different needs of the two groups, namely tourists and residents.¹⁴ Trade-offs between these two groups must be done with careful consideration.

LEGAL LIMITS

Adaptive re-use is a laborious process and it is not always possible if legislative controls are taken into account. Existing regulations may become barriers and introduce increased costs and delays to adaptive re-use projects.¹⁵ According to land use controls in the conservation area, the use of land and buildings is more limited than in other urban development areas thereby providing little chance for new uses. In most Asian cities, the common feature of mixed residential and commercial/domestic-manufacturing uses in old shop house areas makes them attractive and unique. Unfortunately, many conservation plans try to eradicate

the old mixed uses and introduce new single activities after restoration or revitalisation schemes. This may make the conservation area physically beautiful but in fact it lacks the real spirit and roots of the area.

In terms of individual buildings, modern building codes may create obstacles in the conversion of old buildings. In many cases, existing structures, materials, openings, stairs, access streets, and the fire safety of historic buildings are considered substandard and therefore can fail to meet the standards of building codes.¹⁶ Adaptive re-use may require alteration to these buildings to meet the demand for new space and this has to be done according to modern building regulations. Such activities are costly. For instance, in Bangkok's Chinatown area, the old shop houses are from 2.7 to 3.5 metres wide but the minimum width allowed in the modern building codes is 4.0 metres. The conversion of old shop houses is almost impossible because it apparently involves violating the law.

The requirements of modern regulations in the conversion of old buildings are not only costly but also reduce the degree of (physical) authenticity. Changes in materials, width of staircase, openings, and other elements distort the meaning of historic buildings. Building regulations have meant that the adaptive re-use approach is not applicable to all historic buildings. For buildings or structures of great importance, it is essential to keep as many of the original components and settings as is possible.

IMPACT OF GENTRIFICATION

Whether it is accepted or not, gentrification seems to be inevitable in most adaptive re-use implementation. Gentrification is a common feature when rapid physical transformation takes place in an historic inner area. It arises with a new sector of the population, particularly the middle class, expressing new aspirations that lead to a demand for new services and designs. It is argued that the influx of new group of people does not facilitate cultural sustainability because the original population or community is no longer associated with the area.¹⁷

One of the benefits of gentrification, however, is the rapid improvement of the physical condition of the building, such as the façade and interior space. Nevertheless, in areas where conservation controls or

development guidelines are poorly applied, such rapid improvements destroy the entire fabric of the neighbourhood, resulting in a loss of authenticity and integrity.

Recent work concerning cultural heritage conservation has drawn greater attention to keeping existing communities within historic sites, although this approach is barely feasible when adaptive re-use is taken into account. When there are changes in economic activity through an adaptive re-use programme, and improvements to the physical environment, existing residents may not be able to afford to remain there. They cannot even afford to change their existing lifestyle or employment. Therefore, adaptive re-use in this regard may be said to be successful only for physical improvement, not for social continuity.

In a small shop house community called Tah Tian in Bangkok's conservation area, a tenant of a storeroom shop house converted the building to a Thai massage school. Here adaptive re-use and restoration work took place without the replacement of the existing resident. This happened because the resident was able to manage the change of environment and knew how to adjust the business. It is rather easy in the case of individual buildings but it would be more complex and time-consuming with multiple shop house units.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND A NOTE TO MACAO

The three issues in the implementation of adaptive re-use are not easily tackled in current urban heritage conservation programmes. Since adaptive re-use deals with economic activity that is dynamic in nature, new uses must be analysed properly in the realm of both marketing and political concerns. It requires cooperation between the public sector in terms of infrastructure investment and private developers in terms of operating economic activities. Incentives must also be provided to accelerate private investment. Nevertheless, restrictive building regulations have reduced the opportunities for a number of historic buildings to have adaptive re-use applied. Modern regulations imply that the old buildings should adjust to meet contemporary safety and minimum standards requirements. Even in cases where adaptive re-use has been applied to achieve appropriate new use in keeping



Fig. 6 - Rua da Felicidade, Macao (10 September 2002).

with building codes, there is still the question of gentrification.

It appears that there is no compromise in terms of how to apply adaptive re-use in the conservation of urban cultural heritage. Three alternative approaches are given here. First, the top-down approach, where government has the absolute authority to control and guide development in the conservation area. This approach is appropriate when the government has alternative places for relocating existing residents and practical incentives for private investment. The first approach brings rapid physical improvement to the conservation area but it has to accept the probable impact of gentrification.

The second is the bottom-up or grassroots approach. Existing communities and residents are not forced to leave the conservation area since they are seen as an integrative part of the heritage. This approach is applauded by many social workers, NGOs and existing residents but the issue is how to introduce new activities into the building while the same group of people remains. The socio-economic background, education,

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experiences and attitudes of the current inhabitants may not fit in with the new economic activities. Capacity building, training and community education may help in this regard but it is a time-consuming process. The government may not support this approach because it is a long-term process and there is no proof of success at the beginning. However, if it can be done, the government gains not only economic viability in the conservation area, but also the success of human resource development.

The last approach is working in partnerships. Since the top-down approach may create resistance from existing communities, NGOs, and some scholars, and the second approach may not be practicable, working in partnerships may be the third alternative in running adaptive re-use programmes. The concept of partnerships is to work in a mutual and supportive manner among the beneficiary groups. The strengths and weaknesses of all stakeholders must be understood in order to make full use of those strengths, and to reduce the inefficiency of the weaknesses.¹⁸ For any adaptive re-use programme, an understanding of the existing capacity of private investors and current residents is needed, and this should be in line with government policy. Frequent public hearings and dialogues may need to be organised, and negotiation and conflict resolution may have to be used in this adaptive re-use game.

Since its return to Chinese sovereignty in 1999, Macao has experienced a series of changes in

terms of politics, social fabric and economic base. These changes provide an opportunity for adaptive re-use in some cultural assets, particularly those classified as buildings of architectural interest such as the Mandarin's House, or classified as sites like Rua da Felicidade.

New activities reintroduced to Mandarin's House can be either active (e.g., restaurant or boutique hotel) or passive (e.g., museum or gallery). But for Rua da Felicidade, active use is probably more appropriate because it consists of a group of buildings with existing economic activities. The proposal to improve the environment of the area may bring about gentrification since tourism promotion has been spelled out in the programme but if the removal of existing residents is not the policy, community involvement is inevitable. Here a series of local dialogues, community meetings, workshops and local residents' capacity-building programmes have to be conducted before any physical improvements are implemented.

Adaptive re-use in the conservation of Macao's cultural heritage would definitely ensure the continuity of the historic buildings although approaches to apply adaptive re-use may differ from one location to another. The top-down approach may be needed in situations where strict restoration is an objective, whereas partnership approaches may be possible in the case of historic communities. Such integrated approaches would be sure to help Macao, one of the most meaningful cultural sites in Asia, as a whole. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 Information derived from *Asserting an Identity* (exhibition catalogue), Cultural Institute of Macao, p. 10.
- 2 Bernard M. Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto, *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*, p. 17.
- 3 Henry Sanoff, *Designing with Community Participation*, p. 178.
- 4 David Rock, "Building Conversion and Rehabilitation: Re-using buildings - a new art and science".
- 5 Nathaniel Lichfield, *Economics in Urban Conservation*, p. 29.
- 6 See David Highfield, *Rehabilitation and Re-use of Old Buildings*.
- 7 David Yaomans, "The Economic and Political Rationale for Local Government Investment in Heritage Conservation and Adaptive Re-use: Consideration of Laws and Incentives." Paper presented at The Economics of Heritage: UNESCO Conference/Workshop on the Adaptive Re-use of Historic Properties in Asia and the Pacific, Penang, Melaka, Malaysia 9-17 May 1999.
- 8 Steven Tiesdell et al., *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters*, p. 69.
- 9 John Worthington & Peter Eley, "The Management of Change: new working environments from obsolete industrial buildings".
- 10 For instance, Chinatown Bangkok (locally known as Yaowarat in Sampantawong district) has experienced the decline of population at the constant rate of 2.4 % per annum since 1977 while the use of the second floor of most of the shophouses have been shifting from residential into warehouse/ storage. (Survey conducted by the author in 2001).
- 11 Steven Tiesdell et al., *Revitalizing Historic Urban Quarters*, p. 69.
- 12 Rafael Marks, "Conservation and Community: The Contradiction and Ambiguities of Tourism in the Stone Town of Zanzibar" in *Habitat International*, Vol. 20, No. 2, p. 272.
- 13 Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) and Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA), *Traffic and Transportation for Sustainable Environment, Mobility and Access Application of a Comprehensive and Integrated Approach to Policy Development in the Rattanakosin Area of Bangkok*, p. 29.
- 14 Wiendu Nuryanti, "Yogyakarta Case Study: The Role of Tourism in Adaptive Re-use and Development of Historic Public Space". Paper presented at The Economics of Heritage: UNESCO

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- Conference/Workshop on the Adaptive Re-use of Historic Properties in Asia and the Pacific, Penang, Melaka, Malaysia 9-17 May 1999.
- 15 John Worthington & Peter Eley, "The Management of Change: new working environments from obsolete industrial buildings", p. 142.
- 16 Hans Detlef Kammeier, "Heritage Protection versus Building and Planning Regulations: How to Reconcile Traditional Building Practices and Modern Regulations." Paper presented at The Economics of Heritage: UNESCO Conference/Workshop on the Adaptive Re-use of Historic Properties in Asia and the Pacific, Penang, Melaka, Malaysia 9-17 May 1999.
- 17 Ross King, "Green Architecture and Urban Design - A Reflection on Bangkok". Session 4 in Nopadon Sahachaisaeree (ed.) *Green Architecture: The Sustainable Built Environment in the New Millennium Conference Proceedings*. CDAST, KMITL, pp. 112-113.
- 18 See details in Rasna Warah, "The Partnership Principle: Key to Implement the Habitat Agenda", *Habitat Debate*, UNCHS 3 (1), 1997, p.3.

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Cultural Significance

The Identity of Macao

CHRISTINA MIU BING CHENG*

INTRODUCTION

Nurtured by two political entities and two dominant cultures at the periphery of South China, Macao has acquired a specific identity. The concept of “identity” relates mainly to a sense of community based on history and culture. Moreover, it denotes not only a sense of one’s self as an individual (personal identity) but rather as a bearer of a particular cultural “heritage” (cultural identity). A collective cultural identity, in effect, points to ‘those feelings and values in respect of a sense of continuity, shared memories and a sense of common destiny of a given unit of population which has had common experiences and cultural attributes’ (Smith, 1990:179). More broadly, Jonathan Friedman has put it thus:

It [cultural identity] is not practised but inherent, not achieved but ascribed. In the strongest sense this is expressed in the concept of race, or biological descent. In the weaker sense it is expressed as heritage, or as cultural descent, learned by each and every individual and distinctive precisely at the level of individual behavior. This latter is the most general Western notion of ethnicity. (Friedman, 1994:29-30)

For Friedman, cultural identity, sometimes known as ethnicity, is something that individuals have and that is the basis of a certain kind of social identity. Personal identity is thus not independent of the social context but almost entirely defined by it, and the sense of self is viewed through the prism of the community’s

sense of *its* self and heritage. Macao’s peninsular environment is richly invested with Lusitanian ambience and Chinese cultural traits, and bound up with landscape, seascape and cityscape. These “meanings and values” surely increase its cultural diversity and complexity, and help foster its identity. Cultural traditions also invariably form a collective identity constituted by historical circumstances and cultural characteristics.

After the founding of Macao in 1557, the Portuguese introduced a kind of imperial process of colonization by superimposing their value systems and religious beliefs on the Chinese political and social structures. While these structures underwent transformation, the cultural matrices also changed either through processes of internal evolution or political revolution. The “whole way of life” of Macao interacted with a temporally and spatially changing and changeable set of relationships. Its multiple connections with outside societies cogently exhibited a sense of permeability and fluidity in its cultural flux, which became complex and dialogic in the wake of colonial administration. Nowadays, Macao is replete with Christian churches and Chinese temples, but this “religious city” is also dotted with eclectic monuments and statues, not to mention casinos and brothels. Its contrasting images constitute a Janus¹ scenario, which is distinctive to its social fabric and cultural idioms.

A RELIGIOUS RECEPTACLE

After the Diocese of Macao was formally established in 1576, Macao was soon bestowed with a sanctified name—“City of the name of God”. Meanwhile, Macao was believed to have built more churches and chapels for its size than any other country, and prided itself as the “Christian City” and “Holy City”. Given its zealous fervour in propagating religious

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An image of Tian Hou in a dedicated temple on Taipa Island. All photos by IC, 2002 (unless otherwise stated).

faith, it was hailed as the “Head of Christendom in the East”, “Rome of the Far East”, and “Mother of Missions in Asia”.

It was also extolled as the “Marian City” because most of the churches in Macao have been dedicated to Mary in various guises. It is worth mentioning that the Virgin Mary’s role as the “Mother of God” was not extensively recognized until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, an era of religious ardour. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, moreover, was much disputed by medieval theologians. Among the monastic orders, the Dominicans denied the possibility of the Immaculate Conception while the Franciscans upheld

it. During the seventeenth century, this doctrine gained ground and was particularly fostered by the Jesuits. The Façade of the Church of the Mother of God, better known as the Ruins of St Paul’s (completed in 1640), is the very testimony to the Jesuits’ celebration of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.² Macao thus came to be a religious bastion for the consolidation of an **emergent** and **approved** doctrine, as well as an established foothold where the Jesuits could advocate the Cult of Mary.

Macao twice played a pivotal role as a bridgehead for Catholicism and Protestantism and was the West’s “Eastern stage” for the reconfiguration

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of Christianity. The aftermath of the two decisive revolutions—the Counter-Reformation (16th century) and the Industrial Revolution (18th century)—constituted part of the underlying forces for the propagation of Christianity in the East. These two Western revolutions subsequently had a great impact on Macao. Macao hence emerged as a Christian Janus of Catholicism and Protestantism, and was torn between two methods of introducing Christianity that was buttressed by the two maritime powers – Portugal and Britain.

Portugal was usually considered the most fervent Catholic country in Europe and Catholicism played an absolutely crucial role in its ideological and political structures. Despite the proselytising zeal of Judeo-Christian tradition, the Portuguese failed to replace or erase the Buddhist-Daoist faiths in Macao. Macao remains a religious site where a multiplicity of cross-religious divinities proliferates. Having around eighty Chinese temples,³ Macao is permeated with a rich ambience of indigenous religious culture. The polymorphism of Buddhism and Daoism allows a variety of religious experiences and liturgical traditions among the elites and the masses. There seems to be no invariable sectarian rule governing the temples in Macao, or distinguishing the religious attachment of one from another. The Chinese apparently advocate a pantheistic spirit through religious inclusion, compromise and syncretism.

Syncretism⁴ and toleration of disparate beliefs have been central to the religious life of the Chinese since the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). It was a period when the harmonization of the Three Teachings 三教合一 *san jiao he yi* was zealously promoted by Lin Zhao'en 林兆恩 (1517-1598). Religious syncretism then flourished to an unprecedented degree, and the idea of belonging exclusively to one particular spiritual organization, or religion, was not common among the majority of the Chinese. Given the syncretic mentality, most Chinese in Macao would go to temples to pray for blessings from certain deities according to situational need rather than permanent religious affiliation.

In Macao, Christian churches often house a pantheon of saints in chapels and niches, whereas Buddhist-Daoist temples enshrine a whole gamut of popular deities, regardless of religious and

doctrinal differences—a sheer phenomenon suggesting an interplay of mutual influences. Contrary to the central missionary tenet of Catholicism that forbade any toleration of heathen faiths, the Chinese religious systems have developed a matrix allowing differences in beliefs (and rites) to complement one another. Actually some religious similarity is expressed as if it were religious difference, such as the role of Tian Hou (the Daoist Goddess of the Sea) and Guan Yin (the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy). Indiscriminately, an assortment of gods and goddesses from different religious sects provides the Chinese with chances to **select** and **adopt** what suits best their fancy, or meets their requirement. The harmonious co-existence of a myriad of churches and temples in Macao readily explains the balance of power relations among religions and also points to a subtle religious compromise, and an unusual toleration among disparate beliefs. This is the uniqueness of Macao: different ethnic worshippers from various social strata seldom have conflicts but treat one another with stoical forbearance and great flexibility.

If churches are a marker of the Lusitanian project to disseminate Western legitimacy of knowledge—Christianity—Chinese temples are certainly tangible signs exhibiting the Chinese state's imposition of a unified culture through the “myth-symbol” complex. Specifically, the *tête-à-tête* of a popular virgin trio in Macao—the Virgin Mary, Tian Hou and Guan Yin—converges into East-West “civilizing” forces but none can eclipse the others. When Macao is dubbed the “Marian City”,⁵ it is also justifiable to call it the “City of Tian Hou” or the “City of Guan Yin”. Outshining other male deities, these three virgin divinities form an unchallenging trio in dominating the religious culture of Macao.⁶ They are attributed important roles by the Portuguese and Chinese in the contestation of socializing and standardizing two different cultures. Each of them occupies “a sacred space” with the aim of acculturating and civilizing the two peoples.

The divine trio is the very personification of religious ideology of extreme compassion and mercy. This sublime ideology helps foster a sensibility among the Portuguese and the Chinese to tolerate cross-cultural attributes and infusions. Because of their unique “Trinitarian” relationship, “intertextual” nature and mutually complementary characteristics, different

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Statue of the Goddess of Mercy at the Guan Yin Ecumenical Centre (NAPE, Outer Harbour).

ethnic groups in Macao adopt one another's divinities without scruple. And these distinctive religious experiences eventually coalesce into a collective tradition.

Macao is able to celebrate its religious toleration and cultural infusions. A bricolage of religious faiths, such as Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Daoism, Islam,⁷ and Baha'i,⁸ not only indicates Macao's syncretic cultural matrices and religious compromise among one another's belief systems, but also testifies to a negotiated accommodation of East-

West religious praxis. Macao is a peculiar, if not a miraculous, juncture of religious propagation and toleration, and is unmistakably a unique urban receptacle of disparate beliefs.

NEITHER EAST NOR WEST

Since the Portuguese Government of Macao passed a new Heritage Law in June 1984 with the aim of preserving Macao's historic, cultural and architectural heritage as a tourist asset, heritage

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Statue of the Virgin Mary, Penha Church courtyard. Photo by Government Information Bureau, 2001.

preservation has become a vital issue. Meticulous renovation and extensive preservation are passionately pursued and widely supported. The emphasis on cultural heritage is in effect a means to codify, assert and enhance a collective identity.

In a subtle way of self-fashioning, the Portuguese attempted to play the part of the benign “settler” before they constitutionally left Macao. From 1993 to 1999 Macao commemorated an epoch of understanding, co-operation and friendship. A total of thirteen Friendship landmarks⁹ were

inaugurated dedicated to the cordial relationship between the two national authorities and the harmonious co-existence of the two peoples. These extravagant works were, however, upbraided by local organizations, concerned with education, social services and housing, as superficial and a waste of money. As works of art, the Friendship monuments and statues feature a rich tapestry of social, cultural and political meanings. They also illustrate a “schizophrenic” understanding of East-West interpretation of signs and symbols. On the one

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hand, these projects hallow the last seven years of Portuguese presence in Asia, and on the other hand, they have become part of Macao's cultural heritage. Within this small city, gardens, squares, main roads, and reclaimed lands are filled with new landmarks. It can aptly be called **City of Monuments and Statues**.

As Britain was interested in economic ventures in postcolonial Hong Kong, Portugal was concerned with ensuring its cultural legacy in postcolonial Macao. Macao has been groomed to be a distinctive city resplendent with Lusitanian charm that can hardly be found in other former colonial outposts in Asia. The new Friendship projects thus served to proclaim the triumph of colonial benevolence, justify the Portuguese as cultural benefactors and exorcise a kind of (post)colonial complex. They could be interpreted as a **pre-postcolonial** chic, which pre-celebrated the closure of a colonial chapter. Most especially, the Friendship landmarks help affirm a cultural identity for Macao in the colonial aftermath.

Among these Friendship projects, perhaps the statue of Guan Yin (inaugurated in 1999)—best testifies to the hybrid identity of mixed cultures. Designed by the Portuguese architect and sculptress Cristina Rocha Leiria, the golden bronze statue is located near the new Cultural Centre on an artificial island off the Outer Harbour. Unlike the massive and sturdy statue of Tian Hou (inaugurated in 1998) who drips with jewellery and is clad in a stately costume, the 20-metre high statue of Guan Yin looks like an ascetic nun who only wears a simple hood and is clad in a plain costume. The statue is slanting, slim and elongated. The slightly S-shape seems to have been modelled on European sculpture. Her hands are not holding anything as her attribute but are wrapped in her dress. Despite some “daring” disregards of convention, there is at least one element loyal to traditional portrayal—an *urna*, which is the mark in the centre of the forehead, and which signifies the third eye of spiritual wisdom. The design is innovative, grafting East-West elements, out of which emerges a fusion of cultures.

The shining golden statue stands atop a 7-metre high base connected by an 81-metre long causeway. The 2-storey base is in the shape of a lotus flower. The whole architectural complex is called the Guan Yin Ecumenical Centre, which is devoted to

the study of Eastern religions and philosophies. It is a place for illustrating China's Three Teachings—Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism—and for promoting cultural activities. According to the Macao Government Information Service, the Centre is aimed at perpetuating mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and civilizations, mirroring the religious toleration and multi-cultural environment that have been so typical of Macao over the centuries. Furthermore, UNESCO has exalted the cultural merit of this project in creating a space for dialogue among communities belonging to different cultural or religious areas and thus sharing common values.

The statue was, however, ruthlessly reproached as neither East nor West (不中不西 *bu zhong bu xi*, *Macao Daily News*, December 31, 1999). The general public also seem sceptical about this quite “foreign-looking” goddess; some people even say it looks more like the Western Virgin Mary than a Chinese goddess. In fact, the statue's “neither-East-nor-West” appearance, *pace* these comments, exactly speaks for Macao's cultural hybridity—a **border-crossing** of the East and the West.

MACANESE HYBRIDIZATION

Macao is a hybrid site where a specific subjectivity¹⁰ and identity have developed. Although the Portuguese have shown an unrelenting attempt to assert inalienable differences between races, the ideological pan-racial vision only projected a phantasmagoria of diverse hybrid progeny as one aspect of the colonial legacies. After the confluence of different cultural flows and under the Portuguese ideological toleration of miscegenation, Macao has procreated an “emergent” minority called the **Macanese**—a group of hybrid Portuguese.¹¹ These Eurasians live in the interface between the colonizer and the colonized and represent a “Third Space” (Homi Bhabha's term) in colonial discourse. The coming into being of this creole class constitutes another level of identity in colonial representation, and in Homi Bhabha's phrase, they are “white, but not quite”.¹²

In the situation of cross-ethnic interaction, Eurasian heritage once spoke **not** of a proud melding of two cultures but of a shameful confluence of

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Statue of José (Adé) dos Santos Ferreira in Jardim dos Poetas (Poets' Garden), Avenida da Amizade.

colonizer and colonized; of marauding Western man and subjugated Eastern woman. In Vietnam, Eurasian children were derogatively dubbed *bui doi*, or “the dust of life”. Given the overlapping of cultural references and mixed physiognomy, the Macanese, marking an image of between-ness, constantly meet with prejudice and opprobrium not only from the Chinese, but also from the “pure” Portuguese. As João de Pina Cabral has observed, such racial discrimination leads to a certain kind of anxiety among the Macanese, who are ambivalent towards their personal identity. Gradually a process of “self-alienation” develops as a new social stratification, characterized by a small and relatively closed Macanese community (Pina Cabral 1994: 121-122).

Towards the political change in 1999, some Macanese felt somewhat estranged, rootless, lost and stressed because of their “in-betweenness”. They were virtually enmeshed in an identity crisis. Subsequently, an association called *Macau Sempre*, or Roots in Aomen 根在澳門 was formed in 1996 with the aim of emphasizing their “roots” in Macao

and creating a sense of belonging. Significantly, the association helps harness their anxieties, assert their subjectivity and identity in a Chinese dominated society, and above all, reflect their ethnic force, though minimal.

One of the Friendship projects was a bronze statue erected in 1999 to honour the late Macanese poet and writer, José dos Santos Ferreira (1919-1993), who was affectionately known in the Macanese community as “Adé”.¹³ Santos Ferreira was looked upon as an ethnic hero among the Macanese and regarded as a cultural link between Portugal, Macao and Hong Kong. Located at a distinguished spot in a newly created garden on the Avenida da Amizade, the statue perhaps serves the purpose of *a posteriori* “community building”.

As a result of centuries of hybridity, the Macanese have evolved their own arts of daily life including a special style of cookery called Macanese cuisine.¹⁴ It mainly contains the spices and flavours of Goan and Malay cooking, and a little Chinese influence. Given the eclectic ingredients, Macanese cuisine directly refers to its diverse ethnic and

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The Macao Tower Convention & Entertainment Centre.

geographical origins, and represents a now **indigenous** culinary culture. ‘The invocation of a specific food’, says Anne Goldman, ‘speaks on behalf of cultural nationalism... The elaboration of cooking techniques may also provide a means of articulating an ethnic subject’ (Goldman, 1992:173). Through the introduction of Macanese food, the Macanese try to encode an affirmation of ethnic specificity, and this cultural affirmation through food preparation, in effect, parallels changes in “civilization” to a creolization of Portuguese, Goan, Malay, African and Chinese culinary practices in the wake of colonialism.

Macanese cuisine hence reveals a cultural appropriation through the culinary. It can be extolled as an example of assimilation of different cultures. Food is not just invested with a cultural register of a unique form; it may also reproduce

cultural practices and values that provide the Macanese community with a means of self-definition and survival. Mediating between two dominant cultures, Macanese cuisine stands as a metonym for a creole ethnic identity and self-assertion in the cultural sphere. While Macanese cuisine reveals the internal processes of a creolizing continuum, it no doubt exemplifies a real “transgression of boundaries”, and exhibits a palatable mixture of originally different culinary specialties. The popularity of Macanese food among the Chinese in Macao and Hong Kong steadfastly speaks for the continued fluidity of cultural boundaries. It now turns out to be a **mediating practice**, which, to some degree, elides ethnic tensions and antagonism; even though ethnic boundaries otherwise remain materially and conspicuously noticeable.

Macanese food and cuisines from various places never lose their fascination and allure to diners. Macao is indeed a city for gourmets. While particular Hong Kong eating practices do show some traces of the British colonialist “heritage” (such as “milky tea”), Macanese food, being a distinctive cultural invention and having a status as “cuisine”, is what Hong Kong’s hybrid food and beverages failed to attain during its 150-year colonial history. The important position of food culture may well help us **re-consider** the fixed model of oppressor/oppressed power relations in the aftermath of Portuguese imperialism and colonialism.

A VIBRANT TOURIST MAGNET

When Hong Kong was hailed as City of Life in 2001, Macao had already been given a novel identity—**City of Culture**—in order to promote tourism. The new rubric is perhaps meant to erase all those negative colonial images of Macao being at the boundary of civilization. As another aspect of tourist attractions, Macao has inaugurated various museums. The museum projects are cannily designed to make Macao a **City of Museums**, and a culturally dynamic part of modern China. In addition, Macao has been promoted as a favourite venue for conferences and congresses, and has been organizing spectacular annual events, adding **City of Spectacular Events** and **City of Celebration** to its repertoire. As a celebration of the second

HERITAGE II

anniversary of Macao's return to China, the Macao Tower Convention and Entertainment Centre was inaugurated in December 2001. Unlike the Gate of Understanding (inaugurated in 1993) which is non-functional (people cannot go up to its roof to enjoy the scenic view), the 338-metre high Tower, ranking the 10th tallest of its kind in the world,¹⁵ is equipped with a revolving platform looking out to the South China Sea. This monumental project has no doubt become a vibrant attraction.

In 2002 Macao put an end to the casino monopoly enjoyed by the gambling *taipan* Stanley Ho's *Sociedade de Turismo e Diversões de Macau* (STDM, or the Macao Tourism and Entertainment Company),¹⁶ and permitted new gambling licences to three casino magnates. This move was intended to upgrade the casino business, not to mention to develop it as a pillar industry to spur the economy. One of the winners was Stanley Ho's newly formed *Sociedade de Jogos de Macau* (SJM), or Macao Gaming Company. The other two rivals were Wynn Resorts (Macao) Ltd, a U.S.-Macao joint venture and Galaxy Casino Co. Ltd., a Hong Kong-Macao joint venture. In the immediate future, Macao will be abounding with additional casinos.

The gambling haven had experienced a spate of crimes, and was dubbed the "Eastern Chicago" (the crime city) just before the historic handover. Macao was even projected in Western eyes as a "fragile city" and an "abandoned city" after 1999 (Porter 1996:3, 193). Only when Macao implements practical measures to sustain prosperity and stability, and embarks upon a policy to be ruled by the forces of law and order, can it realistically vindicate these hasty and pessimistic comments.

Like most Western cities, people can easily find delight and decadence in this "Holy City". The metamorphosis of Macao from a Catholic bishopric to Asia's foremost modern **City of Gambling** is not without irony. Though it was once hailed as the "Eastern Vatican" and the "Rome of the Far East", its flourishing gambling business has gained it fame as the "Las Vegas of the Far East" and the "Monte Carlo of the Orient". Macao even prides itself on having more gambling tables than Monte Carlo as well as more churches than the Vatican. The antithetical juxtaposition of churches and casinos are the allegories of virtue and vice that co-exist

simultaneously. W. H. Auden (1907-1973) has trenchantly captured these contrasting images in his poem "Macao", in which he says that in this **City of Indulgence** nothing serious can happen:

*Rococo images of Saint and Saviour
Promise her gamblers fortunes when they die;
Churches beside the brothels testify
That faith can pardon natural behaviour.*

(Auden, 1958:59)

Macao always provides sanctuary to religious dignitaries and shelter to condemned villains. It is a place jumbling the sublime with the debased. At the dawn of the third millennium, Macao is geared up to be an irresistible magnet for tourists. The gambling business and tourism are expected to go hand in hand and turn Macao into a convention, entertainment and gaming centre in South China.

CONCLUSION

Churches and temples succinctly testify to an unusual collage of architectural idioms within a small place, and illustrate religious toleration between the "Chosen" (Catholics) and the "pagan" (the Chinese). These religious landmarks may incubate cultural cohesion of the two peoples, as well as prevent collective disintegration and erase a sense of individual meaninglessness. Through religious life, ethnic bonding is intensified and a collective status is achieved. Macao, on the threshold of the third millennium, can perhaps serve as a vicarious model to some places where destructive religious confrontations and ethnic clashes are a matter of daily reality.

If churches are the Lusitanian "façade" of Macao, temples are no doubt the Chinese "façade". While most churches are well maintained, giving an atmosphere of quietness and sanctity, some temples are filthy and crowded with beggars and "incense-oil" money collectors. Ma Ge Miao (the Temple of Tian Hou) is a case in point. Among various cultural landmarks, what the Chinese in Macao are always proud of is this temple, simply because they believe Ma Ge Miao predated the arrival of the Portuguese navigators. When the latter landed for the first time they used A-Ma-Gau (亚妈港, or Bay of A-Ma) as a reference point to re-name the city as "Amacao" or "Amagao", which evolved to an abbreviated version of "Macao". However, the whole temple complex apparently lacks proper

PATRIMÓNIO II

management. The courtyard is often littered with firecracker papers and some areas are filled with rubbish. Ma Ge Miao inadvertently feeds into the stereotypical images of Orientalist discourse that the East is chaotic, irrational and superstitious. In short, the hurly-burly of this religious space is downright sacrilegious, if not shameful. Perhaps it is a cultural task to cleanse the negative images of Chinese temples and upgrade them as comfortable places for visiting.

In the colonial context, Chinese and Portuguese cultures involved fusion as well as differentiation, but without being conquered by either cultural force. Having been one of the oldest colonial zones of contact in Asia, Macao can articulate cross-ethnic compromise and engender specific cultural endeavours, which are composed of contested codes and disjunctive representations. It is a site of hybridity, of intersecting Sino-Portuguese influences, and embraces a two-faced

religious culture: Judeo-Christian and Buddhist-Daoist beliefs. This is the uniqueness of Macao—while it reveals its superimposed “way of life”, it retains its indigenous “meanings and values”, and shows multifarious cultural manifestations. The two cultures engage in a kind of dialogue that transcends the one-sidedness of their cultural attributes. Significantly, the dialogic encounter of the two peoples has fostered substantial Macanese hybridization, out of which has emerged a Eurasian group. This “in-between” class has invented a culinary culture that helps affirm their emergent ethnic identity. What is and has always been most special about the place is that its culture alternates between a Janus scenario of having both Chinese and Portuguese heritage, on which Macao’s identity is predicated. The bonding of the past and the present would be intensified through cultural heritage, which in turn serves to cement a collective cultural identity. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 Janus is a Roman god, guardian of the doorways of dwelling houses and city gateways. He is usually portrayed with two faces looking in opposite directions and hence alluded to have two contrasting characteristics.
- 2 The Façade of the Church of the Mother of God has often been mistakenly described as an architecture dedicated to the Assumption of Our Lady. On the symbols alluding to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception on the Façade, see Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macao: A Cultural Janus*, p. 83-100.
- 3 According to the Cultural Heritage Department of the Cultural Institute, this figure excludes the altars and niches, which are often found in streets or at the entrance to households.
- 4 The term “syn-cret-ism” derives from a historic incident in which the citizens of Crete overcame internal disputes and united against a common enemy. See *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Hence, syncretism denotes the reconciliation or fusion of conflicting religious beliefs or principles.
- 5 Like Tian Hou and Guan Yin, the Virgin Mary is closely linked with the sea. She has been extolled as the “Star of the Sea” by innumerable Christian writers beginning with St. Ambrose.
- 6 On the three popular virgin divinities dominating the religious culture in Macao, see Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macao: A Cultural Janus*, Chapter 4 “The Rendezvous of a Virgin Trio”.
- 7 Even though Macao’s Muslim community has only about 500 members, they have formed the Islamic Association of Macao. The Muslims plan to build a new mosque costing about HK\$30 million. See *South China Morning Post*, September 2, 2000.
- 8 The Baha’i religion was founded by Persian prophet Baha’u’llah in the mid-19th century. He is regarded by believers as God’s ninth divine messenger after Buddha and Jesus and others. In Macao Baha’i has about 2,000 followers. Macao’s only international school—the School of the Nations—is run by the Baha’i members, though not as a Baha’i school. See *South China Morning Post*, November 11, 2000.
- 9 On the thirteen Friendship landmarks, see Christina Miu Bing Cheng, “Macao: The Farming of Friendship”, in *China Perspectives*, No. 34, March/April, 2001.
- 10 In Deleuzian terms, subjectivity denotes the content of the body as expression, produced as a folding of the outside upon itself to create a stratum of the inside.
- 11 Some Macanese refer to themselves as “pure Macanese” on the grounds that they are born in Macao of original Portuguese parentage. Very often, they call themselves *Filhos da Terra*, literally, sons of the earth (alluding to a rootless class), while the Cantonese call them 土生仔, literally, locally born children. On the Macanese, see Ana Maria Amaro, *Filhos da Terra* and the special issue on the Macanese in *Review of Culture*, No. 20, 1994. Also see João de Pina Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, *Em Terra de Tufões: Dinâmicas da Etnicidade Macanese*.
- 12 Here one might consider the work of Homi Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse”, in *October*, Vol. 28, 1984.
- 13 For a photographic biography of Adé, see Carlos Marreiros, *Adé dos Santos Ferreira: Fotobiografia*.
- 14 The uniquely Macanese cuisine are *tacho*—a potpourri of different meats, and *capella* which contains pork and almonds. See R. A. Zepp, “Interface of Chinese and Portuguese Cultures” in R. D. Cremer, *Macao: City of Commerce and Culture*, p. 157. See also Annabel Doling, *Macao on a Plate: A Culinary Journey*.
- 15 The world’s tallest tower is the CN Tower in Toronto, Canada, being 553 metres high.
- 16 The company gained the gambling monopoly in 1962 and has been Macao’s leading private employer, providing jobs to more than 10,000 people.

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Influência da Medicina Tradicional Chinesa nas *Mezinhas de Casa* das *Nhonhonha* de Macau

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“As relações de causalidade entre o ambiente tanto natural como sociocultural com a estrutura perceptiva e as formas da sua expressão, alimentam os velhos debates entre positivistas e idealistas.”

Pierre Lieutaghi, *L'Herbe qui renouvelle*, 1984

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Página anterior: Senhora macaense com o *dó* tradicional. In Filipe Emílio Paiva, *Um Marinheiro em Macau. 1903 - Album de Viagem* (Museu Marítimo de Macau, 1997).

Dos vários indicadores de identidade cultural dos luso-descendentes de Macau um dos menos conhecidos refere-se às ditas *mezinhas* ou *mizinhas de casa*, que reflectem a posição dos macaenses perante os problemas da saúde e da doença, problemas que nem sempre foram fáceis de resolver em Macau ao longo da sua história.

Toda a cultura tem a sua dinâmica e cada momento um “antes” e um “depois”. Referir-nos-emos, por isso mesmo, apenas, ao “antes” porque o “depois” foi estudado por nós a partir do inquérito dirigido a uma amostra de 350 indivíduos em 1990/91. Este “antes” e este “depois” não têm, por isso mesmo, um tempo definido por fronteiras. Pode, porém, dizer-se que a fundação da cidade de Hong Kong em 1841-42, a implantação da República em Portugal, em 1910, e na China logo no ano seguinte, bem como a guerra Sino-Japonesa e a Segunda Grande Guerra Mundial (a dita Guerra do Pacífico), foram os três grandes marcos dinamizadores da mudança dos valores tradicionais da sociedade macaense, aliás muito lenta, porquanto muitos deles lograram chegar até aos nossos dias, tão úteis se mostraram e tão fortemente se haviam implantado na mentalidade colectiva da comunidade.

Numa carta enviada, no século XVII, por um irmão boticário, jesuíta do Colégio de São Paulo de Macau ao seu Superior, pode ler-se

“... Como nesta Cidade nunca houve médico em forma, não têm os que governam postos os preceitos que se põem em todas as terras, que ninguém cure sem ser examinado donde vem que todas as parteiras chinas e canárias¹ curam de Medicina e de quantas enfermidades há sem ninguém saber o que elas sabem.

Muitas vezes aconteceu que ordenando eu tal ou tal coisa ao enfermo ou não lhe aplicam o que se lhe mandou fazer ou acabam com ele que o não faça. [...] Porque nesta Cidade onde está um enfermo de ordinário se acham muitas mulheres – umas domésticas outras que o vão visitar – como cada dia acontece e eu sou tão contrário a estas coisas que me dão grande pena e moléstia.”²

Da leitura deste manuscrito pode concluir-se que, nesta altura, era a Medicina Popular aquela que dominava em Macau.

Prática antiga, muitas vezes repetida, era chamarem os portugueses os médicos ou curandeiros chineses, antes ou ao mesmo tempo que se consultavam os cirurgiões ou os físicos de escola ocidental.

ANTROPOLOGIA

A falta de confiança na medicina europeia devia ter várias causas: primeiro, o contacto inicial dos povos do Oriente com os cirurgiões e barbeiros das naus, na sua maioria mal habilitados nos hospitais do Reino, sem frequência de cursos regulares e sem um mínimo de conhecimentos, como é óbvio, da grande variedade de doenças que nos novos meios geográficos onde chegavam iam encontrar. Em segundo lugar, a maioria daqueles primeiros homens, que demandaram o Oriente, eram naturalmente homens rudes na sua maioria, rigorosamente seleccionados na primeira infância, robustos, dispensando certos requisitos de conforto, de higiene, de profilaxia e, mesmo, de medicação, que a outros seriam indispensáveis. Há, ainda a considerar, em terceiro lugar, a influência das mulheres asiáticas e a atracção pela medicina exótica, com a crença, mais ou menos intuitiva, de que nas novas regiões recém-ocupadas a medicina nativa teria encontrado, com maior êxito, respostas para os problemas de saúde. E de facto assim era. Os panditas goeses e as suas famosas curas, bem como a adiantada medicina essencialmente herbalística dos mestres chineses estavam, realmente, mais aptas, naquela altura, a responderem às necessidades dos recém-chegados do que a medicina ocidental, galénica e hipocrática, principalmente livresca e eivada de superstições.

Aos chineses repugnavam as sangrias e outras práticas cirúrgicas da medicina ocidental. As poções de símplies nativos, às vezes de efeitos espectaculares, bem como as curas surpreendentes dos ervanários, ortopedistas e massagistas, que, em breve, teriam acorrido ao burgo nascente, devem ter sido, quanto a nós, a principal causa de descrédito dos médicos ocidentais. Por outro lado, a assistência do médico europeu e as suas receitas do Ocidente, difíceis de avar, a não ser na Botica do Colégio de S. Paulo da Companhia de Jesus e, mais tarde, na dos franciscanos, seriam por demais dispendiosas, em comparação com os reduzidos salários dos mestres chineses e com o baixo preço das suas drogas. Há, ainda, a considerar o facto de serem, provavelmente, em alguns casos, incluídos nas equipagens dos navios, mestres chineses ou indianos, para se ocuparem do tratamento dos portugueses, na navegação entre Goa, Malaca e os portos da China e do Japão.

Mesmo quando, a partir de 1723, o Leal Senado passou a contratar um “médico do Partido”, este não

lograva manter-se no cargo durante muito tempo, devido, geralmente, a queixas dos moradores, que o consideravam “pouco apto”, “pouco limpo” ou “pouco delicado”.

Os livros de Actas do Leal Senado são os melhores testemunhos deste estado de coisas, que comprovam que a acção de um médico ocidental, em Macau, não conseguia, durante muito tempo, sobrepor-se à medicina nativa tradicional.

Mesmo no século XIX, quando a medicina europeia já dispunha de melhores práticos em Macau, o governador Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto, em 1837, mandou dizer para o Reino que “...muitos dos naturaes se curão com os chamados Mestres Chinas que lhes applicão os seus remédios. Ainda que estes não passam de puros empiricos, o vulgo depozita nelles bastante fe, ao menos em certas molestias...”³

Para casos desesperados, principalmente para operações mais ou menos graves, é que não se podia contar com os médicos chineses, avessos a tais práticas, e era então pedido o concurso dos médicos dos navios estrangeiros, fundeados no porto, que também nem sempre eram dos mais hábeis. O próprio Pedro Layne, francês nomeado pelo Reino, em 1777, para “médico do Partido” em Macau, era um simples sangrador dos navios franceses e, uma vez a exercer na cidade, demonstrou claramente que não estava à altura de desempenhar o seu cargo.

A única medicina não chinesa com certa aceitação em Macau, principalmente durante os séculos XVII e XVIII, foi a exercida pelos padres e irmãos jesuítas do Colégio de S. Paulo, em cuja botica eram ensaiados os símplies locais e onde, nessa altura, começaram a esboçar-se os tópicos de uma nova medicina hibridada, que, no século XIX, uma vez passada ao povo, veio a atingir o seu apogeu. Foi, aliás, nesta altura, que os médicos portugueses, alguns deles *filhos-da-terra*, formados em Goa, já com melhor preparação científica e outra visão profissional, começaram a exercer clínica de tipo não oriental no território, clínica que, pouco a pouco, logrou impor-se à prática tradicional chinesa mas apenas nas classes sociais mais elevadas.

Apesar disso, a verdade é que o fascínio dos *chás* e das velhas práticas populares de curar, transmitidas oralmente e também através dos cadernos, onde as senhoras de Macau as registavam a par de receitas de doces e cozinhados, se mantiveram, não havendo, ainda

hoje, nenhum *filho-da-terra* que não utilize ou que, pelo menos, não conheça os mais ou menos misteriosos *chás de mestrinho* ou de *botica-mestre*, muitas vezes transformados em *mezinhas de casa*, na sua maioria nitidamente hibridadas.

Pelo menos no século XIX era, de facto, muito popular, entre as senhoras de Macau, copiar, em pequenos cadernos, a par de receitas de culinária, tal como se fazia em Portugal, um vasto formulário de mezinhas caseiras. Se o mais antigo caderno que compulsámos data dos meados desse século, informantes idosas afirmam que os seus cadernos de mezinhas já eram de suas avós e outras dizem-nos que, somente depois de terem tido acesso à escolarização, registaram, naqueles, receitas de família, muito antigas, algumas das quais lhes foram ensinadas oralmente por parentes e pessoas amigas.

Comparando esses cadernos com os que os médicos portugueses e, provavelmente, curandeiros anónimos compilavam nos séculos XVII e XVIII,⁴ certamente para seu uso, encontramos flagrantes analogias.

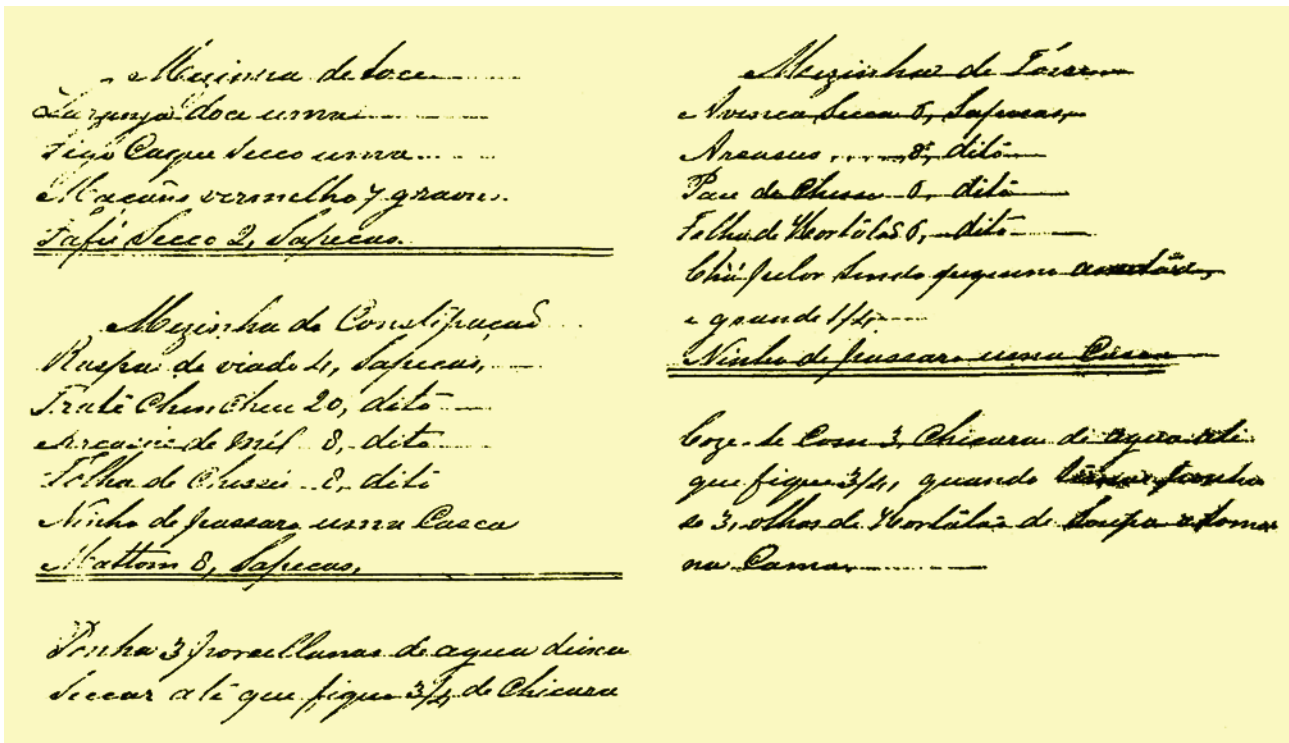
As figuras seguintes representam uma receita de um caderno de Macau, do século XIX e uma

receita dum caderno em forma de livro dum médico português do século XVIII. A correspondência é, realmente, iniludível.


Aliás, a redacção de certas receitas de cunho nitidamente ocidental, que encontramos nos cadernos das senhoras de Macau, não parece ter cunho local, outrossim terem sido copiadas de formulário escrito por médicos ou cirurgiões que, provavelmente, as passaram em receitas para aviar nas boticas ou mesmo as cederam, a pedido das suas clientes.

Muitas outras composições revelam a tradição oral ou a informação não escrita, pois o vocabulário nelas empregado é um vocabulário de leigo, eivado de termos em *patuá* regional, que, ainda nos princípios do século XX, era linguagem corrente, sobretudo entre o elemento feminino de Macau.

Há ainda uma terceira categoria de receitas: as que são escritas em chinês e às quais as senhoras macaenses chamam *mizinhas de mestre* ou de *mestrinho* (ou *mestre-china* ou *botica-mestre*), designação atribuída aos facultativos chineses que, quase sempre, superaram em número, e não poucas vezes em eficácia, os médicos portugueses.



Reprodução de duas páginas do caderno de receitas herdado por D. Maria Margarida Gomes dos seus antepassados.

Boal Emprasto ^{medicinal} Universal. emilagroso qui
3000ccrimin Seeli' para curar toda febre fresca
hada, e chagás novas e antigas, cas de moço e
 corrodinas, porq' as alimpa e purifica e
 miltidifica e não deo' g'et'at p'druca
 e corrupção, e faz curar boa carne e tem o ras
 m. ^{salto} Virtudes q' quem War dell' alian cam.


<p> <i>Pl de oleo Rosado onca 3.</i> <i>de Leurgiro - - 3 4</i> <i>de Albayalde - - 3 1</i> <i>de Albuveru - - 3 1</i> <i>de resina de g'om' onca 3</i> <i>de Rosado de g'om' onca 3 1</i> <i>de Resina - - - 3 4</i> <i>de cora amarela - - 3 4 B</i> <i>de tormentina - - 3 1</i> <i>de onseno - - - 3 B</i> <i>Almocega. - - - 3 B. e de mal de fontanina 3 4</i> </p>	<p> <i>Dasse tranca herque</i> <i>de h'ou de b'g'ar</i> <i>3 oncas de l'ed' de g'om'</i> <i>3 oncas de l'ed' de b'g'</i> <i>1 onca de l'ed' de g'om'</i> <i>2 oncas de l'ed' de g'om'</i> <i>3 oncas de l'ed' de g'om'</i> <i>1 onca de l'ed' de g'om'</i> <i>1 onca de l'ed' de g'om'</i> <i>3 oncas de l'ed' de g'om'</i> <i>2 oncas de l'ed' de g'om'</i> <i>2 oncas de l'ed' de g'om'</i> </p>
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Reprodução de uma página da compilação de receitas do Dr. Dom João de Castelo Branco (Amato Lusitano), 1. vol., fols. 90-90v, Mss. da Biblioteca da Ajuda, Cod. 52-XVI-35.

ANTHROPOLOGY

A originalidade deste receituário popular de Macau que, aliás, lhe imprime um cunho característico, reside precisamente na hibridação do formulário e na conservação, em pleno século XX, de vestígios da própria medicina portuguesa seiscentista.

Quando, nas práticas de curar, as senhoras macaenses ultrapassavam os fármacos, para procurarem a solução de um *mal rebelde* nas práticas de magia, o pensamento popular atingia, então, o máximo da complexidade entre os macaenses, pois, nele, tradições indo-malaias, portuguesas e chinesas, interpenetravam-se e confundiam-se.

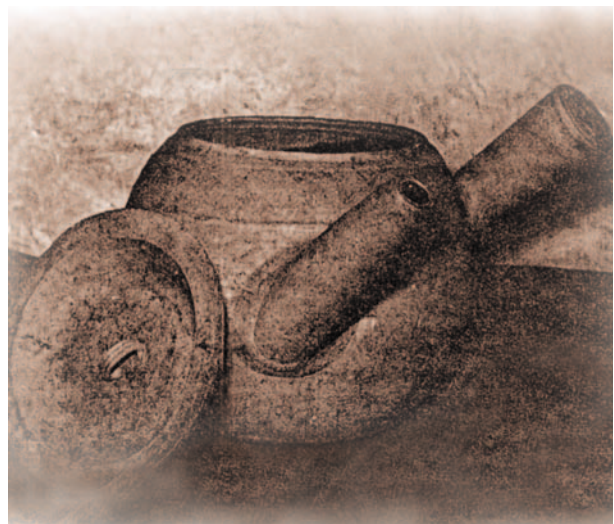
A força desta medicina empírica era tal em Macau, no século XIX, que muitos médicos portugueses, perante a comprovada eficácia de algumas receitas chinesas e também perante a dificuldade de um abastecimento regular das reduzidas boticas portuguesas locais, se dedicaram ao estudo da medicina nativa e das propriedades de alguns simples ali empregados, criando um novo receituário do qual os exemplos que mais se popularizaram, por não ficarem anónimos, foram os chamados “chá Patrício” e o “chá do Dr. Pitter”.⁵ Como estes, muitos outros teriam sido criados, tanto por médicos como por boticários, alguns deles clérigos das farmácias conventuais dos primeiros tempos. A notícia destes chás logrou conservar-se na tradição oral e nos cadernos que alcançaram a sua maior popularidade apenas no século XIX, altura em que a escolaridade começou a difundir-se entre o elemento feminino.

Actualmente, a medicina tradicional dos *filhos-da-terra* está em franca desagregação e praticamente em vias de total abandono. Com excepção de alguns chás mais profilácticos do que curativos e de algumas mezinhas chinesas comercializadas nos nossos dias com rótulos e identificação dos principais simples de que se compõem, os portugueses de Macau preferem consultar os médicos formados pelas escolas ocidentais. Se continuam ainda a ser procurados os raros mestres de *t'it tá* 跌打,⁶ os famosos ortopedistas chineses, que são realmente muito hábeis na cura de luxações e fracturas e que nunca faltam nas associações de ginástica locais, os outros, os *botica-mestre* do princípio do século XX, estão a desaparecer com a crescente escolarização e a invasão de médicos formados na China Continental. Aliás, a medicina popular e milenária da velha China está a ser estudada, pelos chineses, em simbiose com a importada do Ocidente, ao que parece com resultados espectaculares.

A partir dum inquérito por nós realizado entre os macaenses, em 1990-1991, constatámos, porém, que muitas destas práticas tradicionais curativas ainda se encontram vivas em Macau:

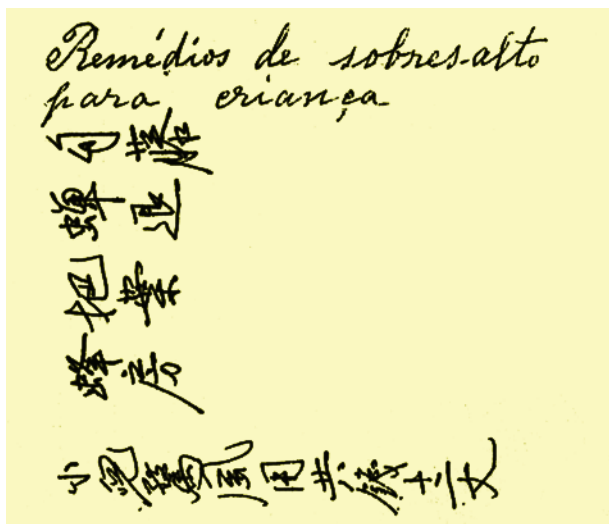
- 17,1% dos inquiridos afirmaram consultar o médico chinês e
- 18,1% recorrerem ao ervanário;
- 10% praticam ainda a velha técnica de *ruçá*, mas
- 12% procuram alívio na acupunctura feita por médicos chineses;
- 3,8% continuam a *raspá mordecing* contra o enjoo;
- 5,4% usam mezinha de *bafo* contra bronquites e constipações;
- 7% mantêm as técnicas de *pinchá e fumá*;
- 36,8% disseram que conheciam todas estas práticas mas que já não as praticavam e, finalmente,
- 28% afirmaram, mesmo, não as conhecerem.

Sabemos, no entanto, por experiência própria, que, ainda há pouco tempo, nos anos de 1960/70, muitas senhoras idosas de Macau, com mais de 70 anos, confirmavam não acreditar no *sai i* 西医, o médico ocidental, crendo firmemente na virtude das suas *mezinhas de casa* e de *mestrinho*, mezinhas que, aliás, durante cerca de três séculos, se haviam mostrado de grande valor, principalmente quando a medicina ocidental se mantinha ainda num grande atraso em relação à chinesa.



“Gargu” para preparação de “chás de folhage” (pertencente a D. Angiolina Pacheco Borges, 1962).

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Reprodução de uma receita de “mestrinho” do caderno pertencente a D. Andreza Luís (1968).

E o valor dessas *mezinhas de casa* e o interesse que nos mereceu o seu estudo, advém, precisamente, de serem uma resultante da hibridação da medicina ocidental com a medicina oriental.

Nos anos de 1960-70 as senhoras idosas e as de meia-idade eram aquelas que detinham, ainda, em Macau, o conhecimento e o modo de aplicação de práticas curativas, as mais diversas bem como o receituário das *mezinhas de casa* ou *chás de folhagem* que preparavam, sempre, com a mesma mestria e confiança que dedicavam aos seus apetitosos cozinhados.

Estes conhecimentos eram transmitidos de mães para filhas, tal como as outras prendas que deveriam ornar uma menina casadoira. E isto porque saber fazer um doce ou preparar uma mezinha eficaz, integravam-se na mesma arte: uma prenda da menina macaense de outros tempos.

Se, por influência oriental, a terapêutica popular de Macau é muito rica e variada, a profilaxia também mereceu a atenção dos macaenses desde os primeiros séculos da fundação da Cidade.

Quanto à profilaxia há a considerar, entre a população portuguesa de Macau, três aspectos fundamentais: desinfecção de interiores, dietética e medicina preventiva.

A desinfecção dos interiores fez-se, desde os princípios da ocupação do território, quando as casas de taipa substituíram as cabanas dos primeiros residentes. Estas casas eram, então, caiadas e rebocadas

com cal, proveniente das conchas calcinadas de ostreídeos, moluscos muito abundantes na zona anfíbia pedregosa da península e das ilhas próximas. Perdurou, aliás, em Macau, na toponímia, a notícia histórica do local onde essa cal se fabricava sob o nome de *chunambo*.

Por outro lado, as defumações com alecrim, incenso e *bisbim* (benjoim) são práticas também muito antigas de origem portuguesa, ainda imbuídas dum certo sabor sobrenatural atribuído a algumas das ervas aromáticas utilizadas, às quais, em Macau, se juntou a casca de toranja por influência chinesa. Estas práticas tinham a finalidade de purificar o ar, principalmente nos quartos dos enfermos, quando grassavam epidemias, ou, durante o Inverno, para evitar o *mofo*, uma vez que os seus odores, no consenso das antigas senhoras macaenses, remanescência de uma velha concepção malaia, podiam vir a ser causadores de *savan* ou *vento sujo*. É de notar que a prática de queimar ervas aromáticas, com finalidade profiláctica durante os surtos epidémicos, era vulgar na medicina quinhentista mais adiantada. Como defumadores ou perfumadores usavam-se, em Macau, pequenos recipientes metálicos mais ou menos decorativos, ao que parece de influência chinesa, embora lembrem os turíbulos das igrejas católicas.

No século XIX, princípios do século XX, ainda se usavam, em Macau, como desinfectante, os pós de enxofre e as fumigações com ervas, às quais vieram juntar-se as folhas e as gábulas de eucalipto, depois da introdução destas árvores no território.⁷

O uso de pivetes de sândalo contra os mosquitos e a má ventilação da maioria das cozinhas eram também práticas de desinfecção, empíricas, mas, de certo modo, úteis naquele território.

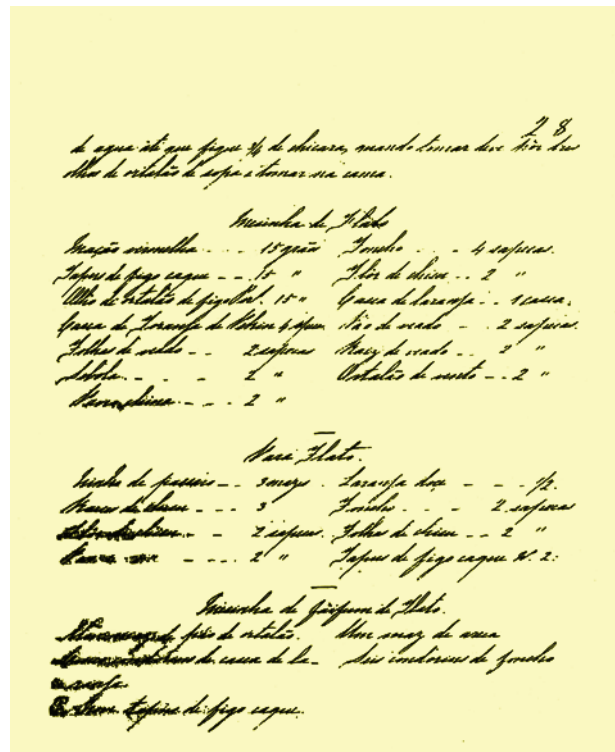
Quanto à medicina preventiva, hoje largamente difundida no Ocidente, de há muito que era praticada na China, de acordo com a ideia prevalecente de que, no caso da saúde, “é melhor prevenir do que remediar”. Aliás, para os médicos chineses “não há doenças, mas sim doentes”. Dentro desta maneira de pensar, de há muito que, na China, se pratica a vacinação antivariólica e se adoptaram práticas profilácticas, tais como a fervura da água. Aliás, de há milénios que este uso é, ali, corrente, para preparação do chá, prática profiláctica das que mais terá contribuído para defender a população das doenças infecto-contagiosas.

Outras práticas profiláticas, comuns entre os macaenses, além da fervura da água e do uso do chá, cujas qualidades e respectivas propriedades se conhecem, pelo menos em parte, são as seguintes:

- Não se deve comer açúcar porque provoca *vento*, podendo, até, provocar *vento sujo* (apoplexia com *boca torta*).
- Quem tiver tido malária não deve comer *figo cheiroso* (banana). Dizem as antigas senhoras de Macau que uma pessoa pode estar anos sem ter *febre frio* (malária), mas, se comer esta banana, a febre voltará.
- Devem ser queimadas, num pequeno fogareiro, de barro vermelho, as crostas das *bexigas-peste* (varicela) ou *bexigas verdadeiro* (varíola), modo empírico de evitar o contágio, de há muito conhecido e usado na China.

Porém, de todas as práticas profiláticas, a dietética, mais ou menos empírica e mais ou menos influenciada por velhas tradições, tanto europeias, como orientais, é, sem dúvida, a mais curiosa e a mais rica. Intimamente relacionada com a arte culinária, tal como a preparação das mezinhas, baseia-se, fundamentalmente, na “teoria das compensações”, que se apoia na teoria chinesa dos Opostos e dos Contrários.

Quanto à dietética não encontramos, em Macau, tabus alimentares, como, por exemplo, na Índia. Para a preferência dada à carne de porco, em detrimento da carne de vaca, pode encontrar-se uma explicação, tanto na tradição hindu, como na tradição chinesa. Por um lado, a vaca sagrada é tabu alimentar na Índia; por outro lado, a criação de gado suíno em pocilga é um complemento da prática agrícola tradicional chinesa, onde é o búfalo, e não o boi, o animal de tracção e o mais precioso auxiliar do camponês nas fainas do arrozal. Se houve, porém, noutros tempos, em Macau, qualquer velho tabu alimentar, de origem indiana, não se pode dizer que é seu vestígio a preferência dada pelos macaenses à carne de porco, que é também a preferida pelos chineses. Por outro lado, o grande consumo pelos macaenses de carne de pato ou de *ade* (nome antigo que foi conservado para o ganso), ao qual em Portugal se sobrepõe o consumo de galinha, encontra também justificação na preferência dada pelos chineses àquela ave, que se cria muito facilmente nos charcos, sem grande sobrecarga quer económica quer braçal e produz ovos maiores e considerados mais saborosos.



Receita para flato. Pertenceu a D. Hermínia Figueiredo (finais do século XIX).

Há ainda, em Macau, muitos macaenses que não apreciam comer animais de caça. O Dr. José Gomes da Silva, no seu Relatório dos Serviços de Saúde relativo ao ano de 1898 refere-se, aliás, a esta repugnância, que detectou nos finais do século XIX. Naquela altura, segundo este médico, alguns macaenses iam à caça como passatempo, às ilhas ou aos baldios próximos da Porta do Cerco, destinando-se os animais que caçavam a serem oferecidos aos parentes e aos amigos europeus que, porventura, não sentissem igual aversão. É possível que esta repugnância pelos pratos de caça se relacione com práticas profiláticas dietéticas de influência chinesa. De facto, a dietética chinesa, que, de há longa data, deve ter influenciado os portugueses de Macau, é das práticas mais perfeitas que, na Antiguidade, o Homem soube empiricamente encontrar.

Os autores chineses atribuem cerca de seis milénios à sua dietética que, desde a sua origem, se baseia no aspecto qualitativo dos alimentos, expresso pelos respectivos sabores: ácido, picante, salgado, doce e amargo.⁸

Os sabores muito fortes são considerados geradores de doenças, afectando os órgãos

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correspondentes, dentro do sistema pentagrâmico de relações característico da medicina chinesa. Deste modo, o excesso de alimentos ácidos afecta o fígado, a vesícula biliar, os músculos e a visão; o sabor amargo, o coração, os vasos sanguíneos e o sistema nervoso; o doce, o pâncreas, o baço, o estômago e o rosto; o picante, os pulmões, os brônquios, o olfacto e a epiderme; o salgado, os rins, o sistema urogenital, os ossos, as glândulas supra-renais e todo o sistema endócrino e, ainda, a vitalidade geral. Estes princípios apontam também para a dieta mais conveniente para quem sofrer de doenças dos referidos órgãos.

Além destes princípios deve atender-se ao ambiente em que se vive, incluindo o clima, os recursos locais, as estações do ano e as diferentes horas do dia, para se escolherem os alimentos mais indicados. Numa intuição espantosa de Cronobiologia, ciência que está, no Ocidente, nos seus primeiros passos, de há muito que os chineses preconizavam que “o que se come de manhã, não deve ser o mesmo que se come à tarde, nem à noite, pois a respectiva digestão e assimilação são diferentes, conforme as horas do dia”.

De há muito que, na China, os alimentos são classificados em quatro grandes grupos: “quentes” 热, “frescos” 凉, “húmidos” 湿 e “neutros”. A combinação de “quente” e “húmido” provoca alterações intestinais, sendo tão prejudiciais para a saúde como a ingestão de alimentos “frescos” e “húmidos”, que são considerados debilitantes. Exemplo de um alimento “quente” e “húmido” é o peixe frito (e em geral todas as frituras) e de “fresco” e “húmido”, os rebentos de bambu.

A dietética, praticada pelas senhoras macaenses, baseia-se precisamente no conceito oriental dos Opostos e dos Contrários. Contra males provocados por alimentos “cálidos”, utilizam alimentos “frescos” e, contra indisposições provocadas pelo exagero de alimentos “frescos”, preparam, naturalmente, alimentos “quentes”.

Empiricamente, estas senhoras seguiam determinados princípios cujo conhecimento haviam herdado das suas mães e avós, tais como: pessoas fracas, magras, hipotensas ou *tísicas*, não devem comer, em demasia, alimentos frescos, como, por exemplo, *kau kei* 枸杞 (*Lycium chinense* Mill.), feijão verde ou “mungo” (*Phaseolus mungo* L. var *radiatus* Bak.) ou

“coquinho” (*Eleocharis tuberosa* Roem. et Schult.). Considerava-se que a ingestão de alimentos deste tipo começa por provocar tonturas e mal-estar geral, podendo conduzir a acidentes, mais ou menos graves.

Pessoas hipertensas ou obesas não devem beber vinho às refeições, para evitar a “calidez”. Aliás, mesmo os jovens e as pessoas saudáveis devem preferir o chá às refeições, em lugar do vinho, como profilaxia contra o calor interno. O vinho só é aconselhado à noite, depois do jogo de *má chéok* 麻雀, como revigorante.

Os caldos e as canjas são considerados “frescos” e, por isso, indicados para acompanhar alimentos cálidos e para doentes com acessos febris.

O peixe e o arroz são, de uma maneira geral, considerados alimentos mais ou menos neutros, mais facilmente digeríveis e, por isso, os mais indicados para os meses de Verão. Aliás, a alimentação quotidiana, tanto dos chineses como da maioria dos portugueses eurodescendentes de Macau, apoia-se principalmente no consumo equilibrado de peixe, arroz, carne (alimento cálido) e dum caldo ou canja (alimento fresco), uma reminiscência da *canjee* indiana que Garcia de Orta registou nos seus *Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas e Coisas Medicinais da Índia* (1563).

Há ainda que citar a prática original de preparação dos rebentos de feijão de soja sobre esteiras humedecidas, em lugar escuro, maneira de evitar avitaminoses, principalmente nos barcos, onde os vegetais frescos não se conservavam durante as longas viagens.

Para terminar, há que referir a limpeza da língua e dos ouvidos, outra prática tradicional chinesa, aliás comum a outros povos, que os antigos macaenses também adoptaram. Alguns utilizavam, mesmo, as peças em prata ou em marfim dos lindos conjuntos de *toilette* dos chineses, constituídos pelo *i wat* 耳挖, para limpar os ouvidos, e pelo *kuat lei* 刮舌,⁹ para raspar a língua. Estas práticas visavam, respectivamente, evitar a surdez e as dores de ouvidos, bem como as doenças do estômago.

Além das práticas profilácticas e dietéticas e da riquíssima diversidade de chás medicinais, a originalidade da Medicina Popular dos macaenses atinge o seu auge com as famosas práticas de *ruçá*, *pinchá*, *fumá* e *pilá*, usadas, em Macau, ainda nos anos de 1960-70.

Estas são, de facto, para além de *tomá bafó* e *raspá mordecing*, algumas das formas especiais de terapêutica

popular usadas pelos macaenses, formas que, como aliás se disse, estão a ser progressivamente abandonadas, tal como está a suceder a grande parte das suas mezinhas tradicionais, à medida que as modernas gerações se escusam a aprendê-las com suas mães, avós ou *amás*.

Qualquer destas práticas apoia-se nos conceitos fundamentais da acupunctura chinesa e no conhecimento empírico dos *mak* 脉 ou síntopes, pontos sensíveis do corpo, relacionados nomeadamente com sensações dolorosas. Qualquer das informantes, que sabia aplicar estas técnicas terapêuticas, não as analogava, porém, nem por simples suspeição, com a acupunctura que, aliás, pouco se praticava ainda, em Macau, nessa altura entre a população portuguesa.

Ruçá e *pilá* são verdadeiras formas de massagem¹⁰ nas quais as senhoras luso-descendentes eram verdadeiras especialistas.

Se *pilá* era uma prática corrente de automassagem, já *ruçá* o não era. As senhoras macaenses, que sabiam *ruçá*, não pertenciam, aliás, à classe mais elevada da sociedade local. Muitas vezes eram contratadas para tratarem pessoas das famílias

Foram algumas destas senhoras, que encontrámos em Macau com 80 e 90 anos, na década de 1960, que nos ensinaram esta tão mal conhecida faceta da Medicina Popular de Macau.

RUÇÁ

Nome derivado do português roçar, esta prática corresponde à técnica da massagem manual com as pontas dos dedos, o tradicional *tui ná* 推拿 dos chineses, de há muito por eles utilizado, com êxito, no tratamento de várias doenças.

Para *ruçá* não são necessários instrumentos, como em outras formas mais elaboradas de massoterapia oriental, com a vantagem de não produzir efeitos dolorosos; pelo contrário, *ruçá* anula a dor e conduz a uma situação de relaxe, tal como *pilá* ou *pinchá*.

Ruçá fazia-se, normalmente, com os dedos polegares mantendo as mãos fechadas e por meio de movimentos circulares de dentro para fora. Em casos de câibra ou de dores nos *engonços*¹¹ deveria massajar-se ao longo dos membros, no sentido das mãos ou

A originalidade deste receituário popular de Macau que, aliás, lhe imprime um cunho característico, reside precisamente na hibridação do formulário e na conservação, em pleno século XX, de vestígios da própria medicina portuguesa seiscentista.

mais abastadas, que, no entanto, desconhecendo a técnica de *ruçá*, sabiam *pinchá*, *pilá* e *fumá*, que geralmente praticavam com a ajuda das suas crioulas ou serviçais chinesas. É, por isso, muito difícil, nos nossos dias, saber precisamente quais as vias de introdução destas técnicas, em Macau. E ainda porque, aparentados com a massagem chinesa e com a moxibustão, estes usos estão igualmente relacionados com práticas de massoterapia indianas, malaias e, até, árabes.

Noutros tempos, algumas senhoras de Macau, de menos posses, ficaram famosas como enfermeiras, *daias* (parteiras) e massagistas, principalmente quando já eram avós e davam a garantia de uma longa experiência.

dos pés, *para o vento sair pelas pontas dos dedos*. Em casos de febre ou de dores nas costas era costume *chamar o mal à pele*, raspando, fortemente, com os dedos ao longo da coluna vertebral, de um e de outro lado, até avermelhar a região massajada, deslocando os dedos de cima para baixo, isto é, das omoplatas em direcção ao sacro. Esta técnica equivale ao *nip* 捏 dos chineses. Para maior eficácia e maior rapidez nos seus efeitos era preferível *ruçá* nas costas, não com os dedos e com as pontas das unhas, mas com uma sapeca¹² molhada em óleo de amendoim ou com uma colher de porcelana chinesa. Esta prática, verdadeira escoriação, é conhecida em linguagem popular cantonense por *kuat sá* 刮痧. Algumas senhoras macaenses, porém, substituíam o óleo de

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Bola de couro com haste de rotim para massagens.

amendoim pela banha de carneiro usada em medicina ocidental. Estas senhoras eram contratadas, ainda nos princípios do século XX, e bem pagas, a duas patacas por hora, principalmente para *ruçá* contra as câibras e dores nos *engonços*. *Três dias ruçá, três dias pará*, durando o tratamento nove ou quinze dias, com seis ou nove sessões conforme os casos. Havia ainda, em Macau, quem *ruçasse* de baixo para cima, para *espalhar o vento*, em lugar de o fazer sair pelas pontas dos dedos. Eram duas técnicas consideradas igualmente eficazes e dependentes da localização e da intensidade da dor.

Contra câibras e em caso de prolapso uterino usava-se banha de carneiro. Para “espinhela caída”, doença que se supunha resultar de esforços exagerados, como pegar em objectos pesados, e que se revelava por tosse, falta de apetite e náuseas, *ruçava-se* nas costas com *sangue de tigre*, mistura adquirida nas farmácias chinesas e cuja composição não nos foi possível identificar. Contra “espinhela caída”, também se usava *ruçá* durante nove dias intervalados e, nesse caso, *de fora para dentro*, nas

costas, segundo a orientação das costelas. Durante o período dos nove dias de tratamento, o doente não se podia lavar para não contrariar os efeitos da massagem. Contra reumatismo *ruçava-se* com *fruta de ar* macerada em álcool ou *brandy*, ou com *vinho ladrão* (*mezinha cera*),¹³ que também se utilizava contra pancadas, hematomas e luxações. Preparava-se ainda, com frequência, para o mesmo fim, uma infusão de hortelã-malabar (*mentha citriodora* Roxb.) em vinho chinês. Algumas senhoras preferiam, porém, para esta infusão, o álcool canforado, de introdução, aliás, muito posterior e de influência ocidental.

Diziam-nos todas as informantes:

“Não é qualquer pessoa que é capaz de *ruçá*, porque uma espinhela caída mal *ruçada* pode vir a dar tuberculose e uma câibra mal *ruçada* pode dar *podridão*” (com inflamação dos gânglios axilares ou virilares).

Conhecemos uma anciã macaense que era exímia na arte de *ruçá câibra*, principalmente *ruçá câibra galinha*, frequente durante o sono e durante a natação, *ruçá perna azedo* com *má pei* 麻痺, (pernas fracas e

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Aplicação de massagens com instrumento de madeira. Demonstração feita por uma senhora macaense, D. Dária Pereira, 1965.

doridas com formiguelo ou inchadas devido a reumatismo) e, ainda, *ruçá prolapso*.¹⁴ Estes eram os males para tratamento dos quais ela era frequentemente chamada, principalmente até ao pós-guerra (Guerra do Pacífico), data que marcou uma mudança sensível nos velhos hábitos conservadores da sociedade macaense.

Duas horas de cada vez era, então, o mínimo necessário para se obter um bom resultado, o que só se conseguia quando o *mal vinha à pele*, isto é, quando a pele avermelhava. Este *chamar o mal à pele* parece ser de origem indiana, uma vez que, em Goa, era comum queimarem-se os calcanhares aos doentes de *mordexim* (cólera) ou, ainda, rasparem-se-lhes as costas em cruz para tratamento das mais variadas doenças. Contudo, é de referir que também é costume fazer-se algo semelhante tanto na China como em algumas aldeias de Portugal.

Os chineses também utilizam na sua Medicina Popular a técnica de *chamar o mal à pele*, que designam na língua oficial por *guasha* 刮痧¹⁵ no caso de corresponder ao tratamento de cefaleias, dores no corpo

e mal-estar, que caracterizam, por exemplo, um início de gripe. Nesta técnica utiliza-se uma sapeca molhada em óleo ou em água e sal, sendo esta a mais praticada actualmente entre a população chinesa de Macau. É considerada relaxante e capaz de fazer desaparecer febre ligeira.

Segundo D. Aurora Viana Brito, já falecida, para se *ruçá*, *primeiro panhá tendã*; *ruçá tendã sempre na mesma direiteza*; *para lado de pé ou de mão*. *Se fica vermelho, justo tem câimbra*; *se lôgo nunca fica vermelho tem outro mal*.

As senhoras de Macau utilizavam várias *mezinhas de casa para ruçá*, algumas de tradição oral, outras conservadas nos seus cadernos de culinária, a que já nos referimos.

A título de exemplo apresentamos, a seguir, duas das várias *mezinhas de casa* utilizadas para *ruçá* e que recolhemos em Macau:

Perna azedo

Este incómodo nas pernas, cujos sintomas são dores e formiguelo, pode ser proveniente de reumatismo, má circulação, mau jeito, etc. As antigas senhoras diziam *que hoje usa-se o salicilato com vantagem, mas dantes usava-se hortelã-malabar com álcool (numa garrafa), cânfora e alecrim em infusão. Ruçava-se*.

Mezinha contra dores charreta (R.T.O.)¹⁶

Ruçá com folhas de hortelã-malabar (*mentha citriodora* Roxb.).

Podem também fazer-se lavagens com água de decocção desta planta, ou usar uma infusão de folhas de alecrim em vinho chinês. É de notar que, tanto em Malaca como na Índia, as populações locais usam ainda folhas sucosas de algumas plantas para massagens ou, como cataplasmas, contra dores, dermatoses e outras afecções.

PILÁ

A técnica de *pilá* é, também, uma técnica de massagem que difere de *ruçá* por implicar o uso de um objecto constituído por uma bola de couro, presa na extremidade de uma haste flexível em rotim e com a qual se aplicam pancadas rápidas e rítmicas, principalmente no peito, costas, cintura escapular e abdómen. Parece corresponder à técnica conhecida por *ón 接*, pressão rápida e rítmica da massoterapia chinesa, que se realiza com o punho fechado. Este tipo de

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massagem, também de há muito que se efectuava, na China, com instrumentos em jade polido, âmbar ou lápis-lázuli, constituídos por pequenas esferas que rolavam em torno de um eixo ligado a uma pega mais ou menos valiosa.¹⁷

As senhoras de Macau possuíam, ainda há pouco tempo, além da bola de couro, um instrumento, feito em madeira, constituído por uma esfera móvel, dentro duma armação circular, que girava em todos os sentidos e que lembrava as antigas esferas chinesas para massagens. Esta esfera de madeira era usada principalmente para acalmar as dores articulares gripais e também contra *perna azedo*, dores a que algumas antigas senhoras macaenses chamavam *doris charreta*. Realizava-se, ainda, massagem geral com este instrumento, para activar a circulação sanguínea, o que proporcionava agradável bem-estar.

Pilá com bola de couro era uma técnica especialmente usada contra hemicraniana e *névoa no olho* do respectivo lado e, ainda, contra *males da vesícula biliar*, batendo-se, com a bola, pancadinhas leves num ponto que os acupuncturistas consideram relacionado com a vesícula biliar, e que se situa no ombro direito.

PINCHÁ

Esta técnica é a mais difundida e a que logrou perdurar entre a população de Macau, pois não necessita de qualquer aprendizagem especial. Corresponde, nitidamente, à técnica chinesa, conhecida por *neng* 拧, que consiste em beliscar-se a pele com as extremidades dos dedos indicador e médio, levantando-a para, logo a soltar, e repetindo-se o movimento até que a área beliscada avermelhe. É muito frequente *pinchá* na testa, entre as sobrancelhas, contra as dores de cabeça, nomeadamente enxaquecas, acompanhadas de náuseas. Esta técnica activa um só ponto do meridiano e é nisso que se distingue do *ná* 拿 chinês. Contrariamente às senhoras de Macau, que só utilizam as articulações da falange e da falanginha dos dedos indicador e médio para *pinchá*, os chineses utilizam também os outros dedos dobrados e o polegar.

É de notar que em casos de enxaquecas, resultantes de distúrbios hepáticos ou de vista fraca e dolorosa, se utilizava esta prática pressionando pontos do meridiano principal da bexiga que passa na testa e dos meridianos divergentes da bexiga e dos rins de um e de outro lado da coluna vertebral.

O termo macaense *pinchá* deve ser derivado do inglês *to pinch*; daí consideramos que esta técnica tenha recebido o seu nome actual apenas no século XIX ou que, então, este termo tenha substituído o *chubi* do *patuá* dos antigos tempos, termo que só muito raramente ouvimos empregar na década de 1960-70.

Entre as senhoras macaenses a técnica de *pinchá* na testa era a preferida e muito utilizada contra dores de cabeça e enjoo, geralmente resultante de indigestões ou de mau funcionamento biliar, ao que a culinária requintada local se prestava entre as classes mais favorecidas. A este “incómodo” dava-se, em Macau, o nome de *mordacing*. No entanto, a escarificação da testa ou do pescoço, embora tida por eficaz, era deselegante, porque, no caso de se ter muito *mordacing*, toda a área ficava escura e, por isso, quando feita em pontos visíveis, não era estimada.

Daí o ter vindo a ser, progressivamente, abandonada pelos mais jovens.

A esta técnica chamava-se também *raspá mordacing*, palavra derivada de *mordexim* que, em Goa, se referia a cólera asiática, mas que, em Macau, significava qualquer tipo de mal-estar relacionado com mau funcionamento intestinal ou biliar.

Do que atrás fica exposto fácil é constatar que entre as senhoras luso-descendentes de Macau a prática de *ruçá* com escarificação e de *pinchá* se encontravam mais ou menos confundidas no conceito geral de *chamar o mal à pele*.

FUMÁ

Fumá consiste em fazer-se um chumaço de pano, que, em Portugal, era conhecido por “boneca” e, em Macau, se chamava *chiquia* (por semelhança com a calote de cabelo, enrolada na nuca, penteado característico das mulheres casadas tanto chinesas como luso-descendentes e suas antigas avós asiáticas), e colocar, dentro deste pano, *pedrume* (pedra-ume) moída, adicionada a folhas verdes e/ou a uma substância quente, geralmente arroz cozido, para *chapá*.¹⁸

Como facilmente se pode constatar, *fumá* corresponde à técnica de fomentação, da medicina ocidental, que estava ainda muito em voga, em Portugal, no século XIX. As fomentações registadas no *Formulário Geral Médico-Cirúrgico* de J. B. Cardoso Klerk, publicado em 1842¹⁹ são consideradas

“medicamentos quentes e líquidos que são aplicados sobre qualquer parte do nosso corpo por meio d’uma flanela, ou panno de linho. O líquido empregado pode ser aquoso, vinhoso, alcoolico, ácido ou oleoso, e pode ter em dissolução qualquer substância emolliente tónica, aromática, adstringente, segundo o fim que querernos preencher.”

A receita mais difundida em Macau, provavelmente introduzida pelos médicos ocidentais, e adoptada e modificada pelos macaenses, é a seguinte:

“arroz meio cozido e sem ser lavado, para não perder a substância, ao qual se junta alfavaca, incenso e alecrim. Ao levantar fervura, põe-se de lado e deixa-se arrefecer um pouco. Coloca-se numa cassa que, depois, se envolve numa flanela, fazendo-se um saquinho como uma chiquia.”

Chapá na testa, nos braços, costas, cadeiras²⁰ (região sagrada) contra dores, e, no pescoço, contra torcicolos. Deve ter-se o cuidado de não aproximar dos olhos, avisavam as senhoras, com prudência.

Esta é, apenas, uma das muitas receitas para *fumá* que recolhemos em Macau.

Outra técnica nitidamente hibridada que vimos aplicar naquele território é a popular *tirá ventosa*.

Tirá ventosa, lançar ventosas ou aplicar ventosas, era, de facto, uma prática corrente, tanto em Macau como na Europa, ainda na primeira metade do século XX, e muito antiga na China, pois já Fernão Mendes Pinto se lhe referiu na sua famosa *Peregrinação*.

Em Macau, são conhecidas duas formas diferentes de “tirar ventosas”, ambas consideradas de igual eficácia. A primeira é de nítida influência chinesa e consiste no seguinte: torce-se um fio de algodão comprido, como se fazia para as velhas lamparinas e molha-se em *azeite china* (óleo de amendoim). Introduce-se este algodão no buraco central duma sapeca e coloca-se sobre uma rodela de papel pagode (papel grosseiro e absorvente), que se aplica no local que se deseja tratar (geralmente região dorsal ou abdominal). Deita-se lume à torcida e cobre-se imediatamente com um copo de vidro fino. Dantes usava-se um pedaço de colmo de bambu, com o respectivo tabique para o mesmo efeito.

Outra técnica de “tirar ventosas” consiste em: *tapá copo com papelã ridondo; botá algodã cum alcool canfrado, queimã só cima bariça cobre com copo. Pagã. Dá fumo. Sozinha cavá de tombá. Enquanto tem vento nunca sai.*²¹

As ventosas eram particularmente estimadas contra *vento marado* (gases acumulados), por se crer que *tiravam o vento* no local onde fossem aplicadas. Contra pneumonias e bronquites, como ainda na década de 1940 era frequente em Portugal, não consta que fossem utilizadas na Medicina Popular de Macau.

CONCLUSÕES

Do que resumidamente acabamos de expor parece ficar nítida a hibridação de conceitos e de práticas utilizados ainda na década de 1960-70 pelas antigas senhoras de Macau, a par de algumas receitas tradicionais da medicina ocidental do século XIX então já em desuso na Europa.

Compulsando alguns dos cadernos de receitas, que nos foram cedidos pelas senhoras *filhas-da-terra* de Macau,²² podemos não só testar a criação de uma nova medicina híbrida, profiláctica e terapêutica, não isenta, em certos casos, do pensamento mágico-religioso, mas também tirar conclusões acerca das principais moléstias, para tratamento das quais revelaram possuir algum valor, uma vez que lograram perdurar ao longo de alguns séculos. Nesses cadernos encontra-se, como já se disse, um formulário novo, a par de algumas receitas tradicionais chinesas e de outras da medicina ocidental, algumas destas constantes das farmacopeias do século XVIII. Quanto ao formulário hibridado, supomos que a maior parte deva ter sido uma criação local. É possível, também, que algumas receitas mais elaboradas tenham sido compostas, pela primeira vez, por médicos ocidentais, que ficaram mais ou menos anónimos. E, naturalmente, muitas delas devem ter sido fruto do paciente estudo dos boticários jesuítas que, durante a sua estada em Macau, primeiro devido à inexistência e, depois, ao precário estado das farmácias locais e dificuldade de abastecimento daquelas com simples do Ocidente, se debruçaram sobre a rica farmacopeia chinesa que, com pouca despesa, lhes podia ser útil. Muito provavelmente ensaiaram, substituíram simples e reinventaram receitas tradicionais portuguesas que foram, assim, adaptadas aos recursos locais. Desta forma, uma medicina nova logrou opor-se ao mecanismo demográfico de regulação natural que é a doença e, neste caso, a doença exótica.

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Se muitas receitas que estudámos constam dos cadernos manuscritos que as senhoras de Macau nos cederam, o maior número de receituário, que recolhemos, é de tradição oral e foi-nos, quase sempre, transmitido por via feminina, o que não admira, porque foram as mulheres as principais terapeutas das suas famílias, desde a fundação da cidade e, a maioria destas, até fins do século XIX, era iletrada.

É curioso notar que, nas receitas escritas em chinês nesses cadernos, destinadas a pessoas que, na sua maioria, as não sabiam interpretar, intervêm muitas vezes plantas da medicina ocidental. Aliás, muitas destas receitas devem ter sido copiadas por chineses pouco letrados, provavelmente serviçais, a pedido das suas patroas, para facilidade da sua aquisição, nos ervanários e nas farmácias chinesas. Esta nossa hipótese apoia-se no facto de ser a caligrafia, em muitos casos, bastante popular, não correspondendo, de forma alguma, à caligrafia de um mestre em medicina chinesa. Caligrafia deste tipo, que se revela pela segurança dos rasgos e pelo estilo caligráfico, só encontrámos em páginas isoladas de dois ou três cadernos, de mais de uma dezena que nos foi dado consultar.²³

Recolhemos, em Macau, mais de seis centenas de mezinhas de casa ao longo de persistente e paciente trabalho de campo durante cerca de dezasseis anos de residência no território.

A identificação dos simples que as integram foi, em certos casos, muito morosa, por vezes muito difícil, uma vez que os nomes das plantas variam, na China, de região para região, sendo atribuídos de acordo com diferentes características ou propriedades das respectivas espécies ou variedades.²⁴

Todos os simples que identificámos foram adquiridos em diferentes farmácias e ervanários chineses, depois comparados e, finalmente, estudadas as suas descrições, em farmacopeias clássicas e actualizada a sua nomenclatura em Floras e Index.²⁵

No caso de se ter conseguido obter a planta completa, foi feita a identificação, por meio das floras disponíveis, e comparados os respectivos exemplares com os do Herbário Colonial de Hong Kong, e/ou do Instituto Botânico de Coimbra, ou, ainda, enviadas amostras ao Centro de Botânica da Faculdade de Ciências de Lisboa, onde foi feita, corrigida, ou confirmada a sua identificação pela equipa dirigida pelo nosso ex-mestre Professor Doutor Carlos Tavares.

O resultado deste nosso trabalho, que aguarda publicação, é constituído por cerca de duas mil páginas, onde a herança hibridada que são as *mezinhas de casa* e as práticas terapêuticas tradicionais das *nhonhonha* de Macau foram registadas, como testemunho desse fenómeno original que surgiu naquele território: o grupo dos macaenses *filhos-da-terra*, o exemplo mais conseguido do hibridismo bio-cultural Ocidente-Oriente. **RC**

Nota do autor: Esta exposição é principalmente fruto de trabalho de campo durante cerca de 15 anos. Por isso, a bibliografia é demasiado vasta, em termos de Floras, Index, Farmacopeias, Tratados de Farmacognosia, e manuscritos. Vasta é também a lista de informantes, muitos dos quais ficaram anónimos, pois foi durante conversas informais e não estruturadas que obtivemos muitos conhecimentos que nos indicaram pistas valiosas para a nossa investigação.

A todos agradecemos, pois, tudo quanto tão generosamente nos ensinaram.

NOTAS

- 1 O mesmo que *canarins*, nome local dado aos indianos.
- 2 Exposição dirigida ao Pe. Visitador Jerónimo Rodrigues em 21 de Dezembro de 1625 e também enviada ao Pe. Geral em 1626, pedindo escusa de servir como médico naquela cidade (Mss. Da Biblioteca da Ajuda, Cod. 49-v-6, fl 346).
- 3 Mss. do Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Cx. 1838.
- 4 Mss. da Biblioteca da Ajuda e da Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora.
- 5 Alguns informantes de Macau identificavam o “chá Patrício” com o chá *seng cap* ou “chá do Dr. Pitter”. A maioria das senhoras macaenses mais idosas estabelecia, porém, nítida distinção entre ambas as receitas consideradas de segredo. Uma sobrinha-neta do Dr. Pitter facultou-nos através de pessoa amiga uma cópia da receita original (Cf. *Revista de Cultura*, Ano I, n.º 2, Macau, 1987).
- 6 Nome cantonense que designa quedas e pancadas.
- 7 Levadas da Austrália, como plantas exóticas, havia em Macau, na década de 1960-70, *Eucalyptus citriodora* Roxb., na ilha de Coloane e dois exemplares de *Eucalyptus robusta* Smith. à entrada do Jardim de Lou Lim Iók.
- 8 Esta classificação inclui-se no antigo sistema pentagrâmico que data pelo menos da Escola dos Sofistas chineses (século V-IV a.C).
- 9 Termos cantonenses usados pelos *filhos-da-terra* para estes utensílios de higiene.
- 10 Admite-se que a massoterapia tenha tido a sua origem no antigo Egipto, aliada a movimentos de ginástica, destinados a promover a recarga da energia vital, beneficiando o desenvolvimento dos centros psíquicos para entrarem em sintonia com o Universo e captarem, assim, a energia que dele emana. A verdade é que há cinco mil anos, a palavra automassagem parece ter sido bastante familiar no

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- continente asiático, difundindo-se paralelamente à acupunctura, com a qual, possivelmente, estava relacionada, o que põe em dúvida um único centro de irradiação até porque massajar uma região dorida é um acto absolutamente espontâneo.
- 11 Nome local dado às articulações.
 - 12 Pequena moeda chinesa em liga de cobre e de pouco valor, perfurada a meio.
 - 13 Este nome advém de ser vendida esta droga nas farmácias chinesas dentro duma esfera de cera para melhor se conservar. Depois era dissolvida em vinho chinês (aguardente de arroz).
 - 14 Prolapso uterino.
 - 15 O termo *kuat sá* era empregue pelas senhoras de Macau para qualquer das formas utilizadas para chamar *o mal à pele*, como sinónimo, pois, de *pinchá e ruçá com sapeca*.
 - 16 *Charreta* ou *jineti* é o nome local das dores nas pernas, principalmente nos joelhos (termo em *patuá* macaense dado aos joelhos). R.T.O.: Receita de tradução oral.
 - 17 Existe no Museu do Palácio Nacional de Taipei (Taiwan) um belo exemplar antigo feito nestas pedras semi-preciosas para automassagens.
 - 18 *Chapá* consiste na aplicação da “boneca” de pano com uma substância quente, batendo-se levemente sobre os locais doridos à maneira da técnica de *pilá*. Uma informante definiu *fumá* como sinapismo para *chapá-chapá quenti quenti*.
 - 19 *Formulário Geral Médico-Cirúrgico* de J. B. Cardoso Klerk, publicado em Lisboa, Typ de V. J. de Castro & Irmão, 1842, pp. 422-430.
 - 20 Em Macau, *cadeira* é aquilo a que em Portugal o povo chama “cruzes”.
 - 21 Técnica recolhida oralmente e transmitida por uma informante muito idosa *filha-da-terra*.
 - 22 Comparando algumas receitas populares de Macau com as receitas de segredo da Botica do Colégio de São Paulo, fácil é constatar, que muitas daquelas são nítidos vestígios destas (Ana Maria Amaro, “Algumas receitas de segredo de Macau - o famoso chá do Dr. Pitter e o já esquecido chá Patrício”, in *Revista de Cultura*, Ano II, n.º 5, Macau, 1988 e *Introdução da Medicina Ocidental e Macau e as receitas de segredo da Botica do Colégio de São Paulo*, Ed. do I.C.M., Macau, 1992, *Medicina Popular de Macau*).
 - 23 Recolhemos em Macau, de 1957 até finais de 1972, cerca de seiscentas receitas da medicina popular local. Estas receitas constam da nossa tese de doutoramento (*Medicina Popular de Macau*, exemplar policopiado, Lisboa, 1988).
 - 24 Dantes, muitos mestres redigiam as receitas em verso, sujeitas, pois, à métrica e à rima, tirando partido da vasta sinonímia dos simples medicamentosos, o que torna muitíssimo difícil a sua identificação só pelos nomes. Foi-nos necessário, por isso, encontrar as plantas de preferência frescas e completas para arriscarmos apresentar uma classificação segura.
 - 25 Neste trabalho auxiliou-nos o nosso ex-mestre Prof. Doutor Carlos Teixeira e a Doutora Maria Cândida Liberato, bióloga e fito-sistemata do Herbário do Jardim Museu Agrícola Tropical de Lisboa do Instituto Botânico da Faculdade de Ciências de Lisboa.

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Fig. 1. "São Pedro" celebrations in Malacca, 1980's. Photo by Leong Ka Tai (IC Archives).

Multiple Identities Among the Malacca Portuguese

BRIAN JUAN O'NEILL*

PREAMBLE

This paper focuses upon a simple phrase repeatedly enunciated by residents of an urban neighbourhood called the Portuguese Eurasian Settlement in Malacca. In local Creole, the expression comprises three words: *natibu!—ng'ka kristang*, and is translatable provisionally as “Malay!—not Portuguese”. The term is so ubiquitous and so constantly parroted that it merits specially fine-tuned attention. It can be invoked in a multiplicity of situations but always has the same target—a group of Others with whom this minority evinces virtually total disidentification. This is of course a highly generalized attitude rather than a prejudice directed against any specific individuals or groups: the Malacca Portuguese themselves repeatedly point to the numerous Malay elements blended within their own cultural repertoire. Practically anything relating to Malay culture or ethnicity in an abstract sense may spark the phrase. Occasionally, however, Islam itself tends also to serve implicitly as an indirect referent from this Catholic minority's point of view: this only occurs however in a circuitous fashion, as informants never employ the phrase to refer directly to Malay or Muslim persons *per se* but rather to traits,

habits, visible emblems, or dispositions which (in their minds) tend to fuse the cultural with the religious. But the forceful, even aggressive, tone and posture that accompany the epithet suggest the absolute and unconditional adoption of a demarcating boundary indicating *who we are not*. This is the first level of meaning sparked by my title “multiple identities”.

Two further significations underlie the expression. If Malays are conceptualised as *not us* via an extreme distancing strategy of social differentiation, then a very curious and highly ambiguous entity designatable as Portuguese culture, Continental Portugal, or the Portuguese people is exalted as a rosy-coloured, idealized, identity beacon. The forms through which this supra-identification with a long-gone font of cultural traits is expressed and reproduced are quite extraordinary and prompt immediate and obvious reference to processes of the invention of tradition. The formal link with Portugal was severed in 1641 when the Dutch took Malacca; subsequent dates of importance include the beginning (1795) and consolidation (1824) of British rule in Malaysia, the Japanese occupation during the Second World War, and *Merdeka* or the independence of Malaya from Britain in 1957. Perduring through all of these multiple layers of colonialism has been the Portuguese element rather than the Dutch, British, or Malay. Why? We simply cannot tell yet. Furthermore, particularly since 1953, we can document the importation and adoption of genuine Portuguese folk dances and musical styles, which have taken two clearly distinct paths—one oriented towards tourists, and another (subtler) linked to the identity and self-consciousness of the population. Yet this transpires amidst virtually total incognizance of the actual origins of the group's Portuguese surnames and intricate Eurasian genealogies. Social amnesia, not social memory, predominates.¹ This second level of multiple identities, thus, points to an almost blind admiration of putative cultural origins. Via over-

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identification with Portugal, the group figuratively jumps well past a strictly Portuguese sphere into a fabricated and elastic world of plasticine-like partial and semi-identities.

A third and more confusing sphere of signification spawned by the phrase alludes to the level of Creole identity. This meaning—to my view the most fascinating—affords us access to an ambiguous, paradoxical, and quite complex time-space dimension: Creole populations everywhere tend to develop autonomous, independent identity contours deriving from mixtures between two cultural groups in contact. In the case of these Portuguese Eurasians of Malacca, Portugal remains geographically remote but emotively close, while Islamic Malay culture hovers physically proximate but is kept sentimentally distant. I have no explanation yet for this social paradox. In strict terms, European elements form a kind of paternal cultural font while in turn Malay traits compose a sort of maternal one. Yet the former is systematically honoured while the latter profoundly denigrated. What indeed happened to the newly created Creole structure deriving from the fusion of these two fonts following the arrival of the Portuguese in 1511?

Who are these Portuguese Creoles? What are the sociological and historical contours of the *Kristang* ethnic group? Indeed, do they actually constitute a distinct group, beyond composing a chaotic amalgam of individuals retaining Portuguese, Dutch, and English surnames within a cultural shell of attributes over five centuries? Are we confronted with an identity so vague, so amorphous, and so indefinable as to preclude our attempts to delineate a precisely bounded social group at all? The third of these multiple identities, therefore, suggests a highly ambivalent, paradoxical, and inchoate sense of simultaneous belonging and disidentification. Creole groups—or, in fact, whole Creole societies—are frequently characterized as lying in between other more clearly defined groups or cultures: they are intermediate, interstitial, unstable, undefined, and so on. Part of this certainly derives, as we will see, from the kaleidoscopic nature of the encompassing context of the city of Malacca in which they are entrenched—a quintessentially poly-ethnic, multi-linguistic, and multi-religious Tower of Babel which has granted an extraordinary amount of social space to minorities over time (Guimarães & Ferreira 1996; Sandhu & Wheatley 1983). But what about the internal conceptualisations

of the actors themselves? How do they define or simply live with their own suppressed Creole identity?

MULTIPLE IDENTITIES AND CREOLE-NESS

Three totally diverse meanings thus preoccupy me here: (1) a largely negative *dis-identification* with Malays, bordering at times on a fierce social poise of cultural separation; (2) a virtually blind, positive, and total *over-identification* with the Portuguese, a people, “culture” if you like, or nation so distant in time and space as to almost automatically foment fabrication and invention, and (3) a very shifty, chameleon-like, fuzzy, and indeterminate sense of pertaining to a kind of vague, dangling, ethnic blob which has managed to survive and persist over time, but whose actual objective characteristics remain largely undelineable. The only way to try to locate what this weird Creole sense of belonging nowhere really is, seems to be through a term something like *non-self-identification*. All of this admittedly appears somewhat ridiculous. The Malacca Portuguese Eurasians seem to define themselves through successive non-identification with others: need this process of counter-identity result necessarily in chaos? Anyway, these are the three major levels on which identity appears to operate: one negative, one positive, and another highly ambiguous.

I propose to interrogate this confusing state of affairs via a quite categorical concept although I am well aware that, firstly, none of these meanings implies a total absence of identity. Secondly, we may be dealing (as I have hinted at via my own oscillation between terms) simply with three forms of shifting identification with one or another group. Nevertheless, the tone I wish to stress is one of awry, topsy-turvy, non-coincident, and contradictory evaluations that occur on the ground and not merely in the analyst’s head. With regard to meaning (1) above, Eurasians seem to be saying, metaphorically, that “we really do not identify with many things about our immediate neighbours, the Malays”, despite virtually universal comments of a generalized ethnic nature with regard to Malays; the latter are regarded as a supremely “kind, warm, and generous people” with whom members of this group maintain the most friendly and respectful relations within social and workplace spheres. Residents within the Portuguese Settlement merely aspire to a modicum of independence within the realms of the

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family and religion, which in fact is clearly granted them within the framework of the Malaysian legal system.

In relation to signification (2) they appear to affirm that “we adore almost everything about the Portuguese and Portugal, which is where our origins lie” regardless of the fact that their authentic knowledge of that country and people is virtually nil or at best minuscule. With respect to (3) we must admit that they apparently mean to say that their level of cognisance of their own history as a distinct group remains ludicrous. In part, this is a result of an internalised minority complex that has succeeded in spiralling inwards among them a concept of their being somehow mixed or diluted in the wake of the original Portuguese-Malay contact situation in the early sixteenth century. Precisely how this state of affairs came about historically, and indeed whether it is a relatively recent or more dated phenomenon, we cannot yet determine: a major scanning and meticulous evaluation of the extant historical materials on Malacca must precede any answer to such a query (Subrahmanyam 1993; Thomaz 1994).

A simple phrase will serve to exemplify this third level of non-identification: *Iou Kristang*. This phrase has three meanings: a) “I am a Catholic”; b) “I speak Creole Portuguese”; and c) “I belong to the Portuguese Eurasian [ethnic] group”. Depending upon situational constraints,

To avoid confusion, I shall refer to the population as Portuguese Eurasians, the Malacca Portuguese, or simply as Kristangs. The latter term invokes the third meaning isolated above, referring to an ethnic group: but it can as we have seen also refer to the language designated Kristang, or Malacca Creole Portuguese (Rêgo 1942). Myriad misled souls frequently make the mistake of referring to this language as *papiá kristang*, which actually means “to speak kristang” or “to be able to speak kristang” in an active verbal sense. The correct designation for the language is simply *Kristang* (Baxter 1988). In any case, even the tag Malacca Creole Portuguese seems to miss the mark, as related Creoles are (or were until very recently) still spoken by enclave populations in Macao (Batalha 1988; Tomás 1992) and various parts of Sri Lanka (Jackson 1990).² So much for misnomers. The inverse term—Portuguese Creoles—refers to the population (Hancock 1969). It would be almost insulting to refer to these individuals in person as Creoles, although academically this would be entirely correct and justifiable. Obviously, they are not Portuguese nationals in a European sense—they do not possess European Union passports. But the qualifying geographical identification in the epithet *Malacca Portuguese* allows us to avoid referring to them perennially with quotation marks, as somehow partial, or false, or incompletely “Portuguese”. I will try therefore to use more assiduously the word employed

Creole populations everywhere tend to develop autonomous, independent identity contours deriving from mixtures between two cultural groups in contact.

the phrase can mean any of these three things, or, indeed two or three at the same time. The term Kristang, derived from the Continental Portuguese *crístão* (Christian/Catholic) is highly elastic and multivariate, and upon translation cannot be over-simplified down to any reduced uniform reference to language, religion, or ethnic identity without denuding it totally of its rich signification. No systematic answer to the question “who are they?” [the Kristang population] ever arises, and its corollary “who are we?” results in an even more hopelessly vague answer—*Iou Kristang!* The original query is better scrapped from the start.

locally by themselves—Kristang. A horribly sticky problem arises with respect to in-marrying spouses of diverse ethnic origin (Chinese, Tamil, Gujarati, Sikh, Malay, European, Baba-Nyonya, Chitty, Javanese, Filipino, Anglo-Indian) who learn the Kristang language and who may even convert to Catholicism, thereby making them—following another of the three meanings of *Kristang* enunciated earlier—Kristangs in a religious sense. These, however, are *not* considered to be ethnically Kristang, although their children may become so later on. Anyway, this is a typical problem in most ethnically diversified areas, as Leach very clearly

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Fig. 2. *Tropa de Malacca* folkdance troupe at the Singapore National Day Parade, 1987. Note blending of traditional Kristang attire (four women at right) and standard Portuguese costumes (all others). Photo courtesy Gregory de Roche.

showed for Burma in 1954 and a plethora of authors have repeated for decades since. We return once again, ineluctably, to the three interlaced significations of the word Kristang, which can vary depending upon its precise contextual referent.

Recapitulating, we are confronted with a scenario highly reminiscent of “the intrinsic dissonance in social life” or a “fiction of an initial amorphous lack of order” (Barth 1993:7), in which disorder and indeterminacy appear to reign supreme within the “shifting sands of multiple interpretations and interests.” The Malacca Portuguese exhibit quite emphatically the action and interaction of “processes and angles at odds with each other, producing innumerable large and small incoherences” (1993:5), which seem to result veritably in “disorder, multiplicity, and undeterminedness.” How much of this apparent chaos arises from my own immersion in a new terrain in Malaysia, or from an earlier Europeanist³ ethnographic vantage point, I simply do not know yet. Nevertheless, I cannot help

hearing in some of Barth’s recent comments on Bali distant echoes of Edmund Leach’s stance in relation to the entangled context of highland Burma (1954). Contradiction, incongruity, conflicting systems of ethics, and inconsistencies were, as we recall, stressed incessantly in that highly provocative polemic in which the theme of ethnic groups was timidly born if not yet baptized, as Bentley has correctly noted (1987:24). Stressing a focus on “indeterminate and ambiguous spaces or margins and thresholds.” Lionel Caplan similarly argues, “both postcolonial and anthropological attributions of creolist or other similar labels to cultural *mélanges* must leave space for local discourses which can reveal alternative and even contradictory self-identifications” (1995:745). Disorientation and social jumbling appear to prevail.

Another possible terminological choice might be contemplable as an alternative. Accepting and defining the affirmative term *identity* as such, that is, as a consciously positive sense of pertaining to a specific

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Fig. 3. Mock wedding scene (left) alongside Portuguese folkdance performance (centre) by the *Rancho Folclórico San Pedro*, 1994. Bride and groom are flanked by three partially visible women (bride's mother/Bridesmaid/sponsor) and four men not visible (groom's father/Best Man/sponsor/scene presenter). Note again the blending of respective Kristang and Portuguese dance and costume. Photo by the author.

group or entity—a task beyond the scope of this exploratory text—would allow us to conceptualise a form of triple identity (O'Neill 1999) among the Malacca Portuguese. Firstly, a *national identity*—albeit distinctly partial and reserved—links the Kristang population to all other non-Malays in the country as citizens of Malaysia with equal rights and obligations. But no identification with the Malay ethnic group need be required, as the national and ethnic levels of membership are separated. In this sense, Portuguese Eurasians occupy a position directly parallel to any other national minority, be it as minuscule as the Dutch Eurasians, Spanish Eurasians, Europeans, Sikhs, or alternatively the numerically more significant ethnic minorities such as the Chinese or Indians. Thus, the Kristang attitude, which I have called non-identification, might simply be seen as a timid and guarded form of national identity.

Secondly, the group's effusive emulation of everything originating from Portugal or in Portuguese

culture might be interpreted as a very specific kind of *cultural identity*. By admiring the continental Portuguese with such fervour, Kristangs simply shift their cultural preferences and dispositions toward their putatively European origins; all cultural intrusions or influences from the Malay world—conceived of in this case as an ethnic entity, not a national amalgam of diverse cultures—are kept at a distance. Of course, we have no way of proving that this staunchly defensive stance is not quite modern and recent, resulting generally from the post-independence era following 1957, or more specifically from processes since the 1960s commonly designated as *Islamisation* (Yasin 1996) or *Islamic Resurgence* (Batumalai 1996). In fact, Kristang genealogies exhibit many cases of (Muslim) Malay converts to Catholicism prior to the mid-twentieth century. So, we may be simply viewing a phenomenon of relatively shallow historical depth, strongly influenced by the Fascist *Estado Novo*, or New State, in Portugal from its incipient phase beginning in 1926 through the

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Portuguese Revolution of 1974. The latter perpetrated a systematic strategy of the exportation of emblematic symbols of Portuguese culture. Concomitantly, it favoured the inclusion within an inflated and imperialistic Portuguese-ness of all minorities resident inside the confines of the Portuguese colonial empire—as far as Goa, Macao, Malacca, and East Timor; all of these fell within the category of the ethnically and culturally variegated Portuguese race (*raça*). This is not to say that we need discriminate simplistically between culturally Malay and culturally Portuguese traits—such an exercise would obviously be quite misplaced. But we might conceive of the Kristang population simply as

*The Kristang attitude,
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maintaining a cultural identity to a great degree oriented away from Malaysia toward Portugal.

Thirdly, we can detect a level of *ethnic identity* via the purportedly genuine or traditional sense of Kristang self-identification. This is the most difficult of the three levels to focus upon, and the notion of what we mean by Creole is essential to define what we mean by ethnic. By postulating a supposedly (not literally) pure Kristang conglomerate of elements, perhaps we run the risk of committing a heinous sin according to some recent studies of ethnicity (Banks 1996; Eriksen 1991, 1993; Pina Cabral & Lourenço 1993). But we can postulate a dimension of Portuguese Eurasian identity distinct from both the Malaysian Malay and European Portuguese angles, even though in itself this dimension may be extraordinarily fleeting. Defining the Kristangs as an ethnic group (Barth 1969; Tonkin, McDonald & Chapman 1989) may help us somewhat but at the same time fall short of anything definitive. Why bother at all?

Our reply lies in the importance of the concept of Creole-ness or, alternatively, the French term *créolité* (Condé & Cottenet-Hage 1995). Anderson's brief

indication of one of the word's meanings seems pertinent but insufficient: "Creole (*criollo*)—person of (at least theoretically) pure European descent but born in the Americas (and, by later extension, anywhere outside Europe)" (1993:47). One of the significations given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* adds another dimension; in the case of countries or regions such as the West Indies, other areas of the Americas, or Mauritius, a Creole was "A person born and naturalized in the country, but of European (usually Spanish or French) or of African Negro race: the name having no connotation of colour, and in its reference to origin being distinguished on the one hand from born in Europe (or Africa), and on the other hand from aboriginal". Now, in this fashion, only the first and second generations of Portuguese descendants in Malacca following the Portuguese arrival in 1511 would technically have been Creoles; throughout the rest of the sixteenth century, ethnic and cultural mixtures would have precluded the social reproduction of a hypothetically pure European group (in fact, the number of Continental Portuguese women settling in Malacca was diminutive). So we must apply a more generalized and diluted concept of Creole suggestive of long-term miscegenation. The Kristangs would thus be Creole simply as a result of successive ethnic mixtures over the centuries, with respect to an original moment of Portuguese-Malay contact. The key point is that even in classic Creole situations the Creole population directs its cultural identity mainly, if not exclusively, towards the metropolitan European country instead of the local colonial nation. This is decisive for our case.

The third strand of this proposed triple identity thus aids our analysis, but only insofar as it leads us toward a specific signification of a concept of diluted Creole group or Creole society unattached to the original meaning of Creole restricted to the colonial-born children of European parents. Obviously, we may find as many levels of identity as we wish: for instance, what about the Kristangs' linguistic and religious identities? The topic is hopelessly complicated, and any treatment of it here admittedly idiosyncratic and preliminary. Need we indeed presume that identity be perennially isolatable as a discrete phenomenon (Lévi-Strauss 1983)? With respect to nationality, Gilroy warns us of "...the continuing aspiration to acquire a supposedly authentic, natural, and stable 'rooted' identity. This invariant identity is in turn the premise of a thinking 'racial' self

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Fig. 4. The Portuguese Settlement of Malacca in a festive day, 1980's. Photo by Leong Ka Tai (IC Archives).

that is both socialised and unified by its connection with other kindred souls encountered usually, though not always, within the fortified frontiers of those discrete ethnic cultures which also happen to coincide with the contours of a sovereign nation state that guarantees their continuity” (1995:30-31). Separating the three multiple levels nevertheless has the virtue of proposing three distinct and not necessarily superimposed directions of positive identification.

Let us start then with a *tabula rasa* approach with regard to this cryptic, hybrid group of mestizos: rather than defining terms such as ethnic group, identity, or boundary let me try to continue sifting through the labyrinth via the rhetorical device of interlaced identities.

KRISTANG NOMENCLATURES

What do the Portuguese Creoles use as self-referential epithets? What do others call them? Which

naming practices are relevant to concepts of multiple identities? How are names of individuals, families, streets, and events used, manipulated, transformed, ignored, or socially erased? Let us glance briefly at this sphere.

At a junction on one of Malacca's main avenues—Jalan Parameswara—a large white and green signpost with an arrow indicates the way to the Portuguese quarter with two phrases, one in Malay (*perkampungan portugis*) and beneath it another in English (*Portuguese Settlement*). From this junction, a street of about half a kilometre leads directly into the neighbourhood—it is named Jalan D'Albuquerque, after the Portuguese discoverer Afonso de Albuquerque who conquered Malacca in 1511 following the disastrous but significant pilot visit to the city two years earlier by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. Both sides of the southern corner of this artery are flanked by half a dozen typical rural-style Malay houses that blend swiftly into two long rows of Chinese residences.

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Fig. 5. Portuguese folk show at "São Pedro" celebrations in Malacca, 1980's. Photo by Leong Ka Tai (IC Archives).

Further down this road, at the junction that announces the neighbourhood, stands a plaque reading "*Selamat Datang*—Welcome to Historic Portuguese Settlement. Founders: Rev Fr. A. M. Corado, Rev Fr. J. P. François." Town buses stop every fifteen minutes or so about ten metres into the neighbourhood (still on the main D'Albuquerque Road) before picking up passengers and returning to the centre. Once at this crossing, one enters 28 acres of a Portuguese Creole world⁴ very removed from that of the mostly Chinese domiciles leading up to the Settlement along both sides of the lane. Portuguese names account for five of the seven streets composing the quarter: in addition to D'Albuquerque Road which leads right up to the seafront, we have Sequeira, Eredia, D'Aranjo, and Teixeira Roads, along with the two English-derived Day and Crighton Roads. Note that both English and Malay denominations are used, *Road* and *Jalan* being interchanged constantly; rarely, the word *Rua*, meaning "street" in both Kristang as well as European

Portuguese, can also be heard. To any casual visitor, therefore, even before entering the quarter, Portuguese nominal emblems strikingly predominate.⁵

The quarter itself received its first formal designation as the Portuguese Eurasian Settlement upon its legal creation around 1930 following the purchase of a series of plots of land set in motion by the two priests referred to earlier. The plan to relocate "the poorer fishing families of Portuguese descent" scattered in other parts of the city within one compact neighbourhood dates to 1926, while the first families to take up residence in the initial house structures erected there by the British administration did so in 1934. Indeed, in this year and for a short while afterwards the neighbourhood was, simultaneously, informally designated St. John's Village (Santa Maria 1994:6). The word *Eurasian* later fell out of use, leaving the current two-word epithet Portuguese Settlement. Malays today use the term *kampung portugis* (close to but not synonymous with the phrase on the signpost

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perkampongan portugis), translatable provisionally as “Portuguese village”. In former decades the epithet *kampung serani* (lit. Nazarene village) was more common, highlighting the religious element within this semi-archaic term for the Portuguese Creoles. The Settlement is thus very much a constructed and fabricated entity, originating in a socio-philanthropic act directed towards the cultural survival of a minority group.

The total population residing within the community does not exceed 1,000: Sarkissian counted 864 residents inside the Settlement in 1991 and 1,013 if two large blocks of flats just outside the neighbourhood are also included (1993:67). Estimates of the total number of Portuguese Eurasians in Malacca approximate the figure of 2,800 (Batalha 1986:32) while the total in Malaysia as a whole has been estimated by community leaders at between 15,000 and 20,000 although no one has yet undertaken a rigorous survey or census. Malacca itself has a population slightly exceeding 100,000. The neighbourhood is an obligatory tourist stop and exhibits a variety of characteristics which endanger its becoming (if it isn't already) a full-fledged human zoo. Hundreds of tourists amble through it every day, and on Saturdays enormous busloads of visitors pour into one of its neuralgic spots—Portuguese Square—for dinners accompanied with performances by two folkloric dance troupes, one Portuguese and one Malay. Need I stress that the meals are also tendered as “genuine Portuguese cuisine”? Of course, it actually is genuine Malacca-Portuguese cooking, quite remote from anything European. Tourists from Portugal or other Iberian or Hispanic backgrounds invariably halt and direct queries at the referent for Portuguese in the original phrase (genuine Portuguese cuisine)—are the dishes Malacca Portuguese, European Portuguese, or both? Are they genuinely genuine? What exactly do we mean by genuine? And so forth. I almost formalized a bet that on any Saturday during the year, more than one thousand visitors probably enter the Settlement, proposing to sit myself down at the entrance from 9:00 A.M. continuously until midnight, counting all persons entering and their mode of transport (foot, bicycle, fishing boat, *tri-shaw*, motorcycle, car, town bus, or tour bus). Residents will always perk an ear upon hearing Portuguese, Brazilian, or Spanish tourists speaking, as their own Creole is sufficiently close to

the latter three linguistic registers for them to be able to catch a number of words and phrases. In sum, even the most superficial scanning of place-names indicates that the neighbourhood is already entrenchedly *kitsch* in the sense of explicitly publicizing its Portuguese-ness to the outside world. Need we speculate about how much of this brash publicizing is internalised too? Whatever real or objective link all of this has to Portugal remains quite obscure. At any rate, this last question really does not bother me that much, for we are not necessarily searching for objective parameters. Despite the existence at a lower level (at restaurant entrances, for example) of numerous placards in English, Malay, and even Chinese characters, what is truly significant is that place nomenclature—for the neighbourhood as an entity and for the majority of its streets—is flagrantly Portuguese.

In brief, the Settlement exudes the contours of a bounded community⁶—if not in social then at least in spatial terms. Its western, northern, and southern limits blend into predominantly Chinese residential areas, while its southern flank touches the sea, where a rickety wooden pier of some few hundred metres juts out into the proximal area, and is used for access to the water for butterfly-net shrimp fishing or for securing boats and nets. Although in 1995 the total number of full-time fishermen did not exceed a few dozen, well more than another hundred practice part-time fishing either individually or in two- or three-person boat teams. At its inception in the early 1930s just under one-half (91) of the 207 household heads petitioning for residence in the neighbourhood were fishermen; the rest (116) were civil servants (Santa Maria 1982:158-61). This division is referred to retrospectively as one between *kasta altu* (rich or “high” people) and *kasta bassu* (poor or “low” people), the Creole term *kasta* obviously echoing the Portuguese *casta* (caste). The Settlement's major internal divisions are four: the Canossian Convent, which acts also as a public school for about 800 Chinese, Malay, Indian, and Eurasian female students; Portuguese Square; seven streets with residential households; and a row of ten seafront food stalls, the two at either extremes of which harbour small but well frequented terraces overlooking the sea. There are two other restaurants and three sundry shops, two of which are owned by Hokkien-speaking ethnic Chinese who speak Creole Portuguese and one by a local Kristang family. Just outside the

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neighbourhood are three sprawling flat blocks, two of which are multiethnic (predominantly Chinese and Kristang, but with a few Indian families), and one entirely Malay. Very little consistent socialization occurs between the children of residents in the two former blocks and those of the latter. There is no church inside the Settlement, although within the confines of the convent—visible to any ambler along D'Albuquerque Road—rests a medium-sized statuette of the Virgin Mary. An imponent bell lies just between the square and the convent entrance; it was offered to the community by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation

The Settlement is thus very much a constructed and fabricated entity, originating in a socio-philanthropic act directed towards the cultural survival of a minority group.

in 1984, close to the date of birth of the Square and the signing of a Twin Cities accord between Lisbon and Malacca. Curiously but somewhat understandably, residents laugh outright when referring to this accord, due to the relative inertia installed following the arrival of the bell.

Occupationally, the Settlement contains a few active and many retired civil servants, musicians, businessmen, a retired magistrate, schoolteachers, factory workers, and a considerable number of professional cooks and chefs employed in Malacca's three five-star hotels. Portuguese Eurasian cuisine (Marbeck 1998), while exhibiting borrowed elements from Malay, Chinese, and Indian cooking styles, preserves its own specific contours; although a number of dishes retain Malay, Chinese, or Tamil names, the idiosyncratic nature of their condiments, ingredients, and taste will be immediately noticeable to any non-Kristang Malaccan. Indeed, many Chinese and Indians admire the extreme amounts of chilli-peppers and spices in Malaccan Portuguese curries. Another visible marker is the T-shirts imprinted with Portuguese/Kristang themes: these have experienced

a flamboyant boom in recent years and are sold by the hundreds during the annual San Pedro festival at the end of June. Such T-shirts are not however solely commercially oriented—Settlement residents themselves wear them, and European tourists from Portugal find them extremely kinky. A headman represents the community externally and serves also as adjudicator in minor internal disputes. He is called *regedor* or *rejido* in Creole, the former word deriving from the archaic Portuguese term for the chairman of a parish council. There are a large number of committees, a small primary school, and a plethora of festivities on key Catholic calendar dates: Christmas, Easter, and the San Pedro festival.

Except for a few dozen spouses maintaining their religious denominations—predominantly Buddhists, Hindus, Sikhs, Protestants, Free Thinkers, or (extremely rarely) Muslims—virtually the entire population is Roman Catholic. Among this overwhelming majority of Catholics, if they exist at all, atheists or even agnostics are socially pretty quiet if not totally mute; the furthest one can go is simply to be discretely non-practicing or, as this in itself borders on sacrilege, at least somewhat less assiduously practicing. All residents are at least bilingual, most being trilingual or more, varying in their command or fluency of Kristang, English and Malay; many are however truly multilingual, shifting easily into three or four related Chinese dialects or Indian languages close to their mother tongues. In general (I simplify somewhat) the elderly are more fluent in Kristang and English, while the young tend to be better at English and Malay. The former of course went to British schools while the latter to Malay, Chinese, or Catholic educational institutions in the post-independence era. This does not however mean, from a strictly ethnographic point of view, that the local Creole is necessarily dying out. Families also vary in their obsessiveness with associating English (and Mandarin) with social climbing and economic success, and in their pride in or disdain of their native Creole: these attitudes obviously affect parents' choices of schools for their children. Malay is not favoured, but merely accepted as a necessary social tool of daily communication.

We must avoid nonetheless reifying the community as such. The neighbourhood's population of just under 1,000 must be interpreted only as the spatial nucleus of a larger group comprising some

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further 1,800 Portuguese Eurasians scattered in neighbourhoods or isolated dwellings in other quarters of the city of Malacca. The Portuguese Settlement is a key local, indeed national, tourist symbol and very much a kind of fetishized campground succumbing to endless, preposterous forms of external and internal stereotyping and fantasizing.

The analysis of names is an unending process—let me for reasons of space concentrate merely on one crystalline example: self-referential⁷ terms for the neighbourhood and the ethnic group. Residents still prefer today to use the Creole *Padri sa Chang* (the priests' land/the priests' terrain) stressing the role of the two religious figures linked to the legal birth of the community in 1930. However, a second designation is also employed, albeit more rarely: *bairu di portugés* (Portuguese quarter/neighbourhood of Portuguese persons). Now, a number of elderly residents called my attention to the accent on the latter word: it could not be termed *bairu di portugis* as the latter word is Malay and as such somewhat foreign in sound. Continental Portuguese tourists will refer to the neighbourhood as *o bairro português*, both of these words lying close to but not linguistically coincident with the local designation. Therefore, when residents use the second Creole term they lay stress upon an ethnic epithet used exclusively by themselves, *portugés*, meaning "member of our Portuguese Eurasian population" and implying both non-identification with Malays as well as an adopted sense of proximity to Portugal. Note that *Nazarene* or *serani* are never used as self-referents, the first being a somewhat antiquated English term and the second a neutral tag used only by outsider Malays. Are these subtle sonorous stress marks on this adjective *portugés* really so significant? The answer is—yes.

Another crucial point, still in relation to the first term, is ownership. The phrase "the priests' land" refers to (originally) Crown land, which in 1949 came under the domain of the Malacca state government (Santa Maria 1994:21-6; O'Neill 1997a). To abbreviate: residents today largely own their houses (*kaza*) but not the plots on which they are built nor the few square metres of quaint garden land (*kintal*) usually stretching around, behind, and in front of their domiciles up to the street gates. *Chang* in Creole means terrain, land, ground, or floor, and is also synonymous with residents' English word for these household plots—compound.

Symbolically, then, *Padri sa Chang* is a highly loaded phrase harking back to 1926 when the Catholic Church and the population united in obtaining legal access to the future neighbourhood's terrain. Today residents conceive of Malays as possessing definitive legal ownership of the community's plots; it would be true to say that Eurasians do not own one single millimetre of the land within the confines of the Settlement. The phrase *Padri sa Chang* thus leaps over a few decades just as it seems to jump over the Malay ethnic group, exalting Catholicism as a fundamental pillar standing (even if loosely) inside the neighbourhood's past and alongside its identificatory aspirations. What's in a phrase?⁸ Certainly, quite a lot more than purely linguistic accents, particularly in a multi-cultural and polyethnic context already surrounded by misty clouds of contradictory evaluations.

Ethnic designations for Portuguese Eurasians⁹ provide real headaches. Perhaps this resides in the nature of things. Recent debate over the English terms *Malaysian Portuguese* or *Portuguese Malaysians* provides one of the most ludicrous and amusing examples. The problem begins with distinctions between Portuguese and non-Portuguese Eurasians, the latter being hypothetically capable of referring to, variously, real or putative descendants of the Dutch, English, Burghers, Anglo-Indians, or any mixture of some or all of these. Indeed, even the shallowest genealogies of individuals with four different grandparental origins provide ample room for stressing one or another group. In 1995 tensions grew within the pan-Malaysian Eurasian Association (based in Kuala Lumpur) between the Eurasians of the capital city and the Portuguese Eurasians of Malacca—how should the Eurasians of Johor Bahru, Seremban, Penang, or even Singapore be termed if their ancestry is not clearly Portuguese? Which designation should prevail? On another more chaotic level, among the Portuguese Eurasians, in 1994-1995 opinions tended towards choosing the epithet *Malaysian Portuguese*. In contrast, *Portuguese Malaysians* would degrade the ethnic identification with Portugal, stressing common Malaysian nationality. Yet when Continental Portuguese hear the first term, they generally guffaw: "but here in Malacca they're not really Portuguese at all!" Obviously, the term throws the notions of ethnic group, nation, and people into the same pot, but this is insignificant to them. When Europeans (even

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academics) refer to the Malacca Kristang population with the term Luso-malays (Port. *lusó-malaios*) they are in fact inadvertently employing a total ethnic misnomer. Reactions of outright negation are common: “We are Malaysian citizens, but not Malays!” (*Nós sa tera Malaysia, mais ng'ka Melayu!*). For external purposes, an English and a Malay designation are necessary, as any Creole term remains internal to the group and of highly restricted linguistic range. In any case, as we have seen, the Creole phrase *Iou Kristang* has three possible meanings depending upon the context, only one of which refers to the ethnic group of Portuguese Eurasians. How can we avoid this terminological quagmire?

Eurasian itself affords another festival ground for definitional games. One of the most fanciful texts focusing on the term is C. H. Crabb's *Malaya's Eurasians—An Opinion* (1960), which makes for truly hilarious reading. Crabb went to the point of measuring the dilution of Eurasian blood via quarters, eighths, and sixteenths transmitted to grandchildren and great-grandchildren from a putatively original conjugal link between a European and an Asian. The term has an archaic note today, although elder residents will stress that prior to Malayan independence in 1957 the British administration had favoured the Malacca Portuguese with high posts in local government. Immediately following that date, the term began to connote a kind of maladroitness social cyst—Eurasians became a kind of colonial remainder harking back to various formerly dominant occupying countries. Contained within the word alone persists an entire history of this cryptic, hybrid Creole group. I can imagine Jack Goody's reaction to the following snippet from an anonymous newspaper article: “As a minority group, they [Portuguese Eurasians of Malacca] lack the facilities to form chambers of commerce and guilds in order to progress financially. They have no place to go, for there simply is no country called Eurasia” (Anon 1984).

Another quite laughable recent example of definitional manipulations is afforded by the national program for bank investment funds—*Amanah Saham Nasional*—opened to Portuguese Eurasians in 1984. “The forms should state that the person applying has a Portuguese name, was versed in the old Portuguese dialect called *Papia Crista* and practiced Portuguese customs and traditions” (Bernama 1984). Immediately, there followed a frantic onrush by Eurasians of diverse origins (Dutch,

British, Anglo-Indian, or mixed) with at least one close ascendant bearing a Portuguese name: these obviously attempted, in the name of self-interest, to enlarge drastically the ambiguous social category of Portuguese. This certainly provides us with an instance of properly instrumentalist ethnicity in Bentley's sense (1987).

Another term of interest is *nassang*, close in connotation to the Portuguese *nação* (nation/people). The phrase *Iou, outru nassang* means “I belong to another race”, and *Iou sa nassang, Kristang* “I belong to the Portuguese [Eurasian] people”. Malays or Malaysia could never serve as *nassang* for the Settlement's residents, who would explain immediately the disjunction between ethnic Malays and poly-valent Malaysian nationalities. European Portuguese culture, nationality, and ethnicity are conflated with Malaccan Portuguese Eurasian Creole identity as once-and-for-all the same thing: ethnic group, nation, culture, and race. As one resident affirmed: “*Kiora iou ta moré, iou ta bai Portugal*” (When I die, I will go to Portugal). The speaker stressed that, as he was neither Muslim, Hindu, nor Buddhist, his final resting place would be Portugal, pointing his finger to the sky. It was not totally clear whether he was referring to Portugal itself or to the Catholic cemetery half a dozen kilometres outside the city—a kind of imaginary Portugal encapsulated within a larger symbolic Rome encompassing a considerable ethnic Chinese and ethnic Indian population in Malacca. Both referents are indeed equally pertinent, Roman Catholicism harbouring all of Malacca's practitioners from any ethnic group, and Portuguese-filtered Christianity specifically embracing the Kristangs.

For the speaker, Portugal and his own local Portuguese Creole ethnic group were one and the same: whether this reality is objective or subjective, confused or misdirected, inverted or fabricated, adopted or discarded, is to my view secondary. Words such as *Eurasian* and *nassang* are therefore highly elastic, amorphous, variable and ambivalent. Reciprocal ethnic epithets are no less so as well. A pejorative term for Portuguese Eurasians exists in the Malay language—*geragau/geraguk* (little shrimp)—that stresses the fishing element as a formerly predominant neighbourhood occupation. Kristangs may in turn use the derogatory term *natibu*, deriving from the Portuguese *nativo* (native, original, indigenous). In fact, the latter is highly inaccurate in a strictly literal sense, as the real

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indigenous peoples of Malaysia (Orang Asli, etc.) populated the peninsula well before the first Sultanates with Arab and Islamic influence even appeared on the scene in the late fourteenth century. Nevertheless, the term can be used as a daily weapon of resistance (Scott 1985). As mentioned at the start, the phrase *natibu!*—*ng'ka kristang* can be heard in many contexts, and despite its not being universally employed, its usage at moments of extreme ethnic identification appears to provide a protective form of verbal and ideological vengeance.¹⁰

Skin colour is another extremely volatile sphere. Note Brøgger's comment on "...the somewhat peculiar insistence of the Portuguese Eurasians that they are whites. Although a few of them are literally as pitch black as Tamils, they regard themselves as whites in principle and explain their colour as the result of the blazing sun of their fishing grounds" (1991:202). Now, in spite of the author's imprecisions on other matters, this comment on complexion rings true. Yet nothing is really peculiar if we adopt the prevailing attitude among Kristangs concerning such gradations—almost total indifference. Between the extremes of dark (*skuru*) and white (*branku*) few other terms are in parlance, although one of the funniest ones hints at the mulatto-like tone of many Kristangs: occasionally, these will humorously invoke a Malay phrase in reference to themselves—*kopi susu* (coffee with milk). Another common sarcastic phrase serves to warn of pretensions toward whiteness: *ropianu, ku pretu*. Its Creole meaning is "[white] European, black ass". Any careful scanning of the complexity of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups in Malacca (Khoo 1982; Sandhu & Wheatley 1983) reveals the difficulties of incorporating within these already multiply interlaced classifications yet another fairly innocuous marker (skin colour). The latter seems to play a rather mute role in contrast to Malacca's generally very precise and rigid forms of local religious categorization. Theoretically, Kristangs could shift easily between two conceptual extremes of Indian darkness and European whiteness—coincident or not with this or that individual's actual tones—or merely tend towards something diluted in between, but they appear simply not to care very much either way.

Aside from tones, facial features afford a sphere in which, in simplified terms, both European and Malay traits are evident. In fact, the facial features of many Portuguese Eurasians are generally quite

similar to those of Malays, with a few very subtle differences. For example, during the month of Ramadan Kristangs are frequently approached at daytime in restaurants or coffee shops by Muslim officials, who mistakenly accuse them of breaking the rules of Islamic fasting. They explain that they are not Malay (despite facial appearances) but rather Catholic Eurasians, in some cases having to show their identity cards with proof of their residence in the Portuguese Settlement. By implication, this act demonstrates their membership in a minority group, thereby also stressing their non-Malayness.

One consummate contradiction is that the Malacca Portuguese themselves aspire to *natibu* status. In 1993 the Settlement submitted a formal request to the national Malaysian government for *bumiputera* status as "sons of the soil" or natives of the land, with full knowledge that an earlier petition by another Malacca Creole ethnic group, the Baba-Nyonyas,¹¹ had been turned down outright. By 1995 no official reply had been given, and in late 1999 the situation remains unchanged, leading the Portuguese to one or another of two probable conclusions: (a) no news is good news, or (b) the absence of a formal yes or no over a period of two years indicates that an ambiguous status as partial *bumiputeras*, or as a special case of "not fully-fledged sons of the soil but somehow native anyway", is still not a legal impossibility. Along these lines, the Kristangs seem to be disputing or at least copying the native status of their Malay compatriots. All of this appears totally ridiculous. Yet it is repeatedly commented on and debated fiercely, although not without some internal discordance among residents within the Settlement. Some argue for the positive elements in semi-*bumiputera* status, while others affirm vehemently that if formalized this would endanger their Catholic denomination and presuppose mass conversion to Islam, and that it therefore implies selling out their own ethnic group to the Malays (Fernandis 2000). At a legal and political level the matter remains entirely unresolved.

TRANSPLANTED FOLKLORE AND MOCK WEDDINGS

A glance at two local performative events will serve to drive home my major theoretical point.

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Fig. 6. Real Portuguese Eurasian wedding with groom (Edward Gregory, 22) and bride (Martha Theseira, 18) in "real" traditional Kristang attire, ca. 1925. Photo courtesy Alfonso de Silva.

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Let us adopt the vantage point of a spectator or observer (tourist or otherwise) on any Saturday night within the neighbourhood's Portuguese Square. Upon entering this enlarged patio, after ambling past half a dozen buses, underneath the entrance archway, s/he will pay 2 *ringgit* to two Malay officials, immediately after which a few soliciting youths will pounce out parroting the usual phrase: "This way please—Portuguese food!" Forty odd round stone tables occupy the floor of the square and pertain to three restaurants named *Lisbon*, *Santa Maria*, and *D'Nolasco*. They surround a semicircular stage which, from about 20:30 to 21:30, provides the scene for two interspersed performances of folk dances by a Portuguese and a Malay troupe. Among the non-local observers who dine just before or during the performances—mostly from Singapore, Taiwan, China, Japan, Australia, and Europe as well as other regions of Malaysia—are large groups of Continental Portuguese. The songs sung by the neighbourhood's own troupe are displayed as truly Portuguese, although Europeans from Portugal will be the only spectators capable of hearing one or two Malacca Creole songs interjected within their own folk heritage. The audience, therefore, is predominantly Asian, the performers (I refer here only to the Kristang troupe, not the Malay one) are Eurasian, and the texts sung and steps executed European. Apparently, this is a complex stage of cultural mirrors and mirrors-within-the-mirror within which, in simplistic terms, West and East intermingle during half an hour.¹²

The effect of these songs upon Portuguese onlookers is electric. With great glee, the latter accept invitations to participate in the last two or three numbers on stage. It is difficult not to smirk at all of this, unless you yourself go up onto the stage and dance. True, you might smirk afterwards anyway. The director of one of the local troupes has affirmed repeatedly that at the end of these performances, Portuguese spectators approach him with tears in their eyes stating that they felt overwhelmed, having come so many thousands of kilometres, never imagining that they would hear such a moving version of their own home-town tune (Port. *a canção da minha terra*). Although audibly and musically different, with dancers somewhat darker than Europeans, this Creole group seems to them *almost genuinely Portuguese*. Postmodernists might leap towards the term *palimpsest*—a descriptive marker, suggestive of the image of a reproduced mosaic or a second well-copied version of an original scenario.

There is surely a lot to be said about the composition of the troupe, the origins of the songs, the costumes, and the verses. But let me abbreviate drastically. The songs were in fact imported from Portugal around 1947 and the first troupe formed in 1953, following a visit to the Orient in 1952 by the Overseas Minister (República Portuguesa 1954) who fomented the exportation of Portuguese culture to the overseas provinces (*províncias ultramarinas*) or outlying regions of the then Fascist-oriented Portuguese State. The real geographical origins of the songs are totally irrelevant to the Malacca Kristangs, who even today devour, copy, and regurgitate any and all audio and video cassettes given or sent to them by Continental Portuguese visitors. Alternatively, those who promise to send cassettes or books without following through are supremely despised. I myself introduced the text of a famous recent song—*Samaritana*—coined just after the 1974 Portuguese Revolution, so I hope tourists will credit me for this in the future, although I cannot help regarding such inadvertent (adopted) nationalism on my part as a bit awkward. In any case, the song is highly anticlerical, if not totally sacrilegious, alluding to a love-scene between Mary Magdalene and Jesus Christ. If Kristangs—either spectators or the performers themselves, or even worse, local Catholic priests—actually understood the literal let alone figurative meanings in the Portuguese text of the song, they would probably ban it on the spot. Huizinga might well have agreed that *culture* is not merely a phantasmagoric entity to be studied to death, but also a putty to be played with. Surely, as social actors, we might credit our informants themselves with somewhat greater creative capacities for playing with and moulding their own culture in their own particular ways. Did I pollute their Creole culture or simply add to it? In a similar vein, one resident once innocently conveyed to me her desire to make a pilgrimage to the sanctuaries of "Fátima and Lourdes in Portugal"—her conceptual map of Europe obviously conflated France a few thousand kilometres southwards. After singing the song *Camacha*, one troupe leader customarily explains: "And that was a song from the village of Madeira in Portugal": in fact, Madeira is an island in the Atlantic, an autonomous region of Portugal. And so on. To Continental Portuguese, these local misperceptions are quite hilarious.

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It would be too simple to define this state of affairs simply as the invention of tradition—too many other inventions, filterings, adaptations, and new fabrications are also operative. Following both Barth (1994:352) and Bouquet (1993) I would find the term *refraction* most appropriate here. This is transplanted folklore. What is truly significant is that only recently have genuine, older and recuperated Kristang songs, verses, and dances been incorporated into these tourist-gear performances. In other words, all more traditional Creole texts appear virtually always as sidelong trailers to the imported European numbers, which nevertheless are performed in Portuguese (not Creole) costume. Even cassettes exporting the neighbourhood's folklore are predominantly in Portuguese; the first one with exclusively Kristang songs appeared only in 1995. The community's blind emulation of European folklore has muted, but not totally deafened, potential artistic forms recoverable from the group's own traditional culture (if that term is indeed permissible). A form of Portuguese identity is adopted positively, while other shadier forms of local Creole Kristang identity are gently and silently annexed later, via a kind of highly ambiguous and halting pattern of *cultural stuttering*.

Let us not lose sight of our theme though. These performances allow us to view all three forms of non-identity: non-identification with Malays (in spite of the Malay troupe's interspersed performances on the stage), an exaggerated over-identification with Portugal, and a timid non-self-identification with the troupe's and the neighbourhood's own dormant ethnic repertoire of folklore. The first continues categorical and negative, the second remains amusingly maladroit, while the third—the group's real Creole identity?—hovers consistently more curious, ambivalent, and undefined.

Another equally curious performative event is the mock wedding. Let us glance at this second theatrical enactment, which occurs annually as an integral part of the *Festa San Pedro* between 27 and 29 June, in honour of the fishermen's patron saint, Peter. Curiously, no Creole term exists for this most eminent of traditional scenes, although when interrogated, residents will refer to it with the phrase *kazamintu kristang primeru tempu* (lit. old Kristang wedding, or more liberally: traditional, archaic or ancient Kristang wedding). *Primeru tempu* itself is quite untranslatable into European Portuguese (*os primeiros tempos* suggests

a fairy-tale like period somewhere in the past); in Malacca it connotes origins or simply earlier times. These wedding scenes normally last 15 to 20 minutes and purportedly represent genuine traditional Kristang culture. Dress is not Portuguese and both the verses and music played are also in this case Creole. In addition to the scene presenter who introduces and accompanies the enactment with a commentary in English (rarely in Malay), three women and four men respectively flank the bride (*noiba*) and groom (*noibu*). These are the bride's mother (*mai di noiba*), Bridesmaid (*marakronchi femi*), and sponsor (*kumadri*), the groom's father (*pai di noibu*), Best Man (*marakronchi machu*), and respective sponsor (*kumpadri*). The scenes were revived first in 1951 according to one elderly informant, who himself today directs the enactments and plays the part of the bride's father. Apparently, these weddings still took place in the 1930s, falling out of use in the 1940s; in the sixties again they fell out of use and by 1989 (significantly, Visit Malaysia Year) they were again revived and took their present form. Although the performers themselves feel the scenes are too short, due to their packaged tourist-oriented nature, they agree that they are representing something purely Kristang and not borrowed or imported from Portugal. Indeed, can we actually postulate that anything at all has ever been "purely Kristang"? However, the wedding scene is enacted only once during the festival, whereas Portuguese folk dances filter throughout the three days of celebration, clearly dominating the musical and choreographic spheres. Clearly we are confronted with a revived form of traditional practices that faced two separate dates of rebirth in 1951 and 1989. In both cases the time span of a few decades seems to have archaized the traditional weddings. Or, to put it another way, the fact that Eurasian weddings disappeared seems to have created a propitious aesthetic landscape for the revival of a lost practice, sparked by tourism. Exactly when traditional weddings fell out of use (if they indeed did at all in the first place) and precisely why the 1951 and 1989 revivals caught on so well are beyond our reach. The most significant point is the existence at all of a general consensus that these scenes constitute real, bona fide markers and emblems of something Kristangs themselves regard as genuinely Kristang collective and individual ritual experience linked to the past.

Now, why then the adjective *mock*? These scenes are simple simulations, but also include a dimension

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of the burlesque. Kristangs themselves seem to find the enactments highly amusing and even antiquated, commenting to outsiders that they constitute a form of old-style wedding in a slightly bashful tone. A form of cultural amnesia (Bouquet 1990), not only of Portuguese but Creole culture itself, turns the scenes into something as it were unhinged and, indeed, to a large extent ungraspable. Within them Kristangs imitate themselves for purposes of external consumption, but they also consume them as spectators. Sequences of time are collapsed. No one has a clear grasp of precisely when the scenes fell out of use following the 1951 revival, let alone what kind of link (if any at all) may have existed prior to the 1930s (birth date of the neighbourhood) between real Portuguese Eurasian weddings and these apparently posterior recreations. In fact, can we call them posterior at all? Are these imitations not just as real as formerly “real” weddings? This un-graspableness leads inexorably to a highly volatile situation in which the room for invention, fabrication, and malleability is virtually infinite.

As Ernestine Friedl has shown (1964), emulation always involves some form of time lag during which specific traits become anachronistic and outdated. That which is imitated at moment B has already been dislocated since its inception elsewhere at moment A, conferring on peasants who emulate urbanites a corny or folksy character. This kind of simultaneous spatio-temporal lag obviously characterizes Kristang emulation of Portugal, but what is truly paradoxical is that the wedding scenes raise the similarly inexplicable process of another parallel time lag within Creole culture itself. Indeed, some Malay elements are visible and to be expected within the music and the forms of posture, yet note that in the scenes European Portuguese elements are entirely nonexistent. Hybrid Creole mestizo-ness may be the closest we can come to a label for this mimetic moment of ethnic auto-identification, embedded within a variegated festival but reminiscent of something of the group’s purportedly original cultural heritage. Can we indeed postulate any hypothetical original cultural heritage at all among hybrid Creole groups such as this? In Richard’s terms (1994) this could constitute a fleeting moment during which these performers—both for spectators as well as for themselves and their group—lift masks of difference in front of their actual ethnic

Kristang-ness. In relation to a generally blurry image of their ethnic group lost in the past, these turn into masks of sameness.¹³ But this moment of “pure” cultural theatre is engulfed within a predominantly Portuguese-influenced festival. In these wedding scenes, nevertheless, however brief they may be, Kristangs paint a self-portrait of their ethnic group.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

To conclude anything at this point in such a highly speculative essay would be quite misplaced, so let me merely present three key points in a telegraphic fashion for discussion and reflection.

1. **Disorder and Ambiguity.** Don’t we all ideally seek to achieve a harmonious balance between minute ethnographic description and lively theoretical *panache*? I have tried consciously to avoid both of these, preferring to place greater stress on providing a sniff of a morsel so attractive and so frustratingly elusive that our interpretive senses remain dampened. I am more interested in conveying a mood or state of mind resulting from first contact with an ethnographic atmosphere of an excessively multi-ethnic character. This appears to be a very particular ethnic group: I am less obsessed with findings than with the depiction of my own confrontation with local ironies or “how we go about observing” (Barth 1994:352). The spirit of this paper is thus most definitively Bakhtinian.¹⁴ There is little doubt that the case I have initially delineated here affords a beautiful example of a situation yelling for the development of “models of disordered systems” (Barth 1994:360). Following Leach’s almost perverse attraction to complex, polyethnic, and apparently chaotic social scenarios, I find virtually all of the varied images produced by and about Portuguese Eurasians totally fascinating, insofar as they defy all precocious attempts to arrive at objectifying, factual, or definitive characterizations. If Creole groups are likely everywhere to be people *in between*, existing eternally within amorphous limbos of chameleon-like shiftiness, then the changeable nature of that very shiftiness should indeed occupy us more consciously. How much of this revived interest in disorder, disorganization, and ambivalent dimensions resides within the nature of plural societies themselves is of course difficult to determine. Probably a great deal. Certainly, the wealth of journalistic production on Eurasians in Malacca

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leads us almost to doubt that the people to whom the category refers ever really existed at all in flesh and blood.

This could also be said of the two other Creole groups in Malacca: the Baba-Nyonyas (Tan 1988) and the Chitties (Khoo 1982; Naiker 1976), which provide the closest parallels with our Kristangs. Now, we could pose the following two questions: how much of this potpourri is the fruit of Malacca's long history as a melting-pot, and how much is the end result of Portuguese Eurasians' own individual, family, class, and ethnic actions accumulated over time? The studies by Braga-Blake & Ebert-Oehlers (1992), Chan (1969; 1972), and Daus (1989) are quite illuminating on this point. We had better not try to answer the first one yet without a mine of further materials to crunch. The second one allows for treatment at another theoretical level altogether. To concentrate on disorder—beyond the subliminal rejection of functionalist equilibrium underlying antonyms such as order or structure—implies a certain degree of apparently neurotic interest in the anomalous, the provocative, annoying exceptions, or highly particularistic local cases. Is this merely a theoretical exercise? Or does it open a new avenue towards analysing the non-statistical and non-normative disjunctions between the real and the ideal that so enthused Leach virtually everywhere he went?

With a shifting history as a suppressed minority, it is no surprise that Kristang identifications should be so ambiguous, multispatial and temporally unhitched. This is why direct ethnographic comparisons with other Malay communities are so difficult to establish (Kuchiba *et al* 1979; Massard 1983; Ong 1990; Pelletz 1993; Rogers 1993; Ramachandran 1994), although the notion of Malaysian national identity to which we alluded earlier allows us to forge links with ethnographies of Malay communities insofar as the Kristangs are also Malaysian citizens. But their language, religion, and culture remain distinct. Parallels with Creole situations elsewhere (Jackson 1990; Jolivet 1994) are much more revealing. Roux's stimulating analysis (1994) of the paradoxical identities of the minority population of Muslim *Jawis* in southern Thailand also begs minute comparison. Social ambiguity may be found to constitute an historical, sociological, and psychological disposition embedded collectively within a kind of Creole cultural schizophrenia: Kristangs continually approximate and

distance themselves from Portuguese and Malay referents in favour of the perennially disordered but solid sense of dislocated Eurasian-ness. Some wonderful examples of this dislocatedness are retrievable in the semi-fictional literary works of two authors, considered to be ethnic renegades. As Eurasians somehow assimilated into the outside Malaysian or Singaporean social worlds, Shelley (1991) and Hamilton-Shimmen (1993) have written highly sensitive and revealing chronicles of disidentification with their own individual Kristang roots. To search for clearer or more definitive terms may be simply futile.

It seems highly significant nonetheless that a number of publications by Kristangs about the Kristangs have appeared recently: see the volume by Joseph Santa Maria (1994), a sequel to the author's brother's significant 1982 monograph, and the Marbeck sisters' books, the latter (1998) being the first published work on specifically Malaccan Portuguese cooking styles. But *uncertainty* seems to reign. Are the Kristangs themselves as preoccupied as ourselves with endless terminological definitions of their identity? As Handler has cogently argued: "the concept of 'identity' is peculiar to the modern Western world.... The question, then, is this: Are there worldviews in which human personhood, human agency, and human collectivity are imagined in terms that do not presuppose identity, that is, do not presuppose the oneness, continuity, and boundedness of the person, agent, or group? According to the ethnographic record, the answer to this question is clearly yes" (1994:27, 31). The key query seems to be whether the Malacca Portuguese hold a clear notion of their own uncertainty. The accumulated series of external images produced about the Kristangs seems to have galloped well beyond their actual identity, a process suggestive of the double consciousness or "second sight" Gilroy alludes to for the case of the Negro in the American world via W. E. B. DuBois' *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). The black man lived in a "...world which yields him no true self consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (Gilroy 1995:134).

Thus we might propose a Creole identity among the Kristangs, interlaced with an ethnic identity through a descending spiral of superimposed

uncertainties. In this sense, such an identity reflects its very history of encapsulation as a kind of creolised cyst: eternally uncertain, amorphous and pliable according to the historical conjuncture. We have already noted that Ian Hancock drew attention to the mysterious origins of the *kristang* Creole language (1975); should we not therefore preserve this element of mystery in our treatment of Creole identity? Uncertainty has been a feature recently highlighted in a number of analyses of Creole contexts (Condé & Cottenet-Hage 1995; Jolivet 1994; Kerkhof 1988; Roux 1994), where the transitory and unfinished nature of Creole identification prevail. Why downgrade or minimize this element of uncertainty?

Eurasian-ness seems at first sight to be nothing more than the sum of myriad disidentifications of *Kristangs* with their adjacent ethnic groups. It would be impossible in this case to avoid Yelvington's shrieking cry for adequate treatment of "ethnic others" (1991): as Gomes da Silva has stressed, the complementarity apparently inherent in the opposition *moi/autrui* must simply be tackled head-on as a fully-fledged paradox (1989:169-73). This paper has tried to depict this social maelstrom and advance one step beyond it.

2. **Practice and Agency.** May I confess a certain former adherence to models of strategic social action derived from Pierre Bourdieu's early work on patrimony transmission and marriage alliances in Southern France (1962; 1976) and Kabylia (1977; 1980)? To a very limited extent, Jack Goody's early use of the term 'strategy' in his analysis of succession (1966) and inheritance patterns (1976) also headed in this direction, although my impression from reading his more recent *The Oriental, the Ancient, and the Primitive* recently is that the term has disappeared or become dormant. Now, let us not underscore Bourdieu's emphasis on practice,¹⁵ regardless of its relatively mute role in much of his later work (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992; Calhoun, LiPuma & Postone 1995; Mary *et al* 1992). Early on, there did seem to be a synchrony between the notions of marriage strategies, social reproduction, domination, conscious and concerted social action by individuals and families, and the role of corporal, cultural, and mental dispositions inculcated via the *habitus*. Strictly ethnic themes never arose in his writings, or at least they were never explicitly called such. We recall, however, that both in his earlier as well as more recent work, Bourdieu rarely

budges from an objectifying, overarching sociological stance that never appears to grant a real theatrical spotlight to individual actors, experiences, or mental states, despite the stress on strategies and various varieties of *habitus*. Indeed, his short but powerful 1986 essay on the biographical illusion seems to suggest that *any* individually centred anthropological or sociological life history (even such a magnificent, hermeneutical one as Catani & Mazé's *Tante Suzanne*) is tragically doomed to theoretical insignificance due to its severely limited focus on only one individual consciousness. However evocative these autobiographical texts may be in a literary sense, their myopic scope will always be circumscribed solely within the metaphorical limits of one underground metro station within a much larger train network. In Bourdieu's view this would be tantamount to absurdity: "...aussi absurde que d'essayer de rendre raison d'un trajet dans le métro sans prendre en compte la structure du réseau, c'est-à-dire la matrice des relations objectives entre les différentes stations" (1986:71). The interactionist vein, as well as the conscious social actor, seem both to have disappeared somewhere along the way.

Now, my major query is: is it possible to find a middle ground between Barth's recent stance (1993; 1994) and a notion of strategy *à la* Bourdieu embedded within a modified model based on something we might still call objectivist? Cohen has argued that the anthropological tradition has insisted "first, that the self is merely a reflex of superordinate determining forces; and second, that it is inconstant, a chameleon, adapting to the specific persons with whom it interacts and to the specific circumstances of each social interaction" (1994:23). Bentley's riposte (1991) to Yelvington's criticism (1991) of his own original statement on the "practice theory of ethnicity" (1987) says at one point practically the same thing: "The problem...is to maintain in the model the dialectical relationship between structure and agency, neither subsuming human will under endlessly reproducing structures nor treating history and human agency as nonproblematic causes shaping social life". Bentley goes on to affirm that a much richer explanation of ethnic phenomena arises from a cautious application of Bourdieu's theory of practice because "structure, culture, and agency remain in balance, so that the model remains open to reproduction and change" (1991:174). Barth's emphasis seems to shift us toward

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the latter position while Bourdieu appears to have maintained the former.

My essential question boils down to this: are the two stances ineluctably antithetical? Can we use Creole cases to forge a link between objectifiable situations—backed up by the historical dimension that both Leach and Barth are said to have shunted away—and the possibility of depicting social actors as conscious agents¹⁶ even in apparently disorganized and highly ambivalent cultural contexts? Are we talking about the same thing when we compare Bourdieu's objectivism with Barth's call, in his analysis of the Bali-Hindu village of Prabakula and the Muslim Balinese community of Pagatepan, for escaping the strait-jacket of "the externalist perspective...limited to seeing people enacting their statuses" (1993:105)? By stressing the need for more intimate access to "locally embraced, experiential levels of meaning" and the "intentions and interpretations of actors" (1993:96; 104), is he not by definition calling for a more hermeneutical incorporation of subjective dimensions of signification conferred *a posteriori* by social actors on their own anterior practices? Does this not point towards a sphere deliberately avoided by Bourdieu? Are the two authors in fact speaking about the same kind of social practice and agency?

One particularly fruitful path appears to be Bentley's suggestions of incorporating Bourdieu's concept of habitus within analyses of ethnicity. According to this author, the habitus possesses the virtue of apparently *not* tending too extremely towards either objective or subjective angles: "Using the concept of habitus the theory explains the objective grounding for perceptions and feelings of ethnic affinity and difference and also accounts for the clear but irregular association between social structure and ethnic consciousness. This suggests that, instead of focusing directly on the relation between objective context and subjective consciousness of identity, as have virtually all extant models, we ought to attend to how each of these is related to habitus, the intervening variable" (Bentley 1987:40). The practice theory of ethnicity is offered as ideally focusing on "the microprocesses by which collectivities of interest and sentiment come into existence" (1987:26) and has the virtue of skirting around postulates of maximization without ignoring the power of symbols and unexplainable sensations of belonging or a deep-seated need for rootedness. Surely,

a number of major concepts of Bourdieu's do not seem to have relevance (social reproduction, marriage strategies) but others—symbolic domination, the *habitus*, bodily *hexis*,¹⁷ and the sense of syncopated musical *tempo* in dance and ritual¹⁸—do appear to merit special attention and development with reference to ethnicity. How might this be commensurate both with Barth's classic and more recent statements on the topic (1969; 1993)?

3. **Hesitant Identifications.** Does a focus on actors' options, choices, or strategic moves preclude description and even evocation of contexts which, in and of themselves, complexify our interpretations of those actors' own halting, ambiguous, hesitations? The Malacca Portuguese really do appear to be an enormous club of Hamlets. Although Portuguese Eurasians absorb members of other ethnic groups, they also occasionally convert to other religions and, as it were, defect: to be or not to be Portuguese or Kristang; to be or not to be Malay; to be or not to be a Buddhist, Taoist, Hindu, Sikh, Protestant, or a Free Thinker? What are the surrounding parameters of one's ethnic or religious non-identity?

Educated Kristangs have an obsessive habit of hoarding newspaper clippings about themselves, the Settlement, or Portuguese Eurasians elsewhere in Malaysia. Curiously, these articles are rarely written by Eurasians at all, many appearing in English, fewer in Malay, and once in a while in Mandarin, giving them inevitably an outsider's flavour. Two informants lent me veritable archives covering four decades. One's immediate inclination is to label much of this journalistic matter as utter rubbish, but this would not make it any less intrinsically good reading. Kristangs seem to swallow up as well as resist external stereotypes without the slightest hint of annoyance or irritation. It is quite obvious that these accumulated ethnic images are representational social facts definable as such if we so choose (Rabinow 1986), but we really did not need postmodernist currents to tell us this apparently for the first time. Anyone versed in comparative literature or literary criticism took this absolutely for granted even some four decades ago. Any careful reader of *Moby-Dick* will note the hermeneutical angle inherent in the author's symbolist vein: "whale" had entirely different meanings for Ahab, Queequeg, the narrator Ishmael, Melville himself, and the rest

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of the crew on the Pequod (Melville 1851). Rhetorical strategies were nothing new to the great nineteenth century realists¹⁹ either (Auerbach 1946, 1959; Blackmur 1964; Jameson 1971), and we certainly do not need to be reminded that ethnographers have also for some time now used stylistic tropes when writing (Fernandez 1986). Melville's constant, relentless use of open-ended words amenable to multiple and contradictory significations was a deliberate novelistic act, a sign of authorial agency. Local and national Malaysian images of folk dancing Kristang figures undoubtedly cement enduring stereotypes; the creation of these images is itself a form of social action with conscious intentions and effects. Open virtually any travel brochure published anywhere in Malaysia and you will see—Malacca's Portuguese dancers will be there. *Kristang* is simply a highly elastic, hermeneutically pregnant term. There would be no point in defining such a word to oblivion. I have thus also engaged here in a conscious act of the cultural translation of an ambiguous emblem.

The internalisation or rejection of these same images and representations by Creoles themselves are highly significant acts within the formation, preservation, transformation, and negation of social identities. Note the wording of two exemplary titles: "People without a Country: Portuguese in Malacca Seek Self-identity" (Abrams 1974) and "Eurasians—An Identity in a Nonidentity" (Ganesan 1976). Amidst decades of such socially negational stereotyping in the journalistic world, it might even seem surprising that Kristangs maintain any explicitly positive sense of identity at all. When I commented on what seemed to me in my first months of fieldwork to be their religious fanaticism to a European-born priest in charge of one of the region's Catholic Churches, his response was peremptory. Paraphrased, his comment went something like this: "These Portuguese have been pampered too much for centuries by vicars from Portugal. The trouble with them is that they have *no* identity!"

I am embarking upon a few years of immersion in an objectifying exercise—perhaps later on the spirit of my writing on Malacca will have been transformed into something else. I hope not. Indeed, is this whole paper merely a long-winded first

impression? It does not seem exaggerated to affirm that these Eurasians offer a marvellous example of classic ethnic primordiality and ancestral identification (Bentley 1991:174), in this case with the Portuguese. Enormous efforts are exerted towards not being Malay in ethnic and religious terms, while in social and cultural spheres Kristangs are in fact ineluctably Malay at least to some limited degree by virtue of historical mixing (Lessa *et al* 1983). This presents no paradox: it is just a case of greater or lesser stress being placed upon a historical fact. Most Kristangs will, figuratively, agree that "some Malay blood" flows in their veins (*sangi natibu, ng póku*), despite their predominantly Portuguese ancestry. Although they admit this, why is it not emphasized today (Baxter 1998)? The contrary is true of their aspirations toward the European side of their divided Eurasian nature: how to be more Portuguese than the Portuguese might well characterize a large part of their aesthetic activity. A surprising number of Kristangs are highly talented musicians and perform as such professionally. Why? Can we search for an answer in a concept such as *ethnic habitus*?

The Kristangs offer as well a crystalline instance of transhistorical identification somewhat reminiscent of the putative links between American blacks and black Africans (Yelvington 1991:163). Some of the more sophisticated of postmodernist tenets at least heighten our sensibility to zones of inchoateness in our own theories and in the field: the anthropologist is also very much an actor, annotating (and acting) in the field and writing up (an act in itself) later at home. Can we contribute with Creole ethnographic materials towards a reformulation of agency, practice, and the role of the uncertain, hesitant, or stuttering actor?

Let us reflect again upon the meaning of the phrase *natibu!—ng'ka kristang*. As we have seen, it indicates a categorical rejection of identification with Malays; a hypothetically reciprocal term—never actually employed in local speech—something like *Kristang—tudu tempu bong* (Kristang, always good) would obviously balance the ethnic scales. This curious case of the Malacca Portuguese suggests that an ethnocentric creation of identity through the exaltation of *We* or *Us* is put into action solely as an indirect reflex of the group's original rejection of an

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Other. The curious paradox, however, lies in the historico-cultural fact that this Malay Other has accounted for some part of their heritage. By silencing this indeterminate dimension of their

Malay identity, then, Portuguese Eurasians are actually denying an integral part of themselves. Do Kristangs really know who they are, simply because they affirm so adamantly who they are not? **RC**

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Author's Note: The photographs in Figs. 2 & 3 have appeared, although in black-and-white and without captions, in our earlier publication "As Identidades Deslocadas dos Portugueses de Malaca" in *VIII Congreso de Antropología – Mesas de Trabajo I: Recreaciones Etnográficas*. Santiago de Compostela: Asociación Galega de Antropoloxía/Federación de Asociaciones de Antropología del Estado Español; 73-88.

NOTES

- 1 Carsten (1995) has paid careful attention to patterns of forgetting in a more northerly region of Malaysia, but I haven't the faintest inkling whether the cultural amnesia I am struck with among the Malacca Portuguese has anything to do with Langkawi forms of obliviousness. Theoretically, of course, we can compare related forms of disrecollection. Ethnically, however, Carsten's population is Malay; this one is not.
- 2 In fact, even among linguists no one is really sure where it came from. See Hancock's classic 1975 paper with the telling title — "Malacca Creole Portuguese: Asian, African or European?"
- 3 My earlier work (1987; 1989; 1995a) on a hamlet in the province of Trás-os-Montes in Northeast Portugal affords a total contrast. Mono-religious, linguistically uniform, culturally "peasant", and entirely denuded of any social meaning placed on anything remotely resembling ethnicity or a hypothetical ethnic group (Lusitanians?), this rural community exhibited an almost total absence of any coherent regional or even national identity. Yet they knew that they belonged clearly to Portugal. At the time I couldn't have been less interested in identity or ethnicity.
- 4 "World" is a very carefully chosen word here, much preferable to the now weathered *community* (Cohen 1985), and deliberately suggestive of Barth's and Caplan's uses of the same word in their respective treatments of Bali (1993) and Madras (1995). It would of course be hopelessly reductionist to regard this apparently minuscule spatial arena of 28 acres as concomitantly "small" in social terms: social, cultural, and mental spaces are obviously never necessarily coincident with physical space (cf. Barth 1978).
- 5 Note that in another sector of the city a formerly Portuguese neighbourhood retains today a Lusitanian street name — *Jalan Portugis*. A number of major architectural structures (the most conspicuous of which is the *Porta de Santiago "A Famosa"* visited daily by droves of tourists) attest to Portugal's primordial stature in the historical heritage of Malacca.
- 6 Fieldwork in Malacca has been carried out over three periods so far, spanning June-July 1993, October 1993-September 1994, June-July 1995, and January-March 1998 under the auspices of the Orient Foundation in Lisbon and the *Unit Perancang Ekonomi* in Kuala Lumpur. The Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica (JNICT) in Lisbon afforded partial funding for the latter visit via a sabbatical leave grant, and the Instituto Cultural de Macau kindly granted a scholarship in 1997/98 and 1998/99 for further archival research on the Portuguese Eurasians of Malacca. For their keen interest either at the beginning of the research or throughout, I would like to thank José Carlos Gomes da Silva, James L. Watson, Nena O'Neill, James C. Scott, Shaharil Talib, Maria Isabel Tomás, James W. Fernandez, John Davis, Colette Callier-Boisvert, and Abílio Lima de Carvalho. I also extend my warmest appreciation to the residents of the Portuguese Settlement in Malacca for their (Latin and Asian!) hospitality and collaboration in many of the aspects of my research.
- 7 I hesitate to define *self-referential* in the face of Cohen's *Self Consciousness* (1994), so let us simply leave it close to the common-sense meaning of "referring to us".
- 8 We cannot ignore the extreme position advocated in this vein by Bourdieu (1982); i.e. "purely" linguistic utterances being nonexistent.
- 9 Surnames invite a chapter in and of themselves: Portuguese surnames predominate followed respectively by those in English and Dutch, while first and second names are virtually always both English or both Portuguese or one of each. I will not yet comment on a monstrous archive of Parish Registers from the two main Malacca churches covering the years 1767-1995, in which we will be able to trace and follow name transmission fairly clearly. Except in rare cases of Malay spouses residing within the Settlement, Malay names are nonexistent. Humorous cases are frequent, as I learned when I was corrected by a working-class couple in my spelling of one of their daughters' names: what I began jotting down as Polly Esther was actually Polyester.
- 10 Simplistic dominant/dominated dichotomies (superior Malays/inferior Kristangs) are grossly inadequate: how would we interpret the fleeting figures of hired Malay housekeepers who can be seen discretely entering or leaving some of the wealthier Kristang households in the Settlement?
- 11 Note the quintessentially Creole nature of this group: "The Baba are Chinese of Melaka who have become so acculturated by their Malay neighbours that they speak a Malay Creole (Baba Malay) as their mother tongue (no other Chinese community in Malaysia does this), their womenfolk wear Malay dress, and they prepare a heavily Malay-influenced cuisine, which they prefer at home to eat in Malay style with fingers, rather than with the chopsticks favoured by most Chinese. But the Baba have not become Muslims, most of

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- them still following traditional Chinese religion. Also, they identify themselves as Chinese, not Malay, calling themselves either Baba or Peranakan (locally born)" (Tan 1990:9).
- 12 We are reminded here of Foucault's classic analysis of refracted mirror images in Velásquez' painting *Las Meninas* in the opening pages of *Les Mots et les Choses* (1966).
 - 13 Obviously, one of my points here is that both difference and sameness—as well as other intermediate qualities—infuse Portuguese Eurasians' complex and ambiguous self-image. It seems useless to search for clear-cut, crystalline elements or processes when we are confronted with so many undefined, confusing, or ambivalently interlaced elements.
 - 14 I have to stress that my magnetism towards chaos, ambiguity, and uncertain identifications arose quite naturally out of my 1994 fieldwork situation in Malacca and the following year back in Lisbon, prior to my reading Barth's *Balinese Worlds* (1993). A similar leaning towards disorder and Leach's Burmese days soaked a first article on the Kristangs (O'Neill 1995b). Does this happen to anthropologists universally in multi-ethnic societies?
 - 15 Apart from Mediterraneanists who will have seen Bourdieu's earlier articles in English on Algeria in Pitt-Rivers' and Peristiany's edited volumes in 1963 and 1965, the vast majority of my American colleagues rarely cite any titles other than the influential *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977). Despite the laudable efforts of Polity Press in translating a number of key works, many significant articles and even books remain available only in the original French. Sadly, one early essay considered by Europeanists to be one of the most penetrating analyses anywhere of European rural communities (Bourdieu 1962) has never been translated either *in toto* or in part. So much for piecemeal academic cultural translation, from both the translators' and the readers' skewed points of view.
 - 16 Note Cohen's comment on "marital roles as *frameworks* which the individuals themselves substantiate and negotiate through their own agency and creativity" (1994:90). Why however, along these lines, does the same author dispense with Giddens' theory of agency so hastily (1994:21-22)?
 - 17 Why not forge a link between Bourdieu's focus on forms of habitus inscribed in the body and more literary formulations such as Bakhtin's image of the "grotesque body" (1965:303-436)?
 - 18 Note Barth's not so distant "musical" call for anthropologists to "become attuned to the attunement of others" (1994:357).
 - 19 What indeed does Barth mean by the ethnographer's "giving a realistic account" (1994:354-355)? Does he invoke merely an honest portrayal, or a classic literary style?

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SOMMARIO DI TUTTI I REGNI,

Città, & popoli orientali, con li traffichi & mercantie, che iui si trouano, cominciando dal mar Rosso fino alli popoli della China.

Tradotto dalla lingua Porthogese nella Italiana.



L'ASIA si diuide dall'Africa dal mar mediterraneo, oue è la città di Alessandria, & dal fiume Nilo, & il mare Oceano la circonda verso mezzo di, & leuante.

Del fiume Nilo.

Il fiume Nilo ha li suoi fonti non troppo lontani dal capo di Buona speranza, & se ne viene per il paese de gli Abissini, non molto grande, & come piu cammina piu li va ingrossando dalli fiumi del detto paese, cōciòsia cosa che tutti vi corrano dētro, et niuno vi è che sbocchi nel mar Rosso, va poi di lungo in Egitto, & entra con molte bocche nel mar mediterraneo. Comincia à crescere à mezzo Giugno per xl. giorni, & per altritanti discresce. & tutti gli habitanti appresso di quello nel tempo della crescentia si riducono à luoghi alti, & finito di calare ritornano alle sue litanze, & allhora feminano. Et li popoli d'Egitto si tengono molto obligati à gli Abissini, per cagion di questo fiume, il qual gli da il viuere, & fanno loro grandissimo honore, & carezze, quando li veggono passare per il lor paese.

B *Delli popoli Abissini, che sono gli Ethiopi, & de loro costumi, & loro mercantie, che ui si portano, & cauano.*

Li popoli Abissini confinano dalla bāda verso il mar Rosso con alcuni popoli passati di Arabia in quella parte, li Re de quali sono Mori: & da vn'altra banda col mare Oceano verso il capo di Guardafuni, drieto alla costa, fino à Cefala, ma non arriuanò al mare, per molte miglia: dalla parte dell'Africa confinano con deserti grandissimi, sono Christiani, et il paese loro è molto grande, & le genti parte sono date all'armi, & mercantia, & parte coltutano la terra, & sonui assai religiosi, la terra è abbondante d'ogni sorte di vettouaglie, & di oro in gran copia, non hanno porto alcuno, se non Ercoco nel mar Rosso. La maggior parte delli lor traffichi li fanno nella città di Zeila, & Barbora, sopra il mare, & in alcuni altri porti dētro dallo stretto del mar Rosso, che sono de popoli Arabi iui habitati. q̄sti veramēte sono gli Ethiopi detti da gli antichi. hanno i lor capelli ricci, & molti di loro sono segnati nella faccia con fuoco. hanno il loro imperatore, detto il Prete Ianni, & vno patriarcha. sonui molti di loro frati, & preti. vāno spesso i peregrinaggio in Gierusalem. sono riputati huomini di verità, leali. Di questi tali molte fiata di schiaui che vengo no fatti in guerra, diuentano signori grandi, & Re, & principalmente in Bengala, Adem, Xaes, Fartaque, Delaqua, & Suaquem. le mercantie che si portano nella terra de gli Abissini, sono ogni sorte di panni di seta di colori, odori, matamugi, che son paternostri d'India di minera, pāni bāss di Cambaia, paternostri, d'ogni sorte di vetro, & cose cristalline, pāni biāchi, dattili, posti in fardi, & ambian, cioè oppio. Le mercantie che li cauano all'incontro, sono oro, auorio, & alcuni cauali piccoli, & schiaui & infinite vettouaglie.

Li Abissini
nō hāno al
tro porto
che Ercoco

Del mar Rosso, & prouincie, & isole, che sopra quello confinano.

Questo colfo di mare ha molti nomi, si chiama il fino Arabico p cōfinar cō l'Arabia, da vna bāda, & dall'altra: mar Rosso, pche nelle sue ripe verso il Suez, si vede la terra rosseggiare, & anchora da gli antichi fu chiamato Erithreo, cioè rosso. Si nomina lo stretto di Mecca, pche qui dētro vi è la città di Mecca, doue giace il corpo di Macometto, al quale vāno i peregrinaggio tutti li Mori.

Mar rosso
detto dalla
terra rossa.

Dalle porte dello stretto di questo mare, fino all'ultimo luogo detto Suez, vi sono diuerse prouincie, cioè da leuante l'Arabia deserta, & Petrea. dalla banda de gli Abissini, alcuni altri popoli detti Arabi al presente, appresso le isole di Delaqua, & fino alla Mecca, dalla quale fino al Toro è la Arabia deserta, che confina verso il mar mediterraneo & verso l'Egitto.

La maggior parte delle dette prouincie d'Arabia deserta & Petrea sono dishabitate & senza frutto, & di poca acqua. Le isole popolate sono Camaram, Delaqua, Suaquem. In questo mare vi sono molti scogli, secche, & pietre sotto acqua, & non si può nauigare se non di giorno, & in ciascuno luogo si può forgere. Dalle porte del mar Rosso fino à Camaram, è il miglior nauigare, & dal Zidem al Tor, il peggiore, & dal Tor, fino al Suez, vi vanno se non barche piccole, & anchora di giorno, di maniera che il tutto è tristo, et pieno di secche sotto acqua che non si veggono. Soffiano in q̄sto colfo v̄ti così caldi, che ciascun huomo, o animale che muoia, gli seccano così presto, che nō sentono putrefat tione alcuna, & li portano poi nell'Europa questi talr corpi,

Camaram,
Delaqua
Suaquem.

Viaggi.

ss iij

& gli

O Sudeste Asiático na *Suma Oriental* de Tomé Pires

RUI MANUEL LOUREIRO*



Carta ptolomaica, no *Liber chronicarum* de Hartmann Schedel (Nuremberga, 1493).

Tomé Pires celebrou-se como primeiro embaixador português enviado à China e também como autor da *Suma Oriental*, o primeiro grande tratado de geografia asiática preparado por um europeu depois do descobrimento do caminho marítimo para a Índia.¹ Segundo informam as fontes quincentistas, ele era filho do boticário de el-rei D. João II [r.1481-1495]. E, embora fosse de condição modesta, teria sido educado no ambiente da corte lusitana, já que um dos seus amigos de infância foi Lopo Soares de Albergaria [c.1460-?], importante fidalgo português que mais tarde governaria o Estado da Índia.² O próprio Pires, entretanto, numa confirmação implícita desta hipótese, faz referência no seu tratado geográfico às “delicadezas” em que se criara “viciosamente”.³

O nosso homem decidiu enveredar pela carreira paterna, pois um cronista seu contemporâneo afirma que ele desempenhou funções de boticário de membros da família real,⁴ servindo nomeadamente

o futuro D. João III [r.1521-1557], logo depois do seu nascimento em 1502.⁵ É provável que Tomé Pires tivesse começado a exercer o seu mester pouco antes de 1490, pois afirmaria mais tarde ter sido boticário uns bons vinte anos antes de embarcar para a Índia em 1511.⁶ De qualquer forma, a data do seu nascimento – talvez em Lisboa, onde residiam alguns dos seus familiares, talvez em Leiria, se aceitarmos o testemunho mais tardio, e mais controverso, do viajante e aventureiro Fernão Mendes Pinto [c.1514-1583]⁷ – seria sempre anterior a 1470, uma vez que dificilmente estaria habilitado para o exercício de um cargo tão delicado antes dos vinte e poucos anos.

A primeira fase da vida de Tomé Pires, anterior à partida para o Oriente, permanece na maior obscuridade, pois sobre ela nada mais se consegue apurar. Terá viajado para fora de Portugal? Terá feito estudos académicos formais? Relativamente à primeira questão, indícios documentais dispersos sugerem que o nosso boticário poderia ter visitado alguns portos italianos, a cidade de Azamor, no litoral marroquino, e talvez mesmo a ilha de Rodes, na parte oriental do Mediterrâneo. Contudo nenhum desses indícios é suficientemente concludente. Quanto a uma eventual formação escolar, tão pouco existem dados fidedignos. A opinião dos cronistas portugueses do século XVI é

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Carta do Estreito da Sunda de Lucas Janszoon Waghenar (1602).

ambígua. Gaspar Correia [?-c.1563] escreve que Pires era “homem muito prudente e muito curioso de saber toda as coisas da Índia”.⁸ Fernão Lopes de Castanheda [?-1559] repete que ele era “homem discreto e curioso”.⁹ E João de Barros [c.1496-1570], apesar de não esquecer que o boticário “não era homem de tanta qualidade”, reafirma a sua curiosidade de “inquirir e saber as coisas” e o seu “espírito vivo para tudo”, sublinhando ainda uma “natural discrição com letras”.¹⁰

À falta de provas concretas, podemos talvez concluir que Tomé Pires, muito embora não tivesse frequentado estudos superiores, teve ocasião de efectuar “estendidas leituras”, como ele próprio afirma, sobretudo em tempos de “benesse”, ou seja, em momentos de lazer.¹¹ O seu valioso tratado de geografia oriental, com efeito, apresenta uns poucos exemplos de intertextualidade, nomeadamente com referências a Aristóteles [384-322 a.C.], o “mestre da filosofia”, a “sumas” dedicadas às “coisas do mar Mediterrâneo”, e a antigos “tratados” de geografia, como a “cosmo[logia]

de “frade Anselmo” da Lombardia [século XIII] ou a obra de Ptolomeu [c.100-c.178].¹² Todas estas referências, contudo, são bastante vagas e podem não corresponder necessariamente a leituras concretas. Mas é provável que, no ambiente cortesão em que foi criado e em que trabalhou durante a primeira fase da sua vida, Pires tivesse tido oportunidade de consultar obras disponíveis na biblioteca régia. As outras referências livrescas contidas na *Suma Oriental*, entretanto, dizem respeito a algumas secções do Antigo Testamento, relacionadas nomeadamente com as façanhas dos soberanos persas.¹³

Entretanto, paralelamente a eventuais estudos humanísticos, é indubitável que Tomé Pires adquiriu profunda competência no ofício de boticário, tendo estes méritos profissionais justificado uma nomeação régia para “feitor das drogarias” na Índia, com um vencimento anual de “trinta mil reais”, acrescidos de “vinte quintais de drogarias”.¹⁴ Contudo, a sua aprendizagem profissional deve ter tido um carácter eminentemente prático, já que nunca refere autoridades



O porto de Banten, na ilha de Java, numa gravura de finais do século XVI.

livrescas quando, nos seus escritos, trata de drogas e de especiarias, assumindo antes, e de forma sistemática, uma postura empírica. O cargo atribuído ao boticário régio era importante, pois o seu detentor devia supervisionar todo o processo de escolha, aquisição e acondicionamento das drogas asiáticas enviadas para Portugal nos navios da carreira da Índia, de modo a evitar o embarque de mercadorias de fraca qualidade. Pouco antes da chegada de Tomé Pires ao litoral do Indostão, os navios portugueses tinham carregado “uma soma d’erva lombrigueira” de valor duvidoso, assim como “uma soma de ruibarbo podre” comprado em Malaca.¹⁵ A nomeação de um feitor para as drogarias visava precisamente evitar situações deste tipo, procurando rentabilizar ainda mais a intervenção portuguesa nos tráficos orientais. Entretanto, o feitor, uma vez estacionado na Ásia, poderia também responder a encomendas feitas directamente a partir de Portugal.

A partida de Tomé Pires rumo ao Oriente teve lugar em 1511, pois sabe-se que viajou na armada

de D. Garcia de Noronha [?-1540], que nesse mesmo ano largou de Lisboa com seis naus.¹⁶ A sua primeira escala em terras asiáticas parece ter sido Cananor,¹⁷ onde logo deu início ao desempenho das funções para que fora nomeado. Mas, logo depois, Afonso de Albuquerque [c.1462-1515], governador do então emergente Estado Português da Índia, achando-o “homem solícito”, resolveu despachá-lo para Malaca, a fim de tirar “inquirição” de numerosas irregularidades que estavam a ser cometidas naquela praça luso-malaia pelos funcionários da coroa lusitana.¹⁸ Em Julho de 1512 o nosso boticário desembarcava na estratégica cidade luso-malaia, que havia sido conquistada por forças portuguesas apenas um ano antes. E nos anos seguintes ali desempenharia diversas funções relacionadas com o tráfico de drogas e de especiarias, adquirindo uma enorme prática da terra e juntando considerável fortuna. Em carta escrita em finais de 1512 a um dos seus irmãos, menos de seis meses depois de chegar a Malaca, Pires dizia-se “rico mais



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Página anterior: Mapa do Sudeste Asiático de origem portuguesa, publicado no *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* de Abraham Ortelius (Antuérpia, 1570).

do que cuidais”,¹⁹ lamentando embora a aspereza do clima e a dureza das condições de vida.²⁰

Tanto quanto se consegue apurar, a estada em Malaca apenas terá sido interrompida por uma expedição marítima realizada entre Março e Junho de 1513, na qual serviu de feitor de uma armada portuguesa que contactou numerosos portos javanese.²¹ Diversas passagens da *Suma Oriental* testemunham visitas efectuadas a Sunda Calapa, a Demak, a Japara, a Sidayu, a Tuban, a Gresik (Agracim) e a outros potentados da costa setentrional da ilha de Java. É provável que, nesta ou noutra viagem, também tivesse visitado algumas regiões litorâneas da ilha de Samatra e, nomeadamente, Pasei (Pacém), Aru, Rupert, Kampar, Kualatungkal (Tuncal), Jambi e Barus.²² Numa determinada passagem do seu tratado geográfico, Pires, referindo-se à ilha de Samatra, afirma mesmo explicitamente “eu fui já por detrás desta ilha obra de 15 léguas”.²³ Entretanto, uma outra secção do tratado geográfico do nosso boticário parece dar a entender um conhecimento vivencial do Pegú, a “terra mais farta que todas as que temos vistas e sabidas”.²⁴ As relações regulares dos portugueses com o porto de Martabão, no Pegú, iniciaram-se logo em 1512. Assim, não é de todo impossível que Pires tivesse participado numa das expedições que regularmente se dirigiam àquela região da costa ocidental da Indochina.²⁵

Em Janeiro de 1515, após uma residência de dois anos e meio em Malaca, Tomé Pires empreendeu o regresso à Índia. É provável que o boticário português, na posse de uma considerável fortuna, projectasse voltar para Portugal no mais curto lapso de tempo. No fim de contas, em cartas dirigidas à família, ele falara com saudade do “grão prazer” que era “estar cada um onde nasceu e falam todos português”, questionando mesmo se as riquezas acumuladas compensariam tantos trabalhos e perigos passados.²⁶ Nada mais se consegue apurar sobre as movimentações do nosso homem até finais de 1515. Mas os seus eventuais planos de regresso à Europa seriam rapidamente postos de parte, pois em Setembro deste ano chegava ao litoral indiano o novo governador do Estado da Índia, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, que nas suas instruções trazia o encargo de despachar uma armada sob o comando de Fernão Peres de Andrade [c.1490-1552] para, entre outros assuntos urgentes, “assentar trato e amizade na China”.²⁷ Esta expedição deveria transportar um embaixador, que seria desembarcado em Cantão, para a partir daí tentar entrar

em contacto com os centros de poder chineses, estabelecendo as bases de um relacionamento pacífico, e mutuamente proveitoso, com os portugueses.²⁸

O cargo de embaixador veio a ser atribuído ao nosso Tomé Pires, graças a um curioso conjunto de circunstâncias. Em primeiro lugar, era pessoa de muito crédito, que, para além da dignidade que lhe era conferida pela idade, juntara uma considerável fortuna durante escassos anos de residência no Oriente. Ao mesmo tempo, era homem de baixa condição, facilmente sacrificável aos interesses do Estado, caso o relacionamento com os chineses não se desenvolvesse da forma prevista. Depois, em virtude das suas inegáveis habilitações profissionais, o boticário seria o homem mais apropriado para reconhecer as “muytas drogas” que se dizia existirem no Celeste Império.²⁹ Em quarto lugar, o interesse dos portugueses pela Ásia Oriental era basicamente mercantil, de modo que um experiente feitor das drogarias poderia avaliar devidamente todas as potencialidades de um futuro relacionamento com o mundo chinês. Por último, Tomé Pires, como foi antes referido, era amigo pessoal de Lopo Soares de Albergaria, o novo governador, com quem tivera oportunidade de conviver durante os anos de juventude, circunstância que teria contribuído sobremaneira para a sua nomeação.

Em finais de Abril de 1516, após alguns meses de preparativos, Fernão Peres de Andrade largava do litoral do Indostão com rumo a Malaca, levando a bordo o boticário e feitor, temporariamente promovido à dignidade de embaixador de el-rei de Portugal ao Celeste Império.³⁰ Tomé Pires, como é bem sabido, não regressaria desta viagem, pois, na sequência do fracasso desta primeira missão diplomática portuguesa a Pequim, seria impedido pelas autoridades chinesas de abandonar o território imperial e viria a falecer em data incerta, talvez por volta de 1527, algures na província de Guangdong.³¹ Contudo, antes de partir para esta jornada sem regresso, Tomé Pires, adivinhando talvez o destino incerto que lhe estava reservado, deixava para trás o precioso manuscrito da sua *Suma Oriental*, extenso e valioso compêndio de matérias asiáticas, laboriosamente composto ao longo dos três anos anteriores, sobretudo durante a estada em Malaca.³²

A *Suma Oriental* é, sem qualquer dúvida, um dos mais importantes e impressionantes tratados geográficos portugueses do século XVI, pela vastidão da área abrangida, pela profundidade e variedade das

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notícias que contém, pela sua desmesurada extensão, enfim, pela precocidade da sua elaboração. Tomé Pires, no curto espaço de pouco mais de três anos, no meio de outros, e intensos, afazeres, conseguiu reunir uma enorme massa de informações sobre a totalidade da Ásia marítima, desde o Mar Vermelho até à China, ao Japão e às mais remotas ilhas da Insulíndia. Muitas das diferentes secções da sua obra mantiveram uma completa actualidade durante décadas, ou mesmo séculos, não só porque o boticário lusitano fez uso de uma singular isenção e de um particular rigor na respectiva composição, mas também porque muitas das matérias tratadas na *Suma Oriental* constituíam absoluta novidade em termos de conhecimentos geográficos europeus.³³ Entretanto, um dos traços mais salientes da obra de Pires é o facto de, aparentemente, ter sido construída sem apoio de quaisquer antecedentes literários europeus.

Muitas regiões orientais haviam sido visitadas com alguma demora por viajantes europeus mais empreendedores nos séculos imediatamente anteriores à abertura, pelos portugueses, da rota do Cabo. E vários desses andarilhos tinham mesmo produzido curiosas relações de viagem, algumas das quais conheceram uma divulgação relativamente ampla, chegando inclusivamente a Portugal. O exemplo óbvio seria o conhecidíssimo, mas já então antiquado, *Livro das Maravilhas* de Marco Polo [c.1254-1323], redigido por volta de 1292 e logo depois circulado em sucessivas cópias manuscritas, que foi pela primeira vez impresso em versão portuguesa em Lisboa em 1502, na colectânea intitulada *Marco Paulo*, da responsabilidade de Valentim Fernandes [c.1450-1519]. Mas também se poderiam referir os mais recentes relatos de Nicolo de' Conti [c.1395-1469] e de Ludovico di Varthema [c.1470-c.1515], dois viajantes italianos que, com quase um século de intervalo, atingiram, nas suas peregrinações asiáticas, as ilhas mais ocidentais da Indonésia. O relato do primeiro, descrevendo extensas viagens realizadas entre 1419 e 1444, fora originalmente recolhido pelo humanista italiano Poggio Bracciolini [1380-1459], numa obra conhecida como *India recognita*, que foi primeiro impressa em Cremona em 1492. Uma versão portuguesa figurava igualmente no já citado *Marco Paulo* de Valentim Fernandes. O relato do segundo, que apresentava a narrativa autobiográfica de viagens

efectuadas na primeira década do século XVI, fora publicado pela primeira vez em Roma em 1510.³⁴

Na *Suma Oriental*, porém, não se encontra nenhum vestígio significativo destes ou de outros tratados europeus sobre matérias asiáticas, com excepção, talvez, de referências indirectas ao relato das imaginárias viagens de John de Mandeville, como adiante se sublinhará. Tomé Pires, curiosamente, escreve o seu compêndio sem antecedentes literários palpáveis, podendo, sem qualquer hesitação, ser considerado como um verdadeiro escritor de fronteira. Em primeiro lugar, porque trabalhava sobretudo a partir de Malaca, então o mais oriental dos entrepostos orientais ocupados pelos portugueses, base avançada do intenso movimento de exploração geográfica da Ásia que estava a ser protagonizado por Portugal. Em segundo lugar, porque, ao recolher abundantes notícias sobre muitas regiões asiáticas anteriormente mal conhecidas, ou mesmo totalmente desconhecidas, na Europa, alargava desmesuradamente os horizontes do saber geográfico ocidental. E em terceiro lugar porque adoptava, no seu processo de composição, métodos verdadeiramente inovadores, baseados sobretudo em critérios experienciais. Com efeito, o boticário português, logo na introdução ao seu tratado, fazia questão de se distanciar daqueles que escreviam “mais por novas que por prática”, sublinhando a seu próprio respeito que “nós cá tudo passamos, experimentamos e vemos”. Todavia, quando fora de todo em todo impossível efectuar observações em primeira mão, Pires tivera “a diligência de inquirir” junto de testemunhas fidedignas.³⁵

É difícil concluir se a ideia de compor um tratado de geografia oriental partiu do próprio Tomé Pires ou se resultou de uma encomenda expressa formulada por Afonso de Albuquerque antes da partida do boticário da Índia para Malaca. O célebre governador estava então empenhado na consolidação da presença portuguesa na Ásia, através da construção de uma vasta rede de feitorias e fortalezas, complementadas por uma política de aproximação a determinadas potências asiáticas. Este processo de contornos vagamente imperiais não podia dispensar uma ampla e rigorosa recolha de informações sobre as áreas que directa ou indirectamente interessavam aos portugueses. Ora é esse precisamente o objectivo da *Suma Oriental*: apresentar um alargado e circunstanciado panorama de todas as regiões da Ásia marítima que poderiam

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interessar à coroa portuguesa, em termos de uma intervenção lucrativa no comércio asiático.

O comércio e a mercadoria, aliás, são os fundamentos primeiros do tratado de Tomé Pires, que escreve explicitamente que o “trato de mercadoria é tão necessário que sem ele não se susteria o mundo” e que “este é o que enobrece os reinos, que faz grandes as gentes e nobilita as cidades, e o que faz a guerra e a paz”.³⁶ A singela intenção do tratado do boticário, assim, apresenta-se como mera descrição das terras que mantêm ligações mercantis com Malaca.³⁷ Todas as restantes regiões, que “não fazem a bem de mercadoria”,³⁸ são sistematicamente marginalizadas no texto da *Suma Oriental*, por não serem tão “notórias”.³⁹ Este programa, enunciado desde as primeiras linhas da obra, é efectivamente cumprido, pois Tomé Pires, de forma sistemática, e começando no Mar Vermelho, vai descrevendo sucessivamente todo a Ásia marítima, destacando em cada região os principais portos, as mercadorias que ali são intercambiadas, os preços cobrados, as moedas, pesos e medidas utilizadas, os direitos alfandegários vigentes, os câmbios praticados, as rotas seguidas e os calendários de viagem praticados. Paralelamente, contudo, a *Suma Oriental* é sobremaneira enriquecida com outros dados directa ou indirectamente relacionadas com as realidades mercantis. Assim, a propósito de numerosas regiões abordadas, o nosso boticário fornece muitas informações complementares, nomeadamente sobre a natureza dos respectivos sistemas políticos, as crenças da maioria da população, as potencialidades bélicas, as embarcações disponíveis localmente, a existência e estatuto de comunidades estrangeiras, bem como determinadas particularidades linguísticas. Estes dados, na maioria dos casos, tinham imediata utilidade para o projecto imperial português, já que se podiam revelar decisivos na escolha das formas de aproximação e de relacionamento a adoptar a respeito de determinadas regiões asiáticas menos conhecidas.

O conteúdo integral da *Suma Oriental* de Tomé Pires, que na época da sua elaboração permaneceu inédita e conheceu uma circulação bastante reduzida, é hoje conhecido através de uma única cópia quinhentista do manuscrito original, o qual teria sido enviado para Lisboa, endereçado a el-rei D. Manuel I [r.1495-1521], antes da partida do boticário e embaixador para a China em 1516.⁴⁰ A organização da obra, tal como aparece neste manuscrito, que se

conserva hoje em Paris, pode ser esquematizada da seguinte forma:

1. Livro primeiro – do Egipto a Cambaia, incluindo secções sobre as Arábias, o Egipto, a Pérsia, Cambaia, o Canará, Narsinga e o Malabar.
2. Livro segundo – de Cambaia a Goa, incluindo secções sobre o Decão e Goa.
3. Livro terceiro – de Bengala à Indochina, incluindo secções sobre Bengala, Arracão, o Pegú, o Sião, o Bramá, o Camboja, o Champá e a Cochinchina.
4. Livro quarto – da China ao Bornéu e a Lução, incluindo secções sobre a China, Java, as ilhas da Sunda Menor, as ilhas de Maluco, o Ceilão, os Léquiios, o Japão, o Bornéu, os Luções e Samatra.
5. Livro quinto, com uma única secção dedicada a Malaca.

Uma análise cuidada deste manuscrito permite concluir que na altura da respectiva encadernação, que ocorreu em data incerta, alguns fólhos foram trocados de lugar, pelo que a ordenação geográfica das matérias não é absolutamente coerente. Esta circunstância terá de ser tomada em consideração aquando duma eventual, e futura, edição crítica. Mas procedendo a uma reordenação de matérias verifica-se que, embora toda a Ásia marítima, desde o Mar Vermelho até ao Japão e às ilhas das Especiarias seja abrangida, nem todas as regiões asiáticas merecem idêntico tratamento, nem em termos de extensão, nem em termos de profundidade.

O manuscrito de Paris contém 60 fólhos grandes, escritos de ambos os lados numa caligrafia regular, aproximadamente com a seguinte distribuição de conteúdos:

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. Ásia Ocidental
[Egipto, Arábia e Pérsia] | 6 fólhos |
| 2. Ásia do Sul
[Índia e Ceilão] | 11 fólhos |
| 3. Ásia Oriental
[China, Léquiios e Japão] | 3 fólhos |
| 4.1 Ásia do Sudeste continental | 4 fólhos |
| 4.2 Ásia do Sudeste insular | 36 fólhos |

Constata-se, assim, que o núcleo informativo essencial da *Suma Oriental*, em termos quantitativos, respeita ao Sudeste Asiático, ocupando um espaço duas vezes superior ao de todas as restantes regiões asiáticas consideradas em conjunto. Esta excepcional importância atribuída por Tomé Pires àquela parte da Ásia, e sobretudo à Insulíndia, tem várias explicações.

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Por um lado, os portugueses tinham vindo para o Oriente sobretudo por razões comerciais, em demanda das mais raras e valiosas drogas e especiarias. Ora muitos dos produtos naturais que estavam na origem dessas cobiçadas mercadorias eram precisamente oriundos do Sudeste Asiático e mormente do grande arquipélago indonésio, não se encontrando alguns deles (como o craveiro ou a moscadeira, por exemplo) em nenhuma outra parte do mundo. Por outro lado, a parte insular da Ásia que se estendia de Samatra para leste, compreendendo mais de três mil ilhas, era, para os europeus da época, uma das mais misteriosas e menos bem conhecidas. Bastará lembrar que, poucos anos antes da chegada dos portugueses à Índia, o genovês Cristóvão Colombo [1451-1506] conseguira, com algum sucesso, difundir um pouco por toda a Europa a noção de que as suas viagens de exploração marítima, na realidade efectuadas ao largo da costa oriental da América central, tinham atingido a Aurea Quersoneso dos geógrafos clássicos, tradicionalmente identificada com a Península Malaia.⁴¹ Enfim, por outro lado ainda, e tal como já foi referido, Tomé Pires preparou o seu tratado geográfico em Malaca, que era então o ponto de confluência de vastíssimas redes mercantis que cruzavam toda a Insulíndia. Nenhum outro local no mundo seria mais indicado para proceder a um levantamento geográfico exaustivo das partes mais orientais da Ásia, pois, como o próprio Tomé Pires afirmava, Malaca “é cidade que foi feita para a mercadoria, mais apta que todas as do mundo, cabo de monções, princípio doutras”.⁴² E numa outra passagem, aludindo ao cosmopolitismo da importante cidade luso-malaia, escrevia que no “porto de Malaca muitas vezes se acharam nele oitenta e quatro linguagens, cada uma por si”.⁴³

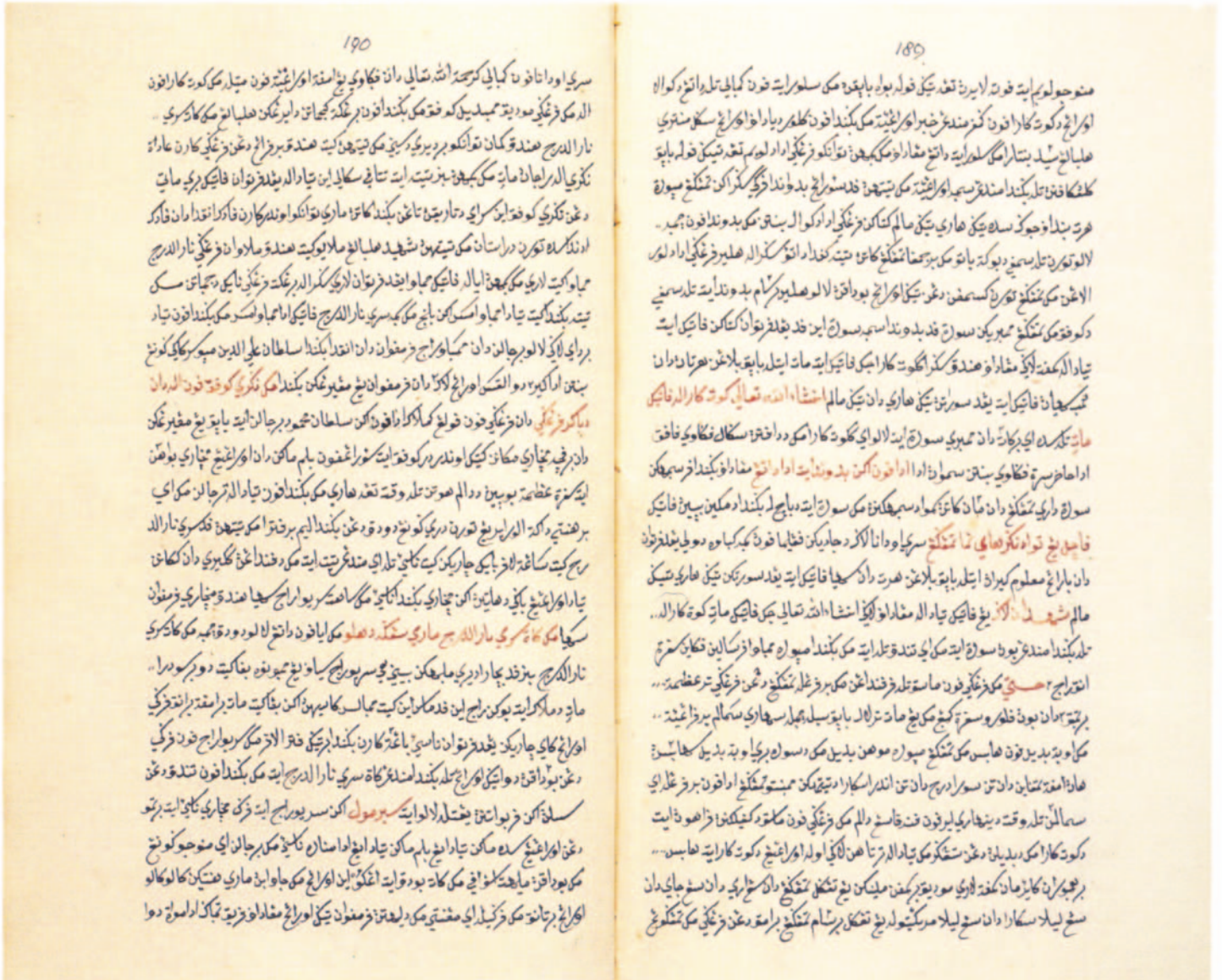
Entretanto, talvez valha a pena salientar que o núcleo primordial da obra, em função do qual se ordenam as matérias referentes ao Sudeste Asiático, parece ser a descrição de Malaca, independentemente da sua localização actual na parte final do manuscrito de Paris.⁴⁴ Com efeito, referências dispersas espalhadas ao longo desta secção da obra do boticário português remetem sempre para mais tarde a descrição de outras regiões asiáticas que mantinham relações mercantis com este porto luso-malaio. E neste contexto pode ser lembrado que, em Novembro de 1512, escassos seis meses depois de chegar ao Sudeste Asiático, Tomé Pires tinha já preparado um substancial relatório sobre as

“coisas de Malaca”, destinado a “el-Rei nosso senhor”, que contava enviar para Lisboa logo que possível.⁴⁵ Tratar-se-ia certamente de um primeiro esboço do seu inovador tratado geográfico, centrado basicamente na descrição de Malaca e da Insulíndia. A ideia de transformar a *Suma Oriental* num compêndio global de geografia asiática só surgiria depois, à medida que as informações disponíveis se iam acumulando. Em abono desta ideia, pode referir-se a circunstância de muitas das notícias referentes às regiões asiáticas que se estendiam desde o Mar Vermelho até ao cabo de Comorim datarem da segunda metade de 1513.⁴⁶

No fim de contas, convém não esquecer o lugar central ocupado por Malaca no contexto dos grandes tráficos marítimos asiáticos, que fazia com que ali aportassem regularmente embarcações oriundas de todos os grandes portos orientais, desde a costa ocidental de África até ao litoral do longínquo Celeste Império. Nas palavras do próprio Tomé Pires, em Malaca tratavam “mouros do Cairo, de Meca, d’Ádem, abexins, [gente] de Quíloa, de Melinde, d’Ormuz, pársios, turcos, turquimães, arménios cristãos, guzerates, [gente] de Chaul, [de] Dabul, de Goa, do reino de Daquéim, malabares e quelins, mercadores d’Orixá, de Ceilão, Bengala, d’Arração, pegús, siames, [gente] de Quedá, malaios, [gente] de Pão, Patane, Camboja, Champar, Cauchinchina, da China, léquios, bornéus, luções, [gente de] Tanjanpura, Lave, Banca, Linga [...], Maluco, Banda, Bima, Timor, Madura, Java, Sunda, Palimbão, Jambi, Tuncal, Andragiri, Capo [?], Campar, Menencabo, Siak, Rupert, Arqua [?], d’Aru, Bata [...], Pacém, Pedir [e Mal]diva”.⁴⁷ Um alto funcionário da feitoria portuguesa, desde que se mostrasse suficientemente diligente, não teria grandes dificuldades em obter todo o tipo de informações registadas na *Suma Oriental*, referentes não só a pesos, medidas, produtos, rotas e calendários de viagens, mas também a práticas sociais e culturais, e também a assuntos de natureza política e militar. Aliás, o nosso autor utiliza mais do que uma vez expressões do tipo “eu me certifiquei por muitos”, ou “dizem os mercadores”, ou ainda “o que as nações de cá deste levante contam”.⁴⁸ E, a propósito, será possível determinar, com algum rigor, quais as principais fontes de informação que estão na origem do tratado do boticário português?

Tomé Pires, já foi antes referido, não dispunha de precedentes literários europeus significativos, ao

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Manuscrito da crónica malaia *Sejarah Melayu* (século XVI).

menos no que tocava à descrição das regiões mais orientais da Ásia marítima. Não se encontram, com efeito, na *Suma Oriental*, vestígios seguros de anteriores relatos de viagem europeus. Os poucos indícios que poderiam sugerir um eventual recurso à literatura geográfica produzida na Europa encontram-se, por um lado, na enigmática menção às limitações informativas de alguns escritores que “se deviam vir limpar de seus tratados”⁴⁹ e, por outro lado, nas referências a alguns dos mitos que a tradição geográfica europeia situara, desde tempos

antigos, nas partes do Oriente. Assim, o boticário, em dada ocasião, fala das “mulheres que nós dizemos amazonas”, que habitavam um dos reinos do Indostão; noutra altura, refere-se a uma ilha nas proximidades de Samatra onde não viviam “senão mulheres”, acerca das quais se dizia que “emprenham do vento”; e ainda em outra passagem menciona “os homens das orelhas grandes, que se cobrem com elas”, que viveriam na ilha de Papua.⁵⁰

Estas referências míticas poderiam ter-se inspirado numa eventual leitura ou audição de

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passagens do *Livro das Maravilhas do Mundo* de John de Mandeville, um tão conhecido quão fantasioso relato de viagens por terras ultramarinas, preparado por um anónimo físico belga em meados do século XIV, que conheceu enorme divulgação um pouco por toda a Europa. Um exemplar manuscrito dessa obra, curiosamente, existia na biblioteca régia no tempo em que Tomé Pires exerceu funções de boticário da família real portuguesa.⁵¹ Mas, em abono da verdade, deve sublinhar-se que o nosso tratadista revela um grande cepticismo em relação a todos estes mitos. Assim, a propósito da eventual existência da ‘ilha das mulheres’, afirma que “jaz esta fé no povo, como no povo outras amazonas”.⁵² E sobre as grandes orelhas dos papuanos regista que nunca vira “que[m] visse outro que as visse”, concluindo que “jaz isto no pouco que é assim”.⁵³ Enfim, para ele, o critério da experiência ou a informação de testemunhas fidedignas sobrepunham-se às antigas crenças livrescas.

Os processos de composição da *Suma Oriental* são repetidamente frisados pelo seu autor, começando pela necessidade de “pôr em escrito” muitas das “coisas tão grandes” que tivera oportunidade de observar nas suas andanças asiáticas. Mas não só, pois Tomé Pires, desde a abertura do seu tratado geográfico, sublinha que teve a “diligência de inquirir” junto de terceiros tudo aquilo que não viu.⁵⁴ Assim se constrói um saber inovador, que ultrapassa a tradição: quando o escritor não pode deslocar-se pessoalmente a determinados lugares para efectuar as suas indagações, deposita inteira confiança em “quem lá foi” e detém o estatuto de testemunho presencial.⁵⁵ Ou seja, as notícias recolhidas pelo boticário português resultam basicamente de vivências pessoais e de contributos de um vasto leque de informadores. Quem eram estes informadores? Por um lado, outros funcionários da administração portuguesa do Estado da Índia, como capitães, pilotos ou feitores, que regularmente escalam Malaca, onde dão conta de impressões recolhidas por ocasião de viagens de exploração efectuadas um pouco por toda a Ásia marítima. Por outro lado, mercadores, pilotos e embaixadores asiáticos oriundos das mais diversas paragens, igualmente contactados em Malaca.⁵⁶ As informações recolhidas, entretanto, tanto podiam ser resultado de mera troca de impressões orais, como estarem consignadas em relatórios escritos ou em trabalhos cartográficos. É difícil reconstituir caso a caso o tipo de fonte utilizada para cada região asiática.

Contudo, um exemplo merece especial destaque. Ao tratar de Malaca, Tomé Pires traça um elaborado quadro da história daquela região antes da conquista portuguesa. E, em determinados pontos, parece estar a transcrever documentação escrita de origem malaia ou javanesa, pois menciona repetidamente a “crónica” e a “história dos jaus”.⁵⁷ O que sugere que o nosso boticário poderia ter tido acesso a um dos primeiros esboços dos *Sejarah Melayu*, anais históricos malaios compilados nos princípios do século XVII.⁵⁸

A especial e central importância ocupada na *Suma Oriental* pelos materiais referentes a Malaca e à Insulíndia pode ser comprovada através de um outro argumento, como se verá já de seguida. Tomé Pires terá enviada para Portugal uma cópia do seu tratado pouco tempo antes de seguir para a China como embaixador da coroa portuguesa, o qual foi cuidadosamente guardado em Lisboa, nos arquivos reais, conhecendo nos anos seguintes uma reduzidíssima circulação. Portugal procurava então limitar a quantidade e a qualidade das informações que transmitia para a Europa sobre as regiões asiáticas que se estendiam para leste de Malaca, por evidentes razões estratégicas. Mas sobretudo porque de Espanha chegavam desde cerca de 1512 alarmantes rumores sobre a hipótese de os espanhóis tentarem alcançar pelo via do poente as míticas ilhas das Especiarias, que os portugueses, entretanto, já haviam identificado com as ilhas de Maluco. A expedição de Fernão de Magalhães, que em 1521 atingiu as ilhas mais orientais da Insulíndia e as mais tarde chamadas Filipinas, veio inaugurar a célebre ‘questão das Molucas’, diferendo diplomático que até 1529 dividiu as coroas portuguesa e espanhola a propósito dos direitos de posse sobre as ilhas indonésias onde eram produzidas algumas das mais valiosas especiarias asiáticas.⁵⁹

Nos anos em que Portugal e Espanha debatiam a questão das Molucas, mais precisamente entre 1525 e 1528, o humanista Andreas Navagero [1483-1529] passou por Lisboa, numa missão que, entre outros objectivos, envolvia a recolha de notícias portuguesas sobre a Ásia.⁶⁰ Entre outros materiais, o italiano conseguiu obter uma cópia da *Suma Oriental*, que levaria para Veneza e faria chegar às mãos do erudito Giovanni Battista Ramusio [1485-1557], então ocupado em compilar de forma sistemática relatos de viagem da mais diversa natureza.⁶¹ A cópia do tratado de Tomé Pires obtida em Lisboa, contudo, era assaz

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Desenhos panorâmicos das ilhas de Pantar e Alor, na Indonésia, do *Livro* de Francisco Rodrigues (1512).

incompleta, já que lhe faltavam as secções referentes a Malaca e à Insulíndia, que ocupavam praticamente dois terços da versão original. Ramusio veio a publicar uma versão italiana do texto obtido no primeiro volume da sua célebre colectânea de viagens *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, impresso em Veneza em 1550.⁶² No prefácio ao “Sommario di tutti li regni, città, & popoli orientali”, o editor veneziano queixava-se das dificuldades encontradas na obtenção do manuscrito: “con grandissima fatica e difficultà avendo mandato a farla trascrivere insino a Lisbona, a pena ne abbiamo potuto avere una copia, e quella anche imperfetta”.⁶³ O exemplar obtido, entretanto, não tinha nome de autor, certamente por lhe faltarem as páginas da dedicatória, único local onde figurava a referência a “Tomé Pires”,⁶⁴ pelo que foi publicado anonimamente. A conjuntura

que então se vivia na Península Ibérica assim justificava que todas as informações respeitantes às paragens mais orientais da Insulíndia fossem tratadas em Portugal com o maior sigilo, de modo a não fornecer a eventuais competidores um excessivo conhecimento do terreno. E a *Suma Oriental* continha precisamente as mais exaustivas e mais rigorosas notícias que até então haviam sido obtidas por europeus sobre a parte insular do Sudeste Asiático.

Tanto quanto se pode apurar, as secções da *Suma Oriental* referentes a Malaca e à Insulíndia só viriam a ser utilizadas, mesmo em Portugal, décadas mais tarde, quando a ‘questão das Molucas’ perdera a sua actualidade, e mesmo assim sempre por escritores que funcionavam em ambientes muito próximos do poder régio. Por um lado, o cronista oficioso João de Barros

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parece ter utilizado alguns materiais do tratado de Tomé Pires nas descrições que na sua *Terceira Década da Ásia*, publicada em Lisboa em 1563, apresenta de Malaca e da ilha de Samatra.⁶⁵ Por outro lado, Afonso Brás de Albuquerque, o filho do célebre governador, também terá consultado uma cópia do tratado do boticário português, talvez mesmo o exemplar que pertencera a Afonso de Albuquerque, já que apresenta nos seus *Comentários*, publicados em Lisboa em 1557, informações detalhadas sobre Malaca e nomeadamente sobre o período anterior à conquista portuguesa, que seriam difíceis de obter em outras fontes.⁶⁶

Valerá agora a pena analisar com algum detalhe as secções da *Suma Oriental* dedicadas a Malaca e à Insulíndia, que, como já foi argumentado, constituem o núcleo primitivo, e simultaneamente mais inovador e mais desenvolvido, do tratado do boticário português. Estas secções assumem aproximadamente a seguinte importância quantitativa:

Malaca	16 fólhos
Java	9 fólhos
Samatra	8 fólhos
Ilhas das Especiarias	5 fólhos
Bornéu	1,5 fólhos
Ilhas da Sunda Menor	1,5 fólhos

Estacionado em Malaca, Tomé Pires dedica-se então a coleccionar notícias sobre a cidade e sobre a vasta rede mercantil que, a partir dela, se estendia em todas as direcções. No fim de contas, a ocupação portuguesa da praça malaia tivera propósitos essencialmente comerciais, pelo que em 1512 haveria uma urgente necessidade de conhecer de forma mais aprofundada todo esse mundo exótico. A secção sobre Malaca, de forma compreensível, é a mais desenvolvida em todo o tratado (16 fólhos),⁶⁷ pois o autor, para além de fornecer um elaborado esboço da complexa história política anterior à chegada dos portugueses, fornece ainda notícias desenvolvidas sobre um sem-número de matérias, que abrangem a geografia dos territórios dependentes de Malaca e os respectivos recursos em gente e em mercadorias, a organização do sistema político, o funcionalismo público, as práticas de justiça, o direito sucessório, algumas práticas sociais, as comunidades mercantis estrangeiras, a situação linguística e religiosa, e, evidentemente, tudo o que diz respeito à mercancia, como produtos disponíveis e em falta, moedas, pesos, direitos alfandegárias, etc.

Em termos de importância quantitativa e qualitativa, de seguida surge a secção dedicada ao “arquipélago das ilhas que começam em Singapura” e se estendem “até Maluco”.⁶⁸ É aqui que surgem as maiores novidades em termos de conhecimentos geográficos europeus, pois os portugueses abordavam pela primeira vez muitas regiões que até então haviam sido total ou parcialmente desconhecidas na Europa. Mas, obviamente, Tomé Pires não dedica idêntica atenção a todas as regiões indonésias, já que os seus propósitos estão bem longe da pura curiosidade, pautando-se antes por um claro pragmatismo. Com efeito, ele estabelece nas suas descrições uma hierarquia implícita, na qual se podem detectar óbvias ligações ao mundo da mercadoria e aos interesses da coroa portuguesa, já que um maior destaque informativo é concedido a todas as regiões onde existem produtos e bens susceptíveis de interessar aos portugueses.

A “próspera e soberba e rica e cavaleirosa ilha de Java”, que é claramente percebida como um dos mais importantes núcleos civilizacionais da Insulíndia, merece uma elaboradíssima “descrição e recontamento”⁶⁹ (9 fólhos), que inclui não só dados utilitários relativos à mercancia, mas também informes sobre muitas práticas sociais e culturais. As notícias sobre os diversos potentados javaneses, muitos dos quais mantinham intensas relações com Malaca, revelam um carácter vivencial, pois, como foi antes referido, Tomé Pires teve oportunidade de visitar muitos portos desta ilha. Esta circunstância, aliás, permite-lhe mesmo traçar um esboço da mentalidade e do comportamento dos ‘pates’ do litoral da ilha de Java,⁷⁰ termo que “em Malaca quer dizer mandarins e em nossa linguagem verdadeiramente governadores com poder de cível e crime”.⁷¹

De seguida, em termos de importância relativa, surgem as secções dedicadas a Samatra (8 fólhos) e às ilhas das Especiarias (5 fólhos), incluindo estas últimas, nomeadamente, as ilhas de Banda, Amboíno e Maluco. A primeira ilha, evidentemente, não podia ser ignorada, pois estava situada em frente a Malaca e os portugueses tinham com ela frequentíssimos contactos, nem sempre de natureza pacífica.⁷² Assim, Tomé Pires descreve-a com alguma minúcia, dedicando especial atenção às regiões do litoral setentrional, mas não esquecendo alguns potentados do interior. Também aqui é patente alguma experiência vivencial. O grupo das chamadas ilhas de Maluco, por outro lado, é considerado “da

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Retrato de Afonso de Albuquerque no *Códice de Lisuarte de Abreu* (c. 1564).

navegação e jurisdição” do monarca português,⁷³ merecendo, por isso mesmo, toda a atenção, tanto mais que daquelas remotas paragens da Insulíndia eram originárias algumas das mais raras e valiosas especiarias.⁷⁴ Finalmente, a *Suma Oriental* inclui duas secções muito curtas, dedicadas às ilhas da Sunda Menor (1,5 fólhos) e ao Bornéu (1,5 fólhos).⁷⁵ Tanto numa região como na outra Tomé Pires vislumbra potencialidades mercantis que podem interessar aos portugueses, a nível de mercadorias exóticas, sobretudo. O cabedal de notícias recolhidas a respeito destas ilhas,

entretanto, parece ser directamente proporcional à importância que elas detinham no contexto dos tráficos inter-regionais e internacionais.

Outras partes da Insulíndia, que não eram frequentadas pelos portugueses ou que, de um ponto de vista mercantil e/ou estratégico, para eles não detinham especial interesse são deliberadamente excluídas da *Suma Oriental*. Tomé Pires, em diversas ocasiões, faz questão de sublinhar que “nosso intento não é escrever destas ilhas”, referindo-se sempre a todas aquelas regiões que não estavam envolvidas de forma

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intensa em tratos mercantis.⁷⁶ A determinado passo afirma mesmo que, a respeito da Insulíndia, a sua tenção não é ser exaustivo, deixando para outros mais prolixos do que ele a descrição da “infinidade d’ilhas que há do estreito de Campar até Banda e do estreito de Singapura até às ilhas de Japão”, pois o seu intento é meramente abordar as ilhas “com que Malaca trata” e as que “tratam com Malaca”.⁷⁷

Entretanto, de passagem, vão surgindo ao longo destas secções da *Suma Oriental* notícias de carácter mais global, com indiscutível interesse para o conhecimento da história do Sudeste Asiático. Assim, por exemplo, Tomé Pires repara na desestruturção temporária que a conquista de Malaca provocou um pouco por todo o arquipélago indonésio, e que a breve trecho iria conduzir a reordenamentos políticos diversos.⁷⁸ Ou contrapõe, nas principais ilhas, a mais elaborada civilidade das populações do litoral, ligadas ao trato comercial, à rusticidade das gentes do interior.⁷⁹ Ou sublinha as íntimas relações de parentesco que ligam entre si os soberanos de numerosos potentados indonésios.⁸⁰ Ou menciona a existência, até um período anterior em cerca de um século à chegada dos portugueses, de um poderoso império javanês, do qual ainda sobreviviam alguns traços.⁸¹ Ou destaca a recente, mas muito sistemática, expansão do islamismo por toda a Insulíndia, ao longo das principais rotas mercantis e sobretudo nas regiões ribeirinhas.⁸² A este propósito talvez não seja impróprio sublinhar que o boticário português mantém, em relação ao Islão, uma atitude de relativa abertura, pois, apesar de se referir inúmeras vezes a potentados e a comunidades mercantis muçulmanas, muito raramente utiliza uma adjectivação que possa ser considerada negativa. A única excepção surge no texto introdutório da *Suma Oriental*, onde se refere à “falsa opinião

diabólica do nefando, ignominioso, falso Mafamede”,⁸³ mas com intuitos claramente retóricos.

CONCLUSÃO

A obra de Tomé Pires, como terá ficado bem patente nesta breve abordagem, constitui uma fonte histórica de extraordinário valor a múltiplos níveis. Em primeiro lugar, como obra revolucionária no contexto da história da geografia europeia, pois impõe um momento de total ruptura no processo de conhecimento europeu de muitas regiões da Ásia e mormente das suas partes mais orientais. Depois, como documento insubstituível na construção da história do Sudeste Asiático, já que apresenta um circunstanciado panorama político e económico desta vasta região asiática num período especialmente conturbado, que coincide com a entrada em cena dos europeus. Em terceiro lugar, a *Suma Oriental* vale como vastíssimo repositório de informações etnográficas, muitas delas inéditas e obtidas em primeira mão, sobre muitos povos orientais, mormente sobre as populações que habitavam as inumeráveis ilhas do arquipélago indonésio. Finalmente, como testemunho de um momento privilegiado na história das relações da Europa com a Ásia e sobretudo com a Insulíndia. Valerá a pena recordar, entretanto, que a obra do boticário português apresenta o último grande retrato do Sudeste Asiático antes da chegada em força dos europeus. Daí para diante, muita coisa iria mudar. A *Suma Oriental* de Tomé Pires, apesar de tudo, continua a ser uma fonte pouco explorada pelos especialistas.⁸⁴ Talvez uma edição crítica, produzida por uma equipa multidisciplinar e plurinacional, ajudasse a chamar a atenção para este verdadeiro clássico da literatura geográfica portuguesa. **RC**

NOTAS

- 1 Para uma abordagem genérica da vida e obra de Tomé Pires, vd. Rui Manuel Loureiro, “Tomé Pires”, pp. 43-47, bem como a bibliografia aí citada.
- 2 Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, L. Soares, cap. 4 (vol. 2, p. 473).
- 3 *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, vol. 7, p. 59. Todas as citações de fontes são modernizadas.
- 4 Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento*, liv. 4, cap. 4 (vol. 1, p. 876).
- 5 Vd. Jaime Walter, “Simão Álvares”, pp. 127-128.
- 6 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 345.

- 7 Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação*, cap. 91, pp. 255-257. Para discussão das informações fornecidas por Mendes Pinto, vd. Rui Manuel Loureiro, “A China de Fernão Mendes Pinto”, pp. 137-177.
- 8 Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, L. Soares, cap. 4 (vol. 2, p. 473).
- 9 Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento*, liv. 4, cap. 4 (vol. 1, p. 876).
- 10 João de Barros, *Década III*, liv. 2, cap. 8 (vol. 5, p. 217).
- 11 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 134.
- 12 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 129 e 133.

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- 13 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 152.
- 14 *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, vol. 7, p. 4.
- 15 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 446.
- 16 Cf. Jaime Walter, “Simão Álvares”, p. 138.
- 17 *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, vol. 7, p. 58.
- 18 *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, vol. 1, p. 145.
- 19 *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, vol. 7, p. 59.
- 20 *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, vol. 7, pp. 58-59.
- 21 Cf. *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, vol. 3, p. 93.
- 22 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 260-287.
- 23 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 283.
- 24 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 229.
- 25 Vd. Geneviève Bouchon, “Les premiers voyages portugais”, pp. 127-157.
- 26 *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, vol. 7, p. 59.
- 27 Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento*, liv. 3, cap. 152 (vol. 1, p. 856).
- 28 Sobre o relacionamento dos portugueses com a China no século XVI, vd. Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins*, passim.
- 29 Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento*, liv. 4, cap. 4 (vol. 1, p. 876).
- 30 Sobre a expedição de Fernão Peres de Andrade a Cantão, vd. Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins*, pp. 191-246.
- 31 Sobre a embaixada de Tomé Pires, vd. Rui Manuel Loureiro, “A malograda embaixada”, pp. 39-55.
- 32 Para uma detalhada análise do conteúdo informativo da *Suma Oriental*, vd. A.A. Banha de Andrade, *Novos Mundos do Mundo*, vol. 2, pp. 580-627. O confronto sistemático entre a *Suma Oriental* e o *Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, o outro grande tratado de geografia asiática preparado nos primeiros anos do século XVI, ainda não foi feito; vejam-se, no entanto, as observações de Luís Filipe Barreto, *Descobrimientos e Renascimento*, pp. 143-168.
- 33 Para um panorama dos conhecimentos europeus sobre o Sudeste asiático nos séculos XV e XVI, vd. respectivamente Thomas Suárez, *Early Mapping*, passim, e Donald F. Lach, *Southeast Asia*, passim.
- 34 Vd. Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins*, pp. 45-87; e Pietro Barozzi, *Ludovico De Varthema*, passim.
- 35 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 131 e 133.
- 36 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 132.
- 37 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 349.
- 38 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 329.
- 39 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 130.
- 40 Esta cópia, desaparecida durante séculos, conserva-se hoje na Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée Nationale, em Paris (Ms. 1248 [Ed. 19], fls. 117-178), e foi há anos objecto de uma notável edição diplomática, preparada por Armando Cortesão, um dos mais influentes historiadores da cartografia portuguesa, que descobriu o manuscrito parisiense em 1937 (vd. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, passim). Para a história editorial da obra de Tomé Pires, vd. Rui Manuel Loureiro, *O Manuscrito de Lisboa*, pp. 27-43.
- 41 A propósito das concepções geográficas colombinas, vd. Juan Gil, *Mitos y utopías*, vol. 1, passim.; e também Rui Manuel Loureiro, “A Ásia Oriental”, pp. 9-34.
- 42 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 441.
- 43 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 422.
- 44 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 381-444
- 45 *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, vol. 7, p. 59.
- 46 Vd. Rui Manuel Loureiro, *O Manuscrito de Lisboa*, pp. 28-29.
- 47 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 422. Vd. Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 306-320.
- 48 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 159, 227 e 252, respectivamente.
- 49 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 131.
- 50 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 193, 283-284 e 349, respectivamente.
- 51 Vd. Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins*, pp. 58-62.
- 52 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 284.
- 53 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 349.
- 54 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 131.
- 55 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 336.
- 56 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 283, 286, 288, 336, 345, 381, etc.
- 57 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 381 e 385.
- 58 Vd. Richard Winstedt, *A History*, pp. 158-162.
- 59 Sobre a questão das Molucas, vd. Luís de Albuquerque e Rui Graça Feijó, “Os pontos de vista de D. João III”, pp. 527-545.
- 60 George B. Parks, “The Contents and Sources”, p. 2.
- 61 Vd. George B. Parks, “The Contents and Sources”, pp. 1-39.
- 62 Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, vol. 2, pp. 715-778. As primeiras edições dos restantes volumes da colectânea seriam publicados em 1556 (volume 3) e 1559 (volume 2), também em Veneza (cf. George B. Parks, “The Contents and Sources”, passim). Vd. a propósito Luciana Stegagno Picchio, “Portugal e Portugueses”, pp. 9-25.
- 63 Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, vol. 2, p. 541.
- 64 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 135.
- 65 Cf. João de Barros, *Década II*, liv. 6, cap. 1 (vol. 4, pp. 1-27) e *Década III*, liv. 5, cap. 1 (vol. 5, pp. 505-513). A sugestão referente a Samatra foi avançada por Armando Cortesão (*Suma Oriental*, pp. 378-379, n. 394).
- 66 Cf. Afonso Brás de Albuquerque, *Comentários*, pt. 3, caps. 17-18 (vol. 2, pp. 83-99). Vd. Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins*, pp. 590-596, onde algumas destas coincidências textuais são devidamente realçadas.
- 67 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 381-444.
- 68 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 328.
- 69 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 287.
- 70 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 287-324.
- 71 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 275.
- 72 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 378-380.
- 73 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 332.
- 74 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 330-349.
- 75 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 324-330 e 374-377, respectivamente.
- 76 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 349.
- 77 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 349.
- 78 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 343, por exemplo.
- 79 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 352.
- 80 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 269, 270, 273, etc.
- 81 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 296.
- 82 Cf. Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. 296, 339, 375, etc.
- 83 Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 130. Vd. a propósito A.A. Banha de Andrade, *Mundos Novos*, p. 585.
- 84 Vd. aproveitamento exemplar das informações de Tomé Pires em M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade*, pp. 13-172, e em Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia*, passim.

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Portuguese Literary Voices From Macao

David Brookshaw*

It is not easy to create a typology for the literature of Macao in Portuguese, given the small numbers of Portuguese who settled in the city, and the fact that the vast majority of its citizens, especially since the middle of the nineteenth century, have been Chinese, who have brought with them a time-honoured literary tradition of their own. The brief sojourns in the city of no less than Camões, in the sixteenth century, and Bocage in the eighteenth, were coincidental, and Macao is scarcely if at all mentioned in their work. Indeed, it could be said that any literary tradition in 'Portuguese' prior to the beginning of the twentieth century in Macao, was in fact an oral one, expressed and channelled through the unique, but now largely

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a revival in Portugal's interests as an imperial nation after the trauma of the loss of Brazil, its most important colonial territory, in 1822. Portugal's efforts to retain its historical position in East and West Africa and to expand its territorial bases were to be represented at the Congress of Berlin in 1885, and partially frustrated by the British Ultimatum in 1890. In spite of this humiliation, however, Portugal was to begin the twentieth century with its African empire intact and a central focus of its international political relationships. Portugal was, however, by this time less economically powerful than its European colonial rivals, and the maintenance of its position in Africa

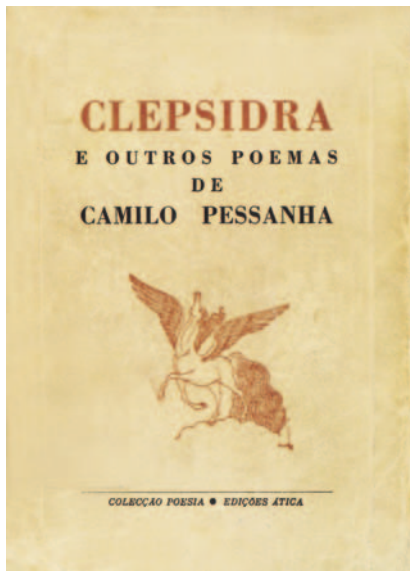
It could be said that any literary tradition in 'Portuguese' prior to the beginning of the twentieth century in Macao, was in fact an oral one, expressed and channelled through the unique, but now largely defunct Creole language, the 'Língua Maquista' or Patuá.

defunct Creole language, the 'Língua Maquista' or Patuá. Anything resembling a Portuguese literature of Macao only really dates from the last one hundred years, and may be contained within two *fin-de-siècle* periods, which held a symbolically charged value to the Portuguese sense of national identity.

required considerable effort in terms of human and material resources. It is therefore perhaps little wonder that on various occasions during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, voices were raised in parliament proposing the abandonment or sale of the smaller territories or enclaves of the 'Estado da Índia', the colonial residues of Portugal's earlier imperial activity in South and East Asia. Nevertheless, quite apart from the fact that Macao could not have been alienated in this way without the agreement of China, there emerged an Asian lobby in Portugal, which was to include, among others, such prestigious figures as Bernardo Pinheiro Correia de Melo, the Count of Arnoso, lifelong friend of Eça de Queirós, and member of the treaty delegation that visited Beijing in 1887.

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Professor de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros na Universidade de Bristol, Inglaterra. Investigador da área de teoria literária colonial e pós-colonial. Tem vasta obra publicada sobre literatura brasileira e da África lusófona, sendo também tradutor literário. A sua mais recente obra ensaística (Perceptions of China in Modern Portuguese Literature – Border Gates) está actualmente no prelo.



Camilo Pessanha
Clepsidra e Outros Poemas
Edições Ática



Jaime do Inso
O Caminho do Oriente
Instituto Cultural de Macau
Macau, 1996



Mosaico
Vol. I, N.º 1
Órgão do Círculo Cultural de Macau
Macau, Setembro, 1950

In an essay on Luso-Chinese relations published much later, the Count, foreseeing the potential of the Chinese market, urged his countrymen to cultivate commercial links with China by taking advantage of Portugal's privileged position in Macao. Similar concerns were raised by the Hong Kong Portuguese, Montalto de Jesus. In the event, therefore, the views of the Asian lobby prevailed, with the result that the territorial relics of Portugal's remote 'first' empire were re-incorporated, both practically and in the Portuguese collective consciousness, into the country's re-invigorated 'third' imperial enterprise. In concrete terms, this meant that modern educational institutions, such as a state secondary school, were introduced into Macao, and a small military presence was sustained, along with the apparatus of government. This in turn increased the size of the Portuguese expatriate community. The relatively independent, 'Venetian' republic, which had ensured the *de facto* political autonomy of Macao for centuries, came to an end. Among this new wave of Portuguese expatriates were writers, one of whom, Camilo Pessanha, was to become Macao's most famous Portuguese literary resident since Camões.

It is now appropriate to consider for a moment what effect this re-engagement with the East, and in particular China, had on Portuguese 'Orientalism'.

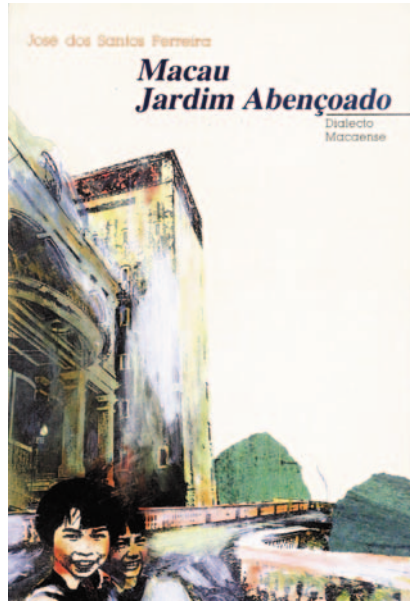
Orientalist motifs had, of course, entered European literature and other cultural forms ever since the eighteenth century. The taste for what in Europe was called 'chinoiserie', and the attraction to difference expressed through the emphasis on the exotic, all had their repercussions in literature emanating from France and England, while also having exponents such as António Feijó and even the early poetry of Pessanha in Portugal. But by the turn of the century, Portuguese Orientalism was to become inflected by a peculiarly national concern with the country's decline from past greatness. The East became the mirror the Portuguese looked in to re-establish this collective memory, and sometimes it was as dissatisfied imperialists that they viewed Portugal's present state. It was undoubtedly Pessanha, Portugal's major symbolist poet and resident in Macao for thirty-two years until his death there in 1926, who synthesized these contradictions.

If one were to summarise the thematic characteristics of Pessanha's writing, one could pick out four main features. Firstly, he was a man who, in common with others of his generation, felt himself to be an orphan of history, an exile in an age he felt he did not belong to. In part, this was a feeling induced by the national humiliation caused by the British Ultimatum of 1890 and by the four-hundredth

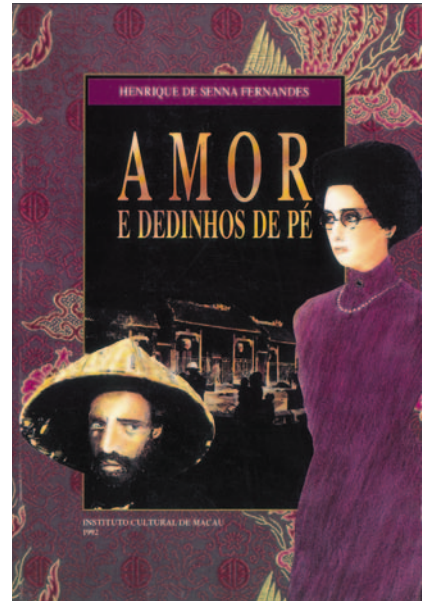
LITERATURA



Deolinda Salvado da Conceição
Cheong Sam: A Cabaia
Secretaria dos Assuntos Sociais e Cultura
Macao, 1979 [2.ª ed.]



José dos Santos Ferreira
Macau Jardim Abençoado
Dialecto Macaense
Instituto Cultural de Macau
Macao, 1988



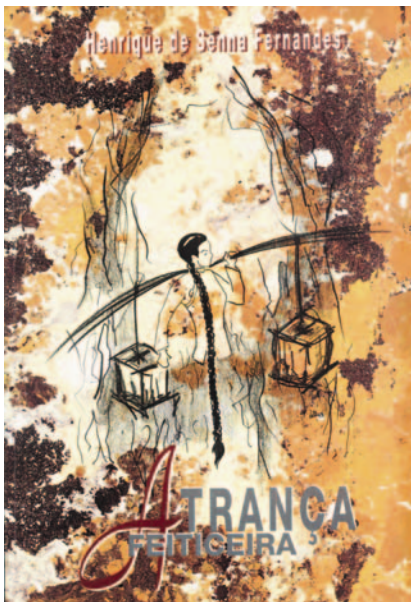
Henrique de Senna Fernandes
Amor e Dedinhos de Pé
Instituto Cultural de Macau
Macao, 1992 [3.ª ed.]

anniversary, in 1898, of Vasco da Gama’s pioneering voyage to India. In Pessanha, it is immediately visible in poems such as “Quando?” and “San Gabriel”. Secondly, he developed a profound admiration for traditional Chinese culture, and in particular, its long poetic tradition. While very few of his poems actually focus on the physical reality of Macao and China, where he lived for so long, there is little doubt that he absorbed into his own poetry some of the time-honoured features of Chinese poetry, most notably its subtle use of symbolism and its tendency towards understatement. Moreover, in his translations of Chinese poetry, it is apparent that he was attracted to the themes of loss of innocence and exile that seemed to mirror his own. On the other hand, in some of his articles that emerged from lectures given to new arrivals and visiting colonials, he used the language of ethnocentrism, that seemed to contradict his fascination with Chinese culture, and there is some evidence too that his views on race mixture were well within the nineteenth-century Social Darwinist tradition. The fact is that Pessanha was a figure beset by contradictions: in many ways, he was a colonial who failed as such in the sense that he ‘went native’, learning Chinese and co-habiting with local women. It was Pessanha’s lifestyle that undoubtedly explained the fourth characteristic of his

work, visible particularly in letters written to his family or friends: when he was in Macao, he bemoaned his exile in the East, and wanted to go back to Portugal; on his rare visits to Portugal, he wanted to return to China. It is this profound restlessness that makes Pessanha a peculiarly modern figure: in our postcolonial and postmodern age, we can to some extent more readily identify with themes that relate to migration within our contemporary, ‘globalized’ world: mobility, displacement and exile.

The 1920s and 1930s correspond to the ‘high’ period of colonial literature. We must bear in mind that the Portuguese Republic of 1910, which had openly espoused the ‘third’ imperial cause, was overthrown in 1926. However, the ensuing years witnessed the gradual rise to power of Salazar, who would reconfirm the country’s imperial commitment with particular emphasis after the creation of the New State in 1933. Jaime do Inso was a naval officer who lived for some years in Macao at the turn of the century, and wrote a number of books about Macao and China. Likewise, Emílio de San Bruno, the literary pseudonym of Filipe Emílio de Paiva, was another naval officer who lived in Macao for a short period, and wrote a number of colonial novels, one of which, *O Caso da Rua Volong* (1928), was set in Macao. This and Inso’s

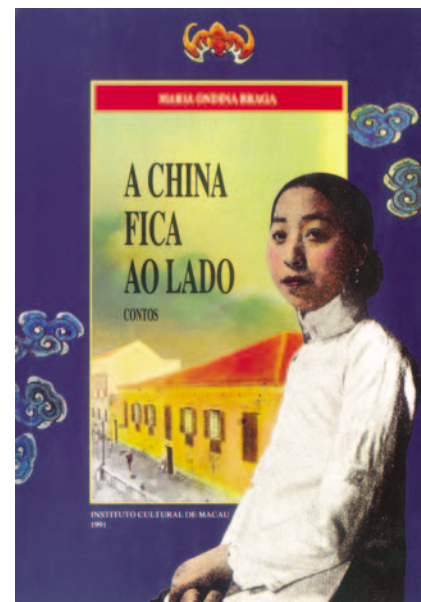
LITERATURE



Henrique de Senna Fernandes
A Trança Feiticeira
Fundação Oriente
Macao, 1993



António Manuel Couto Viana
No Oriente do Oriente
Edição de Autor
Macao, 1987



Maria Ondina Braga
A China Fica ao Lado
Instituto Cultural de Macau
Macao, 1991 [4ª ed.]

O Caminho do Oriente (1932) both won prizes from the Portuguese Government's General Colonial Agency. Nowadays, they are of little more than ethnographic interest, but what they do reveal is the conflict between formal colonial values (the 'perils' of going native) and the practice of Portuguese colonialism, in which many single men—men, after all, such as Pessanha—set up families with local women, helping to produce a hybridized population that ran counter to the ideology promulgated by Lisbon.

The next stage in our historical survey of literature in Macao may be dated from the end of World War II. The 1950s were to witness the emergence of a specifically Macanese literary and cultural consciousness. To some extent, it reflected the revival of cultural life after the harsh years of the war, and it is also linked to the recovery of the press in Portuguese, most notably the newspaper, *Notícias de Macau*, and the literary review, *Mosaico*. But it is also worth remembering that something similar was happening in the Portuguese territories in Africa, except that in Macao there could never be the political outcomes that occurred in colonies such as Angola and Mozambique. If the cultural historian and Sinologist of this generation was Luís Gonzaga Gomes, and the cultivator of 'Patuá' was José dos

Santos Ferreira (popularly known as Adé), the two literary voices were Deolinda da Conceição and Henrique de Senna Fernandes. Deolinda, who had experienced firsthand Japanese internment in Shanghai, and who ran the women's page of the *Notícias de Macau*, published an important collection of stories, *Cheong-Sam - A Cabaia* (1956), before her premature death in 1957. Somewhat in the style of Pearl Buck, these tales focus on the problems faced by women in traditional Chinese society, in particular those who had been educated in the West, as well as on the identity of the Eurasian population of her native city, and of which she was a representative. The early stories of Senna Fernandes, written between the 1950s and 1970s and published in *Nam-Van* (1978), likewise focus on the inner world of the Macanese as they adapted to the profound changes brought about by the war and post-war years, thus introducing a theme that would characterize his two major novels, *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé* (1986) and *A Trança Feiticeira* (1992). Indeed, two constant themes in Senna Fernandes' fiction concern the survival of the Macanese during and after the War—which for them represented something of a rupture with the past—and the emergence of a more progressive, forward-

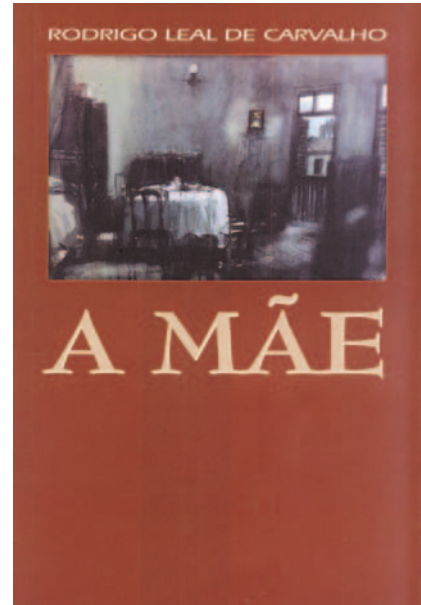
LITERATURA



João Aguiar
Os Comedores de Pérolas
Edições Asa
Lisboa, 1995 [6ª ed.]



Rodrigo Leal de Carvalho
Requiem por Irina Ostrakoff
Livros do Oriente
Macao, 1993



Rodrigo Leal de Carvalho
A Mãe
Livros do Oriente
Lisboa, 2001

looking Macanese bourgeoisie. To some extent, then, the central focus of his work is the survival and renewal of the Macanese as a definable ethnic group.

The second development in the literature of Macao is linked to Portugal's long withdrawal from Empire between 1961, the year of the Angolan uprising that would mark the beginning of the nationalist wars in Africa, and 1974, the year of the Revolution that would bring an end to Salazar's colonial regime. The author whose experiences reflect the early, dramatic years of the 1960s is Maria Ondina Braga. Her journey into the declining Portuguese Empire in 1961, and her subsequent four-year residence in Macao, can be seen metaphorically on two levels. On the one hand it seemed to reflect a new modernity in which women (like Deolinda da Conceição and now Maria Ondina Braga) were beginning to carve out a space for themselves in the face of traditional patriarchal values. On the other, it was an anti-epic journey that seemed to close the adventure begun by the empire-building navigators of four centuries before: she had to leave Angola as a result of the insurrection, she abandoned Goa with the last civilians during the Indian take-over. But it was her years spent in Macao and later, some months spent in Beijing in the 1980s, that were to influence much of her writing and feed her fascination

for Chinese culture. In her short story, *A China Fica ao Lado* (1968), she brings to the fore, rather as Deolinda had, a concern for the plight of refugees and of women, as well as some of the contradictions resulting from the cultural encounter between East and West. In her later novel, *Nocturno em Macau* (1988), she tackles for the first time the emotional relationship between European female and Chinese male, although paradoxically she fails to break down the boundary between European self and non-European 'Other'.

By the time of the Portuguese Revolution of 1974, Maria Ondina Braga was long back in Portugal, but the last ten to fifteen years of Portuguese rule in Macao brought a flourishing literary activity in Portuguese. There were two reasons for this: the presence of greater numbers of Portuguese residents than ever before, as Portugal prepared to return Macao to China, and the emergence of cultural institutes, such as the Instituto Cultural de Macau and the Instituto Português do Oriente, and a press, including the independent publishing house Livros do Oriente that encouraged publishing activity. It was as if a conscious and concerted effort were being made to interpret Macao, not only in terms of its unique history as a meeting point between East and West, but also as it changed from being a relatively small colonial town

LITERATURE



Alberto Estima de Oliveira
O Corpo Consentido
Instituto Cultural de Macau; Instituto Português do Oriente
Macao, 1993



António Rebordão Navarro
O Discurso da Desordem
Livros do Oriente
Macao, 1995 [2ª ed.]



António Augusto Menano
Qual o Começo de Tudo Isto?
Livros do Oriente
Macao, 1996

into a larger and more impersonal city. It was also as if an attempt were being made to somehow ensure the strongest possible Portuguese cultural legacy. Once again, it is tempting to see similarities with processes in other former Portuguese territories. The 1960s and 1970s had witnessed the emergence of African literatures in Portuguese, often sponsored by the ailing colonial state. After independence in 1975, this tendency towards sponsorship was taken over by the new Angolan and Mozambican regimes in an attempt to reflect national cultural cohesion. Whatever the political motives for encouraging literary production, it did ensure a healthy publishing activity and helped to stimulate a debate on literature and culture among the older and younger generations of the intelligentsia.

Some of the writers of the transition years in Macao (1987-1999), such as the poets Jorge Arrimar and Carlos Frota, had been born and brought up in Angola and were seeking new roots (or routes) in Macao. Both poets to some extent become re-integrated into a Portuguese maritime tradition in some of their imagery, while also coming to terms with the notion of a plural identity, which is seen as compensation for (or a consequence of) their original loss. Others, such as Fernando Sales Lopes, author of the collection of poetry, *Pescador de Margem* (1997), lamented the

passing of an epoch and the danger of its loss to memory (or even loss of memory), while at the same time acknowledging a personal debt to a city that had brought him into contact with other cultures. In the work of a number of poets, including the ones mentioned above, there is often an attempt to map Macao: any number of poems refer to the city's monuments, transforming them into icons of stone, which speak of other ages and contain ghosts and memories lacking in the human faces around.

Other writers, such as the novelists Josué da Silva, António Augusto Menano and to some extent António Rebordão Navarro, resort to the quest motif, in which a hidden secret is uncovered and some facet of Macao's past comes to light and is explained. The author who has most consistently and successfully exploited this motif is the nationally acclaimed João Aguiar, whose two novels, *Os Comedores de Pérolas* (1992) and *Dragão de Fumo* (1998) are unique examples of political thrillers set in the final years of Portuguese rule. But it is in the main character of these and Aguiar's most recent novel, *A Catedral Verde* (2001), António Carreira (the surname significantly means 'route') that Portugal's transition from an imperial into a post-imperial European state is reflected. Carreira is a man of his age and generation, who has lived through the late colonial

LITERATURA



João Manuel Amorim
Beco do Engano
Livros do Oriente
Macao, 1996



Fernando de Sales Lopes
Pescador de Margem
Livros do Oriente
Macao, 1997

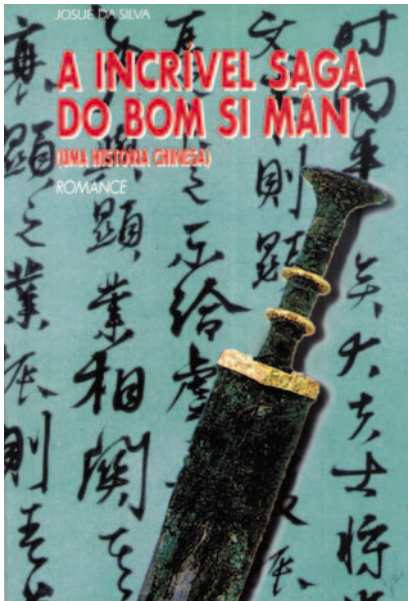
wars and, in middle age, is coming to terms with a new postcolonial Portugal. In this, and marked by his visits to Macao, he is a modern Portuguese ‘everyman’ in search of a new ‘route’.

The most prolific novelist of Macao during the transition years was Rodrigo Leal de Carvalho, who published six novels between 1993 and 2001. Resident in the territory for nearly four decades, Carvalho chronicled the lives of the various diasporas that settled in the city. His first and most recent novels, *Requiem por Irina Ostrakoff* (1993) and *A Mãe* (2001), focused on a group that absorbed his interest in particular, the White Russian émigrés who ended up in Macao during the war years after fleeing Shanghai. In his preference for documentary detail and wide sweeps of history, with novels that are often interlinked through the re-appearance of characters from one novel in another, Carvalho’s writing bears some resemblance to that of Christopher New.

Finally, other novelists, such as Carlos Morais José, a journalist by profession, and the anthropologist João de Pina Cabral, reflect, in their incursions into fiction, the changing face of Macao over the transition years. For her part, Fernanda Dias, in both her poetry and short stories, does this too, while bringing a

gendered approach that to some extent continues the tradition begun by Deolinda da Conceição and Maria Ondina Braga. But of all the fiction writers and poets of the transition years using Portuguese as a medium, it is significant that only one, the poet Yao Jingming, is ethnically Chinese, and it is even more revealing that he is a native of Beijing, and that his first volume of poems, *Nas Asas do Vento Cego* (1990) was published in Portugal when he was working in the Chinese diplomatic service. It demonstrates that the use of Portuguese can, in this post-imperial period, become de-territorialized: Yao Jingming writes in a language he has learned and studied, and publishes in Portugal (his second volume, *A Noite Deita-se Comigo* (2002), has just been published). His co-author of the book *Confluências* (1997), Jorge Arrimar encounters China in Macao and carries it with him back to the Azores. But perhaps the most significant Portuguese alter ego of Yao Jingming is a young woman travel writer, Cláudia Ribeiro, author of *No Dorso do Dragão. Aventuras e Desventuras de uma Portuguesa na China* (2001). It is a detailed account of four years spent in China in the late 1980s, where she studied Mandarin with a scholarship from the Chinese Government and travelled extensively. There can surely be no more

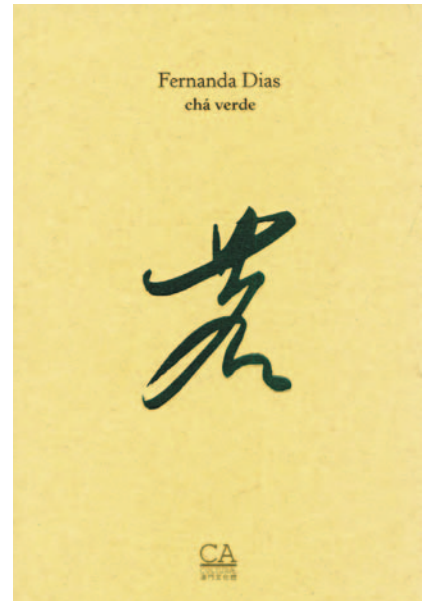
LITERATURE



Josué da Silva
A Incrível Saga do Bom Si Mân (Uma História Chinesa)
Livros do Oriente
Macao, 1997



Jorge Arrimar e Manuel Yao
Confluências
Imprensa Oficial
Macao, 1997



Fernanda Dias
Chá Verde
Círculo dos Amigos da Cultura de Macau
Macao, 2002

apposite metaphor for Portugal's postcolonial modernity than a young female journeying through the vastness of China with a rucksack. But like Yao Jingming, her interest in the 'Other' occurred independently of the historic Luso-Chinese links embodied by the city of Macao.

In conclusion, I do not intend to speculate on the future of a literature in Portuguese in Macao, for that will happen as long as there are people here who feel moved to use the language for that purpose. Suffice to say that at present, there is still a lively Portuguese press in the city, albeit for a smaller Lusophone community, and there are still active writers, among them the doyen of Macanese letters, Henrique de Senna Fernandes. Subsequent generations of Macanese, such as Carlos Marreiros

and António Conceição Júnior, have made their name in other cultural fields, notably architecture and graphic art, but they have also written poetry and essays respectively. Finally, Miguel de Senna Fernandes is a prime mover behind preserving and diversifying the cultural heritage of Patuá. Macao's polyphonic cultural voice therefore still includes Portuguese, and it would doubtless be all the poorer if that voice were to fall silent, for in it lies the uniqueness of this ancient city as it seeks to preserve its cultural identity in the face of the many challenges of a new century. **RC**

Author's Note: Text of a talk given at the Clube Militar de Macau on 18th April 2002, on the occasion of the launch of the anthology *Visions of China: Stories from Macao* (Gávea - Brown / Hong Kong University Press).

Contos da Água e do Vento

Recontos

FERNANDA DIAS*

APRESENTAÇÃO POR STELLA LEE SHUK YEE**

ILUSTRAÇÕES DE VICTOR MARREIROS

APRESENTAÇÃO

Da sua nova colectânea de curtas histórias, “Contos da Água e do Vento”, Fernanda Dias traz-nos estes dois contos reescritos a partir de outros tantos *Tang chuanqi* (romances da dinastia Tang, 618-907), narrativas por sua vez elaboradas a partir de relatos do período das “Seis Dinastias” (222-589) sobre factos históricos, prodigiosos ou fantásticos, casos de amor, episódios de cavalaria ou da vida dos letrados.

Não existe na China literatura de ficção antes da dinastia Tang. A escrita conhecida dessas épocas

consiste somente em registos escritos na primeira pessoa. Só a partir da dinastia Tang aparecem os primeiros romances de cavalaria e contos de aventura com nítida intenção ficcional, imaginação elaborada, linguagem refinada, descrições detalhadas e ricamente coloridas. A estrutura dessas histórias é coesa, com enredos complexos e personagens de caracteres bem marcados. Na trama da ficção encontramos obviamente entretidas cenas da vida rural, conflitos da sociedade feudal e fábulas de conteúdo moral, produto das mentalidades confucianas da época.

Se bem que na primeira metade da dinastia Tang fossem praticamente ignorados, ganharam importância a partir do seu meado e desempenharam um papel importante no desenvolvimento da literatura de ficção. Os *Tang chuanqi* partilham algumas características com os romances de outros países da mesma época: aventuras de guerreiros, dramas amorosos, por vezes entre humanos e imortais, e uma diferenciação precisa entre personagens bons e maus.

Estes contos que Fernanda Dias nos apresenta não são meras traduções, mas recriações da autora, assim, nenhuma marca visível distingue estes contos como sendo *Tang chuanqi*.

Analisemos mais de perto os contos “O Segredo de Sie Siao-Ngo” e “O Enigma do Macaco Branco”. Não vou deter-me na comparação da presente versão com o texto original. Vou antes analisá-los no contexto da obra de ficção da autora. De certa maneira, uma boa tradução pode ser encarada como uma nova criação.

Sie Siao-Ngo: uma mulher aparentemente fraca, “uma frágil figura feminina... nimbada de densa melancolia”. Orfã de mãe aos oito anos de idade, mal saíra da adolescência quando salteadores a coberto da noite lhe matam o pai e o marido. Perseguida por um destino implacável, torna-se mendiga, mais para angariar informações do que para garantir a sobrevivência, até encontrar trabalho como servente em casa dos inimigos. Assim se processa uma gradual e dramática transformação, de filha obediente e esposa tímida, sem peso nem estatuto na sociedade até se tornar no eficaz e misterioso administrador dos bens dos bandidos. Uma força oculta, uma firme consciência do dever e um árduo ascetismo, vão conduzi-la à destruição dos dois homens armados de poder e riqueza.

* Fernanda Dias reside em Macau desde 1986, onde é professora na Escola Portuguesa de Macau. Orientou Cursos de Gravura na Oficina de Gravura “Bartolomeu dos Santos” e no Instituto Politécnico, em Macau. Expõe regularmente pintura desde 1998. Autora de diversas obras de poesia e de contos.

Fernanda Dias has lived in Macao since 1986, and is a teacher in the Portuguese School of Macao. She directed Engraving Courses in the “Bartolomeu dos Santos” Engraving Workshop and in the Instituto Politécnico, in Macao. Her paintings have been regularly exhibited since 1998, and she is also the author of poetry and short stories.

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Para Fernanda Dias a mulher aparece sempre sob o signo da água: doce, dócil e flexível. Como a água que se adapta à forma do recipiente, assim a mulher se molda ao ambiente onde vive, mas, também como a água, possui uma força vital avassaladora, por vezes destruidora, na sua lenta e persistente capacidade de infiltração.

São assim as personagens de Fernanda Dias: mulheres que não enfrentam resolutamente os problemas, mas que conseguem vencer a adversidade. A flexibilidade oposta à brutalidade. Não no momento, mas com o tempo; não em sociedade, mas na íntima, resistente, solidão. “O fraco vence o forte, o suave vence o duro” (*Tao Te Qing*). As mulheres de “Dias da Prosperidade” triunfam sem deixar rasto: “...como uma bandeira de submissão entro no hotel arvorando orgulhosamente uma melancia”. (“Sai-Kuá”, *Dias de Prosperidade*, Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1998)

“O Enigma do Macaco Branco” propõe uma visão diferente: a força que apresenta é a força sobre-humana que se reclama “divina”, é o poder masculino. A história conta a aventura de um general e da sua escolta em demanda da esposa raptada por um macaco mítico. Não sei se foi por acaso que Fernanda Dias escolheu este conto para incluir na sua colecção de recontos, mas, de qualquer modo, está claramente representado um outro mundo, onde sopra “um vento”: “...com mil cautelas do general em volta da sua dama, até que, num fim de tarde soprou um vento lúgubre levantando poeira sufocante como um mau presságio...”, “...pela noite adiante silvou o vento estranho... a dama tinha desaparecido”, onde guerreiros (humanos) lutam contra um semi-deus simiesco: “espadas que voavam num turbilhão de relâmpagos” – cada cena tão vívida e vibrante como o “tufão” que descreve.

Deixando o símbolo do vento, o conto “O Macaco Branco” (primórdios da dinastia Tang, anónimo) serviu na literatura chinesa como modelo para novelas do sobrenatural e de aventuras, porventura pelo insólito da relação de uma mulher (ser humano) com um macaco (ser sobrenatural).

Encontramos mais frequentemente a situação oposta: uma raposa, ou uma serpente, transformam-se numa formosa mulher para atrair um letrado. Aí a mulher desempenha o papel de demónio tentador; ao homem cabe o papel de humano incauto e vulnerável aos encantos do Oculto. Sendo que na concepção chinesa o Diabo é *yin* (feminino) e o Homem é *yang* (masculino). Ora, neste conto, o humano é desempenhado pela mulher e o “espírito sobrenatural” (divino) é masculino. O que está em causa é a relação entre humano e divino, e não a relação entre diabólico e humano. A crença chinesa dividia o universo dessa maneira – o divino, o humano e o demoníaco. Qualquer desses mundos podia interferir no outro e, por vezes, dessa interpenetração, dessa mistura de dois mundos surgia uma descendência. A dinastia Tang foi marcadamente influenciada por culturas de outros países. Foi um período rico e de variados contactos com outras civilizações.

Os *Tang chuanqi* foram escritos em chinês clássico (poucas palavras e sem pontuação); hoje em dia, para se compreender bem a história é preciso recorrer a uma versão anotada. Fernanda Dias não sabe ler chinês, mas a maneira como recontou estas histórias em português não deixou empalidecer a beleza destes textos e reflecte o ambiente de mistério da China antiga no conto “Sie Siao-Ngo” e a atracção pelas forças ocultas da natureza em “O Macaco Branco”, assim como não se perdeu o ritmo de falar/contar.

Não podemos esquecer que os *Tang chuanqi* são histórias para o povo; assim as entendeu Fernanda Dias, que conseguiu captar essa maneira de dizer, de modo que sentimos como se a autora por si mesma as transcrevesse directamente da versão original.

Afinal, pouco importa que tenha dado a esta colectânea de recontos o nome de “Contos da Água e do Vento” por coincidência ou por afinidade com os símbolos clássicos da água e do vento. Acredito até que haja ainda outras razões. Sei, porém, que estas presentes versões irão proporcionar aos leitores, sejam eles portugueses ou chineses, um genuíno prazer. **RC**

羅漢齋

羅漢齋

唐驪山宮圖上

南

行國古

飛

百傳

明

石

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À Dra. Ana Paula Laborinho, que viajou comigo nestas histórias.

“Cada vez que viajo, viajo imenso.”

Fernando Pessoa

O ENIGMA DO MACACO BRANCO

No fim da era conhecida por “Grande Igualdade”, instaurada pela dinastia dos Liang, o Imperador tinha encarregado o general Lin Qin de pacificar o Sul. No ano 545, Lin tinha já atingido Guilin e desfeito as forças rebeldes de Li Shigu e de Chen Che.

Entretanto, o seu lugar-tenente, o general Ouyang He, conquistara as terras que se estendem até Chang Le, pacificando as tribos das grutas e penetrando profundamente em território inóspito. Numa noite de lua cheia em que Ouyang He conversava e bebia com alguns oficiais no terreiro do acampamento, um deles disse atrevidamente:

— Meu general, que imprudência teres trazido a tua esposa para este fim de mundo! Toda a bravura e devoção dos teus homens não será suficiente para a proteger de um monstro divino que anda à solta por estas serranias. Se é como dizem as gentes daqui, cedo descobrirá que temos uma mulher de pele fina e de grande formosura entre nós. É certo que ele rapta inúmeras raparigas dos povoados, mas tem preferência por damas finas e eruditas, como é obvio, sendo ele uma poderosa divindade.

Vexado por um oficial lhe ter feito uma advertência, tocando no seu ponto fraco, mas grato por poder assim tomar precauções, o general fez rodear a tenda por um cordão de homens de armas. Desde o cair da noite a esposa abrigava-se numa alcova secreta cuidadosamente fechada a cadeado, com uma dezena de servas encarregadas de a vigiar.

Assim decorreu a vida, com mil cautelas do general em volta da sua dama, até que num fim de tarde soprou um vento lúgubre, levantando poeira sufocante como um mau presságio. Pela noite adiante silvou nas trevas sobrenaturais da lua nova o vento estranho e todos se aconchegaram no abrigo das tendas. Quando, ao romper da alva, o vento amainou, caiu um silêncio tão pesado que emudeceu as aves da madrugada.

Os guardas dormiam armados e as servas guardiãs enoveladas sob as musselinas dos mosquiteiros, todos jaziam nas malhas de uma fadiga espessa. Eis senão quando ecoou um grito breve e angustiado. Um jovem escudeiro vira algo indescritível rasgando a bruma e dava o alarme. Mas era tarde: a dama tinha desaparecido. Mais ninguém vira nem ouvira o feitiço e barras e fechaduras permaneciam invioladas. Podia compreender-se como tinha o deus entrado, cavalgando no vento, mas não como tinha feito sair a bela dama, sendo ela de carne e osso. Nascia o dia quando iniciaram as buscas. Na frente do acampamento erguiam-se escarpadas montanhas, sem atalhos nem estelas indicativas, bastando alguns passos para nelas uma pessoa se perder.

No auge do desespero, Ouyang He praguejava de fúria, jurando não regressar à capital sem levar a esposa consigo. Decidiu, então, manter o exército acampado naquele lugar, pretextando doença, e planeou cuidadosamente as buscas.

Todos os dias fazia partir expedições, do fundo dos desfiladeiros ao alto das escarpas rochosas, tudo era esquadrihado com rigor.

Mais de um mês decorreu até que um soldado encontrou a trinta léguas do acampamento, atrás de uma mata de bambus, um sapatinho enlameado e desbotado, mas onde ainda era reconhecível o bordado de peónias em botão. Sim, disseram as aias, era um sapato da dama sumida.

Ora taciturno ora raivoso, doente de consternação, o general desafiava o deus com surdas imprecações e instigava os homens exaustos a prosseguir as buscas. Ele mesmo nomeou uma escolta de trinta homens destemidos e lançou-se nas matas, mais firme e determinado do que nunca. Levou também o jovem escudeiro, o único a ter visto na ondulante crispação da bruma a manifestação da besta. Pernoitando no recôncavo das falésias, escrutinando o terreno com olhos argutos, chegaram ao fim de dez dias ao sopé de uma montanha verdejante, circundada por uma torrente fresca e cristalina. Juntaram troncos, ligaram-nos em jangada e assim chegaram à outra margem. Viram-se então perante uma parede vertiginosa de rocha abrupta que escalaram, trepando sobre o abismo com a ajuda de vigorosas lianas e vinhas silvestres. No planalto encontraram um bambual onde a luz cor de esmeralda recortava contra o céu a renda da folhagem dourada. Rumores e risos ecoavam sobre os precipícios.

LITERATURA

Para além dos caules esguios entreviram o brilho escarlate de vestes de seda. Então, mais que do mistério, os soldados conhecidos nas batalhas como os “sem-pavor”, tiveram medo da beleza irreal.

Avançando cautelosos, descobriram um bosque magnífico emoldurando um jardim de arbustos raros. Frangipanas, tulipeiras-rubras, cássias, sariteias e rosas-do-Sião juncavam de branco, violeta e tons de fogo uma relva densa e macia como um tapete. Os homens abrandaram a tensão, respirando profundamente os aromas, numa atmosfera tão pura e fresca que dir-se-ia de um outro mundo. Na rocha a pique abria-se uma vasta gruta. Pela larga abertura, virada a leste, saíam e entravam mulheres sumptuosamente vestidas, em tranquila e alegre tagarelice. Encarando os intrusos, algumas pararam para perguntar:

— Como puderam aqui chegar? Quem procuram entre nós?

O próprio Ou Yang He fez questão de lhes responder, descrevendo com detalhe as circunstâncias do rapto e o aspecto da amada desaparecida. As jovens entreolharam-se suspirosas e disseram:

— Saiba Vossa Senhoria que, na verdade, a vossa ilustre esposa está aqui há mais de um mês. Por sinal nestes últimos dias não sai da cama por estar muito indisposta. Como achamos que lhe fará bem ver-vos, vamos levar-vos até ela.

Dito isto fizeram o general entrar por uma porta de pesados batentes de madeira de ácer. No interior, espessas paredes escavadas na rocha viva formavam três espaçosos salões. Ao longo dos muros viam-se divãs baixos cobertos de ricos brocados. A esposa de Ouyang estava estendida num leito de pedra esculpida, recoberto de espessas esteiras e belas sedas acolchoadas. Iguarias e frutos intocados estavam dispostos em volta dela, em bandejas de ouro e preciosas lacas. Pálida e enjoada, a dama, ao ver o marido, lançou-lhe um olhar enlanguescido, fazendo-lhe um desabrido gesto para que se afastasse...

As jovens cativas, comovidas com o penar do general, explicaram o seguinte:

— O ser divino que habita este lugar tem uma força mortífera. Cem robustos mancebos coraçados e armados não seriam capazes de o dominar. Mas algumas de entre nós estão aqui prisioneiras há dezenas de anos e aprendemos algo sobre o nosso raptor. Se lhe conhecemos o poder e a força, também lhe observamos as fraquezas. Traz-nos dois tonéis de excelente vinho,

dez cães bons para comer e algumas dezenas de metros de cordas de cânhamo, e nós te ajudaremos a derrotá-lo. No entanto, terás de chegar ao meio-dia em ponto, não mais tarde e nunca mais cedo. Ele aprecia por demais o vinho e bebe até à embriaguez. Diverte-se então a exhibir-nos a sua força e deixa-nos prendê-lo de pés e mãos ao leito, com cordões de seda, que ele rompe de um salto.

Chegamos a triplicar as voltas de cordão, mas ele rompe-os sempre. Talvez misturando as cordas de cânhamo com os cordões de seda ele não possa libertar-se. Ver-nos-emos neste preciso lugar daqui a dez dias.

Ouyang reuniu os seus homens e partiu precipitadamente, pronto a reunir bebida, laços e vitualhas. Na data marcada o general apareceu com os produtos requeridos. As cativas deram algumas instruções, mostrando uma gruta na falésia:

— É ali que ele guarda as reservas de víveres. Encontrareis lá dentro um bom esconderijo onde podereis dissimular-vos até que façamos sinais para saírem. Vamos deixar junto das flores o vinho e os cães assados e vejamos o que acontece.

Assim fizeram e meteram-se no esconderijo, atentos e retendo a respiração. A meio da tarde algo desceu do alto da montanha, como se voasse, ondulando como uma peça de seda branca e, pousando, entrou na gruta de rompante. Pouco depois veio até à porta, apertando contra si um bando de mulheres, um homem alto de mais de seis pés, de bela barba encaracolada, cor de seda crua. À vista dos cães, num instante os desfez em bocados e com eles se regalou enquanto as mulheres, rindo e galhofando, o encorajavam a beber em largas taças de jade. Tinha já esvaziado muitas dezenas de taças quando elas o levaram cambaleando. Ouviram-se ainda pela tarde adiante rumores de risos e outros júbilos. Estava o sol no ocaso quando as cativas chamaram os guerreiros. Ouyang entrou então à frente das suas tropas e viu o enorme Macaco Branco amarrado ao leito pelos quatro membros, inerte de bebedeira. À vista dos intrusos, a fera debateu-se sem conseguir libertar-se, os olhos fulgurando como raios. As armas precipitaram-se sobre ele, todas juntas, mas era como se se abatessem sobre ferro ou pedra. No fragor do ataque só a lâmina de um punhal curvo, manobrada agilmente pelo pequeno escudeiro que dera o alarme, pôde penetrar algumas polegadas abaixo do umbigo, no único ponto vulnerável do corpo, de onde o sangue golfou

bruscamente em abundância. Então o Macaco Branco soltou um imenso suspiro e disse:

— Morro pela vontade do Céu e não pelo teu valor, oh tu que te socorreste da manha feminina para me derrotares! Mas a tua mulher já está grávida! Não mates o seu filho, ele será o orgulho do teu clã e ganhará a confiança de um grande Imperador.

Ditas estas palavras, soltou o último suspiro.

Inventariaram o tesouro, uma nunca vista acumulação de vasos preciosos e objectos raros, cuidadosamente expostos em mesas e consolas. Nada faltava do que é apreciado neste mundo. Encontraram vários galões de incenso da melhor qualidade e duas espadas de indescritível beleza. As trinta formosas mulheres que ali se encontravam contaram que, mal a beleza delas se desvanecia, a fera as fazia desaparecer sem que se soubesse para onde.

— Ele era o único senhor que servíamos; nunca lhe conhecemos cúmplice ou companheiro — disseram. — Pela manhã tomava banho, enfiava um colete, vestia uma túnica ampla e punha um chapéu. Não usava senão roupas de leve seda branca, tinha o corpo coberto de um velo de pêlos claros e compridos e ignorava o frio ou o calor. Tinha o hábito de ficar longas horas no seu quarto, lendo tabuinhas de madeira cobertas por uma escrita parecida com caracteres sigilares, mas para nós incompreensíveis. Quando acabava, arrumava-as numa prateleira escavada no rochedo.

Quando o tempo estava bom, saía e treinava-se a manejar o par de espadas que voavam num turbilhão de relâmpagos por cima dele, forjando um disco de luz semelhante à lua.

A sua alimentação era muito variada e, à parte a sua predilecção pela carne de cão, comia frutos frescos, nozes e avelãs. Desaparecia quando o sol passava o zénite do meio-dia, percorria vários milhares de léguas em idas e vindas, trazendo tudo quanto um homem podia desejar. Voltava sempre ao anoitecer, mas não dormia: debatia-se em todos os leitos, gozando as suas mulheres uma de cada vez. Apesar do seu aspecto simiesco, era erudito, falava com eloquência e a sua inteligência era magnífica e penetrante.

No último Outono, quando as folhas cor de bronze começaram a cair, subitamente deixou escapar este lamento: “Fui denunciado pelo Deus da montanha e decerto vou ser condenado à morte. Talvez sobreviva se granjear a protecção de todas as criaturas sobrenaturais.”

Depois da lua cheia no mês passado, os seus livros em tabuinhas arderam na prateleira de pedra. Ele pareceu muito perturbado e desabafou: “Vivi mil anos sem descendência. Agora que espero um filho, eis que chega o momento da minha morte.” Assim falando, contemplava as suas mulheres com os olhos rasos de água. E comentou finalmente: “Esta montanha está isolada de tudo, nunca qualquer homem aqui chegou. Tão longe quanto pode abranger o olhar, nunca vimos sequer um lenhador. Os bosques estão infestados de tigres, lobos e outros inomináveis animais ferozes, quem aqui chegaria, se não fosse essa a vontade do Céu?”

Ouyang He partiu, levando os tesouros e distribuindo no caminho as mulheres que conservavam ainda a memória das famílias. No tempo devido, a esposa deu à luz um rapaz que se parecia com o pai, segundo se dizia.

O bravo general haveria de ser executado tempos depois por ordem do imperador Wu da dinastia Chen. Mas o seu velho amigo Jiang Zong recolheu o filho sob o seu tecto, porque o estimava e admirava a sua inteligência discreta. E, assim, o menino escapou ao infortúnio. Na idade adulta revelou-se um fino letrado e bom calígrafo, tendo conhecido a celebridade no seu tempo, mas é tudo. Nada que recordasse as circunstâncias sobrenaturais do seu nascimento. Porém, numa coisa ele era mais hábil que o comum dos mortais: manejava com terrível perícia um velho *kurkhris* das montanhas, presente de um obscuro guerreiro que em adolescente fora escudeiro de sua mãe.

Anónimo da dinastia Tang, recontado por Qin Lan, em Macau, 29 de Setembro de 2001.

O SEGREDO DE SIE SIAO-NGO

Na Primavera do Ano Oito da Era da Harmonia Primordial, tendo findado um cargo em Jiangxi, tomei uma barca que se dirigia para Leste e resolvi parar em Jianye, para subir ao pagode do mosteiro conhecido por “Mausoléu de Faiança” com o intento de reencontrar um monge que a si mesmo chamou “Tudo-se-equivale”, um homem amante do estudo e da companhia dos sábios.

Foi, pois, com um misto de exaltação e ameno prazer que me sentei junto dele no Pavilhão do Poente, retomado a conversa deixada em suspenso na minha

石梁父 巫山

石梁父



黃龍城

歸風墓

海雲洞

走馬嶺

項禮寺

高鶴墓

三皇墓

金齊山

婆少壇

孔雀松

石魚山

石梁寺

蕭何墓

堂音觀

要冢

女冢

王爾廟

石梁

聖母廟

王母祠



東嶺廟

要蘭谷

王松峰

李真庵



絕牆

石梁父

石梁父



LITERATURE

última viagem. A brisa tépida trazia o perfume dos abrunheiros em flor. As nuvens delicadas, a doirada cintilação do rio, provocavam-me um indizível bem-estar. Depois de muitos poemas comentados e inúmeras taças de chá saboreadas, conhecendo a minha curiosidade por casos extraordinários, o meu amigo disse:

— Vês lá em baixo aquela donzela imóvel, olhando o rio?

Segui-lhe o gesto e vi na luz difusa do ocaso uma frágil figura feminina, que me pareceu nimbada de densa melancolia.

— É viúva — disse o monge. — Muitas vezes sobe até aqui, como que alucinada e mostra-me enigmas em doze caracteres. Até agora não os consegui decifrar.

Pedi-lhe então que os escrevesse para eu os analisar, mas, apoiado na balastrada e olhando o sol que declinava, o monge limitou-se a traçá-los no ar. Guardei silêncio e reflecti.

Ao chegar aos meus aposentos mandei um dos servos do mosteiro chamar a jovem. Em breve a tinha diante de mim. Era muito bela mas soluçava incessantemente. Finalmente conseguiu falar:

— Meu pai foi um abastado mercador de Yuzhang, de nome Sie. A minha mãe morreu quando eu tinha 8 anos e o meu pai casou-me com um dos seus homens de confiança, o bravo Duan Ju Zhen, capitão de uma tropa cujo principal ofício era ajudar alguns amigos da nobreza a endireitar o mundo. Com o meu pai partilhava aventuras, obscuros negócios e amor pela justiça. Meu pai tinha acumulado uma grande fortuna, em parte graças aos bons serviços e à protecção de Duan. Muita vez me deixavam com amas e serviçais e embarcavam, por longos meses, por esses vastos rios e lagos. Nessas ausências dediquei-me ao estudo, mais por vontade do que por necessidade, pois ninguém espera que a filha de um mercador seja letrada e dada às artes. Movia-me o desejo de agradecer ao meu pai, que não tinha outros filhos, é certo, mas também a secreta ambição de despertar o interesse do aguerrido Duan, que os céus me destinaram por marido.

Na Primavera dos meus catorze anos levantei os cabelos e comecei a usar os ornamentos próprios das mulheres casadas. Já não olhava para o meu marido como o amigo do meu pai e ansiava por que ele pousasse o seu olhar sobre mim. No regresso dessas longas viagens, pelas noites a dentro bebiam e conversavam. Muitas vezes esperei que despedissem hóspedes e

cantadeiras para, já madrugada, os vir saudar, mas ambos me acarinhavam como a uma filha e mandavam a ama deitar-me.

Uma dessas noites, em que eu, no meu quarto, sem poder dormir, fantasiava sonhos de Primavera, ouvi troar de vozes e tinir de armas. Traídos, meu pai e meu marido foram assassinados e todos os bens saqueados. Os sobrinhos do meu pai e os irmãos de Duan, embriagados, foram precipitados na torrente e os validos e serviçais todos chacinados. Fugi pela varanda, ferida numa perna e, com o coração ainda mais dilacerado, deixei-me flutuar semi-inconsciente, à deriva, rio abaixo. Pela noite dentro retomei conhecimento numa barça de pescadores que me recolheram.

Andrajosa e errante, mendigando comida, cheguei à subprefeitura de Shangyan, onde finalmente encontrei abrigo junto das monjas do Ermitério do Puro Despertar, anexo ao Mosteiro dos Frutos Sublimes.

Pude ali repousar e meditar, acarinhada pela virtude e compaixão das monjas.

Foi então que começaram os sonhos. No primeiro sonho vi meu pai. O seu rosto estava como que velado de tristeza. Com voz pausada disse-me: “O nome do meu assassino escreve-se com a grafia de ‘carro’. Transforma-se na do ‘signo do macaco’. Junta-se a de ‘plantas’, ‘porta’ e ‘leste.’”

Acordei com o coração oprimido e, deslumbrada pelo prodígio, escrevi o que meu pai em sonhos revelara. O que eu não faria para lavar a ignomínia da sua morte!

Na outra noite foi o meu marido que vi em sonhos e desde então não consigo conter as lágrimas. Enquanto ele pronunciava lentamente as sílabas de um novo enigma eu não podia tirar do meu pensamento que nunca tinha chegado a dizer-lhe quanto o amava. Sou tua esposa, dizia-lhe, mas ele parecia não me escutar e repetia: “O nome de quem me matou escreve-se: ‘fugir do meio do prado’, ‘um dia’, ‘homem’.

Incapaz de compreender, escrevi incessantemente as palavras sibilinas e andei por aí a mostrá-las a todos os letrados, mas até agora sem qualquer sucesso.

— Tudo me parece muito claro — disse eu. — O assassino de teu pai chama-se Shen Lan 申蘭 e o do teu marido Shen Chun 申春. Retirados os dois traços horizontais do carácter ‘carro’ 車, obtém-se Shen, o nono dos ramos terrestres, o ‘macaco’. E ‘a porta sob as ervas’ 門草, com o ‘leste’ 東 a meio do carácter, não é pois aquele que se pronuncia Lan?

LITERATURA

Quanto a ‘fugir do meio do prado’, é atravessar os campos e ultrapassá-los. Ora se o traço vertical do meio do ‘campo’ 田 o ultrapassa, obtém-se mais uma vez Shen. ‘Um dia’ 一日 e ‘homem’ 夫, recompostos, dão o carácter Chun, que quer dizer Primavera. Não tenho dúvidas que o assassino do teu pai se chama Shen Lan e o do teu marido Shen Chun.

Desfeita em pranto, Siao Ngn escreveu cuidadosamente os nomes, tal como eu lho ditava. Agradeceu-me polidamente e despediu-se, não sem antes me ter perguntado o meu nome e apelido.

Soube depois que lhe estavam reservadas as mais extraordinárias aventuras. Pois logo a seguir abandonou o mosteiro vestida de homem e deambulou pelas pousadas e casas de chá de todos os portos e ancoradouros, indagando discretamente. Um ano depois chegou a Xunyang, na margem direita do Yangzi, e viu um painel afixado sobre uma armação de bambu com estas palavras: “Contratam-se funcionários”. Bateu à porta da mansão e perguntou pelo senhor da casa. Era Shen Lan!

O coração emperdido pelo desejo de vingança emprestava ao semblante de Siao Ngo uma sobriedade, um desprendimento das coisas do mundo que cativou a confiança do bandoleiro. Poeira de incontáveis jornadas, ardor do Sol e ventos de intempérie tinha-lhe crestado o rosto, desfigurado a protegida menina de seu pai. Os anos que passara entregues ao estudo, enquanto outras da sua idade se entretinham com frivolidades, valeram-lhe um lugar privilegiado entre os rudes homens de Shen Lan. Também este se rendeu à sua discrição e imparcialidade. Em breve tinha todas as chaves do tugúrio e da torre dos bens e o cargo de administrador. Pagava salários, guardava os tesouros, fazia as partilhas dos saques.

Assim passaram dois anos. Pelo seu ascetismo e seriedade, manteve-se afastada de todas as diversões, de todas as amizades. Nos seus magros ombros, sempre curvados sobre os ábacos e os rolos das contas, ninguém soube ver qualquer graça feminina, e as sobancelhas, que deixara de pintar em forma de folha de caneleira, cresciam livres e firmes como uma pincelada ascendente. Como única distração viam-na pelas madrugadas treinar *tai chi* no pátio dos seus aposentos.

Os jades, as sedas, os preciosos brocados, as jóias, as armas valiosas, tudo lhe passava pelas mãos. Assim descobriu, entre muitas outras, peças que lhe eram familiares, roubadas de casa de seu pai. Nas noites de

insónia, assaltada pelas recordações, subia os soturnos degraus da torre-forte para tocar com as mãos trémulas os objectos ainda impregnados da atmosfera da casa da sua infância, arcas e jarrões onde ainda parecia vibrar o eco perdido das vozes do pai e do noivo. Aí chorava em segredo as lágrimas que retinha à luz do dia.

Shen Chun, o primo e companheiro de atrocidades e folias de Shen Lan, vivia naquele tempo com a família na Baía da Árvore Solitária, ao norte, na margem oposta do vasto rio, o que permitia estreitas relações com Lan. Acontecia embarcarem juntos e voltarem um mês depois carregados de riquezas. Siao Ngo e Dama Lan ficavam de guarda à casa, cada qual no seu posto, a guardiã do tesouro na sua torre e a esposa orientando o seu bando de serviçais e concubinas.

Um dia, um formoso mercador do Sião, que conhecia bem de várias frutuosas transações, disse, olhando-a nos olhos, enquanto os servos desenrolavam deslumbrantes tapetes:

— És sério como um bonzo, meu jovem amigo, mas essa excepcional sabedoria talvez não chegue para te proteger, pois és frágil como uma donzela. Vou dar-te um presente. Se cuidares dele e aprenderes a sua linguagem, será o mais fiel dos amigos. Pôs sobre a mesa um estojo aberto, onde um *kurkhris* das montanhas do Nepal brilhava como uma jóia.

Siao viu nisso mais um ditame do Céu e manteve a arma junto a si, afiada e muda como as presas de um felino adormecido.

Numa luminosa manhã primaveril Chun chegou bem provido de vinhos e iguarias, entre as quais uma bela carpa mosqueada que levou para a cozinha. Ele próprio era cozinheiro exímio e prezava os elogios do primo e de Dama Lan. Era um jovem bem parecido e de trato jovial, ao olhar o seu altivo semblante ninguém lhe atribuiria a turbulenta vida de fora-de-lei.

O falso administrador, aliás, a jovem viúva Siao sabia que se seguiria uma longa noite de folguedos e disse para o seu punhal: se a penetrante inteligência do juiz Li decifrou o enigma dos meus sonhos, é porque o Céu lhe abriu o espírito; se o mercador te pôs nas minhas mãos, é porque o Céu acha que chegou a hora. Que o destino se cumpra!

Nessa noite, todo o bando se juntou em volta dos dois primos, as cantadeiras capricharam no carmim das faces e no arco das sobancelhas e afinaram pipas e *erhus*. Todos bebiam sem moderação e não estranharam

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que Siao se mantivesse muda no seu canto, pois a sobriedade era o seu natural modo de ser. Aos primeiros alvares do dia, os convivas retiram-se cambaleantes, deixando Chun embriagado, estendido como morto no tapete da sala, e Lan dormitando ao fresco na varanda. Siao fechou o mais novo no interior. Trancando as pesadas portas, saiu para a varanda sobre o rio e, pedindo perdão ao seu punhal por macular a lâmina cintilante, cortou a garganta ao mais velho, gritando pelo auxílio dos servos que lhe eram fiéis, que logo acorreram e aproveitaram para saquear os saqueadores!

Chamado o Prefeito de Xunyang, o nobre Senhor de Zhang, Siao forneceu a lista dos salteadores e os nomes das famílias roubadas, entre as quais se contava a sua.

O Prefeito tomou posse das riquezas apreendidas, elogiou a coragem e determinação da vingadora e mandou gravar uma estela contando o feito, como exemplo de piedade filial e amor conjugal. Assim, foi a jovem agraciada e ilibada. Era o princípio do Verão, no Ano Doze da era da Harmonia Primordial.

A viúva ergueu a cabeça, endireitou os ombros, devolveu o corpo à carícia das vestes de seda, voltou a depilar e pintar as sobrancelhas, realçou os lábios com carmim. Rica e famosa regressou à sua terra, onde distribuiu o que restava dos seus bens por parentes e necessitados. Os mais ilustres clãs disputaram a sua mão, mas ela tinha jurado não voltar a casar.

Fez-se tonsurar e vestiu-se de burel. Firme na sua busca da Via, não se poupava a duras penitências, apanhava lenha nos bosques e, ao vento e à neve, moía o cereal.

Na Quarta Lua do Ano Treze foi ordenada no mosteiro da Nova Era, em Sizhou.

No Verão desse ano, de regresso a Chang'an o meu caminho atravessava o rio Si e passei pelo mosteiro da Boa Justiça para visitar a eminente monja Ling Cao. Várias discípulas tinham acabado de ser ordenadas. Recém-tonsuradas, rodeavam a mestra, imaculadas nas suas vestes brancas, dignas e silenciosas. Ouvei então uma delas dirigir-se à mestra:

— Este Mandarim não será o ilustre Juiz Li de Hongzhou, o 23º Senhor da sua linhagem?

— Sim, é de facto sua excelência o Juiz Li. Foi ele que mudou a minha vida, permitindo que eu vingasse a minha família. Graças a ele, lavei a vergonha e reparei a injustiça que foi feita aos meus.

Mais tarde contou-me a dura vida que levava desde o nosso anterior encontro. Tinha jurado prosseguir no caminho do Talqualismo, única doutrina que a podia proteger de si mesma. Armada das Cinco Virtudes — Bondade, Justiça, Compaixão, Sabedoria e Sinceridade —, renunciara às jóias e aos sumptuosos estofos de seda, ao sal e ao mel da vida, nunca pronunciando a mínima palavra que fosse contrária à disciplina e à meditação.

Dias depois anunciou-me que regressava ao Mosteiro do Monte Cabeça de Touro. Despedi-me dela com carinho e piedade, porque, sob o manto da ascese, só eu vislumbrara o terrível segredo que consumia ainda o seu coração. Dizem que os deuses não são cegos. Será que por vezes fingem ignorar as humanas fraquezas? Estou crente que ela tinha a força de carácter e a inteligência necessárias para sarar a secreta ferida. Vi-a partir numa barca, no lento deslizar da ribeira Huai, como uma nuvem vogando a caminho do Sul.

A pergunta que nunca pronunciei pairava na minha mente quando os nossos olhos se cruzaram pela última vez: Sie Siao Ngo, porque entregaste Chun ao rigor da justiça oficial e reservaste a garganta de Shen Lan para a ferida em meia-lua do teu punhal? Mas com essa interrogação muda, eu não punha sequer em causa a sua diamantina virtude.

Assim sendo, resta-me divulgar este poema que um fidalgo letrado escreveu para ela:

“Alta virtude é a firmeza de um juramento
Alto o valor de quem vingou o pai e o esposo.
Ao lado de guerreiros, manter oculta a
feminilidade
É nobre força da alma, sublime e árdua
fidelidade.”

Li Gongzuo, ano 805 da nossa era, e Qin Lan, em Macau, dia 7 de Setembro de 2001. **RC**

RESUMOS

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O Futuro do Passado de Macau: Um Epílogo

Este artigo resume as perspectivas e opiniões de peritos expressas na Conferência “Conservação do Património Urbano: Visão de Macau” (Centro Cultural de Macau, 10-12/9/2002), que foi descrita pelo Chefe Executivo da Região Administrativa Especial de Macau, Dr. Edmund Ho, como uma referência para o planeamento e desenvolvimento urbanos a longo prazo de Macau. O autor escreve um “resumo de visões”, esperando que possa ajudar a “lançar as bases” para a conservação do património de Macau, assim como o planeamento do seu futuro, de acordo com três aspectos principais: (1) significado cultural; (2) conservação e desenvolvimento urbano; e (3) valor económico da conservação do património.

(1) Macau já tem um sistema cultural próprio, devido ao seu desenvolvimento histórico sob a antiga administração portuguesa. A mistura única de Ocidente e Oriente de Macau – as raízes cantonesas e o legado português – define o seu carácter cultural em sentido lato. A missão e visão cultural de Macau é, portanto, permanecer um espaço de troca entre o Oriente e o Ocidente (*significado*), cujo esteio dominante é o seu autêntico, sustentável e bem gerido património cultural (*papel da cultura*). Este património cultural, apoiado pelo entretenimento moderno, turismo e indústrias convencionais (*estratégia de desenvolvimento geral*) sob o princípio “um país, dois sistemas”, servirá para melhorar a qualidade de vida da comunidade local (*assegurar a sustentabilidade*).

(2) Macau tem potencial para se estabelecer no mundo como uma grande cidade cosmopolita, especialmente quando as novas indústrias de jogo estiverem instaladas e em funcionamento. Isto acontece em grande parte devido à prontidão do governo e da comunidade em aceitar

novas ideias e novas tendências e, mais importante, ao desejo da população local de se abrir aos estrangeiros – investidores internacionais, trabalhadores expatriados e turistas estrangeiros – e de os aceitar como membros da comunidade de Macau. Esta política de ‘porta-aberta’, frisa o autor, tem de ser mantida para sustentar a imagem e características de Macau como cidade cosmopolita. O desenvolvimento de Macau concentrar-se-á na economia e, em particular, como fornecedor de serviços para as indústrias de jogo e turismo. A natureza de tal desenvolvimento económico, se deixado sem controle, pode resultar numa sociedade cada vez mais dominada por especuladores e oportunistas. Felizmente este problema tem sido reconhecido e a próxima questão será como impedir que esta situação ocorra.

(3) A ideia de usar o património como local para bons negócios não é nada de novo em Macau. Sessenta por cento da receita do retalho de Macau provém de lojas situadas nas zonas de conservação. Esses exemplos de sucesso podem demonstrar ao público o valor económico que pode trazer a preservação do património. A transformação, com grande sucesso, do Largo de Senado em zona pedestre, em termos do aumento de negócio que trouxe aos proprietários de lojas, e o enriquecimento do ambiente físico e socioeconómico, é um caso exemplar para demonstrar à comunidade os benefícios da conservação. Os comentários e opiniões dos participantes da conferência convergem ao considerar que, se Macau deseja tornar-se uma cidade do mundo, o governo terá de continuar a investir na conservação do património. O objectivo social principal dessa empresa é melhorar a qualidade de vida dos residentes de Macau, assim como elevar o nível da consciência do público acerca do seu património. Isto irá ajudar a nutrir um forte sentido de orgulho e entendimento entre as gentes de Macau. [Autor: David Lung, pp. 12-16]

A Gestão das Cidades Património Mundial: Evolução de Conceitos, Novas Estratégias

Ao longo dos últimos trinta anos, os países asiáticos conheceram uma prosperidade económica sem precedentes, resultante de uma estratégia que privilegia o investimento de capital em infra-estruturas e trabalho na promoção da renovação urbana, indústria pesada, agro-comércio e turismo. Contudo, esta estratégia fez com que os recursos ambientais e culturais dos países da região pagassem um preço bastante pesado. Enquanto que os danos causados aos recursos ambientais já foram reconhecidos há algum tempo, apenas recentemente se reconheceu que esta estratégia conduziu a uma alarmante delapidação dos valores comuns do “capital cultural”. Estão particularmente ameaçados os bens culturais que constituem o nosso património urbano – o núcleo das históricas, mas ainda vibrantes, cidades e vilas.

A globalização, e em particular a urbanização, tornaram evidente a necessidade de concretizar urgentemente uma acção concertada e estratégica, a nível mundial, para proteger os nossos recursos mundiais, de forma a assegurar que estes recursos básicos sejam sustentáveis pelo maior período de tempo possível. Isto constitui nada menos do que um novo paradigma de conservação, integrando a conservação do património com o desenvolvimento. Os nossos recursos patrimoniais já não são meramente vistos como singulares peças de museu, ou velhos edifícios delapidados, ligeiramente assustadores. Ao invés, apercebemo-nos agora de que o nosso património construído de edifícios, espaços públicos, jardins, casas, hospitais, teatros – mesmo casinos – são todos *bens* culturais que devem ser protegidos e desenvolvidos, usados e preenchidos, à medida que construímos uma vida futura incorporando o melhor daquilo que aprendemos com o passado. É neste exercício – dar ao património uma vida no futuro da cidade – que

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Macau está agora empenhada na sua corrida ao estatuto de Património Mundial.

[Autor: Richard A. Engelhardt, pp. 17-25]

Significado Cultural de Macau e Visão: São, ou Podem Ser, Compatíveis?

Após a transferência de soberania de Macau de Portugal para a China, a 20 de Dezembro de 1999, ocorreram muitas mudanças significativas. A mais importante foi a quebra do monopólio de jogo do magnata Stanley Ho, que durava há 40 anos. O fim do monopólio abriu caminho para investimentos de enormes quantias por parte de dois gigantes do jogo com sede em Las Vegas, e pela nova empresa do Sr. Stanley Ho. Os investimentos significam nova cultura, nova perspectiva cidadina, novas gentes, novas formas de economia e operação.

A questão que agora emerge é a de se estes novos desenvolvimentos terão um impacto adverso no estilo de vida da população e no significado cultural do território.

O trabalho tenta, primeiro, olhar o significado da herança cultural de Macau e a sua visão. Depois avança para a análise da compatibilidade da visão do território com o significado da sua herança cultural. Em termos de metodologia, é usado o modelo desenvolvido pela UNESCO no seu projecto "Culture Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Cooperation among Stakeholders" para analisar a compatibilidade da herança cultural de Macau com a sua visão. Em conclusão, nenhuma das duas possíveis visões de Macau apresentadas, discutidas e analisadas podem tomar a herança cultural como a consideração primária para o turismo ou como o centro em torno do qual o turismo se move. No melhor cenário, tal como na primeira visão, pode esperar-se que a cultura esteja em situação de igualdade, ou seja parceira do entretenimento moderno para atrair turistas.

No pior cenário, a cultura pode ser relegada para os bastidores do

desenvolvimento económico, no qual o esteio principal é a indústria do jogo. Consequentemente, o desafio que se apresenta ao Governo da R.A.E. de Macau, e em especial ao Instituto Cultural de Macau, é o de concentrar todos os seus esforços na promoção da herança cultural do território como parceiro de igual importância ao da indústria de jogo para atrair turistas. A UNESCO, no entender do autor deste trabalho, não exigirá menos, se o território desejar ser inscrito na Lista do Património Mundial.

[Autor: Ferdinand J. Lamarca, pp. 26-34]

Abordagem à Gestão da Transformação Urbana em Cidades Históricas

Este trabalho tenta chamar a atenção dos intervenientes na gestão de cidades históricas para uma direcção diversa daquela dos instrumentos convencionais legais e de planeamento usados para avaliar a adequação da gestão (sobretudo no contexto das nomeações para Património Mundial), por forma a procurar meios alternativos de definição de indicadores que retratem com maior precisão essas qualidades e processos críticos para a sobrevivência dos valores nucleares das cidades históricas. Com este objectivo, o trabalho debruça-se sobre aquilo que é mais importante manter nas cidades históricas, a partir de três perspectivas diferentes: 1) Compreender as forças de transformação que orientaram a mudança na época anterior à do envolvimento do governo no planeamento da conservação; estudar os diversos factores importantes na evolução a longo prazo, marcada pela herança, das cidades históricas; 2) Analisar de perto a natureza das qualidades que parecem atrair tanto visitantes como residentes às cidades históricas: autenticidade, integridade e continuidade, e as relações entre estas; 3) Analisar de perto a natureza dos esforços bem sucedidos na gestão dos processos dinâmicos de mudança no interior das cidades históricas modernas, através de programas e iniciativas orientados por uma preocupação de integração da herança no contexto da

actividade de desenvolvimento principal. O trabalho conclui com uma breve lista de pontos indicadores, sugeridos com o intuito de revelar um sentido mais claro das capacidades da cidade histórica para gerir e absorver forças exteriores, mantendo intactos os seus valores básicos, respeitando-os nas tomadas de decisão, em vez dos instrumentos tradicionais promovidos pela prática convencional de conservação, que são agora requisitos standard de grupos como o World Heritage Committee na avaliação de potenciais nomeações para a Lista do Património Mundial.

[Autor: Herbert Stovel, pp. 35-44]

Questões Correntes Relativas à Reutilização Adaptada na Conservação da Herança Cultural Urbana

A reutilização adaptada é um dos métodos mais eficazes de devolver vida a estruturas históricas. Muitas vezes é necessária quando a viabilidade económica é um objectivo da conservação. Existem pelo menos três aspectos positivos da reutilização adaptada e que são: a) preservação bem sucedida do edifício histórico; b) redução de custos com novas construções; e c) redução da exploração dos recursos naturais no processo de produção de materiais de construção. Não obstante tais vantagens, devem ser tomadas precauções na aplicação da reutilização adaptada a certas zonas de conservação, em particular aquelas que se situam em ambientes culturalmente ricos, como Macau e muitas cidades asiáticas. Os argumentos recentes a favor da reutilização adaptada podem ser ilustrados em três questões, i.e., novas utilizações adequadas, limites legais e impacto da emergência de uma classe média/alta. Não existe nenhuma solução óbvia ou universal na tomada de decisão sobre quais serão as actividades apropriadas para substituir as existentes e antiquadas, em todas as zonas de conservação. As novas utilizações podem provir da análise de dois factores – a procura natural de novas actividades e a política governamental de controle e orientação do desenvolvimento na zona

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de conservação. Contudo, as novas utilizações poderão não ser exequíveis devido a limitações sob a forma de regulamentações de construção. Um rígido controle de desenvolvimento, segurança e padrões mínimos podem constituir obstáculos às novas utilizações propostas e que exijam alterações aos edifícios de forma a ir de encontro à procura actual. À medida que a reutilização adaptada traz melhorias físicas às zonas de conservação, as comunidades locais existentes podem ser consideradas como “grupo não qualificado” e o seu lugar pode ser ocupado por novos habitantes que cheguem com novas aspirações e riqueza. O processo de emergência de uma classe média/alta é frequentemente uma consequência da reutilização adaptada e nem sempre respeita a autenticidade cultural e a integridade do tecido urbano na zona de preservação. Em relação às três questões presentes, não existe uma solução totalmente vantajosa para a reutilização adaptada. As recomendações alternativas às entidades que definem políticas são: a) uma abordagem “do fim para o início”, que permita ter zonas de conservação planeadas e investimento privado, com aceitação da emergência de uma classe média/alta; ou b) abordagem “grassroots”, em conjunto com a opinião pública, para obter um maior envolvimento das comunidades existentes com tolerância de menores melhorias físicas; ou c) trabalhar em parcerias, o que exige um entendimento recíproco e atempado de todos os grupos envolvidos e a valorização das capacidades dos residentes existentes. [Autor: Yongtanit Pimonsathean, pp. 45-51]

Significado Cultural. A Identidade de Macau

Nos interstícios de duas entidades políticas e de duas culturas dominantes, na periferia do sul da China, Macau adquiriu uma identidade específica. A noção de “identidade” está sobretudo relacionada com um sentimento de comunidade, baseado na história e na cultura. Para desenvolver identidade individual e amor-próprio, um povo

necessita de se identificar com uma comunidade e de se fundir numa tradição colectiva, que aglutinou experiências comuns e atributos culturais. Após a fundação de Macau como colónia portuguesa, o “estilo de vida global” de Macau vacilou entre duas civilizações diferentes e o seu fluxo cultural foi complexo e dialógico. No despertar do encontro interactivo, a presente identidade cultural de Macau está radicada nesta herança sino-portuguesa. Macau já se orgulhou de ser uma cidade religiosa, com mais igrejas e capelas por quilómetro quadrado do que qualquer outro local do mundo. Está também repleta de templos chineses, constituindo, assim, um espaço religioso distinto, de dupla face. Mas esta cidade “Santa” está também salpicada de monumentos e estátuas eclécticos, para não mencionar casinos e bordéis, resultando num território no qual a virtude e o vício coexistem numa articulação multicultural. Na aurora do terceiro milénio, Macau recebeu uma nova identidade e foi meticulosamente preparada para ser um vibrante centro de turismo na região do delta do rio da Pérola. As questões pertinentes são agora: Qual é o significado da identidade de Macau? Porque motivo é única a sua herança cultural? Na encruzilhada do Oriente com o Ocidente, como podem os macaenses – um grupo híbrido – afirmar a sua ambivalente identidade pessoal? [Autor: Christina Miu Bing Cheng, pp. 52-63]

Influência da Medicina Tradicional Chinesa nas Mezinhas de Casa das Nhonbona de Macau

Dos vários indicadores de identidade cultural dos luso-descendentes de Macau um dos menos conhecidos refere-se às ditas “mezinhas” ou “mizinhos de casa”, que reflectem a posição dos macaenses perante os problemas da saúde e da doença, problemas que nem sempre foram fáceis de resolver em Macau ao longo da sua história.

Toda a cultura tem a sua dinâmica e cada momento um antes e um depois. Referir-nos-emos, por isso mesmo, apenas, ao antes porque o depois foi estudado por nós a partir do inquérito dirigido a uma amostra de 350 indivíduos em 1990/91.

Neste nosso trabalho procuramos demonstrar o hibridismo biocultural dos portugueses luso-descendentes de Macau através de um indicador significativo: as “mezinhas de casa” das *nhonbona* de Macau que ainda algumas pessoas utilizam e de que outras guardam, apenas, uma nostálgica lembrança. Diziam-nos, sorrindo, as senhoras idosas de Macau nos meados do século XX: *Vós podi crê. Nossa mizinha tem valor... justo tem.*

[Autor: Ana Maria Amaro, pp. 64-79]

Múltiplas Identidades entre os Portugueses de Malaca

À primeira vista, um forasteiro ingénuo tende a reproduzir uma visão altamente estereotipada e simplista dos moradores supostamente luso-descendentes do *Portuguese Settlement*, um bairro urbano de alguns milhares de habitantes localizado à beira-mar na cidade de Malaca na Malásia ocidental. Neste artigo teoricamente interrogativo, baseado em trabalhos de terreno etnográficos elaborados ao longo dos anos 90, o autor propõe uma desconstrução multifacetada desta imagem, apontando para uma interpretação mais complexa de três níveis sobrepostos e entrelaçados de identidade social. A população Kristang de “euroasiáticos portugueses” demonstra sentimentos dissonantes face a situações específicas, invocando ora uma, ora outra, das suas múltiplas identidades: a sua identidade *nacional* marcadamente reservada, distancia-os significativamente da cultura malaia ao passo que a sua identidade *cultural* os leva a emular praticamente tudo que origina na sua pátria perdida (Portugal). Finalmente, detecta-se um nível mais escondido de identidade *étnica* nas disposições idiossincráticas, mas tímidas, deste grupo crioulo.

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As designações locais evidenciam uma influência portuguesa forte, embora filtrada (os apelidos, os nomes de ruas, os monumentos, os epítetos do bairro, a culinária e uma língua crioula viva), enquanto os ranchos folclóricos recriam danças, música e traje transplantados de Portugal nos anos 50, através dos esforços conseguidos do Estado Novo no sentido de incorporar dentro do seu império colonial todas as remotas comunidades asiáticas com presumidas evidências da “presença portuguesa”. No entanto, estas marcas performativas europeias do século XX constituem, de facto, importações bastante recentes e não devem obscurecer a nossa visão: um exemplo curioso – as *bodas antigas* encenadas – indica um reavivar de práticas genuinamente tradicionais dos Kristang, mas que não exprimem qualquer elo com Portugal. Os trabalhos de Barth sobre a ambiguidade étnica em Bali e a “teoria da prática” de Bourdieu são conjugadas com a noção de *créolité* (crioulidade). Nem por um lado objectivista, nem por outro subjectivista ou puramente situacionista, a postura hiper-modernista do autor evoca cuidadosamente a natureza caleidoscópica das lealdades identificatórias divergentes dos Kristang, mesmo que estas sejam ao mesmo tempo contraditórias, incongruentes ou ilusórias. Mas os agentes sociais não possuem liberdade absoluta em arenas abstractas; não são camaleões étnicos que se movimentam voluntariamente. A corda umbilical exagerada e saudosista que liga os Kristang simbolicamente a Portugal pode ser explicada como fenómeno recente, subtilmente sobreposto a um elemento malaio mais antigo. Desde *Merdeka* em 1957, uma das suas múltiplas identidades tem sido suprimida ao passo que, simultaneamente, outra (injectada do exterior) ficou dilatada. Uma identidade anteriormente crioula com um carácter malaio mais explícito foi *deslocada* por uma identidade portuguesa novamente adoptada, com conotações subliminais quase xenófobas.

Quem, então, realmente são os portugueses de Malaca?
[Autor: Brian Juan O’Neill, pp. 80-105]

O Sudeste Asiático na *Suma Oriental* de Tomé Pires

Tomé Pires celebrou-se como primeiro embaixador português enviado à China, onde viria a residir entre 1517 e cerca de 1527, data provável do seu desaparecimento. Ainda na Índia, o conhecido boticário conclui o manuscrito da *Suma Oriental*, o primeiro grande tratado de geografia asiática preparado por um europeu. Especial destaque merece, na *Suma Oriental*, a secção dedicada ao Sudeste Asiático, de longe a mais extensa, a mais inovadora e a mais bem documentada. E, neste aspecto, o tratado de Tomé Pires constitui uma fonte histórica de extraordinário valor a múltiplos níveis: como obra revolucionária no contexto da história da geografia europeia; como documento insubstituível na construção da história do Sudeste Asiático; como vastíssimo repositório de informações etnográficas, muitas delas inéditas e obtidas em primeira mão, sobre as populações que habitavam as inúmeras ilhas do arquipélago indonésio; como testemunho de um momento privilegiado na história das relações da Europa com a Insulândia. A obra do tratadista português, na verdade, apresenta o último grande retrato do Sudeste Asiático antes da chegada em força dos europeus. Daí para diante, muita coisa iria mudar.

[Autor: Rui Manuel Loureiro, pp. 106-123]

Vozes da Literatura Portuguesa de Macau

Este artigo debruça-se sobre o desenvolvimento e o impacto de uma literatura de Macau, em português, no decorrer do último século da sua História como território português. Embora não se proponha fazer uma análise do trabalho de todos os autores que residiram ou visitaram Macau durante este período de tempo e cujo

trabalho reflectiu a sua experiência, procura caracterizar essa literatura de acordo com a época. Assim, as primeiras décadas do século XX testemunharam a emergência de uma literatura essencialmente colonial, coincidindo com o estabelecimento de instituições portuguesas modernas no território e representada por escritores tais como Camilo Pessanha, Emílio de San Bruno e Jaime do Inso. O aparecimento de um grupo de intelectuais macaenses na década de 50 demonstra que Macau tinha mais do que apenas algo em comum com outros territórios portugueses, no desejo emergente de proclamar uma identidade local autónoma, através do trabalho de Deolinda da Conceição e, subsequentemente, de Henrique de Senna Fernandes. Os longos anos de transição, que alguns interpretam como tendo começado em 1966, mas que decerto se iniciaram depois de 1974 e atingem o seu auge com a transferência de soberania em 1999, testemunham uma visão de Macau tal como ela é retratada por uma geração seguinte de escritores do final ou do período pós-colonial, que abrange desde autoras como Maria Ondina Braga e Fernanda Dias até autores de ficção como Rodrigo Leal de Carvalho e João Aguiar, sem mencionar o poeta angolano Jorge Arrimar e Yao Jingming, natural de Pequim.

[Autor: David Brookshaw, pp. 124-131]

Contos da Água e do Vento: Recontos

Da sua nova colectânea de curtas histórias, “Contos da Água e do Vento”, Fernanda Dias traz-nos nesta edição dois contos reescritos a partir de outros tantos *Tang chuanqi* (romances da dinastia Tang, 618-907), narrativas por sua vez elaboradas a partir de relatos do período das “Seis Dinastias” (222-589) sobre factos históricos, prodigiosos ou fantásticos, casos de amor, episódios de cavalaria ou da vida dos letrados. Estes contos – “O Segredo de Sie Siao-Ngo” e “O Enigma do Macaco Branco” – não são meras traduções, mas recriações da autora.

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Sie Siao-Ngo: uma mulher aparentemente fraca, “uma frágil figura feminina... nimbada de densa melancolia”. Orfã de mãe aos oito anos de idade, mal saíra da adolescência quando salteadores a coberto da noite lhe matam o pai e o marido. Perseguida por um destino implacável, torna-se mendiga, mais para angariar informações do que para garantir a sobrevivência, até encontrar trabalho como servente em casa dos inimigos. Uma força oculta, uma firme consciência do dever e um árduo ascetismo, vão conduzi-la à destruição dos dois homens armados de poder e riqueza.

Para Fernanda Dias a mulher aparece sempre sob o signo da água: doce, dócil e flexível. Como a água que se adapta à forma do recipiente, assim a mulher se molda ao ambiente onde vive, mas,

também como a água, possui uma força vital avassaladora, por vezes destruidora, na sua lenta e persistente capacidade de infiltração. São assim as personagens de Fernanda Dias: mulheres que não enfrentam resolutamente os problemas, mas que conseguem vencer a adversidade. A flexibilidade oposta à brutalidade.

“O Enigma do Macaco Branco” propõe uma visão diferente: a força que apresenta é a força sobre-humana que se reclama “divina”, é o poder masculino. A história conta a aventura de um general e da sua escolta em demanda da esposa raptada por um macaco mítico. Este conto (dos primórdios da dinastia Tang, anónimo) serviu na literatura chinesa como modelo para novelas do sobrenatural e de aventuras, porventura pelo insólito da relação de uma mulher

(ser humano) com um macaco (ser sobrenatural).

Os *Tang chuanqi* foram escritos em chinês clássico (poucas palavras e sem pontuação); hoje em dia, para se compreender bem a história é preciso recorrer a uma versão anotada. Fernanda Dias não sabe ler chinês, mas a maneira como recontou estas histórias em português não deixou empalidecer a beleza destes textos e reflecte o ambiente de mistério da China antiga no conto “Sie Siao-Ngo” e a atracção pelas forças ocultas da natureza em “O Macaco Branco”. Fernanda Dias conseguiu captar a essência das histórias, de modo que sentimos como se a autora por si mesma as transcrevesse directamente da versão original.

[Autores: Fernanda Dias e Stella Lee (Apresentação), pp. 132-141]

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The Future of Macao's Past: An Epilogue

This article summarises the views and expert opinions expressed in the Conference “Conservation of Urban Heritage: Macao Vision” (Macao Cultural Centre, 10-12/9/2002), which has been described by Chief Executive of the Macao Special Administrative Region, Mr. Edmund Ho, as a reference for Macao's long-term planning and urban development.

The author writes a “summation of views” hoping it can help “lay the foundation” for conserving Macao's heritage as well as for planning its future, according to three main aspects: (1) cultural significance; (2) conservation and urban development; and (3) economic value of heritage conservation.

(1) Macao already has a cultural system of its own through its historical development under the former Portuguese administration. Macao's unique blend of the East and the West—the Cantonese roots and the Portuguese

legacy—defines its cultural character in the broad sense. The cultural mission and vision of Macao, therefore, is to remain a place of exchange between the orient and occident (*significance*), whose dominating mainstay is its authentic, sustainable and well-managed cultural heritage (*role of culture*). This cultural heritage, supported by the modern entertainment, tourism and convention industries (*overall development strategy*) under the “one country, two systems” principle, will serve to enhance the quality of life of the local community (*ensuring sustainability*).

(2) Macao has the potential to establish itself in the world as a great cosmopolitan city, especially once the new gaming industries are in place and running. This is largely due to the government and the community's readiness to accept new ideas and new trends, and, more importantly, the local people's willingness to open themselves to outsiders—international investors, expatriate workers and foreign tourists—and accept them as members of the

Macao community. This ‘open-door’ policy – states the author - has to be maintained in order to sustain the image and characteristics of Macao as a cosmopolitan city. The development of Macao will be focused on the economy, and, in particular as a service provider for the gaming and tourism industries. The nature of such economic development, if left unchecked, may result in a society increasingly dominated by speculators and opportunist. Fortunately, this matter has been recognised, and the next issue will be how to prevent this situation from emerging.

(3) The idea of using heritage as a venue for good business is nothing new in Macao. Sixty percent of Macao's retail revenue comes from shops located in the conservation zones. Such successful examples can demonstrate to the public the economic value that heritage conservation can bring. The highly successful pedestrianisation of Largo de Senado, in terms of the increased business brought to shop owners and the

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enrichment of the physical and socio-economic environment, is an exemplary case of demonstrating to the community the benefits of conservation.

The comments and opinions from conference participants converge in considering that if Macao strives to become a world city, the government will need to continue its spending on heritage conservation. The primary social objective of such a venture is to improve the quality of life of Macao's residents as well as to raise the level of public awareness of their own heritage. This will help to foster a strong sense of pride and understanding among the people of Macao.

[Author: David Lung, pp. 12-16]

The Management of World Heritage Cities: Evolving Concepts, New Strategies

Over the past three decades, countries across Asia have experienced unprecedented economic prosperity brought about by a strategy emphasizing capital investment in infrastructure and labour to promote urban renewal, heavy industry, agro-business and tourism. However this strategy ever has exacted a heavy toll on the environmental and cultural heritage resources of the countries of the region. While the damage to environmental resources has for some time been recognized, it is more recently that it has recognized that this strategy has also led to an alarming depletion of the common stock of "cultural capital." Particularly threatened are the cultural assets which constitute our urban heritage – the cores of historic, but still vibrant, cities and towns.

Globalization, and in particular urbanization, have it obvious that it is necessary to urgently take concerted, strategic action on a worldwide basis to protect our world's resources in a way which will assure that these basic resources will be sustainable over the longest possible term. This constitutes nothing less than a new conservation paradigm, integrating heritage conservation with development. Our heritage resources are no longer seen as

quaint museum pieces or dilapidated, slightly scary old buildings. Instead we now realize that our built heritage of buildings, public spaces, gardens, homes, hospitals, theatres – even casinos – are all cultural assets, to be protected and developed, used and replenished as we build a future life incorporating the best of what we have learned from the past.

It is this exercise – to give heritage a life in the future of the city – that Macao is now engaged in in its bid for World Heritage status.

[Author: Richard A. Engelhardt, pp. 17-25]

Cultural Significance and Vision of Macao: Are They, or Can They Be, Compatible?

After Macao was handed back by Portugal to China on December 20, 1999, many significant changes happened. Most important of these was the breaking of the gambling monopoly tycoon Stanley Ho had held for 40 years. The end of the monopoly has paved the way for the investment of vast sums of money by two Las Vegas-based gambling giants, and the new company of Mr. Stanley Ho. The investments mean new culture, new city-scope, new people, a new mode of economy and operation. The question now is whether these new developments will have an adverse impact on the way of life of the people and the cultural significance of the place.

The paper first attempts to look into the cultural heritage significance of Macao and its vision. It then proceeds to analyze the compatibility of the vision of the place with its cultural heritage significance. By way of methodology, the model developed by UNESCO in its project "Culture Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Cooperation among Stakeholders" is used to analyze the compatibility of Macao's cultural significance and its vision. In conclusion, neither of the two possible visions of Macao presented, discussed and analyzed can make cultural heritage as the primary consideration for tourism or the center around which tourism

revolves. At best, culture can be hoped to be co-equal or partner of modern entertainment in attracting tourists. At worst, culture can be relegated to the backstage of economic development where the mainstay is the gambling industry.

Therefore, the challenge for the Macao SAR Government, especially, the Macao Cultural Institute is to muster all its efforts in promoting the cultural heritage of the place as a partner of equal significance of the gambling industry in attracting tourists.

UNESCO, to the mind of this paper writer, will demand no less if the place wishes to be inscribed in the World Heritage List.

[Author: Ferdinand J. Lamarca, pp. 26-34]

Approaches to Managing Urban Transformation for Historic Cities

This paper attempts to draw the attention of those involved with management of historic cities away from the conventional legal and planning instruments used to assess management adequacy (particularly in the context of World Heritage nominations) in order to look at alternative means for defining indicators which more accurately portray those qualities and processes critical to the survival of the core values of historic cities.

The paper does so by looking at what is most important to maintain in historic cities from three different perspectives: – Understanding the transformation forces guiding change in the era before government involvement in planning for conservation; looking at various factors important in the long term heritage-sensitive evolution of historic cities; – Looking closely at the nature of the qualities that appear to attract visitors and residents alike to historic cities: authenticity, integrity and continuity and the relationship between these; – Looking closely at the nature of successful efforts to manage dynamic processes of change within contemporary historic cities, through programmes and initiatives directed at

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integrating concern for heritage within main-stream development activity. Finally the paper concludes with a short list of indicator focuses which are suggested as providing a clearer sense of the capacity of the historic city to manage and absorb external forces, its core values intact and respected in decision-making, than the conventional instruments promoted by conventional conservation practice, and now standard requirements by groups such as the World Heritage Committee in assessing potential nominations to the World Heritage List. [Author: Herbert Stovel, pp. 35-44]

Current Issues Concerning Adaptive Re-Use in the Conservation of Urban Cultural Heritage

Adaptive re-use is one of the most efficient treatments to bring life back to historic structures. It is often necessary when economic viability is an objective of the conservation. There are at least three positive aspects relating to adaptive re-use, which are, a) successful preservation of historic building; b) new construction cost saving; and c) reduction of natural resource exploitation in the production process of construction materials. Despite such advantages, precautions should be taken in the application of adaptive re-use to any conservation areas, particularly those located in the rich cultural settings like Macao and many Asian cities. Recent arguments towards adaptive re-use can be illustrated according three issues, i.e., appropriate new uses; legal limits; and impact of gentrification. There is no clear or universal solution to make decision on what will be the suitable activities to take over the existing outdated uses for all conservation areas. New uses can come from the analysis of two factors, which are, the natural demand of new activities, and the government policy to control and guide development in the conservation area. However, new uses may not be possible because of the limitations in the form of building regulations. Rigid development control, safety, and minimum standards can

become barriers to proposed new usages that require building alteration to meet contemporary demand. As adaptive re-use brings better physical changes to the conservation areas, existing local communities may be considered “unqualified group” and may be taken place by new inhabitants who come with new aspiration and wealth. The process of gentrification is often the consequence of adaptive re-use and it does not always fulfil cultural authenticity and urban fabric integrity in the conservation area. Regarding the three current issues, it seems that there is no win-win solution for adaptive re-use. Alternative recommendations to the policy makers are: a) the top-down approach to have planned conservation area and private investment with the acceptance of gentrification impact; or b) grassroots approach to have more involvement from existing communities with the tolerance of less physical improvement; or c) working in partnerships, which requires timely mutual understanding of all groups involved and the capacity building of existing residents.

[Author: Yongtanit Pimonsathean, pp. 45-51]

Cultural Significance. The Identity of Macao

In the interstices of two political entities and two dominant cultures at the periphery of South China, Macao has acquired a specific identity. The notion of “identity” relates mainly to a sense of community based on history and culture. In order for individual identity and self-respect to be achieved, a people need to identify with a community and coalesce into a collective tradition, which has embraced common experiences and cultural attributes. After the founding of Macao as a Portuguese settlement, the “whole way of life” of Macao vacillated between two different civilizations, and its cultural flux was complex and dialogic. In the wake of interactive encounter, Macao’s current cultural identity is predicated on this Sino-Portuguese heritage. Macao once

prided itself as a religious city having more churches and chapels to the square mile than anywhere in the world. It is also replete with Chinese temples and thus constitutes a distinctive double-faced religious space. But this “Holy” city is also dotted with eclectic monuments and statues, not to mention casinos and brothels, producing a territory in which virtue and vice co-exist in a multi-cultural articulation. At the dawn of the third millennium, Macao has been given a novel identity and meticulously groomed to be a vibrant tourist centre in the Pearl River Delta region. The pertinent questions now are: What is the significance of Macao’s identity? Why is its cultural heritage unique? At the crossroads of East and West, how can the Macanese—an hybrid group—assert their ambivalent personal identity?

[Author: Christina Miu Bing Cheng, pp. 52-63]

The Influence of Traditional Chinese Medicine in the *Mezinhas de Casa* of the *Nhonhonha* of Macao

Of the several cultural identity indicators of the Luso-descendants of Macao, one of the lesser known are the so-called *mezinhas* or *mizinhas de casa*, which reflect the attitude of the Macanese towards health and sickness, problems which have not always been easy to solve in Macao, throughout the territory’s history.

Every culture has its dynamics, and in each moment there is a before and an after. For that reason, I will refer solely to the before, for I studied the after in a population study of 350 individuals in 1990/91.

My work seeks to reveal the hybrid bio-cultural nature of the Luso-descendants of Macao through a significant indicator: the *mezinhas de casa* of the *nhonhonha* of Macao, which some people still use, and others simply cherish as a nostalgic remembrance. The elderly ladies of Macao told me, smiling, in the middle of the 20th century: *Vós podi crê. Nossa mizinha tem*

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valor... justo tem. (You can believe us. Our mizinha has its value... it really does).
[Author: Ana Maria Amaro, pp. 64-79]

Multiple Identities Among the Malacca Portuguese

At first sight, an ingenuous outsider tends to reproduce a highly stereotyped, simplistic view of the purportedly Lusitanian residents of the Portuguese Settlement, a seaside urban neighbourhood of about 1000 inhabitants located in the city of Malacca in Western Malaysia. In this theoretically interrogative paper, based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the 1990's, the author proposes a multifaceted deconstruction of this image, favouring a more complex interpretation of three interwoven, superimposed levels of social identity. The Kristang population of Portuguese Eurasians exhibits dissonant sentiments according to which strand of their multiple identities is invoked in specific situations: a markedly reserved *national* identity distances them significantly from Malay culture, while their effusive *cultural* identity leads them to emulate virtually everything deriving from their long-lost fatherland (Portugal). Finally, a more hidden level of *ethnic* identity is detectable within the group's idiosyncratic but timid Creole dispositions.

Local nomenclature evinces a strong but filtered Portuguese influence (surnames, street names, monuments, neighbourhood epithets, cuisine, a living Creole language), while folklore troupes reproduce dance, music, and costume transplanted from Portugal in the 1950's via successful efforts by the authoritarian *Estado Novo* to incorporate within its colonial empire all remote Asian communities with presumed "Portuguese heritage". However, these European performative imprints from the 20th century are actually quite recent importations and should not cloud our vision: for example, curious theatrical *mock weddings* indicate the revival of genuinely Kristang traditional practices with no link whatsoever to Portugal. Barth's work on ethnic ambiguity in Bali

and Bourdieu's practice theory are joined with the notion of *créolité* (Creole-ness). Neither objectivist, nor subjectivist or purely situationist, the author's hyper-modernist stance evokes as carefully as possible the kaleidoscopic nature of the Kristangs' divergent allegiances, even if these be at once contradictory, incongruous, or illusory. But social agents do not simply possess free reign in abstract arenas; they are not ethnic chameleons shifting at will. The exaggerated nostalgic umbilical cord to Portugal may be explained as a recent phenomenon, subtly superimposed upon an older Malay element. Since *Merdeka* in 1957, one strand among many of their multiple identities has been suppressed, while simultaneously another strand (injected from outside) was inflated. A formerly Creole identity with a more explicit Malay element was *displaced* by a newly adopted Portuguese identity with subliminal discriminatory undertones. Who then really are the Malacca Portuguese?
[Author: Brian Juan O'Neill, pp. 80-105]

Southeast Asia in Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental*

Tomé Pires became famous as the first Portuguese ambassador to China, where he lived from 1517 to 1527, probable date of his demise. While still in India, the well-known apothecary finished the manuscript of his *Suma Oriental*, the first great treatise on Asian geography prepared by a European after the discovery of the Cape route. The section of the *Suma Oriental* dedicated to Southeast Asia deserves special attention, because it is, by far, the most extensive, the most innovative and the best documented. In this context, the treatise by Tomé Pires is an outstanding historical source on several accounts: as a revolutionary book in the history of European geography; as a vast source of information on the history and ethnography of early modern insular Southeast Asia; and as a first hand report of a particular moment in the history of the relations between Europe and the Indonesian archipelago. The work of the

Portuguese author is invaluable, because it presents the last big picture of Southeast Asia before the arrival of the European powers on the scene. From then on, nothing would be the same.
[Author: Rui Manuel Loureiro, pp. 106-123]

Portuguese Literary Voices from Macao

This article considers the development and impact of a literature of Macao in Portuguese over the last century of its history as a Portuguese territory. While it does not claim to analyse the work of all the authors who lived in or visited Macao during this period, and whose work reflected their experience, it does seek to characterise such a literature according to period. Thus, the first decades of the 20th Century witnessed the emergence of an essentially colonial literature, coinciding with the establishment of modern Portuguese institutions in the territory, represented by writers such as Camilo Pessanha, Emílio de San Bruno and Jaime do Inso. The emergence of a group of Macanese intellectuals in the 1950s demonstrates that Macao had more than a little in common with other Portuguese territories in an emergent desire to proclaim an autonomous local identity, through the work of Deolinda da Conceição and, subsequently, Henrique de Senna Fernandes. The long years of transition, which some see as dating from 1966, but which certainly begin after 1974, and reach their climax with the handover of 1999, witness a view of Macao as depicted by a subsequent generation of late or post-colonial writers, ranging from female authors such as Maria Ondina Braga and Fernanda Dias, through to fiction writers, such as Rodrigo Leal de Carvalho and João Aguiar, not to mention the Angolan poet, Jorge Arrimar and the Beijing-born Yao Jingming.
[Author: David Brookshaw, pp. 124-131]

Stories of Water and Wind: Retold

From her new compilation of stories, *Stories of Water and Wind*, in this edition Fernanda Dias brings us two short

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stories, re-written from two *Tang chuanqi* (romances from the Tang dynasty, 618-907), which in turn were developed from reports from the “Six Dynasties” period (222-589), about prodigious or fantastic historical facts, love affairs, chivalry episodes, or scenes from the lives of men of letters. These short stories – “The Secret of Sie Siao-Ngo” and “The Enigma of the White Monkey” – are not mere translations, but recreations written by the author. Sie Siao-Ngo: an apparently fragile woman, “a frail feminine figure... clouded amidst a dense melancholy”. Motherless since she was eight years old, she had barely grown out of adolescence when thieves, shrouded by the veil of night, killed her father and her husband. Persecuted by a relentless fate, she became a beggar, more with the purpose of collecting information than to ensure her survival, until she found work as a servant in the house of the enemies. A hidden strength, a firm conscience of duty and a tough asceticism, would lead her to destroy two men, armed with power and wealth. For Fernanda Dias, the woman always appears under the sign of water: sweet, gentle and flexible. Like the water that takes the form of the container, so the woman moulds herself to the environment in which she lives, but also like the water, she possesses an overwhelming vital strength, sometimes destructive in its slow and persistent ability to infiltrate. These are the characters of Fernanda Dias: women who do not face problems determinedly, but who are able to beat adversity. Flexibility as opposed to brutality. “The Enigma of the White Monkey” suggests a different vision: the power it presents is the super-human power that calls itself “divine”: it is the masculine power. The story tells the adventure of a general who goes to rescue his wife who had been kidnapped by a mythical monkey. This short story (early Tang dynasty, anonymous) served in Chinese literature as a model for supernatural and adventure novels, perhaps for the uncommon nature of the relationship between a woman (a human being) and a monkey (a supernatural being).

The *Tang chuanqi* were written in classic Chinese (few words and no punctuation); today, in order to fully understand the story, we need to resort to an annotated version. Fernanda Dias cannot read Chinese, but the manner in which she retold these stories in Portuguese has kept the colourful beauty of these texts, reflecting the mysterious atmosphere of Ancient China in the short story “Sie Siao-Ngo”, and the attraction of the secret forces of Nature in “The White Monkey”. Fernanda Dias was able to capture the essence of the stories, in such a way that we feel as if the author herself transcribed them directly from the original version.

[Authors: Fernanda Dias and Stella Lee (Presentation), pp. 132-141]